This is the first genuine etymological dictionary of Old Chinese written in any language. As such, it constitutes a milestone in research on the evolution of the Sinitic language group. Whereas previous studies have emphasized the structure of the Chinese characters, this pathbreaking dictionary places primary emphasis on the sounds and meanings of Sinitic roots. Based on more than three decades of intensive investigation in primary and secondary sources, this completely new dictionary places Old Chinese squarely within the Sino-Tibetan language family (including close consideration of numerous Tibeto-Burman languages), while paying due regard to other language families such as Austroasiatic, Miao-Yao (Hmong-Mien), and Kam-Tai.

Designed for use by nonspecialists and specialists alike, the dictionary is highly accessible, being arranged in alphabetical order and possessed of numerous innovative lexicographical features. Each entry offers one or more possible etymologies as well as reconstructed pronunciations and other relevant data. Words that are morphologically related are grouped together into “word families” that attempt to make explicit the derivational or other etymological processes that relate them. The dictionary is preceded by a substantive and significant introduction that outlines the author’s views on the linguistic position of Chinese within Asia and (Continued on back flap)

Details the phonological and morphological properties, to the degree they are known, of the earliest stages of the Chinese language and its ancestor. This introduction, because it both summarizes and synthesizes earlier work and makes several original contributions, functions as a useful reference work all on its own.

The ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese is a monumental achievement in the history of Chinese linguistics, offering many new hypotheses and systematically evaluating and incorporating earlier scholarship. It will be warmly welcomed by scholars in a wide variety of China- and Asia-related fields, including early Chinese language, literature, culture, and thought as well as the broader cultural-linguistic landscape of prehistoric East and Southeast Asia.

Axel Schuessler is emeritus professor at Wartburg College, Iowa.
ABC Etymological Dictionary
of Old Chinese
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of Old Chinese

Axel Schuessler
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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" (cíyuán 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 an 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 turn 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 *duò *(hanging tuft of hair) is cognate to Written Burmese (WB) *twai ‘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 píngshēng, shǎngshēng, qūshēng, and rúshēng 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.
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 Conspectus (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. Schafer 1974, Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (IST); Shí Xiàngdōng 2000, Hânyà hé Zàngyú; U. Unger, Hao-ku; Wáng Lì 1982, Tóngyuán zìdì; 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 Búfán 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 Tibeto-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.
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I am particularly grateful to an anonymous reader who made thoughtful suggestions and significant comments on a penultimate draft version. But the mistakes which are still in the following pages are this author's responsibility. Most of all, I wish to express my special gratitude and appreciation to Victor Mair for his encouragement and manifold generosity; it was he who arranged for the compilation of this work and secured financial support through grants from the Freeman Foundation and other sources.
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 (świB) LH suíB, S tsuíB, OCM *lhui?, OCB *[l]hui? ?
‘Water, river’ [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ūj, ū (.), PR ūi, LR ūj; MGZY shue (⊥) [sue]; ONW suí

[D] PMin *tšuiB


FIRST LINE

pǐnyīn transcription of Mandarin, followed by the Chinese character(s) 字.

When no character exists (as is often the case with colloquial dialect forms) an empty box □ takes its place.

(...)

Middle Chinese (MC) or Qiéyùn 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 ko unless otherwise identified.

S alternate Old South form of LHan, as revealed by later southern, usually Mǐn, 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, Karlgren's GSR, Schuessler's DEZ, Gūdài Hányǔ cídiǎn 古代漢語詞典, edited by Chén Fūhuá 陳復華 (Beijing 1999), and the Zhōngwén dàcìdiǎn 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 Shījīng, which implies that the word existed already by 600 BC or earlier. For abbreviations, see p. xvii ff.
ARRANGEMENT OF THE DICTIONARY

THIRD LINE and subsequent lines

- [<] shows the morphological derivation from its simplex.
- [D] Chinese dialect forms; col. = colloquial form (bai 白), 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 = Gàn, K = Kējiā (Hakka), M = Mǐn, W = Wú, X = Xiāng, Y = Yuè (Cantonese), Mand. = Mandarin, P- = Proto-, as in PMin = Proto-Min, also CMin = Common Min.
- [E] comments on etymology, especially foreign connections. When flush with the preceding gloss, it relates only to the preceding word; when flush with subentries (₃₆ allotems), it relates to the whole wf and its stem / root.
- [N] introduces further notes or comments.
- [T] 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.’
- MGZY = Mēnggū zìyuàn (‘Phags-pa) of the Yuan (Mongol) period (1270–1308).
- ONW(C) = Old Northwest Chinese from about AD 400, as interpreted by Coblin 1994. Occasionally Sui-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.
- ₃ ‘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 / from 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 sī 思 is not separately entered in the dictionary with a reference to → sī 思 because sī 思 can be found under its better-known simplex sī 思.
- -> ‘loaned to’.
- <- ‘borrowed from’.
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- no Chinese graph exists (for a dialect word)
- cognate, alloform, 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 into
- cross-reference
- section / paragraph of the Introduction

a. and
AA Austroasiatic (languages)
AAS Association for Asian Studies
abbr. abbreviation(s)
acc. to according to
AM Asia Major
aux. auxiliary (e.g., verb)
Bèidà Běijīng Dàxué: Hànyǔ fāngyuán cíhuì 漢語方言詞匯
AN Austronesian (languages)
BEFEO Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême Orient
BI bronze inscriptions
BIHP Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology (Academia Sinica, Taiwan)
BMFEA Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm
BSLP Bulletin de la société linguistique de Paris
BTD Han Buddhist Transcriptional Dialect (W. S. Coblin. ms)
BV Bahing-Vayu languages (= Kiranti languages; Tibeto-Burman)
[C] introduces comments on further cognates
CAAAL Computational Analysis of Asian and African Languages
CH Chinese
CDC Common Dialectal Chinese (J. Norman’s reconstruction)
CLAO Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale
cogn. cognate
[D] introduces Chinese dialect forms
DEZ A. Schuessler, A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese
ditr. ditransitive
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) Fāng yán 方言 by Yáng Xióng 揚雄; (2) the modern journal Fāngyán 方言
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

G-  Gän dialects
GSR  B. Karlgren, Grammata serica recensa
GYSX  Shèn Jiānshì 沈兼士. Guǎngyùn shēngxì
Hao-ku  Ulrich Unger, Hao-ku. Sinologische Rundbriefe
HCT  Li Fangkuei 1977, A Handbook of Comparative Tai
HJAS  Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
HK  Hong Kong
HOCP  William H. Baxter 1992, Handbook of OC phonology
HPTB  Matisoff 2003, Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman
HST  W. South Coblin 1986, A Sinologist’s Handlist of Sino-Tibetan Lexical Comparisons
ICSTLL  International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics
id.  idem (the same as above)
intr.  intransitive
IG  indogermanisch (‘Indo-European’)
IST  R. Shafer, Introduction to Sino-Tibetan
J(.)  Journal
JA  Journal Asiaticque
JAOS  Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAS  Journal for Asian Studies
JCL  Journal of Chinese Linguistics
JCLTA  Journal of the Chinese Teachers’ Language Association
JDSW  Jingdiàn shìwén 經典釋文 by Lù Dèmíng 蕭德明
JGWZ  Lì Xiàodìng 李孝定, Jiāgǔ wénzì jíshì 甲骨文字集釋
JIES  Journal of Indo-European Studies
JP  Jíng-pō 景颇 (a Tibeto-Burman language)
JR  rGya-rung = Jia-rong (a Tibeto-Burman language)
JWGL  Zhōu Fǎguó 周法高, Jīnwén gǔlín (bǔ) 金文詮林 (補)
K-  Kējìà (Hakka) dialects
K.  Kachin (a Tibeto-Burman language close to or identical with Jing-po)
Kan.  Kanauri (a Tibeto-Burman language of the Himalayan branch)
KC  Kuki-Chin languages (Tibeto-Burman)
KN  Kuki-Chin-Naga languages (Tibeto-Burman)
KS  Kam-Sui languages
KT  Kam-Tai languages
LAC  Dobson, Late Archaic Chinese
LB  Lolo-Burmese languages (a Tibeto-Burman branch)
LB-M  Matisoff's reconstruction of LB
lg.  (lgs.)  language(s)
LH, LHán  Later Han Chinese
LL  Language and Linguistics 語言暨語言學 (Academia Sinica, Taipei)
LOC  Later Old Chinese (Zhānguó)
LTBA  Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area
Lush.  Lushai (a Tibeto-Burman language of the Kuki-Naga branch)
M-  Mín dialects
Mxx  Middle xx (e.g., MM = Middle Mon)
MC  Middle (or ancient) Chinese (ca. AD 600)
MGZY  Měnggǔ zìyuàn
MK  Mon-Khmer languages
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

MKS  Mon-Khmer Studies
MM, MMon  Middle Mon (an Austroasiatic language)
MS  Monumenta Serica
MSOS  Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen
MY  Miao-Yao (Hmong-Mian) languages
MZYW  Mínzú yúwén 民族语文
[N]  introduces further notes
n.  noun
Oxx  Old xx (e.g., OC = Old Chinese)
OB  Shang dynasty oracle bone inscriptions
OC  Old (or archaic) Chinese
OCB  Old Chinese, Baxter’s reconstruction
OCM  Minimal Old Chinese, see §13.1
OE  Oriens extremus
OL  Oceanic Linguistics
OM  Old Mon (an Austroasiatic language)
ONW(C)  Old Northwest Chinese ca. AD 400 (W. S. Coblin, Old Northwest Chinese)
P  Proto
p. c.  personal communication
PCH  Proto-Chinese
perh.  perhaps
PLB  Proto-Lolo-Burmese (= ‘Lolo-Burmese,’ LB)
PMin  Proto-Min (J. Norman’s reconstructions)
poss.  possibly
prob.  probably
PTai  Proto-Tai
PTib.  Proto-Tibetan
PVM  Proto-Viet-Mong languages
PWA  Proto-Western-Austronesian
PWMiao  Proto-Western-Miao
QY  Qüéyùn 切韻
QY(S)  Qieyun system, i.e., MC (or ‘ancient Chinese’) reconstructions
S.  Siamese
Siam.  Siamese
Skt.  Sanskrit
Sórui  Shima Kunio 島邦男, Inkyo bokuji sórui 股壇卜辞総類
SSYP  Sī shēng yùnpǔ 四聲韻普 by Liáng Sēngbào
ST  Sino-Tibetan
STC  Paul K. Benedict, Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus
SV  Sino-Vietnamese
sv.  stative verb
SW  Xū Shén 許慎, Shuōwén jièzì 説文解字
SWJZGL  Dīng Fūbào 丁福保, Shuōwén jièzì gūlín 説文解字詁林
s. w. as  same word as
[T]  introduces transcriptional forms
TB  Tibeto-Burman
TSR  James A. Matisoff, The Loloish Tonal Split Revisited
Tib.  Tibetan
tr.  transitive
vb.  verb
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Viet. Vietnamese
W west(ern)
W- Wú dialects
WB Written Burmese
wf(s) word family (families)
W(r) Written-
WT Written Tibetan
WTib. Western Tibetan dialects
X- Xiāng dialects
Y- Yuè dialects (Cantonese)

YWWY 語文研究
YYWZX 語言文字學

Zang-Mian 1992 黄布凡 黄布凡等，藏缅语言词匯
ZGYW Zhōngguó yǔwén 中國語文
ZM92 short for Zang-Mian 1992 (Beijing)
ZWDCD Zhōngwén dàcídìǎn 中文大辞典
1.1 Chinese
Old Chinese (OC = ‘archaic Chinese’, Shànggǔ Hányǔ 上古汉语) is the language of texts and documents from the beginning of writing, around 1250 BC, to the Han 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’, Zhōnggǔ Hányǔ 中古汉语) 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 Mín 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 Shāng 商 dynasty from c. 1250–1050 BC. From the subsequent Western Zhōu 周 period (1050–770 BC) have survived not only hundreds of inscribed bronze vessels (BI), but also the older parts of the Shǐjīng 詩經 (Book of Songs), parts of the Shūjīng 書經 (Book of Documents), the old parts of the Yǐjīng 易經 or Zhōuyì 周易 (Book of Changes), and the Yì Zhōushū 逸周書. Literary records gradually increase in volume and variety after the end of Western Zhōu with the beginning of the Spring and Autumn period (Chūnquī 春秋 722–481 BC), the Warring States period (Zhànguó 戰國 403–221 BC), Qin 秦 (221–206 BC) and Hán 漢 (206 BC–AD 220) dynasties. The literary sources are abbreviated as in Kârlgrøn’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-Yão (MY = Hmong-Mien), and Austroasiatic (AA). In adjacent areas are spoken Austronesian (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-Yáo 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 Yuè 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-lin and J. Norman have collected AA loan words found in Old Chinese literature, while other items have long been thought to be of Miáo-Yáo 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, Miáo-Yáo (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; Matisoff *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’) wáng (‘king’) ‘great king’ vs. WT rgyal-po chen-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 */ə* 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 types (later reflected in the Qieyun 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 (brya vs. bâi
百 OCM *brâk ‘100’. Universal PTB *(s)mrul ~ *(s)brul ≠ CH *hui (xjweiB) *hm(r)ui? (<
*hmrul?) already has been replaced on the OB by she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 tû-jiâ 土家 ‘locals’. This shows that TB speakers lived in ancient times in the vicinity of
the Xià and Shâng states. Especially the Qiâng neighbors of Shâng China to the west have
probably been TB, as well as the Róng in Shanxi (Pulleyblank 1983: 416ff). 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 *la ‘leaf’,
unless the CH word was directly borrowed from an AA language, ultimately the source of the
Loloish word.

1.2.3 Miao-Yao
Miao-Yao (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
Yuè), 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 (Pulley-
blank 1983: 423ff), among others, because words of MY origin show up in the text ChuChí
(Songs from the Chu area) of the Han period (Schuessler 2004).

A MY loan, for example, is xiâng 糧餉 (sianh/^/* A/C) *nhan/h ‘bring food to’ (workers in
(Chiang Rai dial.) ghaan², Dzao Men nêŋ².

1.2.4 Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai
Kam-Tai languages (KT) are not related to Chinese and ST (Dài Qîngxià 1991). Massive
lexical exchanges in both directions between Chinese and Tai, from OC to more recent dia-
lects, have led some investigators to conclude otherwise. In the distant past, people speaking
these languages likely lived in areas as far north as the Yangtze River basin. For example, the
ruling family of the ancient state of Chû 楚 had the clan name xiōng 熊 ‘bear’, but in the Chu
language the name was mi 半, which is the KT word for ‘bear’. Today, though, KT people live
farther to the south in Guângxi, Guîzhîu, and southern Hûnán (Pulleyblank 1983: 429ff).

There have been significant exchanges of vocabulary in both directions between MK
(including Viet-Muong) and Tai languages; Lao 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:
1.2.5 1.2.6 OLD CHINESE AND ETYMOLOGY

13–14, n.22). Consequently, some alleged Chinese–Tai lexical sets turn out to be spurious, the Tai words being loans from Khmer or elsewhere. For example, Siamese suan^A1 ‘garden’ has nothing to do with \( \text{yuăn 歹} \) *wan ‘garden’, but is borrowed from Khmer swna/sluan/ ‘care for, look after > flower / pleasure garden’. Or consider Tai luän ‘royal’; it reflects the Khmer word luän ‘king’ and has no (direct?) connection with Chinese → huäng 皇帝 ‘august, royal’.

An example of a KT word in OC is chán 氾 *dran ‘farm, farmyard’, from Tai: Siamese B8n A2 < *rtan A1, Kam-Sui (PKS) *hra:n l ‘house’.

1.2.5 Austroasiatic

The Austroasiatic (AA) language family is unrelated to ST and Chinese. AA languages fall into two major groups: Munda (exclusively on the Indian subcontinent); and Mon-Khmer (MK) scattered over Assam, Southeast Asia, and SW China and includes the Mon language in Burma, and Khmer in Cambodia. As only MK languages could have left traces in China, the terms MK and AA are often synonymous here.

AA loans have been identified in TB languages such as Lepcha (Forrest 1948) and in languages in Assam such as the Tani group (J. Sun LTBA 16:2, 1993: 165); AA lexical material is also encountered in Lushai (in this dictionary), in the TB Kanauri-Almora language Raji (Sharma 1990, vol. III, part II: 170–228), as well as transparent Khasi loans in Mikir. MK influence in Old Chinese and ST has also received some attention (Shorto 1972; Ferlus 1998; LTBA 22:2, 1999: 1–20; Schuessler 2003; 2004; studies by Norman and Mei). Languages from at least two AA branches or layers have contributed to prehistoric and perhaps early historic Chinese: an early Viet-Muong language similar to Vietnamese (that may be called ‘Viet-Yüê’) (§1.2.6) and a language (or languages) in the Yellow River basin that shows affinities to the modern Khmer and Khmu branches of MK, and on occasion also to Mon (§1.2.7).

Purely historical and philological considerations also point to the prehistoric and early historic presence of AA in parts of northern China. The ancient Yi夷 people, who lived in the east from the Shandong peninsula south to the Yangtze, were probably AA (Pulleyblank 1983: 440ff). The ancient Yuè 越 people in Zhejiang were certainly AA; the place Lángyé 琅琊 in Shandong was their traditional cultural center (Yuè jue 越 jue; Eberhard 1968: 414ff).

Under the year 645 BC, the Zuǒzhuan quotes a line from the famous Yijing where we find the AA word for ‘blood’, huäng 皇帝 *hmäŋ (PAA *hmam or the like) substituted for the usual ST etymon xue 学 (Mei 1980). The deliberations in which context this line is quoted and apparently understood by all participants took place north of the Yellow River in today’s Shanxi. Huäng cannot have been a CH innovation, rather it must have been a survival from an earlier substrate language that was replaced by a ST layer, i.e., ‘Chinese’ as we know it.

When pursuing OC and TB / ST etyma down to their apparent roots, one often seems to hit AA bedrock, that is, a root shared with AA.

1.2.6 Vietnamese

In addition to the significant influx of Chinese loans from antiquity to more recent times, Vietnamese has incorporated a large contingent of Tai words (Maspero 1912: 115). A language close to Vietnamese was spoken in SE China as late as the Han period by the ancient Yuè 越 people (Yuè OC *wat, the ‘Viet’ in Vietnam); it left a residue of Viet-Yüê words in the modern Min dialects in Fújiàn province (see articles by Norman and Mei, also quoted in Schuessler 2004). Early Chinese commentators have stated that the words zhá 札 ‘epidemic’ and sōu 獵 ‘dog’ are from the ancient Yuè language (Pulleyblank 1983: 438ff), but these might
have come from “northern” AA instead (see §1.2.7); Han period scholars merely noted the similarity with the Yuè 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-Yuè.

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, chū 詔 *tshro ‘hay’ vs. PMonic *ksɔŋ (cf. below), hū 虎 *hlā? ‘tiger’ vs. PMK *klā.

More “recent” items (found in BI, Shiijing, and then later texts) agree more closely with AA forms, e.g., cuǒ, 豬 *stshō ‘hay’ vs. PMonic *ksɔŋ (cf. above), jiāng 江 *krōŋ ‘river’ vs. PMonic *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 provided) 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:


Body parts:

Non-ST: ‘gall’ dān 胆, ‘forehead’ sāng 额, ‘blood’ huāng 血

Others:


Numerals and grammatical words generally are ST:

‘two’ èr 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

1.3 Old Chinese dialects

Languages which are spread over large areas and mountainous terrain naturally develop regional varieties; stratified societies also exhibit differences in speech along class lines. The OC language of the Shang and Zhou period and subsequent Classical Chinese was a standardized written language without noticeable regional flavors. 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 rimes, the phonetic series and the later Middle Chinese (MC) as reflected in the Qièyun 切韻 dictionary (AD 601) as well as modern dialects.

First, in the Qièyun and modern dialects, as well as in the OC phonetic series there are certain words with the OC analogue rimes *-el such as míng 名 ‘name’ which had in the Shijing the rime *-in. The ST rimes *-en / *-ek 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 / *-ek the OC rime *-en / *-ek: míng 名 ‘name’, míng 嚐 ‘to sound’, míng 命 ‘order’, shēng 生 ‘live’; but xīn 薪 ‘firewood’, jī 喊 *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>--</td>
<td>*bo &gt; bù 不</td>
<td>*bo &gt; bù 不</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>*ma &gt; wú 無</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>*r-mièn</td>
<td>*miào</td>
<td>*men &gt; míng 名</td>
<td>*mín 名</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark</td>
<td>*mièn</td>
<td>*mèn &gt; míng 冥</td>
<td>*mèn &gt; míng 冥</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>(MK mièn)</td>
<td>*mièn</td>
<td>*mèn &gt; míng 冥</td>
<td>*mèn &gt; míng 冥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>*C-sièn</td>
<td>*tsièn</td>
<td>*tshèn &gt; qìng 青</td>
<td>*tshèn &gt; qìng 青</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td></td>
<td>*tshèn &gt; cāng 滄</td>
<td>*tshèn &gt; cāng 滄</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>*mo</td>
<td>*mó &gt; mú 母</td>
<td>*mó &gt; mú 母</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-between</td>
<td>MK dmèi</td>
<td>*mà &gt; méi 媒</td>
<td>*mà &gt; méi 媒</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, OC labial-initial syllables of the type *Pə and *Pə merged into *Pə in the Shijing dialect(s) and the phonetic series, but remained distinct in the Qièyun and modern dialects (Baxter 1992); for example, we have the Mandarin readings mèi 每 ‘each’ vs. mú 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 Zuòzhuan 左傳 we find the interrogative xī 哪 *gē ‘how’ instead of hē 何 *gāi. In some chapters of the Shijing 書經 the words for ‘you’ and ‘your’ are rú 汝 and nài 那 respectively; in others, the word for both ‘you’ and ‘your’ is ér 邝. 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 亡亡 *maŋ? for ‘not have, there is no’; only near the end of the Western Zhou period is it replaced by the familiar wú 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-, sʲ-, and, in the case of *r-, in MC tʰ- (§5.1). However, in a few words such a voiceless continuant has yielded MC x-, 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 OCM *Ih-, *nh-, *rh- for MC tʰ-, sʲ-, etc., but OCM *hn-, *hl-, *hr- when it is the aspiration that survives as MC X-. Of course, voiceless *hl)-, *hm-, and *hw- 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 ji-), 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., cel, 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 輯 [tam] ‘to carry on the shoulder’
- <> AA: Khmu? klam ‘carry on the shoulder’

For more examples and comments, see §8.2.1.

(4) MC initial ɗj- and tj- 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 have been inherited from the hypothetical Sino-Tibetan proto-language when it has cognates among the related Tibeto-Burman languages. (2) It can be a loan from another language, or can have survived from an earlier substrate (Miáo-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 wf will be suggested throughout the introductory sections. Members of a wf, i.e., 'allofams' (Matisoff's term, alias 'cogeners') typically differ in tone, initial voicing (e.g., *kêns 'to see' vs *gêns 'appear'), and / or the Middle Chinese division (dêng 等, i.e., vocalism, e.g., MC kâyvs. kjan; 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 'wf' and 'allofam' are often fuzzy but conventional catch-all categories. For example, it seems obvious that the words jian 监 *krams 'look at' and lân 瞭 *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 zhì 纯 *tokh or *taks, literally 'something that has been woven', is a regular exo-passive derivation from zhi 纯 *tak 'to weave'. We consider both jian and lân, and zhì and zhi to be allofams in their respective word families.

1.4.1 Approaches to wordfamilies and cognates

Investigators have differed significantly over the range of sound alternations within a word family. Karlgren (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., any which is not a guttural or labial. For instance, his wf with items 242-262 (1933: 69) has a root T-K and includes the following words (Karlgren's 'archaic Chinese', i.e., OC; in parentheses OCM):

\[
\begin{align*}
yâng 阳 & \text{*dian} (\text{*lan}) \text{ 'light'} & zhâo 昭 & \text{*tjog} (\text{*tau}) \text{ 'bright'} & zhòu 冏 & \text{*tjog} (\text{*trukh}) \text{ 'day time'} & xîng 星 & \text{*sien} (\text{*sen}) \text{ 'star'}
\end{align*}
\]

In this proposed wf, the OC initials, as understood today (Baxter), are *l-, *t-, *s-; the vowels are *a, *au (OCB *-aw), *e, *u; the finals are *-l, *-k, *-V (vowel). The TB cognate for yâng is *lan (e.g., WB laiB 'be bright'), zhòu is clearly cognate to WT guðus (g-duk-s) 'midday, noon'. These two TB items are certainly not related. Therefore, Karlgren'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. LaPolla (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. Wáng Lì (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 *-aŋ 'bright'). Or note a wf proposed by Pulleyblank (1973: 121) (traditional MC forms in parentheses): rûo 柔 (nžjau) ≈ ruân 柔 (nžjwânb) ≈ nuô 柔 (nžju, nžjwânb, nuânC) ≈ ruô 柔 (nžjak), all meaning 'soft', but he has not included rên 柔 (nžjâmb) 'soft'. Wáng Lì (1982) splits this particular group into one with a tendency toward final velars, and one with final dentals. Thus the set rû 如 (nžjwob) ≈ ruân 柔 (nžjwânb) ≈ nên, nun 娜 (p. 571) is distinct from rûo 柔 (nžjau) ≈ ruô 柔 (nžjak) ≈ rû 柔 (nžjuk) 'meat, flesh' (p. 236). As long as we do not know more about OC morphology, we cannot tell if distinctions in this wf are due to morphological derivation,
dialect interference, or to convergence in which the initial n- would be associated with 'soft', just as words 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 loangraph meanings as semantic extensions" (Qiu Xigui 2000: 287); it has been suggested, for example, that lài 来 'wheat' and lái 来 'to come' are the same word ('wheat' is the cereal that 'came' from abroad), but the two are unrelated. Boodberg (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 乙 'self', bi 鼻 'nose', xī 息 'breathe'.

The traditional source for the interpretation of ancient graphs is Xū Shēn's Shuōwén jièzǐ (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 1166c) explains jiǎo 归 [kau8] 'burn on a pyre of crossed logs' as cognate to jiāo 佼 [kau] 'to cross'. But the definition 'burn on crossed logs' could well have been suggested by the graphic element 'to cross'; therefore the word may have had just the meaning 'to burn' and be related to relevant TB items, but not to 'to cross'. Xū Shēn also was unaware of the earlier forms of graphs as they are known today from the OB inscriptions; he was inadvertently misled by the graphic forms available at his time. Thus he explains the left element in the graph for shè 似 'to shoot' as shēn 身 'body'; the shēn element, however, goes back to the OB image of a bow with an arrow (Qiu Xigui 2000: 55f).

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
Beside 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 jīng 靖 'capital city' also means 'mound, hill', it is likely that qiū 斤 'village, town' is also the same word as the homophone qiū 'mound, hill'. Settlements are often built on higher ground.

Cognates from related TB languages sometimes help identify connections within Chinese. For example, 'naked' luō 裸 *roiʔ, and chéng 捍 *dren are probably cognate to such forms as PTB *groy > WT sgre-ba, and WT sgren-mo 'naked', Lushai tēn̥ 'bare', respectively. As the TB items derived from the same root, Chinese forms may have as well (chéng from PCH *(d)roi-ʔ?).

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
1.4.4 OLD CHINESE AND ETYMOLOGY

culture. A native speaker of Chinese would with little hesitation, and probably correctly,
equate ya 叶 'sprout' with ya 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 under­
standing of the word behind it (see also §1.4.2). Yú 餘 'leftover, rest' is usually thought to
mean originally 'food leftovers' because it is written with the radical shí '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, wéi 魏
(MC jiwi) 'to be' is reconstructed *red by Li Fang Kuei who relates this then to WT red-pa 'to
be', but reconstructed *wjij 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., bái 白 'colloquial' vs. wén 文
'literary' forms, such as Mandarin col. tā 他 'he, she, it' vs. lit. tuō 'other'. These are lexically
two different words 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 mono­
syllabic 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) Tóu 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 /dool/ '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) Chān 產 *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 miǎn 妇
*mran 'give birth', thus forming a well-known ST pair *s- (transitive / causative) ~ *m- (intr.).
But then Khmer has a word /somraal/ (i.e., *s-m-raal) 'to give birth', derived from rāla/rūal/
'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
miǎn. Is the Chinese wf 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 zhur 東 OCM *tui (GSR 575; OCB *tjuj) ‘a bird’ was selected to write ‘to be’ which could have been due to all kinds of mental processes and associations. MC jìwī points to OC *wi ‘to be’; PTB *wāy (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 → jí 疾 *dzīt ‘be sick’ is the same word as jí 疾 *dzīt ‘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 腦 *khōʔ ‘mouth’ is not cognate to PTB *m-ka = WT ㄠ kʰa ‘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 狗 MC dī 麝, OCM *driʔ ‘pheasant’ is the direct and regular cognate of PTB *rik ‘pheasant’, because OC *-ʔ 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 kʰiwen 興 is thus OCM *khwānʔ (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 -jen can just as well derive from OC *-in makes it almost certain that the word was really OCM *khwānʔ.
2
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 rí shì zhī 夕食之 (sun / eat / it), for example, rí ‘sun’ is not the subject but the topic so that the sentence means ‘as for 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 (CAAAL 8, 1978: 17ff; CAAAL 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: jūn ‘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: hàn ‘drought’) means “to treat the object like that noun” (Boltz JAOS 119.1, 1999: 222).

(1) Jin Líng gōng bù jūn 晋靈公不君 (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].
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(2) *dì wéi hàn wǒ* 帝佳壇我 (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 – indir. obj. – direct obj. (ex. 3: *yǔ* ‘to give’); often, the order is subj. – verb – dir. obj. – *yú* for ‘preposition’ + indir. obj. (ex. 4: *wēn* ‘to ask about’).


(4) *wèn Kǒngzǐ yú Zīlù* 問孔子於子路 (ask about / Confucius [dir. obj.] / prepos. / Zilu) ‘he asked Zilu about Confucius’ [Lunyu 7, 19].

Transitive verb (tr.)
— is followed by an obj. (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: *jiàn* ‘see, visit’).

(5) *Mèng-zǐ jiàn Liáng Ñuí wáng* 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) *tò rì jiàn yú wáng* 他日見於王 (other / day / see / prep. / king) ‘Another day, he was (seen) received by the king’ [Meng 2B, 4].

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

(8) *shì zhě jiàn, bù tīng* 侍者諫不聽 (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. *yì* *(?)i* ‘to wear’ (ex. 9) is used as causative in ex. 10:

(9) *yī yī / *(?)i* hū *(gi* 衣衣 (wear / clothes) ‘They wore clothes’ [Yi Zhouzhu 37, 9].

(10) *zài yì zhǐ tì* 載衣之惕 (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: *sǐ* ‘to die’ intr., and *zhǎng* 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 Gabelentz):

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

(12) *sǐ fū rén sū* 死夫人所 ‘to die in the palace of the princess’ [Hanfei 4, 14b].

(13) *rù dà shì* 入大室 ‘enter the main hall’ [frequently found in BI].

When an intrans. verb is followed by a direct obj., the meaning is causative (ex. 15: *zhǎng*) or putative (ex. 17).

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

(15) *zhǎng wǒ yù wǒ* 長我育我 (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: *cháng*), or modifies a noun (*zhǎng* in ex. 14). These often correspond to English adjectives and numerals. When a sv. is followed by an obj., the
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meaning is usually either caus. (ex. 15) or put. (ex. 17 yuan); however, the verb can also behave like a regular intr. or tr. verb: Gabelentz (p. 333) lists verbs that include hòu 後 ‘be after, behind’ > tr.vb. ‘to follow behind’, > caus. (factitive) ‘to place behind’.

(16) dào zǔ ěr cháng 道阻而長 (road / be difficult / part. / be long sv.) ‘the road is difficult and long’ [Shi 129, 1].

(17) bù yuán qiān lǐ ěr lǐ 不遠千里而來 (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) yú wéi xiǎo zǐ 子惟小子 (I / to be / small / child) ‘I am a young person’ [Shu 27, 9].

(19) dì wéi hàn wǒ 帝唯暇我 (god / to be / drought n. / us) ‘God is (the one) who causes us drought’ [OB, Hayashi 1.25.13].

(20) bái mǎ fēi mǎ 白馬非馬 (white / horse / to be not / horse) ‘A white horse is not a horse’ [Gongsun Longzi 2].

Particle (part.)
— ‘not’ (see bù 不 ‘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 ‘be long’ in this sentence:

(1) ... yì cháng wǒ wáng guó ...以長我王國 (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 stative verb class (sv.).
(d) Etymologically, cháng is an endopassive derivation from zhāng 張 ‘to stretch’ (see §4.1.1-2 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 見 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) zhāo mù xiàn 朝暮見 (morning / evening / to appear intr.) ‘(the official) appeared mornings and evenings’ [Mengzi 2B, 6].

In IE languages, where derivation usually effects 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 ‘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 allofams

The morphemic and / or phonemic distinctions within a word can have several types of explanations in ST languages:
2.3 2.3.1

(1) Distinction based on identifiable, meaningful morphemes or morphological processes, e.g., zhi 纯 *tokh < *taks ‘what is woven’ is derived from zhi 纯 *tak ‘to weave’ with a passive-forming suffix *-s (tone C); or WT skor-ba ‘to turn round’ with the transitive s-prefix; or endopassive voicing of the initial in xiàn 现 *gēns ‘to appear’ < jiàn 見 *kêns ‘to see’ (§4.6). Here we may include the fusion of two known words, e.g., fēi 非 *paj ‘it is not’ < pà ‘not’ + wèi 惟 *wi ‘to be’; or WT sbru ] ‘snake’ < sa 肉 ‘flesh’ + PTB *b/mrul (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 zhi 纯 *tek ‘single’rezhi 纯 *te? ‘only’; or WT kha 腥 ‘bitter’ ~ khag ‘difficult’; or ‘hundred’ bǎi 百 *prāk vs. PTB *brya; or the b- in WT bse rhinoceros’.

(3) The cause for the differentiations 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, xiăng 纂 *snaj ‘belt, sash’ < MK: Khmer cnaj ‘rope, belt’ derives from Khmer caaj ‘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 xiăng is not an OC / ST prefix, even though it looks like one.

(4) Distinction due to dialect divergence, including that between colloquial vs. literary styles. Thus (colloquial) Mandarin tā 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; allofamic relationships can be due to any or all the above, plus others, for example (MC after the graph):

qiáng 强 (jian) ‘be strong’
qiăng 强 (jianh) ‘make an effort, compel’
qīng 勁 (qian) ‘strong, powerful’
jīng 勍 (jian) ‘strong’
háng 行 (yan) ‘strong, vigorous’
geăng 棍 (ken) ‘strong’

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 Li). The present work will attempt to bring more precision to the study of etymology by suggesting, when possible, morphological explanations for allofams. 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 (*tu, [*tha?], *sri, *kruk) (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
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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 *śa ‘flesh’, and m- from mi ‘human being’; or note MK: Khmu klnp ‘resin’, where the prefix kl- is short for the word kāl ‘tree’.

TB prefixes tend to fall away in compounds, e.g., WT gsum ‘three’ and běču ‘ten’, but sum-ču ‘thirty’: sīniq ‘heart’, but tīni-q’h ‘heart, spirit’; or Mikir -pijo (*p-ja) ‘bee’, but jō-hōj ‘wasp’ (Grütner 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 *l-ŋa in WT, but *b-ŋa 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-sin ‘liver’: we cannot tell if there ever was a pre-initial in the CH cognate xīn *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 *-s (§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 *-s (OC *-s / *-h) with a past / passive meaning (ex. 2-1; §4.4); the same suffix in 2-5 (there OC *-h, Lushai *-? < -h) with a transitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2-1</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>zhī 纹 *tak 'weave'</td>
<td>zhī 纹 *takh 'what is woven, cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>tʰag &lt; *tak 'weave'</td>
<td>tʰags &lt; *taks pf. 'woven, cloth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2-2</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>zhī 只 *te? 'only'</td>
<td>zhī 隻 *tek 'one, single'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>gčīg 'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>tʰiḥ &lt; TB *te (?) 'single'</td>
<td>tʰu &lt; *tik &lt; TB *tek (dek?) 'one'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4 Morphology

### 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 *s- (§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.
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Suffix -n (1)
marks nouns, either as derivation from another word, or redundantly attached to a noun. E.g., jǐn 津 ‘a ford’ is a noun derived from jì 江 ‘to ford’. The ST root *kwi (> PTB *kwi) ‘dog’ is obviously nominal, yet Chinese adds this nominal -n, thus quǎn 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, quǎn occurs only in CH, i.e., there are no final -n forms in TB. Furthermore, suffix -n in jǐn has been attached to an AA stem (§6.4.3).

Suffix -n (2)
stands for the third person pronoun after certain auxiliary verbs (prepositions), thus yān 燃 ‘at it’ < yú 于 + -n ‘be at’; yú zhǐ于之 ‘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 -η
derives a terminative word from a simplex. This is a ST / PCH morpheme, e.g., wáng 王 *maŋ ‘to lose’ (< ‘get to not have’) < wú 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., xuè 血 *hwít ‘blood’, yuè 月 *ŋot ‘moon’ (§6.2.1).

Suffix -k
forms distributives, a Proto-Chinese innovation: mò 莫 *māk ‘none, no one’ < wú 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 ʂ- < *sr- from a PCH s-prefix or preinitial, it occurs before OC sonorant initials, most typically *ŋ-, *ŋ-, and *r- (as MC ʂ-) (§5.2.1)
(b) MC ʐj- before OC *l-, *j- and *w- (§8.1.2)
(c) MC voiceless consonants from OC voiceless sonorants (see §5.1)

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

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

Feed  sì 食 (zi^C) *s-lǎk ‘to feed’ < caus. of shí 食 (džək) *m-lək ‘to eat’

Prefix s- (2)
forms iteratives (§5.2.3):

Seven qī 七 *tshit < *snhit ‘seven’, lit. ‘two again’
<> PTB *snis ‘seven’ < ST *nis ‘two’
Prefix s- (3)
marks common nouns (§5.2.4):

- **Fire**  火 (huāi < ST *smey, OTib. sme ‘fire’
- **Louse**  虱 (sjet) *srit < ST *srik ‘louse’, PTB *s-rik (*s- is not the ‘animal prefix’ in this word, at least not in OC; see §5.2.4).

MC ｚj- and initial voicelessness often have direct cognates with s-prefix in TB languages. Words with these initials, therefore, include material directly inherited from ST and belong to the oldest morphological layer in CH. However, words with MC initial s- (from earlier s-prefix) hardly ever have TB counterparts. Therefore, the ST *s- was still a productive morpheme in PCH which explains (a) its occurrence in uniquely CH words, and (b) its survival as MC s- because its meaning remained transparent. For example:

- **Lose**  逃 *smaŋ ‘to lose, destroy’ < wáng 亡 *maŋ ‘to lose’

This OC *smaŋ with the survival of initial s- seems to be a more recent, more transparent causative creation than

- **Neglect**  芳  hmaŋ ‘neglect, reject’ < wáng 亡 *maŋ ‘to lose’.

New PCH nouns with the MC s- include

- **Frost**  霜 *srnį ‘hoarfrost’ < liáng 凉 *raŋ ‘cold’.

ST *s- is well attested in WT and other TB languages as a causative, directional or intensive marker (STC 105–108; Sun Hongkai *LTBA 22:1, 1999: 183–199) and has been identified as such in OC (among others Mei 1985: 334–343; 1989; Baxter / Sagart 1998: 53). In WT the s-prefix changes intr. verbs into tr. ones, e.g., ‘gyur-ba ‘change, become’ intr. > sgyur-ba ‘cause to change, transform’ tr. (Beyer 1992: 116). This function includes the formation of verbs from nouns, e.g., JP mjin33 ‘name’ > fo31-mjin31 ‘to name’ (more JP examples in Dai / Wu 1995: 95). Later in PCH and OC, causatives were formed with the exoactive tone C (§4.3), and eventually in OC and later, simply by word order (§2.1.2).

It has been suggested that causativity and intensive / iterative are two aspects of one original morpheme as, for example, in Indo-European languages where both are expressed by the same suffix *-eyo- (W. Lehmann 1993: 168), as in Greek words ending in -ēo like ‘make tremble’ (Palmer 1980: 266), or Vedic Indic patāyati ‘flies about’ vs. pātāyati ‘causes to fly’ (A. MacDonell 1916: 195), with the Skt. iterative / causative morpheme -ya-. However, for practical purposes, the two functions are the two distinct in CH.

Prefix *m-

is a ST morpheme which tends to mark introvert / intr. verbs, which contrast with ST *s- for causative / extrovert verbs (Matisoff *LTBA 15:1, 1992). It survives in the rare initial MC ｚj- (LH ｚ-) from earlier *m-1-. This m-prefix, apparently already unproductive in PCH, is very old because in OC we usually observe direct TB cognates with this morpheme, even in contrasting pairs (see above; §2.3.2, Table 2-4; §8.1.4).

2.4.4 Infixation

OC and ST had no infixation. An exception may be OC medial *r which derives causative verbs (§7.5), e.g.,  chù 頭 [tʰut] *rut ‘to expel’ <  chù 出 [tsʰut] ‘to come out’ . It is not certain whether this *r was an infix 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  chù was prob.
OCM *k-hlut, it is difficult to imagine what a cluster with *r might have sounded like.

2.5 Parallel roots and stems

A difficulty in TB and ST historical linguistics and reconstruction is the frequent existence 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 wf. This is also the case in other language families in the area, including MK about 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 derivative in different languages. This implies a marked tendency to semantic shift in phonaesthetic series, a tendency which would itself help to explain the retention of variants as distinct lexemes in individual languages."

Pending further insights, we will assume parallel roots and stems for ST (Shorto’s variants and derivatives) and individual branches and languages to account for the occurrence of not quite homophonous stems which are distributed rather erratically over CH and TB languages (Matisoff 1978, esp. p. 21). Since CH has often inherited these parallels from the ST parent language, their etymology cannot be uncovered within OC. As in MK, parallel stems often differ in vowels (a ~ e/i), in the presence or absence of medial *r, or both. Examples include (also in §11.1.2–3; throughout Matisoff 1978):

| ST *sriŋ ‘live’ (→ shēng2 生) | ~ ST *sin ‘alive, green’ (→ qīng1 青) |
|~ ST *srāŋ ‘live’ (WB hraŋ) | ~ ST *saŋ ‘alive, green’ (→ cāng1 蒼) |
| ST *saŋ ‘clear’ (WT saŋ) | ~ ST *seŋ ‘clear’ (→ qīng2 清) |
| OC ān, 安*?ān ‘calm’ | ~ OC yān, 宴燕 *tēns ‘be at ease’ |
| ST *(r)wa ‘rain’ (→ yǔ1 雨) | ~ ST *(r)we ‘rain’ (→ yǔn, 隕殒賁) |
| ~ OC yān, 宴燕 *tēns ‘be at ease’ | ~ OC yān, 宴燕 *tēns ‘be at ease’ |
| ST *ka ‘solid’ (→ gū1 固) | ~ ST *kar ‘solid’ (→ gū2 固) |
| ST *(r)wa ‘rain’ (→ yǔ1 雨) | ~ WT tʰan ‘id.’ |
| ~ ST *(r)we ‘rain’ (→ yǔn, 隕殒賁) | ~ WT tʰan ‘id.’ |
| WB ~ kruik ‘meet with’ | ~ WT kʰug-pa ~ kʰugs-pa ‘to find, get’ |
| JP kro?55 < krok55 ‘to hatch’ | ~ kòu 殷 *khōkh ‘chick’ (→ gū1 殷) |
| OC chu4 許 *hruk, *hruk ‘nourish’ | ~ jǔ4 餓 *kuk ‘nourish’ |
| OC chu4 許 *k-hla? ‘dwell’ | ~ jǔ2 居 *kah ‘id.’ |
| ST *(j)am ‘foliage, generation’ (→ yè4 葉) | ~ WT rabs ‘lineage’ |
| ST *(j)am ‘foliage, generation’ (→ yè4 葉) | ~ ST *wam ‘lineage’ |
| ST *(j)am ‘foliage, generation’ (→ yè4 葉) | ~ ST *wam ‘lineage’ |

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 Ur-ST complex sound clusters might have been responsible, thus ST *sriŋ vs. *k-sriŋ ? > *srīng vs. *k-sin; or ST *lwa? > *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 → chût, 触 for additional illustration and considerations). We will not complicate the picture with too many AA data, like Khmer Ibook! ‘swelling mass’, pora Ibaorl ‘swell up, rise, bulge’, Ipurl ‘to swell up, overflow’, /-pul/ ‘to swell’, /-puur/ ‘mass, heap, pile’, /-puuk/ ‘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, vowel o or u, without or with final nasal or *-r): *bo, *bu, *bur, *bun (‘Swell’ Table 2-6), poj, pug, pom, pum (‘Swell’ Table 2-7). (This list is not exhaustive.) Each of the eight stems (four in each table) means, in at least one language, ‘to swell, swollen’, or a transparent semantic derivative of ‘swell’ (‘bubble’, ‘thigh’). The overall stem / meaning distribution shows, for example, that JP bum31 ‘hill’, JP bum55 ‘swell’, and CH pêng 芒, *bôm ‘luxuriant’ belong to the same stem and are genetically related in spite of their rather different meanings, whereas JP pbum31 ‘lie down’ is outside the semantic range and unrelated. Conversely, CH fû 閃 ‘big hill’ probably is not cognate JP bum ‘hill’, etc. across the table in another column. Looking at this distribution from another angle: for ‘hill’ CH used the stems *poj and *bu, JP *pum; ‘protrude’: JP *poj, Lushai and WB *po, WT and WB *bur ~ *pru; ‘assemble, amass’: JP *poj, Lushai *pu, WB *pum, OCM *bo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2-6</th>
<th>*bo</th>
<th>*bu</th>
<th>*bur or *bru</th>
<th>*bun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>swell</td>
<td>WT 'bo-ba 'to swell, sprout'</td>
<td>Lush. pukL 'swollen'</td>
<td>WT 'bur-ba 'prominent, bud, unfold'</td>
<td>fèn 填 *bans 'swell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WB phoB 'swollen'</td>
<td>Chep. pyur- 'bulge, swell'</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lushai ti1-puunH 'increase' (water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WB phu B 'to swell' 'increase' (water)</td>
<td></td>
<td>AA-Khm bura / puun/ 'to amass, accumulate, heap'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WB phruiB 'fat, swell' AA-Khm bura</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ipurl puunl 'to amass, middle' 'swell up'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protrude, prominent</td>
<td>Lushai po5l 'protrude'</td>
<td>WT 'bur-ba 'rise, be prominent, bud, unfold'</td>
<td></td>
<td>fèn 費 *bôn 'well-set' (fruit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WB phûc 'protuberance'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloom, bud</td>
<td>WT 'bo-ba 'to swell, sprout'</td>
<td>WT 'bu-ba, 'bus 'open' (flower)</td>
<td>WT 'bur-ba 'rise, be prominent, bud, unfold'</td>
<td>fèn 填 *bôn 'big' (head), horned'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WB a-pâB 'bud, swell...'</td>
<td>JP pu55 'to bloom, bud'</td>
<td></td>
<td>fèn 費 *bôn 'mound, big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WT 'bu-ba, 'bus 'open' (flower)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>JP bo33 'head'</td>
<td>WT dbu 'head'</td>
<td></td>
<td>fèn 填 *bôn 'big' (head), horned'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill, mountain</td>
<td>WT spo 'summit'</td>
<td>fû 閃 *bô 'big, hill'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WT 'bog 'small hillock'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assemble, plenty</td>
<td>pû 㷗 *bô 'assemble, all'</td>
<td>fû 閃 *bu 'big'</td>
<td></td>
<td>fèn 填 *bôn 'big, mound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WB poB 'plentiful, numerous'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big / stout</td>
<td>pêi 壺 *phê 'large'</td>
<td>fû 閃 *bu 'big'</td>
<td>? WB p'ruib 'fat, swell up'</td>
<td>fèn 填 *bôn 'big, mound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-7</td>
<td>*pouŋ</td>
<td>*punŋ</td>
<td>*pom</td>
<td>*pum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swell</td>
<td>Lush. pɔŋR 'swollen'</td>
<td>NNaga *punŋ 'swelling'</td>
<td>Lushai puamH 'to swell'</td>
<td>JP bum^55 'swell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WT 'pʰoŋg 'buttocks'</td>
<td>&gt; breast, flower'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WB pʰonŋ 'bubble'</td>
<td>Lushai puŋH 'increase, assemble'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AA-Khmer puña /pʊŋ/ 'bulge, swell'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloom, bud</td>
<td>WT 'boŋgs-ba 'roundness'</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lushai puŋH 'to swell'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luxuriant, abundant</td>
<td>fēng 藻 *pʰonŋ 'densely growing'</td>
<td>fēng 森 *pʰunŋ 'abundant'</td>
<td>fān 蕁 'ban luxuriant'</td>
<td>pěng 仮 'bām luxuriant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bēng 植 *pəŋ 'luxuriant'</td>
<td>WB pruiŋH 'full, abundant'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big II numerous</td>
<td>fēng 駿 *boŋ 'great'</td>
<td></td>
<td>WT 'bum 100,000'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heap, amass, assemble</td>
<td>JP pʰonŋ^31 'amass'</td>
<td>JP pʰunŋ^33 'crowd, herd'</td>
<td>LB *bum1 'to divide, pile, heap'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WT boŋ 'volume, bulk'</td>
<td>WT pʰunŋ-po 'heap'</td>
<td>WB pum 'heap up, amass'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lushai puŋH 'heap, mound'</td>
<td>Chep. bumh- 'double up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protrude II fat, stout</td>
<td>JP boŋ^33 'protrude'</td>
<td>WT sbom-pa 'stout'</td>
<td>JP pʰum^33 'fat, big'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>JP bum^31 'hill' Chep. bum 'id.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill, mountain</td>
<td>fēng 封 *pouŋ 'mound'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 n-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:

**Year**

rēn 稲 (ńʒjom^B^) *nəm? 'year'

<- MK: PMonic *cnaam 'year', Khmer cnam, PVM *c-n-əm 'year', PNBharianic hanām, etc. The AA word is probably derived from the root 'to (trans-) plant'.

**Peg**

ruì 綡 (ńʒjwāi^C^) *nəts 'peg, pin, tenon'

<- MK: Khmer tnota/tnaoat/ 'impaling pole, skewer, spit' < tọta /daaat/ 'to impale, run into...’
Familiarity

ni 昵 (ŋjet) *nrit (?) or C-nit (?) ‘familiarity’, (a ruler’s) ‘favorite’, ‘lady’s clothes closest to the body’ 相

- MK: Khmer jāmniita /cumnit/ (i.e., etymologically j-mn-it) ‘nearness, closeness, proximity, familiarity with, intimacy’ < jīta /cit/ ‘to be near to, to be close’ -> ji, 即 (MC?) *tsit ‘to approach’

Belt

xiāng 釧 (sjan) *snaŋ ‘belt, sash, horse’s belly-band’

- MK: Khmer campana /camnaŋ/ (etymologically c-mn-aaŋ) ‘a tie, band, strap, bond’ < caña /caoaŋ/ (OKhmer /caoaŋ/) ‘to tie, knot, secure, attach by tying or knotting’

Wedge

xiè 粅 (siet) *sēt (from *snet?) ‘wedge, piece of wood between the teeth of a corpse’

- MK: Khmer snaita /sniita/ ‘peg, pin, ... wedge’ < siata /siot/ ‘to stick into, insert, stop or block up, plug’. The choice of the OC phonetic is not clear, perhaps mental association with niè 閒 ‘gnaw’.

Oar, rudder

ráo 棹 (ńžjāu) [ńau] *n(i)au ‘oar’ [Chuci]

- MK: Khmer thnaol ‘punting pole’ < daol ‘to punt’

A MK agentive m-infix survives in these OC words:

Male animal

mū 牝 *mū? (< *C-mū??) ‘male’ (animal: steer, etc.)

- MK: OKhmer jmol /cmọol/ ‘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).

Go-between

méi 媧 (muāi) *mō ‘marriage go-between, match-maker’

- Khmer dhmāya /tmīaŋj/ ‘agent, representative’ > ‘marriage go-between’ from a root ‘to support, represent’

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 will serve: derivations from the AA root that occurs in Khmer as *dgj ‘carry, bear’ (Khmer -daŋ often corresponds to OC *g). While the morphological and semantic connections between the various forms are recoverable in Khmer, none has an internal OC etymological explanation; they are all isolates. Hence AA seems to be the source, OC the recipient:

*da, *ta

OKhmer -dai ~ -dāya /-daj ~ -daaj/ ‘to bear, support’ > OKhmer dnāy /dnaaj/ ‘retainer, king’s servant’ (-> Tai thanaaj ‘attorney, representative’) -> OC dāi 戴 (tāi) *tāh ‘to carry on the head, bear, support’

*d-m-ə

Khmer with agentive m-infix: dhmāya /tmīaŋj/ ‘agent, representative’ > ‘marriage go-between’ -> méi 媧 (muāi) *mō ‘marriage go-between, match-maker’ 媧, (divine match-maker:) ‘god of fecundity’ 襄. OC reinterpreted the *m- as the root initial, as did Khmer in the next word:

*g/k-mə

Khmer ghmāya /kmīaŋj/ ‘marriage broker’, by alteration of the (root-) initial from /tmīaŋj/ above
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-> gāo-méi 高湄 *kâu-mâ, jiāo-méi 郊湄 [kau-mə] (ceremony for the divine match-maker:) ‘a fecundity rite’

*p-do OKhmer /pəj/ ‘burden’ > ‘pregnancy’
-> pěi 胚 (pʰuʔi) *phə ‘one month pregnant’

Morpheme substitution (or morpheme-calquing) seems to have taken place in one word where a MK causative p-prefix has been replaced by its ST counterpart *s-:

shī 使 (ši²) [sɔ?] *srɔ? ‘to send, employ, cause’ < *s+rgb? (ST s-causative)
= AA: OKhmer pre /pro/ ‘to send’ (on an errand or commission), ‘to order, assign, appoint, delegate, use, employ’ < *p + rgb (Khmer p-causative).

Calquing presupposes a familiarity with the donor language and its grammar; otherwise it is not possible to recognize and replace individual morphemes (H. H. Hock 1986: 399f). This implies bilingualism in prehistoric times in parts of the Yellow River basin, the cultural and political hub of the prehistoric Xià dynasty and its successor, the Shāng.

2.7 Expressives, reduplication

Expressives “are sentence adverbials 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 2e below).

Expressives are frequently encountered in the Early OC text Shìjīng 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: 64ff):
(a) complete reduplication as in guān-guān 關關 OCM *krón-krón ‘cry of the ospreys’;
(b) partial reduplication involving the finals only (diéyùn 疊韻, riming), e.g., yāo-tiāo 突窈 [yeu²-deu²] *tǐuʔ-liūʔ ‘elegant, beautiful’; this example belongs to a specialized version of this type (next item c):
(c) Repetition of the rime with initial *r- > MC l- (Sagart 1999: 111–120 ‘infix’), or *l- > MC ji- or d-, e.g., Mand. zhāng-làng 蟑螂 ‘cockroach’,
kān-tān 坎窪 [kʰəm²-dəm²] *khəmʔ-ləmʔ? ‘pit’,
hàn-dān 菩聶 [gəm²-dəm²] *gəmʔ-ləmʔ? ‘kind of waterlily’;
(d) partial reduplication, involving only the initial (shuāngshēng 雙聲, alliteration), e.g., cēncī 参差 [tsʰəm-tʂʰə] *tʃərm-tʃərbai ‘uneven, irregular’;
(e) partial reduplication involving only the vowels as in a chiming expression; the alternations are typically between *e / o or *i / *u, e.g., zhānzhùnán 峯轉 *trenʔ-tronʔ ‘toss and turn’, or xīshuài 蟋蟀 *srit-srut ‘cricket’.

Type (c) is also common in Tai; Li Fang Kuei (1977: 93) quotes Siamese ma-lai⁴² ‘damage, destroy’; because this word is probably borrowed from a Chinese form (note → huī, 剞頭 *hmai ‘destroy’) the /l/ 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 l-. Siamese words like meen ~ ma-lēn⁴² ‘insect’, and met ~ let ~ ma-lēt⁴² ‘grain’ are ambiguous because the first syllable is also an animal / plant prefix. Aslian (AA)
languages also have an I-infix for lower creatures. This shows that such forms do not always derive from earlier consonant clusters by ‘dimidiation’, but reflect bisyllabic forms.

Sagart (1999: 118ff) has concluded that in some Min and Jin dialects, bisyllabic reduplicative forms with the meanings intensive / durative / distributive are formed with the second syllable starting with /l/, similar to the Tai forms, as in Fuzhou tsīng to ‘stare’ > tsī1.ling55 ‘stare fixedly’. This dialectal /l/ may be the continuation of an earlier OC *r-infix (div. II) (Sagart ibid.); note the OC word for ‘to stare’: chēng 頃 MC tʰajŋ < *thran. This implies that in expressive words, the OC cluster with *r > div. II either was, or is descended from, a bisyllabic form.

2.8 Non-morphological word formation

2.8.1 Re-analysis

Sinotic 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 jit⁴⁴-t⁴⁶tu⁴⁵⁵/熟頭 ‘sun’ is re-etymologized as ‘the hot one’ < MC hú chú 熟 ‘hot’ instead of MC hú chú 熟 ‘sun’;
- Min, e.g., Xiàmén t⁴³sil ‘earth’ = MC duo⁴⁵ ‘plaster, mud’ is re-etymologizing of the analogue of Mand. tū 旮 = MC t⁴uo⁵¹ ‘earth’;
- gūshī 故事 ‘story’ has in southern dialects been re-analyzed as the Mand. equivalent of gūshī 古事 ‘old affair’, e.g., M-Fuzhou ku³¹/⁴⁴-lōy²⁴⁴;
- qīān 鉛 ‘lead’ n. < kʰ for MC jiwān has been re-etymologized in most Mand. and Wú dialects as connected with ‘hard, strong’ qīān 鉛 = MC kʰān;
- qīānbǐ 鉛鉛 ‘pencil’ is called in some dialects, such as Wūhàn and Jiān’ōu, the Mand. equivalent of yángbǐ 洋筆 lit. ‘western / foreign pen’, which may perhaps be an apt re-etymologizing of the original MC jiwān ‘lead’ (as in K-Méixiān iàn²²-pit¹¹);
- jīng 鏡 MC jīnŋ ‘mirror’ (< ‘the bright one’) is perhaps a late OC derivation from liáng 亮 MC liǎng ‘light’ n., re-etymologization of the earlier jiàn 鏡 MC kam⁵⁵ ‘mirror’;
- niāo 鸥 ‘bird’ < MC tīu¹: the initial may have been changed to /n/ because of Kam-Tai substrate forms for ‘bird’ like nok⁵²S. In fact, niāo agrees with regular correspondence patterns in Kam-Tai.

An example from OC / PCH is the following:

| Thumb | mú 拇 [moB] *mōʔ ‘thumb, big toe’ |
|<|>| PL *C-ma³ ‘thumb’ |

The OC counterpart to PTB *a should be *a or *o; the CH cognate should have been měi [maB] *mēʔ. Due to paronomastic attraction to mů ‘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: 200ff). Examples of morphological re-analysis
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 > CVe). Benedict (LTBA 16:2, 1993: 121) calls these ‘split cognates’. This is the result of a sesquisyllabic form (Matisoff’s term) with a vowel between prefix and initial consonant which subsequently became the main vowel with loss of the now final vowel (CCV == CVCV > CVe).

Five
PTB *b-ta? ‘five’ (variant of *l-ta) > 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^ui^B vs. Lushai ruk (or variant of r^ok ‘)

Sell
PTB *r-ŋa ‘to sell’ vs. WB ron^B ‘to sell’

Control
ST *m-ŋa ‘to drive, control’, WT mŋa-‘ba ‘might, dominion’, yu 御 *ŋah ‘drive a chariot, direct’ vs. WB mōŋ^B ‘threaten, drive away’ ≠ a-mōŋ^B ‘driving’

Smell
ST *m-nam ?, PTB *m-nam ‘to smell’, WT mnam-pa ‘smell of’ vs. wēn 聞 *mang ‘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 etyma 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):
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sē 꾳 (ṣik) [ṣik, S ṣok] *srōk (< sar-k)

1. ‘color, color of face, appearance, countenance’ < ST: Lushai saarH < saar
   ‘prismatic colors’ = saarI / saarH ‘healthy looking, rosy, ruddy’
2. ‘good looks / charms of women, sexual pleasures’
   < AA: Khmer /srēék/ ‘thirst or lust after’ < /ēék/ ‘enjoy oneself’

Convergence is often the result of a semantic shift from one word to another. E.g., rēn 緊 [nimB] *nām? ‘year’ < AA ‘year’ (no implication of ‘harvest’) has eventually also acquired the meaning ‘harvest’ under the influence of the nearly homophonous niān 年 [nen] *nēn ‘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, slither, 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 final *-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 (Shorto 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 *war, *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 breathiness tends to have an aspirated initial consonant, as do notions of ‘hollow, empty’ (§5.8.5 to §5.8.6). Guttural sounds as in ‘mute, strangle’ and the like tend to start with glottal stop *ʔ- (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 onomatopoetic: ‘chicken’ *ki (PKra) ~ ji 雞 *kē (OCM) ~ *rka (PVM); ‘chicken’ in some TB languages, e.g., Lushai ?aar; or ‘crow’ wū-ya 烏鴉 *la; māo 猫 ‘cat’ is universal; niū 牛 *n̥wə ‘cow’; fēi 鳳 < 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 Engl. the saying went like this: ‘. . .’, or he went on and on. In TB languages: WT byed-pa, byas ‘to make, fabricate, do’ > Ḗes byas-pa ‘thus said, so
called’ (i.e., marks direct discourse); WT ｍｃｂｉ-ｂａ ‘to come, go’ > ‘to say’ (marks direct discourse); Lushai ｔｉ＜／ｔｉ＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜＜．
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 (qūshēng 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 glottolized 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 qūshēng, which together with initial voicing form a derivational system which marks direction and diathesis (§4). The contrast between allofams 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 exopassive (§4.4) (LHan after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone A</th>
<th>Tone B</th>
<th>Tone C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhī 之 tā, *tā ‘to go, proceed’</td>
<td>zhǐ 止 tāB, *tā? ‘foot’ (&lt; ‘that which is doing the going’)</td>
<td>zhī 志 tāC, *tāh ‘goal, purpose’ (&lt; ‘what is being proceeded to’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1 Middle Chinese tone A (píngshēng 平聲)

Tone A (‘even’ or ‘level’ tone) reflects OC open syllables or ones with a nasal coda; they are assumed to be the basic unmarked type and usually go back to equivalent ST forms, e.g., qiū 丘 [kʰu̯n²] *khwo ‘village’ ≠ Lushai kʰuaH < kʰua. However, individual languages, including CH, frequently have attached final consonants to open ST stems, e.g., bāi 百 [pak] *prāk ‘hundred’ vs. WT brgya, WB  LANG-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 [wo³] ‘rain’ > yú 雨 [wo¹] ‘sacrifice with prayer for rain’

‘Rain’ yǔ is a widely attested ST word; it can be set up as ST *wa? (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.
Additional tone A derivations include the following items (LH forms after the character):

- **Slave**: 
  - $xì$ 織 $ge^C$ ‘to be bound’
  - $xì$ 奴 $ge$ ‘slave, captive’

- **Wine-master**: 
  - $jiǔ$ 酒 $tsiu^B$ ‘wine’
  - $qiū$ 酉 $dziu$ ‘wine-master’

- **Writing slip**: 
  - $biān$ 编 $pian^B$ ‘narrow’
  - $piān$ 簿 $p^hian$ ‘writing slip’

- **Tally**: 
  - $fù$ 附 $buo^C$ ‘to adjoin’
  - $fù$ 符 $buo$ ‘a tally’

- **Side by side**: 
  - $bīng$ 並 $ben^B$ ‘side by side’
  - $piān$ 簿 $ben$ ‘two (horses) side by side’

- **Corpse**: 
  - $shī$ 矢 $ši^B$ ‘to display’
  - $shī$ 戶 $ši$ ‘corpse, personator of a dead’

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**: 

*Hé* is a ST etymon: WT *rag* ‘fruit stone, bead’, Mikir *rak* ‘fruit stone’; therefore *hé* was the original form from which *hái* was derived.

### 3.2  Middle Chinese tone B (*shāngshēng* 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 Mǐn-Sōngyáng *pup*? (‘measure for books’ *bēn* 本; Branner 2000: 344). Glottal stop after nasal codas is also shown by variants like *xī* 洗 [sei^B] ~ [sen^B] ‘to wash’, as well as Shǐjīng rimes such as *-an? / *-a?* (Shī 301), *-ŋ? / *-u?* (Shī 264,7); some rimes confirm that the phoneme in question was a stop consonant: *-ap / *-am?* (Shī 265,3) and *-ct / *-en?* (Shī 265,5). The glottal feature can, however, appear elsewhere, e.g., in the middle of a syllable (Sagart 1999: 132, n. 1: Xiàoyī dialect in Shànxi).

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 Chepang words, which are also reconstructible with a final glottal stop (Chepang still has final -?). The first several items in the list below are taken from Ostapirat (*LTBA* 21:1, 1998: 238f) with WB and LHan 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; LHan forms follow the graph:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tiddim</th>
<th>Lushai</th>
<th>Chepang</th>
<th>LHan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>vaː¹</td>
<td>va^h</td>
<td>waʔ</td>
<td>yù 羽 wa^B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>taː¹</td>
<td>fa^h &lt; faaʔ</td>
<td>coʔ</td>
<td>zǐ 子 tsia^B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>tuːi¹</td>
<td>tui^R</td>
<td>tiʔ</td>
<td>tí 涕 tʰei^B/C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A few correspondences where CH has tone A stand out as exceptions. They include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tiddim</th>
<th>Lushai</th>
<th>Chepang</th>
<th>LHan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>ŋaːl 4</td>
<td>ŋaːl 4</td>
<td>ŋaːl 4</td>
<td>yú \鱼 \ŋa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CH tone B < *?- also corresponds to *?- in some AA words, which could be more than coincidence (LHan in square brackets or after the graph):

- Tiger: hù 虎 [hoB] *hlâʔ ‘tiger’ <- PMK *klaʔ
- Drum: gū 鼓 [koB] *klâʔ ‘drum’ <-> PWa *kloʔ ‘bronze-drum’
- Carry on the back: fù 負 [buB] *boʔ ‘id.’ <-> PMK *b6aʔ, Khmu boʔ, PWa *boʔ
- Eat: jū 咀 [dziaB] *dzəʔ ‘chew’ <-> PMK *cyaʔ ‘eat’ (also in TB)

### 3.2.2 Tone B for Tibeto-Burman final *-k

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>Gloss</th>
<th>Tiddim</th>
<th>Lushai</th>
<th>Chepang</th>
<th>LHan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drip, leak: WB cak WT 'dzag</td>
<td>jù 涓 dziaB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak: WB ṣnak ‘bird’ WT ʂŋag</td>
<td>yǔ 語njəB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War: WB -mak WT ɲmag</td>
<td>wū 武 muoB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under: WB ok WT 'og</td>
<td>hou 後 goB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turbid: WB nok</td>
<td>nǎo 懐 nauB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brain: WB ṣnoŋ</td>
<td>nǎo 腦 nauB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm: WB uik</td>
<td>yù 嬰 ʔoB/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pheasant: WB rac &lt; *rik WT sreg-pa</td>
<td>zhi 雉 ʔiB &lt; *driʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Baxter (1992: 182) suggests that *?- could have been added to stop finals (e.g., *-k + *?- > *?-), but the interchange *-k ~ *?- may also have other causes; therefore we hesitate to set up clusters like *-k?

The same correspondences are encountered in Tai and AA loans (one way or the other; LH after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tiddim</th>
<th>Lushai</th>
<th>Chepang</th>
<th>LHan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cover: Siam. pok^[D1S] &lt; *p- ‘to cover, book cover’</td>
<td>bâo 保 [pouB] *pûʔ ‘preserve, protect’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall down: Siam. tok^[D1S] &lt; *t- ‘fall down’</td>
<td>dāo 倒 [touB] *tâuʔ ‘turn over, fall’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortar: Siam. k^[t]rok^[D2S] ‘mortar’</td>
<td>jīu  ilma [guB] *guʔ ‘mortar’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pig
PMonic *cliik 'pig'
shi 舾 [seB] *he? ? ‘pig’

Down, below
Khmer gra'ka/grak/ ‘to be low’
xia 下 [gaB] *grā? ‘down, below’

Drip
Khmer sra'ka/srak/ ‘drip’
xu 涉 [sa(B)] *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’: bā 筆 [pa] < *pra ? ≠ PTB *pak, but see §6.9.

3.2.3 ST *-? in closed syllables
TB final *-? and *-s 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:1 &lt; -?</td>
<td>ku?</td>
<td>kù 柯 kʰoC &lt; *khôh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin</td>
<td>pa:1 &lt; -?</td>
<td>be?</td>
<td>bó 瀠 bak &lt; *bâk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give</td>
<td>boy?</td>
<td>bi 界 pis &lt; *pis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go around</td>
<td>Lush. *veel?</td>
<td></td>
<td>weí 韦 wuiA</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 *rnil | shên 短 | šinB

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 PTB final *-N?. CH, which has tone A, has
eliminated the suspected ST final glottal stop, as expected (KC = Kuki-Chin; Chep. = Chepang;
LHan). But it remains to be seen if there is really a system (Matsoff n. 12 in Ostapirat LTBA

Tree        WB sac     | KC *siŋ? | Chep. siŋ? | xīn 新 sinA
Dream       WB mak     | KC *maŋ? | Chep. maŋ? | mèng 夢 munA/C
New         WB sac     |           |            | xīn 新 sinA
Year        WB hncac  |           | nián 年 nenA
Heart       WB hncac  |           | ? rén 仁 ŋIN
Strife      WB cac    |           | zhèng 惇 tsêŋA

3.2.4 Tone B for foreign final -ŋ
In a few common words, Chinese has tone B for TB final *-ŋ. (For the reverse phenomenon,
see §6.5.2.) This probably is related to the little understood incompatibility of tone B with OC
finals *-ŋ and *-ŋ (i.e., OCM *-ŋ is rare, has either dropped the final nasal or shifted to
final -nB or -nB; *-ŋ does not occur at all; tone B occurs freely in rime *-oŋ). Generally,
the final consonants preempted 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):
Grammatical words often develop irregularly in individual languages; ‘you’ is typical: Tiddim Chin and OC agree in a final *-7, 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  pū 浦 LH [pʰu] *phâ? ‘river bank’  
        <> PKS *pwaŋ ‘bank, shore’

Mend  bū 补 [pə?] *pâ? ‘to mend, repair, assist’  
        <> S. pʊŋC1 < *p- ‘to protect, cover up’

Drum  gū 敲 [kə?] *kâ? < *klaʔ ‘drum’ <> PTai *klɔŋA1 ‘drum’

Stomach  dū 肚 [də?] *dâʔ ‘stomach’  
        <> PT *dʊŋC ‘stomach’; PKS (E,Y) *lonj ‘a belly’

Handful  bā 把 [pə?] *prâʔ ‘a handful’  
        <> PMY *phwaŋB ‘a handful’

Lady  fū 婦 [bə?] *bəʔ ‘lady, daughter-in-law’  
        <> PMY *bwaŋ < *Nbw ‘daughter-in-law’

One exceptional set has MC tone A, not B:

Wife and children  nú 孫 [nɔ] *nâ ‘wife and children’  
        <> Tai: S. nʊŋC2 < *n- ‘younger sibling’, PKS *nɔŋC ‘id.’, but note also Tai:  
        S. naaC2 < *n- ‘mother’s younger sibling’

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: 47f; Zhengzhang Shangfang 1995: 280, in Sagart 1999: 134). It may have spread from endoactive derivatives like hàn 頰 ‘jaw’, zhī 指 ‘finger’, and zhǐ 止 ‘foot’ (§4.5.1) to other body parts. Thus, shǒu 首 ‘head’, shòu 手 ‘hand’, chǐ 齦 ‘tooth’, shēn 燥 ‘gums’, etc., may have been felt to be also ‘things that do’ something.

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

3.3.2 Tone B (2): coverbs and particles
Tone B derives some coverbs from other verbs:

Not have  mǐ 轟 [máiB] *mai7 ‘not have, there is no’
< wú 無 [moB] *ma ‘not, no’

Not have  wáng 翰 [muonB] *man ‘there is no, not have’
< wáng 死 [muon] *man ‘disappear’

Able  kē 可 [kôB] *kái ‘to bear, can, be able’
< ? hé 何 [goiB] *gái ‘to carry’ (here tone B may belong to the stem)

Other coverbs in tone B are gān 擱 ‘dare’ (<> PTB *hwam), kēn 稱 ‘approve’, yī 以 ‘take, with’, perhaps also wáng 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 為 ‘to do’, wéi 惟 ‘to be’, yú 於 ‘be in, at’.

Tone B in final particles may be prosodic: yě 也 sentence final particle serving as copula, yī 亦 final particle, zhē 著 a phrase final particle.

3.3.3 Tone B (3): independent pronouns
Graham (1973) has sorted the many OC pronouns into ‘neutral’, ‘non-adjunctive’, ‘adjunctive-possessive’ and ‘demonstrative’, which we will call here ‘independent’ forms (Dobson LAC: 138: ‘pregnant’), ‘dependent’ (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>ēr 尔 [neB] ‘you’</td>
<td>ēr 而 [ne] ‘you, your’</td>
<td>ńão 你 ‘your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shì 是 [dzeB] ‘this’</td>
<td>fú 夫 [bua] ‘that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bǐ 彼 [piaiB] ‘that’</td>
<td>fú 夫 [bua] ‘that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cǐ 此 [tsheB] ‘this’</td>
<td>fú 夫 [bua] ‘that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(qù 羣 he, she — late word)</td>
<td>qù 其 [gor] ‘his, her’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our terminology is borrowed from Pacific languages (AN) such as Lenak (Lynch 1998: 103f) 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., wū 吾 ‘I, my’ belongs to a following predicate as subject, or to a noun as a possessive. Wū cannot stand alone or at the end of a sentence, hence wǒ has to take over as object pronoun.

Independent forms are marked with tone B (*-ʔ), 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. Matisoff (1995: 74) suggests that the final *-i is a palatal suffix. In Tai languages interrogative / indefinite pronouns end in -ay (or -ai) (Gedney 1976: 72); there may be a connection with OC forms in *-i.

The marked independent forms in *-i / *-ʔ are the ones that have survived in modern dialects (wŏ, rū, ěr, bī, cī, shī, hē, shēi).

The other forms, and also the interrogatives, 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 / dependent distinction, a few pronouns have a proclitic possessive form in tone A with the vowel a. In the words rū ‘your’ and shū ‘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>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shuí 誰 [džu] *dui ‘who’</td>
<td>(cf. chóu 筠 [du] ‘who’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demonstratives behave largely as independent pronouns: shí 時 [dža] ‘this’ (independent); zhī 之 [tsə] ‘obj. pr.: him, her...’ (should be independent); zhī 之 [tsə] ‘possessive particle’: zī 沾 [tsə] ‘this’; in early literature also qí [ɡi] ‘he, she, it’. Since the independents shī, cī, and bī occur later, they may be derivations from shí, zī, and fū 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 texts 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 wŏ, rū, and ěr appear in the earliest texts and are of ST descent. Therefore the final *-i in wŏ, and *-ʔ in rū and nāi 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 *-ʔ / *-i / *-ʔ 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 (qùshēng 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 *-ts, 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 *-ʔ after the former and *-s after the latter. These two are allophones:

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3.5 TONES

-ah -akh -anh -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 *dås (OCB *dats).

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

bù 布 PCH *paa + s > *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 味味 LH *mats <> PMonic *?map ‘good tasting’
- Lungs 肺肺 [puas] *pats <> TB-PL *(T)paL.
- Dark 暗昧 [måts] *måts ‘dusk, be dark, blindly’ <> PKS *muut ‘blind’
- To angle 钓釣 [teuC] *tiáukh ‘to angle, fish’ <> Tai: S. tokD ‘to angle’

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

To see 見见 [kenC] ‘to see, visit’ ≠ xiàn 現見 [genC] ‘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 Chunqiu times and later), it also formed nouns that were endoactive (§4.5), e.g., 孀从 [dziol] ‘to follow’ > 肆从 [dziol] ‘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 用用 [jon] *loŋ ‘to use, employ, need’ [Shi, BI]
> 用用 [jonC] *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.,  yōu 有 ‘to have’  ↔  yòu 又 ‘moreover’; sān 三 ‘three’  ↔  sàn 三 ‘thrice’.

A late category (text examples are from ZhōuLì, LìJì and from texts shortly before Han) consists of nouns derived from “gradable adjectives” (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 55), e.g., cháng 長 [qąŋ] ‘long’  >  zhàng 長 [qąŋ] ‘length’. Unger (Hao-ku 21, 1983: 177f), supplies WT parallels, e.g., WT záb ‘deep’  >  zās ‘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: 466ff).

Tone C forms are occasionally used in compounds, as guān 觀 ‘to see’  ↔  guàn-tái 觀臺 ‘observation tower’ (Downer 1959: 289).
4
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; Takashima 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-lk &gt; shí 食 ‘to eat’</td>
<td>PCH *s-lk-s &gt; sì 食 ‘to feed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB ‘m-lyak ‘to lick’</td>
<td>TB ‘s-lyak ‘make / let lick, feed’</td>
<td></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>tʰuŋ- ‘to drink’</td>
<td>tʰuŋ-s ‘give to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OC / PCH</td>
<td>*ʔom? &gt; yǐn 飲 ‘to drink’</td>
<td>*ʔom-s &gt; yin 飲 ‘give to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OC / PCH</td>
<td>*m-lk &gt; shí 食 *m-lk ‘to eat’</td>
<td>*s-lk-s &gt; sì 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 / expopassive derivational categories (Table 4-3). These terms apply to morphologically marked derivational categories of new words; in the OC language, they are independent of grammatical / syntactic behavior and word class; see §2.1.3 (Beard 1998: 44ff). 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; zhāng 种 ‘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 jidōshi 自動詞, also ‘intransitive’) and ‘exoactive’ (tadoshi 他動詞, also ‘transitive’) describe pairs of introvert / extrovert verbs in Japanese grammar (Lewin 1990: 118f.; Shibatani 1990: 115; also Takashima 1996), for example:

- naru ‘to become’ intr.
- yurumu ‘to become loose’ intr.
- nasu ‘to form’ tr.
- 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 (Saqart 1999: 133) where endoactive (introvert) verbs also can be tr. like mǎi ‘to buy (something)’. Exoactive verbs are the extrovert, transitive / causative counterparts (mǎi ‘sell something to someone’).

‘Endoactive’ is similar to the ‘middle voice’ of some IE languages: the action was conceived as operating in or on the subject; in the exoactive, the verbal action was directed outwards 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 derivation (§4.1.1).

In accordance with this system, we add the terms ‘endopassive’ and ‘exopassive’. In exopassive 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’. Endopassive 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 zhāng 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 ‘exopassive’. 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- and 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 (tjaⁿ⁸) ‘to grow’ where the tone marks the word as endoactive because it contrasts with, and is derived from, the simplex zhāng 張 (tjaŋ) ‘to stretch’. But huǒ 火 (xuān⁸) ‘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 sǐ 死 ‘to die’ with its typical endoactive meaning (see §4.5). Or wén 聆 ‘to hear (something)’ tr. could be seen as inherently...
4.1.1 DIRECTION and DIATHESIS

introvert. 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 in Old Chinese

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 earlier segmental affixes in OC or PCH. The morphemes are

1. Tone C (1) (MC qūshēng 去聲 < *s/-h) — **exoactive**: extrovert, often valence increasing (‘to hear’ tr. > ‘ask someone about something’ ditr.) (§4.3);
2. Tone C (2) (MC qūshēng 去聲 < *s/-h) — **exopassive**, i.e., passive of exoactive / transitive words, agent available (‘be heard by someone’) (§4.4);
3. Tone B (MC shāngshēng 上聲 < *t-*) — **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) - Tone C (§4.2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-active</td>
<td><strong>endoactive</strong> – Tone B (§4.5) mài 買 meB ‘to buy’ tr. yín 飲 7imB ‘to drink’ tr. zhăng 長 7anB ‘to grow’ intr.</td>
<td><strong>exoactive</strong> – Tone C (§4.3) mài 買 meC ‘to sell’ ditr. yín 飲 7imC ‘to give to drink’ ditr. wén 間 munC ‘to ask about’ ditr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-passive</td>
<td><strong>endopassive</strong> – Voiced initial (§4.6) chăng 長 7an ‘be long’ sv. xiàn 現 genC ‘to appear’ intr.</td>
<td><strong>exopassive</strong> – Tone C (§4.4) wén 間 mun ‘be heard about, famous’ intr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simplex</td>
<td>zhăng 張 ton ‘to stretch’ tr. jiàn 見 kenC ‘to see’ tr.</td>
<td>wén 間 mun ‘to hear about’ tr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentence illustrations for most of the above words: zhăng, chăng §2.1.2 ex.14–16; §2.1.3 ex. 1; §4.6; wén, wên §4.3; §4.4; jiàn, xiàn §2.1.2 ex. 5–6; §2.1.3 ex. 2; yín §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 huǒ ‘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 (exopassive) 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 zhi 織 *tak ‘to weave’ (tr.) is derived the word ‘textiles’ zhi 織 *tak < *taks; *tak is here analyzed as an exopassive derivation from *tak 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 \textit{liăng} 兩 *raŋ? ‘a pair’ n. is derived \textit{liăng} 餓 *raŋh ‘carriage’ n. which is a thing with two wheels that literally ‘have been paired’ (not active: ‘are doing the pairing’). From \textit{wēi} 威 ‘to scare, frighten’ is derived the exopassive tone C form \textit{wèi} 畏, as in ‘I am scared by him’; however, this underlyingly passive \textit{wēi} 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 §4.4.1.) From \textit{dēng} 登 *tāŋ ‘to rise, ascend’ is derived the endoactive \textit{dēng} 等 *tāŋ ‘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 / exopassive), 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).

\textit{Tense and aspect} are not expressed morphologically in CH, but in exopassive 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 \textit{zhāng} 兒 intr. ‘to grow’ can have any tense required by the context, but when used as an adjective or noun, it implies completed aspect, thus \textit{zhāng} ‘grown-up, eldest, elder’ (see §2.1.2 ex. 14 for illustration). From \textit{cū} 徕 *dzā ‘to go away, pass away, die’ is derived endoactive \textit{zū} 祖 *tsā? ‘deceased grandfather, ancestor’, lit. ‘one who has passed away’ (perfective, active, not passive).

\section*{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) ‘exopassive’. Note, for example, the two meanings of \textit{wēn} and \textit{shān} (text illustrations for \textit{wēn} are offered in §4.3; §4.4):

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{wēn} [mun] 間 ‘to hear about’ tr. (simplex)
\item > \textit{wèn} [mun\textsuperscript{C}] (1) 閒 ‘to ask about, inquire’ tr. (exoactive)
\item > \textit{wèn} [mun\textsuperscript{C}] (2) 閒 ‘be heard about, renowned’ intr. (exopassive)
\item \textit{shān} [dzian\textsuperscript{B}] 畫 ‘be good at’ tr. (simplex)
\item > \textit{shān} [dzian\textsuperscript{C}] (1) 畫 ‘repair, put in order’ tr. (exoactive)
\item > \textit{shān} [dzian\textsuperscript{C}] (2) 畫 (‘be done well’): ‘cooked food’ n. (exopassive)
\end{itemize}

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 \textit{pota} ‘to see’ > \textit{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

*yurumu* 'become loose' (endoactive)  > *yurum-eru* 'to loosen' tr. (exoactive)

*kak-eru* 'to be missing' (endoactive)  < *kaku* 'to miss, do 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 -< -h < -s (J. H. Lorrain 1940: xiii; *HPTB: 468ff*). The modification form is used also as a 'subjunctive' (J. H. Lorrain 1940: xiii) which, as Geilich (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; also STC: 98 'middle voice'; Michailovsky 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): *pun-H* intr. 'to assemble'  > *pun-t* tr. 'to call together'; *zaal-H* < *jaal* 'to lie down, recline'  > *zal-t* < *jal-t* '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 *MZYW* 1998.6: 3–4); we have cited above an example from Limbu: *t'ung*- 'to drink'  > *t'ung-s- '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 -t, as found in the WT present tense final -d (note *byed-pa* < *bya-t* 'to do', fut. *bya* [Beyer 1992: 175; Michailovsky 1985: 368ff]), -t > -s after final consonants as in *debs-pa* (< *ndap-t*), *btab, gtab, 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: 78f), 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  
yǐn 飲  
> yǐn 飲

?m^B tr. 'to drink something'

?m^C ditr. 'to give / offer someone something to drink'

Text illustrations for yīn; often only the indirect object (person, animal) is mentioned:
(1) yin xiang ren jiu 欣籍人酒 (offer drink / country / people / wine) ‘(Nan Kuai) offered wine to
drink to his country’s people’ [Zuo: Zhao 12.8].
(2) he yin si zhi 翰飲食之 (what / give drink / give eat / him) ‘what shall I give him for drink and
food?’ [Shijing 123.1].
‘To ask’ wén is an outward directed action which is derived from a directionally neutral (or
perhaps inherently introvert) verb ‘to hear’ wén (ex. 3). As a ditransitive verb, it can take a
direct object (ex. 4) or an indir. obj. (5).
(3) wǒ wén qí shēng 我聞其聲 (I / hear / his / voice) ‘I hear his voice’ [Shi 199, 3].
(4) wén qí bìng 問其病 (ask about / his / affliction [dir. obj.]) ‘he asked [him] about his affliction’
(dir. obj.) [Zuo: Xuan 2, 4].
(5) wén Zhōng Nǐ 問仲尼 (ask / Confucius [ind. obj.]) ‘He asked Confucius’. [Zhuang 6, 75].
This ‘recent’ exoactive s-/h-suffix was occasionally added to an old verb which already had the
(unproductive) ST causative s-prefix; ‘to feed’ (also in §2.3.2 Table 2-4) prob. had acquired
tone C in order to fit the pattern of exoactive verbs like ‘to drink’ above.
Feed sì 食 LH zisC, *s-lakh ‘to feed’
< caus. of shì 食 (díják) [zák] *m-lak ‘to eat’
Lose sān 喪 sünC, *smāng ‘to lose, destroy’
< wáng 單 [muān] *mān ‘to lose’

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 yì 衣 ‘to wear’ used as a ditransitive verb in §2.1.2 (ex. 9; 10). A few more examples:
Sell mài 買 meB ‘to buy’
> mài 買 meC ‘to sell’ < ‘to give someone something to buy’
Give shòu 受 dūB ‘receive, accept’
> shòu 授 dūC ‘to give’ dir.
Show shì 見 giB ‘to look at’
> shì 示 giC ‘to show’ dir. < ‘make someone look at’
Teach xué 學 gǎk, *gruk ‘to learn’
> xiào 數 găuC, *grukh ‘to teach’
Ask wén 問 mun ‘to hear about’ tr.
> wén 問 munC ‘to ask about something’, ‘ask someone’ tr.
Wife qī 妻 ts³ei ‘consort, wife’
> qī 妻 ts³eiC ‘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 tēŋ ‘to listen’
> tīng 聽 tēŋC ‘to listen to, obey’
4.3.2 DIRECTION and DIATHESIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tone C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reply</td>
<td>‘respond to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dǎ 答</td>
<td>tąp ‘respond to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;duì 對</td>
<td>tuąs, *tăps &lt; *tups ‘to reply’ (to a person)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell</td>
<td>‘to speak’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yǔ 語</td>
<td>nju B ‘to speak’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;yǔ 語</td>
<td>nju C ‘to tell someone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overturn</td>
<td>‘to overturn, overthrow’ tr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fū 覆</td>
<td>phuk, *phuk ‘to overturn, overthrow’ tr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; fū 覆</td>
<td>phu C, *phukh ‘to overspread, provide cover for someone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid</td>
<td>‘right (side), be to the right’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yóu 右</td>
<td>wu B, wu C ‘right (side), be to the right’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; yóu 右</td>
<td>wu C ‘to aid, support, assist someone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>‘to go in front, ahead, before, former’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiān 先</td>
<td>sen ‘to go in front, ahead, before, former’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; xiān 先</td>
<td>sen C (1) tr. ‘to walk before’ (in order to protect) &gt; ‘take care of someone, attend’; (2) caus. ‘to put first’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>‘be behind, after’, ‘to follow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hòu 後</td>
<td>go B or yo B ‘be behind, after’, ‘to follow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; hòu 後</td>
<td>go C or yo C (1) tr. ‘be behind someone, attend, support’; (2) caus. ‘to put after’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend</td>
<td>‘to depend on’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shì 侍</td>
<td>dzə B ‘to depend on’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; shì 侍</td>
<td>dzə C ‘to wait upon someone, attend’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>‘woman, wife’ n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyǔ 女</td>
<td>nje B ‘woman, wife’ n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; nyǔ 女</td>
<td>nje C ‘give (as) a wife’ tr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take a wife</td>
<td>‘to take’ tr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qù 娶</td>
<td>kʰjo B ‘to take’ tr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; qù 娶</td>
<td>kʰjo C ‘to take a wife’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (LHan after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tone C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sow</td>
<td>‘seeds, cereals’ n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhòng 種</td>
<td>tsou B ‘seeds, cereals’ n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; zhòng 種</td>
<td>tsou C ‘to sow’ tr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hit center</td>
<td>‘be in the middle, middle, inside’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhòng 中</td>
<td>tʊŋ ‘be in the middle, middle, inside’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; zhòng 中</td>
<td>tʊŋ C ‘hit the center, hit, attain’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair</td>
<td>‘be good (at)’ tr. (intr.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shàn 善</td>
<td>dzæn B ‘be good (at)’ tr. (intr.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; shàn 善</td>
<td>dzæn C caus. (make good:) ‘repair, put in order’ tr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>‘be good’ sv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hǎo 好</td>
<td>hou B ‘be good’ sv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; hǎo 好</td>
<td>hou C put. (consider / treat someone as good:) ‘to love’ tr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hate</td>
<td>‘be evil’ sv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>è 惡</td>
<td>?ok, *?ək ‘be evil’ sv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; wù 惡</td>
<td>?ə C, *?ək h put. (treat as bad:) ‘to hate’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>‘far away, distant’ sv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuán 遠</td>
<td>won B ‘far away, distant’ sv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; yuán 遠</td>
<td>won C put. (treat as far away:) ‘keep at a distance’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44
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  gaB ‘to descend, down, below’
> xià 下  gaC tr. ‘descend, fall’

4.4 Tone C (2): exopassive derivation

Exopassive (MC tone C [2] < *-s/-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 yú phrase as agent, i.e., there is still ‘the outside’ which hears the sound.

(1) wǒ wén qí shēng  我聞其聲  (I / hear / his / voice) ‘I hear his voice’ [Shi 199, 3].
(2) shēng wén yú wài  聲聞於外  (sound / be heard [passive] / preposition / outside) ‘The instruments’) sound is heard outside’ [Shi 229, 5].

In this sentence, the passive verb wén 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 間  mun ‘to hear about’ (simplex)
> wèn 間  munC ‘be heard about, renowned, fame’
- Grasped  zhí 執  tśiP, *tāP ‘to hold, grasp’
> zhī 擠  tśiC, *tās ‘be grasped, seized’
- Exhausted  jīn 竭  dzinB ‘exhaust’ > jīn 竭 dzinC ‘be exhausted, destroyed’
- Put down  xià 下  gaB ‘descend, below’ [Shijing]
> xià 下  gaC ‘be put down’
- Back n.  běi 北  pāk, *pāk ‘north’
> běi 背  pāC, *pākh ‘what is turned north (passive): the back’
- Measured  duò 度  dāk, *dāk ‘to measure, plan’
> dù 度  dāc, *dākh ‘be measured’ > ‘to regulate’

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

- Inside  nà 納 *nāp < *nūp ‘to bring into’
> nèi 內 *nāts < *nūps ‘what is entered > inside’
- Purpose  zhī 之 *tā ‘to go’ > zhī 志 *təh ‘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  wēi 威  ?ui ‘to overawe, terrorize’, i.e., ‘frighten someone’ tr.
> wēi 畏  ?uiC ‘to fear’ tr., ‘be afraid’ intr. < ‘be made frightened’

Text illustrations:
(1) tōu zé wēi zhī 否則難之 (not / then / frighten, overawe / them) ‘... if not, then one overawes them’ [Shu 5, 14].
(2) wēi tiān zhī wēi 畏天之畏 (to fear / Heaven / -’s / frighten, scariness) ‘May we fear Heaven’s majesty’ [Shi 272].

The tr. verb wēi 威 ‘to scare’ turns passive with tone C wēi 畏 “I am scared [of Heaven]”; but wēi is actually 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:

kan8 < kan?  ‘be off the ground, lifted off one’s feet’
kan1 < kan? 2nd form: subjunctive: ‘lift off oneself’: passive ‘be lifted off’
= kan1 < kan 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  ràng 擊  ñun ‘to remove, steal something’
> ràng 讀  ñunC ‘to remove oneself’ > ‘yield to someone’

Leave  qū 去  kʰaB ‘put away, eliminate’
> qū 去  kʰaC ‘to remove oneself’ > ‘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 opposite of the exoactive tone C (§4.3). An introvert meaning is obvious in ‘to buy / receive something’. In zhāng ‘to grow’ intr. (ex. 2), the action takes place in the subj., no outside agent acts on it; this contrasts with the tr. simplex zhāng ‘to stretch something’ (ex. 1) where the direction from the subj. outward affects the obj.:

(1) zhāng wō gōng 張我弓 (stretch / our / bows) ‘we drew our bows’ [Shi 180, 4].
(2) shēng ér zhāng, zhāng 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 chunqiu 3, 5].
The endoactive verb zhāng (intr.) can, of course, be used causatively (§2.1.2 ex. 15) and as an adjective (§2.1.2 ex. 14).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grow</td>
<td>zhāng</td>
<td>zhāng</td>
<td>‘stretch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zhang</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>‘to grow tall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
<td>shàng</td>
<td>shàng</td>
<td>‘above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>‘to rise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face</td>
<td>miàn</td>
<td>mián</td>
<td>‘the face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mian</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>‘to turn from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>áng</td>
<td>áng</td>
<td>‘be high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yang</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>‘look up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lift</td>
<td>yáng</td>
<td>yáng</td>
<td>‘to lift, raise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yang</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>‘nourish, raise, support’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 / extrovert pairs (LHan after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sell</td>
<td>mǎi</td>
<td>mě</td>
<td>‘to buy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mài</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>‘to sell’ &lt; ‘to give someone something to buy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give</td>
<td>shòu</td>
<td>dzǔ</td>
<td>‘receive, accept’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shòu</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>‘to give’ &lt; ‘to give someone something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show</td>
<td>shì</td>
<td>gǐ</td>
<td>‘to look at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shì</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>‘to show’ &lt; ‘make someone look at something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good at</td>
<td>shàn</td>
<td>dzän</td>
<td>‘be good (at)’ tr. (intr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>hào</td>
<td>hòu</td>
<td>‘be good’ sv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hào</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>put. (consider / treat someone as good) ‘to love’ tr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To die</td>
<td>sǐ</td>
<td>sǐ</td>
<td>‘to die’ &lt;= PTB *sì (not *sǐ?) ‘to die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change</td>
<td>gāi</td>
<td>kǎ</td>
<td>‘to change’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rise</td>
<td>qǐ</td>
<td>kʁk</td>
<td>‘to rise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit</td>
<td>zuò</td>
<td>dzuĩ</td>
<td>‘to sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwell</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>tʂʰ</td>
<td>‘to dwell’ &lt;= PTB *gla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expand</td>
<td>shī</td>
<td>śai</td>
<td>‘to expand, spread out, expose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shī</td>
<td>śai</td>
<td>‘to extend, spread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offer</td>
<td>zhēng</td>
<td>tʂín</td>
<td>‘to offer (gift, sacrifice)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zhēng</td>
<td>tʂí</td>
<td>‘lift, save, help’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 - 4.6 DIRECTION and DIATHESIS

kind of derivation (§3.5). Thus we find that derivations like ji 騎 ‘rider’ (active; not: ‘what is being ridden’) occur with increasing frequency.

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 (LHan after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offspring</th>
<th>ST *tiao</th>
<th>‘to come forth’ (at birth)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; zhi 子</td>
<td>tsioB ‘offspring, child’, lit. ‘who has come forth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaw</td>
<td>han 含</td>
<td>gom ‘hold in mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; han 颜</td>
<td>gomB ‘jaw’ (‘that which holds in the m.’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>zhi 之</td>
<td>tso ‘to go, proceed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; zhi 止</td>
<td>tsoB ‘foot’ (‘that which is doing the going’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom</td>
<td>di 低</td>
<td>tei ‘to lower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; di 氏</td>
<td>teiB ‘bottom’ (‘that which is low’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stair</td>
<td>deng 登</td>
<td>tao ‘rise, ascend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; deng 等</td>
<td>taoB ‘step of stairs’ (‘that which rises’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>dang 當</td>
<td>tao ‘be equal of, rank’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; dang 黨</td>
<td>taoB ‘category, party’ (‘equal in rank’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>di 第</td>
<td>deiC ‘order, sequel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; di 弟</td>
<td>deiB ‘younger brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>gan 乾</td>
<td>kan ‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; han 幹</td>
<td>ganB ‘dry, drought’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low ground</td>
<td>bei 卑</td>
<td>pie ‘be low, humble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; bi 埼</td>
<td>bieB ‘low ground’ 埼; ‘female slave’ 嬷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A turn</td>
<td>zai 再</td>
<td>tsoC ‘twice, again and again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; zai 載</td>
<td>tsoB ‘a turn, a year’ (‘that which comes again’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, see zhu 祖 ‘ancestor’ in §4.1.1.

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

| Way       | dao 道  | douC ‘to bring along, conduct’ |
|           | > dao 道 | douB ‘way’ (‘that which does the conducting, leading’) |
| Ladle     | zhu 注  | tsoC, tso ‘to conduct water, to pour’ |
|           | > zhu 斗 | tsoB ‘ladle’ (‘that which does the pouring’) |

4.6 Voicing of the initial consonant: endopassive derivation

Endopassive (MC voicing). Voicing of the initial consonant derives an ‘endopassive’ word from a simplex. Endopassives are: (a) introvert (not extrovert); (b) passive in the sense that the subject of the endopassive word was the object of the simplex, whereas in endoactive words, the subject is the same as that of the former simplex; (c) unlike exopassives, 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 ‘endopassive’: “Stative verbs refer to a resultant state without any indication of an agent” (Sadler and Spencer 1998: 223). The difference
between exopassive and endopassive 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) zhāng wǒ gōng 张我弓 (stretch / our / bows) 'we drew our bows' [Shi 180, 4].
(2) dào zǔ ér cháng 道祖而长 (road / difficult / part. / be long) 'the road is difficult and long' [Shi 129, 1].

A hypothetical endopassive of ex. 1 张弓 'draw the bows' might be gōng cháng 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 'debs-pa < N-deps, past btaḥ, future gtaḥ, imperative tḥɔb 'to throw'. Voicing has the function of changing transitive to intransitive, or marking a verb as intr.; WT 'dzag-pa 'to trickle' ≠ 'tsʰag-pa 'to cause to trickle' (Beyer 1992: 163; 258f). Thus there is not necessarily a connection between voicing, intransitivization, and the WT prefix 'a-čhung which is transcribed as 'x 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, LTBA 25:2, 2002: 169–184). Pulleyblank (JCL 1, 1973: 114) holds an OC prefix *fi- (later amended to some kind of *a-) 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 (LHan after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long</th>
<th>zhāng 张</th>
<th>tān 'make long, stretch'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cháng 長</td>
<td>dān 'be long' sv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divide</td>
<td>bié 别</td>
<td>piót 'to divide, separate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bié 別</td>
<td>bjęt 'be different' sv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>jiā 夹</td>
<td>kep 'be on both sides, press between'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiá 狭</td>
<td>gep 'be narrow' sv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loosen</td>
<td>jiě 解</td>
<td>kéB 'to loosen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiè 解</td>
<td>géB 'be slack, idle, careless' sv.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| See | jiàn 見 |  kenC 'to see, visit' |
|     | xiàn 現 |  genC 'to appear' intr. (get oneself seen) |
| Descend | jiàng 降 |  kɔŋC 'to descend' |
|     | xiáng 降 |  gɔŋ 'to submit' intr. (get oneself down) |
| Go into water | jiān 燎 |  tsiam 'extinguish' (= put water on a fire) |
|     | qián 潛 |  dziam 'go into water, wade' (get oneself into w.) |
| Mix | jiāo 交 |  kau 'to cross, mix with, exchange' |
|     | yióo 般 |  gau 'mixed, confused' (get mixed) |
| Burn | jiāo 焦 |  tsiau 'to roast, burn' |
|     | qiúu 樵 |  dziau 'firewood, to burn' intr. (get to burn itself) |
4.6.1 DIRECTION and DIATHESIS

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

Apply zhuò 著 tøk ‘to place, put, apply’
> zhuó 著 døk ‘to come in contact with’ (be placed)

Set zhi 置 tøC ‘to set, place’
> zhí 值 døC ‘hold upright, a pole’ (got set and held)

Half bàn 半 ponC ‘half’
> pàn 畔 bonC ‘separate from, rebel’

The endopassive 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 endopassive voicing may be due to the inappropriate extrovert flavor of the exopassive.

Set example jiào 教 kauC ‘teach, set an example’
> xiào 效 gauC ‘imitate, follow (an example)’

Get insight jué 覺 ksk ‘to wake up’ intr., ‘get insight’
> xué 學 gok ‘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 kueiC ‘to destroy, ruin’
> huài 壞 gueiC ‘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 graph):

Back bēi 背 poC ‘the back’
> bēi 背 boC ‘turn the back on’ (introvert)

Morning zhāo 朝 tuo ‘morning’
> cháo 朝潮 døu ‘go to court, morning tide’ (introvert)

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

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

Pole zhí, dê 棧 tšëk ‘a pole’
> zhí 植 džëk ‘to plant, raise, establish’ (tr.)

Finger zhǐ 指 kʲï ‘to point to, finger’
> shì 視 giB / giC ‘to see, look’ / ‘to show’
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 ~ p- ~ b = p- ~ p- ~ 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 zj- from OC *s-l- (§8.1.2), *s-j- (§9.4), and *s-w- (§10.1.2);
MC initial dzj- (LHan ž-), the rare initials, from OC *m-l-, see §8.1.3;
MC initial źj- (LHan ź-), the common initial from OC *d-, but also from *j-, see §9.3; and
on the initials in GSR 413 ṣ, see §8.1.5.

5.1 Devoiced initials

Some voiceless initials are discussed in connection with *r- (§7.1.2; 7.1.4) and OC *l- (§8.2.1). Devoicing of sonorants is common within ST wfs 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 ṭh- from *lḥ-, *nh-, rarely from *rh-.
MC ḳj- from *lḥ, *nh-, *ḥj- (?); MC ḳj- never represents OC *ṣj-!
MC Ḹ- from *ḥŋ, *ḥŋ, *hw, also *ḥ-; rarely from acute initials (§1.3.1; §5.6).
MC ṭh- occasionally from *rh-, otherwise from *thr- (§7.1.2).
MC ṭśḥj- occasionally from *k-ḥ- (§5.9.3), otherwise from *ṭḥ-.

Other languages indicate that the loss of consonants like *s-, *k-, *p-, *ʔ- were the cause of OC 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, *w-. 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’ → huō 火 has never been anything but *hmāʔ in OC (never *smāʔ). 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 huō ‘fire’), the items in the present 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 - 5.2.2 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Small

ST *zi: xì 細 (seiC) [seC] *sēh or [seiC] *sēh ‘thin, small’ <> PTB *ziy > West Tib. zi ‘very small’; WB seB ‘small, fine’; Kachin zi ‘small’

To act, do

ST *za: sì 司 (sī) [siə] *sō ‘be in charge, manage’ <> WT mdzad-pa (< m-za-t) ‘to do, act’ <> bzo ‘work, labor’

Sleep

ST *k-zim: qīn 宥 [tsʰimB] ‘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 ș- from *sr-, from a PCH s-prefix, it occurs mostly before the initials *n-, *ŋ-, and *r-, occasionally also in front of others; see §5.2.1.
2. MC zj- before OC *l-, *j-, 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 §2.4.3 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  sān 聲  sanC, *smanh ‘to lose, destroy’
      < wáng 習 [muon] *man ‘to lose’
Revive  sū 蘇  sā, *sña ‘to revive’ < wù 逆 [ŋoC] *ŋāh ‘to awake’
Fear  sū 苏  sā, *sńa ‘to tremble, fear’
      < wù 遊 [ŋoC] *ŋakh ‘unexpectedly come across’
Tremble  suō 索  sok, *sńāk ‘tremble, fear’
      < строитель [ŋok] *ŋāk ‘scared, tremble, fear’
Entice  xù 敢  sut, *sjut, ? ‘to entice’ is prob. a caus. of yǒu 誘 ‘to entice’
      (under → shù, 過形) (?)
Expel  xiāng 業  siaŋ, *snaŋ ‘to remove, expel’
      < ráng 放 [nag] *naŋ ‘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 devoicing the following sonorant:

Neglect  huāng 荒  huan, *hman ‘neglect, reject’
      < wáng 亡 [muon] *man ‘lose’
Let go  shī 失  šit, *šit tr. ‘to lose, fail, neglect, let go, err’
      < yì 逸 [jit] *lit intr. ‘to escape, retire’
Transport  shū 輸  só, *šlo or *šlo? ‘to transport, transmit’
      < yǒu 至 [jo] *lo or *jo? ‘pass over’
Injure

In at least one word, an s-causative has been added to the already devoiced initial (§5.9.2):

Let go

Some causative derivations with s-prefix have in addition tone C which also marks causative (exoactive; §4.3).

5.2.3 Iterative s-prefix > MC š-, ʂ-, 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

Drip

Sprinkle

Count

Count

Generation

Instruct

Comb

Brush

Lick

Taste

Snore

Annoy

Injure  

shāng 傷 *šaŋ ‘to injure, hurt’, tr. or caus. of

<yāng 業 [joŋ] *laŋ ‘be sick’

In at least one word, an s-causative has been added to the already devoiced initial (§5.9.2):

Let go  
yi 織 [šak] ~ [jak] *lak ‘unfold, unravel’

> devoicing caus.: shi 織 [šak] *lhak ‘unloose, put away, let go’

> s-suffix caus.: shè 招 [šaC] * lhakh ‘let go, liberate, pardon’

> s-prefix caus.: ci 赤 [tsʰiak] *s-lhak ? ‘to expel’

Some causative derivations with s-prefix have in addition tone C which also marks causative (exoactive; §4.3).
5.2.4 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Wash  
shi 脩 [śak] *lhak ‘to put into water, moisten, wash (rice)’ — washing involves repetitive movements <> KS *s-lak ‘to wash clothes’

Signal  
huī 麓 [hyoi] *hmai ‘signal flag, to signal’

Wink  
xiè 翦 [hyat] *hmāt or *hmet ‘to wink at, give signal with the eyes’ <> WB hmīt ‘to wink’

Headband  
xī 羽 [śel] *sre ‘band wound round the hair’ <> lī 龍 [lie] *re ‘a rope’

Sieve  
shāi, shī 鋸 [śi], [śei] ‘a sieve, sifter, strainer’, post-Han

Strain  
shū 縫 (śiwo^[A]) [śo^[B]] ‘to strain (spirits)’ <> lū 鬆 [lo^[C]] ‘to drip’, post-Han

Suck  
shù 救 [śok] *srōk or *C-sōk ‘suck, inhale’

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

Seven  
qī 七 OCM *tshit < *snhit ‘seven’, lit. ‘two again’ <> TB *snis ‘seven’ < ST *nis ‘two’

New moon  
shuò 朔 *srāk ‘new moon’, lit. ‘go toward (the full moon) again’ <> ni 返 *grak ‘go to meet, go toward’

Year  
suí 歲 *swats ‘year’ < perh. yuè 越 *wat ‘pass over’, lit. ‘pass over again’ or ‘start the circle again’

The following are perhaps intensive (no obvious repetition):

Blaze  
shān 煽 LH [śan^[C]] *nhans ‘blaze’ <> rān 燃 [śan] ‘nan ‘burn’

Black  
hēi 黒 [hak] *hmōk ‘black’ <> WT smag ‘dark, darkness’

Evil  
tè 始 [tʰak] *nhōk ‘evil, wrong’ <> WT nag ‘black’, gnag ‘black, evil’ <> snag ‘ink’; LB *(s)nak ‘black’ — extreme phenomena tend to be expressed with redundant intensives

Cut off  
tī 别勺 [tʰek] *lēk ‘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 xiāng 錶 ‘belt’ in §5.12.3):

Bestow  
shè 舍 [śa^[B]] *lha? ‘to let off, bestow, grant’ <> MMon salah ‘to give away, disburse’, LMon ‘give up, free’ — causative?

To rest  
shè 舍 [śa^[C]] *lha < *lhwah ‘to rest in, stop’ <> shuí 睡 [śuais] <> *sho[t]s (<*lhw[t]s) ‘rest over night’ <> KS *s-lwa^[B] ‘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., sī33 ‘to die’ > fʊ31-sii33 ‘a dead person’ (LHan after the graph):
INITIAL CONSONANTS 5.3

Archery hall  xiè 楣  ziaC, *s-lakh ‘archery hall’ (initial as in §8.1.2)
Beard  xu 須鬚  sio, *sno ‘beard’ <> PTB *sno(w) ~ *sno(t) ‘mouth, vessel’
Frost  shuāng 霜 sọŋ, *sran ‘hoarfrost’ < liáng 涼 *raŋ ‘cold’
Bean  shú 落  šuk, *nhuk ‘bean’ <> PLB-M *(s-)nok ‘bean’ > WB nok
Fire  huǒ 火  huai8, *hmài? ‘fire’
Louse  shī 瘤  šit, *srit < ST *srik ‘louse’ <> PTB *s-rik
Scorpion  chài 燄  tʰas, *rhats ‘scorpion’ < li 煎 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 *sya ‘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 Xiāngdōng 2000: 208–210) (§7.4):

Grasp  shè 掛  šap, *nhep ‘to grasp, gather up’
Gums  shên 翅  šinB, *nhin? ‘the gums’
Peaceful  tuǒ 妥  tʰoi8, *nhōi? ‘peaceful’

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

Sky  WT rmu ~ smu ~ dmu
To desire  WT rkam-pa ~ skam-pa
Gums  WT rnil ~ snil
Excrement  WT rkyag-pa ~ skyag-pa
To pull / throw down  WT rnil-ba ~ snil-ba
Body hair  PTB *(r-)mul ~ *(s-)mul
Sleep  PTB *(r-)miy ~ *(s-)miy

The vacillation 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 ‘infix’ *-r- which is typologically unlikely in TB languages and therefore probably also unlikely in OC (but see §7.5):

Shame  xiū 羞  [siu] *snu ‘shame’ < niū 諧 [guk] *nruk < *r-nuk ‘ashamed’
Long-necked  qiān 願  [kʰ’en] ~ [kan] *khên ~ *kren < *h/s-ken ~ *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.** chōng 春 LH sōŋ, *lhoŋ ‘to hull grain with a pestle’
<=> S. *kloŋ ‘to hull rice’

**Excrement** shī 屎 šīB, *lhiʔ ‘excrement, dung’
<=> PTB *k-liy ‘excrement’, Kanauri kli, PL *ʔ/k(l)œ̂, WB kʰyeB

**Swallow** tūn 吞 tʰon ‘to swallow’
<=> PT *kl-: S. kliënA ‘to swallow’, Ahom k(l)en

**Evil** tè 惮 tʰsk, *hnšk ‘evil, wrong’
<=> WT nag ‘black’, gnag ‘black, wicket’ ≠ snag ‘ink’

**Covet** tàin 貪 tʰtam, *rhôm ‘be covetous’ ≠ lán 廉 lɔm, *g-rom ‘covetous’
<=> PTB *d-rum > WT drum-pa ‘to desire’, WB krum ‘to pine’

**House** shì 室 šit, *lhit? ‘house, hall’
<=> WT gži ‘ground, residence, abode’ ≠ gžis ‘native place’

**Shore** hǔ 河 haB, *ɬŋhàʔ ‘river bank’ <=> WT dtjo ‘shore, bank’

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

- Potter’s wheel jūn 鉴 LH kwin ‘potter’s wheel’ < yūn [win] ‘even, uniform’
- Ghost guǐ 鬼 kuiB ‘ghost’ < wēi 威 [ʔui] ‘overawe, terrorize’
- Country guó 國 kuək ‘country’ < yù 域 [ʔik] ‘boundary, region’

Additional examples may include → qiào 窟 ‘hole’; → qǐn 篷 ‘a blanket’; → gǒu 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–xli); or note PVM *k-ve:l ‘village’ < *ve:l ‘to return’ (Ferlus).

### 5.5 Other sources of devoicing

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

- **Pour** táo 洗 LH tʰau, *lhâu ‘to pour water, wash’
  <=> PMiao *ʔleuʔA ‘to pour’

- **Iron** tiè 鐵 tʰet, *lhît or *lhêt ‘iron’
  <=> Tai: S. lekD/S < *hl- ‘iron’, PKS *kʰlit

- **Food** xiāng 食物 šəŋ(C), *hnaŋ?/h ‘bring food to’
  <=> MY: Anc. Miao ʔjen(C) (Wang Fushi) ‘cooked rice, food’,
  Yao: Biao Min ʔəŋ2, Mien (Chiang Rai dial.) ʔhaŋ2
Blood huáng血 huòŋ, *hmâŋ <> AA: e.g., Bahnaric *maham ‘blood’ where the h belongs to the root

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

Straight tīng挺 tʰeŋŋ°, *lhêŋ° ‘straight’ <> PTB *blën ~ *plen ‘straight’

5.6 MC initial x- from voiceless acute initials

MC initial x- from voiceless acute 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 tʰ-, ʃj-, and, in the case of *r-, in MC tʰ-, tʰ- (§7.1.2). To differentiate the two types of voiceless initials, we will write OCM *lh-, *nh-, *rh- for MC tʰ-, ʃj-, etc., but OCM *hn-, *hl-, *hr- when it is the aspiration that survives as MC x-. Of course, voiceless *hm- and *hŋ- regularly yield Middle Chinese x-.

MC x- < foreign *hn-

Beard huì顙 LH hyaiC, *huats ‘beard of chin’ < Tai: S. nuatDIL <*hn- ‘beard’

MC x- < OC / foreign *hr-

Ribs, sides xiē脇 hiap, *hrap ? ‘sides of body, ribs’ (earliest occurrence in Shijing with reference to horse’s trappings)

To rear chù畜 tʰuk, huk, *rhuk ~ *hruk ? ‘to rear’ (livestock)
<> chu畜 [tʰuC, huC] *rhuk ~ *hruhk ‘domestic animal’

Scare hè嚇 hak, haC, *hrak(h) ‘to scare’
<> PTB *krak ~ *grak ‘to fear’ > WT skrag-pa ‘afraid’

Vomit xuě, hú殻 (xâk, xuk) *hr(ok) ‘vomit’ <> PTai *ryakD2 ‘vomit’

Know xiǎo曉 heuB, *hiâu? ‘clear, understand, know’
<> KT: PTai *ruoC2 ‘to know’, PKS *h-roC ‘to know (how)’

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

Babble xiāo-xiāo嘈嘈 (xau) *hru ‘magniloquent’ (i.e., talk big without knowing anything). The phonetic suggests an OC *r in the initial.

Roar xiān顯 (xâmB, xamB), and hân (xâmB) *hram? ‘roaring’ of a tiger. This is an area word which is also found in TB and AA as *gram, etc.

Stupid zhuàng, hónɡ聳 (xuŋC, tāŋC) *honŋ ~ *tronŋ ‘stupid’. It is an AA substrate word — note PMon *troŋ? ‘foolish, insane’.

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

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

Pig xì騭 [hiii(B)] *haiʔ? < *hlaiʔ? ‘swine’ (said to be a Chû dialect word).
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  jǐn 浸 [tsimC] *tsoms ‘to soak, overflow’
<> WT stim-pa, bstim ‘to enter, penetrate, be absorbed’ ≠ caus. of tʰim-pa ‘disappear, being absorbed’. See also → qǐn 浸

Grasp  xiè 揪 [tsep, kiep, kap] ‘grasp’, the reading tsep 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  zēng 增 [tsəŋ] *tsəŋ ‘to add’ > ‘to double, to rise high’ 增; ‘increase, numerous’ 增 appears to be a derivation from
< dēng 登 [təŋ] *təŋ ‘to rise, ascend, mount, raise’

Twist  jǐ 绕 [tsek] *sek < *s-kek? ‘to twist, spin’ appears to be a derivation from
< xì 係 [kəC] *kə ‘to bind, tie up, attach’

This metathesis is rare, though. Several often cited examples have alternative explanations. ‘Carpenter’ → jiàng 匠 [dzioŋC] is supposed to be cognate to WT sbyoŋ-pa, sbyaps ‘to train, exercise, practice’, but the CH word has a better etymology, q.v. The same goes for cóng 糟 (under → jù 聚) and the words written with the phonetic zú 卒 (also under → zào 遶) which Bodman had associated with WT words with initial st-, etc. (cited under → tún 屯.assertRaises). 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 tsh-from OC or PCH *k-s- and *s-ʔ- (§5.9.1–2)
(3) Initial MC tshj-from OC *k-hl- (§5.9.3)
(4) Sound-symbolic aspiration (§5.8.5–§5.8.6)
(5) For sources of MC initial tsh, see §5.1)

As expected, there remains a residue where aspiration defies explanation; it includes common words like → kū 苦 [kəb] ‘bitter’. In light of the secondary nature of most aspiration, words like kū may perhaps go back to an original 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 *ʔ-. 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).

Cliff  kǎn 嵁 LH kʰəmC, *khəms ‘cliff, bank, step’ <> PTB *r-kaːmj id.
### INITIAL CONSONANTS  5.8.2 – 5.8.3

**Dig**  
ku 箇  
kʰuːt, *kʰut ‘dig in the ground, cave, hole’  
<i>PTB: *r-ko-t ‘dig’</i>

**Rob**  
kòu 寇  
kʰoŋ, *kʰôh ‘to rob, robber’  
<i>PTB *r-ku > WT rku-ba ‘to steal’</i>

**Girdle**  
xié, qiè 腰  
get, kʼet, *gêt, ‘khet ‘girdle’  
<i>PTB *r-kw > WT rked-pa ‘the waist, loins, the middle’</i>

**Body**  
qū 腹  
kʼo, *kho ‘body, person’  
<i>PTB *(s-)kw > WT sku id.</i>

**Leather**  
kuo 膠  
kʰuak, *khwâk ‘leather’  
<i>WT skog-pa ‘shell, peel, rind’</i>

**Send**  
qián 迁  
kʰian, *khen? ‘to send to, send away’  
<i>PTB skyel-ba ‘to send’</i>

**Get rid**  
qū 去  
kʰ′o, *kha? ‘get rid, eliminate’  
<i>skyag-pa, bskyags ‘to lay out, expend’</i>  
<i>skyag ‘dirt, excrement’ (unless this ex. belongs to §5.8.5)</i>

**Dismember**  
pò 膊  
pʰuk, *phâk ‘dismember’  
<i>PLB *pak ~ *?pak > Lahu phâ? ‘unfasten, dismantle’</i>

### 5.8.2 MC aspiration: causative

In some words, the aspiration may perform the same causative function as *s- and devoicing (§5.2.1–2) and may in fact be the trace of a lost s-prefix. The aspiration existed already in OC because qiāng 將 (tsʰjaŋ) ‘to beg’ (→ jiāng 將) writes ‘tinkle’ in Shījīng 274 which must likely have been simply *tshaŋ, not *s-tshaŋ. Aspiration also forms causatives in TB languages, e.g., Tiddim Chin: kâŋ ‘to rise’ > kʰâŋ ‘to raise’ (Geilich 1994: 171).

**Bright**  
qia̰ 鏡  
LH kʻeu, *khiu ‘bleached white (of bones)’ (i.e., ‘made white’)  
<i>dʒia̰ [keu¹] *khiu ‘bright’</i>

**Half**  
pán 判片  
pʰan⁸, *pʰans ‘to cleave, divide’ (i.e., ‘make half’)  
<i>bàn [pʰan] *pʰans ‘half’</i>

**Overturn**  
fù 覆  
pʰuk, *phuk ‘to overturn, overthrow / repeatedly’ caus./iter.  
<i>fù 復 [puk] *puk ‘double, lined’ (garment)  
fù 復 [buk] *buk ‘to come back, return, restore’</i>

### 5.8.3 MC aspiration: iterative

Words that suggest repetitive motion are often aspirated, which parallels the iterative / intensive function of the s-prefix and devoicing (§5.2.3).

**Gnaw**  
kèn 餓  
kʰeŋ B OCM *khàn? ‘to gnaw’

**Strike**  
kò 吭  
kʰoʊ/kʰoŋ, *kʰōʔ/h ‘to strike, attack’

**Cut open**  
kũ 刽  
kʰuoŋ, *khwâh ‘cut open, cut to pieces’  
<i>huá 華 [yuə] *grwā ‘to cleave’</i>

**Pass over**  
kua 跨  
kʰua C, *khrwâh ‘to step over, pass over’

**Stride**  
kũl 細  
kʰye⁸, *khweʔ ‘a stride’

**Notches**  
qi 刺  
kʰes, *kʰets ‘script notches’

**Cut through**  
qiè 鐵  
kʰet, *kʰêt ‘to cut, cut through’

**Splinter**  
quē 缺  
kʰuet, kʰyat, *khwet ‘to break, splinter’
Disperse  pī   披  pʰ̚ai, *phai ‘divide, disperse’
Break       pò   破  pʰaiC, *phâih ‘to break (into pieces)’
Brush off  fú   拂  pʰut, *phut ‘to brush off, shake off’ (iterative)
Pull off    tiāo  條  t'eu, *liū ‘pull leaves off branches’ (iterative)

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

Endure kān  勸  kʰom, *khôm ‘to endure, equal to’
< hán  含  [γom] *gôm ‘have [hold] in the mouth’
Able   ké  可  kʰq̚iB, *khâi ‘to bear, can, be able’
< hê  何  [q̚iB] *gâi ‘to carry’
Willing kēn  背  kʰomB, *khôn ‘be willing’

5.8.5  Aspiration: outward and / or forceful motion
Words that connote 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  LH pʰ̚uas, *phas ( < *phos ?) ‘lungs’
Breathe  chōu  喘  tʰu ‘sound of an ox breathing’
Sigh  xì  慘  hís. kʰas ‘sigh’
Breath  qì  氣  kʰis ‘breath’
< kài  慟  [kʰas] ‘be angry’
Anger  fèn  忿  pʰunB/C ‘anger, angry’
< bēn  贅  [phon] ‘be ardent, brave’
Stench  chōu  臭  tʰuC ‘smell, stench’
Spit  fèn  噪  pʰun(C) ‘spit out’
Spit  tū  吐  tʰeB/C ‘spit’
Cough  kē  咳  kʰaC ‘cough’
Weep  qì  泣  kʰep ‘weep’
Weep  kū  哭  kʰok ‘weep, howl’
Throw away  qì  棄  kʰis ‘throw away, abandon’
Leave  qu  去  kʰoC ‘go away, leave’ (unless this belongs to §5.8.1)

An extension of forceful action include the following words:

Kill  kān  杀  kʰom ‘to kill, execute’
Cut, chop  kān  砍  kʰomB ‘to chop (wood, a tree), decapitate’
Cut, engrave  kē  刻  kʰok ‘to cut, injure, engrave, intense’
Attack  kòu  扣叩  kʰoB/C ‘to strike, attack’
Stab  kuī  扎  kʰue ‘to stab, slaughter’
### 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’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vault</td>
<td>qiong</td>
<td>LH kʰuŋ ‘vault’</td>
<td>&lt; gōng  hou ‘bow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pit</td>
<td>kǎn</td>
<td>kʰəm ‘pit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pit</td>
<td>kēng</td>
<td>kʰan ‘a pit (hole)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>kōng</td>
<td>kʰon ‘hollow, empty’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollow</td>
<td>kōng</td>
<td>kʰonB ‘hollow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>kǒu</td>
<td>kʰ ‘mouth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hole</td>
<td>kuǎn</td>
<td>kʰuánB ‘hole’</td>
<td>&lt; PTB kwár?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket</td>
<td>kuǎng</td>
<td>kʰyn ‘square basket’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crotch</td>
<td>kuí</td>
<td>kʰye ‘crotch’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollow</td>
<td>què</td>
<td>kʰk ‘hollow shell, hollow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hole</td>
<td>qiào</td>
<td>kʰeu ‘hole, opening’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husk</td>
<td>kāng</td>
<td>kʰn ‘husk of grain’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollow</td>
<td>pāng</td>
<td>in Min dialects: PMin *pʰanC ~ *pʰonC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A more recent echo of this tendency is perhaps the irregular surd aspiration of tān ظم (dāmB) [dəmB] *lám? ‘pit’ (where Mand. dān is expected).

### 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spear fish</td>
<td>chuō 捞 (tʂʰâk) [tsʰo]</td>
<td>*tʃrâk ‘to spear’ (fish)</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; AA: Khmer čūka /coök/ ‘lift with tool...’ Ctx cpūka /cbōok/ (archaic) ‘trident for lifting fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pick out</td>
<td>chāi 挑 (tʂʰai, tʂʰái) [tsʰai] (or [tsʰə])</td>
<td>*tʃrāi ? ‘to pick (an animal) out of (a herd, etc.), select’ &lt;&gt; AA: Khmer /sral/ ‘to take the pick of, select’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Triad</td>
<td>cān 参</td>
<td>tsʰm &lt; PCH *k-səm ‘a triad, three’</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; WT gsum (&lt; ST *k-sum) ‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*səm ‘three’</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; * WT sum ‘three’ in composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear</td>
<td>qīng 清</td>
<td>tsʰeŋ &lt; PCH *k-šę ‘clear’ (water, sound)</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; WT gšen-po ‘clear’ (sound) Ctx seŋ-po ~ bseŋ-po ‘clear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granary</td>
<td>cāng 倉</td>
<td>tsʰon &lt; PCH *k-son ‘granary’ &lt;&gt; WT gšaŋ-ba ‘to hide’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>cān 餐</td>
<td>tsʰun &lt; ST *k-dzən ‘eat’ &lt;&gt; WT gzan-pa ‘to eat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.9.2 - 5.9.3 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Sleep  qin 睡  tsʰimʰ < ST *k-zim? 'sleep' <> WT gzm-pa 'sleep'
Hay    chu 草  tʂʰo < PCH *k-sro? 'hay, cut hay'
        <> AA-PMon *ksɔŋ 'hay', Wa *sɔh 'cut grass'
Wife   qi 妻  tsʰei < PCH *k-soi 'wife'
        <> AA: Khmer *ksai 'wife'; PWMiao *ntshaiD 'daughter, wife'

Additional cases may include cang 堆 (→ cáng 藏).
The phonetic series GSR 613 possibly still supports a cluster *k-s- for OC:
qiǎn 堆 [tʂʰiam] *k-sa/em? 'all' is phonetic in jiǎn 检 [kiamʰ] 'accumulate'.
In a few words that start with MC tsʰ-, the source might have been PCH *s + ?-; see, for example, → cǎn 搬.→ chā, 深: → qǐ, 前.

5.9.2 MC tsʰ- from s + voiceless sonorant
A few words with MC initial tsʰ-probably had a PCH n-like initial: qí 七 [tsʰi] 'seven' (<> PTB *snis), and qiǎn 千 [tsʰen] 'thousand' (rén 人 [hin] is said to be phonetic). Perhaps the original pre-initial s- in *snis was lost in regular fashion after devoicing 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-lhak? 'to expel' < shí 释 [siak] *lhak 'put away, do away, let go' (see → yì35 習)
Hurt   qiāng 痛 [tsʰiǎn] *s-lhän 'to hurt' < lhän + s-prefix caus.

Additional cases may include → cáng 堆 'cold'.

5.9.3 MC tsʰj- from OC clusters *k-hl-
A few MC tsʰj-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 tsʰj-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  chē 車 [tsʰa] ~ [kʰa] *k-hla ~ *ka 'carriage'
Separate  chì 託 [tsʰi] *k-hlai? 'to separate' <> PL *c-klayA/C 'to separate'
Come out  chu 出 [tsʰut] *k-hlut 'to come out'
        <> JPlot3J-lam33 'outlet', Trung klot 'come out'
Dwell    chu 處 [tsʰa] *k-hla? 'to dwell' ~ jū 居 [kia] *ka 'to dwell'
        <> PTB *gla = WT gda '-ba locative verb, 'to be there'; TGTM *gla
River    chuān 川 [tsʰon] *k-hlun 'river' <> PTB *kluŋ 'river'

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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**
  - *qùn, 幫* [kʰɨm] *khəm ‘blanket’ < *k- + *ʔəm ‘cover’ yīn, 隱 ‘cover’
    - (k- forms concrete nouns §5.4)

- **Slant**
  - qǐng 傾頹 [kʰyɛn] *khweŋ ‘be slanting’
    - <> AA-PMon *kʰiŋŋ / *kʰeeŋ ‘to lean, be slanted’

- **Pregnant**
  - pēi 胚 [pʰə] *phə ‘one month pregnant’
    - <> AA: OKhmer /pʰəŋ/ ‘burden > pregnancy’

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 (tʃ, dʒ), 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**
  - ji 濟 [tseiʰ] *ts+h or *tsôh ‘to ford, cross’
  - <> AA: Mon inscr. cnis [cnos] > cnih ‘a ghat, place of access to river..., landing place’ < cis [cəs] ‘to go down, descend’

- **To polish**
  - cuō 護 [tsʰai] *tshâi ‘to rub, polish’
  - <> AA: Khmer /cnaj/ ‘to cut (gems), to polish’

- **Bootsy**
  - jié 捷 [dziap] *dzap ‘victory, booty’
  - <> AA: Khmer, OKhmer ca’hpa /ca’h/ ‘to grasp..., seize, catch, take or seize by conquest’ <> capnŋ’a’pa /comnap/ ‘detainee, prisoner, hostage’; Pearic čap’u ‘to catch’ -> Tai: S. čiap’t ‘to plunder, rob, steal’

- **About to**
  - jǐaŋq 將 [tsiaŋ] *tsaŋ ‘be on the point of, about to, intend to, going to’
  - <> AA: OKhmer ca’n /ca’n/ ‘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 supradental affricate was somehow acoustically close to what was heard. Most of these words are late (i.e., mid to late Zhou, and Han).

- **Spear fish**
  - chuō 捕 (tš’hák) [tʃʰok] *tshrok ‘to spear (fish)’
  - <> AA: Khmer ca’ka /côok/ ‘lift with tool...’
  - <> cpúk’[ebôk] (archaic) ‘trident for lifting fish’

- **Dog**
  - sōu 貓 (GY sjou) [ʃu] < AA: PVM *ʔa-cəʔ
5.10.3 - 5.10.4 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Pestilence  zhá 札 (tʂet) 'to die prematurely, pestilence'
< AA: PVM *k-čet, PMK *kət 'to die'

To dry  shài, shì 曬 (ɕieC) [ɕeC] *sreb 'to dry something in the sun'
<> AA: PMonic *cay 'to spread in the sun to dry'

Cut off  zhǎn 斬 (tʂamb) [tʂamb] *tsré/am? ? 'to cut off, cut down'
< AA: PVM *cemB 'to chop', Khmer cam or cram 'to hack'

5.10.3 MK cr-, jr- = MC retroflex affricates

A hoe  chú 锺 (dzjwo) *dzra 'a hoe' < AA: Khmer rā'sa /roah/ 'to scrape, rake, hoe, harrow' OKhmer /crās/ 'to scrape or brush against'

Thorns  chú 楂 (tʃjwoB) *tshraʔ 'thorny bush / tree'
< AA: PMonic *jrlaaʔ 'thorn, thorny bamboo', Khmu' [cərlaʔ], Semai [jərlaʔ]

High  chóng 穴 (dʒjunct) *dzrun 'to pile on, pile high, high (of a mountain)'
< AA: Khmer /croŋ/ 'to raise up, re-establish...' OKhmer /crūnə/ 'be upright...'

Needle  zān 曲 (tʂām, tʃjóm) *tšram 'hairpin'
< AN-PCham *jurum 'needle'; AA-PNBahn. jarūm; TB-Lepcha ryūm

Select  chái 差 (tʂʰai, tʃʰái) *tʃshāi 'to pick out, select'
< AA: Khmer /sral/ 'to take the pick of, select'

Tilt  zè 仄 (tʃjok) *tʃrāk 'be slanting' > 'sun going down, afternoon'
< AA: OKhmer jre /crēc/ 'to tilt, slope, decline, (of sun) go down, set' (for final *-k, see §6.1.1)

Quiver  zè 笙 (tʃék) *tʃrāk 'a quiver'
< AA: Khmer /crook/ 'insert, introduce, shove into...'

5.10.4 MK c, j = MC tʃ-, 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 (*j), so that OC *ti- / *tj- may have come close to the AA sound. A post-initial palatal almost certainly was inherent in graphs with the element 周, and variants in 'Look at' suggest an original *-iam ~ *-em (rather than *-am) (§11.3.2).

Look at  zhān 角 (tʃjám) OCB 角 *tjem, 見 *tjam 'to look at'
< AA: OKhmer /cam/ 'to watch over, watch for, keep in mind'

Aid  zhōu 周 (tʃjau) *tu or *tiu 'to help, relieve, succor'
< AA: Khmer jwya /cúuaj/ 'to aid, help, succor, rescue, save' (for loss of final -j, see §6.9)

Circle  chú 網 (djau) *dru 'to be wrapped round, bind round, nightgown' 網
< AA: Khmer jwta /cúuajt/ 'to encircle or wrap (the head) in a length of cloth'; and / or Tai: S. diw³ 'strips of rattan or bamboo bent in a circle to which ribs of a cage are fastened'

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Tree

zhū 株 (tju) *tro or *trio ‘tree trunk’
< ? AA: PMonic *chu? ‘wood’; in Mon also ‘tree’

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
gǒu 狗 (kau²) *kô? < *klo? ‘dog’
< ultimately AA: PMon *clur, Mon *klə, WMon cluiw, kluix [kləw]

Bird
qǐn 禽 (gjom) *gœm ‘game bird, bird, fowl’
< AA: PVM *c-jœm ‘bird’, PMon *kncjœm ‘bird’

Companion
chóu 僕 (djo) *dru? ‘mate, companion, category, equal’
~ qìu 億 (gjo) *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 assumed. The nature of the hypothetical common initial remains uncertain; one could assume an OC configuration *?l- (an *l in the OC initial in wēng ‘jar’ is possible because its phonetic is *kloŋ.g). Unger (Hao-ku 33, 1986) suggests an initial ?a-prefix forming nouns, as in:

Jar
wěng 罐 L?ŋ<, *ʔŋŋ ‘jar’ <> PL *?-ŋŋ ‘pot’
< Tai: S. luŋ⁴²< *l- ‘vessel’

House
wǔ 屋 ?ok, *ʔok ‘roof, house’ <> Tai: Po’ai luk⁴²S < *dl- ‘room’

Sprout
yāng 秧 *ʔŋ. ‘sprout, rice shoot’
< WT ljan- † < *ly- ‘shoots, sprouts’

Waist
yāo 腰 *ʔiau, *ʔiau ‘waist’ <> Pmia *qiauB ‘waist, lower back’

Eagle
yīng 鷹 *hŋ, *ʔŋ ‘eagle, falcon’ <> PMK *knleeŋ ‘hawk’

Middle
yāng 央 has, however, a Chinese etymology and is therefore unrelated to PTai *klaŋ⁴¹ ‘middle’.

5.12 Nasal initials

5.12.1 η(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 *ŋʊ� ‘cow’ > WB nwa, 牛 OC *ŋʊ > Mandarin niú. Tables 5-1 and 5-2 illustrate parallel stems (§2.5) of ‘hungry’, ‘cow’, ‘lean’, and ‘to rest’ (in addition, see also → ruo 熱 ‘hot’).
### 5.12.2 INITIAL CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Hungry</th>
<th>Hungry</th>
<th>Cow, buffalo</th>
<th>Cow, buffalo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>*ŋuí?] (*niuk)</td>
<td>*ŋaih → ʔəŋ</td>
<td>*ŋwa → níu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>*ŋw(ŋ)i</td>
<td>*ŋai</td>
<td>*ŋwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>ŋat</td>
<td>nwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>ŋjo3i</td>
<td>ŋa33 &gt; wā33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>nhej1i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>(ɲɲog-pa)</td>
<td>? nor</td>
<td>? ba &lt; ŋ-wa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lean over</th>
<th>Lean over</th>
<th>To rest</th>
<th>To rest, gentle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>*ŋái → ʔəŋ</td>
<td>*ŋhōi/ *snui → suŋ</td>
<td>*ŋoih / *ŋaih → wō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>*hnwai</td>
<td>*ŋai</td>
<td>C-ŋwal/r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>hnwai3B</td>
<td>ŋaiC</td>
<td>ŋweC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB, PL</td>
<td>*nwe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>ŋai3i</td>
<td>ŋui3i slow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>ŋer1 &lt; ŋerh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>sñe-ba</td>
<td>r-nal &amp; m-nal</td>
<td>ŋal-ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Among ST languages and also others in the area, root initial m- and b- do occasionally interchange, especially after a prefix or when followed by a lateral (see also HPTB: 133); CH has initial m-, WT initial b-:

- **Fly (n.)** méng (mŋ) [mŋ] *mɾan ʔadfly’ vs. WT sbraŋ (< *s-mran?) ‘a fly’
- **Snake** huĩ (xjweiB) [huiB] *hmui?
  - <> PTB *b-rui: > WT sbruŋ, vs. PLB *m-r-wiy: > WB mrwe ‘snake’, KN *m-rui!
- **Herdsman** mú (mjuk) [muk] *mæk ‘pasture, herdsman, to tend (animals)’
  - <> WT ’brog-pa < nbrok ‘summer pasture, solitude, wilderness, nomad’
- **To buy** mái (maiB) [mcB] *mɾei? ‘to buy’
  - <> PTB *b-rei (> WT rje-ba < n-rje?) ‘to barter’, Garo bre, Dimasa barai ‘to buy’, vs. JP ma31-rj33 ‘to buy’
- **Ransom** shú (džwok) [zok] *m-lok? ‘to ransom’
  - vs. WT Blu-ba, Bluš ‘to buy off, ransom’
- **Shaman** wú (mju) [mva] *ma ‘shaman, spirit medium, magician’
  - vs. WT ‘ba-po < nba ‘shaman(ess)’
- **Sort** wú (mjwut) [mut] *mat ‘class, sort, things’, PTB *mrwv vs. WT ‘bru < nbru ‘grain, seed’

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Ten thousand 万 (mjän 3) [mjönC] *m(r)ans (< *C-mom ?) ‘ten thousand’
vs. WT *bum < nbum ‘hundred thousand’

To wipe, wash 于 (mjiet 4) [mit] *mit ‘to wipe a vessel’, JP myit55 ‘wash (the face)’
vs. WT *pʰyid-pa ‘to wipe, blot out’, Lushai pʰi? < pʰis ‘wash (the face)’

Temple 祥 (mjäuC 3) [miouC] *m(r)auh ‘ancestral temple’
vs. PMY *prau2 < *br- ‘house’

Deceive 罹 (mjwanѣ) [muonѣ] *manѣ? ‘to deceive, confusion, to outwit, wits’
vs. Tai: S. pʰraŋA2 < *br- ‘to deceive, cheat’

Also southern dialects have initial m- in a few words for a labial stop consonant elsewhere; see → bāo 剝, → bò 厝; there is at least one parallel with velar initials: → yāo 咬.

5.12.3 Austroasiatic nasal infix

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

Belt, sash 繫 (sjaŋ) [siaŋ] *snaŋ ‘belt, sash, horse’s belly-band’
< AA: Khmer caŋŋaŋ /camnaŋ/ ‘a tie, band, strap, bond’ < nominal n-infix derivative of caŋ /caŋ/ ‘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 -sapa /-saap/ ‘to cover, protect’ yields with n-infix snapa /snaap/ ‘shroud’, but derived from this is napa /naap/ ‘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.
Because MC final consonants, tones, and other phonemes are projected back to identical ones in LHan, subsequently examples will often be cited in simpler LHan forms.

To account for variations in final consonants in ST cognate sets and within wfs, such as wú ~ wáng 'not have', bái '100' < *brak ~ PTB *brya, we can, according to LaPolla (BIHP 65.1, 1994: 131–173), either (1) reconstruct a very complex proto-language using phonetic symbols (for example, final *-g as done by Karlgren and Li Fang Kuei, e.g., MC kâk : kuo < OC *kâk : *kâg), or (2) use non-phonemic symbols (-H, -X), or (3) reconstruct a simple system which allows for a certain amount of variation (ibid. p. 142), e.g., MC kâk : kuo < OC *kâk : *kâ.

With LaPolla (and others, like Pulleyblank, Baxter, Sagart), we assume the third possibility because it provides on balance simple explanations, and is in agreement with the typology of the languages in the area.

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

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

Arrive  | gé 格 LH [kak] *krâk 'arrive' > jiā 假 [kaŋ] *krâ 'arrive'
Let go  | shì 釋 [šak] *hlak 'put away, let go'
         | > shè 舍舍 [šaŋ] *hlâi 'to let off, set aside, let go'
You     | ruō 若 [ňak] *nak 'you' > ŋ如 [ňaŋ] *na? 'you'

The form in *?- is perhaps a weakened form in 'Arrive', 'Let go', and 'Lame' below (see §6.2 for parallels with *-t; Baxter and Sagart 1998: 60; for ST exs. 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 kʰa, WB kʰaŋ 'bitter' ≠ WT kʰag, WB kʰak '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 LH [pak], OCM *prék 'hundred' <> WT brya < *brja 'hundred'
Shrivel  | sū 肅 [šuŋ] *siuk 'shrive' ≠ xiū 修 [šuŋ] *siu 'shrink'
Shame    | niū 命 [nuk] *nruk < *r-nuk 'ashamed' ≠ xiū 差 [šuŋ] *snu 'shame'

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

Change   | yì 易 [jeŋ] *leŋ (< *lai-k) 'to change' <> PTB *lay 'change'
Lame     | bì 觀 [pjeŋ] *pek (< *pai-k) 'to walk lame'
         | < bō 跛 [paiŋ] *pái (? (< *pai-k) 'to walk lame'
Oblique  | pi 偏 [pjeŋ] *phek < pō 順坡 [paiŋ] *phâi
6.1.1 *-k-extension

So far, no perceptible function or meaning has been identified for this velar suffix (except for items in §6.1.2 below) which is also encountered in TB (HPTB: 479ff). 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| 虱厝 [tsʰuk] *tshāk ‘whetstone, grindstone’ < cuo| 虱 ‘rub, polish’ (in general, not necessarily with a stone); WT kʰa|g ‘difficult’ < kʰa| ‘bitter’. This morpheme might possibly be related to the WT suffix -kʰa as in ser-ka| ‘cleft’ (Beyer 1992: 133). This narrowed or singular meaning may also explain the specific word zhi| 齒 *tek ‘single, one’ <> WT gchi| ‘one’, vs. the more general zhi| 詰 only <> PLB day² ‘only’. The final -k in CH bai| 百 *prak ‘hundred’, vs. PTB *prya, possibly plays the same role.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-V</th>
<th>-k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhā</td>
<td>聴 *trāi ‘to open (door)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chē</td>
<td>剃 *thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pō</td>
<td>破 *phai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.1.2 – 6.2.1 FINAL CONSONANTS

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 pʰjai33 ‘break’ < pʰjeʔ < pʰjek ‘break’. Other languages also have a final -k in this semantic range; Gedney (1976: 72) draws attention to words in Tai with final -eek which imply separation, for instance.

6.1.2 Suffix -k: distributive
A k-suffix forms distributives or partitives as Pulleyblank (1973: 122; 1995: 134) calls them; they refer to one of a set. These words include → shú 孫, → ruò 若, → zè 则, and

None    mò 莫 [mak] *mâk ‘none, nothing’ < wú 无 [ma] *ma ‘there is no’
Someone huò 或 [yaŋ] *wâk ‘someone’ < yǒu 有 [wuB] *wəʔ ‘there is’
Each    ĝè 各 [maŋ] *klâk ‘each’ < ? jū 基 [kəB] ‘all’

This distributive suffix may possibly be the same “singular event” final -k (§6.1.1) hence mò 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 *-ŋ, *-ŋk 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, *-t 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 *-?) casts doubt on that (for a parallel, see §6.1.1 above):

C. square    kuò 桁 [kuat] *kwât or *kôt ‘carpenter’s square’
Filth        gū 滅 [kuat, guat] *kût ‘dirt, to sully’
Bend         gū 屈 [kuat] *kût ‘to bend, subdue’
Discern      chá 察 [tsʰat] *tshrât ‘to examine, discern’
To end        zú 死 [tsut] *tsut ‘to finish, end, die’
Say, said    yuē 曰 [wat] *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’ above).

Moon    yuē 月 [ŋyat] *ŋwat ‘moon’ < WT nγo(s) ‘half moon’
Tongue shé 舌 [zat] *m-lat or *m-le 'tongue'  
< shí 石 [zë] *m-le? 'to lick' <> PTB *m-le 'tongue'

Tip mò 末 [mat] 'tip, end' (the thing that comes to nothing?)  
< wú 無 [mua] 'not have, there is no'

Sort wù 物 [mjuat] [mut] 'class, sort, things'  
<> PTB *mruw (STC no. 150): WT 'bru < nbru 'grain, seed'

Group žú 卒 [tsuast] *tsūt 'group (of men), soldier'  
< zāo 遭 [tsou] *tsū 'meet, encounter', allofams mean 'assemble', etc.

Tears lèi 淚 [lius] 'tears'  
< liú 流 [liu] 'to flow'

After the OC front vowel *i, OC > MC -t can also derive from PCH *-k (§6.4.1), but words like 'Sun', 'Blood', and 'House' agree with this semantic category and therefore had original final *-t:

Sun ri 日 [nit] *nit 'sun, day' <> PTB *nyiy
Blood xuè 血 [huet] *hwît 'blood' <> PTB *s-hwiy 'blood'
House shì 室 [sit] *lhit (?) 'house'  
<> WT gźi 'foundation, abode', Lepcha î 'house'

This nominalizing t-suffix is of ST provenance, but since there are not many OC—TB cognate sets with this morpheme, it can only have been productive between the ST and OC stages, i.e., in PCH — something that can be observed with other ST morphemes (§2.4.2-3). The ST origin of the t-suffix is established by its survival in TB languages (Benedict LTBA 14:2, 1991: 149–153; STCP 101–102; HPTB: 454ff), most transparently in WT where it has the same range of meanings as in CH, although abstract nouns predominate (Geilich 1994: 10–48 has an exhaustive collection):

litad-mo 'play, the watching’ < lta-ba 'to see, watch'
nad 'illness' < na-ba 'be ill'
šid-(ma) 'funeral meal’ < 'éhi-ba, ši 'to die'
drod 'heat' < 'dro-ba 'be hot'
lčid 'weight' < lči-ba 'heavy'
rgyud 'cord, string’ < rgyu-ba 'to run'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6-2</th>
<th>*-t: modal</th>
<th>*-t(s): irrealis or future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bù 不 *pə 'not'</td>
<td>fú 弗 *pət 'cannot, will not &gt; resist'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wù) 亡 *mə 'don’t!’</td>
<td>wù 勿 *mat 'do not want to!' etc.</td>
<td>wèi 未 *mə(t)s 'not yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wù 無 *ma 'there is no, not have'</td>
<td>mò 末 *màt (if...) 'not'</td>
<td>mèi 蔣 *mēt (if...) 'not &gt; despise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wèi 惟 *wi 'to be &gt; think'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yǒu 有 *wɔ 'there is, have'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.2 Final *-t, *(t)s with grammatical words

Final *-t forms “aspectual” (Pulleyblank) or “modal” (Dobson) words, *(t)s forms an ‘irrealis’ (or perh. ‘future’) counterpart to certain grammatical words; see Table 6-2. For the semantic extension of some of these grammatical words, see §2.10.

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; 477ff). It is also possible that in these sets the finals derive from an original *-ts. Unger (Haa-ku 39, 1992: 88) has collected a dozen such sets; a few examples follow.

Finish

Finish: [pit]*pit ‘to finish, complete’ <> Lushai pei?l < peis ‘id.’

Seven

Seven: qī 七 [tshit] *tshit < *snhit ‘seven’
<> PTB *snis > Himalayish *snis; PLB *snit > PBurm *?nit > WB kʰu-hnac; JP sə̆?-nit3̆; Trung snit

Knee

Knee: fǔ 脚[l] ~ bì 頭 ([pit] *pit ‘knee cover’
<> PTB *put > WT pus-mo ~ pis-mo

6.3 Final -s

Final *-s occurs in TB as part of a root as well as a suffix (HPTB: 431ff; 477ff). Hypothetical final *-s in OCM has the same MC outcome as OCM *-ts (§3.4). Although words and their respective phonetic series are commonly reconstructed across the board as OC *-ts (Baxter et al.), phonetic series seem to fall into two groups, one of which consists of words exclusively in tone C. We suspect that words in such series ended in simple OCM which was not a suffix or morpheme (like tone C), but belonged to the root, for example:

Great

dài, dāi 大 (dāiC) [das, daC] *dās ‘big, great’
κ tāi 太 (tāiC) [thas] *thās ‘very big, excessive’

Yet OCM *-s on rare occasions is added to a root, but it is not clear if this is a variant of ordinary tone C derivations, or if it had some other function:

Arrive

dài 来 (dāiB) [daB] *lā? ‘arrive’
κ dái 逺 (dāiC, iC) [dās, jis] *lā(t)s, *lā(t)s ‘come’

Come

lái 來 (lāi) [lā] *rā/k < *C-rā? or *C-роk ‘come’
κ lì 誠 (liC) [lis] *rā(t)s? ‘arrive’
κ lì 归 (lieiC) [les] prob. *rā(t)s ‘arrive’

6.4 Final -n

Final -n has merged with -n after high vowels. Final -n can also be a morpheme.

6.4.1 Final -in / -it

ST / PCH *-it / *-in and *-in / *-ik have coalesced in some ST languages with final *-in / *-it (for TB, see HPTB: 527ff). In Chinese, however, ST and PCH rimes *-in, *-ik have apparently shifted in two directions in OC:

(1) PCH *-in, *-ik > OC *-in, *-it:

72
Wood xīn 薪 [sin] *sin 'firewood'
<> PTB *sin > WT šīŋ 'tree, wood', PLB *sik ~ *siŋ

Year nián 年 [nen] *nǐn 'harvest, crop, year'
<> PTB *s-niŋ 'year' > WT na-niŋ 'last year', JP niŋ33, WB ə-hnik

Louse shī 蟲 [sit] *srit 'louse'
<> PTB *s-rīk > WT šīg < hrjik 'louse', Bunun šrīg, Lushai hrikL

Additional examples include → tian 田 'field', → jī 墟 'masonry', → jié 結 'to tie'.

(2) PCH *-iŋ, *-ik > OC *-en, *ek

In many words, ST and foreign finals *-iŋ / *-ik have merged with *-en, *-ek. In addition, a few phonetic series combine words in OC *-in / *-it with ones in *-en / *-ok. This indicates that the rimes *-iŋ / *-ik may still have been distinct in OC (Baxter 1992). Here follow examples with OC *-e, for earlier *-i.

Sound

míng 鳴 [mien] *mren, OCB *mrjen 'to sound, to call'
<> WB mren < mriŋ 'to sound'; Mikir marēŋ < m-riŋ 'make noise, cry', Lushai riiŋB / rinn 'be loud'

Dark

míng 冥 [men(B)] *mēŋ 'be dark, night'
<> WB mańB ~ maıB < miŋB 'dark, black'

Birth, live

shēng 生 [ṣen] *srēŋ 'be born, live'
<> PTB *s-riŋ (> *sriŋ) > Kanauri sriŋ 'to live, alive'

Drip
dī 滴 [tek] *tēk 'to drip, drop'
<> WT: tiiŋ(s)-pa ~ tʰiŋ-pa, tʰiŋs 'to drop, drip'

Calculate

lì 歐暦 [lek] *tēk 'to add up, a number, calculate'
<> WB re < ri 'to count', Kanauri ri, WT rtsi-ba < rhji < rhi

(3) Some words have OC *-in ~ *-en doublets, presumably from foreign *-iŋ / PCH *-iŋ. In such words, Shìfūng rimes require a final *-in, but the same words have MC rimes which go back to OC *-en. Some doublets have survived into MC and later (e.g., ‘Dazzle’ below). The phonological condition for this vacillation is not clear; OC dialect differences may have been responsible (Baxter 1992; note ‘To pity’ below).

Name

míng 名 [mien] *men ~ *min 'name'
<> PTB *r-min > WT mįŋ, Jiarong termi, PLB *ʔ-miŋ1/3

Order

míng 命 [mienC] *meh ~ *min 'to order'

Rain

líng 雨露 [len] *rēŋ ~ *rīn

Distant

jiōng 洞道 [ywenB] *wēŋ? 'distant' ~ xuān 洸 [hwen] *hwīn 'far away'

Dazzle

yíng 熒 [ywen] *wēŋ 'the light' (of a lamp, fire) > 'glow-worm' > 'dazzle, confuse, delude' 熒 ~ xuān 炫 [ywen(C)] *wēn(s) 'troubled sight, delude, deceive' ~ xuān 炫 [y(w)enC] *wēns 'bright, dazzle, show off'

To pity

lián 懷 (len) *rīn 'to pity'
~ líng 愛 (lien) [len?] 'id.'
~ líng 惦 (ljen) [len] a Han period dialect variant
6.4.2 Final *-un from *-uŋ

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

Mosquito ʷéん 蚊 [mun] *mën < *mōn ‘mosquito’ ʷmēŋ 蟲 [mon] *mōŋ ‘midge, mosquito’
Deceive ʷǎŋ 罔 [muong] *mǎn 谩 [ma/an(C), mian]
Reckless ʷǎng 妄 [muon] *mǎn 谩 [man]
Goose ʷáん, 雁 [nan] ʷ > WT ʷ nan ‘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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>PTB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stream</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>chuān 船 *k-hlun ‘stream’</td>
<td>WB  k’jonB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>chuān 船 *m-lon ‘boat’</td>
<td>WB  ljonB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>biàn 变 *pron ‘to change’</td>
<td>WB  pronB ‘change place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumult</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>luān 乱 *rōn ‘tumult’</td>
<td>WB  bjonB ~ bronB ‘tumultuous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soft</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>ruān 软 *non? ‘soft’</td>
<td>WB  hōnB ‘soft, gentle, quiet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>duān 短 *tōn? ‘short’</td>
<td>WB  tōnB ‘short, as garment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shield</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>dùn, shùn 盾 *dun? ‘shield’</td>
<td>WB  duinB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divide</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>fēn 分 *pon ‘divide’</td>
<td>WB  puiB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flee</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>bēn 奔 *pōn ‘to run, flee’</td>
<td>PTB *plon ‘flee, run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>fēn 焚 *bon ‘to burn’</td>
<td>PTB *plon ‘burn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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., rōn-ma 蠅 thief’ < rōn-ba ‘to steal’, gčin ‘urine’ < rōn-ba ‘urinate’ (Beyer 1992: 117; Geilich 1994: 26 ff); there are also traces of this suffix in other TB languages (Michailovsky 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>PTB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>jīn 津 LH [tsin] OCM *tsin ‘a ford’ n. (&lt; *tsəi-n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>&lt; jī 津 [tsēi] *tsiŋ ‘to ford, to cross’ vb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrist</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>wān 腕 [wun] *?ōns or *?wāns ‘wrist’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>yān 言 [nian] *ŋan ‘to speak, speech’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>&lt; yū 言 [ŋo] *ŋa ‘to speak’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest</td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>bǐn 賓 [pin] *pin ‘a gift, present’ &gt; to present a gift &gt; guest’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strokeWidth</td>
<td>&lt; bì 界 [pis] *pis or *pits ‘to give’ ʷ &gt; WB peB ‘give’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Worm  
yuān 蟒昌 [ruen] *?wên (< *?uāi-n) ‘small worm, bending, crawling (as a caterpillar)’
< wēi 逶 (3/jwie 3) [tyai] *?uai or *?oi ‘tortuous movement’

Heir  
yǐn 艮 [jinC] *lāns ‘successor, heir, posterity’
< yí 胎詣 [jö] *lā ‘to transmit, bequeath, hand down’

Suffix *-n is occasionally added to existing nouns, rather than creating new ones:

People  
mín 民 LH [min] *min ‘people’ <> PTB *mi ‘person, man’

Dog  
quān 犬 [kłu-enB] *khwfn? ‘dog’
< ST *kwi ‘dog’: PTB *kwi > PTib. ki > WT k'yi

Monkey  
yuān 猿 [won] *wan ‘monkey’ <> PL *C-lwaj, JP woi, we ‘monkey’

Bowl  
wān 碗 [lu-enB] *?ön? ‘a bowl’ < ōu 餐 [tö] *?ō ‘a bowl’

Hammer  
duān 捶 [lu-enC] *tōns ‘hammer’
< PTB *tow > WT mtb'osa ~ tlo-ba < nто ‘large hammer’, WB t'bC ‘to hammer’ * tuA ‘a hammer’

Chisel  
juān 錐 [tsyen] *tsan ‘chisel, sharp point’
< WT mts'ón ‘any pointed instrument, forefinger’, JP dž ‘thorn, prick, WB tsuB ‘to sting’

Fat  

Bank of river  
àn 岸 [lu-enC] *nāns ‘river bank’
< hū 湖 [lu-h] *hnā ‘river bank’ <> WT djo ‘bank, side’

Egg  
luān 卵 [lu-enB] *C-rön? ‘egg’ <> West Tib. sro-ma ‘nit’

Goose  
yān 鴨 [nānC] *ŋrāns ‘domestic goose’ < é 鵝 [ŋai] *ŋai ‘goose’ (but see above and in the dictionary)

Date  
chéng 辞 [džin] *dān ‘date, point in time, season’
< shí 時 [dža] *dā ‘time, season’

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  
ruān 柔 [nlu-enB] *non? ‘soft, weak’
< nuō 柔 [nö] *no ‘weak, timid’

Lively  
wān 淑 [YuenB] *?on? (< *?au-n-?) ‘be lovely’
< yāo 娘 [jöu] *?au ‘be delicate, slender, beautiful, charming’

Quarrel  
uán 始 [lu-enC] *nraun(s) ‘to quarrel’
< nāo 遭 [nauB] *nraw? ‘to trouble, disturb’

Thick  
dūn 敦 [lu-en] *tūn ‘be solid, thick’ <> WT t'bA ‘thick’

To drip  
luān 漏 [lu-en] *rōn ‘dripping (of water)’
< lōu 漏 [luC] *ro(k)h ‘to leak’
6.4.5 Pronominal final -n
Suffixed to coverbs (prepositions), -n takes the place of the pronoun zhī (him, her, it) which never follows a coverb (Pulleyblank 1995: 10; 56):

\[
\begin{align*}
yān 燕 & \text{ 'in / at... it'} < \text{於 yú 'be in / at...'} \\
yuàn 焉 & \text{ 'in / at... it'} < \text{於 yú 'be in / at...'} \\
rán 然 & \text{ 'like it'} < \text{如 rú 'be like',}
\end{align*}
\]

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 → nà 那).

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. gāchhati 'he arrives' (< *g-am-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 yū is the general term, wāŋ 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   | wāŋ 往 LH [muŋ] OCM *mañ 'to disappear' |
| Rise        | yāŋ 揚 [jan] *laŋ 'to rise, raise' |
| Become warm | xiōŋ 熊 (xj[wɔŋ][B]) [kiŋ[B]] *hɔŋ? 'become warm' (of the rising sun) |
| Go to       | wāŋ 往 [wɔŋ] *waŋ? 'to go to, gone, past' |
| Live        | shēng 生 [sɔŋ] *srɛŋ 'to live, be alive' > ('cause to live') 'give birth' |
| Center      | yāŋ 央 [ʔəŋ] *ʔaŋ 'hit the center, reach the middle' (< 'get to be in it') |

6.5.2 Final -ŋ and open syllables
Often, allofams 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Itch</td>
<td>‘to itch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>‘distant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet</td>
<td>‘to meet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bend</td>
<td>‘bent, crooked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pool</td>
<td>‘to bend, deflect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceive</td>
<td>‘to deceive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Square</td>
<td>‘square basket’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wide</td>
<td>‘wide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch</td>
<td>‘to see, look at, inspect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>‘firewood’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, Geilich (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) vs. sna ‘nose’, ‘bru-ma ‘swelling, tumor’ vs. 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 so rare and of ST heritage, that for practical purposes, we will here not count labial finals among the morphemes.

Because of labial dissimilation, rimes -op / -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 ŋzjap ‘enter’ descends from ST *nup (WT nub) via nūp > OC *nāp; or sān 三 ‘three’ ST *sum (PTB *sum) > OC *sām via suam.

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
6.8 FINAL CONSONANTS

Turn over fù 覆 [phuk] *phuk ‘to overturn’ <> WT spub-pa ‘to turn over’

Warm sūn 煮 [suan] *sūn or *slun? ‘cooked rice, warm meal’
? ~ xín 尋焖 *sl-am ‘to heat (food)’ <> PTB *slum ‘to heat’

To end zhōng 终 [tšuŋ] *tuŋ ‘to end’
? <> WB tumC ‘be ended (season)’, JP tʰum ‘be ended’, Lai tʰum ‘be ended’ & dža-tʰum ‘end something’

Double chóng 重 [don] *tron ‘double, accumulate’
<> WB cum ‘double, form a pair’

To descend jiàng 降 [kɔŋ] *krʊŋ ‘to descend, send down’
? <> TB-Lai trum / trum ‘descend’ & tʰrum / tʰrum ‘to put down’

Yet these examples and the idea of such dissimilation may be spurious. Although -um ~ -uŋ variation is observed in TB (e.g., *[s]-uŋ ~ *s-lum ‘heart / liver’ — Matisoff 1978: 203–205), the above examples have possible alternate etymologies. Labial initial and final consonants are incompatible in most environments, however, hence the final labial is dissimilated:

Blood huāng 豪 [huon] *hmɑŋ ‘blood’
< AA: PNorth Bahnaric *maham, PMnong *mham

Tray mǐn 卤 [mianB] *manŋ? ‘vessel, dish, bowl’
< AA: Viet. mām, PVM *ʔomA ‘food tray’

Ten thousand wàn 萬 [muanC] *mans < *mons ‘ten thousand’
<> WT ‘bum < nbum ‘hundred thousand’

Ice bīng 冰 [pin] *præŋ? ‘ice’ <> PTB *pam ‘snow’ > Jiarong ta-rpam ‘ice’

Burry bēng 廠 (porganic) *pæŋh ‘put the coffin into the ground, bury’
<> ? WT ‘bum ‘tomb, sepulcher’, Lushai pʰuamH ‘to bury’

Gush fú 沸 [put] *pot (< *put) ‘be gushing, rushing (as spring, water, wind)’
<> PTB *brup ~ *prup ‘gush forth’

6.8 OC final -i

Matisoff (1995: 35–91; HPTB: 482–489) has proposed a TB palatal diminutive suffix *-i. In OC, this morpheme marks the independent pronouns (§3.3.3). It also appears in mī 糠 [miiB] ‘have not, there is no’ < wū 無 [mu] ‘not’ (§3.3.2). Otherwise, final *-i occurs in variation with simple vowels or with *-n; see Table 6-3.
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 (Benedict LTBA 5.1, 1979: 6):

Ploughed fields  chōu 耘 (djou) *dru <> Tai: S. tʰuak<sup>B2</sup> < dnuak
Hold, grasp  chí 持 (dż) *dra <> Tai: S. tʰæk < dǝok
Boat  zhōu 船 *tu <> AA: Khmer duk
Male animal  mū 牡 *mʊ? or *C-mʊ? ‘male (animal)’
<> OKhmer jmol /cmol/ ‘male, of animals’
Each  měi 每 *mё? ‘each, every’ <> Khmer /mooj/; PMon mu₂ ‘one’
Helmet  móu 害 *mu ‘helmet’ <> TB-WT rmog ‘helmet’
<> AA: Khmer mʊək ‘hat’, Biat maok. PEKatuic *muak (<- Khmer’);
Khmer -> Tai: S. muak<sup>D1</sup> < *hm- ‘hat, cap’
Branch  měi 枚 *mоi ‘branch’ <> AA: OKhmer mёk/meek/ ‘branch’
Sad  sǎo 鬱 *sú ‘sadd, worried, grief’
<> AA: OKhmer sok /sook/ ‘sorrow, affliction, pain, grief, be sad’
Pig  shǐ 穀 (ṣje<sup>B</sup>) *lhe? ? (*Lhai? ?) ‘pig’
<> AA: PMonic *cliik, Mon klot, kloïk ‘pig’, PWa *lik ‘pig’

For contrast, compare items with MK short vowels:

Polish  cuō 糠 (tsʰă) [tsʰai] *tshăi ‘to rub, polish’
<> AA: Khmer /cnaj/ ‘to cut (gems), to polish’
Tree trunk  gēn 根 (kăn) *kōn ‘root, trunk’ <> AA: PVM *kəl ‘tree (trunk)’ (short vowel), PMon *t[不易]gəl ‘stump (of tree, mushroom, tooth)’
Stop, block  sāi, sāi, sè 塞 (săk) *săk ‘to stop up, block’
<> AA-Khmer suka /sok/ ‘to stop up, block, cram...’
Shelter  sù 宿 (sjuk) *suk ‘pass the night’ <> AA: OKhmer /sruk/ Proto-Khmer ‘shelter, settlement, homeland’ ≈ Khmer jruka /cruk/ ‘shelter, refuge, asylum’ < derivatives of /ruk/ ‘go down into, take shelter’

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

To spear fish  chuō 撈 (tsʰăk) *tshrok ‘to spear (fish)’
<> AA: Khmer cūká/cōok/ ‘lift with tool...’ ≈ cpūka /cbōok/ (archaic) ‘trident for lifting fish’. For the CH retroflex initial, see §5.10.2.

Retention of a coda after a long vowel seems to indicate a late layer of borrowing; compare cuo₂ 鼜 (tsʰuɑ<sup>C</sup>) *tshōih ‘hay, fodder’, mid- to late Zhou word from AA *ksooy; MC tsʰ- for foreign *ks- is common, especially in late words; vs.
chú₄ 鳧 (tʃju) *tshro ‘hay, fodder’ on Shang OB from the same AA *ksooy; very old is also OC *r with foreign pre-initial *g- or *k-.

Residue may include — bā₂ 畚 *prå? ‘wild pig’; — fū₉ 膕 *pa ‘human skin’.

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Many different MC / LHan reflexes are believed to derive from OC *r: initial 1-; retroflex consonants; QYS div. II and chōngniū 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 1-

MC / LHan initial 1- < 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: 200f) suggests that MC 1- 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 1- that this division’s vocalism may have been caused by this loss. We therefore tend to write OCM *g-r- or *C-r- > MC 1- and so on when there is some indication of what has disappeared (LHan after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MC / LHan initial 1-</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stand</td>
<td>1i 立</td>
<td>lip, *g-rəp ‘to stand’ &lt;&gt; PTB *krap ‘to stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigo</td>
<td>1án 藍</td>
<td>lom, *rām &lt; *g-ram ‘indigo’ &lt;&gt; Thai khraam &lt; PTai *gr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrier</td>
<td>1án 閘</td>
<td>lən, *rān &lt; *g-ran ‘barrier, to protect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchid</td>
<td>1án 蘭</td>
<td>lən, *rān&lt; *g-ran ‘orchid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To train</td>
<td>1ián 練</td>
<td>len, *rēn &lt; *g-ren ‘to train’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refine</td>
<td>1iàn 練</td>
<td>len, *rēn &lt; *g-ren ‘to purify’ 練 &gt; ‘refine (metal)’ 練</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lotus fruit</td>
<td>1ián 蓮</td>
<td>len, *rēn &lt; *g-ren ‘lotus fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>1ān 懶</td>
<td>lən &lt; *g-ren ‘lotus fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accumulate</td>
<td>1iān 擁</td>
<td>liam &lt; *ram/s ‘gather, accumulate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To see</td>
<td>1ián 監</td>
<td>liam &lt; *ram?/s ‘to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overflow</td>
<td>1iàn 溢</td>
<td>liam, *rāms &lt; *g-rams ‘overflow, put into water’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.1.2 OC voiceless *r-
OC voiceless *r is rare, is reflected in MC / LHan th- and tʰ-. Cases include → tǐ‘body’ and ‘Sorpcion’ 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 t(ʰ), d, n, tʂ(ʰ), dz, s correspond to foreign ones with an r in the initial, for example:

Extend zhāng 张 [tsʰ] *tran ‘make long, stretch, extend, draw (a bow)’
< WT *dren-ba, drill(s) ‘to draw’, PLB *raŋ ‘draw, pull’

Louse shī虱 [sit] *srit < *srik ‘louse’
< PTB *s-rik > WT ʂiŋ < *hrjik ‘louse’, Bunan ʂrj

Live shēng 生 [sɛŋ] *srɛŋ <-> PTB *sraŋ ‘live’

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

Unfold zhān 展 [tsʰ] *tran? ‘unfold, open’
< WT rdal-ba, brdal ‘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 d- and t-) 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 zhì雉 [diB] *dri ‘pheasant’
< ST: WB rač < *rik ‘id.’, WT sreg-pa ‘partridge’

Old man zhàn 丈 [deŋB] *draŋ ‘old man’
< ST: PTB *draq (or rather *ryan ?) > WT ząŋ ‘chief, uncle’, WB ə-hraŋ ‘master, lord’, Kuki *raŋ < *traŋ ‘father’s sister’s husband’

Ramie zhù苧 [dəB] ‘ramie, cloth / rope woven of ramie’
< ST: WT ras ‘cotton cloth’


To fall zhui 墮 (dwiC) [dus] *drus ‘to fall down’
< MK: OKhmer ruḥ /ruh/ ‘to fall, drop’ ≠ jruḥ /crul/ ‘to fall, drop’
Farm  chán 場 (dān) *dran ‘farm, farmyard’
< KT: Tai S. ñăn A², PKS *hran¹ ‘house’
Call zhào 召 (dāu C) *drau ‘to call, summon’
< Tai: S. rīak A² ‘summon, call’

MC ʔ/- / LHan t-= foreign or dialectal Cr:

Pig zhū 豬 [t̚ā] *tra ‘pig’ ʔ jā 獅 [ka] *krā ‘boar, pig’
Sickle zhì 錘 [t̚it] *trit ‘sickle, cut with a sickle’ <> WT gri ‘knife’, WB kře²
‘copper’, JP mō²-gri³³ ‘brass’, Lushai hrei¹ < hreih ‘axe, hatchet’
Wrist zhōu 肘 [t̚u²] *tru? ‘wrist, elbow’ (< ‘bend’) <> WB kru³ ‘bow down, stoop’
Bamboo zhú 竹 [t̚uk] *truk ‘bamboo’
< Tai: S. tōk D1L < *pročk, PKS *truk ‘bamboo strip’
Morning zhāo 朝 [t̚eu] *trau ‘morning’ <> Tai: S. p²rau A² < *br- ‘morning’
Know zhī 知 [t̚e] *trec ‘to know, understand’
< Lushai hria² / hre² / hria² ‘to know’

Doublets MC / LHan t- (< *r-) and retroflex stops are also found within Chinese:

Provisions liáng 粮 [lio²] *rau ‘grain, provisions’
< zhāng 粮 [t̚on] *trau ‘provisions’
Mound lōng 墩隆 [lio²] *ron? ‘mound’
< zhōng 墩塚 [t̚on] *ron? ‘mound’

7.1.5  MC dʒ-= foreign r-
Non-ST initial r- corresponds occasionally to MC / LHan dʒ- (< *dzr-).
Shape zhuàng 狀 [dzōn C] *dzraŋ ‘form, shape’ <> Tai: S. rāŋ B² ‘form, shape’ <
AA: Khmer rāna [räːna] ‘body build, form, figure, shape’
Category chái 價 [dzêi] *dzrê or *dzrêi ‘class, category, equals’
< Tai: S. raai² A² set. category, list’
Nest cháo 巢 [dzau] *dzrāu <> PMY *rau² ‘nest’
A shed zhàn 棧 [dzan B] *dzrán? ‘a shed made of intertwined branches’
< Tai: S. raan² C² ‘machan, booth, stall, shop’

7.2  MC div. II, chόngniü div. III, and OC medial *-r-
Many cognate sets support the hypothesis that an OC medial *r is responsible for QYS division II vocalism and LHan equivalents (Bodman 1985). Baxter (1992) suggests that certain chόngniü div. III syllables also had a medial *r, but as with div. II, not all such MC words correspond to words with foreign medial r (see §7.4). For div. II in general, see §9.1.4.

Div. II syllables correspond not only to foreign medial *r syllables, but also to syllables that have a final -r, a pre-initial r-, as well as pre-initials like d- or g-, medial -l-, or no medial at all; some MC syllables may represent archaisms; some foreign words with medial r have MC counterparts in div. I/IV or III (no OC *r is assumed there). Why there is a multitude of correspondences is at present only a matter of speculation.

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7.2.1  Foreign medial *r

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

- **Add**  jiā 加 *[kai] *krāi ‘to add, apply’
  <> WT bkral-ba ‘to impose, place upon (tax)’
- **Shell**  jiā 甲 *[kap] *krāp ‘shell, nail, armor’
  <> WT khrab ‘shield, fish scales’
- **River**  jiāng 江 *[kɔŋ] *krōŋ ‘river’ <> PMonic *kroon, Bahnar kroŋ ‘river’
- **Horn**  jiāo 角 *[kɔk] *krōk ‘horn’ <> PTB *kru(w) > WB khyui, khrui ‘horn’
- **Eight**  bā 八 *[pet] *priāt or *pēt ‘eight’
  <> WT brgyad < *bryat; TGTM *pret; Lush pà-riāt
- **Hundred**  bāi 百 *[pak] *prāk ‘hundred’ <> PTB *r-ya > WT brgya < *br-ya
- **Divide**  bān 班 *[pan] *prān ‘divide, distribute’
  <> WT ‘phral-ba ‘to separate, part’
- **Womb**  bāo 胞 *[pʰu] *prū ‘womb’ <> WT ’phru-ma/-ba ‘uterus’
- **Stool**  ji 几 *[ki] *kri ‘stool, small table’
  <> TB: WT khrui ‘seat, throne, chair, frame’
- **Hungry**  ji 飢 *[ki] *krai or *krai? ‘be hungry, starve’ <> TB: WT bkres ‘id.’

7.2.2  Div. II = archaism

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

- **Afraid**  pà 怕 *(pʰaC) ‘to be afraid’ [(Tang) Han Yu]
  ~ pù 慚 *(pʰaC) *pʰāh ‘to fear’ [Zhuangzi]
- **Crow**  yā 鴉 *(ʔa) *ʔa ‘crow, raven’ ~ wū 鳥 *(ʔa) *ʔa ‘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 *r- (OC *r-) = foreign 1

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

- **To sow**  jià 稼 *(kaC) *krāh ‘grain, to sow’ <> KT: PTai *klaC ‘young rice plant’,
  Saek tlaa3 > traa3 ‘rice seedlings’, PKS *kla3 ‘rice seedling’
- **Salt**  lù 鹽 *(laB) *rā ‘rock salt’ <> PTB *s-la ‘salt’ > Miri alo, PKaren *hla
- **Bamboo**  lù 竹 *(laC) *rāh < *g-rah ‘a kind of bamboo’
  <> Tai: S. kʰlaaC2 < *g- ‘bamboo’ <> AA-Bahnar pole, Viet. le ‘bamboo’
- **Turtle**  liè 獣 *(liap) *r(i)ap? ‘a kind of turtle’
  <> PTB *lip / *lep ‘turtle’ > WB lip, Khami lip, Mru lip ‘tortoise’
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 鱗 [lo > loi] *rā ‘a kind of eel’ [Han period EY] <> Tai: S. *la’i (WSiam hlai) ‘id.’ Tai final -ai agrees with LHan and later -ai, but not with OC *-ə.

Splint hat lí 笠 [lip] *rap ‘splint hat’ <> Tai: Wuming klopD/S < *kl- ‘bamboo hat’

Barrier guān 關 [kuan] *krōn ‘bar, barrier, frontier’ <> PTai *kloŋA1 ‘rafter, latch on door’

Frost jiāo 膩 [kou(B)] *krō(?l) ‘frost’ [Chuci] <> PWMiao *klau ‘ice, snow’. First appearance in Chuci points to late (Han period) loan.

7.4 ‘R’

Descend jiàng 階 [kəŋ] *krūŋ ‘to descend’

<> Tai: S. log A < *dl- ‘to descend’; but see also §6.7.

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- > PCH *r-; for ST / TB *s- = OC *r-, see §5.3. We cannot 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 Xiāngdōng (2000: 208ff) has collected cognate sets which include some of the following (the words belong to MC div. II or 3/3 [and LHan equivalents]):

Scold mà 罵 [maB] *mrā? ‘to scold’ <> WT dmod-pa ‘curse’ < root *ma ‘below’

Crowd měng 咩 [man] *mrāŋ <> WT dmanṣ ‘common people, crowd’

Crab xiè 蟹 [yaiB] *grē? ‘crab’ <> PTB *d-kay ‘id.’

Poor pín 貧 [btn] *brān? ‘be poor’ <> WT dbul ‘id.’

Day zhòu 晝 [tuːC] *trukh ‘day time’ <> WT gdugs ‘midday, noon’

Latrine cè 廁 [tʃəC] *tshrəkh ? ‘latrine’ <> WT gči(d)-pa ‘to urinate’

Kill shā 殺 [sət] *srāt ‘to kill’

<> PTB *g-sat ‘to kill’ > WT gsod-pa, bsad, PL *C-sat

Muntjac jī 備 [kiB] *kriʔ ‘muntjac’ <> PTB *d-kiy ‘barking deer’

Unfold zhān 展 [tʃen] *tran? ‘unfold, open’

<> WT rdal-ba, brdal ‘to spread, unfold, extend over’

Bamboo bā 笆 (baB, pa) ‘kind of bamboo’ <> WT spa ~ sba ‘cane’; Lushai rua 55 (rɔ 53) (< *-wa) ‘a kind of bamboo’

<> KN *rapa: Kom ra-pe, Tširu ra-pa

Disturb nào 搓 [pauB] *nrāʔ ‘to trouble, disturb’

<> WT sñog-pa ‘to trouble, rub; troubled, thick, turbid, dirty’

Stair jiē 階 [kei] *krœi ‘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, -t- 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: xlix). This OC *r morpheme implies an out / away motion.

Transmit  zhi 至 [tsʰi] *tis ‘to arrive’ > caus. zhi 致 [tʃi] *tris ‘to transmit’
Expel  chư 出 [tʃʰut] *thut ‘go out’ > caus. chư 黜 [tʃʰt] *thur ‘to expel’
Drive out  bìng 僯 [biən] *bêŋh ‘to eliminate’
> caus. bèng 逆 [peŋ] *preŋh ‘to drive out’

Additional words include → chư 除 ‘eliminate’; bá 拔 ‘uproot’ (under → bá 友).

7.6 Residue

7.6.1 Foreign medial -r- = no trace in MC
Occasionally, foreign -r- leaves no trace in MC / LHan (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 chòngniú doublets (< OC *-r- vs. no *-r-) in many MC rime categories. Baxter writes such forms *k(t)jəm, etc.

Prohibit  jin 禁 [kim] ‘to prohibit’ <> WT kʰrims ‘rule, right, law’
Orange  jù 橘 [kuit] ‘orange’ <> Khmer kroč ‘citrus fruit’
Stable  gũ 牠 [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  jiān 捷 [kem] *krêm ‘decrease, abridge, moderate’
<> Lushai kaam ‘to decrease’

Pig  bá 饢 [pa] *pəra ‘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 spurious. At least ‘pig’ has an alternative etymology.

7.7 Foreign final -r in OC / MC

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

Separate  pàn 畔 [ban] *bâns ‘bank between fields, separate from’
<> WT bar ‘interstice, intermediate space’, NNaga pʰar ‘divide’

To fear  dān 憂 [dan] *dâns ‘to fear, dislike’ <> WT ‘dar-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 時間 [ken] *krēn ‘to be in the middle, interstice’
<> Lushai inl-kaarH ‘the space, interval’

Board bān 板 [panB] *prān? ‘board, plank’ <> WT ‘pbrane ‘small plank’

Blossom bān 燠 [benC] *brē/âns ‘petals of a flower’
<> WT ‘bar-ba ‘to blossom’

Fowl yān 鴿 [PanC] *chrāns ‘a quail-like bird’ <> Lushai ?aarH ‘fowl’

Strong jiān 健 (gjān) [giān] *grān ‘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] *krā ‘house’ <> WT mkra ‘house, castle’

Borrow jiā 假 [kaB] *krā? ‘to borrow’ <> WT kar-skjin ‘a loan’

Price jiā 賃價 [kaC] *krāh ‘price’
<> Lushai kara ‘to buy the whole, buy in large quantities’

Wrap bāo 包 [pou] *prū ‘to wrap, bundle’
<> WT ‘phra ‘to wrap up, envelop’

Satiated bāo 食 [pouB] *prū? ‘to eat to the full, satisfied’
<> Lushai puar ‘having eaten enough’

Step over kuà 跨 [kuaC] *khwrâh ‘to step over, pass over’
<> Lushai kaarE ‘to step, pace, stride’, WT gar ‘dance’

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

To sow bō 播揀 [pouC] *pāih ‘to spread, sow, publish’
<> PTB *bår > WT ‘bor-ba ‘to throw, cast’, Bahing war ‘throw away’,
Chepang war ‘sow’, Mikir wār ‘throw’

Exhausted duō, tuō, tuò 疲 [tāiC, tōi] *tāih ‘exhausted, sick (of horses)’
<> WT ldar-ba ‘weary, tired, faint’

To fly fēi 飛 [pui] *pōi ‘to fly’ <> PTB *pur ~ *pir > WT ‘phur-ba

Ant yī 瓉 [puiB] *pāi? ‘ant’ <> KN-Lai htei ‘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.
To present  ᵍDoug [koC] *kōh ‘to present, give’ <> WT skur-ba ‘to send, transmit, give’

Throat  ṭhow [go] *gō ‘throat’
<> WT: mgul(-pa) ~ ‘gul’ ‘neck, throat’ ~ mgur ‘throat, neck, voice’

Snore  hōu ṭuu (xou) ‘to snore’ [JY]
<> WT njur-ba ‘to grunt’ ~ sjur-ba ‘to snore’

Ant  fōu [bu] *bu ‘large ant, ephemera’ <> WT sbur ‘ant’

To cleave  sī [sie] *se ‘cleave, lop off’ <> WT ser-ka ‘cleft, split’

Bare  tū ṭuu [da] *dā ‘bare, naked, only’
~ tān ṭuu [dānB] *dān? ‘to bare (to the waist)’
<> WT star-ba ‘to clean, polish’, thër ‘bald, bare’
OLD CHINESE AND FOREIGN *L

Middle Chinese initial *ji- / LHan *j- derives often from OC *l-, but also corresponds to OC *j­ (§9) and OC *wi- (§10). This initial MC *ji- < OC *l- alternates in phonetic series with MC d-, tʰ-, ʃj-, dj- as well as ʈj- (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 *dr- < *?l- (Baxter *rl-); also *dr- (§12.1.2 Table 12-2)
MC ʒj- < 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 ʃj- < OC *l’h- (§5.2.2–3); also *hj-?
MC tʰj- < OC *l’h- div. I/IV (§5.2.2–3); also *rh-, *th- div. I/IV
MC tʃj- < OC *k-l’h- (§5.9.3); also *th-
MC tj- < OC *r’h- < *?l’h-?; also *rh- (§12.1.2 Table 12-2)
MC t- < OC *t- div. I/IV < *tl- (?); also *t- (§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 dj-, tʰj- 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- 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 d- < L-type has two distinct voiceless counterparts: the Tl-type yields MC / LHan t- < OC *tl- (? < *kl-) (§8.2.1); and the voiceless sonorants tʰ-/ʃj- < *l’h- (§5.2.2–3). While the MC t- < Tl-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 lateral. 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 dāi 波 [daiC] OCM *dâ(t)s or *lâ(t)s ‘wave’ <> WT rlabs ‘wave’
Rice dào 稻 [douB] *lâu? ‘rice, paddy’ <> PMY *nblauA
Lightning diàn 電 [denC] *lin ‘lightning’ <> PYao *(?l)lin ‘lightning’
Stumble diē 踩 [det] *lit ‘to stumble’
<> TB: TGTG *pleB, PKaren *?ble2 ‘slippery’
Leaf  dié 橘 [dep] *lep ‘tablet’ 橘 <> WT ldeg ‘leaf, sheet’

Moss tái 苔 [dɔ] *lɔ ‘moss’ <> PTai *glaiA2 ‘moss’

Peach táo 桃 [dou] *lâu, OCB *g-law ‘peach’ <> PMY *glaau3A ‘peach’

MC $j$- and the rare initial $t\bar{h}$- from OC L-series will for our purposes be symbolized by OCM *d-l- and *th-l-, as in chì 池 (dít) [d⁵iaǐ] *d-lai ‘pond’, chăng 暢 (t⁵janC) [t⁵ianC] *t-hlånh ‘spread out’. Baxter sets up OCB *rl- > MC $j$-. There is no MC $d$- from an L-series in rimes *-ak; in GSR 790 we find $d$- II instead (otherwise always from OC *dr-), as in zé 澈 (ďak) [ďak] *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 石 (ţjak) *djak ‘stone’ instead of the expected MC ţjak; Min dialects have preserved the expected vowel: PMin *dţjok < LHan dţjak (not dţjak). This shows that MC djak can also come from an L-like series; and that the phenomenon is a Han period dialect feature.

8.1.2 MC zj- from PCH *s- before initial *l, *j, *w

MC zj- / LHan zi- 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 xi 習 [zip] *s-lakeup ‘to do repeatedly, repeat’
<> WT slob-pa, slabs ‘to learn, teach’ ※ slob ‘exercise, practice’

Feed sì 食 [ziaC] *s-lyok ‘to give food to, feed’
<> PTB *s-lyak ‘to feed an animal’
< shí 食 [zi] *m-lök ‘to eat’ ※ PTB *m-lyak ‘lick’

Warm up xín 尋煖 [zim] *s-lam ‘to warm up’
<> PLB *s-lum > WB hlumӨ ‘heat again, warm over’; JP ja31-lum33 ‘to heat, warm (food)’; from ST *lum ‘warm’: WB lum ‘warm’

Warm xián 謝 [ziam] *s-lam ‘to heat, warm’ ※ yán 炎 [jom] ‘burn’
<> WT slam-pa ‘to parch’

8.1.3 MC dzj- (LHan ź-) from OC *ml-

Karlgren’s rare MC palatal initial dzj- contrasts with the common źi- / LHan dz-. Some scholars have considered this QY distinction artificial, but it is confirmed by the early Tang commentator Yán Shìgǔ 顏師古 (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 źj- 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 shé 舌 (dżjat) [zêt] *m-let ‘tongue’
<> PY *byet, PM *nplai; Proto-Western Min *Ndżiat ‘tongue’

Lick shí 舐 (dżjeB) [żeB] *m-lec ‘to lick’ <> PTB *m-lay ‘tongue’
8.1.4 8.1.5  ‘L’

Eat  shí 食 (džjak) [žik] ‘to eat’
<> PTB *m-ljak ‘to lick’: Lepcha lyak ‘to taste, eat’

Suck shūn 嗆 (džjuenB) [žunB] *m-lun? ‘to suck’
<> PTB *mlyuw ‘swallow’ > Kanauri *myun, WB myui (inscr. mlyui), JP mō31-yū31

Glutinous shū 糯 (džjuet) [žut] ‘glutinous millet’
<> PMY *nblut ‘glutinous, sticky’

Boat chuán 船 (džwän) [zuän] *m-lun ‘boat’
<> PTB *(m-)łon: KN *m-laun ‘canoe’

Ransom shū 賄 (džjwok) [žok] *m-luk ‘to ransom’
<> WT blu-ba, blus ‘to buy off, ransom’ <> blud-pa ‘release, ransom’; the WT forms can theoretically derive from earlier *mlu(t)

These cognate sets indicate that words with this initial have been directly inherited from ST or another language. In TB, the prefix *m- is often associated with words for body parts and body functions (IST: 32; Unger Hao-ku 31, 1985 collect and discuss WT words with *m-). In the word for ‘smell, hear’ → wén 聞 [mun] < PCH *mɔn, the initial *m may also represent this ST prefix.

The OC phonetic nature of this pre-initial is not certain. However, not only do TB cognates point to *m-, but also a phonetic loan in which shēng 音 (džjɔn) [žn] *m-lɔn ‘string, cord’ is written with the phonetic mǐn 音 (menB) *mləŋ ‘toad’ (Schuessler “Thoughts on Old Chinese Initials,” ICSTLL, Hawai’i 1989; Sagart 1999: 79ff). Sagart offers a doublet that provides further evidence:

Lay hands on mén 把门 [mən] *mlun? ‘to lay hands on’
<> shūn 插 (džjuenB/C, žjuen) [žnB/C, ziu] *m-lun?/s, *s-lun ‘to lay hands on’

8.1.4 ST *m- ~ *s-
ST *m- ~ *s- prefixes marking introvert / extrovert pairs can be assumed for ST because they occur not only in TB (Matisoff), but also as unproductive relics in OC (§2.4.3); ‘Lay hands on’ above is an additional example.

Eat  shí 食 (džjak) [žik] *mlak ‘to eat’
<> PTB *m-lyak ‘to lick’: Lepcha lyak ‘to taste, eat’
<> sì 食 [sia] *s-lak ‘to give food to, feed’ <> PTB *s-lyak ‘to feed’

Agree shūn 順 (džjuenC) [žunC] *m-luns ‘to follow, agree’
<> xún 循馴 (žjuen) [ziun > zuin] *s-lun ‘to follow, obey, be docile’

Follow shū 追 (džjuet) [žut > žui] *m-lut ‘to follow, proceed, pass on’
<> xù 走 (sjuet) [sui > suti] *sut < suti ‘to entice’

8.1.5 Pre-initial *m- in GSR 413 至
Indirect hints of the survival of this ST *m- can also be detected in the phonetic series GSR 413 至 which includes words whose TB cognates have an m-prefix; almost all words in this series have TB cognates (Matisoff 1995: 52). Since this series mixes OC *l- and *t- initials and also
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 tšj- (unaspirated):

413a  zhi 至 [tśis] *tits ‘to arrive’
     <> WT mč̂hi-ba, mč̂his ‘to come, go, say’: from ST *m-ti(t)s
(413)  zhi 蛇 [tśit] PCH *m-lhít (?) ‘water leech’
     <> KN *m-hliit ‘water leech’
413n  dié 埔 [det] *ltft ‘anthill’ <> KN *m-hlijt/t ‘ant’
413o  zhi 姥 [det, ɬet] *ltft, *d-lit ? ‘nephew’
     <> PTB *b-l̂iy ‘nephew, grandchild’, OBurm. mliy ‘grandchild’
413j  shì 室 [sis] *lhits ‘house’
     <> PTB *m-lei ‘earth’ <> WT gžis-ka < g-l̂iyis ‘native place’
413d  zhi 致 [tis] *trits ‘to transmit’, caus. of 413a zhi 至
413e  zhi 軽 [tis] *r-lhits ‘heavy’
     <> PTB *s-l̂iy ‘heavy’ (r ~ s do alternate within ST cognate sets (§5.3)

8.2  Other initial clusters with l
For a possible ‘infix’ -l-, see §2.7.

8.2.1  MC t- 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 (§5.2.2–3) had run their course. The phonological change from *kl- to *t- may have come about in one of at least two different ways, one exemplified by KT: PTai *kl̂ọŋAI > SaeK tloŋ^A1 > trọŋ^A1 ‘drum’, or PVM *kleŋ > Viet. tren ‘rise’; the other development as seen in MK: PNB *kl̂am ‘liver’, but Wa-Lawa-Bulang *كام. The initial t- 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 *CI- = MC t- < OC *tl- (?):

Red  dān 丹 [ton] *tān < *tlan ‘be red, vermilion’ <> PKS *h-lanC ‘red’
Carry dān 擔 [tom] *tâm < *tlam ‘to carry on the shoulder’
     <> AA: Khmu? klam ‘carry on the shoulder’
Fall down diān 顓 [ten] *tën < *tlín ‘fall down’ <> Miao gl̂iŋ ‘to fall’
Many  duō 多 [toi] *tâi < *tlai ‘many’ <> PTai *hlaíAI ‘many’, Hlai łaái
Rain dōng 潮 [toŋ^A/C] *tōŋ < *tlōŋ ‘violent rain’
     <> PM *(ʔ)nun (Downer 1982), PY *bl̂uŋ⁶ (Purnell) ‘rain’
Rainbow dī-dōng 蛲蝶 [tes-tōŋ] *tēŋ < *t-lōŋ ? ‘rainbow’
     ~ hōng 虹 [gōŋ] *gūn < *gloŋ
     ~ jiāng 虹 [kōŋC] *kōŋh ‘rainbow’
8.2.2 *Cl- becomes QYS div. I/IV vocalism and LHan equivalents, from OC clusters with *I, for example:

**Sweet**

* kâm < *klam ‘be sweet’ <> PTB *klum ‘sweet’

**Purple**

* kâms < *klâms ‘be purple’

PT *klâmB ‘dark red, purple, dark, black’

Announce *kôk(h) < *kluk(h) ‘to announce, inform’

<> Tai: S. *klaauBl < *kl- ‘to say, declare’

**Palace**

* kô < *klô ‘palace’ <> Mon *gloŋ ‘citadel, palace’

**Dog**

* kô < *klu? ‘dog’ > PMY *klu2 (Purnell), WMon *kluiw

Drum *kâ < *kla? ‘drum’ <> PTai *klôA1 ‘drum’

QYS div. III does not often correspond to foreign clusters with *I, therefore we suspect some irregular development similar to the traceless loss of medial *r (§7.6.2):

**Wind**

* prjum ‘wind’

<> Tai: S. *lomA2 < *dljumA2 ‘wind’, PKS *hlwum

**Level**

* belj ‘be level, even’ <> PTB *plel ‘flat surface’

**High**

* siunj ‘be high’

<> PMonic *sloŋ ‘be high up, high’, LitMon *slunj ‘be high’

8.3 ST and foreign final -I in OC

In the majority of words ST final *-I 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 -I 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 *hmui? is closer to WB mrwe than to WT sbur (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 *-ʔ or *-h < *-s, while MC tone B in those with final *-n may be Chinese innovations (shén 翁 [sinB] ‘gums’ as body part; -n a suffix in běn 本 ‘root’, etc.). This needs further study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Mand.</th>
<th>OC *-n</th>
<th>OC *-i</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>Lushai</th>
<th>WB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cover, wear</td>
<td>bèi 被</td>
<td>*bai?h</td>
<td>*beel?</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>wriggle</td>
<td>wěi 委</td>
<td>*ʔoi / ʔuai</td>
<td>*vai?</td>
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<td>feed animal</td>
<td>wèi 饥</td>
<td>*ʔuih</td>
<td>*vul?/s</td>
<td>(kyweB)</td>
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<td>snake</td>
<td>huǐ 虎</td>
<td>*hmaiʔ</td>
<td>sbruľ</td>
<td>*ruľ</td>
<td>mrwe</td>
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<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>chuí 垂</td>
<td>*d(ʃ)oi</td>
<td>'ʃol</td>
<td>*tsualʔ</td>
<td>mweB</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>méi 眉</td>
<td>*moi?</td>
<td>(smin)</td>
<td>*hmuulʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>play, joke</td>
<td>xī 戏</td>
<td>*haih</td>
<td>'kʰyal</td>
<td>*kʰaals</td>
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<tr>
<td>pass over</td>
<td>guò 過</td>
<td>*ʔoih</td>
<td>rgal (kai/kais)</td>
<td>kaiB 'exceed'</td>
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<td>load, carry</td>
<td>hè 何</td>
<td>*gaiʔ</td>
<td>bkal</td>
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<td>add</td>
<td>jiă 加</td>
<td>*krai</td>
<td>bkräl</td>
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<td>silver</td>
<td>yín 銀</td>
<td>*h-mon</td>
<td>dŋul</td>
<td>ñwe</td>
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<td>dust</td>
<td>chén 塵</td>
<td>*dron</td>
<td>rdul</td>
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<td>poor</td>
<td>pín 貧</td>
<td>*bran</td>
<td>dbul</td>
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<td>all, herd</td>
<td>qún 群</td>
<td>*kun</td>
<td>mkul</td>
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<td>ashes, coal</td>
<td>tàn 炭</td>
<td>*thán</td>
<td>thal</td>
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<td>sorcery</td>
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<td>*grôn</td>
<td>rol</td>
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<td>unfold</td>
<td>zhăn 展</td>
<td>*trôn</td>
<td>rdal</td>
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<tr>
<td>produce</td>
<td>chăn 産</td>
<td>*srâ/ènʔ</td>
<td>srel</td>
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<tr>
<td>kidney, liver</td>
<td>găn 肝</td>
<td>*kân</td>
<td>mkhål</td>
<td>*kalʔ/s</td>
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<tr>
<td>resist</td>
<td>hàn 抗</td>
<td>*kân</td>
<td>kal, rgol</td>
<td>*kalʔ/s</td>
<td>kan repel</td>
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<td>root</td>
<td>bèn 本</td>
<td>*pânʔ</td>
<td>pul</td>
<td>*bu-ulʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>gums</td>
<td>shên 瞳</td>
<td>*hninʔ</td>
<td>r/sfil (hni)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shield</td>
<td>dûn 肚</td>
<td>*m-dûnʔ</td>
<td>rtul</td>
<td>Chep. d³al duĩB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>miàn 面</td>
<td>*men</td>
<td>TB *hmel</td>
<td>*hmeel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circle</td>
<td>yuán 圆</td>
<td>*wan</td>
<td>*valʔ/s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie down</td>
<td>yăn 優</td>
<td>*ʔanʔ</td>
<td>*jaal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>miăn 睡</td>
<td>*mën</td>
<td>TB *myel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INITIAL AND MEDIAL J
AND THE MIDDLE CHINESE DIVISIONS

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 (-i- = 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Div.</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>LHan</th>
<th>OCM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kâŋ</td>
<td>LH kâŋ</td>
<td>&lt; OCM *kâŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>kêŋ</td>
<td>LH kêŋ</td>
<td>&lt; OCM *kêŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kâŋ</td>
<td>LH kâŋ</td>
<td>&lt; OCM *kaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>kêŋ</td>
<td>LH kêŋ</td>
<td>&lt; OCM *kêŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With some initial consonants the distribution is restricted; e.g., MC t- occurs only in div. I/IV syllables, MC t̀- only in div. III syllables; div. II syllables permit only a retroflex t-. Some rime categories have two sets of MC div. III rimes after grave initials (velars and labials): one so-called chòngniú 重紐 div. III (here labeled 3/3), and one chòngniú 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 *oi ~ *i can include all these “divisions” (Mand. after the graph; graphs in parentheses do not correspond completely with the hypothetical MC form):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Div.</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>LHan</th>
<th>OCM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>muí</td>
<td>mai</td>
<td>&lt; *mîi 枚 méi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>peí</td>
<td>pêi</td>
<td>&lt; *pàï (排 pái)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>jwifei</td>
<td>múi</td>
<td>&lt; *mòi 微 wéi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>ji 3</td>
<td>mî</td>
<td>&lt; *mir 眉 méi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>pîi 4</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>&lt; *pî (匕 bǐ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>mîi 4</td>
<td>mei</td>
<td>&lt; *mî 谜 mí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some MC rime categories distinguish two rimes within div. III with slightly different vowel timbres, which seems to reflect the same distinction as that between div. III and 3/3 (Baxter). For example, the rimes in *-aŋ / *-êŋ fall within the chòngniú pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Div.</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>LHan</th>
<th>OCM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kâŋ</td>
<td>&lt; OCM *kâŋ 馳 gāng</td>
<td>IV kêŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>kêŋ</td>
<td>&lt; OCM *kêŋ 纬 gēng</td>
<td>II kêŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kâŋ</td>
<td>&lt; OCM *kaŋ 似 jīng</td>
<td>3/3 kâŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>kêŋ</td>
<td>&lt; OCM *kêŋ 京 jīng</td>
<td>3/3 kêŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The MC homophones kêŋ / LHan kian are differentiated in OC (*kran and *ken) on the basis of phonetic series and rimes. (MC kâŋ corresponds to LHan kien; MC kêŋ = LHan kêŋ.)
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 */l-/- (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Div. III</th>
<th>Div. I/IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fǔ 弗 (pjuat)</td>
<td>vs. Mand. bù 不 (puaat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēr 爾 (ńźjie)</td>
<td>‘you’ vs. Mand. nǐ 你 &lt; ni ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xì 汐 (xjap)</td>
<td>‘to drink’ vs. Mand. hē 吃 &lt; āp ‘to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zī 子 (tsiB)</td>
<td>‘son, child’ vs. southern dialects zǎi 子 &lt; tsB ‘son, child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēr 兒 (ńźjie)</td>
<td>&lt; *r ‘child’ vs. southern dialects yá 伢 &lt; ná ‘child, boy’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.2 Div. III vs. I/IV 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solid</th>
<th>Inside</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dūn 敦 (tuən, div. I) [tuən] ‘be solid &gt; earnest, generous’</td>
<td>nei 内 (nəp I) [nəp] ‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhūn 蹳 (tɕjuen, div. III) [tɕun ~ tɕuin] ‘sincere, diligent’</td>
<td>rū 入 (ńźjap III) [ńip] *nəp ‘to enter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.3 “Pure” div. IV

In “pure” div. IV words (i.e., not chōng-niú 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/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To fish</th>
<th>Fade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diào 釣 [teu] *tiâu ‘to angle, fish with hook and line’</td>
<td>diào 釣 [teu] *ti ‘to fade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;&gt; Tai: S. tokD1 ‘to angle, fish with hook and line’</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; Tai S. tok ‘become faded’ (color)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.4 Sources of MC div. II

MC div. II vocalism (a, e, ã, ò in Karlgren’s system) is set up for LHan as a, e, ò (contrasting with div. I a, 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 archaism (§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
9.2 ‘J’ and MC DIVISIONS

*-? and *w-. For example, the nasal counterpart to *-ak, the rime *-an, has the same LHan vowel a in both div. I and III syllables (LHan kaŋ and kiaŋ); this is indicated by the PMin forms which presuppose a back a, not Karlgrén’s MC a, e.g., PMin kiu (< kiaŋ) for the conventional MC kiaŋ. In the rime *-ak, the vowel has been raised, resulting in MC rimes -jäk III, -ek II. Min forms again have the expected back vowel, i.e., LHan -iak. Since the Min dialects probably separated from the rest of CH during the Han period, we can set up for LHan the anticipated back vowel forms; it was mainstream and / or northern-central Chinese that innovated this front shift. Table 9-1 illustrates the situation. Parentheses indicate unique or exceptional forms. The survival of forms with back ak is apparently due to dialect interference, or to incomplete shifting. (Simpler LHan forms instead of MC.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCM *-an Div. I</th>
<th>**-an Div. III</th>
<th>**-anj Div. II</th>
<th>*-ak Div. I</th>
<th>*-ak Div. III</th>
<th>*-ak &gt; II or III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koŋ 前</td>
<td>kiaŋ 焦</td>
<td>kaŋ 行</td>
<td>kak 各</td>
<td>(kioŋ 却)</td>
<td>kak 客 II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pæŋ 旁</td>
<td>puœŋ 方</td>
<td>pæŋ 彷</td>
<td>pok 博</td>
<td>(buœŋ 簡)</td>
<td>pak 百 II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsaŋ 藏</td>
<td>tœœŋ 備</td>
<td>tsaŋ 作</td>
<td>PMin *tsioŋ (tsioŋ 創)</td>
<td>tsiak 畳 III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zioŋ 象</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PMin *ziak</td>
<td>ziak 席 III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waŋ 王</td>
<td>---&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wak 獲 II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsaŋ 莊 (taŋ 瞼)</td>
<td>---&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>taŋ 宅 II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tœœŋ 莊</td>
<td>tœœŋ 斯</td>
<td></td>
<td>PMin *tœœŋ</td>
<td>tœœŋ 真 II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tœœŋ 章</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hœœŋ 譁</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the initials t and ts, the shift was complete; after ts and tœœŋ one or a few words did not participate in this change. Thus ze, 擇 (ţœœŋ II) LHan ḏak was OCM *d-lak and not the expected *dɾak. The same applies to corresponding syllables with the other vowels, as pointed out above. The situation after ?- and w- is not clear: MC ?ak II might go back to either OC *ʔak, or to *ʔak; or MC ywek, LHan wak, to OCM *wak or *wɾak.

This shift has bled into OC syllables in open vowel *-a, probably via tone C words like *takh > MC tʃiaC (not tʃjoC). Thus OCM *taʔ 者 becomes MC tʃjaB, not tʃjoB; and ‘crow’ OCM *ʔa has a doublet MC *ʔa 者 beside the expected tʃjo 翦.

9.2 Initial j- in OC

MC ji- corresponds occasionally to TB and foreign initial *j- and therefore probably to OC *j-, but it is difficult to distinguish a putative OC initial *l- > MC ji- from OC *j- > MC ji-. As to ST medial *j, it seems almost always to correspond to MC div. III, but there are exceptions. Therefore, it is possible that in PCH the ST medial *j was redistributed or lost.

An OCM *j- is likely in certain environments. In a few phonetic series and wfs MC ji- and tsj- co-occur. There, MC ji- seems to derive from OCM *j-, not *l-. In two etyma, some TB
languages have the initial *ny. OC *ts- and PTB *ny-, which are in variation with MC ji-, are highlighted in bold letters:

Wine  
jiū 酒 (tsjauB) [tsuB] *tsiu(?) ‘wine’;  
< ST: PTB *yu(w) ‘wine’  
phonetic is yōu 西 (jiouB) [ju] *ju?

To decay  
yü 夔 (jiouB) [ju] *ju? ‘to rot, decay’  
< ST *(z-)ju: PTB *zyaw ~ *zyu(w) ‘to rot, decay, digest’, WT ‘ju-ba, bžus, bžu (< n-ju) ‘to digest, melt’

Footprint  
ji 跡 (tsjāk) [tsiek] *tsiak ‘footprint, track’  
< ST *(C-)jak: Limbu yok2 ‘trace, track’,  
but Lushai hniak ‘footprint, hoof-mark’;  
phonetic is yī 肢 (jiāk) [jak] *jak ‘armpit’  
< ST: TB-Mru yak ‘armpit’, Lushai zakL (< jak)

Night  
ye 夜 (jiaC) [jaC] *jah, later jak(h) ‘night’  
< ST *(r-)ja: PTB *ya? ‘night’  
but WB fāC ‘evening’, JP na?? < nak55 ‘evening’;  
phonetic is yī 肢 (jiāk) [jak] *jak ‘armpit’  
< ST: TB-Mru yak ‘armpit’, Lushai zakL (< jak)

Rodent 1  
quăn 鬣 (tsjuān, tsjuānC) [ts(i)un] *tsiun ‘hare, marmot’  
< ST: PTB *yu(w) ~ *yun > JP yu55 ~ yu33 ‘rat, mouse’, WB yun ‘rabbit’;  
phonetic is yün 允 (jiuenB) [junB] *jun?

Rodent 2  
yōu 鼬 (jiouC) [juC] *juh ‘weasel’  
< ST: PTB *yu > Chepang yu? ‘animal, rodent’, Mru yu ‘weasel’

9.2.1  MC initial j- ~ l- from OC *r-j-
MC initial j- derives from OC *j- 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 MC lj-. An interesting example for a lost pre-initial *r- is

Salt  
yān 鹽 (jiām) ‘salt’ which is alone in a xiéshēng series with initials like OC *r- > MC l- and *kr- > MC k- div. II. The WT cognate is rgyam ‘salt’ < r-yam (when in such configurations r- was felt to be a pre-initial, an epenthetic -g- emerged; otherwise *ry- > WT ž). The placement of yān in a (k)r-series suggests that the pre-initial *r- was still there in early OC. If yān exemplifies the Chinese fate of ST *r-j-, then further items are revealed by doublets and / or TB cognates:

Wander  
yōu 游 (jiou) *ju < *r-ju ‘to flow, roam about’  
< WT rgyu-ba < r-yu ‘to walk, move, wander, range’  
< rgyun ‘the flow, current’; CH variant with survival of initial *r- is  
≈ liú 流 (liou) *t(i)u ‘to flow, float’
9.3 ‘J’ and MC DIVISIONS

Beautiful

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yàn 顔 (jiām) *jamh &lt; *r-jamh ‘beautiful’</td>
<td>Tai: S. riamB2 ‘beautiful’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fluid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yè 液 (jiāk) *jak ‘fluid’</td>
<td>PTB *rjak ‘grease, juice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pass over

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yú 踏逾 (jiu) *lo or *jo ‘to leap or pass over, transgress’</td>
<td>WT rgyud-pa &lt; *r-yut ‘to pass over, traverse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sharp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yàn 剣 (jiāmB) *jam? &lt; *r-jam?? ‘sharp, pierce’</td>
<td>Kuki-Chin *(s-)rjam ‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rope

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yù 纜 (jiuet) *jut ‘well-rope’, also MC kjuet</td>
<td>WT rgyud &lt; r-yut ‘string, cord’; again, CH has a doublet that preserves the initial r-:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Follow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yù 遏 (jiuet) *jut ‘following, then’</td>
<td>WT rgyud (the graph seems to represent a rope) ‘edge, border, leather strap, rope’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yào 樂 (jiak) *jauk ‘to cure’</td>
<td>liào 樂 (ljāu) *riaukh ‘to cure’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drag

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yú 児 (jiu) *jo ‘to pull, drag’</td>
<td>WT rgyud ‘to drag, trail’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A parallel loss of pre-initial *r- occurred before OC *w- (§10.1.3). A CH doublet with pre-initial *s- before *j- may be → xī 夕 [ziak] *s-jak ‘evening’ vs. → xī 昔 [siak] *s(j)ak ‘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 *dj-combination where the dental may be secondary. In the phonetic series, OCM *d(j) < **d(j)- seems to have merged with OCM *dj- < **C-j-. These words are likely to have had OC initial *dj- or the like, not *d-, but OC *d- and *dj- (both MC žj) are difficult to disentangle. Certain phonetic series include words with earlier *j-, among them GSR 31 垂, 725 尚, 726 上, 1096 西, 1120 勺.

To sleep

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shuí 睡 (zwie) [dzuai, dzoi] ‘sleep’</td>
<td>WT yur-ba ‘to slumber’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hang down

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chuǐ 垂 (zwie) [dzuai ~ dzoi] ‘to let hang down’</td>
<td>PTB *dzyal &gt; WT jol-ba ‘to hang down’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ladle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhúo 汤 (tšajak, žjak, jiak) [šouk, džouk, jauk]</td>
<td>PTB *s-kyok ‘ladle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shàng 上 (ţjaŋ) [dţoŋ] ‘above’</td>
<td>ST *ya ‘above’, WT ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Garment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cháng 常 (ţjaŋ) [dţoŋ] ‘lower garment’</td>
<td>WT g-yaŋ ‘animal skin clothing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Still

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cháng 常 (ţjaŋ) [dţoŋ] ‘perpetuate, still’</td>
<td>WT yaŋ ‘again, still, once more’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To taste  cháng 嘗 (ţjan] [ţţan] ‘to taste, try’

<> PTB *m-ya: Chepang yan-śā ‘to taste (sample food)’, WT myon-ba, myaŋś / myon ‘to taste, enjoy’. However, WB mraŋB ‘to taste, try by taste’.

The initial is apparently devoiced (MC tś-) in a few words (see also ‘Ladle’ above):

Locust  zhōng  餱 (tśjuŋ) [tšuŋ] *t(j)uŋ < *C-juŋ ? <> WB: kjiuŋB ~ gjiuŋB ‘locust’

Multitude zhōng  餱 (tśjuŋC) [tšuŋC] *(j)uŋ < *C-juŋ? ‘numerous, all, the multitude’
<> WT yogs ‘all, whole’ (incl. of people)

The difficulty in pinning down OC J-series is illustrated by yāng 易 and yāng 羊, both MC jiaŋ. The former is clearly an L-series, we suspect that the latter is a J-series. However, it includes the words yāng 羊 MC jiaŋ ‘sheep’ and yāng 餱 MC jiaŋB ‘to raise, nourish’ whose Tai counterparts are S. lianA2 -p̥aA1 ‘goat, antelope’ (related ?) and S. lianC2 ‘feed, nourish’ (almost certainly a loan) respectively. Tai has both l- and -i- in the initial.

9.4  MC zj- with OC *j-

MC zj- derives from OC *s-l- (§8.1.2), *s-j-, and *s-w- (§10.1.2). An example for *s-j-:

Evening  xiāng  象 (zioIo) *s-jaŋ? ? or *zjaŋ? ‘elephant’
<> PTai *jaŋC, MK-PMonic *ciuŋ, WB chaŋA, Lepcha tyan-mo ‘elephant’

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.

Elephant  xiāng 象 [zioIo] *s-jaŋ? ? or *zjaŋ? ‘elephant’
<> PTai *jaŋC, MK-PMonic *ciuŋ, WB chaŋA, Lepcha tyan-mo ‘elephant’

Buffalo  sī  山 [ziʔ] *s-joʔ? ? or *zjoʔ? ‘wild water buffalo’
<> NTai *jA/C or *jA ‘buffalo’
10

INITIAL AND MEDIAL *W

10.1 Initial *w-
MC jw- (div. III) goes back to LHan and OC *w- (Karlgren’s *gjw-, Li F. jwi-). 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 于 (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 (jiwi IV), OCM *wi (and not *lui or the like)

The ST initial *wj- survives as MC initial ji-:< OC *j- (pre-initial *w- was apparently lost):

Also yi 亦 (jiäk) [jak] *jak ‘also’ < *wiak ? <> Lushai vek< < 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, *wau). 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 jw-).
Hence with back vowels, a syllable of the type MC jii:Ju can derive from PCH *ju, *lu, as well as *wu. Cases
of MC ji- IV from *w- are in GSR 1095; see  you 7,  you 8, also  you 9.

10.1.2 MC zw- < OC *sw-:
MC zw- goes back to OC *s-w-; this is parallel to §8.1.2 and §9.4.
Advance sui 遂 (ziC) [zus > zus] *s-wis ‘to advance, accomplish, achieve’
<> “Kamarupan” *s-yuy ~ *m-yuy ‘to follow’, Kuki-Naga *jwi ‘follow’

Ear of grain sui 穀穗 (ziC) [zus] *s-wis ‘ear of grain’
<> Lushai vui< /vui? < 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-j-, see §9.2.1; an additional
item is perh.  hui 8 彙 and hui 9 彙.

Monkey wei 雉 [wiC > luiB] *wui ~ *ruj? (< *r-wi?) ‘monkey’
<> Wa-Lawa-Bulang *royol ‘white-handed gibbon’

A fly wei 飞 (jwiC) *wuih ‘gadfly’
<> AA: PAA *ruwaj > PVM *ruyA ‘a fly’

10.2 Medial *-w-

10.2.1 Loss of ST and foreign medial -w- in Chinese
ST and foreign medial *-w- (or -w-, -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.

10.2.2 - 10.2.3

Chinese doublets 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 phonotactically permissible:

- yán 蘭 *?an 'to wither' ≠ yuàn 葉 *?uans 'to wither'
- yǔ 赘 *?a 'to wither' ≠ wěi 娛 *?uai 'id.'
- yí 狑 *?ai? 'luxuriant leaves' ≠ wān 華 *?uian? 'rich foliage, umbrageous'
- qīng 倒 *kʰier ~ kʰieŋ 'inclined'
- xì 信 *[sʰin] ~ *s̥in 'true' (< *swin)
- rè 熱 *net or *l)et 'hot' ≠ ruò 熱 *n/iwet? *n/i jot? 'hot'

In one instance, a text (Huainanzi) writes rén 仁 [nin] for rùn 润 [nun > ūn] (ZWDCD).

10.2.3 ST *-wá in OC

ST *-wá has later merged with either *u or *a, except in reconstructed OC forms and sporadically in TB languages.

- Village qiū 丘 [kʰu] *khwa 'village, district' < ST *k(h)wá

- Nine jiū 九 [kʰu] OCB *kʰjuʔ, OCM *kuʔ ~ *kwaʔ 'nine' < ST *ku? ~ *kwaʔ:

- Cow niú 牛 [ŋu (or ŋu)] *ŋwā 'bovine, ox, cow' < ST *ŋwá
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 *e ~ *oi ~ *i ~ *e
11.2 *o
11.8 OC and ST *u 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 → něi 餓
‘hungry’ and → shuāi 衛 ‘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 regularly 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 dia-
lects. 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 wū 火 [ŋəB] *ŋə? ‘five’ <> PTB *ŋə(ʔ) > WT lŋə; WB ŋəB
Not (have) wū 無 [muə] *ma ‘not have’ <> PTB *ma > WT ma, WB maC ‘not’
Concede ràng 讓 [ŋəŋC] *ŋəŋ ‘concede, yield’
<> PTB *ŋəŋ > WT gnaŋ, gnaŋ ‘to concede’; WB hnaŋB ‘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

To hear

11.1.2 OC *a ~ * vowel 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

Islet

Lean on

Ant

Sinew

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

Beam

Son-in-law

Good

Cold

Green

Examples of a ~ e variations with outside connections:

Chicken
11.1.4 VOWELS

Rain

\[\text{ţing} \text{ 雨} [\text{len}] *\text{ra}ν ~ *\text{rîn} \text{ 'rain'} \rightarrow \text{TB-JP} \text{ ra}ν^3\text{-ga}^3 \text{ 'violent rain'}\]

Turtle

\[\text{liè 獵} [\text{liap}] *\text{rap} \text{ (or } *\text{riap}?) \text{ 'a kind of turtle'}\]

\[\text{PTB} \text{ *lip} / *\text{lep} \text{ 'turtle'} \rightarrow \text{WB, Khami, Mru} \text{ lip 'tortoise'}\]

Ribs, sides

\[\text{xìe 腰} [\text{hiap}] *\text{hrap} \text{ (or } *\text{hriap}?) \text{ 'sides of body, ribs'}\]

\[\text{TB:} \text{ JP} \text{ ko}^3\text{-rep}^3\text{-rib'}, \text{ Kanauri} *\text{hrip}, \text{ WT} \text{ tsib} < \text{rhjip}\]

Also

\[\text{yì 亦} [\text{jak} \text{ (or } *\text{wjak}?) \rightarrow \text{ST} *\text{wjak}?] \rightarrow \text{TB-Lushai} \text{ ve}^L < \text{ve}/h \text{ 'also'}\]

\[\text{vek}^R < \text{vek} \text{ 'again, over again'}\]

In addition, ST wfs with such variant forms include (all dictionary entries →) \text{kêng 構 \text{'leg'}, xìaŋ 香 \text{'fragrance'}, shēng 生 \text{'alive'}, qīng 清 \text{'clear'}, gāng 剛钢 \text{'hard'}, hé 潮 \text{'dry up'}, yè 叶 \text{'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 *i. Such a vocalic shift has parallels elsewhere, as, for example, in Angami Naga: PTB *g-ni ‘two’ > Angami kennā, *si ‘die’ > sā-, *mi ‘man’ > mā, *ni ‘sun’ > nā-ki, ne-ki (Hutton 1921: 296f).

Elephant

\[\text{xìaŋ 象} [\text{ziap}] *\text{s-ajan} \text{ or } *\text{zian}? \text{ 'elephant'}\]

\[\text{MK:} \text{ PMonic} *\text{ciien}, \text{ PSemai} *\text{ciig}, \text{ but other languages have } *\text{a}\]

To plow

\[\text{jī 藉} [\text{dziak}] *\text{dzak} \text{ 'to cultivate, sacred field'}\]

\[\text{PMK} *\text{jiik}, \text{ OM} \text{ jik} ‘to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate’; \text{ Khmer} /\text{ci:k} \text{ 'to dig, dig over'}\]

Fear

\[\text{pù 怕} [\text{phaa}] *\text{phâh} \text{ 'to fear'} \rightarrow \text{PMon} \text{ *phiic 'be afraid'}\]

Earth

\[\text{tū 土} [\text{thu}] *\text{tha} \text{ 'land, soil'}\]

\[\text{PMK-PMon} \text{ *tii? ‘soil, earth’}, \text{ PWa} *\text{ko'] — This etymology is not certain.}\]

Rat

\[\text{shū 鼠} [\text{so}] \sim [\text{ts]} *\text{nha}? \text{ 'rat, mouse'}\]

\[\text{MK-PMon} *\text{knii? 'rat, mouse'}, \text{ PNBahnaric} *\text{kane ‘rat’ — But see dictionary for alternative etymologies.}\]

11.1.5 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

\[\text{lü 漏} [\text{lio}] *\text{rah} \text{ ‘to drip’, post-Han}\]

\[\text{li 濃} [\text{lii}] *\text{rai} \text{ ‘to droop, drip’}\]

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

\[\text{fū 捏} [\text{phoo}] *\text{phâ} \text{ ‘lay hands on’}\]

\[\sim \text{ fū 捏} [\text{phoo}] *\text{phô} \text{ ‘lay hands on’}\]

To grasp

\[\text{jū 据} [\text{kio}] *\text{kah} \text{ ‘to grasp’}\]

\[\sim \text{jū 据} [\text{kio}] *\text{ko} \text{ ‘to grasp’}\]
11.2 OC *

OC *ə is projected back to ST; in TB it has merged with *a. For additional examples, see §10.2.3.

Son  zi 子 [tsiə] *tsəʔ ‘child, son’  
<> PTB *tsa? > WT tsəʔ-bo ‘grandchild’; PBurm. *tsaB ‘child’

Ear  ər 耳 [nəB] *nəʔ ‘ear’  
<> PTB *r-na > WT rna-ba ‘ear’, PL *(C-)na ‘ear’

Weave  zhī 编 [ts̪ək] *tsək ‘to weave’  <> WT tʰa-g-pa ‘to weave’

Eat, lick  shí 食 [ʃik] *m-lak ‘to eat’  
<> PTB *m-lyak > PLB *m-lyak ‘to lick’; WT ljags < nlyak ‘tongue’; JP m-si-ta<sup>5</sup>, Lepcha lyak ‘taste, try’, WB lyak, Lushai liak<sup>6</sup> / lia?l

Forest  lín 林 [lim] *rəm ‘forest’  
<> ST *rəm: TB-NNaga *C-ram ‘forest’, Lushai ram<sup>H</sup> ‘forest, jungle, country’

Stand  lì 立 [lip] *rəp or *C-rəp ‘to stand’  
<> ST *rəp: PTB *g-ryap > PLB *g-ryap ‘stand’, WB rap, Mikir arjap < rəp<sup>1</sup>

Weep  qí 泣 [kʰp] *khəp? ‘to weep’  
<> ST *krəp: PTB *krap > WT kʰrab-kʰrab ‘a weeper’, Kanauri krap ‘to weep’, JP kʰrap<sup>1</sup>

11.2.1 OC *ə in unstressed syllables

In some unstressed forms of grammatical words, the vowel is reduced to *ə (§3.3.3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>PTB Meaning</th>
<th>ST Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ér 耳</td>
<td>*nə ‘like, -ly’</td>
<td>&lt; rú 如 (níʒwo) *na ‘be like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ér 耳</td>
<td>*nə ‘your’</td>
<td>&lt; rú 汝 (níʒwo&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;) *naʔ ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náí 乃</td>
<td>(nəʔB) *nə ‘your’</td>
<td>&lt; rú 汝 (níʒwo&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;) *naʔ ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yí 台</td>
<td>*lo ‘I, we’</td>
<td>&lt; yú 予余 (jiwo) *la ‘I, we’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qí 其</td>
<td>(gj) *gə ‘his, his’</td>
<td>&lt; qū 染 (gjwo) *ga ‘he’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.2.2 OC *ə = PTB *i

In a few etyma, OC *ə (> MC div. III, LHan -iə) corresponds to PTB *i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>PTB Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latrine</td>
<td>cê 劃 [tsʰəC] *shrokh? ‘latrine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yak</td>
<td>lí 利 [liʔ] *rə ‘yak’  &lt;&gt; WT ‘bri-mo ‘domesticated female yak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut, write</td>
<td>lí 理 [liʔB] *raʔ ‘cut jade according to its veins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Container</td>
<td>guí 盆 [kwəB] *-əʔ, OCB *kʷjuʔ ‘name of a ritual vessel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 PTB and foreign *e(y):

- **Buy**
  
  mǎi 買 [meB] *mrē? ‘to buy’
  
  <> ST *mrey ~ *brey: PTB *b-rey, WT rē- ba (< n- rye ?) ‘to barter’, JP ma31-rǐ33 ‘to buy’

- **Straight**
  
  tīng 挺 [tʰenB] *hlēŋ? ‘straight’
  
  <> PTB *pleŋ ‘straight’ <> *blen ‘straight’

- **Sleet**
  
  xián 霞 [senC] *sēns ‘sleet’ <> WT ser-ba ‘hail’, JP sin33 ‘hail’

Additional examples include (all entries ~) xi 林 ‘to cleave’, píng 平 ‘level’, biǎn 扁 ‘flat and thin’, jiǎn 简 ‘to see’, shí 石 ‘to lick’, ěr 耳 ‘near’.

Vowel breaking before dental finals has led to the new MC head vowel a / ii, thus MC -jǐan <> *en (in div. III and 3/4 from OC *-en, not *-ēn which became later -(i)en). This is parallel to *o; see §11.9. It is a universal development in northern and written Chinese as in:

- **Face**
  
  miàn 面 (mjiǎnC 4) [mianC] *mens ‘face’ <> PTB *s-mel > Lushai hmeelH

- **Send**
  
  qiǎn 遣 (kʰjǐanB 4) [kʰianB] *khen? ‘to send’ <> WT skyel-ba ‘to send’

11.3.1 OC *e in open syllables

In open syllables, OC *-e corresponds often to PTB and foreign *-ay (*-aj, *-ai):

- **Only**
  
  zhī 且 [tšeB] *te? ‘only’
  
  <> PLB *day2 ~ ti ‘only’ > WB tʰiB ‘single, alone’, JP taī33 ‘single’

- **Child**
  

- **Young**
  
  ní 妮 [ŋe] *ŋe ‘young and weak’ <> WB ŋai ‘small, little, inferior’

- **God**
  
  dì 帝 [deC] *deh ‘god’
  
  <> WT tʰe ‘celestial gods’, JP ma31-tai33 ‘god of the sky’

- **Spleen**
  
  pí 脾 [bie] *be ‘spleen, bile’
  
  <> PTB *r-pay: JP pāi, but Angami Naga ú-pri, Mikir pli-ha < *-i

- **This**
  
  shì 是 [džeB] *de? ‘this is, this’
  
  <> PTB *day > WT de ‘that’; JP n55-de?55 ‘this, there’, Kachin dai

- **Deer**
  
  zhī , zhài 贼 [deB?] *drē? ‘a kind of deer’
  
  <> WB darai ‘hog deer’ <> MK: OMon draay ‘hog deer’

- **Crab**
  
  xiè 蛇 [geB] *gré? ‘crab’
  
  <> PTB *d-ka:y > Mikir čehē ‘crab’, Lushai aɾ ‘id.’, Tangkhul khai ‘fish’

ST *-œj, *-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 zhr lê [tše] *te ‘peace, happiness’ <> WT bde-ba ‘happy’.

11.3.2 OC *-e = foreign ia / ja

In closed syllables, foreign *-ja- (*-ya-, *-ia-) corresponds to monophthongized OC *e. This is similar to PTB *i ~ *ya variations (HPTB: 506–508).
Light adj.  qīng 轻 (kʰjæŋ) [kʰien] *khen ‘light’ (weight)  
< ST: PTB *r-yæŋ ~ *gyæŋ

Flame  tiān 火 [tʰem]/[C] *hēm?/s ‘brightness of fire’ 火光:  
<> WT lēam-me-ba < hlyam ‘variegated, shining, dazzling’; PL *?-lam ‘flame’, WB a-hlyam ‘coruscation of flame’

Taste  tiē 曹 [tʰep] *nēhp ‘to taste’ <> WT sīnab-pa ‘to taste, savor’

Hold  xiē 握 [gep] *gēp ‘grasp, hold’  
<> WT kʰyab-pa ‘embrace, comprise’ <> skyob-pa, bskyabs ‘protect, preserve’

Plait  biān 编 [pen] *pēn ‘to weave’  
<> PTB *pyar ~ *byar > Bahing pʰyar ‘to knit, plait’. WT ‘byor-ba ~ byar-ba ‘stick to, adhere to’ <> sbyor-ba, sbyar ‘to affix, attach, join, connect’

Iron  tiē 鐵 [tʰet] *lēht or *lēhèt ‘iron’  
<> WT lēags < hlyaks ‘iron’<> Tai: S. lekD/S < *hl- ‘iron’, PKS *kʰlīt?; PVM *khāc ‘iron’

Pinch  shē 搐 [sáp] *nēhp ‘pinch between’  
<> PTB *C-nyap > WT nīnab-rīnab-pa ‘to seize or snatch together’, PLB *(s-)nyap > WB nāp ‘be pinched’ <> hānap ‘to squeeze’

Single  zhī 卓 [tseŋ] *tek? ‘single’  
<> PTB *(t)tyik ~ *(t)tyak > (PLB *C-tik ‘one’ > WB tac, WT gēig ‘one’); JR kɔtiaŋ; Bumthang t(h)ek, Cuona Monpa t(h)e?54

Further cases of leveling are → jǐ21 跡 *tsék ‘footprint’, and → jǐ15 跡 *tsék ‘walk ...’. An earlier configuration *-ja- (*-ya-, *-ia-) may explain the OC doublets jǐ 跡 *ts(i)ak ‘footprint’, and → jǐ16 跡 *ts(i)ak ‘walk...’, respectively. Also → xiē, 握協.

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  yī 易 [jeŋ] *lekh ‘easy, at ease’  
<> PTB *lway ‘easy’ > WB lwai ‘easy, yielding’

Diphthong leveling may have been responsible for rare OC *-e ~ *-ai variations:  

Catch in net  lī 隹 [leŋ] ‘to get caught / fasten (fishes in a net), attach’  
<> lī 離 [liiŋ] ‘to fasten in a net, get caught in a net (fishes), tangled’

Rope  lǐ 纜 [le] ‘a rope’ <> lǐ 綢 [liiŋ] ‘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 *-eŋ, *-ek; see §6.4.1. Also with non-velar finals, we encounter items where foreign *i was lowered to *e in OC (due to the labial in the ST initial?):  

Laugh  ěr 哈 [heŋ] *ne ‘forced laugh’  
<> PTB *m-nwi(y) ‘to laugh’ > Lushai nuiH / nui2
11.3.5 – 11.5 VOWELS

Hip  
bi 髖 [beB, pieB] *bêʔ, *peʔ ‘thighbone’  
<> WT dpyi ‘hip, hipbone’, Lushai pʰeiʔ ‘foot, leg’

Destroy  
miè 萎 [met] *mêt ‘to destroy’ (but see alternative etymology)  
<> PTB *mit > Abor-Miri mit ‘destroy’, Lushai mit¹ / mít² ‘to go out, die out, be extinguished’

11.3.5 OC *e ~ *o
OC *e ~ *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 瘍 [ʔiŋ] *ʔoŋ ‘ulcer’  ※ yīng 瘤 [ʔiŋ] *ʔoŋ ‘tumor’

11.4 OC *-ai
OC *-ai has several sources: (1) ST *-ai (but see §11.3.1), (2) ST *-al (§8.3), (3) other rare correspondences, including *-ar (§7.7.4). See §11.1.4 for *-a ~ *-ai variants.

Change  
yī 移 [jai] *lai ‘to change, alter’  
<> PTB *lay ‘change, exchange’ > WB lai²

Necessary  
yī 儀 [ŋai²] *ŋaih ‘be right, righteous, proper’  
<> PTB *ŋa:y > KN-Lushai ŋaih / ŋaiʔl ~ ŋais ‘necessary, customary’

Come  
yī 儀 [ŋoi] *ŋai ‘to come’  <> TB: JP ŋai13 ‘to come, arrive’

Lame  
bō 腿 [paiB] *pâiʔ ‘to walk lame’  
<> PTB *pay ~ *bay ‘lame, limp, oblique’ > WB pʰai ‘go aside’

Winnow  
bō 撲簸 [paiC] *pâih ‘to winnow’  
<> PTB *pʰa:y ‘chaff, scatter’ > PL *pway² ‘chaff’

OC *-ai may also correspond to a different TB diphthong (note also ‘Ant’ in §11.1.2):

Hungry  
è 餓 [ŋoiC] *ŋaih ‘hungry, starve’  
<> Lushai ŋheiH ‘to go without’, WB ɲat ‘thirsty, hungry’

11.5 OC *-i
ST *-i can be assumed for words that have *i in both TB (*i, *-oi – HPTB: 185ff) and OC. Where the word is placed in QY chōngniù div. 3/3, we may assume with Baxter an earlier medial *r. Some ST words in *-iŋ, *-ik have merged in OC with *-in, -*it; see §6.4.1.

Die  
sī 死 [siB] *siʔ ‘to die’  
<> PTB *siy ‘to die’ > WT ʔʰi:-ba < nsi; ši; PL *je²; WB se

This  
yī 伊 [ʔi] *ʔi ‘this’, CH dialects ‘he’  
<> TB-Lushai ʔi¹ ‘this, that’, Chepang ʔiʔ ‘he’

Stool  
jī 几机 [kiB] *kriʔ? ‘stool, small table’  
<> WT kʰriʔ ‘seat, chair, throne, couch’

Ear of grain  
suí 穀 [ziis] *s-wis ‘ear of grain’  
<> Lushai vui² / vuiʔ² < vuis ‘to ear (as grain, grass)’

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Two ᐨ [nis] *nis ‘two’
<> PTB *g-nis > WT gäis, Lushai ʰniʔl < hnis, PLB *nit ~ *ni ~ *ʔnit

Ten shí 十 (dźap) *gip <> ST *gip: PTB *gip > WB kyip, Mikir kep < kip

Blood xuè 血 [huet] *hwit ‘blood’
<> PTB *s-hwøy ‘blood’ > Magari ʰju < hwì, Chepang wi, Kanauri ši; PL *suj², WB swe²

Tears tī 檕 [tʰeiβ, tʰeiC] *thiʔ/h or *thǎʔ/h ‘tears’
<> PTB *ti, *tui ‘water’ > WT mēʰi-ma ‘a tear’, Kanauri *ti ‘water’

Kindness lián 憐 [len] *rln ‘to pity, pitiful’
<> WT drin < nrin ‘kindness, favor, grace’; WB rañB ‘love’

Sweet tián 甜 [dem] *lfm ‘sweet’
<> PTB *lim > WT žim-pa ‘sweet scented or tasting’, Manang lim ‘sweet’


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:

Hair  PTB *mil ~ *mul
Knee  WT pis-mo ~ pus-mo
Cane  WT smyig-ma ~ smyug-ma
To fly  PTB *pir ~ *pur
Go down  PTB *(y)ip ~ *yup
Sleep  PTB *nip ~ *nup
Wipe  PTB *sit ~ *sut
Shelter  Lushai uup ~ WT skyibs < *sʔips

This is a ST phenomenon, because CH also has these variations:

Headrest  zhēn 枕 [tšimB] *kim? <> PTB *kum ‘block, headrest’
Believe xīn 信 [sinC] *sins ‘believe, trust, need’
<> xīn 信 [sun] > [sü[i] ‘sincere, believe’

This variation also occurs in other language families, e.g., AA-Mon kmun ~ kmin ‘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 *ja §11.3.2):

Person  rén 人 *nin <> ? PMK *nah ‘person, people’
Glue  ní 昔 *nrit <> ? MK: Khmu klpa? (i.e., kl-pa?) ‘resin’
11.6 OC *-oi, *-ui
OC *-oi corresponds to PTB *-ey and *-ay (from ST < *-oj). This distinction is preserved in Kuki-Naga languages. Occasionally, the OC counterpart is *-ai (note ‘Ant’ below) or *-e.

Fire
- huō 火 [huoiB] *hmō? ‘fire’
- <> PTB *(s-)mey > OTib. smye; PLB *?mey2, Lushai mef < mei?

Tail
- wēi 尾 [muiB] *maoi? ‘tail’
- <> PTB *r-may > PL *?-mri, WB mriB; KN-Aimol romai; Lushai mef < mei?

Ant
- <> PTB: KN-Lai hgeʔ-r-tec ‘ant’ (tee ‘small’)

Rhinoceros
- xi 犀 [sei] *sāi ‘rhinoceros’
- <> WT bse (< -ay < *-oy ?) ‘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 *-o ~ *-oi ~ *-i ~ *e
In OC and within ST wfs, the vowels *-o ~ *-oi ~ *-i ~ *e fluctuate without an apparent system, especially with dental finals. For additional variations between *-o and *-i, see §11.2.2. These fluctuations are parallel to back vowel behavior; see §11.8. Similar 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 [biB] < OC *pir? (MC div. chóngniū 4/4) vs. fēi 匪 [puiB] < *por? (MC div. III). In his reconstructions, Baxter (following previous scholarship) distinguishes OCB *-ij from OC *-oj after acute initials according to Shijing rimes and phonetic series, yet many irregular and undetermined rimes remain; OCB *-oj rime predominates, and among the *-oj 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 *-oj (OCM *-i, *-oi) can both correspond to foreign *-i as well as foreign *-oj.

OC rime *-i has its regular counterpart in PTB *-i (§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 嘗 [giC] *gīh ‘enjoy’ (food)
- <> WT dgyes-pa ‘rejoice’ ≠ dge-ba ‘happiness, virtue’; palatalization implies an OC *-i (not *-oi)

Hungry
- jī 饥 (ki 3) [ki] *kri ‘be hungry, starve, hunger, famine’
- <> WT bkres ‘be hungry’, JP kyet31 ‘hungry’; the phonetic series implies OC *i (not *-oi)

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Know  xǐ 悉 [sit] *sit ‘to know, comprehend’  
<> PTB *syey ‘know’ > WT šes-pa, Vayu ses; Lushai tʰei¹ / tʰeiʔ¹.  

### 11.7.2 OC *ə ~ *e, *i in closed syllables

The same variations pertain to syllables with dental finals. According to phonetic series and rimes, we find OC *i- ~ *ə ~ *e- variants which are homophones in MC div. III, e.g., zhi 齿 (tʰi) *tris ~ zhi 齿 (tʰi) *tris ‘slip / stumble’; or hé 面 (yek) *grēk ‘root of a feather’ ~ 面 (yek) *grēk ‘wing, feather’; jié 界 (kai) [kes] *krē(t)s ‘boundary, limit’ vs. jiè 界 (kai) [kes] *krē(t)s ‘to end up, arrive, end, limit’; shē 實 *dak or *djak (?) ‘really’ < ST: PLB *dyak ‘truly, very’, Lushai tak¹ ‘real, true’ vs. shē 實 (džjet) *m-dit (?) ‘really’. According to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11-1</th>
<th>TB, 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>chăn 产学 'produce'</td>
<td>(šanB)</td>
<td>*srâ/ên?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>*hmeel 'face'</td>
<td>miàn 面 'face'</td>
<td>(miǎnC 4)</td>
<td>*mens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>skyel-ba 'send'</td>
<td>qiān 项 'send'</td>
<td>(kʰiānB 4)</td>
<td>*khen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>beîL &lt; beel? 'put on garment'</td>
<td>bēi 被 'put on clothes'</td>
<td>(bijelB/C 3)</td>
<td>*baiʔ/h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>'dred-pa 'slip'</td>
<td>zhi 齿 'slip'</td>
<td>(tʰi)</td>
<td>*tris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>šes 'know'</td>
<td>xǐ 悉 'know'</td>
<td>(sjet)</td>
<td>*sit or *sät</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>bden 'true'</td>
<td>zhēn 真 'true'</td>
<td>(tʃen)</td>
<td>*tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>žed-pa &lt; *rjet 'fear'</td>
<td>lij 惮 'fearful'</td>
<td>(ljet)</td>
<td>*rit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>mēh'īn 'liver'</td>
<td>xǐn 辛 'bitter'</td>
<td>(sjen)</td>
<td>*sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>k'irʔL &lt; k'irh 'to tie'</td>
<td>jîn 紧 'bind tight'</td>
<td>(kjenB 4)</td>
<td>*kin?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>*r/sõîl 'gums'</td>
<td>shēn 習 'gums'</td>
<td>(sjenB)</td>
<td>*nhin?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 11-2 TB, WT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11-2</th>
<th>TB, WT</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>MC div. IV, 3/4</th>
<th>OC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>m-kyen 'know'</td>
<td>jiàn 見 'see'</td>
<td>(kienC)</td>
<td>*kêns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>ser 'hai' &lt; *swer</td>
<td>xiàn 霞 'sleet'</td>
<td>(sienC)</td>
<td>*sêns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>*per 'flat'</td>
<td>bían 匾 'flat'</td>
<td>(pienB)</td>
<td>*pên?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>beelH 'pot'</td>
<td>bião 簋 'food vessel'</td>
<td>(pien)</td>
<td>*pên?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>gser 'gold'</td>
<td>xiān 畳 'glossy, polished metal'</td>
<td>(sienB)</td>
<td>*sôn?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>*myel 'sleep'</td>
<td>miān 眠 'sleep'</td>
<td>(mien)</td>
<td>*môn or *mûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>bsel 'escort'</td>
<td>xiān 先 'go in front'</td>
<td>(sien)</td>
<td>*sân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>bsil 'wash'</td>
<td>xī 洗 'wash'</td>
<td>(sienB, sêlB)</td>
<td>*sîʔ ~ *sôn?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>mthil 'bottom'</td>
<td>dî 叔底 'bottom'</td>
<td>(tieiB)</td>
<td>*tî?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GSR 457 Karlgren believed that mûn 民 (mjen) ‘people’ had two readings: OCM *min and *môn. This word, as well as xî 洗 *sîʔ? / *sôn? ‘to wash’ and quán 犬 *khûn? ‘dog’, have TB
cognates with indisputable *i, which also should be expected to be the source of the vowels in MC mjen, sici\(^8\), kʰiwen\(^8\). Hence OC *o in words with dental finals (including diphthong *-oi) corresponds regularly (though unsystematically) to foreign *o as well as *i. Table 11-1 (MC div. III syllables) and Table 11-2 (MC div. IV syllables) show correspondence sets with ST final dentals, including earlier *-l and *-r.

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 *-iŋ, as it may have converged with *-oŋ or *-un (§6.4.2). Within OC we also find doublets *o ~ *u:

- Bushy (hair): róng 茸 [nöŋ] *nonŋ ~ róng 茸 [niun] *nuŋ
- To bend: qū 曲 [kʰoŋ] *kok ~ jú 鞠鞠 [kuk] *kuk <> PTB *kuk
- To hatch: fú 孚桴 [pʰuoŋ] *pho ‘to hatch’ ~ fū 伏 [buŋ] *bokh or *bukh ‘to hatch’ <> Tai: S. vak\(^{D2}\) ‘to hatch’
- Incubate: yù, yú 嬉 [nöŋ] *ñoŋ ‘to sit on eggs, incubate’ (of birds) ~ yōu 要 [ruŋ] ‘to brood, hatch (eggs)’ (old dialect word)

Where TB lgs. and OC have a simple vowel, Lushai occasionally has a diphthong -ua:

- Pop: bū 卜 [pok] *pok ‘cracking’ <> PLB *npuk ~ *ñoŋ ‘explode, pop’, Lushai puak\(^F\) / pua?\(^L\) ‘to explode, burst, pop’
- Satiated: bāo 飽 [pou\(^B\)] *průŋ ‘eat to the full, satisfied’ <> Lushai puar\(^H\) ‘having eaten enough’
- Full grown: Lushai puam\(^H\) ‘be full grown (but not ripe) of fruit, to swell’ ≠ puŋ\(^F\) < pum? ‘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, zhiú 縫 [lùat, tūas\(^C\)~ töt, ᵀöc] *trot(s) ‘to sew, stitch, connect’ <> WT gtod-pa, btod-pa ‘tie up, stake’ ≠ rtod-pa ‘to tether’
- Behind: hòu 後 [goŋ or fio\(^B\)] *fiŋ? ‘behind, after’ <> PTB *ok > WT ʔog (not ʔog); PLB *ʔok > WB ʔok (i.e., ʔok)
- Hull grain: chōng 春 [söŋ] *hloŋ ‘to hull grain with a pestle’ <> Tai: S. *kloŋ ‘hull rice’
- Move: sōu, sôu 搜 [soŋ] *sôŋ? ‘to move’ <> PTB *m-sow > Dimasa masau, Lushai tʰoŋ\(^B\) / tʰoŋ\(^L\), Lakher patʰeu, Khami antʰau, Ao Naga meso ‘arise, awake’

Vowel breaking before dental finals has led to a new MC / LHan head vowel a, thus MC -uan < *on; 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 chòngniū doublet in the rime tables, with Baxter’s OCB medial *r.

### 11.3 Theoretical developments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PCH</th>
<th>MC div. 1</th>
<th>MC div. 3/3</th>
<th>MC div. 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pon/t</td>
<td>&gt; *pàn:</td>
<td>&gt; *pan:</td>
<td>&gt; *pan:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pàn] (puân)</td>
<td>[puan] (pjân 3)</td>
<td>[puan] (pjwan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*poi</td>
<td>&gt; *pái:</td>
<td>&gt; *pái:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pái] (puái)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[pie] (pje 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pom</td>
<td>&gt; *pâm:</td>
<td>&gt; *pâm:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pâm] (pâm)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[piam] (pjam)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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 *-ul 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 gōng ‘Bow’).

**Cage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PCH</th>
<th>MC div. 3/3</th>
<th>MC div. 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pon/t</td>
<td>&gt; *pàn:</td>
<td>&gt; *pan:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pàn] (puân)</td>
<td>[puan] (pjân 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rob

kòu 胸 [kʰoC] *khō ‘to rob, robber’

<> PTB *r-kuw > WT rku-ba ‘to steal’, Kachin laku, NNaga *C/V-kw:w, WB kʰuiB < *C-kuiB

Body

qù 體 [kʰo] *kho ‘body, person’

<> PTB *(s-)kuw > WT sku, WB kui ‘body (of an animal)’

Cough

sōu 咳 [soC] *sōh ‘to cough’

<> PTB *(s-)kuw > Magari su, Garo, Dimasa gu-su, WT sud-pa ‘cough’

Additional examples include - jù 駄 ‘colt’, - qū 驅 ‘to drive (animals), gallop’, - rū 乳 ‘nipple’, - shū 植 ‘to plant, place upright’, - zhū 柱 ‘pillar’.

OC *-o in closed syllables has no systematic correspondence in other languages:

**Cage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PCH</th>
<th>MC div. 3/3</th>
<th>MC div. 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pon/t</td>
<td>&gt; *pàn:</td>
<td>&gt; *pan:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pàn] (puân)</td>
<td>[puan] (pjân 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mound**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PCH</th>
<th>MC div. 3/3</th>
<th>MC div. 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pon/t</td>
<td>&gt; *pàn:</td>
<td>&gt; *pan:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pàn] (puân)</td>
<td>[puan] (pjân 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cage**

lóng 鐘 [lōŋ(B)] *rōŋ(?) ‘bird cage, basket’

<> WB khruinC ‘cage for birds’

**Mound**

fēng 封 [pùong] *pōŋ ‘mound, tumulus, raise a mound’

<> WT pʰun-pa ‘heap, heap-pa’ ‘heap’, Rawang pōŋ ‘heap’

**Sharp point**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PCH</th>
<th>MC div. 3/3</th>
<th>MC div. 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pon/t</td>
<td>&gt; *pàn:</td>
<td>&gt; *pan:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pàn] (puân)</td>
<td>[puan] (pjân 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cage**

zhòng 冢塚 [tōŋB] *tronŋ ‘a mound, peak’

<> WT rduŋ ‘small mound, hillock’, WB tog ‘hill, mountain’

**Torch**

zhú 燒 [tsōk] *tok ‘torch’

<> PLB *duk ‘blazing’ > *duk ‘kindle, set on fire’ > WB tok ‘blaze, shine’; WT dugs-pa ‘to light, kindle’; Lushai duk ‘growing with heat’

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Custom  sù 俗 [ziok] *s-lok ‘rustic, vulgar, custom, popular usage’
<> WT lugs ‘custom, way, manner’

Inferior  liè 利 [lyat] *rot ‘inferior’
<> PTB *ryut > JP yut3l ‘become worse (illness)’, WB yut < rut ‘inferior, mean’ ※ hrut ‘put down’

Vomit  yue 噎 [yut] *wat or *rot ‘sound of vomiting’
<> TB-PLB *ut (not *wat) ‘to belch’

Additional examples with final *-ŋ include → yōng 瘡 ‘ulcer’, → yōng 齴 ‘city moat’, → gōng 工 ‘work’.

11.9.2 OC *-o ~ *-au
OC *-o ~ *-au variation is exceptional:

Scoop out  yú 捞 [jo, doB] *lo ~ *liŋ ‘to scoop out (as a mortar)’
~ yóu ~ yāo 豷 [ju, jauB] *lu ~ *lauŋ ‘to scoop hulled grain from a mortar’

Monkey  yù 猴 [niohC] *nō ‘monkey’
<> PTB: *naw ‘ape’ > Lushai nayH ‘grey monkey’

11.9.3 OC *o / *u for foreign *a?
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 may be chance similarities. Thus yōu 猶 [ju] *ju (?) ‘to laugh’ is probably unrelated to PTB *r-ya ‘to laugh’ > WT gža-ba ‘to sport, joke, play’ because the TB form agrees in a regular way with → chên, chê ‘laugh’. CH kǒu 口 *k’o? ‘mouth’ is not related to TB *k’a ‘id.’, etc. In the following, the ST root was perhaps *kwal with the medial *w lost in WT (?):

Pass over  guò 拱 [kuaiC ~ koiC] *kōh ‘to pass, transgress’
<> WT rgal-ba, brgal ‘to pass over, travel through, ford’, Lushai kaiH / kaiL ‘to cross over’ ※ kalH ‘walk, travel, pass by’, WB kaiB ‘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 rime *-ŋ has shifted to OCM *-a; see §6.4.2.

Day  zhōu 晨 [tC] *trukh ‘time of daylight, day’ <> WT gdugs ‘noon’

Womb  bāo 胚 [pou, p’ou] *prū, *phrū ‘womb’
<> WT p’bru-ma ~ *pbru-ma/-ba ‘uterus, placenta’

Nine  jiǔ 九 [kuB] OCB *k’juŋ ‘nine’
<> PTB *d-kuw > WT dgu; WB kuiB; PL *go2; Lushai kuaR

Suck, swallow  shùn 吸 [zunB] *m-lun? ‘to suck’
<> PTB *mlyun > Kanauri *myun ‘to swallow’

Grandchild  sūn 孫 [suan] *sōn ‘grandchild’
<> PTB *sū(w) > Mikir, Meithi, Dimasa, etc.; su, JP fu5j ‘grandchild’
VOWELS 11.10.1 – 11.10.2


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 jué 覺 [kok] *krūk ‘to awake’
<> PTB *grok ~ *krok > WT dkrog-pa = skrog-pa ‘to stir, churn, rouse’;
PLB *krok ‘be afraid’ > WB krok ≠ PLB *7krok ‘frighten’

Come out chū 出 [tśhut] *k-lhut ‘to come out’
<> JP lot31-lam33 ‘outlet’, Trung klot ‘come out’, KN-Chinbok klot ‘id.’

Dig kū 窟 [kʰuat] *khūt ‘dig in the ground, underground’
<> PTB *r-ko-t > WT rkod-pa ‘excavate, dig’ ≠ rko-ba ‘to dig’

Sunrise tūn 曙 [tʰuon] *thūn ‘the rising sun’
<> WT tʰon-pa, tʰon ‘to come out, go out’, Monpa Cuona tʰoŋ53, Motuo tʰoŋ ‘to come out (sun)’, WB pʰ-tʰon ‘come out (e.g., the sun)’

Temple zōng 宗 [tsouŋ] *tsūŋ ‘ancestral temple, ancestral, lineage’
<> WT rdzonŋ(s) ‘castle, fortress’, WB (o-)cʰonŋ ‘a building’

Bean shū 豆 [suk] *nḥuk ‘bean’
<> PLB *(s-)nok ‘bean’ > WB nok, JP no?31- ‘red bean’

Morning sù 昼 [suk] *suk ‘early morning, early, soon’
<> PLB *C-sok ~ *V-sok ‘morning, morrow’

Six liù 六 [liuk] *C-ruk ‘six’
<> PTB *d-ruk ‘six’ > WT drug, JP kruŋ55; Lushai paṭ-ruk; WB kʰrōk

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 the back vowels *o, *u were unrounded which resulted in *a (< *o via *ua; see §11.9) and *e (< *u via *ua).

Three sān 三 [sam] *s$m ‘three’
<> ST *sum: WT sum ‘three (in compositions)’, JP ma3l-sum33, WB sumC

Inhale xī 吸 [hip] *həp ‘to inhale’
<> ST *Cnup: TB-WT rjub-pa, brjubs ‘to draw in (air), breathe’

Sweet gān 甘 (kām) [kam] *kəm < *klam (prob. < *kluam < *klom)
<> PTB *klum ‘sweet’

However, in many OC words in final *-om / *-əp the vowel *ə 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 *pun merged with *pən, in div. III *pən merged with *pun, hence MC puən [pən] vs. pjuən [pun]; we conservatively assume for OCM syllables *pən only (Table 11-4).

- **Root**
  - bén 本 [pənB] *bən ‘root, stem’
  - <> PTB *bul ~ *pul ‘root, beginning, cause, origin, source’
- **Burst forth**
  - pó́ě 脩 [bət] *bōt ‘burst forth (as plants, fountain)’
  - <> WT ‘bu-ba, ‘bus ‘to open, unfold (flower)’
- **Poor**
  - pín 贏 [bən] OCB *brjan ‘poor’ <> WT dbul ‘poor’
- **Tail**
  - wéi 尾 (mjweiB) [muiB] *məi? <> PTB *r-may
- **Branch**
  - méi 枚 (muəi) [moi] *məi <> AA: Khmer meek

### 11.10.4 Labial dissimilation with open / velar final syllables

The OC syllables of the type *pə, *pok have merged with *pu, *puk in what corresponds to MC div. III; this is parallel to dental finals (above). In div. I, *pə and *pu were kept distinct, and *pük does not occur at all; see Table 11-4 (Sagart 1999: 58ff). The Shijing rimes distinguish between *pə and *pu (div. III), but both become MC pjou, and *pok and *puk (div. III) both become MC pjuk. Words with the phonetic as in 福 consistently rime with *-ok, words with the phonetic as in 復 consistently rime with *-uk. Likewise, 孻桴 蛭 rime always with *-u, and 佇服負婦 rime always with *-o. 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 復 as phonetic derived from etyma with ST *-uk. Also ‘carry on the back’ has in many languages the equivalent of OC *-o, while PTB *buw suggests, of course, an *u for 佇 負 contrary to its Shijing rimes.

OC syllable type *puŋ does not occur at all (in none of the MC div. — apart from one or two doublets). As in rimes *puk ~ *pok, MC div. III mjʊŋ resulted from *məŋ. In Shijing, 兌 (kjʊŋ) rimes consistently as *kwəŋ in spite of its ST origin *kuŋ which is a behavior parallel to 負 and 福. The issue remains unclear.

- **Lie down**
  - fǔ 佇服 [buk] *bok ‘to lie down’
  - <> TB-Lushai bokL / bɔkL ‘to lie down, recline’
- **To hatch**
  - fǔ 伏 [bʊC] *bəkh ‘to hatch’
  - ~ fǔ 孻桴 (pju) [pʰʊo] *pho ‘to hatch’ <> Tai: S. vakD2 ‘to hatch’
- **Woman**
  - fǔ 嬰 [bʊB] *bəʔ ‘woman, wife’
  - <> Yao bwaŋ4 < nb- ‘daughter-in-law’ <> Tai *baaA ‘wife’
- **Back**
  - běi 北 [pək] *pək ‘north’
  - <> PTB *ba(k) > WT ‘ba-ba ‘to bring, carry’, JP baʔ31 (< bak) ‘carry (child on back)’, Lushai puaL / puakF ‘carrying on the back as a child’
  - <> PTai *baaA: S. pəaaA2
  - <> MK-Bahn. *baʔ, Katuic baʔ ‘carry (on the back)’, PPal. *bo, Khmu boʔ, PWa *baʔ ‘carry child on back’
Benefit  fū 福 [puk] *pāk ‘benefit, good fortune’
<> WT pʰyug-pa ‘rich’ ≅ pʰyugs ‘cattle’
Ant  fū 蚁 [bu] *bu ‘large ant, ephemeria’ <> WT sbur ‘ant’

11.10.5 Exceptional correspondences

We have noted above that OC *-ŋ (> MC -i div. III) seems to correspond in a few words to WT and PTB *i; similarly, OC *ŋ (> MC div. 1 -āi) 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] *nā ‘be capable, have ability, can’
<> WT nus-pa ‘be able’
Manner  tǎi 態 [tʰɔ̌ːC] *nhɔ́h ‘apparition, bearing, manner’
<> WT mtʰu (< m-ahu ?) ‘ability, power’

Cup  bēi 杯 [pʰa] *pʰ ‘cup’ <> WT pʰor-pa ‘bowl, dish, cup’ (late word)

Unusual variations ə ~ u are encountered, also within MC:

Sincere  kěn 應 [kʰənB] [kʰənB] *khən?
vs. kǔn 態 [kʰənB] [kʰənB] *khǔn?

To swallow  tūn 吞 [tʰən] Sin Sukchu PR tʰən; MGZY th⁴³in (平) [tʰən]
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 ə, as in WT:

Float  piǎo 飄 [pʰiau] *phiau ‘to float (in the air)’
<> PTB *pyaw > WT 'pʰyo-ba ‘swim, soar, float’

Fat, grease  sǎo 腴 [sau] *səu ‘fat of swine or dog’
<> PTB *səw > Lushai tʰəu ‘fat, grease’, JP sau³³

Sickle  zhāo, jiāo 釧鉬 [keu, tsau < kiau] *kiau ‘to cut’ 釧, ‘a big sickle’ 鉬
<> Tai: Lao kiauBi ‘to reap, sickle’, S. kiauBl ‘to cut with a sickle’

Additional examples include (all entries→) mǎo 毛 ‘hair, fur’, sǎo 腴 ‘putrid smell’, yáǒ 搖 ‘to shake, be agitated’, nǎo 撫 ‘to trouble, disturb’.

The OC rime *-au has a closed syllable (rǔshēng) counterpart. This goes counter to the system, which allows only short vowels in stopped syllables. But for now ‘music’, for example, will be written yuè 樂 (ŋɑk) *ŋrəuk; perhaps it was phonetically leveled to *ŋɾək, just as *-aik became *-ek.
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: Lepcha, Kanauri, Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manangba (TGTM), PTani (= Abor-Miri-Dafla), Chepang, as well as Proto-Lolo-Burmese ([P]LB) 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 Fùshì. 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 \( J \) for \( j \) to make sure it is not confused with IPA \( j \); IPA \( y \) for \( y \); \( c \) for \( c \) to rule out confusion with \( t_s \); aspiration as in \( k^h \) for \( k^t \) 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 in 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 Karlgren (1957) and amended by Li Fang Kuei (1971), is placed in parentheses. MC is based on the rime dictionary Qieyun, hence it is also referred to as the Qièyùn system (QYS). Often, the Mandarin word is phonologically not the direct descendent of the MC form. Tones are indicated in superscript letters: pīngshēng 平 A (usually unmarked), shāngshēng 上 B (= Karlgren 'x-', Pulleyblank 'x'-); qūshēng 去 C (=Karlgren 'x-', Pulleyblank 'x'); rūshēng 入 D (usually unmarked). Thus the entries here write, for example, MC kiei, kiel\( B \), kiel\( C \), 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 1998). 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

-ji-, -i-; no known Sinitic language makes such distinctions. The LHAn forms provide a transliteration which is probably closer to some actual language.

Later transcriiional 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 (Měnggū zìyùn), 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 [ka] = LH ka. 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 triphthongs 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 das).

(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 > kaa > LHan kǎ 居; OCM *saŋ > saŋ > LH sian 相; OCM *ma > mao > LH mua 無. In low syllables, the later MC div. I/IV types, the vocalic onset is bent down, thus OCM *sí > LH sei (> MC siei) 西; OCM *pá > LH pou (> MC pàu) 寶; OCM *mà > LH mò > mao > MC muǐ 每. 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 > later kiu 九 > MC kjou. Equally, the low vowel a cannot bend lower; it remains unchanged in LHan: OCM *ka > LH ka (> MC kuo) 古.

Initial velar consonants eventually palatalized under the influence of the immediately following high vowel i, even a secondary one (perhaps phonetically ū), thus OCM *kë > LH kie > MC tsjë 吉. For reasons that are not yet clear, this palatalization of velars did not occur in all rimes (e.g., ji 吉 MC kjei < 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 ka, kaʔ, ka; however, for the sake of consistency we will use the tone letters instead, hence LHan ka, ka₄, ka₅.

Table 12-1 provides some LHan sample forms for OC rimes *-a and *-an. LHan syllable types are distributed over Qieyun 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.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>L-a I</th>
<th>H-a III</th>
<th>H-a II</th>
<th>a II</th>
<th>L-an I</th>
<th>H-an III</th>
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12.1.2 Minimal Old Chinese (OCM)

Transcription of Minimal OC (OCM) is based on Baxter 1992 (OCB), 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- where some now suggest *ql- 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 a “phonetic series” or xie-shêng 諧聲 series. Karlgren and Li Fang Kuei rigidly adhered to a “xie-shêng 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 (Qiú Xīguī 2000: 269, quoting Zhēng Xuǎn to that effect). The selection of graphic elements can be on a sliding scale from purely phonetic (as in jù 居 *ka ‘dwell’, phonetic gū 古 *kā ‘old’) to semantic (e.g., jiān 尖 ‘pointed’: graph for ‘small’ on top of ‘big’). Many graphic choices fall between these ends. The original graph for xiān 先 LH sian ‘an immortal’ has been replaced by the simplified {Ul with shān 山 LH sān ‘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 徽 MC jweī *w(r)g(t)s ‘position, seat’, li 立 MC jiap *rap ‘to stand’ (< PTB *k-rap ‘to stand’) is often believed to be phonetic, and hence cognate to wēi. Yet li 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, nèi 内 MC nu̯ī ‘inside’ is written with the phonetic element rú 入 MC nǐap ‘enter’; rú was apparently OCM *nup, while nèi was *nüts. There is not rime and other evidence to suggest that nèi had a labial final in OC (*nüps). The phonetic rú for nèi is explained by the transparent etymological relationship beside some similarity in sound. Thus nèi was probably *nüps in PCH, but not in OCM. Similarly, we mechanically take MC div. II and retroflex 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 huō ‘fire’ and huī ‘snake’. We reconstitute an OC *hm- initial because (1) these words are certainly related to PTB *smey and *(s-)b/m-rul; (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-invariably corresponds to a foreign sm-, hm-, km-, and the like. Therefore, OCM *hmōi? ‘fire’ and *hməi? (< *hmui?) ‘snake’.

OCM differs from Baxter’s (OCB) in some ways:

1. For Baxter’s 1992 *i 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 *-ts 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 *njits, here *nis or *ni(t)s; OCB *njis, here *nih; OCB *tjoks, here *takh.

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,
-au, -iu, -iau. A palatal medial thus shows up as -i-, not -j-. However, after velar initials, the rounded medial is written w because the combination represents labiovelars: kwɪ, kwɑŋ (for kʷi, kʷɑŋ), hence *kwɪb (kʷi b) vs. *kui b (ku b). When the coda is a dental -n/t or -i, PCH and OC o (as in -on/t, -oi) have broken to -uan/t and -uai in at least some Han dialects and later standard Chinese. This makes the OC origin of a syllable like MC kuɑn ambiguous — it could derive from either *kwan (kʷan) or *kon. Baxter has tried to sort these out. When in doubt, we write *kwan/t, *kwai.

12-2 (for item [6])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MC</th>
<th>GSR OC</th>
<th>*R-series</th>
<th>*T-series</th>
<th>*L-series</th>
<th>*J-series</th>
<th>*N-series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t l</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>t” 單</td>
<td>t”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰ l</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>rh” 體</td>
<td>th” 土</td>
<td>lh” 免</td>
<td>nh” 歌</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d l</td>
<td>d’</td>
<td></td>
<td>d” 圖</td>
<td>l” 途</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n l</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n” 奴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni̯j III</td>
<td>ni̯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n 如</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsj III</td>
<td>sj</td>
<td></td>
<td>t 銃</td>
<td></td>
<td>tj, kj 勺</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̥sji III</td>
<td>t’i</td>
<td></td>
<td>th 賒</td>
<td>k-hl 出</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>żj III</td>
<td>dż</td>
<td></td>
<td>d 善</td>
<td></td>
<td>dj 上</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzįj III</td>
<td>d’i (rare)</td>
<td></td>
<td>m-d 晉</td>
<td>m-l 食</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jį- IV</td>
<td>gi, di, bi, zi</td>
<td></td>
<td>l 易</td>
<td>j 夜</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s l</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>s” 錫</td>
<td>sn”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sj III</td>
<td>si</td>
<td></td>
<td>s l 賀</td>
<td>sn 襄</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zj III</td>
<td>dzj</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-l 賛</td>
<td>s-j 夕</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tj III</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td></td>
<td>tr 張</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̥ń III</td>
<td>t’i</td>
<td>rh 龍</td>
<td>thr 悷</td>
<td>t-hl 暢</td>
<td>nhr 丑</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dj III</td>
<td>d’i</td>
<td></td>
<td>dr 晉</td>
<td>d-l 場</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nr 女</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s II/III</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sr 史</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r” 體</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li̯ III</td>
<td>li</td>
<td></td>
<td>r 立</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x- I</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(hr”)</td>
<td>(hl” 虎)</td>
<td>(hn”)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xį III</td>
<td>xį</td>
<td>(hr)</td>
<td>(hl)</td>
<td>(hn)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Notes for Tables 12-2 and 12-3:
• These tables list relevant MC initials in the left column, Karlgren's GSR system for OC in the second, in the rest OCM initial types as reflected in phonetic series (exceptional combinations in parentheses).
• The circumflex 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-l-), others in T-series (*dr-), 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 *gl > [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>ណ`五</td>
<td>m`莫</td>
<td>n`奴</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nj III</td>
<td></td>
<td>ណ`TableCell not visible</td>
<td>m`TableCell not visible</td>
<td>n`TableCell not visible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s / sw I</td>
<td>s-/ sw</td>
<td>ណ`TableCell not visible</td>
<td>m`TableCell not visible</td>
<td>n`TableCell not visible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sj / sjw III</td>
<td>sj / sjw</td>
<td>Doctrine</td>
<td>sw宣</td>
<td></td>
<td>snTableCell not visible</td>
<td>sl`鍾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zj / zjw III</td>
<td>dzj / dzjw</td>
<td>s-w يمكنك</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-l習</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw I</td>
<td></td>
<td>w`魂</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x / xw I</td>
<td>x / xw</td>
<td>hw`血</td>
<td>hŋ`龢</td>
<td>hm`荒</td>
<td>hn`龢</td>
<td>hl`虎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi / xjw III</td>
<td>xi / xjw</td>
<td>hw`TableCell not visible</td>
<td>hŋ`TableCell not visible</td>
<td>hm`TableCell not visible</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) OCB sets up six vowels: a, ə, e, i, o, u, plus diphthongs aw, aj, etc., which correspond roughly to Karlgren's a/o, ə, e, ar, u, ɑ, og/k, ar/ɑ.

(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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{a(k)h, ak anŋ, anŋ} / \quad \text{ai, aih at, as an, ans} / \quad \text{ap am, ams} \\
\text{o} & \quad \text{ok əŋ} / \quad \text{oi ot, os on} / \quad \text{ap əm} \\
\text{e} & \quad \text{ek əŋ} / \quad \text{et, es en} / \quad \text{ep em} \\
\text{i} & \quad \text{i} / \quad \text{(i) it, is in} / \quad \text{ip im} \\
\text{o} & \quad \text{ok əŋ} / \quad \text{oi ot, os on} \\
\text{u} & \quad \text{uk unŋ} / \quad \text{ui ut, us un} \\
\text{au} & \quad \text{auk} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(9) The following list compares Karlgren's OC in GSR with OCM final consonants and rimes; div. I/IV syllables are cited for each rime category:

GSR *-o, *-ag = OCM *-a; except some GSR *-ag in MC tone C
= OCM *-akh (Baxter *-aks), i.e. MC tone C
GSR *-ak, *-an = OCM *-ak, *-an
GSR *-u, *-ug = OCM *-u, except some *u(g) with MC tone C
= OCM *-okh (Baxter *-oks), i.e. MC tone C
GSR *-uk, *-un = OCM *-ok, *-on
GSR *-og = OCM *-u, except some *og with MC tone C
= OCM *-ukh (Baxter *-uks), i.e. MC tone C
GSR *-ok = OCM *-u, except some *og with MC tone C
= OCM *-okh (Baxter *-oks), i.e. MC tone C
GSR *-eg = OCM *-e; except some *eg with MC tone C
= OCM *-ekh (Baxter *-eks), i.e. MC tone C
GSR *-ek, *-en = OCM *-ek, *-en

GSR *-â, *-âr = OCM *-ai
GSR *-uâ, *-uâr = OCM *-oi, except after gutturals also *Kwai; not after labials
GSR *-ât, *-âd, *-ân = OCM *-at, *-a(t)s (Baxter *-ats, and similarly passim), *-an
GSR *-uât, *-uâd, *-uân = OCM *-ot, *-o(t)s, *-on, except after gutturals also *Kwat etc.;
not after labials
GSR *-iat, *-iân = OCM *-et, *-en
GSR *-ôt, *-ôd, *-ôn = OCM *-ot, *-o(t)s, *-on, also after gutturals *Kwât etc.
GSR *-uôt, *-uôd, *-uôn = OCM *-ut, *-u(t)s, *-un, after gutturals also *Kwat etc.;
not after labials
GSR *-or = OCM *-oi or *-i
GSR *-uâr = OCM *-ui; rarely after gutturals also *Kwi; not after labials
GSR *-et, *-en = OCM *-it, *-in

GSR *-âp, *-âm = OCM *-ap, *-am
GSR *-iap, *-iam = OCM *-ep, *-em
GSR *-âp, *-âm = OCM *-ap or *-om
GSR *-iap, *-iam = OCM *-ip, *-im

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 = Gan 赣 (including the city
Nanchang 南昌); K = Kejia 客家 (Hakka, incl. Meixian 梅縣); M = Min 闽 (incl. Xiamen 夏
門 = Amoy, Fuzhou 福州); Mand. = Mandarin; W = Wu 吳 (incl. Shanghai 上海, Suzhou 蘇
州); X = Xiang 湘 (incl. Changsha 長沙); Y = Yue 粤 (Cantonese, incl. Canton = Guangzhou
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). PMin = Proto-Min = CMin =
Common Min are Norman’s earlier reconstructions, sometimes with slight amendments,
notably: Norman’s “softened initials” are marked with a breve, thus ĝ- or əz-; his voiceless

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continuants are marked with a dot, not an ‘h’, thus l-; OCM *h in the initials is reserved for other MC reflexes.

12.2 Jingpo (JP) (= Kachin)

Jingpo is quoted in the phonetic interpretation of Xú Xúijīān, Dài Qīngxià, except: ą in pre-syllables is replaced by ą, g, b, d for k, t, p in lax syllables; nasals and resonants in tense syllables start with *?- (HPTB: 114f); r for 3; aspiration ą. Kachin, the same language as JP, is spelled as in the sources that cite forms from Hanson 1906, or as provided by informants.

In JP, TB medial *
and *l occasionally become y after a nasal: *mr- / *ml- > my-.

Occasionally, *l > r; thus there exist two forms of the PTB etymon *mlu[n/k]:

(2) JP ma³¹-yu³¹ *m-yuk ‘throat, swallow’ <> Lushai zu¹¹ / zuuk³³ < ju?/h / juuk ‘to drink’, PLB *myuk ~ *myuw

PTB *ry- > JP ts-, dz- (Dai / Xu 1992 96f, 75):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JP</th>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mə́³¹-tsə́³³5 &lt; m-rjat ‘eight’</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; WT brgyad &lt; b-rjat, Lushai pa³-riatF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts³³ &lt; rja³³ ‘hundred’</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; WT brgya &lt; b-ra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsə́³³5 &lt; rjap ‘stand’</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; Mikir arjap³ &lt; rjap³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsi³³⁵⁵ &lt; rjik ‘head louse’</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; Chepang sroyk, Lushai hrik¹¹ &lt; hrik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few common words, PTB *l corresponds to JP t (when preceded by a prefix? See also HPTB: 32): JP fiŋ³¹-te³³³³ ‘to shoot’ (< sm-λhek ? <> shí ʃʃ); JP ta³³³³ ‘month’, ja³³³³-ta³³ ‘moon’ < PTB *ia; ma³³³³-ta³³³³ ‘lick’ < PTB *mlyak (< shí ʃ); JP ³³³³-ta³³³³ < PTB *lak ‘hand’ (HPTB: 51). JP occasionally lacks TB medial y: mə́³³³³-ta³³³³ < PTB *mlyak (< shí ʃ), na³³³³ ‘night’ < PTB *ya.

12.3 Lushai

Lushai (TB - Kuki-Naga [KN] - Kuki-Chin [KC]): some of Lorrain’s transcriptions have been replaced by IPA symbols: his aw by ą, final -h by -ʔ, ch, chh are simplified to ę, ĳ (the symbol \( \text{x} \) has been added to avoid ambiguities; Weidert 1975 writes ts- and tsh-), long vowels are doubled (ʔaart), and tones are added (a copy of the dictionary with tones marked has been kindly provided by J. A. Matisoff): low tone x₁, rising tone x₄, high tone x₇, falling tone x⁸; see below for more on tones.

In open syllables and those ending in -ʔ (Lorrain’s -h) these vowels and diphthongs occur:

- a, ai, au
- ą (Lorrain’s aw), ąi (Lorrain’s awi), ui, o, u, ua, iu
- e, ei, i, ia

In closed syllables we find: aČ eČ iČ iaČ ąČ uČ uaČ

In wfs vowels interchange with each other, e.g., puam⁹⁹ ‘be full grown (but not ripe), to swell (of fruit)’ \( \neq \) pum⁹⁹ ‘be filled out (as fruit)’.

A closed syllable can end in a consonant k, q, t, n, p, m, l, r, ʔ. These correspond usually to their counterparts in other TB languages: -ʔ is derived (1) from -h which in turn derives from final -s; (2) a final -ʔ < -ʔ can be reconstructed on the basis of tones (Ostapirat 1998). Lushai has occasionally -k for WT -t (STC p. 101–102).

The initial consonants are the same as in TB, in addition and including z- < *j-, h-, v-, ʔ-.
PTB *s- and *z- have become tʰ- in Lushai and related languages, also as s-prefixes: Ukhrul thārk’ ‘pheasant’ < s-rik, Mikir the-rāk ‘shy’ < s-rāk, hence Lushai tʰла ‘moon’ < s-la or kʰla. In some words, Lushai has apparently unaspirated t for PTB *z-, occasionally also for *s-.

Weidert (1987: 286) cites Lushai (L.) tuʔ ‘to plant’ for Tamang *su-. Also:

L. tee⁸ / teet⁷ ‘to be small’: ST *zi: xi 細 (seiⅡ) [seⅢ (or seiⅡ)], *sǐ or *sēh ‘thin, small’; PTB *zi > West Tib. zi ‘very small’; WB se Ⅲ ‘small, fine’; Kachin zi ‘small’

L. teei < tees ‘myself, thyself…’: ST *si or *zi: sǐ 仏 (siⅠ) [siⅡ] *sǐ ‘private, egoistic’

L. tu... ‘who’?: PTB *su: WT su ‘who’

L. tu⁷ ‘grandchild’: ST *su ? PTB *su(w) ‘grandchild’

L. tuuk⁶ ‘early morning’: sù 仏 (siuk) *suk ‘early morning’; PLB *C-sok ~ *V-sok ‘morning, morrow’

L. tin⁸ ‘nail, claw’; WT sen-mo ‘finger- or toe-nail’

TB medial r and l are lost in the configurations of some initials; otherwise TB clusters with r and l show up as t-, tʰ and t-, tʰ/-.

Lushai has preserved TB final laterals -r and -l; however, in some words *-l has been replaced by -i as in many other languages (loans from elsewhere?):

| ‘face’ | hmel¹ | vs. | hmai¹ | PTB *s-mel; cf. Tiddim mai |
| ‘pass over’ | – | kai | WT rgal |
| ‘gums’ | – | hni | PTB *s/r-nil |

But regular:

| ‘kidney’ | kal⁸ | PTB *kal |
| ‘snake’ | ruul | – | PTB *s-b-rul |

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):

ai⁸ < aiʔ ‘crab’, PTB *d-kay <= xiè 獵 ge Ⅲ
tui⁸ < tuiʔ ‘water’ <= ㄆ tʰeiⅡ/C ‘tears’
haif⁸ < hlaʔ ’to flay, to skin, split’. Chep kløyh-sa <= chi, chí 聽 téiⅡ, ㄈ ‘to separate’
bai⁸ < baiʔ ‘walk lame’ <= ㄈ paiⅡ ‘walk lame’
in⁴-hnai⁸ < hnaʔ ‘near’ <= ㄔ 邊 ńe⁸
pa⁸ < paaʔ ‘father’ <= ㄔ 父 buⅢ
saⅢ-khiⅠ < saa-khiH ‘barking deer’ <= OCjī 犬 ㄐ ‘muntjac’
hru⁸ < hruiʔ ‘a creeper, cane, rope, cord, string’ <= lēi 綠 luiⅢ ‘creepers, liana’
kʰaar⁸ < khaarʔ ‘to buy in large quantities’ <= ㄍ 贸 koⅢ ‘to sell, buy’
kʰaar⁸ < khaarʔ ‘dam or weir, roughly constructed of leafy bows or bamboo lattice-work (sometimes used for catching fish)’ <= ㄏ / ㄍ 潮 火 ㄍ gaoⅢ / koⅢ ‘weir, fish stakes for catching fish / net’
peil⁷ / per²⁷ < perʔ / per ‘flat and wide’, PTB *per <= biān 扁 penⅢ ‘flat and thin’
beif⁸ < beefʔ ? ‘to cause to or make wear, put on (garment, load, plaster...)’ <= ㄈ 被 bioiⅢ/C ‘to cover, incl. putting on clothes’
kaiʔ < kaiH ‘to wrench, plait, lock’ <= jiàn 槱 gionⅢ ‘door bar, bolt’
12.4 Mikir

Mikir final consonants, including -y (< -l), -r, 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 (STC:70).

Although it appears that any final consonant can follow any vowel, the distribution is uneven: -IC and -UC are not as common as -eC and -oC. Words inherited from TB have merged -IC with -eC and -UC with -oC, with only few exceptions.

TB initial s shows up as Mikir s- or th- (as in Lushai), perhaps also as ë(h)-.

Mikir has three tones (Grüßner’s tone accents): a high tone, here rendered symbolically as x^H; a level, here x^L, a low, here x^L.

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 l for OC initial or medial r; see §7.3. Occasionally, Tai has two forms with different vowels where Chinese has only one form:

S. kʰlai < gl- ‘to untwist, unroll, disentangle ~ kʰli3 < gli ‘to unfold, unfurl’
< jiè 解 [keB] *kré?
PTai *g-: S. kʰcecp^{D2} < g- ‘narrow’ ~ kʰiap < g- ‘narrow’
< xiá 狭 (yāp) [gep] *grēp ‘narrow’
S. kook < gɔɔk ‘pen, enclosure’ ~ kʊk < g- ‘prison’
< gù 牠 (kuok) [kouk] *kûk ‘pen, stable’

Some Tai (Siamese) syllables are indicative of a foreign origin of a word (Gedney CAAAL 6, 1976: 65 ff). Siamese vowels inherited from PTai are CeC, CoC, CeeC, CooC from *e, *o and *ee, *oo respectively. Innovative vowels are CeeC, CooC, and CeC, CoC. Final ? found in some Tai words is not historical, thus S. thoʔ2 ‘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, ṇ, m, n, s, r, l, (y, w).
TB initial consonants within each set below alternate within wfs and between languages, just as in Chinese:

- k ~ g, η ~ hη, r ~ hr
- p ~ b, m ~ hm, w ~ hw
- t ~ d, n ~ hn, l ~ hl
- s ~ z ~ ts ~ dz, y ~ hy

TB has preserved *z- (based on WT) which has merged with *s- in OC. The palatal affricates in ST daughter languages are thought to derive from *ty-, *dy- with either primary or secondary y. The working premise here assumes the following ST proto-vowels: i, u, e, a, o, a (*a has been preserved only in CH). The precise correlation of many TB diphthongs with OC still needs to be worked out.

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): 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, ch; however, here tones are marked by letters: A unmarked, B for breathy tone (a = a^b), C for creaky tone (a' = a^c).

The distribution of finals in WB is not symmetrical:

- a wa o u ui wai i e we
- ak wak ok uik ac
- aŋ waŋ oŋ uŋŋ aŋ
- at wat ut it
- an wān 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, z, and č, čʰ, j, n, š, ž where the diacritics are added to avoid confusion with other transcriptions in which c may stand for ts; 'a-čʰ人生的 is written with an apostrophe (§4.6; Coblin 2002), ?a-čʰen (glottal stop) with the IPA symbol ?. The vowels are a, e, i, o, u; there are no diphthongs.

Consonants:
- k, kʰ, g, η, ?, 'x ('a-čhung)
- č, čʰ, j, n, š, ž
- t, tʰ, d, n
- ts, tsʰ, dz, s, z
- p, pʰ, b, m
- r, l, y (w rare, secondary?)
Some WT peculiarities:

1. Voiced Pre-Tibetan l and r develop an epenthetic d after 'a-čʰun. N-lag > ldag, N-ro > 'dro (Li Fang Kuei 1959).

Voiceless TB or Pre-Tibetan l and r develop an epenthetic t: lhuŋ pf. of ltuŋ < n-lhuŋ; ltam ‘speech’ << Mikir lam.

The medial palatal glide y becomes devoiced when preceded by a voiceless consonant: lče ‘tongue’ < lhce < lhje < lhe. The letter / sound combination rři and rči does not exist in WT; the affricates are instead de-palatalized, thus rtsib < rχiP < rχjip ‘ribs’.

2. Initial y- derives sometimes from vocalic ingress, also after loss of *w-; note the doublets ‘og ~ yog ‘below’, ‘og ~ yog ‘to come’ < warj; Chepang ywu? ~ huy ‘blood’. Magari hyu < hwi, Vayu vi = WT yi in yi(d)-dam ‘oath’ = yid ‘sould, mind’ (STC no. 222).

Accordingly, WT yur-ma ‘the act of weeding’ is cognate to yuŋ (jwən) [wun] *wən ‘to weed’ < ST *wur. In light of these equations, it is possible to connect yōu 有 *wə? ‘have’ = WT yod-pa ‘be, have’ < ST *wəC; yōu 右 *wah ‘right’ (side) = WT g-yas ‘id.’ < wəs; yōu 友 *wə? ‘friend, companion’ = WT ya ‘associate, companion, assistant’ < ST *wə; yōu 尤 *wə ‘guilt, fault, blame’ < ST yus ‘blame, charge’ < ST *wu; guāŋ 廣 *kwən? ‘broad, wide’, Lushai vaŋ ‘be large, extensive’ = WT yəŋ ‘wide, broad, large’ < ST *(C-)wuŋ?

3. Some WT words have the vowel o where all other languages consistently have a or its equivalent, from both ST *a and *o (§11.1.1). STC reconstructs in such words PTB *a, others assume an earlier *wa. Here we treat this provisionally as a WT innovation: lo ‘year’ < lop (PTB *lap ‘leaves, foliage’), ts’om ‘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’); glo-ba ‘side’ < gloc (cf. TB words of similar shape for ‘lungs’), jo-ba ‘to milk’ < PTB *dzap ‘to suck, to milk’. Words which belong to a verbal paradigm keep the final -op.

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 d- itself is historically a prefix: WT dr- in drug ‘six’, drab ‘to sew’, dri-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’, kʰjup < kʰr- ‘sew’, kreB ‘dirty’, o-kʰjeB ‘dirt’, k’h rum ‘pine away’, and the widely encountered form ku (kʰu, etc.) for ‘smoke’.

In addition, WT dr- probably reflects earlier *dr-: WT *dren-ba, dran(s) ‘to draw, drag, pull, draw tight (a rope)’, PLB *ran ‘draw, pull, drag’; cognates might be JP kren33 ‘to tighten (a rope)’, WB kran3 tense, tight’.

6. WT occasionally has initial r- for other languages’ initial l-; see, for example, → zhū 狩 (djwoB) ‘lamb’, → zhù 看 (djwoB) ‘ramie’, yi 袖 ‘posterity’ (under yè 葉).

7. Earlier medial *w- is lost in WT (see also §10.2):

Dog  WT kʰyi < kʰi < PTB *kwi → quān 犬
To rest  WT gal-ba < ST *nwal → wó 臥 [núguíC] *ŋoh or *ŋăiḥ
To rest  WT rnal-ba < ST *nwal → suí 縛 [sui] *snui
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 families 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 Tibeto-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 Sinitic) branch has today evolved into seven major “dialect” groups, actually “Sinitic languages,” which began to diverge during the Han period (ca. 200 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 閩 (in Fújiàn 福建 incl. Amoy = Xiàmén 夏門, Fúzhōu 福州, Cháozhōu 潮州, Cháoyáng 潮陽, Jiànlōu 建甌, Jiànyáng 建陽), but has also left traces in Wú 吳 (incl. Shà nghài 上海, Wènzhōu 溫州, Sūzhōu 蘇州); Gàn 閩 incl. Nánchāng 南昌); Xiāng 湘 (incl. Chándshá 長沙); Kējiā 客家 (= Hakka, incl. Méixiàn 梅縣); Yuè 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, Gàn, Xiāng, Kējiā (Hakka), Yuè; Mǐn (especially literary layer)

(2) Tibeto-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), Matisoff, ed. 1995: 183f, Burling 2003: 169ff, as well as various specialized studies. Scholars combine the following branches, groups, 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 (WTib.): Balti, Purik, Ladak (Leh), Zangskar; Dzongkha (Bhutan), Sherpa (Nepal).
> West Himalayish: Kanauri (Kanauri in NW India), incl. Almora, Bunan, 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)
> Bahing-Vayu (= Kiranti, in Nepal): Vayu (Hayu), Bahing, Limbu
> Chepang (NEpali)
> 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 / Taraon-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, Saek (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), Paba, 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 ‘Jiāng’ in ‘Yangtze River’ is the AA word for ‘river’. For description and classification, see Diffloth 1974.

Austroasiatic [Pinnow]
> (1) Munḍā family: incl. Santhāli, Khariā, 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
  > Katuic branch (Vietnam, Laos)
  > Bahnaric branch (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia)
  > Pearic 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
  > Nicobarese 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 Fāngyán.

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APPENDIX B: ALPHABETIC LIST OF LANGUAGES

Lakh / KN / TB—R. A. Lorrain 1949
LB = Lolo-Burmese
Leh / Ladakh / Tibetan / TB
Lepcha / TB—Mainwaring 1898
Limbu / Bahing-Vayu / TB—Michailovsky
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
Manangba / TGTM / TB—Mazaudon
Manchati / Kanauri / TB
Mandarin (Mand.) / Chinese
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MIDDLE CHINESE (MC = Qieyun system—Karlgren; Li Fang-kuei
Mien = Yao / MY
Mikir / TB—Grüßner 1978
Min / Chinese
MK = Mon-Khmer / AA
Mon / MK / AA—Shorto 1971; Diffloth 1984
Mon-Khmer (MK) / AA
Monpa / TB—Sun Hongkai 1980
Mru / TB—Löffler 1966
Munda / AA
Muong / Viet-Muong / MK
Naga / KN / TB—Shafer 1950, 1953
Nânhâng / Gân / Chinese
Ngari = Mnga-ris, A-li / Tibetan / TB
Nocte / Naga / 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 (OKuki) / KN / TB—Shafer 1952
Old Tibetan (OTib.) / TB—Li and Coblin 1987
Paang(khua) / KN / TB—Löffler 1985
Palaung / MK / AA—Diffloth
Pear, Pears / MK / AA—Headley 1977, 1978
Proto-Kra / Kadai—Ostapirat 2000
Proto-Min / Chinese—Norman
Proto-Monic / MK / AA—Diffloth 1984
Purik / Tibetan / TB
Rawang / Nungish / TB
Rgyarung = Jiaron9 (rGya1rung JR)
S. = Siamese
Semai / Aslian / MK / AA
Sherpa / Tibetan / TB
Siamese / Tai / KT
Sino-Tibetan (ST)—Benedict 1972; Bodman 1980; Coblin 1986; LaPolla 1994; Peiros and Starostin 1996; R. Shafer 1974
Sino-Vietnamese
Siyin Chin / KC / TB—Stern
Spilo Kanauri / Kanauri / TB—Bodman
ST = Sino-Tibetan
Stieng / MK
SV = Sino-Vietnamese
Tai / Kam-Tai—Li Fang-kuei 1976, 1977; Manomaivibool 1975
Taišhān / Yue / Chinese
Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manangba (TGTM) / TB—Mazaudon
Tani (= Abor-Miri-Dafla) / TB—J. Sun
Tankhul / KN / TB
TB = Tibeto-Burman
TGTM = Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manangba
Thakali / TGTM / TB—Mazaudon
Tibetan, Written Tibetan (WT) / TB—Jaeschke; Beyer 1992
Tibeto-Burman (TB)—STC, HPTB; IST, HST; Huang Bufan 1992; Anon., Zang-Mian... 1991
Tiddim Chin / KN / TB—Ostapirat 1998; Henderson
Vayu = Hayu / Bahang-Vayu (BV) / TB
Wa / MK / AA—Diffloth 1980
WB = Written Burmese / LB / TB
Wéndzhōu (Wenzh) 濟州 / Wu / Chinese
WT = Written Tibetan / TB
Wú / Chinese
Wuming / Tai—Li Fang Kuei
Xiànmén / Min / Chinese
Xiāng / Chinese
Yùe / Chinese
Zangskar / Tibetan / TB
Zhangzhung / Himalayish / TB
Zhōngshān / Yue and Kèjìā / Chinese

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APPENDIX C

TEXT SOURCES FOR Earliest Occurrences

The text source of a word’s earliest occurrences 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shāng</td>
<td>-1050 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Zhōu</td>
<td>1050–770 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūnqīū</td>
<td>772–481 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhānguó</td>
<td>481 or 403–221 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qīn</td>
<td>221–206 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hán</td>
<td>206 BC–AD 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Han</td>
<td>206 BC–AD 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Han</td>
<td>AD 25–220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[BI] bronze inscriptions (金文) of the Western Zhou period (ca. 1050–770 BC)
[Chu(ci)] Chǔcí 楚辭 (Former Han)
[Chun(qiu)] Chūnqīū 春秋 (Qunqiu)
[Duan] Duān Yǔcái 段玉裁 (1735–1815), commentator of the SW
[EY] Eryǎ 爰雅 (Han) — commentator Guō Pǔ
[FY] Fāngyān 方言 by Yáng Xióng 揚雄 (Han 53 BC–AD 18) — commentator Guō Pǔ
[Gongyang] Gōngyáng zhǔàn 公羊傳 (Zhanguo)
[Guanj] Guānzǐ 管子 (Zhanguo)
[Guliang] Gǔliáng zhǔàn 梁棟傳 (Han)
[Guoce] see Zhānguó(ce) (Zhanguo)
[Guoyu] Guóyǔ 國語 (Zhanguo)
[GY] Guāngyùn 廣韻 (rime dictionary, 1011, ed. Chén Péngnián)
[Hanfei] Hánfēi zǐ 韓非子 (Han)
[Hanshu] Hánshū (Han)
[Hou Hanshu] Hòu Hānshū (Han)
[Huaian] Huáinánzǐ 淮南子 (Han)
[JDSW] Jīngdiǎn shìwén 經典釋文 by Lù Démíng 郭德明 (556–627)
[JY] Jiùyuàn 集韻 (rime dictionary by Dīng Dù 990–1053)
[Lao] Lǎozǐ 老子, Dàodé jīng 道德經 (Zhanguo)
[Li] Lǐjī 禮記 (Han) — commentator Zhèng Xuán
[Lie] Lìzǐ 列子 (Han)
[Lun(yu)] Lùn yǔ 讀語 (Zhanguo) — commentator Zhèng Xuán
[Lü] Lǚshī chūnqū 呂氏春秋 (Qin–Han)
[Meng] Mèngzǐ 孟子 (Zhanguo)
[Mo] Mòzǐ 墨子 (Zhanguo)
[Mu (tianzi)] Mù tiānzǐ zhūàn 穆天子傳 (ca. 350 BC)
[OB] oracle bone inscriptions (jiāngwén 甲骨文) of the Shang period (ca. 1250–1050 BC)
APPENDIX C: TEXT SOURCES

[QY]  Qièyùn 切韻 (AD 601) by Lù Fāyán (rime dictionary)
[Shanhai]  Shānhǎijīng 山海經 (Han) — commentator Guó Pú
[Shi]  Shījīng 詩經 (ca. 1050–600 BC) — commentator Zhèng Xuán
        Guōfēng: the latest section
        Xīǎoyà: from Western Zhou court
        Dàyà: early Zhou, Western Zhou
        Zhōu sòng: Western Zhou
        Lǔ sòng: rather late, 7th cent. BC
        Shāng sòng: rather late, 7th cent. BC

[Shiji]  Sìmà Qiān 司馬遷, Shǐjì 史記
[Shiming]  Shǐmíng 释名 by Liú Xīn 黎熙 (Eastern Han, ca. AD 200)
[Shu]  Shūjīng 書經, Shāngshū 尚書 (Western Zhou, Zhāngguó, Qīn) —
        commentator Zhèng Xuán

[SM]  Shìmíng 释名 see [Shiming]
[SW]  Shuòwén jiězì 說文解字, completed AD 100, presented AD 121 (Xū Shēn
        許慎, ca. 55–ca. 149) — commentator Duàn Yùcái
[Xun]  Xúnzǐ 荀子 (Zhāngguó)
[Yi]  Yìjīng 易經 (Western Zhou and later additions and commentaries) —
        commentator Zhèng Xuán

[YJ]  Yùnjīng 韻鏡 (Song period rime table)
[Yi]  Yīlǐ 儀禮 (Zhāngguó, Han) — commentator Zhèng Xuán
[Yi Zhou]  Yì Zhōushū 逸周書 (Western Zhou and later)
[Yǔpiān]  dictionry, ca. 6th cent. AD
[Zhanguo]  Zhāngguócè 戰國策 (Zhāngguó, Han)
[Zhouli]  Zhōuli 周禮 (Zhāngguó, Han) — commentator Zhèng Xuán
[Zhuang]  Zhuāngzǐ 莊子 (Zhāngguó, Former Han)
[Zuo]  Zuòzhūhuàn 左傳 (Zhāngguó or Han)

COMMENTATORs:

Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 (1735–1815), commentator for SW
Guó Pú 郭璞 (276–342), commentator for FY, EY, Shānhǎijīng
Lù Dēnmíng 陸德明 (556–627) Jīngdiǎn shìwén 經典釋文
Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (Eastern / Later Han 127–200), commentator for Zhōuli, Yīlǐ, Lījī, Shījīng, 
        Shūjīng, Lūnyǔ
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.


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a 阿 (ä) ONW ?a
A vernacular prefix added to kinship terms, personal names and personal pronouns, e.g. Mand. a-mū 阿母 'mother' [Han texts], a-nū 阿奴 'younger brother', a-shuí 阿誰 'who', a-nī 阿你 'you' (Norman 1988: 113); Yuè-Guāngzhōu a 33-ma 55 (äC1-maA) 阿姆 'mother, mama', a 33-ma 21 (äC1-maA) 阿嬤 'grandmother'.

~ yú 言 (jwo) LH ?a, OCM *?a
Occurs already in Zuòzhūàn prefixed to the Chü dialect word for → hú 虎 'tiger'. Unger (Hao-ku 33, 1986) suggests that certain words with MC initial a- might be the result of a fusion of this prefix with the following stem (§5.11).

[a] ST: PTB *?a- is a prefix for kinship terms, body parts or nouns in general, depending on the language (STC: 121–123), e.g., WB a-t*aŋ 'thought' < t*aŋ 'think', a-p*aíB 'grandfather'; WT ?a-k*uy 'uncle, husband'.

[a] 阿奴 (ä-nuo) ONW ?a-no

[E] For phonological and semantic reasons, this word is prob. not related to rú 孩 *no 'child' (under → rú4 孩 'weak'), nor to → rú3 乳 'milk'. It may be connected to PTB *na:w (STC no. 271): Lushai nauH < nau 'child, younger brother or sister, younger cousin', etc., JP k31-nau 33 'younger brother / sister', WT nu-bo '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.

ai 哀 (äi) LH ?ai, OCM *?ai, OCB *?aj
'To pity' [Shi] is prob. a sound-symbolic word.

ái 崖涯眶 → yá3, ái 崖涯眶

ái 艩 → è8 遮闇

ài 艍 (äiC) LH ños, OCM *ñâ(t)s
'White-haired, old' [Shi], possibly related to TB items under → yuè1 月 'moon', but the vowels do not agree.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR aña (去); MGZY ñana (去) [ñaj]

ài2 愛 (äiC) LH ?âs, OCM *?âts, OCB *?âts — [D] PMin *?úiC
'To love, to grudge' [Shi] > Mand. 'to like, be fond of'.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?aj (去); MGZY 'ây (去) [ñaj]; ONW ?aïC


ài3 傢 (?äC) LH ?âs, OCM *?âts, OCB *?âts
'To lose one's breath' [Shi] is a sound-symbolic word (§2.9)

ài4 威 → yî5 威

ài5 磚 (ñâC) LH ñâC, OCM *ñâkh
'Obstruct, hinder' [Lie].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR aña (去); MGZY ngay (去) [ñaj]; ONW ñâC

[Æ] ST: WT 'geg(s)-pa, bkag, dgag 'to hinder, prohibit, shut' ≠ 'gag 'obstruction, stoppage' (Bodman 1980: 72); PLB *?gak 'obstruct, block up'. TB voiced stops do


 Occasionally correspond to Chinese initial nasals (§5.12.2). Alternatively, WT could be compared with → gù 固. CH ài may be related to → yì jīn 悠 'hesitate'.

\(\text{ān} \) 安 (ʔān) LH ?ān, OCM *ʔān, OCB *ʔān

‘Be calm, peaceful, still, steady, take one’s leisure’ [BL, Shi].


\(\text{xī ān} \) 按 (ʔān) LH ?ān, OCM *ʔān

‘To push down with the hand’ [SW], ‘to stop, repress’ [Shi], ‘lay hand on, seize’ [Xun]; ‘stool, tray’ [Zhouli].

[<] exoactive of ān (§4.3), lit. ‘cause to be settled, calmed’.

[C] Boltz (1994: 95ff) includes additional words which are written with this phonetic (GSR 146), such as → ān 3 麒. A parallel stem (§2.5) is → yān 宴燕 (Wáng Lì 1982: 543). → yān 婚 is prob. a different etymon.

\(\text{ān} \) 1 安 interrogative particle → wū 惡

\(\text{ān} \) 2 靂 (ʔān) LH ?ān, OCM *ʔān


\(\text{ān} \) 3 嘝 (ʔān) LH ?ān, OCM *ʔān

‘Dumb, silent’ [Mo].

\(\text{xī ān} \) 嘝 (ʔānB) LH ?ānB, OCM *ʔān?

‘Hold in the mouth, put in the mouth’ [GY].


[<] endoactive of ān 嘝 (§4.5).

\(\text{xī yān} \) 嘝 (ʔānC) LH ?ānC, OCM *ʔān

‘Pent up’ [Zhuang].

[<] exopass. of ān 嘝 (§4.4), lit. ‘be held back in the mouth’, but the role of MC div. III is not clear (§9.1.2).


\(\text{ān} \) 1 嘝 → \(\text{ān} \) 4 嘝

\(\text{ān} \) 2 嘝 → yān 宴燕

\(\text{ān} \) 犬 → yǔ 欽

\(\text{ān} \) 1 崠 (ʔānC) LH ʔānC, OCM *ʔāns, OCB *ʔāns

‘River bank’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔān (ㄫ); PR ?ān; LR ʔān; MGZY ʔān (ㄫ) [ʔān]; ONW ʔān

\(\text{xī ㄏān} \) 汲 (ʔān) LH ʔānC, OCM *ʔāns

‘Cliff’ [BL, SW], ‘high river bank’ [Lì shù běnyì 六書本義].

\(\text{xī ㄏū} \) 滕 (xuoB) LH ʔūB, OCM *ʔū

‘River bank’ [Shi].

[<] These are all nouns derived from the stem *ʔāʔ ‘oppose, resist’ (→ jū jīn 等), i.e. ‘the thing that resists the river’s flow, keeps the river in its bed’. The voiceless initial in ħān and ㄏū denotes a noun referring to a natural object (§5.2.4), the final *-n in ħān and ān

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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 > 喔 2 御 近 話.

[B] ST: WT dpọ 'shore, bank'.


‘A deep black’ [SW].

èn 暗闇 (?ám) LH ?ám, OCM *?áms

‘Be dark’ [Guoyu]; 闇 (also read QY ?ám) [Li] > Mand. ‘dim, gloomy’.


<C> perh. e xo active of àn 黑 (§4.3), here noun > verb.

[C] A probable allofam is > yín 隱 (so Wáng Li 1982: 602).

áng1 印 昆 ‘high’ — yāng1 仰

áng2 印 ‘I’ — wú2 吾

àng 盅 (?áŋ) LH ?án, OCM *?áŋh

‘(A small-mouthed, large-bellied) earthen jar (for fetching water)’ [Lunheng] > ‘obese, swollen’ [Zhuang]; later 盅 ‘basin, tureen’ (which is large-mouthed).


[C] There are (near) synonyms with different vowels: > wèng 盅橇 *ʔáŋh, and yíng 養 *rén (under → yíng 2 燒).

áo1 獨 → yuán1 元

áo2 問 (ŋau) LH ŋou, OCM *ŋau

‘To cry, clamor’ [Shi].

[E] Perh. cognate to PTB *ŋuw > WT ŋu-ba ‘to weep, roar’, WB ŋui ‘cry, weep’, PL *ŋou ‘cry’ (HST: 60). This identification is somewhat doubtful as the vowels and the meanings are not very close.

áo3 鏤 (ŋau) LH ŋou, OCM *ŋau, OCB *ngaw

‘To fry’ [Zhouli], ‘roast’ [Li].


ào1 澳澳 (?áu) LH ?ou, OCM *?ákh

‘Inside’ (of a realm) [Shi], ‘bay, cove’ was acc. to Guō Pú (ca. AD 300), a Jiāngnán (southern) word.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?aw (去); MGZY ‘aw (去) [ʔaw]; ONW ?ou

[D] This word is still used in Mín dialects: Fúzhōu oC-li-thau A2, Xiànmén uC.


ào2 傲 (ŋáu) LH ŋou, OCM *ŋáu

‘Proud, arrogant’ [Shu]. Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin S. SR ŋa (去); PR aw; LR aw; MGZY ngaw (去) [ŋaw]
bā₁ 八 (pát) LH pet, OCM *prêt
‘Eight’ [OB, Shi].

[T] MTang pār, ONW pāt — [D] PMin *pet, K-Méixiàn pat

[É] ST *priati ~ *pret: PTB *b-r-yat (STC no. 163) > WT brysad (< *bryat); TGMT
*a3*pret, Kanauri *re; PLB *riit or *ryat > WB hrac; Lushai pa4-riat⁶ (Bodman 1980:
73); Bahing ja, Thulung jet; JP ma3-1-sa55 < m-riat. CH -> Tai: PT *p-: S. pet⁵th is
obviously a CH loan (otherwise we should find an /t/ in the Tai initial).

bā₂ 巴 (pa) LH pa, OCM *prê
‘Python’ [SW, Shanhaijing].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pa (平); MGZY: ba (平) [pa]; ONW pā


bā₃ 笹 (baB, pa)
‘A kind of bamboo from southwest China’ [GY].

[É] The word’s place of origin (SW China) and late appearance suggest that it is a
loan from a TB language: PTB *pa [STC no. 44; Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 140] > WT apa
~ sba ‘cane’; WB wa³ ‘bamboo’; JP kʰa55-wa55, wa31 ‘bamboo’, Lushai ruaH (ร) (<
*r-wa) ‘a kind of bamboo’ (HST: 38).

* bā 笹 (pa)
‘Bamboo hedge or fence’ [GY].


bā₄ 疮 (pa) LH pa?
‘Scar’ [JY].

[É] ? ST: Perh. related to WT ‘ba̱- ‘ba ‘uneven, rough, pock-marked’ (Unger Hao-ku

bā₅ 鼻 (pa) LH pa, OCM *prê
‘Wild pig, pig’ [Shi].

[É] Bā is assumed to be a ST word related to PTB *pwa > WT pʰag; PLB *wak > WB
wak; JP wa31 ‘pig’ (STC no. 43; Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 157f). But the OC and TB
forms are phonologically not very close. OC medial *r corresponds also to a TB
pre-initial, but TB forms for ‘pig’ do not have one, therefore one needs to assume some
kind of CH innovation which led to medial *r. An OC open syllable corresponding to
TB final -k is not common (§6.9). Alternatively, MK-Wa-Lawa-Bulang *bras ‘wild
boar’ is semantically and phonologically close to the OC form. CH -> Miao languages

bā₆ 髪 → fā₃ 黑

bā₁ 友 (buát) LH bat, OCM *bát
‘To expel’ (a person) [Zhouli].

* bēi 拔, pèi 洋 (buáIC) LH bcs, OCM *báts, OCB *bots
‘Uprooted’ 洋 [Shi], ‘thinned out’ (trees) 拔 [Shi], ‘uprooted’ figuratively of a person
洋 [Lunyu].

[<] exopass. of bā 友 *bát (§4.4).
bá – bái

bá 拔 (bā) LH bat, OCM *brât
'To pull up, Uproot, be uprooted' [Yi, Shu].
[C] r-caus. of bā 友 *bât (§7.5), lit. 'cause to be uprooted'.
[E] ST: Lushai potŋ/l- potŋ ‘to pull, pull up, out’; cf. WT ‘bog(s)-pa, bog ‘be uprooted’.
[C] Allofams may include → fā 發 and → fēi 增 ‘cast aside’ (if derived from fā).

bá2 茅 (puat) LH pot, OCM *pät
'Roots of grass' [Huainan, 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 allofam may be → bá3 茅 ‘to camp’, and bá 跽 ‘foot, base’.
[E] Etymology not clear. Comparanda may include TB-JP (n3l/nij3l-) pot3l ‘root; origin’; or TB-Chepang plu- ‘fall out, come out’ (from roots – hair, grass).

bá3 茅 (buat) LH pot, OCM *pät, OCB *bat
'To camp on grassland' [Shi, Zuol. Commentators to SW derive this word from → bá2 茅 ‘roots of grass’ which they gloss simply as ‘grass’.

bá4 拔 → bá1 友

bá5 跽 → bá2 茅

bá6 稹耙 → pá2, bá 稹耙

bā 把 (pa²) LH pa², OCM *prâ? ‘A handfull’ [Guoyu], ‘grasp’ [Meng].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR pa ( 上); MGZY: suppl. ba ( 上) [pa]
[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 PTB *r-pa-k ‘palm / sole and leaf’. For the r-metathesis, see §7.7.3.
This word may be related to → pā₂, bā 稹耙 ‘rake’. Given its TB cognates, it is prob. not related to → fū₁ 扶 ‘breadth of two fingers’. Wáng Lì (1982: 173) relates this wf to → bīng₂ 染 ‘grasp’.

bā1 坝 (pa³)
'Flat valley’. This word from SW China is a Tai loan: S. paaBI < *paB ‘meadow’ (Li F. 1976: 46; Mei Tsu-lin, AAS 1980).

bā₂ 埼 (bāiB) LH beB or baiB ?, OCM *brâi? or *brê? ?
'To stop, cease’ (work etc.) tr. [Lun]. Prob. not related to → bī₂₅ 畢.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ba (去); MGZY pay ( 上) [baj]
[E] ST: WB priB < preB ‘be done, completed’ (CVST 1: 59).

bā₃ 霸 → bō₁ 伯

bā-bā 爸 ‘Father, dad’, Mand. col. for → fū₁ 父.

bái₁ 白 (bek) LH bak, OCM *brâk
'Be white' [OB, BL, Shi] always has been a basic color term (Baxter JCLTA 19, 1983), also applied to silver.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR boj ( 入); LR boî; MGZY pay ( 入) [baj]; ONW bêk
[N] The graph represents an acorn, note the element 白 in the original graphs for → lè
bai – bai

樂 = 了 棟 ‘oak’ and 貓 貓 ‘acorn’. It is not clear why the graph has been selected for ‘white’. (Unger Hao-ku 29, 1984).

E] ST: Most plausibly, bái is a CH k-extension (§6.1) of the ST root *bar ‘white’ and thus cognate to → pò, 老 ‘white’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 292), hence OC < *bar-k: PTB *pwar > Lushai vaarH ‘be white’, PKaren *?bwa ‘white’ (Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 145).

Tai: S. pòak < *p*w/ <- ‘white, albino’ (Li F. 1976: 44) may be a CH loan. <> AA ‘silver’ may be related: Nyah Kur prak, PVM *prak.

Alternatively, note this area word for ‘white’ without medial r which is, however, difficult to reconcile with MC: PMK (PAA) *ṭ: >; SBahn. *b: > white; PTB *bok (?): S. Kuki bok ‘white’, Garo gibok ~ gipok, Dimasa *g-phuk.

[C] Possible cognates are...


bai1 百 (pek) LH pak, OCM *prak
‘Hundred’ [BI, Shj]. The OB graph is similar to, but not identical with, → bái, 白 ‘white’ (Unger Hao-ku 29, 1984).

T] Sin S. SR pai (入), LR paij; MGZy bay (入) [paj]; ONW pêk.

E] ST *(p)ra: PTB *r-ya (STC no. 164) > WT brgya < br-ya; Kanauri rä; PLB *hra, WB ora (inscriptional rya), Lushai za-bi < jai’h, Paangkanhwa raža < rya. For the final -k, see §6.1. CH > PTai *p:-: Lóngzhōu paakDi is obviously a CH loan (otherwise we should expect an r in the initial and almost certainly an open syllable).

bai2 拥 (bauB) LH beB, OCM *brê?
‘To open’ [Guiguzi].

E] ST *pra: WB praiB ‘to gape, expand, flare’ *p*raiB ‘to pull open, make gap’; Chepang pre-ak-sa ‘to separate’ (intr.).

A derivation is → bồ3 擊 (pek). Possibly related to → zhā 柔 *trai ‘to open’. For an overview of similar items, see the table under → pi7 罷疲. For a listing of similar words and possible allofams, see → li10 遠.

bai1 敗 (paiC) LH pas, OCM *prâts
‘To ruin, destroy’ [Shi].

T] Sin Sukchu SR pai, bai (去); MGZy bay, pay (去) [paj ~ boj]

bài 敗 (baiC) LH bas, OCM *brâts, OCB *fiprats
‘To go to ruin, defeat’ [OB, Shj].

E] Etymology not certain, but Tai: S. prap4 ‘to subdue, conquer’ is the same etymon and indicates a PCH form *praps > OCM *prâts. (The phonetic → bề2 貝 is also connected to foreign -p.) The direction of borrowing is undetermined, yet Tai is prob. not the ultimate source of CH. More likely, the etymon is a ‘medial r’ causative derivation (§7.5) with the addition of the redundant exoactive final -s (§4.3). AA is the most likely source of OC: OMon pop /pop/ ‘to give way to’, Khmer -pap /boap/ ‘be beaten, subdued, routed’ ≠ pâmpapa /bombap/ ‘to crush’ (opposition), ‘break down’ (resistance). (Note that MK has a causative r-infix.) ↔ ST: WT ‘brab-pa’ to beat, scourge (e.g. with thorns), scatter (e.g. grain for offering) is semantically somewhat removed.

Alternatively, bái may be derived from → fèi6 廢 ‘reject, fall’; however, fèi6 廢 ≠ fá 乏 = WT bab ‘fall down’ is semantically different from bái 敗 = AA pap ‘be beaten’, hence
we consider these two distinct wfs. Acc. to Wang U (1982: 500) an allofam is \( b_1 \) "worn out". Pulleyblank (1962: 215) relates this wf to \( \alpha \); see also \( \text{fèi}_6 \) for additional comments.

\( b_2 \) 拜 (pāi\(^C\)) LH pas, OCM *prāts, OCB *prots

‘To bend or put together’ (the hands in salute), ‘to salute’ [BL, Shi]. Etymology not clear.

\( b_3 \) 蓍 (bāi\(^C\)) LH be\(^C\), OCM *brēh, OCB *bres

‘Fine rice’ [Shi].

\( b_4 \) 班 (pan) LH pan, OCM *prān

‘To distribute’ [BL, Shi] > ‘spread out, scatter’ [Zuo] > ‘to arrange, classify’ [Meng].

\( b_5 \) Sin Sukchu SR pan (平), MGZY ban (平) [pan]

\( b_6 \) ST *pral: WT ‘pʰral-ba’ ‘to separate, part’ ≠ ‘bral-ba’ ‘be separated, lose’, WB *pra\(^B\) ‘be divided into several parts, various’. JP pʰ\(^3\)-ran\(^3\) ‘be separate, sort out’ (for JP allofams, see \( \text{fì}_1 \)). In HST: 65, the WT item is associated with \( \alpha \); see also Bodman (1980: 147), while Karlgren (1933: 92f) combines all of these into one \( \alpha \) [no. 26-37]. \( \approx \) AA has an alternative comparandum which is semantically closer to OC, even the initial *p- could represent an AA trans. / caus. prefix: Khmer rāla /rīol/ intr. ‘to spread, extend, distribute’ ≠ brāla /priol/ tr. ‘to spread’.

A cognate is prob. *(C-)ral → \( \text{fì}_1 \) *rai with the occasional ST *-l > OC *-i shift (§8.3). \( \alpha \) is perh. the same word. For an overview of similar items, see \( \text{fì}_1 \) and Table P-1 under \( \alpha \).

\( b_7 \) 斑 (pan) LH pan, OCM *prān

‘Variegated’ [Li] may either be the s. w. as \( \alpha \); or may be a derivation from \( \beta_9 \) 駁 ‘mixed colors’. In this case, OCM *prān would derive from earlier *pron.

\( b_8 \) 搬 (puān) LH pān — [D] CDC pon\(^f\)

‘To move, transport’, a post-classical word.

\( b_9 \) ST *par: WT ‘pʰar’ ‘a panel, small plank’ (Bodman 1980: 145; HST: 45). CH -> PTai *p:- S. peen\(^C\). For the OC medial *r, see §6.1.

\( b_{10} \) 搬 (pan\(^B\), ban\(^B\)) LH pan\(^B\), OCM *prān?, *brān? ?

‘Great’ (of demeanor, domain, god) [Shi].

\( b_{11} \) ST: WT ‘pʰar-ba’ ‘raised, elevated’ (Bodman 1980: 145; HST: 88). For the OC medial *r, see §6.1.
**bàn – bång**

*bàn*, 半 (puànC) **LH** pènC, OCM *páns*
‘Half’ [Yi].

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* pwèn (去), PR pèn, LR pèn; MGZY bon (去) [pèn]; ONW pèn

※ *pàn* (pùíanC) **LH** pùánC, OCM *páns*
‘To cleave’ [Zhouli], ‘divide’ [Zuo]; ‘one half, one of two parts’ [Zhuang] > ‘semi-circular pool, shore’ [Shi], and additional specialized meanings based on ‘half’.

[<] *exopass. of bàn* (§4.3), perh. caus. aspiration (§5.8.2).

※ *pàn* (bùánC) **LH** bùnC, OCM *báns — [T] ONW bón
‘Bank between fields, separate from’ [Zuo], ‘to separate from, rebel’ [Lunyu].

[<] *endopass. of bàn* (§4.6), lit. ‘be separated from’.

*[E] ST *par: WT bar ‘interstice, intermediate space, middle, mean’ (HST: 109) ※ WT *p*rag < *par-k ‘intermediate space, interstice, interval’ (§6.1); NNaga *p*ar ‘divide’ [French 1983: 183]. JP *ban ‘division, part’, Bodo *pan ‘share, part’ may belong here which CVST I: 4f relates to → *fén 分. However, Li F. (1976: 41) also relates Tai: *S. pan*AI < *p- ‘to divide into shares’ to *fén. For alternative connections, see → bàn1 班.

*bàn*, biàn 采 (bànC, bíanC 3) [Shiwen] **LH** bênC, biànC, OCM *brens*
‘Discriminate, distinguish’ [Shu].

[<] *exopass. of biàn 辨辧 below* (§4.3), lit. ‘(cause to) be divided’.

※ *bàn* (bànC), **LH** bênC
‘Sections of a fruit’ [SW].

[<] *exopass. of biàn 辨辧 below* (§4.3), lit. ‘what is divided’. → bàn4 瓣 ‘petals’ is perh. the s. w.

※ *biàn* 辨辧 (bíánB 3) **LH** biánB, OCM *bren? ?
‘Divide’ [Zhouli], ‘distinguish, discriminate’ 辨 [Lunyu] (also MC *bánsC*), 辨 [Yi], ‘dispute’ [Meng].

*[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* bjen (上); MGZY *pen* (上) [bên]; ONW bôn

*[E] ST: This w. may belong to TB-Lushai *pr*elH ‘to split, cut in halves’ (medial *r does not occur in Lushai after labial initials), and / or to *pral → bàn1 班 (§2.5).

*bàn*, biàn 瓣 (bànC) **LH** bênC, OCM *brens*
‘To deal with, handle, manage’ [BI, Zuo].

*[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* ban (去); MGZY *pan* (去) [ban]


*bàn*, biàn 瓣 (bànC) **LH** bênC, OCM *brens*
‘Petals of a flower’ is a late word [14th cent. AD]. The MC reading applies to the meaning ‘sections of a fruit’ (under → bàn3, biàn 采). In the QYS, the rimes -an and -ân seem to have been confused on occasion; therefore -ân could also go back to *-rân.

*[E] ‘Petals’ is possibly the same word as bàn 瓣 ‘section of fruit’ (under → bàn3, biàn 采). Alternatively, it could be the same etymon as → fán5 翢, note the WT word me-t’og ‘flower’, lit. ‘fire-top’.

*bàng*, bàng 邦 (pànɡ) **LH** pánɡ, OCM *pönɡ*
‘Country’ [Shi], possibly the same etymon as → fén1 封 (Wáng Lì 1982: 388).

*[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* pàn (平); MGZY *bang* (平) [pàn]

*bàng1*, bàng 榜 (pwànB) **LH** pônB, OCM *pân? — [T] ONW pân
‘Board’ [Jinshu].

*[E] ST: WT *spay ‘board, plank’* (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 48). Superficially, this word
băng  –  bǎo

looks like a doublet of  → băn, 板板. The graph also writes a word QYS pʰəŋ³, LH pʰəŋ³ ‘oar’ [Chuci].

băng₂ 膀 → bō₄ 膀

băng₁ 棒 (bàn⁴) LH bòe⁴, OCM *brông?
‘Club, stick’ [Post-Han: Weishu].

băng₂ 旁傍 → páng 旁旁

băng₃ 膉, huáng 頜 → făng₂ 方

bāo₁ 包 (pau) LH pōu, OCM *prű
‘To wrap, bundle’ [Shu], ‘contain’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR paw (平); MGZY baw (平) [paw]
[E] ST: WT pʰroʊ-ba ‘to wrap up, envelop’ (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 36), perh. also Lepcha prök ~ prek ‘wrap up’ [Bodman I CSTLL 1987: 21]. For the r-metathesis, see §7.7.3. This word is often thought to be cognate to → bào 抱 ‘carry in arms’, but the TB cognates cast doubt on this.

bāo₂ 背 (pau, pʰau) LH pʰou, OCM *p(h)rū — [T] ONW pʰlāu
‘Womb’ [Zhuang].
[E] ST: WT pʰrʊ-ma ~ pʰru-ma/-ba ‘uterus, placenta’ (Bodman 1980: 142; HST: 161); Löffler (ZDMG 116.1, 1966: 152) adds Mru bur ‘menstruation’. Acc. to Karlgren (1956: 5) this is the s. w. as  → bào 包 ‘wrap’, but this is doubtful in light of TB cognates which distinguish these two items. Löffler relates ‘womb’ to  → pào 胆 ‘gourd’.

bāo₃ 削 (pāk) LH pōk, OCM *prök.
‘To cut up, peel, pluck’ [Shi].
[D] Guǎngzhōu mēk⁷ ‘to peel’ (Sagart 1999: 80), Zhōngshān mok⁵⁵ ‘to undress’.
[E] <> Tai: S. pok⁶‘to peel’, but also PTai *dloǒk : S. lōk⁶ ‘to skin, peel’ ≠ plōk⁶‘an encasement, slipcover, sheath’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 120). This word is considered to be related to  → lù 萬 ‘carve’, but ‘carve’ and ‘peel’ are rather different activities.

bāo₁ 保 (pāu⁸) LH pōu⁸, OCM *pū?
‘To take care of’ (a baby by wrapping it in swaddling cloth) [Meng], (people) [Shu]; ‘preserve, protect, maintain’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR paw (上); MGZY baw (上) [paw]
=bāo₁ 葆 (pāu⁸) LH pōu⁸, OCM *pū?
(What protects, shields:) ‘secure’ (residence, land) 葆 [Shu]; ‘fort, stronghold’ 保 [Li]; ‘cover’ for a chariot 保 [Lun Heng].
=bāo₁ 襄 (pāu⁸) LH pōu⁸, OCM *pū?
‘The cloth’ (in which children are carried on the back) [Lūshih]. ‘swaddling cloth’ [Liezj], used in the expression qiǎng bào 襂 or 襂褙 (qiǎng, MC kjāŋ⁸, ‘string, cord’, here prob. ‘strap’); apparently bāo refers to the protective swaddling cloth, not to the notion of carrying a baby on the back.

[E] Etymology not certain. Following Táng Lán, Qiu Xigui (2000: 212f) interprets an OB form of the graph as well as an occurrence in Shūjīng 17.10 as ‘to carry (a baby) on the back’, thence ‘take care of’ etc.; bāo would then be the OC cognate of the TB items under → fe₁₁ 負. However, in no textual occurrence, incl. Shūjīng, has bāo the unequivocal
meaning ‘carry on the back’. Alternatively, this could be the s. w. as → báo3 寶 ‘precious’ used in a putative sense, lit. ‘consider something precious’, and then act accordingly.

It is not clear if / how → báo1 包 ‘wrap, contain’, and WT pʰru-ma ‘fortified camp, palace, fort’ (HST: 164) may be related.

báo2 飽 (pauB) LH pauB, OCM *pūŋ?
‘To eat to the full, satiated’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR paw (.), MGZY baw (.) [paw]; ONW pau

báo3 寶 (pauB) LH pauB, OCM *pū?
‘Be precious, treasure’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin S. SR paw (.), MGZY baw (.) [paw]; ONW pau
[EB] This is perh. related to WB puik ‘hold in arms, hug’, and / or to AA-Khmer /pūː/ and /pūːr/ ‘hold or carry in the arm(s)’. Note also → báo1 包 ‘wrap’. — PMiao *buòC.

bào1 抱 (bāuB) LH bōuB, OCM *būʔ — [D] PMin *bʰauB2 ~ *bāuB2
‘Carry in the arms’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR baw (.), MGZY paw (.) [baw]
[EB] This is perh. related to WB puik ‘hold in arms, hug’, and / or to AA-Khmer /pūː/ and /pūːr/ ‘hold or carry in the arm(s)’. Note also → báo1 包 ‘wrap’. — PMiao *buòC.

bào2 報 (pāuC) LH pouC, OCM *pūŋ
‘To repay, require, reward, respond, announce’ [Shi], ‘report’.

= Prob. báo 抱 ‘to plait, interweave’ (i.e. ‘return the thread’) [Shi] > ‘tie, wrap’ [l.i.].

[EB] This is prob. an allotom of → fǔ12 復 ‘return, reply, report’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 244; Sagart 1999: 58). <> Tai: S. bōk‘to tell, say, inform’.

bào3 豹 → báo9 駿

běi1 卑 (pjie 4) LH pie, OCM *pe — [T] ONW pie
‘Be low, humble’ [Shi], opposite of ‘high’ [Zuo].

※ bī 城蒋 (bjieB 4) LH bieB, OCM *beʔ
(a) ‘Be low’ [Zuo], ‘be short’ 場 [Zhouli].
(b) ‘Low ground’ 場 [Guoyu]; ‘female slave, servant’ 婢 [li].

[<] endoactive (§4.5.1) ‘what / who is low’. A possible allotom is → bī20 處.

běi2, bī 陂 (pjie 3) LH pīqi, OCM *pái
‘Slope, bank, dike’ [Shi, Shu]; ‘slanting’ [Yi]. Prob. not related to → pǔ1 渭.

※ bī 陂 (pjieC 3) LH pīqiC, OCM *pái
‘Be slanting, oblique’ 陂 [Shu, Yi]; ‘one-sided words, insincere’ 覆 (also MC pje) [Meng].

[<] perh. exoactive, i.e. a verb derived from the noun běi, bī陂.

※ pō 頹坡 (pʰuá) LH pʰái, OCM *phái — [T] ONW pʰa
‘Oblique, slanting’ [Chuci], ‘partial, perverse’ 頹 [Shu]; ‘slope, bank’ 坡.


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bei – bèi

<bí</b> (pʰjīæk 4) LH pʰieːk, OCM *phek (< *phi-k)

‘Oblique’ [Chuci] > depraved, perverse’ [Shi], ‘despise’ [Zuo].

[<] k-extension of the root *pai ‘slanting, oblique’ (§6.1).

<bí</b> (bjeC 4) LH bieC, OCM *bekh (< *bai-ks)

‘Avoid’ [Shi], ‘go away’ [Guoyu].

[<] Sin Sukchu SR bi (*); MGZY pái (*)

[bí]

LE< ST: Lushai pai<k> out of a straight line, oblique’. Allofams are...

‘walk lame’,...

‘wave’.

<bí</b> (puáí) LH pə, OCM *pə — [T] ONW pāi

‘Cup’ [Li], 棵 [Meng].


<bí</b> (pji 3) LH pji, OCM *prj; OCB *prj;

‘To augment, double’ [Zuo], ‘accompany, associate, support’ 繼 [Shi]; ‘accumulate, add to’ [Zhuang].

[<] perh. endoactive of pěi 躍 (§4.5).

[pú] 躍 (bjiC) LH bɔ, OCM *bɔ?

‘To augment, double’ [Zuo], ‘accompany, associate, support’ 躍 [Shi]; ‘accumulate, add to’ 踢 [Zhuang].

[T] Sin S. SR buj (平); PR bøj; MGZY pue (平) [pue]

‘Double’ [Shi].

[pú] 躍 (buiB) LH boB, OCM *bɔ?

‘To collect, assemble, be together’ [Shi]. Given the dialectal differences in vowels after labial initials in the Shijing and later, this word may be a variant of the stem *bo with *-u due to similarity with the complex ‘swell’...

[<] Sin Sukchu SR bi (去); MGZY pui (去) [bi]

[E] ST: Lushai pai<k> ‘out of a straight line, oblique’. Allofams are...

‘walk lame’,...

‘wave’.

[bí] 起 (puáí) LH pə, OCM *pə — [T] ONW pāi

‘Cup’ [Li], 棵 [Meng].


[bí] (pji 3) LH pji, OCM *prj; OCB *prj;

‘Be unhappy, pained’ [Shi]; ‘to pity’ [Shiji]; ‘long for, miss’ [Hanshu]. Etymology not clear.

[<] Sin Sukchu SR pui (*), PR p;}j; MGZY pui (*)

[bí]


However, note the curious AA words: PMK *ba(a)y > Khasi sbāi ‘cowry, shell, money’, Khmer piuy ‘obsolete small coin’ (Shorto 1972).

[bí] (bjiC 3) LH bji, OCM *bɔ?

‘Cowry shell’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pui (去), PR paj, LR pą; MGZY bay (去) [paj]


(But WB pʰa ‘patch up, close a hole by patching’ belongs to...

[bí] 起 (puáí) LH pə, OCM *pə — [T] ONW pāi

‘Cup’ [Li], 棵 [Meng].


[bí] (pji 3) LH pji, OCM *prj; OCB *prj;

‘Be unhappy, pained’ [Shi]; ‘to pity’ [Shiji]; ‘long for, miss’ [Hanshu]. Etymology not clear.

[<] Sin Sukchu SR pui (*), PR p;}j; MGZY pui (*)

[bí] 起 (puáí) LH pə, OCM *pə — [T] ONW pāi

‘Cup’ [Li], 棵 [Meng].


(But WB pʰa ‘patch up, close a hole by patching’ belongs to...

[bí] 起 (puáí) LH pə, OCM *pə — [T] ONW pāi

‘Cup’ [Li], 棵 [Meng].


(But WB pʰa ‘patch up, close a hole by patching’ belongs to...
bèi – běng

complete’. MK: Mon preŋ ‘to have prepared, prepare, arrange’. Tai: S. pʰrak⁰² < b- ‘prepare, ready’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 207). For the final consonants, see §6.6.

bèi⁶ 被 (bje³/C 3) LH bèi³/ C, OCM *bái/h
‘To cover’, incl. putting on clothes, also figuratively [Shi], ‘be covered, to wear’ [Zuo], ‘outside garment’ [Yilí].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR bi (上去), LR bi; MGZY pue (上去) [bue]; MTang bi, ONW be
♂ pi 被 (pʰje 3) LH pʰai, OCM *phaï
‘Cover oneself with’ [Zuo] < caus. ? (§5.8.2).
[Ε] ST: Lushai pʰai < bai tr. ‘to make wear, put on’ (garment, load, plaster…). Following Shimûng, Wáng Li (1982: 446) relates -+ PI, &: ‘skin, hide’ to this root.

bèi⁷ 拔, bèi 汐 → bá₁ 友

bèi⁸ 婚 → bèi₁ 卑

bèi⁹ 背 → fù₁ 負

běn₁ 迅 (puñ) LH pōn, OCM *pön, OCB *pun, Shijûng *pűn < *plun
‘To run, flee’ [BI, Shi], ‘to hasten’ (奔命 ‘hasten to carry out an order’ [Zuo]), frequently in the BI běn-zòu 奔走 ‘to run and hurry while serving someone > to busy oneself for’.
[Ε] ST: PTB *plōŋ (STC no. 140); JP pʰron⁳³ ‘flee, run away’, Mikir arploŋ < r-plonŋ ‘run’ ≠ igplonŋ < m-plonŋ ‘run’, Lahu pʰo ‘flee’, perh. also WB hroŋ ‘flee’ [Matisoff]. For the difference in final nasals, see §6.4.2.

běn₂ 獨 (puñ) LH pōn, OCM *pön
‘Be ardent, brave’ [BI, Shi], ‘ardent’ ~ [Shi].
[Ε] ST: Lushai pʰuur⁷ < pʰuur ‘zealous, eager, earnest, enthusiastic’. Some of the words under → féń₄ 塡 probably belong here.

běn 本 (puñ³) LH pōn, OCM *pën?
‘Root, stem’ [Shi] > ‘origin, fundament’ [Zuo]; measure for books [Nanbaichao], the origin of this latter meaning is not clear (Norman 1988: 116).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR pun (上); PR pōn; LR pōn; MGZY bun (上) [pun]; ONW pon
[Ε] CH > Tai-Wuming plōŋ CT ‘volume’ (Bodman 1980: 108). If indeed the Wuming -l- should go back to OC, then the final -n in bèn would not be the result of the sound change ST *-l > OC *-n, but be the PCH nominal n-suffix attached to *pul (§6.4.3).
ST *pul: PTB *bul ~ *pul > Lushai bul⁴ < buul? ‘beginning, origin, base, stump, lower part’ ≠ buul⁴ / buul⁵ (buul¹ / buul² / h) ‘be broken off, lopped off’ (as extremity, limb, shoot). N Başag pul ‘tree’ [French 1983: 177], Garo bol ‘root, stump’, Moshang puul ‘root’; JP pʰun⁵⁵ ‘tree, wood’ (STC: 166; HST: 127), perh. also WT sbun ~ spun ‘stalk of a plant’ (CVST 1: 14). This word may be cognate to a root → féń₁ 分 ‘cut off, cut in two’ (hence ‘tree stump, tree trunk…’).

bèn 笨 (puñ³)
‘Be stupid’, a post-Han word which may, however, be old (such words are not common in classical texts) and cognate to WT blun-pa ‘dull, stupid’.

běng₁ 伴 → pěng 伴

běng₂ 崩 (poŋ) LH pōŋ, OCM *pəŋ. — [T] ONW pəŋ. — [D] PMin *pː-: Jiányáng vain⁹ ‘Mountain slide; to collapse, die (of a prominent person)’ [Shi]. PMin *pː- derives perh.
bèng – ｂｆ

from a prenasalized initial, note Yao baŋl (< *nb-) ‘collapse, fall over’ (Norman 1986: 382).

[B] Etymology not certain, but note TB-Chepang bōŋh- ‘to slip, slide’ (earth, rock) ≥ bōŋh- n. ‘rock or earth slide, landslide’. Chepang bom- ‘fall down’ ≥ WT p’am-pa, p’am ‘be beaten, conquered’ (Bodman 1980: 119) is unrelated.

bèng3 经 → pénɡ2 朋 ‘string’

bèng 薪 → pénɡ4 熊

bènɡ1 进 → bǐnɡ3 屏

bènɡ2 棒 → bǎnɡ1 棒

bènɡ3 坡 (pénɡ?) LH 坡, OCM *póŋh ‘To put the coffin into the ground, bury’ [Zuo]. The word is not related to → biǎn5 脖.

[B] Prob. AA: OKhmer pāŋ /bāŋ/ ‘to cover, hide, bury’. → Tai pōŋC < *p- ‘to protect, cover up’ (not related to → bū2 補, as Li F. 1976: 40 suggests).

ｂｆ１ 衍 (piec 4) < *pe, *pet ‘Vulva’, a late word which could, however, be old since such items are not mentioned in classical texts.

[D] Mǐn: Amoy tsiA1-paiA2; with final consonant Kējiǎ: Dǒngguān 33tsiA1,2petD1 支, Yuè dialects have 55biA1 (Guāngzhōu) which is a Tai loan (Benedict LTBA 5.1, 1979), but apparently also found in some TB languages: Limbu hira ‘vagina’, Tang-khul Naga hai.


[C] Derived from ‘to open’ (see → pì 闌, → pǐ3 披), final *-t marks nouns of naturally occurring objects (§6.2.1), hence lit. ‘opening’. Syn. → zhī6 齚.

bīf2 倘逼 (pjök) LH pīk, OCM *prṣk ?, OCB *prṣk → [T] ONW pik ‘To crowd together, encroach upon, near to’ [Zuo, Meng]; ‘to urge, press, close’ 逼 [Meng, Zuo].


[D] Mand. bīzǐ 鼻子. This form in final *-t is found in modern central and northern dialects as well as in the medieval Shāzhōu dialects in the NW, e.g. Gǎn pʰitP, Lín-chuān pʰitD2. Acc. to Baxter (1992: 319) this word may reflect an early loss of final *-s (in *-ts, *-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, 1998: 204f).

[B] Perh. cognate to WT sbrid-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. → pì 闌, → pǐ3 披), hence lit. ‘openings’; but the vowels would not agree very closely.

s bǐ 鼻 (bi4) LH bis, OCM *bi(t)s ‘Nose’ [OB, Meng].

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This tone C variant is found in ONW, Sui-Tang Chang'an, MC, and in modern southern dialects: Min *bhi; Jian'ou pʰiC2, Fúzhōu pʰeiC, Xiàmén pʰiC2; Kējiā: Méixiàn pʰiC (Norman 1988: 223).

※ bǐ 弊 (piB 4) LH piB, OCM *pi?
‘To be associating’ [Shi], ‘equal, similar’ [Li], ‘compare’ [Zuo]. Possibly → pǐ 齊 ‘example’ could be related.

※ pǐn 檸 (bijen 4) LH ‘to join’ [Shu], ‘go together with’ [Shi], ‘follow’ [Lun], ‘close together, successive’ [Li].

※ bìn 毙 (bijen 4) LH ‘several together’ [Guoyu], ‘close to’ [Bi] (Geilich 1994: 125).

※ bǐ 毙 (piB 4) LH piB, OCM *bih.
‘To put together, match, assemble’ [Shi].

※ bǐ 毙 (piB 4) LH piB, OCM *biB.
‘To smell’ in Kejii and Min: PMin *biC: Jian’ou pʰiC, Xiamen pʰiC; Kejia: Meixian pʰiC (Norman 1988: 223).

※ bǐ 毙 (biC 4) LH piC, OCM *pih.
‘To be associating’ [Shi], ‘equal, similar’ [Li], ‘compare’ [Zuo]. Possibly → pǐ 齊 ‘example’ could be related.

※ bǐ 毙 (piC 4) LH piC.
‘To put together, match, assemble’ [Shi].

※ bǐ 毙 (piC 4) LH ‘to join’ [Shu], ‘go together with’ [Shi], ‘follow’ [Lun], ‘close together, successive’ [Li].

※ bǐ 毙 (piC 4) LH biC.
‘To smell’ in Kejii and Min: PMin *biC: Jian’ou pʰiC, Xiamen pʰiC; Kejia: Meixian pʰiC (Norman 1988: 223).

※ pǐ 梗 (piB 4) LH piB, OCM *pi?
‘Deceased mother, ancestress’ [OB, Shi].

※ pǐi 毪 (piB/C 4) LH piB, OCM *pi?, pih, OCB *pij?.
‘Unripe grain, chaff’ [Zuo], ‘petty’ [Zhuang].

※ pǐ 梗 (piB 4) LH ‘sore on the head’ [Zhouli].

※ pǐ 梗 (piB 4) LH ‘writing brush’ [Li].
from → li₄ 理 里 (ljiB) ‘lines’ ≠ WT ‘bri-ba, bris ‘to draw, write’ as is sometimes proposed, one needs to assume the loss of a PCH medial *w in the latter items. Benedict compares 𝒃ি�透视写, 'to draw, write' as is sometimes proposed, one needs to assume the loss of a PCH medial *w in the latter items. 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 → shuā 刷. Perh. → ｆūs 拂 ‘to brush off’ may belong here. For an overview of similar etyma, see the Table S-2 under → shuā 刷.

\[\text{bī}_7 \quad \text{bī}_8 \quad \text{bī}_1 \quad \text{bī}_2 \quad \text{bī}_3 \quad \text{bī}_4 \quad \text{bī}_5 \quad \text{bī}_6 \quad \text{bī}_7 \quad \text{bī}_8 \quad \text{bī}_9 \quad \text{bī}_{10}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_7 &\quad \text{(pjie B 3) LH pīB, OCM *pī? ?} \\
&\quad \text{‘Border, outskirts’ [Zuo] > ‘rustic, common’ [Lun] > (‘consider rustic, common’): ‘to despise’ [Shu]; ‘district, border town’ [Li, Zhouli]. Possibly related to TB items under → bīn_2 濱.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_8 &\quad \text{(pjie B 4) LH pīB, OCM *pī? ?} \\
&\quad \text{‘To make / let someone do something, cause, direct, provide’ [Shi, Shu].}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_1 &\quad \text{比} → \text{bī}_1 \比
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_2 &\quad \text{枇 (biC 4)} \\
&\quad \text{‘A fine comb’ [GY].}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_3 &\quad \text{必 (pjiet 4) LH pī, OCM *pī} \\
&\quad \text{‘Be necessary, must’ [BI, Shi]. — [E] Etymology not clear.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_4 &\quad \text{泌 (pjiC 3) LH pīs, OCM *pīs? ?} \\
&\quad \text{‘Bubble up’ (as water from a spring) [Shi] is a vocalic variant of → fēi₄ 沸 (§11.5.1).}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_5 &\quad \text{泌 (pjiet, pjiC 3) LH pī, pīs, OCM *pīs? ?} \\
&\quad \text{‘Lath tied to bow for keeping it in shape’ [OB, Yili].}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_6 &\quad \text{泌 ‘beat’ → pī₄ 闇}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_7 &\quad \text{閉 → bī₂₃ 閉}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_8 &\quad \text{畀 (pjiC 4) LH pīs, OCM *pīs, OCB *pjits — [T] Sui-Tang pī, ONW pīi} \\
&\quad \text{‘To give’ [Shi].}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_9 &\quad \text{鼻 → bī 鼻}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_{10} &\quad \text{蔽蔽蔽 (bjiai C 4) LH bies, OCM *be(t)s} \\
&\quad \text{‘Worn out’ [Shi], ‘damage, ruin’ 蔓 [Zuo]; ‘to fall down, die, destroy’ [Zuo] > caus. ‘kill’ 辭 [Li]; ‘fall’ [Guoyu], ‘bring down, stop’ 紙 [Zhouli].}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_9 &\quad \text{鼻 → bī 鼻}
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{bī}_{10} &\quad \text{蔽蔽蔽 (bjiai C 4) LH bies, OCM *be(t)s} \\
&\quad \text{‘Worn out’ [Shi], ‘damage, ruin’ 蔓 [Zuo]; ‘to fall down, die, destroy’ [Zuo] > caus. ‘kill’ 辭 [Li]; ‘fall’ [Guoyu], ‘bring down, stop’ 紙 [Zhouli].}
\end{align*}
\]

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bì

[C] Allofa is → pt2 疲累 ‘exhausted’ (Pulleyblank 1962: 215), hence bi: *be(t)s < *bai(t)s. See → fēi6 廢 for additional comments.


bi11 弊弊 → bi10 敗弊弊

bi12 被 (pjíaic4) LH pies, OCM *pe(t)s — [T] ONW pień
‘To screen, keep in ignorance, deceive’ [Zuo]. There may be a connection with Lushai palʔl < *palh ‘to miss, not know’; or alternatively with → píng6 屏 ‘screen’. Unger (presentation in Rome Sept. 6, 2001) relates bi to WT sbed-pa, sbas ‘to conceal’ (see also → bì 屍).

bi13 被 → běi2, bǐ 陂

bi14 陂 → běi2, bǐ 陂

bi15 辟 (pják4) LH piek, OCM *pek, OCB *pjeck — [T] ONW pieč
‘Sovereign, ruler, governing official, the authorities’ [BI, Shi].

=E bi 辟 (bják) LH biek, OCM *bek
‘Corrective measures, punishment’ [Shi], ‘regulate, arrange’ [Meng].

bi16 辟 ‘inner coffin’ → ml7 墓冥

bi17 臂 (pjiec4) LH pıc, OCM *pekh or *peh?
‘Arm’ [Liji].


bi18 鬱 → běi2, bǐ 陂

bi19 臥 → bō0 陂

bi20 僭 (pieic) LH piec, OCM *pêk — [T] ONW piei
‘Favorite person’ [Meng], ‘favorite concubine’ 嫔 [Mo]; → pián1-bì 便嬖 ‘male and female servants’ [Meng].


Note běi 僭 (bjie) OCM *beʔ ‘female slave, servant’ [Li] which is a derivation from → běi1 卑 ‘low’, perhaps a re-etymologization of bi.

bi21 僭 僭 → běi1 卑

bi22 臞 (bieic, pjic, pjiic) LH beic, pieic, OCM *bêi?, *pe?
‘Thighbone’ [Li].


[E] ST: WT dp’y ‘hip, hipbone’ (CVST I: 2). This etymon could be related to Lushai pʰei2 ‘foot, leg’ [Weidert 1987: 204] (so CVST), but see → fēi2 腓.

bi23 閉 (pieic, piet) LH pes, pet, OCM *pîts — [T] ONW pëi
‘To shut, obstruct’ [Shu].

=E bi 閉 (pjic3) LH pís, OCM *prits?
‘To close, shut’ [Shi].


bi24 臚 (pjie 4) LH pít, OCM *pit
‘Wooden fork’ [Shi, Li], ‘fork’ (a constellation) [Shi], (fork with net:) ‘hand-net’ for catching birds [OB, Shi], 篱 [Guoyu]. This is probably the s. w. as → bi26 篱
bi – biān

‘interlaced branches, wattle’. Perh. related to ḅò (bek) *brek ‘net for catching birds’ [SW].


bi₂₅ 直 (pjiet 4) LH pit, OCM *pît — [T] MTang pir < pîr, ONW pît
‘To finish, complete’ [Xun] > ‘completely, all’ [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pî (จี); MGZY bi (จี) [pî]; MTang pir < pîr, ONW pît

[EN]: ST: Lushai pêj < pêj < *s ‘to finish, complete’; WT dpyis pʰyin-pa ‘to come to the last, arrive at the end’ (pʰyin-pa ‘to go, come’). Prob. not related to → bà₂ 直 ‘finish’.

bi₂₆ 直 (pjiet 4) LH pit, OCM *pît
‘Fence, hedge’ [SW], ‘wicker door’ (made with interlaced branches) [Zuo, Li]; 簝路 ‘fuel cart’ (Giles) or ‘wooden cart’ (Legge) [Zuo]. The association with with → bi₂₄ 直 ‘wooden fork, hand-net’ (which is prob. the s. w.) and with PLB *pyik ‘thicket, jungle’ (Bodman 1980: 158; HST: 148), is closer than Karglren’s (1933: 94) association with -7 bi₂₄ 直 ‘screen, cover’.

bi₂₇ 彈 (pjiet 4) LH pit, OCM *pît
‘To shoot at’ [Chuci]. — Etymology not clear.

bi₂₈ 直 ‘knee cover’ → fǔ₁₄ 韽带

bi₂₉ 應 → bêi₃ 否 ‘obstruct’

biān₁ 編 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên — [T] ONW pên
‘To weave’ [Li].

≠ bièn 辦 (pienC) LH penC, OCM *pêns
‘Braid, plait’ [Hânsû].

[EN]: exopass. of biān (§4.4), lit. ‘what has been woven’.

[EN]: ST: PTB *pyar ~ *byar (STC no. 178) > WT ‘byor-ba ~ ‘byar-ba ‘stick to, adhere to’ ≠ sbyor-ba, sbyar ‘to affix, attach, join, connect’; Bahing pʰjer ‘to sew’; Lushai pʰyarH < pʰiar ‘to knit, plait’ (Bodman 1980: 173; HST: 119); PLB *pan² ‘to braid, plait’ (Matisoff D. of Lahu: 903).

biān₂ 猋 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên — [T] ONW pên
‘Otter’ [Huainan]. CVST 1: 100 relates this word to WB pʰyam ‘otter’ (for the vowel see §11.3.2, for the final see §6.7).

biān₃-fú 蝋蝨 (pien-pjuk) LH pen-puk
‘Bat’ (animal) [SW].

[EN]: ST *p/bak (?): PTB *bak [STC no. 325]: Lushai baak⁸, Garo do-bak (do ‘bird’)
‘bat’ (HST: 39), Mikir plâk-wûk ~ -plâk-bat.

biān₄ 阙 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên
‘Side, periphery’ [BI, Zuo]. ‘lean against’ [Liji]. Probably cognate to → piän₁ 阇 ‘side’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pîn ( pled); MGZY byân ( pled) [piän]; ONW pên

biān₅ 阇 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên
‘A vessel of clay or wood for serving food’ [Shi].

[EN]: ST *pel: Lushai beelH ‘pot, utensil, vessel’.

biān₁ 扁 (pienB) LH penB, OCM *pên?
‘Flat and thin’ [Shi].
bian – biao

[E] ST *per: PTB *per ‘flat’ [STC no. 340] > Lushai peer lun / per lun (? * p'ei H ‘level, flat, horizontal’); NNaga per ‘thin’ [French 1983: 222].

※ bian 碧 (p'ian B 4) LH p'ian B, OCM *p'en?
‘Narrow’ [Shi].

[T] MGZY byan (-) [p'jen]
※ pi'an 碧 (p'jian 4) LH p'ian, OCM *phen
‘Writing slip’ [Guoce].

<[] Tone A nominalization (§3.1).

bian2 碧 (p'ien B) LH p'en B, OCM *p'en?
‘A circumscription, population district’ [Heguan].

[E] ST: Lushai bia H < bia 'a circle, province, circuit; be round, include’. Prob. not related to 夢 bian 過 ‘all’.

bian3 碧 → bian1 碧

bian4 責 (p'am B 3, p'am B) LH p'am B, OCM *p'am?, OCB *p'jem?
‘To diminish, weaken’ [Shi], Mand. ‘demote, reduce, depreciate’.

[E] ST: OTib. *p'am-ba, p'am ‘to be diminished, reduced, found wanting, of lesser quality’ (WT ‘be beaten, conquered’) (HST: 63). Note PTai *p'hl-: S. p'om A ‘lean’. A possible allofam may be → fêi 廢 (so Karlgren 1956: 18).

bian5 好 (p'am C 3, p'en C) LH p'am C, OCM *pams < *poms?
‘To lower a coffin into the grave, bury’ [Li]. The word is not related to 棺 bian 過 ‘all’.


bian1 弁 (bijian C 3) LH bian C, OCM *bians, OCB *brjons
‘A cap’ (symbol of manhood?) [Shi]. Wáng Li (1982: 582) relates this word to 照 bian3 照 [mian B] ‘ceremonial cap’.

bian2 弁 ‘to fly’ → fân1 弁拫翻

bian3 便 (bijian C 4) LH bien C, OCM *bens — [T] ONW bian
‘Convenient’ [Li], ‘comfortable’ [Chuci]. — [E] Etymology not clear.

bian4 變 (p'ian C 3) LH p'ian C, OCM *prians, OCB *prjons
‘To change’ [BI, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukelu SR pjen (去); MGZY byan (去) [p'jen]; ONW pan

bian5 辨 辨 → bân2, bian 率

bian6 辨 → bian1 碧

bian7 遠 (p'ien C) LH pen C, OCM *pêns — [T] ONW pên
‘All together, everywhere, comprehensive’ [Shi].


bião1 彈 (p'ieu 4, p'jiau 4) LH p'iu, p'iau, OCM *p'iu or *p'iau
‘Long hair’ [Han time]. The graph also writes → shân2 彈.

[E] <> PMiao *prêu A, PYao *py'e1 ‘hair’.

bião2 標 (p'jiau 4) LH p'iau, OCM *piau
‘Leaping flames’ [Lù].

\(b\)iao\(_3\) 樥 (pjiau\(^C\) 4) LH piau\(^C\), OCM *piauh ‘Branch’ [Zhuang].

\(h\) piaoh 秆 (p\^jiau, pjiau \(^B\) 4) LH p\^iau, piau \(^B\), OCM *phiau, *piau? ‘Tip, end’ [Zhuang].

\(b\)ie 別 (pjiau 3) LH piau, OCM *prat, OCB *prjet ‘To divide, separate’ [Zhouli].

\(<\) endopass. of \(b\)ie (pjiau 3) (§4.6) (Baxter / Sagart 1998: 46). This word is prob. cogn. to \(-\) lie \(^{37U}\).

\(b\)in\(_1\) 宮 (pjien 4) LH pin, OCM *pin, OCB *pjin ‘A gift, present’ [Bl]; ‘to present a gift’ [Bl] > ‘guest’ [Bl, Shi] > ‘ancestral spirits’ (as guests at a sacrifice) [OB, Shu].

\(<\) n nominalization from \(b\)in\(_1\) 宮 (pjien 4); OCM *pin, lit. ‘gift, gift-giver’.

\(b\)in\(_2\) 漕 (pjien 4) LH pin, OCM *pin ‘Shore, bank’ [Shu].

\(<\) endopass. of \(b\)in\(_1\) 宮 (pjien 4), lit. ‘be received like a guest’ (§4.6).

\(b\)in\(_3\) 顕 (pjien 4) LH bin, OCM *bin ‘Be different’ [Li].

\(<\) exoactive of \(b\)in\(_1\) 宫 (pjien 4) (§4.3).

\(b\)in\(_4\) 頤 (pjien 4) LH bin, OCM *bin ‘To become a bride, wife’ [Shi].

\(<\) endopass. of \(b\)in\(_1\) 宮 (pjien 4), lit. ‘be received like a guest’ (§4.6).

\(b\)in\(_5\) 逺 (pjien 4) LH bin, OCM *bin ‘Be on the edge, urgent; river bank’ [Shi]; \(f\)in\(_5\) 境滨 may be a vocalic variant.

\(<\) perh. endopass., i.e. a sv derived from \(b\)in\(_1\) (§4.6)?

[E] This is a SE Asian etymon: AN-PMal.-Pol. *te(m)bin ‘bank, shore’ (Thurgood 1999:10); MK-PMonic *trimsan ‘rim, edge, lips’. It is not clear if or how possible TB comparanda may be connected: TB-Lepcha \(b\)i ‘edge, border’, \(i\)y\(a\)q \(b\)i ‘utmost limit of a place’. WT \(p\)yi ‘outside’ (including the notion ‘at the outer edge’ as in \(p\)yi \(z\)iq ‘the field outside’) \(h\) \(p\)yi ‘outside’ could perh. belong to the Lepcha word, unless the WT items are part of \(b\)i \(fi\) (‘behind’ > ‘outside’?).

\(b\)in 宾 \(\rightarrow\) \(f\)in\(_2\) 管樽

\(b\)in\(_1\) 宮 \(\rightarrow\) \(b\)in\(_1\) 宮
bin - bǐng

**bin₁** 殌 → bǐn₁ 賓

**bin₃** 膝髄 (bjen⁸ 4) LH bin⁸, OCM *bin?

‘Knee-cap, shin, tibia’ [Da Da Liji, Hanfei].

[ST] ST: TB-Nung be₃⁴-pi⁴*n⁵⁵ ‘knee’.

[C] Karlgren (1933: 94) relates the CH word to → fù₁₁ 鞠 ‘leggings, cover’.

Partial synonyms are → bi₂₂ 膝 ‘thighbone’; → fēi₂ 腓 ‘calf of leg’.

**bǐng₁** 兵 (pjën) LH pían, OCM *pran, OCB *prjan

‘Weapon’ [BI, Shi] > ‘soldier’ [Zhouli]. This may possibly be related to → bǐng₂ 兵 (handled instrument?).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pij (平); MGZY bǐng (平) [pijn]; ONW bēn

**bǐng₂** 冰 (pjën) LH pían, OCM *pran?, OCB *prjan — [T] ONW pijn

‘Ice’ [Shi].

If the connection between OCB prjan and *b-rjan is correct, then this word could have come from AA, although the meanings are not very compelling: Khmer piəha /prən/ ‘to become hard, solid’ < -re:n < -re:n ‘to dry up’ [Jenner / Pou 1982: 269; 523] (there are many vocalic and other variants of this etymon). The unusual initial alternation p ~ r also speaks for a non-ST origin. OC *p = Khmer /e/ has parallels.

**bǐng₁** 炳眉邸 (bjen⁸) LH bían⁸, OCM *bran?, OCB *brjan?

‘Bright’ 炳 [Yi]; ‘happy, bright’ 明 [Zhuang].

[ST] Belongs prob. to an AA word, see under → liàng₀ 亮. Unger (Hao-ku 34, 1986) reconstructs OC *pl(j)an? and considers this word part of the word under → yáng₉ 陽, as well as related to Tai: S. plaŋ⁴¹ ‘bright’.

**bǐng₂** 併 (pjën⁸) LH pían⁸, OCM *pran? — [T] ONW bēn

‘To grasp, hold in the hand’ [BI, Shi].

**bǐng** 併 (pjën⁸) LH pían⁸, OCM *pran? — [D] PMin *pan⁸.

‘A handle’ (of ax, flag) [Shi].

Exopass. of bǐng, lit. ‘what is grasped, held’ (§4.4).

[ST] Lushai ben⁹⁴ ear, eye (of a needle), handle (of a cup), loops’, or Lushai lian⁹ ‘handle’ (of a pot); however vocalic and semantic agreement is not close. Alternatively, Unger (Hao-ku 34, 1986) relates this word to WT len-ba (lon-pa, -pa), bļaŋ, blaŋ, loŋ(s) ‘to take, grab’. Wáng Lì (1982: 173) relates this word to → bā 把 ‘handful’. Perh. → bǐng₁ 兵 is related.

**bǐng₃** 病 → bǐng₅ 病

**bǐng₁** 併 → bǐng₂ 並併

**bǐng₂** 併併 (bjen⁸) LH ben⁹, OCM *bēn?

‘Side by side’ 並 [OB, Shi], 併 [Li]; ‘next to each other’ 並 [Shi]. The meaning ‘together, even, also’ has tone C (Downer 1959: 289).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pijn (去); MGZY bǐng (去) [pijn]; ONW bēn

**bǐng** 併 (pjën⁸) LH pían⁸, OCM *pen(h)

‘Combine two’ (things) [Zhouli], ‘all together’ [Shi], ‘likewise’ [Shu].

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**bìng** - **bó**

* píán 騙 (bien) LH ben, OCM *bén
  ‘Two side by side, double’ [Zhuang], ‘two sticking together’ [Zuo] > ‘horse side by side with another’ [Zuo] (also read MC bieŋ).

**E** ? ST: Chepang bʰiŋ- ‘be close together (as object, friends), double up’, but cf. → bǐ, 比. A similar TB etymon may be related, but the medial *r is unexplained, the items could possibly belong to → lián 連联合 instead: Chepang bɾeŋ?- ‘be close together, side by side’, WB hrañ (~ hraŋ or hreŋ) ‘put together side by side’ → s-hrañ ‘a pair’, Lushai tʰian⁵⁴/tʰian⁰ ‘side by side (only of two), in a pair’. However, Lepcha byer, byār ‘be in juxtaposition’ ≠ byek ‘interval of time / space’ may belong to WT bar ‘intermediate’.

**bìng** 屏 (pjían⁵⁴) LH pían⁴, OCM *pēŋ
  ‘To remove’ [Zuo], ‘retire’ [Li] (cognate to → pǐng 屏 聲 ‘screen’ acc. to Karlsgren 1956: 16).

**E** This word may belong with → bǐng 屏, 屏幕 with the basic meaning ‘warm, hot’. Also, a possible connection with shāng 傷 (under → yán 屏障) has been suggested.

**bìng** 病 (pjían⁵⁴) LH bían⁴, OCM *branj ? — [T] ONW ben
  ‘Be ill, suffer, sickness, disease’ [Shu].

**D** PMín *baj-* > Fúzhōu pían⁴, Amoy pǐ⁴.

**bìng** 毓 (pjían⁵⁴) LH pían⁴, OCM *pranj?/h ?, OCB *prjanš
  ‘Be full of grief’ [Shi] (Karlsgren 1956: 10).

**E** This word may belong with → bǐng 屏, 病号 with the basic meaning ‘warm, hot’. Also, a possible connection with shāng 傷 (under → yán 屏障) has been suggested.

**bò** 波 (puá) LH pāi, OCM *pái, OCB *paj
  ‘A wave’ [Shi], ‘be shaken as on waves’ [Zhuang].

**E** This word may belong to the root *paj ‘slanted, not level’ → bēi², bǐ 陂 (so Huáng Jìn-guí, Shēn Xi-róng YYWZX 1987.8: 44), but prob. not to → bò 播 ‘winnow’ (as suggested by Wáng Lì 1982: 444).

Note WT dba’ (-kloŋ) ‘wave’, but the vowels do not match (we should expect WT dba).

**bò** 鉢 (puát) LH pāt — [T] ONW pāt
  ‘Alms bowl’, also written with radical 金 [GY], or with an altogether different graph which acc. to 帝, quoting the commentator Yán Shīgū 頭師古, occurs first in Hâoshū. Bō derives from Skt. pātra which also has been loaned into Middle Korean (pāl) and Old Japanese (pati) (Miyake 1997: 186).

**bò** 剝 — → bāo 剝

**bó** 伯 (pek) LH pak, OCM *prák
  ‘Be the eldest’ (as father, brother, sister) [Shi], ‘elder, lord, clan head’ [Shi], a feudal title (‘earl, count’) [BI], measure word for persons above commoners [BI]; later and in Mand. ‘father’s elder brother, uncle’, in dialects also ‘father’, as in Gân-Wûnîng páipò⁴ (~ pà⁴). 

**T** Sin S. SR pâj (入), LR pâj; MGZY bâj (入) [paj]; ONW pěk

**E** This word may belong with → pāj 霸 (pa⁴) LH pa⁴, OCM *prák
  ‘Take the lead, have hegemony’ [Lunyu] (Wáng Lì 1982: 291).
bó

[<] exoactive / trans. of bó (§4.3.2).

[†] Area word: TB-Mru rak, Kukish prak ‘eldest brother’ (Löffler 1966: 140); LB-Lahu phâ ‘god, lord’ < Siam. pʰraʔ? < Khmer [Matisoff D. Lahu: 883]. Since Kuki-Chin languages have incorporated MK loans, this etymon may ultimately be AA. Among alternative proposals is derivation from → bái1 白 ‘white’, hence bó ‘the white-haired one’ (so Karlsgren 1956: 10), note the semantics of → pó3 帖 ‘white > white-haired’ – but this is prob. a folk etymology.

bó₂ 帛 (bek) LH bak, OCM *brâk
‘Silk material’ [BI, Shu] is prob. the same word as → bái1 白 ‘white’.

bó₃ 𦹇 → fā 发

bó₄ 豁 (pák) LH pak, OCM *pâk ← [T] ONW pak
‘Shoulder blade’ [YJ]; 胸 [Zhouli; GYSX, YJ; GSR 782m].
[D] Mand. ‘shoulder’; 胳 (GYSX: 478; GSR 771); also Pulleyblank MC). This form QYS pâk survives in Yue dialects: Guǎngzhōu pâk[Di-l’p̣e]^A2 胳頭. The following are variants or dictionary readings.

※ pò 豁 (pâk) LH p’ak, OCM *pāk
‘Shoulder blade’, variant of the above: 胸 [Yili; GYSX 415; YJ; GSR 782q]. 胳 [SW; GYSX: 478; GSR 771l].

※ pò 胳 (pek) LH pak, OCM *prâk
‘Shoulder blade’ [JY acc. to ZWDCD 7: 1002].

[†] Area word: PTB *p(r)ak 髀 of MK provenance: PMonic *pāk ‘to hoe, clear land’. Alternatively MK: PMon *pah ‘shoulder’. Possibly, the uncertainty in MC could be due to multiple sources for this word: MC pek < *prak would match Tib., MC pāk MK. It is not clear how Tai: S. bāa (PTai *?baa) ‘shoulder’, Be via and WB pak C. ‘shoulders’ relate to the CH items.

[C] A cognate may be bāng 膊 ‘upper arms’, which is a late word.

bó₅ 薄 (bâk) LH bak, OCM *bâk
‘Thin’ [Shi].

[T] Sin. SR baw (ᵂ), LR bâw; MGZY paw (ᵂ) [baw]; ONW bak

[D] PMin *bôk


bó₆ 薄礲 → fǔ₁₅ 縻

bó₇ 矮 (pâk) LH pok, OCM *pâk
‘A hoe’ [Shi] may be of MK provenance: PMonic *bâk ‘to hoe, clear land’ ≈ *c(l)-m-6ôk ‘a hoe, spade’, in Yue dial. like Tâishân pōg[37]/A1.

bó₈ 博 → bù₄ 布

bó₉ 頓 (pâk) LH pok, OCM *prâuk, OCB *pra/ewk
‘Horse with mixed (brown and white) colors, mixed’ [Shi].

[†] ST: WB prok ‘be speckled, spotted’ ≈ ø-prok ‘decoration’ (→ MK-MidMon /ør̥ok/ ‘variegated color, surface decoration’), Mikir pʰr̥ôk ‘speckled’ (Bodman 1980: 142;
bò — bò


bò 鳥 (pauC) LH pauC, OCM *prāukh
‘Leopard’ [Shi], lit. ‘the spotted one’; [C] expass. of bò 鳥 *prauk (§4.4).

bò 踏 (bök, pʰauC) LH bök, pʰauC, OCM *bök, *phök ?
‘To overthrow, lay prostrate’ [Zuo] is prob. cognate to the wf 

bò 勃 (buat) LH bōt, OCM *bōt
‘Powdery’ (soil) [Zhoul. LE] ST *put: WB pʰut ‘dust’, Lushai pʰut ‘flowery, powdery’; CVST 1.8 adds these words to → 伏 ‘gust of wind’.

bò 腹 (pauC) LH pauc, OCM *pēk
‘To walk lame’ [Yi].

bō 胸 (puaC) LH pauc, OCM *pēk
‘To walk lame’ [Li].

bò 胚 (pauC) LH pauc, OCM *pēk
‘To walk lame’ [Li].

bō 胚 (puiC) LH pauc, OCM *pēk
‘To walk lame’ [Shi].

bō 胚 (puiC) LH pauc, OCM *pēk
‘To winnow’ [Shi] is in some dialects a reading for the verb: Mand. bō 節; PMin *puiC.

bō 胚 (puiC) LH pauc, OCM *pēk
‘To winnow’ [Shi] is in some dialects a reading for the verb: Mand. bō 節; PMin *puiC.

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‘To winnow’ [Shi] is in some dialects a reading for the verb: Mand. bō 節; PMin *puiC.

bō 胚 (puiC) LH pauc, OCM *pēk
‘To winnow’ [Shi] is in some dialects a reading for the verb: Mand. bō 節; PMin *puiC.

bō 胚 (puiC) LH pauc, OCM *pēk
‘To winnow’ [Shi] is in some dialects a reading for the verb: Mand. bō 節; PMin *puiC.

bō 胚 (puiC) LH pauc, OCM *pēk
‘To winnow’ [Shi] is in some dialects a reading for the verb: Mand. bō 節; PMin *puiC.
PT *?b-: S. beeA ‘extend, spread’. But S. praiI ‘to sow, scatter’ seems to be unrelated. This etymon is prob. distinct from → bò, 播散.

bò 3 (pek) LH pek, OCM *prek
‘To cleave, split’ [Li]; ‘crack, burst’ [Zhouli]; ‘tear apart, cleave’ 拆 [Li].

[D] Southern dialects have initial m-: Y-Guǎngzhōu mak ‘to break’, G-Nánchāng mieA, Kèjiā mak ‘to open, break’ (Sagart 1999: 80-81). This etymon is also found in KT: PKS *hmark ‘to split, chop’.

[E] Area word: TB-Chepang prek- ‘cleave, divide down center’. <> KT (OC loan?) PKS *prak-iti ‘break, tear’; PT *pr-: S teekD1L, Lóngzhōu p‘eek, Boai teek. <> ? AA: Khmer (without medial *r): pěka /baek/, OKhmer pes ‘to break, burst, split’. Perh. related to → bái 2 拆 ‘to open’. For an overview of similar items, see → 1f10 離 and Table P-I うち under .... PI3 ぶる。

bì 24 (pek) 不 for catching birds

bó 3 (pek) 萧 → bò 3 拆

bō 1 連 (puo) LH po, OCM *pā
‘To escape, run away, abscond’ [Shu]. Benedict (LTBA 14.2, 1991: 152) relates this word to WT sbed-pa, sbas, sba ‘to hide, conceal’ ≠ ‘ba-bo ‘hole, cave, cavern’, Kiranti bha ‘anus’, Mikir m-baA ‘lose, get lost’ (see also → bì 1 床).

bó 2, bó 呼 -> bò 5 呼

bò 1 連 (puk) LH pok, OCM *pök, OCB *pok — [T] ONW pok
(‘Cracking’ of a bone or tortoise shell in fire, go ‘pop’): ‘To divine by oracle bone’ [OB, Shi].


bò 2 補 (puoB) LH paB, OCM *pā? or *mpā? (*mpa?) — [T] MTang pu < po, ONW po ‘To mend, repair, assist’ [Shi].


[C] Perh. connected with → fú 2 扶 ‘assist’.

bù 1 不 (piouB/C) LH pu, OCM *po, OCB *pja — [T] ONW pu ‘Not’ [OB, Shi]. The irreg. Mand. reading in b- (no dentilabial f-) belongs to the popular stratum, the regular development from QYS and OC is represented by fóu 否 below. Although bó is the normal negative in literary Chinese from the OB down, it is now confined to Mand. dialects. In the OB, negatives with initial *p- negate actions which are beyond the control of living persons (Takashima 1996: 365ff).
**bù**

= fōu 否 (pjouB) etc., same word as above

‘Not, be wrong’ [OB, BI, Shi], same word as above. This is the expected Mand. reading of the negative  not based on QY pjou(B/C).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR fow (⊥); MGZY Hwuw (⊥) [fuw]

⇒ fu 弗 (pjwat) LH put, OCM *pat

(1) ‘Cannot, do not want to, not’ [OB, Shu] (DEZC p. 48; §6.2.2), later also ‘resist’.

(2) ‘Not (verb) him / her / it’ [Shu], fusion of bù with the obj. pronoun zhī 之.


[C] Allofams: → féi1 非, → féi1 匪矣.

**bù₂ 布 (puoC) LH poC, OCM *pāḥ

‘Cloth’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pu (⊥); MGZY bu (⊥) [pu]; ONW po

[D] Min *pioC (from poC via paoC?) This is the regular form up the coast in Wènzhōu.

[E] Bù is often thought to be the s. w. as ‘spread out’ (→ bù₃ 布). More likely, it is an AA word. A Han dyn. variant borrowed from the (AA) ‘Man and Yi barbarians’ on the middle Yangtze River is jiā-bù 長布 < QYS ka(C)-puo e ‘cotton, cotton cloth’ [SW, Hòu Hànshū]. A later loan (ca. 430 AD) is gū-bèi 古貝 ONW koB-peiC < -pas (Baxter, 1989: Early China Conference, Chicago).

AA forms: *k-rn-pa:s, e.g., Khmer krabaah, Bahnar ko’païh (< -s), PVM *k-pa:s (Ferlus), Chrau païh (< -s), Khasi kIJpha:t. <> Tai: S. phaC ‘cloth’ (Li F. 1976: 46). From AA into -> Skt. kārpasaṁ ‘cotton, cotton cloth’, -> Greek kárpasos.

In turn, bù may have been loaned into Middle Korean pwoy ‘hemp cloth’ (Miyake 1997: 188).

**bù₃ 布 (puoC) LH poC, OCM *pāḥ — [T] ONW po

‘To spread out’ (a mat) [Li], ‘display, announce, disperse’ [Zuo]. → bù₂ 布 ‘cloth’ is often thought to be the same word.

[D] PMin *pyoC ‘set out’ (rice seedlings).

[<] exoactive of a root *PA(?)) (§4.3).

[E] ST: Lushai pʰa?l ( < phah) ‘to spread’ (as cloth), ‘place flat on the ground’. CH -> Tai: S. pʰul ‘to spread out, lay or stretch out (carpet).’

⇒ bó 博 (pāk) LH peC, OCM *pāk — [T] ONW peC

‘Be wide’ [BI, Shi].

[<] k-extension (§6.1) of a root *PA(?).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR paw (⊥), LR paw?; MGZY baw (⊥) [paw]

⇒ pǔ 溥 (pʰuoB) LH pʰoB, OCM *phāʔ

‘Be vast, wide’ (of mandate, injury, walls, plain) [Shi].

⇒ fū 專敷舖 (pʰu) LH pʰuo, OCM *pha — [T] ONW pʰuo

‘To spread out, extensively’ 専 [Yi], 舖 [Shi] (舖 also read QY pʰuo); ‘to spread out, widely, extensively, arrange, set forth, publish’ 敷 [Shi].

[<] caus. aspiration of fū 甬 ‘large’ (§5.8.2).

⇒ fū 甭 (pjuB) LH pʰoB, OCM *paʔ

‘Large’ (of a field) [Shi].

[<] endoactive of a root *PA(?).

**bù₄ 步 (buoC) LH boC, OCM *bāḥ

‘To walk, step (stride of two legs), course’ [OB, Shi].

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bù

[T] Sin S. SR bu (去); MGZY pu (去) [bu]; MTang bu < bo, ONW bo

bù₃ 嘗 (bù) LH bo⁶, OCM *bâh
‘Have food in the mouth’ [Zhuang].
[D] This is the Mín word for ‘to chew’: PMin *bo⁶, but Jiàn’du piɔ⁴⁴ (prob. from *bo⁶ via bǐo⁶).
[<] endopass. of bù 餬 pa ‘to eat’ (§4.6).

※ bū 餬 (puo) LH pa, OCM *pâ
‘To eat’ [Meng], ‘meal in the afternoon’ [Lü].

※ bū 餬 (puo) LH pa, OCM *pâh
[<] exoactive / caus. of bū 餬 ‘to eat’.

E ST: PTB *wa (or *pa) ‘bite, chew’ (STC no. 424; CVST I: 119; Weidert 1987: 138) > WB wa⁵ ‘to chew’, JP ga³-wa⁵⁵ ‘to bite’.

It is not clear if / how the following may be connected: TB-Lushai baar⁶ ‘to stuff food into one’s own mouth’ ※ bar⁷ ‘to stuff food into the mouth of another’ (tones?) (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 34). Note also Tiddim Chin ba:k⁷ / baʔ⁷ ‘to feed forcibly (from baar⁶?); and MK-Khmer pana / -paan/ ‘to feed by introducing premasticated or other food into the mouth of (infant, chick, etc.). -> Tai /pɔan/.

bù₆ 部 ‘hillock’ → fù₇ 鼠
cai 1 才材財 (dzäi) LH dzø, OCM *dzä
‘Be well endowed’ [Shi], ‘(innate) ability’ 才 [Zuo]; ‘material, talent’ 材 [Shu]; ‘value’ 財 [BL, Shu].

[T] Sin S. SR dzaj (平); MGZY tsay (平) [dzaj]; ONW dzai (dzei ?)

Etymology not certain. Matisoff (1995: 42f) proposes cognation with PTB *(t)sä:y ※ *(dz)zay ‘property, livestock, talent’, but see → zi1 "資": ‘wealth, property’. Most likely, this word is derived from ST *tsø ‘come forth’ (as child, seedling, → zī1 子); for the semantic connection between ‘birth’ and ‘natural characteristic / endowments’, compare → shēng2 生 ‘give birth, live’ ※ → xīng2 性 ‘what is inborn: one’s inner nature; one’s name’. Thus a WT cognate of cài is prob. mtsän’name’ ※ mtsän(-ma) ‘shape and peculiar characteristics of separate parts of the body; genitals; mark, token, symptom’ (with the nominalizing n-suffix §6.4.3).

cái 2 才織 (dzäi) LH dzø, OCM *dzä — [T] ONW dzai (dzei ?)
‘Only when / at (time)’ (German ‘erst’) [Hou Hanshu]. Matisoff (1995: 74f) suggests that this is cogn. to TB-Lahu sāi and sē ‘inchoative particle’.

cái 1 菜 (tsʰäi²) LH tsʰø, OCM *tshö?
‘To gather, pluck’ [Shi]. ※ cài 菜采 (tsʰäi³) LH tsʰø³, OCM *tšøh
‘Vegetables, edible plants’ 菜 [Shi] > ‘appanage’ 菜 [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts’aj (去); MGZY tshay (去) [ts’aj]; ONW ts’aii
[<] exopass. of cài, lit. ‘what is gathered, plucked’ (§4.4).

Etymology not certain. Perh. from ST *tsø: WT btsa ‘fruit’, btsas ‘harvest, to reap’ (CVST 4: 17); PLB *tayak1 ‘to pluck’. To the same stem may belong → cái 1 才材財 and → zī1 子. Alternatively, note WT ts’od-ma ‘vegetable’, the vocalic correspondence would be parallel to → cái 2 菜 ‘color’ (see §12.9[3]).

cái 2 菜 (tsʰäi³) LH tsʰø³, OCM *tshö?
‘Color, pigment, be colorful’ [Shi].

ST: WT tsʰøs ‘paint, dye, to color’. The vowel correspondence is prob. ST *ø > OC ø, > PTB *a > WT o (see §12.9[3]).

cài 菜采 → cái 1 菜

cān1 参 → sān 三

cān2 餐 → jū1 啃

cān 嚼 (dzäm) LH dzom, OCM *dzäm
‘Silkworm’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzam (平); PR dzan; MGZY tsam (平) [dzam]

Etymology not certain. Bodman (1980: 58) relates this word to WT sdom ‘spider’. Perh. cogn. to → jiàn12 蜘 ‘entwine’.

cān 嚼 (tsʰäm²) LH tsʰom², OCM *tshöm? < *sʔöm? ? (§5.9.1) — [T] ONW tsʰom
‘Have in the mouth’ tr. (have a taste in the mouth) [Huainan] is perh. derived from ān
竃 - 童

竃 ‘hold in the mouth’ (under → 童, 軟) with the transitivising s-prefix (§5.9.2).

竃 竫 (tsʰan̂C) LH tsʰan̂C, OCM *tshâns
‘Shiny, beautiful’ 亮 [Shi], 竵 [Chunqiu fanlu].

[EN] Perh. a ST word, it could either be related to WT mtsʰar-ba ‘bright, shining, beautiful’ (so HST: 49); or, acc. to Unger (Hao-ku 35, 1986: 30) to WT gsal-ba ‘be clear, distinct, bright’. Since MC tsʰ- = WT gs- (§5.9.1), Unger’s suggestion seems on balance preferable.

竃 竫 (tsʰan̂C), tshâns, OCM *tshâns
‘Cold’ [Yi Zhoushu].

[<] prob. intensive aspiration of → liáng, 涼 ‘cold’: s + hraŋ (§5.9.2).

[D] LH tsʰan̂ is an old Wú dialect word in Shíshūo xìnyû; it is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu tsʰiŋCl, Xiàmín tsʰiŋCl, Jiânyâng tʻiŋCl ‘cold (of weather)’ (Norman 1983: 207). Unrelated to → qǐng1 桂 ‘cold’.

竃 兀 (tsʰʔan̂) LH tsʰʔan̂(C), OCM *tshraŋ(h)
‘Green, azure, blue’ [Shi]. This may be an old dialect variant of → liáng, 涼 ‘cold’: s + hraŋ (§5.9.2).

[<] prob. intensive aspiration of → liáng, 涼 ‘cold’: s + hraŋ (§5.9.2).

[D] LH tsʰʔan̂ is an old Wú dialect word in Shíshūo xìnyû; it is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu tsʰiŋCl, Xiàmín tsʰiŋCl, Jiânyâng tʻiŋCl ‘cold (of weather)’ (Norman 1983: 207). Unrelated to → qǐng1 桂 ‘cold’.

竃 竫 (tsʰan̂) LI zhí, OCM *tsʰan̂ < *k-sâŋ?
‘Green, azure, blue’ [Shi]. This may be an old dialect variant of → liáng, 涼 ‘cold’: s + hraŋ (§5.9.2).

[<] prob. intensive aspiration of → liáng, 涼 ‘cold’: s + hraŋ (§5.9.2).

[D] LH tsʰʔan̂ is an old Wú dialect word in Shíshūo xìnyû; it is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu tsʰiŋCl, Xiàmín tsʰiŋCl, Jiânyâng tʻiŋCl ‘cold (of weather)’ (Norman 1983: 207). Unrelated to → qǐng1 桂 ‘cold’.

竃 竫 (tsʰan̂), LHI zhí, OCM *tsʰan̂ < *k-sâŋ?, OCB *tshâŋ
‘To conceal, store’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu S dzan̂ (平); MGZY tsang (平) [dzan̂]; ONW dzan̂

 xãng 藏 (dzan̂) LH dzan̂, OCM *dzan̂, OCB *fitsan̂
‘To conceal, store’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu S dzan̂ (平); MGZY tsang (平) [dzan̂]; ONW dzan̂

 xãng 藏 (dzan̂) LH dzan̂, OCM *dzan̂
(1) ‘A treasure’ 藏 [Shi] > ‘intestines’ 腹 [Zhouli]. For a semantic parallel see under → fù1 付:

[EN] ST: WT ’dzan̂-pa ‘to hoard wealth’.
[<] *dzan̂ + pass. s/h-suffix (§4.4), lit. ‘what is being stored’.

(2) ‘Storehouse’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 275).

[<] *dzan̂ + general purpose s/h-suffix (§3.5) (lit. ‘what does the storing’).

 xãng 藏 (tsʰʔan̂) LH tsʰʔan̂, OCM *tsʰan̂ < *k-sâŋ?, OCB *tshan̂
‘Granary’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu S dzan̂ (平); MGZY tsan̂ (平) [tsan̂]


 cáo 曹 → zāo2 曹

 cáo1 草 (tsʰauB) LH tsʰouB, OCM *tshû?
‘Grass, small plant’ [Shi].

[T] Sin S SR ts’aw (上); MGZY tshaw (上) [ts’aw]; ONW ts’hau

[EN] Etymology not clear. Perh. related to WT rtswa ‘grass, plant’, Balti, Purik rtswa, stwa (Jaeschke: 437a) confirm the medial w. The WT word could be reconciled with CH if analyzed as *rtsu-a with the a-suffix which is also found in tša-ga-pa ‘weaver’ < *tag-a. Alternatively, this could be another version of the AA word under → chú4 糸.
cǎo — chā
cǎo 耕 (tsʰǎuB) LH tsʰǎu, OCM *tshǎu — [T] ONW tsʰǎu
   ‘To grasp’ [Li], ‘to handle’ [Zuo].
* cǎo 耕 (tsʰǎuC) LH tsʰǎu, OCM *tshǎuh
   ‘Principles, purpose’ [Meng].
   [C] exopass. of cǎo 耕 (tsʰǎuB) (§4.4), lit. ‘what is grasped’.

zào 造 “cǎo” 耕 (tsʰǎu)
   ‘Be going to the side, be slanting, deviating’ > ‘side’ [Shi].
   = zè 庖 (tsʰák) LH tsʰák, OCM *tsřâk
   ‘Be slanting, oblique’ 庖 [Zhouli] > ‘sun going down, afternoon’ 戶 [OB, Shu].
      to Jenner / Pou (1982: 268) a derivative of OKhmer *re /rêç ~ rao/ ‘move, stir, change
      course’, from this root is also derived the Khmer (and OC) wf under → II₆ 理. For the CH
      final -k, see §6.1.1.

cè 侧 (ts̪jāk) LH ts̪ják, OCM *tsřák
   ‘To fathom, measure’ depth 测 [Shi]; ‘to pity, be pained’ 侧 [Yijing, Meng]; ‘deep (or
      sharp?) cutting’ of a plow ～ [Shi] (also QY tšjā).
   [T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰjaj (入); MGZY chʰiý (入) [tsʰaj]; ONW tšjāk

cèi 艮 (tsʰi̯C) LH tsʰi̯C, OCM *tsřākh?
   ‘Latrine’ [Zuo].
   [T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰi (去); LR tsʰi; MGZY chʰi (去) [tsʰi]
   [E] ST: PTB *ts̪jij ‘urinate’ > WT gči(d)-pa ‘to urinate’ ～ gčin ‘urine’; WB tsʰiB
      medial *r, see §7.4; the vowel correspondence is unusual, see §11.2.2.

cè 4 册草 (ts̪jēk) LH ts̪jēk, OCM *tsřēk — [T] ONW ts̪jēk
   (‘Bamboo slips’:) ‘to document, write down’ (on bamboo slips) [OB, BI, Shu] > n.
   ‘document’ [BI]. 簿 [Zuo], ‘book’ in M-Xiàmén lit. tsʰēkD₁, col. tsʰēpD₁; ‘Achilea stalks
   used for divination’ (the radical implies bamboo 篮). Sagart (1999: 214) suggests a
   possible further connection with → jǐ₆ 稿 ‘collect, accumulate’. OTib. gtsigs
   ‘document, official text, decree’ is perh. a CH loan.

cè 5 籍 (ts̪jēk) LH ts̪jēk, OCM *tsřâk
   ‘To spear’ (fish) 籍 [Zhouli], ‘a kind of lance’ 籍 [SW].
   [E] This is prob. a vocalic variant of the synonym → chuō 插 (tsʰâk) [tsʰâk] *tsřrok,
   prompted by AA-OKhmer câk /cak/ ‘to pierce, stab, stab...’. Alternatively, the ‘kind of
   lance’ could represent the AA item Khmer /cak/, and ‘spear fish’ was a semantic
   extension in analogy to chuō. For the CH retroflex initial, see §5.10.3. Another syn. is
   → zè₆ 稿.

cēn 参 → chán₂ 漱

céng 层 → zēng 曾增

chā 耕 (tsʰái, tsʰa) LH tsʰie or tsʰai, OCM *tsřē or *tsřâi
   ‘A fork’ [SW].
   [T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰa (平); ONW tsʰâ
   * chā 叉 (tsʰáiC) LH tsʰaiC, OCM *tsřēh
   ‘Forked branch of a tree’ (used for spearing fish) [SW, Zhuang]. Duan Yucai says that
   yā-chā 柱杈 is an eastern Yangtze dialect word for ‘branch’ (Wáng Li 1982: 440).
chā – chá

[EN] AA: The reference to the eastern end of the Yangtze River, once inhabited by AA, may support an AA connection: Khmer cēka /chaek/ ‘to be divided, split, cleft, forked, bifurcated...’ This AA etymon may also be represented in → xīq 枝 ‘split’. For the absence of final -k in CH, see §6.9. Alternatively, chā may be the s. w. as → chá 差 ‘divergence’ (< ‘branch off’), but see there.

The SW glosses the graph chā 十 as ‘crossing hands’, thereby implying a basic meaning ‘branches crossing each other’; this suggests a connection with → cuò 異 ‘crossing, mixing’, also TB-JP go31-tfai55 ‘intersect’.

chā2 差 (tsh'ā) LH tš’ai, OCM *tshrāi

‘Divergence, difference, distinction’ [Shu], ‘mistake’ [Xun] (cf. → cuò 異 ‘mistake’).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tš’ai (平); ONW tš’ā (~ tš’ēi)

& cf 差 (tsh’ie) LH tš’oi, OCM *tshrāi

‘Uneven, irregular’ [SW] (Karlgren 1956: 16)

& cf-chi 差池 (tsh’ie-djie) LH tš’oi-đuí, OCM *tshrāi-drai or *-d-lai?

‘Graduated, of different length’ [Shi].

[C] Allofams are perh. → chá, 察 ‘examine’, and → cuò, 異 ‘uneven teeth’.

chā3 茗 (tsh’āp) LH tš’ep, OCM *tshrēp or *tshrōp < *s-rōp? (§5.9.1), OCB *tshrjop

‘To husk (grain) with a mortar and pestle’ 茗 [SW], ‘to insert’ 插 [Guoce].

[T] Sin Sukchu 插 SR tš’a (入)

& cul, chui 茗 (tsh’juā) LH ts’hios ~ ts’hios, OCB *tshjots < *-ops?

‘Pound wheat’ (with mortar and pestle) (Duàn Yúcái; Baxter 1992: 548).

[<] prob. an s-prefix iterative derivation from → yā, 壹 ‘press down’, hence < PCH *s-rōp (§5.9.1), even though the MC vowels do not agree (ä vs. a < OC *rē vs. *ra?).

[E] Alternatively, it may be related to PLB *kyap ~ *tsap ‘stick into, insert’, WB kyap ‘put into and twirl about...’, Akha tsaw’is ‘pierce, stab’; but the initials are difficult to reconcile.

chá1 茶 (dā) LH dā, OCM *d-lā

‘Tea’ [Han period].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dža (平); ONW dā

[EN] Sagart (1999: 188) suggests that chá is a loan from Loloish (TB) *lā ‘leaf, tea’, PLB *s-lā ‘leaf / tea’ (HPTB: 48), as tea may have originated in Sichuán (Lolo area); this word has wider distribution, also in Zhuang (Tai) là⁴ means ‘tea’, the ultimate source is PAA *sla ‘leaf’. Alternatively, Qiu Xigui (2000: 326) considers ‘tea’ with its bitter leaves a semantic extension of *tu 茗*$lā ‘name of a bitter plant’ (Sonchus oleraceus).

chá2 槃 (dž[?]a) LH džai, OCM *dshrāi

‘Cut trees’ [Guoyu].

& zé 柱 (tšek) LH tšak, OCM *trsēk

‘Clear away (trees and bushes)’ [Shi].

& zhuó 断 (tšak) LH tšok, OCM *tsrāk

‘Cut off’ [Gongyang].

[EN] Possibly AA in light of zé ‘clear away trees and bushes’ (to make room for settle-
 chá – chán


chá₃ 柴 (tʂʰat) LH tʂʰat, OCM *tʃhrât
‘To examine’ [Shu], ‘discern’ [Li] is either derived from → chá₂ 差 ‘distinction’, or from → chá₃ 差 ‘choose, select’; ‘examine, discern’ is the process of sorting out differences, selecting.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tʂ’a (入)

chá₁ 刺 (tʂʰat) LH tʂʰat → [T] ONW tʂʰat
‘A Buddhist temple’, borrowed from Skt. kṣetra ‘field, place, seat, sphere of activity’; Middle Korean tyel and Old Japanese tera ‘temple’ derive perh. from the CH word (Miyake 1997: 189).

chá₂ 杈 → chá₁ 巽

chái 差 (tʂʰai, tʂʰài) LH tʂʰe (or tʂʰai ?) OCM *tʃhrè (or *tʃhrâi ?)
‘To pick out, select’ (e.g. pick horses out of a herd) [Shi].

[E] Prob. AA: Khmer /srəl/ ‘to take the pick of, select’. Or semantically less likely, this may be the s. w. as → chá₂ 差. Allofam is perh. → chá₃ 柴 ‘examine’.

chái₁ 柴 (dzai) LH dzé, OCM *dʒrê
‘Firewood’ [Li] > ‘burnt offering’ [Bl, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzaj (平); MGZY cay (平) [dzaj]
[D] The graph 柴 writes a MIn synonym, see under → jiāo₆ 焦.

[E] Chái is perh. related to → chá₁ 柴 ‘cut trees’; OC rimes *-ai and *-e are occasionally confused in wfs. Perh. from AA: OKhmer jhe ‘wood’. Note also PHlai *tʂʰai¹ ‘tree’ [Matisoff 1988c no. 293] (CH loan?).

chái₂ 齊 (dzǎi) LH dzeq, OCM *dʒrî or *dʒrâi
‘Class, category, equals’ [Zuo], occurs also in Tai: S. raai² ‘set, category, list’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 156). For the initials, see §7.1.5. Perh. connected with → qǐ₁₅ 齊 ‘be equal’ (so Karlgren 1956: 16).

chái₃ 傢 (dʒǎi)
The graph is used to write the Mín dial. word for ‘many’: PMin *dʒeC > Yǒngān t̚eC, Jiānyáng laiC², Fúzhōu saC², Amoy tšeC², Yue Hashimoto (CAAAL 6, 1976: 1) relates this word to Tai: Zhuang (Lóngzhōu) laiA¹ ‘many’ < PTai *hlaia¹. The Tai word is related to → duò 多.

chài 蟹 (tʰaiC) LH tʰas, OCM *rhâts
‘Scorpion’ [Shi]. The phonetic wàŋ 萬 which writes words like → mài₅ 邁勋 *mra(t)s ‘walk’ suggests that the OC initial was *rh- rather than a dental stop.

[c] Chài is derived from → li₁₁ 獵 ‘sharp’ with the nominalizing ST s- / aspiration (§5.2.4); it may also be a connected with zhé 蟹 (tjât) LH tjat, *trat ‘to sting’ [Liezi].

chān₁ 佔惦 → zhān₃ 占瞻

chān₂ 梍 → yán₅ 延筵

chān₁ 矜 (izən) LH dzian, OCM *dan
‘Irresolute’ [Chuci] is perh. cognate to the wf → chān₂ 梍iare ‘slow’.

chān₂ 漸 (dʒam) LH dzäm, OCM *dʒrâm
‘Be craggy’ (of rocks on a mountain) [Shi].
-chan – châng

 nhấn 佇 (dżam, dżăm B) LH dżam, dżem B, OCM *drâm, *dzrôm?
  ‘Uneven, unequal, disorder’ [Zuo].

 chào, zàn 佇 (tsâ'am C, dżâm C) LH tsâ'am C, dżem C, OCM *tsråms, *dzråms
  ‘Mixed, disparate’ [Li].
  [<] perh. exopass. of chào (§4.4).

 chiến 参 (tsâ'jem) LH tsê'em, OCM *tsråm
  ‘Uneven, of varying length’ (flowers) [Shi].

 LE] AA: Khmer ikrâgm/‘be rough, uneven, bumpy, rugged, rocky’ ≠< ikrâgm/ ‘move around, restless, in motion, agitated…’ ≠< prâgm/ ‘to move (around), stirred up, excited’.

 chiến 佇 (dżan) LH dżan, OCM *dран
  ‘Farm, farmyard’ [Shi]
  [E] KT: S. rian A2 < *rian A ‘house’; PKS *hran1 ‘house’; PHlai *ruun1 ‘house’. For the initials, see §7.1.4.

 chiến 佇 (dżan[C]) LH dzan(C), OCM *dran(s)
  ‘To bind, wind’ [Lie].

 chiến 佇 (tân C, dán B) LH tan C, don B, OCM *tâns, *dân?
  ‘A belt or wrapping cord’ [Shi].

 chiến, zàn 佇 → chiến 佇

 chiến, zàn 佇 → zàn 佇

 chiến 佇 → zحن 佇

 chiến 佇 (tsâ'jân B) LH tsâ'an B, OCM *than?
  ‘To open up, make clear, explain’ 佇 [Yi] is perh. the s. w. as → chiến 佇 ‘clear, explain’.

 chiến 佇 (tsâ'jân B) LH tsâ'an B, OCM *than?
  ‘Slow, drawn-out, easygoing’ 佇 [Li]; ‘slow’ 佇 [Shi]; ‘indulgent, generous’ 佇 [Lao].
  Perh. → chiến 佇 ‘explain’ is the s. w.

 ✱ ? shân 禪 (źjan C) LH dzân C, OCM *dans
  ‘Relinquish, cede, hand over’ [Meng] (< ‘be generous’).
  [C] Allofam is perh. → tăn3 偐 ‘at ease’; → chiến 佇 ‘irresolute’.

 chiến 佇 (sân B) LH sê'n B, OCM *srân? or *srën? (?), OCB *srjân?
  ‘To breed, bear’ [Zuo], ‘produce’ [Li], ‘product, livelihood’ [Meng].
  [T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'an (上); MGZY shan (上) [sân]; ONW sôn
  [E] ST: WT sreî-ba ‘to bring up, rear’ (Bodman 1980: 143; HST p. 40). The MK-Khmer synonym /samraal/ is phonologically also compatible with this word (see → miàn2 娘).

 chiến, zàn 佇 → chiến 佇

 châng 昌 (tżan) LH tsâ'ń, OCM *k-hlań or *thań? — [T] ONW tsâ'ń
  ‘Splendid, prosperous’ [Shi] is perh. related to → yáng3 陽 in which case this word might go back to earlier *k-hlań. This would be supported by PVM *hlań B ‘bright’.
  Note the phonetic parallelism with → châng1 昌.

 châng1 昌 (źjan) LH dzân, OCM *dâń, actually *djan?
  ‘Lower garment’ [SW 8: 3410].
chang - chang

= chang 裳 (qjan) LH dzon, OCM *dan, actually *djan?
‘Lower garment, skirt’ [Shi].

[E] Bodman (1980: 80) compares this word to WT g-yaI ‘animal skin clothing’. For the initials see §9.3.

cháng2 常 (qjan) LH dzon, OCM *dan, actually *djan?
‘To perpetuate, have or be forever’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjan (平); MGZY zhan (平) [qan]; MTang ざん, ONW ざん
=> sháng 尚 (qjan) LH dzon, OCM *dan, actually *djan?
‘To continue, still, consider to continue, hope for’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ざん (去); MGZY zhan (去) [qan]; MTang ざん, ONW ざん

[E] ST *qan: Acc. to Bodman (1980: 79) related to WT yア ‘again, still, once more’. For the initials see §9.3. WT yア may possibly belong to → you instead, however.

cháng3-é 常娥 → é2 娥

cháng4 常 (qjan) LH dzon, OCM *dan, actually *djan?
‘To taste’ [Shi] > ‘try’ (doing something) [Zhuang].

[D] PMin *dzon points to earlier *m-djan
[E] ST *m-jan: PTB *m-yaI : Chepang yan-sā ‘to taste’ (sample food), WT myon-ba, myon ‘to taste, enjoy, experience’ (Bodman 1980: 80), from < PTib. *m-yaI. However, WB mranB ‘to taste, try by tasting’ suggests that the ST initial might have been more complex. For the initials see §9.3.

cháng5 場 (qjan) LH が, OCM *d-lan (or *dron ?)
‘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, Chủ (B) ; 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’. Shī Xiàngdong (2000: 32) relates cháng to WT たشاش ‘high plain’, but see → chăng 春.

cháng6 腸 (qjan) LH が, OCM *d-lan
‘Intestines’ [Shi].

[T] MTang が, ONW が — [D] PMin *dun

cháng7 章 → zhăng1 張

chăng 媚 (tsqjanq) LH tsqonB, OCM *thaI?
‘High, level land, spacious’ [Han time].


chăng 唱倡 (tsqjanq) LH tsqonC, OCM *k-hlanJ ? — [T] ONW tsqan
‘To lead in singing, intone’ [Shi] > ‘to take the lead’ (generally) [Guoyu, Hou Hanshu].

[E] ST: WB ə-kranB, ə-k’yanB ‘a kind of song’ (< *kloanB ); perh. also Proto-Bodo *lsuŋ ‘to sing’ [Burling 1959: 443]. Parallelism with the phonetic element → chăng 春 strengthens the OC reconstruction and ST etymology.

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chàng — chè

chàng2 常 (tʰjan⁴) LH tʰon⁴, OCM *thrāŋ or *rhanŋ?
‘Wine, spirits’ [Bl, Shi].

chāo1 超 → tiáo 跳

chāo2 剌 (tʂʰau) LH tʂʰau, OCM *tshrâu

x cuàn 喜 (tʂʰwan⁴) LH tʂʰuan⁴, OCM *tshrōns (& *tshrâu-ns)
‘To seize, take by force’ (a throne) [Meng].

[C] An allofam may be → zhuā 抓 ‘grasp’, but the OC vowels differ.

cháo1 朝朝 → zhāo4 朝

cháo2 巢 (dząu) LH dząu, OCM *dzrâu
‘Nest’ (ShiJ, ‘make a nest’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dząw (平); MGZY caw (平) [dząw]
[E] Related to PMY *rau² ‘nest’ (Downer ICSTLL 1982, Beijjing); PHlai *rʔau² ‘nest’.
For the initials, see §7.1.5. This word is prob. cognate to → zhuā 抓 ‘grasp’, hence cháo was originally a ‘perch’, but the OC vowels do not agree.

ché 車 (tʂʰja) LH tʂʰa, OCM *k-hla
‘Chariot’ [OB, Bl, Shi] > ‘wheel’ as in fāng-chè 紡車 ‘spinning wheel’.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰje (平); MGZY chya (平) [tsʰje]; ONW tʂʰa
[D] PMin *tʂʰia; in some southern dialects ‘to mill’, e.g. Y-Güangzhōu tsʰe 53-mui⁵¹ 車米 ‘mill rice’.
[E] Horse and chariot were introduced into China around 1200 BC from the West (Shaughnessy HJAS 48, 1988: 189-237). Therefore, this word is prob. a loan, apparently from an IE language (V. Mair, EC 15, 1990: 45ff; Robert Bauer, Sino-Platonic Papers 47, 1994): Toch. A kukan, Tocharian B kokake, note Greek kύκλα or kύκλοι (‘wheels’): ‘wagon’ [Pokorny IG etym. Wörterbuch 1: 640]; an older variant survives in Northern Mand. gū-li ‘wheel’ (so Bauer). Alternatively, acc. to Baxter / Sagart (1998: 48) chē is a derivation by k-prefix from → yū₁₁ 爲「lift up’ (§5.4); note the WT semantic parallel mag-pa ‘vehicle, carriage, riding beast’ < id. ‘to lift, raise, hold, support’.

~ jǔ 車 (kwɔ) LH kio, OCM *ka — [T] ONW kio ? > kō
‘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 → chǔ 處 ~ jǔ 居. Different readings of 車 are discussed by Baxter (1992: 480; 862 n. 356). Shiming states that the reading in MC -jwo 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 kjwo may be a lexicographical ghost, while a reading MC kʰjwo mentioned in JDSW seems closer to MC tʂʰa with its aspiration. However, MC kjwo has enjoyed to this day general currency while MC kʰjwo is unknown apart from this sound gloss.

[C] Possible allofam → kǔ₁ 庫.

chéì 城 → chǐ¹ 拱

ché₂ 徹徹 (djat, tʃjat) LH dat, tʃat, OCM *drat, *thrat, OCB *thrjet — [T] ONW tʃat
‘To remove, take away, clear away’ 徹 [Bl, Shi], 撤 [Lunyu].
[C] r-causative of shì 去 (§7.5) (Sagart 1999: 111). This word looks like a derivation from → chǔ₂ 除 [dia] ‘remove’ with a t-suffix (§6.2.2). However, the phonetic of 徹
che - chen

che implies a T-like initial consonant whereas the phonetic of che implies an L-like initial (§12.1.2).

zhι (djaic) LH ḍas, OCM *drats
‘To discard, left over’ [Shi] (Sagart 1999: 111).

ʃi (djaic) LH ḍzas, OCM *drats, OCB *djats
‘Go away, pass on, come to the point that’ [Shi]; a Han period dialect word for ‘to marry (of a woman)’ and [Shi] (FY 1, 14).

ʃi (ʃjäk, tʃäk) LH tšek, OCM *tek?, OCB *tek?, ONW tšek
‘To go to’ [Shi]; ‘to marry’ (of a woman), a Han period dialect word in Sōng and Lú [FY 1, 14]. According to the phonetic series, shi has a T-like initial. There is an occasional interchange of final-k and -t, note that ché prob. also had the vowel *e (OCB).

ché ʃi - zhe 3 胜
ché ʃi - zhé 4 胜
chen (tʃam) LH tʃim, OCM *rim?
‘A precious object’ [Shi].

[ʃi] Sin Sukchu SR tʃim (平), PR, LR tʃ’in; MGZY chim (平) [tʃ’in] [ʃi] derived from -yín, the OC initial may have been *r1- as Baxter suggests; note the Khmer form below.

tʃi (djam) LH dǐm, OCM *d-lam
‘To sink’ [Shi], ‘submerged’ [Guoce], ‘submerge’ something as a sacrifice [OB] > ‘put poison in liquid’ [Zhouli]; ‘deep’ [Zhuang] (~ Chuci → zhān1 湛 [dēmB] *drām? ‘deep’). Acc. to Downer (1959: 282), the intr. ‘to sink’ is read in tone A, while the causative ‘to drown, immerse’ [Zuo] is read in tone C acc. to ancient commentators.

[ʃi] Sin Sukchu SR dʒim (平), PR, LR dʒìn; MGZY chim (平) [dʒim]; ONW dim

[ʃe] derived from -yín, the OC initial may have been *r1- as Baxter suggests; note the Khmer form below.

zhèn 鎖 (djam) LH dǐm, OCM *d-lam
‘Poisoned wine’ 鎖 [Zuo]; ‘to poison’ 鎖 [Guoyu] (Karlgren GSR 656f).


[ʃe] Allofams are prob. → yín3 液, and perh. → chen2 沈‘a liquid’, → hán4 潤, → zhān1 湛. Similar looking word in final -m include: → dān 賑, → jiān 晉, → jiān 潤, → lín 潉, → shēn1 深, → zhān2 潮, → zhēn2 斛, → rān 染.

Languages in the area have similar words, but they are difficult to match with potential OC relations:

AA: Khmer /srām/ ‘to sink slowly into water, drop slowly out of sight’.
KT: Saeik ramA2 ‘be wet’ (rs ramA1 ‘black’); PKS *rām1 ‘sink’.
chén — chêng

TB: WT thim-pa ‘disappear, being absorbed, evaporate, be melted, to sink’ (e.g. into unconsciousness) ∗ stim-pa, bstims ‘to enter, penetrate, be absorbed’. TB: Chepang jyom? ‘to sink in, be pressed down’.

chén3 辰 (zhjen) LH dzin, OCM *dən
The 5th of the Earthly Branches, identified with the dragon [OB]; cf. shên 暗 (zhjenC) ‘some kind of dragon’ [Hanshû, Tiânwén zhî].
[T] Sin S. SR zin (平), LR dzin; MGZY zhin (平) [zhin]; ONW dzèn

chén4 辰 ‘season’ → chén5 辰辰; ‘time’ → zhi1 之

chén5 辰辰 (zhjen) LH dzin, OCM *dən (辰 also MC dzjen, LH zin, OCM *m-dən?)
Time when life begins to stir: (1) ‘early morning’ 辰 [OB, BI, Shu; SW 1149].
(2) ‘Start of the growing / agricultural season in the 3rd month; heavenly bodies that mark that time’ 辰辰辰 [SW 2991; 6629]; ‘heavenly body’ 辰 [Shu]. 辰 converges with 辰 ‘time’ (under → zhi1 之).
[<] endopass. of zhên 振，lit. ‘stir oneself’ (§4.6). The meaning ‘morning’ may have been influenced by MK: Mon tmin, tmiin ‘morning’ (m can be an infix).

chén6 辰 (zhjen) LH dën, OCM *dən — [T] ONW din
‘Dust’ [Shi].

chén7 陳 (djen) LH dën, OCM *dən
‘Set forth, set out, spread out, arrange, marshal, display’ [Shi], ‘diffuse, give’ [Zuo].
∗ zhên 陳 (djenC) LH dënC, OCM *drens
‘Battle array’ [Lunyu].
[<] exopass. of chên 陳 (djen) (§4.4), lit. ‘what is arranged’, thence ‘line up in battle order’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 286).

chên1, chê-li 撰 (t’jenB, t’i) LH t’iinB, t’i, OCM *thron?, *thræi
‘To laugh’ [Zhuangj].
[Œ] ST *C-ro-(C): Lushai ʔhen‘‘smile’; perh. also related to PTB *rya-t ‘laugh’ (STC no. 202): WT g̴za-ba < g̴-rya ‘sport, joke, play’, Kanauri-Bunau sred, WB rai ‘laugh’. For the initial, see §7.1.4.

chên2 撰沈 (tštjemB) LH tštimB, OCM *k-hlam?
‘A liquid’ 撰 [Zuo]; ‘juice’ 撰 [Li].
[<] nominalizing k-prefix derivation from the stem of → yín 撰 ‘soak’; see → chên2 撰 for wider connections. Alternative: possibly related to Tai S. namC < *nlir- ‘water, liquid’ (so Unger Hao-ku 47, 1995: 140), but the initials are difficult to reconcile.

chêng1 蘇 (tštj’en) LH t’tqen, OCM *hræŋ
‘Red’ [Shi], 赫 [Yil] as the color of a bream’s tail or that of blushing, also glossed as ‘deep red’ (Giles), hence chêng referred originally perh. to the intensive red of certain types of exposed (naked) skin color.
[<] possibly an intensive derivation of → chên2 撰 *dren ‘naked’ (§5.8.3) (cf. Karlgren 1933: 69); then the Tai items would be CH loans.

chêng2 稱 (tštʃ’en) LH tštʃen, OCM *thonŋ — [T] ONW tštʃen
‘To weigh’ [Li].
cheng – chéng

This may either belong to the wf → chéng₂ 丞承 ‘lift’; or be of MK origin: Khmer thiหลวง ‘to weigh’ (because of the medial l, the Khmer word cannot be a CH loan).

cheng₃ 丞 (tʰen) LH ḏiŋ, OCM *thranh
‘To stare at’ [Zhuang] also is found in Tai: S. tʰiŋ (WrSiam tʰa-ɦiŋ) ‘a fierce stare, to stare hard at’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 154).

chénɡ₁ 成盛城 (ziŋ) LH ḏəŋ < gien ?, OCM *geŋ?
‘To complete, achieve, build’ 成 [BI, Shi]; ‘put’ (in receptacle), ‘load, pack’ [BI, Shi], ‘a vessel full’ 盛 [Meng]; (filled-in earth, stamped earth:) ‘city wall’ [Shi] > ‘city’ 城 [Zuo].

[<] exopass. of chéng, ‘be filled’ (§4.4).

chénɡ₂ 丞承 (ziŋ) LH ḏiŋ, OCM *daŋ
‘To lift, hold up, present, receive’ [BI, Shi].

[<] perhaps caus. of chéng 乘 (ziŋ), lit. ‘what is mounted’ (§4.4).

[<] this wf is prob. related to → dēng₁ 登 順 ‘full’. More likely, Bodman (1980: 160) relates this to WT gyan, gyan ‘rise, stamped earth, wall’ ≠ gyāŋ ‘wall’ ≠ gēn-va, bkan ‘to fill, to fulfill’ ≠ skoŋ-va, bskany ‘to fulfill’. For the vowels, see §11.3.2; for the initials §12.1.1 (3). The initial is confirmed by PWa which borrowed this word as *kŋ ‘town, village’.

chénɡ₃ 乘 (dziŋ) LH ḏiŋ, OCM *ml-aŋ
‘To mount, ascend, ride, drive’ [Shi].

[<] see also → téng₂ 膺; → shénɡ₆ 贊 is perh. cognate.
chéng - chř

chéng４ 根 (ţeŋ) LH ɖaŋ, OCM *drâŋ
‘Door posts’ [Li], ‘serve as a stay or support to’ [Zhouli].
‘upright beam in house’ (Bodman p. c.).

chéng５ 程 (ďâŋ) LH ɖeŋ, OCM *drouŋ
‘Naked’ [Meng].
‘be bare’ (as a hillside) (Unter Hao-ku 38, 1992: 82). This word could ultimately belong
to → lù₂ 裸, all based on a ST root *ro; see Table L-1 ‘Naked, red’ for an overview
of related and similar etyma. A derivation is → chēng４ 項 ‘red’ (so Karlsgren 1933: 69)
as ‘naked’ is associated with ‘red’.

chéng６ 程 (Ďeŋ, ɖeŋ) LH ɖeŋ, ɖaŋ, OCM *drouŋ
‘Limpid, clear’ [Li].

chéng７ 微懸 (Ďaŋ) LH ɖiŋ, OCM *drouŋ
‘Suppress’ 微 [Yi]; ‘correct with harsh measures, repress’ [Shu], ‘warn’ 懸 [Zuo]. This
word may be connected with → líŋ⁴ 陵冷凌 ‘oppress’.

chéng８ 朋 → tián¹ 田
chéng９ 醒 → díŋ¹ 醒

chř₁ 吃 (kjit) LH ńit?
‘To stutter’ [SW, Hanshu]. — [E] Etymology not clear.

chř₂ 吃 [T] Sin Sukchu SR kî (入), LR tʂîʔ; MGZY khi (入) [kî]
‘To eat’ [Xinhshu 新書, spurious?], has been since the 18th cent. the ordinary Mand.
word for ‘to eat’ [Kângxî zìdiàn, Hông Lóu Mêng] (Sino-Platonic Papers 98, Jan.
2000: 75ff). Phonetically the MC form does not agree with Mand., nor does the alleged
older variant graph → chř₃ 喾. Etymology therefore unknown, perhaps it is the same
word as ‘stutter’ (‘eat one’s sounds’?) (Norman 1988: 76, n. 6).

chř₃ 喾 (k⁴ie[k]) [T] MTang k⁴ie[k], ONW k⁴ek
‘To eat’ 喾 [ONW, Yünpian], said to be a variant graph for chř₂ 吃, etymology
unknown; neither 喾 nor 吃 can be connected with Mand. chř phonetically (Norman
1988: 76, n. 6).

chř₄ 噇 (tʰie) LH tʰai, OCM *rhai
‘Mountain demon’ 噇 [SW], 噇 [Zuo], 蛾 [Lü] occurs in texts only in the compound
chř-mėj 噇魅; chř has been extensively discussed by Carr (LTBA 13.2: 136ff).
[E] ST: WT *drie < xdr̩ie ‘goblin, demon, evil spirit’ * gre-bo / -mo ‘species of demon’;
KL *tis-rai [IST: 23]: Tangkhulu raiH ‘unclean spirit’, Bodo ráj ‘devil’. This is distinct
from WT sri, Lushai hr̩ ‘evil spirit which causes sickness’. Note also PKS *laːl⁴
‘devil, ghost’ which may be a CH loan because of the initial *l-.

chř₅ 噗 → sf₆, chř 噗

chř₆ 蹈 → zhř₉ 蹈

chř₇ 噗 ‘laugh’ → chěn₁, chř 噗
chi - chi

chi₁ 池 (dje) LH əi, OCM *d-lai — [T] Sui-Tang əi < əi, ONW de
‘Pool, pond’ [Shi] is perh. a ST word, note Lushai əi² ‘lake, pond, tank, pool’, or
Lushai ɿ < ɿ ‘deep pool’.

chi₂ 堆 (dje) LH əi, OCM *dri
‘Islet’ 堆 [Shi] is the s. w. as ‘raised path from gate to the wall of a palace’ 堆

chi₃ 聚 (dje-dju) LH əi, OCM *dziro
‘Spittle of a dragon’ [Guoyuj. STC (171 n. 457) relates this word to PTB *
*m-tšril ‘spittle’, but the rimes do not agree.

chi₄ 走 (dʒi, li) LH dzə, OCM *dzrg
‘Walk hesitatingly’, or perh. ‘pacing up and down’ [Shi], Mand. ‘hesitate, waver’.
LE ST: WT ral ‘rent, cleft’ ≠ ral-ba ‘torn’ (clothes) ≠ *draj-ba ‘to rent, tear up,
tear to pieces’ ≠ hral-ba ‘to rent, tear up’ ≠ sgral-ba ‘to cut to pieces’.

chi₅ -chú 走 (dje-dju) LH əi-əi, OCM *drai
‘To cleave wood following fibers’ [Shi).

chi₆ 毘 (təiB) LH əiB, OCM *rai?, *drai?
‘To cleave wood following fibers’ [Shi).

chi₇ 走 (təik) LH əiB, jaiB, OCM *rai?, *lai? — [T] ONW tše, ie
‘To disembowel’ [OB Bingb. 7.1 Period I; Zhuang].

chi₈ 毘 (təiB) LH əiB, OCM *thrak
‘To split, rent’ [Shi], ‘fissure’ [Zhouli] occurs also in Tai: S. hək < *təik ‘to be
[C] This wf may be related to → chi₅, chi 走. For an overview of similar items, see Table
P.1 under → pəi 破. For similar words and possible allofams, see → li₁₀ 爾.

chi₉, chi 修 (təiB, dje) LH təiB, əi, OCM *k-hlai?, *d-lai — [T] ONW tše, de
‘To separate’ [Guoce].

The original graph 多 shows two separate pieces of meat, hence ‘separate’, although the
canonical interpretation of the graph is ‘2 pieces of meat’ = ‘many’. Since 多 occurs already in the earliest OB, but only as a loan for → duō ‘many, all’, the donor word ‘cleave, separate’ must already have existed at the beginning of writing.

chi₁₀ 修 (təiB) LH təiB, əi, OCM *k-hlai?, *d-lai — [T] MTang təi, ONW tše
‘Great’ [Shi], ‘extravagant, overbearing’ 修 [Zuo]; ‘large’ 修 [Shi] (also read QY təja²); ‘enlarge’ 移 [LJ]; ‘be wide, extend’ [Guoyu].

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chī - chł

[β] ST: OBurm kłaι [IST: 342]. WB kyai ‘wide, broad’ ≠ kyaiB ‘wide apart’ ≠ kʰyaiB ~ kʰraiC ‘make wide apart, be diffused’ ≠ kʰyaiC ‘wide, spread out’. HST: 139 relates ‘wide, extend’ to WT gčaI-ba ‘to spread, lay out’. WT čen-ba, čen-po ‘great’ < *te (HST: 88) seems to be a different etymon. Chł may be the s. w. as → chł₁ 抗 to ‘separate’.

Perh. chī 𙂍 (tśʰjäk) LH tśʰak, OCM *k-hlak
‘Spread, grow numerous’ [Zuo] < final -k form of chī 侈移 (tśʰjëk) (§6.1).

shì 弳 (šjeB) LH šaiB, OCM *lhai?
‘To extend’ [Li], ‘spread’ [Shi].

shì 施 (šje) LH šaiB, OCM *lhai?
‘To expand’ [Yi], ‘spread out, expose’ [Guoyu].

[T] Sin S. SR 㝲 (平), PR, LR 仝; MGZY 仆 (平) [s₁]; ONW 仝.

[C] This wv may be part of a larger group, see → L7<Ô0 鴲.

chī₄, yi 胫 → chł₁ 侈

chī₅ 恥 (tśʰB) LH tśʰB, OCM *hræʔ ? , OCB *hræʔ ? — [T] MTang tśʰi, ONW tʰio
‘Shame’ [Shi], ‘disgrace’ [Zuo]. Pulleyblank (1973: 121) relates chī to words meaning ‘shame’ with initial *n- and different rimes, see → xiù 失. Psychologists tend to associate ‘guilt’ with auditory admonition (Eberhard 1967: 12), therefore → 𙂍 耳 ‘ear’ in the graph could possibly play not just a semantic role, but chī may even be cognate to ‘ear’. For the *r in the OC initial, note the *r- prefix in TB words for ‘ear’; MC tʰj- can derive from a complex initial nasal cluster.

chī₆ 齿 (tśʰB) LH tśʰB, OCM *hœʔ or *khisʔ?

[T] Sin Sukchu SR 仝 (平); PR, LR 仝; MGZY 仉 (平) [sʔi]; MTang tśʰi, ONW tʰo

[D] PMin *kʰiB ~ tʰiB

E] The etymology is not clear; chī is not related to WT mčʰe-ba ‘canine tooth’, see → dian, 健 ‘eyetooth’, but may be the same word as PMin *kʰiB ‘tooth’. An AA etymon for ‘tooth’ looks vaguely similar: e.g. Khmer khña ‘tusk, spur’ (Shorto 1971: 85), Mon inscr. gnis > gnith ‘eyetooth, canine’ (AA medial n often disappears in CH).

ch₁₁ 蹤 (tśʰjäk) LH tśʰak, OCM *k-hlak
‘Salty soil’ [Shu] is perh. connected to → xi₄ 酒 (sjäk) [siak] ‘salty soil’ and may belong to → 仫 盐 and → 仝 菱.

ch₁₂ 蹤 → ch₁₃ 侈移

ch₁₃ 赤 (tśʰjäk) LH tśʰak, OCM *k-hlak, OCB *KHjAk — [T] ONW tʰek
‘Red’ [BI, Shi] is from earliest times the basic term for ‘red’ (Baxter JCLTA 1983), rivaled only by → zhù 鱞. The OC initial is suggested by *hl- in the phon. series. <> Tai: S. tʰak(D) ‘red’ may be a pre- or early-Han loan.

[D] PMin *tʰiak

E] Etymology not clear. The phonetic series implies an OC L-like initial, also the graph 赤 writes a word ‘expel’ with incontrovertible OC *]- (→ shé₂ 舍捨). There are no TB comparanda with a close phonological fit; one could cite WT kʰrag ‘blood’ (HST: 123) which is here associated with → hê₄ 赫; or PTB *tsak = *tsak ‘red’ (cognate acc. to STC no. 184; p. 168 n. 452). Lushai čak ‘red’, as well as the TB items under → hê₄ 赫 ‘red’ with which it may possibly be connected.

Perh. the following word may be related; like chǐ₃, it had apparently a complex initial cluster in OC.
chì - chōu

* shí 爽 (śják, xipk) LH šak? or šek? or hík?, OCM *ihak, *hak?
‘Red’ [Shi]. — [D] Amoy tsʰio?

chì4 翳, shí 翳 (sjêC) LH šeC, OCM *iheh? ~ ji 翳 (kjêC 4) LH kie, OCM *ke?
‘Wing’ 翳 [Guoce], 翳 [Zhouli]. Mand, chi has irregular aspiration.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts’l, ši (ʃi), PR ʃl, LR ts’l; MGZY ši (ʃi); MTang ši, kie (?)

[N] Two words for ‘wing’ have been applied to two graphs 翳 and 翳: (1) chì < *iheh. (2) ji < *ke—a semantic extension of → zhì 支肢 ‘limb’ > ‘wing’; MC tone C is prob. an analogy to chi; unpalatalized MC kjêC 4 betrays a southern dialect origin; Mín *kʰek may be related. The graph 翳 must have been intended for *ke (the phonetic is *Iheh, not *Iheh). However, by convention, MC kjêC is an alternate reading for 翳, while both shí 翳 = chi 翳 write original *iheh.

chì5 噪 → lì 力

chì6 睾騷 (tsʰêC) LH kʰiaC or tsʰaC, OCM *khia? ?, OCB *KHia?(s)
‘Cooked sacrificial millet’ [Shi], 睾 [Zhouli]. The phonetic series imply an OC initial *j-, hence the word may be related to WT ‘slightly roasted corn’ (mostly barley or wheat). Baxter a. Sagart (1998: 52) relate chi to → qí 芽.

chônɡ1 沖 (djûŋ) LH dùŋ, OCM *druŋ
‘Be young, weak’ (of a person) [Shu].

[E] ST: WT čʰuŋ-ba ‘small, young’.

chônɡ2 沖 (djûŋ) LH dùŋ, OCM *druŋ
‘Empty’ [Lao] looks similar to WT stŋ-pa ‘empty’.

chônɡ3 春 (sjwôŋ) LH сон, OCM *hôn
‘To hull grain with a pestle’ [Shi], ‘beating stick for beating time in music’ [Zhouli]; ‘to beat’ [Zuo].

[E] KT: S. *kloong ‘hull rice’ (STC: 178 n. 472), Kam-Sui *tyunB, which in turn is perf. ultimately related to AA: Kharia du’rûŋ ‘to pound’ (rice), Munda ruŋ ‘to husk grain’ (in a husking machine). TB forms seem phonetically closer to → chuánɡ2 樓.

chônɡ4 剌 (tsʰwôŋ) LH tshôn, OCM *thôn
‘To pierce’ (a person to kill him) [Guoce]. A syn. and cognate is → dông, 洞.


chông5 衝 → chuánɡ2 樓

chông1 蟲虫 (djûŋ) LH dùŋ, OCM *druŋ?
‘Insect, worm’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjun ( âm), PR dzun; MGZY cûng ( âm) [dzjun]


chông2 蟲 ‘hot’ → rónɡ4 融

chông3 重 → zhònɡ1 重

chông4 捧 → lónɡ1 檕

chòng 捧 → chuánɡ2 樓

chōu1 抽 (tʰjû) LH tʰhu, OCM *t-hiu? — [T] MTang tʰeu < tʰu, ONW tʰu
‘Take out, pull out, remove’ (e.g. draw weapons, remove thorns from a branch) [Shi]. MC tʰjû- is occasionally found in words with OC L-like initial.

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chōu – chóu

[E] ? ST: TB-Chepang klu- ‘pull out’ (hair) ≠ glu- ‘pull out (larger) weeds, cultivate crop’ ≠ blu- ‘remove, root out’. <= Tai: S. t'lu-lok<1> ‘to pull up’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 150) confirms the OC *ht-, even though the Tai final stop is unexplained; note that Tai usually has no medial i to correspond to the CH element (§9.1.3).

Alternatively, the CH word may be connected with the following TB items instead: Chepang hlyut- ‘strip off’ (skin) ≠ hlyu ‘peel off’ (skin) ≠ hlyun ‘undress, peel’; WT šu-ba, (b)šuś ‘to take off’ (clothes), ‘strip off’ (leaves, skin), ‘to skin, pare’ ≠ šun ‘bark, rind, peel, skin’. This item enjoys a wider distribution: Tai-S. lut<1> < *hl- ‘to slip off, come off’; Yao hūl ‘to slip off’.

[D] Min words seem to be connected with this last foreign set: col. Amoy lut<1> (< *hlut?) ‘to slip out of place’ ≠ dtū ‘to be dislocated’ may derive from Tai, see above.

[C] This etymon is close to → tuò 脫.

chōu₂, liáo 瘡 (tshio, lieu) LH t'iu, leu, OCM *riu, *riū ‘To improve, get cured, recover’ [OB, BI, Shi], ‘harm’ [Guoyu] is prob. cognate to → liào3 瘴樂.

chōu₃ 臭 (tshio) LH tšiu, OCM *thu ‘Sound of an ox breathing’ [SW].

[E] ST: The basic meaning of this etymon is ‘breathe in’: WB huik ‘pant, be out of breath’; it is not clear if or how WB hru ‘breathe, draw into the nose, mouth’ ≠ hruik ‘draw into lungs with protracted effort’ are related.

→ chōu 臭 (tshio) LH tšiu, OCM *k-huh ‘Strong smell’ [Shi], ‘foul’ [Shu] > Mand. also ‘stinking, disgusting’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'iw (لغ); MGZY chiu (لغ) [ts'iw]; MTang tšieu < tšiu, ONW tšiu [D] M-Xiāmén lit. ts'iu CI, col. ts'aoc, Fūzhōu tš'au C


[C] An allofam is perh. → chōu₂ 臭.

chōu₁ 怍 → chōu₃ 僮

chōu₂ 症 → sāo₃ 瘡

chōu₃ 僮 (dshio) LH du, OCM *dru (‘Counterpart’: ) ‘mate, companion’ [Shu], (‘equal items’: ) ‘class, category’ [Shu], ‘equal’ [Guiguzi]. Syn. qiu 仇 (gjgu) ‘mate, companion, antagonist’ [Shi].

[E] ST: WT do ‘two, a pair, a couple, an equal, match, companion, mate’ ≠ dod ‘an equivalent’, WB tu ‘be like, similar’ (CVST 2: 14). On the other hand, note PWMiao A ntrau 丈夫 ‘husband, lover’.

→ chōu 臭 (tshio) LH dziu, OCM *du — [T] M-Tang žeu < dzu, ONW dzu (‘To counter’: ) ‘to pay back, reply, opponent, enemy’ [Shi]; ‘pledge with wine a second time’ 酬 [Shi], ‘require’ 賄 [Shu], ‘recompense with gifts’ 酬 [Zuo].

[E] ST: Lushai doH ‘be at enmity with, be hostile’, doH ‘to counter contributions...’; but Lushai ‘be at enmity with’ may equally well belong to → dōu₆ 戰 ‘quarrel’.

→ chún 淚 (zuwen) LH dzuiin, OCM *dun ‘A pair’ [Zuo]

[<] n-nominalization of chōu 臭 *du (§6.4.3)
chóu → zhōu

chóu 初 → zhōu

chóu (dzjou) LH ṭu, OCM *dru
‘Plowed field’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjw (平); MGZY cįw (平) [dzjw]

[E] Manomaivibool (1975: 150–153) discusses the possibility of a connection with Tai: S. t’nakD2 < *d- ‘plowed field’, but phonologically the forms are difficult to reconcile; see also → zhái 宅.

chóu 疆 ‘who’ → shéi, shuf 誰

chóu 1 古 (tjouB) LH ṭuB, OCM *thru? or *rhu?, OCB *hnrju?
Cyclical sign for ‘ox’ [OB].

The meaning ‘ox’ has been obsolete since the beginning of writing, but → lão 卐 ‘calf’ may belong to the same root. For the *l > *r shift, see §7.3. 古 is the original graph for ‘claw, finger’ → niú 牛.

chóu 2 魚 (tsjajouB) LH t săuB, OCM *k-hu??
‘Ugly, evil’ [Shi] > ‘to hate’ [Zuo]. Acc. to Lau (1999: 53), this word is cognate to chóu 臭 ‘foul’ (under → chóu 臭), also in its meaning ‘multitude (of enemies)’ [Shi] (then originally ‘the disgusting ones’) > ‘category, class’ [Li] > ‘of the same kind’ [Meng].

※ xiū (xjouB) LH huB, OCM *hu??
‘To rot, decay’ [Shi] > Mand. also ‘aged, senile’.

chóu 臭 → chóu 臭

chū 出 (tshjue) LH tshuit, OCM *k-hluts?
‘To come out’ (of a place) [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tʃ'j (入); MGZY chǚ (入) [tʃ'y]; MTang tšur < tshuir, ONW tšui

[D] PMin *tshuit > Xiāmén ts'huDI


※ chū, chui 出 (tshwiC) LH tšuis, OCM *k-hluts
‘To bring out, send out, take out’ [Shi].

※ chū 初 (tʃjue) LH tʃu, OCM *r-hluts?
‘To expel, degrade, expurgate’ [Shu].

[D] M-Xiāmén lit. tутDI, col. lutDI

※ r-caus. of chū 出 (§7.5) (Pulleyblank 1973: 118).

[C] Perh. → chūn 春 ‘spring’ is related.

chū 2 出 (tʃjue) LH tšu
‘Nephew, sister’s son’ [EY] is related to PTB *tu ~ *du ‘nephew’ (STC: 158). A word with initial *t- could prob. be written in late Zhou with a graph with an earlier cluster *kl- (→ chų 3). Sagart 1999: 167 derives this word from → chū 出 ‘come out’ in the sense of ‘be born’ which would be parallel to → sheng3 孕 ‘nephew’.

chū 3 初 (tʃjwo) LH tša, OCM *tšra
‘Be first, begin, beginning’ [BI, Shi].

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chú – chū

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'u (平); MGZY chu (平) [ts' u ]; M Tang ts' ŭ , ONW ts' ŭ o < ts' ŭ o
[D] M-Xiàmén lit. ts' ŭ A1 , col. ts' ŭ e A1

**chuáng** 功 (tsh'ān C) LH ts' ŭ a n C ; OCM *tshraŋh — [T] ONW ts' ŭ a n
‘To start work’ [Shi], ‘commence, create’ [Lunyu] (Pulleyblank 1962: 233).

[<] terminative of chu 1 chū *tshra (§6.5.1).

chú 1 宁 → zhú 1 , chū 宁

chú 2 除 (džwo) LH ḍa , OCM *d-la
‘To remove, clear out’ tr. [Zuo, Hanshu].

[T] Sin S. SR dzy (平); MGZY cū (平) [dzy ]; M Tang ḍ y < ḍ o ; ONW ḍ o < dio (?)
[D] M-Xiàmén lit. du A2
[<] r-caus. of shū 抟 (džwo B) (§7.5).

**zhū** 除 (džwo C) LH ḍ o C , OCM *d-lah
‘To be removed, pass away’ [Shi].

[<] exopass. of chū 除 (džwo) (§4.4).

**shū** 抟 (džwo B) LH ḍ o B , OCM *m-la?
‘To eliminate’ [Zuo].

[<] Perh. an area etymon, but the initials do not agree (OC *l- vs. foreign *d-); TB-WT
‘dag-pa ‘clear away, remove’ (HST: 124). <> AA: Khmer ṭa k a /dɔak/ ‘to pull or wrench
out, uproot’ ≠ ṭa t a k a /rdaok/ ‘be pulled or torn out... removed’. Alternatively, cognition
with WB ḍ r a ʰ ‘remove out of the way’ is phonologically also possible. The AA forms
may be closer to OC because of the r-affix and the loss of final consonant after long vowel
(§6.9). A derivation with t-suffix may be → chè 2 微撤 ‘remove’, but that is doubtful.

chú 3 鰞鰷 (džwo) LH ḍ o , OCM *dzra (鰷 also MC džwo C)
‘A hoe’ 鰣 [Chuci]; ‘to hoe together, cooperate in cultivating public land’ 鰣 [Zhouli].

[D] ‘Hoe’: W-Kāihuá za C2 ; M-Xiàmén ti A1 , Cháozhōu tuw A1 , Fǔzhōu t ŭ y C2 , Jiān’ ōu
t ŭ y C2 (the stop initials does not agree with the QYS; a similar case is → shāi , sh ŭ 鰤).

[<] Perh. MK: OKhmer /craś/ ‘to scrape / brush against’ ≠ caprāś ‘to rake, hoe’ ≠
ra’sa /roaḥ/ ‘to rake, hoe, harrow’. For loss of foreign final consonant, see §6.9.

[C] → zhū 12 助 is almost certainly a semantic generalization of 鰷 (GSR 460').

chú 4 鰐 (tš̥ju) LH tš̥ ŭ o , OCM *tshro — [T] ONW tš̥ ŭ o
‘Hay’ (for fodder or fuel) [OB, BI, Shi], ‘grass cutter’ [OB, Shi]; ‘to cut’ tr. (grass,
firwood) [Lūshì chunqu, SW, Mand.]; factitive: ‘to feed hay to’ [Lūshì chunqu].

[<] AA: PMon *ksɔy ‘useless fiber, hay’, Mon *chuè ‘grass, weed, hay’, PWa *soh
‘cut grass’. For the absence of final *-y in CH see §6.9.

[C] Allofams → zōu 2 鰐 ‘groom’; → cuo 2 撕 ‘hay’.

chú 5 雉 (džju) LH tš̥ ŭ o , OCM *dzro — [T] ONW tš̥ ŭ o
‘Chicken, young of animals’ [Liji]. — Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzu (平); MGZY cu (平) [dzu]

chú 6 隈 → chū 1 -chú 踐踦

chú 7 儒 → zhū 6 豒

chú 1 枾 (tš̥ju B) LH tš̥ ŭ B , OCM *tha? ?
‘Pestle’ [Yi].

[D] CDC chu B1 ; M-Xiàmén (lit.) tš̥ ŭ B1
[<] Etymology not clear. The right part in the graph, if phonetic, may indicate a
complex OC initial with an *η-like element. The word is reminiscent of MK-PMonic
*gnrī?, Nyah-Kur ղղ ‘pestle’ (for the vowels, see §11.1.3).
**chū**

chū₂ 楮 (tʃʰjwoʰ) LH tʃʰɑ*, OCM *tʃhra?
‘Thorny bush / tree’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tʃ’u (tʃ’u); MGZY chu (tʃ’u); CDC chu[bl]; ONW tʃʰo > tʃ’o
[E] AA: PMonic *ʃrəa? ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’ (added to names of thorny plants),
Khmu’ /tʃrala?/, Semai /ʃrala?/ [Diffoth 1984: 80]. The complex AA initial needed of
course to be simplified in CH, apparently by elimination of the medial ʃ.

Comment on the table: The distribution of meanings over the different stems appears random, yet many
stems tend (!) to have a semantic focus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>knock against</th>
<th>*tuk/ŋ, *to</th>
<th>*tuk, *tu</th>
<th>*trok, *truk/ŋ</th>
<th>*ts(j)- or *tj-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chu 触 *tɒk</td>
<td>WT tuik strike against</td>
<td>WP rduq-pa</td>
<td>LB tʃroma strike against</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT tʰoɡ-pa</td>
<td>*tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>*tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>*tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush. tʃokH</td>
<td>push</td>
<td>push</td>
<td>push</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knock against</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush. tʃokH</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir tɔko</td>
<td>dào 道 *tʊ?</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to strike</td>
<td>push, pound</td>
<td>push, pound</td>
<td>push, pound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush. tʃokH</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir tɔko</td>
<td>dào 道 *tʊ?</td>
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<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
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</tr>
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<td>to strike</td>
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<td>push, pound</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush. tʃokH</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhul 竹</td>
<td>*tʃuk</td>
<td>*tʃuk</td>
<td>*tʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cut, hack</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir tɔko</td>
<td>dào 道 *tʊ?</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to strike</td>
<td>push, pound</td>
<td>push, pound</td>
<td>push, pound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush. tʃokH</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhul 竹</td>
<td>*tʃuk</td>
<td>*tʃuk</td>
<td>*tʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cut, hack</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir tɔko</td>
<td>dào 道 *tʊ?</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to strike</td>
<td>push, pound</td>
<td>push, pound</td>
<td>push, pound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush. tʃokH</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhul 竹</td>
<td>*tʃuk</td>
<td>*tʃuk</td>
<td>*tʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cut, hack</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td>WT tʃtʃuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lushai 萨 /ˈtʃuH /ˈtʃuH / to strike (with rod), pound, stamp
Mikir chok beat
Lushai 萨 /ˈtʃuH /ˈtʃuH / to strike (with rod), pound, stamp
Mikir chok beat
Lushai 萨 /ˈtʃuH /ˈtʃuH / to strike (with rod), pound, stamp
Mikir chok beat
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 at 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 probably contributed to the transfer of meaning from one stem to another. These sound-symbolic items are also found in other language families, e.g. AA-Khmer /dok/ 'to beat, pound'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \text{chư 3} )</th>
<th>( \text{tʃʰjwɔ} )</th>
<th>( \text{LH tʃʰu} ), ( \text{OCM *k-hla} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To stay, keep still, dwell' [Bl, Shi].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{xe \ chư 4} )</td>
<td>( \text{tʃʰjwɔ} )</td>
<td>( \text{LH tʃʰu}, \text{OCM *k-hlah} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'A place'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{[T]} & \quad \text{Sin S. SR tʃ'y (去); MGZY chŷu (去) [tʃ'y]; ONW tʃʰo < tʃʰo} \\
\text{[E]} & \quad \text{ST: TB: WT gda'-ba 'to be, be there' (locative vb.) \( \neq \) WT gdan 'seat': 'a bolster, a place of residence, situation, rank', Mikir kedo 'to dwell'; with the original l-initial in TGTM *gla^J/B 'place' (Mazaudon 1996 LTBA 19.1: 107); Lushai tla^H / tlat^L 'to be, exist, live, remain'; Pwo Karen (Kyonbyaw) lăn 'place' (Kato A. 1995 LTBA 18.1: 68).}
\end{align*} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \text{ chu 1} )</th>
<th>( \text{tʃʰjwɔk} )</th>
<th>( \text{LH tʃʰok}, \text{OCM *thok} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'To butt' [Yi], 'knock against' [Zuo].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ chu 2} )</td>
<td>( \text{tʃʰjwok} )</td>
<td>( \text{LH tʃʰok}, \text{OCM *thuk} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Bend' [Xun]. The word belongs to a root *tru from which is also derived → zhòu, wrist, elbow'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ chu 3} )</td>
<td>( \text{tʃʰjuk} )</td>
<td>( \text{LH tʃʰuk}, \text{OCM *rhuk} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'To rear, to nourish, cherish' (animals) (also huk [Shi]) ( \neq ) 'support' [Shi].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ chu 4} )</td>
<td>( \text{tʃʰjuk} )</td>
<td>( \text{LH tʃʰuk}, \text{OCM *rhuk} )</td>
</tr>
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<td>'To rear, to nourish, cherish' (animals) (also huk [Shi]) ( \neq ) 'support' [Shi].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{[T]} & \quad \text{Sin Sukchu SR tʃ'y (.MM), PR ts'yu; MTang tʃ'uk, ONW tʃ'uk} \\
\text{[E]} & \quad \text{ST: P'TB *hu 'rear, raise, nourish': PLB *hu, Abar-Miri u, Qiang (Mawo) hu [HPTB: 58]. Perh. related to → hão 好. Alternative affiliation: ST: JP kru<sub>55</sub> < kru<sub>55</sub> 'to sprout', khrug<sup>33</sup> 'be alive', WT *k'hrug-ba 'be born, come up, to sprout' (HPTB: 285). See Table C-2 for synonyms.}
\end{align*} \]

Zhengzhang relates WT lug 'sheep' to this word (Sagart 1999: 195), this would be parallel to → yáng 羊 'sheep'? * yāng 養 'raise'; however, WT lug is prob. related to → dūu 殃.

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Table C-2 ‘Birth, sprout, nourish’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*lu(?)</th>
<th>*(r)ok / -ŋ</th>
<th>*kuk</th>
<th>*(r)nuŋ / -k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>yù 育 *luk give birth, nourish</td>
<td>yù 育 *lok nourish</td>
<td>jú 饲 *kuk suckle, nourish</td>
<td>chù 喂 *(r)huŋ rear, nourish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>(? srog life)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1'knuŋ-ba be born, come up, sprout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>lu31 give birth</td>
<td>kroŋ55 &lt; kroŋ55 to hatch</td>
<td>kuŋ55 &lt; kuk55 to sprout</td>
<td>kruŋ55 &lt; kruŋ55 to sprout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>kyoŋB feed / tend cattle</td>
<td>a-kuik sprout from a seed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C-2 shows a web of stems (§2.5) which have blended into each other, stems with / without medial -r- and perh. also -l-, and with the vowels *o ~ *u. ST *lu(?) is unrelated to the other stems, unless we assume an OC *k-1-cluster in yù etc. Most of the CH stems have eventually converged in the meaning ‘nourish’, except that yù ‘nourish’ is perh. a semantic extension of the homophonous but unrelated etymon yù ‘cereal’. The voiceless initial in CH chù is prob. due to a pre-initial.

chūn₁ (tʂʰjwán) LH tʂʰuan, OCM *k-hlun
‘River’ [Bl, Shi].

[EN] Area word: PTB *kluŋ (STC no. 127) > WT kluŋ ‘river’; Kachin kruŋ ‘valley, dale’, OBurn. kʰlʊŋ [IST: 353], WB kʰjʊŋ ‘stream’; perh. also Lushai luangH / luangL < luan / luanh (< luangs) ‘to flow’ (water, river) (so Unger Hao-ku 50, 1995: 156). This etymon may ultimately be connected with -> jiānlú (*kruŋ ~ *kluŋ?). Like OC, MK-PWa has both forms for ‘river’: *kluŋ ‘river’ and *kruŋ ‘large river, sea’. STC (p. 131f, n. 129) suggests that the WT root may be separate from the AA one, and considers it to be a variant of shuí 水 ‘water, river’. <-> Tai: S. kʰlʊŋA² ‘canal’ is unrelated, see -> tāng1 唐.

chūn₂ 穿(tʂʰjwán) LH tʂʰuan, OCM *thon
‘To bore through’ [Shi].

[T] Sin S. SR tʂyen (平); MGZY chwyán (平) [tʂyen]; ONW tʂʰuan
[EN] ST: WT rtol-ba ‘to bore, pierce, perforate’.

duān 端 (tuān) LH tuan, OCM *tön — [T] ONW tuan
‘Tip, end, point’ 端 [Zhouli], 端 [Li]; ‘beginning, first, symptom’ 端 [Meng]; ‘to bore’ 端 [Fangyan].

[EN] ST: WT rtol-ba, brtol ‘to come out, break out, sprout’ (HST: 117).

chūn₁ 船 (dʒjwán) LH ṭzuan, OCM *m-lon
‘Boat’ [Mo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzyan (平); MGZY cwýan (平) [dzyan]
[D] PMin *dʒiun ~ *dʒion

[N] The word appears in texts later than -> zhōu1 舟 and seems to replace it by Han times (Huang Jingui, Shen Xi-rong YYWX 1987.8: 41-44). FY says that (ST) chūn is the word for ‘boat’ in western China, and (AA) zhōu and hāng are the words common in central and eastern China. PMin *dʒ- suggests a prenasalized initial. Graphic variants are written with 工 or 公 which are, however, not phonetic, i.e. a word like GY xiāng is spurious (Huang Jin-gui, Shen Xi-rong). There are more words which have a final -n in CH, but -ŋ in TB and other languages (§6.4.2).
*m-lolj (HPTB: 294) > WB loli ‘canoe, long boat’, also WB hlui ‘excavate, a niche’;
Lushai loul ‘boat’ ≠ loul ‘to take out the heart’ (of a tree), S. Khami mlauj, N. Khami
plauj, Kyaw mlaun. OC agrees closely with the Kuki-Chin forms *mlon; Mikir telon. <>

PMK *lu(u) – *1(u) ‘to hollow out’ (Shorto 1972: 15) > OM Mon dlu(1) ‘boat’
‘canoe, long boat’, also WB hlui ‘excavate, a niche’; Mon dlu(1) ‘to hollow out’,
Bahn.-Sre (daa) tOlun ‘to hollow out’ (Shorto 1971: 31), PSBahn. *plon
‘canoe’, PWa *b1on ‘coffin’, Lawa u l0un ‘boat’, Viet. trawn, PSBahn. *plon
PWa *b1on ‘coffin’, Lawa u l0un ‘boat’, Viet. traw, PSBahn. *plon
‘canoe’; related to this root
are apparently words for ‘inside’ (from ‘hollowed out’): PVM *k-lon ‘inside’ [Ferlus] >
SViet. truan, PSBahn. *plon ‘canoe’, PWa *b1on ‘coffin’.

Related to this root
are apparently words for ‘inside’ (from ‘hollowed out’): PVM *k-lon ‘inside’ [Ferlus] >
SViet. truan, PSBahn. *plon ‘canoe’, PWa *b1on ‘coffin’.

A semantic parallel (and cognate?) is
-t yu ‘scoop out, make hollow,

chuan 2 傳 → zhuān1 轉
chuan2 床 (dżanl) LH dżan, OCM *dżan — [T] ONW dżan (?)
‘Bed’ [Shi]. Perh. cognate to AA-Khmer /rao/ ‘to hold upright, support from below’,
and/or OM Mon joa/ ‘couch, bed’ (a CH loan?). For the initials, see §7.1.5.

chuan2 撞 (dąn) LH ċn, OCM *dąn
‘To strike’ [Li].

-x chun, ching 捲 (dąńc) LH ċń, OCM *dńh
‘To strike’ [Li]. Unger (Hao-ku 20, 1983, 169) draws attention to the possible
morphological parallel with WT where brduŋs is the pf. to rdun (pres.) above.

[T] Sin S. SR tšan (去), PR, LR tšan; MGZY cwan (去) [dzwan]  
-x chung 衝 (tšuń) LH tšoon, OCM *thom
‘Assault engine, knocker’ [Shi].

[E] ST: WT rdun-ba, brduŋs ‘to beat, hammer, break to pieces, thrash, pound’;
WB tšoon ‘pound’ (vb?); JP tšoom ‘kick’ (HST: 40).
This group is not related to → chung3 营 *thom. For ST cognate and/or parallel stems
see Table C-I under → chū 触.

chuan 創 → chū3 初

chuf1 吹 (tšiwe) LH tšuáui, OCM *thoi or *k-hoi?
‘To blow, play a wind instrument’ tr. 吹 [Shi]: ‘to blow’ (into a stove to get the fire
going) > ‘to heat, cook’ 炊 [Gongyangzhuan], ‘to steam’ (rice) 炊 [Jinshu 晉書].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšuaj (平); MGZY chuc (平) [tʃue]; ONW tšue  
-x chui 吹 (tšiwec) LH tšuáić, OCM *thoi or *k-hoi?
‘Musical concert’ [Liji].

[E] Perh. shared with AA: Khmer khloy n. ‘flute’. CH aspiration is associated with
exhaling §S.8.5.

chuf2 被 → shuai 袭

chuf1 垂 (źwie) LH dźuáui, OCM *doi < *djo<
‘To droop’ (as wings of a bird; reins) [BL, Shi], ‘sag, hang down’ (as clouds from
the sky) [Zhuang], ‘let hang down’ (sashes etc.) [Shi].
chuí – chŭn

= Perh. chuí 陲 (so Wáng Lì 1982: 440).

(‘Drooping = ?’ ‘far end’ (of a place): (of a hall) [Shi], ‘border, frontier’ [Zuo].

* xuí 嵐 (dùi[C]) LH 亅ai(C), OCM *droih
‘Press down, crush’ [Lù].


ST and area etymon. ST *(d)jol?: PTB *dzywal (STC no. 242) > WT ‘jol-gr ‘to hang
down, dangle’ (cow’s udder; tail etc.) x gžol-gr ‘train, trail, retinue’ (including: as in
robe with a train etc.) (Pulleyblank 1962: 215), g-yol ‘curtain’; Lushai fual ‘sag, hang low
(e.g. coat). <> AA: Khmer yoJa /jool/ ‘to hang, swing, dangle’, -yaJa I-jfidl/ ‘to hang
down’, also yara Ijfidrl ‘to hang down, dangle ... ’. MK —> Tai: S. yoy5 ‘to hang down’
(McFarland: 668), PTai *h::li ‘to hang down, suspend’.

Alternative affiliation: WT g-yur-gr ‘to droop, hang or sink down’ (Bodman 1980: 80).

[<] Perh. related to — shuí I §m, — duo 2 *, — rur ~:g.~.

chuí 亅 (dzjuen) LH 亅uin, OCM *droi(h)?
‘Pot, jar’ [Lie]. Perhaps related is the ancient Chángshā dialect word for ‘pot, jar’ duò
亅 (duôB) [GY]. — [E] ST: WT yol-go, yol-ma ‘earthenware, crockery’.

chún 春 (t̕h̕u) LH t̕uín, OCM *tun — or:
~ tún 吟 (duan) LH duán, OCM *dûn
‘To begin to grow’ (of plants in spring) 吟 [Yijing], 吟 [Fayán].

[<] Cf. MK-Khmer Idolith ‘to grow, sprout’; or — chuan 2 .

chún2 無 (dzjuen) LH zuiin, OCM *m-dûn?
‘Lip’ [Zuo] > ‘banks’ (of a river) 瀞 [Shi]; the basic meaning was apparently ‘edge, rim’
(Wáng Lì 1982: 517).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zyn (平), PR dzyn; MGZY c̕y̕n (平) [dzyn]

[<] Etymology not clear. The most likely cognate is TB-Lepcha a-duł ‘lips, edge of a
vessel’ (Geilich 1994: 272). Mikir ihtû < mtû ‘lip’ is perf. a loan from MK-Khasi:
jütu ‘mouth’. STC (158 n. 428) associates chún with WT mčhú ‘lip, beak of birds’
(but see under — zhû, 鷑). HST: 39 connects WT with zhòu 啄啄 ‘beak’ (→ zhû, 鷑).

chún2 淳 (t̕ju) LH dzuín, OCM *dun

* zhún 淳 (t̕ju) LH tsúin, OCM *tun
‘To moisten’ [Zhouli], ‘moist, fat’ [Li].

chún3 淳 ‘a pair’ — chóu3 偶

chún4 醺 — dûn1 敦悖

chún 憇意 (t̕h̕u) LH ts̕uín, OCM *thun?
‘Be wriggling, moving, swarming’ (of insects > people) 憇 [Shi] > ‘agitated’ 憇 [SW:
Zuo]. Boltz (JAOS 99.3, 1979: 436) relates — chún 春 ‘spring’ to this wf.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts̕yn (上); MGZY (幡) ch̕y̕n (上) [ts̕yn]; OWN ts̕uín

* dûn 餳 (tuon) LH tuon, OCM *tûn
‘Be agitated, anxious’ [Zhuang].

* tûn 窜 (duan) LH duán, OCM *dûn
‘Be sorrowful, anxious’ [Chuci].
chuo 捕 (tsh̆'aŋ) LH tsh̆'ok, OCM *tshr̥ök
‘To spear’ (fish) [Zhuang].

[E] AA: Khmer cūkə /còok/ ‘lift with tool...’ ≠ cpūka /cbūk/ (archaic:) ‘trident for lifting fish’, perh. also PWa *cŏk ‘to catch’ (fish by hand). For the CH retroflex initial, see §5.10.3. Synonyms / variants are → cē 疇, → zē 疢.

chü1 連 ‘distant’ → zhuō 疋

chü2 捕歴 (tsh̆'jwält) LH tsh̆uat, OCM *thot ?
‘To taste, eat’ [Li], ‘to drink’ [Li].

[D] This is the word for ‘to drink’ in some southern dialects: 嗝 K-Méixiàn tsh̆'aŋ, M-Fúzhōu tsh̆'aoʔ43, Jiān’ōu tsʰ'ye34, Xiàmén tsʰ'øʔ32.

[E] The TB words under ≠ thot may possibly belong here.

cī 奇 (tsʰje) LH tsh̆'ie, OCM *tshe
‘Female’ of birds, game [Shi], in modern dialects also of other animals, e.g., Wú-Sūzhōu tsʰ'aŋ44, niy24/21 雉牛 ‘cow’; opposite xiōng 雄 ‘male’. — Etymology not clear.

cí1 茨 (dzi) LH dzi, OCM *dzai or *dzi
‘To pile up, thatch’ [Shi]. CVST (4: 6) relates this word to Lushai čiʔL ‘to thatch, put on a roof’.

cí2 衮 (dzje, tsh̆'je) LH dzie, tsh̆'ie, OCM *dze, *tshe
‘Small intestines’ [GY].

[E] <> PTai *saiC1 ‘intestines’ (Luo 2000: 86f). This word is distinct from → zì 齊.

cí3 慈 → zìC1 子

cí4 畿 → zìC5 書

cí5 辭詞 (zi) LH zió, OCM *s-lọ — [T] Sin S. SR zï (平), LR zï; MGZY z̄i (平) [zi]
‘Word, speech, excuse, pleading’ 辭 [BI, SW, Shu], ‘word, expression’ 詞 [Hanfei].

[E] ST *s-lọ: WT zla-ba, zlas ‘to say, tell, express’ (CVST 3: 1). The similarity with Mand. [tsʰi:], and Karlgen’s OC *-g, have led to the erroneous identification with WT tsʰig ‘word’.

cī1 此 (tsʰjeB) LH tsʰieB, OCM *tshe?
‘This (here)’ [Shi] is an independent pronoun (§3.3.3) (Pulleyblank 1995: 86). The phonetic series of cī is inconclusive concerning the OC rime, Karlgen assumes *-ar (i.e., OCM *-ai), but cognition with sī (next) suggests OC final *-e.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰi (上); MGZY tsh̆’i (上) [tsʰi]; ONW tsʰ’e

※ sf 斯 (sje) LH sie, OCM *se
‘This’ [Shi, but especially Lúnyǔ and Liǐ: Tāngōng where sī replaces the usual cī] (Pulleyblank 1995: 88).

cī2 肖 → jī15 踩

cī1 次序 (tsʰ'C) LH tsʰiC or tsʰis, OCM *tshis/h < *s-nhis?
‘Be second, next following’ [Shi], ‘to arrange in order, order, sequel’ 次 [Zuo]; ‘well arranged, convenient’ 次 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰi (去); MGZY tsh̆’i (去) [tsʰi]; ONW tsʰi

※ sf 斯 (sje) LH sie, OCM *se
‘This’ [Shi, but especially Lúnyǔ and Liǐ: Tāngōng where sī replaces the usual cī] (Pulleyblank 1995: 88).

cī2 烙 → jī15 踹

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cì – cuàn

cì_2 束 (tsʰjeC) LH tsʰieC, OCM *tshhek
‘Thorn’ [SW].

[C] This late (i.e. Han period) word is derived from cì 刺 [tsʰieC] by the general derivation tone C (§3.5).

* cì 刺 (tsʰjeC, tsʰják) LH tsʰieC, OCM *tshhek
‘To criticize’ [Shi], ‘attack, satirize’ [Zuo]; ‘to kill’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts’1 (去); MGZY tshʰi (去) [tsʰj]

[C] exopass. / exoact. derivation of cì 刺 (tsʰják) (§4.3-4), lit. ‘cause to be stabbed’. Downer (1959: 284) reserves the tone D form LH tshiek for the meaning ‘stab’.

* cì 刺 (tsʰják) LH tsʰieC, tsʰieC, OCM *tshhek(h)
‘Pierce, stab’ [Meng].

cì_3 赤 ‘expel’ → yi₁₃₅ 纇

‘To give, to present with’ [BI, Shi], ‘bring’ (tribute) 錫; ‘be given, be presented with’ 賜 [Lunyu]. Xi 錫 is simply a loan graph for cì (Qiu Xigui 2000: 399f).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR s₁ (去); MGZY šʰi (去) [s₁]

[C] This word could be a final *-k form (§6.1) of → shi₁ 施 ‘give’. Sagart (1999: 71) relates this word to yi 易 ‘change’ (under → yi₁₈ 移), hence lit. ‘exchange’.

cōng 葱 (tsʰun) LH tsʰoŋ, OCM *tshǒŋ
‘Onion’ [BI, Shi].

[E] ST: WT tsʰer-ma ‘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 jäerl ‘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 cāk /cak/ ‘to pierce, stab, prick’ (or CH loan?).

cōng₁ 從 (dzjwɔŋ) LH dzioŋ, OCM *dzɔŋ
‘Go along with, follow’ [OB, BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjúŋ (平); PR, LR dzun; MGZY ts’jung (平) [dzjùŋ]; ONW dzuon

* zōng 從 (dzjwɔŋ) LH dzioŋ, OCM *dzɔŋ
‘Follower’ [Shi 104]; zōng mù ‘mother’s sisters’ [Liji], zōng dì ‘cousins’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 290).

[C] LOC general derivation (§3.5).

[E] Etymology not certain. Perh. related to WT rdzɔŋ-ba, (b)rdzating(s) ‘to send, expedite, dismiss’ ≠ rdzɔŋ(s) ‘act of accompanying, escorting’. Tib. a usually does not correspond to a Chinese back vowel. An alternative association could be with WT stong-pa ‘to accompany’; or perh. with → sòng₁ 送 (sunC) ‘to escort, follow after, go along’.

cōng 叢 → jù₇ 聚

cōu-mǎ 趯馬 → zōu 騎

cú 徇祖 → zǔ 祖

cù 促 → sù₆ 速

cuàn 纯 → chāo₂ 削勻

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cui - cuō

cui₁ 崖 (dzuǎi) LH dzuāi, OCM *dzūi, OCB *dzu (≠ *Sdu)?
‘Be craggy, craggy height’ cui-cui 崖亁 [Shi 101, 1], cui-wēi 崖壓 [Shi 201, 3]. Acc.
to Baxter (1992: 231) cui is perh. related to:

※ dūi 溱 (dūiB) LH duśiB, OCM *dūi, OCB *duj?
‘High, precipitous’ [SW].

※ cui 溱 (tsʰuǎiB) LH tsʰuǎiB, OCM *tshūi?
‘Deep’ (of an abyss) [Shi 197, 4].

cui₂ 催 → tuī 推

cui₃ 推 → tuī 推; → cuō₂ 厺

cui 溴 → cui₁ 崎

cui₁ 溴 (tsʰuǎiC) LH tsʰuǎos, OCM *tsʰušts
‘To dip into a fluid’ 溴 [Guoce]. ‘plunge’ (a red-hot sword blade into water to harden
it) [Han shu], ‘to dye’ [Yili], person getting ‘soaked’ by dew [Huainan].

※ cui 翠 (tsʰuǐC) LH tsʰuǐs, OCM *tsʰušts
‘Kingfisher’ [Zuo] praised for its brilliant turquoise feathers. The bird is noted for
diving into water to seize a fish.

[C] → zui₁ 醉 belongs perh. to the same root.

cui₂ 醉 → zui₁ 醉

cui₃ 翠 → zǎo₂ 遭

cui₄ 翠 → cui 溴

cui₅ 着悴 → zú₁, 卒

cui₆, chuī 窠 → chā₃ localctx

cún 存 (dzuan) LH dzān !, OCM *dzān, OCB *dzān (1992: 431) — [T] ONW dzon
‘Be among, exist’ [Shi] < ‘be in there’, is possibly a demonstrative *-n derivation from

cūn 応 → cūn 寸

cūn 寸 (tsʰuǎnC) LH tsʰuǎnC, OCM *tshuns
‘Thumb’ [Gongyang], ‘inch’ [Meng].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts’un (去); MGZY tshun (去) [ts’un]; ONW tsʰon

<] general derivation (noun) of cūn 応 (§3.5).

※ cūn 応 (tsʰuǎnB) LH tsʰuǎnB, OCM *tshūn?
‘To measure, consider’ [Shi].

cuō₁ 攙 (tsʰāi) LH tsʰāi, OCM *tshāi
‘To rub, polish’ [Shi] (e.g. ivory). A derivation is → cuō₃ 錯厝 ‘grindstone’.

[E] AA: Khmer /cnaj/ ‘to cut’ (gems), ‘to polish’. And / or related to Lushai cʰaiR

cuō₂ 攙 (tsʰuät) LH tsʰuot, OCM *tshōt
‘To pinch with the fingers, a pinch full’ [Li].

[E] ST: PLB *tswat ※ caus. *?tswat ‘to pluck’ (as a fowl, stringed instrument): WB
cʰwat [Matisoff TSR: 39].

cuō₃, chū 齦 (tsʰā, dzā) ‘uneven teeth’ [SW] is related to → chā₂ 差 ‘divergent’.
cuó 酤 (dzâ) LH dzâi, OCM *dzâi
‘Salt’ [Li]
[E] ST: PTB *tsa (STC no. 214) > WT tsʰwa (i.e. tsʰa) ‘salt’, Kanauri tsa; PL *(t)sa², WB cʰa² (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.

cuō₁ 畔 → suō₂ 瑽

cuō₂ 瑽 (tsʰuâC, tsuâC) LH tsʰueïC, OCM *tshôih
‘Hay’ [Wú-Yuè chūnqiū], ‘cut hay’ tr. [SW, Shiji]; factitive: ‘to feed hay to’ (horses) 擺 [Shijing].
[E] AA: PMon *ks:qy ‘useless fibre, hay’, Mon *chue ‘grass, weed, hay’, PWa *səh ‘cut grass’ (for the initials, see §5.9.1). This is the same etymon as → chu₄ 趾 ‘hay’ which had entered OC very early (Shang dynasty OB), while cuó is a later variant.

huō₁ 鵵 → cuō₂ 萬

huō₂ 萬 (tsʰâk) LH tsʰâk, OCM *tshâk — [T] ONW tsʰâk
‘Whetstone, grindstone’ 鵵 [Shi]. 帛 [SW] is a k-extension (§6.1.1) of → cuō₁ 瑽 ‘rub, polish’.

huō₃ 鵵 (tsʰâk) LH tsʰâk, OCM *tshâk
‘Crossing, mixed, ornate’ [Shi], ‘alternating’ [Li].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts’aw (入), LR ts’awʔ; MGZY tshaw (入) [ts’aw]; ONW tsʰâk

huō₂ 鵵 (tsʰâk) LH tsʰâk, OCM *tshâk
‘To present and drink a cup in response to the pledge cup’ [Shi] (醋 [Yili]), ‘a matching libation’ [Shu], ‘to reward’ [Shi].

huō₃ 鵵 (tsʰâk) LH tsʰâk, OCM *tshâk
‘To reward, sacrificial meat and wine’ [Zuo] > ‘to give prosperity’ > ‘confer a fief’ 胙 [Guoyu] > ‘blessings’ 祚 [Shi].
[E] ST: Chepang caʔ - ‘be mixed’ (colors, kinds).
[C] An allofam is → jieʔ 借 ‘to borrow, lend’. Since SW glosses → chā₁ 腳 as ‘crossing hands’, these wfs may be related.

huō₄ 鵵 (tsʰâk) LH tsʰâk
‘Mistake’ [Baopuzi].
[E] Etymology not certain. Perh. the s. w. as → cuō₁ 畔, hence lit. ‘a mix-up’. Alternatively, note perh. AA: Khmer khcoh /kcaoh/ ‘have a flaw, be defective, be wrong, mistaken, in error...’ ※ Okhmer /cak/ ‘pierce, stab...’.

huō₅ 鵵 → zuō₃ 作

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dá₁ 耳 → zhé₁ 耳

dá₂ 搭 (tâp) LH top, OCM *tâp

dá₃ 搭 (tâp) LH top, OCM *tâp

dá₁ 達 (dât) LH dot, OCM *dât
‘To break through, come out, sprout, prosper, reach to, be born’ [OB, BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR da (ŋ); ONW dot
[E] ST: PLB *dat ‘alive, to be’ (Matisoff 1972: 30); Lushai dɔŋ / dɔŋ ‘to pierce, stick in, sprout up’. Perh. also connected to MK-Mon das ‘be, become’.

dá₂ 答 (tâp) LH tap, OCM *tâp < *tûp
‘To respond’ [Shi, Shu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ta (ŋ); ONW tap
※ dûi 对 (tuáitɕ) LH tua, OCM *tûts < *tûps
‘To reply (to a person), answer’.
※< exoactive of dá 答 (tâp) (§4.3).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tej (ʨ); MGZY ûен (ʨ) [tué]; ONW tua
[E] ST: Prob. WT tʰub-pa ‘get the better of, be able to stand or bear, be a match for’ (so Bodman 1980: 117) ※ gtub-pa ‘be able’ (HST: 80). Other suggestions: HST: 37 relates this word to WT ‘debs-pa, btab ‘cast, throw, respond’; Matisoff (1995: 44) to → dí₁ 敵 ‘opponent, enemy’; Unger (Hao-ku 21, 1983: 183) with reservations to WT (bab(s) in kʰym-tʰub(s) ‘husband, wife’ (however, the QY back vowel in dui does not normally correspond to WT a). CH → Tai: S. tɔp⁴ ‘to reply, answer’.

dá₃ 答 (tâp) LH top, OCM *tâp, OCB *k-lup
‘Small bean, pulse’ [SW, Zhourli].

dá 打 (tuáitɕ) Sin Sukchu SR tej (ʨ), LR ta
‘To beat, hit’ [Weishu, Liangshu; GY] is a post-classical word. It seems to occur also in PMon: dah ‘hit’ (CH loan?).

dá, dâi 大 (dâiɕ) LH dos, doɕ, OCM *dâs, OCB *klâts
[T] Sin S. SR daj (ʨ), PR, LR da; MGZY tay (ʨ) [daj]; Sui-Tang do(ɨ)ɕ, ONW doɕ
[D] PMin *doɕ; Y-Guângzhou taič, Tâishân aič, K-Méixiān tʰaɕ
‘Be big, great’ [OB, Shi]. The diphthong reading dâi is traditionally viewed as the correct one, or as the literary one. However, already in Han times we find the reading doɕ, Sui-Tang has both doɕ and doiɕ which agrees with the modern pronunciations dâ and dâi (Coblin TP 1994: 156ff).
※ tài 太泰 (tʰâiɕ) LH tʰus, OCM *tʰâs, OCB *hlâts — [T] ONW tʰoɕ
‘Be too great, very great, excessive’, in titles ‘grand-’ [Shi]. It is not clear if tài ‘name of the west wind’ [OB, Shi] is related.

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dāi

‘very’; Abor-Miri ta ‘large’. The TB forms do not have a final *-s, though, but have a final *-y which “indicates emergent quality in stative vbs.,” acc. to Matisoff. The TB word has also been associated with → duō 多 (Baxter acc. to Matisoff 1995a: 44), but a different etymology for the latter seems preferable. Possibly, what has resulted in CH dà and duō has elsewhere converged (HST: 42).

dāi1 代 (dāiC) LH dā, OCM *lj{kh
‘Substitute, take the place of, supercede’ [Shu] > ‘generation’ [Shi], ‘dynasty’ [Lunyu].
The fundamental notion of this wf is perh. ‘switch things around’, → tè 及 may also belong to this wf.
[TT] Sin Sukchu SR daj (去); MGZY tay (去) [daj]; ONW tāi

x tè 代 (tēC) LH tē, OCM *lēk
‘Change, alter, deceive, err’ [Bl, Shi].

x dāi 代 (dāiB) LH dā, OCM *líc
‘Deceive’ [Li].
See → dāi9 戴 for an AA parallel.

dāi2, tè 賃 → tè 及

dāi3 汰 (dāiC) LH das, from earlier *lāts?
‘Wave’ [Chuci], a late OC word, apparently from a southern dialect. The older syn. is → bō 漿.

dāi4 伐 (dāiB) LH dā, OCM *líc?
‘Arrive, come to that, at the time that, when’ [Shi].
[EE] ST: PTB *la: PLB *la, WB la ‘come, reach in degree’. The ST level had apparently already doublets *lā ~ *rā (→ lái 來) ‘arrive’.

dāi5 戴 → dāi1 代

dāi6 待 ‘wait’ → dêng1 等

dāi7 帶 (tāiC) LH tās, OCM *tās
‘Belt, sash’ [Shi], ‘string’ [Zuo].
[TT] Sin Sukchu SR taj (去); MGZY day (去) [taj]; ONW tāC
[EE] ST with the basic meaning ‘circumference, circumscription’: PTB *m/s-tāy (HPTB: 210), PLB *n-dāy 3: Lahu de ‘belt of land between the high rain-forest and the plains, expanse of terrain’, WT sék ‘part, portion (of a country); province, district, territory’, Lushai tāj ‘waist’ (Matisoff 1995a: 43).

dāi8 逮 (dāiC, iC) LH dəs, jis, OCM *lāts, *lāts
‘To come to, reach to’ [Shi].

dāi9 戴 (tāiC) LH tāC, OCM *tēh
‘To bear, support’ [Zuo], ‘carry on the head’ [Meng].
[EE] AA: (OKhmer *-dai ~ *-dāya /-daj ~ -daaj/ ‘to bear, support’) > OKhmer dňăy /dňaaj/ ‘retainer, king’s servant’; AA → Tai thanaaj ‘attorney, representative’; Khmer /pedaaj/ ‘to support / base oneself on, rely on’; Khmer tāna /taaj/ ‘to take the place
of, replace, substitute, represent’. The semantic development of the Khmer etymon is parallel to the CH word → dāi 代 *lākh with OC initial *l (if our interpretation of OC is correct), rather than *t- which is suggested by Khmer.

The word belongs to an AA wf which includes → méi, 媒謀 ‘marriage go-between’ and → pēi, 胚 ‘pregnant’.

dān₁ 丹 (tān) LH ton, OCM *tān (< *tlan ?), OCB *tān — [T] ONW ton
‘Be red, vermillion, cinnabar’ [Shi] has in antiquity been a mineral from the ancient southern states Bā (Yúnnán) and Yuè (Zhèjiāng) [SW].

 gàn 砂 (kān) in dān-gān 丹砂 LH ton-kun, OCM *tān-kān < *tlan-kān?
‘丹砂 vermillion ore’ [Xun], ‘ore’ [JY] may be a variant of dān, both could theoretically derive from an original foreign *klān, see below.

zhān 鞭 (tīshān) LH tān, OCM *tān — [T] ONW tān

[d][KT]: PKS *h-lān C ‘red’ (Edmondson / Yang). The OC initial and *t- ~ *k- doublets indicate that OC has borrowed this item. Perh. → tān, 祖禄 ‘bare’ is related, as skin color tends to be associated with ‘red’, but see there. Alternatively, HPTB: 177 suggests ST *tja-n (*tya-n) ‘red’.

dān₂ 单 (tān) LH ton, OCM *tān
‘Single, unit’ [Shi], ‘single, simple’ [Li]; ‘unlined garment’ 禪 [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tan ( 平 ); MGZY dan ( 平 ) [tan]; ONW ton — [D] CDC tan

zhān 鞭 (tīshān) LH tān, OCM *tān — [T] ONW tān


dān₃ 燃 (tānB, tāC) LH tonB, tāiC OCM *tān?, tāiห
‘Disease, suffering, distress’ 發 [Shi], 燃 (dān) [Li].

zhān 鞭 (tīshān) LH tān, OCM *tān — [T] MGZY dan ( 平 ) [tan]
‘Exhaust’ [Zhuang].

zhān 鞭 (tīshān) LH tānC, OCM *tān
‘Exhaust’ [Zhuang].

zhān 鞭 (tīshān) LH tān, OCM *tān
‘Exhausted, fagged out’ [Shi].

zhān 鞭 (tīshān) LH tān, OCM *tān
‘Exhausted, fagged out’ [Shi].

zhān 鞭 (tīshān) LH tānB, tāiC, tāiห, tān, OCM *tāiห, *thāi/n
‘Exhausted, sick (horses)’ [SW: Shi], ‘toiled, exhausted’ 發 (QY tāC only) [Shi].

ST *-dar: WT ldar-ba ‘weary, tired, faint’ (HST: 159); Chepang dyarth- ‘discomfit, sudden pain...’

dān₄ 燃 → dān₃ 燃

dān₅ 赘 (tān) LH tān, OCM *tān — [T] ONW tān
‘Abandon oneself (in pleasure)’ 赘 [Shi]; ‘to be sunk in, steeped in (pleasure), rejoice’ 赘 [Shi].

ST *-dar: WT ldar-ba ‘weary, tired, faint’ (HST: 159); Chepang dyarth- ‘discomfit, sudden pain...’

Area word: AA: PVM *tānB ‘to drown, sink’ [Thompson]; Wa-Lawa-Bulang *ntām ‘soak rice’. AA -> Tai: S. dam < *td- ‘to dive’ *dānB ‘to sink down deeply, to a great depth’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 58), tuam² ‘be submerged, overwhelmed’. Dān is usually thought to be cognate to → chén₂ 沈 (Wáng Lì 1982: 607).
dàn – dàn

OCM *tâm can also derive from a hypothetical *tlam in which case there may be a TB connection instead, but the meanings do not agree closely: Lushai liam² < liam? ‘to overflow, disappear’, WB hlyam² be brimming full’ ≠ hlyam ‘run over, overflow’; WT ltm-pa, glm-pa ‘full’ ≠ ltm-pa ‘full, overflowing’. <> PTai *tl-: S. tem'A1 ‘full’.

dàn6 擔 (tâm) LH.tom, OCM *tâm < *tlam — [T] ONW tom.
‘To carry on the shoulder’ [Guoce].
[D] PMin *tom ‘to carry’; acc. to Norman (1986: 382) the Northern Min ‘softened initial’ *t- points to OC prenasalization which is supported by Yao daam₁ < *nd-, PMY *ntam₁ ‘to carry’.

[<] *tâm + pass. s/h-suffix (§4.4), lit. ‘what is carried’.

[E] Area word whose source is prob. AA: Khmu? kām ‘carry on the shoulder’, PWa *kām (for the initial correspondence, see §8.2.1).

An alternative form with initial *t, which agrees with later OC, is widespread: Khmer dem/toom/ ‘to bear’ ≠ drām/toom/ ‘to support patiently’ [Jenner / Pou 1982: xlix]. <> Yao daam₁ < *nd-, PMY *ntam₁ ‘to carry’. <> TB: WB t'am² ‘to carry on the shoulder’ (Bodman 1980: 112), JP t'am55 ‘carry’, Dulong atom. <> MK: Khmer drām, Kam-Tai: PT *hr-: S. haam‘A1 ‘two or more people carry’ (Li F. 1976: 45), Saek raam² (=< hr-?) ‘two or more carry’.

dăn1 担 (tâmB) LH tomB, OCM *tâm?
‘To beat, pierce’ [Lie] is perh. related to Tai: PTai *t-: S. tem‘A1 ‘to pound’, esp. in a mortar (Li, HCT: 98).

dăn2 擔 (tâmB) LH tomB, OCM *tâm? < *tlam?
‘Gall’ [Xun].

[E] AA: PN Bahn. *klâm ‘liver’, PVM *lām, Katuic *luam (for the initial correspondence, see §8.2.1). As in the case of → dàn6 擔, there is an alternative form with initial *t-: PPalaunic *bnt::l:m ‘liver’ (unique to Palaunic).

dăn3 眠 (tâmB) LH tonB, OCM *tân?
‘Sincerity, truth’ [Shi].

[<] *tân + pass. s/h-suffix (§4.4), lit. ‘what is done sincerely, sincere’ [Shi].

dăn4 眠 → dăn3 眠

dăn1 旦 (tânC) LH tonC, OCM *tâns
‘The time of sunrise, dawn, morning, bright’ [OB, BO, Shi]. This word is not related to ‘red’ → dăn1 旦 as the TB cognate shows.


dăn2 旦 ‘painful’ → dăn3 眠

dăn3-dăn 旦旦 → dăn3 眠

dăn4 旦 → dăn2 眠

dăn5 眠 (tâmB) LH dömB, OCM *tâm?
‘Eat, swallow’ ≠ [Guoyu]; ‘devour’ [Xun]; ‘keep in the mouth’ ≠ [QY: Zhuang].


[C] Perh. this is related to hàn 頜 (under → hán, 含函) (so Bodman 1980: 110), and perh. to → xián, 頜.

205
dàn – dàng

dàn6 淡 (dānB/C) LH dānB/C, OCM *tām?/s
‘Insipid’ [Li]. Gelich connects dàn with items under → tían4 恬 ‘calm’.
[D] Y-Guangzhou Քaмings B. PMin *tsiamB ‘insipid’ is prob. unrelated.
dàn7 惡 (dànC) LH dānC, OCM *dāns
‘To fear, dislike’ [Shi].
[<] expass. of tān 弹 (dàn), lit. ‘be shaken’.
※ tán 弹 (dàn) LH dān, OCM *dān — [T] ONW dān — [D] CDC dan²
‘Shake’ [Zhouli].
※ zhàn 戰顫 (tījānC) LH tānC, OCM *tān
‘To tremble (with cold)’ 顫 [GY], ‘be trembling, afraid’ 戰 [Shi]; this is the s. w. as → zhàn, 戰 ‘war’.
dàn8 弹 ‘bow’ → tán5 弹

dàn9 纏 → chán4 纏

dàn10 窩 → tān2 窩

dàn11 濛 → chàn2 濛濛

dàn12 袭 → yán5 延箥

dàn13 慾澹 → tián4 想

dáng1 當 (tān) LH tān, OCM *tān — [T] ONW tān
‘Have the value of, be equal of, rank, to face, vis-à-vis’ [Zuo], ‘match, capable’ [Meng].
※ dāng 當 (tānC) LH tānC, OCM *tān
‘Right, ought’ [Meng], ‘suitable’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tān (平等); MGZY dāng (平等) [tān]
[<] expass. of dāng 當 *tān (§4.4), lit. ‘what is being matched’.
※ dǎng 黨 (tānB) LH tānB, OCM *tān?
‘Class, category’ [Lunyu] > ‘party’ [Zuo] > ‘partisan, partial’ [Shu].
[<] endoactive of dāng 當 *tān (§4.5.1), lit. ‘that which is equal in rank’.

dáng2 鑉 → dīng3 属

dáng1 黨 (tānB) LH tānB, OCM *tān?
‘To know’ [FY 1.1] is a Han period Chǔ dialect word. Two possible etymologies: (1) This may be compared to PTB *m-tān > WB tōagy ‘visible’ ※ sa-tōagy ‘thought’, WT mōŋ-ba ‘to see, perceive, know, understand’, Kanauri tān ‘to see’. (2) A southern dialect form of dōng 唐 ‘understand’ with the typical shift to a (J. Norman).

dáng2 鑉 ‘class, party’ → dāng1 當

dáng1 創 (dānB, tānB) LH dānB, tānB
‘To drop, submerge’ means ‘to fall’ (of rain) in Mǎn and adjacent Wú dialects: Fúzhōu tōoŋ⁴ in tōoŋ⁴ tōoŋ⁷ ‘to rain’ 拂雨, Shūnchāng tān⁴ ‘to rain’ 拂雨, Shūnchāng tōoŋ⁷ (Li Róng FY 1992.2: 112–114).

dáng2 縲 → táng2 湯

dáng3 漕 ‘move’ → dōng2 動
dao - dào

dao 刀 (tāu) LH tau, OCM *tāu — [T] ONW tau
‘Knife’ [OB, Shi].


dào1 倒 (tāuB/C) LH tauB/C, OCM *tāuʔ/h
‘To turn over, invert’ [Shi], ‘contrary’ [Hanfei], also ‘to pour’ (from a pot) occurs also in TB-JP du55 ‘to pour’ (from a pot), PVM *toh ‘to pour’, prob. a CH loan. <> Tai: S. tokD/S ‘to fall down’ (Li F. 1976: 41); for the final consonant, see §3.2.2.

dào2 島 (tāuB) LH tauB, OCM *tū?
‘Ocean island’ [Shu] is reminiscent of Mon tkoʔ ‘island’, but prob. unrelated (we should expect a CH aspirated initial tʰ, see §5.9.4).

dào3 擊 (tāuB) LH tauB, OCM *tū?
‘To pound’ (as rice) [Li], still used in southern dialects, e.g. Yuè-Táishān au55-mai55 搗米; ‘to beat’ [Hanshu].

[E] ST *tu: JP t'u55 ‘push’. WB tuiB ‘push, butt, shove against’ ≈ tʰuiB ‘thrust, stab, strike’. A TB parallel stem is Lushai čhulH / čhulL ‘to strike’ (with rod), ‘pound, stamp, knock, tap’. For ST cognate and / or parallel stems, see the table under → zhū 触 for an overview.

dào4 激 → zhū10 祝

dào1 到 (tāuC) LH tauC, OCM *tāuuh
‘To arrive’ [Shi].

[E] Perh. ST, yet the TB rime is different from OC: WT gtug-pa ‘to reach, to touch’ (e.g. putting the forehead against the breast of an image) ≈ tʰug-pa ‘to reach, arrive at, come to, meet, touch’; WB tuij ‘to arrive, reach, attain’, JP du31 ‘arrive’. However, these TB items could just as well belong to → zhū 履.

dào2 道 (dāuB) LH douB, OCM *lū?
‘Road, way, method’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR daw (上去); MGZY taw (上来) [daw]; ONW dou
<> 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):

< dào 道< (dāuC) LH douC, OCM *lūh
‘To go along, bring along, conduct’ 道 [Zuo], 導 [Meng] > ‘explain’ [Li] > ‘talk about’ 道 [Lao, Meng]. The Han period dialect of Eastern Qi has the words yū 裕 [joC]
*joikh and yōu 獸 [ju] *lu or *ju (?) ‘road’ [FY 3.23] which may be related.

[E] Pulleyblank (1973: 120) believes that dào ‘talk’ is cognate to → tán2 談. Gong Hwang-cherng (1995: 61) presents parallels which suggest a pattern of OC *om > *u, 道 is shared with Yao klauB ‘road’ (Haudricourt 1950: 559; but Downer 1982 *kau2).

dào3 稲 → see under yú 悠

dào4 稻 (dāuB) LH douB, OCM *lū?
‘Unhusked rice’ [Shi].

[D] PMin *tiu82 糙 (corresponds to QYS djauC [JY], LH dāh) may possibly be a variant (Norman, p.c.).

[E] Etymology is not certain. The word could belong to the wf → yōu 油 ‘overflow’
dé – dèng

(i.e. the notion of a flooded rice field). More likely, it is an area word (rice culture originated in the south): PMY *tblade* (Bodman 1980: 112). The relationship with similar-looking MK words is ambiguous, we find PVM *tla-ta* ‘unhusked rice’, Viet. lúa ‘paddy’ [Ferus], but Khmuic *tia* ‘glutinous rice’ (Ferus 31st ICSTLL, 1998: 90) whose meaning seems to connect the MK etymon with → nui fim.

dé₁ 得 (tak) LH tak, OCM *tək
‘To get’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR taj (+), LR taj; MGZY dʰy (+) [taj]; ONW tak

[D] dē is Mand. col., Gánsu dēi (Demiéville 1950: 52); dē is sometimes thought to be an allofam of → dē₂ 德 ‘virtue’.

[E] Based on his theories on OC phonology, Pulleyblank (EC 16, 1991: 50) believes that dē and → dē₁ 得 are cognate to WT tʰub-pa ‘be able, cope with’, but see → dā₂ 答.

dé₂ 德 (tak) LH tak, OCM *tək — [T] ONW tak
‘Moral force, virtue, character’ (A. Waley) [BI, Shi], ‘quality, nature’ [Zuo].

[E] Based on his theories on OC phonology, Pulleyblank (EC 16, 1991: 50) believes that dē and → dē₁ 得 are cognate to WT tʰub ‘a mighty one, having power’, but see → nēng₂ 能.

[C] An allofam is perh. — zhǐ 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 BIHP 59.1, 1988). It is thought to be a col. archaism of the classical ‘genitive particle’ → zhǐ之.

dēng₁ 登 (tān) LH tǎn, OCM *tən — [T] ONW tān
‘To rise, ascend, mount, raise’ [Shi, Shu], ‘to ripen’ [Meng]; ‘ritual vessel with high foot’ [Yili], ‘high foot’ 鐲 [Li] is perh. the s. w. as → dēng₂ 燈 ‘lamp’. Wáng Li (1982: 253) and Matisoff (BSOAS 63.3, 2000: 363) add — zhī₂ 陟 to this wf.

*x dēng 登 (tān) LH tǎn, OCM *tənh
‘A rising slope’ [Mu Tianzi].

*x dēng 等 (tān?) LH tǎn², OCM *tən?
‘Step of stairs’ [Lunyu] > ‘degree’, [Yi], ‘rank’ [Zuo], ‘classify’ [Zhouli].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tān (+), PR, LR tān; MGZY dʰing (+) [tān]; ONW tān

[C] Additional allofams are perh. — zēng 増增增增, → chéng₂ 丞承, also → tēng₂ 騕.

dēng₂ 燈 (tān) LH tǎn, OCM *tən
‘Lamp’ 鐲 [Chúci].

[E] Etymology not clear. Perh. the same word as dēng 鐲 ‘vessel with high legs’, under → dēng₁ 登 ‘rise’. The relationship with ‘candle’ in MK languages, if any, is not clear (CH loan? MK loan ?); Viet dën (North), dēng (South), Khmer tōn, Mon nañ (Huffman 1975). Khmer ? — Tai: Saek thianA² < d- ‘candle’.

dēng₁ 等 (tān?) LH tǎn², OCM *tən?
‘To wait’, a medieval northern dialect word, prob. related to the following (so Wáng Li 1982: 90):

*x dài 待 (dǎi) LH dǎ, OCM *dǎ (? < *dēn ?)
‘To wait, treat, behave’ [Lunyu]. For the final, see §3.2.4. Karlgren (1956: 17) adds this word to shì 候 ‘wait upon’ (under → shī₁ 侍).
deng — df

dēng2 等 ‘steps, category’ → dēng1 登 ‘rise’

df1 低 (tiei) LH tei, OCM *tí
‘To lower’ [Zhuang].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tej (平), PR ti; MGZY di (平) [ti]; ONW téi

* df 水底 (tiei) LH teiB, OCM *tíB — [D] PMin *tieB
‘Base, foundation, root’ [Shi]; ‘bottom’ 底 [Lie]; ‘root, base’ 池 (also tiei[C])
[Laozi].

[<] endoactive of df 低 (tiei) (§4.5.1).

[E] ST: WT mthl, OTib. tʰild < m-ti ‘bottom, floor, lower part’ (HST: 47), Tamang .descripcion ‘below’.

df2 滴 (tiek) LH tek, OCM *têk
‘To drip, drop’ [Wenxuan, GY].

[E] ST: This onomatopoetic root is shared with WT: gtig(s)-pa ~ tʰig-pa, tʰigs ‘to drop, drip’ * tʰig-pa, btigs ‘cause to fall in drops’ * tʰig-pa ‘a drop’ (STC: 180), JP the?31 < tʰek31 ‘dropping, dripping’.

df3 填塞 → tf1 填塞

df1 狄 (diek) LH dek, OCM *dêk
‘Low servant’ [Shu], could either be derived from the name of a northern tribe; or, more likely, be AA: PMonic *dîk `slave, temple slave’, PNBahn. *qîc `slave’, PSBahn. *qîc `slave, servant’.

df2-df 狄衞 (diek-diei) LH dek-de, OCM *dêk-dê
‘Translators, interpreters’ [Lushi], later simply df 麦 ‘to translate’ [Chenshu]. This may possibly contain a foreign loanword, note Turkic til > til `tongue, language’ (Behr 2000). However, Behr prefers to consider df OC *lek an allofam of shi 麦 ‘to translate’ (under *-k, see §6.1).

df3 敵 (diek) LH dek, OCM *dêk
‘Enemy, opponent, enmity’ [BI, Shu].

[E] ST: PTB *m-tay (*tay?): JP tai31 ‘avenge, retaliate’, ma31-tai31 ‘vengeance’, Lushai tai31 < tai ‘be at enmity with one another, have a grudge against’. For *-k, see §6.1.

df4 死 → tf4 踢

df5 填 → zhuó11 濱

df6 满 (diek) LH dek < deuk, OCM *liâuk?
‘To buy grain’ [Zuo].

[D] M-Xiamen tiap³², Y-Guǎngzhōu tek (Lin et al. YYWZX 1996.2: 113ff)

* tiâo 满 (tʰieu⁴) LH tʰieu⁴ < tʰeu⁴, OCM *liâukh?
‘To sell grain’ [Mo; SW 2680].

[D] M-Xiàmèn tʰiaco²⁷, Y-Guǎngzhōu tʰiau⁴, K-Méixiàn tʰiâu⁴

[<] caus. aspiration (§8.8.2) + exoactive (§4.3) of df 满 (diek).

[E] This etymon is reminiscent of → yu₂₃ 賣 ‘sell’. Synonyms are → gǔ¹₁ 買; → mǎi 買; → shòu 售.

df7 歷 (diek) LH dek < deuk, OCM *liâk, OCB *liwäk
‘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 → yóu₁₀ 濃油 *liu ‘flow’, or be related to → zhuó¹¹ 濱 *d-lauk ‘be clean’ (but the OC rimes do not agree).
dí – ò

dí₈ 笛篳 → yuè₁₀ 麓

dí₉ 蘡 → diāo₁ 深

dí₁ 海底 → dí₁ 低

dí₂ 底 (tieiB) ONW téi, Sui-Tang Chang' an tîiB
  writes the col. genitive particle (→ zhī₁ 之 of classical texts); starting in Song and
  Yuan documents it is written → de₃ 的.

dí₃ 抵 ‘push away’ → jí₃ 擊

dí₁ 地 (diC) LH diC, OCM *lài̯ ʔ, OCB *lrjās (?)
  ‘Earth, ground’ [Shi]. The QYS reading is unique and puzzling.
  [T] Sin S. SR dej (उ), PR, LR di; MGZY ti (उ) [di]; ONW déi
  [E] Etymology not certain. Since the OC initial was L-like, it may be compared with
  PTB *mli ‘earth’ (STC no. 152) > WB mré ‘earth, ground’, Mikir mili ‘bare ground’,
  Nung moli ‘ground, mountain’. However, this TB etymon rather seems to belong to
  shí₁₃ 室 ‘house’. On the other hand, there are AA words which resemble Chinese:
  ‘earth’. Neither of these possibilities agrees phonologically with OC; perhaps these two
  etymes have converged.

dí₂ 弟 (dieiB) LH déiB, OCM *dı̯ or *dāi̯ ?, OCB *doj̯ < *duj̯ ?
  ‘Younger brother’ 弟 [Shi]; ‘younger secondary wife’ 嫂 [Shi] (also LH déiC).
  [T] Sin S. SR dej (उ), PR, LR di; MGZY ti (उ) [di]; ONW déi
  [D] PMin *dieB
  [§] endoactive of di 第 ‘order, sequel’, lit. ‘the person who is following in sequence’
  (§3.3.1).
  [E] ST *dwi: PTB *doy ‘younger brother’ (STC no. 309; HST: 49) > WB thweB ‘be
  youngest’, JP ʃadoi ‘last born child’; also found in Mon déi ‘younger sibling’ (< TB?).

× dí 弟 (dieiC) LH déiC, OCM *dı̯ or *dāi̯
  ‘Respectful toward elder brothers, fraternal’ 弟悌 (Mand. tî) [Meng].
  [§] either exoactive (§4.3) or late OC general tone (§3.5) of di 弟 (dieiB).

× dí 步 (dieiC, t'iei) LH déiC, t'ei, OCM *dāi̯, *t'bşi
  ‘To look at from the side / askance, glance at’ [Li]
  [E] ST: Chepang d'øy- ‘concentrate, look at’ (esp. when aiming), ‘be watchful, alert’ ×
  d'øy- ‘see clearly, sight clearly’ (when aiming).

dí₄ 宿 (tieiC) LH teC, OCM *tēk̯
  [T] Sin Sukchu SR ti (उ), PR, LR ti; MGZY di (उ) [ti]; ONW téi
  × dí 宿 (dieiC) LH deC, OCM *dēk̯
  ‘A kind of great sacrifice’ [OB, Zuo].
  [E] ST: WT t'e ‘celestial gods’ of the Bon religion (HST: 164), JP mā31-t'ai33 ‘god of the
  sky’.

dí₅ 森 (tieiC) LH tes, OCM *tits
  ‘Stem of a fruit’ [Li].

× dié 訣 (diet) LH dét, OCM *dǐt
  ‘(Gourd) stem’ [Shi] (Sagart 1999: 91).
dí - diàn

dí6-dōng 蟑螂 → hóng1 虹

dí7 的 → zhuó3 灼

dí8 踢 (dīe) LH de3, OCM *dēh

‘To kick’ [Zhuang] is prob. cognate to → tí4 ‘hoof’ (so HST: 100).


dí9 钝 転 → zhī8 栓

díān1 顛顚 (tien) LH ten (< tien), OCM *tìn — [T] MTang tian < tian, ONW tén

‘Top of head’ 頭 [Shi]; ‘top (of a mountain), forehead’ 巅 [Shi].

※ dīng 頂 (tienB) LH tenB, OCM *tēn?

‘Top of the head’ [Yi].

[<] endoactive of diān 顛顚 (tien) (§4.5). The rime *-en may be due to paronomastic attraction to AA dīng2 頂 ‘forehead’.

※ tiān 天 (tīen) LH tēn (< tēen), OCM *thīn

‘To brand’ (the forehead) [Yi].

[<] caus. aspiration of diān 顛顚 (tien) (§5.8.2).

[E] ST: WT steŋ ‘above’ (Shafer, IST: 65; Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 48), JP puŋ33-dīŋ33 ‘zenith, top, top of the head’ (※ dīng: STC: 180); Zemi (Naga) tīn ‘sky’, Lushai pa1-tīanH ‘god’ (lit. ‘father above’) ※ tīnh5/tīan5 ‘to pile up, pile on top of another’ [French 1983: 157; 374]. Prob. → tīān1 天 ‘sky, heaven’ belongs to this wf. In light of the simple T-initial in TB and prob. also OC, this wf is not related to → diān1 顛顚 (the same graph can be used for a stem *tīn as well as *tīnh).

diān2 顛顚 (tien) LH ten (< tien), OCM *tīn < *tīnh — [T] MTang tian < tian, ONW tén

‘To topple, fall down, be overthrown’ 顛 [Shi], 僕 [Guliang].

[E] Area word: TB-WB la3nB ~ la3nB < lin/ŋ ‘fall’; Miao gliŋ ‘to fall’. This etymon is prob. not related to the wf → diān1 顛顚 ‘top of the head’ whose initial is a simple dental stop in ST. For initial CH t = foreign gl-, see §8.2.1.

diān3 頭 (tien) LH ten (< tien), OCM *tīn

‘Eyetooth’ [Yīlī].

[E] ST *twj(a)j ‘eyetooth’: PLB *dzway (HPTB: 31) > WB caí, WT mē4-ba (Tib. *tswe > tšə > tšye > čə); diān has the nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3); for loss of ST medial *w, see §10.2.1.

diān1 典 (tienB) LH tenB, OCM *tēn?

‘To vouch for, guarantee’ [Jīnshī] is perh. cognate to WT sten-pa ‘to keep, adhere to, depend on’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50). This may be the s. w. as → diān1 典.

diān2 典 (tienB) LH tenB, OCM *tēn? — [T] MTang tian < tian, ONW tén

‘To direct, rule, norm, constant’ [Shi, Shu], ‘document’ [OB] has been compared to WT brtan-pa ‘firm, steadfast’ ※ gton ‘constant, enduring’ (HST: 79). This may be the s. w. as → diān1 典.

diān1 田甸 → tián1 田

diān2 殿 (dīenC) LH denC, OCM *dēns

‘Buttock’ [GY], a variant of → tūn6 臀.


※ diān 殿 (tienC) LH tenC, OCM *tēns

‘The rear’ (of an army) [Zuo] > ‘to protect’ [Shi].
dian - die

dian3 電 (dienC) LH denC (< dainC), OCM *lins
‘Lightning’ [Shi].
[Ε] ST or area word: PYao *(?)lin ‘lightning’ (Benedict 1976: 97); TB-Chepang pligh-ʔo
‘lightning’ ≠ pligh-sa ‘flicker’ (of fire).
dian4 簡 → tian2 填顔
dian5 簡 → tian1 填

diao1 雕 (tieu) LH teu, OCM *tiū
‘To wither, fade, fall’ [Guoce]
≠ df 迹 (diek) LH dek < deuk, OCM *diūk
‘Dried up, wizened’ [ST: Shijing] is prob. related to Tai: S. tokD1 ‘to become faded
(color)’. For the MC medial -i-, see §9.1.3.
diao2 彫雕 (tieu) LH teu, OCM *tiū
‘To engrave, carve > injure’ 雕 [Bi, Shu], 彫 [Zhuang, Zuo].
[Ε] Etymology not clear. CVST (2: 130) relates this word to WB thli1 ‘engrave, write,
stab’.
(for shaking to tell fortunes) (§9.1.3).
diao 魚 (tieuC) LH teuC, OCM *tiāukh
‘To angle, fish with hook and line’ [Shi] is related to Tai: S. tokD1 ‘to angle, fish
with hook and line’. For the phonological differences, see §9.1.3; §3.4.
die1 冋 (diet) LH det (< dieit), OCM *lït or *dït
[Ε] ST: KN *m-hlin (but note Sabeu pa-lait) ‘ant’ [IST: 27]. TB cognates to words in
GSR 413 have pre-initial *m- (§8.1.5). This may possibly be the s. w. as → die2 嗽
‘bite’, and / or also be connected with → chi3 蚤 ‘ant eggs’.
die2 嗽 (diet) LH det (< dieit), OCM *lït or *dït
‘To bite’ [Yi] (a tiger a person) from which could be derived → zhi2 嗅 ‘water leech’.
This could either be the s. w. as → die1 嶷 ‘anthill’; or be related to AA-Khmer dica
/di/ ‘sting, bite, prick’ (of insects, reptiles, plants). A syn. is → shi23 嗡 .
die3 踕 (diet) LH det (< dieit), OCM *lït
‘To stumble’ [Xun].
[Τ] ONW dét
[Ε] PMin *buat ‘stumble’ is possibly related in light of the TB cognates.
[Ε] ST: PTB *ble ‘to slip’ (STC no. 141; HPTB: 203f), TGTM *pleB ‘slippery’; PKaren
*phei3 ~ *ple2 ‘id.’ (STC: 139 n. 375), JP go叠-praj55 ‘to slip’, Digaro ble ‘slippery’;
Mikir -j=lit < m-lit ‘be slippery’; WT ‘byid-pa ‘to slip’ < mlit?, Lepcha flut ~ flét ‘to
slip from’ ≠ plit ‘let slip’ [Bodman ICSTLL 1987: 21]. Lushai has a possible cognate
(medial l does not occur after labial stops): pʰetl / pʰeʔl < pʰɛʔl/ ‘to trip up, slip
away’, also pial Stack < pialʔ ‘to slip’ may be connected. <> This etymon is also found in
Tai: S. pʰləatD2L < *blat ‘to slip and fall’, Diio šwatl [Maspero 1912: 86]. HST: 140
associates this word with WT lid-g-pa ‘to fall and sink through’.
[C] It is not clear if die is connected with → yi13 踏溢. This word is apparently
distinct from, and parallel to, the syn. → zhi16 雜 *tri(t)s; see Table D-1 for an
overview.
### 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</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>dié 跌 *lit stumble, slip</td>
<td>zhì 坠 *trits to slip, trip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>'byid-pa to slip'</td>
<td>'dred-pa to slip, slide'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Lepcha flat 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>gǎ31-p3rai55 to slip</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>p₃eL / p₃eʔL  &lt; p₃eʔ to trip, slip/h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>*nlit &lt; *m-lit slippery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKaren</td>
<td>*p⁵le³ ~ ʔble²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### dié

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dié</th>
<th>炙</th>
<th>y₁₁₃</th>
<th>淦溢</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dié alt (tiep)</td>
<td>LH tep, OCM *tēp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Paralyzed, unable to move [Zhuang].

#### tiē

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tiē</th>
<th>貼</th>
<th>(tʰiep)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
- To stick to, glue to [GY].

#### niē

| niē | 踉 (ŋjäp) | LH ŋap, OCM *nrap or *nrep ? |

- Legs sticking together, unable to walk [Guliang], a Chū dialect word. The Chū connection and the n-initial which looks like the survival of an AA n-infix suggest a non-ST origin.

**[E]** ST or area word: TB-PLB *ʔap 'adhere, stick to', Lushai depL / deʔL 'to be close to, close against, adjacent, adjoin, touch' vs? deepL 'copulate with'. Perh. connected with AA-Khmer jāʔpa /cope/, OKhmer /jap/ 'to touch... stick, cling, adhere, be stuck, held fast...'

#### dié 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dié</th>
<th>骈 (diep)</th>
<th>LH dep, OCM *lep — [T] ONW dep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
- ‘Tablet’ 輯 [Zuo]; in some Han period northern dialects ‘board’ [FY 5,36].


CH -> Tai: S. *t⁶lepDIL ‘classifier for long, flat, narrow objects’.

#### dié 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dié</th>
<th>碌 裳</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
- ‘Double, lined’ 襤 (garment) [Li] (GY reads this graph also MC zjap and zhjap), ‘double, accumulate’ [Shüijìngzhu].

**[E]** ST: WT ldeb-pa ‘to bend round, double down’ vs ltab-pa, btitbs < nlap ‘to fold’, ltab-pa < nlap ‘to do again, repeat’; Mru klap ‘fold up’, Lushai tʰlepL / tʰleʔL ‘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 etymon is a syn. of → zhē 7, but the roots are different (*Clep ~ *Cliap vs. *tap); perh. some of the WT items (Idab, Itab) are a conflation of the two roots.

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dié – dìng

[C] ‘Butterfly’ – hú – dié 蝴蝶 may belong to this wf, but see there. Allofams are perh. – yè 等, – xiè 蝸: – xì 习.

dié 膷螨 – dié 蝴蝶

dìng 仃 (tien) LH têŋ, OCM *têŋ
‘To beat, strike’ [Shi].

≠ dìng 打 (tienB, têŋB), LH têŋB, tânB?
‘To beat, strike’ [GY].

[E] ST: Lushai deŋH / deŋ ‘to throw, strike, hit’.

dìng1 酌 (tienB) LH têŋB
‘Dead drunk’ [Jin shu, GY].

≠ chéng 醒 (diân, t’iân) LH deŋ, t’êŋ, OCM *d-len, *t-hên
‘Dead drunk’ [Shi].

dìng2 頂 – diân1 頂巅

dìng3 鼎 (tienB) LH têŋB, OCM *têŋ?
A three- or four-legged ‘tripod, cauldron’ [BI, Shi]. A large one is called – nài 當.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR 事 (tien); MGZY ding (tien); ONW têŋ

[D] The south has preserved the original meaning ‘cooking pot, pan’: Old South tânA 鐘 [San-quo zhij (Ho Dah-an, BIHP 1993: 869), but PMin *tianB with medial -i- is from a later stratum: Jiànyâng tianB, Fúzhôu tianB, Xiàmén tîB (Norman 1988: 231).

[E] Most likely, this old area word is related to TB-Mru teŋ ‘sacrificial tripod’ (Löffler ZDMG 116.1, 1966: 141). AA-Wa-Lawa-Bulanq *deŋ, *(n-)deŋ ‘cooking pot’ (or are these CH loans?). Alternatively, Benedict (STC: 178 n. 472; 1976: 98) connects this word with PT and PAA *deŋ ‘cooking pot’; note also PTai *ginA ‘tripod’. But these last forms present phonological difficulties.

dìng1 定 → tîng1 亭

dìng2 定頰 (tienC) LH têŋC, OCM *têŋh < *têŋh?
‘Forehead’ 定 [Shi 11, 2], 頰 [Erya2, 146]. Ding ซ is an OC T-series (§12.1.2); however, this type of initial with QYS div. /IV can also correspond to an earlier *t from a foreign cluster with medial -l- (OCM *têŋ, see §8.2.1).

[E] Most likely AA: Mon tnej ‘forehead’, PVM *tänB ‘forehead’ [Thompson]. *k-len > klen / tlen ‘top, upstream’ ≠ lejn ‘to rise’ (sun) [Ferlus]; Bahnaric *kliân ‘forehead’ [Gregerson 1976: 389]; Pearic klîj2. Wa-Lawa-Bulanq *k/s’tenj ‘forehead’; ≠ PAA *klen ‘top’. Alternatively, a connection with – diân1 頂巅 ‘top of the head’ could also be possible. The source of Kadai *C-donA ‘forehead’ is not clear (CH?).

Syn. → tî, 提提題, ε 頤 and yán 顏 (both under – yà2 御廷訝), → sâng6 顔, → yáng8 楊錫.

dìng3 町 (dienB) LH deŋB, OCM *dên?
‘Small boundary banks between fields’ [Zuo] is perh. a variant or cognate of – zên3 蜞 (so Lau 1999: 342). Furthermore (or alternatively), dìng could originally have referred to a trampled path, hence cognate to tîng-tuân 町蝕 (tînB-tuânB) *thêŋ-thon? ‘be trampled down (fields)’ [Shi] (so Karlgur GSR 833g). Finally, there may be a connection with – tî, 提提題 ‘raise’.

dìng4 鐳 → tîng3 梯

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dōng – dòu

dōng₁ 冬 (tuŏ) LH toun, OCM *tūn — [T] ONW toun
‘Winter’ [Shi], in some Min dialects ‘harvest’, what is harvested in the 10th month (winter). Wáng Lì (1982: 608) related this word to → zhōng₄ 终 ‘terminate’.

dōng₂ 東 (tun) LH toun, OCM *tūn
‘East’ [OB, Shi]. The OB graph shows some object (but not the sun) in a tree.

[F] ST: Chechang tōn: ‘lighten, be bright, bright’ (esp. sky) → togh ‘awake time’ (as opposed to dream time). Perh. related to, or influenced by, → tūn, 聖 ‘rising sun’; see there for TB and AA connections. After back vowels OC final *-ŋ and *-n are occasionally confused, see §6.4.2.

dōng₃ 洞 (tun²/C) LH toun, OCM *tōŋ < *tōŋ?
‘Violent rain’ [Chûcî].

[E] MY: The source of this word is apparently a form similar to Yao *blun⁶ ‘rain’; Wáng FS has PYao < PMY *mblo;: HJ b, but almost all individual Yao languages have a back vowel: blun⁶, hūng⁶, būn⁶ (Huáng Shù-xiān YYYY 1989:2: 113, see also Wáng FS 1995: 126). Perh. ultimately related to the AA etymon under → píng⁴ 彭 ‘rain master’; note a back vowel form PEKatuic *piloŋ ‘sky’, perh. also Kharia to-blun ‘above’ [Pinnow 1959: 405]. PYao is prob. related to PMiao *no!c. MY back vowels tend to correspond to other languages’ front vowels and vice versa. The word is marked as a MY loan in CH because it first surfaces in the late Zhanguo / early Han text Chûcî (songs from the southern state of Chû, a MY area), it has a narrower specialized meaning in CH, it is rare in CH while it is the common word for ‘rain’ in MY; and finally it lacks a CH etymology. For *t- < *Cl-, see §8.2.1. For syn. and semantics, see → fen⁴ 風气.

dōng₁ 洞 (duŋ⁴) LH dōŋ⁴, OCM *dōŋh — [T] ONW dōŋ
‘To pierce’ (chest with an arrow) [Shiji, Hanshu], ‘a hole’ [GY].
(1) ‘To pierce’ → chōng₄ 剔
(2) ‘excavate, hole’.

[E] ST: PTB *dwaŋ ‘pit, hole’ (STC no. 169; p. 22) > PLB *dwar², WB twag⁸ ‘hole, pit’ → twagar⁸ ‘make a hole into, scoop out’, Tiddim Chin wąŋ ‘hole, make a hole’, WT dōŋ ‘deep hole, pit, ditch’.

dōng₂ 動 (duŋ²) LH dōŋ², OCM *dōŋ?
‘To move, set in motion, shake’ [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR duŋ (±); MGZY tùng (±) [duŋ]; ONW dōŋ

dōng₃ 當 Fúzhōu ‘to rain’ → dāng₁ 膽

dōu 都 → dū 多

dōu 斗 → zhù₃ 注

dōu₁ 豆 → tōu₃ 頭

dōu₂ 豆 (du⁴) LH dō, *dōh

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dōw (去); MGZY t̕iw (去) [d̕w]
dòu – dú

[C] Perh. related to → tóu 頭 ‘head’, and dòu 豆 ‘soybean’.

dòu3 豆 (dòu3) LH do3
’Soybean’.

[E] Etymology not certain, prob. area word: PTB *tu-'bean’ (LaPolla 1994: 171); AA-PSBahn. *tuh, PNBahn. *tòh ‘bean’. Unger (Hao-ku 24, 1984) raises the possibility that this is the same word as ‘a round vessel’ → dòu2 豆 and is derived from → tòu 頭 (dàu) ‘head’. STC: 195 draws attention to similarity with PMY *dop and → dà3 條 (tòp) ‘a kind of pulse’.

dòu4 豆 → zhú4 豆

dòu2 豆 (dòu2) LH do2, OCM *dōh
‘Neck’ [Zuo].

[D] An old Qf dial. word (acc. to Hé Xiū ca. 180 AD); it is still used in Mín dialects: Fúzhōu tau2'kaukD1, Jiānyáng loC2 (Norman 1983: 207).


dòu6 鬱 (tōu6) LH to6, OCM *tōh — [T] ONW tou
‘Quarrel, rangle’ [SW], 豆 [Lunyu].


dòu7 鬱 ‘come in contact’ → zhú7 注 ‘touch’

dòu8 豆 → yú19 窮俞

dú1 毒 (duok) LH douk, OCM *dūk — [T] ONW douk
‘Poison’ n. [Shi].

[D] Yuè tukD2, Kējiā t'ukD2, M-Fúzhōu tsōkD2 ≠ dū 毒 (dú) LH douC < *dūkh‘To poison’ vb., occurs only in Yuè, Kējiā and Mín dialects (Norman 1988: 213):

[D] Yuè tou2C, Kējiā t'euCl; M-Fúzhōu t'auCl

[E] ST *dūk: PTB *dūk ~ *tuk (STC no. 472) > WT doB ‘resent an insinuation, interfere in a quarrel’, Lushai doH ‘be at enmity with’. The TB words could possibly belong to → chou3 棄 instead; WT sdo-ba ‘to risk, venture, bid defiance’ could be cognate unless it belongs to → dū3 種 (tuo8). Perh. also related to zhuó 極 ‘to beat, strike’ (under → zhú7). (Sagart 1999: 113).

dú2 毒 ‘nourish’ → chú4, xù 畜

dú3 潦 (duok) LH dok, OCM *lōk
‘Canal, ditch, drain’ 潨 [Lunyu]; ‘abortion’ 潨 [Li]; ‘sully’ [Li], ‘insult’ 潨 [Zuo]. CVST 3: 33 relates dú ‘abortion’ to WT slug(s)-pa ‘to purge, abortion’. Perh. this is the s. w. as → dū4 摻‘container’.

dú4 摻 (duok) LH dok, OCM *lōk
(Any hallowed object > container:) ‘box, case’ 摻 [Lunyu]; ‘coffer’ [Lunyu], ‘coffin’ 摻 [Zuo]; ‘quiver’ 摻 [Yili]. This belongs to the wf → yú14 窮. It may be the s. w. as → dū3 摻‘drain’.

dú5 謂 (duok) LH dok, OCM *lōk
‘Say / read aloud’ [Shi] > ‘read’ [Lunyu].
du – dū

[T] Sin Sukchu SR du (入); MGZY tu (入) [du]; ONW dok

[EN] Perh. related to WT klog-pa, (b)klangs ‘to read’, but the vowels do not match (WT a vs. OC o); acc. to Sagart (1999: 209), the WT word is a loan because ‘read’ is a derived meaning in Chinese.

dū₆ 獙 (duk) LH dok, OCM *lōk — [T] ONW dok
‘Calf’ [Li].


Dū may be connected with:

※ yú 疝 (jiu) LH jo, OCM *lo

dū₇ 獙 (duk) LH dok, OCM *dōk
‘To be alone, alone’ [Shi]. Acc. to FY 79, 111, this was a Han period ‘southern Chū’ dialect word for ‘one’, note also M-Fūzhōu sio?₈(corresponding to QYS ˋjwok < *dok) ‘one’ which may be related (Norman FY 1983.3: 208).

dū₈-lōu 獙貘 (duk-lou) LH dok-lo, OCM *dōk-rō
‘Skull’ [Zhuang, GY]. Li Fang Kuei (1976: 44) who relates this word to Tai: S. (kra-) duuk<*dōk (actually *dōk ?), considers this a reduplication from a hypothetical OC *dlug. This bisyllabic word appears in more variants:

※ töu-lù 头顱 (dau-lo) LH do-lo, OCM *dō-rā
‘Skull’ [Guoce]. This form is reminiscent of Lushai lu⁷-roH ‘skull’ (lit. ‘dried head’) and lu⁷-ru⁷L ‘skull’ (lit. ‘head-bone’), just as in CH the first syllable is ‘head’.

※ dū-lú 頭顱 (dāk-lo) LH dok-la > dok-lo
‘Skull’ [SW, GY], today in Shānxī ‘forehead’. This late form seems to be the s. w. as dū-lōu above, but committed to writing when OC *a had become more back like *a or *o. An additional MC variant is *tēk- / tʰēk- [GY] which seems close to KS words for ‘bone’: *tla:k (Thurgood) or *k-la:k (Edmondson/Yang); yet these latter have entered Chinese as → gē⁵⁵ 盥 ‘bone’.

[EN] These variants are partially composed of syllables meaning ‘head’ (tōu) of ST stock (Loloish languages have cognates in compound words for ‘head’: Matisoff 1978: 64). Dū 頭 is a ST item which is prob. related to → dōu₃ 脑 ‘neck’: PTB *du(k) ‘neck, skull’ > Abor-Miri a-tuk, Atong dok-om, Kaithe toppā (< tʰok-pa) ‘head’ (ibid. p. 65). One may speculate that the second syllable is related to lōu 娃 [lo] with a hypothetical meaning ‘empty’ or ‘dried’, hence lit. ‘dried head’ as in Lushai. More likely, though, the second part is a reduplication syllable starting with *r/*l (§2.7). Similar-looking items include → lū₄ 顱; AA-Khmer rolia ‘shell, skull’ (from earlier ro-la: ?).

dū₉-lú 頭顱 → dū₈-lōu 獙貘

dū₁ 蠨 (tuok) LH touk, OCM *tōk
‘Firm, solid, thick’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tu (入); MGZY du (入) [tu]

[EN] ST: WT tʰug-pa ~ mᵗʰug-pa ‘thick’ ※ stug(s)-pa ‘thickness’ (STC no. 356; HST: 148), WB tʰuik-tʰuik ‘thickly’. CH has allofams with final -n, see → dū₁ 敦. 
dù / duǎn

dù₂ 赌 (tuo⁸) LH ta⁸, OCM *tâ? — [T] ONW to
‘To see’ [Li], [Meng].

[E] ST: LaPolla (1994: 164) compares dû to PTB *ta ‘to see’ > WT lta-ba ‘to look’, JP ma-ta ‘to see’. Dû has also been compared to PTai *traa ‘eye’ (so Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 45).

dù₃ 赌 (tuo⁸) LH ta⁸
‘To gamble, bet’ [GY]. Acc. to Norman (1986: 382) the Northern Min ‘softened initial’ *t points to OC prenasalization which is supported by Yao dou³ < nd-. This word is also found in other languages: Tai: S. tʰaa⁵⁲ < *d- ‘to challenge, dare’ (Li 1976: 40). Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50) proposes cognation with WT sdo-ba ‘to risk, hazard, venture’, but see → dôu₆

 período(duo⁶) LH da⁶, OCM *dâkh — [T] ONW do
‘A measure (of length), rule’ [Shi], ‘limits, bounds’ [Zuo]; ‘an instrument to measure length’ [Shi]; ‘law, regulation’ [Xun].

duó 度 (duo⁶) LH dok, OCM *dâk
‘To measure, calculate, consider, plan’ [Shi], ‘a measure of width’ [Meng].

[t] Sin Sukchu SR daw (λ); MGZY taw (λ) [daw]

*tú 平 (duo⁶) LH da⁶, OCM *dá
‘To plan, consider’ (e.g. the weight of something) [Shi, Shu] ‘a plan, a map’ [BI, Shu]; ‘calculate, expect’ [Lun]; ‘law, regulation’ [Chûci].

[t] Sin Sukchu SR du (平); MGZY tu (平) [du]

[E] ST *dwa / *twa: PTB *m-twa ‘hand-span’ [HPTB: 64], WB tʰwa ‘measure with a span’, twak ‘cipher, reckon’ ≠ t-twak ‘account, reckoning’; Mru twak ‘consider’ < Arakanese? [Löffler 1966: 121]; WT mtho ‘a span’ [HPTB: 167]. It is not clear if AA-PMon cd₆aa? ‘hand-span, unit of length’ (i.e. distance of outstretched hand as measure), Bahn. fída (Pinnow 1959: 318) is related. For the lack of a CH medial -w-, see §10.2.1.

dù₂ 渡 (duo⁶) LH da⁶, OCM *dâkh
‘To ford’ [Guoce].

[E] ST: WT ‘da-ba, das ‘to pass over’ [HST: 116]. Dù occurs also in Tai *daa¹: S. tʰaa⁶² ‘wharf, landing’, but ‘river’ in most other Tai lgs. (Li Fang Kuei 1976: 40). The semantic connection of ‘ford’ with ‘river’ has perh. a parallel, see → hé 何. The virtual phonological identity of the Tai form with late OC (Chinese tone C = Tai tone B), as well as the restriction of this word to the Tai branch of the KT family suggest a Chinese loan. The AA syn. is → jì 汲.

dù₃ 肚 (tuo⁸) LH do⁸, OCM *dá
‘Stomach’ [late word].

≈ dū 肚 (tuo⁸) LH to⁸, OCM *tâ?
‘Animal stomach used as food’.

[E] Etymology not clear, either (1) ST: WT lto-ba ‘belly, stomach’; and / or Tai: S. tʰɔŋ⁴⁴ ‘belly’ (Edmondson / Yang), MC tone B corresponds in several other words to foreign -ŋ (§3.2.4). Or (2) ST: TB with final nominal -ŋ: WT don, Bunan, Almora dan ‘belly’ [IST: 140].

duán₁ 端 ‘tip, to bore’ → chuăn₂ 穿

duán₂ 剣 → duàn₁ 斩
duǎn 短 (tuǎnB) LH tuǎnB, S toiB, OCM *tōn?
‘Short’ [Shu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR twon (平); MGZY don (平) [tōn]; ONW tuan
[D] PMin *toiB (Bodman 1980: 77)
[E] Prob. related to → duǎn, 斷 ‘to cut’. TB has several comparanda: (1) Lushai to$B <
toi$ ‘be short’, WB tui ‘short’. (2) NNaga *tuar ‘short’. (3) WB to$B ‘short’ (as
garment). Perh. PMin has preserved an original ST etymology, while elsewhere the word
has been reinterpreted as ‘cut off’.

duàn1 斷 (tuǎnB, tuǎnC) LH duǎnB/C, OCM *tōn?/s, OCB *ton?/s
‘To cut off, decide, resolute’ 斷 [Shi, Shu]; ‘slice of dried and spiced meat’ (tuǎnC
only) [Zuo]. Karlsgren (1956: 9) relates the latter to duǎn 段 (duǎnC) ‘torn to pieces’
[Guo].

* duǎn 斷 (duǎnB) LH duǎnB, OCM *dōn?, OCB *fiton?
‘To cut off, decide, resolute’.

* duǎn 割 (tuǎn, tjwǎnB) LH tuǎn, tjwǎnB ~ on, OCM *tōn, *ton?
‘To cut’ [Guoce].

duàn2 段 → duàn1 斷

duàn3 鍛 (tuǎnC) LH tuǎnC, OCM *tōns
‘Hammer, to hammer’ [Shi], ‘strike’ [Zhuang].
[E] ST: PTB *tow (STC no. 317) > WT t’o-ba – mt’o-ba ‘hammer’ (large), JP t’u31 ‘to
 pound, husk’, WB tu ‘hammer’. CH has added the nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3).

duí 堆 (tuāi) LH tuāi, OCM *tūi
‘Mound’ [Chuci].

[E] The first textual appearance in Chǔcī suggests a foreign word. It seems to be
related to PTai *dl/roiA: S. dɔiA ‘mountain’, Saek rɔyA1, PMY *glaiD ‘mountain’; or
alternatively to MK: MMon duiw ‘hill, hilltop’. A connection with → tún1 山 ‘hill’ is
also possible, foreign items cited there could apply equally well to duǐ.

duí1 堆 (tuāiC) LH tuāiC, OCM *tūiḥ
‘Pestle’ [first attested for the Han period: Wú Yuè chăngqū, Hànhū, SW, Fāngyán].
[E] MY: PY *tui ‘pestle’; the initial was not *kl- or *gl- as has been suggested in the
past (M. Ratliff, p. c.).

* chuí 槌 (djwi) LH āuĩ, OCM *dũi
‘Pestle’ [SW].

duí2 兌 ‘glad’ → yú17 義

duí3 兌 ‘opening’ → yú19 義

duí4 奪 ‘narrow passage’ → yú19 義

duí5 隧 ‘high’ → cuĩ1 垂

duí6 對 → dág2 答

duí7 隊 (duāiC) LH duǎs, OCM *dūs
‘Troops’ [Zuo].

[E] Etymology not clear. Sagart (1999: 85) relates duǐ to yú 遵 ‘follow’ (under → sui2
遂), hence lit. ‘followers’. Alternatively, the word could be related to → tún2 山 and
the TB items there. Or if OCM was *dūs < dūps, perh. related to AA: Khmer
dā̃ba /twp/ ‘armed forces, troops, army’.

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dùn - duǒ

dùn₁ 敦惇 (tuŏn) LH tuăn, OCM *tûn — [T] ONW ton
‘Be solid, thick’ [Li] > ‘earnest, generous’ [Zuo] (in Shūjīng also zhûn 懋 LH tûn) >
put. ‘consider thick, weighty’ [Shu].
× tún 亰 (duan) LH duan, OCM *dûn
‘Thick’ (as darkness in a grave) [Zuo] (also zhûn / LH tûn or tûin).
× chûn 醺 (ţuën) LH džuîn, OCM *dun
‘Generous’ [Lao]; ‘ample’ [Guoyu].
× zhûn 鯡 (tţuën) LH t sûin, OCM *tun
‘Sincere, diligent’ [Li].
[E] ST: Chepang dunh- ‘be dense, closely spaced’; PTB *tow ‘thick’ (STC no. 319) > PL
*tûl, WB tu_third ‘thickness’ × thu ‘thick, dense’.
[C] A cognate is × dù₁ 着.

dùn₂ 蟲 → chûn 蠻 辄

dùn₁, shûn 盾楯 (duanB, dţiuenB) LH źuînB, OCM *m-lun?
‘Shield’ 盾 [Shi], 橇 [Zuo]. WB duînB ‘shield’ may be a CH loan since the OC and
PTB initials are difficult to reconcile; also the relationship to Chepang dhôl ‘shield’ is
not clear.

dùn₂ 鈍 (tuŏnC) LH tuŏnC, OCM *tûns
‘Worn, dull, blunt’ [Zuo], ‘exhaust’ [Zuo], ‘to ruin’ [Guoyu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tun (去); MGZY dûn (去) [tûn]; ONW ton
× dûn 鈍 (duanC) LH duanC, OCM *dûns
‘Dull, blunt’ [Guoyu].
× dûn 沈 (duan, duanB) LH duan(B)
‘Confused, stupid’ [Lao].
[E] ST: HST: 67–68 relates this word to WT rtul-po ‘dull, blunt’ and adds WT dul-ba ‘soft,
mild, tame’ × ‘dul-ba, butl ‘to tame, conquer, subdue’; Chepang dyulh- ‘be blunt, worn’
(edge of tool). Other languages have similar-looking words which are unrelated, though:
PTB-LB *dum² ‘blunt’ (Thurgood CAAL 13, 1980: 212) > WB tumB; PYao *bln ‘dull,
blunt’; AA-PSBahn. *lun ‘dull, blunt’.

dùn₃ 幫 ‘hill’ → tûn₁ 屯

dùn₄ 逕遁 (duanB/C) LH duanB/C, OCM *dûnl/s
‘To withdraw, escape’ 遁 [Shi], 遁 [Shu] > ‘evasive’ 遁 [Meng]. This word may lit.
mean ‘turn to the back’ and thus be cognate to → tûn₆ 臀 ‘buttock’.

duô 多 (tă) LH tàı, OCM *tâi < *tlaï
‘There are many, have many, all the...’ [OB, BI, Shi]. For the initial, see §8.2.1. For
an explanation of the graph, see → chî₂, chî 諳.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tó (平), LR tó, two; MGZY do (平) [tô]; ONW tó
[D] Y-Gûanţhóu 5tţóA₁, K-Méixiàn tóA₁, PMín *táiA₁
[E] KT: PTai *hlaiA₁ ‘many’, PHlai *hôoil ‘(how) many’ (Thurgood 1991: 38; Baxter
and Sagart 1998: 53); the Tai item is also suggested to be the source of the Mín word
for ‘many’, see → châï₁ 睱. Others connect duô with the TB items under → dà 大.
× zhû 諳 (tţwô) LH têså, OCM *ta → [T] MTang tês, ONW tês < tôs
‘Many, all’, forms plurals, especially for persons to whom respect is due [BI, Shi],
Graham (1973: 294ff) considers zhû a dependent (‘non-adjunctive’) pronoun. Zhû
replaced earlier OB duô 多 in this sense, e.g. OB duô yin 多尹 ‘all the administrators’ [OB Yib. 867] > 諳尹 [BI]. In BI both duô and zhû occur. Subsequently in
duó – duò

Shìjīng, duò 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 (tâ) *tla in the sense ‘all’ as the pre-nominal proclitic with the loss of the final *-i in *tla 多 in this position, hence *tla win? 多尹 > *tla win? > *ta win? (Baxter acc. to Matisoff 1995a: 54). Alternatively, Karlgren (1956: 17) connects zhū with the wf zhu 全 ‘collect’.

* dōu 都 ‘all’, which is the Mand. col. form of zhū.
* shū 府 (jiwo) LH ﭻʊ, OCM *thla(k)h < *thla(k)h?

‘Be many, abundant’ [Shi], adj. ‘the many, all’ [Bl, Shī], syn. of zhū and duó: in Shìjīng occurs shū yīn 府尹, for example. Thus ‘all the administrators’ can be duó yīn 多尹, zhū yīn 諸尹 or shū yīn 府尹. Given the OC phonological similarity of these three words, it is therefore likely that shū is cognate to duó: the initial can be explained as a devoiced *lh- (§5.5) after loss of the *t- which was felt to be some sort of pre-initial.

duó1 度 → dù1 度
duó2 奪 → tōu2 偷
duó3-lú 端顔 → dú4-lóu 頭體
duó4 撾 (tuát, tjwat) LH tuat, tuat, OCM *trot (or *tòt ?)

‘To pick, gather’ [Shi], etymology is not clear, but note → luó 揽.
duó5 譜 (dák) LH dok, OCM *lák

A Wú dialect word for ‘ice’ [JY] is a loan from PMiao qloq ‘ice’ [Wáng FS].
duó1 朵 (tuá B) LH tuai B

The second syllable in the modern word for → ēr 耳 ‘ear’: Mand. ēr-duó 耳朵; Y-Táishān ንጌɾ A1,tuo B; K-Cónghuà 2tür B,3赙 A2. This is perh. related to the word tuó 楚 (tʰuá B) ‘oblong, oval’ [Chucí]. It is also reminiscent of an AA word for ‘ear’: PSBahn. *tor, PMon *ktor.

[T] Sin S. SR to (上), LR to, two; MGZY dwo (上) [tö]; ONW tua B
duó2, chúí 髭 (tuab, duá B, dwie) LH tuai B etc., OCM *tòi? or *dòi?

‘Hanging tuft of hair’ [Li].

* duó 朵 (tuá B) LH tuai B, OCM *tòi?

‘Hang on a tree’ [SW, GY].


[C] Perh. related to → chúi 亐 *doi ‘droop’.

duó3, chúí 髭 → chúi, 垂
duó1 → zhī1 阽,  добро
duó2 愒 ‘exhausted’ → dān3 厭
duó3 舵 (dá B) LH dai B, OCM *läi?

‘Rudder’ 舵 [GY]. 染 [Shiming].

[D] Y-Guǎngzhōu 2tür A2, K-Méixiàn tʰ6 B; PMin *dâi B

duó4 剎 (tuá C) LH tuai C, OCM *tòih

‘To chop, cut’ [GY]. In some dialects, this graph is used for the syn. zhuó 斬 (under → zhū, 斬). Perh. related to WB tʰwa ‘mince with a knife’ (Benedict 1976: 181).
\[\text{è₁} \quad \text{俄} (nà) \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{ŋai}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{ŋai} \quad — \quad [\text{T}] \quad \text{ONW} \quad \text{ŋa}
\]

'Slanting' [Shi].

[D] Y-Guāngzhōu ʂə², M-Xiàmén ʂə²

[E] ST has *ŋ[waj] ~ *n*waj parallel stems (§2.5; §5.12.1) for this etymon:

1. *ŋ[waj] > 俄 OCM *ŋai, WB ŋai for ‘to lean, be inclined to one side’ (Matisoff 1995a: 85) ŋai‘incline, set on one side’, JP ŋa² < ŋak ‘slanted’, perh. WT sāe-ba (< s-ŋye < s-ŋe ?) ‘to lean against, rest on, lie down’, but WT can phonologically also be connected with the parallel stem:

2. *C-nwaj > PLB *ʔnwe ‘lean over (and fall)’ (Matisoff 1970, JAOS 90.1: 39), WB ʔnwaɪ ‘lean sideways, incline’. It is not clear if or how Lushai ŋer < ŋer ‘be tilted, leaning’ (with final -r) is connected with the TB items.

CH -> Tai: S. ȵia B ‘lean to one side’ (Unger Hsiao-ku 36, 1990: 52).

\[\text{è₂} \quad \text{娥} \quad \text{in hēng-é} \quad \text{姫娥} (yōng-nà), \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{gòng-ŋai}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *gòng-ŋài
\]

Name of the moon goddess [Huainan, Hou Hanshu], later chāng-é 常娥 because the Hán emperor Wéndì’s personal name was Héng (180–164 BC). For the legends and variant forms, see Maspero 1924: 14ff.


[C] The first syllable may be related to → ㄍonym ‘waxing’ (of the moon).

\[\text{è₃} \quad \text{鵝} (nà) \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{ŋai}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *ŋài
\]

‘Goose’ [Meng]. Prob. related to → yàn azi ‘wild goose’, may have ended in a PCH final *l or *-r.

[T] Sin S. SR ʂɔ (平), PR ʂ; LR ʂ, ȵ; MGZY ʂɔ (平) [NO]

[D] Y-Guāngzhōu ʂia²; Ke-Méixián ʂia², PMin *ɕia, Xiàmén ɕia²

\[\text{è₄} \quad \text{訛呅} (nuà) \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{ŋuai}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *ŋɔi
\]

‘To move, act, change’ 訛 [Shu], 呥 [Shi]. → è 訛 may be the same word.

∥ hud 硙 (xuà C) LH ɦuai⁴, OCM *ŋɦɔi — [T] ONW huä

‘Property, goods, riches, wares’ [Shu].

[<] trans. / caus. devoicing (§5.2.2) + exoactive of è 訛呅 *ŋɔi (§4.3.2), lit. ‘what is being exchanged’, or ‘made to be exchanged’.

∥ huà 化 (xuà C) LH ɦuai⁴, OCM *ŋɦɔi

‘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 Sukchhu SR xwa (去); MGZY hwa (去) [xwa]; ONW huä

[<] this looks like è 訛呅 with triple causative markings: devoicing (§5.2.2) + s/h-suffix (§4.3.2) + *r- ‘infix’ (§7.5).

[E] Bodman (1980: 60) relates this word to TB: Kanauri skwal ‘to change’ ∥ Khaling kʰwaal ‘to shift, move’; but the phonology of the initials is not clear.

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è – é

è wà 瓦 (ŋwa?) LH ȵau, OCM *ŋrɔi?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋwa (û), PR, LR wa; MGZY xwa (û) [fiwa]
[<] perh. derived from huà through elimination of caus. devoicing and addition of endoactive tone B (§4.5.1), lit. ‘what has transformed’ (i.e. chemically through fire; note huà meaning: transform raw victuals into cooked food through fire).

é 話 → ñà 御迩訛

é 额 ‘forehead’ → ñà 御迩訛

é 話 (ȵu) LH ȵuai, OCM *ŋọi
‘False’ [Shi].

è wèi 做 (ŋwie?) LH ȵoi, OCM *ŋoih
‘False, deceive, cheat’ [Shi].

[É] This word is commonly considered cognate to → wéi 3 為 ‘make’ (Karlgren 1956: 18). But phonologically wèi is closer to é. The phonetic wéi was prob. selected for semantic reasons, supported by the rime.

[É] ST ?. WT ngod-pa, brgros ‘to deceive, seduce’, but the rimes do not agree. This wf may belong to → é 4 話 ‘change’.

è 厄靼 (?ek) LH ?ek, OCM *ręk or *rek — [T] ONW ?ek
‘Yoke ring’ 厄 [Shi]; 轼 [Yilî] > ‘straits, difficulties’ 厄靼 [Meng]. 厄 [Zhuang].

è è, ai 隘隘 (?ai?) LH ?aiC, OCM *ręk or *rêk
‘Be narrow’ (of a lane) [Shi], ‘defile, narrow pass’ 隘隘 [Zuo] > ‘straits, difficulties’ 隘 [Meng] (also MC ?ek), 厭 [Zhuang].

[<] exopass. of è 厄靼 *ręk, lit. ‘being put in straits’ (§4.3.2).

[C] A derivation is → geè 陽 ‘yoke’. Perhaps cognate to → yî18 陽 ‘strangle, throat’.

è 𠖌 → ñà1 哭

è 厝 (ŋak) LH ȵak, OCM *ŋák
‘Evil, evildoer’ [Shi], ‘bad, ugly’ > ‘wrong, fault’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin S. SR ?aw (û), LR ?aw?; MGZY ‘aw (û) [aw]; ONW ?ak

è wù 惡 (?u0?) LH ?ua, OCM *râkh
‘To hate’ [Shi], ‘dislike, abominate’ [Mo — Harbsmeier 1981: 40].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?u (û); MGZY ‘u (û) [û]

[<] exoactive / putative of è 惡 (?ak) (§4.3).


è 䀨 (ŋak) LH ȵak, OCM *ŋák
‘To beat the drum’ [Shi].

[<] ST: WT rña ‘drum’ (Bodman 1980: 127), Tamang ña:

è 鱳 (ŋak) LH ȵak, OCM *ŋák
‘Aquatic reptile’ [SW], ‘saltwater crocodile’.

[É] Etymological possibilities are discussed by Carr (LTBA 13.2, 1990: 132ff); è has been related to words for ‘fear’ (→ ète 惡 鵎鸋), and to → è 瞪 ‘beat the drum’ because some drums had crocodile / alligator skins. Note also PTai *ŋjek (Li F.; but Chamberlain *ŋwak) ‘mythological sea monster, dragon’; è is distinct from → tuo3 鱪 ‘alligator’.

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è – ér

è 6 愣鄂黯 (ŋák) LH ŋok, OCM *ŋák
‘Scared’ [Guoce]; ‘tremble, fear’ [Li]; (perh. ‘startling’:) ‘suddenly’ [Shi], ‘unexpectedly come across’ [Chuci].
[D] M-Xiamén gioD2, lit. gokD2
≈ wù 遇 (ŋuoC) LH ŋokC, OCM *ŋák
‘Unexpectedly come across’ [Zhuang].
≈ sū 蘇 (suo) LH sa, OCM *ŋā — [T] ONW so
‘To tremble, fear’ [Yi]. This looks like a doublet of suō 索.
≈ suō 索 (sāk) LH sok, OCM *ŋā — [T] ONW sok
‘Tremble, fear’ [Yi].

è 7 髦 (ŋák) LH ŋok
Mand. ‘jaw, palate’ [GY].
è 8 遇閑 (ŋāt) LH ŋat, OCM *ŋāt
‘To suppress, repress’ 遇 [Shi], ‘obstruct, stop’ 閑 [Zhuang].
≈ ái 鬆 (ŋāt) LH ŋas, OCM *ŋāts
(‘Be stopped up, accumulated’?): ‘be thronged, in a great crowd’ [Shi], ‘rich’ (clouds) [Guanzi].
[<] exopass. of è 遇閑 (ŋāt) (§4.4).
è 9 頷 → ān3 鞭
è 10 飧 (ŋāt) LH ŋātC, OCM *ŋāih — [T] ONW ŋā
‘Hungry, starve’ [Meng]
[E] ST: Lushai šheH ‘to fast, go without’ (food, medicine) (CVST 5: 137), WB ŋat ‘thirsty, hungry’), also JP ŋo3 ‘hungry’, although the vowels do not agree. A ST parallel root (§2.5) has initial *ŋ(w)- (*ŋaj ~ *ŋwə)i, see → nei 飃, see §5.12.1.
è 11 柄欏槪 → niè10 槪
èr 1 而 (ŋāi) LH ŋi, OCM *ŋāi — [T] ONW ŋi
‘Whiskers’ of an animal [Zhouli].
[E] This word may be a cognate of → xū4 須髮 ‘beard’ (Pulleyblank EC 16, 1991: 43). After labial initials, there has been some dialectal confusion of OC *-o (母) and *-ə (每) in the Shijing, and this looks like a similar case which is strengthened by èr’s use as a phonetic element in words with *-o (需) and *-ə (亄). Alternatively, èr could perh. be related to PTB *(r-)nəy or *(n)əy ‘hair’ (of head) (STC no. 292) > Gyarung mni ‘head hair’, Garo kəɔn, Nung t(ɔ)nii. In either scenario the vowel correspondences are problematic, though.
èr 2 而 (ŋāi) LH ŋi, OCM *ŋi
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 (平), PR, LR r; MGZY Zhi (平) [ri]; ONW ŋi
[E] ST: This particle èr is possibly shared with WT: ni an emphatic marker for nouns
and nominal phrases (HST: 71); however, WT has no equivalent of *ru from which *ni might have been derived.

\[\text{ér}_3\] 而 ‘your’ \(\rightarrow \text{ér}_5\) 爾

\[\text{ér}_4\] 兒 (ńzie) LH 父, OCM *ŋe, OCB *ŋje
‘Child, baby’ [Shi] as young human being in general (Sagart 1999: 164).

\[\text{ér}_5\] 呷 (ńzie) LH 父, OCM *ŋe — [T] ONW 父
‘Forced laugh’ [Chuci], ‘prattle’ (of children) [Xun].

\[\text{ér}_6\] 哼-ér 嚎, 喊 (ńzjuń-ńzie) LH 父-ńe
‘Forced laugh, strong laughter’ (Chuci) [Chuci] is a reduplicated form.

\[\text{ér}_7\] 耳 (ńz̄i) LH ń̄a, OCM *ńə — [T] ONW ńa
‘To cut a tuft from the ear of a sacrificial animal’ [Li], ‘cut the ear’ (of game) [Zhouli]; ‘pendant covering the ear’ [Zhouli], ‘guard of sword’ [Chuci].
[<] prob. LOC general tone C derivation.


TB has the same root *na for both ‘ear’ and ‘nose’. That we are dealing here with the same etymon is supported by parallelism with → wen-t ‘to smell’ and ‘to hear’.

er2 耳 ‘female’ → 11 2-er 李耳


er5 灣 (nʒiC) LH illiseconds, OCM *nc?, OCB *njój? ‘You, your’ [Bi, Shi].

[Τ] Sin Sukchu SR ri (上), PR rî; MGZY Zhi (上) [ri]; ONW ənė

[D] This is an independent pronoun (§3.3.3); it survives in most modern dialects in its col. form → ni1 ənė.

نسخ (nəC) LH milliseconds, OCM *nə? — [Τ] ONW ənė ‘You, your’ [Shi]. This is the possessive derivative of er, not → rū2 ənɛ ‘you’, because otherwise MC should have tone B, like nai ən ‘your’ (§3.3.3).

[Ε] ST: TB-Chepang ni ‘you’ ≠ niŋ ‘you’ (plural), WB ənaiB; Tangut niB ‘you’ (sing., pl.) [Keping, CAAL 11, 1979: 14]. This is a parallel stem of ST *na ‘you’ (→ rū ənɛ;) Maring (Tangkhul-Kuki) (naŋ ~) nai ‘thou’ [Benedict 1995: 32] is prob. a derivation from the latter (PTB *na). In spite of the parallelism with wǒ 我 *nài (under → wū2 吾), the OC vowel *e in er is not a leveled diphthong *ai.

er6 岭 ‘that’ → ən3 那

er7 裏 (nʒiC) LH illiseconds, OCM *nc?, OCB *njój? ‘Near’ [Shi].


نسخ (sjiit) LH illiseconds, OCM *snat or *snet? ‘Be close, familiar’ [people] [Bi, Shi] > ‘disrespectful’ [Shu], ‘ordinary’ [Li], ‘garment next to body’ [Shi]. The last meaning may have been transferred from ni 昵 (under → jî2 即).

[Ε] ST: WT sìed ‘about, near’ (after round sums).

[C] CH has two distinct etyma for ‘near’, (1) ST *ne (er 遠), (2) PAA *tsit (→ jî, 即) > (ts-n-it >) nit (→ ni2 昵, → ni4 昵). Additional syn. → ni1 尼 ‘near’, → ni9 昵.

er1 二 (nʒiC) LH illiseconds or illiseconds, OCM *nis or *nih ‘Two’ [OB]. The word rhymes with -t in Yáng Xióng’s (Later Han) dialect (Coblin JCL 11.2 1984: 10), hence OCM *-s (or *-t, but not *-h).

[Τ] Sin S. SR ri (去), PR, LR rî; MGZY Zhi (去) [ri]; ONW ənC

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[D] PMin *dziC ~ *niC; Y.-Guāngzhōu 22jiC2, Liánshān ni214

[Ε] ST: PTB *g-nis > WT gnis; Kan, Chepang *nis, TGTM *ni;; Jiaronk kēnēs; PLB
*nit ~ *ni ~ *?nit ‘two’ > WB hnac < s-nik; Lushai hni5L < hnis [Matisoff 1997a: 67]
(STC no. 4). <> PTai: *ŋjiB2 is a CH loan, it occurs only in compounds; the native Tai
word for ‘two’ is *soon (Benedict 1976: 170).

[C] Perh. → ći 次饮 and / or → réng 仍 are derivations.

déry 鲇珥 → dér 耳

déry 鱻 (ŋiziC) LH nəC, OCM *nəh — [T] ONW nəC
‘Cake’ [Chuci], ‘meat and rice dumpling’ [Li], ‘bait’ [Zhuang]; JY also reads MC ńziB
vb. ‘to bait’? (Unger Hào-ku 36, 1990: 55).

[Ε] Area word: Khmer ɲɔy ‘bait’ (for the absence of medial u/w in OC, see §10.2.1).
<> PTai: *hǹg: S. ɲaB1 ‘bait’.

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F

fā 發 (pjwbt) LH buat, OCM *pat, OCB *pjet
‘To start out, go out, come forth, sprout, issue, offspring’ [Shi], ‘to shoot’ (an arrow) [Shi]; Mandarin ‘send out, deliver’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR fwa (入), PR, LR fā; MTang pfar < pfuar, ONW buat

[D] M-Xiamen col. pū?DI, lit. huatDI


A derivation is perh. → fēi6 废 ‘cast aside’ (Karlgren 1956: 11). Allofams are possibly → fā2 伐 ‘to plow’, → fā4 伐藐 ‘praise’, → bá1 友 ‘expel’.

fā1 發 ‘plow’ → fā2 伐

fā2 伐 (bjwet) LH buat, OCM *bat
‘To plow, furrow’ 坡 [Guoyu]; ‘earth thrown up by a plowed furrow’ 伐 [Zhouli].

Perh. the s. w. as → fā3 伐藐 which includes the notions of ‘chop, hack’, as the earliest form of ‘plowing’ was hacking with a hoe.

≈ fā 發 (pjwet) LH buat, OCM *pat
‘To plow’ (fields) tr. [Shi] is cognate or may simply be a graphic loan for LH buat. [E] 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 → fā3 伐藐 ‘cut off, hew out’ (Qiu Xigui 2000: 294); and / or to → bá2 友 ‘roots of grass’ and id. ‘to camp’.

fā3 伐藐 (bjwet) LH buat, OCM *bat
‘To cut off, chop off, beat, attack’ 伐 [OB, BI, Shi] > ‘to punish, fine’ 罰 [Bl. 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] MTang bvar < bvuar, ONW buat

fā4 伐藐 (bjwet) LH buat, OCM *bat
‘Merit, boast’ 伐 [Lunyu]; ‘to praise’ (a person) tr. 豫 [Bl]. This word is perh. cognate to → fā 發 ‘come out, start out’ (i.e. < ‘make stand out’?).

fā5 筆 (bjwet) LH buat, OCM *bat
‘Large bamboo raft’ [GY], a Han-period dialect word in the Qin-Jin area [FY], ‘ocean-going ship’ [SW]. Perh. related to → fū16 浮 (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992).

fā6 乏 ‘lack, neglect’ → fēi6 废

fā1 法 ‘law, pattern’ → fán4 凡 ‘general’

fā2 法 ‘disregard’ → fēi6 废

fā3 髭 (pjwet) LH buat, OCM *pat, OCB *pjet
‘Head hair’ [Shi, BI].

≈ bā 膚 (puát) LH pot, OCM *pât
‘Small hairs on body’ [Zhuang] is perh. cognate, or belongs to → bá2 友.

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fān – fán

[E] ST: WT *pha‘ ‘hair-knot, tuft of hair’ and possibly also *spu ‘hair’ (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992: 88). Alternatively, the etymon may be the same as → fā 发 ‘come out, sprout’.

fān 1 弁拚翻 (pʰjwen) LH pʰwaun, OCM *phan
‘To fly, fly up’ [Shi].

fān-fān 幅幅 (pʰjwen-p.)
(‘To be fluttering’): ‘be waving about, changeable, versatile, frivolous’ [Shi]. In Shijing, the word is written with 扇 as phonetic loan: OCB *brian (QY bànC 3); Baxter’s OC medial *-r- is interesting in light of TB.

fān 2 帆 (bjwem) LH buam, OCM *bam
‘Sail’ [Han time].

fān 3 蕃 (pjwen) LH puun, OCM *pan
‘Hedge, screen’ [Shi].

fān 4 凡 (bjwem) LH buam, OCM *bam (from earlier *bam or *bom)
‘General(ly)’ [Zuo], ‘common’ [Meng], ‘every, all’ [Shi]; ‘general rule, pattern’ [Xun] (Harbsmeier 1981: 153).

fān 5 法 (pjwep) LH puap, OCM *pap
‘Law, model’ [Shu]. CH -> PTai *b-+: S. beepDI ‘pattern’.

fān 6 燧 (bjwem) LH buun, OCM *ban
‘To burn, roast’ [Shi].
fan – fàn

Matisoff (1997: 44f; LL 1.2, 2000: 144ff) sets up a large ST wf that includes also → huī 煌煌輝。

The TB semantic field suggests that → bān4 瓣 ‘petals of a flower’ and → pā 花 ‘flowers, blossoms’ are the same etymon, but that → fēn3 焚 is unrelated.

fán6 足 (bjwBn) LH buan, OCM *ban
ˈPaw’ [Zuo].

[Ω] ST: WT sbal ‘soft muscles or parts of inner hand or paw’; Jaeschke p. 404 says this word is perh. the same as sbal-pa ‘frog’ (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 30).

fán7 畔繁 (bjwBn) LH buan, OCM *ban
ˈLuxuriant (growth), be numerous, to prosper, rich’ 異 [Shi]; ‘abundant, numerous’ 異 [Shi].


fǎn 反 (pjwBn) LH puanB, OCM *pan?
‘To turn, return, turn around, turn against’ [BI, Shi] > ‘rebel’ [BI] > ‘on the contrary, however’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR vwan (上方), PR fan; MGZY h(w)an (上方) [fan]
× fǎn 贩 (pjwBn) LH puanC, OCM *pans
‘To trade’ [Zhouli].

[<] exoactive of fǎn 反 (§4.3).
× fǎn 畐 (pjwBn) LH pʰuan, OCM *phan
‘A turn, a time’ 畐 [Lie], ‘turn, change’ 畜 [Meng].

[<] iterative of fǎn 反 (§5.8.3).


fàn1 泛汎 (pjwBn) LH pʰuamC, OCM *phams
‘To overflow, inundate’ [Meng]; ‘float, drift, glide, ride’ (in a boat) 汛 (also MC hjun) [Shi]; ‘to float’ 泛 [Zhuang].

[Ω] ST: WT ‘byam-pa < nbyam ‘to flow over, be diffused’ (Bodman 1980: 118).
× fǎn 泛 (pjwBn) LH buamC, OCM *bams
‘To be thrown out, float about’ [Chuci], ‘disperse’ [Zuo].

[<] endopass. of fǎn 泛汎 (§4.6).
× fǎn 犯 (bjwBn) LH buamB, OCM *bamp?
‘To pass over’ [Zhouli] > ‘offend against, oppose’ [Lunyu]. Formally, fǎn 犯 looks like a derivation from this word; however, the root’s basic meaning is ‘float, overflow’; therefore it may be a different etymon.

fàn2 犯 → fǎn1 汲汎

fàn3 飯 (pjwBn) LH buanC, OCM *bans
‘Cooked rice or millet’ [Li], a late OC word.

[T] Sin Suk Chu SR vwan (上方), PR, LR van; MGZY h(w)an (上方) [van]; ONW buan
[D] PMin *bǎn^[C2] ‘dry cooked rice’

[<] exopass. of fǎn 飯 (bjwBn) (§4.4).
× fǎn 飯 (bjwBn) LH buan, OCM *ban
fāng – fāng

[E] <> AA: PMonic *poọŋ ‘cooked rice’, pian ~ pieŋ in South Bahnaric [Ferlus 1988: 88]. This stem could possibly be connected with bū 蒲 [p0] *pā ‘to eat’ (under → bū, 蒲), but the Lushai cognate there speaks against this.

fāng₁ 方 (pjwāŋ) LH puọŋ, OCM *paŋ
‘Square, a regular thing, side, region’ [BI, Shi], ‘country’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin S. SR fāŋ (平); MGZY Hwäng (平) [fāŋ]; MTang pfuọŋ, ONW puọŋ < pā

fāng₂ 方 (pjwāŋ) LH puọŋ, OCM *paŋ
‘Two boats lashed side by side’ [SW] > vb. tr. ‘to lash (boats chuān 船 / zhōu 舟) together’ in order to cross a river [Zhuang], ‘to cross (a river) by raft’ [Shi].
※ fāng 舫 (pjwāŋC, pwāŋC) LH puọŋC, OCM *paŋ
‘Boat’ [L]; bāŋ 艮 (pwāŋC) an old Wú dialect word for ‘boat’ [Yupian].

fāng₃ 方 (pjwāŋ) LH puọŋ, OCM *paŋ
‘Just now’ [Shi], ‘to begin’ [Shi?] is an allomorph of → fū 甫 (Pulleyblank 1962: 233).
[E] The meaning ‘to begin’ seems to derive naturally from → fāng₁ 方 ‘square’. (Egerod CAAAL 6, 1976: 58). Yet a boat is not necessarily square, and the special reading pwāŋC also sets this word apart from ‘square’.

This etymon is an area word for ‘raft’: TB-WB pʰọŋ, bʰọŋ ‘raft, float’, Kachin pʰọŋ id., perh. also Mikir *pʰāŋ ‘raft’. <> Tai: S. pʰuāŋ² < *benton, raft’. <> The ultimate source is AA and AN: AA-Mon k8aŋ ‘seagoing vessel, ship’; PAN *qaBal ‘boat’ (Blust; Peiros and Starostin CAAAL 22, 1984: 125; Mahdi 1999: 147f). To the same AA word belongs → hān 航

fāng₄ 方 (pjwāŋ) LH puọŋ, OCM *paŋ
‘Method’ [Lunyu, Shiji], ‘law, norm, standard’ [Xun]. This may be the s. w. as fāng₁ 方.
※ fāng 放 (pjwāŋB) LH puọŋB, OCM *paŋ
‘To imitate, conform to’ [Liji, Zhouli].

fāng₅ 方 (pjwāŋ) LH puọŋ, OCM *pʰaŋ
‘Fragrant’ [Chuci] is perh. related to → xiāng 香 ‘fragrance’ (Pulleyblank 1962: 140).

fāng₆ 坊 (bjwāŋ) LH buọŋ, OCM *bɑŋ
‘A dike’ [L]; ‘embankment, dike’ [Shi] > ‘to stop up, block up’ (river, peoples’ talk) [Zuo, Guoyu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR vāŋ (平); MGZY h(w)āŋ (平) [vāŋ]; ONW buọŋ < bɑŋ
fang – fēi

[f] Etymology not clear, it could be the s. w. as → fāng, 房 ‘room’ (i.e. ‘walled in’?), or related to PKS *pwanB ‘bank, shore’ (under → pū, 浦).

fāng2 房 (bjwan) LH buan, OCM *bān
‘A room’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR van (↓); MGZY h(w)ang (↓) [van]; ONW buan < bān

[E] Etymology not certain, prob. ST: WT bān-ba ‘storeroom, storehouse’; WB wanB ‘fence’ (Bodman 1980: 177; HST: 72); alternatively WT bān ‘dwelling, house’ in p̣bān, bān-kān.

fāng1 訪 (p̣jwanB) LH p̣ūnB, OCM *phan?'
‘To spin, twist’ [Zuoj, ‘to tie’ [Guoyu].

[T] MTang p̣huan (?), ONW p̣ūn < p̣an


fāng2 訪 (p̣jwanC) LH p̣ūnC, OCM *phân
‘To inquire, scrutinize, consult’ [Shi].

※ pīng 聘 (p̣jângC), LH p̣iènC, OCM *pherân
‘To inquire’ [Shi] is identical with fāng in OC except for the vowel (§11.1.3).

fāng3 放 → fāng4 方

fāng 放 (pjwanC) LH p̣uanC, OCM *pân
‘To put away, neglect, banish’ [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR faŋ (去掉); MGZY Hwang (去掉) [fan]; MTang p̣huan (?), ONW p̣uan < p̣an


fēi1 非 (pjwei) LH pui, OCM *p"ai (prob. < *pui)
‘It is not, to be not’ [OB, Bl, Shi, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR fi (平); LR fi; MGZY h(w)j (平) [fi]; MTang p̣huan (?), ONW p̣uan

[E] Fēi is a fusion of → bū1 wéi 不維 which is still found in the OB for the later fēi: QY pjüu-jwi 4, *po-wi. Fēi is rare in Shijing where → fēi1 匪羌 is used instead.

= fēi2 非 (pjwei) LH pui, OCM *pāi
‘Be wrong’ [Shi], (vs. shì 是 ‘right’) [Meng], ‘mistake’ [Meng], ‘violate, go counter’ [Lun]. Since this is a regular semantic extension of fēi1 (§2.10), cognition with WT p̣yār-kā ‘blame, affront, insult’ (so HST: 162) is unlikely.

※ fēi 訹 (pjweiC) LH pui(C), OCM *pāi(h)
‘To condemn, disapprove, slander’ [Zhuang].

[<] exoact. / tr. of fēi (§4.3.2).

fēi2 非 ‘wrong’ → fēi1 非

fēi3 扇 (pjwei) LH pui, OCM *pāi
‘Symmetrical leaves of a door’ [Zhuang]; basic meaning: a symmetrical contraption.

※ fēi 桓 (pjweiB) LH puiB, OCM *pāi?
‘Wooden frame to prevent warping of a bow’ [Xun] > ‘strengthen, assist, help’ [Shu]. (Boltz JAOS 120.2, 2000: 220).
fēi – fèi

fēi


Area word: PTB *pur ~ *pir (STC no. 398) > WT ‘pʰur-ba’ ‘to fly’: Nung apʰr ‘to shake’ (cloth), kʰon-pʰr ‘moth’. <> AA: PVM *par ‘to fly’ [Ferlus]; PMonic *par, Munda apr ‘to fly’; Wa-Lawa-Bulang *pyr, PNBahn. *pär.

For ST *r > OC *i, see §7.7.4; fēi is prob. related to → fēn 飛 ‘to fly’. However, → fān1 弁拚翻 ‘to fly’ and → fōu 不 (pjauB) ‘to soar’ are unrelated. Boltz relates this word, which is also written 蜚, to the wf → fēi 飛 (JAOS 120.2, 2000: 220).

fēi

肥 (bjwei) LH bui, OCM *bui ‘Fat, rich, fertile’ [Shi].

IT Sin Sukchu SR (平行), LR vi; MGZY H(wi) (平行) [vi]; ONW bui

[<] Perh. related to Tai *bī ‘fat’ [CH loan?].

fēi

肺 (bjwei) LH bui, OCM *bui ‘Calf of leg, leg; follow on foot’ [Shi, Yi].


fēi

霏 (bjweiB) LH puiB, OCM *pui? — [T] ONW puiB ‘It is not, to be not’ replaces → fēi 飅 in Shījīng (詩) and Shūjīng (詩).

fēi

棐 ‘wooden frame’ → fēi 飅 ‘to bark’ [Shi]. — [T] ONW bei — [D] PMin *bui ‘To bark’ [Shi].

fēi

棐 ‘knee covers’ → fú 飚 ‘knee covers’

fēi

棐 (pjweiC) LH pʰua, OCM *pʰa(t)s < *bos ?, OCB *bjots ‘Lungs’ [Shi]. CH aspiration is symbolic for breathing §5.8.5.

[O] ONW pʰei > pʰei


fēi

吠 (bjweiC) LH buas, OCM *ba(t)s < *bas ?, OCB *bjots ‘To bark’ [Shi]. — [T] ONW bei — [D] PMin *bui ‘To bark’ is a direct cognate and shows the CH word to have a sound-symbolic origin (ST *baus ?).

fēi

芾 ‘knee covers’ → fú 飜 ‘knee covers’

fēi

肺 (pjweiC) LH pʰua, OCM *phats < *phots (*phui?, *phut < *phut?) ‘New light of the moon’ [Shu, SW], ‘third day of the new moon’ [Hanshu].


fēi

痱 (bjweiB, pʰuot) LH pʰuiB, pʰot, OCM *phai?, *phôt (*phui?, *phut < *phut?) ‘New light of the moon’ [Shu, SW], ‘third day of the new moon’ [Hanshu].


fēi

痱 (bjweiC) LH pʰuiB, pʰots, OCM *phai?, *phôt (*phui?, *phut < *phut?) ‘New light of the moon’ [Shu, SW], ‘third day of the new moon’ [Hanshu].


fēi

痱 (pjwei) LH pʰui, OCM *pui ‘‘New light of the moon’ [Shu, SW], ‘third day of the new moon’ [Hanshu].

fèi - fēn


Allofam → fú\(_{13}\) 沸 (Bodman 1985: 150). → bi\(_{4}\) 紫 (pj\(_{3}\)C) ‘bubble up’ (as water from a spring) [Shi] looks like a vocalic variant (§11.5.1).

fēi\(_{5}\) 沸 (pj\(_{3}\)C) ONW pu\(_{5}\)C (LH pus)

‘Pimples, an eruption’ [late word].

[É] ST: WT 'bos 'boil, bump, tumor' (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992) ⇒ 'bo-ba, bos 'to swell, rise, sprout', Lepcha put ‘erupt’ (of small pustules) [Bodman ICSTLL 1987: 14]; WB pu\(_{4}\)B ‘bud, swell into protuberance’ ⇒ a-put\(_{C}\) ‘protuberance, boil’; Lushai pu\(_{k}\)L < pu\(_k\) ‘be enlarged, swollen’, JP a-p\(_{h}\)ut ‘measles’ [Bodman ibid.]. ⇒ Tai: S. p\(^{b}\)ot\(^{DI}\) ‘prickly heat’. For similar etyma, see §2.5.1.

fei\(_{6}\) 墟 (pj\(_{3}\)C) ONW pu\(_{4}\)s, OCM *pats

‘To remove, reject, disregard, neglect, fail’ [Shi], ‘to fall’ [Zuo], ‘to expel noxious influences, purify’ 號 [Zuo]. This word is hardly derived from → fā 發 (so Karlgren 1956: 11), but is certainly related to

⇒ fá 乏 (pj\(_{3}\)wep) LH buap, OCM *bap

‘To lack’ [Zuo], ‘exhaust’ [Meng], ‘neglect, disregard’ [Zhuang] (Yú Mín 1948: 44). In BI, the character fā 法 (pj\(_{3}\)wep) [puap] *pap also occurs in the meaning ‘neglect, disregard’ (Baxter 1992: 350) where it prob. stands for the present fá 乏.

[T] MTang buap, ONW bu < bap

[É] ST: WT 'bab-pa, babs 'to move downward, fall down' ⇒ 'bebs-p, pabh 'to throw down, cast down' (Bodman 1980: 49). ⇒ Tai: S. bap\(^{d}\) ‘weak, exhausted, worn out’.

This wf and → bài 下 ‘destroy’, → pí 弊 exhausted’, → bi\(_{10}\) 散弊弊 ‘worn out’ with the stems *pap(s), *pal ~ *pai(ts) are phonetically and semantically similar and flow into each other, note the partial synonymity of fá ‘exhausted’ with pí (Pulleyblank 1962: 215, and Wáng Lì (1982: 500), consider some or all of them cognates). Lushai pai\(_{p}\)L < pas 'to throw away, discard, annul' where final *-s could derive from *-s, *-ts or *-ps, is synonymous with fēi, but formally similar to → bi\(_{10}\) 散弊弊 *be(ts) < *bai(ts). → bài 下, 敗 looks like a possible derivation from this wf, and the AA comparanda cited there may also be connected with it. TB-JP praı\(_{3}\)33 ‘be effaced, settled and forgotten (feud), healed’ (old sore), WB praı ‘be wasted, become weak’ [Matisoff 1974: 161] also may belong to one of these stems. Additional allofams may be → biān 育 (so Karlgren 1956: 18); → bài 下.

fēn\(_{1}\) 分 (pj\(_{1}\)uan) LH pun, OCM *pañ (prob. < *pun)

‘To divide, separate’ [BI, Shu]. The graph shows a thing cut in two with a knife. Acc. to Downer (1959: 284) commentators to the Zuozhuan read the word in tone C when meaning ‘distribute, give relief’ (exoactive §4.3).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR fun (平), PR fän; MGZY H(w)un (平) [fun ?]; ONW pun

⇒ fēn 分 (pj\(_{1}\)uanC) LH pun\(_{C}\), OCM *bans — [T] ONW pun

‘A part’ [Zuo], ‘share’ [Liji].

<label>[<] exopass. of fēn 分 ‘divide’ (§4.4)

[É] ST *pun: JP p\(^{h}\)un\(^{55}\) ‘part’ (unit of weight) ⇒ p\(^{h}\)un\(^{33}\) ‘part’ (monetary unit), Lushai buń\(^{H}\) / bun\(^{L}\) ‘to cut, break or divide into two or more pieces for’; WB puııg\(^{B}\) ‘divide, sever’ ⇒ a-puııg\(^{B}\) ‘division, part’ (there is no final -uin in WB [the counterpart of PTB *-un], therefore the final may have shifted in this and a few other etyma to -uiıı [<- PTB *-un]), see §6.4.2). The word → běn 本 ‘tree stump / trunk’ may be cognate. Some TB words in final *-l are sometimes associated with fēn: Lushai pual\(^{H}\) ‘lot, share, portion’. WT ‘bul-ba, p\(^{h}\)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 → bàn, 半, are sometimes associated with the present etymon.

**fēn**

**fēn**₂ 雾氛 (phjuan) LH p'jun, OCM *phan, OCB *phjan

‘Mist’ [Yupian; GY], ‘hoarfrost’ 霧 [Chuci] > ‘inauspicious vapors’ (as evil omen) [GY 112].

**fēn, fèn** 氛 (bjuan) LH bun, OCM *bon

‘Ominous vapors or clouds in the sky’ (inauspicious in the Zuozhuang passages) [Zuo, Xiang 27, 5; Zhao 15, 2; SW 211]; ‘auspicious vapors’ [GY 110]; the GY assigns different meanings to MC bjuan and p'juan (above) which may be a later attempt to differentiate the two.

**fēn** 頻 (pjun) LH pun, OCM *pon

‘To steam food’ [BI, Shih] perh. belongs to this wf.

【E】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 p~un, p~ur, p~ul, as well as pan/r/l could correspond to LH pun.

1) PMY *mpan [Wang FS; Downer 1982 *npún³] ‘snow’, PY *nbwun² [Purnell] ‘cloud, snow’. MY ‘snow’ occurs in Child, while CH ‘mist’ agrees with Yao ‘cloud’. Sagart (ICSTLL 1994: 7) relates this word to → fēn₂ 雲 ‘mixed’ and argues that the MY word is likely to have been borrowed from CH.

2) Tai: S. bon⁴ < PTai *b~ ‘sky, above’, Saek bun⁴ ‘sky, weather’, PKS *fún¹ ‘sky’; Benedict (in Edmondson / Solnit 1988: 329f) suggests wider connections with AN.

3) TB-Lushai vaan [v- corresponds to labial stops in other lgs.] ‘sky, heaven’.


5) TB-Lushai vuur ‘hoarfrost, ice, snow’.

6) TB-PKiranti pâùl ‘flour’, WB p'ún ‘dust’ (CVST 1: 7), n³-bun⁵⁵ ‘dust’; perh. also WT spun-pa ~ sbr-sp ‘chaff, husks’, but spun is prob. cognate to bud- etc. ‘to blow’, spur-to spur-ba ‘make fly up’. <> PVM *bu:l? ‘dust’ may also be related, then also Tai: S. mon⁴ ‘dusty’, Saek mu:lu ‘dust’.

7) → fēn 粉 ‘peeled (rice), flour’, PMY *mpan⁵ ‘flour’. Haudricourt / Strecker (TP 77, 1991: 339) believe that the CH word is a loan from PMY *mpan⁵ ‘flour’, Sagart (ICSTLL 1994: 7) argues the opposite.

For the close semantic relationship between ‘sky’ (item 2) and ‘cloud, mist’ (item 1) see → wù 雲. The Shiming (Shi tiān) compares fēn 雲 ‘hoarfrost’ to → fēn 粉 ‘flour’, the two MY words (item 1 and item 7) would parallel the CH forms.

**fēn**₃ 雲 ‘mixed’ → **fēn**₄ 粉

**fēn**₄ 粉 (p'juan) LH p'jun, OCM *phan

‘Be mixed’, i.e. patterns on cloth [Shi], ‘manifold’ [Yi], ‘confused’ [Zuo]. Sagart (ICSTLL 1994: 7) relates this word to → fēn₂ 雲 ‘mist’.

> **fēn-fēn** 頻 (p'juan-p) LH etc. same as above

‘Be mixed’ (of rain and snow) [Shi], ‘be disorderly’ 談論 [Shu] (Wàng Lǐ 1982: 524f who adds → wèn ‘tangled’).

【E】ST *pol (?) : Lushai počH ‘to associate with, keep company with, have sexual intercourse; group, party, herd’ → pol ‘to mix, mingle, together’ (CVST 1: 62).
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fēn} & \quad \text{fēn} \\
\text{fēn}_5 & \text{芬 (p\text{\text{"u}}n) LH p\text{\text{"u}}n, OCM *ph\text{\text{"o}}n, OCB *ph\text{\text{"o}}n} \\
& \quad \text{‘Be fragrant’ [Shi] is perh. cognate to WT \text{‘spice’ \& spos ‘perfume’}.} \\
\text{fēn}_6 & \text{狒 (pj\text{\text{"u}}n) LH pun, OCM *p\text{\text{"a}}n} \\
& \quad \text{‘To fly, soar’ [Zhuang].} \\
\text{fēn}_7 & \text{ الجن → fēn}_2 \text{ 雲氖} \\
\text{fēn}_1 & \text{ 能 → fēn}_2 \text{ 雲氖} \\
\text{fēn}_2 & \text{ 熊 → fēn}_4 \text{ 墮} \\
\text{fēn}_3 & \text{焚 (pj\text{\text{"u}}n) LH bun, OCM *b\text{\text{"a}}n (prob. < *bun)} \\
& \quad \text{‘To burn’ intr., tr. (carriages, things) [OB, Shi].} \\
\text{fēn}_4 & \text{ 墮 (pj\text{\text{"u}}n) LH bun, OCM *b\text{\text{"a}}n} \\
& \quad \text{― [T] MTang bvun, ONW bun} \\
& \quad \text{‘Big (head, drum), big-horned’ \& ‘greatness’ 墮 [Shi], ‘big drum’ 炎 [Shu]; ‘well-set (fruit)’ 燧 [Shi]; ‘ram’ 祐 [SW], ‘sheep-shaped demon’ 燮 [Guoyu]; ‘tumulus’ 墮 [Li];} \\
& \quad \text{in most modern dialects ‘a grave’. ‘Raised bank, bank of a river’ → fēn}_5 \text{ 墮 may be the same word, unless it is a vocalic variant of pīn 頻 ‘river bank, edge’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 541) of the \text{bin ~ bun} type alternations (see under → bīn}_2 \text{ 濱; §11.5.1).} \\
\text{fēn}_5 & \text{ 墮 (pj\text{\text{"u}}n) LH bun, OCM *b\text{\text{"a}}n} \\
& \quad \text{― [T] MTang bvun, ONW bun} \\
& \quad \text{‘Big (head, drum), big-horned’ \& ‘greatness’ 墮 [Shi], ‘big drum’ 炎 [Shu]; ‘well-set (fruit)’ 燧 [Shi]; ‘ram’ 祐 [SW], ‘sheep-shaped demon’ 燮 [Guoyu]; ‘tumulus’ 墮 [Li];} \\
& \quad \text{in most modern dialects ‘a grave’. ‘Raised bank, bank of a river’ → fēn}_5 \text{ 墮 may be the same word, unless it is a vocalic variant of pīn 頻 ‘river bank, edge’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 541) of the \text{bin ~ bun} type alternations (see under → bīn}_2 \text{ 濱; §11.5.1).} \\
\text{fēn}_6 & \text{ 墮 (pj\text{\text{"u}}n) LH bun, OCM *b\text{\text{"a}}n} \\
& \quad \text{― [T] MTang bvun, ONW bun} \\
& \quad \text{‘Raised bank, bank of a river’ 墮 [Shi] may be a vocalic variant of pīn 頻 ‘river bank, edge’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 541) of the \text{bin ~ bun} type (see under → bīn}_2 \text{ 濱; §11.5.1).} \\
\text{fēn}_7 & \text{ 懿 → fēn}_2 \text{ 雲氖} \\
\text{fēn}_8 & \text{ 態 → fēn}_2 \text{ 雲氖} \\
\end{align*}
\]
There are several possible etymologies (see - fen2 for additional considerations): (1) ST *pul: TB-PKiranti phu! ‘flour’, WB ph un ‘dust’ etc., see - fen2 雾氤 item (6). — (2) Haudricourt / Strecker (TP 77, 1991: 339) believe that the CH word is a loan from PMY *mpanB ‘flour’; Sagart (ICSTLL 1994: 7) argues the opposite. Both in MY and CH ‘flour’ and - fen2 雾氤 ‘mist, hoarfrost’ may be cognate.

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fēng – féng

fēng₄ 鋒蜂 (pʰjwɤŋ) LH pʰuŋ, OCM *phəŋ
‘Sharp point (of weapon, insect)’ 鋒 [Shi] > ‘bee, wasp’ [Guanzi, SW] > ‘wasp-stung’ 鋒 [Shi]. Perh. → fēng₅ 鋒 is the s. w.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR fun (平); MGZY hwung (平) [fun]
[D] M-Xiànhén lit. hōŋ⁴, col. pʰuŋ⁴ 锋
※ fēng 鋒 (bjwɔŋ) LH buŋ, OCM *boŋ
‘To sew’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR fun (平); MGZY hwung (平) [fun]; ONW buŋ
[D] M-Xiànhén lit. hōŋ⁴, col. paŋ⁴ 锋
※ fèng 縱 (bjɛŋ⁷) LH buŋ⁷, OCM *boŋh
‘A seam’ [Shi].
[D] M-Xiànhén lit. hōŋ⁷, col. pʰuŋ⁷ 縄
[<] exopass. of fēng, lit. ‘what is sewn’ (§4.4).

fēng₅ 峰 (pʰjwɔŋ) LH pʰuŋ, OCM *phəŋ
‘Mountain peak’ 峰 [SW] may be the s. w. as → fēng₄ 锋 ‘sharp point’, but AA-Khmer /kpun/ ‘summit, peak’ which, if not a CH loan, suggests a separate MK origin.

fēng₆ 豐 (pʰjwŋ) LH pʰuŋ, OCM *phuŋ
‘Be abundant’ [Shi]. For wider relations see §2.5.1.

fēng₇ 風 (pjwŋ) LH pʰuŋ, OCM *pʊm, OCB *p(r)jɔ̃/um
‘Wind, air, tune’ [Shi]. Deng Xiǎo-huà 董曉花 (YYWX 1994.9: 142) suggests that the word fēi-lián 漂廉, glossed 疾風 ‘ill wind’ in Shíjī, is actually a dialect variant of fēng.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR fun (平); MGZY hwung (平) [fun]; MTang pfuŋ, ONW puŋ
[D] PMin *pʊŋ
※ fēng 颱 (pjwŋ⁷) LH puŋ⁷, OCM *pʊm
‘To chant, recite’ [Zhouli].
[<] exactive of fēng 風 (§4.3).
※ fēng 颳 (bjwŋ) LH buŋ⁷, OCM *pʊm
‘Easy-flowing’ (sound) [Zuo].
[<] endopass. of fēng 颪 (§4.6).
[E] ‘Wind’ fēng is thought to be connected with Tai: S. lom⁴ < *dlyomA₂ ‘wind’. PKS *hlwum¹ (Benedict 1976: 99); a 12th cent. Korean word for ‘wind’ is read pallam (Zhāng Xīngyà 張興亞 1996.4: 9) which also suggests a possible medial *l in a proto-form. The AA-Wa-Lawa-Bulang word *p-hom ‘air’ is closer to OC, but may be a loan. TB languages have a word with final velar as in MC: KN *m-puŋ ‘air, wind’ [IST: 27]. → fān₂ 帆 ‘sail’ is prob. cognate.

fēng₈ 楓 (pjwŋ) LH pʰuŋ, OCM *pʊm — [D] PMin *pʰioŋ
‘A kind of maple, Liquidambar formosana’ [Chuci].

fēng₁ 運ienza (bjwɔŋ) LH buŋ, OCM *boŋ — [T] ONW buŋ
‘To meet with (calamities etc.)’ (< ‘be hit by’?); ‘knock against’ 運 [SW] (also QYS pʰjwŋ). A Mandarin colloquial variant is prob. → pèng 碰.

fēng₂ 選迀 (bjwɔŋ) LH buŋ, OCM *boŋ — [T] ONW buŋ
‘Great’ (of descendants) 選 [Shi], 揺 [Zhuang]. For wider relations see §2.5.1.
fēng — fù

fēng₃ 纖 → fēng₄ 鋒锋

fēng₄ 潛 → fēng₇ 風

fēng₃ 纏 (bjwɔn⁷, pʰjwɔn⁷)  LH buŋ⁷, pʰuŋ⁷, OCM *bɔŋ⁷, phɔŋ⁷ < PCH *wŋ⁷.

‘To hold in two hands, hold up, present’ [Shi], ‘receive’ [Shi, Zuo]; ‘grasp with both hands’ (MC pʰjwɔn⁷ only) 擡 [Zhuang]. Downer (1959: 284) reads ‘to present’ [Zuo] in tone C which agrees with its ezaactive / ditransitive function (§4.3), ‘receive’ tone B agrees with the endoactive function.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR fǔ (平), LR vuŋ; MGZY Hwung (上) [vuŋ]; ONW buŋ

[D] M-Xiàmén (lit.) hōŋ⁷

fēng₄ 等 (bjwɔn⁵) LH buŋ⁵, OCM *bɔŋ⁵

(What is received:) ‘salary’ [Guoce].

[k] exopass. of fēng 奉 (§4.4).

[E] Bodman (1980: 165) compares this to WT ‘brouŋ ‘wait upon, serve’; alternatively, note Chepang pùn n. ‘present’. A possible variant may be fèn, 䠀 (bjwɔn⁷) ‘grasp, join hands’ [Guoce].

fēng₅ 風 → fēng₇ 風

fēng₃ 風 (bjwɔn⁵) LH puɔn⁵, OCM *pɔms — [D] M-Xiàmén (lit.) hōŋ⁷

‘Phoenix’ 鳳凰 [Shi].

[B] This word has been related to → fēng₇ 風 ‘wind’, and by Wáng Li (1982: 318) to pêng 鵬 (bøj) ‘a fabulous great bird, roc’ [Zhuang].

fùu₁ 不 (pjwɔ⁸, pʰjwɔ⁸) LH pu⁸, OCM *pa⁸

‘To soar’ [Lü, SW] is a late word (Lü ca. 239 BC), but the original OB graph has been interpreted as a soaring bird (so SW; Karlgren GSR no. 999a) in which case the word would be very old. Fùu is perh. cognate to → fèn 䠀 ‘to soar’. WT semantics suggest possible cognition with pf (pʰjji), LH pʰja, *phro? ‘grand’ [BI].

[E] ST: WT pʰag-pa ‘to rise, raise, soar up’ (to heaven) > ‘exalted, distinguished’ (for the final consonants, see §3.2.2).

fùu₂ 否 → bù₁ 不

(fu₁) □ A Min dial word for ‘scum, froth’.

Fùzhōu pʰuọ⁸, Fùán pʰut⁶, Amoy pʰet⁶, is from a MK substrate: Viet. bọt ‘scum, bubbles, froth’ (Norman / Mei 1976: 298). There may also be a connection with TB-Lushai pʰuut⁶ ‘scum, foam’.

fū₂ 夫 (pjw) LH puɔ, OCM *pa

‘Man, husband’; suffix for men of various occupations, e.g. nǒng-fū 農夫 ‘farmer, farm laborer’ (to be distinguished from nǒng-fǔ 農父 ‘minister of agriculture’, see → fū₁ 父); measure word for ordinary and low ranking people [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR fu (平); MGZY Hwʊ (平) [fu]; MTàng pfu < pfuo, ONW puɔ

[E] ST: PTB *pa (STC: 174 n. 463; *(p)wa; Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 153ff) > WT suffix -pa for nouns, especially male concepts as opposed to female ones. JP wa₃₃ ‘man’ (male), ‘male’, Lushai paa⁴ ‘male person’. This word prob. belongs to the same root as → fū₁ 父 ‘father’ (so Matisoff op. cit.).

fū₃ 鉶 → fū₁ 斧

fū₄ 專敷鋪 → bù₄ 布

fū₅ 柏 → fū₁₆ 浮
**fu**

**fu₁** 夫 (bju) LH bua (or pua ?), OCM *ba or *pa?

'That' [Shi, Zuo]. Pulleyblank (1995: 165) suggests that the earlier initial might have been *p- since *bī 彼 is derived from *fū; the reading *fū OC *ba ‘introductory particle’ (Graham BSOAS 35, 1: 85–110) may have been applied to the rare word *fū ‘that’.

[<] ST: PL *m-bu1, WT pʰa ‘beyond, onward’ (HST: 147).

**fu₂** 扶 (bju) LH bua, OCM *ba — [T] MTang bu< buuo, ONW buo — [D] PMin *bʰio.

'To support, assist' [Lunyu].

**fu₃** 扶 (pjuc) LH puC, OCM *pah

‘Assistant’ [Shi]; ‘teacher, instruct’ [Zuo].

**fu₄** 輔 (bjuC) LH buoC, OCM *bah


**fu₅** 服 (bjuk) LH buk, OCM *bak, OCB *bjak

'To lie down, put down, suppress' 伏 [Shi]; 'to submit' 服 [BI, Shi, Shu].

[<] ST: TB-Lushai b;;k L / b;;7 L ‘to lie down, recline’ (as animals, or on stomach like animals or humans).

**fu₆** 符 — [D] PMin *pho ‘to hatch’ (so Karlgren 1956: 12). It is still current in Mín: Fúzhōu pou C², Xiǎmén pu C². This word has several variants: *pho ‘to hatch’ [Dadai Liji]; báo 袍 (bāu C) [GY]. The word also occurs Tai: S. vak D² ‘to hatch’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 129).

[<] exoactive / transitive of 符 (bjuk) (§4.3).

**fu₇** 不 *not* — bū₁ 不

**fu₈** 弗 (pjuat) LH put, OCM *pot, OCB *pjut

‘Gust of wind’ [Shi].

[<] A sound-symbolic area word: ST: WT ‘bud-pa, bus ‘to blow’ intr. ≠ ‘bud-pa, pʰus, dbu ‘to blow’ tr. ≠ bud ‘cloud of dust’ ≠ sbud-pa ‘bellows’. <> PMK *puut ‘to blow’
The Tai word S. \( \text{S}. \text{p}\text{h} \text{a}\text{t} \text{D} \text{2} \) (PT \*b-) may be a CH loan because of the vowel (from CH \*g). Many TB languages have initial \( \text{m} \)- in words for ‘blow’ as WB \text{hmut} ‘blow with the mouth’; but these items seem to be unrelated and derived from ‘mouth’, see \( \text{w} \text{e}\text{n}_{1} \) \text{t} \text{h} [\text{CVST} 1: 8 adds words for ‘dust’ which may be related to the WT etyma: WB \text{p}\text{u}\text{t} ‘dust’, Lushai \text{p}\text{u}\text{t} \text{L} ‘flowery, powdery’.

\[ \text{fú} \]

(Shorto 1976: 102). The Tai word S. \( \text{p}\text{h} \text{u}\text{t} \text{D} \text{2} \) (PT \*b-) may be a CH loan because of the vowel (from CH \*g). Many TB languages have initial \( \text{m} \)- in words for ‘blow’ as WB \text{hmut} ‘blow with the mouth’; but these items seem to be unrelated and derived from ‘mouth’, see \( \text{w} \text{e}\text{n}_{1} \) \text{t} \text{h} [\text{CVST} 1: 8 adds words for ‘dust’ which may be related to the WT etyma: WB \text{p}\text{u}\text{t} ‘dust’, Lushai \text{p}\text{u}\text{t} \text{L} ‘flowery, powdery’.

\[ \text{fú}_{9} \] 拂 (p\text{ji}u\text{t}) LH \text{p}\text{u}\text{t}, OCM \text{*p\text{d}t} \\
‘To brush off, shake off’ [Li, Zuo]. CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5.

\[ \text{fú}_{10} \] 拂 (p\text{ji}u\text{t}) LH \text{p}\text{u}\text{t}, OCM \text{*p\text{d}t} \\
‘To eliminate, clear away’ (dense vegetation) [Shi].

\[ \text{fú}_{11} \] 拂 (p\text{ji}u\text{t}) LH \text{p}\text{u}\text{t}, OCM \text{*p\text{d}t} \\
‘Screen, cover’ for a chariot [Shi]. This may be the s. w. as \( \text{fú}_{14} \) 鼻希 ‘apron, knee cover’.

\[ \text{fú}_{12} \] 拂 → \( \text{fú}_{15} \) 鼻希

\[ \text{fú}_{13} \] 拂 (p\text{ji}u\text{t}) LH \text{p}\text{u}\text{t}, OCM \text{*p\text{d}t} — [T] ONW \text{p}\text{u}\text{t} \\
‘Be gushing, rushing’ (as spring, water, wind) [Shi].

\[ \text{fú}_{14} \] 鼻希 (p\text{ji}u\text{t}) LH \text{p}\text{u}\text{t}, OCM \text{*p\text{d}t} < \text{*p\text{u}} \\
‘Ceremonial apron’ as knee cover, ‘knee cover’ 希 [Shi], 紧 [Li].

\[ \text{fú}_{12} \] 拂 (p\text{ji}u\text{t}) LH \text{p}\text{u}\text{t}, OCM \text{*p\text{d}t} — [T] ONW \text{p}\text{u}\text{t} \\
‘Ceremonial apron’ as knee cover, ‘knee cover’ [Shi].

\[ \text{fú}_{13} \] 拂 (p\text{ji}u\text{t}) LH \text{p}\text{u}\text{t}, OCM \text{*p\text{d}t} — [T] ONW \text{p}\text{u}\text{t} \\
‘Ceremonial apron’ as knee cover, ‘knee cover’ [Shi].
would be the same etymon as \( \text{fú}_1 \) 禦 ‘screen, cover’ and perhaps \( \text{fú}_1 \) 禦 ‘screen, cover’; not related to \( \text{fé}_2 \) 腓 ‘calf of leg’.

\( \text{fú}_1 \) 馤 (pjua) LH put, OCM *pat

‘Emblem-adorned’ 馤 [Shi]: ‘head ornament’ 禦 [Yi] is either cognate to WT spud-pa ‘to decorate’ ≈ spus ‘goodness, beauty’; or it may be the s. w. as \( \text{fú}_1 \) 雰带 ‘apron, knee cover’ and \( \text{fú}_1 \) 禦 ‘screen, cover’.

\( \text{fú}_2 \) 浮 (bju) LH bu, OCM *bu, OCB *b(r)ju

‘To float’ [Shi].

\[ \text{T} \] Sin Sukchu SR vaw (平); MGZY Hwow (平) [vaw]; MTang buu, ONW bu

\[ \text{D} \] M-Xiamén, Fúzhōu p^u^A2

\[ \text{E} \] Acc. to Norman (1986: 382) the Northern Min ‘softened initial’ *b- points to OC prenasalization which is supported by Yao bjou² < *nb-.

\( x \) \( \text{fú} \) 禔 (p^ju) LH p^buo, OCM *pho

‘Small bamboo raft’ 璛 [Lunyu, GY], 汎 [Guoyu] (Mand. fū).

\( \sim \) \( \text{fú} \) 栈 (pju) LH puo, OCM *po

‘A raft’ 栈 [Guanzi, FY].

\[ \text{E} \] Note Lepcha să-pó ‘raft’, perh. also Lushai puumL (Unger; HST: 80).

\( x \) \( \text{fú} \) 禐 (bju^b, bou^b) LH buo^b, bo^b, OCM *bo?, *bō?

‘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 allofam is \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{fú}_5 \) 箕.

\( \text{fú}_1 \) 䗿 (bjou) LH bu, OCM *bu

‘Large ant, ephemeria’ [Shi].

\( \sim \) \( \text{fú}-\text{yóu} \) 䗿䗿 (bjou-jjou) LH bu-ju, OCM *bu-ju

‘Large (winged) ant, ephemeria’ [Shi].

\( \sim \) \( \text{pf-} \) 䗿䗿 (bi 4-bjou) LH bi-ju, OCM *bi-ju

‘Large ant’ [GY].


\( \text{fú}_2 \) 蝾 \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{fú}_1 \) 浮

\( \text{fú}_1 \) 禦 (pjuk) LH puk, OCM *pok, OCB *pjuk

‘Benefit, good fortune’ [OB, BI, Shi].

\[ \text{T} \] Sin Sukchu SR fu (入); PR, LR fu; MGZY Hwu (入) [fu]; MTang pfu, ONW puk

\( \sim \) \( \text{fú} \) 富 (pjau^c) LH pu^c, OCM *pokh \[ \text{T} \] MTang pfu, ONW pu

‘Be rich, wealthy’ [BI, Shi].

\[ \text{E} \] ST: WT pʰyug-pa ‘rich’ \( x \) pʰyugs ‘cattle’ (Bodman 1980: 49), but the vowels do not agree (§11.10.4). Sagart (1999: 58) considers \( \rightarrow \) bāo 豪 ‘precious’ to be a likely cognate.

\( \text{fú}_2 \) 蝾 \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{bián} \) 3-\( \text{fú} \) 蝰蜴

\( \text{fú}_1 \) 斧 (pjub) LH puo^b, OCM *pa?

‘Ax’ [Shi].

\[ \text{T} \] Sin Sukchu SR fu (上); MGZY Hwu (上) [fu]; MTang pfu < pفوو, ONW puo

\[ \text{D} \] PMin *puo^b

\( x \) \( \text{fú} \) 鉛 (pjua) LH pua

‘Ax’ [Li].
fū – fù


fū_2 府 → fù_3 付
fū_3 臨 → fù_3 付

fū_4 腐 (pjùB) LH puoB, OCM *po?
‘Rotten, putrid’ [Li] is prob. cognate to Lepcha por, pór ‘to spoil, smell’ (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 34).

fū_5 甫 (pjùB) LH puoB, OCM *pa?
An honorific suffix attached to names of high-ranking men, marks also respected persons engaged in a certain activity, e.g. công-fū 從父 (= 甫) ‘followers’ (of a respected clan) [BI, Shi]. This suffix is written → fù_1 父 in the BI and seems to be a variant or cognate of same. Some TB languages have parallel developments where the cognate PTB *-pa is a nominalizing suffix, e.g. WT tʰa-ga-pa (< *tak-a-pa) ‘weaver’ from tʰa-ga ‘to weave’ [LaPolla, LTBA 17.1, 1994: 77].

fū_6 甫 → bù_3 布

fū_7 甫 ‘begin’ → fāng_3 方
fū_8 輔 → fù_2 扶

fū_9 膚 (pjù) LH puo, OCM *pa
‘Human skin’ > ‘skin’ figuratively [Shi].

This word is usually considered cognate to PTB *s-pak > WT -lpaŋ- ‘skin’ (Bodman 1980: 132; HST: 134), and to Tai-S. phākDIT < *pl- ‘husk, bark’ (Li F. 1976: 41), also AA-PSBahn. *pelok ‘skin’. However, the WT word may instead be related to po 萬 (pʰāk) *phlak ‘hide soaked in rain’ [SW], which, however, could be just a dictionary word (the SW definition looks like a description of the graph, implying that its real etymology and meaning was a matter of speculation for Xu Shèn). Note also luó 萬, LH lak ‘raw skin, hide’ [Lü] which may be connected.

fū_10 撫 (pjùB) LH pʰuO, OCM *pha?
‘To accommodate oneself to, follow, manage, handle’ [BI, Shi, Shu], ‘lay hands on’ [Li], ‘pacify, stabilize’ [Zuo]. Wáng Li (1982: 176) relates this wf to → mù_6 慕 ‘love’ (unlikely).

≈ fū 拂 (pjùB) LH pʰuO, OCM *pho?
‘Lay hands on, comfort, handle, strike (musical instrument)’ [Shi, Shu].

These two nearly identical items were homophones at least by ONW. They are prob. cognates (so Wáng Li 1982: 176), if not even just phonological or graphical variants of the same word. Perh. an AA substrate word: AA-Wa-Lawa-Bulang *pac ‘to caress’.

fù_1 父 (bjuB) LH buoB, OCM *ba?
‘Father, male relative of the father’s generation: uncle’ [BI, Shi].

Sin Sukchu SR fu (上); MGZY hwu (上) [vu]; MTang buv < buvo, ONW buo

Mand. bà-bá 爸爸 may be the col. version. As suffix fù has the same function as → fù_5 甫 (prob. cognate), e.g. nǒng-fù 農父 ‘minister of agriculture’ (to be distinguished from nǒng-fù 農夫 ‘farmer, farm laborer’, see → fù_2 夫); or the suffix fù may simply be intended to write fù, especially in the BI. → fù_2 夫 may be from the same root.

ST: a common onomatopoetic word ‘father’; PTB *pa (STC: 174 n. 463) > WT pʰa, WB ə-bhaC, ə-phaC; JP waC; Lushai paF < paa?. ◄ PTai *b-: S. pʰaC ‘father’.
fù

fù₂ 付 → fù₄ 赴

fù₃ 付 (pju₃) LH puo, OCM *poh — [T] MTang pfu < pfuo, ONW puo

‘To hand over, give’ [BI, Shu].

[<] exoactive of fù 府 (pju₄) ‘accumulate’ (§4.3).

%-fù 府 (pju₃) LH puo, OCM *poh

‘Storehouse’ > ‘repository’ [Zhouli], ‘treasury’ [Sun], ‘magazine’ 府 [Zuo] > ‘the bowels’ 腹 [Huainanzi]; ‘accumulate’ 府 [Shu] (Karlsgren 1956: 6). GY says 腹 is the s. w. as fù 府, Wáng Lì (1982: 200) points to the semantic parallel zàng 藏 (dzàng) ‘storehouse’ > 藏 ‘intestines’ (under → cáng 藏). However, 腹 may be a separate word, belonging to → fù₄ 赴.

%-fù 符 (bju₃) LH buo, OCM *bo

‘A tally’ [Zhouli]; Mand. ‘symbol, to tally’.

[<] tone A nominalization derived from fù 附 below (§3.1).

%-fù 附 (bju₃) LH buo, OCM *boh

‘To adjoin, stick to’ 腹 [Shi]; ‘adjoint a dead person in a ceremony’ [Zuo], ‘bury two together’ 腹 [Li]; ‘additional horse’ 腹 [Hanfei]; ‘to add to, increase’ 腹 [Lü] > ‘lean on’ [Yi].

[<] perh. endopass. of fù 付 (pju₄) (§4.6).

fù₄ 附 (bju₃) LH buo, OCM *boh

‘Intestines’ [Han time].

= Perh. fù 堆 (bju₃) LH buo, OCM *boh

‘Scales under the stomach of a snake’ [Zhuang].

[IE] ST and area word: PTB *(s-)pu → *(s-)bu ‘belly, stomach’ (Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 165). On the other hand, this word may belong to → fù₃ 付 (note 府 ‘bowels’). Perh. related to → fù₁₃ 腹.

fù₅ 堆 → fù₄ 附

fù₆ 附 a 腹 → fù₃ 付

fù₇ 甾 (bju₄) LH bu, OCM *bu, OCB *bu(ŋ)j? — [T] MTang bu, ONW bu

‘Big mound, earthen hill’ [Shi]; prob. = ‘be big and fat, ample’ → fù₈ 甾.

~ pōu 背. 甾 部 (bou₄) LH bo, OCM *bō?

‘Hillock’ 部 [Zuo]; ‘mound’ 背 [Guoyu]. In the Han period, pōu was a dialect word for → fén, 堆 in the Qin-Jin area [FY 13, 154].


%-bū-nōu 部囊 (bou₄-œu₄) LH bo-nōu, OCM *bō?

‘Small hill’ [Zuo]; JP po₅₅-lo₅₅ ‘small hill’ looks like a CH loan.

~ bōu-ōu 附囊 (bju₄-œu₄) LH buo, OCM *bō

The MC initial l- in the binomes above introduces reduplicative syllables and therefore does not necessarily indicate an OC initial consonant cluster.

[IE] Prob. the same etymon as → fù₈ 甾. For wider relations see §2.5.1. This group prob. does not belong to the wf. → bèi₄ 倍 ‘double’ (so Wáng Lì 1982: 103), although in a AA-Khmer parallel, the notion ‘swelling mass, heap, mound, add on’ are expressed by the same stem /bok/ ‘swelling mass’, bānuŋka ≠numnuuk/ ‘heap, pile, stack, rick’ < -būka -puk/ ‘mass, mound, group’. AA → TB-Lepcha bok ‘to heap up’ (Forrest JAOS 82, 1962: 334); Proto-Koch *bok ‘to swell’ [Burling 1959: 444].
If not connected with → fūɡ 䵓, then perh. cognate to AA: PSBahn. *buaj ‘hilltop’. For CH tone B for foreign -k, see §3.2.2.

fūɡ 䵓 (bjouB) LH buB, OCM *buʔ, OCB *b(r)juʔ?
‘Be big and fat, ample’ [Shi], prob. = fūɡ 䵓 ‘big mound’.

fūɡ 䵓 (bjouB) LH buB, OCM *buʔ, OCB *b(r)juʔ?
‘Large’, abstract as in ‘largest thing possible’ [Zhuang].

fūɡ 䵓 (bjouB) LH buB < buaB, OCM *baʔ, OCB *baʔ?
‘Woman, wife’ [OB, BI, Shi].

fūɡ 䵓 (bjouB) LH buB < buaB, OCM *baʔ, OCB *baʔ?
‘To give, contribute > contributions, taxes’ [BI, Shi, Shu] has been compared to WT dypa ‘tax, duty, tribute’.

fūɡ 䵓 (bjouB) LH buB < buaB, OCM *baʔ, OCB *baʔ?
‘To carry on the back, support’ [BI, Shi].

fūɡ 䵓 (bjouB) LH buB < buaB, OCM *baʔ, OCB *baʔ?
(1) ‘Turn the back on, obstinate’ [Shi, ʃi]; ‘turn the back on, obstinate’ [Li].

Even though the OC vowel / rime was clearly *-o (not *-u), fū could also, or instead, be connected with a synonymous etymon *bu or *bøʔ, because after labials earlier *u and *a may have merged on occasion in OC (§11.10.4), unless the above TB items belong to → bao, 𠄍 instead. PTB *bøw or *baw ‘carry on back or shoulder’ (STC no. 28; p. 22; HPTB: 199; HST: 52; Weidert 1987: 138) > Chepang buy- ‘carry on the back’ ≠ bu- ‘carry on back’; Mikir, Meitei pu; Lepcha bū ‘bear, carry, burden, load’; PLB *buv2 [Matisoff D. of Lahu: 827] > WB puiB ‘bear on the back’, Lushai pua / po / puak (tone?) ‘carry on the back’ (as a child), prob. also Lushai puiH / putL ‘carry on the shoulder’, puiH ‘carry a load on the back, to bear’; Lepcha bük ‘back, wrong side’.

fūɡ 䵓 (bjouB) LH buB, OCM *bākh (or *bōʔh ?) — [T] ONW bai
(2) ‘Turn the back to / on’ [Shi], 健 [Li]; ‘turn the back on, obstinate’ 健 [Li].

< endopass. of bēi 背 [poh] (§4.6).
fu


 бю [puːj] LH pəj, OCM *pək
‘The back’ [Shi 300, 4], ‘back quarters’ [Shi 62, 4].

[pющ]  bę (pəj) LH pəj, OCM *pək
‘Turn the back to, retreat’ [Zuo] > ‘north’ [BI, Shi] (what the back is turned to when facing south).

[b дух] fу (bjuk) LH buʃ, OCM *buk
‘To come back, return, restore’ [BI, Shi], ‘reply’ [Zuo], ‘report’ [Lunyu].

[u дух] bух (bjuk) LH buʃ, OCM *buk
‘Repeatedly, again’ [BI, Shi], ‘to repeat’ [Meng], ‘again’ [Lunyu] is an adverbial derivation (Downer 1959: 289) (§3.5).

[ب дух] fух (pjuk) LH puk, OCM *puk
‘Double, lined’ (garment) [Li].

[p дух] фух (phjuk) LH phuk, OCM *phuk
‘To overturn, violate, ruin’ [Shi], ‘repeatedly’ [Meng], ‘overthrow’ [Zuo] > ‘on the contrary’ [Shi].

[a дух] fух (pjuk) LH puk, OCM *puk
‘Overturn, violate, ruin’ [Shi], ‘to repeat’ [Meng], ‘overthrow’ [Zuo] > ‘on the contrary’ [Shi].

[f дух] фух (pjuk) LH puk, OCM *puk
‘‘Cave’ [SW], ‘belly’ [BI, Shi].

[f дух] фух (pjuk) LH puk, OCM *puk
‘A kind of snake’ [Shanhaijing, Chuci], Guo Pli says фу-ху! ‘a snake with upturned snout’. This may be cognate to ā-fù 服 ‘to lie down, lie on the stomach

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(as animals)’, as in some cultures the snake is associated with the notion of ‘walking on the stomach’. Alternatively, 腹 may be connected to PTB *bu ‘insect, snake’.

腹 (bjwak) LH buck, OCM *bak
‘To bind, wrap, roll, bonds’ [Zuo]. The MC div. III syllable of this type is unique (labial initial, rime -jak).

[T] MTang buvak, ONW buak < bak
[D] PMin *bak > Amoy bak$D2$, Fúzhōu puo$D2$, Jiànyáng po$D2$ ‘to tie’.

The AA semantic range suggests that the following word is prob. related:

薄 (bāk) LH bak, OCM *bāk
‘Trees with interlaced branches’ 薄 [Chuci], ‘trellis’ [Liji]; ‘sit with legs crossed under body’ 畦 [Zhuang].

腹 → 腹 扶

富 → 福
gāi 陔 (kāi)  LH  ka, OCM  *kā
‘Steps, stair’ [Shi].

[g] ? ST: Perh. the cognate of the TB word for ‘stairs, ladder’ as represented in WB hle-ka ʰ ‘stairs, ladder’ (hle ‘ladder’), JP la₃₃-ka ʰ ‘steps’. WT skras, skas-ka, skad ‘ladder’ belong either here, or perh. to → jie, 階 because of the medial *r.

gāi 改 (kāi)  LH  ka, OCM  *kǎ? < *ka?  
‘To change’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kai (上); MGZY gay (上) [kaj]; ONW kai


gài 蓋 → hé 壺蓋

gān₁ 干 (kān)  LH  kan, OCM  *kǎn — [T] ONW kan
‘A shield’ [Shi], ‘knock against, violate’ [Zuo]. → gān₂ 干 may be the s. w.

※ hàn 擄開 (yǎn)  LH  gàn, OCM  *gāns
‘Protect, guard’ [Shu], ‘ward off’ 扉 [Li]; ‘gate’ 開 [BI, Zuo].

[E] ST: WT ‘gal-ba ‘to oppose, transgress, violate’; WB ka ‘a shield, to ward off’ (Bodman 1980: 137; HST: 157); Lushai inl-kaL < -kalʔL ‘to withstand, oppose’ ※ kalʔL ‘to withstand, oppose, to cross’. CH → Tai: S. kan ‘to prevent, keep out’. <> Perh. an area etymology, note MK: Khmer /k(a)ar/ ‘to defend, protect, guard, to shield, screen’.

gān₂ 干 (kān)  LH  kan, OCM  *kǎn
‘Riverbank’ [Shi].

[E] The etymology is not certain. The graph might simply have stood for the word → án₂ 岸 ‘river bank’. Or gān may be a variant of → kǎn 防 with aberrant final.

Finally, it could be the same word as → gān₁ 干 in the sense that a bank is a protection against the water; a semantic parallel is found in the wf → yà 亚 御 远 許.

gān₃ 干 ‘pole’ → gān₄ 竿

gān₄ 竿 (kān)  LH  kan, OCM  *kǎn
‘A bamboo pole, rod’ (for fishing etc.) 竿 [Shi], ‘flag pole’ (of slender bamboo) 干 [Shi]; ‘bamboo slip’ (for writing) 竿 [Zhuang]. This is apparently not a carrying pole, cf. → hè 何 果.

※ gān 游戏代 (kān)  LH  kan, OCM  *kǎn?
‘Slender bamboo’ [Lie]; ‘straw of grain’ 稻 [Zuo]; ‘shaft of arrow’ 矛 [Zhouli].

[E] <> Perh. PMY *nqaan₂ ‘thatch grass’; Tai: S. kan ‘twig, stem, stalk’.

~ gē 筆 (kān, kān)  LH  kān, kan, OCM  *kāi?, *kǎn?
‘Shaft of an arrow’ [Zhouli].

※ gē 竭個 (kāi)  LH  kāi, OCM  *kāi
‘Bamboo stalk’ > ‘piece, item’ [Xun] > classifier for every category of noun (Norman 1988: 115).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ko (去), LR ko; MGZY go (去) [ko]; ONW ko

[D] Y- Tài shān kuo CI, Kāiping kuai CI; K-Méixiàn jī ke C; PMin *kai C

[N] Contrary to what the phonetic suggests, the OC rime was *-ai, not *-a; perh. the graph became convention by the time OC *kai had become kǎi in some dialect.

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gān — gān

[E] <> PTai *kaiB1: Lóngzhōu kǎiB1 ‘noun classifier, piece’, Saek kʰaI⁴ (< galA⁴) > kʰan⁴ ‘classifier for spoons, pencils, saws’. It also has been borrowed by Korean from an OC stratum (prob. Han): New Korean kāy (Miyake 1997: 186); Sino-Jap. ka is from MC.

* gān ㄆ (kān) LH kan, OCM *kān — [T] ONW kon ‘Piece, item’ [Li].

[E] Perh. ST: WT mkʰar-ba ~ kʰar-ba (< m-kar ~ n-kar) ‘staff, stick’ (HST: 141), but the semantics are ambiguous, and OC *-i for foreign *-r is rare (§7.7.4).

gān ㄍ (kān) LH kan, OCM *kām — [D] PMin *kanA1

‘Liver’ [Li]

[E] Etymology not certain. Perh. derivation from → kū ‘bitter’, semantically parallel to → xīn (STC: 158 n. 428), note TB: Garo bi-ka ‘liver’; however, a liver is not noted for being unusually bitter. On the other hand, gān may correspond to PTB *m-kal ‘kidneys’ (STC no. 12): WT mkʰal-ma, Lushai kat « kal?, Chepang g;). The TB etymon blends into words for ‘lower back’ (> hê, 何背).

gān ㄏ (kān) in dān-gān 丹砂 = ‘丹砂 ‘vermilion ore’, see → dān 丹 ‘vermilion’.

gān ㄒ (kām) LH kam, OCM *kām < *klam (prob. < *klum < *kloM) ‘Be sweet’ [Shi]. For the possible medial *-l, see §8.2.2.

[T] Sin S. SR kam (平), PR kan; MGZY gam (平) [kan]; ONW kan

[E] The homophone gān 柜 ‘Mandarin orange’ [Hanshu] may be the same etymon (Wang L1 1982: 623), but because of its southern origin, ‘orange’ may instead be connected with AA, note PNB *qíam ‘sweet’.

* hān 營 (yān) LH gom, OCM *gām < *glam ‘Be tipsy, drunk’ [Shu]; Mand. ‘drink to one’s heart’s content > fully, heartily’.

[c] endopass. of gān 甘 (§4.6).

[E] ST: PTB *klum ‘sweet’ [STC: 75 n. 231]: Lushai tʰlumH; Lepcha a-klyam < a-klyim ‘sweet’ (Geilich 1994: 262). Possibly connected with → tián, 甜 *lǐm ‘sweet’ (-um ~ -im variation (§11.5.1), difference in pre-initials).

gān ㄏ (kām) LH kon, OCM *kān

‘Dry’ (of food; plants dried by drought) [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kon (平), PR, LR kan; MGZY gan (平) [kan]; ONW kon

* hàn 靼 (yānB) LH gonB, OCM *gān?

‘Dry, drought’ [Shi].

[E] ST *kar or *kan: WB kʰanB ‘dry up’; JP kan31 ‘solidify, dry up’; Atsi kʰan ‘dry up’ (STC: 166 n. 444), perh. also Chepang gar? ‘bask, warm oneself in the sun’. For related and similar items, see under → gū, 偏 (including Table G-I) and → jiān, 坚 (including Table J-1). Karlgren (1956: 13) relates these items to → qián, 乾 ‘heavenly’.

gān ㄏ (kān) ‘Pursue, overtake’, a recent word not found in Guǎngyùn, Ji yüàn, etymology unknown (Norman 1988: 76 n.2).

gān ㄏ (kān) 梭 → gān ㄌ 笛

gān ㄍ (kāmB) LH kamB, OCM *kām? (< kwam ?) ‘Dare, take the liberty, presume’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kam (上), PR kan; MGZY gam (上) [kan]; ONW kan

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gǎn – gāng

[E] ST *k-wam: PTB *hwam (STC no. 216) ‘to dare’: Lushai huamH, WB wamC, JP wam33 ‘dare’; perhaps also WT ‘gam-pa’ ‘to try’. TB and OC can be reconciled if we assume an original *kwam > OC *kām (labial dissimilation, STC: 168 n. 449), but ~ *k-wam > PTB *hwam (devoicing of the initial with loss of voiceless pre-initial). If or how Viet. dám (< y-), Tai: S. h-yam2 ‘dare’ [Maspero 1912: 69] are connected is not clear.

gān4 感 (kāmB) LH kāmB, OCM *kām?
‘To sense, feel, touch’ [Shi], ‘move’ (heart) [Lūshi]. — [E] Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kām (平), PR kan; MGZY gam (上) [kan]; ONW kum

gān4 竿 → gān4 竿

gān6 短 → gān4 竿

gàn1 干 (kānC) LH kānC, OCM *kāns
‘Stem, framework, skeleton’ [Zuo]; ‘posts in a framework’ [Shu]; ‘support or occupations’ (for citizens) [BI, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kān (去), PR, LR kan; MGZY gan (去) [kan]

* hàn 翰 (yānC) LH gānC, OCM *gānA !, OCB *gans
‘To support’ (figuratively) [Shi]. OC tone A indicated by Shǐjīng rimes.

[E] Etymology not certain. This stem could be related to → hè1 何荷 ‘carry’, → kē1 柯 ‘handle’, or → gān4 竿 ‘bamboo rod’.

gàn2 當 (kānC) LH kānC, OCM *kāms < *klams
‘Purple’ [Lūn].


gāng1 竄 (kān) LH kān, OCM *kān < *kłan ?
‘Neck’ [SW].

[C] Derivations are perhaps → xiàng4 頸 ‘neck’, → háng4 頸 ‘stretch the neck’. This word prob. does not belong to → jīng2 靈 (so Wáng Li 1982: 321), unless gāng is a vocalic variant of the latter.


gāng2 竄 (kān) LH kān, OCM *kān
‘Ridge’ [BI, Shi].


gāng3 綱 (kān) LH kān, OCM *kān
‘Guiding rope (of a net)’ [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kān (平); MGZY gang (平) [kan]

[E] Etymology not clear. Possibly related to → qiāng1 緊 ‘string’; or be cognate to → qiàng 強 ‘strong’; not related to → jīng4 經 ‘pass through’.

gāng4 剛鋼 (kān) LH kān, OCM *kān — [T] ONW kōŋ
‘Hard, firm’ 剛 [Shi] > ‘steel’ 鋼 [Lie].

[<] terminative (§6.5.1) of → gǔ1 固 *kah, lit. ‘having become solid, hard’.
gang - gao

* qiang 强 (gian^B) LH gian^B, OCM *gian?
  'Hard (soil)' [Zhouli].

[E] ST root *ka (→ gi, 固): WT gapi 'ice' (terminative: < 'having become hard' of snow, water), Lushai kau 'congealed, solidified'. For related and similar items, see → gi, 固 (including Table G-1) and → jian, 坚 (including Table J-1). Perh. the wf → qiang 強強 'strong' belongs here as well.

gang_5 牠 (kang) LH kouj, OCM *kang < *kian? — [T] ONW kou
  'Bull, stud' [BI, Shi].

[E] ST: PTB *-lan with animal prefix *s- or *k-: Mru kla 'male', Lushai tlan 'male' (i.e. tlan^B-vaaliv 'young man'? [Löfler 1966: 120]; Mikir chè-lòq 'buffalo', WT glan 'ox' (Boodberg 1937: 363), glan-po-čqe ('big buffalo':) 'elephant'. The meaning glan 'elephant' must have been secondary because this animal is not indigenous in Tibet and only known through texts and stories relating to India. The WT word is not related to → xiang_5 象 'elephant'. For the OCM initial *kl-, see §8.2.2.

gang_6 肛 (kang, xian)
  'Lower intestines, anus' [GY, JY] is perh. related to TB-WT gzan (< *gryan? *glyan?) 'anus' (Unger Hao-ku 50, 1995: 157); see also → chang_6 腹.

gang 港 → jiang_1 江

gao_1 高 (kau) LH kou, OCM *kau
  'High' [OB, BI, Shi]. See → yuan_1 元 for possible TB cognates.
  [T] Sin Sukchu SR kaw (平); MGZY gaw (平) [kaw]; ONW kou

* gao 高 (kauC) LH kouC, OCM *kauh
  [C] Likely allofams are under → qiao_1 娇, perh. also → hao_3 浩 'vast, rising'.

gao_2-mei 高褐 → mei_6 媒褐

gao_3 膏 (kauC) LH kou(C), OCM *kau(h)
  'Grease, ointment' [Shi], 'fat' (of animals, persons) [Zuo] > 'to fatten' (e.g. millet shoots) [Shi], 'fertile, rich' [Guoyu]; > 'be glossy' [Shi]. SW says that → zhí_10 脂 'grease, fat' belongs to animals with horns, gao 膏 to animals without horns (e.g. pigs). Downer (1959: 278) reserves tone C reading MC kauC for verbal usages.

gao_4 羣 (kau) LH kou, OCM *kau
  'Lamb' [Shi], gao has the general meaning 'small, of an animal' in an ancient dialect (Wáng Lì 1982: 182f.); it is prob. not related to → gőu 狗 'dog'.

gao_5 囊 (kau) LH kou, OCM *kù < *klu?
  'Bow case (of tiger hide)' [BI, Shi].
  ~ Perh. tao 弩 (t^B-au) LH t'ou, OCM *luh?
  'Bow case' [Zuo]. These two words could be reconciled if we assume that MC t- derives from OCM *th- rather than *th-, and the div. I vocalism of gao is due to an earlier medial *-l- (§8.2.2). Such variants may indicate a foreign loan.

gao_1 洪 (kauB) LH kouB, OCM *kau?
  'White, brilliant' 增 [Meng]; 'plain white silk' 繭 [Shi].
  [E] This is prob. the same word as gao 膏 (kauB) (under → hao_2 浩), although the reason for the difference in OC rimes is not clear. <> Tai: S. kauA1 'white, clear, pale'.

  This item is prob. not related to he 銜 (xæk, yæk) 'rich white colors of birds', perh. 251
rather ‘glistening’ [Shi], because the initials MC x- and k- do not normally occur in the same wf. However, → hè 鶴 ‘crane, glistening white’ may be related.

gāo2 絛 - hào2 (皓)
gāo3 梓 → kāo3 落稿
gāo4 梓 → gāo1 稿
gāo 告 (kuok, kāuC) LH kouk, OCM *kūk(h) < *klu(h) — [T] ONW kau
‘To tell, report, announce, inform’ [BI, Shi]. Downer (1959: 286) reserves the tone D form LH kouk for the meaning ‘to tell’ (superiors).

≠ gāo 話 (kāuC) LH kouC, OCM *kūkh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu].

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

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‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

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‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

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‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

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‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

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‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]

< exoactive of gl1015- (kuok, kau C) LH kou c , OCM *kukh < *klukh
‘Announcement, make an announcement’ (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu]. [<]
which is the other meaning of this graph. Wáng Lì (1982: 81) considers gé an allofam of → gāi 改 and gēng 更 (kwa) *kraŋ 'change'.

gé₂ 隔 (kek) LH kek, OCM *krēk — [T] ONW kek 'To separate' [Guanzi].

=gé 隔 (kek) LH kek, OCM *krēk 'Membrane'. Unger (Hao-ku 51, 1995) suggests that mò 膜 (māk) 'membrane' which he sets up as OC *mārk is a morphological variant of this word. Alternatively, gé may be a variant of, or the same etymon as → gé₁ 革 (kek) 'hide, skin', although the OC rimes are different (*-ok vs. *-ek).

gé₃ 格 (kek) LH kak, OCM *krēk 'Clothes rack' [Tang] is perh. a cognate or variant of jiā 架 (ka) 'clothes rack' [Jinshu] (so LaPolla 1994: 141). See also → gé₂ 格.

gé₄ 格 (kek) LH kak, OCM *krēk 'To come, go to, arrive' [OB, BL, Shu], originally written 各.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaw (入); MGZY gyay (入) [kjaj]

~ jiā 假 (ka) LH kaB, OCM *kraŋ — [T] ONW kā 'To come, go to' [Shi]. Because jiā 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.

[É] ? ST: Perh. cognate to WT 'gro-ba 'to walk, go, travel' (which could derive from either *ngra or *ngra) ≈ 'gro-ba-po 'traveler' ≈ 'gron-pa 'to go, travel' ≈ gron-kraŋ 'inn' ≈ mgon 'guest' [Geilich 1994: 19f]. For the vocalic discrepancy, see §12.9 (3). Acc. to Baxter (1992: 329), → lú₃ 路 (*g-rak) could be related to the above; also → kē₃ 客 'guest', → lā₃ 旅 'travel, lodge', → xīng_{1} 行 (root *kraŋ) 'to go'.

gé₅ 骷 (kek) LH kak, OCM *krēk 'Bones' [Liji 6/10 = Couvr. I: 338]

≠ gé 骷 (kek, kæk, kāk) LH k(k)ak, kak, OCM *k(h)rāk, *kāk < *klak 'Haunch' of victim [Yili] is prob. the same word as 'bones'.


gé₆ 骑 (kek) LH kak, OCM *krēk 'Deer’s horn' [L]. Benedict (1976: 174) compares this word with PTB *rwā ~ *rwāk ~ *rwāŋ 'horn' (~ gōng₉ qen). He mentions Dzorgai (Thochu) rak 'horn', but we should expect a MC medial w.

gé₇ 楮 → gé₁ 各

gé₈ 楘蛤 → hé₅ 合

gē₁ 筏 → gān₄ 筏

gē₂ 筏 → jiā₂ 嘉

gē₃ 各 (kāk) LH kak, OCM *kāk 'Each' [Shi]. 各 is the original graph for → gé₄ 格 'go, come'; depicting two feet. Gé 閣 'one over the other' is perh. the s. w.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaw (入), LR kaw?, ko?; MGZY gaw (入) [kaw]; ONW kāk [<] perh. derived from jū 舉 with the distributive suffix *-k (so Pulleyblank 1973: 122); see §6.1.2.
gè – gēng

※ jǔ 擎 (kwogb) LH kieʔ, OCM *kəʔ
‘All’ [Zuo].

gè2 柜 (kâk) LH kok, OCM *kâk — [T] ONW kâk
‘Tree branch’ [Non-Bei chao], 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.
‘be forked’, Kachin kâʔH ‘be parted, separated’.

gè3 簡個 \(→\) gân4 竿

gè4 染 (kek) LH kek, OCM *kørk
‘Yoke’ [Zhouli] is prob. a nominal k-prefix derivation from → े, 厄軸 (§5.4).

gè5 揖 (kat, kât) LH kat, ket, OCM *kørêt
‘To scrape’ [SW].
to scrape’, Kachin kʰrét ‘rasp, grate’ (HST: 129). Tai: S. kʰraatH ‘to scrape, rake’ \(→\) kørêt ‘metal scraper or grater’.
[C] Allofams are perh.: → qǐ MLElement ‘skillful engraving’, → qǐ2 契. Connection with →
jie10 織 is doubtful.

gēn 根 (kən) LH kən, OCM *kən — [D] PMin *kyn > Amoy kunA1, Fuzhōu kyŋA1
‘Root, trunk’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kən (平); MGZY gó’in (平) [kən]; ONW kən
[E] AA: PVM *kəl ‘tree’ (trunk) [Ferlus], PMon *t(l)ggJ ‘stump’ (of tree, mushroom,
tooth), Khmer gāl ‘tree trunk’ [Maspero 1912: 21]. MK -> PTai *g-: S. khoonA2 ‘base
of tree, stump’ (irreg. tones, ‘perch’ in some Tai dialects).

gèn 將 \(→\) hèn 恨

gēng1 更 (kən) LH kən, OCM *kən
‘To change’ [Zuo]. Perh. this is the s. w. as → gēng3 廣. Wáng Lì (1982: 81) relates
gèng to gāi 改.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaij (平), PR kən – kən, LR kən; MGZY ɡying (平) [kaij]; ONW kən
※ gēng 更 (kənC) LH kənC, OCM *kənC
‘Again, still’ [Zuo].

gēng2 砍 ‘pit, hole’ \(→\) kēng1 坑院

gēng3 廣 (kənC) LH kənC, OCM *kənC(h)
‘To continue, succeed’ [Shu]; ‘take over (duties etc.)’ 更 [BI]. This is perh. the same
word as → gēng1 更 ‘change’.

gēng4 庚 ‘road’ \(→\) xǐng1 行

gēng5 耕 (kən) LH kən, OCM *kən
‘To plow’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaij (平), PR kən – kən; MGZY ɡying (平) [kaij]
[E] CVST 2: 67 connects this word with Lushai hren ‘to clear for cultivation’.

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gěng - ㄍㄥ

gěng 1 恙 (kênB) LH kênB, OCM *krêŋ?
‘Be brilliant’ (e.g. glory) [BI, Shu], ‘wide awake’ [Shi].

gěng 2 梁 ‘strong’ – qíáng0 强

gěng 3 梁 鰙 – hénɡ2 濰

gěng 1 恙 (kênC) LH kênC, OCM *kôŋh — [T] Sin Sukchu SR kâŋ (去), PR kîŋ (去)
‘To wax, increase’ (of moon, plants spreading) [Shi].
[E] Etymology not clear, but this word has some resemblance to – gěng 1 E *kraŋh ‘change’, and / or to MK-PVM *k-raŋh ‘month’, Pearic kæŋ ~ kxŋ ‘moon’.

gěng 2 工功攻 (kuŋ) LH kôn, OCM *kôn
‘Work, artisan’ [BI, Shi] > ‘achievement, merit’ [BI, Shu]; ‘to work, apply oneself’ > ‘attack’ [BI, Shi] (also MC kîn).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kûŋ (平); MGZY gung (平) [kuŋ]; ONW kôn
≠ sf-kông 司空 (si-k‘ung) LH -kôn, OCM *-kôn
‘Supervisor of artisans’ [Shi], a (later?) variant of 司工 [BI] (unless the graph 工 was here intended for *khoŋ).
[C] Perh. – gông2 Traits may be related.

gěng 2 䠞 (kuŋ) LH kôn, OCM *kowan, OCB *k* jan — [T] ONW kuŋ
‘A bow’ (for shooting) [OB, BI, Shi]. Foreign comparanda imply OC *kuŋ. The OC form *kuŋ is proved by Shijing rimes and may represent a particular OC dialect in which *u became centralized (Sagart 1999: 58).
[D] PMin *kioŋ; K-Meixian ㄆˋhien-ㄆˋkuŋA 天䠞 ‘rainbow’; PMin *kyŋ.
[C] Derivations are ➔ qiǒng0 穴 ‘vault, hole’, ➔ gǒng7 肱 ‘arm’.

gěng 3 䠝 (kuŋ) LH kôn, OCM *kuŋ — [T] ONW kuŋ
‘Body, person, self’ [Shi].
[E] ST: PTB *guŋ > PLB *guŋ ‘body’ > WB a-kôn ‘body, animal body’, Rawang guŋ ‘body, animal, self’ (STC: 182 n. 479; HST: 46); JP goŋ3i.

gěng 4 公 (kuŋ) LH kôn, OCM kôn < *kôn
(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 gǒng jr1 ‘rooster’.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kôn (平); MGZY gung (平) [kuŋ]; ONW kôn
[D] PMin *kôn ‘male’; Xiàmèn kâŋA/J ‘grandfather’
[E] ➔ Tai: S. luŋA2 < *l- ‘parent’s elder brother, uncle’. The difference in the OC and Tai initials may be explained by a MK origin: Khmer /loʊŋ/ ‘chief’ ≠ /kloon/
gōng – gòng

‘dignitary higher than /loong/’ [Jenner / Pou 1982: xi]. <> WT k’ong ~ gōng ‘a final syllable in names of important persons such as ministers and government officials’ (HST: 96) may be a Chinese loan.

gōng_5 公 (kuŋ) LH kong, OCM *kōŋ
‘Impartial, fair’ [Lunyu], ‘public’ [Shi].

※ hóng 洪 (yün). LH gōŋ, OCM *gōŋ
‘Equal, symmetrical’ [Zhouli].

[E] ST: WT (t)guy ‘middle’ is prob. cognate considering the semantic association of ‘middle’ with ‘balance’ (note zhōng 中 ‘middle, proper, right’).

gōng_6 公 ‘palace’ → gōng_8 宮

gōng_7 肢 (kwoŋ) LH kwaŋ, OCM *kwâŋ
‘Arm, upper arm’ [Shi], gū gōng 肢肢 ‘legs and arms’ (metaphor for a ruler’s ministers).

※ gōng 钦 (kwoŋ, kʰwoŋ) LH kwaŋ, kʰwaŋ, OCM *k(h)wâŋ
‘Armrest’ on a carriage [BL, Shi].

[E] ‘Armrest’ implies arms bent at the elbow, the arm is bow-shaped, therefore this etymon which has apparently no outside cognate is prob. derived from → gōng_2 弓 ‘bow’.

gōng_8 宮 (kjun) LH kuŋ, OCM *kuŋ — [T] ONW kuŋ

[E] HST: 98 relates the CH word to WT k’hug-pa ‘inside’, STC (p. 182 n. 479) and Bodman (1980: 124) to PTB *k-yim ~ *k-yum ‘house’ (STC no. 53; HPTB: 504; for the difference in finals, see §6.7); but see next:

~ gōng 公 (kuŋ) LH kong, OCM *kōŋ < *kloŋ — [T] ONW kong
‘Palace’ [BL 298, 1].


gōng_9 躯 (kwen) LH kuəŋ, OCM *kwaŋ — [T] ONW kuŋ
‘Drinking vessel’ of buffalo horn [Shi].


gōng_10 恭 (kjoŋ) LH kioŋ, OCM *kroŋ
‘To respect’ [Shi], ‘sincerely respectful’ 躯 (also MC kuŋ, kuoŋ) [BL, Han period] may be related to → gōng_1 共 (i.e. < ‘respectfully joining hands’?), and / or to → kōng_2 恐 ‘fear’.

gōng_11 供 → gōng_1 共

gōng_12 靭 → gōng_7 肢

gōng 拱拳 → gōng_1 共

ɡōnɡ_1 共 (giwongC) LH giongC, OCM *gørŋ — [T] ONW guoŋ
‘All together’ [Shu].

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gōng – gǒu

gōng 共 拱挱 (kjwɔl) LH kiong, OCM *kong?
‘To join the hands’ [Yi], 勾 [Lunyu], ‘hold round with both hands’ [Zuo];
‘manacles’ 捶 [Zhouli] (also MC kijwok). Note also AA: OMon kIon ‘to join in
salutation’ (hands) (loan?).

gōng 供 (kjwɔl) LH kiong, OCM *kong(h)
‘To furnish, provide, carry out’ [Shi] (< ‘hand over with both hands’?).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjoŋ (平), PR kun; MGZY gʏung (平) [kjwɔl]

[EN] Etymology not clear. An OC medial *r should be assumed if related to → gǒng1 恭饗. CVST: 57 relates this word to Western Tib. kʰyong-ba, kʰyongs ‘to bring’, WB kuiŋ ‘take hold of, apply hand’. An allofam may perh. be → gǒng2 貢.

gǒng2 賢 (kjwɔl) LH kiong, OCM *kongh — [T] ONW kiong
‘Tribute, present’ n. [Shu], ‘to present’ [Zuo] may perh. be related to either → gǒng1 工 功政 or → gǒng1 共. Unger (Hao-ku 50, 1995) connects the word with Lepcha kIon ‘to grant’.

gǒu1 句鈞枸區 (kau) LH ko, OCM *kø?
‘Crooked’ 齋 [Li] > ‘hook’ [Shi], ‘to hook’ 鉤 [Zuo], ‘hook, curved’ 句 [Li] > ‘crooked wood’ 枸 [Xun].

[jü] 病 (kjwɔl) LH kio, OCM *ko
‘Crooked spine’ [Zhuang].

[quí] 胸枸 (gju) LH gio, OCM *go
‘Bent part of slice of meat’ 腦 [Li]; ‘curved exterior part of yoke’ 鉤 [Zuo].
The following is, however, not (directly) related:

[yÜ] 儂 (?jwɔl) LH ?ioh, OCM *to?
‘Bend the body’ [Zuo], ‘humpback’ [Li].

[EN] ST: WT dgu-ba ‘to bend’ ⸟ dgu ‘something bent’; OC *-o can be derived from ST *u or *o. Syn. and likely cognate is → q:\u20131, 曲, perh. also to → quán3 卷拳 and / or → quán4 竪, → q:\u20132 屈, → j:\u20136 鞠鞠 ‘bend’. This w\f is perh. also related to → l\u20132 偕. Syn. → y:\u20131 弩紳; → h:\u20138 弧.

gǒu2 潲 (kau) LH ko, OCM *kø?
‘Drain, irrigation canal’ [Lun], ‘moat’ [Li]. The QYS final -au has no div. II counterpart; therefore the rime may represent both OC *-o and *-ro.

[<] possibly k-prefix noun of → l\u20132 瀝 ‘to leak’ (§5.4).

gǒu3 纨 → gǒu3 菁

gǒu 狗 (kjwɔl) LH ko, OCM *kø? < *kio?
‘Dog’ [Meng], ‘puppy dog, cub of bear or tiger’ [Erya] (also written with other radicals).

[D] PMIN *kau8
[EN] Wàng Lì (1982: 182f) believes that the following are variants of this word
doubtful: (1) → j:\u20131 駒 (kjwɔl) ‘young horse’. (2) h:\u20134 牲 (kjwɔl) ‘calf’ is a dialectal variant for
gǒu, acc. to Guò Pù. (3) → gao4 羊 is an ancient NE dialect word for gǒu ‘young of
dog, bear, tiger’ which suggest that gao ‘lamb’ is the same etymon.

More likely, gǒu is a loan or substrate word from PMY *klu2 [Purnell] ‘dog’ which
in turn is AA: PMon *clur, Mon *kla, WRMon cliw, klitw [kluw] (Haudricourt 1966;
Norman / Mei 1976: 279–280; Norman 1988: 17), perh. also Bahnar kà ‘dog’ (K. Smith
LTBA 2.1 [n.d.]: 7). For the initials, see §8.2.2. Some Himalayish forms, e.g. TB-
Bahing k‘li ‘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 Yao mythology. Customs in the ancient state of Zhèng in Hénán (adjacent to the Shāng and Zhōu dynasty heartland) suggest to Eberhard that their inhabitants belonged originally to the Yao culture (ibid. p. 36).

**gōu 1** (kāu) LH ko, OCM *kā? — [T] MTang kōu, ONW kōu
‘Filth’ [Shi].

[?] ST: WT bṣgo-ba ‘to soil, stain, defile, infect’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50). See also → gōu 2 話.

[?] gōu 溲 (kuā, yuā) LH kuāt, quāt, OCM *kūt, *gūt
‘Dirt, to sully’ [Chuci]. For the final *-t, see §6.2.1.

[?] This wf may be related with WB kyū ‘filthy, dirty, foul’, all words from a ST stem *klo-?

**gōu 2** 話 (xǔ, bāu, kāu) LH ho, kō, ko, OCM *(k)hōh, kō?
‘Disgrace, insult, revile’ [Zuo].

ST: WT *khu-ba ‘insult, offend’ (HST: 98). Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50) considers this to be the s. w. as → gōu 1 坷 (kāu) ‘filth’.

**gōu 3** 萬 (kāu) LH ko, OCM *kō
This root means basically ‘interlacery, trelliswork’ (Karlgren GSR 109): zhōng-gōu 萬 ‘inner chamber’; ‘to fabricate, build’ 構 [Shu]. The original graph gōu 萬 shows apparently a wicker fish trap.

[?] gōu 籮 (kāu) LH ko, OCM *kō
‘Bamboo cage’ [Chuci].

[?] ST: JP ku-st ‘bed, furniture’ (i.e. wooden frame).

[C] Possible allofams (Karlgren GSR 109) are → gōu 5 購 ‘to present’; → gōu 4 購 ‘come across’. The word → hū 阜 互桎 is similar to this wf, but its vowel is different; possible TB cognates also indicate that hū is a separate root.

**gōu 4** 購 (kāu) LH ko, OCM *kō
‘To come across, meet with’ 鉤 [Shi]; ‘meet with’ 鉤 [Shi]; ‘to cross, join (weapons)’ 鉤 [Meng]; ‘come in conflict with’ 鉤 [Shi]; ‘second marriage, favor’ 嬪 [Yi]. This may be the s. w. as → gōu 3 籱 (so Karlgren), q.v. for possible allofams.

[?] ST: PTB *gow (STC no. 318) > WB ku-b ‘cross over, transfer’, JP gau33 ‘pass over’; possibly also JP koʔ ‘to ford’, WT kʰug-pa ~ kʰugs-pa ‘to find, get, earn’ (i.e. ‘come across’) (HST: 72). WB *kruik ‘meet with’, Chepang krus-sa ‘to meet’, WT kʰrug-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, interlace’.

**gōu 5** 購 (kāu) LH ko, OCM *kō
‘To present, give’ [Guoce] is perh. cognate to WT skur-ba ‘to send, transmit, give’, WB ku-b ‘cross over, transfer’ may belong to → gōu 3 籱.

**gōu 6** 殺 → ǔi, ǔi

[?] gǔ (kuo) LH ko, OCM *kā

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gù - gǔ

**gù 2 駃 → gǔ 11 賈**

**gù 3 孤 → guā 寡**

**gù 4 網 (kuo) LH kua, OCM *kuâ
\`Net' [Shi].

[É] ST: WB kʰwa\`C 'kind of net' ≠ PTB *kwan ~ *gwan 'casting net' (STC: 158 n. 428),
WT rkon 'net'. It is prob. unrelated to gù 网 'net' (under → hù 3 互桓).

**gù 5 �subclass → hù 8 孤**

**gù 1 古 (kuoB) LH koB, OCM *kâ?
\`Antiquity, of old' [OB, BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku ( 上); MGZY gu (上) [ku]; ONW ko
≠ gù 故 (kuoC) LH koC, OCM *kâh
\`An old one' [Shi].

[É] ST: PTB *r-ga 'old' (STC no. 445) > WT rga-ba 'be old, aged'; JP laga 'old'. Boltz (OE
35, 1992: 36ff) relates gù to a wf 'hard, durable' which includes → gù1 固 'secure, strong',
but WT cognates suggest that these etyma have separate ST origins. Boltz also includes →
ku 苦 'duress, suffer', et al.

[C] Shì Xiàndòng (2000: 120) adds hú 胡 LH ga or ya 'advanced in years' [Zhoushu].

**gù 2-bèi 古貝 → bù 2 布**

**gù 3 牠 (kuoB) ONW ko — [D] PMin *koB
\`Male of bovine, steer' [Yupian, GY], a post-classical word. Prob. not cognate to →
古人 'ram'.

[É] A A: Mod. Khmer kloh 'male, virile' ≠ kamloh 'young man'; Chrau 'male' ≠ si-klo
\`husband'; Bahnar klo 'male'; Stieng kla, klo 'male' ≠ sarlau 'husband', Sre klaw
\`man, male'. Also the Yue dialect word lau 'boy' may ultimately go back to this MK
etymon.

**gù 4 玉 → hù 3 互桓**

**gù 5 谷 (kuk) LH kok, OCM *klôk
\`Valley' [Shi].

≠ yù 谷 (juk) LH jok, OCM *lok
\`Valley' [GY, GY].

[É] ST or area word: TB-WT luog-pa 'valley, WB kʰyon 'valley', JP kruŋ33 'valley'. <> Tai:
S. kʰloŋA2, Kam lôŋA1, <> AA-Wa roq (TB loan?) (collected in Dông Wéiguāng et al.
CAAAL 22, 1984: 119f); some TB words have final -k: Mikir arlôk < r-lôk 'valley'. But
PTB *grok (STC no. 122) > WT grog-po 'deep dell, ravine', WB kʰyok 'chasm, gulf' is
prob. to be kept separate.

**gù 6 股 (kuoB) LH koB, OCM *kâ?
\`Thigh, leg' [Shi].

word is prob. not related to → jīào1 髅 (kʰau) 'foot'.

**gù 7 羽 (kuoB) LH koB, OCM *kâ?
\`Ram' [Shi].

[É] Wàng Lì (1982: 126) relates this word to → gù3 牠 'male of bovine, steer', as well
as to the wf → jīà 8 羽 'boar', therefore gù 羽 meant originally 'male animal'.
However, jīà and gù differ in MC vowel and tone, therefore gù prob. means basically
\`ram' and is cognate to → jiē 4 鷃 'ram'.

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gil 8 骨 (kú) LH kuá, OCM *kút
‘Bone’ [OB].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (入); MGZY gu (入) [ku]; ONW kot
[D] PMin *kot
[E] Outside relations are not obvious; gú is usually compared to PTB *rus ‘bone’. WT rus, Lushai ru? (< rus), Khami lgs. (Kuki-Chin) *hrut, Rengmitca kh(r)u, Areng haw (prob. from voiceless *hr-) (Löffler Anthropos 55, 1960: 547); Lepcha a-hrat ‘bone’; Karen k(h)rut (STC: 155 n. 419). But we could be more confident about these associations if there were a trace of an OC medial *r. WT rus ‘clan’, see — 吕 2.

gil 9 鼓 (kuo B) LH kuá, OCM *ká? < *kla? — [D] PMin *ko B.
‘The drum, to drum, strike (a musical instrument)’ [BI, Shi]; ‘musician > blind man’ 聲 [Shi] (Karlgren 1956: 4).
[E] Area word: PTai *kloÁ ‘drum’ (Li F. 1976: 40), Saek ti:J:JIÁ, PHlai *laIJI, MK-PWa *klo? ‘bronze-drum’. For the finals, see §3.2.4.

gil 10 售 to gú 9 鼓

gil 11 賣 (kuo B) LH kuá, OCM *ká?
‘To sell’ [Shi 264, 4], ‘to buy’ [Zuo] > ‘merchant’ [Shu 35, 5; Zuo].
≠ gú 醋 (kuo[C]) LH koá, OCM *ká(á)
‘To buy’ (wine) [Shi 165, 6].
[E] This word could be a cognate or variant of gú above, but the same graph also writes a word hù (yuo B) ‘overnight wine’ [Shi 302, 2] with which it may be related since gú means ‘buy wine’. Karlgren (GSR 49b') has assigned readings to meanings as given above, yet traditional commentaries and dictionaries don’t agree which reading, gú or hù, goes with which meaning.

‘Husk of grain’ [Lü, GY]. GY also has a reading zhuó (tájak).
[E] ST: PTB *kok (STC no. 342) > PLB ?kuk ~ *guk ‘outer covering, bark, skin’ > WB o-kok; WT skog-pa ~ kog-pa ‘shell, peel, rind’ ≠ 'gog-pa, bkog’ ‘to tear away, take away, peel, rob’ ≠ gog-pa ‘to scale off’ (Bodman 1980: 128); Lushai k’ok ‘peel off’ (STC: 74). The CH distinction between — zhuó 齸 ‘leather’ (< ‘skin’?) and gú *kuk ‘husk’ is difficult to correlate with TB comparanda.

gil 13 耘 (kuk) LH kok, OCM *kók — [T] ONW kok
‘Grain, cereal’ [Shi] > ‘emoluments’ [Shi]; perh. ‘auspicious, good’ [Shi] is a semantic extension, lit. ‘nourishing, supportive’. Not related to — gú 14 耘.

gil 14 耘 (kuk) LH kok, OCM *kók — [T] ONW kok
‘Baby’ [Xun], lit. ‘a suckler’.
≠ gòu 耘 (kuo[GY]) LH koá, OCM *kókh
‘To suckle’ [Zuo], a Chu dialect word. Yán Shigu [GY] also reads this graph nêu B/C, prob. inspired by the standard word — rú 耘. Pulleyblank (in Keightley 1983: 427) has EMC kowk, kow?.
**kòu 鳥** (kuo^B) LH kòu^C, OCM *kòu

‘Newborn nestling’ [Zhuang], i.e. a ‘baby bird’.

[E] ST: JP kro to kro55 < kro55 ‘to hatch’, prob. a parallel stem, see Table C-2 (under → chú₄, xù 喂) for similar-looking words.

**gū ᬠ** (kuo^B) LH kó^B, OCM *kó

‘Salt’ [Zhouli], ‘salty marsh’ [Zuo].

[PTai] *kíöA ‘salt’ (Li 1976: 45), Sack tlua > trua ‘salt’, which is supported by modern forms like Jin dialectal ko?12-lou (Zhang Xìng-yà YWYJ 1996.4: 10). Possible variants or allofams are → chú₄, → xù 喂.

**gū ᬠ** (kuo^B) LH kó^B, OCM *kó

‘A poison which serves as a magic charm’ [OB, Yi, Zuo]. SW and Zhōulī 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.

**gū ** (kuo^C) LH kó^C, OCM *kó

‘Solid, secure, sure’ [Shi].

[T] Šin Sukchu SR ku (去); MGZY gu (去) [ku]; ONW ko

=gū 鋼 (kuo^C) LH kó^C, OCM *kó

‘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].

**hù 膤** (uo^C) LH gu^C, OCM *gú

‘To shut in, stop up’ (by freezing) [Zuo], ‘to freeze’ [Zhuang].


[E] Several parallel or synonymous stems have partially converged and are difficult to disentangle, unless they should all be prolific variants and derivations from one ST source (for an overview see Table G-1 (A) below; Table J-1 (B) under → jiān₃ 疾). 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’**

gū₁ 固 (kuo^C) [kó] *kó ‘solid’ and cognates above

WT k’a-ba ‘snow’

KA-K or KAK (1a)

Limbu k’akt- ‘to harden, freeze, solidify’

MK-Khmer /koak/ ‘become hard and solid; harden, solidify, congeal, coagulate’

/skoak/ (of grain and the like:) ‘have become hard and dry, dry up or out’ > ‘turn out to be futile...’

KA-NG or *KANG (1b)

→ gāng₄ 剛鋼 (kān) *kān ‘hard, firm’

WT gangs ‘ice’ (terminative: < ‘having become hard’ of snow, water)

Lushai kʰar⁶ ‘congealed, solidified’

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MK: Khmer /-kan/ 'hard, stiff', OKhmer gaŋ /gəŋ/, OMon goŋ /gəŋ/ 'be hard, stiff, firm, durable...'

KL/YAK? 'freeze'
PTB *m/s-glak (HPTB: 325)
LB-Lahu kāʔ '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 kʰaar¹ 'to congeal, crust over, frozen over'
MK-PWa *kær 'strong' (object) <- TB?

KAR-NG (1a)
WT mkʰraŋ-ha 'hard' ≠ kʰraŋ(-tʰəŋ) 'hard'
Lepcha krónj 'hard'

KA (2) 'dry'
→ kū (k'uo) [kʰa] *kʰā 'withered, dried'
MK: Khmer /kha/ 'to dry up or out, dry until hard, wither'

KA-K (2a)
→ héγ (yāk) [gak] *gāk 'dry up'

KA-NG (2b)
Lushai kaj⁸ / kan¹ 'to be exposed to the full rays of the sun, be sunny' ≠ kaj⁸ 'to dry up, evaporate, run dry' (water, river, spring)

KA-T (2c)
→ kê₂ (kʰat) [kʰat] *kʰat 'be thirsty'

KAR (2) 'dry'
Chepang garʔ- 'bask, warm oneself in the sun'

KAR-K (2a)
hè (yēk) [gak] *grāk 'water drying off land' (under → héγ (gak)) 'dry'
PLB *krmak 'dry'

KAR-NG (2b)
Lushai taj² / tan¹ 'dry, dried'

KAR-T (2c)
→ jiē₃ (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 > -n.

→ gān₄ (kän) [kan] *kän 'dry'
WB kʰanʰ 'dry up'
JP kan³j 'solidify, dry up'

KIN 'solid, firm'
→ jiān₂ (kien) [ken] *kín 'firm, solid, strong'
WB kyn 'feeling of numbness'
JP kyn 'stiff, aching'
Lushai kʰiŋ⁸ < kʰiŋ⁷? dry out (get hard, of ouside of meat etc.)

(K)-RENG / K 'hard'
→ yīng₃ (ŋəŋ) 'hard' (but the hypothetical OC vowel might have been *ə)
JP gren³j 'hard'; WT rën-pa 'solid' (not liquid), mkʰrëgs-pa 'hard, firm' (snow)
MK-Mon kriŋ (krəŋ) 'stiff, hard', Khm ruŋ, Mon kroŋ (original vowel?)
MK ? -> PTai *kʰleŋ¹ 'solid, hard'

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Table G-1  Hard, congeal, dry (A) for 坚 固

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*ka</th>
<th>*ka-ŋ &gt; *kar</th>
<th>*kar &gt; *kan</th>
<th>*kar-ŋ/k &gt; *karŋ/k</th>
<th>*ka-k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>坚 固</td>
<td>*kāh solid</td>
<td>吴 固</td>
<td>*gāh freeze</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gāng 乾</td>
<td>*kān hard</td>
<td>gān 乾</td>
<td>*kān dry</td>
<td>hē 透</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>քa-ba snow</td>
<td>gāns ice</td>
<td>gar-ba strong,</td>
<td>mkʌrŋ hard</td>
<td>քbŋag-pa freeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>քa-ba hard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limbu</td>
<td>kʌŋF congealed,</td>
<td>kʌnR &lt; kʌŋR to congeal</td>
<td>tanR dried</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>kʌrŋF congealed,</td>
<td>kʌnR &lt; kʌnR to congeal</td>
<td>tanR dried</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>gā55 earth, place</td>
<td></td>
<td>kan be dried up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ք?krak dry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʌnB dry up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The e/i-vowel variants can be found in Table J-1 under → jiān2 坚.

gū2 固 鎵 (kuoC) LH 亙 C, OCM 亙 kāh — [T] ONW ko
‘Persistent’ (Boltz OE 35, 1992: 37) 固 [Meng]; ‘chronic’ (disease) 鎵 [Li] is perh. the
s. w. as → 坚 固 ‘be solid, secure’ (so Boltz).

gū3 坚 (kuoC) LH 亙 C, OCM 亙 kāh
‘Reason, cause’ [BI, Shi].
[E] Etymology not certain, gū may be the same word as → 坚 固 ‘be solid, secure,
sure’; or may be derived from → 坚 古 ‘antiquity’, hence lit. ‘thing or person of
former times’ (Pulleyblank, Proceedings of the 2nd Int. Conf. on Sinology, Acad. Sin.
Taipei 1989: 10).

gū4 傢 (kuoC) LH 亙 C, OCM 亙 kāh
‘old’ → 坚 亙 古

gū5 傢 → 坚 亙

gū6 傢 (kuok) LH kouk, OCM 亙 kāk
(Perh. ‘restrainer’ ⇒ ‘Pen, stable’ [Yi, Shu], ‘manacle, handcuffs’ [Yi].
[E] ST: PLB 亙 kāk ‘jail; pen, enclosure for animals’ [Matisoff TSR no. 16] (HST:

gū7 傢 (kuoC) LH 亙 C, OCM 亙 kāh
‘To hire’ [Hǎnshū].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (去); MGZY 坦 廌 [ku]
[E] ST: WB 亙 kāk ‘pay for services, wages’. It is prob. an allofam of → jiā3 傢
‘borrow’.

gū8 傢 (kuoC) LH 亙 C, OCM 亙 kāh
‘To turn the head to, look at, regard, look after, take care of’ [Shi, Shu]. OC Tone B is
indicated by Shijing rimes (Mattos 1971: 309).
gua - guān

 رسول (kuo) LH ka, OCM *kâh
‘A sight’ n. [Shi].
[<] exopass. (§4.4) of the above, lit. ‘what is seen’.

guā1 瓜 (kwa) LH kua, OCM *kwar
‘Melon’ [Shi]. — Etymology not clear.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwa (平); MGZY gwa (平) [kwa]; ONW kuā

guā2 蝸 → wō, guā, luō 蝸

guā3 刮 (kwat) LH kuat, OCM *krêt
‘To scrape’ [Zhouli], ‘polish’ [Li].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwa (入); MGZY gwa (入) [kwa] — [D] PMin *kuot
[C] A cognate is prob. → shuā 刷; see there for an overview of similar and related
etyma. Prob. not related to → luō 擦 ‘scrape off’.

guā 孤 (kwa) LH kua, OCM *kwar
‘Be single, alone, unique’ [Shu], ‘orphan, alone’ [Lunyu]. <> Tai: Wuming kla2 *gl-‘orphan’ (Li 1976: 46) is prob. a CH loan from around the Han period (*r > l).

guān 蝦 (kwān) LH kuen, OCM *kwreN, OCB *kuren
‘Bachelor, widower’ [BI, Shi] (Unger Hao-ku 33, 1986).
[<] n-nominalization of guā (§6.4.5).
[Œ] ST: WT dgon-pa ‘solitary place, desert, wilderness, hermitage’ (n-nominalization)
* sgos ‘private, individual’. OC *r- can reflect different foreign elements in the initial
(§7.4), therefore WT is the exact counterpart of OC, except that the WT noun refers to
a place, the OC noun to a person.

guó 孤 (kuo) LH kua, OCM *kwâ
‘Be solitary, alone’ [Shu].

jū-jū 足跼 (kju) LH kyu, OCM *kwa?
(To walk) ‘solitary, forlorn’ adv. [Shi].

guā 挂 (kwai) LH kue, OCM *kwre or *kwê
‘To suspend, hang’ [Yili].
[Œ] ST: PTB *k(w)ay ‘hang’ (HPTB: 214) > Tiddim kai: ‘be suspended’ ≠ xai: ‘hang
something up’, Lushai k’ai: ‘suspend’. This etymon is reminiscent of MK-PMonic *wâk
‘to hang’ (sth. to a nail) ≠ *k-wâk ‘to hook and pull, hang sth. by its hook’ (tr.)
[Diffloth 1984: 167], but MK is phonologically rather distant. Prob. → xuán 縣懸
and → qǐng, 睦 are related.

guā1 怪 (kwai) LH kue ?, OCM *kwre? — [T] ONW kuêi
‘Strange, unusual, extraordinary’ [Shu]. It seems that this word actually had the same
OC rime as → guā2 傢; they may be mere variants.

guā2 夫 → jué2 決

guān1 官伴 (kuân) LH kuon, OCM *kôn?
‘Office, magistrate, official’ [BI, Shu] is prob. the s. w. as → guān2 倌 ‘servant’.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwan (平); MGZY gon (平) [kôn]; ONW kuăn
[D] CDC kuon/

*guān 管 (kuân) LH kuon, OCM *kôn? — [T] ONW kuăn
‘To manage’ [BI], ‘take care of’ [Li].

guān2 倌 (kuân) LH kuon, OCM *kôn ? — [T] ONW kuăn
‘Servant, groom’ (also MC kwan) [Shi].

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guǎn – guàn

※ guǎn 貢 (kuàn(C)) LH kuán(C), OCM *kōn(s) — [D] PMin *kuot
‘To serve’ [Shi].
[<] exoactive of guǎn 僕 (kuán) (§4.3.2).
[E] ST *kol > WT k̂l̂ol-po ‘servant, vassal’ ≈ k̂l̂ol-ba, bkol ‘make someone a servant, use as a servant’ (Bodman 1980: 137; HST: 131); PL *C-ŋjwan id.

guǎn3 榜 (kuán) LH kuán, OCM *kwān or *kōn
‘Coffin’ [Zuo].
※ guǎn 榜 (kuán) LH kuán(C), OCM *kwāns or *kōns?
‘To (be) put into a coffin’ [Zuo, Li] (Downer 1959: 278).
[<] exopass. of the above (§4.4).
[E] ST, area word: TB-Lushai kuanH ‘coffin, trough, groove’, Kukish *r-kuan ‘coffin, boat’ [IST: 47], perh. also WB k̂onB ‘trough, canoe’, yet see → kōng 空 ‘empty’ to which all these etyma may belong. Coffins and boats used to be hollowed tree trunks, hence some languages have the same word for both. For the discrepancy in final nasals see §6.4.2.

guǎn4 冠 (kuán) LH kuán, OCM *kōn, OCB *kōn — [T] ONW kuān
‘A cap’ [Shi].
※ guǎn 冠 (kuán) LH kuán(C), OCM *kōns, OCB *kons
‘To put on a cap’ (manhood ceremony) [Zuo, Li].
[<] exopass. (§4.4), lit. ‘make someone to be capped’.
[E] ST: PTB *gwa ~ *kwan (STC no. 160) > WT bgo-ba, bgos ‘clothes, put on clothes’ ≈ gos ‘dress’ ≈ gon-pa ‘to put on, dress’ ≈ skon-pa, bskon ‘to put on clothes’, Nung gwa ~ ga ‘to dress’ intr. Alternatively, Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 48) relates the WT words to guān 貢 (kuānB) ‘royal robe’ [Shi].

guǎn5 闢 (kwan) LH kuán, OCM *krōn, OCB *kron
‘Bar’ [Lao], ‘barrier, frontier’ [Shi]. Note the syn. → jiān 健, → xián 閑.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwan (平), LR kuon; MGZY gwan (平) [kwan]; ONW kuān
[D] CDC kuán
[E] <> PTai *kōnA1 ‘rafter, latch on door’.

guǎn6 鰥 → guǎ 寡

guǎn7 觀 (kuán) LH kuán, OCM *kōn
‘To watch, look at, observe’ (e.g. the ocean, progress) [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwan (平); MGZY gon (平) [kōn]; ONW kuān
※ guǎn 觀 (kuán) LH kuán(C), OCM *kōns — [T] ONW kuān
(1) ‘To cause to see, show’ [Zhouli].
[<] exoactive / caus. of guǎn 觀 (kuán) (§4.3.2).
(2) ‘Aspect, scene’ [Guan].
[<] exopass. of guǎn 觀 (kuán), lit. ‘what is looked at’ (§4.4); in guǎn tài 觀臺 ‘look-out tower’ [Zuo]; tone C occurs because the word is part of a compound (Downer 1959: 289).
[E] This stem *kōn is derived from the root under → háo, 侯. Often the form in final -n seems to have the same meaning as the base form.

guān 疾 → juān 倦

guàn1 髡 (kwan) LH kuān(C), OCM *krōns, OCB *krons
‘Tuft of hair’ [Shi].
[E] AA: Mon kōn ‘crest, tuft’, has been proposed with some hesitation by Bodman (1985: 157); for the medials see §7.3.
guàn – guăng

guàn2 汚 (kuánC) LH kuánC, OCM *kwâns or *kôns
‘To bubble’ [Xun] (HST: 49).
[E] ST *kol > WT ‘köl-ba, kör1 ‘to boil’  kskol-ba ‘to cause to boil’ (Bodman 1980: 137; HST: 49). Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50) relates the WT words to gün 混 (kuánB) ‘to bubble, boil’; Y-Guångzhōu kuen3 sœy33 滾水 ‘hot water’ may be related.

guàn3 貫 (kuán[C]) LH kuánC, OCM *kôns, OCB *kôns
‘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].

*guàn 管 (kuánB) LH kuónB, OCM *kwâns or *kôns
‘To cause to boil’ (Bodman 1980: 137; HST: 49). Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50) relates the WT words to giln¥.EB (ku~nB) ‘to bubble, boil’; Y-Gul screening kUl35 srey351$t7J<. ‘hot water’ may be related.

guàn3 汚 (kuánC) LH kuánC, OCM *kôns
‘Familiar with, used to’ [Meng], ~J'I:~ [SW: Zuo] > ‘custom, usage’ [Shi].
[E] Although this word is assumed to be related to → guàn1 ‘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 a31-ron31 (CVST 2: 91).

guàn4 貫 (kuánC) LH kuánC, OCM *kôns
‘Familiar with, used to’ [Meng], 言慣 [SW: Zuo] > ‘custom, usage’ 串 [Shi].
[E] Although this word is assumed to be related to → guàn1 ‘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 a31-ron31 (CVST 2: 91).

guàn5 灑 (kuánB, kuánC) LH kuónB, kuánC, OCM *kwâns/s or *kôns/s
‘To wash the hands’ intr. [Shi].

*huàn 浊 (yuánB) LH guánC, OCM *gwâns or *gôns
‘To wash clothes’ [Guan] (Wáng Li 1982: 553).

guàn6 洹 (kuánC) LH kuánC, OCM *kwâns or *kôns
‘To pour out; libation’ 濃 [Shi], 濃 [Lun]; ‘drink’ (wine) [Liji]; ‘flow into’ (rivers) [Zhuang], ‘to water, irrigate’ [Hou Hanshu].

guăng1 光 (kwâng) LH kuonŋ, OCM *kwâŋ
‘Be bright, glorious’ [BI, Shi, Shu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwâŋ (平); MGZY gwang (平) [kwâŋ]; ONW kuonŋ

*kuàng 曉 (kwângC) LH kkuonŋ, OCM *kwâng
‘Bright’ [Zhuang].
[C] An additional allofam is → huáng 燈 ‘brilliant’.

guăng2 光 ‘extensive’ → guăng2 廣

guăng1, wàng 威 ‘fear’ → jù 存

guăng2 廣 (kuánB) LH kuonŋ, OCM *kwâŋ?
‘Be extensive, wide, broad, vast’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwan (上); MGZY gwang (上) [kwâŋ]; ONW kuonŋ

*guăng 光 (kwâng) LH kuonŋ, OCM *kwâŋ
‘Be extensive’ [Shi, Shu]; the Shijing rime indicates tone A, hence it is perh. not a graphic loan for guăng 廣 (kuánC) ‘fully, extensively’ (so Karlgren GSR 707a). Karlgren (1956: 14) adds:
guī ～ guǐ

**kuàng** 橫 (kʰwᵃŋʰ) LH kʰwaŋ, OCM *khwəŋ — [T] ONW kʰwaŋ
‘Be vacant, desolate, neglect’ [Shi, Shu].

**kuō** 拱 (kʰwáŋ) LH kʰuaŋ, OCM *khwák
‘To extend’ [Meng].

**huáng** 濟 (ywᵃŋʰ) LH guaŋ, OCM *gwəŋ
‘Great, vast’ [Xun].

[É] Etymology not certain, CH may be related either to TB or Tai, or both (involving some loan relationship): ST: Lushai vaal⁷ < vaal³ 'be large, extensive' * val⁷ < vaŋ⁷ 'breadth, width, broad, wide', WT yaq 'wide, broad, large' (for the WT initial, see §12.9 [2]). => Tai: S. kwaal⁷ is a derivation by k-prefix from S. waŋ⁷ 'unimpeded' (Noss 1964: 49). Baxter / Sagart (1998: 60) relate this wt to -+ kuan 'wide'; perh. ultimately related to the root *wa under -+ kutmg.

**kui** 觀 (kjwi) LH kye, OCM *kwe

[É] Etymology not certain, but note TB-Chepang gwe? 'circular in shape' — kwe? 'hook, fishhook'; PTB *koy 'bend round, be curved, coil, etc.' (STC no. 307).

**xí** 縫 (yiwei) LH yue, OCM *we?
‘Length of the circumference of a wheel’ 縫 [Li]; ‘vapor round the sun’ 縫 [Zhouli] (also MC xjwie). This root prob. underlies -+ ying et al.

[É] Etymology not certain, but note TB-Chepang gwe? 'circular in shape' — kwe? 'hook, fishhook'; PTB *koy 'bend round, be curved, coil, etc.' (STC no. 307).

**guī** 觀 (kjwái) LH kui, OCM *kůi
‘Extraordinary’ 観 [Zhouli], 瑰 [Zhuang], ‘rare, marvelous’ 瑰 (Mandarin) > ‘a kind of precious stone’ 瑰 [Shi]. It seems that this word actually had the same OC rime as → guăi, 怪 ‘strange, extraordinary’; they may be mere variants.

**guī** 觀 (kjwei) LH kui, OCM *kwɔi, OCB *kwɔj — [T] ONW kui
‘To return’ (to a place where one belongs) intr. [Bl, 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 -+ hui; see there for an overview of synonyms. Note the semantic parallelism with MK: PVM *vɛl ‘return’ * k-vel ‘village’ (i.e. where one belongs) [Ferlus]. Guī is often related to WT 'k'or ‘turn, return’, but see the comment under -+ hui.

**guī** 龜 (kjwi) LH ku ~ kui, OCM *kwra, OCB *kwra
‘Tortoise, turtle’ [OB]. Southern dialects and Han rimes indicate doublets LH ku and kui (Luo / Zhou 1958).


**guī** 鬼 (kjwaiB) LH kuiB, OCM *kuǐ
‘Spirit, ghost’ [OB, Shi]; originally: the ghost of a deceased who has returned to haunt (terrorize) the living (E. Childs-Johnson EC 20, 1995: 79ff).

[TT] Sin Sukchu SR kuj (t); MGZY gue (t) kue; ONW kui — [D] PMin *kyĩB
[É] Two etymologies have been proposed: (1) Derived from -+ weĩ⁷ 威 ‘to overawe, terrorize’ (Childs-Johnson) with k nominalization (§5.4; Baxter / Sagart 1998: 48; 59), and endoactive tone B, lit. ‘the thing which is doing the overawing’ (§4.5.1). (2) Or related to → guī 觀 ‘return’ (SW; Carr CAAAL 24, 1985: 61).
guī - guó

guī₂ 甄 → guū₃ 宍, → kuì₁ 置

guī₃ 燕 (kjwiB 3) LH kuiB, OCM *kwaʔ, OCB *k猄juʔ
Name of a bronze ritual vessel, a ‘tureen’ (Shaughnessy) [OB, BI, Shi], originally prob.
some kind of basket or bamboo container.
[E] Possibly ST: TB-PLB *kwiąl ‘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’ → guī₄ 龜 LH kui. The homophone guī 甄 ‘box,
chest’ [Shu] is prob. unrelated (under → kuì₁ 置; however, acc. to SW, 甄 it is also the
old graph for 燕).

guī₁ 貴 (kjweiC) LH kuis, OCM *kus, OCB *kjuts
‘Precious’ [Yi], ‘dear, expensive, eminent’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kuj (go); MGZY gue (go) [kue]; ONW kui
[D] PMin *kjyiC
[E] ST: WT gus-po ‘costly, expensive’ ≠ gus-pa ‘respect, reverence’ (HST: 121) ≠ dkon
‘valuable’.

guī₂ 跪 (gjwieB, kʰjwieB) LH gyaiB, kʰ-, OCM *goiʔ, *khoiʔ
‘To kneel’ [Zuo], ‘foot’ [Xun] is perh. connected with PVM *t-kuʔ ‘knee’.

guī₃ 會揀 → hui₁ 會

guī₄ 揈 ‘lift’ → kōu 摘

gūn₁ 絲 (kuanB) LH kuanB, OCM *kǔn?
‘A cord’ [Shi].
≠ kǔn 稲 (kʰuanB) LH kʰuanB, OCM *kʰǔn?
‘To bind, string together’ [Guoyu].
[<] perh. causative aspiration (§5.8.2).

gūn₂ 混 → guān₂ 滷

gūn₃ 褔 → guān₄ 冠

guō₁ 活 → huō₂ 活

guō₂ 鍋 (kuá) LH kuai, OCM *kwái or *kōi
‘Earthenware cooking pot’ [SW]
(Bodman 1980: 137).

guó 國 (kwāk) LH kuāk, OCM *kwāk, OCB *k-wāk
‘State’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kuj (入), PR, LR kujʔ; MGZY gue (入) [kue]; ONW kuāk
[<] k-prefix derivation of yū 域閈 (jwāk) (§5.4) (Baxter / Sagart 1998: 48).
≠ yū 域閈 (jwāk) LH wik, OCM *wrāk, OCB *wrjāk
‘Boundary, territory’ 域 [Shi], ‘threshold’ 閈 [Lun], also (xjwāk).
≠ xū 閈閈 (xjwāk) LH hwāk, OCM *hwāk
‘Threshold’ 閈 [Lun], ‘city moat’ 淵 [Shi].
≠ yōu 閈 (jwC) LH wuC, OCM *wāh, OCB *wjoks
‘Park, garden’ [Shi].
[E] Guō has no obvious outside 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 → yóu₁ 攸.

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guǒ  果 (kuā[^b]) LH kuai[^b], OCM *kōi[^]?  
‘Fruit > result’ [Yi]. — [E] Etymology not clear.  
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwo (上); MGZY gwo (上) [kwo]; ONW kuo  
= guǒ 飽 (kuā[^b])  
PMin *kōi[^b] ‘rice cake’, also ‘dried fruit’, hence perhaps the same word as 果 (J. Norman, p.c.).

guǒ2 飽 → yuán5 員圓圓

guǒ3-luō 螞嬴 (kuā[^b]-luā[^b]) LH kuai[^b]-luai[^b], OCM *kōi-rōi[^]? OCB *k(r)ōi[^]-(C)rōj[^]?  
‘Species of small wasp’ [Shi].  
[E] ST, area word: PTB *k(l)wa-y ≈ g(l)wa-y (STC n. 144) > WB kwai[^b] ‘dammer bee’; PNorthern Naga *C-guay, Lushai k^huai[^h] ~ k^bji[^h] ‘bee, wasp’, Tangkhul Naga k^bui[^], Thakali koy ‘bee’, Chepang kway ‘bee’. Matisoff (1995: 64) suggests that the final *-i/-y is a ST diminutive suffix. <> Kadai: Hlai koi[^i], kuai[^i], kai[^i]. <> MK: PVM *kwej[^]? ‘bee’ [Ferlus], a Chinese loan? Semai (Aslian branch of MK) lwey [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 dimidiation, but simply a reduplicative compound of the common type CV-CV or *CV-CV (§2,7).

guǒ 過 (kuā[^c]) LH kuai[^c], OCM *kōih or *kwài[^] — [T] ONW kua  
‘To pass’ [Shi], ‘transgress’ [Lunyu], derived from guǒ next (Unger Hao-ku 21, 1983: 175).  
= guǒ 過 (kuā) LH kuai, OCM *kōi or *kwāi  
‘To pass by’ [Shu].  
[E] 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. guǒ may involve an unusual OC a > o shift: WT rgal-ba, brgal ‘to step over, pass over, travel through, ford’, Lushai kai[^h] / kai[^l] ‘to cross over, go across’ ? *kai[^h] ‘walk, travel, proceed, pass by’, WB kai[^b] ‘exceed, surpass, excel’.
Há-má 蝦蟆 (ya-ma) LH ga-ma, OCM *grā-mrā or *ga-ma? — [T] ONW γā
‘Frog’ [Taiping yulan: Mozi] is onomatopoetic, MK has similar forms: OMon kma(c)
‘green frog’.

Hái 骨 (yái) LH gei, OCM *grā
‘Bones, skeleton’ [Zuo]. Perh. related to → hé 核 ‘kernel’.

Hái 海 (xiá) LH haB, OCM *hmā?, OCB *hma?
‘Ocean, sea’ [BI, Shi]. The absence of MC medial w is unexpected.
[E] Prob. related to → hui, 唯 *hmā? ‘dark’; in numerous Zhou texts hái is described as hui. In OC they were (near?) homophones in spite of the difference in MC medial w. Semantic parallelism with → mīng3 海 ‘ocean’ = → mīng2 冥 ‘dark’ supports this etymological connection.

Hái2 醜 (xiá) LH haB, OCM *hwāi? ?
‘Boneless meat sauce’ [Shi], or ‘meat which has been dried, minced and pickled’ (GSR 995n). Bodman (1980: 133) compares this to WT smig ‘purple, color of clotted blood’, smug-ma ‘stale meat, getting rotten’ [Das].

Hái3 異 (xiá) LH gaB, OCM *gā?
The 12th of the Earthly Branches identified with the pig [OB] (the graph is the drawing of a pig), acc. to Norman (1985: 89) a loan from AA, note Viet. gió ‘pig’ (obsolete), Khmer kol (sp. ko[r]) ‘pig’ (in names of years).

Hán1 首 (xián)
‘To snore’ [Six Dyn.].

Hán2 首 → gān 甘

Hán1 含 (yām) LH gām, OCM *gām — [T] ONW γām
‘Have in the mouth’ [Zuo] > ‘hold back, bear resentment’ 含 [Shu]; ‘to hold inside, contain’ (as life in grain) [Shi]. (as life force qi8 氣 in people) 含 [Hanshu] > ‘cuirass’ 処 [Meng] > ‘envelop’.
[D] The Northern Min softened initial in 含 *gām may indicate OC prenasalization which is confirmed by Yáo gām2 < *ng- ‘hold in the mouth’ (Norman 1986: 383).

Hán2 含 (yām) LH gāmC, OCM *gāms
‘Put in the mouth’ 含 [Zuo] > ‘resent’ [Zuo], ‘dissatisfied’ 憾 [Li].

Hán3 含 (yām) LH gāmB, OCM *gām?
‘Jaw’ [Gongyang].

Hán4 含 (yām) LH gāmB, OCM *gāms
‘Jaw’ [Gongyang].

[E] The final -m in etyma with these types of meanings is sound-symbolic (§2.9).
meanings of the OC allofams are also paralleled in some TB and AA words:

‘Have / keep in the mouth’:

‘Put / take into the mouth’:
ST: PTB *gam (STC: 166; 183) > WT ‘gam ‘put into the mouth’, gams, bgams ≠ kʰam-pa ‘put into the mouth’, also WT sgam ‘box’, sgam-po ‘profound’; Mru kʰam ‘take in the mouth, suffer’ ≠ kʰam ‘box’ [Löffler 1966: 140], Miri gam ‘seize with the teeth’ (as a tiger), PTani *g(j)am ‘bite’.

‘Jaw’:

It is not clear if the following ‘molar’ belongs to this root (note WB am B, not gam B):
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 am B ‘molar’.

The notion ‘keep in the mouth’ is a common metaphor for emotions, therefore → ƙan ƙa ‘endure’ is prob. cognate; note also the Mru field of meaning.

Similar words are: → xián ‘a horse’s bit’ (Bodman) and to → qián ‘gag’, ‘wooden gag’. Furthermore, Wáng Lǐ (1982: 605) believes it to be related to → qián, ƙə ‘disatisfied’; → dàn, ƙən. These items are prob. not all genetically related, but what unites them is the phonesthesic final *m (§2.9).

han ƙa (yán) LH gàn, OCM *gàn — [T] ONW yán
‘Cold’ (ice, a spring, season) [BI, Shi] > ‘poor’ [Shiji]; > hànxiān ƙa ‘disheartened’ [Shiji]. Etymology unknown.

han ƙa (yán) LH gəм, OCM *gəm, OCB *gəm
‘To soak, overflow’ [Guan] belongs perh. to the wf → ƙen ƙ. chin. [E] The phonology and hence etymology is not certain. Prob. not related to → rán,然 *nan
han - hao

‘burn’ because the phonetic element in han has originally been chosen for its meaning ‘distress’, not for its sound (so GSR 144). Baxter apparently considers a graphic loan for a word OCB *njan? The difference in the initial consonants (*h- vs. *k-) makes cognition with the syn. → gan unlikely.

han7 翰 ‘support’ → gan1 幹

han8 含憾 → han1 含函

han9 鶑 → han1 含函

han10 鑒 → lan1 激

han11 激 → lan1 激

hang1 行 ‘row’ → xing1 行

hang2 行 ‘strong’ → qiang 强疆

hang3 頤 (yán) LH genŋ, OCM *găn — [T] ONW yon

Occurs in Shi 28 together with jie 頤 (jie...hang); SW glosses both ‘stretch the neck’, this word is thus perh. a variant of → xiang4 頤, and derived from → gang1 兀 (kăn) ‘neck’. On the other hand, commentators interpret these words as ‘flying up and flying down’ (of birds).

hang4 航杭 (yán) LH genŋ, OCM *găn

‘Go by boat’ [Shi], ‘boat’ [GY], 航 [SW]. Whereas acc. to Yijing a → zhōu, 舟 ‘boat’ was originally a hollowed tree trunk (canoe), hang was two boats combined into one, as canoes lashed together (so SW, although Liu Yi-găng YYJ 1986.1: 169 thinks a hang was probably constructed of boards). Acc. to FY, hang is used for zhōu 舟 in central and eastern China.

* huang 輪 (yán) and bang 艮 (pwănC)

‘Ancient Wú words for boat’ [Yupian] are variants acc. to Mahdi (1994: 456). Egerod (CAAAP 6, 1976: 58) believes that this is the same etymon as → xing1 行 ‘to go to’, but it prob. has an AN origin (via AA?) *qaBæ ‘two boats lashed together’ (Mahdi 1999: 147f). → fang2 方 is prob. the same etymon. Syn. → chuán1 船.

hao1 擦 → năo 擦

hao2 擦荏 (xâu) LH hou, OCM *hû (< *hwâ ?)

‘To clear away weeds with a hoe’ 擦 [Shi], 菏 [SW: Shi].

[É] ST: Chepang hû? ‘to weed (around plants), pull out weeds’. Unrelated to the synonym → nůu 擦, but perh. connected with → yûn 芮 *wǎn < *wun (?) ‘to weed’.

hao 號 (yâu) LH yau, OCM *hâu — [T] ONW yau

‘To shout, call out’ [Shi].

* hào 號 (yâuC) LH yauC, OCM *hâuh

‘A request’ [Shi, YiZhoushu], ‘title, appellation’ [Zuo]; ‘name’ [Zhouli].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yaw (去); MGZY Xaw (去) [yaw]; ONW yau

[<] exopass. derivation (§4.4), lit. ‘what is called’. The extension of the meaning ‘shout, call’ to ‘ask, request’ is parallel to → hû2 呼.

* huăn 讀 (xuăn, xjawen) LH xuan, xyan, OCM *hwăn / *hwàn, *hon / *hôn

‘To shout, joyous’ [Li].


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hǎo — hé

**hǎo** 好 (xiāu) **LH** hou, **OCM** *hū?, OCB *xū?
‘Be good, fine’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR xaw (上); MGZY haw (上) [xaw]; ONW hou
※háo 好 (xiāu) **LH** hou, **OCM** *hū?
‘To love’ [Shi].
[K] exoactive / putative (§4.3.2), lit. ‘consider good’

[E] Perh. ST and related to → chǔ, xù 畜 ‘rear, raise’; Baxter (acc. to Matisoff HPTB: 58) connects the TB words cited there to hǎo.

**hào** 號 → háo 號

**hào** 皓 (yiāu) **LH** gou, **OCM** *gū?
‘Bright, white’ [Lù]. For hào 顕 [Lù], 吳 [Shi] / yāu, see under → hào 浩.
※gāo 皓 (kāu) **LH** kou, **OCM** *kū?
‘Be brilliant’ [Shi]; ‘pure, bright’ 皓 [Shi]. This is prob. the s. w. as → gāo 高 (kāu).

**hào** 浩 (yiāu) **LH** gou, **OCM** *gū? — [T] ONW yau
‘Vast’ of rising waters [Shi]. The etymology of the homophone hào 顕 [Lù], 吳 [Shi] (yiāu) is ambiguous because it can mean ‘bright, splendid’ (of Heaven) and then be the s. w. as → hào 浩.
[E] A TB cognate is perh. WB ko *rise up, swell, bulge* ≠ ko ‘lift out of place, prize up’, Lushai ko [raised ground, mound, rise suddenly] (waters), ‘surge’ (waves). Hào may be an allofam of → gāo 高 ‘high’, although the vowels do not agree.

**hào** 顕 [Lù], 吳 → **hào** 浩

**hái** 喝欲 (xīp) **LH** hǎ, **OCM** *hǎp
‘To drink’ 欲 [Ban Gu, Han dyn.] is cognate to, or a popular variant of. **xī** 喝 LH xiē ‘to drink’ [Hou Hanshu] (Baxter, p. c.) and perh. also to → xiá 呷. It may be of ST origin: Lushai hup* ‘to drink from the hands, suck (water) from hand’.

**hé** 禾 (yuā) **LH** yuāi or guai, **OCM** *(g)wāi
[D] PWMin *(w)wāi, SMIN *g: Zhāngping gueA2 ‘rice plant’


**hé** 何 (yuā) **LH** yuāi or guai, **OCM** *(g)wāi — [T] ONW yua
‘Being harmonious, concordant’ [Shi].

※hè 和 (yuā) **LH** yuāi or guai, **OCM** *(g)wāi
‘To harmonize, respond in singing, rime’ [Shi, Zuō].
[K] exoactive of hé 何 (yuā) (§4.3.2). An allofam is perh. → kē 科 ‘class’.

**hé** 何 (yuā) **LH** gai, **OCM** *gāi
‘What, why, where’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR γα (平), LR γ; MGZY xo (平) [γa]; ONW γa
[D] Y-Guāngzhōu 2h42A
[K] independent pronoun derived from hé, see §3.3.3; Matisoff (1995: 74).

※hú 胡 (yuō) **LH** gá, **OCM** *gā
‘What, where’ [Shi] is used adverbially (Pulleyblank 1995: 95).
**xiá** 蹊 (ya) LH ga, OCM *gâ (prob. not *grâ)

‘How, why’ [Shi], perh. this is simply a variant or graphic loan for hú ‘above’.

**xī** 墙 (yei) LH ge, OCM *gê — [T] ONW yê

‘To what, whither? ’ [Zuo], ‘how? ’ [Zuo, Meng]; acc. to Dobson (LAC: 147) a fusion of hé yê 何以. It occurs in preverbal or pre-nominal constructions (Pulleyblank 1995: 95).

**hé** 縷 (yat) LH gat, OCM *gât

‘Why, how, when? ’ used mostly adverbially [Shi] (Pulleyblank ibid.).

**gé** 盖 (yatp) LH gatp, OCM *gâp

‘ ‘Why not?’ [Lunyu] is a contraction of hú bâ 胡不 (Pulleyblank ibid.).

**hé** 河 (ya) LH gai, OCM *gæi

‘River, Yellow River’ [DB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yâ (平), LR yâ: MGZY Xo (平) [yâ]; ONW ya

[E] Three etymologies have been suggested for this northern word: (1) cognate to TB-WT rgal-ba ‘to pass or ford a river’ (Coblin 1986), for a parallel semantic connection of ‘ford’ with ‘river’, see → dâ dî dî. (2) An Altaic loan, cf. Mongol yol ‘river’ (Norman). (3) Derived from hú 湖 (yuo) ‘lake’ (Matisoff 1995a: 71). Note also JP kâ?3i < kâk ‘water, river’, but the final does not agree with OC.

**hé** 合 (yatp) LH gæp, OCM *gæp, OCB *gop

‘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’ [Guoce]; later hé 盖 ‘box with a lid’. The graph shows an inverted open mouth facing down onto an opening.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yâ (入); PR, LR yâ?; MGZY Xo (入) [yâ]; ONW yap.

[D] M-Amoy kapD2 ‘to join, unite, shut, to fit, agree’.

= hé 関 (yatp) — [D] M-Amoy kâpD1 < khap ‘all’

‘All together, all’ (as in ‘all in town know / the whole town knows...’) [post-Han].

**kâp** — [D] M-Amoy kâpD1 < khap (< *kâp?) 蓋 ‘inverted’ (as a bowl).

**kap** — [D] M-Amoy kap ‘with, along with, to unite, join together’.

**gé** 間蛤 (kâp) LH kap, OCM *kâp

‘A small gate’ [Mo] > ‘(two open sides fitting together’): ‘oyster, mussel’ 蛤 [Li].

**qià** 洽 (yâp) LH gep, OCM *gräp

‘To accord with, unite, assemble’ [Shi]; ‘to sacrifice to ancestors collectively’ 禧 [Li] (Karlgren 1956: 15).

<[k] r-causative of hé *gâp.

[E] Alternatively, this could be a different word related to WT ‘grub-pa ‘be made ready, be finished, accomplished’ (Gong H. 2002b: 202).

[E] Three unrelated etyma hé 合 *gâp, → hé 盖 *gâp, and → huî 會 *gwâts have partially converged in OC. The root kâp ‘fit together, cover, meet’ (including *kap → hé 盖) is widely encountered in the area:

Area etymon *kup. TB-Lushai kâpL ‘to cover with anything concave side downwards, cover with an inverted vessel...’, JP kâp3I ‘capsize, turn over’ (boat), Chepang kâp- ‘cover head’. The TB items agree semantically with the OC root *kâp (> Mon kâp), but phonologically with *kup.

PMK *kup: Khmer gwpa /kâupp/ ‘to join, bring together, unite’, ga’pa /kâp/ ‘to join, unite, meet with, visit often’, Mon inscr. sakup /sakâp/ ‘lid’, also PVM *kâp ‘to cover’ [Ferlus]. Karlgren adds xi, 休 (xjãp) ‘to bring / get together, concordant’ [BI, Shi], but the initials are difficult to reconcile.
hék₆ (γék) LH gek, OCM *grêk — [D] PMin *hut
‘Kernel (of fruit)’ [Shi] > ‘investigate’ [Shu] (< ‘go to the kernel’, so GSR no. 937a).

[E] ST: WT rag ‘fruit stone, bead’, Mikir rak ‘fruit stone’ (Bodman 1980: 86). Wang Li (1982: 249) relates this word to → gek₃ hak 'bones' (not likely); perh. related to → hâi Şak ‘skeleton’.

hék₇ (yâk) LH gek, OCM *gâk
‘To dry up’ [Li], i.e. soil, roads.

[E] Perh. related to hê₂ ḡâk and/or to stems under → gu₁ ḡâk (incl. Table G-1) and → jiān₂ wâk (incl. Table J-1).

hék₈ 壹蓋 etc. (yâp) LH gap, OCM *gâp, OCB *fikap
(‘To put cover / lid on’): ‘to cover (person, house), thatch’ ḡap [Zuo]; ‘wooden leaf door’ ḡap [Zuo], ‘door leaf’ ḡap [Xun], ‘to shut’ (mouth, door, and the like) ḡâk [Yi]. The meaning → ‘join, unite’ (actually ‘close in on’, as crowds of friends) [Yi] is somewhat uncertain; see Shaughnessy 1997: 90f; 301.

* gâi 蓋 (kâî) LH kos, OCM *kâts < *kaps, OCB *kêts < **kaps
‘A cover’ (of a car) [Zhouli], ‘lid’ [OB, Zhoushu], ‘have one’s mouth shut’ pass. [Shu]

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kai (去): MGZY gay (去) [kai].

[E] Area etymon. TB-WT ‘gebs-pa, bkab ...’ ‘to cover’, sgab-pa ‘to cover’, kebs < *keps or *kaps ‘a cover’ (Bodman 1980: 49); PKiranti *kap ‘to thatch, cover with bed clothes’ [van Driem 1995: 252], IP kâp ‘lid’ 3, gap³ ‘to cover’ (house) (see also HPTB: 142). Perh. also WB kap ‘join, unite, adhere’, JP kap³⁵ ‘to stick, adhere to, join a group’. PAA *kap: PMonic *pl[ŋ]kap, Nyah Kur pkap, Mon hǎkap ‘to turn sth. face down, to join an obj. face to face, face down’ (this gloss reads like a description of the graph → hé₃合); Mon gap ‘be fit for, fit to, pleasing to’, Khmer gā pa / koap/, OKhmer gap ‘to meet, strike, fit, suit, match, agree, please, be pleasing...’

The tone C derivative gâi (LH kos, not kus or kos) makes it clear that the OC rime was not *op. The three unrelated etyma → hé₃合 *gêp, hék gât, and → hu₁  glEnables partially converged in OC.

hék₉ 壹 ‘why not’ → hé₃ 何

hék̕₁₀ (yêk) LH gek, OCM *grêk
‘Root of a feather’ [Zhouli] is perh. related to, or the s. w. as, ﻔ (γêk) ‘wing’ [SW], ‘feather’ [Yupian] (so Wang Li 1982: 251) which, however, apparently goes back to OCM *grêk (not *grek).

hék₁₁ 何荷 (yâB) LH goiB, OCM *gâiB?
‘To carry’ (on the shoulder or back; responsibility), ‘sustain’ [Shi, Zuo].

* kê 可 (kêB) LH kōiB, OCM *kâiʔ — [D] Y-Guangzhou 35ñoB; K-Meixian kōB
‘To bear, can, be able’ [Shi]. The original graph is a drawing (可 without 艮 ‘mouth’) of an ax handle intended to write the word → kê₁ kê (kê) *kâi; kō has been added to indicate that ‘ax handle’ is only ‘mouthed’, i.e. is only a phonetic loan.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR, FR, LR kæ (土); MGZY kho (土) [kæ]; ONW kæB


he

is distinct from PTB *m-kal 'kidney' (→ gänŋ 肾), and Tiddim Chin xa:l², Lushai tʰaal² < *kraals 'groin'; WB kʰo²b ‘loins’.

Perh. an old area word: PTai *yaanA² ‘pole for carrying things’, Saek kʰa ‘loins’. Perh. related to → gão一 瓣 ‘white’.

[C] An allofam is prob. → qí₆ 骑 ‘ride’.

hè₂ 鷫 (yàk) LH gök, OCM *gauk < *glauk
‘Crane’ [Shi], ‘glistening white’ [Meng].


hè₃ 贿 → jiā 偈 ‘ride’.

hè₄ 赫 (xák) LH hak, OCM *hrak (OCB *xrak)
‘Glowing red’ (face), ‘brilliant’ > ‘to manifest, fiery’ (drought) [Shi], ‘fiery red’ [SW].

[É] The phonologically most plausible affiliation is with PTB *s-rak > Kan. Bunau srag ‘ashamed’, WT šāgs ‘joke, jest’ (at other’s expense) < *řhjak. Without medial *j: PTB *s-rak ~ *k-rak: PL *s-rak¹, WB hrak ‘be ashamed, shy’, Mikir tʰērak < s-rak ‘shy, bashful’. With initial k-: Magari kʰa-rak ‘be ashamed’ (STC no. 431), WT kʰrag ‘blood’; loaned into MK-PWa s[lq]-krak ‘red’. These forms may furthermore be related to TB ones with the root *jak: Lushai zak¹ / zaʔ¹ < jak, Kachin bjaʔ ‘be ashamed, shy’ (STC no. 452 p. 113; pp. 106, 108). The OC form goes back to a ST stem without medial *j. These TB items have also been connected with → chì 赤 ‘red’ and → sè 色 ‘color’ (STC no. 431, 458). An allofam may be → xiá₂ 搏暇 (ya) ‘red’. A semantic extension of this word is perh. → hè₂ 赫 ‘be scary’.

hè₅ 赫 (xák) LH hak, OCM *hrak, OCB *xrák
‘Awe-inspiring, majestic, imposing’ [Shi] vi. < ‘be scary, scaring’.

→ xìà, hē 吓 (xaC, xék) LH hak, haC, OCM *hrák(h)
‘To scare’ [Zhuang].

[<] exoact. / caus. of hē, lit. ‘make scared’ (§4.3.2).

→ xí 饨ución (xej) LH hiok, OCM *hak
‘Scary’ 艇 (Bmi, Yi), ‘fear’ [Zhuang].

[É] Acc. to Bodman (1980: 175) this wf is cognate to PTB *krak ~ *grak ‘to fear’ > WT skrag-pa ‘afraid, terrified’ ≠ OTeb skrags ‘fear’, while HST: 78 relates the TB item to kè 歇 (kʰak) ‘to respect, revere’ [Shi]. STC: 159 n. 430 relates both kè and xí 饨ány to the TB etymon. This wf may be a semantic extension of → hè₄ 赫 ‘red’ already on the ST level: ‘red’ > ‘red in the face’ > ‘angry, scary’ / ‘ashamed’.

hè₆ 跪 (yék) LH gök, OCM *grák < *gar-k
‘Water drying off land’ [Chuci].

[É] ST: PLB *t;kraš ‘dry’ [Matisoff]. For more about related and similar items, see → gù一 固 (incl. Table G-1) and → jiān 亱 (incl. Table J-1). The source of MK-PWa *krő ‘dry, parched’ is not clear. Perh. related to → hè₇ 犦.

hè₇ 嚎 → hè₅ 赫

hè₈ 嚎 → náo₃ 捷

hè₉ 嚯 → gāo一 瓣
hei - heng

hei 黑 (xǎ) LH hák, OCM *hmōk
‘Black’ [Shi]. This is a relatively late OC word which replaced xuán 玄 ‘black’ during the Zhou period.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR 晰 (入), LR 晰; MGZY 晰 (入) [xij]

[<] Hēi 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 māk, OCM *māk
‘Ink’ [Meng], ‘black’ [Zuo], ‘black-branding’ [Shu]. Perh. the s. w. as → mò₁₅ 默嘿 ‘silent’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR 晰 (入), LR 晰; MGZY 晰 (入) [mē]

[N] Because of 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).

[<] Sin Sukchu SR 晰 (入), LR 晰; MGZY 晰 (入) [mē]

|[E] ST: WT smag ‘dark, darkness’, mog-pa ‘dark-colored’; Limbu mak ‘black, dark’ (of color, also the color of blood) ≠ makt- ‘to become night’, JP maŋ31 < maŋ31 black’. WB hmaŋ ‘ink’ is not a CH loan but a loan translation, it belongs to → mèi 煤 ‘soot’ (note that WT also has a loan translation for ‘ink’: snag).

On the basis of Chinese, at least two ST roots need to be distinguished: (1) *mok ‘black, dark’ ≠ *m(o)k ‘soot, black’, and (2) *mak/ŋ ‘dark’ (HPTB: 522); these have converged in PTB *mak/ŋ (in some TB languages also ‘color of blood > dark red > red’). Items of the type *mak/ŋ in CH include: → mò 莫嘯嘯 (māk) ‘obscure’, → mò₄ 莫晦 (muō⁵) ‘evening’, → mò₃ 莫 墓 (muō⁵) ‘tomb’; perh. also → máŋ₃ 芒茫 ‘obscure’, → máŋ₄ 盲 (māng) ‘blind’. Etyema meaning ‘silent’ may belong to this complex as well, incl. mò 莫嘯嘯 (māk), mò 莫晦 (māk), → mò₁₅ 默嘿 (mak) (perh. s. w. as mò 墨 ‘ink, black’ above). The word → hui² 晰 ‘dark’ is prob. unrelated.

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’ → wú 萬属. An allofam is prob. → méi⁹ 煤 ‘soot’.

hèn 恨 (yǎn⁵) LH gǒn⁵, OCM *gǎns
‘To hate, quarrelsome’ [Zuo].

= hèn 恨 (yǎn⁵) LH gǒn⁵, OCM *gǎn?
‘Disobedient, refractory’ [Guoyu], ‘hate’ [Zuo].

= gèn 艮 (kǎn⁵) LH kǎn⁵, OCM *kǎns
‘Refractory, obstinate, resist’ [Yi]. The graph was prob. intended for → yǎn⁶ 眼 ‘eye’.

[C] Possible allofams: xiàn 限 (yǎn⁵) ‘obstacle, limit’ [Guoce]; yín 紅 (nǒn) ‘raised border, dike’ [Chuci].

hèng 恆 (yǒ) LH gǎn, OCM *gān
‘Be constant, go on’ [BI, Shi], ‘earlier, anciently’ [Zhouli]. — Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR 請 (平), PR 請 (平); MGZY 請 (平) [yǐn]; ONW 請

hèng₂-ē 娥娥 ~ 恆娥 → ē₂ 娥

hèng₃, jīng 墟 → kēng₂ 罅

hèng₄ 衡 (yǒ) LH gǎn, OCM *gān
‘Crosspiece, beam, yoke, steelyard, weights’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR 請 (平), SR yǔn (平), PR 請; MGZY 請 (平) [yǐn]
**hóng**

[C] See also → hóng₃, héng 衡横 with which héng may be connected (so Karlgren 1956: 16). Possible allofam → liáng₃ 梁 ‘beam’.

**gēng** 哼 （kəŋB） LH  kaŋB, OCM *kran? ‘Fishbone in throat’ [Guoyu]; ‘choke’ [Zhuang].

**hóng₁** 虹 （yun） LH  gøŋ, OCM *gøŋ < *gloŋ ‘Rainbow’ [Li].

[D] Dialect forms are very irregular: PMin *ghionhB, but Jiányáng leŋCl, G-Shànggāo dial. has lanB-luŋH (Sagart 1993: 196).


~ jiàng 虹 （kəŋc） LH  kəŋC, OCM *krəŋh ‘Fishbone in throat’ [Guoyu]; ‘choke’ [Zhuang].

~ di-dōng 蝴蝶 （tieǐC-tuŋ） LH  tes-ʊŋ, OCM *tə(t)s-tʊŋ < *-tloŋ ‘Rainbow’ [Shi, EY].

The wide range of forms, incl. di-dōng (below), speaks for a non-ST source for this etymon. <> Kam-Tai: Zhuang lgs. have tu²-ruŋ² ‘rainbow’ and the like, where tu² is a prefix added to animals and persons. Li Xu-Lian (1997) reconstructs this prefix as PT *ta, among others based on forms like Wuming ta⁶ and Bama ti⁶. Luó Yōngxiàn (MKS 27: 1997: 272) reconstructs PTai *Drulː ‘rainbow’.


[T] Sin Sukchu SR yun (平); MGZY Xung (平) [yun] The following tʊŋ 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: ~ tʊŋ 彤 （duoŋ） LH  douŋ, OCM *lʊŋ ‘Red’ (of ceremonial objects) [Shi], 赤 [Guan].

**hóng₃** 虹 （yun） LH  gøŋ, OCM *gøŋ ‘Be disorderly, disorder, trouble’ [Shi]. This word may be cognate to → hóng₁ 虹 and / or be a variant of hún 混 (yuan) (under → hún 混濁).


~ hónɡ, jiàng 澆 （yu⁶ŋ, guŋ, gęŋ, kəŋC） LH  go(u)ŋ, g/kəŋc, OCM *g/kəŋ ‘To inundate’ [Meng] (Wáng Lì 1982: 379).

~ hónɡ, héng 衡 （ywen） LH  guan, OCM *gwrəŋ — [T] ONW yuēŋ ‘To plow crosswise, east-west’ 請 [Shi], 橫 [Zuo]; ‘transversal, horizontal’ 衡 [Li], 橫 [Chuci].

[C] This word may be connected with → héng₄ 衡 (so Karlgren 1956: 16). A tone C derivation is ‘be cross-grained, hard to deal with’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 287).

[E] AA: Khmer khveña/kwaarkŋ ‘to cross, intersect, be diagonal, crisscross’ (→ Tai: S. kwaŋ² ‘to lie athwart, transverse, crosswise’) < věña /weeng/ ‘cut across, traverse, intersect’. The derivative gravěña /krəween/ ‘turn, hurl overhead...’ agrees phonologically with OC.
hòng6 鴻 ‘equal’ \( \rightarrow \) gōng5 公

hòng1 荒 (yūn\(^C\), yān\(^C\)) LH gōn\(^C\), gōn\(^C\), OCM *gōngh ‘Quarrel, fight’ [Meng] is perh. related to \( \rightarrow \) xiōng3 虎 and / or \( \rightarrow \) hóng3 虎.

hòng2 祼 \( \rightarrow \) zhuàng3, hòng 懲


hōu1 候 (yōu) LH go\(^C\), OCM *gō ‘Target’ [Shi] > ‘target shooter, archer’ > ‘title of a feudal lord’ [OB, BI, Shi] > ‘border guard’ [Guoyu].

hōu2 候 (yōu\(^C\)) LH go\(^C\), OCM *gōh ‘To watch, be on the lookout for’ [Zuo], ‘aspects (of dreams)’ [Lie].

[ E] Acc. to Lau (1999: 44) ‘watch’ is the fundamental meaning from which is derived hōu 候 ‘feudal lord, border guard, target’, a tone A nominalization (§3.1); alternatively, hōu ‘watch’ may derive from ‘target’, hence lit. ‘to target’.

[ E] AA: Khmer kōh/kao/ ‘to raise (crossbow) with a view to aiming’ \( \rightarrow \) kphō ‘be raised up, clearly visible’; or goh/kōh ‘to hit (squarely)’.

[ C] A derivation is \( \rightarrow \) guān, 觀 ‘to watch’. This stem is prob. distinct from \( \rightarrow \) hōu1 后 ‘sovereign’.

hōu3 候 ‘root of feather’ \( \rightarrow \) hōu1 后

hōu4 候 (yōu) LH go\(^C\), OCM *gō ‘Throat’ [Shi].


hōu5 猴 (yōu) LH go\(^C\), OCM *gō \( \rightarrow \) [D] PMin *gə污泥 < *ngo污泥 ‘ ‘Monkey’ [Zhuang].

[ E] ST: PL *ʔ-ko污泥^2/\. The first syllable in mū-hōu 母猴污泥 *mō污泥-gō污泥, mū-hōu 母猴污泥 *mōk污泥 ‘macaque’ may perh. be an old pre-initial (Unger Hao-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. Blažek (in Pinault et al. 1997: 236f) notes LB-Akha mjo污泥 ‘monkey’ which he derives from PL *mjok污泥 and suggests is the source of the CH word, which in turn, citing Lüders, might possibly have been the source of IE-PTocharian *moko. For syn. see \( \rightarrow \) yōu污泥 猴.

hōu6 猴污泥 ‘arrow with metal tip’ \( \rightarrow \) hōu1 后

hōu1 吕 (yōu污泥^C) LH go污泥^C, OCM *gō污泥/污泥 ‘(‘Head’ in society:) ‘sovereign, lord’ [Shi], ‘queen’ [Zuo].
Hòu 后 ‘target > archer, feudal lord’ is often considered cognate (e.g. Mei Tsu-Lin in Thurgood 1985: 335f). Though possible, these two words seem to represent two different concepts and thus derive from different roots. This is supported by the consistent distinction of these near synonyms in literature. The 后 后 under consideration here has the basic meaning ‘head’; it is thus a ST etymon *go which is cognate to WT go ‘headman’ ≠ mgo ‘head’. This word is prob. a tone B derivation from the following items, lit. ‘the person which is functioning as head’. This stem may perh. also be cognate to → yuán 元 ‘head’.

≈ hòu 銃 (γου, γουC), LH go, goC, OCM *gο(h)
‘Arrow with metal point’ [Shi]. In Shiŋ the word rimes both in *-o and in *-oh (Baxter 1992: 763).

[D] Acc. to FY 9.4, this is a Han period Yangtze-Huai dialect word for ‘arrow’.

≈ hòu 侯 (γου) LH go, OCM *gο
(‘Head’ = ‘tip’ of a feather:) ‘root of a feather’ 頂 [SW]. But Matisoff 1985a: 437 relates this word to WT sgro ‘a large feather, quill-feather’.

Hòu 侯 → gòu2 聾

Hòu 後 (γουB) LH goB or γοB, OCM *gο? or fιο?
‘Behind, after’ [Shi], ‘follow’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR γώ (↑): MGZY Xiw (↑) [yiw]; MTang γαυ, ONW γαυ
≈ hòu 後 (γουC) LH goC or γοC, OCM *gοh or *fιοh
‘Be behind, attend, support’ [BI, Shi], also 候; ‘to put afterward’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 280).

[<] exoact. / tr. of *gο? above (§4.3.2)

[E] ST: PTB *ok > WT ‘og (not ?og) ‘below, afterwards, later, after’; PLB *?ok ‘lower side, below’ > WB ok ‘under part, space under’ (HST: 41); Limbu yο ‘down, below, downhill’. For tone B in CH, see §3.2.2.

Hòu 厚 (γουB) LH goB, OCM *gο?
‘Thick’ > ‘generous’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR γώ (↑): MGZY Xiw (↑) [yiw]
≈ hòu 厚 (γουC) LH goC, OCM *gοh

Hòu 候 → hóu1 侯

Hū 乎 ‘in, at’ → yú8 於

Hū2 向 (xuo[C]) LH hο(C), OCM *hα(h)
‘To call, shout’ [Shu] > ‘to ask (request), be asked’ [OB, BI]. The next word hū suggests that the active verb ‘shout, call’ had originally tone A, and that the tone C form was an exopass. derivation (§4.4), lit. ‘be asked, requested’. Also in tone C is the meaning ‘cry out’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 286: restricted meaning). For a semantic parallel ‘shout’ > ‘request’, see → háo 號.

≈ hū 向 (xuo) LH hο, OCM *hα
‘To shout’ [Zhouli], ‘abuse’ [Meng].

Hū3 怨 → mén3 悅

Hū4 盼 (xuo, also mju) LH hο, OCM *hmά
‘Dried slice of boneless meat’ [SW], ‘big slice of dried meat’ [Liji, Zhouli], Yáng Xióng is quoted as saying ‘dried bird meat’. This word makes the impression of a loan
like many words which relate to everyday life and which appear first in Han period ritual books.

 Hulu 5 熏 → wū 9 蘭熏

Hulu 1 胡 (yuo) LH ga, OCM *gâ
‘Dewlap of an animal’ (which hangs down from the chin) [Shi, SW] > ‘beard’ 鬍 [Han texts] (Wang Li 1982: 144). Acc. to Boltz (OE 35, 1992: 37); this word is cognate to kū 枯 ‘desiccated’ and ultimately to → gū 固 ‘solid’.

Hulu 2 胡 (yuo) LH ga, OCM *gâ

Hulu 3 胡 → hé 3 何

Hulu 4-túng 胡同 → xiāng 3 巷

Hulu 5 鬍 → hú 1 胡

Hulu 6-dié 胡蝶 (yuo-diep) LH go-dep, OCM *gâ-lèp
‘Butterfly’ [Zhuang].

~ jiá-dié 蟂蝶 *kêp-lèp

[El] ST: The TB forms vary: Lepcha ha-kljóp ‘a species of butterfly, Buprestis bicolor’, WT p'je-ma-leb < pem-a-lep. The second syllable *lèp belongs either to the wf → dié 傣; or to PTB *lyap ‘glitter, flash’, see → yê 6 娴. (Yan Xiuhong ZGYW 2, 2002: 154 has an extensive discussion of húdié).

Hulu 7 湖 → hé 4 河

Hulu 8 弧 (yuo) LH gua, OCM *gwâ
‘Bow’ [Yîl], ‘bend, curved’ [Zhouli]. Syn. → gū 1 句鉤枸區.

xē gū 豦 (kuo) LH kuâ, OCM *kwâ
‘Curved bone, big bone’ [Zhuang].

[El] This wf belongs to → yû 1 式縳 *?wa; gū looks like a derivation from yû with the nominalizing k-prefix (§5.4).

Hulu 9 狐 (yuo) LH gua, OCM *gwâ — [T] ONW yo
‘Fox’ [Shi].


Hulu 10 搡 → kū 4 城窟

Hulu 11 壶 (yuo) LH ga, OCM *gâ
‘Bottle-gourd, flask’ [Shi], ‘teapot’.


Hulu 1 虎 (xuo³) LH ho², OCM *hâ? (hl-!), OCB *hî?a
‘Tiger’ [OB, Shi]. The name of this dangerous animal is subject to taboo. It was therefore apt to be replaced by a different word, or at least undergo some modification. One way is to add a prefix or word which indicates respect, hence Mand. lão-hû 老虎 ‘old (= venerable) tiger’; the prefix yû < *?a in yû-tû etc. served the same

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hū - hù

purpose in the OC dialect word, see below and → ²阿. The other method is to distort the pronunciation by using a dialect word as in hū whose phonology indicates a possible rural or vulgar origin (voiceless *lh- > MC x-, §5.6).

[D] The regular OC equivalent of foreign *kl- is expected to be a voiceless *lh- > MC sj- or tʰ. Such forms are found in old dialects (Pulleyblank 1983: 427): (1) yú-tù 於兔 (?jwo-t'uoC) [ʔo-t'ch] OCM *a-lhāk is a Chū dialect word recorded in the 5th cent. BC Zuōzhūàn. The Hòu Hānshū has a variant yú-shi 於播 (?jwo-śjāk) [ʔo-śiak] OCM *a-lhāk. The FY has a further graphic variant yú-tù 於兔 to which Guō Pū adds that south of the Yangtze, the pronunciation of tū is like gōu-dōu 荷寶 (kau²-dōuC), i.e. a hypothetical OCM *kō?-lōh which comes close to AA forms.

Some modern interior Min dialects have *kʰoB, but the stop feature is prob. secondary.

[E] PAA *kala7 ‘tiger’ > PMK *klaʔ > OKhm *klaʔ > later Angkorian Khm. khlaʔ; → Tai: S. klaʔ, PMonic *klaʔ [Diffloth 1984], Munda kula, Kharia kি’ʔ [Norman a. Mei 1976: 286–288; Benedict 1976: 97; Pulleyblank 1983: 427]. It is not clear if / how PVM *k-haːʔ, Khmer khaːl ‘tiger’ (in the name of a year) could be related. <> MK > PTB *k-la (Matisoff 1995a: 52), PL *k-la², OBurm. kła, WB kya (IST: 334), Monpa khai-la looks similar to PVM.

hū ²-pō 璀珀 < 慬魄 (xuo³-pʰek)
‘Amber’, lit. ‘tiger’s soul’ [Tang dyn.: Li Bai], a loan word from a western or southern Asiatic *χαρυπα ‘amber’ (Boodberg 1937: 359).

hū ³ 瀟 → an² 2 岸

hū₁ 户 (ywoB) LH gaB, OCM *gāʔ
‘Door(leaf) > household’ [Shi]; ‘opening’ [Liji].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yu (uously); MGZY Xu (upperly) [yu]; ONW yo

[E] ST: PTB *k-m-ka ‘opening, mouth’ (HPTB: 173) > PLB *ʔgā1 ≈ *gā3 ‘open, divaricate, spread’ [Matisoff D. of Lahu: 230]; WB tam-ʔkʰaB ‘door’, NNaga *gkaA ‘door’, WT sgo ‘door’ (HST: 66; WT o can derive regularly from TB *a). It is tempting to derive 户 from → hū₁ 互槎 ‘barrier’, yet the latter agree more closely with a different TB etymon (Lushai kʰaːr).

hū₂ 息 (yuoB) LH gaB, OCM *gāʔ
‘To rely on’ [Shi] is cognate to → gū₁ 固 ‘solid, secure, sure’.

hū₃ 互槎 (youC) LH gaC, OCM *gāh
‘Intertwining, crossing, barrier, a stand’ (of crossing sticks) [Zhouli]; ‘each other’ 互; ‘railings, fence’ 槎 [Zhouli].

※ hū 鋀 (yuoB) LH gaB, OCM *gāʔ
‘A weir, fish stakes for catching fish’ (properly written with radical 竹 instead of 水) [GY]. This could be the s. w. as hū 鋀 ‘to stop, prevent’ [Zuo], but is prob. unrelated to → hū₁ 户 ‘door’.

※ gū 駕 (kuoB) LH kaB, OCM *kāʔ
‘Net’ [Yi] is prob. unrelated to → gū₄ 駕 ‘net’.

Both tone B words hū 鋀 and gū 駕 above may be nominal derivations from hū 互.

[E] ST: Lushai kʰaːr² < kʰaːrʔ ‘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’ ※ ceği ‘side of building, external part’; WT dgar-ba ‘to confine, pen up’ ※ sgə ‘camp, encampment’. For TB final r, see §7.7.5.

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The wf → gōu 軤 agrees with hù in all but the vowel. Putative TB cognates seem to confirm that these are two separate roots.

\[ \text{hu}_4 \text{ 滯 } \rightarrow \text{gōu}_1 \text{ 固} \]

\[ \text{hu}_5 \text{ 符 (xuāt) LH huāt, OCM *hmūt < *hmut} \]


\[ \text{hu}_6 \text{ 護 (yuaC) LH yuaC, OCM *wākh — [T] ONW yo} \]

‘Guard, protect’ [Lūshi] is prob. cognate to WT ‘gogs-pa’ to prevent, avert’ (HST: 89).

\[ \text{hu}_7\text{-hù 庐 (yuaB) LH gaB, OCM *gā} \]

‘Wide, vast’ [Li] is perh. a ST word: WB kaB ‘be stretched apart, widen; breadth, width’.

\[ \text{hu}_8 \text{ 演 } \rightarrow \text{hu}_3 \text{ 互桓} \]

\[ \text{huā} \text{ 花 (xwa)} \]

‘Flower’, originally a noun (see Wáng Li 1982: 142 for a discussion of this wf). The graph (whose OC rime should be *-ai) has been borrowed for an etymon in OC *-a).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR xwa (平); MGZY yua (平) [xwa]; ONW xuā


≠ huā 華 (ywa) LH yua, OCM *(g)wrā ? — [T] ONW yuā

‘To be in flower’ intr. > ‘blossom, flower’ [Shi], originally a vb. (Wáng Li).

≠ kuā 菁 (khw, xjwo) LH khua, yua, OCM *khrwa, *hwa

‘Flower’ [Zhuang]. The graph is sometimes thought to write huá 花.

[E] Etymology not clear. TB languages often alternate initial labial stops *p, *b with *w, also in the root for ‘blossom, flower’ *bar (→ pā 花, → bàn 花) (Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 144–146). Huá may be an example of the ST *bar ~ *war variation (for the metathesis of the final *r, see §7.7.3). Alternatively, note AA-OKhmer /pkaa/ ‘flower’; the complex AA initial might have been the reason for the CH development.

\[ \text{huá}_1 \text{ 滅 (ywāt) LH guat, OCM *grūt} \]

‘Slippery’ [Zhouli].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ywa (入); MGZY Xwa (入) [ywa]


\[ \text{huá}_2 \text{ 華 ‘flower’ } \rightarrow \text{huá} \text{ 花} \]

\[ \text{huá}_3 \text{ 華 ‘cleave’ } \rightarrow \text{ku}_2 \text{ 劫} \]

\[ \text{huá}_1 \text{ 化 } \rightarrow \text{é}_4 \text{ 叡哣} \]

\[ \text{huá}_2 \text{ 檀 (ywaiC) LH yuaC, OCM *(g)wrāh ?} \]

‘Birch’ [Yupian, JY].


\[ \text{huá}_3 \text{ 话 (ywaiC) LH guas, OCM *gwrā(t)s or *grō(t)s — [D] PMin *huaC} \]

‘Speech, lecture’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ywa (去); MGZY Xway (去) [ywaj]

[E] Sagart (1999: 113) derives this word from → yuē1 中 ‘to say’. It is prob. cognate to WT ‘gros speech, talk, advice’ (Gong in W. Wang 1995: 47).

\[ \text{huá}_4 \text{ 畫 (ywaiC) LH yueC, OCM *(g)wrekh} \]

‘Painted, with a design’ adj. [BL, Shu] > ‘to draw a design, depict’ [Meng].

[T] MGZY Xway (去) [ywaj]; ONW yuā

[<] exopass. of huò 畫 (*wek) (§4.4).
huà – huǎn

※huò 畫 (ywek) LH yüek, OCM *(g)wrek
‘To delineate, mark off, plan’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR yuj (λ); MGZY Xway (λ) [ywaj]

= huà 划 (ywek) LH yüek, OCM *(g)wrek
‘To cut’ (with a knife) [SW], cut open, mark off’ (Wáng Lì 1982: 270).

[E] MK: OKhmer gur ~ gvra ‘to draw a line, make a drawing’ [S. Lewitz, AA Studies 2, 1976: 742], with OC final -k added which caused the metathesis of the MK final r (§6.1):
* gwer + k > gwrek. The vocalic discrepancy has parallels, see §11.1.3.

huà 込 → huán 桉

huái 坏 (kwái) LH kueiC, OCM *kruih, OCB *krujes

※huài 坏 (ywáiC) LH gueiC, OCM *gruíh, OCB *fíkrujes — [T] ONW yuēi
‘To be ruined’ [Shi].

[<] endopass. of huái 坏 (kwáiC) (§4.6).

huǎn 鐵 → hào 號

huán1 桉 (yuán) LH yuan, OCM *wán — [T] ONW yuan
‘To turn around, turn back, hesitate’ [Yi]. 坏 [Huainan].

※huàn 换 (yuánC) LH yuanC, OCM *wâns
‘To change’ [Lie], ‘exchange’ 换; ‘round’ 皖 [Zhuang], Mand. huán!, QYS also
yuánB C / S goiC, OCM *grói?, góih
‘To turn round’ (as a wheel) [Li]. Rú Chún (3rd cent. AD), annotator of the Hànhshū, remarks that in eastern dialects, the word 桉 was pronounced like hé 禾 OCB *gwaj < *goj (Baxter 1992: 296), therefore huàn 换 is apparently a dialect variant.

[E] This root prob. derives from ST *war or *wor: WT ‘khor ‘circle’ ※ ‘kʰor-ba < OTib ~
khord ‘to turn around’ ※ sgør-mo ‘round, a circle, globe’; Lepcha var ‘to make a circuit, go round’ ※ vor ‘to surround’ ※ van ‘turn towards’. See under → huí 回 for synonyms.

huán2 桉 (yuán) LH yuan, OCM *wán
‘Pillar’ [Li] > huán-huán ‘pillar-like’ (trees) [Shi] > ‘valiant’ [BI, Shi]. Perh. s. w. as → huán1 桉 ‘round’.

huán3 還 (ywan) LH yuan, OCM *wren, OCB *wren
‘To turn around, return’ 還 [Shi]. Prob. the same etymon as huán 環鑾寰 (under → yáng, 营).

[T] Sin S. SR ywan (平); MGZY Xwan (平) [ywan]; ONW yuan

The AA relative explains the *r in the OC initial. See under → huí 回 for synonyms.

huán4 環鑾寰 → yíng4 醫

huán5- guǎn 環官 ‘imperial palace’ → yíng4 醫

huǎn1 緩 ‘soft’ → either xuǎn2 暖, or to yuán8 爱.

huǎn2 緩 ‘slow’ → yuán8 爱

huǎn 輔 → huán1 桉
huàn - huáng

huàn₁ 换 ‘change’ → huán₁ 桶垸; → pàn₁-huàn 判换 ‘relax’

huàn₂ 幻 (ywănC) LH guenC, OCM *(g)wrēns ← [T] ONW yuān ‘Deceit’ [Shu], ‘magic, illusion’. Bodman (1980: 86) compares this to WT rol-ba ‘to practice sorcery, playfulness’.

huàn₃ 宸 (ywanC) LH guanC, OCM *grēns or *grôns ‘Servant’ [Guoyu] > ‘officer, official’ [Zuo].
[E] ST: PLB *gywan₁ > WB kywan ‘slave, servant’ (WB medial y can derive from earlier r).

huāng₁ 荒 (xwâñ) LH huoŋ, OCM *hmâŋ ‘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.
[E] AA: PNorth Bahnaric *maham, PMnong *mham, Asli maham (Benjamin 1976: 103), Khmu m'am < *mh-; without m-infix: PVM *a-samʔ?, Khmer jham, PMonic *chim, Katuic *sʔjham, Mundari majam. The MK root was *jham (Diffloth 1977: 50), or -TSam (Ferlus, MKS 7, 1978: 18). → PMY *nt$hajaamB (Mei 1980; Bodman 1980: 120). CH has final -ŋ because initial and final m are mutually exclusive. The OC initial was probably a voiceless *m- which can derive from, among others, a prehistoric cluster with either *h or *s.

huāng₂ 荒 ‘weed covered’ → wú₃ 蘦靡

huāng₃ 荒 ‘neglect’ → wáng₁ 歉

huāng₄ 荒 ‘large’ → mǎng₂ 芒

huāng₁ 芳 (ywăn) LH yuāŋ or guāŋ, OCM *(g)wâŋ ← [T] ONW yuāŋ ‘Be august, stately’ [Bl, Shi], ‘royal, imperial’.
[E] Etymology not certain, possibly originally meaning ‘royal’ (derived from ‘royal palace’), belonging to the AA etyma *wâŋ under → yîng⁴ 營. Tai luan ‘royal’ is a loan from Khmer (h)luəŋ ‘king, royal’. Bodman 1980: 107 connects huāng with → wâng₂ 王 ‘king’. This word may early have converged with → huáng₂ 煌 ‘brilliant’.

huāng₂ 煌 (ywăn) LH yuāŋ (or guāŋ?), OCM *(g)wâŋ ‘Be brilliant, splendid, magnificent’ 煌 > ‘brown and white’ (of a horse) 皇 [Bl, Shi]. Perh. → huāng₁ 皇 is the same word; perh.related to → guāng₁ 光 ‘bright’.

huāng₃ 芳 (ywăn) LH yuāŋ, OCM wâŋ ‘Be yellow, brown’ [OB, Shi] is one of the ancient basic color terms (Baxter 1983).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ywâŋ (平); MGZY Xong (平) [yuân]; ONW yuāŋ [E] ST: WB wâŋB ‘brightly yellow’ ※ wa ‘yellow’.

huāng₄ 璟 (ywăn) LH yuāŋ, OCM wâŋ ‘Semicircular jade insignium’ [Zhouli].

huāng₅ 潦 ‘vast’ → guāng₂ 幼

huāng₆ 螯 (ywăn) LH yuāŋ, OCM wâŋ ‘Leech, water leech’ [SW, EY]. The first syllable → mǎ₂ 马马 in Mand. mǎ₂-huáng 马螯 is prob. an old prefix (Unger Hao-ku 31, 1985: 308; Mei Tsu-Lin).
**huǐ**

**huǐ₁** 灰 (xuǎi) LH huoi, OCM *hwɔ́
‘Ashes’ [Zhuang], ‘charcoal’ [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR xuj (平); MGZY hue (平) [xue]
[N] Prob. OCM *hwɔ́ (not *hmɔ́) because the phonetic seems to be yù̀ *wɔ́.

**E** ST *wu*: TB-Lushai vut ḳ ‘ashes, dust’.

**huǐ₂** 燎[wei] LH hui, OCM *hwai
‘Flame, brightness’ [Yi]; ‘light, brightness’ [Yi]; ‘bright’ 輝 [Meng].

≈ wěi 徽 (jweiB) LH wui, OCM *wai
‘Be brilliant, bright’ [Shi].

IE
ST: PTB *hwa-t > WT ʼod; Matisoff (1997: 44f; LL 1.2, 2000: 146) sets up a large ST wf that also includes → fán₅ 燧.

Perh. yún 燎 (juanC) LH wunC, OCM *wans
‘Brightness’ [Zhouli] (Wáng Li 1982: 508f); ‘halo’ [Lú] could either be the same etymon, or be related to → yún₂ 運 ‘revolve’.

**huǐ₃** 徽 (jwei) LH hui, OCM *hmui
‘Rope’ [Yi]. The graph writes also a different word, see under → huǐ₄ 麓.

This word is shared with Tai: S. maiA₁ < *hm- ‘thread, silk’.

**huǐ₄** 麓 (jwei 3) LH hyai, OCM *hmui
‘Signal flag’ [Zuo], ‘to signal’ [Shi], i.e., something whirled about, waved.

≈ huǐ 徽 (jwei) LH hui, OCM *hmui
‘To signal, display’ [Shu], ‘a flag’ [Li] is apparently a vocalic variant.

IE

IE
The area word → xue₂ 璧 ‘wink with eyes’ has prob. influenced the CH meaning of huǐ 麓. Huǐ 麓 *hmui looks like a conflation of huǐ 徽 *hwai ‘to signal’ (under → wéi₂ 逶) and huǐ 徽 *hmui ‘to signal’.

**huǐ₅** 徽 ‘signalize’ → wéi₂ 逶

**huǐ₆** 落落 (jwie) LH hyai, OCM *hmui
‘To destroy’ 堕 [Shu], 落 (e.g. city walls) [Lūshi].

≈ huǐ 徽 (jwie) LH hyai, OCM *hmui?
‘To destroy, ruin’ [Shi], ‘perish (people)’ 毀 [Hanfei]; ‘destroy’ (by fire), ‘blazing fire’ 燠 [Shi]. This word also occurs in Tai: S. maiCL < *hm- ‘to burn’.

≈ huǐ 徽 (jwie) LH hyai, OCM *hmui?
‘To burn’ [SW: Shi], a phonological variant of huǐ 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’ 燠 may really go back to → huǐ₁ 火 ‘fire’.

**huí** 回 (yuǎi) LH yuai, OCM *wǔi — [T] ONW yuoi
‘To revolve, swerve, deflect’ [Shi], ‘go around by’ [Zuo]; ‘go up against a stream’ 水 [Shi]. Also written 返回. Downer (1959: 285) reads ‘go around, go by way of’ in tone C which implies an ‘effective’ meaning.

≈ huí-yǔ 回遙 (yuǎi-jjwet) LH yuai-ju(i)t, OCM *wǔi-wit ?
‘Be awry, crooked, perverse’ [Shi].

[C] Allofams are → gui₃ 返 ‘return’; → wéi₆ 逶 ‘turn against’ from which huǐ is derived.

IE Many CH and TB words for ‘round, turn’ look similar. Most have initial *w- and

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foreign final -n, -l, -r, 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 *-uan, *-jwán < OC *-uan, *-wan, *-on can derive from earlier ST or foreign *-wan, *-war, *-wa1, *-(w)on, *-(w)or, *-(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 → yuán

2. OC *-wan or *-wun MC rime *-uan, *-jwan < OC *-uan, *-wan, *-on can derive from earlier ST or foreign -wan, -war, -wa1, -(w)on, -(w)or, -(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 → yuán

3. OC *-wan or *-wun MC rime *-uan, *-jwan < OC *-uan, *-wan, *-on can derive from earlier ST or foreign -wan, -war, -wa1, -(w)on, -(w)or, -(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 → yuán

4. Rarer rimes can be associated with outside cognates somewhat more confidently:

   a. / 'x'J< / 'x'J< / j;El
   b. *-weij See → ymglrg, *-yong 7 *; and *-ymgs' *-ymg4 *;£:
   c. *-win See → jun2 ~5

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 kuaiL / koi2L ‘bend, pull down’, WB kweB ‘bend around’. (2) Lushai kuaiL ‘coil’, WB kweB. (3) Lushai kuiH / kutL ‘be bent’. (4) Lushai kui2k ‘double up, roll up’ (→ quán3 卷拳?). (5) WT k’or ‘circle, turn’, Lepcha var, vor, note also AA-Khmer vâra /wîr/ ‘go around, circle, revolve’. (6) Lushai inL-k’er’L ‘twisted together’. (7) Lushai hrual ‘roll up in the hand’? Lepcha rol ‘roll’.

Furthermore, note AA: PVM *vel ‘return’ *k-vel ‘village’, Bru kəwir ‘to stir’ [Huffman 1975: 13].
**hui**

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* ɣuài (去); *MGZY Xue* (去) [yue]; *MTang guai*, *ONW yuoC*

< endopass. of ɣuài 會 (kuai³) (§4.6).

≈ gui 會 (kwai³) LH kuas, OCM *kwâts or *kôts

‘Keep together (hair)’ tr. 會 [Shi], ‘bind up hair in a knot’ 会 [Yili] (also MC ɣuàt; also written with the phonetic of → kuò, 会); (adding up:) ‘calculation, account’ 会 [Li] (Karlgren 1956: 10); ‘joining point of the two ends of a collar or belt’ 会 [Zuo] (Wáng Li 1982: 487).

[Ex] This group is derived from → kuò, 会 *kot or *kwat (Saqart 1999: 56). The basic ST meaning seems to be: put arms / belt / band around something and connect / tie it. The three unrelated etyma → hé₃ 合 *gâp, → hé₈ 盖 *gâp, and ｈui 會 *gwâts have partially converged in OC.

**hui**₂ 會 (ywai³) LH guas, OCM *gwât or *gôts — [T] *MTang guai*, *ONW yuoC*

‘Lid, cover’ [Yili].

[Ex] This is a late [Yili] semantic extension from → hui 會 ‘join, come together’, formed in analogy to the common association of ‘join’ with ‘close, lid’ in the wfs → hé₂ 合 and → hé₈ 盖. The former hé₂ 合 *gâp is related to PTB *kup (hence PCH *gup > *guap > *gop), the latter hé₈ 盖 to PTB *gap (hence PCH, OC *gap). There is no ST, AA or PCH simplex *gop from which ｈui might have been derived.

**hui**₃ 會 (ywai³) LH guas, OCM *gwâts or *gôts

‘To understand’ [Tang], later ‘can’, aux. vb. expressing potentiality (Norman 1988: 125).

≈ xiè 解 (yai²) LH geB, OCM *grê?

‘Can’, aux. vb. expressing potentiality [Tang], later replaced by the above hui. It is not clear if this and the above word are variants or cognates, but their similarity is suggestive. This word survives in M-Jiânyáng haiC, Fúzhōu aC², Xiàmèn ucC².

**hui**₄ 菁 → wèi₁₀, yù 蔚

**hui**₅ 賂 (xu³B) LH hwB, OCM *hmâ?

‘To present, assign, valuables, dowry’ [BI, Shi]. The earlier phonetic was měi 每 *mâ? (in BI) hence the OCM form (Schuessler 1987: 257; Baxter 1992: 352), but the word might have changed to *hwâ? under the influence of yòu 有 *wê ‘to offer’ (under → yòu₂ 有).

**hui**₆ 謝 (xu³C) LH hwC, OCM *hmâsh

‘To instruct’ [BI, Shi] is related to → mù₃ 姆 ‘teacher’.

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* xuj (去); *MGZY hue* (去) [xue]

[Ex] ST: PL *s-ma² ‘to teach’; CVST 1: 26 adds WT smo-ba, smos ‘to say’.

**hui**₇ 媳 (xu³C) LH hwC, OCM *hmâ? !, OCB *hmâ(k)š? (s)

‘Be dark, darkness’ (of sky, clouds) > metaphorical ‘dark’ [Shi], ‘night time’ (vs. míng 明 ‘day time’) [Guoyu], ‘last day of the lunar month’ [Chunqiu]. Shìjīng rimes indicate tone B (Mattos 1971: 309).

[Ex] Prob. MK: OKhmer kmval/kmuual/ ‘be cloudy, overcast, dark, beclouded, be as black as a cloud’. For the absence of final *-1 in CH after a MK long vowel, see §6.9. Since the word refers primarily to meteorological and natural conditions, and seems to be related to a synonymous and (mutatis mutandis) homophonic MK etymon, it is prob. not related to ST → méi₉ 煤 ‘soot’, → hēi 黑 ‘black’, → mén₃ 悶 ‘unconsciously’. A cognate is prob. → hâl₁ 海 ‘ocean’.

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hu₁ Passive form of hui (jweiC) LH wus, OCM *wus
‘Category, class’ [Yi], ‘numerous’ [Shi]. If related to → lēi₂ 類, this may perh. be a form which has treated the initial *r as a prefix and dropped it (§10.1.3). The same graph hui also writes → hui₈ 彙 ‘porcupine’ which has possibly a similar variant in the initial.

hu₁ Porcupine’ [SW]. Cantonese has the curious form hui (Bodman 1980: 89). The same graph also writes a word → hui₈ 彙 ‘category’ which is perh. a variant of a word with initial lēi₂ 類 (§10.1.3).

[EN] ST: Lushai kus ‘porcupine, quill of a p.’ In TB cognates the initial k- seems to be a prefix as in *ku ~ *du ‘smoke’.

hui₁₀ Beard of chin’ [Zhuang], GY also: ‘jia 脣 jaw, cheek’; ‘snout’ 噬 [Zuo; JDSW xjweiC], ‘mouth’ [SW] (the last graph has additional readings which prob. belong to the meaning ‘to pant’). For MC x-, see §5.6. The meanings of these homophonous graphs slide gradually into each other (‘jaw’ written with ‘beard’), therefore this seems to be one etymon, although ‘beard’ might have entered OC via KT (note the identical meanings), while ‘snout’ might have been inherited from ST, unless it is a TB loan. For semantics, note that a ‘schnauzer’ is not noted for its snout (which all dogs have), but for its striking mustache.

[EN] KT: S. nuat DIL < *hn- ‘beard’ which appears to have come ultimately from some Burmese-like TB lg.: WB hnut ‘mouth, womb’, used in composits for ‘beard’. Since there is no hint of a nasal initial in OC, Tai is unlikely to have been the borrower. Hui seems to be related indirectly to → xù₄ 順, see there for more TB cognates.

hui₁₁ ‘snout’ → hui₁₀ 彙

hui₁₂ 惠 ‘it should be; kind’ → wěi₂ 惠唯佳維

hui₁₃ 蟲 → hui₁₅ 噬

hui₁₄ 翠 → hui₁₅ 噝

hui₁₅ ‘be twinkling’ (stars) [Shi]. (Go/do with small, short repetitions:) ‘be twinkling’ (stars) [Shi] (cf. Qiu 2000: 258).

[<] iterative devoicing §5.2.3.

≥ hui₁ hu₁ 噝噝 OCM *hwís-hwís
‘To be chirping’ (cicadas), ‘to be jingling’ (bit-bells) [Shi].

≥ hui₁ 蟲蛄 (yiweiC-kuo) LH yues-ka, OCM *hwís-kā
‘A kind of cicada’ (Platypleura kaempferi) 虱 [OB], 蟲蛄 [Zhuang], lit. ‘chirping mole cricket’.

≥ hui₁ 菓瞿 (zwiC) LH zuis, OCM *s-wis
‘Broom’ [Li] > ‘comet’ [Zuo]. The old graph 縢 (‘bamboo’+ xí 習 ‘repeat’) [SW 1254] confirms that ‘broom’ is derived from the notion of short repetetive movements, with the iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3).

hūn₁ 婚 (xuən) LH huən, OCM *hmən — [T] ONW hon
‘Relations by marriage, wife, in-laws’ [BI, Shi]; ‘wife’s father’ [EY, Zuo], ‘wife’s family’ [SW]; hūn-yīn 婚姻 ‘relatives’ [Shi], ‘marriage’ [Li]. Wáng Lì (1982: 508) quotes from Han-period literature: ‘wedding’ is called hūn because the ceremony takes place at dusk hūn 昏 (under → mén₃ 悅) [SW, Shiming, Baihu tong], but this looks
hún – huǒ

like a folk etymology. One may speculate instead that hún ‘dark’ signifies ‘female’, like its synonym → yīn, 陰 ‘dark’.

hún₂ 昏 → mén₃ 悶

hún₃ 閣 → mén₁ 門

hún₄ 褒 → xūn 熏煆織君

hún₁ 魂 (yuăn) LH ｙｕａｎ, OCM *wūn
‘Spiritual soul’ [Zuo] as opposed to → pò 魄 ‘animal soul’. Since pò is the ‘bright’
soul, hún is the ‘dark’ soul and therefore cognate to → yún 雲 ‘cloud’ (Carr, CAAIL
24, 1985: 62), perhaps in the sense of ‘shadowy’ because some believe that the hún soul
will live after death in a world of shadows (Wolfram Eberhard Guilt and Sin in

hún₂ 混 → hún₁ 混渾; → hún₃ 混

hún₁ 混渾 (yuănB) LH guănB, OCM *gūn?
‘Chaos’ 混 [Lao], ‘muddled, confused’ 混 [Lao] (some commentators also read LH
kuănB 混).

xlim hún 渾 (yuănC) LH guănC, OCM *gūn
‘Disturbed, troubled by’ [Zuo] > ‘troubled, disorderly’ 惱 [Chuci] > ‘suffer, grief’ 恩
[Guoce].

xlim hún 渾 (yuăn) LH guăn, OCM *gūn
‘Chaos’ [Zhuang]; also ‘sound of running water’ [Xun] (related?). A variant is
apparently → hóng, 紅 LH gōg ‘disorderly, trouble’.

xlim kūn 因 (khūn) LH kʰuⁿC, OCM *khūn
‘Be distressed’ [Shu], ‘distress, exhaust’ [Zuo], ‘fatigue’ [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’un (去); MGZY kʰuⁿ (去) [k’un]; ONW kʰon

[E] Perh. related to Mand. kūn 肯 ‘sleepy’. Alternatively, this word may be derived
from → kūn₁ 困 ‘obstruct’ [Yi], as emotions are often expressed by concrete notions,
but this is not likely in light of hún 混思 above. HST: 63 related this word to WT kʰur
‘burden, load’. A further cognate may be → jiōng, 章 in which case this and the
doublet of hún point to a PCH final *-ûŋ.

hún₂ 混 (yuănB) LH guănB, OCM *gūn?
‘Abundantly flowing’ [Meng].

xlim hún 渾 (yuăn) LH guăn, OCM *gūn
‘Sound of running water’ [Xun].

[C] This w.f. may belong to → hún₁ 混渾 above. Perh. related to → hào₃ 沩 *gû?.

hún₃ 混渾 → hún₁ 混渾

huó₁ 佸 → kuò₁ 括

huó₂ 活 (yuát) LH guat, OCM *gwáit, OCB *gʷat
‘To keep alive, life’ [Shi] has prob. nothing to do with ‘moist’ (so GSR 302m) because
this graph with the water radical was prob. intended to write guō 活 (kuát) LH kua’t
‘to purl’ (as running water) [Shi]. The etymology is possibly AA: Wa-Lawa-Bulang
*gas ‘alive’ (of plants), Aslian languages gâ ‘to live’.

huó₁ 火 (xuâB) LH huâB, OCM *hmâit?, OCB *hmarj?
‘Fire’ [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR xwɔ (上); MGZY hwo (上) [xwɔ]; ONW hua

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huō – huò

[E] ST: PTB *mey (STC no. 290) > WT me, OTib. snye; Chepang hmeʔ; PLB *ʔmey² [Matisoff], PL *C-mi² [Bradley], WB miB, Lushai mei² < meiʔ. The relationship with → huī, if any, is not clear.

huō 2 (yuaB) LH guoiB, OCM *gwaiʔ or *gőiʔ
‘Many’, an old Han-period dial. word in the outlying areas of Qi and Song and in the region between Chu and Wei [FY 1.21]. It survives in Min dialects: PMin *oiC ~ *uaiB ‘many’ (Norman 1983: 204).

huō 1 or → yōu 有

huō 2 (ywak) LH yuak, OCM *wāk
‘To deceive, delusion, doubt’ [Lun]. Etymology not clear.

huō 3 (ywak) LH yuak, OCM *wrāk
‘To bind’ [Zhuang].


huō 4 (ywak) LH yuak, OCM *wāk
‘To reap, cut, harvest’ [Shi], Mand. also ‘capture’.

≠ huō 獲 (ywak) LH yuak, OCM *wak or *wrak (§9.1.4) — [T] ONW yuēk ‘To catch, take, hit, succeed’ [Shi].

≠ huō 捜 (ywac, ?wak) LH yuac, yuak, OCM *wak(h) or *wrak(h) (§9.1.4)
‘A trap’ [Shu] – an early general tone C derivation of the above (§3.5).

[C] This word may be related to → jué 2 訳呾

huō 3 貨 → é 4 訳呾
J

jf₁ 几 ‘stool’ → jī₁ 几机

jf₂ 饥 (kji 3) LH kì, OCM *kri, OCB *krjaj (Baxter 1992: 454)
‘Be hungry, starve, hunger, famine’ [Shi]. — [T] ONW ki — [D] PMin *kue
※ jǐ 饥 (kjei) LH kîi, OCM *koi — [T] ONW ki
‘Famine’ 饥馑 [Shi]. This word is distinct from jī above (Wáng Lì 1958: 550); for the difference in vowel, see §11.7.1–2.


jf₃ 汲 (kjap) LH kîp, OCM *kəp
‘To draw water’ [Yi].

jf₄ 奇 (kje 3) LH kîei, OCM *kai
‘Odd (number) 奇 [Yi], 嶙 [Xun]; ‘unique, irregular’ 奇 [Li].
※ qī (gjie 3) LH gîiei, OCM *gai, OCB *gaj
‘Strange, extraordinary’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR gi (平); MGZY ki (平) [gi]
[E] This seems to be a ST etymon: WB k̄ai- < kaiB ‘remarkable’ (obsolete).
[C] An allofam is prob. → jī₃ 擴 ‘pull aside’. Because of the occasional *-ai ~ *-e vacillation in wfs (§11.3.3), → qī₃ 企跛 ‘stand on tiptoe’ may also be related.

jf₅ 基 (kji) LH kīo, OCM *kə
‘Foundation, base, settlement’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjejj (平), PR, LR ki; MGZY gi (平) [ki];
[N] This can hardly be related to the TB items under → jī 几机, nor to Lushai keL ‘foot, leg, wheel’ (→ zhī 支枝肢) because the vowels are different.

jf₆ 築 (kjik) LH kîo, OCM *kə
‘Winnowing basket’ [OB, Shi]. Unger (Hao-ku 38, 1992: 79) relates this word to IF 梱 (lji) ‘basket’ [Meng] and suggests a possible connection with → qī₉ 村 ‘willow’.

jf₇ 期 ‘year’ → qī₈ 其

jf₈ 雞 (kiei) LH ke, OCM *kē
‘Chicken, fowl’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjejj (平), PR, LR ki; MGZY gîi (平) [kji]; ONW kēi,
[D] PMin *kei, K-Méixiàn kaiA. A Han dialect form of the Chén-Chû-Sòng area was zhr (kJie 4) [kie] *ke [FY 8, 4].
[E] Area word; since its origin is onomatopoetic, phonological correspondences are not regular: PTai *køiBI ‘chicken’ (Li F. 1976: 42), PKS *kai5, Kadai *ki. <> PMY *kai (Downer 1982) <> PVM *r-ka ‘chicken’ (on the vocalism, see §11.1.3).

jf₉ 積 (tsjāk) LH tsiek, OCM *tsék — [T] ONW tsiek
‘To collect, accumulate’ [Shi] > ‘to block’ [Zhuang].
jf

/*@  zi】積 (tsieC) LH tseic, OCM *tsēh
'To collect, store, wealth' [Shi] > ‘provisions’ [Zuo].

[5] exopass. derivation ([4.4]), perh. also the verbal meanings (‘be heaped’).


jf10 縱 (tsieC) LH tseck, OCM *tšēk
'To twist, spin' (to make thread) [Shi] > ‘achievement, result’ [Shu] is perh. an s-iterative of → xī, 係繫 *keh ‘bind, tie up’ ([5.2.3], with final -k ([6.1]); yet PCH *s-k- is expected to yield MC kʰ-.

jf11 隘 (tsieic) LH tseic, OCM *tsāi, OCB *tsāi
'To ascend, rise, the mist rises’ [Shi].

@ ji 靈濟 (tsieic) LH tseic, OCM *tšāih
'To lift, disappear’ (of clouds), ‘clearing sky’ 瞭 [OB, Shu] > ‘to stop’ 圓 (of wind) [Zhuang], (of thoughts) [Shi].

@ ji 靈 (dzieic) LH dzieic, OCM *dzāih
'Carry a vessel to the lips' [Shu].

[C] A possible allofam could be → jī16 憤 ‘angry’.

jf12 幾 (kiei) LH kii, OCM *kəi — [T] ONW ki
‘Be imminent, close to, near, at imminent risk’ [Shi, Shu], ‘first sign of happenings, details’ 幾 [Shi, Shu]; ‘auspicious, omen of good or evil’ 規 [Lie]. Karlsgren (1933: 28) relates this word to → jīn, 近 ‘near’.

jf13 幾畿 (giei) LH gii, OCM *gāi
‘Border’ (on garment) 幾 [Li], ‘threshold, royal domain’ 幾 [Shi]. Prob. not related to → jī12 幾 ‘close to’ as Karlsgren believed (1956: 10).

=qí 圻 (giei) LH gii, OCM *gāi
‘Border, a field of a certain size (1,000 sq. li)’ 圻 [Zuo]. → qī2 築 is cognate or the same word.

jf14 機畿 (kiei, kheiB) LH kii, kheiB, OCM *kī, *khī — [T] ONW kī
‘Mechanical device’ 機 [Zhuang], 瑤 [Shu]. Karlsgren (1956: 5) considered this the s. w. as → jī12 幾 which is glossed as ‘small’, but jī 幾 really means ‘be imminent, close to, first sign, detail’. Instead, jī is perh. cognate to → qī7 築, thus meaning originally a contraption with hinges or joints, i.e. with moveable parts.

jf15 翘 (kiei, kheicB) LH kei, kheiB, OCM *kī, *khī — [T] ONW kēi
‘Reach to’ [BI, Zhuang], ‘search, research, examine, comprehend’ [Shu], ‘calculate’ [Li]; ‘divine by tortoiseshell’ 卦 [SW: Shu]; zhī 支 (tiese) [kie] ‘to calculate’ [Da Dai Liji] is prob. a variant if not simply a graphic loan.

@ ji 計 (kieic) LH keic, OCM *kīh, OCB *kēs (1992: 546) — [T] ONW kī
‘To calculate’ [Zuo]. OCB is based on the assumption that shī 十 *gip is phonetic.

@ ji 稽 (kiei) LH kii, OCM *kəi
‘Examine, inspect’ [Meng] > ‘blame’ [Zuo].

jf16 撞 (kiek) LH kek, OCM *kēk
‘Beat, strike’ (a musical instrument, object) [Shi].

@ ji 撞 (kieic) LH kec, OCM *kēkh
‘Carriages knocking against each other’ [Zhouli].

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qf 毅 (kʰiek) LH kʰek, OCM *khék
‘Beat, rub’ [Zhouli].

jf₁ 吉 (gjap) LH gip, OCM *gap
‘To come to, reach to, together with, and’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR gi (入); MGZY ki (入) [gi]; ONW gip.
[D] Y-Guangzhou 22kʰap̂p̂2
[E] This word could be connected either with WB kʰap ‘arrive at’, JP kʰapli to carry, reach’ (CVST 5: 50). Or, less likely, with WT ‘grub-pa, grub ‘to make ready’ ≠ sgrub-pa, bsgrubs ‘to complete, achieve’ ≠ grub-pa ‘complete’.
[C] Items under → ji₄ 吉 could be tone C derivations (Yú Mín 1948: 45; Baxter 1992: 351), but see there.

jf₂ 吉 (kjiet 4) LH kit, OCM *kit — [T] ONW kiit
‘Auspicious, lucky, positive’ [OB, BI, Shi].

jf₃ 吉 (kjiet 4)
In some southern dialects this is the second syllable in the word for ‘ear’: Y-Dōngguān nga13-kek44 耳吉, K-Dōngguān 21 gi-3 kit.

jf₄ 估 (kjiet 4) LH git, OCM *git
‘To run robustly, straight, unswerving’ (of horses) [Shi].

xié  предприятие (yiet) LH get, OCM *git
‘To straighten the neck’ (of birds) (meaning not certain) [Shi].

jf₅ 极 (gjok) LH gik, OCM *gək
‘Highest point, ridge of a roof, extreme, reach the end, come to, attain’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR gi (入); MGZY ki (入) [gi]; ONW gik.

jf₆ 妖 (dzjet) LH dzit, OCM *dzit
‘Be urgent’ [Shi]; ‘to die’ [Li], ‘execute, kill’ [Shu]. This word is prob. not a variant of → ji₁₂  急 (kjap) ‘be urgent’.

jf₇ 疾 (dzjet, dzic) LH dzit, OCM *dzit
‘Be sick, suffering, defect, evil’ [OB, Shi].

jf₈ 妖 (dzjet) LH dzit, OCM *dzit
‘Detest’ [Shu] (Karlgren GSR 923c), ‘to hate’ 疾 [Shu].

jf₉ 疾 (dzjet, dzic) LH dzit, dzic, OCM *dzit(s)
‘Be jealous’ [Chuci].

jf₁₀ 妖 (tsjet) LH tsit, OCM *tsit, OCB *tsjit < *tsijik
‘Coaled part of burning torch, to burn or scorch earth’ [Guanzi].

[jf₁] ST *tsik ‘to smolder’ > ‘burn’ / ‘be ill, illness’ / ‘anger’, PTB *m-(t)sik ‘burn, angry’ [HPTB], WT tsʰig-pa ‘to burn, destroy by fire, glow; to be in rut, be inflamed, feverish’ (Bodman 1980: 158); perh. Chepang jik- ‘be sick, injured, hurt’. Prob. not related to ji 疾 ‘sick’ (under → ji₁  疾). Less likely comparanda: WT sdiɡ-pa ‘sin, wickedness’ (Bodman 1980: 158). AA items look somewhat similar: PBahn. *jiʔ, Wa-Lawa-Palaung *siʔ ‘sick’. STC (170 n. 455) relates this word to PTB *tsa ‘hot, pain’, but the vowels differ (i vs. a), see → zài₁ zài.
jf

jf₇ 即 (?). LH tsit, OCM *tsit
‘To approach, go to, apply’ > ‘on the point of’ [BI, Shi, Shu]; jǐ-wèi 即位 ‘to take one’s place, seat, ascend the throne’ [BI].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsi (入); MGZY dżi (入) [tsi]
[E] AA: Khmer jīta /cǐ’t/, OKherm jit /jit/ ‘to be near to, to the point of, be close’ ∗bhjīta /pcī’t/ ‘to bring near, draw up (a chair), to set (two things together), join, attach, to apply’.

※ qiè 切 ts iht, OCM *tshīt — [T] MTang tshiar < tshiar, ONW tshēt
‘Be close to’ [Xun], ‘eager, impatient’ [Lun]. 切 also writes a homophone which is cognate to → jǐq 竈.

※ nǐ 妮 (njet) LH nīt, OCM *nrit — [T] ONW nǐt
‘Familiarity’ [Shu], (a ruler’s) ‘favorite’ (person) [Shu]. The homophones → nǐ2 妮 ‘glue’ and → nǐ4 尼 ‘underwear’ are prob. not related.
[E] AA: Khmer jainnīta /cumnit/ (i.e. etymologically j-n-it) ‘nearness, closeness, proximity, familiarity with, intimacy’. The AA nominal n-infix is taken in CH for the root initial, perh. because of the original voiced initial and the paronomastic attraction to → ēr, 邊 (nżieB) ‘near’. The CH words jǐ and nǐ are thus allofams in an AA w.f.
[C] A possible allofam could be → qīn5 親. Syn. are → ēr, 邊, → nǐ1 尼, → nǐ9 曜.

jf₈ 圣 (tsjet) LH tsit, OCM *tsit, OCB *tsjit < *tṣijik
‘Masonry’ [Li].

jf₉ 圣 ‘burn’ → jǐ₆ 污
jf₁₀ 圣 ‘detest’ → jǐ₆ 污

jf₁₁ 棘 (kjak) LH kik, OCM *kək, OCB *krjjak
‘Jujube, thorns’ [Shi] is written in a Shījing variant as:

※ lì 林 (ljk) LH lik, OCM *rək, OCB *C-rjjak (Baxter 1992: 474).

jf₁₂ 急 (kJap) LH kip, OCM *kəp
‘Be urgent, hurrying’ [Shi], ‘hasty, distress’ [Zuo] is not a variant of jǐ jí (kJap) ‘be urgent’ (under → jǐ13 極). Etymology not clear.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ki (入); MGZY gi (入) [ki]; ONW kip

jf₁₃ 集 (dzəp) LH dzip, OCM *dzəp, OCB *dzjup — [T] ONW dzip
‘Come together and settle (of birds), perch’ (under → jǐ13 集). ‘to collect together, unite, settle, achieve’ 集 [BI, Shi]. 集 [Shi].

※ zá 雜 (dzəp) LH dzəp, OCM *dzəp — [T] ONW dzəp
‘Brought together, mixed’ [Shi], ‘variegated’ [Li] (Karlgren 1956: 13).
[E] AA: Khmer cwpa /cùap/ ~ jwpə /cùap/ ‘to join’, intr. ‘to meet, come together, encounter’ ∗prajcwpa ‘to meet one another’. ↔ The following is prob. a different etymon with the basic meaning ‘close’: PTB *tsup > PLB *tsup ~ *ʔtsup [Matisoff 1972: 40] > WB cʰup ‘clench fist’, Kachin tsup ‘to gather’ (as mouth of sack), ‘close hands’ (as in catching a ball) (HST: 84). KN-Lai fuw / faut ‘to perch’ [LTBA 21.1: 18].
[C] This w.f has perh. converged with → jǐ₁₀ 援. Baxter (1992: 350) adds cui 萌 (dzwiC) ‘collect’ (under → zăo3 遭).

jf₁₄ 髓 (tsják) LH tseik, OCM *tsek
‘Spine’ [Li] > ‘fundamental principle, reason’ [Shi].

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jí - ji

- jí 瘦瘠 (dzjāk) LH dziek, OCM *dzek
  ‘Emaciated’ [Yi] > ‘meagre, poor’ (soil) [Guoce] > ‘suffering’ 瘦 [Shu]; 瘦 [Guan]
  (Karlgren 1956: 10). Perh. → zi3 去 ‘bones with meat on’ is cognate.

jí₁₅ 踏 (tsjāk) LH tsieck, OCM *tsek
  ‘Walk with small steps’ [Shi]. This may be the same etymon as → jí₁₆ 踏, see §11.3.2.

jí₁₆ 踏 (tsjāk) LH tsiaik, OCM *tsak, actually prob. *tsjak
  ‘Walk reverently’ [Lunyu]. This may be the same etymon as → jí₁₅ 踏, see §11.3.2.

jí₁₇ 踏 (dzjāk) LH dziaik, OCM *dzak, actually prob. *dzjak
  ‘To trample’ [Li].

jí₁₈ 稼 (dzjāk) LH dziaik, OCM *dzak, prob. *tsjak

jí₁₉ 畚 (tsjāp) LH tsiap, OCM *tsap
  ‘To row’ [Shi], ‘oar’ occurs also in JP šap < tšap ‘oar’ (Benedict HJAS 5, 1940: 111 no. 59).

jí₂₀ 戳漒 → jí₁₃ 集輯

jí₂₁ 聑漒 → jí₁₀ 聑

jí₁ 几机 (kji³) LH kē³, OCM *kri³?
  ‘Stool, small table’ 几 [Shi], 机 [Zuo, Li].

jí₂ 己 (kji) LH kē³, OCM *kō?
  ‘Self’, reflexive personal pronoun [Lun]. — Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjej (,), PR, LR kī; MGZY gi (,) [kī]
ji - jī

ji₁ 拉 (kje B 3) LH kʰeiB, OCM *kai?
‘Pull by one leg’ [Zuo], ‘pull aside’ [Shi]; ‘stand around close to door’ 難 [Gongyang].

ji₂ 拔 (kje 3) LH kʰiB, OCM *khai
‘Slanting’ [Xun, also MC kje 3]; ‘one-footed’ 難 [Guoyu]; ‘one horn turning up, one
down’ [Yi].

ji₃ 拉 (kji B 3) LH kʰiB, OCM *kri?
‘Muntjac’ 拉 [post-Zhou-Han]; acc. to GY, 拉 [OB] writes the same word.

ji₄ 擠 (tsiei B) LH tseiB, OCM *tsǐ? or *tsǐ?
‘To push’ [Zuo], ‘urge, press, press out’.

ji₅ 擠 (tsiei B) LH tseiB, OCM *tsǐ?, OCB *tsǐ?

ji₆ 擠 (tsiei B) LH tseiB, OCM *tsǐ?, OCB *tsǐ?
‘‘Disease’ [Lil], ‘suffer’ (Unger) < ‘be pressed’?

ji₇ 擠 (tsiei B) LH tseiB, OCM *tsǐ?, OCB *tsǐj?
‘Large number’ [Shi].

ji₈ 擠 (kjei B) LH kiiB, OCM *kai?
‘Few, how many’ [Shi]. Karlgren (1956: 7) considers this cognate to → ji₁₂ 幾 which is
glossed as ‘small’, but ji 幾 really means ‘be imminent, close to, first sign, detail’.

ji₉ 擠 (kjei B) LH kiiB, OCM *kai?
‘Louse’ [Hanfei] is also an old dialect word for ‘leech’, still used in Mǐn (Norman
1983) which is prob. related to the old dialect words mā-qì 馬蜞 or 馬耆 ‘leech’. This is prob. derived from a ST etymon ‘to bite’, note KN *m-kei ‘to bite’; for a
semantic parallel, see → zhi₂ 蛇 ‘leech’ and → diè₂ 哺 ‘bite’.

ji₁ 計 → ji₁₅ 稽

ji₂ 妇 (kje, also gje B 3) Wei-Lin kie, gieB
‘A small and weak woman’ [SW] (物 wù ‘thing’ in the SW gloss is thought to be an
error for 弱 ruò ‘weak’), perh. a euphemism for the later attested meaning ‘singing
girl, prostitute’ [Jinshu, i.e. post-Han]. A hypothetical OC form may have been *kre.

[E] This appears to be a loan from early Vietnamese (the ancient Yuè in southern
ji

China): MK-PVM *keʔ ‘woman’ > Viet. cái / gái ‘feminine’ [Ferlus]; elsewhere in MK: PWa *krǐ ‘girl’, PN Bahn. *kadri ‘female’ [K. Smith 1972: 64]. Alternatively, Wäng Li (1982: 108) following earlier commentaries relates this word to ji 技 (gjeB) ‘skill’, but this may be folk etymology. Also other foreign words for ‘girl, woman’ refer to someone of low standing, see → bi 髮, → tái 嬰孩.

ji₃ 既 (kjeiC) LH kis, OCM *kots ‘To complete, have done’, mark of completed action [OB, BI, Shi, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjeʔ (>(), PR, LR ki; MGZY gi (去) [ki]; ONW ki [<] exopass. (perfective) of qi 註 (k jot) ‘to finish’ (§4.4); the perfect is implied in the passive meaning of tone C. Perh. cognate to → ji₄ 值 ‘to reach’, but see there.


* qì 註 (k jot) LH kiʔ, OCM *kot — [T] O NW ki ‘To finish, cease’ [Shu].

ji₄ 翼 (gjiC 3) LH gēs, OCB *grjats < *grjaps — [T] MGZY ki (去) [gi]

‘To reach to, bring with, concur with, together with, and’ [Shu].

[T] exopass. ? of → ji₁ 和 (gjap) (Baxter 1992: 351). Or less likely * → qì 註 (x jot), → ji₃ 既 (kjeiC) (the MC vowels do not agree).


ji₆ 遣 (kjeC) LH kaiC, OCM *kaih ‘To commit to one’s charge’ [Lun], ‘entrust to, communicate’ [Li], Mand. ‘send’ (a letter).


ji₇ 忌諱息 (gjiC) LH gioC, OCM *gah, OCB *g(r)j?i(s) ‘To warn, detest’ 慎 [Zuo], 許 [SW] > (‘be warned’): ‘cautious’ [Shi], ‘show respect for’ [Zuo], ‘taboo’ 忌 [Zhouli] > ‘dread, hate’ 忌 [Shi]. Wäng Li (1982: 86) relates this word to → ji₃ 忌 ‘guard against’.

ji₈ 纪 (kjiB) LH kioB, OCM *kai, OCB *k(r)joʔ ‘Leading thread, regulate’ [Shi], ‘follow up, continue’ [Shu]. Unger (Hao-ku 38, 1992: 77) relates this word to WT ‘kʰrid-pa, bkri ‘to conduct acc. to order’ [Das] ≠ kʰrid ‘row, order, serial order’ [Das]; and to → li₃ 理 (ljib) ‘regulate’.

* ji 記 (kjiC) LH kioC, OCM *koh — [T] O NW kio ‘To record, remember’ [Shu].

ji₉ 季 (kwicC 4) LH kwis, OCM *kwis, OCB *k*jits ‘Youngest, young’ (of persons) [BI, Shi] > ‘last of a series’ [Zuo], ‘season, three-month period’ [Tang period] — [E] Etymology not clear.

[D] PMin *kieC ~ *kyiC ‘season’

ji₁₀ 揀 (tsjap, tsjap) LH tsip, tʃip, OCM *ts(r)ap ‘To cluster together, to crowd’ [Shi].

=jí 輯散 (tsjap) LH tʃip, OCM *tsap ‘To gather up’ 難 [Li]; ‘to fold up, gather in’ (wings) 戟 [Shi]; ‘be crowded together’ (as horns of sheep) 戟 [Shi].

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ji

[Di] A: PMonic *cap, Nyah Kur ‘(bird) to settle on, perch’, Mon *cəp ‘to adhere to, cleave to’; OKhmer /jap/ ‘touch, join, meet, cling, adhere’.

This word has perh. converged with → jǐ₁₃ 齊. Perh. to zhǐ, 赓 (djap) ‘cluster together, hibernate’ belongs here.

jǐ₁₁ 稼 (tsiéï) LH tsias, OCM *tsats < *tsaps
A kind of millet’ (Panicum miliaceum, not glutinous).

jǐ₁₂ 際 ‘connection’ → jǐé 四接

jǐ₁₃ 踪 → jǐ₂₁ 蹤

jǐ₁₄ 稔 (kji 3) LH kī, OCM *kri or *krai?
To hope’ [Zuo]; ‘to long for’ 稔 [Zuo] is prob. cognate to → xǐ₁₂ 希冀 (so Wáng Li 1982: 393).

jǐ₁₅ 濟 (tsieï) LH tsiëï, OCM *tsòih, OCB *tsao — [T] ONW tšei
To ford, to cross’ (a river) vb. [Shi] > ‘to help across, help over’ (e.g. difficulties)
[Shu] > ‘to help’ (people) [Lunyu], ‘contribute’ [Zuo], ‘achieve’ [Yi].

jǐ₁₆ 津 (tsjen) LH tsin, OCM *tšin
A ford’ n. [Shu].

jǐ₁₇ 慄 (dziei, dzieï) LH dzeï(C), OCM *dzë(h) or *dzå(h)
‘Angry’ [Shi]. Etymology not certain. The notion ‘angry’ can derive from ‘rise’ (cf. Mand. qǐ 起), hence perh. cogn. to → jǐ₁₁ 齊 ‘rise’. Or jǐ could derive from ‘sick’ and be related to jǐ 慄 (under → jǐ₅ 擁).

jǐ₁₈ 慄 ‘stop’ → jǐ₁₁ 齊

jǐ₁₉ 慄 → jǐ₁₁ 齊

jǐ₁₀ 慄 → jǐ₅ 擁

jǐ₂₁ 蹤 (tsjak) LH tsiek, OCM *tšek
Footprint, track’ [BI, Shi].

jǐ₁ Jǐ 齊 (under → jǐ₅ 擋).

[N] In Han and Wei-Jin poetry these two words rime in *-ek (Luo / Zhou 1958; Ting 1975), but *tsjak occurs in Shǐjīng. See §II.3.2. The root initial was OCM *j- as the phonetic of 蹤 (GSR 800) and TB cognates indicate (§9.2); a ST medial *-ja- (*-ia-)
explains the OC *-jak ~ *-ek doublets. Possible allofams are → jǐ₁₅ 蹤 and → jǐ₁₆ 蹤 ‘walk, step’, prob. as a result of paronomastic attraction.


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ji22 續 (kieïC) LH keC, OCM *kêh
\[To continue, perpetuate\] [Shi] is the s. w. as \(xî\) 續 續 *kêh (under → \(xî\) 續 續 *geh).

ji1 加 (ka) LH kai, OCM *krâi — [T] ONW kâ
\[To add, attach, hit\] [Shi].
\textbf{※} ji2 驅 (kaC) LH kaiC, OCM *krâi
\[To yoke\] [Shi].
\[<\] exopass. of jiä: ‘be attached to’ (§4.4).

ji1.2 嘉 (ka) LH kai, OCM *krâi
\['Be good, fine, excellent > consider fine, approve\', [Shi], ‘happy’ [Zuo].
\[\sim\] jiä 佳 (kai) LH ke, OCM *krê
\[‘Be good’ [Lao] appears to be a vocalic variant of the above.\]
\textbf{※} hé 賀 (yêC) LH guiC, OCM *gâih
\[‘To congratulate’ [Shi] (Karlgren 1949: 90 derives this word from gê next).\]
\textbf{※} gê 當 (kâb) LH kaiB, OCM *kâi?
\[‘Be well, passable, suitable’ [Shi]. Alternatively, gê may belong to kê 可 (under → hé 何荷) (so Wáng Lî 1982: 431).\]

ji1.3 夾 (kâp) LH kep, OCB *kripple — [T] ONW kâp
\[‘Be on both sides’ [Shi], ‘support’ [Shu], ‘press between’ [Zuo], ‘tweezers’ [Zhouli].\]
\textbf{※} xiä 狹 (yäp) LH gep, OCM *grerp, OCB *fikrep
\[[T] ONW yâp — [D] PMin *hap
\[‘Narrow’ [Li] (Karlgren 1949: 90).\]
\[<\] endopass. of jiä 夹 (kâp) (§4.6).

\[E\] This w/f is prob. ST, even though the rimes do not agree with TB: WT bkra-ba ‘beautiful, blooming’, bkra-sîs ‘happiness, prosperity, blessing’ (sîs ‘good luck, fortune, bliss’); Lushai \(t\)b’a- / \(t\)b’at- / \(t\)braah / \(t\)brat ‘be good, nice, virtuous, be advantageous’.

jiä 4 搀 (tsiêp) LH tsep, OCM *tsêp?
\[‘Grasp, hold’ [Shi]; ‘elasp under the arm, hold on to’ [Meng], ‘encompass, embrace, all round’ [Shi], 浦 [Zuo].
\[E\] This word is prob. not related to the synonym → xiê 搵 and the other stems listed there, because MC ts- rarely, if ever, derives from an earlier cluster *sk-.

jiä 5 搵 → jiê1, jiä 搵
jiä 6 佳 → jiä 2 嘉
jiä 7 家 (ka) LH ka, OCM *krâ
\[‘House, household, family’ [OB: Sôrui p. 272; Shi].
\[T\] Sin Sukchu SR kâ (平); MGZY gya (平) [kâ]; ONW kâ
\[E\] ST: WT \(mkb\)ar ‘house, castle’ which Beyer (1992: 114) connects with the WT items under → hû3 素恆.
jiā - jià

**jiā** 嫁 (kaC) LH kaC, OCM *krāh
‘To give a girl in marriage’ [Shi].

[S] exoactive of *jiā* (§4.3) > *to marry* (of a woman).

[CH] CH -> White Tai *xaab* < *x*; ‘id.’ (Li F. 1976: 40).

jiā (ka) LH ka, OCM *krā
‘Male pig, boar’ [Zuo, SW]; a Northeastern dialect word for → zhū, 猪 [tѩ] *tra ‘pig’ [FY]. Given the homophone jiā ‘male deer’ [SW], this may be a more general etymon for ‘male’ of an animal and may also be cognate to → gū, 羔 ‘ram’ (so Wáng Lì 1982: 126). If SW is correct that 猪 is an abbreviated phonetic in → jiā, 家 *krā ‘house’, then the word must be much older than Zuōzhuan, while zhū may be an early dialect word.

jiá → hú-dié 胡蝶

jiá 茨頑銅 → xié 挟協

jiā 甲 (kap) LH kap, OCM *krāp
‘Shell, (finger-)nail, armour’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kja (kj); MGZY gya (kja); ONW kap

[D] PMin *kap ~ *kap


Perh. jiā 鞍 (kāp) LH kap, OCM *krāp
‘Leather jerkin or cuirass’ [Guan] (HST: 131).

jiǎ 甲 (kaB) LH kaB, OCM *krā — [T] ONW kā
‘Be great’ (of Heaven, rulers), ‘abundance’ [BI, Shi]. Wáng Lì (1982: 144) relates → xià, 夏 ‘building’ to this wf.

xià 夏 (kaB) LH gaB, OCM *grā — [T] ONW yā
‘Be great’ (of ruler) [Shi].

Perh. related to → xiàn 閔 ‘be large’ and → jiè 介 ‘increase’. Shī Xiāngdōng 2000: 27 relates this word to WT rgya ‘wide, broad’.

jiǎ 甲 (kaB) LH kaB, OCM *krā

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kja (kja); MGZY gya (kja); ONW kā


jiē 假 ‘come’ → gē 格

jiā 棟 (kaC) LH kaC, OCM *krāh
‘Grain, to sow’ [Shi].

[ST] ST: PTai *klaC ‘young rice plant’ (Li F. 1976: 40), Saek tlaa 3 > traa 3 ‘rice seedlings’, PKS *kla 3 ‘rice seedling’. The medials do not agree, see §7.3.

jiá 駕 → jiā 加

jiā 架 → gē 格

jiā 資價 (kaC) LH kaC, OCM *krāh
‘Price’ (Lunyu), 價 [Meng].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kja (kja); MGZY gya (kja)
jià – jiān


jià_bù 蠟布 → bù 布

jiān₁ 尖鐵 (tsjam) LH tsiam, OCM *tsam
‘Pointed, sharp’ 尖 [GY], ‘thin, slender, sharp-pointed’ 鐵 [Zhouli]. This word is prob. cognate to xiān below; or it might have been influenced by words for → zān 臧 ‘pin’; it is possibly related to 殺 ‘to cut down (people)’ [Shi] (Wáng Lì 1982: 616). See → yān M剑 for the semantic association of ‘sharp’ with ‘cut’.

※ xiān 鋸 (sjām) LH siam, OCM *sam
‘Sharp’ [Mo] has been borrowed by PTai *sː-: S. siam^A ‘spade, hoe’ ※ siam^C ‘to sharpen to a point’.


jiān₂ 堅 (kien) LH kān, OCM *kīn
‘Firm’ (e.g. fruit, bows), ‘solid, strong’ (e.g. ice) [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjen (平); MGZY gyan (平) [kjen]; ONW kān

※ qiān 堅 (k’i’en, k’ān) LH kān, k’en, OCM *khr(r)īn
‘Firmly believe’ tr. [Zhuang]. Aspiration as well as medial *r are unexplained, unless this is a different etymon related to AA-Mon kren (kren) ‘stiff, hard’.

※ jié 坎 (k’āt) LH k’ēt, OCM *khrīt
‘Solidly, earnestly’ [Shu].

Table J-1 Hard, congeal, dry (B)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*kreŋ</th>
<th>※</th>
<th>*krek</th>
<th>*kīn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>ying 硬 (ɲeŋ^C) hard</td>
<td>jiān 堅 *kīn hard, solid</td>
<td>qiān 堅 *khrīn firmly believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>reŋ-s-pa solid (not liquid)</td>
<td>mk’reŋ-s-pa hard, firm (snow)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>kʰiŋF &lt; kʰiŋʔ dry out (get hard)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>greŋ tri hard</td>
<td>kyin stiff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>kyaŋ numbness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stems *kreŋ and *krek are e-vowel variants of *kar (under → gǔ 固). The stem *kīn is unrelated.

jiān₃ 肩 (kien) LH kān, OCM *kēn — [T] MTang kian < kian, ONW kēn
‘Shoulder’ [Shi], ‘to shoulder, carry’ [Shu] is shared with PKS *k-xin^I ‘arm’, PTai *khr- > S. k’een^A ‘arm’.

jiān₄ 威 (kan) LH kān, OCM *kran
‘Villain, wickedness’ [Shu].

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jiān

[<] perh. a k-prefix noun derived from a hypothetical root *ran (§5.4).

※ shàn 聽 (šān⁴) LH šan⁴, OCM *srān(s)
‘To vilify, slander’ [Lun].

[<] perh. an s-causative / tr. derived from a root *ran (§5.2.1).

jiān5 間間 (kān⁵) LH kēn⁵, OCM *krēn⁴, OCB *kren⁴
‘To put in between, insert, alternate, supersede’ [Shi], ‘to separate, differences, meddle between’ [Zuo].

[<] exoactive of jiān 間間 (§4.3).

[E] ST: Lushai inl-kaar¹ ‘the space, interval, or distance between, difference’ ※ inl-kaar² ‘to come between’, PLB *gra² > WB kra⁵ ‘have space between, be apart’ ※ ø-kra⁸ ‘crack, opening’ (-> MidMon /alkra/ ‘interval, (space) between, within’) ※ k²ra⁸ ‘be between, divide, different’.

Bodman (1980: 87) relates this wf to the WT items under > ch rè (øhral ‘split’). → xiān5 間間 ‘leisure’ is sometimes thought to be related to jiān.

jiān6 間 → lián4 蓮; → lán6 蓮

jiān7 兼 (kiem[C]) LH kem(C), OCM *kèm(s) — [T] ONW kém⁵
‘To combine, at the same time’ [Shu, Yi], ‘grasp, hold together, all-embracing’ [Mozi].


jiān8 漸漸 (tsjām⁵) LH tsiam⁵, OCM *tsam⁵
‘To seep into, get wet, moisten, soak’ [Shi, Shu]; ‘to moisten, enrich, benefit’ 漸 [Lühl ‘to soak’ [Liji].

※ jiān 漸 (dzjām⁵) LH dziam⁵, OCM *dzam⁵?

Jiān is possibly the same etymon as → jǐn⁵ 侵 ‘extinguish’; or it might have originated in OC as a variant of jin 侵 (-→ chén⁵ 沉, see there for further comments).


jiān9 漸 (tsjām⁵) LH tsiam⁵, OCM *tsam⁵
‘Extinguish’ [Zuo]. This word and its derivatives may be connected with → jiān⁵ 漸漸 潮; see also → chén 沈 for comments.

※ qíān 潮 (dzjām⁵) LH dziam⁵, OCM *dzam⁵
‘Go into water, wade’ [Guoyu], ‘lie at bottom of water, be soaked (in pleasure)’ [Shu].

※ jiān 潮 (dzjām⁵) LH dziam⁵, OCM *dzams⁵
‘To hide, secretly’ [Zuo].

jiān10 鍵 (kēn⁴) LH kion⁴, OCM *kan⁴
‘Bow and arrow case’ [Zuo].


※ lǎn 鍵 (làn⁴) LH lōn⁴, OCM *rān⁴ < *C-rān
‘Arrow case, quiver’ [Shiiji] may be related to jiān, but then the WT connection is doubtful.

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jiān - jiàn

jiān_11 艹→qín_2 劍懂

jiān_12 殴→jiān_1 尖鐘

jiān_1 回(kjān B, kjen B) LH kian B
‘Child, son’ [JY].

[EN] AA: PVM *kian ‘son’, Viet con [Ferlus]; Mon kion ‘child’ (Norman 1988: 231). It is a substrate word in Min and other southern dialects: PMin *kian B > Jiān’ou kyeŋ B1, Fúzhōu kian B1, Xiàmén kī B1. According to Chén Zhōngmǐn (LTBA 22.2, 2000: 21ff) jiān was used instead of the northern → zi_1 子 and → ér_4 兒 as a diminutive in Min and other southern dialects where occasionally it left traces only in the tone.

Syn. → zi_1 子; → kūn_2 昆.

jiān_2 檯(kjām B, kjem B) LH kiam B, OCM *kam? — [T] ONW kam
‘A measure, a control’ [Xun].

※ jiān 檯 (kjām B) LH gi-am B, OCM *gam?
‘Restricted, frugal, moderate’ [Zuo, Meng].

[<] endopass. of jiān (§4.6).

[EN] ST: Lushai kaam‘to decrease’ (as water, wages, etc.) ※ kiam‘to lessen, to reduce, decrease, diminish’.

jiān_3 檋‘accumulate’→ liān_1 穀

jiān_4 臉→ liān_2 臉

jiān_5 錢→ qiáng_9 錢

jiān_6 宛著→ yān_1, yàn 衍

jiān_7 減 (kān B, yām B) LH kem B, OCM *křm? — [T] ONW kām
‘Decrease, abridge, moderate’ [Li].

jiān_8 揀 (kān B) LH ken B, OCM *kṛn??
‘To select’ [Yi Zhou].


jiān_9 揀 (kān B, kjen B) LH kian B, OCM *kān??
‘To lift’ [Zhuang].

※ xiān 揀 (kjèn C) LH xiān, OCM *han
‘To lift’ [Zuo].

[EN] This wf may be related to WT ker-ba ‘to raise, lift’, but TGTM *hre/hre: ‘to raise’ as well as the MC initial xj- indicate that the phonology is rather complex.

jiān_1 見(kien C) LH kēn C, OCM *kēns
‘To see, visit’ [OB, BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjen (去); MGZY gyan (去) [kjen]; MTang kian < kian, ONW kēn
※ xiān 現見 (yien C) LH gen C, OCM *gēns — [T] MTang yian < yian, ONW yen
‘To appear, show up’ [BI, Shi].

[<] endopass. of jiān 見.

※ qiān 倪 (k-hien C, yian B) LH k-hen C, gen B, OCM *khēns, *gēns?
‘To look like, look as if’ [Shi].

[EN] ST: PTB *m-kyen (STC no. 223) > WT mk’yen-pa ‘to know’, PTani *ken ‘know’, NNaga *C-k’yen. The ST semantic range is similar to PIE *vid- ‘to see, know’. Sometimes → xiān_6 須 is thought to belong to this wf.

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jian

jian₂ 建 (kjënC) LH koneksiC, OCM *kans
‘To set up, establish’ [Shi] is perh. cognate to → jiàn₃ 建.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjen (去); MGZY gen (去) [ken]

jian₃ 建 (gjiënC) LH gionC, OCM *gans
‘Strong’ [Yi], Mand. ‘healthy, strong’. Perh. endopass. of → jiàn₂ 建 (§4.6) in the sense of ‘firmly established’. Not related to TB-WT gar-ba ‘strong’, see under → gū₁ 固.

jian₄ 建 (gjiënB) LH gionB, OCM *gan?
‘Door bar, bolt’ [Lao]. Syn. → guan s, ~ xian 7.

jian⁵ 建 → jiàn⁵ 筋
jian⁶ 伎 → qiàn₂ 浪
jian⁷ 伎 → qiàn₂ 浪

jian⁸ 劍 (kjämC) LH kiamC, OCM *kams — [T] ONW kam
‘Sword’ [Zuo, under the year 650 BC].
[E] Etymology not certain. This mid Zhou period word could be derived from → yän₄ 剃, ‘sharp’ (implied by Wulff, Geilich 1994: 110, 263), the initial k- would then be a nominalizing prefix (§5.4). Alternatively, swords seem to have originated in the ancient southern state of Wu (Sūzhōu area), which was famous for its sword smiths. From there the word, of unknown provenance, may have entered OC as well as PVM as *t-kiam [Ferlus].

jian⁹ 儑 → jiàn₂ 査
jian₁₀ 間聞 → jiān₅ 間聞
jian₁₁ 潛 → jiàn⁹ 營

jian₁₂ 髖 (dzjamB) LH dziamB, OCM *dzam?
‘Entwine’ [SW: Shu] is a ST word: WT sdom-pa, bsdams ‘to bind, tie up’. Perh. cogn. to → cán 鍬, ‘silkworm’ (HST: 43).

jian₁₃ 薦 (tsienC) LH tsenC, OCM *tsånsn
‘Grass, fodder’ [Zhuang] > ‘straw mat’ [Chuci] > ‘put on display’ (loot), ‘offer, present’ [Shi]. Wáng Li (1982: 289) relates this and other words to → xí₁ 席 ‘mat’.
[D] PMin *tsanC ‘straw mattress’

jian₁₄ 當 (dzienC, dzuanC) LH dzenC, OCM *dzåns
‘Grass, herb’ [Zuo].
[E] STC (p. 49; 158 n. 428) suggests that this may be cognate to WT rtswa ‘grass’.

jian₁₅ 薦發 ‘repeat’ → zài₁ 四再

jian₁₆ 監 (kamC) LH kamC, OCM *kråms
‘To mirror’ 監 [Shu], 監 [Shi]; ‘mirror’ 鏡 [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjam (去), PR (kjan), LR kjen; MGZY (gyam >) gyan (去) [kjam]
[k] exopass. of jiān 監 (kam), ‘see oneself’ (§4.4). → jing₆ 鏡 (kjënC) ‘mirror’ seems to be a variant. Bodman (1980: 148) adds hän 鑑 (under → làn₁ 鑑) to this group.

jian₁₇ 監 (kam[Mc]) LH kam, OCM *kråms
‘To see, look at, inspect’ [Shi]. The items under → kän₅, kän 勘 may be variants of this word.

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jiàn — jiāng

※ bán 觀 (lâm bł) LH lam bł, OCM *gr âm? — [T] ONW lâm
‘To see’ [Guoce] (Bodman 1985: 159) is perh. only a col. variant of the preceding item (Zhang Xingyà ändig 1996:4: 11).

jiàn_{16} 槛 (yâm bł, yâm bł) LH gam bł, OCM *g âm?
‘Railing’ [Chu], ‘cage’ [Zhuang].

jiāng_{1} 濤 (kăn) LH kôn, OCM *kr ông, OCB *k r ông
‘Yangtze River’ [Shi], in Shǐyǐng only its mid-section (Norman / Mei 1976: 283).

※ găng 港 (kăn) LH kôn, OCM *kr ông?
‘Smaller river which flows into a larger river, lake or sea’ [Náncháo period, 6th c. AD].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjan (n); MGZY gyaŋ (n) [kjan]
[D] An ancient Wú dialect word which spread into the Chū region; the word survives in river names in the former Wú-Chū area (Jiāngsú, Jiāngxī, Zhējiāng, Anhui, Húběi, Húnorth); the Huái River marks the northern limit of this word; later > ‘harbour’ (Lǐ Xiàofān / Chén Bāoxiàn, FY 2002.3: 201–216). The irregular Mand. form originated in southern dialects where velars have not palatalized. The role of tone B is not clear.

jiāng_{2} 姜 → qiāng_{1} 羌

jiāng_{3} 將 (tsiân) LH tsian, OCM *tsaŋ
‘Take (something or someone along), hold, support’ [Shi, Shu]; perh. the meaning ‘to offer, offering’ (in sacrifice) [Shi] is a semantic extension (< ‘take along’).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsiaŋ (p); MGZY (dziāŋ) > dziaŋ (p) [tsiaŋ]; MTang tsiaŋ < tsiaŋ, ONW tsiaŋ

※ jiāng 將 (tsiaŋ) LH tsiaŋ, OCM *tsaŋ — [T] MTang tsiaŋ < tsiaŋ, ONW tsiaŋ
‘To lead’ [Shi, Meng] > ‘leader, general’ [Zuo].
[<] exoactive / caus. of jiāng (§4.3).

※ qiāng 將 (tsiaŋ) LH tsiaŋ, OCM *tsaŋ
‘To beg, pray, ask’ (for help, gift, not to do something) [Shi].
[<] caus. aspiration of jiāng 將 (§5.8.2).

jiāng_{4} 將 (tsiaŋ) LH tsiaŋ, OCM *tsaŋ
‘Be on the point of, about to, intending to, going to’ [BI, Shi].
[E] AA: OKhmer cañ / cañ, Khmer cañ / cañ ‘to want, desire, hope for, be willing to, about to, on the point of’.

※ qié 竦 (tsiaŋ) LH tsiaŋ, OCM *tsaŋ?
‘Moreover, in addition, as well’ [Shi], ‘about to, on the point of’ [Guoce]. An allofam of jiāng_{4} 將 acc. to Pulleyblank (1962: 233).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsje (n); MGZY tshya (n) [tsje]; ONW tsia

jiāng_{5} jiāng 強 → qiáng 強
jiang - jiao

jiang6 疆 (k'ian) LH kiong, OCM *k'an
‘Limit, boundary, to delimit, territory’ [BI, Shi], variant or allofam of → jing6 竟境.

jiang7 策 (k'ian) LH kiong, OCM *k'an — [E] PMin *kian.
‘Ginger’ [Lunyu].


jiang1 匠 (dzianC) LH dzianC, OCM *dzianh
‘To fashion, cut out, make’ vb. (as a sculpture, out of wood or the like) [Chuci] > ‘to form, cultivate’ (one’s personality through education) [Huainan], jiang-ren 匠人 (‘woodworking man’): ‘carpenter’ [Meng]; 匠 ‘carpenter’ n. [Zuo] > ‘artisan’ [Lun-heng]; also ‘stonemason’ (as a name in Zhuangzi implies); jiang-ren 匠人 ‘official in charge of woodworkers’ [Zhouli].

jiang2 隆 (k'an) LH kiong, OCM *kraun — [T] ONW kau
‘To descend, get down’ [BI, Shi], e.g. cattle from hills, person from carriage; metaphorically: send down blessings, misfortune, etc.

* xiang1 隆 (yuan) LH giong, OCM *gruun — [T] ONW yan
‘To submit’ [BI, Shi], intr.

[<] There are no unambiguous outside cognates. Some languages have initial l-: Tai: S. logA2 < *dλ- ‘to descend’. <> TB-Chepang glyuŋh ~ gruŋ- ‘to descend’ ≠ gruŋ- ‘drop, drop down (object in flight), descend (in angle)’. It is not clear if / how the following may be related: TB-Lai trum / trum ‘descend’ ≠ trum? ‘to put down’ [VanBik LTB 25.2, 2002: 99] (KN tr-can derive from *kr-). Sino-Viet xuong [sūon] ‘to descend’ is an OC loan (SV s- < *kr-).

jiang3 泽 → hong4 洪

jiào1 交 (kau) LH kau, OCM *kruah — [T] ONW kau
‘To cross, mix with, mingle, associate with’ [BI, Shi], ‘exchange’ [Yi], ‘join’ [Zuo].

[<] *krau + caus. s/h-suffix (§4.3), lit. ‘make cross over, cross each other’.

yao1 搬 (yau) LH gau, OCM *gruah
‘Mixed, confused’ [Zhuang].

[<] *krau with endopas8. voicing (§4.6).

xiao1 效 (yauC) LH gauC, OCM *gruah
‘Verifications, checking’ (i.e. cross-checking) [Qin laws] (Yates EC 20, 1995: 359). The word → jiao1 腳 ‘burn on a pyre of crossed logs’ is prob. not related.
jiāo – jiāo

jiāo2-méi 郊陵 → méi6 妙陵

jiāo3, yāo 咬 (kau) LH kau, OCM *krāu
‘To shout’ [Zhuang]. See also → yāo3, jiāo 咬.
The OC medial *r is confirmed by WB kro ‘shout, call out’, Lahu kù < *kru [STC: 19], this word occurs also in MK languages: PNBahn. *kro ‘cry’ (WB loan?).

jiāo4 咬 (kau) LH kau, OCM *krāu
‘Scaly dragon’ [Lü], ‘alligator’ [Li]; in later folklore jiāo refers to mermaids (Eberhard 1968: 378); additional definitions and etymological suggestions have been discussed by Carr (LTBA 13.2, 1990: 126–136). There may possibly be a connection with TB: WB kbuB ~ kyuB ‘mermaid, serpent’, WT klu ‘naga, water spirits’. However, phonologically OC and TB are far apart.

jiāo5 釧 → zhāo1 釧

jiāo6 焦 (tsjau) LH tsiau, OCM *tsau (or *tsiau)
‘To roast, burn, scorch’ tr. 焦 [Zuo], 焦 [Li].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsjew (平); PR tsjaw; MGZY dzjaw (平) [tsjew]
[D] The graph 焦 is used for a Min synonym: PMin *tauA ‘dry, scorch’: Amoy taA; this item is cognate to PVM *traw ‘dry’ (Bodman 1980: 178).

qíáu 楠 (dzjau) LH dziau, OCM *dzau (or *dziau)
‘Firewood’ [Zuo], ‘gather firewood’ [Shi], ‘to burn’ (fuel) intr. [Gongyang].
[<] endopass. of jiāo tr. (§4.6), i.e. ‘something that burns itself’.
[D] This is the Min word for ‘wood, firewood’; PMin *dzau: Xiàmén lit. tsbauA2, col. tshao-A2 ‘grass and trees for fuel’, Jiānōu tshaoA2. This word is conventionally written → chái 柴.

jué 焦 (dzjak) LH dziek, OCM *dzauk (or *dziauk)

jué 焦 (tsjak, tšāk) LH tsiak, tšāk, OCM *tsrauk
‘Torch’ [Li] (Karlgren 1956: 12).

jiāo7 焦 (kau[B]) LH kau(B), OCM *krū?(?) — [T] ONW kāu
‘Frost’ [Chuci].

jiāo8 悫 → gāo1 高

jiāo9 悫 ‘arrogant’ → qiáoj1 當

jiāo 啫 (dzjak) LH dziek — [D] PMin *dzhiak ‘to eat’
‘To chew’ [SW], also Mand.

jiāo 啫 (dzjauC) LH dziauC, OCM *dzauh (or *dziauh)
‘To chew’ [Li].

jué 焦 (tsjak) LH tsiak, OCM *tsauk (or *tsiauk) — [T] ONW ts(i)ak
‘Status / rank in the nobility, dignity’ [BL, Shi] seems to be related to the above (i.e. rank defined by agricultural revenues, i.e. food?). The semantic field ‘eat ~ live off revenues’ is paralleled in MK: PMon *caa? ‘to eat’, Mon ‘eat, live on, by the revenues of, to govern’ (under → jū1 咱).

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jiǎo 1 交 (kau B) LH kau B, OCM *krâu?
   ‘Burn on a pyre’ [OB, SW], esp. in a rain ceremony.
   [E] SW implies that jiǎo is related to jiǎo, 枕 ‘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 jiǎo actually means ‘dry over fire, burn’: WB kro ~ kyo ‘to fry’, JP krau33 ‘dry up, over-dry’ ⇔ ka3-rau33 ‘dry over a fire’. Jiǎo may be cognate to › liǎo2, 燹 ‘burn’.
   [E] SW implies that jiao is related to -) jiao, 跌 ‘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 jiao actually means ‘dry over fire, burn’: WB kro ~ kyo ‘to fry’, JP krau33 ‘dry up, over-dry’ ⇔ ka3-rau33 ‘dry over a fire’. Jiao may be cognate to › liǎo2, 燹 ‘burn’.

jiǎo 2 交 (kau B) LH kau B, OCM *krâu? or *kriâu?
   ‘Be beautiful, handsome’ [Shi].
   ≈ Perh. liǎo 僖 (lieu B) LH leu B, OCM *riâu (?)
   ‘Be fine, lovely’ [Shi, 嫝 [GY].

jiǎo 3 炙 (kau B) LH kau B, OCM *krâu? or *krâu?
   ‘To twist’ [Li], ‘strangle, pressing, intense’ [Zuo], ‘entangle’.
   ≈ liǎo 燹 (ljau B, lieu B) LH liau B, leu B, OCM *riau?
   ‘Bind round, wrap’ [Li], ‘entangled’.
   [C] Allofas is perh. → jǐǔ, 竪 etc.

jiǎo 4 咬咬嚼 → zhāo 3 昭

jiǎo 5 角 (kâ) LH kâ, OCM *krôk — [T] ONW kâk — [D] PMin *kok ‘horn; male’
   ‘Horn’ [Shi], ‘sharp angle, corner’. Zhang Xingya (YWYJ 1996.4: 91) has collected archaistic bisyllabic dialect words for ‘horn’, incl. Wú-Sūzhōu, Nīngbō, Shàoxing ko3?b?.
   ~ jué 骑 (kâ) LH kâ, OCM *krâu̯?
   = jiǎo-zi 餅子
   [E] ST stem *kru to which OC has added a final *-k (§6.1): PTB *kru(w) > WB kʰyui, kʰrui ‘horn’ (STC no. 37); the root is PTB *ru ~ rwa as in WT ru ~ rwa ‘horn’. A TB final *-ŋ variant is reflected in → gǒng 9 躇.

   Bodman (1980: 167) compares the TB word with qíú 旗 (qjau) ‘long and curved, horn-like’ [Shi] (under → qiú, jǐu 歪, 幺, 幺) which, however, is derived from the meaning ‘twist’; HST: 58 relates jiǎo to WT kʰug ‘corner, angle’ (but see → jú 鞫, 鞫). Sagart (1999: 161) relates jiǎo to → lù 鹿 ‘deer’; lù is a rare reading for 角. <> PTai *khauA1 ‘horn’ has apparently no connection with CH.

jiǎo 6 角 (kâ) LH kâ, OCM *krôk — [T] MTang kik < kak, ONW kak
   ‘Leg, foot’ [Xun] is a common word in Mand. and most dialects: Yuè kâkD1, Kèjīâ kikD1. Mín *kʰauA1 故 ‘foot’ (→ qíaon 故) is unrelated. Etyymology not clear.

jiǎo 7 角 (kjau3) LH kâu B, OCM *kau?
   ‘Martial, vigorous’ 角 [Shi]; ‘energetic’ 橋 [Zhuang] is perh. the same etymon as jiǎo 角 ‘high’ (under → qión 角) (so Wáng Li 1982: 204).
   ≈ qíao 骨 (kjau3) LH kʰau, OCM *khau
   ‘Vigorous (horses)’ [Shi].
   ≈ jué 骨 (gjk 3) LH gkak, OCM *gak
   ‘Lifting the feet high, strong-looking (horses)’ [Shi].
   [C] These items may belong to the wf → qión 角 ‘high’.

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jiao 8 攪 (kau B) LH kau C, OCM *krû
‘To disturb’ tr. [Shi]
[E] ST: WT dkrug-pa ‘stir up’ ≠ k′rug-pa ‘be disturbed, quarrel’ ≠ sprug-pa ‘to shake, stir up’.
[C] This word could belong to the wf → xué 学 (so HST: 127); and / or to → lǜ 孕 掳.

jiao 9 嬳 → qiáo 崧

jiao 10 覓 → jué 聒

jiao 3 叫 (kieu C) LH keu C, OCM *kiû
‘To call out, shout’ [Shi], ‘clamor’ [Zhouli]. Prob. s. w. as → jiao 4 嗦, but distinct from → zhào 召.

jiao 4 嗦 (kieu C, kiek) LH keu C, kek, OCM *kiû(h)
‘To shout’ [Li], ‘cry, weep’ [Gongyang]. It is difficult to believe that jiao 嗦 *kiûkh ‘shout’ and → jiao 4 叫 嗦 *kiû ‘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.

jiao 5 交 → jiao 1 交

jiao 6 敎 (kau C) LH kau C, OCM *krâuh
‘To teach, instruct, set an example’ [Shi], ‘allow’ (to grow) [Guoyu – Harbsmeier 1981: 40).

[k] Sin Sukchu SR kjew (去); PR kjaw; MGZY gyaw (去) [kjew]

xiao 5 敂 (yau C) LH gau C, OCM *grâuh
‘Imitate, follow’ 敂 [Shu], 敂 [Zuo].
[<] endopass. of jiao (§4.6), lit. ‘be taught’.

jiao 7 偃.exchange (tsjau C) LH tsiau C, OCM *tsauh
‘Exhaust, finish’ 偃 [Xun]; ‘thoroughly understand’ 偃 [Xun] > ‘discern, understand’ 偃 [Xun]; ‘empty a cup’ 酉 [Li] > ‘empty a cup at a wedding ceremony’ 酉 [Li].

xiao 6 敂 (dzjau) LH dziau, OCM *dzau
‘Melancholy, harassed, distressed’ [Zuo], ‘haggard’ 偃 [Guoyu]; ‘deteriorate, worn out’ 偃 [Shi].
[<] Perh. qiao 悄 (tsjau B)
‘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 Wáng Li (1982: 218), this wf belongs to → jiao 6 偃 ‘burn’, but in spite of the semantic parallelism with the wf → jin 4 盤 (‘exhaust, burn up’) this is not certain.

jiao 8 嘤 → jiao 嘤

jie 1 拢 → xié 1 拢協

jie 2 皆嗟 (kâi) LH kêi, OCM *kî, OCB *krij — [T] ONW kêi
‘Be together with, agree, all’ [Shi]; ‘be or do in unison’ 嗟 [Shi]. Perh. → jié 3 隘 ‘stairs’ (‘harmonized steps’) belongs to this wf. CVST (2: 78) relates jie ‘all’ to WT k′ri 10,000 as well as to → shî 齐 ‘multitude’.

xie 偎 (kâi) LH kêi, OCM *kî?!
jie - jie

jie 椙 (yāi) LH gei, OCM *grî — [T] ONW yēi
‘Be concordant, harmonious’ [Shi].

jie3 階 (kāi) LH kei, OCM *kri or *krâi ? — [T] ONW kei — [D] PMin *kue
‘Steps, stairs’ [Shi]. This may be the s. w. as → jie2 皆, derived from the concepts ‘together, in unison, agree’. Prob. unrelated to → gai 階 ‘stairs’, but see there.

jie4 接 (tsjāp) LH tsiap, OCM *tsap — [T] ONW tsiap
‘To connect, contact’ [Shi].

jie5 嘆 (tsja) LH tsia, OCM *tsa or *tsai ?
‘Alas, oh, sigh; lamentation’ [Shi]; xiu-tsja *hwa-tsa ‘alas, oh!’ [Shi].

jie6 揪 (kāi) LH ket, OCM *krêt
‘Straw’ [Shu], 龠 [Li].

jie7 揚 (g/k/kˇjat 3, gjet) LH giat etc., OCM *grat etc.
‘To rise, raise, lift’ [Shi] is related to → jū6 举 acc. to Wáng Lì (1982: 130). He also adds qiè 燠 (kˇiet) *kheit ‘to lift’ [Li].

jie1, jia 捋 (kiep, kap) LH kep, kap, OCM *kêp, *krâ/ep
‘Chopsticks’ [Li]. The OC form *kêp connects the word with the stem → xié 拊 ‘clasp under the arm’ (Karlgren 1956: 10); OCM *krâ/ep connects it with → jia3 夹.

jie2 捷 (dzjāp) LH dziap, OCM *dzap
‘Victory’ [Shi], ‘booty’ [Zuo].
jié 2a 覺 (tsjáp) LH tsiap, OCM *tsap
‘Eyelashes’ [Zhuang].
[E] This word is associated with widely distributed phonesthemic 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 tsʰab-tsʰab ‘to blink’.

jie 3 揭 → jié, 揭

jie 4 竭 (kjat 3) LH kät, OCM *krat — [T] MTang kar, ONW kat
‘Ram’, perh. ‘castrated ram’ [SW], is prob. cognate to → gu, 揭 ‘ram’.
[E] ST: Kanauri kʰas, Chitk. kʰa, kʰas ‘sheep’.

jie 5 渴竭 (gjat 3) LH gät, OCM *grat — [T] Sin Sukchu SR gje (入)
‘To dry up’ (pool, swamp) [Shi, Zhouli]. For related and similar items, see → gu; 固 (incl. Table G-1) and → jin 2 坚 (incl. Table J-1).

jie 6 縛 (kiei C) LH kes, OCM *kèts
‘Hair-knot’ [no pre-Han ex.].

jie 7 餞 → hánɡ3 顒

jie 8 劫 → jiān2 坚

jie 9 節 (tsiét) LH tset, OCM *tsêt — [D] PMin *tsat
(‘Cut’) ‘regular division’ [Li], ‘knots or joints on bamboo or other plants’ [Shi], ‘degree, rank’ [Shu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsje (入); MGZY dzā (入) [tsje]; MTang ts iar < tsiar, ONW tsêt
→ qiè 切 (tsiét) LH tsʰet, OCM *tsʰêt — [T] MTang tsʰiar < tsʰar, ONW tsʰêt
‘To cut’ [Shi]. This graph also writes a homophone which is cognate to → ji7, 即.
Po’ai ðet ‘button, pin together’ (Li 1976: 45) is unclear.

jie 10 櫛 (tsiet) LH tset, OCM *tsrít
‘Comb, to comb’ 櫛 [Shi], ‘to scrape’ 櫛 [Zhouli].
[E] 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-si(y)
‘comb’ (STC no. 466) > JP po-si55 ‘comb, rake’ ≠ mòsi ‘to comb, rake, brush’;
Although an additional final consonant like -t here is not unusual for CH, the initials are rather different. Syn. → shū3 梳.

jie 11 梳 → jié 10 梳

jie 12 篆 (kiet, yiet) LH ket, get, OCM *két, *gét
‘To put around and measure’ (e.g. a tree) [Zhuang].
jié - jiè

**xié** 嬰 (kʰjet, yiet) LH kʰet, get, OCM *khêt, *gêt

‘Belt’ [Zhuang]. Alternatively, this word could belong to → jié 結 *kit ‘to tie’ (Unger Hao-ku no. 74, 2001, p 11), though the vowels do not agree.

[E] This wf belongs to the ST root *ke ‘concave’ (of body parts etc.), see → jǐng 頸 ‘neck’ and Table J-2 there.

ST *ket ‘waist > put around the waist > belt’: WT rked-pa ‘the waist, loins, middle’ (IST: 66), rked-rgyan ‘belt ornament’: JP fîn³-kîjîn⁵⁵ ‘waist’. CH xié OCM *khet, Tibetan *rket and JP *s-kit may all go back to the same ST etymon *s/r-ket. Without final *-t: Tamang (*ke: ‘belt’. Lepcha a-rek ‘girdle’ cannot be related unless it is a mangled loan from a WT word like rked which has undergone a metathesis of the type described in §2.8.3 (*rket > *reket > rek).

jié 枭 (gjat 3) LH gtat, OCM *g(r)at

‘Of surpassing quality’ [Shi] > ‘hero’ [Shi], [Meng].

jié jié 枭 枭 ‘surpassing, very tall’ [Shi].

jié 播 (kʰjat 3, kʰjet) LH kʰat, OCM *khat

‘Martial, martial-looking’ [Shi].

[E] This wf is prob. cognate to TB-Lushai hrat < hraat ‘brave, resolute’; or alternatively to WT gyad ‘champion, athlete’ (HST: 93).

jiè 解 (kai²) LH ke², OCM *kreṭ?

‘To loosen’ [Meng], ‘explain’ [Zuo], ‘divide’ [Guoyu], ‘cut up (an ox)’ [Zhuang].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjaj ( thượng); PR, LR kjej; MGZY gyay (haus) [kjaj]; ONW kei

jiè xiè 解 (yai²) LH ge², OCM *greṭ? — [T] ONW yei

‘Be slack, idle, careless’ intr. [Shi]: ‘understand’ [Li]; syn. → hui, 還 [<] endopass. of jiè 解 (§4.6).

jiè jiè 解 (kai³) LH ke³, OCM *kreṭ

‘Lazy, remiss’ [Xiaojing]: ‘be slack, idle, careless’ = yai² [Shi].

jiè-buó 解 (yai³-yau³) LH ge³-go³, OCM *greṭ-g(r)dh

‘Be carefree and happy’ [Shi].

[jiè] ? Area stem *C-re: TB-Chepang greh- ‘to sever, chop off, cut cleanly’, perh. also PLB *priy² ‘unfasten, untie’ > WB pʰre ‘untie, unroll, appease’ ≈ a-p’re ‘answer to question, key’. < Perh. MK: Khmer rāya /riāy / ‘to break up, scatter, disperse, divide up’ ≈ srāya /sraaj/ ‘to undo (knot), untie, loosen, untangle, unravel, solve, clarify, interpret’ (dream). The MK–OC vowel correspondence is regular, and a MK origin could account for the differences in initial consonants.

jiê 介 (kai²) LH kes, OCM *krê(t)s

‘Scale’ (of animals) [Li] > ‘armour’ [Shi] > ‘armoured men’ [Shi] > ‘to assist’ [OB, Shi].

[E] ST: jiè is often thought to be cognate to → jiā 甲 (so LaPolla 1994: 141; Yú Mín 1948: 43), but jiè agrees phonologically rather with TB-WB e-kre² ‘scales of a fish’.

PTai *kletDIS ‘fish scales’ is perh. a Chinese loan. Possible allofam → jiê 竭.

jiè 介 (kai³) LH kes, OCM *krê(t)s?

‘To increase, become great’ (of army, blessings, old age, person) [Shi]. This word is prob. related to → xián 禍 *gřen ‘be large’, and perh. derived from → jiā 假假 *krâ? ‘great’ (but the OC vowels differ). Shi Xiāngdōng (2000: 24) relates this word to WT rgyas-pa ‘to increase’; OC *e is the equivalent of foreign *ya/*ja (§11.3.2).
jie - jfn

jie3 荛 (kǎi) LH kes, OCM *krè(t)s?
‘Itch, scabies’ [Li] is prob. derived from, or cognate to, jiä 痹 (ka) *krāi ‘scabies’ [SW] (so Wáng Lì 1982: 432), hence < *krāi-ts. Alternatively, it could perh. be the same etymon as → jie1 介 ‘scales’.

jie4 荛 (kǎi) LH kes, OCM *krèts or *krîats?
‘Mustard plant’ [Li].

jie5 界 (kǎi) LH kes, OCM *krets or *kriïts?
‘Boundary, limit’ [Shi] looks like a variant of the LH homophone → jie1 介 ‘arrive, limit’ (difference in OC vowels *e vs. *i), and may be the same as → jie1介 ‘armor’ in the sense of security encirclement, and thus perh. be a derivation from → jie6 戒 ‘guard against’.

jie6 届 (kǎi) LH kes, OCM *kret(s)
‘To end up, arrive, end, limit’ [Shi] looks prob. related to → jie3 界 ‘limit’.

jie7 僱 (tsjak) LH tsiaC, OCM *tsak — [T] ONW tsiek — [D] PMin *tsiak
‘To borrow’ [Zuo]
※ jie 僱 (tsjaC) LH tsiaC, OCM *tsakh
[C] This set belongs prob. to the wf → cuo4 错, whose basic meaning is ‘to cross, exchange’.

jie8 藉 (dzjaC) LH dziaC, OCM *dzakh
‘To present’ [Zuo], ‘contribute, aid’ [Li], ‘avail oneself of, depend on’ [Zuo], ‘bedding or mat of straw as support for sacrifices or gifts’ [Yi]. This word could either be derived from → jū3 茅 ‘straw’ (so Wáng Lì 1982: 167), or be cognate to WT jags-pa ‘to give, present’ (so Bodman 1980: 150).

jie9 戒職 (kǎi) LH keC, OCM *krâh
‘To guard against, be on guard, take care, admonish’ [BL, Shi], ‘notify, invite’ [Zuo]; ‘to warn’ [Yi], ‘prohibit’ 諄 [Xun].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjaj (亐), PR kjej; MGZY gyay (=df) [kjaj]; ONW kēi
※ xiè 戒 (yáih) LH geB, OCM *grâh?
‘To frighten, overawe’ [Zhuang].
[C] Wáng Lì (1982: 86) relates this wf to → ji1 错 ‘warn’. Possible derivations may be → jie1 介 ‘armour’ and / or → jie6 届 ‘limit’.

jie10 轎 → gê3 割

jfn1 斤 (kjan) LH kin, OCM *kan — [T] ONW kin
‘Ax’ 斤 [BL, Zuo].
[E] ? ST: PLB *gyan² ‘pick-ax’ (Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 139). It may also be connected with PMY *cwl:n¹ ‘ax’ (Wáng FS), and / or PTai *xwaan, PKS *kwan (Matisoff).

jfn1a 斤 ‘a weight’ → jūn1 均釣

jfn2 斤 (kjom) LH kim, OCM *kom
‘Today, this (day, year)’ [OB, BL, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kim (△), PR, LR kin; MGZY gim (△) [kim]; ONW kim.
[E] Etymology not clear. Unger (Hao-ku 33, 1986) suggests cognition with WT them

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'now', but see → yán. Alternatively, the word’s root may be → qí, 其 *gœ ‘this’.

jīn 3 金 (kjém) LH ̄kim, OCM *kém
‘Metal’ [BI, Shu, Shi], ‘bronze, gold’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ̄kim (平), PR, LR ̄kin; MGZ ̄gim (平) [kim]; ONW ̄kim.
[D] PMin *kim ‘gold’; Y-Guangzhou 55kem
[E] Benedict (HJAS 4, 1939: 223) connects jǐn with PTai *gəm ‘gold’ ≈ S. kqm
‘bright, striking’ (used to describe rubies or pure gold), ‘blood-red’ (looks like a loan from Cantonese). Note the similarity with the wf to → tân.

jīn 4 津 → jǐn 5 濟

jīn 5 筋 (kjém) LH ̄kin, OCM *kən — [T] ONW ̄kin
‘Sinew’ [Meng]. <> PTai *qn ‘tendon, sinew’ is perh. related.
≈ jìan 2 腱 (kjın, gjemC) LH ̄kən, gjıC, OCM *kan, gans
‘Sinew’ [Chuci].

[C] Prob. not related to → qiān, 脩 ‘pull tight’ and → jǐn 2 緊 ‘solid, strong’.

jīn 6 褩 (tosjmC) LH tısın(ʃ), OCM *tən(ʃ)
‘Halo around sun’ [Zuo] appears to be related to WT kʰyim ‘halo around sun’ ≈ kʰyims-pa ‘be encircled by a halo’ ≈ ‘gyim-pa ‘circumference’ (Bodman 1980: 58). However the initials are difficult to reconcile.

jīn 1 茅 (kjienB 4) LH ̄kinB, OCM *kin?
‘To bind tight’ [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP: 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chòngniù div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci!) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhēn 茅 (tisıB) ‘to twist (someone’s arm)’ [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ̄kin (上); MGZ ̄gín (上) [kjın]; ONW ̄kin
[E] ST: Lushai kʰirp < *kʰir ‘to tie / bind arms behind the back; carrying cords twisted around a load’, NNaga *C-kʰı́n ‘to tie’. Perh. also connected with WT kʰył-ba ‘to wind, twist’. Prob. unrelated is the TB etymon WT gril-ba ‘be twisted, wrapped around’, WB kʰyaŋ ‘bind, fasten’ ≈ kʰyaŋB ‘thread’ (< *krin) (note also cənB ‘bind, tie together’), JP kren ‘to tighten’ (a rope). An allofam is perh. → qiān, 脩.

jīn 2 紫 → jīng 2 -jǐng 赫 赫

jīn 1 近 (gjamB) LH ̄ginB, OCM *gən?
‘To be near, imminent’ [Shi]. Karlgren (1933: 28) relates this word to → jǐn 2 緊 ‘imminent’.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ̄gin (上); MGZ ̄gín (上) [kjın]; ONW ̄gin
≈ jìn 近 (gı̃mC) LH ̄gınC, OCM *gən
‘To come near to, approach, keep close to’ [Shi].
<> exoactive / caus. derivation (§4.3).
[E] This etymon also occurs in PVM *t-kiŋ ‘near’ [Ferlus].

jīn 2 漫 (tisjmC) LH tısınC, OCM *təms
‘To soak, overflow’ [Shi].
[E] ST: WB cım ‘steep, soak’ (HST: 136) ≠ cımC ‘transude, ooze through’. <> Tai: cım3 ‘to dip into, immerse’. This word is probably unrelated to the ones mentioned under → chén 2 沈.

jīn 3 禁 (kjı̃mC) LH ̄kimC, OCM *krım?
‘To prohibit’ [Zuo].
jiān — jīn

[D] Y-Guangzhōu ³³kem⁴¹

[E] ST: PTB *krim (STC no. 379); WT kritis ‘rule, right, law’ ≈ *kritis ‘fear, terror, awe’ (HST: 127), WB krim ‘terrify’. In light of the WT cognates, → jīn, 惧懼 ‘shake, fear’ is perh. also related (so Shī Xiàngdōng 2000: 117). <> Unclear remains the relationship, if any, with MK-Khmer *praam/ ‘to prohibit, forbid’.

jīn⁴ 盛 (dzjen⁸, tsjen⁸) LH dzin⁸, OCM *dzin?
‘To exhaust’ > ‘entirely, all’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzin (上去); MGZY tsin (上) [dzin]; ONW dzin
≈ jīn 盛 (dzjen⁸) LH dzin⁸, OCM *dzins

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zin (去); MGZY zin (平) [zin]
< exopass. of jīn 盛 (dzjen⁸, tsjen⁸) (§4.4), lit. ‘what has been combusted’

[E] ST: WT zin-pa ‘be finished, be at an end’ (STC: 170 n. 455), Lushai seen⁵/ seen⁶ ‘use up, consume, spend’ (money, strength), ‘completely, entirely’.

jīn⁵ 進 (tsjen⁸) LH tsin⁸, OCM *tsins
‘To advance, enter’ [Shu] > caus. ‘bring / send forward’ [Bl, Shi, Shu]. — Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsin (去); MGZY dzin (去) [tsin]

jīn⁶ 餓 (gjen⁴) LH gìn⁸, OCM *gions
This word could belong to → qín, 勤懂 (gjon) ‘toil’ (so Karlgren 1949: 92), but more likely it is cognate to WT bkren ~ bgren ‘poor, hungry’ and thus to → jīn 餓 ‘hungry’ (so Karlgren 1933: 28; Bodman 1985: 151).

jīn⁷ 堅 → qín² 足

jīn⁸ 姐 (gjam⁴) — [D] PMin *gim⁸ > Amoy kim⁵, Jiàn’ōu keŋ⁶, Jiànyáng kǐஞ⁷
‘Aunt’ [JY], fusion of jiùmǔ 舅母.

jīn⁹ 姉 → qín³ 姐

jǐng₁ 靈 (kjën) LH kian⁸, OCM *kran⁸ — [T] ONW keŋ
‘Mound, hill, capital city, great’ [Bl, Shi]. A semantic parallel is → qǐu, 丘 ‘rise up, be stiff or strong’.

[E] MK: Khmer /kran/ (in toponyms:) ‘steep knoll, bluff or crag overlooking a plain’ < OKhmer rān /raŋ/ ‘rise up, be stiff or strong’.
≈ jǐng 景 (kjën⁸) LH kian⁸, OCM *kran⁸ — [T] ONW keŋ
‘Be great’ [Shi].

≈ qǐng 鯨 (gjën) LH gian⁸, OCM *gran⁸

jǐng₂ jǐng 惊 惊 (kjön) LH kiŋ⁸, OCM *kiŋ?
‘Be fearsome, terrible’ (drought) [Shi].

≈ jǐng-jǐng, qǐng-qǐng 惊 惊 (kjön) LH k/giën⁸, OCM *kiŋ⁸, *giŋ⁸
‘Be cautious’ (approaching an abyss) [Shi]. This item looks like a vocalic variant of → jǐng, 惊.

≈ jǐn 警 (kjön⁸) LH kiŋ⁸, OCM *kien?
‘Be careful, attentive, observe carefully’ [Shi]. Variations in final nasals n ~ ŋ have parallels (§6.4.1–2), the final OC *-ŋ̖ does not occur (§3.2.4).

jǐng₃ 棟 (kjën) LH kien⁸, OCM *kren⁸
‘Thorny shrub’ [Bl, Zuo], old name of the ancient state of Chǔ 楚 ‘briar, shrub’ [SW].
jiōng – jiōng

[Ε] ? MK: Khmer ज्राम्खा /crean/ ‘to bristle’ > ज्राम्खा /ccrean/ ‘to be all bristly’ [Jenner / Pou 1982: xxv] \* प्रेना /praen/ ‘bristles’ (of pig, boar, etc.), ‘bristle brush’. The CH initial k- could be an alternate prefix, such as one forming nouns in Khmer.

**jiōng 4** 經 (kiel) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
‘To pass through’ [Zuo], ‘flow through, communicate’ [Zhuang] > ‘to take as a norm, plan, practice’ [BI, Shi] > ‘a warp’ (in weaving) (‘what is being passed through’) [Zuo], but see next.

[Τ] Sin Sukchu SR kēn (平); MGZY gēng (平) [kēn]; MTang kēn < kēn, ONW kēn

**xīng** 隘 (yīen) LH gēn, OCM *gēn
‘Ravine, defile’ [Zuo].

[C] A further allofam may be → xīng, 絨 ‘law, model’.

**jiōng 5** 孟 → xīng, jiōng 羅

**jiōng 6** 菁青 (tsjān, tsiēn) LH ts(i)ēn, OCM *tsen, *tsēn
‘Be luxuriant (vegetation)’ [Shi] is perh. only a graphic variant of → qīng 青 ‘green, blue’, in spite of the difference in pronunciation (Baxter 1983).

**jiōng 7** 驚 (kēn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
‘Be afraid, attentive’ sv. [Shi] > caus. ‘to scare, alarm’ [Shi].

[Τ] Sin Sukchu SR kēn (平); MGZY gēng (平) [kēn]; ONW kēn
[D] This is the word for ‘to fear’ in southern dialects: PMin 惊 *kēn > Amoy kūiA1, Fūzhōu kūnA1 ‘be afraid’.

**xīng** 隘 (kēnC) LH kēnC, OCM *kēnC — [Τ] ONW kēn
‘Be cautious, careful, respectful’ sv. [Shi]; ‘to warn, be careful about’ [Shi].

[<] ‘to warn’: exoactive / caus. (§4.3).

**xīng** 警 (kēnB, kjānB) LH kēnB, OCM *kēnB
‘To warn, admonish, be on one’s guard’ vt. 警 [Zuo] (警 in addition QY gēnC).

[<] ‘be on one’s guard’: endoactive of jiōng (§4.5)


**jiōng 1** 井 (tsjānB) LH tsiēnB, OCM *tsenB
‘A well’ [Zuo].

[Τ] Sin Sukchu SR tsiēn (上); MGZY dzāng (下) [tsiēn]

xīng 隘 (dzjānB) LH dzēnB, OCM *dzēnB
‘Pitfall’ 警 [Shu], ‘pit’ 警 [Li] (Karlgren 1956: 10).

[E] This last word could be related to WT sdīq ‘cavity, depression’ (HST: 118), whereas
jǐng – jīng

jǐng ‘well’ is prob. cognate to WT rdźin ‘a pond’. Therefore, the two CH words may be unrelated.

jǐng₂ 顙 (kjjen⁸, gj珛⁸) LH kien⁸, gien, OCM *kен⁷, *ген
‘Neck’ [Zuo], unlike → jǐng 頬 also figuratively ‘neck’ of a vessel, jug, etc.

x jǐng 到 (kien⁷) LH kien⁸, OCM *kен?
‘Cut the throat, cut off the head’ [Zuo] (Karlgren 1956: 16).

x qiān 顢 (kien, kan) LH kien ~ kan, OCM *kên ~ *kên
‘Long-necked’ [Zhouli] is prob. connected with this wf. The alternative connection with jīn 顜 [ken] *ken ‘shoulder’ seems semantically less likely.

[E] Wáng Li (1982: 321) considers this wf cognate to → gāng 顕 ‘neck’ and the allofams there. PMY *kian⁴ ‘neck, throat’ is prob. related to the latter rather than to jǐng. Since there is no trace of an *r in the OC initial, jǐng is prob. not related to → jǐng 頬 ‘neck’, but rather belongs to the ST root *ke to which also belongs → jīng₂ 頚.


Table J-2 for jǐng₂ cǐ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concave</th>
<th>*ke</th>
<th>*ket</th>
<th>*kek</th>
<th>*ken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ lean</td>
<td>WT rke-ba lean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>WT ske neck</td>
<td>Chepang kek neck</td>
<td>jǐng 頬</td>
<td>*ken? neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waist</td>
<td>xie 虚 *kêt, *get belt WT rked waist</td>
<td>JP fiń¹-jiń⁵⁵ waist</td>
<td>NNam *C-geI) waist KC-Khami ken waist Chepang keI) narrow-waisted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

jǐng₃ 景 (kien⁷) LH kian⁸, OCM *kran⁷? — [T] ONW ken
‘Bright’ [Zuo], ‘measure by the shadow’ [Shi]. The semantic association between ‘light’ and ‘shadow’ is also found in the wf → yǐng₁ 英. A derivation is prob. → jǐng₆ 鏡 ‘mirror’. Syn. → liàng 亮, → yǐng₁ 英.

jǐng₄ 警儆 → jǐng⁷ 凱

jǐng₅ □ ‘finger’ in Mín words: Taipei tsʰiu⁴-tsái⁵ 手 □, tsan⁴-tʃau⁴ or tsin⁴-tʃau⁴ □ 頭 ‘finger’. Bauer (CAAAL 28, 1987: 61) compares the element jǐng with zin⁴ ‘finger’ in Li lgs. on Hānínán.

jǐng₁ 靜穬 (dzjän⁸) LH dzien⁸, OCM *dzen⁷ — [T] ONW dzien
‘Be quiet, tranquil, peaceful, to rest’ [Shi]; ‘to stop, keep quiet’ 靜 [Lü]. HST: 55 adds jǐng 靜 in the sense of ‘pure’ to this wf.

[E] Perh. MK: OKhmer siň /sǐn/ ‘to stay in / at, abide, be still, contemplative...’. Note also TB-JP sim³¹ ‘quiet, peaceful’, but the difference in finals remains unexplained.

jǐng₂ 淨 → qǐng₂ 清

jǐng₃ 類 → xǐng₃, jǐng 脛

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jing - jiù

jing4 勝 → qiáng 強

jing5 領境 (kjwŋ) LH kianB, OCM *krai? ी Boundary, limit, border' 領 [Zuo]; 境 [Meng] is an allofam of → jiang, 疆.

*b jing 竟 (kjwŋ) LH kianC, OCM *krai? — [T] ONW ken 'Come to an end, entirely' [Shi].

jing6 鏡 (kjwŋ) LH kianC, OCM *krai? 'Mirror' [Dadai Liji].

jing7 敬 → jing7 驚

jiōng1 洞 → jiōng2 洞迥

jiōng2 洞迥 (yiwenB) LH yuenB, OCM *wen? 'Distant' 洞 [Shi], 迥 [SW] (also read xiōng; GY also has kiyenB for 迥).

*b zhèng-róng 崤烱 (dzien-jwen, -yiwen) LH dzien-yuen, OCM *dzren-wren? 'High, distant' [Chuci].

*b jiōng 洞 (kiwen) LH kuen, OCB *kwēn 'Outlying parts, far from the capital' [Shi].


*b xuán 洗 (xiwen) LH huen, OCM *hǔn 'Far away' [Shi] is prob. a variant of the stem as final nasals can alternate after front vowels (§6.4.1).

[j] MK: Khmer vēna /ween/ 'be far, distant, long' रूना /wēn/ 'be far off, distant, remote' रूना /cwēn/ 'be situated in the off side, be abnormal, queer, eccentric, unorthodox, left (hand)'. For a possible semantic parallel in OC, see → kuang 狂. The root is perh. also encountered in PTB *wiy > WB wēn 'far', PL. *we2 'be far, dull'; possibly also Kanauri rwi 'high'. The relationship with → jiōng1 憐 and → yōng, 永 if any, is not clear.

jiōng3 懸 (kjwenB) LH kyanB, OCM *kwann? or *kwran? ? 'Be far away' [Shi]. The relationship with similar items → jiōng2 洞迥 and → yōng1 永 is not clear. Sagart (1999: 104) derives jiōng from → yōng, 永 'be long, distant'. A derivation may be to kuang 狂, although the MC vowels do not agree.

jiōng4 扰 (gwenB 3) LH guin?, OCM *grun < PCH *-un, OCB *grjun? (?) 'Be distressed, bothered' [Shi]. This word looks like a variant of → qiōng1 邪 (gjwen) LH gion 'be distressed'. Otherwise, this word may belong to → hūn 混渾.

jiōng5 額 → yīng3 憐

jiū1 究 (kjouC) LH kuC, OCM *khu, OCB *k(r)jus — [T] MTang keu < kiu, ONW ku 'To search into, investigate' [Shi].

*b jiù 救 (kjouC) LH kuC, OCM *khu, OCB *k(r)jus 'To save, help, relive' [Shi]; in this word tone C *-h appears to be the common

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derivative suffix which forms exopassives (<‘having been successfully searched for’), but the final *h in jiù 究 above cannot have the same function.

[E] This word is shared with PLB *N-gu¹: WB ku ‘help’, Lahu gu ‘prepare, practice’.

± qiú 求 (gjou) LH gu, OCM *gu, OCB *grju
‘To seek for, ask for’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR giw (平); MGZY kiu (平) [giw]; MTang geu < giu, ONW gu
(E) <> PTai *gwaC² ‘to search for’. The Tai form points to OC *gwa. The phonetic elements in the above words (九求) may be ambiguous, they both could write words of the OC type *ku and *kwo.

Carr ([Language Studies [Otaru Univ.] 1993:3: 34]) also relates kao 考 (k₃auB) LH k⁴ou? *khó? ‘to examine’ [Shi] to jiù above.

jiù 12 鳥 (kjou) LH kuB, OCM *ku, OCB *k(r)ju — [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.

[D] For taboo considerations, some southern dialects have an aspirated initial (A. Yue Hashimoto, p. c.): Y-Guangzhou ku’u ~ k⁴u, Fōshān, Nánhūi et al. k⁴h; also M-Xiàmén ku’uA1 ~ k⁴i’uA1.

[E] ST: Because of *ku’s onomatopoetic nature there are variant forms in ST, some with medial -r-, some without: PTB *kuw (STC no. 495) ‘dove’ > Miri k’i; Meithei k⁴u-na, ‘pigeon’ (STC: 185; HST p. 118); PTB *m-kraw: PLB *N-kraw² > WB k⁴ui ~ k⁴wai ~ k⁴rui, Kuki *m-kra > Khami m⁴khrui. The Tai word looks like a loan from a Yue dialect, yet PTai also had a medial *-r-: S. khauA¹ < *khr-, *hr- ‘dove’.

jiù 3 糾 to jiù 3糾

jiù 1 九 (kjou) LH kuB, OCM *ku? (~ kwō?), OCB *k(“)ju?
‘Nine’ [BI, Shi]. The graph was apparently invented for a word ‘to bend’ → jú, 舵; in WT the words for ‘nine’ and ‘to bend’ are also homophones (dgu).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kiu (上); MGZY giw (上) [kiw]; MTang keu < kiu, ONW ku
[D] PEMín *kouB¹: M-Xiàmén, Fūzhōu kauB; PWMín *kiuB¹; Y-Guāngzhōu ⁴⁴kouB¹

jiù 2 久 (kjou) LH kuB, OCM *ku? or *kwō? ?, OCB *k(“)jo?
‘Long time, long time ago’ [Shi] > ‘wait’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kiu (上); MGZY giw (上) [kiw].
[D] M-Xiàmén kuB; Y-Guāngzhōu ⁴⁴kouB¹
[E] MK: Wa-Lawa-Bulang *-[ŋ]-ko?, it may be a CH loan.

jiù 3 糾 (kjieu 4) LH kiuB, OCM *kiu?, OCB *k(r)jiw?
‘To twist, plait’ [Shi], ‘unite’ [Zuo].

± jiū 縫 (kjieu 4) LH kiu, OCM *kiu, OCB *k(r)jiw
‘To twist’ 縫 [Li], 縫 [Yili], ‘down-curving (branch)’ [Shi].

[D] Sagart (1999: 105) connects jiú to a Xīnzhōu 欣州 (Jin) dialect word ko?liò ‘awkward (of a person’s behavior), curved’.

[E] KT: The outside connections suggest an original *klju: PTai *klaumA¹ (?) S. klaumA¹ ‘to wind around, twist a string’, Saek tleuCl; note however PTai *kjaumCl: S. kiaumCl ‘to wind around, twist’.
This wf is perh. ultimately ST: TB-WT *gču-s 'to twist, twine, plait, braid' & gču- 'screw', WB kʰyu ‘twist off (fruit) with pole’, Lushai kiu-l-‘elbow’ [Weidert 1975: 8].

Many variants are found under GSR 1064 and 1069. Baxter (1992: 513) adds --f miu j~ to this group. Allofams are --f qiu ʔ, jiil ~, perh. --f jia0 ~.

jiu 銜 (kj;~mB) LH kuB, OCM *kuʔ — [D] PMin *kiuB > Xiàmén kuB ‘Leek’ [Shi]. Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 48) relates jiiu to WT sko(-tse) ‘wild onion’.

jiu 酒 (tsjauB) LH tsiuB, OCM *tsjuʔ — [D] PMin *tsiuB > Xiàmén, Fúzhōu tsiuB ‘Wine’ [OB, BI], [Shi]. The word was also read in tone A in Shijing (Mattos 1971: 309).

jiu2 鉢 (kjauB) LH kuB, OCM *guʔ ‘Mortar’ [Yi]. [D] PMin *guB > Xiàmén kʰuʔC2, Fúzhōu kʰouʔC2. In some Min dialects the word for ‘mortal’ is the Mand. equivalent jiǔ-ku 臼窪 where kʰu means ‘depression’, then kʰu is reinterpreted as ‘mortal’ and jiǔ acquires the meaning of ‘pestle’ (Branner 2000: 109).

jiu4 餃 (kjauC) LH guC, OCM *gwʔ ‘Old (not new), ancient’ [Shi]. The OC rime and tone are revealed by Shijing rimes. [T] MTang geu < gui, ONW gu — [D] PMin *guำC

jiu3 舊 (kjauC) LH guC, OCM *gwaʔ, OCB *g*jaʔ(s) ‘Old, ancient’ [Shi]. This word is prob. shared with PTai *kauB ‘old, ancient’.

jiu4 舊 (kjauC) LH guC, OCM *guh ‘An owl-like bird’, the same as xiū 鷯 below’ [SW], is considered related to → xiǎo3 梟 in HST: 115.

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jiū – jú

jiū (xjou) LH hu, OCM *hu
‘Owl’ [Zhuang]. Because of the onomatopoetic nature of these words, exact phonological correspondences cannot be expected.

jiū 琅 → jiū1 究
jiū 就 → zào2 造 (tsʰâu⁶)

jū 車 → chē 車

jū 居 (kjwo) LH kia(C), OCM *ka^, *ka?, *kah
‘To dwell, settlement, tranquil, comfortable’ [Shi], ‘sit down’ [Lun]. Shījing 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 (平); MGZY gʲu (平) [ky]; MTang ky < kʊ, ONW kʊ < kio (?)
[D] Y-Guangzhou ʦʰ^[æ]1, Táishān kui³, M-Amoy ʦʰ^[æ]1

jū 踏 (kjwoC) LH kie(C), OCM *kah, OCB *k(r)jas

[<] ‘abode’: exopass. of jū 居 (kjwo) (§4.4), lit. ‘what is dwelled in’.

jū 踩 → gū₁ 固

jū 踏 → jū₆ 據

jū 茲 (tsʰjwo) LH tsʰiua, OCM *tsha
‘Straw’ [Shi] > ‘straw as bottom in shoe’ [Chuci] (also read MC tsʰjwo, tsjwo);
‘bedding or packing of straw (for objects presented)’ [Zhouli].

zū 蹲 (tsuo, tsjwo, tsʰjwo) LH tsʰ, tsʰa, OCM *tsha...
‘Bedding or packing of straw (for objects presented)’ [Zhouli].

[C] An allofam is perh. → jièle 藉 ‘mat or bedding’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 167).

jū 俱 (kju) LH kio, OCM *ko
‘Both, all, together’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ky (平); MGZY gʲu (平) [ky]; MTang ky < kʊ, ONW kʊ

jū 具 (gjuC) LH gio(C), OCM *goh — [T] MTang gy < guo, ONW guo
‘Be complete, be together’ [Bl, Shi] > ‘to provide, arrange’ Zuo > ‘an implement, utensil’ [Bl, Zuo].

jū 駒 (kju) LH kio, OCM *ko — [T] ONW kuo
‘Colt, young horse’ [Bl, Shi].

[E] 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’ (ira < WT ‘horse’), Tani *ku, JP kum-ra < ku-mra[n] ‘horse’ (mraŋ ‘horse’); Lushai saI-kor¹ ‘a horse, pony’ (but acc. to Lorrain p. 400 this word is derived from kɔr⁸ ‘coat’), Mru kor-qa [Löffler 1966: 123]. For the loss of final *-r, see §7.7.5. Alternatively, one may consider jū cognate to → qū₁ 驱 *kho ‘to drive’ (a horse), ‘gallow’.

jū 狗 → gōu₁ 句鉤构區

jū 拘 → jū₆ 據

jū 局 → qū₁ 曲
jú - jú

jú_2 踢 → qū_1 曲
jú_3 橘 (kjuet) LH kuit, OCM *kwit, OCB *k-wit — [T] ONW kuit
‘Orange’ (fruit) [Shu].

jú_4 掘 → kū_4 墟
jú_5 鞠 (kjuk) LH kük, OCM *kuk
‘To nourish, suckle’ (a child) [Shi].
This is prob. a vocalic variant of the wf → gū_14 食 ‘suck, see Table C-2 (under →
chù, xù 嘴) for parallel stems.

jú_6 鞠鞠 (kjuk) LH kük, OCM *kuk
‘To bow, bend’ (the body) 鞠 [Lun], ‘concave side of river bend’ 鞠 [Shi].

jú_7 鞠 ‘exhausted’ → qiòng9_2 究
jū_1 咀 (dzjwo) LH dzia, OCM *dza?
‘To chew’ [Guan].

jū_2 笼 (kjwo) LH kio, OCM *ka?
‘Round basket’ 笼 [BI, Shi], 篮 [Li].

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The earliest graph 矩 implies an *r in the OC initial, though. For the finals, see §3.2.2.

jù 3 矩 (kjuB) LH kyaB, OCM *kwa?
‘Carpenter’s square’ [Meng], ‘rule, law’ [Lun]; ‘troops drawn up in a square’ 拦 [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ky (上); MGZY gýu (上) [ky]; MTan 9 ky < kuo, ONW kuo
≈ kuò 拦 (kuát) LH kuot, OCM *kwałt
‘Carpenter’s square’ [Xun].
[<] nominal t-suffix (§6.2.1).
[E] Possibly related to TB-WB kyan- ‘carpenter’s square’ (for finals, see §3.2.4), or to WT grwa ‘angle, corner’. Allofam = kuāng 矩 ‘square basket’.

jù 4 拦 ‘square’ → jù 3 矩

jù 5 拦 (kjuB) LH kyaB, OCM *kwa?
‘Gutter’ [Zhouli].
≈ qú 矜 (qjwo) LH gía or gya ?, OCM *gwa ?
‘Canal’ [Li] may be the s. w. as → qú 矜 ‘crossroads’ (note the TB / ST field of meaning below). We should expect MC gju which is implied by the phonetic jù 亘 and the cognates, but the MC rimes -ju -jwo have merged in almost all dialects and have already mingled in some phonetic series.
≈ kuài 湃 (kuâic) LH kuas, OCM *kwałs or *kâts?
‘Watering channel, drain, canal’ [Shu]. For the final dental, see §6.2.1.
≈ què 闎 (k³jwet) LH k³yat, OCM *khwat or *khot?
‘A hole’ [Shi] > ‘opening, breach, gate’ [Li] > ‘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 → jué 矜 ‘excavate’.
[E] ST *(k)wa- ‘passage through’: Lushai kuaL ‘a hole, burrow, cavity’ ≈ kuaL / kuakL ‘be open or clear (as way, path, road, etc.), to open (up), make way through’; WB w-aC ‘opening of door, hole’. Allofam is prob. → qù 矜 ‘crossroads’.

jù 6 舉 (kjwoB) LH kiaB, OCM *ka? ? — [T] MTan 9 ky < ONW kə < kio (?)
‘To rise, surge, start; lift, promote’ [Shi].
[E] This may be cognate to WT k³³yag-pa, k³³yag ‘to lift, carry’ (HST: 103) ≈ skya-ba, bskyas ‘to carry’. Alternatively, Baxter / Sagart (1998: 48) relate this word to → yú 矜 ‘to lift’.

If the root should be *ka or *kja, then → jié 擡 and → jián 矜 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 rather broad concept.

jù - jù 踌躇 → guā 窮

jù 1 亘距 → kuāng1 沌

jù 2 沌 (dzjwoB) LH dziaB, OCM *dza?
‘To leak, ooze’ [Li].
≈ Perh. jù 沌 (tsjwoC) LH tsiaC, OCM *tsah
‘Marshy ground’.
[E] ST: WT ’dzag-pa, (g-)zags ‘to drop, drip, flow out’ ≈ ’ts³³ag-pa, btsags ‘to cause to trickle, strain’; PLB *ntsakH ‘to drop, drip’ [Matisoff TSR: 44], WB cak ‘fall in drops’ ≈ s-cak ‘a drop’ (HST: 152; for CH tone B, see §3.2.2). Loaned into PVM: *k-joh ‘to drip’ [Ferlus].

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jù

jù_3 据 → jù_2 居

jù_4 nü 粗俗 (gjwo^B, njwo^B) LH gio^B, ma^B, OCM *ga-nra? ?
‘Rice cake’ [Chuci] could be related to WT mna ‘cake’; cf. Tai: S. ka-nom ‘cake’ [Unger Hao-ku 33, 1986].

jù_5 懼 (gju^C) LH gya^C, OCM *gwaḥ
‘To dread, feel apprehension’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR gy (去); MGZY kju (去) [gy]; MTang gy < guo, ONW guo
[EB] Li F. (1976: 46) relates this word to Tai: S. klua^A? < *Kl- ‘to fear’, and refers also to WT ‘gul-ba ‘to tremble’.

jù_6 据 (kiwo^C) LH kio^C, OCM *kah
‘To grasp, depend on’ [Shi], also later written 据 OC *kwaḥ, although the rimes do not agree.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ky (去); MGZY gju (去) [gy]; MTang ky < ka, ONW ka < kio (?)
[EB] Perh. jù 据 (kju) LH kia, OCM *ka in jie-jù 据据 (k(j)et-kjwo) *kit-ka
‘To grasp’ (a plant) [Shi].

jù_7 聚 (dzju^C) LH dzio^C, OCM *dzoh, OCB *dzjos
‘To collect, store’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzj (上去); MGZY tsju (上去) [dzj]; MTang dzju, ONW dzuo
Dowler (1959: 275) determined the MC reading dzju^B for the verb, tone C dzju^C for the nouns ‘collection, stores; masses, group’ [Zuo] which is an exopass. derivation (§ 4.4). Bodman (BIHP 39, 1969: 340) adds this word to zu' 'group' (--> zao 2 31:).

zu_1 族 (dzuk) LH dzok, OCM *dzók
‘Clan, clansmen’ [BI, Shi], a minimal segment of a lineage → zōng, 宗 (Chang K. C. 1976: 70) (Wáng Li 1982: 197; CVST 4: 32). Affiliation with jù is likely in light of etymological parallels in WT (see below) and zú 卒 (under → zào 2 31:).

zu_2 最 (tsuai^C) LH tsuas, OCM *tsōts, OCB *tsots
[T] MTang tsuai, ONW tsuāC

cong_2 聚 (dzunj) LH dzon, OCM *dzon
and Bodman (*BIHP* 39, 1969: 334), this is an s-prefix derivation of → tōng₁ 同 ‘join’, but see §5.7.

* zōng 糧 (tsun) LH tsoŋ, OCM *tsɔŋ
‘Sheaf, bundle’ [Guoyu], ‘numerous’ [Zhuang].


**juán 鍾 → zuán 鐘**

**juán₁** 卷捲 (kjwänB 3) LH kyanB, OCM *kron?, OCB *krjon?
‘To roll, roll over, turn over’ [Shi]; ‘to scroll’ [Sin].

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* kyen (去); *MGZY* gyon (去) [kyen]

[E] ST: Lushai *hrual* ‘roll up in the hand, twist’. Prob. an allomorph of → quán₁ 卷拳, but see there. The Tai word is prob. a CH loan: Wuming kHán cl ‘roll, scroll’ (Bodman 1980: 108), Mun gluánC² ‘roll up’ (Haudricourt 1950: 563).

**juán₂** 撮 → juán₁ 鍾

**juán₁** 撮 (dzjwánB) LH dzyanB, OCM *dzon?
‘Fat’ (of bird meat) [Lushi].

* juán 耳 (tsjwánB) LH tshyanB, OCM *tsen?
‘Fat’ (of bird) [Chuci], later ‘fat and rich broth’.

[E] Perh. ST, a nominal n-suffix form related to WB ch’u ‘be fat, obese’ < PTB *tsow (STC no. 277). This stem may be related to → sāo 膩 ‘fat’.

**juán₂** 撮 (gjwánC 3) LH gyanC, OCM *gwans or *g(ions)
‘Tired’ [Lunyu].

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* gyen (去); *MGZY* kwyan (去) [gyen]

[E] Bodman (1980: 150; also *HST*: 151) compares the CH word to WT kyor-kyor ‘feeble, weak’ ≠ kʰyör-ba ~ kʰyör-ba ‘to reel, stagger, walk as if weak’. *CVST* (5: 17) connects the next word with Lushai kʰso-p ‘troublesome, tiresome, harsh’.

* guán 疲 (kuänB) LH kuonB, OCM *kwân? or *kôñ? ?
‘Be exhausted’ [Shi].

**jue₁** 決 (kiwet) LH kuet, OCM *kwêt
‘To cut off’ [Zuo], ‘bite off’ [Meng], ‘decide’ 決 [Guoce] > ‘farewell words’ 訣 [Lie].
This may be the same word as → jue₁ 決. An allomorph is → quế 缺.

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* kye (入); *MGZY* gwya (入) [kye]; ONW kuet

**jue₂** 決 (kiwet) LH kuet, OCM *kwêt
‘To open’ [Zhouli] > ‘open a passage’ [Shu]. This may be the same word as → jue₁ 決.

* guài 失 (kwaiC) LH kuas, OCM *kwâts (or rather *kwâts?)
‘To divide, make a breach’ [Yi].

[<] perh. a double caus. formation of jue (tone C §4.3; and initial r-causative §7.5)


**jue³-tí** 駛駛 (kiwet-diei) LH kuet-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 *ekuos) (Pokorny 301).
jué

1. 映 (kiwet [GY], yiwet [JY]) LH kuat, guet, OCM *kwēt, *gwēt
   ‘To wink with eyes’ [GY, Liùshūgù 六書故].
   [E] AA: Central Sakai gwet, giwet, Khasi kʰawoit ‘beckon with hand’. See → huì 鬥
   for possible variants; additional syn. → xùè 巷.

2. 胴 → mèi 胴

3. 厥 (kjwät) LH kyat, OCM *kot — [T] ONW kuat
   ‘Stone’ [Xun] acc. to commentaries; prob. related to Tai: S. kʰot² < g- ‘a stone lodged
   in a tree’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 236).

4. 厥 (kjwät) LH kyat, OCM *kot?
   Third person pronoun ‘he, she, it, they, his, her...’ [BI, Shi, Shu], occasionally it also
   serves as possessive for the first and second persons in classical Chinese (Takashima
   word to WT kʰyod ‘you’.

5. 厥 (kjwät) LH kyat, OCM *kwat or *kot — [D] PMin *qiot ‘bracken’
   ‘Fern’ (edible, Pteridium aquilinum) [Shi].
   [E] ST: WT skyas-ma, skyes-ma ‘fern’ (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992). It also occurs in
   PTai *kuat > *kuatD1 ‘kind of edible fern’ (Diplazium esculentum).

6. 撿闌 (gjwet) LH gyat, OCM *got
   ‘To excavate’ [Zuo] > ‘pull up, dig out’ 撿 [Yi Zhoushu].
   [E] ST: *r-kio-t (STC no. 420) > WT rkod-pa ‘excavate, dig’ ≠ rko-ba ‘to dig’ (HST:
   63); JP got³ ‘dig’. This item may be related to → kù 堆.

7. 清 10: yù 溯 → xuàn 法

8. 覚 (kák) LH kok, OCM *krūk
   ‘To wake up’ intr. [Shi], ‘get insight’ [Lunyu], ‘grateful’ [Zuo].
   [T] ONW kāk

9. 覗 (kuć) LH kōu, OCM *krūkh
   ‘To wake up’ intr. [Zuo: Cheng 10, 5] is supposedly the reading of this graph in the
   sense of ‘wake up’ intr. in Shījīng, Zuózhùan, and elsewhere, but the Shījīng rime
   requires OCM *k, not *kh (Baxter 1992: 611), which would agree with the intr. use.
   The tone C reading may therefore be a later innovation.
   [E] ST: PTB *grok ~ krokk (STC no. 473): WT dkrog-pa = skrog-pa ‘to stir, churn, rouse,
   scare’; PLB *krokk ‘be afraid’ > WB krok ≠ PLB *krokk > WB kʰrok ‘frighten’. But these
   TB items may belong to → jīào 候 instead. HST: 127 combines the latter with this wf.
   [C] Possible additional allofam: → lù 墟.

10. 攬 (kjwak) LH kyak, OCM *kwaκ
    ‘To seize’ [Li], may be related to → huò 耕, or alternatively to → jù 懦 according to OC *kah
    although the rimes do not agree.

11. 懦 → jù 懦

12. 驃 → jiăo 搵

13. 驃 → jiăo 搵

14. 驃 → jiăo 搵

15. 驃 → jiăo 搵

16. 搵 → jiăo 搵

17. 搵 → jiăo 搵

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jué – jūn

jūn₁ 均 (kjuen 4) LH kwin, OCM *kwin
‘Be well balanced, equal, alike’ [Shi] > ‘weight of 30 jin’ 釘 [BI, Meng], ‘soldiers’ uniform’ [Lü].

[k] k-prefix noun of → yún, 均 *win ‘even, uniform’ (§5.4) (Baxter / Sagart 1998: 47).


jūn₂ 鈞 (kjuen 4) LH kwin, OCM *kwin
‘Potter’s wheel’ [Zhuang].

[k] k-prefix noun of xún 句 *s-win ‘all round, cycle’, lit. ‘the rotating thing’ (§5.4).

xún 句 (zjuen) LH zuin, OCM *s-wins
‘Everywhere, all round’ [Shi] > ‘ten day cycle, ten (days)’ [OB, Shu], e.g. xún yǒu wǔ rì 句有五日 (ten / and / five / days) ...(after) 15 days...’ [Zuo: Wen 16, 6].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zyn (平); MGZY zyun (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 ṣhù ‘return’ > ‘year’ (Matisoff D. of Lahu: 310). For synonyms, see under ~ 木.

xún 衛 (zjuenC) LH zuinc, OCM *s-wins
‘Go everywhere, publish throughout’ 衛 [Zuo]; ‘devote oneself, wholly given up to’ 衛 [Zhuang] > ‘accompany in death’ 衛 [Zuo], 衛 [QY].

[ST] *wir (→ yûn, 烏) 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 Lóng­shān culture origin of the pottery wheel in eastern China (AA?). AA-Khmer /wil/ ‘to turn, revolve, rotate’ ※/kravil/ ‘ring, circle, loop’ ※ kravêla /krawaeêl/ ‘to revolve, go around, go to and fro, roam, patrol, explore’ ※ chvêla /cwaaêl/ ‘to turn, spin, go back and forth, come and go’; Santali gerwel ‘ring’. This root **wil is prob. connected with → wèi, 國 *wel.

Jūn may possibly be the same word as → jūn₁ 均鈞 ‘well balanced’. For an overview of synonyms, see under → huí 回.

jūn₃ 君 (kjuen) LH kun, OCM *kun
‘Ruler, lord, lady’ [BI, Shi] > ‘treat someone like a lord’ tr., ‘function as ruler’ intr. [Shi]; jūn-zǐ 君子 ‘son of a ruler, gentleman’ (A. Waley).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kyn (平); MGZY gyun (平) [kyn]; ONW kun
[ET] Etyymology not certain. Perh. related to MK: Mon kmin, kmun/kmøn/ ‘to exercise royal power, be king, reign’. Mei Tsu-Lin suggest an alternative etymology, see → yuán 元. Baxter / Sagart (1998: 47) suggest that jūn is a derivation by k-prefix from → yún 元 LH win⁸ ‘straight, administer’, but the rimes do not agree.

jūn₄ 軍 (kjuen) LH kun, OCM *kun — [T] ONW kun
‘Troops, army’ [Shi] > ‘encampment’ [Zuo].

[ET] Etyymology not clear. Perh. ST: WT g-yul ‘army, battle’ (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986, 30); since jūn is in a *w-initial phonetic series, k- may be the nominalizing prefix (§5.4), note also the prefix g- in WT g-yul; regarding WT y- for CH and foreign *w-, see §12.9. Alternatively, jūn could be a derivation from → yún 運 ‘be on the move’; or be related to → qún 羣.
`jùn`

**jùn₁** 郡 (gjuən) **LH** gun, **OCM** *gun
‘District’ [Zuo].

[En] Perh. ST: WT kʰul ‘district, province’ (Gong 1995).

**jùn₂** 魏 → qūn 魏

**jùn₃** 瀟浚 (sjuen³) **LH** suin⁴, **OCM** *suns
‘Be deep’ > ‘profound, wise’ 浚 [Shi] > caus. ‘to deepen’ 浚 [Shu] > ‘to ladle out’ [Zuo],
‘dig out’ 浚 [Meng]. Etymology not clear.
kā 喀 → kè 喀
kā 喀 → kè 喀

kǎi 開闢 (kʰǎi) LH kʰəi, OCM *khəi
‘To open the way, open access to, set free’ [Shi, Shu], 開 (also read MC kʰǎiblems) [Guan], replaced → qi1 敞 ‘to open’ because this was the Hàn emperor Jīng’s personal name (157–150 BC). Kǎi could be a col. variant of qǐ 開 (§9.1.1).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’aj (平); MGZY khay (平) [k’aj]; ONW kʰəi.

[E] MY: Yao kʰai († *kh-) ‘to open’ tr. => gai1 (< *ŋk-) ‘to open’ instr.: ‘be happy, to blossom’; these are early Chinese loans acc. to Downer (1973: 14–16; Sagart 1999: 75). => Tai: S. kʰaiI ‘to open’.

[C] The MYwf implies that kǎi (kʰǎi) *khəi? ‘joyous, happy’ 豐 [Shi], ‘pleasant’ 凱 [Shi] is a cognate (< ‘opened up emotionally’).

kǎi 豐, 凱 → kǎi 開

kǎi1 敞 – kē1 咝戟
kǎi2 懊 → qi1 氣

kǎn1 砍 → kǎn2 砍

kǎn2 堪 (kʰən) LH kʰəm, OCM *khəm, OCB *khum
‘To endure, equal to’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’am (平), PR k’an; MGZY kham (平) [k’am]

[D] M-Xiamen kʰamA1


This word is prob. a ST level derivation from → hán1 含函 ‘have in the mouth’ as this notion is a common metaphor for emotions. The CH aspirated initial may indicate causative (§5.8.2).

kǎn3 堪 (kʰəm, kʰəm) LH kʰəm, OCM *khəm
‘Rocky’ [Zhuang].


kǎn4 戟 (kʰəm) LH kʰəm, OCM *khəm
‘To kill, execute’ 戟 [Shu].

[D] Mand. ‘to suppress’ (a rebellion); M-Xiamen kʰamA1 ‘id.’

[E] ST *kum with the core meaning ‘be above, be on, on top’: Lushai kʰum adv. ‘upon, on top of, inside, against, over...’, vb. ‘to put on, wear’ ≠ kʰum vb. ‘to surpass, excel, beat, over, beyond’; WT ‘gum-pa, bkum ‘to kill’ ≠ ‘gum-pa, gum ‘to die’ (STC: 175 n. 464).

This word is prob. not related to → kǎn1 砍 ‘chop’ (tree, wood). It is also distinct from the homophone – kǎn2 堪 ‘equal to’ as shown by the TB cognates. A relationship with → tǎn2 鏟 OCM *rhəm ‘kill’ is excluded because of the difference in initial consonants. CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5.
kăn \textsuperscript{5}, kăn 坎 (kʰ dialect) LH kʰ, OCM *khôms
‘To inspect, investigate’ [Yupian, GY].
[E] Perh. related to kăn 坎 (kʰ dialect) ‘to watch’ [Meng], both could be variants of jiān 監 *krâms (s) ‘to look at, inspect’ (under → jiān 監).

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & kʰ & grâm & krum & lum \\
\hline
OC & qín 坑 (kʰam\textsuperscript{B}, nám\textsuperscript{B}) *khôms\textsuperscript{?} & xián 障 & *grâms\textsuperscript{?} small pit (as a trap) & kán 坑 *khôms\textsuperscript{?} pit \hline
 & & & kán 坑 *khôms\textsuperscript{?} walled-in well & kán-tán 坑窪 *khôms\textsuperscript{?}-lâm\textsuperscript{?} ? trap pit \hline
TB & JP mǎ\textsuperscript{5}, kʰam\textsuperscript{5} pit & WB grám\textsuperscript{B} < grâm\textsuperscript{B} a trap & Ahom kʰüm\textsuperscript{A} a well & PTai *kʰum\textsuperscript{A} ditch, pit, walled-in well \hline
Tai & & & & Tai hum\textsuperscript{H} pitfall \hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

kăn \textsuperscript{1} 坎 ‘pit’ → kăn \textsuperscript{2} 坑

kăn \textsuperscript{2} 坑 ‘bank of fields’ → kăn \textsuperscript{3} 坑

kăn \textsuperscript{3} 坑 (kʰ dialect)
‘To sound kham-kham’, the sound of cutting wood’ 坑 [Shi]; ‘to chop’ (wood, a tree), ‘decapitate’ 坑 (ZWDCD 6:1275), a late word [e.g. Shuíhúzhuan].
[D] PMin *kʰam\textsuperscript{B} 坑 ‘to fell a tree, slash, chop’
cf. kăn \textsuperscript{1} 坑 (kʰ) LH kʰ on, OCM *khân
‘To cut down’ (a tree) [Shu].
[E] Words with the meaning ‘chop, hew, cut’ tend to have the sound-symbolic shape kʰ \textsuperscript{N}; aspiration is associated with forceful action (§5.8.5).
ST *kôm: TB-Chepang kʰamh- ‘fell tree’. This is possibly an area word, note MK-Khmer khîm ‘to split’. Prob. not related to → kăn \textsuperscript{4} 島 whose ST root is *kum.

kăn \textsuperscript{4} 島 → kăn \textsuperscript{5} 島

kăn \textsuperscript{5} 島 → kăn \textsuperscript{2} 坑

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kăn – kăo

kăn

kăn 1 (kăn, kăn) LH kăn, OCM *kăn
‘Look’ [Hanfei].

[kăn 2 (kăn, kăn) LH kăn, OCM *kăn
‘Cliff, bank, step’ [GY].

kăn 3 (kăn, kăn) LH kăn, OCM *kăn
‘Be at ease, have peace of mind, be prosperous, healthy’ [Shi].

kăng

kăng 1 (kăng) LH kăng, OCM *kăng
‘Be as ease, have peace of mind, be prosperous, healthy’ [Shi].

kăng 2 (kăng) LH kăng, OCM *kăng
‘Husk of grain’ [Zhuang].

kǎo

kǎo 1 (kǎo) LH kǎo, OCM *kǎo
‘Examine’

kǎo 2 (kǎo) LH kǎo, OCM *kǎo
‘Beat’
kào – kē

※ kào 搏 (kōu⁵) LH kōu⁵, OCM *khōu
‘Give food as recompense to soldiers’ (< ‘give dried provisions’?) [Zuo].
※ gāo 稞 (kāu³) LH kāu³, OCM *kāu³
‘Straw’ 稲 [Zuo]; ‘dry straw’ (in mats) 茅 [Xun].
[D] PMín *gō³ 'rice straw'.

kào 稲 → kāo³ 籀稿

kē₁ 柯 (kā) LH kāi, OCM *kāi — [T] ONW kā
‘Ax handle’ [Shi].
※ gē 稞 ‘Mooring post for a boat’.
※ kē 駝 (kā³) LH kāi, OCM *kāi — [T] ONW kā
‘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 → gān₁ 干 ‘stem, support’, but distinct from → gān₄ 竿 ‘pole’.

kē₂, kē, kē 駝 → kē₁ 柯

kē₃ 科 (kʰou³) LH kʰou³, OCM *khwāi < **k-wai ?
‘Class, degree’ [Lunyu]
[E] Perhaps a k-prefix noun derived from → hé₂ 和 ‘harmonious’ (§5.4), hence lit. ‘the things which harmonize’.

kē₄ 科 ‘cavity’ → wā₂ 窪

kē₁ 咳欚 (→) LH kʰāk
※ kāi 欚 (kʰāi³ [GY]) LH kʰāi³, OCM *khā(k)h
‘To cough’ 咳 [Li], 欚 [Zuo], Mand. ‘asthma and coughing’.

[E] These sound-symbolic items are derivable from an OC stem *khāk. CH aspiration is associated with forceful outward motion (§5.8.5).

Area word. Because OC *a and *ṣ both correspond to foreign /a/, it is impossible to sort out which CH form, 咳欚 or → kē₄ 喀, is the direct cognate of the foreign words: PTB *kak (STC no. 323) (or rather *khaš ?) > Mikir tšiŋ kʰak ‘cough up, phlegm’, Lushai kʰaakʰ ‘eject forcibly from the throat’ ※ kʰaak⁶ ‘phlegm’, WT kʰogs ‘cough’, WB hak ‘to hawk, raise phlegm’; Sgaw Karen kha? ‘phlegm’. <> Tai: S. kʰaak⁽D⁾ ‘to spit out’, Saek kʰaak⁶ ‘cough up phlegm’. In some lgs. like Karen and WB, the initial is analyzed as a cluster k + h-, as in AA (see under → kē₄ 喀).

kē₂ 欚 (kʰāk) LH kʰāk, OCM *khōrk
‘Shell’ [Hou Hanshu], ‘hollow’ [Lie], i.e. ‘husk’, ‘shell’ of egg, mussel, turtle.
[D] M-Xiàmén lit. kʰōk⁽D⁾, col. kʰōk⁽D⁾, Y-Guāngzhōu 33hók⁽D⁾. In some modern dialects kē is the second syllable in the word for ‘head’ → tóu₃ 頭.

[E] In sound and meaning, this item partially overlaps with → gū₁₂, zhuó 栩 *kôk ‘husk’. It makes the impression of being derived from → jiāo₃ 角 *krōk ‘horn’ by aspiration which characterizes hollow objects (§5.8.6).

kē₁ 可 → hē₁ 何荷

kē₂ 湊 (kʰāt) LH kʰat, OCM *khāt, OCB *khát
‘Be thirsty’ 湊 [Shi]; ‘thirst for’ 渴 [Guoyu]. Acc. to commentators, ‘to long for’ [Zuo] should be read in tone C LH kʰas (Downer 1959: 284).

[E] For related and similar items, see → gū₁ 固 (incl. Table G-1) and → jiān₂ 堅 (incl. Table J-1). <> Shared with PMY *nqhāt [Downer].
ke - keng

kè_1 克 (kèök) LH kèök, OCM *khôk, OCB *khôk
‘Be capable, predominate, conquer, vanquish, able, can, be willing’ [BI, 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 adduced here to show its semantic field which is paralleled in the wf → kàn 堪.

kè_2 刻 (kèök) LH kèök, OCM *khôk
‘To cut, injure’ [Shu], ‘engrave’ [Zuo] > ‘intense’ [Guoce]. CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5 as well as auxiliary verbs §5.8.4.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’øj (入); MGZY kʰiy (入) [k’øj]; ONW kèök

kè_3 客 (kèök) LH kèök, OCM *khràk, OCB *khra
‘Guest, visitor, stranger’ [Shi], ‘opponent, enemy’ [Sunzi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’oj (入), LR k’oj?; MGZY khyay (入) [k’oj]

kè_4 割 (kèök) LH kèök, OCM *khràk
‘To spit out, vomit’ [Lie]. Chinese aspiration is associated with forceful outward motion §5.8.5.
[D] Mand. kà 咳 ‘noise made in coughing or vomiting’ ≠ kà 咳 ‘cough up phlegm’, M-Amoy kʰak and kep ‘clear the throat’ ≠ kʰak ‘expectorate, bring up phlegm’.
[E] A variant of the onomatopoetic area word for ‘cough’ → kè 咳款 (see there for cognates). The MC form kʰak could have an irregular div. / vowel for an OC *a (not *-ra-), but considering PMV *krha:k (< *k-ha:k with r-infix) ‘to spit, spittle’ [Ferlus], it is prob. derived from OCM *khràk. In this case, kè must be a substrate survival from a MK language: PMonic *khäak ‘to kawk, clear the throat’ [Diffloth 1984: 171]; PSBahn. *hak ~ *hak ‘vomit’.
[C] Perh. this word is related to → luò 喊.

kè_5 恪 → hè_5 赫

kèn_1 肯 (kènök) LH kènök, OCM *khôn?
‘Be willing’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’ej (上), PR, LR k’on; MGZY khùnj (上) [k’on]
[D] PMin *kènök which is the analog to MC kènök and k’ienök ‘to spit, spittle’ [Ferlus], it is prob. derived from OCM *khôn. In this case, kèn must be a substrate survival from a MK language: PMonic *khôn ‘to kawk, clear the throat’ [Diffloth 1984: 171]; PSBahn. *hak ~ *hak ‘vomit’.
[E] Etymology not clear. Auxiliary verbs tend to have aspirated initials (§5.8.4).

kèn_2 慷狼 (kènök) LH kènök, OCM *khôn?
‘Sincere’ 狼 [Lush].

~ kùn 恆 (kùnök) LH kùnök, OCM *khôn?
‘Sincere’ [Chuci]. The original syllable was prob. OC / PCH *khwan? which would account for the loss of rounding in one word and merger with *-un in the other.

kèn_3 懦 (kènök) LH kènök, OCM *khôn?
‘To gnaw, nibble’ [Post-Han].

kèng_1 坑院 (kèngök) LH kèngök, OCM *khrán
‘A pit (hole)’ 陘 [Zhuang], 坑 [Chuci]. A syn. is → kàn 坑 坎. Aspiration is associated with the meaning ‘hollow, empty’ §5.8.6.
[D] Mand. ‘hole, pit; to entrap’; M-Xiâmén col. kʰèŋ ‘a ravine’. SW says that gěng 334
**kēng — kōng**

_kēng_ (kəŋ) is a dialect variant in the state of Qin, acc. to _Yúpiān gēng_ means ‘a small kēng’ (Wáng Li 1982: 281).

---

**kēng**2 (kʰəŋ, yəŋ) LH kʰəŋ, OCM *kʰəŋ

‘Shank bone of ox’ [SW].

× hēng, jīng 茎 (yəŋ) LH geŋ, OCM *gréŋ

‘Stalk’ [Chuci].

[E] ST: PTB *r-k(l)al) > WT _rkaI_ ‘marrow, leg bones, stalk’; WB _kʰraŋ-či < sкраŋ_ ‘marrow’ (chi ‘oil, lymph’) (_STC_ no. 126). These etyma _kēng_ and → _xing_3, jīng 茎 *gēŋ_ as well as → _tíng_3, dīng 銅 *léŋ_ tend to converge. For the a ~ e variation, see §11.1.3. See Table K-2 for an overview.

Table K-2 for _kēng_2 竑 ‘leg, Shank, stalk, marrow’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lg.</th>
<th>*keŋ</th>
<th>*kraŋ ~ *kŋ</th>
<th>*kleŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>xīng, jīng 茎 *gēŋ_ Shank bone</td>
<td>hēng 蓼 *grey_ stalk</td>
<td>tíng 薮 *lén_ stalk, stem, bamboo rod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>rkaŋ ‘marrow, thighbones’</td>
<td>kʰraŋ-či ‘marrow’</td>
<td>gōŋ-bu flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*kleŋ ‘marrow, brain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*tliŋ ~ *hilŋ‘ flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-WB</td>
<td>kʰraŋ-či ‘marrow’</td>
<td></td>
<td>kyaŋ tube</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>kŋ ‘foot, leg</td>
<td></td>
<td>arkleŋ &lt; r-kleŋ ‘marrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*tliŋR &lt; tliŋ ‘marrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**kōng** 空 (kʰuŋ) LH kʰoŋ, OCM *kʰoŋ, OCB *kʰoŋ

‘Be hollow, empty’ [Shi].

[T] _Sin Sukchu_ SR kʰuŋ (平); MGZY _khun_ (平) [kʰuŋ]; ONW kʰoŋ

[D] M-Amoy kʰuŋ ‘hollow, empty, a hole’.

× kōng 空 (kʰuŋC) LH kʰoŋC, OCM *kʰoŋ

‘To exhaust’ [Shi].

[<] Exoactive / caus. of _kōng_ (§5.8.2).

× kōng 孔 (kʰuŋB) LH kʰoŋB, OCM *kʰoŋ

‘Empty’ _kǔ_ [Lao]; ‘hole’ _kǔ_ [Zhouli].

[<] Prob. endoactive of _kōng_, ‘hole’, lit. ‘that which is hollow, empty’ (§4.5).

[E] ST: WT kʰuŋ ‘hole, pit, cavity; hollow’; WB kʰoŋB (_HST_: 71) ‘be hollow’; WB id. ‘trough, canoe’ either is the same word or has merged with ‘empty’ (→ _guān_, 棺 ‘coffin’). CH aspiration is associated with the meaning ‘hollow, empty’ §5.8.6.

[C] A derivation is perh. → _qìǎng_ 孔 ‘hollow wooden instrument’, see there for possible MK connections. → _qí_ 'vault, hole’ is prob. unrelated.

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**kōng**1 孔 → kōng 空

**kōng**2 孔 (kʰuŋB) LH kʰoŋB, OCM *kʰoŋ?

‘Be afraid, fear’ [BI, Shi].

[T] _Sin Sukchu_ SR kʰuŋ (上), _PR_, _LR_ kʰuŋ; MGZY _khung_ (上) [kʰuŋ]; ONW kʰuŋ

[E] ST: WT _gōŋ(s)-pa, bkoŋ_ ‘to despond, be in fear’ (_HST_: 64).

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kōu -  kū


kōu 拽 (khōu, khjū) LH kʰo, kʰo, OCM *kho
‘To pull up’ (a dress) [Li].

gui 撾 (kjwaiC) LH kyas, OCM *kots
‘To lift’ (a dress) [Li].

[E] Perh. related to PTB *ku > WB kʰuŋ ‘take out or up and put in dish, gather’; Yakha kʰu ‘lift up, raise’; Bahing ku-to ‘bring up’ (HST: 103). Syn. under → jiē.

kōu □ (kʰoB) LH kʰoB, OCM *kho?, OCB *kh(ǝ)ʔ?
‘Mouth, opening’ [OB, Shi]. Aspiration is associated with the meaning ‘hollow, empty’ §5.8.6.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR kʰw (曹); MGZY kʰiaw (曹) [kʰǝw]; ONW kʰou.

[E] ST: JP kʰu33 ‘hole, hollow’; perh. Lushai kuaL (koL) < kuaʔ/h ‘a hollow, cavity’ ≠ kuaʔ / kuakP ‘to open up’ (a path). The word has been connected with PTB *ka ‘mouth, opening’ (STC no. 470) whose direct Chinese cognate is → hū, ‘door’, however.

kōu1 扣叩 (kʰoB/C) LH kʰoB/C, OCM *khoʔ/h
‘To strike, attack’ [Lunyu].

≠ kōu 釘敏 (kʰoB) LH kʰoB, OCM *kho?
‘To beat’ [Zhouli], ‘beat on some metal object, make noise’ 釘 [Guoyu].

≠ kūn 撽 (kʰuǎnB) LH kʰuǎnB, OCM *khūn?
‘To beat, pound’ [Meng].

[E] Prob. area word. ST: WB kʰok < kʰuk ‘knock, rap’ (HST: 142). <> MK: Khmer goh/kōʔ/ ‘to strike, hit, beat, knock’ (also used in sense of striking a gong). CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5.

[C] Perh. cognate to → kōu2 叛 ‘rob’. Wang Li 1982: 185 adds to this wf: kāo 考 (kʰaB) ‘to beat’ (instrument) [Shi], et al.

kōu2 叛 (kʰoB/C) LH kʰoB/C, OCM *kho?
‘To rob, robber’ [Shi], ‘invader, bandit’ [Zuo]. This is perh. cognate to → kōu1 扣叩.


kōu3 糉 ‘nestling’ → gū14 糉

kū₁ 枯 (kʰuo) LH kʰa, OCM *kah
‘Withered, dried’ [Yi, Li].

[E] PMK: Khmer /kãʔ/ ‘to dry up or out, dry until hard, wither’.

≠ jū 捌 (kjw) LH kʰo, OCM *ka
‘Dried meat of birds’ [Li].

[E] For related and similar items, see → gū₁ 固 (incl. Table G-1) and → jiē₂ 廼 (incl. Table J-1).

kū₂ 劫 (kʰuo) LH kʰuo, OCM *khwā
‘Cut open, cut to pieces’ [Yi]. CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5.

≠ huá 拆 (ywa) LH yua, OCM *wrā? — [T] ONW yūā ‘To cleave’ [Li].
kū – kuà

kū₁ 哭 (kʰuk) LH kʰok, OCM *khôk
‘To lament, weep’ [Zuo].

kū₄ 埋 (kʰuat) LH kʰuat, OCM *khût
‘Dig in the ground, underground’ 埋 [Zuo]; ‘cave, hole’ 窟 [Zuo]. On aspiration of words with the meaning ‘hollow, empty’, see §5.8.6.
[E] Shared with Tai: S. kʰut, Saek kʰut < kʰut ‘to dig’.

kū₂ 踪 (gjvat) LH gut, OCM *gût
‘To dig out’ [Guoyu].

kū₃ 埋 (kʰuat) LH kʰuat, OCM *khût
‘Anus, buttocks’ [Han: Yáng Xióng].
[E] ST: WT rkub ‘buttocks’, WB laŋ-kup. CH *t may be the result of labial dissimilation. (MK-Khmer kʰut n. ‘bottom, behind’ (anat.) is a Skt. loan and unrelated).

kū₅ 踪 (kʰuat) LH kʰuat, OCM *khût
‘Arsenal, magazine’ [Meng, Zuol is cognate to > cheo :$ ‘carriage’ acc. to Karlgren (1956: 14) ‘storehouse for carriages’].

kù 甘 (kʰuoB) LH kʰo, OCM *khaʔ, OCB *khaʔ
‘Be bitter’ > ‘distress, hardship’ (of labor) [Shi], (of illness) [Zhuang].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’u (上); MGZY khu (上) [k’u]; ONW kʰo
[D] PMin *khoB

kù₂ 踪 (kʰuoC) LH kʰoC, OCM *khâh
‘Be difficult, hardship’ [GY].
[C] → gân₅ 肝 may be a derivation. Boltz (OE 35, 1992: 36ff) relates kù to → gên₁ 古 ‘old’.

kù₁ 城 (kʰuoC) LH kʰoC, OCM *khâh
‘Arsenal, magazine’ [Meng, Zuol is cognate to → chê₀ 車 ‘carriage’ acc. to Karlgren (1956: 14) (< ‘storehouse for carriages’).

kù₂ 甘 → kù 甘

kuà 甘 → kuà 踱

kuā₁ 畏 → huà 花

kuā₂ 畏 (kʰwa) LH kʰua, OCM *khwrâ
‘To be boastful’ [Shi].

kuà 踱 (kʰwaC) LH kʰuaC, OCM *khwrâh
‘To step over, pass over’ [Zuo]. Wang Li (1982: 107) relates kuà to → kuə 蹣.

kuà 甘 (kʰuoC) LH kʰuoC, OCM *khwaâ
‘Trousers’ [Mo, Li].
kuài – kuāng


There might have been a ST *wa(r) ~ *wai variation, see → kuì because both OC and WB have these doublets. For the OC medial *r in kuà, see §7.7.3.

kuài1 快 (kʰwaï) LH kʰuai̯, OCM *kʰwre̞ts
‘Cheerful, happy’ [Meng], ‘satisfied’ [Zuo]. — Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin S. SR k’waj (去过); MGZY khway (去过) [k’waj]; ONW kʰuei

kuài2-zi 筷子 ‘chopsticks’, → zhù14 筷

kuài3 滂 → jū5 柜

kuài4 基 (kʰuáiC, kʰuai̯C) LH kʰuai̯ or kʰuai?, OCM *kʰruih ?
‘Clod’ [Zuo], ‘lump’ [Zhuang]. — Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin S. SR k’waj, k’uj (去过), LR k’waj; MGZY khue (去过) [k’ue]

kuān 幺 (kʰuan) LH kʰuant, OCM *kʰwant or *khōn, OCB *kʰhan
‘Be vast, large-minded, generous’ [Shi] > ‘relieve, enjoy ease’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR k’hon (平); MGZY khon (平) [kʰon]

[E] Perh. cognate to WT kʰyon ‘size, extension, width...’ if we assume that a root initial *w was treated in WT like an absolute initial (w- / y-).

≈ kuō 宫 (kʰuôt) LH kʰuat, OCM *khôt, OCB *khōt
‘Be far apart’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR k’wo (入); MGZY khwo (入) [k’wo]

≈ qiē-kuō 契闕 (kʰiat-kʰuát) LH kʰet-kʰuat, OCM *khêt-khōt
‘Be far apart’ (of persons in life and death) [Shi].

[E] CH aspiration is associated with the meaning ‘hollow, empty’ §5.8.6.

[C] Baxter / Sagart (1998: 60) relate this wf to → guāng2 廣 ‘wide’, perh. ultimately related to the root *wa under → kuāng1 慁.

kuān 窝 (kʰuanB) LH kʰuonB, OCM *khōn? or *khōn?
‘Hole’ (as an opening in the flesh, between organs of a carcass) [Zhuang], ‘to hollow out’ (a piece of wood to make a box) [Hanshu]. Aspiration is associated with the meaning ‘hollow, empty’ §5.6.6.

[E] ST: PTB *kwar ‘hole’ (STC no. 350) > Lushai kʰurH ‘a hole, pit, cavity’ ≈ kʰuarH id., Tangkhul Naga kʰur ‘hole’. This is cognate to → guān3 質 ‘pierce’.

kuāng1 匾 ‘crooked’ → yū1 氏 纈

kuāng2 慠 → jū5 摈

kuāng3 窠 → qú4, jù 顯

kuāng4 窪 (kʰjwan) LH kʰyəŋ, OCM *khwaŋ, OCB *kʰjaŋ
‘Square basket’ > vb. ‘put into a square basket’ [Shi]; ‘get boxed in’ (in a military maneuver) [B]; kuāng-chuāng 窪床 ‘bed’ (which is rectangular) [Zhuang] (chuāng ‘bed’). From the Yijīng 54 line 女承筐無實 nǚ chéng kuāng wú shí ‘the woman holds a basket, it has no fruit’ (implying she is barren) derives the euphemism chéng-kuāng ‘vagina’ (Shaughnessy JAS 51.3, 1992: 591); this is perh. also the connotation in Shījīng 161.1.

[E] A final -ŋ derivation from the stem under → jū3 矩 ‘square’ (§6.5.2).

Alternatively, Baxter / Sagart (1998: 48) derive this word with k-prefix (§5.4) from → fāng1 方 ‘square’. If true, loss of a post-initial consonant could explain the aspiration.
kuáng 狂 (gjwaj) LH gyan, OCM *gwan, OCB *g’jaŋ
‘Be foolish, crazy’ [Shi]. The graph was apparently designed for ‘mad dog disease, rabies’. — The etymology is not clear; possibly connected with → jiông 慢.

kuàng1 慢 (xjwajC) LH hyan, OCM *hwan
‘To increase, increasingly, how much the more, moreover’ [Shi].

kuàng2 增 [Shi] 狂 [jiong 3]

kui 封 (k’iwei) LH k’ue, OCM *khwe
‘To stab, slaughter’ [Yi].

kuì1 嵌 [ku’i] LH k’ui, OCM *khru? / -ai? ?
‘Isolated, alone’ as a lone peak [Zhuang].


kuì3 嵵 (gjwji 3) LH gui, OCM *grui or *gwrə?

kui 垒 → kuì 墱

kui2 頰 (gjwji 3) LH gui, OCM *gwar, OCB *g’rju — [T] ONW gui
‘Cheekbone, bones of the face’ 頰 [Yi], 顱 [Zheng Xuan: Yi].

kui3 獸 (gjwji 3) LH gui, OCM *grui or *gwrə?

kui 獸 (jwji 3) LH gui, OCM *grui or *gwrə?

kui3 獸 (gjwji 3) LH gui, OCM *grui or *gwrə?

wei 鬋 (jwji 3) LH gui
‘Wild buffalo’ [Erya, Yupian]. This is not a pre-Han word.

This is ultimately the same etymon as kui, but the source might have been a TB language: PTB *lwaiy ‘buffalo’, JP ʔu33-loi33, ʔa33-loi33 (ʔa33 ‘bovine’), WB kywai < klway (STC no. 208; Matisoff 1974 no. 262).
kuř — kùn

kuř 骨 (khui⁵)b LH k⁵ye⁵, OCM *khwe?
‘A stride, distance covered by lifting one leg’ (as opposed to → bû⁴ 步 ‘stride of two legs’) [Li].

※ kuř 奎 (khui⁵)b LH k⁵we, OCM *khwê
‘Crotch of a man’s leg’ [Zhuang] (Karlgren 1956: 16).

[È] ST: WB kwai² ‘be divided, split, parted’ ※ k⁵wai³ ‘divide, split’, JP gai³⁴-gai³⁴ ‘walk with legs spread wide’. There might have been a *-wa ~ *-wai variation already on the ST level (see → kuà 跨) because both OC and WB have these doublets.

[C] This etymon may be related to → qīng 倩 ‘slanting’, both are connected at least in the minds of those writers who borrowed 倩 for kuř [Liji]. Wáng Li (1982: 107) relates → kuà 跨 (k⁵ua³) ‘to step over, pass over’ to this word family.

kù1 匯 (gjui⁵ 3) LH gwí⁵s, OCM *grus ?, OCB *grjuts
‘A box, coffer’ [Shu]. Perhaps related to
※ guř 配 (kjui⁵ 3) LH kwí³B, OCM *kwâ?
‘Box, chest’ [Shu].

kù2 匱 (gjui⁵ 3) LH gwí⁵s (匯) or guí³ (配) ?, OCM *gruih
‘Food’ 餜 [Shi], ‘to eat’ [Huainanji] > caus. ‘to present food’ 匱餜 [Meng].

[È] This word looks like a cognate of → yí² 旖 (jwi³ 4) ‘hand down, present’. However, one would expect a MC div. 4 final, not the div. 3 final which is confirmed by Mand. kùi (we would expect Mand. ji or qi 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.

kùn₁ 匱 (kuàn) LH kuàn, OCM *küń, OCB *kùn — [T] ONW kon
‘Elder brother’ [Shi].

[È] Etymology is not clear. STC: 158 n. 428 relates kùn to the same PTB root *kow ‘maternal uncle’ to which belongs → jiù² 舅. Alternatively, note MK-MMon ko² / ko/ ‘elder brother’, CH could have added the nominal -n (§6.4.3).

kùn₂ 匱 (kuàn) LH kuàn, OCM *küń
‘ Sons and grandsons, descendants’ [EY, Chuci, Shiming].

[È] Perh. from the AA word for ‘child’: Mon kon ‘child’, PSBahn. kxn, PNTHL. *kon ‘child’, Khmer dial. kûn/kóon/. The Southern word → jiàn² 㝠 is prob. a loan from PVM *kxn.

kùn₃ 匱 ‘numerous’ → qùn₀ 群

kùn₁ 悃 a variant of → kën₂ 懇懇

kùn₂ 懇 → kùn₁ 困

kùn₃ 懇 → kên₁ 扣叩

kùn₄ 懇 → gûn₁ 撜

kùn₁ 困 (kuàn³) LH kuàn³, OCM *kûns — [T] ONW k³on
‘To obstruct’ [Yi].

※ kûn 慄 (kuàn³) LH kuàn³, OCM *kûns?
‘Threshold’ [Li].

[<] Kûn could be an endoactive derivation from kùn, lit. ‘the thing that obstructs’ (§4.5.1); or conversely, kùn could be an exoactive derivation from kùn, lit. ‘to serve as an obstruction’ (§4.3.2).
kùn – kuò

kùn₂ 困盹 → hùn₁ 混渾

kuō 擴 → guāng₂ 廣

kuō₁ 括 (kuát) LH kuat, OCM *kwât or *kôt, OCB *gʷat
‘Bring together’ [Shi], ‘to tie, bind’ [Yi].
[E] ST: Lushai kua²L < kuas ‘put arm(s) around’ (tree, neck, waist, etc.). CH -t occasionally corresponds to TB final -s, see §3.4.

※ huó 估 (yuât, kuát) LH guat, kuat, OCM *gwât, *kwât or *gôt, *kôt
‘To unite, join’ [Shi] (i.e. two people coming together).

[<] endopass. of kuô above (§4.6).

[C] Allofam → huì₁ 會.

kuō₂ 括 → jū́₃矩

kuō₃ 闊 → kuān 宽

kuō₄ 麤 (kʰwâk) LH kʰuak, OCM *khwâk
‘Leather’ [Shi].

※ guó 郭 (kwâk) LH kuak, OCM *kwâk — [T] ONW kuak
‘Outer wall of city’ [Zuo] is perhaps related to kuò.

[E] ST: PTB *(r-)kwâk (STC: 74): Jiarong werkbwâk ‘its skin’; Chaurasya kwak-te ~ kok-te ‘skin’ (HST: 134); WT ko-ba ‘a hide, skin’. → gǔ₁₂, zhúó 糊 *kûk ‘husk’ is a somewhat similar word. See also HPTB: 379.
lá 1 刺 (lāt) LH lat, OCM *rāt
‘To cut, hurt’ [SW].
[E] ST: PTB *(g-)rat ≠ *(g-)rya-t > WT dra-ba ‘cut, clip, lop, dress, prune, pare’,

lá 2 辣 (lāt) — [D] Mīn: Amoy loāh [loaOT], lit. loāt ‘pungent’.
‘Hot, spicy’, a late word which seems to have a Tai counterpart: Saek that < d- ‘peppers, spicy, hot’, Poai šaat D2L < j-, ‘hot, peppery’, Dīo (Yay) šatl (< *b-lat1) [Maspero 1912: 87].

lá 3 鞍 (lāp) LH lap, OCM *rāp — [T] Sin Sukchu SR la (入); ONW lap
‘Year-end sacrifice’ to the spirits of the dead and the household, performed in the 12th (last) month’ [BL; Zuo, year 655 BC] (Bodde 1975: 49).
[E] Zhèng Xuān comments that “là is a designation for the sacrifice made of animals which have been caught in a hunt liè 獠 (lap)” [Shi] (Bodde ibid. 57), thus considering là and liè cognates. Boltz (JAOS 99, 1979: 429) relates là to a much later word written with the same phonetic ‘to cut off, terminate’ (i.e. a year) [GY].

There is a ST alternative. The wə → yè, 菜 *lap encompasses the meanings ‘leaf > foliage > year > generation’. The present root *rāp ‘new year / change of year’ seems to be a parallel etymon which also has a WT cognate rabs ‘generation’, Mirī rap, Rawang rap ‘family’ [Bodman 1980: 86].

lá 4 蠍 (lāp)
‘Wax, candle’ [GY].

lái 1 來 (läi) LH la, OCM *rāk/? > *rā, OCB *C-rə(k)
‘To come’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR laj (入), LR laj; MGZY lay (平) [laj]; ONW lai
[N] Rimes in the oldest parts of Shìjīng (Dàyā and Xiāoyā) indicate a final *-k or *-ʔ for this word, but in the later Guófēng sections the rimes indicate an open syllable (Baxter 1992: 337).

* lái 賽 (lāiC) LH la C, OCM *rā(k)h
(‘Let come’): ‘to present, reward’ [Shi] (Baxter 1992: 338); ‘stimulate’ [SW].
[<] exoactive of lái 來 *ra (§4.3).

* lái 落 (lāiC) LH lās, OCM *ra(t)s
‘To arrive’ [Shi].
[<] lái 來 with final t or s (§6.3).
lái – lán

* Perh. li 戮 (liēC) LH les, OCM *rē(t)s
  ‘To arrive, reach, settle’ [BI, Shi], a Han period Chū dialect word [FY 1.13].

lái2 來 ‘wheat’ → màì4 麦

lái3 鱗 (làiC) LH lē > ləi

lài1 瀨 (làiC) LH ləs, OCM *ró(t)s
  ‘Rapids, swift current’ [Chuci; Shiji].
  [D] All text occurrences of this word relate to southern China and specifically the Mín area (ancient Đông Yue 東越).
  It is an ancient Wú-Yuè dialect word acc. to Chén Zàn’s commentary on Hánshū, it is still used in Mín dialects: PMin *ləiC > Fúzhōu ləiCl, Jiàn’ōu səč2 (Norman 1983: 207).

lái2 潞 → lái1 來

lán1 潞 (lām) ‘To drink’ [GY, JY] is a Tang period and modern southern dialect word:
  M-Amoy lit. lamA2 ‘to drink’. This is prob. the same etymon as → lín6 □ ‘drink’.

lán2 潞 ‘kill’ → tān2 贊

lán3 婦濞 ‘covet’ → tān1 贊

lán4 岑 (lán) ONW ləm
  ‘Baleful wind, wind from the mountains’ was transcribing an Indic syllable in the word vairambha, veramba ‘hostile wind’ (Hé Yānnán, ZGYW 1999.4: 317), or a Turkic word (Chén Xiālán ZGYW 1999.4: 319); the 風 ‘wind’ element was selected for semantic reasons and is not necessarily the phonetic element.

lán5 藉 (lām) LH ləm, OCM *g-rām, OCB *g-ram — [T] ONW ləm
  ‘Indigo’ [Shi].
  [E] Area word whose source may have been SE Asia: PAN *təyəm ‘indigo’ (Benedict AT: 112; STC: 155 n. 420, 421); PTai *gramA2 ‘indigo’ (Li F. 1976: 45) would be a backloan from OC (Egerod CAAAL 6, 1976: 56). WT rams ‘indigo’ is a CH loan (Laufer TP 17, 1916: 503). This word occurs also in other TB languages, note Mru chəram ‘indigo’ (Löffler 1966: 140). Alternatively, Xie Caide (YWYJ 1999.10: 124) suggests that WT ram(-pa) ‘quick grass’ may be cognate to CH.

lán6 藉 (lām) LH ləm, OCM *g-rām, OCB *g-rəm
  ‘Basket’ [GY], the Northern Mín initial s- as in Jiàn’ōu saxC1 may be due to loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 99).

lán7 藉 (lān) LH lən, OCM *g-rān, OCB *g-ran — [T] ONW lən
  ‘Chinese thoroughwort’ (Eupatorium chinense) or other plants [Shi] which had sexual significance [Züo] and was used for perfuming bath water [Chuci] (Bodde 1975: 275; Eberhard 1968: 136); Mand. lān-huā 蘭花.

* jiān 藉 (kan) LH kan, OCM *krən
  ‘Orchid’ [Shi 95.1], a variant of the above, if not a copying error for it (Baxter 1992:
lán - làng

363); the same or a similar graph (written with the phonetic 閒 or 閣) also writes a variant of → lián 遨 ‘lotus seed’.

lán₈ 润 (lán) LH lɔn, OCM *g-rán
‘Big wave’ [Meng].
[E] Huang Jingui, Shen Xirong (YYWZX 1987.8: 45) suggest that → làng 浪 is a colloquial variant. This word is phonetically too distant from Tai to be related to S. 

lán₉ 閒 ‘barrier’ → xián₆ 翕

lán₁₀ 韻 → jiān₁₀ 鍬

lán₁ 慾 (lánB) — [T] ONW lanB — [D] PMin *dianB.
‘Lazy’ [GY] is perh. a late popular variant of → xián₃ 翕 ‘leisure’.

lán₂ 激 ‘join, unite’ → xián₃ 咸

lán₃ 覽 → jiān₁₅ 監鑑

lán₄ 攬 → lián₁ 攸

làn₁ 激 (lànC) LH lamC, OCM *g-râms
‘Overflow’ [Meng], Mand. also ‘flood’ > ‘go to excess’ [Shi] > ‘err’ [Zuo], ‘put something into water’ [Guoyu], ‘juicy’ [Li]; also 激 ‘excess, licentious’ [SW: Lunyu].

hàn 鑫 (yánC) LH gamC, OCM *grâms
‘Big bowl, basin’ [Zhouli].

hàn 鑫 (yánC) LH gamC, OCM *gâms?
‘Bathtub’ [Zhuang], probably an r-less variant of hàn 鑫 (yánC) above. This wf is perh. connected with → fún₃ 淋霖 and words under → chén₂ 沈.

làn₂ 鑫 → tân₁ 贍

láng₁ 郎 (láng) LH lanɭ, OCM *râŋ < *C-ran
‘Veranda or corridor’ (of a palace or mansion) [Hanfei] (later written 廊) > transferred to a person doing duty there, an official’s title [Zhânguó and esp. Qín-Hàn] > ‘young man’ (term of respect) > ‘husband’ (Yú Límín ZGYW 1999.6: 445).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR laŋ (平); MGZY lanɡ (平) [lan]; ONW lanŋ
[D] The Northern Min initial s- as in Jiânyâng sǎŋ² may be the trace of a pre-initial; the SW connects words with this phonetic with initial m- (Mei / Norman 1971: 99).
[E] PLB *lan² > WB lanŋB ‘husband’ (Matisoff 1995a: 51) may be a CH loan.

láng₂ 廊 → lâng₁ 郎

láng₃ 筠 (láng) LH lanɭ, OCM *râŋ < *C-ran
‘Bamboo shoot’ [Yi].
[E] Tai: Po’ai laŋA² > *nl/ran ‘bamboo shoot’ (HCT: 132) or < *râŋ (HCT: 142).

láng 朗 (lángB) LH lanɭB, OCM *râŋ? — [T] ONW lanŋ
‘Bright, brilliance’ [Shi].

láng 浪 (lángC) LH lanɭC
[T] Sin Sukchu SR laŋ (去); MGZY lanɡ (去) [lan]; ONW lanŋ
[N] The basic meaning is perh. ‘let go and disperse’. Through the Han period, làng
occurs in combination with other words: 謾浪 ‘ridicule’ [Shi, Karlgren transl.], 諾浪 ‘wave’ [Nan-Bai chao, GY] (Huáng Jǐnqí, Shèn Xīróng YYWX 1987.8: 44f). Huáng and Shèn suggest that làng is a colloquial variant of → lán 澜. Prob. not related to WT (dba-) kloŋ ‘wave’, see → róng 棍.

láo1 稱 (lāu) LH lou, OCM *rū
‘Calf’ [obsole] [OB only] > ‘domestic animal’ [Liji], ‘pen’ (for animals) [Shi]. [T] Sin Sukchu SR law (¼); MGZY law (½) [law]

láo2 勞 (lāu) LH lou, OCM *rāu
‘To toil, tire’ [Shì] > ‘merit’ [Zuo]. [E] ST: WT ru-ma ‘curdled milk’, JP ru ‘liquor’ (Bodman 1980: 93). KT items may be Han or post-Han loans: PTai *x:–: S. lāuC ‘liquor’, PKS *klaua3 ‘rice wine’. The KT forms do not belong to → jǐu 酒. It is not clear if and how zhōu 酒 (djouB), LH dūB, *drū ‘new spirits’ [Liji] 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 ί (lieiB) LH leǐ ‘new unclarified wine’ [BI, Shi] (for the lack of medial w in CH, see §10.2.1).

láo3 老 (lāuB) LH lāuB, OCM *rū — [T] ONW lāu
‘Be old, grow old’ [BI, Shi], the Northern Mián initial s- as in Jiàn’ōu seC2 may be due to loss of a pre-initial which might have been a velar considering the XS contact with kão 考 ‘old age’ (Mei / Norman 1971: 99). Old Sino-Viet. reu (Pān Wūyún 1987: 28).
[E] Etymology not certain. The meanings or vowels of the following TB comparanda are not close to OC: PTB *raw (STC no. 268) > WT ro ‘corpse’; Lep hryu ‘be dry, dead’ (of leaf); Lushai roH ‘be dry, dead’; WB ro ‘very old’ ≠ rwat ‘old, tough’.

lào 醪 (lāk) LH lák, OCM *rāk
Fermented thick liquid: ‘a kind of acid soy made of rice or millet’ [Li] (so GSR 766p); ‘fermented milk, yogurt, sour milk, kumiss’ [SW]. This is a loanword from a Central Asian language, note Mongol ayiray < *aya+rāy ‘fermented milk’ (Pulleyblank 1962: 250–253). This area word appears with the meaning ‘milk’ in Greek (tò gàla, gen. gàlaktos) and Latin (lac, lactis) (Karlgren Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1926). The fermented drink ‘arrack’ may be a different etymon, a loan from Arabic ‘araq ‘fermented juice’ (so Pulleyblank 1962: 250 contra Karlgren 1926).

lào1 療 (lāuC) LH lāuC is a Northeastern (Cháoxiān 朝鲜) dialect word of the Han period for ‘medicinal poison’, acc. to FY 3 and SW, and in modern Xiāng dialects the col. word for ‘to poison’ which may be related to → liào3 療 ‘to cure’. Sagart (1995: 210) considers this word to be cognate to → dú 毒 ‘poison’, but Starostin (JCL monograph 8, 1995: 345
Ie points out that lao is rather cognate to TB: Lushai ru 'the bark, root, leaves, etc. used for fish poisoning', JP ma-rau 'fishing by stupefying fish by poisonous vines', Burmese rau 'fish poison' etc. (Starostin’s notations).

I lure (lok) LH lak, OCM *rōk
‘Reins’ [Yili]. Perh. originally ‘lines’ and the s. w. as Ie 纏勒勒 ‘veins’ (under → lī4 理). <> Middle Viet mlqc > nhqc (only in certain expressions) (Maspero 1912: 78).

Ie fibrilliform ‘veins’ → lī4 理

Ie 樂 (lāk) LH lak, OCM *ráuk < *C-rauk
‘Joy’ [BI, Shi] is thought to be cognate to → yuè 樂 ‘music’.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR law (入), LR law?; MGZY law (入) [law]; ONW lok

lé1 雷 (lūāi) LH lūi, OCM *rūi
‘Thunder’ [Shi].
[D] Mand. Jiān lūei32; Y-Guāngzhōu lōy2; K-Méixiàn lūΗ [Hanyuci], PMin *(u)ai: Jiàn’ōu so3. The Northern Min initial s- may be due to loss of a pre-initial which might have been a velar considering modern Hénán, Hėběi, and Shānxī dialect forms like hū-lēi 呼雷, hūi-lēi 回雷; also, ‘thunder’ has been written as hūi 回 in some Han period texts (Mei / Norman 1971: 99).

lé2 累縊 (ljwi) LH lui, OCM *rui — [T] MTang lui, ONW lue
‘To bind’ [Meng], ‘wind around, be attached to’ 累 [Shi] > ‘string’ 累 [Zhuang]; ‘rope, bonds’ 縊 [Lunyu]. Pulleyblank (1972: 73) connects this word with → līŋ2 輸, among others. OC -> Tai: S. ṭσC2 ‘to bind together, string flowers’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 138).

lé3 樂 (ljwiB) LH luiB, OCM *rūi?
‘Creepers, lianas’ [Guan]; ‘a creeping plant’ 超 [Shi] (Karlgren 1956: 7).
[<] endoactive of léi 累縊 (ljwi), lit. ‘the thing which is winding round’ (§4.5.1).

lé4 累縊 (ljwiB) LH luiB, OCM *rui?
‘Digging stick’ (handled like a spade) [OB, Meng], originally a two-pronged fork-like spade which originated perh. in Tai cultures (W. Eberhard Lokalkulturen II: 224). This word looks similar to → lī6 市 ‘plow’. Syn. → sī5 耕.

lé1 磂 (luāiB) LH lūiB, OCM *rūi?
‘Pile of rocks’ 磌 [SW, JY]; ‘pile of rocks, big rock’ 磌 [SW, Wenhuan].

lé2 磌 (luāiB) LH lūiB, OCM *rūi?
‘Pile of rocks’ 磌 [SW, JY]; ‘pile of rocks, big rock’ 磌 [SW, Wenhuan].
lei - lǐ

lèi_1 涕 (ljwiC) LH luis, OCM *r(i)uts
‘Tears’ [Chuci].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR luī (<luī); MGZY lue (<luī) [lue]
[B] Lèi is a late OC word. For phonological reasons it can hardly be related to → qī_s
泣 *khrap ‘weep’. The closest TB comparandum might be WB re < *ri ‘water’, JP
mō3̃-ri55 ‘dew’, if we assume a ST *rwi (with regular loss of medial w).
Most likely, this is a t-suffix derivation (nouns for naturally occurring things
§6.2.1) of → līu_3 流 *liu ‘to flow’, hence lit. ‘the things that are flowing’. TB
cognates suggest a ST and PCH medial*j-; WT rgyun ‘the flow, current, stream’.

lèi_2 类 (ljwiC) LH luis, OCM *rus — [T] ONW lui
‘Class, category’ [Yi] > ‘resemble, similar, equal’ [Zuo] > ‘be up to standards, be good’
[Shi].
[E] ST: WT rus ‘clan, lineage’ (also ‘bone’), Tamang 3rui ‘clan’, WB ruiB ‘lineage’
(also ‘bone’). Perh. related to → huí 彦.

lèi_3 醴 (luáiC) LH luas, OCM *g-rots
‘To make a libation’ [SW, Hanshu].
[F] Tai: S. kruatDi ‘to make a libation’ ≅ S. rotD2 ‘to sprinkle (water) as a blessing; to
water (plants)’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 140f).

lèi_4 累缧 (luáiC, ljwi) LH luuiC, OCM *rūi
‘Exhausted, tired’ 倔 [Lao], later 累.
[<] exopass. of lēi 倔 (luáiB) (§4.4)
≈ lèi 倔 (luáiB) LH luisB, OCM *rūi?
‘Damage, exhaust’ [Huainan].
ɾis ‘be weak, worn out, fade, diminish’. Alternatively the etymon could belong to the WT
wf rul-ba ‘to rot’ ≅ hrul ‘crumble’ ≅ srul-ba ‘be corrupted’, but the
meanings are not as close to CH as the Khmer / Lushai ones.

lěng 冷 (liénB, liénB) LH lenB, OCM *rén? — [D] Yüe len2 ‘cold’
‘Cold’ [Zhuang] is a vocalic variant of → liáng 晃 (§11.1.3).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR lān (上), PR, LR lān; MGZY lǎng (上) [lān]
(Yay) šeīn<(< *b-šeīn) ‘cold’ [Maspero 1912: 87].

Iī_1 狸 → Iī_3 狸

Iī_2 梧 → jī_6 笈

Iī_3 狸 (ljī) LH liā, OCM (*phʰro ~ *phʰ-ro >) *rē ? — [T] ONW liā
Mand. ‘raccoon dog’, also the second syllable in Mand. hūlī 狸 ‘fox’, the latter
already in Zuózhān and Mèngzī. But in Shājīng, 狸 refers to two different animals
where the ‘cat’ radical in lī as well as the association with → pī_s 獺 (bī 4) ‘leopard’
imply a ‘wild cat’ of approximately fox size.
[D] Acc. to FY 8.2, lī is a dialect word for the region west of the Passes (Wēi valley
and around Xiān), whereas other regions have the following forms (discussed by
Sagart ICSTLL 1990: 7): lǎi 獃 (lǎi) LH lā in Chén (modern Hénán) and Chū
(modern Hūběi) and between the Yangtze and Huá rivers; pǐ 斵 (pǐjī 3) LH pʰiā,
*pʰro in northern Yān (Hēběi, Liāoúníng) and in northern Korea; pī-jī 斾 (pǐjī
3-ljī) south of the Yangtze at Guō Pǔ’s time (d. 324 AD). Zhāo Zhēnfēng and Huáng
Fēng suggest a connection with Miao ple, plǐ ‘cat’ (YWYJ 1998.10: 76–79). FY and

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Guō Pǔ consider all these to be dialect words for → pī, which is, however, a different word. The Northern Mīn initial s-in as in Jiān’ōu se may be due to loss of a pre-initial labial (Mei / Norman 1971: 99).

If Perh. ST: Mru pri ‘kind of leopard’ (Löffler 1966: 147). If WT ści-mi ‘cat’ (also ści-bu ~ ści-bu) should derive from a hypothetical *ryi-mi, it could be cognate to ści. WT bi-ści (< -ści?) ‘cat’ may then even be the equivalent of the CH dialectal pī-initial forms. In this case, the original CH word could have been a compound pī -ści ‘(large) cat’ + ‘small cat’. But all this is uncertain, also because of possible Indic influence on WT words, see → pī, pī.

Hf 釐 (lī) LH līo, OCM *rā
‘To control, regulate, administer’ [BL, Shi] is a cognate of → Hf 理. Sagart (1999: 127) relates this word to → zhī, 治 ‘regulate’.

Hf 射 (li) LH li, OCM *rēi or *rēi — [D] PMin *li ~ *lēi
‘Pear tree, pear’ [Li].

Hf 位 (lī, lī) LH lī, li, OCM *rēi — [T] ONW lēi — [D] PMin *le.
‘A traction plow, to plow’ [Lunyu, Guan].

Hf 位 (lī, lī) LH lei, li, OCM *rai
‘Yak’ [Guoyu, Zhuang].

Hf 位 (lī, lī) LH līi, OCM *rai
‘To be separated from, differ from’ [Li].

IE ST *ral: Mru rā < rāl ‘separated from’ (Löffler 1966: 146; 134), JP ran ‘be apart, separated, divided’ ≠ mō-ran ‘to place apart’ ≠ po-ran ‘be separate, sort out’ ≠ go-ran ‘to divide, distribute’ ≠ ra-ran ‘be parted, separated’ (Wolfsdend 1937: 646).

Another derivation from the ST stem *(C-)ral is → bān, 班 with the common ST *-l > OC *-n shift.

For an overview of similar items, see Table P-1 under → pī, pī. Some of the many similar ST roots could be related:
1. *pai 'break' → pò破
2. *pai 'separate, open' → pǐ披
3. *brai 'open' → bǎi开, bò擘
4. *trai 'open' → zhā参, zhé竭
5. *pral 'separate' → bān班
6. *ral 'separate, leave' → lí离 (this entry)
7. *hral 'split' → chí池
8. *p(r)ak 'split' → pì辟
9. *k-hlai 'separate' → chí池, chì训

Perhaps the stems in *-ai (1 to 4) form one large word, as do perh. the forms in *-ral (5 to 7).

If11 阉 (ljie 3) LH liao, OCM *rai
'To be drooping, hanging down' (fruit on a tree etc.) [Shi], 'fall over' (like a full vessel) [Zuo].

 projectiles: ST: WT brgyal (< b-r(-)yal) 'to sink down (senseless), faint'; the basic ST meaning may be 'to droop or fall by its / one's own weight'. Pulleyblank (1962: 215) relates the WT word to pī, but the WT b- is prob. a pre-initial.

If12 阗 (ljie 3) LH liao, OCM *rai
'Thick, hedge' [Chuci].

 projectiles: ST: TB: Tiddim goor < cools 'fence'.

If13 縱 → xī絹 履

If1 李 (ljì-B) LH liò, OCM *rò? — [T] ONW lió
'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 *liò (Mei / Norman 1971: 101).

If2 尺 李耳 (ljì-nóì-B) LH liò-nòì > li-ñì
Acc. to FY 8.1, this is a Chü dialect word for 'tiger' [FY, Yijing]. Zhao Zhenfeng and Huáng Fēng (1998.10: 76–79) suggest a connection with the Tujia words li-pa 'male tiger' and li-ni 'female tiger'. The last syllable -ni could be related to MK–Khmer jìi: 'female', unless it is a regional word for 'mother', then prob. the same etymon as nàí 娘.

If3 里 (ljì-B) LH lià, OCM *rò? — [T] ONW lió
'Village' [Shi]

 projectiles: Prob. ST *rò: 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 Engl. town ⇔ German Zaun 'fence'. The synonym PTB *gwa 'village' may belong to CH → qiú2丘 seen ⇔ Tai: S. rúa C² < *r ‘fence’ (Li F. 1976: 43) may also belong to this etymon.

Alternatively, this word may belong to → If4 理里 ‘divide into equal sections’, but pre- and early-historic Chinese villages prob. were not systematically planned and platted.

If4 理里 (ljì-B) LH lià, OCM *rò? — [T] MTang li, ONW lió
'Cut jade according to its veins' [Guoce], 'to divide fields into sections, boundaries' 理
The basic meaning is ‘cut in a regular way, divide into equal sections’.

Vein or duct in soil; fraction [Zhouli], ‘split according to the veins’ (stone) 《Bru》 > ‘engrave’ [Li]; ‘space between fingers’ 扱 [Yi] > ‘a tenth’ 仏 [Li]. → 逦 勒 ‘reins’ may be the s. w. This item and → 丫 t. 理 are usually thought to be the same etymon: ‘divide into sections > regulate’. Baxter (1992: 473) relates these to 亇 亇 ‘draw, paint, write, delimit’ etc. STC no. 429; HST: 66) > Lushai 亇 ‘boundary, frontier, limit, line of demarcation’, NNaga 争 ‘thread, boundary’, and WT 争 争 ‘to draw, write’ 争 争 ‘figure’, WB 争 ‘write, delineate, paint’, Mru 争 ‘to scratch’ [Laffier 1966: 133]. However, OC 争 corresponds normally to PTB 争, only rarely to 争 (§11.2.2).

‘To regulate, reason’ [Yi]; ‘administer’ [Li] 誠 ‘to administer’ [Lūshi]. This item and → 丫 理 are usually thought to be the same word, which is possible: ‘divide into sections > regulate’. Middle Viet. mIe, mne ‘reason’ [Maspero 1912: 78] could perh. be a CH loan. A possible cognate may be → 丫 j. ‘To send, employ, cause’ 仏 [BI, Shi] > ‘a secretary, scribe’ 仏 [BI, Shi].

‘Ambassador’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 285). The verb ‘to send on a mission’ [Liji] has later been derived from ‘ambassador’ (§3.5).

‘Carp’ [BI, Shi] is sometimes thought to be related to Tai: S. 亇亇 ‘fish’ – unlikely.
II8 禮 (lieiB) LH leiB, OCM *rfi or *rśi? — [T] ONW lèi
‘Rites, rituals, ceremony’ [BI, Shi].

Etymology not certain. Perh. related to TB-WT  že-sa < rye ‘respect’ or *rje (-bo)
‘lord, nobleman’, *rje ‘to honour, reverence’. Mru *ri ‘ritual’ (Löffler 1966: 147) may
perh. come from AA: OMon *re [reh] ‘do honour to’, *re [se] ‘show respect’. Perh. this
is an old area etymon.

II1 力 (ljak) LH lik, OCM *rāk, OCB *C-rāk
‘Sinew, strength, force, power’ [Shi, Shu].

ST *r<l> ‘strength’ with the addition of a final *-k (§6.1) > PLB *(k-)rāk ‘strength, power’
> PL *rāk ‘strength’. The word may possibly be related to *kā ‘come’.

II2 立 (ljap) LH lip, OCM *rēp, OCB *g-rōp
‘To stand, stand up’ [BI, Shi], survives in a few dialects, but is in Mand. replaced by
zhān 站 (MC tāmC), in southern dialects by → jī 立. [T] Sin Sukchu SR li (入); MGZY li (入) [li]; ONW lip

II4 笠 (ljap) LH lip, OCM *rēp
‘Bamboo hat’ [Shi], the Northern MIn 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 klopDIS < *kl- ‘bamboo hat’ (Li F. 1976: 45).

II5 葬 → lái1 來

II6 吏 → II6 理

II7 利 (ljic) LH lis, OCM *rits
‘Sharp’ [Lunyu], ‘harvest’ [OB], ‘be advantageous, profitable, benefit, profit’ [BI, Shi].
The graph shows grain cut with a knife.

II8 列 ‘arrive’ → liè1 列

II9 禄 (lieiC, liet) LH les, OCM *rēts, OCB *C-rets (Baxter 1992: 404)
‘Cruel, misfortune’ [Shi] > ‘stern’ [Lunyu], ‘ugly’ [Zhuang] > ‘evil demon’ [Zuo]. In
Shijǐng the graph is also borrowed for → li17 禄 (Unger Hao-ku 75, 2002: 65).

II10 彌 → lái1 來
Ii 11 棗 (ljet) LH lit, OCM *rit, OCB *C-rjit — [T] OW lit
‘Chestnut’ [Shi] is prob. related to KS-Ten lik3/4 ‘chestnut’.

Ii 12 棗 ‘dense’ → m14 密

Ii 13 懷 (ljet) LH lit, OCM *rit
‘Be apprehensive, careful, trembling’ [Shi] is cognate to WT žed-pa < ryet ‘to fear, be afraid’, bred-pa < b-ret ‘be frightened’ (HST: 77), Lushai ŭi/ûi ‘timid, fearful’ ≠ ŭi/ûi ‘to fear, be afraid’.

Ii 14 懷 (ljiic) LH lias, OCM *rats
‘High’ [Guliang] can perh. be connected with WT rab ‘superior, excellent’ (HST: 94).

Ii 15 懷 (ljiic) LH lias, OCM *rats — [T] MGZY li (去) [li]
‘To sharpen > (sharpeners:) grindstone’ 立 [Shui], ‘whetstone’ 懷 [Shi] > ‘to polish’ [Xun]. 程 ‘a stinging insect’ [Zhuang] is the s. w. acc. to Karlgren (1956: 4).
[C] This may be the same etymon as → lì16 立 ‘drag something along’. A derivation is → chài 蝎 ‘scorpion’. An allofam is perh. → liè 烈 ‘to sharpen’.

Ii 16 懷 (ljiic) LH lias, OCM *rats
‘Dragging something along’: ‘to wet clothes’ (while fording a stream), ‘to drag, train’ (sashes) [Shi] is perh. the s. w. as → lì15 立 ‘whetstone’. Sagart (1999: 127) relates this word to yǐ 乙 (ljiic) ‘drag, trail’ (under → yì16 撐).

Ii 17 懴 (ljiic) LH lias, OCM *rats
[E] KT: PTai *traiA: S. taaiA¹ ‘to die’, Sæk praai¹ (Benedict in Edmondson / Solnit 1988: 330). In spite of the difficulty in reconciling PTai and OC rimes / tones, the word is of Tai origin. Karlgren (1956: 4) relates lì also to → lì15 立 ‘sharp’, but this is not likely in light of Tai.

Ii 18 懴 ‘hedge’ → If10 籁

Ii 19 懴 (ljiic) LH lias, OCM *rats
‘A ford’ [Shi].
[E] ST: WT rab(s) ‘ford’; JP rap55 ‘to ford, cross a river’. Bodman (1980: 91) also relates this word to she 涉 (ţjäp) ‘to wade, cross a stream’ [Shi], but MC ži- is difficult to reconcile with MC l- < *r-. Prob. unrelated to → lài 瀨 ‘rapids’.

Ii 20 勳 (ljiic) LH lias, OCM *rats
‘To exert oneself, energetically’ [Shu] is apparently related to WT hrad-pa ‘exert oneself, push violently, stem tide’.

Ii 21 稗 (lāiC, ljiic) LH los, lias, OCM *rats
‘Coarse husked grain’ [Lie].
[E] ST: WT ‘bras ‘rice’ ≠ ‘bras-bu ‘fruit’ (Shi Xiāngdōng 2000: 24), Lushai ra?l- < ra? or rah (< *s) ‘fruit’. <> AN: Malay beras ‘rice’ (Kuiper 1966: 61). This etymon also appears to be close to → bài 裏 *breh (< *bre-s ?) ‘fine rice’ and its possible cognates.
li – lián

li₂₂ 篆 曆 (liek) LH lek, OCM *rēk

('Make go one after the other':) 'to add up, a series, number' 範 [BI, Shu]; 'calculate'
[Shu, Zhuang], 'calendrical calculations' 範 [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR li (r); MGZY li (r) [li]; ONW lek

[E] ST: WB re ‘to count’, Kanauri ri, WT rtsi-ba < rhyi ‘to count’ rtsis-pa

‘astronomer’. For the WT initial, see §12.9; for the CH final -k, see §6.1.

li 鋟 (lieiC) LH leC, OCM *rēkh or *rēh

‘Number’ [Shi].

[<] exopass. of li 範 (liek), lit. ‘what is calculated’ (§4.4).

[C] A possible allofam is ~ li23 鋟 ‘a pair’.

li₂₃ 鋟 (lieiC) LH leC, OCM *rēh

‘A pair’ 鋟 [Zhouli], ‘mate, companion’ 鎮 [Zuo] > (‘paired’:) ‘well-proportioned’ [Li], ‘elegant, beautiful’ [BI, Chuci], ‘refinement’ [Shu]. This word may possibly be related to → li₂₂ 範. In some texts ‘pair, two’ is written 錛 (Wáng Li 1982: 360).

= líi ‘A pair of horses’ [Hou Hanshu]. The reading lí belongs to ‘black horse’.

li₂₄ 騟 (liek-luk) LH lek-lok

騵 ‘a spinning wheel’ in the Han-period dialects of Zhào and Wēi [FY 5, 39]. 騵 ‘a pulley’ (for a well rope) [Middle Chinese]. Gòng Qúnhū (MZYW 2, 2000) relates this to Tai rōk8 ‘pulley’ (?).

lián₁ 連 聯 (lijān) LH lian, OCM *ran or *ren

‘To join, bring together’ 聯 [Zhouli], ‘connect, unite, in a row’ 連 [Shi]; ‘go one after another’: ‘be dripping or running (tears), rippling (waves)’ 連 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljen (平); MGZY len (平) [len]; ONW lian

※ shān 潘 (san(B), sān) LH sān(B) or sēn, OCM *srān(?), or *srēn

‘Flowing’ (of tears) [Shi].

[<] iterative of liàn (§5.2.2).

[E] ST: PTB *ren (STC no. 346); *m-ren ‘line up, be equal’: JP ren3J ‘place in a long, even row’; Mikir ren ‘line, range, row’ (HST p. 57). Unger (Hao-ku 35, 1986: 30) relates the CH word to WT ‘brel-ba ‘connection, conjunction’; the final -n in the other TB languages could derive from *.l as well; Gong (in W. Wang 1995: 65) relates it to WT gral ‘row, series, class’. TB items under -t blng 可.1# could possibly belong here.

lián₂, liàn 連 → nián₂ 鞏連

lián₃ 連 ‘difficult’ → mián₃ 勉

lián₄ 蓼 (lien [GY]) LH len, OCM *rēn, OCB *g-ren — [T] ONW lén


~ jiān 間 (kān) LH kēn, OCM *krēn, OCB *kren

‘Lotus fruit’ [Shi 145.2], the same or a similar graph (written with the phonetic 間 or 間) also writes a variant of → lán, 蓼 ‘orchid’ (Baxter 1992: 363).

lián₅, liàn 竜 (lijānA2) LH lian(C) — [D] PMin *lōnCl

‘Young hen, pullet’ is acc. to Guó Pū’s commentary to EY a Jiàngdōng (Yangtze coastal region) word which is still used in southern dialects: Mín: Jiēyáng nuāCl, Jiānglè  šuaiC; Kèjiā kaiA1-lōnCl (kaiI ‘chicken’).

[E] Etymology not clear, comparanda are scattered widely in the area: TB-Lepcha liyŋ ‘young’ > a-liyŋ ‘full-grown female beast or fowl, which has not yet had young’.

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lián – liǎn

<> MY: Yáo tcai1-tcaan⁵ /k'ai1-k'yaan⁵ (Norman 1983: 207), note also PKS *h'iaŋ⁵ 'young chicken', PT'ai *fic’⁰, PHlai *laŋ¹ 'chicken classifier'.

lián₆ 廉 (ljām) LH liam, OCM *ram — [T] ONW liam
‘Angle, angular’ [Li] is shared with Tai: S. liam⁵ (WSiam hliam 'id.'; Manomai-voobil 1975: 140).

lián₇ 廉 'modest’ → qiàn₉ 建

lián₈ 廉 (ljām) LH liam, OCM *ram (actually *riam ?) — [T] ONW liam
‘Sharp, keen’ [Hanfei]; ‘sickle’ [MoJ. The graph seems to refer to a whetstone ('sharpener'). This is an allotom of yan⁴ (JY) with the earlier *ri- pre-initial preserved (§9.2.1; the difference in tone is unexplained).

※ shān 茅撕 (sam) LH šam, OCM *səm ‘Sickle’ [Guoyu], 'to mow' [Shi]; 'to cut off' (Mand. shim) [Li]. The alignment of CH with TB items suggests that → jian, ~ incl.

xiān 鋳 is not related, nor is → zhān₁ 斬.

[C] Allofam → yán₂ 炎.

lián₉ 怜 (lien) LH len, OCM *rën — [T] ONW lën
‘To pity, pitiful’ [BI]; ‘to love’ in the Ru-Ying dialect of the Han period [FY 1.6] as well as in the Chǔ-Jiāng-Huai region [FY 1.17], i.e. in southern parts of China.

liàn₁ 敝 (ljāmB, ljāmC) LH liamB, liamC, OCM *ram?, rams
‘To gather, accumulate’ [Shi].

※ jiàn 檴 (kjāmB, kjēmB) LH kia/amB, OCM *kam? (?) ‘Accumulate’ [Meng].

※ lān 掳 (lâmB) LH lâmB, OCM *lâm?
‘To take’ [Zhuang], ‘pick, take’ [Chuci, written with 手 underneath the phonetic]. In southern dialects: ‘hold in one’s arms, embrace’: G-Nánhăng lën²¹, K-Méixiàn nam²¹ 搭 (tone B), Y-Guāngzhōu lam²² (B), M-Xiànmén lam⁵¹ (B).


liǎn₂ 臉 (lâmB [GY], kjēmB) LH kiámB, OCM *kam? or *kram? ?
‘The cheek’ [JY] > Mand. ‘cheeks, face’ (Wáng Li 1958: 566); the older form MC kjāmB is confirmed by Tai: S. keem⁴¹ ‘cheek’ (Li 1976: 46). Both forms prob. derive from an OC cluster. Jia 焦 ‘cheek, face’ (under → xie₁ 扔協) is prob. unrelated.

[EB] ST: WT 'gram-pa 'cheek', 'gram-rus 'cheekbone, jawbone'.

liǎn₃ 蔷 (ljām⁴/B) LH liamB, OCM *ram?
‘A kind of vine’ (Ampelopsis serjaniaefolia) [Shi].
liàn – liáng

liàn 締 (liānC) LH liánC, OCM *rams
‘To dress a corpse, enshroud’ [Zuo].

[E] AA, the basic meaning is ‘to wrap around’: OKhmer rum [rum] ‘to wind, roll, coil, surround, encircle, wrap (a corpse)’, Khmer jram [crum] ‘be surrounded, wrapped, sheltered’; Bahnar lôm, Biat n’klom ‘to wrap’. AA -> TB-Lepcha gryóm ‘to wrap’ (Forrest JOAS 82, 1962: 334). OC *a can reflect earlier *a and *o, the MK vowels may perh. have been /o/ or /u/.

liàn1 締 (liānC) LH liánC, OCM *rens
‘Melia azederach, a kind of tree’ [SW] is shared with Tai: S. krian ‘id’.
(Manomaivibool 1975: 140f), also Siam. lianR2 (a back-loan from CH).

liàn2 締練練 (liānC) LH liánC, OCM *rens

[x] Perh. xiàn 嫣 (yānB) LH genB, OCM *grên?
‘Be beautiful, refined’ [Shi], and
[x] xiàn 嫣 (yān) LH gen ‘refined’ [Lunheng].

liàn3 締 ‘to train’ -> xián 間

liàn4 締 ‘enshroud’ -> liàn3 締

liáng1, làng 僅 (liān, lànC) LH liàng, OCM *raŋ
‘Be skillful’ [Zhuang].

[x] shuāng 爽 (shānB) LH shānB, OCM *srän? — [T] ONW şan
‘Be active, clever’ [Zuo].
<br> [<] intensive (?) of liáng, làng 僅 *raŋ (§5.2.3).

liáng2 梁 (liān) LH liàng, OCM *raŋ
‘Beam’ [Zhuang] > ‘pole, bridge, dam, weir’ [Shi] is perh. related to words with the basic meaning ‘crosstie’ -> häng 衝.
[D] PMin *liang ‘beam’ > Amoy niâA2, Fúzhōu liängA2

liáng3 涼 (liān) LH liàng, OCM *raŋ
‘Be chilly, cold’ [Shi].

[x] shuāng 霏 (shān) LH shān, OCM *srän — [T] ONW şan
‘Hoarfrost’ [Shi].
[D] In some dialects also ‘ice’: W-Wēnhōu c’yé44/32–pen44/33 霜冰, M-Xiànmén šn55, Cháozhōu sunj33.
[<] s-noun from liáng 涼 (liān) (§5.2.4).

[E] ST: PTB *raŋ (STC no. 120) > WT graŋ-ba ‘be cold, become cold’; PLB *nraŋ ~ *srkær ~ *srkær ‘cold’ [Matisoff 1988b]; Lushai tæn8 < traŋ8 ‘dry, cold’ (STC no. 120). This etymon seems to have a wider distribution: AA: Kharia tæŋg ‘cold, freeze’, Khmer rœn ‘cold’ [Pinnow 1959: 422].

The word *cwaŋ3 ‘ice’ in Yao lngs. (Wáng Fúshi) is a CH loan.
[C] A derivation is prob. -> cäng 潮 ‘cold’. A vocalic variant is -> lêng 冷 (§11.1.3).

liáng4 量 (liān) LH liàng, OCM *raŋ
‘To measure, consider’ [Zuo].
liáng – liàng

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljan (ippets); MGZY (liyang >) liyang (plets) [ljan]; MTang ljan < lian, ONW lian

[D] PMin *ljan ‘measure’ > Fúzhōu lian A2

[E] ST: WT gran ‘number’ ≈ ‘gran-ba ‘to number, count’ ≈ (b)gran-ba, bgran ‘to count’ ≈ sgran-ba, bsgran, bsgran, sgran ‘to enumerate’ (HST: 108), WB k‘ran ‘measure with measure of capacity’.

≈ liáng 量 (ljanc) LH lianC, OCM *ranj
‘A measure’ [Lunyu].


liáng 粮 (ljanc) LH lianC, OCM *ranj — [T] MTang lian < lian, ONW lian
‘Grain, provisions’ [Shi].

≈ zhāng 树 (jian) LH tonC, OCM *ranj


liǎng 两 (lianB) LH lianB, OCM *ranj
‘Two, a pair’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljan (plets); MGZY (liyang >) liyang (plets) [ljan]; MTang lian < lian, ONW lian

[D] PMin *lianB/C ‘two’, lianB ‘a tael’ > NMin Jiànyáng sào ‘two’, lianB1 ‘tael’ (initial s- in ‘two’ may be due to loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 101); Fúzhōu lianC2 ‘two’, lianB1 ‘tael’;

CH -> Tai also indicates a pre-initial: Dioi šan2 < *plan2 (Maspero 1912: 87).

≈ liàng 鉆 (lianC) LH lianC, OCM *ranj
‘Chariot’ [Zhuang].

[k] exopass. of liàng 两 (lianB) *ranj, 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 A2 ‘we two (inclusive?)’, Shan ha ‘we two’, Lù hra ‘I’; PKS *hra ‘two’. Li F. (1976: 40) associates the Tai word with CH → yǔs 余 ‘I’ for which he reconstructs OC *ra (OCM *la). (2) Cognate to PTB *s-raj > WT srañ ‘pair of scales, weight’. (3) Finally, → shuang, 餘 may be a derivation, but the vowels do not agree.

liàng 亮 (lianC) LH lianC, OCM *ranj, OCB *C-rijan
‘Light’ n. [Shi, Shu], of moon et al.; lián refers to pale light, while → liàng 亮 refers to brilliant light.


[C] An allofam is prob. → shuang, 爽, possibly also → lián, láng 彈, → liàng 亮, → jing, 景 (so Karlgren 1956: 12) and perh. → yíng, 影. Baxter relates this word to → mín, 明 OCB *rjanj and → jing, 鏡.

Items of a MKwf 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 -rāmna ‘be light, bright’
liàng 亮 (lianC) OCB *C-rijan ‘light’
(b) Khmer srāna /srañ/ (intr., of first light of day) ‘to be dim, faint, weak’
→ shuang, 爽 (sianB) *sranj ‘twilight’ (of dawn)
(c) Khmer brāna /príñ/ intr. ‘to grow light’ (after dark)
→ bing, 炳 (bionB) OCB *bríanj, *bright’
liaó – liè

(d) Khmer បាយប្រាល / bampreioun/ ‘to shed a pale light’
→ mìng 明 (mjwen) OCB *mrjan ‘become bright, enlightened’

liaó1 女 ‘fine’ → jiǎo2 妖佼
liaó2 女 → liáo3 燈
liaó3 女 → liào2 燈
liaó4 燈 ‘ringing in ears’ → liù3 瞄翳
liaó5 燈 (lieu) LH leu, OCM *rjauh — [T] ONW leu
‘Fat around intestines’ [Shi, Li], 燈 [SW]; zhī-liáo 脂燎 ‘tallow, grease’ (Giles).
[E] Etymology unknown because the following comparanda are too far removed from
OC: WT rgyu-ma < r-yu ‘intestines, entrails’. Alternatively, liaó may be connected
with AA: note Semai (NW) p′auus ‘animal grease’ [Diffloth 1976: 211], Lawa la?auk, U
ra?aus ‘grease’ [Diffloth id.: 218]. PTai *lau A2 ‘pork fat, grease’ (only in northern and
central Tai) looks like a loan from CH liaó.
× Perh. yú 腹 (jiu) LH jo, OCM *jo
‘Fat on belly, intestines’ [Li], ‘fat’ [Guoce].
[C] See also → liù-liáo 腹脹
liaó6 燈 → chòu2, liú 羅
liaó1 了 (lieuc) LH leuc, OCM *rjauh or *rjauh?
‘To measure’ [Guoyu], ‘put hand on, stroke’ [Zhuang], later ‘material’.
[E] Perh. related to WT rgyu ‘matter, substance, material’.
liaó2 燈 → jiǎo3 灼
liaó1 料 (lieuc) LH leuc, OCM *rjauh or *rjauh?
‘To measure’ [Guoyu], ‘put hand on, stroke’ [Zhuang], later ‘material’.
[E] Perh. related to WT rgyu ‘matter, substance, material’.
liaó2 燈 (ljac, lieuc) LH leuc, OCM *rjauh
‘To burn, make a burnt-offering’ [OB, BI, Shi], ‘sacrifice of burning wood’ [SW],
‘torch’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljew (平上), PR ljaw; MGZY lew (上去) [lew]
× liaó 莉 (lieuc) LH leuc, OCM *rjauh
‘Hunt at night’ (with torches) [Guan]. It appears that this was the basic form from
which the verb liaó was derived.
[C] Perh. → jiǎo1 灼 *krāu ‘burn on a pyre’ is related.
liaó3 燔 （ljac, lieuc） LH liauc, OCM *rjauh?
‘To cure’ 薬 [Shi] (also MC lāk from OCM *rīk?), ‘treat sickness, heal’ 薬 [Zuo].
Allofams are → yào4 薬 (jiak) *jīk ‘to cure’, and prob. also → chòu2, liáo 燔 (tįjau,
lieuc) *rhu, *rī ‘get cured, recover’. If yào should be a member of this wf, the OC
initial *r- in liaó is a former pre-initial, hence yào < *r-jauk, liáo < *rjuak(h). See
also → liào2 燔.
liaó3 燔 （ljac） LH liauc, OCM *rjauh?
‘To cure’ 薬 [Shi] (also MC lāk from OCM *rīk?), ‘treat sickness, heal’ 薬 [Zuo].
Allofams are → yào4 薬 (jiak) *jīk ‘to cure’, and prob. also → chòu2, liáo 燔 (tįjau,
lieuc) *rhu, *rī ‘get cured, recover’. If yào should be a member of this wf, the OC
initial *r- in liaó is a former pre-initial, hence yào < *r-jauk, liáo < *rjuak(h). See
also → liào2 燔.
liè1 列 (ljät) LH liat, OCM *rat
‘To divide, distribute’ [Xun], ‘arrange’ [Zhouli], ‘rank, order’ [Zuo], ‘degree’ [Shu].
Prob. cogn. to → bié 別 (so Sagart 1999: 87), → lì, 旅, → là1 刺. Unger (Hao-ku
39, 1992: 88) relates liè to WT gras ‘class, order, series, rank, tribe’, but see → lū1

liè 例 (ljätī) LH liis, OCM *rats
‘Usage, rule’ [Gongyang], Mand. ‘example’ (Sagart 1999: 133).

liè2 烈烈烈 (ljät) LH liat, OCM *rat, OCB *C-rjat

liè-liè 烈 ‘Be blazing’ (of fire, heart), ‘be brilliant’ (person) [BL, Shi], ‘be bitterly cold’ (winter day) [Shi].

liè3 列 (ljät) LH liat, OCM *rat or *ret?
‘Kind of rush for brooms’ [Li].
[T] Sin Sukchu 裂 SR lje (入); MGZY 裂 lya (入) [lle]

liè4 劃 (luat) LH liat, OCM *rot — [T] ONW luat
‘Inferior’ [SW].

liè5 踏 (ljap) LH liap, OCM *rap
‘To tread, trample’ [Li].
[E] ST: PTB *rap (LaPolla 1994: 166) > KN-Lushai rapL / ra?L ‘to tread (upon), trample upon’, WT skrab-pa ‘to stamp (the ground), tread’ ⇒ k'rab-pa ‘to strike, stomp, thump’. However, the initial k- in the WT cognates skrab, k'rab could theoretically derive from an earlier initial *?-?, note the initial *?-? in the putative OC cognate → yān, OC *rap ‘press down, stamp’, as well as the absence of velar initials in the other TB languages; perh. also connected with diè 踏 (diep) ‘to trample, stamp’ [Lie] (so Sagart 1999: 127), and possibly also to → niè7 踏 OC *nap ‘trample’.

liè6 踏 (ljap) LH liap, OCM *rap or *rep?
‘A kind of turtle’ [Zhouli].
[E] ST: PTB *lip / *lep ‘turtle’ > WB lip (Benedict 1976: 190), Khami lip, Rengmitca talip, Mru lip ‘tortoise’ [Löfller 1966: 122]. OC and TB differences in initial and vowel have parallels, see §7.3 and §11.1.3 respectively.

liè7 踏 ‘hunt’ → lâ3 踏

liè8 踏 (ljap) LH liap, OCM *rap
‘Long beard’ [Zuo], ‘beard, broom’ [Li]. → shà 竿 ‘fan’ may possibly be a derivate.

lîn1 林 (ljm) LH lîm, OCM *rm, OCB *C-rjôm
‘Forest, forester’ [BL, Shii].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR lim (平), PR, LR lîn; MGZY lim (平) [lim]; ONW lim
[D] PMin *lam; Y-Gùángzhōu 2lîmA2
lín

※ sēn 森 (ṣom) LH sīm, OCM *srām
‘Forest, dense thicket’ [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 sōm (平); MGZY shīm (平) [sōm]; ONW shīm.

[E] ST or area etymon: PTB *ram (HPTB: 299) > Northern Naga *c-ram ‘forest, jungle’, Lushai rāmH ‘forest, jungle, country, land’, Mikir ḫirām-āw < m-ram ‘be woody, dark’. Perh. also shared with AA: Khmer rāma /ryām/ ‘to gather, be clustered’, PNBahn. *kram ‘crowded’. The initials of TB-Lushai hām ‘in numbers’ (Sagart 1999: 151), and MK-OMon luin /lū̂m/ ‘be numerous’ are difficult to reconcile with OC.

lín2 林 (ljam) LH lim, OCM *rām
‘Numerous’ [Shi 220, 2].

※ tán 營 (tāmB) LH tōmB, OCM *rhām??
‘Many, numerous’ occurs only once in a Shijing passage [Shi 290, 3]. SW says ‘noise of many’, perf. inspired by the graph (Giles: ‘the sound of many people eating’).

[E] Prob. AA, and if so, cognate to → lín 林 ‘numerous’ could possibly be related.


PYao kʰem2 ‘forest’ [Purnell] is not related to any of the above.

lín3 淋霖 (ljam) LH lim, OCM *rām

[T] Sin Sukchu SR lim (平), PR, LR lin; MGZY lim (平) [lim]


This may be the same etymology as → lín 林 ‘drink’. Wáng Lì (1982: 612) and Sagart (1999: 127) consider lín cognate to → yín 汲. For possibly related words, see → chén 沈; → lán 漯.

lín4 臨 (ljamC) LH lim, OCM *rām
‘To approach, look down, look upon favorably, to favor’ [Shi], ‘be on the brink of’.

※ lin 臨 (ljamC) LH līmC, OCM *rāms?
‘To mourn’ [Zuo], ‘mourning chamber’ [Li] is acc. to Downer (1959: 286) a tone C derivation with an ‘effective’ meaning.

[k] perh. exopass. of lín 臨, lit. ‘be looked upon with favor / affection’ > caus. ‘mourn’ (§4.4.1).

[E] ST: Lushai rimR < rimI ‘to court, make love to, inspect / make enquiries about’ (a girl), WT rim-‘(gro ‘honor, homage, offerings’ (‘gro ‘to walk’); perh. also JP krem33 ‘to trust, to look up to’ (someone).
lín – líng

lín₅ 鱗 (ljen) LH lìn, OCM *rìn
'Scale of fish or reptile' [Li]. The Northern Min initial s- as in Jiānyáng saiŋ² may be due to loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 101).

E PKS *rìn⁵ 'scales'. Perh. Tai: S. lin⁵ < *?-, Sáck lií⁵, PKS *lìn⁶ 'pangolin' (Li F. 1976: 43) is related.

lín₆ □ (ljom ?) LH lìn
'To drink' in southern dialects: M-Amoy lim⁴i/lim² 'to drink' (lit. lam²); Taiwan lim⁴i (Chén Zhāngtái, Li Rúlóng 1991: 454); K-Táoyuán lim⁴i 'to drink', Měixiān 'drink tea from the spout of a teapot' (MacIver p. 403). This is perh. the same etymon as → lán₁ lín (lâm) 'drink', and as → lín₃ 淋霖 'to pour'.


Hn² (lj;)m? LH lím
'To drink' in southern dialects: M-Amoy lim⁴i/lim² 'to drink' (lit. lam²); Taiwan lim⁴i (Chén Zhāngtái, Li Rúlóng 1991: 454); K-Táoyuán lim⁴i 'to drink', Měixiān 'drink tea from the spout of a teapot' (MacIver p. 403). This is perh. the same etymon as → lán₁ lín (lâm) 'drink', and as → lín₃ 淋霖 'to pour'.

E K-Tai *?d- (or rather *?I-) S. dʰiⁿ B₁ 'to swallow, drink' [Li 1977: 109]. Note also TB-Lushai lem⁸ < lem⁹ 'to swallow, drink'.

IE
PTai *?d- (or rather *?I-): S. dʰiⁿ B₁ 'to swallow, drink' [Li 1977: 109]. Note also TB-Lushai lem⁸ < lem⁹ 'to swallow, drink'.

lín₁ □ (QYS analog perh. ljen⁶) is a southern dial. word for 'penis': Kējiā lìn B, Y-Guǎngzhōu ³⁵lìn B, Táishān ³⁵lìn B; M-Taipei lânCl-tsiuB. Benedict (1976: 190) relates this to PTB *(m-)Ji 'penis', Karen *lìn 'vagina', but it may simply be a survival from a Tai substratum: Tai S. hîg⁴i (R. D. Bauer [CAAL 28, 1987: 61f] who, however, believes that the Tai word is a CH loan). Some Min dialects have a different word: PMin *n::>i.

lín₂ 衛 (ljom⁶) LH lìn⁰, OCM *rêm? < *b-rêm⁷ ?
'Rations' [Zuo].

E Sin Sukchu SR pin (上); MGZY bim (上) [pim]
IE ST: WT 'brim-pa 'to distribute, hand out, deal out' (STC: 178; HST: 64); Nung arim 'cast away' may be related, Chepang bi-rim n. 'container, small circular storage basket'.

lín₃ 麱 (ljom⁶) LH lìn⁰, OCM *rêm? < *b-rêm⁷ ?
'Shake' [Zuo] > 'full of fear, respectful' [Xun].

E This was a Han period Qín-Jin (northwestern China) dialect word for 'be careful, attentive 娅' [FY 6, 28].

E Perh. related to → jìn₃ 禁 'forbid' (so Shǐ Xiāngdōng 2000: 117). But in light of a possible OC labial initial (b-rêm⁷ ?), a connection with MK-Khmer /praam/ 'to prohibit, forbid' would be phonologically closer.

lín る (ljen⁶) LH lìn⁰, OCM *m-rên⁷?
'Regret' [Yi], 'niggardly' [Lun].

E Geilich (1994: 249) compares this word with WT sri-ba 'be parsimonious, niggardly', Lepcha re 'be rare', Lushai ren⁹ 'to economize, be sparing with'.

líng₁ 嶺 (ljen) 'Mountain range' [GY] may simply be a late graphic variant of → lín₄ 陵, or be cognate to TB-Kachin kriŋ⁴ < gliŋ⁴ 'hill' (STC p. 34 n. 109).

línɡ₂ 怜懐 → lián₉ 懷

línɡ₃ 贓 → míng₇-líng 鳴鶉

línɡ₄ 鶉 (ljen) LH lën, OCM *rën⁷
'Small bell, banner bell' [Bl, Shi] is a sound-symbolic word, it may be related to → míng₇ 鳴 OCB *mrjen⁷ 'to sound' acc. to Baxter (1992: 499). Theoretically, MC could
also derive from a PCH \*rin, then it may be related to WT ’drl-bu ‘bell’ (Shê Xiàngdōng 2000), but this is stretching the phonology.

lǐng\5 凌 → bīng\2 冰

lǐng\6 凌 (lǒŋ) LH liŋ, OCM *rəŋ → [T] ONW liŋ

lǐng\7 凌冷凌 (lǒŋ) LH liŋ, OCM *rəŋ
(‘Step on/over’; ‘Ascend’ [Guoce], ‘transgress’ [Li], ‘encroach upon, usurp, oppress, insult’ 凌 [Zuo]; ‘surmount’ 冷 [Chuci]; ‘maltreat, oppress’ 凌 [Chuci]. [C] → lǐng 凌 ‘hill’ may be the s. w. This etymon is prob. cognate to the near homonym → pǐng7 洋 ‘walk across’, just as there are doublets lǐng 凌 ~ bīng\2 冰 ‘ice’. Furthermore, this stem may be connected with → chéng 凌 ‘suppress’.

lǐng\8 露零 (lièng) LH leŋ, OCM *rəŋ ~ rǐn
‘To fall’ (of rain) 露 [OB], 零 [Shi], ‘drop the leaves’ 露 [Chuci]. The graph originally consisted of 雨 ‘rain’ with ‘drops’ (not ‘mouths’) underneath. [T] MTang liěn < liēn, ONW lêŋ [E] Etymology not clear. Perh. from AA and related to the items under → pǐng7 洋 ‘walk across’, just as there are doublets lǐng 凌 ~ bīng\2 冰 ‘ice’. There is a remote possibility of a connection with yǔn2 陨 ‘drop, fall, rain’ if one assumes a ST root *rwe- whose initial cluster is simplified to OC *re- and *we- respectively (§10.1.3). WB laŋ8 < *liŋ8 ‘to fall’ belongs to → diān2 顚 ‘fall over’.

lǐng\9 靈 (lièng) LH leŋ, OCM *rəŋ
‘Divine > felicitous, auspicious > excellent, intelligent’ [Bl, Shi]; ‘spirit (of Heaven)’ [Hanshu] > ‘ghost (of a deceased)’ [Hou Hanshu] > ‘female shaman, shaman’ [Chuci]. For semantics, cf. mó 魔 (< Indic Mara) both ‘witch’ and ‘demon’. [T] Sin Sukchu SR liŋ (平); MGZY ling (平) [liŋ]; ONW lêŋ [E] MY: PMiao *q̣eŋ⁴ (Wáng FS) ‘ghost’. ‘Ghost’ and → lǐng8 露零 ‘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 → fēn2 雾氛 CH → Viet thìeng (via s-, from Cr-) (Maspero 1912: 84).

lǐng 領 (liānɡ\B) LH lièn⁸, OCM *rəŋ⁷, OCB *C-rēŋ⁷
‘Neck’ [Shi], ‘collar’ [Li] > (‘take by the neck’ [Karlgren]) ‘to lead, direct’ [Li]. [T] Sin Sukchu SR liŋ (上); MGZY ling (上) [liŋ]; ONW liŋ [D] ‘Collar’ in PMin *liŋ⁴: Fúzhōu liān⁴, Xiàmēn niâ⁴ [E] ST: Lushai riŋ⁴ ‘neck’; possibly also WT mgrin-pa ‘neck, throat’. This is prob. a variant of PTB *m-liŋ ‘neck’ (Matisoff 1995a: 51): WB laŋ, Nungs liŋ, WT mjing-pa ~ jīŋ-pa < *mliŋ or *mriŋ ‘neck’ (HST: 112). Benedict connects the TB word with *t-(g-)liŋ ‘tube’ (French 1983: 525). The synonym → jīŋ\2 頭 is prob. not related.

lǐng 令 (lǐn̂g\C) LH lièn⁹, OCM *rēŋ⁸(h) ~ *rîn(s)
‘To order, command’ [Shi]. [T] Sin Sukchu SR liŋ (平去); MGZY ling (平去) [liŋ]; ONW liŋ [N] In the OB and Bl, 令 writes actually → mínɡ 命 ‘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.
liú — lóng

liú1 留 (ljou) LH liū, OCM *ru
‘To stay, remain, tarry’ [Shi].
[D] M-Xiàmén, Fúzhōu lauA2. The Northern Mín initial s- as in Jiànyáng seuA2 may be due to loss of a pre-initial: PMin *lou (Mei / Norman 1971: 100).

liú2 劃 (ljou) LH liū, OCM *ru
‘To slaughter, kill’ [OB, Shi]; a Han period dialect word for ‘to kill’ in Qín, Jìn, Sòng and Wèi [FY 1, 16].
[N] In the OB, this word was written with the graph for the cyclical sign mào 禽 (mauB) < *mrū? which seems to have been intended for writing ‘slaughter’ as it shows perf. two pieces of meat which have been cut apart.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR liw (平); MGZY liw (平) [liw]; MTang leu < liu, ONW lu < lu
[D] The Northern Mín initial s- as in Jiànyáng seuA2 may be due to loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 101).

liú3 流 (ljou) LH liū, OCM *r(i)u
‘To flow, float, flow away; the flow’ [Shi]; ‘pendants of a banner’ 飄 [Shi].
[T] Sin S. SR liw (平); MGZY liw (平) [liw]; MTang leu < liu, ONW lu
[D] M-Xiàmén, Fúzhōu lauA2
[E] This word differs from > yóu6 游遊 ‘float, swim’ only in the initial. WT shows that they are prob. related: *tr-ju > OC *ju and OC *riu, see §9.2.1. An allofam is prob. → lèi, 漏 *riuts ‘tears’.

liú4 飄 → liú3 流

liú1 六 (ljuk) LH liuk, OCM *ruk
‘Six’ [OB].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR lu (入), PR, LR lu?; MGZY lū (入) [lu]; ONW luk.
[D] PMin *lok > NMin Jiànyáng soD2 (Mei / Norman 1971: 99); Y-Guāngzhōu 22lokD2
[E] ST: PTB *d-ruk ‘six’: WT drug, Takpa grok; PLB *C-krok, WB k’rok; J P kruʔ55; Lepcha tårök; Mikir t’rok < drok2; Lushai pa1-l-rukL. <> Tai: S. hōkD2 < *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). <> PMY *kruk may be a loan from a TB lg.

liú2 潦 (ljouC) LH liū, OCM *r(i)u
‘Gush forth’ [Guan], ‘a current, a stream’ is shared with Tai: S. riaub2 ‘rapids, vigorous, strong (current)’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 139).

liú3 羅ilee (ljouC, ljueC, ljauC) LH liùC, OCM *riu(k)h
‘Whistling of the wind’ 羅 [Zhuang], 羅 [GY]; ‘wind high up in the air’ 飄 [Lǜ].

liáo1 聲 (liou) LH leu, OCM *riu
‘Ringing sound in the ear’ [Chuci].

lóng1 隆 (ljou) LH liù, OCM *ruŋ, OCB *g-ruŋ
‘Eminent’ [Zuo], ‘high’ [Guoce].

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chóng (dʒ'un) LH dz'un, OCM *dzruŋ
‘To pile on, pile high’ [Shi]; ‘high’ (of a mountain) [SW].

[T] * Sin Sukchu SR dhun (.trip); MGZY cung (trip) [dʒ'un]


An AA substrate wf would explain the odd initial interchange *r- which is unusual in a Chinese wf. A syn. or parallel stem with initial OC *l is → sòng2 嵯嵩 ‘high’ (mountain). The meaning chóng ‘high’ (of a mountain) may be due to paronomastic attraction from sòng, or from MK: Khmer cuña /çon/, OKhmer cuñ/cun/ ‘farthest point, end, tip, top, peak...’; perh. TB-Lushai čuy8 (Lorrain chung) ‘roof, top, summit, high up’ is related (Khmer loan?).

lóng2 隆 (ljun) LH liń, OCM *r̥unj ?, OCB *g-ruŋ
‘Thundering’ [Shi].


lóng3 龍 (ljwon) LH liń, OCM *roŋ, OCB *C-ruŋ
‘Dragon’ [OB, Shi] (discussed by Carr LTBA 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 → lóng2 隆 ‘thundering’; Lolo lo ‘dragon’.

Most likely is a connection with SE Asian words: AA: Viet. rǒng ‘dragon’, Muong hông ~ rôn, Khmer roŋ ~ rōŋ, and KT: Siam. mährong ~ māroŋ. (CH -> ?) Viet thuồng (via from -Cr-) (Maspero 1912: 84).

[C] A cognate may be → hóng, 凱 ‘rainbow’ (so Carr), note for example Y-Conghua lọŋ44 (A2) ‘rainbow’.

lóng4 龍 ‘motley’ → máng7 彩龍

lóng5 龍 (ljonB) LH lon(C), OCM *r̥oŋ(?) — [T] ONW luoŋ
‘Bird cage’ [Zhuang], ‘basket’ [Zhouli].


lóng6 異 (ljon) LH lon, OCM *r̥oŋ
‘Deaf’ [Zuo], the Northern Mín initial s- as in Jiányáng sòŋA2 may be due to loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 101). Perh. connected with → sòng3 聲 ‘deaf’.

lóng 墟壠 (ljwonB) LH liń, OCM *roŋ?
‘Mound’ 墟 [Li], 隆 [Xun], a Han period dialect variant for → zhòng1 冢塜 ‘mound’ in the Qín-Jin area [FY 13, 154]. It may perh. also be related to → lóu1 塜, lóu 塹.

lóng1 弄 (ljinC) LH lön, OCM *r̥oŋ
‘To fondle, play with’ [Shi].

[E] ?? Khmer /l̂oon/ ‘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.
隆 – 坟

隆2 弄 (lónɡ C) LH lónɡ C, OCM *r̂oŋ

lǒu1 道, lǒu 堃 (lóu B) LH lóu B, OCM *r̂oŋ — [T] ONW lǒu
‘Mound’ is a Han period dialect word for ‘small mound’ east of the Passes (i.e. central China) [FY 13, 154]. Lǒu is usually the 2nd syllable of a compound, see under → fù, 阜. A Han period dialect variant in the Qin-Jin area is perh. yū 坻 (jiu) *lóu [FY 13, 154]. Finally, it may be related to → lǒng 墓隆 ‘mound’.

lǒu2 道 (lóu, lóu B) LH lóu, lóu B, OCM *r̂oŋ or *r̂o — [T] ONW lǒu
‘Bend’ [Xun], ‘hunchbacked’ [Zuo]. Although this word may possibly be a ST etymon derived from → gǒu, 句鉤格: WT rgy-r ‘bent over’ ≈ rgu-r ‘crooked’, it would require an unusual case of ST prefix preemption (Unger Hao-ku 75: 2002 discusses additional possible cases). Alternatively, lǒu could belong to → zhǒu, 肘 ‘elbow’, or even be the s. w. as → lǒu, 坟 ‘mound’.

lǒu3 篱 → dū-lǒu 篱艸

lǒu 墉 ‘mound’ → lǒu1 墉, lǒu 墉; → fù, 阜

lǒu1 築 (lóu C) LH lóu C, OCM *r̂oŋ(k)h

[T] Sin Sukchu SR lów (去); MGZY lîw (去) [lów]; M Tang lów, ONW lǒu
※ lù 露 (lù) LH lùk, OCM *r̂oŋ
‘To strain, drip’ [Guoce], ‘draw off water’ (from a pond) 漏 [Li]; ‘to strain, pour off’ 漏 [Zhuang]; ‘net’ [Guoyu].

[E] Area etymon: ? ST: Lepcha rók ‘to sift, sieve’, perm. also WT ‘kʰru-ba’ ～ ‘kʰrud-pa ‘to bathe’ ～ ‘kʰrus ‘bath’ (Geilich 1994: 32 f). However, the Lepcha word may again be one of many AA loans, and WT may not be related. ‘Net’ may perh. be a different word related to TB-Mru lók ‘net’ (Löffler 1966: 142), but the initial consonants do not agree.

AA: Khmer sroh/sraoh/ ‘be drained’ ≈ samroh/samraoh/ ‘to drain (land, pond)’ < -ra/-r̂o/ ‘to flow out, drain’.

Khmer → Tai: S. rua B2 < *r- ‘to leak’ [Li F. 1976: 43]; the Tai vocalism does not agree with the OC forms, hence MK seems to be the source.

※ luán 萄 (luán) LH luan ~ lón, OCM *r̂on
‘Dripping’ (water) [Guoce].

[C] A derivation is prob. → gǒu, 溝 ‘a drain’.

lǒu2 長 → lù1 其

lù1 築墟趣 (luo) LH lóu, OCM *r̂a
‘Be black’ 築墟 [Shu], 趣 [Zuo] has been compared to WT rōg-po ‘black’ (HST: 44), but the rimes do not agree.

lù2 廢 (ljwo) LH liu, OCM *ra — [T] ONW liu
‘A hut, hovel, shelter’ [Shi], in Shǐjīng with reference to a field hut and an archery shelter, later in Shǐjīng a hut on a tomb, a ‘resting place, inn’ along a highway [Zhou]. This looks like a variant (*l > *r) of → shè, 舎 ‘resting place’.

lù3 廢 (ljwo) LH liu, OCM *ra
‘Madder plant’, in Shǐjīng rú-lú 菽蒭 (nižjwo-ljwo). Because of the compound pú-s-lú 蒲蒭 (bou-ljwo) it has been suggested that the OC form had a pre-initial labial whose
loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Mín forms (Mei / Norman 1971: 98).

**lú 4** 頭 (luo) LH lo, OCM *rā
‘Head’, a late word [Xin Tangshu], can be compared to Tai: S. pʰaak < *pʰr/l-
‘forehead’; see also → dū, lóu 頭).

**lú 5** 城 → lú 1 旅呂

**lú 6** 螃 ‘boat’ → yú, 俞

**lú 1** 銅 (luo) LH lo, OCM *rā?
‘Salty, rock salt’ [BL, Zuo]. Li F. (1976: 45) draws attention to a possible connection
with → gū, 鹽 ‘salt’.

suggests a connection with the place name Lú 鼠 which was a salt-marsh region in
ancient times. The meaning ‘rustic, coarse’ [Zhuang] is sometimes thought to be
connected with ‘salt’, but HST: 55 separates the two and relates ‘coarse’ to WT
*rags-pa ‘coarse, thick, gross’.

**lú 2** 鼠 → lú 1 銅

**lú 3** 篙 (luo) LH lo, OCM *rā?
‘A large shield’ [Li] has been compared to WB hlwa B ‘shield’ (oblong and convex)
(Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 52).

**lú 1** 錳 (luok) LH lo, OCM *rāk, OCB *rāk
‘Carve wood’ [SW] (Li 1977: 62, 125, 277; Baxter 1992: 504f, 543).

**E** ST: WT *bru-ba, brus, and *brud-pa ‘to dig, chisel, carve, cut’; Nung n-so ‘carve, write’
(Benedict HIAS 4, 1939: 220); perh. also JP kroko ‘to carve’ (wood) (for the CH final -k,
see §6.1). Unger points to the morphological parallelism with WT:

錳 OCM *rāk

This w/f is considered to be related to → bāo, 割 ‘peel’, but ‘carve’ and ‘peel’ are rather
different activities.

**lú 2** 壌 → lú 1 深

**lú 3** 錳 → lú 1 錳

**lú 4** 陸 (luok) LH liok, OCM *rāk
‘Land’ (as opposed to water) [Shi] is perh. shared with PWa *ʔok ‘dry land’.

**lú 5** 路 (luok) LH lo, OCM *rāk, OCB *g-raks
‘Road, way’ [Shu].

**T** Sin Sukchu SR lu (去), PR, LR lu; MGZY lu (去) [lu]; ONW lo
**D** W-Wénzhōu lū*ḥ2; M-Yóng’ān tiū*č1, Jiànyáng tiūč2, Fúzhōu tuoč2

Unless it is related to → ge ‘go, come’ (Baxter 1992: 329), it has no obvious ST
etymology. It may be an AA word instead: MK-PVM *k-ra? ‘way, path’, PWa *kra?
‘road’, Pearic k*bæ: ‘road, path’, and Yao kla. Cognate may also be → lè 蓋.
Iū

Iū₆ 路 (luoC) LH loC, OCM *rakh — [T] ONW lo

‘Grand, loud’ 路 [Shi], ‘big carriage, state carriage’ 輪 [Shu]. The expression Iū qīn 路寢 *rakh tshom? ‘grand / royal apartment’ [Shi, Chunqiu] has the variant bo qīn 柏寢 (pēk tshomᵇ) *prak-tshom? [Hanfei] (Unger Hao-ku 29, 1984: 266) which means that the reconstruction and identification of Iū is far from certain.

Iū₇ 露 (luoC) LH loC, OCM *rakh < *g-rāh

‘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.


Iū₈ 露 (luoC) LH loC, OCM *rakh, OCB *g-raks

‘Dew, to condense into droplets’ (clouds) [Shi]. An OC pre-initial may explain the initial s- in some Northern Mǐn dialects, thus PMǐn *lɔC > Jīān-su su⁹⁴ (Mei / Norman 1971: 98). In a few dialects it means ‘fog’:

W-Sūzhōu mi²⁵jü⁴⁴, luò²¹⁴⁴.

[E] Derived from → Iū₇ 露 ‘to fall, drop’, the AA-Khmer stem also has the semantic extension ‘cover from above, drip’. An allofam is → xū₁ 清 ‘to drip’.

Iū₉ 露 (luoC) LH loC, OCM *rakh, OCB *g-raks


Iū₁₀ 驑 (luoC) LH loC, OCM *rakh

‘Heron, egret’ [Shi].


Iū₁₁ 鹿 (luk) LH lok, OCM *rōk

‘Deer, sika deer’ [OB, Shi]. Sagart (1999: 161) suggests that → jiāo₈ 角 ‘horn’ is related to Iū.

[E] The etymology is not certain; it may be ST: NNaga gjuk ‘sambar, deer’ < PTB *g-ruk [French 1983: 188]. Benedict (acc. to French) relates the TB item to Gurung gju ‘sheep’, but this has an alternate explanation. Note also Tai: Nung klook ‘deer’ (generic term) (Benedict AT: 268).

Iū₁₂ 揀 (luk) LH lok, OCM *rōk

‘Shake’ (as drums shake bells) [Zhouli].

[C] This word could be associated with → jué₁₁ 騎 or → jiāo₈ 揀.

Iū₁₃ 騃 (luk) LH lok, OCM *rōk

‘Forest (in foothills)’ [Shi] > ‘forester’ [BI, Guoyu] (also with phonetic 录 [OB, SW]).

[E] AA: PVM *m-ru:? ‘forest’.

Iū₁₄ 騃 → lū₂₄ Iū 輕軽

Iū₁₅ 驃 → lū₁₁ 漏

Iū₁₆ 驃 → lū₁₁ 漏

366
\[\text{lù}_{17} \quad \text{辱} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{liuk}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{ruk} \\
\quad \text{‘Disgrace’ [Lun].} \]

[\text{E}] \quad \text{ST:} \quad \text{Mru} \quad \text{ruk} \quad \text{‘shame’ (Löfler 1966: 142).}

\[\text{lù}_{18} \quad \text{戮} \to \text{liú}_{3} \quad \text{劉} \]

\[\text{lù}_{1} \quad \text{妻} \quad \text{(lju)} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{lio}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{rio} < *\text{r-jo} \\
\quad \text{‘To drag, trail’ [Shi].} \]

\[\text{xì \ yú} \quad \text{與} \quad \text{(jiu)} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{jo}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{jo} \\
\quad \text{‘To pull, drag’ [Zhuang].} \]

\[\text{lù}_{2} \quad \text{驢} \quad \text{(ljwo)} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{lio}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{ra} \\
\quad \text{‘Donkey’ [SW].} \]

[\text{T}] \quad \text{Sin Sukchu SR ly (平); MGZY lùu (平) [ly]}

[\text{N}] \quad \text{Unger (Hao-ku 13, 1989) points out that the donkey must have been known in}
\quad \text{China before its first mention during the Han dynasty because ‘mule’ lu6}
\quad \text{(lu6) (Sin Sukchu SR ly (平); MGZY lùu (平) [lùu]) occurs already in}
\quad \text{Luòshì chūnqíu. Related are}
\quad \text{WB la B ‘mule’, Tiddim la B < la:h ‘mule’, but MC j- usually corresponds to PTB *r.}
\quad \text{Perh. the TB items are Han period or later loans.}

\[\text{lù}_{1} \quad \text{旅} \quad \text{(ljwo B)} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{lio B}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{ra?} \\
\quad \text{Anything lined up in a regular fashion: ‘one after the other’ [Li], ‘line up in a row > set}
\quad \text{forth; troop, multitude’ [OB, Shi]; ‘spine’ [Shi, Zhuang], ‘pitchpipe’ [Li] > (‘spine of}
\quad \text{a roof’ > ‘beam supporting rafter of a roof’ 梁 [SW].}

[\text{T}] \quad \text{Sin Sukchu SR ly (上); MGZY lùu (上) [ly]; ONW lio} \]

\[\text{Perh.} \quad \text{xì \ lù} \quad \text{臥} \quad \text{(ljwo)} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{lio}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{ra} \\
\quad \text{‘To display, expose, arrange’ [Guoyu].}

[\text{E}] \quad \text{ST:} \quad \text{WT} \quad \text{gra-ma ‘the awn, bristles, or ears of cereals; bones or skeleton of a fish,}
\quad \text{lattice, trellis, frame’ (Bodman 1980: 165; HST: 138); Matisoff (1999: 6) adds JP n31-rut55}
\quad \text{n31-ra}^{33} \quad \text{‘skeleton bones’ (n31-rut55 ‘bones’), Tangkhul a-ra, Nocte a-ra. Perh. also WT gras}
\quad \text{‘class, order, rank, tribe’ (Bodman 1980: 132) which is plausible in light of WT rus ‘bone’}
\quad \sim \text{‘clan’. Unger (Hao-ku 39, 1992) connects the WT word with \text{liú}_{1} \text{列} (ljú) ‘series’.}

\[\text{lù}_{2} \quad \text{旅} \quad \text{(ljwo B)} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{lio B}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{ra?} \\
\quad \text{‘Guest, stranger’ [Zuo], ‘traveler’ [Yi], ‘road’ [Li].}
\quad \text{Bodman (1980: 132) connects this word with WT dgra ‘enemy’ \sim \text{gras-pa ‘to hate’. Or}
\quad \text{this word may belong to a larger group which includes \text{liú}_{1} \text{列 (ljú) ‘series’.}

\[\text{lù}_{3} \quad \text{旅} \quad \text{(ljwo B)} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{lio B}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{ra?} \\
\quad \text{‘Lodge, lodging’ [Shi]. This word has several possible etymologies: (1) cognate to \text{liú}_{2}
\quad \text{旅 ‘guest, traveler’. (2) An endoactive derivation (§4.5) of \text{liú}_{2} 蠕 ‘hut’. (3) It could}
\quad \text{possibly belong to the ST stem *s-jak ~ *r-jak ‘24 hour day, spend the night’, see \text{xī}_{1}
\quad \text{夕 for suggestive Lushai cognates.}

\[\text{lù}_{4} \quad (?) \quad \text{鋳} \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{ra?} \quad (?) \text{The reading of this graph is conjecture.}
\quad \text{‘Material from which bronze vessels were cast’ [only in Zhou BI] (Qiu Xigui 2000:}
\quad \text{305) may be related to WT ra-gan ‘brass’, rag- in compounds.

\[\text{lù}_{1} \quad \text{律} \quad \text{(ljuet)} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{luit}, \quad \text{OCM} \quad *\text{rut} \\
\quad \text{‘To follow’: ‘to follow a model’ [Li], ‘law, rule’ [Yi], ‘row’ [Shi] > ‘to comb’ [Xun}
\quad \text{(Karlgren GSR 502c).}

[\text{T}] \quad \text{Sin Sukchu SR ly (入); MGZY lùu (入) [ly]; ONW luit} \]

[\text{E}] \quad \text{Baxter (1992: 280 and 842 n. 196) derives ‘rule’ from the same root as \text{bí}_{6} 筆}
'brush, writing pencil', both deriving from the notion 'draw a line, ruler'; but see bǐ for another etymology.

**shuài 卷** (jiūet, xiānC) LH _qsuit, _șuís, OCM _sturs(s) — [T] ONW șuît

‘To go along, follow, lead’ [Shi]; ‘lead an army’ [Zuo], ‘obey’ [Li].

<[s]-caus. of Șùt ș (jiūet) (§5.2.2).

**shuài 卷** (xiānC) LH _șuís, OCM _sturs

‘Leader, officer’ [Zuo].

[<] S-caus. of _șùt ș (jiūet) (§5.2.2).
doublet of → shuāng 雙 *sroŋ (Baxter 1992: 227), but the putative ST roots would differ which speak against this (ST *zuŋ vs. *run).


luǎn 鵲 (luǎn) **Lu luǎn, OCM *rōn7, OCB *C-ron7 **— [T] ONW luǎn
‘Egg’ [Zuo], the Northern Min initial s- may be due to loss of a pre-initial which might have been a velar considering Duan Yūcái’s comment that luǎn is read like guān 闙 (Mei / Norman 1971: 99).


luàn 亂 (luàn) **Lu luànC, OCM *rōns, OCB *C-rons
‘To rebel, disorder’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR lwon (去); MGZY lon (去) [lɔn]; ONW luǎn


[C] Baxter (1992: 365) thinks it likely that this word is cognate to → biàn 变 ‘prions ‘change’.

lùè1 掠略 (ljak, liānC) Lu liōk, liānC, OCM *rak, *raŋh.
‘To rob, plunder’掠 [Zuo], 略 [Guoyu].

[D] M-Amoy Iŋ必‘to beat’

[E] ST: Lushai rōkL ‘to plunder, loot, raid’.

lùè2 略 (ljak) **Lu liōk, OCM *rak
‘To trace out, measure (area), plan’ [Shu] > ‘plan, method’ [Zuo]; ‘boundary, frontier’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljaw (入); MGZY lew (入) [lew]; ONW l(i)ak

[C] Possible allofams → lùè2 略; → lùè3 略; perh. also → liāng4 量.

lùè3 略 (ljak) **Lu liōk, OCM *rak
‘To traverse’ [Zuo] > ‘sketch, outline’ [Meng]; ‘road, way’ [Zuo].

[C] This is possibly the same etymon as → lùè2 略. Perh. EATURE → lùè5 路 ‘road’.

lùè4 略 (ljak) **Lu liōk, OCM *rak
‘Be sharp’ (of plows) [Shi].


lún1 讨 (luēn, luǎn) **Lu luǐn, luǎn, OCM *run
‘To discuss’ [Lunyu] > ‘examine’ 讨 [Meng]; ‘principle, category’ 廷 [Shi]. Acc. to Downer (1959: 277) the noun has tone C.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR lun (平去); MGZY lun (平去) [lun]; ONW lon

≈ lún 讨 (luānC) Lu luānC, OCM *rōns
‘Theory’ [Zuo].

**lún — luǒ**

lún₂ 輪 (jiuen) **LH** luin, **OCM** *run — [T] **OWN** luin

‘Wheel’ [Shi]. Acc. to Robert Bauer (Sino-Platonic Papers 47, 1994) perh. a PIE loan whose source may ultimately be the same etymon as the one for → chē 車. Dialects have different words for ‘wheel’: Beijing kǔ-lù 転轎, Y-Guǎngzhōu tsʰe⁻⁵⁵loit⁻⁵⁵ 転轎.

lún₃ 繼 (jiuen) **LH** luin, **OCM** *run, **OCB** *g-rjun

‘Cord’ [Li], ‘to twist’ [Shi], ‘envelop, comprise’ [Yi]. Pulleyblank (1972, 73) relates this word to → lèi₂ 彈繩. Acc. to Baxter (1992: 281) the following is derived from the same root:

*guān 繼 (kwàn) **LH** kuan, **OCM** *kùn?

‘Blue or green sash, kerchief’ [Erya, SW].

[C] Perh. also related is → mǐn₃ 繼 **OCB** *mrjun (so Baxter).

luǒ 捁 (luàt) **LH** luot, **OCM** *rṓt

‘Gather, pluck’ [Shi]; ‘to pull (up sleeves), to scrape off (sweat), milk (cows)’. 

[A] **PTai** ruut²² ‘to scrape off (mud from limbs), strip off (grains from stalk)’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 139). There are two possible TB cognates: Lushai loʳ / loʔl (‹ *l̥os) ‘to pluck, pick’, but the initial consonants do not agree. Or **WT** ‘drud-pa ‘to rub, file, rub off, grind’.

[C] Allofam is perh. → guā₂ 刮 ‘scrape off’. Perhaps also related to → duó₄ 揆 (tuát, tjwat) ‘pick, gather’.

luó₁ 蟑 → wō, guǎ, luó 蝜

luó₂ 螺 (luá) **LH** loai / S loi — [T] **OWN** loa

‘A spiral shell’.

[D] The initial s- in Northern Mín dialects as in Jiàn’ōu soᴬ² may be due to the loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 100).

luó₃ 縊 → lā₂ 叨

luó₄ 羅 (lā) **LH** loai, **OCM** *rái — [T] **OWN** la

‘Bird net’ [Shi], ‘gauze’ [Guoce].

[D] Y-Guǎngzhōu ²³lɔ⁴², K-Méixiān lɔᴬ²

[E] Perh. the word is related to **WT** dra ‘net’ (but the rimes do not agree).

[C] Allofam → l̥₂ 離罹.

luó₅ 羅 (lā) **LH** loi

‘Hamper’ [JY]; Han period dialect word for ‘winnowing basket’ [FY 5].

[D] Y-Guǎngzhōu ²³lɔ⁴²; **PMin** *lɔiᴬ²: Jiànglè šai⁴³, Fúzhōu lai²⁴², Xiǎmén luoᴬ², lit. lɔᴬ²


luó₁ 赂 → лी₂ 磬礯

luó₂ 裸 (luâb) **LH** luai⁶ / S loi⁶, **OCM** *röiʔ — [T] **OWN** lu↸⁸

‘Bare, naked’ [Zuo].

[E] **ST**: Lushai ruakʱ < ruak ‘naked’. Matisoff (1995: 64) suggests that the OC final *-i (-j) represents a **ST** diminutive suffix. **PTai** *plojᴬ¹ ‘naked’ (Luo 2000: 75) seems also to be related.

[C] Prob. related to → chéng₃ 程 ‘naked’.

For an overview of related and similar etyma, see Table L-1.
Table L-1 Naked, red

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ST *rojʔ?</th>
<th>TB *g-royn</th>
<th>ST *reŋ &lt; rojʔ?</th>
<th>TB *kren red</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>luŋ 裸 *rōiʔ naked</td>
<td>chéng 裸 *dren naked</td>
<td>chéng 裸 *hren red (intensive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>sgre-ba naked</td>
<td>sgren-mo, rjen naked</td>
<td></td>
<td>skyen-ba ashamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>krin31 bare</td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰyên - tsen red (Kachin), JP kʰye33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>ruakF &lt; ruak naked</td>
<td>teenR &lt; tren? bare (hillside)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>-reŋl- naked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kyan red (intensive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

lu dialect

1. 咳 (lāk [JY]), LH lāk, OCM *râk
   ‘To cough up (blood)’.
   [E] Tai: S. raak\[D2\] ‘to vomit’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 170). Perh. this word is cognate to → kē4 咳. The graph 咳 also writes a word kā 咳 (under → kē1 咳). This sound symbolic item also may be reflected in TB-Lushai lũa\[L\] / lā\[L\], luak\[F\] < lũaʔ/h / luak ‘to vomit, be sick’.

2. 烙 (lāk) LH lāk, OCM *râk
   ‘To burn’ [Zhuang] also occurs in PTai *gl-: S. kʰloak\[D2\] ‘to burn’.

3. 落 (lāk) LH lāk, OCM *râk see → lēi2 砸碟

4. 烈 → fū9 脩

5. 酷 → lào1 酷

6. 絆 (lāk) LH lāk, OCM *râk
   ‘Cord, bridle’ [Zhuang], ‘silk thread’ [Yi Zhou zhu] is perh. cognate to PLB *?krak ‘rope’, WT grags-pa ‘to bind’, unless WT is related to → huǒ3 韓.

7. 落 (lāk) LH lāk, OCM *râk, OCB *g-râk
   ‘To fall, drop, die’ [Shi].
   [T] Sin Sukhu 落 SR law (入), LR law?; MGZY 落 law (入) [law]; ONW lāk
   [D] PMin *lāk ‘to fall’
   [E] ST: PTB *kla (STC 123): Lushai tla\[L\]/ tlaak\[F\] ‘to fall from, go down’ ≠ tlaak\[F\] ‘throw off, drop’; WB kya\[C\] ‘to fall, become low’ ≠ kʰya\[C\] ‘to throw down’, Mikir klo < klo ‘fall down’, JP kʰrat31 ‘to fall’, also mɔʔ-loʔ55 ‘to fall off’ ≠ lok55 describes ‘falling off’ (Matisoff 1995a: 46f; Bodman 1980: 145). OC has *r instead of the expected *l (TB) in the initial probably due to pronomastic attraction to AA: Khmer gra’ka/kruk/ (vowel /u/ instead of /a/ because of the voiced initial) ‘be low, debased’ < -ra’ka/-ruk/ ‘to fall, be low, cover from above’.
Luò

Allofams with OC *r:- → xià, 下 ‘descend’, → lù, 露 ‘dew’; see also → tuò, 落 *lhâk ‘fallen leaves’.

Luò (lâk), LH lâk, OCM *râk

‘A kind of bird’ [SW], this may possibly be the s. w. as luò 雛 (lâk) ‘black horse with white mane’ [Shi] and 駱 ‘white horse with black mane’ [Shi], so called after the bird’s color.

Luò 駱 → Luò 雛
mā | Mandarin 'mother', also in other dialects, e.g. G-Wuning maA1, but this particular dialect also has a form maA0 'mother' which is parallel to paA0 'father' (Sagart 1993: 171). In some southern dialects, this etymon also means 'female' (of animals): e.g. M-Jian’ou kaiA5 maA2 雛 'hen'.

ma2 | Interrogative final particle in modern dialects, probably the same etymon as wú, ma 'not' with parallels in other languages, including TB, as in Lhasa ma, Hakha Lai (KC) -maa or -moo.

má | (ma) LH mai, OCM *mrâi — [T] Sin Sukchu SR ma (平); ONW mà

* má | 'Hemp' (Cannabis sativa), used for making linen [Shi], later also 'sesame'.

[D] PMin *maiA2: Xiàmén maA2, Jiànyâng moA2, Jian’ou muaC1, Fúzhóu maA2

[E] Etymology not clear. A SE Asian word for 'sesame' is PKS *mrâ1, MK-PMon *mrâw, AN-Malay leña.

mǎ1 | 马 (maB) LH maB, OCM *mrái

* mǎ | 马 (maC) LH maC, OCM *mráh

'A kind of horse sacrifice performed in the wilds' [Shi].

[E] ST: PTB *mran (STC no. 145): > OTib. rmaŋ, Kan. *s-raŋ, WB mraŋB, JP gumA7-raŋ > -raŋ; JR (m)bro < mraŋ. For the OC ~ TB difference in finals, see §3.2.4. STC (p. 43 n. 139) relates PTB *mran to a PTB root *raŋ 'high' (→ líng, 陵).

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 morin '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 mol also goes back to the Central Asian word, as does Japanese uma, unless it is a loan from CH (Miyake 1997: 195). Tai maaC2 and similar SE Asian forms are CH loans.

mǎ2 | 马马 | Prefix for names of insects [FY, EY] (Mei Tsu-Lin 1985: 339), as in mǎ-yī 马蚁 'ant' (→ yī 蚁), see also → huáng, 马

mǎ3-huáng | 马亐 → huáng 马

mà | 马 (maB/C) LH maB/C, OCM *mrá/h

* 'To scold' [Zuo].

[E] Prob. ST: WT dmo-pa 'curse' which, however, is apparently derived from ma 'below' (STC: 189 n. 487). Note also → wú ‘id.’ with a different vowel. Perh. this is an areal etymon, note MK-Khmer tmah 'criticize in front of other, give a public dressing down'.

mǎi | 買 (maiB) LH meB, OCM *mrái — [T] ONW měi

* 'To buy' [Zuo, Zhao 26.3; Zhuang 1]. A graph similar to mǎi is found on OB (Söruí p. 253; Li Xiăo-ding p. 2157), but it is not certain what word it was intended to write.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR mǎi (平); MGZY may (平) [maj]; ONW měi
mai - máng

※ mai 賣 (maiC) LH meC, OCM *mrēh
‘To sell’ [Zhouli]. The graph was originally distinct from → yù23 賣, see SW 2679.

[<] exoactive of māi 賣 (maiB) (§4.3.1).

[E] ST: PTB *b-rey (STC no. 293 n. 207) > WT rje-ba < n-rje ? ‘to barter’. JP ma31-ri33 ‘to buy’, Garo bre, Dimasa barai. As to foreign initial b- for CH m-, see §5.12.2.

Alternative suggestions: Haudricourt a. Strecker (TP 77, 1991: 340) propose that māi and mài are loans from MY maiB and maiC, derived from a MY word ‘to have’. Acc. to Benedict, this is a common area word, perh. of Austro-Tai origin (Benedict, AT *(m)bal).

This set is more recent than → shē1 賣; → shōu2 售; → yù23 賣.

mài1 脈 (mek) LH mek, OCM *mrēk — [D] PMin *mak ~ *mek
‘Vein’ [Zuo].

[E] ST: Lushai marH < mar ‘the pulse’. As often, CH has added a final -k (§6.1): The OC form is derived from *mer-k or perh. rather *mor-k, since OC *o would agree with PTB *a (MC -ek can derive from both OC *-rök and *-rek); mài does not occur in early rimes which would decide the issue.

mài2 脈 writes Amoy ba?D1 ‘flesh’; etymology not clear, though reminiscent of → měi3 褐.

mài3-mù 霧霧 (mek-muk) LH mek-mok, OCM *m(r)ēk-m(r)ōk, OCB *-mok
‘Drizzle, drizzling rain’ n. [Shi 210, 2] may possibly be connected with the ST root under → wū12 霧.

mài4 萬 (mek) LH mek, OCM *mrōk, OCB *mrēk
‘Wheat’ [Shi].

[D] PMin *mak > Amoy be?D2, Fúzhōu ma?D2

[N] Mài and the alleged lâi 來 (lāi) ‘wheat’ [Shi] are not related to → lái, 來 ‘come’ (Qiu Xigui 2000: 287f), contrary to the often repeated folk etymology which is already found in SW. According to Pulleyblank (EC 25, 2000: 23), 來 is the original graph for mài, while 萬 (with the element ‘foot’) was originally intended for the more common lâi ‘come’, hence lâi ‘wheat’ is spurious.

[E] ST *m-rā(k) > WT bra-bo ‘buckwheat’; cf. PLB *g-ra2 ‘buckwheat’ [Matisoff D. Lahu: 1116]. For Ch. initial *m-, see §5.12.2.

mài5 邁勳 (maiC) LH mas, OCM *mrâts
‘To walk, move on, move along’ (of time) 適 [Shi] > caus. ‘to encourage’ 勳 [Shu].

mán 瞳 → míng₄ 瞳

màn₁ 慢慢 → wàn₂ 慢

màn₂ 慢慢 → wàn₂ 慢

màn₃ 謊 ‘deceive’ → wú₃ 謊

màn₄ 謊 ‘reckless’ → wàng₂ 妄

máng₁ 芒 (mjwān, mwān) LH mu̯ŋ, OCM *maŋ
‘Beard of grain, sharp point’ [Zhouli].

=máng 鋼 (mjwān) LH muŋ, OCM *maŋ
‘Sharp point of weapon’ [Lie].

[E] Etymology not clear. Possible comparanda: (1) Perh. related to PKS *mprǎŋ1 ‘ear’ (of grain), but we should expect a trace of a medial *r in MC (div. II). (2) TB-WB w-maŋ ‘stiff hair, bristles’.
máng - māo

máng2 茗 (mwâŋ) LH māŋ, OCM *mâŋ
‘Great, extensive’ [Shi].
≠ huâng 荒 (xwâŋ) LH huâŋ, OCM *hmâŋ
‘Be large, too large, excessive’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR xwâŋ (平); MGZY hwâng (平) [xwâŋ]

máng3 茢 (mwâŋ, xwâŋB) LH māŋ, huâŋ, OCM *mâŋ, *hmâŋ
‘Obscure, confused’ [Zhuang], perh. related to → hei 黑 for possible wider relations.

máng4 盲 (mēŋ) LH māŋ, OCM *mâŋ → [T] ONW mēŋ
‘Blind’ [BL. Lao], in Mand. replaced by xiā 聲.
See under → hei 黑 for possible wider relations; perh. also related to → mán3 萎.

It is not clear if and how → mèng5 夢矇 ≠ mōn ‘blind’ may be connected.

máng5 峖 (mwâŋ) LH māŋ, OCM *mâŋ
‘To soak and color silk’ [Zhouli, SW]. Acc. to SW, the character is read like huâng which may indicate an OC ≠ hmâŋ. The word is perh. related to KT: PKS *hma5 ‘soak, pickle’, Tai: S. maaBtya < *hm- ‘id.’. For the final -ŋ in CH, see §3.2.4.

máng6 萎 (mwâŋ) LH māŋ, OCM *mâŋ
‘Exert oneself’ [Shu] belongs possibly to ≠ man (under → miăn1 曉).

máng7 怅龍 (mâŋ) LH māŋ, OCM *mroŋ
‘Parti-colored, motley’ [Zuo], ‘shaggy dog’ [Shi]; ‘parti-colored animal’ 龍 [Zhouli]; ‘variegated’ 龍 [Zhouli]; ‘mixed, disorderly’ 哆 [Guoyu].
[E] ≠ ST. Bodman (1980: 170) compares this word to WT mdOŋ ‘white spot on horse’s forehead, eye in peacock’s feather’, but WT is prob. related to WB uC-donB ‘peacock’ (STC no. 341). More likely, the OC form could instead be related to WB kroŋ ‘be of various colors, as a tiger’.

máng1 萌 (mwâŋB) LH māŋB, OCM *mâŋ?
‘Grass, weeds’ [Meng], ‘jungle’ [Zuo]. The original graph is 萌.
≠ mó 萌 (muoB) LH mōB, OCM *mâŋ?
‘Grass, weeds’ [Chuci, GY] is an ancient dialect word for ‘grass’ in Chû and south of the Yangtze [FY 3, 8]. For the difference in finals, see §3.2.4.

[C] Possible allofams are → wū0 萎無, → xi1 帚.

máng2 萌 (mwâŋB) LH māŋB, OCM *mâŋ? ≠ *mîn? ≠
‘King snake’ [EY], i.e. ‘python’ (Carr LTBA 13.2, 1990: 120f). It is perh. connected with Loloish *lanŋ ‘snake’ (Zev Handel, ICSTLL 1997: 26).

māo 貓 (mau, mjâu 3) LH mau, OCM *mau
‘Cat’ [Shi].

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[T] Sin Sukchu SR maw (平); MGZY maw, mew (平) [maw ~ mew];
[N] The onomatopoetic nature of this word explains the MC div. II vocalism (māo hardly had an OC medial *r) as well as the unexpected tone A in Mandarin.

máo 毛 (māu) LH mōu, OCM *māu
‘Hair, fur’ [Shi, BI].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR maw (平); MGZY maw (平) [maw]; ONW mōu

[D] PMIn *māu ‘hair, head hair’


mào 帽 (māu C) LH mōu C, OCM *mūh — [T] ONW mōu
‘Head scarf, head cover’ of the southern Mǎn-Yí people [SW], 帽 [Shiming]; ‘scepter cover’ 瑋 [Zhouli]; ‘hat’ 冒 [Hanshu].

[E] This is a late word. The SW allusion to a southern origin suggests that this is the same etymon as the MK ~ mōu, 瑋 ‘helmet’; on the other hand, mào cannot be separated from the homophone ST → mào2 冒 ‘to cover’. Foreign ‘hat’ has prob. been reinterpreted as → mào2 冒 ‘cover’ because of parallelism with the syn. → bèi 被 ‘cover > headress’.

mào 冒 (māu C) LH mōu C, OCM *mūh, OCB *muks — [T] ONW mōu
‘To cover’ (without contact, spread overhead, as sky covers the earth, a king’s efforts extend over the world) [Shi]; later > ‘to cover’ (e.g. a corpse with cloth) [Li], (body with skin) [Hanshu]; ‘hat’ [Hanshu], but see → mào1 帽; (‘cover the eyes’) > ‘reckless’ [Zuo], ‘be jealous’ 媢 [Li]. In Lūshì chūnqì the word rimes apparently with dāo 倒 *dāu/h (no final *-k, vowels differ), GY has an alternate reading for 媢 in tone B (< *?-), hence no OC final -k.

[E] ST: WB mui B ‘cover without contact, spread overhead, be chief’ ≅ a-mui B ‘roof, a chief’ (WB also hmū ‘be chief’ ≅ a-hmū ‘chief’). To this root belongs also the common TB word for ‘sky’: WB mui B (written miugh B) ‘sky, rain’, OTib. mu ‘sky’ (HST), WT dmū, rmū, smū ‘sky’ (Hoffmann 1979: 96); TGTM ’hmū, Nung mu; JP lo31-mu31 ‘sky’ ≅? mu55 ‘lightning’. The syn. word for ‘sky’, → tiān 天, belongs to a root ‘above’.

mào 帽 (māu C) LH mōu C, OCM *mūh
‘To see, look’ [Shu], survives in Gān dialects: Wūnīng mau C ‘to look at’ [Sagart 1993: 173].

[E] ST *mu(?) > JP mu31 ‘to see’, Lushai hmāu C / hmēuPl ‘to see, perceive, observe, come across, get, receive’ ≅ hmēuPl ‘to show’ (CVST 1: 43).

mào 帽 ‘hat’ → mào1 帽 帽
mào 帽 ‘covetous’ → mò6 帽
mào 帽 → mào1 帽 帽
mào 帽 → mào1 帽 帽
mào 帽 → mào1 帽 帽
mào 帽 → mào1 帽 帽
mào 帽 → mào1 帽 帽
mào 帽 → wù11 務
mào ‘have not’ in Gān dialects (無有) → méi1 没
méi1 没 (muat)
‘Not have, there is no, not yet’ Mand.; MC must may be a col. variant of wū 不 or
méi

mei 未, which later fused with, or was influenced by, → yōu 有 (Norman 1988: 126).

This late word is not derived from → mò 木 ‘dive’.

méi 2 枚 (muīi) LH māi, OCM *māi
‘Branch, tree trunk, board’ [Shi], later ‘chip, counter’ > classifier for every category of noun in the Nánbēícháó period, now obsolete (Lü Shūxiāng; Norman 1988: 115).


méi 3 眉楞楣 (mji 3) LH mī, OCM *mōi, OCB *mōj
‘Edge, bank, coast, from the moment of’ 楠 [BI, Shi] > ‘eyebrow’ 棱 (‘edge / border of the eye’) [Shi] (so Karlgren 1956: 5; Wáng Li 1982: 428), ‘lintel of door or window’ 棧 [Yīli]. For a semantic parallel ‘edge’ > ‘rim’ (of eye), see → yā 3, ái 亚涯涯。

[EE] Etymology not clear. Mēi ‘eyebrow’ is prob. not related to PTB *(s-)mi1 ‘body hair’ because it is the s. w. 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 hmo:H ‘border, edge, point, end’ (but see → mò 木 末). For more words with initial *m- and the notion ‘edge, lip’, etc. See → wēn 问 吻.

méi 4 梅 (muīi) LH mēi, OCM *mōi and *mōi? (Mattos 1971: 309)
‘Japanese apricot’ (Prunus mume), ‘plum’, Mand. méizi 梅子, seems to be related to Old Japanese ume2 ‘plum’ (Shibatani 1990: 120; Miyake 1997: 188). There are other tree names which have a possible Japanese connection: → song 笋 ‘pine’; → nail 楠 ‘some kind of pear’ and → zhe 一些 ‘some kind of mulberry tree’. The source of these words is unknown.

méi 5 梅 (mūi [?] C) LH mā[C], OCM *mōi(h), OCB *mōi(h)
‘Meat on sides of spine’ [Yī] may belong to the TB items under → mī 木 ‘deer’, but the vowels do not agree.

méi 6 媒 {muīi} LH mā, OCM *mōi — [D] PMin *mōi
‘Marriage go-between, matchmaker’ [Shi], ‘god of fecundity’ 襲 [Li]. A semantic extension is perh. → méi gō ‘prolific’.

[EE] AA: Khmer dhmāya [dm̩ja] ‘agent, representative’ > ‘marriage go-between’, derived from [*-d̩-ja] ‘bear, support’ (→ dāi9 戴) with the infix -m- which forms agental derivatives (Jenner / Pou 1982: xlv f). The AA infix was treated like the word initial in OC (§2.6).

A fecundity rite which was performed at an altar outside of town jiao 郊 where sexual intercourse (→ jiāo 交) was involved (Jensen EC 20, 1995: 402ff). While gāo merely transcribed a pre-initial, jiāo reflects re-etymologization.

[EE] AA: Khmer ghmāya [km̩iaj] ‘marriage broker’, by alteration of the (root-) initial from [tm̩iaj] above (Jenner / Pou 1982: 138). This etymon belongs to an AA wf which includes → pēi1 胚 ‘pregnant’, → dāi9 戴 ‘to bear’.

méi 7 媒 → méi 6 媒媒

méi 8 腺 (muīi) LH mā, OCM *mōi
‘Quickening of the fetus’ [SW], perh. ‘fruitful, prolific’ [Shi]. This is prob. a semantic extension of → méi 6 媒媒.

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méi – mèi

méi 9 煙 (muǎi) LH ma, OCM *mû
'Soot' [Lü].

[E] ST, but etymology not certain. (1) TB-Lahu mû < PLB *ʔ-mu² 'soot / scrid' (HPTB: 112; 180), apparently only attested in some LB languages; if related, a merger of OCM *mû with *o must have occurred (see comment under → méi, 每).
(2) TB-Lushai maŋ² / maŋ < maŋ 'be sooty, grimy' * maŋ² < maŋ 'partially burnt wood'; rather than being a CH loan, WB hmaŋ 'ink' appears to be a loan translation of mo 墨 'ink' (made of soot) (under → hēi 黑 'black').

[C] Possible derivations are → hūi, 灰 'ashes', → wén, 文 'black marks', → hēi 黑 'black' (Wáng Lì 1982: 409). Wáng Lì adds méi (muǐ) ‘moldy, grimy’ which appears in SW and Chüci as the first syllable of binomes (黴黴, 黴黑). Unrelated to → hūi, 晰 ‘dark’.

méi 1 美 (muǐ²) LH ma², OCM *mరʔ, OCB *mڑʔ?
'Beautiful, handsome' [Shi: Guofeng].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR maj (去), PR, LR maj; MGZY mue (去) [mue]; ONW mì

[E] This may possibly be the AA word for ‘one’: PMK *mûy (Shorto 1976: 1054) > Khmu? mooy, OKhmer moy / moyj / moyjj (→ Tai mûi), combination form mo; PMon mûj 'one' [Diffloth 1984: 141], OMon moyj; OKhmer and OMon mimoy / moyj / moyj 'each' < / moyj / '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 *o instead of *o which is implied by the phonetic → mû, 母 *mʔ?; OC Shijing dialectal merger of *Po with *Po (Baxter 1992: 466) would explain the later vowel.

Chinese and Khmer associate the notion ‘each, every’ with ‘single, one’, note CH zhī zhī yóu wèi 每 隻有尾 ‘each one has a tail’ (zhī 隻 ‘single, one’) (Giles p. 233 no. 1869); Mand. yǐ gè yǐ gède 一个一個的 ‘one by one, each’.

méi 3 眠 (muǐ) LH mĩs, OCM *mōs or *mûs — [D] PMin *myai (or *mue)
‘Younger sister’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR maj (去), PR, LR maj; MGZY mue (去) [mue]; ONW mì


méi 2 莫 (muǐ) LH mĩ, OCM *mûs (diacritic *mû?)
‘Finish’ → mõ, 毋

méi 3 眠 (muǐ) LH mĩs, OCM *mûs — [T] ONW mì
‘Twilight, obscure, bewildered’ [BI, Shi] > ‘morning twilight, dawn, earlier; dusk’ [OB, BI, Shi, Shu].

※ wú 吻 (miǔt, xuát) LH mut, huc, OCM *mût, *hmût < *hmåt
‘Dawn’ [SW].

[E] Perh. connected with KS, note PKS *bûr² ‘blind’.

méi 4 眠 (muǐ) LH mis, OCM *mĩ(t)s — [T] MTang mĩ, ONW mii
‘To sleep’ [Shi].

[E] ST: PTB *r-mwyi (STC: 174 n. 463; no. 196) > WT rmi-ba, rmis ‘to dream’, WB
mèi – mèn

*mwe* ‘to sleep’ (*HST*: 134), Magar *mis-ke*; Lushai *mu* < *mu* ‘to lie down, sleep’ is related.

mèi₃ 魑 (mjic 3) * LH *mis, OCM *mri(t)s?
‘A kind of demon’ [Zuo], 彭 [Zhouli] (discussed by Carr LTBA 13.2: 137); mèi is often combined with → chț 魑鸾袅. Etymology not clear.

mèi₆ 吻 (muát, maič) * LH *mot, mas, OCM *mät, *mrāts
‘Farsighted, dim vision’ [SW] may be related to... mèi₃ 魑

mèi₇, hui 憋 (muajić, xuajić) * LH *māć, huāć, OCM *(h)māb
‘Be pained, to suffer’ [Shi]. The relationship with... mèi₃ 憋

mèi₈, jue 袖 (mjiiajc 4, kiwet) * LH *mias, kuel, OCM *me(t)s, *kwet?
‘Sleeve’ [Lun], mej [Li]. Acc. to Baxter IS Sag art (1998: 49), jue is a k-prefix derivation from mèi.

mèn₁ 門 (muon) * LH *mən, OCM *mən, OCB *mən
‘Gate’ [BI, Shi]. Perh. měn 閘 LH *mon ‘river gorge’ [Shi] is the same word.

mèn₂ 揼 (muon) * LH *mən, OCM *mən
‘To lay hands on, hold’ [Shi]. Shun below suggests a PCH rime *-un.

mèn₃ 悼 (muon) * LH *mən, OCM *mən
‘Unconsciously’ [Zhuang].

mèn₄ 悼 (muon) * LH *mən, OCM *mən
‘Sad’ [Yi], ‘dull, stupid’ [Lao].

hūn 暗 (xuan) * LH huan, OCM *(h)mən
‘Gatekeeper’ [Zuo] < mén 門 (muon) with nominalizing devoicing (§5.2.4).

shùn 揀 (dzjuebic, zjue) * LH *zuinbic, zuin, OCM *m-lun/s, *s-lun
‘To lay hands on’ [SW, Mo].

mèn₅ 悼 (muon) * LH *mən, OCM *mən
‘To lay hands on’ [Lūshi].

The following is prob. a variant of mèn 揊 (Sagart 1999: 79):

shùn 揊 (dzjuebic, zjue) * LH *zuinbic, zuin, OCM *m-lun/s, *s-lun
‘To lay hands on’ [SW, Mo].

mèn₆ 悼 (muon) * LH *mən, OCM *mən
‘Dusk, evening, darkness, benighted, mentally dark’ [Shi]; ‘blinded, confused’ [Zhuang] – 悼 is also read [men]/mən (QYS mienbic, muon) which reflects prob. the common *i ~ u variation and thus converges with mián 眠 (under → mián₁ 眠眠).

CH -> PMY *mwoen+ ‘evening, dusk’.

This wf is possibly associated with → měng₃ 濃 ‘blind’, → hūn 暗, wēn₂ 素. It tends to blend into → mián₁ 眠, → mióng₂ 冥. Baxter / Sagart (1998: 60) add hūn 亿 (huant) [but]
*mhut ‘careless, confused’ [Shi] to this wf.

mèn 悼 → mèn₃ 悼

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méng1 蛛 (men) LH maŋ, OCM *mrâŋ
‘Gadfly, horsefly’ [Zhuang]; also name of the plant _Fritillaria_ [Shi]. Mei Tsu-Lin (1985: 338) relates this word to → yín6 蟲 ‘a fly’ and PTai _ma-leŋ_ 42, but see → měng5 䗉 ‘a fly’.

[E] ST: WT _sbraŋ_ < _s-mraŋ_ ? ‘a fly’ (Gong 2002b: 200). For the initial _m_-~ _b_-difference, see §5.12.2.

méng2 蒙 (men) LH _mēn_, OCM *mrēŋ or *mrâŋ
‘Population, people’ 蒙 [Shi], 蚤 [Zhouli], ‘subjects’ [Meng] (commentators have suggested that _méng_ refers to “settlers from the outside", but that cannot be the meaning in _Meng_ 5B, 6) > Mand. _mēng_ ‘the common people’, but _liûmâŋ_ (!) 流浹 ‘hooligan’ is perh. a different etymon. QYS _mēng_ normally goes back to OC *mraŋ (so Li F.) or *mraŋ; the phonetic as well as the graph substitution _mēng_ 蒙 (men5) *mraŋ (Karlgren GL 176) favor OC *mraŋ. This word is not related to → mǐn6 民 ‘people’ as is sometimes suggested (e.g. Wâng Li 1982: 372).


méng3 盟 → méng6 明

méng4 萌 (men) LH _mêŋ_, OCM *mrâŋ
‘Sprout’ [Li].


méng5 夢朦 (mun) LH _môŋ_, OCM *môŋ
‘Blind’ 昏 [Shi] > ‘be blind to, unenlightened’ 夢 [Shi] > ‘stupidity, ignorance’ 昏 [Shu].

[E] ST: WT _mdong̍-pa_ < _mlôŋ-s_ ? ‘blind’. _HST_: 61 considers this the same etymon as → méng7 朦 ‘darkening’; in fact this word and → méng7 朦. → méng6 蒙 may be the same, in spite of _méng_ here being also written with the graph 夢 which should be expected to go back to an original vowel *ə. It is not clear if and how the wf → máng3 茫茫 may be related.

méng6 蒙 (mun) LH _môŋ_, OCM *môŋ
‘To cover’ intr. (as fur, vegetation, etc.) 蒙 [Shi], 朦 [Yi Zhou] > ‘filled to the brim’ (of food vessels) 朦 [Shi]. See note under → méng7 朦 ‘darkening’.

* méng 蒙 (mun6) LH _môŋ_, OCM *môŋ?
‘Be dense, luxurious’ [Shi].

méng7 朦 (mun) LH _môŋ_, OCM *môŋ
‘Darkening’ (e.g. sky by rain) [Shi]. TB cognates suggest that this is not derived from the same ST etymon as → méng5 夢朦 ‘blind’.


Many words could be combined into a large wf ‘cover, dark, blind’: → méng6 蒙, → méng5 夢朦, → méng3 悔. However, ‘blind’ → méng5 夢朦 points to a medial *l, whereas there is no evidence for this in the WB words for ‘dull, dark’.

méng1 蛛 (men6) LH _mêŋ_, OCM *mrēŋ?
‘Toad’ [Zhouli]. The character also writes a syllable _mîn_ (mjien6 4) OCM *mirən?.
měng — mǐ

měng₂ 螳 → wén₂ 蚯

měng₃ 螳 → měng₆ 蒙 ‘cover’

měng₁ 孟 (mën²) LH män³, OCM *mrāŋ ? — [T] ONW mēn
‘Eldest’ (of siblings) [Shi], ‘eldest’ [Shu], ‘first’ (of three months) [Li].


měng₂ 夢 (mën³) LH mën³, OCM *män (tone A!)

[T] Sin Sukchu SR mën (去); MGZY wën (去) [vun]; MTang mën, ONW mën

měng₁ měi (miei) LH mēi, OCM *mī — [T] ONW mēi
‘To go astray’ [Shi].

mí₁ 迷 (miei) LH mēi, OCM *mǐ — [T] ONW mēi
‘To go astray’ [Shi].

mí₂ 迷 (mjie 3) LH mī, OCM *mr(3)i
‘David’s deer’ [Zuo].

mí₃ 迷 (mjie 4) LH mīe, OCM *me — [T] MTang mī, ONW mīe
(‘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’ [Lunyu].

mī₄ 迷→mí₃ 迷

mī₅ 麾鹭 ‘fawn’ → mī 觞鹭

mī₆ 麾 (mjie 3) LH mīai, OCM *mai
‘To crush’ (people) [Meng] which, acc. to GSR 17g is derived from the meaning ‘rice gruel’ [Li], the reverse seems more plausible, however.

[D] PMin *meu¹: in Southern Min, this word ‘rice gruel’ is used for Mand. zhōu 粥.

mī₁ 米 (miei) LH mēi, OCM *mǐ, OCB *mǐ: ‘Rice, husked rice’ [Zuo].

mⅡ₁ Sin Sukchu SR mije (上); MGZY mǐ (上) [mǐ]
mǐ

[D] PMin *mǐB2 ‘husked rice’.

[E] Prob. an area word, but a relative with unambiguous phonological agreement is elusive; most likely cognate: STB *ma-y (STC no. 305) > Garo mǐ me, Dimasa mai ‘rice, paddy’, Karen Sgaw me ‘boiled rice’; Tangkhul Naga ma ‘paddy’, Lushai mōI ‘rice, paddy’. Beginning to form in the bud (rice); JP mǐB2 ‘blossom’ (of grain) (HST: 125).

However, this connection presupposes an OCM *mǐ? Matisoff (1995: 66) suggests that the final *-i/-y is a ST diminutive suffix. <> Yao mǐ3 (Wáng Fúshì). An mǐB2 ‘rice’ (Benedict AN.

Alternatively, Li Fang Kuei (1976: 45) associates the CH word with S. ma-let<sup>D2</sup>S < *mǐl- ‘seed’, S. met / let ‘seed, kernel’, Saek mle<sup>T2</sup>, and refers also to WT < Nbras ‘rice’ (which belongs to → lǐ, though), and to ‘bru ‘grain, seed’ (cognate to → wù物, however). Egerod 1976 cites Miao mblei. See also → zhǐ̀2 實 ‘fruit’.

### mǐ<sub>2</sub> 觐 → mǐ<sub>1</sub> 迷

### mǐ<sub>3</sub> 萬 (mjeB 4) LH mieB, OCM *me?

The clan name of the rulers of the ancient state of Chū, in CH translation Xióng 熊. Mǐ is a KT word for ‘bear’ (Yan Xuequn CAAAL 21, 1983: 135): PKS *mi:i-fi, PTai *hm:- S. mǐ<sup>4</sup>, Po-ai miui<sup>4</sup>, Hlai mui<sup>4</sup> [Matisoff 1988c: 310] (a medial w/u is lost after labial and acute initials in CH); farther afield we note AN: e.g. Proto-Eastern Formosan *Cumey ‘bear’ [Li Jen-kuei LL 5.2, 2004: 368]. The graph represents a sheep and writes the sound of its bleating (?).

### mǐ<sub>4</sub> 引巫 → mǐ<sub>3</sub> 迷

### mǐ<sub>5</sub> 彤 (mjeB 4) LH mieB, OCM *me?

‘To wash’ (a corpse in preparation for burial) [Zhouli] may be related to → mǐ<sub>1</sub> 迷, but the vowels do not agree.

### mǐ<sub>6</sub> 麦 (mjeB 3) LH miæB, OCM *mai?

‘Not have, there is no’ [Shi] > (‘cause to get to nothing’:) ‘squander’ [Li], ‘exhaust’ [Guoyu].

### [T] Sin Sukchu SR mǐ (平行), mje (上), PR majo (平行), MGZY mue (平行) [mue]

[N] This PCH and pre-classical word ‘not have, there is no’ (the more common synonym was → wàng亡) was replaced by → wū物 starting only in late WZhou, so that mǐ survived only as a semantic derivative ‘squander, exhaust’.

[C] A derivation is → mie<sub>2</sub> 麦 ‘not have’. Possibly the s. w. as → mǐ<sub>7</sub> 麦 ‘small’.

### mǐ<sub>7</sub> 麦 (mjeB 3) LH miæB, OCM *mai?

‘Small, tiny’ (e.g. grass) [Yi, Li].
of the earlier word → mǐ 蜜 ‘not have’ (i.e. > ‘become nothing, negligible, small’?). Acc. to HST: 62, it could be cogn. to → mí 蜜 ‘crush’. Or it could be a vocalic variant of a syn. → wéi 微 *mai.

mǐ₁ mí (mjet 4) LH mit, OCM *mit, OCB *Npjit
‘To wipe a vessel clean’ [SW].


mǐ₂ mǐ (mjet 3) LH mit, OCM *mit, OCB *mrjit — [?] 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 → mǐ₄ 水 ‘near’):

※ lǐ 栗 (ljet) LH lit, OCM *rit, OCB *C-rjit — [?] ONW lit
‘Dense, compact’ (of kernels, heaped grain) [Shi].

mǐ₃ mǐ (mjet 3) LH mit, OCM *mrit
‘To be near, close’ [Zuo].

[?] A:A Khmer piata /bǐaet/ ‘be near, close, come close to, bring near, press upon...’ ※ pampiata /bambiæt/ ‘to squeeze or hold tight, pin between...’. For the initials, see §5.12.2; Khmer -ia- corresponds often to an OC high front vowel. Alternatively, this may be the same word as → mǐ₃ 水 ‘dense’.

mǐ₄ mǐ (mjet 3) LH mit, OCM *mrit
‘To be near, close’ [Zuo].

※ mè 覆 (miet) LH met, OCM *mêt

mǐ₅ mǐ (mjet 4) LH mit, OCM *mit
‘Honey’ [Chuci].

[?] MTang mir < mǐr, ONW miit — [?] PMin *mit
[?] Thought to be borrowed from IE-Tocharian B mit ‘honey’ < PTokharian *mjat (Behr Orients 1999 / 2000: 36).

mǐ₆ mǐ (mjet 4) LH miit, OCM *mēk
‘To cover’ 覆 [Zhouli], 覆 [Yili]; ‘cover’ (consisting of skin or mats) 覆 [BI], ‘covering on carriage’ 覆 [Li], ‘floor carpet in carriage’ 覆 [Zhouli].

※ miè 覆 (miê) LH met, OCM *mêt

mǐ₇ mǐ (mjet) LH mek, OCM *mēk
‘To search, look for’ [BI, Yùpian, Sāngūzhī, Jīnshū] has a stop initial in Min dialects: Quanzhōu ba?D₂, Amoy baC₂, baiD₂, li. bekD₂.

mǐ₈ mǐ (mjet) LH mek, OCM *mēk — [?] MTang mǐk, ONW mēk
‘Sleep’ 覆 [Zhuang]. The graph 覆 is encountered only late in Han period texts [Shanhaijing] and since for 覆; it thus does not reflect the OC phonetic parameters of the phonetic series GSR 457 覆 (*min ~ *mèn). Mián is distinct from → míng₂ 蜜 ‘close eyes’.

[?] MTang mǐan < mǐan, ONW mēn
[?] ST: PTB *myel [STC no. 197] > Chepang mel: ‘close, shut eyes’, Bahing mjel
míán — mián

‘sleepy’, WB myaīB ‘be sleepy, sleep’; JP mjen31-mjen31 ‘to sleep soundly’ ≠ mjet31 ‘sleep a while’ (HST: 134).

míán2 红棉 (mjiān 4) LH mian
‘Cotton’ 棉 [Bái Jā-yì, Tang period]; ‘wool’ in míán yáng 红羊 ‘sheep’ (lit. ‘wool goat’) [Sungshì]. This is a late word, unless míán-mán 红纖 ‘tiny, delicate’ in Shìjīng is derived from ‘wool’.

[E] ST: WT bal ‘wool’; for the initials, see §5.12.2. However, the WT word could belong to → pán 蜷 ‘curl’ instead.

míán1 勉 (mjiān 3) LH mianB, OCM *mran? — [T] ONW mian
‘To strive, insist, make effort’ [Shi]. Wáng Lì (1982: 410) relates this word to items under → mǐn 痛 ‘suffering’.

※ mínn-mián 督勉 (mjiān 3-mjiān 3) LH mínn-miánB, OCM *mran?-mran?
‘To make an effort’ [Shi]. The first part LH mínnB may be a reduplication syllable.

※ lián 連 (jiān) LH lian, OCM *ran
‘To be toilsome, difficult, slow’ [Yi].

[E] Perh. AA: OKhmer ryân [jiān] ‘to exert oneself, apply one’s mind to, study...’.

[C] Perh. related to → máng6 賣 ‘exert oneself’.

míán2 萌 (mjiān 3) LH mianB, OCM *mran? — [T] ONW man
‘To give birth’ [OB (acc. to Guo Moruo), Guóyú: Yùyǔ; Wénxuān, GY], GY adds some other readings; a Qī 齊 (Shandong) dialect word acc. to a commentary to Wénxuān (Wáng Lì 1982: 585).

[E] This word appears to form a ST-like *mra/en? ~ *sre/an? pair with → chǎn 産 *sre/an? ‘produce’ (§2.4.3), hence míán seems to be a ST etymon. Nevertheless, míán and chǎn could equally well belong to MK: Khmer samräl /samraal/ (s-m-raaJ) ‘to give birth to, deliver’ < rāla Irfi;?]1/ ‘to increase, ... distribute, propagate’. Perhaps AA has been the source of OC *mran? which then coincided with the ST s- ~ m- pattern.

míán3 細 (mjiān 3) LH mianB, OCM *mran?
‘Ceremonial cap’ [BI, Shu] could be related either to → bián 弁 [biānC] ‘a cap’ (so Wáng Lì 1982: 582), or to → mǐ 覆 ‘cover’; both proposals present phonological problems.

míán4 面 → míán1 面

míán5 涵 (mjiān 4) LH mianB, OCM *men?
‘To steep (in wine), get drunk’ [Shi].

Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50) suggests cognition with WT smyon-pa ‘insane, frantic, mad’.

míán1 面 (mjiān 4) LH mianC, OCM *mens
‘Face, to face, face to face’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR mjen (去); MGZY men (去) [men]; ONW mian

[D] This is still the word for ‘face’ in southern dialects: M-Xiéméng bi'C2, Y-Guánzhōu mín'C, K-Méixiān mian'C

※ míán 偏 (mjiān 4) LH mianB, OCM *men?
‘To turn from, abandon’ [Chucí] is cognate to the above acc. to Wáng Lì (1982: 586).

[<] perhaps endoactive of míán 面 (mjiān 4) (§4.5).

miàn - miè

miàn₂ 脣 → míng₄ 脣

miǎo 眇 (mjìǎuB 4) LH miauB, OCM *miau?
‘Small, insignificant’ [Shu], ‘minute’ [Zhuang], ‘exhaust, to the utmost’ [Xun], '杪' [Li].

主治 miǎo 妙 (mjìǎuC 4) LH miauC, OCM *miauh — [T] ONW miau
‘Mysterious’ [Lao] (Karlsgren 1956: 9).

miào₁ 妙 → miǎo 眇

miào₂ 廟 (mjìǎuC 3) LH miauC, OCM *mrauh
‘Ancestral temple’ [BI, Shi].

[袤] Perh. related to PMY *praǔ ‘house’ (Downer 1982); a semantic parallel ‘building’
> ‘temple’ is → zǒng, 宗. The phonetic is a labial cluster *br-. Thus Tai ‘morning’ and MY ‘house’ happen to be
near homophones. As to foreign initial b- for CH m-, see §5.12.2.

miè 乜 → xuè₂ 血

miè₁ 湮 (mjìǎıt 4) LH mìat, OCM *met, OCB *mjet — [T] ONW mìat
‘To drown’ [Yi], ‘extinguish, destroy’ [Shi].

～miè₂ 蔓 (mìet)
‘Destroy’ (OB: by water) [OB]. It seems that this graph wrote the preceding word
‘destroy’ in the inscriptions.

主治 xuè 血 (xjwát 3) LH hyat, OCM *hmēt, OCB *hmjēt
‘To cause destruction’ tr. [Shi].

[袤] ST: PTB *mit (STC no. 374) > Chepang hmit- ‘disappear, become extinct’, hmat-
‘(almost) disappear’; Abor-Miri mit ‘destroy’, Lushai mitL / miiL < mit / mii/h < mits ‘to
go out, die out, be extinguished’ ≠ tiL-mitL / tiL-miiL caus. ‘to extinguish, destroy’, Mikir
met < mit ‘destroy’, JP mii53 ‘be destroyed’.

The problem with this set is the vocalic discrepancy OC *et vs. PTB *it (an OC syllable
of the type *mit does occur; §11.3.4). Perh. reanalysis as derivation from → huī, 削
*hmai ‘destroy’ is responsible (*hmai + t > hmet). The direct phonological counterpart of
PTB *mit may be → mō_j 没 *mut ‘disappear, die; perish in water or fire’, but see there
(for *mit ~ *mut variation, see §11.5.1).

miè₂ 蔓 (mìet) LH met, OCM *mēt — [T] ONW mēt
‘Not have’ [Shu, Shi], a negative particle [Zuo] (Pulleyblank 1995: 110) > putative
(‘consider nothing’): ‘despise’ (the old people) [Hanfei], 懕 [SW: Shu] (§6.2.2; §2.10).

[袤] This word is derived from → ml₆ 臊 ‘not have’ (see there for TB connections).

miè₃ 血 (mìet) LH met
‘Blood’ [SW]. The meaning ‘to sully, soil, besmirch’ (reputation of an ancestral house)
stdlib [Hanshu] > ‘sore eye, troubled eyesight’ 眨 [Lüshi], ‘blood shot’ (eye) [Shiming]
could be a semantic extension of either → miè₂ 蔓 ‘not have’. The 畿劔 phrase wū
miè 污血 has prob. led to the SW (2145b) gloss wū xuè 污血 ‘sully with blood’
which implies a meaning ‘blood’ for miè and which has been copied into later
dictionaries as ‘blood’. Nevertheless, the notion ‘blood’ seems closely associated with
this word; note also the expression xuè-miè 血血 ‘to stain with blood’; Sagart (1999:
153) relates miè to TB-Tujia miè⁵³ ‘blood’ [Huáng Būfán, TB Lexicon no. 129].

miè₄ 血 → ml₇ 歲

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 mín = mǐn

mín₁ 民 (mjien 4) LH mín, OCM *mín 'People' [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR min (平); MGZY min (平) [min]; MTang mín < mín, ONW mín
[E] ST *mi: PTB *r-mi(y) > WT mi ‘man, human being’, Gyarung tərmɪ (i.e. tə-rmi) (STC: 158 n. 428). For the CH nominal n-suffix, see §6.4.3.

mín₂ 水 ‘confused’ → mín₄ 水

mín₃ 水 (mjen 3) LH mín, OCM *mrán^!, OCB *mrjun (Baxter 1992: 434) 'String, (fishing) line' [Shi].
[E] The MC rime can also derive from *-in, *-un, or *-iŋ in which case this word may be a variant of → shén 魚 OCM *m-loŋ (so Mei Tsu-Lin 1985). On the basis of a Shìfēng rime Baxter (1992: 281) suggests that mín is derived from the same root as the synonym → lún₃ 水 OCB *g-rjun.

mín₄ 水 (mjen 3) LH mín, OCM *mrán, OCB *mrjän (1992: 433) 'Suffering' [Shi].
~ mín 水 (mjeb 3) LH mín(B), OCM *mrán, OCB *mrjän (p. 434, tone A!) 'Be distressed' [Shi] > ‘grieved, commiserating’ 憾 [Zuo], 憾 [Meng], 'sorry, melancholy' 聽 [Zhuang], a late tone B variant of mín 水 (Baxter 1992: 433–434).
~ mín 水 (mjeb 3) LH mín(B)
'Be confused, disorderly, trouble' [Shu].
[E] This wsf is homophonous with → mín₁ 阮 ‘exert oneself’; they may be the same etyma (‘be pained’ ~ ‘take pains’). The relationship with → mèi, huì 水 ‘pained’ is not clear.

mín₅ 水 → mén₂ 水

mín₆ 水→ mín₁ 水

mín₁ 阮 (mjeb 3) LH mín, OCM *mrán, OCB *mrjän (p. 434, tone A!) 'Exert oneself, diligent' [BI, Shi].
=mín 水 (mjeb 3) LH mín, OCM *mrán 'Violent’ 水 [SW: Shu]; ‘austere, stern’ 曉 [Shi].
× mín 阮 (mjeb 3) LH mín, OCM *mràn?
'Be forceful' 水 [Shu]; ‘strong’ 阮 [SW].
× mín 阮 (mjeb 3) LH mín, OCM *mràn?
'Exert oneself, diligent' [BI, Shi]. A form in final -in begins to emerge only in the Han period (Luò and Zhōu 1958: 18).
× mín 水 (mjeb 3) LH mín(B), OCM *mrán(?)
'To destroy, ruin' [Zuo].
[E] This wsf and the homophonous → mín₄ 水 may be the same etymon (‘be pained’ ~ ‘take pains’). Alloforms may be → wèi 水 ‘be vigorous’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 410); Wáng also adds → mèi, 勉 ‘make an effort’; see there also for mín-miàn 勉。

mín₂, mín 阮 (mjeb 3 tone! [GY]) LH mín
Name of today’s Fūjiàn area, its major river, and the non-Han people who used to live 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 阮 indicates that the Zhōulǐ and Han time reading was not mín.

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mǐn – míng

mǐn₃ 敏黠敗 → mǐn₁ 閔
mǐn₄ 慷慨悲 ‘suffering’ → mǐn₄ 瘦
mǐn₅ 皿 (mjəŋB) LH mianB, OCM *maŋ'? ‘Vessel, dish, bowel’ [Zuo], the word is much older than Zuòzhuan because its graph prob. goes back to the beginning of writing. Bodman (1980: 121) compares this to Viet. mâm, PVM *?bom ‘food tray’ [Thompson]. Initial and final m are incompatible in CH, hence final -ŋ.

míng₁ 名 (miāŋ 4) LH mien, OCM *min ~ *meŋ ‘Name’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR mǐn (平); MGZY míng (平) [miěn]; ONW mien
[D] PMin *mian
[E] ST: PTB *r-miŋ > WT miŋ, OTib miŋ ‘name’, Jiarong termi, Chepang mœŋ ‘name’, PLB *?-miŋ/3; WB maŋ ‘be named’ ꞌæ-maŋ ′name’ ꞌæ hmaŋC ‘to name’; JP miŋ32; Mikir -mën, Lushai hmiŋH ‘name’ (HST: 111), Mru miŋ.
[C] Related to → míng 命 ‘to name’.

x míng 命 (miāŋC) LH mienC, OCM *min ~ *mreŋ > *mreŋ (OCB *mrjîŋ[s]) ‘To name, give a name (to a person)’ [Zuo: Min 2, 5], ‘to order, command; order, decree > fate, lot > life’ ordova [OB, BL], 命 [Shi]. The word was read in tone A in Shijing (Mattos 1971: 309). In the OB and BL (except late WZhou BI) only the graph ordova ‘order’ occurs, while the received texts write 命, i.e. ordova with kŏu 目 ‘mouth’ added to indicate that ordova is a phonetic or semantic loan. Because míng is the ordinary word for ‘to order’, and because the break between ordova (early inscriptions) and 命 (later texts) is quite abrupt, ordova must have stood for 命 in all Shang and Western Zou inscriptions.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR mǐn (去); MGZY míng (去) [miěn]; ONW meŋ
[D] PMin *mianC ‘life’ > Amoy miăC2, Fuzhōu miăngC2
[C] Possibly an r-causative / trans. derivation from the noun míng 名 *min ~ *meŋ ‘name’ (§7.5); later an exoactive *-s / -h was added (§4.3.2).
[E] If related (so Wáng Li 1982: 329), → líng ordova ‘order’ may have preserved a ST or PCH pre-initial *r-, hence *mreŋ < *r-miŋ which makes it a homophone of PTB *r-miŋ ‘name’ (so STC: 155 n. 419; Granet 1948: 292). WB minC ‘command’ (a CH loan?) is prob. also related.

míng₃ 銘 (mięŋ) LH meŋ, OCM *meŋ — [T] MTag mięŋ < miŋ, ONW męŋ ‘Inscription’ [BI, Liji].
[F] Míng 銘 is commonly thought to be related to → míng, 名, but the semantic link is not compelling. Phonologically, this word agrees with WT byaŋ-ma / -bu ‘inscription, direction, label, tablet’ (on which an inscription is written); for OC *məŋ = WT b-, see §5.12.2; for OC *e- = 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.

míng₂ 冥 (mięŋB) LH meŋB, OCM *meŋ ‘Be dark’ (not light, no sunlight) [SW, Shi], ‘night’ [Shi] > ‘dark of night, dark night’ [Chuci]. As ‘night’ also written 昼 [Yupian].
[T] MTag mięŋ < miŋ, ONW męŋ — [D] PMin *maŋH₂ ‘night’
[E] Area word for ‘night’: in Min dialects *maŋ; in PMY *mhwaaN [Purnell] or *mienia [Wáng Fushi 20/140] ‘evening, night’. MK: PNBahn. mǐŋ ‘night’. The nature of the relationship between ST *me/ŋ ‘dark’ and SEAsian *maŋ ‘night’ is not clear (loans from southern CH dialects?). < PTB *miŋ > WB maŋB ~ maib ‘dark, black’.
WT mdag(s) ‘last night’ may belong to this etymon, but the WT d remains unexplained.

[C] Allofams acc. to Karlgren 1956: 5 are → mì, 墓 (miek) ‘to cover’ (1956: 18), → mìng4 整 ‘close the eyes’.

mìng3 濃冥 (mien) LH men, OCM *mên
‘Ocean’ [Zhuang, Lie], 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 → mìng2 冥 ‘dark, black’ (of water) (likely in light of parallelism with the unrelated mīt). There is an outside chance, though, that the etymon is instead connected with PTB *mlik > OBurm. mlac ‘river’, WB -mrac, Arakanese mrieik ‘sea’, SChin-Daai mlik (tuī) ‘big water, river, sea’ (tuī ‘water’).

mìng4 整 (mien) LH men, OCM *mên
‘Close the eyes’ [Zuo]. Karlgren relates mìng to → mìng2 冥 ‘dark’.

[E] GY makes a phonetic distinction between → mían1 整 ‘sleep’ (< ST *mel) and mìng 整 ‘close eyes’ and treats these as two separate words. This is not an example of an occasional *-n ~ *-n variation because ST *-l is not known to show up as CH -ŋ. Also, WB distinguishes hminB ‘have the eyes shut’ and myanB ‘to sleep’ < *mel. Here and in the next two items the etyma mìng ‘dark’, mìng ‘close eyes’ and mían ‘sleep’ have bled into each other so that they are difficult to separate out:

※ mì àn 整 (mien) LH men, OCM *mên
‘Dizzy, confused’ [Meng]. For the near homophone hūn 畏, see → mèn3 悏.

※ mán 亱 (muān) LH mon, OCM *mān
‘Shut the eyes, deluded’ [Xun] is perhaps a vocalic variant of the a ~ e type (§11.1.3).

mìng5 lǐng 亱蛉 (mien-lien) LH men-len, OCM *mên-ren
‘Insect on mulberry leaves’ [Shi], reduplicated from *mliŋ acc. to Li Fang Kuei.


mìng6 明 (mien) LH miān, OCM *mraŋ, OCB *mrjaŋ
‘Become light, bright, enlighten’ > ‘morning’ before sunrise > ‘morrow’ [OB, BI, Shi], ‘next’ (day, year etc.) [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR miŋ (平); MGZY mìng (平) [mien]; ONW men

[D] PMin *maŋ. This is perh. the same word as

= mēng 盟 (mien) LH miān, OCM *mraŋ, OCB *mrjaŋ
‘Covenant, sworn agreement’ [Shi] which may be derived from a meaning like 明 ‘make clear’ (a command).


mìng7 鴉 (mien) LH miān, OCM *mreŋ, OCB *mrjaŋ
‘To sound, to call’ (of animals, birds, musical instruments) vb. [Shi].


mìng 命 → mìng1 名
**miù — mò**

**miù₁** 謹 (mjuČ) LH miuČ, OCM *mriuh, OCB *mrjiws

[T] Sin Sukchu SR miw (去); MGZY miw (去) [miw]

**miù₂** 糾 → zhōu 3 周

**mó₁** 重 → mǐ, 座

**mó₂** 摩摩 (muā) LH mai, OCM *māi
‘Rub, polish’ [Zuo], ‘touch’ [Li], ‘rub’ (things rubbing against each other) 摩 [Zhuang]; ‘grind, polish, grindstone’ 摩 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR mwo (平); MGZY mwo (平) [mwo]; ONW ma

[D] PMin *muai

⇒ mó 摩 (muāČ) LH maiČ, OCM *māih
‘Dust’ [Chuci].

[C] exopass. of mó 摩摩 (muā) (§4.4) lit. ‘what has been rubbed off’.

[E] This appears to be cognate to WB hmwaČ ‘pulverize’ ⇒ hmwat ‘be fine, smooth’, and / or to Lushai meek < mee? ‘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-laaiA2 ‘to damage, destroy’ (for the Tai /l/ see §2.7).

**mó₃** 諫 (muo) LH ma, OCM *má? (! tone) — [T] ONW mo
‘Plan, counsel’ [Shi]; mó 莫 (māk) ‘to plan’ [Shi] may be a graphic loan for mó.

⇒ wú 諫 (mju) LH mua, OCM *ma
‘Induce, advise’ [Guau].

[E] This could possibly derive from a ST etymon meaning ‘ahead, in front’ which is reflected in Lushai hmaH ‘the front, space in front of, be early, beforehand’, hmaH ēaiH ‘to scheme, plan’ (lit. ēaiH ‘to think’ + hmaH ‘ahead’).

**mó₁** 完 (muā) LH mat, OCM *māt — [T] ONW mat
‘The tip’ [Liji], ‘end of’ (branch, extremities, legs) [Zuo], ‘end, final, last’ [Shu] > ‘to diminish’ [Zuo].

⇒ mèi 沫 (muāČ) LH mās, OCM *māts
‘To finish’ [Chuci].

[C] exoactive of mò, i.e. tr. vb. derived from ‘end’ (§4.3.2).

[E] The etymology is not certain. Most likely, mó is derived from → wù 無 [mu] *ma ‘not have, there is no’, thus meaning something like ‘the thing which comes to nothing’, with the nominalizing suffix -t (§6.2.1). Perh. AA: PMonic *mōh, Mon moh, māh ‘tip, end, edge’ had some paronomastic influence on the creation of the CH word, if mó is not an outright substrate word. Or note TB-Lushai hmaXH ‘edge, border, end, tip’ (but see → méi 眉). Thus, the -t form is derived from → wù 無 ‘not have’ (§6.2.2). Its function is similar to → miè 眉 (Pulleyblank 1995).

**mó₂** 完 (muā) LH mat, OCM *māt
A negative particle [Lunyu] which is a final *-t form derived from → wù 無 ‘not have’ (§6.2.2). Its function is similar to → miè 眉 (Pulleyblank 1995).

**mó₃-li** 茉莉 (muāt-liČ)
‘Jasmine or moly’ is a loan from Skt. mallika (Norman 1988: 19); → Greek moûly.

**mó₄** 没 (muāt) LH muat, OCM *māt
‘To exhaust, come to an end’ [Shi], ‘disappear, die’ [Zuo]; ‘perish in water or fire’ [Xun]; ‘dive’ [Zhuang].
Two etyma have apparently converged: (1) ST > PTB *mit ‘extinguish, destroy by water or fire’. The i ~ u alternation is a common ST phenomenon (§11.5.1). (2) An etymon ‘to dive’: WB *mrup ‘to dive’, which is acc. to Shorto 1972 a loan from PMK *(b)lap ~ *(b)lup ‘immerse oneself’. CH -> Tai: S. mutD2 ‘to dive’.

This word is unrelated to the later mì ‘not have, there is no’.

mò 没 ‘covet’ -> mò6 冒

mò 冒 (mâk) LH mâk, OCM *mâk
‘Be covetous’ [Shu, Zuo].

mèi 每 (muâi) LH mâ, OCM *mâ? — [T] ONW mai
‘Covetous’ [Zhuang].

mò 没 (muat) LH muat, OCM *mat — [T] ONW mot
‘To covet’ [Guoyu], Karlsgren GSR 492b derived the meaning ‘covet’ from ‘dive, disappear, come to an end, have a final goal’ – somewhat forced.

[ST]: WT mod-pa, 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].

mô 莫 -> wù4 無

mô8 莫盹 (mâk) LH mâk, OCM *mâk — [T] ONW mok
‘Obscure’ 莫 [Xun]. 晰 [YJ]; ‘eyesight dimmed’ 暗 [GY]; this is not a common word. Possible derivation -> mù5 墓 ‘tomb’. See under -> hēi 黑 for possible wider relations.

mô9-mô 莫莫 ‘luxuriant’ -> wù9 膬膿

mô10 膱 -> gê2 隔

mô11 豺 膱漠 -> mû3 牧

mô12 摭 ‘dust’ -> mû2 摭揟

mô13 墨 -> hēi 黑

mô14 纏 (mâk) LH mâk, OCM *mâk
‘Rope’ (made of three strands) [Yí].

[ST]: AA: PWa *ʔmoʔ or *ʔmoʔ ‘rope’ [Diffloth 1980: 106].

mô15 默嘿 (mêk) LH makh, OCM *mêk
‘Silent’ [Zuo] is thought to be cognate to ‘black’ -> hēī 黑 (Karlsgren GSR 904d), also mò 莫寢漠 ‘tranquil’ (below) has a homophone -> mô8 莫盹 ‘obscure’, as does the TB-Lushai form below. See under -> hēī 黑 for possible wider relations.

This sound-symbolic notion includes many synonyms with initial *m-:
• mò 莫寢 (mêk) LH makh, OCM *mêk
‘Be reverently quiet, settled’ (of a population) [Shi]
• mò 莫寢漠 (mêk) LH makh, OCM *mêk
‘Tranquil’ (of population) 莫 [Shì], ‘quiet, still’ 寢漠 [Zhuang]. Is this merely a graphic variant of 莫寢 (mêk)?

• mî 密 (mêt 3) LH mit, OCM *mit
‘Silent, quiet’ [Shì], ‘secret’ [Yí]. <> Tai: Saek mit ‘quiet’.

• mî 譲 (mêt 4) 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 -> wân2 要).
móu – mǔ

also AA-PSBahn. *mò? ~ *mok ‘silent’. For the common i ~ u alternation, see §11.5.1.

móu_1 牟 ‘to love’ → mǔ_6 慕

móu_2 侔 (mjou, mou) LH mu, mo, OCM *mu or *mǒ
‘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’.

móu_3 侔 (mjou) LH mu, OCM *mu
‘Pupil of the eye’ [Meng]. Wang Li (1982: 312) relates móu to → mǔ_2 目 ‘eye’.

móu_4 侔 (mjou) LH mu, OCM *mo
‘To plan, counsel’ [BI, Shi].

móu_5 侔 (mjou) LH mu, OCM *mu
‘Helmet’ [Guoce].

móu_6 侔 → jiǔ_3 纠

móu_1 牠 → mǔ_1 牠

móu_2 某 (mùB) LH moB, OCM *mǒ?
‘Someone, a certain, so and so’ [Shu].

móu_3 某 → wù_12 霖 (so HST: 82), but TB keeps the two roots distinct.

mó_1 牠 (mùB) LH moB, OCM *mǔ?, OCB *m(r)jo?2
‘Male’ (of quadrupeds) [OB, Shi], opposite → pin, bi 牝 ‘female’.

[AA] AA: OKhm jmol [cmo91] ‘male of animals’, Aslian lgs. (Malay Penins.) lemol, remol, limo, simo, etc. ‘male’; OMon jmur, kmur ‘male’ (elephant), MMon jm / homù ‘strong, male’, PWA *kömô ‘ox, wild buffalo’, Jarai tano, tomô ‘male animal’ (Lewitz 1976: 768); PVM *m DAL ‘person, people’. For the absence of a coda 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 *c-məl? ‘digging stick’. ‘Male’ and ‘digging stick’ are derivatives from a stem represented in OKhmer cva/ /cuan/ ‘to enter, penetrate, (of animals) copulate’, Khmu cman ‘planter du riz au plantoir’ ; crman ‘plantoir’ [Ferlus MKS 7, 1978: 20–22]; from ‘digging stick’ to ‘plowing’ to ‘acre’ are simple steps, hence mú ‘male’ and mus ‘field’, though not homophones in OC, may well go back to the same AA etymon.

mú₂ 母 (maμ) < from *mə? ≠ LH moB, OCM *mə?
‘Mother’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu, maw ( 上); IR mu; MGZY muw ( 上) [muw]; ONW mouB

mú₃ 姑 (maμ) LH moB, OCM *mə?
‘Female teacher in harem’ [Zuo] is cognate to → hui6 海 ‘to instruct’; we should expect OCM *mə?, but the word has coalesced with → mú₂ 母 ‘mother’ due to paronomastic attraction.

mú₄ 毂 (maμ) LH moB, OCM *mə?
‘Thumb’ [Guoyu], ‘big toe’ [Yi].
[E] ST: PL: *C-mə? ‘thumb’ (in composites for ‘thumb’ and ‘big toe’). The vowels do not agree, we should expect OC *mə? for PTB *ma; *mo? may be due to association with → mú₂ 母 ‘mother’, just as the PL word may be related to ma ‘mother’.

mú₅ 眼 (maμ) LH moB ~ moB, OCM *mə? ~ *mə?, OCB *mo/ə?
‘An acre’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu, maw ( 上); MGZY muw ( 上) [muw]
[D] In many dialects, including some Mandarin ones, ‘acre’ is not a homophone of mú 母 ‘mother’: W-Sūzhōu col. mC2, Wēnzhōu meB2; X-Chángshā mryB; G-Nánchāng meuB; Y-Guǎngzhōu mauB2; M-Xiàmén boB. However, ‘acre’ and ‘mother’ are homophones in most Mand. dial. and sporadically elsewhere.
[E] ? ST: WT rmo-ba, rmos ‘to plow’ (Bodman 1980: 136) ♯ rmod ‘the plowing’ ♯ rmon-pa ‘plow ox’. Mikir -mə? classifier for strips of fields. However, if this word should go back to an AA root (see → mú₁ 木), then the nature of the CH–TB relationship is not clear.

mú₁ 木 (muk) LH mok, OCM *mək
‘Tree, wood’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu ( 入); MGZY mu ( 入) [mu]; ONW mok
[E] Mù has no known cognate, unless one wishes to compare it with PLB *ʔmuk ‘stump’ (of a tree).

mú₂ 目 (mjuk) LH muk, OCM *muk
‘Eye’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu ( 入); MGZY wu ( 入) [vu]; ONW muk
[D] Mù has been replaced by yán 眼, already in Han times (acc. to SW, CY), in all
mù
dialects except Mín: PMin *mókD2, but the NEMín forms go back to *mit ~ *met (Norman CLAO 13.2, 1984: 175ff).

[E] ST: PTB *mik ~ *myak (STC no. 402) > WT dmig ‘eye’, and *mik in almost every TB language, including JP myi?31, Mikir mèk; a variant is PLB *(s-)myak > WB myak (HST: 76).

The OC vowel is not certain since mù is not a rime word in Shūjìng. If OC *muk, the word would be directly related to the PTB form *mik by way of the ST *u ~ *i alternation (§11.5.1). If OC *mik, the word would be directly related to the PLB form *myak.

[C] → mòu, ‘pupil of the eye’ is sometimes thought to be related to mù (so Wáng Li 1982: 312).

mù3 牧 (mjuk) LH muk, OCM *mok, OCB *mjak
‘Pasture, herdsman, to tend’ (animals) [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu (mj); MGZY wu (vu); ONW muk

mù4 莫暮 (muoC) LH moC, OCM *mâk ~ [T] ONW mo
‘Late’ (in a season, year) 莫 [Shi]. ‘evening’ 暮 [Meng].

[E] Two possible etymologies: (1) the original meaning is ‘late’. (2) Or this word is related to ‘dark, cover’ → mù 莫暮暮 ‘obscure’. See under → hēi 黑 for possible wider relations. Since TB roots are inconclusive as to their ST source, Limbu makt- ‘to become night’ may either be a direct cognate of mù 莫暮 (not very likely given the frequent semantic connection ‘dark’ ~ ‘night’ ~ not ‘late’ ~ ‘night’), or Ξ Limbu mak ‘black, dark’ (which may equally well be a cognate of → hēi 黑). Related may also be Lepcha ma ‘be secret, concealed, disappear’.

mù5 墓 (muoC) LH mòC, OCM *mâkh.
‘Tomb, graveyard’ [BI, Shi]. In most other modern dialects, the word for ‘grave’ is → fén 墳.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu (去); MGZY mu (去); ONW mo — [D] PMin *mioC


But if ‘tomb’ should be a Chinese derivate, one source could be → mù 莫暮暮 ‘obscure’; see there and under → hēi 黑 for possible wider relations. Alternatively, the root could be → wú 無 ‘not’ from which is derived → wáng 墓.

mù6 慕 (muoC) LH mòC, OCM *mâkh — [T] ONW mo
‘Be loving, beloved’ [BI], ‘think of lovingly’ [Meng].

[E] ST, perh. two parallel stems are involved: (1) *mak: TB-KN-Khyang amlak, Khami-Awa (h)la’ ‘to love’, Schin Daai mhlä ‘to like, love’ [Hartmann ICSTLL 1999: 2]. <> Tai: S. mak, ma-lak ‘to love, cherish’, Saek måkD2 ‘to like, be fond of’.


Ξ wu 懇 (mjub) LH müB, OCM *ma? — [T] ONW muoB
‘To love’ is a Han period southern dialect word for ‘to pity’ [FY 1.7], also in the east [FY 1.17].

[E] *maŋ: WB manB ‘to like, love’ (MC tone B sometimes corresponds to a foreign -ŋ, §3.2.4), also PKS *man⁴ ‘to like’.

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mù

* mǔ 挺 (muo² [GY]) is prob. a variant of the above.
* móu 牯 (mjau) LH mu

‘To love’, a Han period Sòng-Lǜ dialect word [FY 1.6].

Forms like rak ‘love’ in Tai and AA lgs. derive from Indic rāga ‘passion’.

mù₇ 靜 → màì₃-mù 靜靜

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nà₁ 吐訥→nuò₁, nà 吐訥

nà₂ 納→rù₁ 入

nà₃ 那 (nà³)
[T] Sin S. SR no (go), PR, LR na; MGZY no (go) [na]; ONW no
 рассматр (ńźjak ~ ńźja³) LH ńok. OCM *ńak — ONW ńak ~ ńa
‘That’ [Lunheng].

nà₄ 摣 (na³, i.e. prob. na³)
‘Sick’ [JY], a medieval word.
[E] Prob. a loan from PTB *na > WT na-ba ‘sick’, PL *C-na¹ ‘ill’, WB na ‘be ill’
(Benedict HIAS 4, 1939: 228). See also → nuó 鼠.

nài₁ 则 (nái²) LH na⁸, OCM *nê?
‘Then, now’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR nai (go); MGZY nay (go) [naj]; ONW nai⁸
[E] HST: 147 relates this word to the WT post-position na which follows temporal clauses.

nài₂ 乃 ‘your’ → rū₂ 汝

nài₃ 奶→nài₄ 嫁

nài₄ 嫁 (niei²) LH nei⁸, OCM *nê?
‘Mother’ [BI, QY, Guangya], a Chú dialect word [GY], also nī 妹; the modern col.
form is nāi 奶 ‘breasts, milk, suckle’ (Unger Hao-ku 5, 1982).
[D] Mín: Xiàmén lit. lāi², col. la²
[E] Etymology is not clear, but PMY *nia?²D ‘mother’ could be related. Similar words
in the area are WT a-ne, ne-ne ‘paternal aunt’ (HST: 164); or MK-Khmer ni: ‘female’,
see → lì₂-ér 子儿 ‘female tiger’.

nài₁ 奈奈 (nài³) LH nas
‘Some kind of pear’ (3rd cent. AD). Japanese (kara)nashi 梨 could be the analogue to
OC *nas and thus be related (Unger Hao-ku 22, 1983). See comment under → méi₄ 梅.

nài₂ 奈奈 (nài³) LH nas, OCM *nâs
A late classical col. variant of → rū₁ 如 (or prob. rather MC nźjwo²) in the classical
expression rū hé 如何 = nài hé 奈何 (occurrence of nài in Shūjīng is spurious, a
nài – náo


nài3 奈 → rú1 如

nài4 鼎 (nàiB/C) LH nàB/C, OCM *nài/h
‘A large → dǐng, 鼎 ceremonial cauldron’, or ‘large’ of a vessel [BI, Shi] is perh. a MK etymon: OMon nài? ‘ritual or ceremonial vessel’.

nán1 南 (nán) LH nàm, OCM *nám
‘South’ [BI, Shi]. The OB graph depicts something that looks like a house; in light of this it is interesting to note PMK *nám ‘house’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR nâm (平); PR, LR nâm; MGZY nâm (平) [nâm]; ONW nâm

[E] Etymology not certain. Benedict (ICSTLL 1989: 7) relates this to PTB *nam (his *nám) ‘sun, day, sky’ > PTib. *g-nam ‘sky’ ≠ nam ‘night’, also ‘rain, god’ in other TB languages. This etymology finds support in the old CH tradition which associates the south with the sunny side → yáng 陽, the north with → yīn 隱 ‘the dark side’, → míng 冥 ‘darkness, night’, shuò 朔 (sâk) ‘new moon, north’ (under → nî 逆), hence nán could originally have been the counterpart to the dark north.

nán2 男 (nán) LH nâm, OCM *nám
‘Man, male’ (as in nán-nâ 男女 ‘boys and girls, men and women’) > ‘a low feudal title’ [BI, Shi].

[E] Prob. area word, but the etymology is not certain: (1) TB-PKiranti *nâm ‘man’ (CVSTL 2: 48). <> PMonic *kOJ1oom ‘young child’ [Diffloth 1984: 114], PVA **h/ln[O)m ‘young man’. <> (2) PTai *hn-: S. numBI ‘young man, young’. <> Yao nam2 ‘son’. Syn. → shí 士.

nán3 難 (nán) LH nan, OCM *nân
‘Be difficult’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR nân (平); MGZY nân (平) [nân]; ONW nân

※ nàn 難 (nànC) LH nâmC, OCM *nâns
‘Difficulty’ [Shi].

[E] Prob. ST, but etymology not certain. This is either related to WT mnar-ba ‘to suffer, be tormented’ (so HST: 63); or to PTB *na ‘ill’ (STC: 159 n. 428): WT na-ba, nan-te ‘be ill’ ※ nad ‘illness’. It is sometimes thought that WT na and nare are related as well. PTB *na may also be related to → shū2 獸, → nuó 難.

nán1 捺 (nánB) LH nàB, OCM *nân – [T] ONW nân < nán
‘To blush’ [Meng] is perh. related to TB-Karen ña ‘red’ (STC: 159).

nán2 捕 (nánB) LH nâmB, OCM *nâm?
‘To reach for’ [Tangyun] is perh. related to PVM *nâm ‘to take’.

náng 囊 (náng) LH nàŋ, OCM *nâŋ – [T] ONW nâŋ
‘A sack, bag’, including a skin used as a bag [Shi] is perh. a ST word: WB hnwâŋ ‘skin, peel off’.

náng 囊 (náng) LH nàŋB, OCM *nâŋ?

náo1 喂咳 → náo3 擠
náo - nèi

náo

náo₂ 猿優愛猕 (nâu) LH nou, OCM *nû
‘Monkey’ [Shi], 猿 [Li], 猿 [OB, SW], 猿 [SW] (ZWDC 2: 1359; 6: 260).

[E] Etymology is elusive, the closest fit is AA: PMon *knuuy ‘macaque, general term’,
Mon *k[hn] ‘monkey’. This word is unique to Monic and may be a derivation by
n-infix (Diffloth 1984: 67). The loss of foreign final -y/-i in OC has parallels (§6.9).
However, the Mon word could be a Pali loan instead: khanoi (Shorto).

Alternatively, the word may be connected with KD: Be ma^2-lu^2 ‘monkey’, PHlai nok
[Matisoff 1988c: 311]; cf. PTB *mruk, PLB *myok (several Loloish dialects have n-)
[Matisoff]. Syn. -‘t YU 9

náo₃ 擾 (nâuB !, xâu) LH ñâuB, hâu, OCM *nrau?, *hnau?
‘To trouble, disturb’ (e.g. a dragon, stir up people) [Zuo].

★ náo 淮 (nâuC) LH ñâuC, OCM *nrauh
‘Mud’ [Zuo].

★ hê 饿 (xâuC) LH hâuC, OCM hnrâuh?
‘Be clamouring’ [Shi].

★ rão 擾 (ñjâuB) LH ñâuB, OCM *nau?
‘To disturb’ [Zuo].

★ nâu 恙 (nâuB) LH nâuB — [T] ONW nau
‘To anger, irritate’ [SW], a Han and post-Han word, perh. the same etymon as náo 擾.

★ nuân 娣 (nuan[[]]) LH nuan(C) < nrau-n(s)
‘To quarrel’ [SW].

[E] ST: PTB *nuk > PLB *nok ~ *ñok ~ *nuw ‘brains’ (Matisoff 1972: 62),
WB u^nok ‘brain’, JP nuk~55 < nuk ‘brain’. For the final consonants, see §3.2.2.

náo₁ 恙 → náo₃ 擾

náo₂ 腦 (nâuB) LH nauB ? or nouB ?, OCM *nâu? or *nû? ?
‘Brain’ [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR nau (上); MGZY nau (上) [naw]

[N] The OC rime of náo is not certain. Among others, the word náo 恙 ‘to anger,
irritate’ is written with the same phonetic and is cognate to a wf in OC *-au
(→ náo 擾), but 恙 is late [SW] and cannot help identify the OC and LH vowel of 腦.

[E] ST: PTB *nuk > PLB *nok ~ *ñok ~ *nuw ‘brains’ (Matisoff 1972: 62),
WB u^nok ‘brain’, JP nuk~55 < nuk ‘brain’. For the final consonants, see §3.2.2.

náo 淮 → náo₃ 擾

nêi 饥 (nuîB) LH nuîB, OCM *nûi?
‘Hungry’ [Lunyu].

★ Perh. nê 恙 (niek) LH nek, OCM *niôk
‘Be hungry, desirous’ [Shi]. Wáng Li (1982: 308) relates this word to ni 恙 (niek) *-iok
‘grieved’ [Han].

This is a parallel stem of → è_o 饥 ‘hungry’ (§5.12.1). A similar vocalic metathesis
obtained prob. in → shuai 袖.

nêi 內 → rû₁ 入
nen, núñ 嫩 (nuən^C) ONW don (!)
‘Tender, delicate’, a late word [GY, JY].

[E] Etymology is not clear. Perh. a variant of → ruān 罹軟 (ńźjwän^B). Alternatively, it may be ST, related to WB nun^B ‘weak, exhausted from illness’, but this meaning barely overlaps with nèn ‘soft to touch’. <> PMY *-on, individual lgs. have forms like lun^2, gun^2, njoŋ^5 (Wáng Fushí). Finally, nèn is reminiscent of AA items: PMonic *ñun ‘be flexible, soft to touch’ (of body part etc.), and / or PVM *k-yn-ɔn ‘young, tender’ > Viet. non (acc. to Ferlus, an infix derivation from *kɔn ‘son’).

néng₁ 能 (nɔŋ), OCM *nɔŋ!
‘A kind of bear’ [Guoyu] apparently an area word of AA origin: Kharia bonɔi ‘bear’ (-i is suffix), Santali bana ‘Indian black bear’ → TB-Lepcha sā-na ‘bear’.

néng₂ 能 (nɔŋ), OCM *nɔŋ, *nɔŋ?
‘Be capable, have ability, can’ [Shi). Shūjing rimes indicate OCM *nɔŋ?. Prob. cognate to → níŋ, 攸 ‘capable’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR nɔŋj (平), PR, LR nəŋ; MGZY n̂ŋŋ (平) [nɔŋj]; ONW nɔŋ

نة (tʰiC) LH tʰɔ^C, OCM *nɔŋh
‘Apparition, bearing, manner’ [Guoce].


[E] The OC ~ WT difference in the vowel is unusual (§11.10.5).

nǐ́ 尼 (ŋi) LH ňi, OCM *nɔ́i or *nǐ?
‘Near, close’ [Shizi], a relatively late word.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR njej (平), PR nĩ; MGZY ňi (平) [nĩ]; ONW nĩ
[E] Etymology not certain. This stem could simply be a variant of → ērŋ, 遞 ‘near’, just as Mand. nǐ ‘you’ is a col. variant of ēr ‘you’. Or it could be a conflation of → ērŋ, 遞 and nĩ 昧祗 *nrt (under → jí, 即). Finally, there is a possible TB cognate:
KN-Khimi kā-nĩ, Haka hni ‘petticoat’ [1ST: 207], the meaning of these items agrees with 昧祗, though. Syn. is also → jí, 即, → nĩ 昧.

nǐ́́ 泥 (niei) LH nei, OCM *nɔ́i or *nǐ
‘Mud, mire’ [Shu], ‘muddy’ (of water).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR njej (平), PR nĩ; MGZY ňi (平) [nĩ]; ONW nĩ
[ŋ] In many dialects, the word means ‘earth’ tǔ 土, e.g. K-Méixiàn nei^li ‘soil, earth’.

نة (nieic) LH n̂ei^C, OCM *nei^h
‘Mud’ [Zuo].

[E] ST: KN-Lai noi ‘muddy’ (of water); a ST medial rounded (semi-) vowel regularly disappears in CH after accute initials (§10.2.1). TB shows that → niè itemBuilder in muddy water’ is unrelated.

nǐ́́́ 泅 (ŋi) LH ňi, OCM *nɔ́i
‘Ashamed’ [Meng].


nǐ́́ rì ㄦ ěr的手

nǐ́́ njei (niej, mieie, mjiei) LH nje, m(i)e, OCM *nɛ, *me?
‘Fawn’ QYS njei, miei, mjiei 嬰 [Lunyu], QYS miei 嬱 [Li]. Wáng Li (1982: 112) and

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nǐ — nǐ

Sagart 1999 relate this to → ěr₄ 兒 ‘child’, Sagart also to WB ŋaŋ ‘kind of small deer, river deer’.

nǐ₁ 你 (ni³) (LH, OC same as → ěr₅ 零)
‘You’ [Tang]. Mand. colloquialism for → ěr₄ 零 (Demiéville 1950: 6), acc. to GY a NW dialect word. For allofams, see under → rù₂ 汝.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR njej (上), PR, LR ni; MGZY ŋi (上) [ni]; STang ni₃ > ni³, ONW nii

nǐ₂ 夫 → nǎī₄ 嫡

nǐ₁ 泥 ‘obstructed’ → niē₅ 秩

nǐ₂ 呢 (ŋjet) LH ņi⁴, OCM *nrit
‘Glue’ [Guoce, Zhouli], ‘adhere to’ [SW: Zuo].

[E] Prob. ← MK: Khmu klŋaʔ ‘resin’, the prefix kl- derives from kəl ‘tree’. The OC final -t marks natural objects (§6.2.1); for the vocalism, see §11.5.2; a MC retroflex initial does not necessarily reflect an PCH *r (§7.4). This word is prob. not related to the wf → jí, 即 in light of the above MK etymology.

nǐ₃ 呢 ‘familiar’ → jí₇ 即

nǐ₄ 祠 (ŋjet) LH ńi⁴, OCM *nrit — [T] ONW ńit
‘Lady’s clothes closest to the body’, i.e. ‘underwear’ [Zuo].

[E] ST: KN-Khimi kā-ńi, Haka lñi ‘petticoat’ [IST: 207] (or are these CH loans?). The OC form has prob. adjusted to nǐ 呢 *nrit ‘familiarity’ (→ jí, 即) to which it may be related, but the TB cognates suggest a distinct etymology. The meaning has been transferred to xiè (under → ěr, 零).

nǐ₅ 祠 → nǐ₂ 呢 ‘glue’

nǐ₆ 逆 (ŋjet) LH ńi⁴, OCM *ńräk, OCB *ńrjak
‘Go to meet, go against’ [Shu], ‘rebellious’ [Shi], ‘receive’ [Yili], ‘anticipate’ [Lunyu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (入), PR ńi; MGZY nia (入) [ńi]; ONW ńek
← This is the final -k counterpart to the cognate → yìn⁴ 迎, or the div. 3 counterpart to the cognate → yà₂ 御迩呀 (if one assumes an OC medial *r like Baxter; otherwise it is derived from → yù₁ 稣).

* shuō 聊 (sāk) LH ʂak / ʂak, OCM *sŋrak ? / *srök
‘First day of the new moon’ [Shi, SW] > ‘beginning’ [Li]; (dark side >) ‘North’ [Shu, EY] (opposite of → nán₁ 南).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʂaw (入), PR ʂaww; MGZY shwaw (入) [ʂaww]

[E] The word LH ʂak is derived from ńi 逆 ‘go to meet’ (above), i.e. on that day the moon turns and moves toward the full moon (Matisoff, ICSTLL 1978: 13–14: Bolz, Diss.). This is an iterative s-prefix form (§5.2.3), hence lit. ‘turn again toward to meet’. The puzzling MC reading ʂák < *şrok ? is attested already in Lûnyû where the graph is borrowed for shuo 聊 (såk) ‘account’ (under → shù₄ 數).

Alternatively, shuō ‘north’ may be related to TB-NNag *swor ‘night’, Bodo-Garo *war, Mru war (with final CH *-k with the metathesis of final *r, see §6.1, resulting in OC *srak ~ *şrok from *sruaŋ) and thus be the opposite of → nán₁ 南 ‘south’ < ST ‘day, sun’. Possibly, distinct etyma for ‘north’ and ‘new moon’ have merged.

nǐ₇ 恼 → něi 餓

nǐ₈ 恼 → tè₅ 恼
niə

niə 暝 (ŋiap) LH ŋək, OCM *ŋək
‘Be near, familiar with’ [Shi].

niə1 湖 (niə) LH nek < neuk, OCM *niəuk
‘To sink, go under’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ni (入); MGZY ni (入)
[E] Several TB etymological connections may be possible: perh. related to WB nac < *nik ‘sink into, be immersed’ × hnic ‘make to sink, immerse’ (STC: 180), but the vowels do not agree. Alternatively, ni could be connected with WB hniuk ‘penetrate, dive into’ with hand).

niə2 年 (niən) LH nen, OCM *niən
‘Harvest, crop, year’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR njen (三); MGZY nen (三) [nen]; MTang nian < nian, ONW nén
[I] In the phrase wú níw *ma-nems [in Shi 325] ‘to think of’, ŋi is thought to represent a syllabified prefix (Sagart 1999: 82), note the Khmer form below.

niə3, ŋen 色 (niənB) LH ŋən, OCM *nran(? or *nren(?)
‘To think’ [Shi].

niə4 听 (niənB) LH ŋən, OCM *nran
‘To work leather to make it smooth’ [SW], ‘soft’ [GY]; this word occurs in Southern Min as ‘to soften’: Xiàmēn nǔa3 (tone B).

niə5 年 (niən) LH nen, OCM *niən
‘Cart drawn by two men’ [Shi], 連 [Zhouli].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR njen (三); MGZY len (三) [len]; ONW (l)ian
[E] This word is perh. related to WB hlaï ‘cart’ × ə-hlai ‘a cartful’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 52), but MC l- usually corresponds to TB r- (§7.3).

niə6, ŋen 心 (niənB) LH ŋən, OCM *nran
‘To think’ [Shi].
[E] ST: WT nəm-s ‘soul, mind, thought’ × sən-pa ‘to think, mind’ (STC: 175 n. 465), Mikir nəm ‘faith, religion’. This may be an area word: AA-Khmer cənnam ‘remembrance, remembering, habit’; AN nemnem ‘to think’ (Sagart JCL 21.1, 1993: 48).

niə7 悔 (niənB) LH nen, OCM *nams or *nəms, OCB *nims
‘Think of, remember, remind’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR njem (去); MGZY nem (去) [nem]; ONW ném
[N] In the phrase wú niən 無念 *ma-nəms [in Shi 325] ‘to think of’, wú is thought to represent a syllabified prefix (Sagart 1999: 82), note the Khmer form below.

niə8 懶 (niənB) LH ŋən, OCM *nran
‘To think’ [Shi].
[E] ST: WT ŋam(s) ‘soul, mind, thought’ × sən-pa ‘to think, mind’ (STC: 175 n. 465), Mikir niəm ‘faith, religion’. This may be an area word: AA-Khmer cənnam ‘remembrance, remembering, habit’; AN nemnem ‘to think’ (Sagart JCL 21.1, 1993: 48).

niə9 惣 (ŋiap) LH ŋək, OCM *ŋək
‘Be near, familiar with’ [Shi].

niə10 淋 (niək) LH nek < neuk, OCM *niəuk
‘To sink, go under’ [Shi].

niə11 惱 (niən) LH nen, OCM *niən
‘Grieved’ [Shi].

niə12 鞣 (liənB) LH liən, OCM *nran or *nren?
‘To think’ [BI, Shi].

niə13 目 (niənB) LH ŋən, OCM *nran
‘Sunlight’ (which melts snow) [Shi]. Karlgren GSR 1250e considers this word cognate to → rán,然 ‘burn’ LH ŋian, but the OC vowels do not agree. It may possibly be
niáng – niè

related to → rì 日 ‘sun’ instead. The reading xiàn 昨 (yien\(^B\)) LH gen\(^B\) has prob. been transferred from the graphic element 昨 LH gen\(^C\), or from xiàn 昨 (yien\(^B\)) LH gen\(^B\).

niáng 姍娘 (niang) ‘Lady’ [only Tang and later].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR niang (平); MGZY niang (平) [nián]; ONW nan ？
[E] This is possibly a fusion of nǚ-láng 女郞 ‘lady’ (Coblin 1994: 389). This word is also found in Tai: S. naan\(^A2\) < *n- ‘lady, woman’.

niǎo 鴎 (tieu\(^B\)) LH teu\(^B\), OCM *tiû? ‘Bird’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tjew (上); MGZY dyaw (上) [tjew]
[N] Niǎo is a late pronunciation (or word?) which came into use because of a taboo. Nevertheless, the word nǐao does not come out of thin air; it could be connected with the KT word for ‘bird’: Tai: S. nuk\(^D2\) < *nlrok; PKS *mluk\(^8\). For Chinese tone B for foreign final -k, see §3.2.2. The old form survives in some dialects as ‘penis’, e.g. Mand.-Jinán tiu\(^55\) = tone B, Y-Guāngzhōu tiu\(^35/\text{A1}\).
[E] ST *t(j)ew? STC (192 n. 491) connects MC tieu\(^B\) with Garo *do? [Joseph / Burling, LTBA 24.2, 2001: 45], Karen *to ‘bird’, note also KN *m-tow ‘to fly’ (for CH medial i, see §9.1.3).

niào 尿溺 (nieu\(^C\)) LH neu\(^C\), OCM *niûukh ‘To urinate’ [Zhuang].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR njew (去); PR njaw
[E] PTai *n~ n~: S. jiau\(^B2\) ‘to urinate’, Saek puu\(^B2\).

niè 揪 (niep) LH nep, OCM *nèp or *nîp ‘To pinch, nip with fingers’ [SW Xǐnfù, JY].
[E] ST: PLB: *nîp ~ *nîp ~ *nyît ‘to squeeze, press’. CH -> Tai: S. niîp\(^D1\) (WrSiam hniîpb) ‘grasp (with pincers), pinch between’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 163). This ST root *nîp is distinct from *njap (~ she, 0 • ‘grasp ’), although they may ultimately be related as their TB cognates seem to be: PTB *nîp ‘press, pinch’ ~ *nyap ‘to press, squeeze’ (HPTB: 112; 339).

niè (niep) LH nep, OCM *nēp or *nîp ‘To fill up, stop up’ (e.g. pitfalls) [Shu].
[E] ST: WT sîîobs = sîîoms-pa, bsîîoms ‘make equal with ground, destroy’.

niè 滅 (niët) LH net, OCM *nît — [T] MTang niar < niâr, ONW nét ‘Black sediment in muddy water’ [Lunyu].
[E] ST *nîk: WB s-naîñ ~ s-nac < *nik ‘sediment, dregs’, WT sîîgs-pa ‘impure sediment’ (Shi Xiāngdōng 2000: 38; see §6.4.1 for the final cons.). The TB cognate shows that niè and niè 滅 ‘fill up’ (under → niè 滅) are not related to niè 滅 ‘black sediment’.

niè 滅 (niët) LH net, OCM *nît — [T] MTang niar < niâr, ONW nét ‘To block, stop up’ [Yili]. Since final -p tends to be somewhat unstable, this word is prob. a variant, while → niè 滅 ‘black sediment’ is prob. a different etymon.

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niè – niú

nì (niè²) LH nei³, OCM *nī (or *nîts ?) — [T] ONW něi
‘Impeded, obstructed’ [Lunyu].

[<] exopass. of niè 敛 (niep) or niè 沐 (niet) (§4.4).

niè → diè 躐

niè 躴 (njâp) LH ṇrap, OCM *nrap
‘To trample’ [Guoce].

[E] Chinese has an additional word for ‘trample’ with initial n-: → róu 踐 (nžjou[b/C]); zhàn 躑, niān 踒 (njān). It also may possibly be related to → liè 踏 OC *rap
‘trample’. Note a similar item in PLB *(s)-nak ~ *naj ‘step on’.

niè → shè1 撮

niè 踠 (njat 3) LH njat, OCM *ŋrat or *ŋret, OCB *ŋjat — [T] ONW ṇat
‘Calamity’ (GSR), perhaps ‘retribution, punishment’ [OB, Shu], ‘inauspicious, unhappy’ 獂 [Chuci].


niè 踣 (njat 3) LH njat, OCM *ŋrat
‘Malt’ [Li] (not ‘yeast’, so Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992). Shimíng 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 yá ‘sprout’ which, however, is the s. w. as → yá 牙 ‘tooth’. If true, ‘tooth’ would then be the ultimate origin of this w f.

[E] ST: Lushai ĕaanH < ĕaan ‘malt’ (Unger).

= niè 踣 ‘sprouts, shoots’ (e.g. from tree trunk, family) [Shi], also MC ṇat.

= niè 索 ‘concubine’s son’ [Meng].

nì (niè²) LH nei³, OCM *nēŋ ‘Capable’ [Chunqiu], ‘clever, artful, eloquent’ [Shu, Lunyu], ṇu-ning ‘incapable’, acc. to Carr (ms. ‘Re-examining the hunchback and dwarf enigma’). This word is perhaps related to → néng 能 (nəŋ) ‘be able’.

niè 踣 (njat 3) LH njat, OCM *ŋat
‘Stump of tree, shoots from stump of tree’ [SW].

niè ‘pole’ → niè12 簌

niè12 簌 (njet) LH ṇet, OCM *ŋêt
‘To gnaw, crunch in the teeth’ [Li]; ‘vertical post’ (in the middle of a gate) 門 [Lijì] > ‘a pole’ 糷 [Zhouli]. This root refers to a situation in which an object is caught or found between jaws, doors, or the like.

níng1 紐 (nièn) LH neŋ, OCM *nèŋ — [T] ONW néŋ
‘Be tranquil, at ease, favor’ [Bl, Shi] (HST: 92) > ‘rather’ [Zuo]. This is probably related to WB hian ‘soft, gentle, quiet’, although it has been connected with PTB *nín ‘heart’, see → rén2 仁.

níng2 懷 → yíŋ3 硬

níng1 候 (nièn) LH neŋ, OCM *néng
‘Capable’ [Chunqiu], ‘clever, artful, eloquent’ [Shu, Lunyu], bu-ning 不佞 ‘incapable’, acc. to Carr (ms. ‘Re-examining the hunchback and dwarf enigma’). This word is perhaps related to → néng 能 (nəŋ) ‘be able’.

níng2 紜 → ni2 泥

niú 牛 (nièōu) LH ŋu, OCM *ŋwō, OCB *ŋwō ‘Bovine, ox, cow’ [OB, Shi].
niǔ – nóng

[T] Sin Sukchu SR niǔ, iw (平); PR, LR niw; MGZY ngiwi (平) [ŋiwi]; ONW ȵu

[D] M-Xiàmén ȵuⁿ₂, Fúzhōu ȵuⁿ²

[E] ST *ȵwa > *nwa is shared with eastern TB and southern and western Tai languages (Weidert 1987: 129); PTB *ȵwa (STC no. 215) > PL *ɲa², JP ɲa³, ɲa³³; Nung ȵwa ㄧnwa, Dulong ȵuⁿ⁵⁵, ȵuⁿ⁵³, WB ȵwa ‘bull, ox, cow’, SChin Daai (KC) mna ‘buffalo’ [Hartmann ICSTLL 1999: 2]; perh. WT ba (< ȵba < ȵwa?) ‘cow’ in light of Lepcha sūŋ-vo (< *so-ńvo?) (so Bodman 1980: 153). A parallel stem (§2.5) may be WT: nor ‘wealth, cattle’, Lepcha a-nór ‘herd, flock, troop, numbers, quantities’ (§5.12.2). <> Tai: S. ȵuⁿ² < *ȵwe? ‘ox’. Because of the restricted geographic distribution, STC suspects CH ȵiǔ to be a Tai loan, also Li Fang Kuei (1976: 42) concludes the Tai item is not a CH loan because it is not found in northern Tai dialects.

niǔ₁ 犬 (ȵjaⁿ) LH ȵuⁿ, OCM *rı̆iu?
‘Finger, toe’, perh. originally also ‘claw, nail’ (the OB graph shows a hand with prominent nails); rad. 114 QY ȵjaⁿ (also ȵjàⁿ which is perh. spurious, deriving from a paronomastic gloss in SW) ‘finger, claws’ [Erya] (Unger Hao-ku 46, 1995).


niǔ₂ 納 (ȵjaⁿ) LH ȵuⁿ, OCM *nr(i)u?, OCB *nrju?
‘A knot’ (that can be opened) [SW], ‘knot’ (on a sash) [Liji] > ‘button’ 銅 > 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 → niǔ₁ 犬 ‘fingernail’ > ‘fingernail-shaped’ > ‘button’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR niw (上); MGZY niw (上) [ŋiwi]; ONW nu

niǔ₃ 鋅 → niǔ₂ 納

niǔ₄ 納 → xiǔ₃ 祱

nóng₁ 農 (nuon) LH ȵouⁿ, OCM *nǒŋ
‘Agriculture, peasant, to cultivate’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ȵouⁿ (平); MGZY ȵung (平) [ȵuⁿ]; MTang ȵouⁿ, ONW ȵouⁿ

[E] Prob. ST and cognate to → nōu 耕 ‘to weed’ (TB-Lushai hnuⁿ ‘work finished, weeded or harvested area’). The final *-ŋ in nóng could be the terminative suffix (§6.5.1): ȵou ‘to weed, hoe’ > nòng ‘get a field hoed’, i.e. ‘cultivated’.

[C] → nóng₁ 劍 ‘person, I’ (< ‘peasant’) may be the same word; a possible allofam may be → nóng₃ 劍 ‘thick vegetation’.

nóng₂ 僲 (nuon)
‘Person, I, me’ in southeastern dialects: Coastal Mín *nęŋ, Fúzhōu ȵiŋ₂, ȵiŋ², ka¹ 僲家 ‘I, myself’; Xiàmén laŋ² ‘person’; Wú: ā-nóng 阿僲 ‘I’. Xiàmén laŋ² ‘we’ (inclusive) is laŋ² + a pronominal suffix -n which in turn is derived from nóng; Fúzhōu i¹-laŋ ‘they’. Acc. to Norman (1983: 208), the semantic development is
nóng – nǔ

‘peasant’ (→ nóng, 農) > ‘person’ > pronoun ‘I, me’. Alternatively, since a syllable nōn occurs in some Zhuang (Tai) dialects in forms for the first person pronoun, Pán Wúyún and Chén Zhōngmín (JCL 23.2, 1995) suggest that nóng is a substrate word from the earlier ‘Hundred Yuè 百越 where nóng was a clan name and ethnonym, then > ‘person’ > ‘I, me’.

nóng3 濃釀 臘 (nǐwōn, nǚŋ) LH ɲoŋ, nǔŋ, OCM *nrióŋ, *nōŋ
‘Thick, rich (dew)’ [Shí]; ‘thick, strong (drink)’ 醬 [Hanfei]; ‘pud’ (< ‘thick matter’) 臘 (only MC nǔŋ) [Hanfei]. This item may be related to → nóng4 稷 ‘thick growth’ (so Wáng Lì 1982: 610).

[T] MTang nōnŋ, ONW nǔŋ — [D] PMín *nǎŋ(C)


≈ rǔ 醬 (ńźjuⁿ) LH ɲoŋ(B), OCM *nǔ(?)
‘Strong (of spirits)’ [Shí]. If tone B should be original, it would be another instance of a ń-~ ? variation.

[E] ST: WT rno-ba, rnon-po ‘sharp, acute’ (of taste, intellect); KN-Lushai nùŋH/nutL ‘muddy’ (of liquids); however, the Lushai item may instead be connected to → nǐ₂ 泥.

[C] Allofam is perh. → rǔ₃ 湿.

nóng4 稷 (nǐwōn, ńźjwōn) LH ɲoŋ, ɲοŋ, OCM *nrióŋ, *nōŋ
‘Gorgeous’ (of blossoms) [Shí], ‘thick growth’ is perh. related to → nóng₁ 農 ‘agriculture’.

≈ rōng 醬 (ńźjwōŋB) LH ɲoŋB, OCM *nōŋ?
‘Bushy’ (hair) [Shú]

≈ rōng ǒng (ńźjwōŋ) LH ɲoŋ ‘id.’ [Zuo]

≈ rōng ǒng (ńźjwǒŋ) LH ɲuŋ, OCM *nős ‘luxuriant, bushy’ [Lie].

nǔ 母 (nuok, n œŋC) LH nouk, noC, OCM *nǔk, *nõkh — [T] ONW nouk or nök?
‘To weed with a hoe’ [Zhuang, Meng]; ‘a hoe’ 母 [SW].

[E] ST: Lushai hnu² < hnu? (< *ʔ?) ‘work finished, weeded or harvested area’.

[C] Allofam → nóng₄ 農 ‘cultivate, agriculture’. This word is unrelated to the syn. → hào₂ 蒨荏.

nú₁ 奴 (nuo) LH ɲa, OCM *nål
‘Slave’ [Lun].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR nu (平); MGZY nu (平) [nu]; ONW no

[E] Etymology not certain. Perh. cognate to TB-Mru na: ‘servant’, SChin-Awa tana [Löffler, Anthropos 55, 1960: 530]. Ferlus (LTBA 22.2, 1999: 5) relates this word to → nǚ₁ 女 ‘woman’; this has semantic parallels, especially among foreign loans. Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 44) relates it to a w£ with the basic meaning ‘tense’ (incl. → nǚ₁ 女, → nǚ₂ 努), hence ‘press into service’.

nú₂ 奴 → อำเภอ 奴

nú₃ 奴 → nǚ₁ 女

nǚ₁ 奴 (nuoB) LH noB, OCM *nा?
‘Crossbow’ [Zhouhi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR nu (上); MGZY nu (上) [nu]; ONW no

**nū** – **nuán**


The word is widely distributed in E and SE Asia: TB-Rawang (Nung) *thana, Dulong tānā, Moso (LB) tāna. <> PTai *hnaːC: S. naaCl (-maːC2) ‘crossbow’ (Li F. 1976: 43); in NTai naaBl ‘arrow’ (particularly of a crossbow) (Manomaivibool 1975: 138), Sui hnaː; note also S. sa-naː ‘crossbow’ (<- Khmer?). <> PMY *nhaB ‘crossbow’. <> PAN *pənːaː ‘bow, arrow’ (Sagart CL 21.1, 1993: 23), *pənːah ‘shooting weapon’.

Alternatively, Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 44) suggests that nū is related to → nū₂ 努 which basically means ‘to tense’. Gernet (acc. to Ferlus LTBA 22.2, 1999: 17) suggests that the homophone nū ‘stone used for arrowheads’ has been extended to ‘crossbow’.

**nū₂** 努 (nuoB) LH naŋ, OCM *nāʔ — [T] ONW no

努力 ‘to exert one’s strength’ [Han commentators], 怒臂 ‘tense / stem one’s arms’ [Zhuang].

�� nū 努 (nuaC) LH naŋ, OCM nāah

‘Angry’ [Shi] belongs to this wf acc. to Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 44) who analyzes this word as ‘tense’.


**nū** 努 → **nū₂** 努

**nū₁** 女 (ŋjwɔoB) LH naŋ, OCM *nraʔ < *C/r-naʔ ?

‘Woman, wife, girl, daughter, female’ [BI, Shi], opposite → shi₁ 士, → nán₂ 男. See also → niáng 嫩娘.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ny (十里); MGZY ɲu (十里) [ŋy]; ONW ɲo < nio


�� nū 女 (ŋjwɔoC) LH naŋ, OCM *nrah

‘To give someone a wife’ [Shu].

/{$\exists$} e xoactive of nū₁ 女 (§4.3.1).

�� nū 努 (nuo) LH naŋ, OCM *nā


[E] Perh. ST *na: WT mna(‘ma) ‘daughter-in-law’ (Unger Hao-ko 33, 1986), ūa-mo ‘mistress of the house, housewife’ (HPTB: 173f), and / or the marginal West Tib. ūag(-mo) ‘woman’ (Simon acc. to Bodman 1980: 133), for tone B in CH, see §3.3.1; JP ūna33 ‘older sister, sister-in-law’ (wife of brother), address for older woman by a younger one; WB hnaC-ma ‘sister’ (STC: 187 n. 487), NNaga ʔ-ʔa ‘elder sister’ [French 1983: 271]. However, the fundamental meaning of the TB items is ‘sister’, not ‘woman, girl’.

Alternatively, Ferlus (LTBA 22.2, 1999: 5) connects the word with AA: Khmu kmbraʔ ‘wife’ < kmraʔ, OC from k-N-raʔ. He adds → nū₁ 奴 ‘slave’ to this wf. There is a similar MK etymology, see → tài₁ 孑.}

**nū₂** 猙 → jù₄-nū 粗帔

**nuán** 妊 ‘quarrel’ → náo₃ 撓
nuān – nuò

nuān 暖 (nuānB) LH nuōnR, OCM *nōnʔ — [T] ONW nuōn
‘Warm’ [Li], 暖 [Chuci]. This word is unrelated to xuān 暖 (under → xù4 旭).

※ nuān 暖 (nuānB/C) LH nuōnB/C, OCM *nōnʔ/s
‘Hot water’ [Yili].

[E] The stem of this etymon is *no(n) and apparently related to → ruò6 熱 *not ‘hot’.

nuān 便 → ruān 奏軟

nuè1 梗 (ŋjak) LH ɲiok, OCM *ŋauk
‘To coerce, oppress, be violent’ [Bl, Shi] is related by Bodman (1980: 70) to xuè, nuè
謫 (xjak) ‘to ridicule, jest’ [Shi].

= nuè 瘍 (ŋjak) LH ɲiok, OCM *ŋauk
‘Ague’ [Li].

[E] <> Tai: S. ɲak-ŋak ‘shivering’ ≠ ḥjāk-ŋjāk ‘shivering’ (as from ague) (Unger Hao-ku

nuè2 梗 → nuè1 梗

nuó 難 (nā) LH na, OCM *nāi
‘To expel demons of illness’ [Lunyu, GY].

[E] Etymology not certain. Nuó is perh. related to → nán3 難 ‘difficult’ (so Karlgren
1956: 18; Boltz JAOS 99.3, 1979: 430). But it also, or instead, belongs to PTB *na ~
*nat ‘ill’: WB na ‘be ill, be in pain’ ≠ nat ‘demon, spirit’ < PLB *nat (Benedict HJAS
4, 1939: 228). Perh. this is not a cognate but a TB loan because there is no obvious OC
word with the meaning ‘illness’ from which nuó could have been derived (→ nà4 麟
‘sick’ is a medieval word, and the etymology of → shū3 麟 ‘painful’ is not certain); the
OC rime *-ai creates difficulties for a genetic relationship as well.

nuò1, nà 呼訶 (nuat, ŋjwāt) LH nuat, ŋuat, OCM *nūt, *not
‘Slow of speech’ 訶 [Lunyu], ‘speak slowly or cautiously’ (Giles); ‘blurt out’ 呼
(Giles). Bodman (1980) links this word with Lepcha a-nūt ‘undecided’ (in speech),
ŋjöt-ta ‘incessantly babbling’, but on the other hand there is Tai: S. nāapD2 ‘slow (of
speech)’.

nuò2 訶 → ruò1 若

nuò3 虞 → róu1 柔

nuò4 糯 (nuāC [Jiyun])
‘Glutinous rice’ (Oryza sativa var. glutinosa) is found in all dialects (except Min) as
well as SEAsian languages, such as Tai khâu nua (Savina, khâu ‘rice’); it is perh.
connected with AA: Khmuic *lāʔ ‘glutinous rice’, Viet. lúa ‘paddy’ (Ferlus 31st
ICSTLL, 1998: 90), but see → dāo4 稻.
oū 阇 → wān⁴ 碗

oū₁ 嘔 → yue³ 嘔

oū₂ 偶 (ŋou₄) LH ŋo², OCM *ŋô?
‘One of a pair, mate, counterpart’ [Shu] > ‘pair, double’ [Li], ‘two plowers working together’ 卿 [Shi], ‘a statue’ 偶 [Huainan] > ‘match, vis-à-vis’ 偶 [Zuo].

 serie yù 遇 (ŋu₂) LH ŋo², OCM *ŋoh
‘To meet with, encounter’ [BI, Shi] (Karlgren 1956: 13).

serie yú, yōng 嘎 (ŋu, ŋou², ŋou) LH ŋo, ŋon, OCM *ŋo(ŋ)
‘Respond in singing’ [Zhuang] (the QYS reading qau² and / or qiu may be the result of interference from other words in the phonetic series).

où 滅 (ŋou²) LH ŋo², OCM *ŋô
‘To soak’ [Shi].

serie wò 滅 (ŋak) LH ŋak, OCM *ŋôk
‘To moisten, smear’.
Pā 菊 (pʰa)<n>
‘Flowers, blossoms’ [post-Han].


[C] This word is perh. the same etymon as → bàn 畔 ‘petals of a flower’.

Pá, bá 爬 (a late word, not in GY, JY, the MC form would be bá) ‘To crawl’ [Xin Fangyan], ‘to climb’, a col. archaism of the next item:

= pú-fú 爬匐 (bu/ bju-bjuk/ bak) LH bo-bak or bīo-buk, OCM *ba-bak ‘To crawl’ [Shi and in subseq. Zhou lit.].

[T] ONW bo-buk

[E] The first syllable is reduplication (Norman 1988: 87). SW separates the two syllables: (1) pú (OCM *ba) ‘handful’, i.e. ‘to crawl’ [SW], pú = pú-fú [GY]; (2) fú = 伏 (bjuk) ‘to lie on the ground’ (ZWDCD 2: 89, 91). Thus pú ~ pá (above) follows pú-fú as an independent word, while fú, taken for a mere variant graph of 伏, becomes obsolete. <- This is perh. a ST item: Chepang bah-sa ‘to crawl’.

Pá, bá 扒 (ba[endencies]) LH ba(C), OCM *brâ(h) — [T] ONW bá

‘A harrow’ (Mand. bà), ‘a rake’ 扒 (Mand. pá) [Zhuang].

[E] Etymology not certain. This word may be derived from → bá 把 ‘handful, grasp’, hence a claw-like instrument. Alternatively, pá could be MK: Khmer pāra /baar/ ‘to scrape, scuff, rake...’ (for the r-metathesis, see §7.7.3). In light of these possibilities, cognation with PTB *pra (STC no. 132) is less likely: Kanauri bra ‘forked’ (road) ≠ pra ‘spread, stretch’, WB praB ‘divided into several parts’, JP bra?sy < brakSy ‘be forked’ (CVST 1: 58).

Pà 恐 (pʰaC) Sin Sukchu SR p’a (去); MCZY pʰaC (phuo C) LH pʰaC, OCM *phāh — [T] ONW pʰaC

‘To be afraid’ [(Tang) Han Yu]. The graph occurs first in SW, but with a different meaning (Wáng Li 1958: 576). Perh. an archaic colloquialism of the next item (so Wáng Li 1982: 176):

≈ pà 恐 (pʰuoC) LH pʰoC, OCM *phā — [T] ONW pʰoC

‘To fear’ [Zhuang].

[E] Note Lushai pʰoɔk (Lorrain phawk) ‘to startled, frighten’; perh. also PMon *phiic ‘be afraid’ (for the vowels, see §11.1.3).

Pái 築 and other characters (bai) LH be, OCM *bré


Pān 湯 (pʰu˷) LH pʰun, OCM *phān — [D] PEMin *pʰonA1; CDC phon!

‘Water in which rice has been washed’ [Li]. Etymology not clear.

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pán

pan (buán) LH ban, OCM *bân
‘To turn around’ [Li].

[T] Sin S. 竉 SR bwan (平), PR, LR bon; MGZY 爌 pon (平) [bôn]

[E] ST: Perh. cognate to WB pran ‘return, repeat’ (HST: 153), Mru plan ‘turn’


pán2

pan (buán) LH bon, OCM *bân
‘To curl’ (of a dragon) [ShimgshU ditzhuan] > ‘to circulate’ [Li].

LE ST: PTB *boy (STC n. 308): WB bhwe ‘curl in hair of animal’; Kachin boi ‘have a cowlick’. Perh. WT bal ‘wool’ could belong here instead of → mian 2

pán-huán

判換 (p瑄c-xuânC) LH p瑄c-huânC, OCM *phans-huâns
‘Be relaxed, slack’ [Shi].

Etymology not certain, possibly AA: Khmer paŋ ‘ara /bawtoar/ ‘be glad or rejoice... please, delight...’. A connection of the second syllable with PTB *oːl (STC no. 111) > Magari ol ‘to finish’, Garo ol ‘lax, loose, relax’ may also be possible.

pàn2

判片 → bân1 半

péi

pei I (phu~i) LH phu, OCM *phâń
‘One month pregnant’ [SW].

"pei - peng"

includes → méi₆ 媒媒 ‘matchmaker’ and → dài₉ 戴 ‘to bear’. Wáng Lì (1982: 105) already connected this word with méi₆. Alternative: PTB *pary ‘pregnant’ [HPTB: 210], but the finals do not agree.

pei₂ 域 → fù₈ 境
pei 蚤 → bèi₄ 倍
pèi 沛 ‘uprooted’ → bá₁ 友
pèn 噁歍 (pʰeŋ[ʃ]) LH pʰeŋ(ʃ), OCM *phën(s)
‘To blow out, spit out’ 歸 [Mu Tianzi], ‘to spurt’ 歸 [Zhuang].

peng 噁 (pʰeŋ) LH pʰeŋ, OCM *phên
‘To send, cause’ acc. to commentators [Shi, Shu, EY], ‘envoy’ [Shu]. GY reads pʰeŋ, aspirated, but also unaspirated forms are cited.
[E] ? ST: TB-WT sprɨŋ-บา, sprɨŋ ‘to send a message, give information’ ≠ pʰrin ‘news, message’ (Geilkh 1994: 64). Aspiration could be due either to loss of a ST pre-initial (§5.8.1), or to outward motion (§5.8.5).

peng₁ 茂 (bun, bun) LH bon, bun, OCM *bôm, *bôm
‘Densely growing (trees, plants), thick-furred (fox)’ [Shi].
[E] ST *pum, for cognates and parallel stems, see §2.5.1.

peng₂ 朋 (bôŋ) LH bôŋ, OCM *bôŋ → [T] Pre-ONW bôn
‘A pair, set of two’ [Shi] > ‘string of cowries’ (consisting of two strands) [B], Shi; ‘friend’ with whom one forms a set of two) [B], Shi (Bodman 1980: 149).

※ bêng 織 (pên) LH pêŋ, OCM *pôŋ
‘To bind round’ [Mo] (Bodman); the OC medial *r could be the causative morpheme (§7.5), but see next.
[E] Bodman compares this wf with WT (ʼ)pʰren ‘string on which things are filed, strung’ ≠ pʰren-ба ‘string of beads, rosary’ ≠ bren-ба ‘strap, rope’, also WT ‘pʰren ‘to love, be fond of, greatly attached to’. However, MC e usually corresponds to TB a, not e.

peng₃ 鵬 → fêng₃ 陸

peng₄ 蓬 (bun) LH boŋ, OCM *bôŋ
‘Luxuriant’ (of foliage) [Shi].
※ bêng 嫋 (pûŋʰ, boŋ) LH pûŋʰ, boŋʰ, OCM *pôŋʔ, *bôŋʔ
‘Densely growing’ [Shi].
※ fêng 丰 (phjwûŋ) LH pʰuŋ, OCM *phôn
‘Flourishing, elegant’ [Shi].
[E] ST *pôŋ, for cognates and parallel stems, see §2.5.1. Additional allofam: → fêng₆ 豐.

peng₅-lái 蓬萊 (bun-Iâi) LH boŋ-Iâ > boŋ-Iâi (?)
A legendary island of the immortals (xiăn 仙) in the eastern sea [Shânhâijîng, Shîjî], usually identified as the Bohai Sea. Etymology not clear. However, resemblance to a SE Asian word for ‘sea, ocean’ is striking: TB-WB paŋ-lai ‘ocean’, JP paŋ̃33-lai33 id. This etymon looks like a loan, possibly from MK: Khmer dhle/tlé/ ‘expanse of water’ ※ OKhmer danle(y)/donle/ ‘lake, sea’ (with nasal infix) (Jenner/Pou 1982: 323); Khmer → Pearic thale/; ‘sea’ → Thai tâkeē id. Occasionally, an AA nasal infix (as in /donlee/) is reinterpreted as the root initial which can lead to a change in the initial
pěng – pf

consonant such as $d > b$. For an illustration for such reinterpretation and initial consonant substitution in AA, see §2.6.2.

*pěng*₆ 睬 → **fán**₂ 帆

*pěng* 睬 (biŋ⁶ [Zihui]), bāŋ⁷ [Duan Yucai].

Mand. ‘To hit, run into / meet unexpectedly’ is prob. a recent col. form of → **fēng**₁ 翎 (Wáng Li 1982: 390).

**pf**₁ 匹 → **pf**₁ 匹

**pf**₂ 雀 → **pf**₃ 腦

**pf**₃ 披 (pʰje 3)  LH  pʰkai, OCM *phai

‘Divide, separate, disperse’ [Zuo].

[E] ST *pai: PL *bay¹ ‘to separate’; WT dbye-ba ‘partition, division, section, part’ ≠ dbyen-pa ‘difference, discord’ ≠ ‘bye-ba ‘to separate, open’ (intr.) (WT medial $y$ is secondary before $e$); JP bje⁶ ‘to divide’. Lushai **pʰel** ‘split, break’ may belong to → bāŋ₂, biàn 椄. For an overview of similar items, see Table P-1; for possible allofams, see → If₁₀ 畬.

**Table P-1**  Separate, open, split, break

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ai</th>
<th>-ak</th>
<th>p-ai, -e</th>
<th>p-ek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhā 足 *trai open</td>
<td>zhé 熱 *trak rip open</td>
<td>pō 破 *phāih break</td>
<td>AA-Khm. pek, pāk to split</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WB pai⁷ broken off</td>
<td>JP pʰjai³³ split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lushai peʔ² &lt; peh to break</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chē 擠 *rhai³ open</td>
<td>chè 斷 *thraï split</td>
<td>WT ‘bye-ba open</td>
<td>pi 腦 *bek &lt; *bai-k open</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WT dbye-ba open</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lushai pʰen² &lt; pʰen² to open</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL *bay¹ separate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WT ‘dral-ba to tear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bāi 拔 *breʔ open</td>
<td>bō 撈 *prek cleave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WB prai⁸ to gape</td>
<td>PTai *pr-: S teek⁴破 break, tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bān 班 *pran distribute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>JP pā§-ran¹¹ to separate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WT ‘brai-ba separated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WB prai⁸ be divided</td>
<td></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 → bōt 磬, → bō 孫, → bū, → pʰi; → pʰi jī, → pʰi tān, → pʰi 副, → pʰo 透). Therefore exact cognate correspondences are elusive, and where perfect matches occur, they may be accidental. Additional words in the area include:

TB-Lepcha **bk** ‘to split’ (Forrest JAOS 82, 1962: 334). Chepang **pek**- ‘break, shatter, crack, split’ ≠ **paka**² ‘break open’ (fruit). <> Tai: S. plik⁴ ‘divide into small pieces, evade’. For possible allofams, see → If₁₀ 畬.
pí 皮 (pí) [LH] bai, OCM *bai
‘Hide, fur, animal skin (with hair or feathers)’ [Shi, SW], also hide worn as clothing [Shi].

To split (wood) [SW]. SW glosses it with pò 破 *phāih; Duàn Yùcái, Wáng Lì (1982: 102f) associate this word with → pí 副 ‘split’.

| ST: JP p‘jaż55 < p‘jak55 ‘split open’. Also, or alternatively, this could be an ‘abrupt end’ final *-k derivation (§6.1.2) from either → pí 副 or → pò 破 *phāih. For an overview over similar items, see Table P-1; for possible allomorfs, see → lí10 獨.

| T: Sin Sukchu SR bi (平); MGZY pue (平) [bue]; ONW be — D: PMin *p‘ueA2

| E: Wáng Lì (1982: 446), following Shimíng, relates this word to → bēi6 被 ‘cover, wear’ which is plausible, see there for the ST etymology.

Shaf er (IST: 62) relates pí 毛 ‘skin, bark’ as well as WT p‘yi ‘outside’, but this is doubtful, see → bi1 比. Syn. → fú9 剖.

pí2 髚 (pí2) [T] fú ‘split’ → fú17 剖

pí3 腹 (bíei, bi 4) [LH] bei, bi, OCM *bí, *bi — ONW běi
‘Navel, stomach of an ox’ [Zhuang], perhaps a variant of, or s. w. as, next:

| ST: WT ‘phel-ba, phel (OTib pheld) ‘to increase, augment, enlarge, improve, develop’.

pí4 膿 (bi 4) [LH] bi, OCM *bi
‘Abundant, large’ 腹 [Shi]; ‘to strengthen’ (a ruler) 腹 [Shi].

| E: ST: WT ‘phel-ba, phel (OTib p‘eld) ‘to increase, augment, enlarge, improve, develop’.

pí5 貓 (bi 4) [LH] bi, OCM *bi
Prob. ‘leopard, panther’ [Shi, SW]. Acc. to FY 8.2 and Guð Pú, pí had ancient dialect variants which are discussed under → lí3 獸. In old texts pí refers to a large panther-like cat, whereas lí3 獸 and its dialect variants refer to a small cat-like animal. Apparently these two animals were confused by Han and esp. the commentator Guð Pú’s time (d. 324 AD) due to lack of familiarity with wildlife.

| E: 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 Indic instead: Hindi billā ‘cat’ (Jaeschke: 376), Nepali billi ~ Skt bidālah which comes in turn prob. from a non-Aryan source (Buck 1949 no. 3.62), note Kharia bili leg, Dravidian billi etc. (Mei / Norman 1971: 100). On the other hand, bi-ši (ši < zi ‘cat’ ?) may suggest that byi is a native morpheme after all.

pí6 膈 (bje 4) [LH] bie, OCM *be — [T] ONW bie
‘Spleen, bile’ [Li].


pí7 罷疲 (bje 3) [LH] bai, OCM *bai — [T] ONW be
‘Weary, exhausted’ 疲 [Zuo], ‘emaciated’ [Guan]; ‘to wear out, exhaust’ 疲 [Zuo].

| E: ST: PTB *bal (STC no. 29) > Bahing bal ‘tired, weary’; WB panB ‘tired’ (HST: 150) ≠ p‘ha8 ‘fatigued’ (as horses), JP ba55 ‘tired’ ≠ ban31 ‘tired. WT brgyal is prob.
unrelated, see → 卮kich. <> The relationship with Tai is not clear: S. *phl<i>a</i> < "b- 
‘weary, exhausted’ ≠ *phl<i>c</i> > "p- - to wear out, exhaust’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 127f; 206). Allofam → 陋<sub>10</sub> 敵弊斃 (Pulleyblank 1962: 215). For additional comments, see → pecified.

**pǐ** 浃 (phjiel 4) LH pʰit, OCM *phit

‘A pair, a set of male and female’ (as husband and wife; as pǐ-ŋiño 匹鳥 ‘mandarin ducks’) [Shi] > one of a pair, peer’ [BI, Shi, EY], ‘a mate’ [Liji], ‘a single one’ [Meng], ‘opponent’ [Zuo] > measure word for horses [BI, Shu]; ‘to match’ [Shi, Shu].

**pǐ** 浃 (phjiel 4) LH pʰit, OCM *phit

‘A pair, a set of male and female’ (as husband and wife; as འ<sub>10</sub> < 'two', *bar, but in Khmer which has similarities with OC, it is *phl<i>r</i>t (§6.9), the OC final -t may represent the nominalizing suffix (§6.2.1). Alternatively, the Lushai word cited under → 陋<sub>24</sub> 而 ‘fork’ could belong here instead.

**pǐ** 浃 (phjiel 4) LH pʰit, OCM *phit

‘A unit for measuring cloth, equal to four zhàng 丈’ [SW].

**pǐ** 仄 (phjiel 4) LH pʰit, OCM *phit

‘Duck’ 匹 [Liji].

**pǐ** 仄 (phjiel 4, phjiel 4) LH pʰit, pʰi<sub>B</sub>, OCM *phl<i>i</i>? *phie?<

‘Complete, prepare’ [Zuo]. Acc to HST: 97 cognate to → pǐ 脩毘.

**pǐ** 仄 (phjiel 4, phjiel 4) LH pʰi<sub>B</sub>, pʰi<sub>B</sub>, OCM *phl<i>i</i>? *phie?

‘Complete, prepare’ [Zuo]. Acc to HST: 97 cognate to → pǐ 脩毘.

**pǐ** 仄 (phjiel 4) LH pʰi<sub>C</sub>, OCM *phih

‘To pass gas’ [GY], a word which understandably appears late in the literature.

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‘To pass gas’ [GY], a word which understandably appears late in the literature.

**pǐ** 仄 (phjiel 4) LH bǐk, OCM *bek

‘Beat the breast’ [Shi]. Perh. bǐ 毑 (bjet), LH bǐt ‘to beat’ [Lie] is a variant. Perh. related is pǐ 脫 (phjiel), Sin Sukchu SR pʰi<sub>i</sub> (疆); MGZY phi (疆) [pʰi]; LH pʰek ‘beat silk in water’ (to make it white) [Zhuang], with iterative aspiration (§5.8.3).

**pǐ** 仄 (phjiel 4) LH bǐk, OCM *bek

‘Beat the breast’ [Shi]. Perh. bǐ 毑 (bjet), LH bǐt ‘to beat’ [Lie] is a variant. Perh. related is pǐ 脫 (phjiel), Sin Sukchu SR pʰi<sub>i</sub> (疆); MGZY phi (疆) [pʰi]; LH pʰek ‘beat silk in water’ (to make it white) [Zhuang].

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**pǐ** 脫 (phjiel 4) LH bǐk, OCM *bek

‘Beat the breast’ [Shi]. Perh. bǐ 毑 (bjet), LH bǐt ‘to beat’ [Lie] is a variant. Perh. related is pǐ 脫 (phjiel), Sin Sukchu SR pʰi<sub>i</sub> (疆); MGZY phi (疆) [pʰi]; LH pʰek ‘beat silk in water’ (to make it white) [Zhuang].
pl — piāo

pl6 (bjiāk 4) LH biek, OCM *biek < *bai-k
‘To open, open up, enlarge’ tr. [BI, Shi].

[E] ST *pe: WT ‘byed-pa, p’yes, dbye ‘to open’ (HST: 114); Lushai p’en < p’en? ‘to open’; perh. related to Thakali p’le ‘to open up’. Also, or alternatively, this could be an ‘abrupt end’ (‘open up’) final -k derivation (§6.1.2) of → pi3 披 ‘divide’.

[C] Allofam → bī1 畢. TB cognates indicate that → bāi2 披 ‘to open’ may not be related. For an overview over similar items, see Table P-1 under → pi3 披; for possible allofams, see → lī10 離.

pl7 副 (pjāk, pʰjāk) LH pik, pʰik, OCM *p(h)rak ?, OCB *p(h)rjak ?
‘To rend, split’ (while giving birth), ‘cleave, divide’ [Shi, SW].

~ pi 畢 (pʰjāk)
‘Split, cut open’ (e.g. fruit) [Shi, Zhouli]. The additional QYS reading pek has prob. been transferred from the syn. → bō3 打. CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion (§5.8.5).


[C] Baxter (1992: 473) relates this to lè 渍防勒(back (under → lī4 里理). An allofam is perh. → pōu 剖. For an overview over similar items, see Table P-1 under → pi3 披; for possible allofams, see → lī10 離.

piān1 偏 (pʰjiān 4) LH pʰiān, OCM *phen — [T] ONW pʰiān
‘Oblique, awry, side’ [BI, Shi], ‘side, border’ [Zuo]
≠ piān 偏 (bjiān(B) 4) LH bian(B), OCM *ben(?)
‘Be glib-tongued, insincere’ [Shi].

≠ piān 片 (pʰien(C)) LH pʰen(C), OCM *phēns
‘Partial, one-sided’ [Lunyu].

[C] This wf could be cognate to → bēi2, bǐ 陂, belonging to the root *pai ‘oblique, slope’ (so Wáng Lì 1982: 445), hence *pen < *pai-n. An additional cognate is → biān4 邊.

piān2 篇 → biān1 條

piān1-bí 便嬖 (bjiān-pieC) LH bian-peC, OCM *ben-pēkh
‘Male and female servants’ [Meng, Xun]. Perh. the same etymon underlies the Yuè syllable Canton mnnA1 in sii^33-mnn^55-tsi^35 细蚊子 ‘child’. The Tai and Yuè nasal initial may be due to a preglottalized stop (Chén Zhōngmín, MZYW 1995.5: 1–11).


piān2 駁 → bīng2 並併

piān3 偏 → piān1 偏

piān 片 → piān1 偏

piāo1 偏 ‘tip, end’ -> bīāo3 標

piāo2 漂 (pʰjíāu 4) LH pʰiau, OCM *phiau — [T] ONW pʰiau
‘To float’ (in the air), ‘be tossed about’ [Shi], ‘to blow down’ (roof tiles) 艦 [Zhuang].
≠ piāo 飄 (bjiāu, pjiāu 4) LH biau, piau, OCM *biau, *piau
‘To whirl, whirlwind’ [Shi].

[E] ST: PTB *pyaw (STC no. 176) > WT ‘pʰy-o-ba ‘swim, soar, float’. PTAI *pliuA1 ‘float in

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the air’ may be related (so Bodman 1980: 168), but the Tai medial /l/ presents a phonological problem.

piāo 3 漂 (bjiāu 4) LH biau, OCM *biau
‘Duckweed, algae’ is acc. to Guō Pū a Jiāngdōng (lower Yangtze) word, it has survived in southern dialects: Min: Fúzhōu pʰjiauA₂, Jiān’du pʰjiauC₁; Kējiā pʰjiauA₂, Guǎngzhōu pʰjiauA₂. The word is a loan from MK: Viet bèo ‘duckweed’, WMon bew ‘to ride low on the water’ (Norman 1983: 206).

píng 1 聽 → bīn 1 聽
píng 2 頻 → bīn 2 演; → fēn 4 境
píng 3 警 (bjen 3) LH bīn, OCM *brən, OCB *brjən — [T] ONW bīn

píng 4 (bjen) LH bīn, OCM *breŋ — [T] ONW bēn
‘Female of animals’ [Shi], opposite — mǔ, 叫 ‘male’ (of quadrupeds).

píng 5 (bjen) LH bīn, OCM *breŋ — [T] ONW bēn
‘Rain master’ [Zhouli, Chuci (there written 中 instead of 占); other texts borrow different graphs].

píng 6 (bjen) LH bēn, OCM *bēn
‘Rain master’ [Zhouli, Chuci (there written 井 instead of 平); other texts borrow different graphs].

píng 7 (bjen) LH bēn, OCM *bēn
‘Water jug’ [for drawing water] [Yáng Xióng, Later Han], ‘water jug with small mouth and bulbous belly’ [SW], ‘bottle, jug’ [Li].
ping - pò


ping₆ 屏臻 (biəŋ) LH ｂｉŋ, OCM *bēŋ
‘A protecting wall, screen, protection’ [Shi], ‘to protect’ 屏 [Zuo]; ‘curtain carriage’ 銜 [SW]. Perh. related to → bì₁₂ 被 ‘screen’; acc. to Karlgen (1956: 16) related to → bīng₃ 屏 ‘remove’.

ping₇ 潟殻 (biəŋ) LH ｂīŋ, OCM *brōŋ ?
(‘Step on / over’?:) ‘Ascend’ [Zhouli], ‘walk across’ (a river) [Shi], ‘maltreat’ [Zuo], ‘encroach upon’ 潟 [Zhouli]; ‘lean on, rely on’ 潟 [Shi]. 潟 [Shu], 潟 [SW: Shu] (also read MC bjāŋ 〔]).

ping 聘 → fāng₂ 訪

pō 頦坡 → bēi₂, br 陂

pō₁ 鏔 (bu₄) LH ｂｏ, OCM *bāt
‘Burst forth’ (as plants, fountain) [Meng].

pō₂ 婆 (bu₄) ONW ｂa
‘Old woman’ [post-Han].

pō₃ 崁 (bu₄, pu₄) LH ｂai, OCM *bāi
‘Be white’ 畢[Yi] > ‘white-haired’ 畢 [Shu].

pō₁ 破 (phu₄C) LH ｐōiC, OCM *phāih
‘To break’ [Shi], in southern dialects it is a synonym of → pī₄ 裂 ‘split wood’.

pō₂ 破 (phu₄C) LH ｐōiC, OCM *phāih
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pō – ṃū

[E] Sound-symbolic area word: TB-PLB *pak ~ *ʔpak [Matisoff TSR: 40] > Lahu phâʔ ‘unfasten, dismantle’; *pâʔ ‘collapse, come undone’; Akha paʰH ‘break, split’ (HST: 64). <> AA-PMon *(baak ‘to slash’ (flesh, vegetable with a sharp blade), pâk ‘to split’; Khmer -pâka /-baak/ ‘to split’ ≈ OKhmer pak /bâk/ ‘to break, come or fall apart, separate, give way’; Bahnar pâk, Mon pâk; Stieng bêk, bâk ‘split’.

\[pō_3\] 肩, 胛 ‘shoulder blade’ → \[bō_4\] 肩

\[pō_4\] 魄 (pʰek) LH pʰak, OCM *phrâk

‘Vegetative or animal soul’ of a person [Zuo] which accounts for growth and physiological functions, for ‘life’; as opposed to → hûn₁ 魄 ‘spiritual soul’ which makes a human personality.

[E] Pō ‘soul’ is the same word as → \[pō_5\] 厭魄 ‘aspect of the moon’. With the first development of a fetus grows the vegetative soul ji shèng pō 既生魄 [Zuo: Zhao 7], the same phrase is used for phases of the moon. Pō, the soul responsible for growth, is the same as pō the waxing and waning of the moon (Ying-shi Yū JAS 41, 1981: 83). The meaning ‘soul’ has probably been transferred from the moon since men must have been aware of lunar phases long before they had developed theories on the soul. This is supported by the etymology ‘bright’, and by the inverted word order which can only have originated with meteorological expressions, see → \[pō_5\] 厭魄. The association with the moon explains perh. why the pō soul is classified as Yin (see for example Matisoff 1978: 268) in spite of the etymology ‘bright’ (which should be Yang), hûn’s Yang classification may be due to the association with clouds and by extension sky, even though the word invokes ‘dark’. ‘Soul’ and ‘moon’ are related in other cultures, by cognition or convergence, as in TB: PLB *s/ʔ-la³ ‘moon, soul, spirit’ (HPTB: 39), WT bla ‘soul’ ≈ zla ‘moon’, PMY *bla^C ‘spirit, soul, moon’ (Benedict ICSTLL 1989: 8).

Pō is related to → \[bài_1\] 白 ‘white’ (Carr CAAAL 24, 1985: 62).

The connection, if any, with MK comparanda is not clear: Khmer brah ‘devil, spirit’, Chrau m’brâh; AA -> TB-Lepcha blyak ‘devil, spirit’ (Forrest JAOS 82, 1962: 333).

\[pō_5\] 厭魄 (pʰek) LH pʰak, OCM *phrâk

‘An aspect of the moon’, prob. originally ‘brightness’: ji shèng pō 既生魄 ‘after the brightness pō has grown’ = ‘second quarter of the lunar month’ and ji sì pō 既死魄 ‘after the brightness has died’ (i.e. prob. ‘has started to die’) = ‘last quarter of the lunar month’ [B1] (Shaughnessy 1991: 136ff). In this phrase, the subject pō follows the verb as in meteorological phenomena (note xià yǔ 下雨 ‘rain falls’, see von der Gabelentz, 1881, p. 144).

[E] This is the same word as → \[pō_4\] 魄 and cognate to → \[bài_1\] 白 ‘white’ (Ying-shi Yū JAS 41, 1981: 83; Shaughnessy; Matisoff ‘Stars, moon, spirit’, ICSTLL 1978); TB languages also associate ‘moon’ with ‘white’ [French 1983: 578f].

\[pō_6\] 厭魄 ‘hide soaked in rain’ → \[fû_9\] 肧

pōu 割 (pʰouʰ) LH pʰoʰ, OCM *phôʔ

‘To cleft, cut open’ [Zuo]. Wáng Lì (1982: 102) relates this word to → \[pi\] 割.

pōu 厝 → \[bèi_4\] 倍

pōu 培 → \[fû_7\] 俸

pū 铺 → \[bû_3\] 布
pú - pù

pú₁ 僕 (bük, buok) LH bok, OCM *bök, OCB *bok — [T] ONW bok
‘Servant, groom, male slave’ [BI, Shi] is perh. related to WT bu ‘son, boy’ (HST: 164).
Alternatively, CVST 1: 57 relates pú to WT pʰrug ‘child’.

pú₂ 樸 (pʰük) LH pʰok, OCM *phrök
‘To trim wood’ [Shu] is perh. an aspirated iterative derivation (§5.8.3) from → báo₃ 剝.
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.

pú₃-táo 葡萄 (buo-dâu) LH bô-dau
‘Grape’ is borrowed from Iranian *budāwa or *bādāwa (Laufer 1919: 225; Norman 1988: 19), introduced from Bactria ca. 130 BC.

pú₄ 蒲 (buc) LH bo, OCM *bâ
‘Cattail’ or some kind of rush [Shi]; see also → lú 蓆.

pú₅-fú 翔翔 → pǎ₁ 爬

pú₁ 潘 (pʰu̯) LH pʰ, OCM *phá?
(The Huái) ‘river bank’ [Shi]; ‘(bank) on a cove, inlet’ (along the Yangtze River) [Guoce, Yuèjuè shū]. In OC, this is only a regional word restricted to the east and south of the Huang River, it is to this day found in place names in the same area, i.e. in the ancient Wú, Yuè, and Chú lands. Guo Pù (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 < pʰá? ‘inlet, cove’ (Norman). This word is prob. indirectly related to PKS *pwán ‘bank, shore’, Tai: Sæk viaj ‘bank of a river’ by way of the *-ʔ ~ *-ŋ alternation (§3.2.4). Less likely, KT may belong to → fáng, 坊防 ‘dike’. Pú is unrelated to po 顛坡 (under → bêi₂, 坡)

pú₂ 潘 ‘wide’ → bù₃ 布

pù₁ 怕 → pà 怕

pù₂ 暴 (buk) LH bok, OCM *bôk
‘To expose to the sun, to dry, exhibit’ [Meng].

E] ST: TB-Lushai pʰo ‘to dry or air in sunshine’. The relationship to Tai: S. taak < pʰack ‘to expose to the sun, dry’ (Li F. 1976: 45) is not clear.
Q

qf₁ 七 (tsʰjet) LH tsʰit, OCM *tshit < PCH *snhit?
‘Seven’ [OB].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'ī (入); MGZY tshi (入) [ts'i]; ONW tsʰit.
[D] Pulleyblank (1962: 134) suggests that in light of the TB cognates the initial derives from an OC reprefixed form *(snh- (§5.9.2; for examples of reprefixation in TB numerals, see Matisoff 1997a). The graph originally wrote qie which never had a nasal in the initial, hence prob. no *n in qf.

IE ST: PTB *snis > Himalayan lgs. *snis; Jiarong kēsnēs; PLB *snit > PBurm *?nit > WB kʰu-hnac, PLolo *n-šit ~ *ši; JP sā1-nil1; Trung snit (HST: 131). CH > Tai: S. cētDIS ‘seven’ (we should expect an /n/ in the initial if the relationship was genetic).

qf₂ 暗 (tsʰjap) LH tsʰip, OCM *ts(ʰ)ap < *k-sap
‘To whisper’ [SW: Shi].
 ≠ sā 靜 (sāp) LH sāp, OCM *sāp
‘The whistling or soughing of wind’ [Chuci].
[E] Sound-symbolic area word: PTB *syip ~ *syup (HPTB: 356) > WT šub-pa ~ šīb-pa ‘to whisper’, from a root *syu ~ *syip (STC: 170; HST: 160). But the CH item more closely resembles AA with its pre-initial: PMonic *k-[r-] sap ‘to whisper’ [Diffoth 1984: 214], Khmer khsipa /ksāp/ ‘to whisper, murmur’ ≠ /r/sāp/ ‘be whispered, audible only as low murmur’. MK -> Tai: S. krasip D2, krasāap D2.
[C] Perh. qf 瞑 ‘to babble’ [Shi] is the same word.

qf₃ 妻 (tsʰiei) LH tsʰei, OCM *tshōi < *k-sōi, OCB *tshaj
‘Consort, wife’ [Bl, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts’i (平), PR ts’ī; MGZY tshi (平) [ts'i]; ONW tsʰei
 ≠ qī 妻 (tsʰiei) LH tsʰei, OCM *tshāi
‘Give a wife to, give as a wife’ [Shu].
[<] exoactive / trans. of qf (§4.3.1).

[E] AA: Khmer *-sai: khsai /ksaj/ ‘be female’ ≠ Mid. Khmer kansai /kansy/ ‘wife’ (Lewitz 1976: 769), MK -> PWMiao *ntshai D ‘daughter, girl, wife’. MK ka-, kan- is a female marker, PEKatuic *kan ‘woman’. For the initial correspondence MC tsʰi < *k-s-, see §5.9.1. The word → tāi 娶 may belong to an AA parallel stem. Sometimes → qí15 齊 ‘equal’ is thought to be cognate (so SW; Karlgren 1956: 14) thus taking qf to mean originally ‘an equal’ (to her husband), but this is unlikely given the realities of ancient societies.

qf₄ 殤 (tsʰiei) LH tsʰei, OCM *tshāi < *k-sōi
‘Feel cold, be cold, chilly’ 殤 [Shi] > ‘sad, grieved’ 懔 [Li]. For semantics, note → hán2 寒 ‘cold’ > hánxīn 寒心 ‘disheartened’.

[E] Prob. a ST word, related to either of these two TB etyma: (1) WT bsil-ba ‘cool’ (CVST 4: 29), JP gā1-tṣi33 ‘cold’, Lushai sikl < tsik ‘cold’, perh. related to, or the same etymon as, ‘to wash’ → xī, 洗. (2) WT (b)ser, gser-bu ‘a fresh, cold breeze, feeling cold’, WB cī³ (< -e) ‘frost, hoarfrost’.

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qī 5 漆 (tsʰjet) LH tsʰit, OCM *tsišt
‘Lacquer tree, lacquer, varnish’ [Shi]. Note also zi (tsʰi) ‘(plant-) juice’ [Li] (Unger Hsiao-ku 39, 1992). The final -t marks nouns for natural objects (§6.2.1).


The etymology of the apparent WT cognate rtsi ‘juice, lacquer’ is ambiguous, though, as that word could also derive from rhji < rhi (§12.9 and thus be cognate to Lushai tʰarʰ-hrit ‘lac, sealing wax’ (mentioned by Unger ibid.) and ultimately derive from PTB *ri ‘water’ > WB re ‘water’ (Gong BIHP 51.3, 1980).

qī 6 佇 (khji 3) LH kʰiə, OCM *kʰə
‘To deceive, cheat’ [Lunyu], ‘insult’ 佇 (Zuo). 諫 [SW] > ‘mask’ 佇 [Xun], ‘animal mask’ (of bear skin, used in ceremonies) (Childs-Johnson EC 20, 1995: 89); perh. ‘grimacing dreadfully’ 佇 [Shi]. Etymology not clear.

qī 7 席 → xī 10 溪

qī 1 祀 (gji 3) LH gi, OCM *gri ? — [T] ONW tši, dzi?, gi?
‘Great, large, numerous’ [Shi]. Bodman (1980: 188) compares qī to WB kriB ‘great, big’, PLB *k-ri2 [Matisoff TSR no. 175].

qī 2 祷 (gei) LH gii, OCM *goi — [T] ONW gi
‘To pray for’ (rain etc.) [Shi]. Since the qī 祷 prayer and sacrifice was performed outside of town qī 祷 (gei) (syn. jiāo 郊), Jensen (EC 20, 1995: 422) believes that the words are cognate (see under ↓ jǐ 13 几畿).

qī 3 旐 (gei) LH gii, OCM *goi
‘A banner with dragon design and bells’ [Shi, SW], → qī 旗 acc. to Wáng Lǐ.

qī 4 支岐 → zhǐ 4 支枝肢

qī 5 奇 → jǐ 4 奇

qī 6 騎 (gjiec 3) LH gai, OCM *gai — [T] Sui-Tang gi < ONW ge
‘To ride’ (a horse) [Zhuang].

* jǐ 騎 (gjiec 3) LH gai, OCM *gaih
‘Rider’ [Li].

[*] a LOC general purpose derivation from qī (§3.5).

[E] The word is prob. related to → hé, 何荷 ‘carry’ (on the back, including on a beast of burden), hence endopass. (§4.6) ‘let oneself be carried’ (on the back of an animal).
Alternatively, the word may be connected with the wf → zhǐ 支枝肢 ‘branch’, hence ‘spreading one’s legs’, although the OC rimes are different (*-e).
This word has been widely borrowed by languages in the area: WB tsʰiB < *ksi (STC: 184 n. 484), MK-OKhmer /jih/ etc.

qī 7 其 (gji) LH giə, OCM *go
Pronoun ‘this’ [Shi, Shu] (Dobson, Songs: 168): third person possessive pron. ‘his, her, its, their, my, our’ [BI, Shi, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR gi (平等): MGZY ki (平等) [gī]; ONW giə

[N] Third person possessive is the most common use of qī. In Early Zhou texts it also serves occasionally as a genitive particle, syn. of → zhǐ 支枝肢 之.

[D] Qī has survived as a third person pron. in Wú dialects: Dányáng, Hángzhōu, Shàoxìng kǒp膈 or kēp膈, Sūzhē kē膈, Wènzhōu kī膈 (Norman 1988: 118, 203).
The origin of qi is not certain because in the linguistic area pronouns tend to be of the shape KV (K = velar stop). Qi may be ST: Lushai kʰi < kʰi? ‘that’, WT genitive suffix -kyi, -gyi, -i (Bodman 1980: 185), but we should expect a TB /a/ in this set. Alternatively, PAA *ki/ke ~ *ku/ko ‘third person pronoun’ whose earliest form is perh. *kʰi [Pinnnow 1965: 38] appears to be phonologically closest to the OC word.

This word looks like an unstressed a-vowel form of → qʰu ‘he’ (§11.2.1), but outside cognates as well as its non-clitic use make this unlikely.

qi /gʲi/ LH gi, OCM *gʲi — [T] ONW gi
A modal particle, in OB ‘be expected, should, probably, likely’ (Serruys 1982: 342). Acc. to Serruys this is probably cognate to:
= qi 齊 (gʲi) LH gi, OCM *gʲi
‘Stipulated time, time, limit’ [Bl, Shi].
× jǐ 期 (kʲi) LH kʲi, OCM *kʲi — [T] ONW kʲi
‘Year’ [Shu], period [Yi].
qi 句 (gʲi) LH an gi, OCM *gʲi
‘Flag with bear or tiger design’ [Zuo, SW]. Wang Li (1982: 85) considers qi 句 and → qʰi3 枳 ‘banner’ to be cognate.
qi 期 → qi7 其
qi 萬 → qi2 枇
qi 見 (gʲi 3) LH gi, OCM *grʲi — [T] ONW gi
‘Be old, aged’ [Shi 300, 5].
[E] ST: WT bgre-ba ‘to grow old’.

qi 見 ‘bring about’ → zhǐ7 底底
qi 鰣 (gʲi 3) LH gi, OCM *grʲi
‘Dorsal fin of a fish’ 鰣 [Li], 底 [Yi].
[E] Phonologically, the OC form agrees with PTB *g-ray (i.e. *grʲi?) > WT gri ‘knife’, WB kre8 ‘copper’, JP ma31-gri33 ‘brass’ [Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 139]. It is semantically more likely, though, that the TB items belong to → zhí4 鋸 ‘sickle’.
qi 齊 (dzi) LH dzei, OCM *dzêi, OCB *fitshaj
‘Be the same, equal, in line’ [Shi], ‘regulate’ [Yi]. As a caus. it is read in tone C [dziC] ‘to put in equal proportions’ [Zuo, Li] (Downer 1959: 282). → qʰi3 妻 ‘wife’ is not related.
[T] Sin S. SR dzjej (平), PR dzi; MGZY tsi (平) [dzi]; ONW dzêi
[D] PMin *dzê
× zǐ 齊 (tsi) LH tsi, OCM *tsi
× jǐ 濟 (tsieiB) LH tsei8, OCM *tsǐ?i, OCB *tsai?
[E] CVST 4: 58 compares this etymon with TB-Lushai čel?L ‘equal, come up to, endure’. Phonologically more likely is cognition with WT tsʰir ‘order, course, succession, turn’; the WT final -r would also explain the retroflex initial in the likely cognate → chái2 憶 (dzǎi) ‘class, category, equals’ (so Karlgren).
qi 鰣 (dzi) LH dzei, OCM *dzǎi (< *dzlai < *s-d(l)ai?) — [D] PMin *dzǎi ~ *dzǎi
‘Navel’ [Zuo].
qi — qí

WT 『te-ba < nje ‘navel’ (STC: 65), Mru dai ‘navel’. Prob. unrelated to the synonym → pi, 膨.

qi17 蟲 (gjei) LH gji, OCM *gai
‘Water leech’ is acc. to Guō Pí’s commentary to EY a Jiāngdōng (lower Yangtze) dialect word; it still is used in southern dialects: PMin *g3i > Fúzhōu maA2,khɪA2, Xiānmén goA2,khɪA2; Y-Guǎngzhōu kʰeiA2-naB (Norman 1983: 207).

qi1 乞 (kʰjat) LH kʰt, OCM *khat — [T] ONW khit
‘To ask for, beg’ [Lunyu, Hanfei].

× qi2 乞 (kʰjat) LH kʰt
‘To give’ [Hanshu] (Takashima 1996 II: 130; Herforth 1984).
[c] exoactive (extrovert, ditrans.) of qí 乞 (kʰjat) (§4.3.1).
[Ε] ? ST: perh. Limbu k’t- ‘arrive’, k’t- ‘to convey, deliver’; Kanauri k’t, Thebor k’t ‘to give’ [IST: 133].

qi3 芹 (kʰjat) LH kʰt, OCM *kha?
‘Willow’ [Shi], Lycium chinense, a kind of creeper [Shi].

[Unger (Hao-ku 38, 1992: 76) relates this word to WT kʰri-siŋ ‘a creeper’, lit. ‘winding wood’ < kʰri-ba ‘to wind around’; he adds qi 芹 (gji) ‘stalks of pulse’ [Huainan], i.e. ‘runner, climber’, and suggests a possible connection with jì6 篂 ‘basket’.

qi4 起 (kʰjat) LH kʰt, OCM *kha?
‘To rise’ [Shi].

[T] Sin. SR k’jej (تجار), PR k’i; MGZY kʰi (تجار) [k’i]; ONW kʰj
[E] Unger (Hao-ku 38, 1992: 76) relates this word to Gurung ri ‘to rise; WT kye-re (also kyer) ‘upright’, also PLB *kji2 ‘lift up, raise’ > WB kʰj ‘lift, raise, begin’.

qi5 企 (kʰjat) LH kʰt, OCM *khe?/h
‘Stand on tiptoe’ 起 [Shi]. 起 [Lao].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’jej (تجار), PR k’i; MGZY kʰj (تجار) [k’i]; Sui-Tang kʰj, ONW kʰj
× qi6 企 (kʰjat) LH kʰt, OCM *khe
‘Slanting’ [SW: Shi].

[Ε] ST: JP kʰyə [Matisoff TSR no. 98], n3i-kʰyə ‘oblique, slanting’. This wf is prob. connected with → jí4 奇 ‘odd’ and → jí3 擤 ‘pull aside’.

qi6 敢 → qi7 勢

qi7 勢 (kʰieB — kʰienB) LH kʰeiB ~ kʰienB, OCM *khî? ~ *khen?
‘Joint’ (in the body) [Zhuang].

× qi8 敢 (kʰieB) LH kʰeiB, OCM *khî?, OCB *khi? — [T] ONW kʰei
‘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’ 躹 [Zhouli]. The fundamental meaning was ‘bend / open’ (something hinged, something with a joint like a door).

The word qi 敢 ‘open’ was tabooed after the death of Emperor Jiāng Dì 景帝 in 140 BC and was replaced by → kāi 開, acc. to JDSW (Sagart 1999: 76).
[C] A possible allofam is → jí4 機璃 ‘mechanism’.

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ql - qi

[En] Prob. related to MK-Khmer kēka /kaek/ ‘to bend out at midpoint’ (horns, arms) ≠ kēha /kaen/ ‘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.

qi₁ 稽 → qi₁ 稽
qi₁ (kʰat) LH kʰet, OCM *kʰet
‘Skillful engraving’ [SW], prob. cognate to → qi₂ 契, and / or → gê₃ 搀.

qi₂ 契 (kʰeiC) LH kʰes, OCM *khêts — [T] ONW kʰei
‘Script notches’ [Yi] (Karlsgren 1956: 11).
[<] exopass. of qiè 鎳 (kʰiet) (§4.4), lit. ‘what has been cut’.

※ qiè 鎳 (kʰiet) LH kʰet, OCM *khêts
‘To cut’ [Xun], ‘cut through’ [Zuo].
[C] An allofam is prob. to qi₁ 切 ‘engraving’; perh. also to → gê₃ 搀.

qi₃ 達 (xjat) LH hit, OCM *hat
‘To reach to’ (the four seas), ‘attain’ (wealth), ‘come to the point that’ [Shi, Shu].

※ xi 氣餬 (xjatC) LH his, OCM *hats
‘To present’ food [SW: Zuo], grain [Guoyu], or live animals [Lun] > ‘animals’ [Zuo].
[<] exoactive (extrovert, ditrans.) of qi 逓 (§4.3.1), lit. ‘cause someone to attain food’.

[En] Etymology not certain: qi could be related to → ji₂ 駐 (jiC 3), but see there for a more likely affiliation, also the MC fricative initial x- usually does not alternate with a velar stop (g-) in a wf. Alternatively, perh. related to yi 藥 (jierC) ‘come to’ (under → yi₁₁ 儀).

qi₄ 託 → ji₃ 既
qi₅ 泣 (kʰap) LH kʰip, OCM *khap — [T] ONW kʰip
‘To weep’ [Shi].

CH aspiration is associated with exhaling and outward gesture §5.8.5.

qi₆ 清 → zhǐ₃ 汁
qi₇ 茸 (tsʰap) LH tsʰip, OCM *tsʰap or *tship (< *sʔip)
‘To thatch a roof, cover, repair’ [Zuo, Zhouli].
[<] *tʃip + ST caus. s-prefix (§5.9.1).
[En] ST: WT skyibs (< *sʔips) ‘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 *sʔ-; the etymology is therefore derived from ST *ʔip: WT yib ‘eaves, shed’ ≠ yib-pa ‘to hide oneself, place of concealment’, Lushai uupf ‘be sheltered from wind, free from draughts’. For the *ʔup ~ *ʔip alternations, see §11.5.1. Prob. related to → yi₂ 既 ‘settlement’.

qi₈ 汽 (kʰeiC) LH kʰis, OCM *kʰas(t)
‘Air’ [Lie], ‘breath, disposition’ [Lunyu], ‘vapor’ [Zuo], ‘vital principle’ [Li].
[T] Sin S. SR k’ej (去), PR k’i; MGZY khi (去) [k’i]; ONW kʰiC
※ kài 慣 (kʰaiC) LH kʰas, OCM *khâ(t)s — [T] ONW kʰaiC
‘Be angry’ [Zuo]. This is a semantically narrower, more vernacular j-less variant of the above (§9.1.1).

qià — qiān

qià₁ 洽 → hé 合
qià₂ 洽 → hé 合

qiān₁ 千 (tsʰien) LH tsʰen, OCM *tshên < *s-nhín, OCB *snín 'Thousand' [OB].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'jen (平); MGZY tsʰyan (平) [ts'jen]
[N] Phonetic is → rén₁ 人 (niţjen) ‘human being’ (Pulleyblank 1962: 133; Baxter 1992: 223), the initial is parallel to → qǐ₁ 七. Alternatively, the tsʰ- initial may anticipate a development which is commonly found in Mǐn dialects, see → xū₄ 須鬚 < *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 nghìn, Mon l-nîm ‘thousand’ [Maspero 1912: 63].

qiān₂ 擒 → jiān₂ 堅
qiān₃ 砚 (jiwān) LH jyan, OCM *lón or *jon 'Lead’ n. [Shu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR jen (平); MGZY ywýan (平) [jyan]
[D] Most Mand. and Wǔ dialects derive the word from an aspirated velar initial, e.g. W-Wenzhōu kʰu₄ because re-etymologization (§2.8) may have connected it with qiān 擒 ‘solid, hard’ (under → jiān₂ 堅). In southern dialects, the initial agrees with the QY reading: M-Xiāmén ien₃, Xiāng-Shuāngfēng uǐ₁.

qiān₄ 緦 → yān₁, yàn 衍
qiān₅ 鑲 (kjianB 3) LH kianB, OCM *kran? ‘To take, pluck’ [Chuci] is perh. cognate to WT ’kʰyer-ba ‘to take, bring, carry’ (HST: 117), although one should expect MC div. IV vocalism (< *ia, *e).

qiān₆ 鑲 → yān₁, yàn 衍
qiān₇ 擒 (k‘ien) LH kʰen, OCM *khín ‘To pull / lead by a rope’ (cattle) [BI, Shu], ‘attach’ [Lù], qiān niú 奪牛 ‘herd-boy’.
[D] Xiāng-Shuāngfēng kʰien₅, K-Méixiān kʰian₅, Y-Guāngzhōu hîn₃ ‘to pull by a rope’; M-Amoy kʰan₄ (lit. k’hien) ‘to lead by the hand, drag along, stretch out or tighten a rope’.

xon 拧 (yien) LH gen, OCM *gín ‘Bowstring’ [Yīlǐ], ‘string of a musical instrument’ [Lunyu].
[T] ONW yén.
[<] endopass. of qiān 擒 (k‘ien) (§4.6), lit. ‘something pulled tight’.
[C] Allifam is perh. → jīn₁ 緊.

qiān₈ 襁 (tsʰiām) LH tsʰiam, OCM *tsʰam < *k-sam ? ‘All’ (the people present) [Shu].

qiān₉ 謹 (kʰiem) LH kʰem, OCM *khêm ‘Modest’ [Yīlǐ].

µ qiān 欠 (kʰièmB/C) LH kʰemB/C, OCM *xhrêm/s ‘Deficient, modest’ [Xun]; also read (kʰiemB) LH kʰemB, OCM *khem?
µ lián 廉 (liám) LH liam, OCM *rem ‘Modest’, integrity’ [Lunyu].

qiān — qiǎn

qiān₁ 扳钳 (gjām 3) LH giōm, OCM *gam — [D] PMin *giam 'pincers'.
‘To pinch’ 扳 [Guocee], ‘pinched together’ 鉗 [Zhuang].

qiān₂ 扳箏 (gjām 3) LH giōm, OCM *gam
‘A wooden gag’ 扳 [Gongyang], 箏 [Xun] is prob. an allofam of → xiān₁ 鼻 ‘horse’s bit’ and of → hán₁ 含 ‘have in the mouth’.

qiān₃ 前 (dzien) LH dzien (dzien), OCM *dzēn
‘Be in front of, before, former’ [Shi], ‘advance’ [Li]. — Etymology not clear.

qiān₄ 乾 (gjām 3) LH gian, OCM *gran — [T] ONW gan
‘Heavenly’ [Yi].

qiān₅ 黛 (gjām, gjām 3) LH gjām, gian, OCM *gēm, *grēm?
‘Black’ [Zuo]. qiān-shōu 黛首 (‘black heads’): ‘common people’ [Shiji].

qiān₆ 潛 → jiān₉ 潛
qiān₇ 寄 → xīn 尋煥
qiān₈, tán 燬 → xiān₁₂ 潛
qiān₉ 錢 (dzjān) LH dzian, OCM *dzan
‘Coin’ [Guoyu].

qiān₁ 邀 (kʰjān⁴ 4) LH kʰjān⁸, OCM *khen — [T] ONW kʰjān
‘To send to, send away’ [BI, Shi], ‘let go’ [Zuo].

qiān₂ 潛 (kʰjān⁵) LH khian⁶, OCM *khēn
‘To convey (sacrificial meat) to the grave’ [LI].

qiān₃ 潛 (tsʰjān⁷) LH tsʰian³, OCM *tsēn
‘Hoe, weeder’ [Shi 276].

qiān₄ 潛 (tsjān B) LH tsian⁷, OCM *tsēn
‘To convey (sacrificial meat) to the grave’ [LI].

qiān₅ 潛 (tsjān B) LH tsian⁷, OCM *tsēn
‘Hoe, weeder’ [Shi 276].

qiān₆ 潛 (tsjān B) LH tsian⁷, OCM *tsēn
‘Hoe, weeder’ [Shi 276].

qiān₇ 錢 (tsjān B) LH tsian⁷, OCM *tsēn
‘Hoe, weeder’ [Shi 276].

qiān₈ 錢 (tsjān B) LH tsian⁷, OCM *tsēn
‘Hoe, weeder’ [Shi 276].

qiān₉ 錢 (tsjān B) LH tsian⁷, OCM *tsēn
‘Hoe, weeder’ [Shi 276].

qiān₁ 邀 (kʰjān⁴ 4) LH kʰjān⁸, OCM *khen — [T] ONW kʰjān
‘To send to, send away’ [BI, Shi], ‘let go’ [Zuo].

qiān₂ 潛 (kʰjān⁵) LH khian⁶, OCM *khēn
‘To convey (sacrificial meat) to the grave’ [LI].

qiān₃ 潛 (tsʰjān⁷) LH tsʰian³, OCM *tsēn
‘Be shallow (water), thin (hair)’ [Shi].
qian – qiang

※ jiàn 偭 (dzjan\textsuperscript{B}) LH dzian\textsuperscript{B}, OCM *dzan?
  ‘Be shallow, small’ [Shi].
※ jiàn 偭 (dzjan\textsuperscript{B/C}) LH dzian\textsuperscript{B/C}, OCM *dzan?
  ‘Insincere, artful’ [GuoyuJ (Karlgren GSR 155m < ‘shallow words’).
※ jiàn 偭 (dzjan\textsuperscript{C}) LH dzian\textsuperscript{C}, OCM *dzans — [T] ONW dzian
  ‘Cheap’ [Zuo], ‘low, mean’ [Lunyu].

qian\textsubscript{3} 慷 (k\textsuperscript{viem}B) LH k\textsuperscript{vem}B, OCM *km\textsuperscript{m} < *khlem?
  ‘Dissatisfied’ [Li]. The OCM medial *l is suggested by the phonetic series (GSR 627).
※ qie 慷 (kp\textsuperscript{iep}) LH k\textsuperscript{ep}, OCM *k\textsuperscript{lep} < *khlep
  ‘Satisfied’ 慷 [Meng], 慷 [Guoce]. Holding something in the mouth can be a metaphor for an emotional state, therefore these words may be derived from
※ qian 慷 (k\textsuperscript{viem}B, \textgamma\textsuperscript{iem}B) LH k\textsuperscript{vem}B, gem\textsuperscript{B}, OCM *km\textsuperscript{m}, *g\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{m} < *kh/glem?
  ‘To hold in the mouth’ [Dadai Liji].

[\textbf{qian\textsubscript{4} 歹 → qian\textsubscript{9} 慨}]

qian\textsubscript{1} 歹 (k\textsuperscript{vem}C) LH k\textsuperscript{vem}C, OCM *khams
  ‘To yawn’ [Liji].
 [T] Sin Sukchu SR k\textsuperscript{em} (去), PR, LR k\textsuperscript{en}; MGZY khem (去) [k\textsuperscript{em}].
 [D] The Cantonese initial in haam\textsuperscript{CJ ‘to yawn’ is a regular reflex of earlier k\textsuperscript{h}.
 [\textbf{qian\textsubscript{2} 倪 → jiàn 見}]

qian\textsubscript{3} 倪 (ts\textsuperscript{hien}C) LH ts\textsuperscript{hien}C, OCM tsh\textsuperscript{en} < *k-s\textsuperscript{en} ?, OCK *ts\textsuperscript{hion}
  ‘Red’ 倪 [Shi], ‘dark red’ 绯 [Zuo].
※ xing 倪 (sjin\textsuperscript{J}) LH sien\textsuperscript{J}, OCM *sen
  ‘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 wf to Lushai k\textsuperscript{uam} < k\textsuperscript{uam} (< *?i) ‘be satisfied, satiated; be tired of, stiff’ (without medial -i-).

qiăng\textsubscript{1} 羌 (k\textsuperscript{jan}) LH k\textsuperscript{jan}, OCM *k\textsuperscript{jan} or *k\textsuperscript{jan}?
  Name of different western TB tribes from Shang OB down to the present. The graph implies that these people raised sheep. Pulleyblank (1983: 418f) suggests that the name is derived from → yáng 羊 ‘sheep’ which is also phonetic, although the SW states that the graph is a semantic compound. However, the name Qiăng may be a foreign word which brings to mind WT skyon\textsuperscript{ba}, bskya\textsuperscript{gs} ‘to guard, keep, tend’ (animals), PTB *k\textsuperscript{yoŋ} (STC no. 161), Qiăng means then ‘herders’. The Tib. word is cognate to → yáng2 羊 ‘nourish, feed, rear’.

  The clan name Jiăng 姜 (kn\textsuperscript{jan}) MTang kian < kan, ONW k\textsuperscript{an} (of Rong / Zhou provenance) is not necessarily connected to Qiăng, SW says that yáng ‘sheep’ is only phonetic (Pulleyblank EC 25, 2000: 16).
qiang - qiao

qiăng2 控 (kʰ强国) LH kʰ强国, OCM *khroŋ
‘A hollow wooden beaten instrument of music’ [Li].

qiăng4 控 (kʰ强国) LH kʰ强国, OCM *khroŋ
‘To beat’ [Zhuang].


qiăng3 将 ‘beg’ → jiang3 将

qiăng 强彌 (gjaŋ) LH qian, OCM *gian
‘Be strong’ [Shi]; 強 [Meng].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR qian (平); MGZY (kʰyang >) kyang (平) [gian]; MTang qian < gian, ONW qian

[D] M-Xiâm col. kiaŋA2, lit. kiaŋA2

häng 行 (yāŋC) LH guan(C), OCM *gâŋ(h)
‘Strong, vigorous’ [Lunyu] is perh. a variant of qiăng.

qiăng 疆 (gianB) LH gianB, OCM *gian?
‘Make an effort, compel’ 疆 [Meng]; 強 [Zuo] is a verbal derivative of qiăng; the meaning ‘hard (soil)’ prob. goes with → gâŋ4 剛鋼.

jiang-jiang 影彌 (kian) LH kion, OCM *kaiŋ
‘Fierce’ [Shi].

Perh. jing 勁 (kianC) LH kienC, OCM *kien

gêng 梗 (kienB) LH kanB, OCM *kран?
‘Strong’ [Chuci].

qiăng 劃 (gian) LH qian, OCM *gran
‘Strong, powerful’ [Zuo].


Wáng Li (1982: 341) includes many additional words. This wf ‘strong’ and → gâŋ4 剛鋼 ‘hard’ with its relatives bleed into each other.

qiăng1 緣彌 (kianB) LH kianB, OCM *kan?
‘String, cord’ [Li], ‘band’ (by which infants are held on the back) [Lun], see → bao1 保. Possibly related to → gâŋ3 綱 ‘guiding rope (of a net)’.

qiăng2 影 ‘effort’ → qiăng 強彌; ‘hard’ → gâŋ4 剛鋼

qiâo1 雎 (kʰau) LH kʰau, OCM *khrau
‘Tibia, spoke of a wheel’ [Zhouli]; ‘foot’ in Min dialects: PMin *kʰauA1 > Amoy kʰauA1. Superficially, the Southern Min and Tai forms look identical: PTai *kʰauA ‘leg, thigh’; Zhuang kʰauA ‘foot’ (Yue-Hashimoto CAAAL 6, 1976: 1), PKS *kwaI ‘leg’, but the rimes do not agree with CH. More likely, the KT item is related to → gâŋ6 股 ‘thigh, leg’, considering that old loans do not closely agree in the voicing and in tones.

qiâo2 驚 → jiăo17 蹦

qiâo3 磭塼 (kʰau, kʰieuB) LH kʰau, kʰieuB, OCM *khriau(?)
‘Stony soil’ 磭 [Meng], 塼 [Xun]. Perh. related to PMY *praI ‘stone’ (Downer 1982).
qiao 4 膿 ‘bleached white’ → zhao 3 昭
qiáo 4 喙 [gjau 3] LH giau, OCM *gau
  ‘Be tall’ 喙 [Shi], 喙 [Zuo]; ‘cauldron with high feet’ 喙 [BI].
  ※ jiao 4 喙 [kjau 3] LH kiau, OCM *kau
  ‘High, lift the head’ [Zhuang]; ‘proud, arrogant, high’ [Shi].
  ※ jiao 4 喙 [kjau 3] LH kiaub, OCM *kau * [T] ONW kau
  ‘Lift, elevated, high’ [Xun]. Perh. → jiao 17 跳 ‘martial’ is the same etymon (so Wáng Li 1982: 204).
qiáo 4 喙 [gjau 3] LH giau, OCM *gau
  ‘Peak’ [Lie]. ↔ Tai: S. gook ‘hill’.
[C] Allofams could be → gao 1 高, → jiao 17 跳. This wf is prob. not (closely) related to
qiáo 4 喙 [gjau 4] ‘be precariously high’ [Shi], ‘lift’ [Zhuang] because of the difference in
OC vocalism (*-iau, not *-au). NNgá *gyaw ‘high’ may be cognate to the latter.
qiáo 3 喙, 跳 → qiáo 1 喙
qiáo 4 株 → jiao 6 焦
qiáo 5 跳 → qiáo 1 喙
qiáo 1 薇, 薇 → ké 5 殲
qiáo 2 窪 (kʰiueC) LH kʰiueC, OCM *khiu
  ‘Hole, opening’ [Li] is prob. a ST word: WB kʰyok ‘chasm, gulf’ (HST: 95).
  Alternatively or in addition, this word may be a k-prefix concrete noun derivation
  from → tiao 7 头 *liau? (or *jau?) ‘to bore a hole’ (§5.4). CH aspiration is associated
  with the meaning ‘hollow, empty’ §5.8.6.
qié 萄 (gja) Sin Sukchu SR kje (平).
  ‘Eggplant’. The MC rime is unique.
[D] Y-Guángzhōu kʰieA2, Táishān kʰieA2; K-Méixiàn kʰieA2; PMin *gie
qiě 且 → jiāng 4 将
qiè SetText  jié 9 節
qiè 2 稱 → jié 12 捷
qiè 3 翹 (kʰjat, kʰjet) LH kʰjet, OCM *khat
  ‘Go away’ [Shi] is cognate to → qù 1 去 (kʰjwoC) ‘go away’ (so Pulleyblank in
  Rosemont 1991: 30). CH aspiration is associated with outward motion §5.8.5.
qiè 4 樫 ‘martial’ → jié 13 笞樫
qiè 5 窮 (tsʰiet) LH tsʰet, OCM *tsʰet
  ‘To steal’ [Shu]. Bodman (ICSTLL 1988) relates this to JR ka-skʰiEt ‘to take’.
qiè 5-xuō 契閾 → kuán 宽
qiè 7 鍮 → q1 契
qiè 8 綇 → jié 7 捷

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qiè - qīn

qiè 侵 (tsʰjam) LH tsʰim, OCM *tshom < *k-som ?

‘Invade, encroach upon’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰim (平), PR, LR tsʰin; MGZY tshim (平) [tsʰim]; ONW tsʰim

[ŋ] Two ST etymologies are possible: (1) WT stim-pa, bstims ‘enter, penetrate’ * tʰim-pa ~ *tʰim-pa ‘be absorbed, disappear’ (so Bodman 1980: 57). The WT items do agree just as well with ～jin 2 ‘soak’ with which qīn may be related. (2) The CH graph shows a broom, hence perh. cognate to TB-Nung ʂin ‘to sweep’, Miri ʂom-pek ‘broom’ (pek ‘to sweep’), Maru ʂam < *sim ‘to sweep’ (Benedict HJAS 4, 1939: 226f; STC: 170; HPTB: 305).

qīn 2 织 (tsʰjam) LH tsʰim, OCM *tshom, OCB *tshjom

‘Thread’ [Shi], also MC tsjhom and sjām; the reading sjām may have been influenced by → xīn6 线 (sān) ‘thread’ or → xiān7 纤 (sjām) ‘fine-textured silk’.


qīn 3 红 (kʰjam) LH kʰim, OCM *khom

‘A blanket, coverlet’ [Shi].

[ŋ] Etymology not clear. (1) The word could perh. be a k-prefix concrete noun derived from → yǐn5 陰 ‘overcast’, i.e. ‘covered’ (§5.9.4; §5.4). Comparanda may include: (2) WB kʰrum ~ kʰyum ‘cover, overspread’ (by plants), WT grum-çe ‘thick woolen blanket’ (CVST 5: 109). (3) WT kʰyim ‘house’ (i.e. ‘shelter, cover’) which is derived from TB *im; but see → yǐn5 陰.

qīn 4 固 (dzj1am) LH dzim, OCM *dzin -

The western state of Qfn and the dynasty. Qfn is often thought to be the source of ancient European words for ‘China’: Lat. ‘Sina’ etc., modern Western languages ‘China’. Also the word for ‘silk’ may ultimately be derived from this name: Gr. sērikōn, i.e. ‘the Chinese one, (the stuff) from China’. These ancient loans suggest that the original final was *-r, not *-n (Pulleyblank 1962: 229–230). The graph was originally intended for zhēn (tsj1en) ‘hazel’.

qīn 5 親 (tsʰj1en) LH tsʰin, OCM *tshin, OCB *tshj1in

‘A close person, parents, affectionate’ [Shi, Shu], ‘oneself, personally’ [Shi, Shu, BI], ‘to love’ (such as parents, siblings, children) [Meng].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰin (平); MGZY tshin (平) [tsʰin]; ONW tsʰin

[ŋ] Etymology not certain. One early commentator remarks that anciently qīn sounded like qīn 仟 *tshin < *snhīn by which he may, or may not, have referred an n-initial (§5.9.1.1). Thus Boodberg (1937: 362) related qīn to → rēn2 仁, note the overlapping meanings ‘to love’.

However, the meaning ‘oneself’ is hardly an extension of the inter-personal notion ‘to love’. Therefore qīn prob. belongs to a stem meaning ‘near, close’. WT provides a semantic paradigm which may in fact be cognitive: gēn ‘a kinsman, relative’ < newInstance ‘be near, approach’. Most plausibly, qīn is related to the AA stem → jǐ1 即 ‘approach > be close’ with the nominalizing n-final (§6.4.3), then lit. ‘persons close to oneself, close ones’; the words agree vocally, and no post-initial *n- needs to be postulated which would have been rather odd in the phonetic series 卒 in any case.

qǐn 秦 (dzj1en) LH dzīn, OCM *dzīn — [ŋ] ONW dzīn

The western state of Qǐn and the dynasty. Qǐn is often thought to be the source of ancient European words for ‘China’: Lat. ‘Sina’ etc., modern Western languages ‘China’. Also the word for ‘silk’ may ultimately be derived from this name: Gr. sērikōn, i.e. ‘the Chinese one, (the stuff) from China’. These ancient loans suggest that the original final was *-r, not *-n (Pulleyblank 1962: 229–230). The graph was originally intended for zhēn (tsj1en) ‘hazel’.

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qín  

qín₂ 泥 (gjen 3) LH gìn, OCM *grän
‘Clay’ [SW].

qín₃ 勤 (gjon) LH gìn, OCM *gän
‘To plaster, inter’ [Shi].

qín₄ 禽 (gjöm) LH gìm, OCM *gäm — [T] ONW gim
‘Game bird, bird, fowl’ (opposite of → shòu 獸 ‘quadruped’) [Zuo, EY], ‘game’ (animal) [Y].

qín₅ 擒 (gjom) LH gım, OCM *gäm — [T] ONW gim
‘To catch, capture’ (animals, people, booty) [BI, Guoyu].

qín₆ □ PMin *dzım²
‘A type of crab’: Fúzhōu sī́t², Amoy tśım², is borrowed from MK ‘king crab’ Bahnar kvtam, WrMon khatam (Norman / Mei 1976: 298).

qín₁ 穴 (kʰjämB, njämB) LH kʰämB, OCM *kʰäm?
‘Hole in the earth’ [Yili]. Aspiration is associated with ‘hollow, empty’ §5.8.6.

[Note also AN: PEastern Formosan *qayam ‘bird’ [Li len-kuei LL 5.2, 2004: 369]. These MK items cannot be late loans from Mandarin. It is also unlikely that a language family would borrow a marginal OC word (the CH word for ‘bird’ has been (mutatis mutandis) the equivalent of Mand. → nião 鳥 throughout the ages). Therefore early PMK *kčem is the source for OC (there are more OC animal names of AA origin). The voiced velar initial may have won out in OC because of the semantic association of ‘game bird’ with qín ‘catch’, so that the two words converged. If qín ‘catch’ should go back to some early MK word, the two items might have been nearly identical: note OMOn c kem ‘grasp’ (under → jiàn, 兼) vs. a hypothetical *kčem ‘bird’. If qín ‘catch’ should go back to some early MK word, the two items might have been nearly identical: note OMOn c kem ‘grasp’ (under → jiàn, 兼) vs. a hypothetical *kčem ‘bird’. If qín ‘catch’ should go back to some early MK word, the two items might have been nearly identical: note OMOn c kem ‘grasp’ (under → jiàn, 兼) vs. a hypothetical *kčem ‘bird’. If qín ‘catch’ should go back to some early MK word, the two items might have been nearly identical: note OMOn c kem ‘grasp’ (under → jiàn, 兼) vs. a hypothetical *kčem ‘bird’. If qín ‘catch’ should go back to some early MK word, the two items might have been nearly identical: note OMOn c kem ‘grasp’ (under → jiàn, 兼) vs. a hypothetical *kčem ‘bird’. If qín ‘catch’ should go back to some early MK word, the two items might have been nearly identical: note OMOn c kem ‘grasp’ (under → jiàn, 兼) vs. a hypothetical *kčem ‘bird’.
qǐn - qīng

kān, 坎壢. <> CH loans are perh. Tai: Po'ai kam< *k- ‘cave’, PKS *kəm ‘cave’; but these items could belong to → kān, 坎壢 instead.

qǐn₂-yǐn 螞蚓 → yǐn₄ 螞蚓
qǐn₃-tiān 竊蚕 → yǐn₄ 螞蚓 ‘earthworm’

qǐn₁ 寐 (tsʰjəmʰ) LH tsʰimʰ, OCM *tsham? < *k-sam? ‘To sleep’ [Shi], ‘sleeping apartments in a palace’ [Li].

qīng₁ 青 (tsʰiɛŋ) LH tsʰeŋ, OCM *tʃeŋ < *k-səŋ? ‘Green, blue’ [Shi].
[D] PMin *tsʰəŋ ‘raw’ (Norman identifies the PMin form with 青, Nakajima with 生).
[E] ST *siŋ: WT gsiŋ-ma < *k-siŋ ‘pastureland, meadow’, Mikir reŋ-seŋ < *-səŋ ‘green’, Rawang məsəŋ ‘green’, məsiŋ ‘blue’. This root *siŋ is identical to the ST root *siŋ ‘tree, wood’ (→ xīn 新 ‘new, renew’, and its CH homophone xīn 新 ‘new, renew’, so that these items may also be part of this large wf. CH -> PVM: Sách sęŋ, Viet xanh ‘blue-green’.

A parallel stem is *səŋ, see → cāŋg₃ 茼 *tʃəŋ ‘green’. For an overview of the *səŋ ~ *səŋ contrasts (§11.1.3), see Table S-1 after → shēng₂ 生; for an overview of the

Table Q-1 Live, fresh, green (B): *sriŋ ~ *siŋ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*sriŋ live</th>
<th>*siŋ green</th>
<th>*(k)-siŋ green</th>
<th>*siŋ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>shēng 生 *seŋ live</td>
<td>qīng 青 *tʃeŋ &lt; *k-səŋ? green</td>
<td>xīng 性 *səŋ nature, 姓 offspring, family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>gsiŋ-ma pastureland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kanauri</td>
<td>seŋ live</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>reŋ&lt; &lt; reŋ&lt; live</td>
<td>reŋ-seŋ green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>hríŋH / hríŋR bear, beget</td>
<td>hríŋH / hríŋL fresh, green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNaga</td>
<td>*C-ríŋ alive</td>
<td>*C/V-ríŋ raw, grass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawang</td>
<td></td>
<td>məsəŋ green ~ məsiŋ blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>tsiŋ33 &lt; ríŋ33 ? grass, green</td>
<td>? (n55-teŋ51 name)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sriŋ ~ 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 庸 ‘luxuriant’ [Shi], though pronounced jíng (tsieŋ, tsjæŋ), may simply write qíng (Baxter 1983). The syn. → cāŋg₃ 茼 is cognate (Wáng Lì 1982: 335) and
qìng

belongs to a parallel a-vowel stem, see under → shēng<sub>2</sub> 生. Additional allofams → jǐng

qìng<sub>2</sub> 清 (tsʰjān) LH tsʰiɛŋ, OCM *tʃeŋ < *k-seŋ?
Be pure, clear’ (of water, sound, and also generally) [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰiŋ (冊); MGZY tʃiŋ (册) [tsʰiŋ]; ONW tsʰiŋ

※ jǐng 淨 (dzjān<sup>c</sup>) LH dzjĕŋ, OCM *dzęŋ — [T] ONW dzęŋ
‘Clean, cleanse’ [Guoyu].

※ xǐng 醒 (sien, sien<sup>B/C</sup>) LH sien<sup>B/C</sup>, OCM *sęŋ(?/h)
‘Wake up, become sober’ [Zuo] (HST: 55).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR siŋ (冊), LR siŋ; MGZY siŋ (冊) [siŋ] — [D] PMin *tsʰaŋ<sup>B</sup>

[E] ST *seŋ: WT seŋ-po ~ bseŋ-po ‘clear, white, airy, pale’ ≠ gseŋ-po ‘clear and sharp’ (sound); JP seŋ<sup>33</sup> ‘clean’; Lushai tʰiāŋ<sup>H</sup> / thian<sup>L</sup> ‘be clear, clean’. JP tʃā<sup>55</sup>-griŋ<sup>55</sup> ‘sober’ is unrelated. <> This is perh. an arc area word, note MK-Khmer: cēna / caenŋ/ ‘be clear, bright... make clear.’

～ ST *saŋ: WT saŋ-ba, saŋ-s ‘cleanse’, bzi-saŋ-s-te ‘having become sober again after intoxication’ (bzi ‘intoxication’) ≠ tsʰaŋ-ba, tsʰaŋ-s ‘to remove, make clean’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 61); WB tsan clear, pure.

Allofams are perh. → xǐng<sub>2</sub> 星 ‘star’ (HST: 55) and qìng 星 ‘clear sky’; → jǐng 靜靖 静 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></th>
<th>*seŋ</th>
<th>*k-seŋ</th>
<th>*-saŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>xǐng 醒 *sęŋ sober</td>
<td>qìng 清 *tʃeŋ or *k-seŋ?</td>
<td>pure, clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>seŋ-po ~ bseŋ-po clear, white, airy</td>
<td>gseŋ-po clear and sharp</td>
<td>saŋ-ba, saŋ-s cleanse, sober ‘tsʰaŋ-ba, tsʰaŋ-s to remove, make clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>tʰiāŋ&lt;sup&gt;H&lt;/sup&gt; / thian&lt;sup&gt;L&lt;/sup&gt; be clear, clean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>seŋ&lt;sup&gt;33&lt;/sup&gt; clean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>caŋ clear, pure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

qìng<sub>3</sub> 轻 (kʰjān) LH kʰiɛŋ, OCM *kʰenŋ — [T] ONW kʰiŋ
‘Light’ (weight) [Shi, Guoce].

[E] ST *C-jaŋ (*C-iəŋ): PTB *r-yen ~ *gyen (STC no. 328; French 1983: 512): WT yen ‘light’, Tamang ŋiaŋ, Lushai zaan<sup>R</sup> / zaan<sup>L</sup> < jaan<sup>?</sup> / jaan<sup>?</sup> ‘be light’; NNaga *gyen, Lepcha kyan ‘be light’. For the OC vowel, see §11.3.2.

※ qìng 轻 (kʰjāŋ) LH kʰiɛŋ, OCM *kʰenŋ
‘Be careless’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 286).

[<] exoactive / putative of qìng (§4.3.2), lit. ‘consider light, treat lightly’.

qìng<sub>4</sub> 傾頊 (kʰjwāŋ) LH kʰyeŋ, OCM *kʰwenŋ — [T] ONW kʰuŋ
‘Be slanting’ > caus. ‘overturn, overthrow’ (wall, mandate) 傾頊 [Shi]; ‘incline’ (the head) 頂 [Li]. The graph 傾 is also read MC kʰjāŋ without medial w (§10.2.1).

[E] AA-PMon *kʰiŋ / *kʰenŋ ‘to lean, be slanted > listen’, Khmer ’iama / ʔiaŋ/ ‘to slant, slope, tilt, incline...’; this item also occurs in TB-JP n<sup>31</sup>-kʰjehŋ<sup>31</sup> ‘slanted’ (CVST

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qing – qiōng

5: 104). The CH aspiration may stem from the AA post-initial glottal stop (§5.9.4).

qing1 情 (dzjan⁴) LH dzien⁴, OCM *dzien⁴ — [T] ONW dzien⁴
‘Feelings’ [Shi, Zuo], ‘proper nature, circumstances’ [Meng], or more fundamentally ‘quality, attribute, feature’ (Boltz JAOS 120.2, 2000: 225f). The meaning ‘feelings’ has led to attempts to connect the word with ST *s-nil ‘heart’ (Benedict 1976: 170 n. 8), but the meaning ‘proper nature’ suggests that this word is rather cognate to → shēng⁵ ‘live, life’ (Boltz), although the initials are difficult to reconcile.

qing2 晴 → xīng2 星
qing3 勝 → qiánɡ 強彊
qing4 鯨 → jīnɡ1 亜

qing 請 (tsjban⁴, dzjan⁴) LH ts pien⁴, OCM *tshen⁴?
‘To ask’ [Zuo], ‘request’ [Lun].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts’iin (上); MGZY ts’iin (上); ONW tshien⁴

qing1 清 (tsjian⁴c) LH ts pien⁴c, OCM *tshen⁴
‘Cold’ [Li]. Perh. related to → cānɡ2 沖.
qing2 慶 (kjian⁴c) LH k pien⁴c, OCM *khan⁴ (or *khian⁴ (?) — [T] ONW k pien⁴
‘Be happy, happiness, good fortune’ [Bl, Shi].
[E] Etymology not certain. The word may be cognate to WT g-yaj⁴ ‘happiness, blessing, prosperity’. Bodman (1980: 95) relates the WT word to → xiān⁴ 尊祥.

qing3 磬 (kjian⁴c) LH k pien⁴c, OCM *khèn⁴
‘To suspend’ [Li] > ‘musical stone’ [Bl, Shi]. Since OCM medial *-w- is sometimes lost before high front vowels (§10.2.1), this word may be related to → xuán⁴ 總 ‘suspend’. <> Or perh. connectd with PMiao klaaj⁴ [Purnell] ‘to hang, dangle’.

qiōnɡ 凪 (kjun⁴) LH k pien⁴, OCM *kuan⁴
‘Vault > hole’ [Shi].
[<] ‘hollow’ aspiration of → gōnɡ2 順 ‘bow’ (§5.8.6) (Karlgren 1956: 14).

qiōnɡ1 鱔 (gjwong) LH giong, OCM *gon⁴
‘Be distressed’ [Shi]. This word looks like a variant of → jiōnɡ4 疊 (gjwen⁴b 3) LH guin⁴ (?) ‘be distressed’. If so, both could go back to a PCH final *-un⁴. For possible further connections see → kōnɡ2 恐 ‘be afraid’ and items listed there; → qiōnɡ2 疊 may be a vocalic variant.
[E] ST: WT gyon ‘want, need, indigence’.

qiōnɡ2 窮 (gjun⁴) LH giong, OCM *gun⁴
‘Extreme, the utmost’ [Zuo] > ‘detrust, poverty’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR gjun (平); MGZY kyung (平) [gjun]
[C] → qiōnɡ1 鱔 may be a variant.

jí 鞠 (kuk) LH kuk, OCM *kuk
‘Be exhausted, exhaustive > entirely’ [Shi].

qiōnɡ3 愚婦震 (gjwān⁴) LH gyen⁴, OCM *gwen⁴
‘Alone and helpless’ [Shi].
[<] Perh. MK: Khmer ētā /ʔaaen⁴ ‘to be alone, all by oneself, solitary’, but the discrepancy in the initials is unexplained.
qiū – qiú

qiú 丘 (kʰjou) LH kʰu, OCM *khwa, OCB *kʰhjo — [T] MTang kʰeu < kʰiu, ONW kʰu ‘Hill, mound’ [Shi], ‘small hill’ [SW], ‘waste, ruins’ [Chuci]. This is prob. the s. w. as → qiú_丘 ‘village’. → quí 儒墟 (kʰjwo) [kʰu] ‘hill, mound, ruins, waste’ is prob. not cognate (contra general assumptions, e.g. Wáng Li 1982: 85).

qiú_丘 (kʰjou) LH kʰu, OCM *khwa, OCB *kʰhjo
‘Village, district’ [Meng], 丘商 ‘the city Shang’ [OB] (Keightley 2000: 57). 丘丘 [Zhushu jinian].


The homophone → qiú_丘 ‘hill, mound, ruins’ is prob. the same word since settlements were often built on elevated ground; a semantic parallel is → jǐng_京 ‘city, hill’.

qiú_3-yín 蚤蚓 → yǐn_4 蟲蚓

qiú_4 秋 (tsʰjou) LH tsʰiu, OCM *tshių, OCB *tsʰjw < PCH *C-nh(i)u.
‘Autumn’ [OB, Shi], perh. ‘fall-winter’ in OB; ‘crop’ [Shu].

[D] M-Xiāmén, Fúzhōu tsʰjw^[AI]
[RS] Etymology not clear. Qiú might be cognate to → shōu 收 *(n)hü ‘to gather, harvest’, the QYS initial tsʰ-can in some instances derive from a complex preliterate initial with a voiceless *n, as in → qiú_丘 七 *tsʰit ‘seven’ (§5.9.1.1). Alternatively, qiú might be related to the wf → zú_卒 ‘to end’ since vegetation dies in the fall (note that zú also refers to dead vegetation in winter).

qiú_1 求 → jiú_1 究

qiú_2 求 (gjou) LH gu, OCM *gu
‘Gem-adorned’ [Shi]. Bodman (1980: 167) relates this to WT gru ‘luster of gems’.

qiú_3 求 (gjou) LH gu, OCM *gu, OCB *grju — [D] PMIN *gjw.
‘Ball’, earlier some ‘kind of jade’ [Shi, Shu].


qiú_4 畢仇 (gjou) LH gu, OCM *gu, OCB *g(r)ju
‘To assemble’ (e.g. friends) [Bl, Shi] > ‘accumulate’ (e.g. merits) 罹 [Shi] > ‘mate, companion, partner, antagonist’ 仇 [Shi].


qiú_5 袁 (gjou) LH gu, OCM *gwə, OCB *gʷjo (Shijing rimes)

‘To swim’ [Lie].

[ES] Since this word is late, it may simply be a dialect variant of → yōu_6 游, as in some dialects original *j- becomes a fricative (note MIN above). Bodman (1980: 179) draws attention to a Lushai word hlew ‘swim’.

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qiú – qú

qiú, jiū 蝾卌觥 (gjieu, kjieu) LH giu, kiu, OCM *giu, *kiu, OCB *g(r)jiw (?)
‘Horned dragon’ 蝾 [Chuci]; ‘horn-shaped, long and curved’ 鳴 [Guliang]. 鳴 [Shi].
HST: 130 compares ‘horned dragon’ with WT klu ‘Nagas, serpent spirits’, but see → jiao4. The most likely etymology is ‘twisting, wriggling’ (Carr LTBA 13.2: 151ff), note → jiu3 纠 (kjeu8) ‘to twist, plait’.

qiú 雀 → zú 卒

qū 1 曲 (k'jwok) LH kʰuok, OCM *khok, OCB *kh(r)jok
‘To bend, bent’ [Shi], ‘crooked, unjust’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'y (入); MGZY kh'yu (入) [k'y]; ONW k'huok
≈ jú 駝 (giwok) LH gijk, OCM *gok, OCB *fikh(r)jok — [T] ONW guok
‘Bent, curved’ (body) [Shi], 踂 ‘bend the body’ [Shiwen].
[C] This word is cognate to items under → gōu1 句鈎钩区; it may also be connected with → jū6 鞲駝 ‘bend’.

qū 2 屈 (k'juat) LH kʰut, OCM *khot
‘To bend’ [Zuo], ‘subdue’ [Shi]; the graph shows a squatting (i.e. bent) person with the phonetic underneath.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'y (入); MGZY kh'yu (入) [k'y]
< a final -t derivation of → jū6 鞲駝 ‘bend’.

qū 3 駿 (k'ju(c)) LH kʰo, OCM *kho, OCB *kh(r)jo
‘Body, person’ [Meng].
[T] MTang kʰy < kʰuo, ONW kʰuo

qū 4 駿 (k'ju(c)) LH kʰo(C), OCM *kho(h) ?
‘To drive (animals), gallop, drive out / away’ [BI, Shi].
[E] ST: WT kʰyug-pa ‘to run, dart, hasten’ ≈ kʰy-va, kʰyus ‘to run’ ≈ dkyu-ba ‘a race’ ≈ 'gyu-ba, 'gyus ‘to move quickly’ (HST: 128). CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5. An allofam may be → jū7 駿 ‘colt’.

qū 5 虚墟 (k'jwo) LH kʰa, OCM *kha
‘Ruin-mound’ 虚 [Shi], ‘ruins’ 墟 [Guoyu, Li], ‘hill, mound, site’ 虚 [Zuo], ‘a large mound’ [SW]. This may be a nominal derivation by k-prefix (§5.4) from → xu2 虚 ‘empty’ (Karlgren 1956: 18). Note Lushai koH ‘a mound, bank, raised ground...’ which may be related. Qū is probably not related to → qū1 丘.

qū 6 駿 → zōu2 驍

qú 1 鈙 ‘canal’ → jū5 柜
qú 2 梁亘 (gjwo) LH gía, OCM *ga → [T] ONW gio (?) > gò
‘He, she, it, they’ third person pron., appears in 4th ~ 5th cent. AD, survives in many central and southern dialects: G-Línchuán keB1, Jīxí keA2, X-Qiáng kiA1 (Norman 1988: 118 etc.), also Yuè kʰwəy³ ‘he’.
This pron. may be related to → qī 艮 through the OC *a ~ *ə alternation (§11.1.2), also the AA pronoun *ki has a secondary form *ka > Khmer ge / ke/ ‘third person singular’.

qú 3 胸舸 → gōu 贛句銛構區

qú 4. jù 腻 (gju[⊂]) LH gya(⊂), OCM *gwa(h)
‘Lean, emaciated’ [Guoce].
[E] ST: WB kʰəwak ‘concave’ (as a cup), ‘sunken’ (face). For the WB final -k, see §6.9.
※ wáng 昏 (ʔwāŋ) LH ?wāŋ, OCM *ʔwāŋ
‘Emaciated; deformed person’ (often burnt to alleviate drought) [Zuo] (Qiu Xiguí EC 9–10, 1983–1985: 291). For final -ŋ, see §6.5.2.
※ kuāng 暗 (kʰjwāŋ) LH kʰyōŋ, OCM *khwāŋ
‘Eyesocket’ [Liezi].
 [<] nominalizing k-prefix derivation from wāng (§5.4).
[E] These words may be unrelated, but they can be phonologically reconciled if we assume a root initial *w- or *ʔw- Perh. related to → yū 廁.

qū 5 衚 (gju) LH gya, OCM *gwa
‘Crossroads’ [Zuo, Lūshí] is prob. not related to qú 蜀 ‘to go’ [Chuci], thought in turn to be a cognate of → yū 廁 于 ‘to go to’. It may belong to the wf → jū 矩 ‘carpenter’s square’ in the sense of (roads intersecting at) ‘right angles’, but this is speculation. Most likely, it is related to → jū 矩 ‘gutter’ as its TB cognates there imply.

qū 取 (tsʰjwʊ) LH tsʰioʊ, OCM *tsho
‘To take, accept’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰy ( ), MGZY tʃyʊ ( ) [tsʰy]; MTAng tsʰy < tsʰwʊ, ONW tsʰwʊ
※ qū 娴 (tsʰjwʊ) LH tsʰioʊ, OCM *tsho
‘To take / marry a wife’ [late Shi, Shu, but perh. also in OB].
 [<] exoactive of qū 取 (§4.3.1).
[C] This wf is occasionally thought to be related to items under → jù 豊 聚.

qū 去 (kʰjwʊ) LH kʰioʊ, OCM *khah
‘To go away’ intr., ‘to leave’ tr. [Shi]; already in early OC qū took over the function of qū, hence ‘to eliminate, do away with’ tr. [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kʰy ( ); MGZY kʰyʊ ( ) [kʰy]; MTAng kʰy, NW corridor kʰi, ONW kʰo < kʰi ( ?)
[N] The OB graph shows a man with a hole marked in his crotch, hence the inventors of writing had perhaps ‘anus’ in mind (cf. the TB cognates).
[<] exopass. (reflexive) of qū 去 (kʰjwʊ), lit. ‘remove oneself’ (§4.4).
※ qū 去 (kʰjwʊ) LH kʰioʊ, OCM *khah
‘To put away, eliminate, get rid of’ (noxious influence, lack) [Shi]; early on, this word was superceded by qū (Wáng Li 1958: 555).
[E] ST: The basic ST meaning is ‘to get rid of’: WT skyag-pa, bskyags ‘to spend, lay out, expend’ ∗skyag ~ rkyag ‘dirt, excrement’; WB kya ‘fall, become low, expand’ ∗kʰya ‘throw down, put down’ (? ∗kyañ ‘excrement’); KC-Tiddim kia ‘to fall’ ∗xía (~ *kh-) ‘to let fall, fall’, kiat ∗xiat (~ *kh-) ‘id.’ (Geilich 1994: 171). For the final consonants, see §3.2.2. Loss of a ST pre-initial could be responsible for aspiration §5.8.1.
 güçlü - quăn

[C] Allofam → qiè₃ 避 (kʰjät) ‘go away’.

qū₂ 避 → zǒu 走

quăn 捲 → quăn₃ 卷卷

quăn₁ 全捲 (dzjwan) LH dzyan, OCM *dzon

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzyen (平); MGZY tswyăn (平) [dzyen]
※ quăn 捷 (tsʰjwân) LH tsʰyăn, OCM *tshon

quăn₂ 捲 (dzjwan) LH dzyan, OCM *dzwan (!), OCB *Sg*wan
‘Spring’ [OB, Shi].

[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 *tšo ‘bubble, boil’: WT tšod-ba, btsos ‘cook in boiling water’; WB tshu ‘to boil, bubble’.

quăn₃ 卷卷 (gjwân 3) LH gyon, OCM *gwan or *gon, OCB *g*unj ‘handsome’

※ quăn 捷 (kʰjwan 3) LH kʰyân, OCM *khwân or *khon
‘Crooked wood’ [Guoce] > ‘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 *-l, *-r, *-n, suffix *-n), a TB cognate is difficult to identify: (1) Bodman (1980: 150) relates this w to WT kʰyor ‘a handful’ ※ kʰyor ‘to warp’, or WT kʰor ‘circle. (2) Or note Lushai kʰɔor² ‘double up, roll up’. (3) Or Lushai kual¹ ‘to coil’. (4) Or rh. cognate to Lushai hrual¹H ‘roll up in the hand’. (5) These could be n-suffixed forms of → ㄠ 1 句鈿構區. An allofam is prob. → quăn₄ 捷.

quăn₄ 捷 (gjwân 3) LH gyon, OCM *gon ?
‘Walk with bent body’ [SW], this could be cognate to → quăn₃ 卷卷 and / or to → ㄠ 1 句鈿構區.

quăn₅ 捲 → quăn₃ 卷卷

quăn₁ 犬 (kʰiwen²) LH kʰuen⁹, OCM *khwǐn?
‘Dog’ [Bj, Shi] > ‘official in charge of dogs’ [OB].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’yen (±); MGZY kʰywan (±) [k’yEn]
[D] This word survives in Min dialects (Xiàmén kʰian⁹B), but has been replaced by → ㄠ 犬 in most of the others.

[N] A rime MC -iwen cannot derive from OC *-wən (so GSR) or *-un, only from OC *-wən or *-wən, hence OCM *khwǐn?. This is also what we should expect on comparative grounds (so Starostin 1995: 229 *khwǐn).

[E] ST *kwǐ with the addition of the nominal final -n in Chinese (§6.4.3; STC: 158 n. 428): PTB *kwǐ > PTib. ki > WT kʰyɨ, Kanauri *kui ‘dog’, Chepang kaiʔ; JP gui³; PL *kwe² > WB kʰwe.⁹

quăn₂ 捷 → suàn₁ 拴
que - qun

que 缺 (kʰ’iwet, kʰjwát) LH kʰuat, kʰyat, OCM *khwet
'To break, splinter' [Shi].
[<] iterative aspiration of  → jué 決 'cut' (§5.8.3), hence lit. 'cut / break repeatedly > splinter' (Karlgren 1956: 14).

què1 殿 → ké 殿

què2 閣 → jù 桓

qún 穀 (tsʰjuen, tsjuenC) LH ts(h)uin, OCM *tsiun
'Hare' [Guoce]; 'marmot' in Sichuan (GYSX: 896b) [GY].
[E] ST: PTB *yu(w) ~ *yun > Lushai sa¹-zu² ‘rat’, sa¹-zu²-pu² ‘hare’ (lit. ‘big rat’); JP yu55 ~ yun13 ‘rat, mouse’, WB yun ‘rabbit’ (STC no. 93; p. 99 n. 284; p. 158 n. 428); note WT byi-ba ‘rat, mouse, rabbit’ which may also belong. In a few phonetic series and wfs OC *j- and *ts- co-occur (§9.2). Phonologically, the TB etymon is identical to → yûu 鼠 ‘weasel’.

qún 群 (gjuon) LH gun, OCM *gun
'Be a group, herd' vb. > 'herd, crowd, all' [Shi, Shu].
[T] Sin Sukchu 總 SR gyn (平); MGZY 總 kûn (平) [gyn]; ONW gun
Perh. kûn 昆 (kuon) LH kuon, OCM kûn
'Numerous, swarming (insects) [Li].
[E] ST: PTB *m-kul ‘20’ ~ *kun ‘all’ (STC no. 10; 397) > WT kun ‘all’ (so HST: 89).  → jùn 強 ‘army’ may be related.
rán1 然 (nízhān) LH ñán, OCM *ñan, OCB *njan
‘To burn’ 然 [Meng], 燃 [Mo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR rjen (平); MGZY Zhen (平) [rem]; ONW ñan
[D] M-Dôngân nāA2 ‘to take fire accidentally’ ≠ Amoy nāC1/C2 ‘to singe or burn slightly’, hiāA2 ‘to burn’.
※ shàn 煉 (sìjanC) LH shanC, OCM *nhans
‘Blaze’ > ‘splendid’ [Shi].

rán2 然 (nízhān) LH ñan, OCM *ñan — [T] ONW ñan
‘To be like that’ [Shi], ‘affirm, approve’ [Lun]. Rán is a fusion of → rú1 如 with an element *-n which has a demonstrative meaning (§6.4.5), cf. the later → nà3 那 ‘that’ (Norman 1988: 86). See → rú1 如 for allofams.

rán3 隶 → rèn2 在任

ráng 漾穽数 (nízhānB/C) LH ńañB/C, OCM *ñaŋ?
‘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 rjen (上去); MGZY ‘em [> rem] (上去) [rem]; ONW ñam

ràng 漯穂 (nízhānB/C) LH ńañB, OCM *ñaŋ?
‘Mould, cultivated soil’ [Shul], ‘territory’ [Meng].

ràng 跡 (nízhānC) LH ńañC, OCM *ñaŋ
‘To concede, yield’ [Shi].
[<] exopass. of ràng, lit. ‘remove oneself’ (§4.4).
※ ránɡ 轉穀 (nízhān) LH ńañ, OCM *ñaŋ
‘To remove, steal, thief’ 轉 [Shi] > causative ‘to expel, sacrifice to expel evil influence’ 轉 [Zuo].
※ xiāng 襲穃 (sían) LH sián, OCM *snan
‘To remove, expel’ [Shi].
[<] causative s-prefix with ránɡ (§5.2.2; Baxter / Sagart 1998: 53).
[E] ST: WT gñaŋ, gnaŋ ‘to concede’; WB hñaŋB ‘to give, deliver over’ ≠ WB hñaŋ ‘drive away, drive along’ (HST: 86), Lepcha nöŋ ‘to go away, go forth, proceed’.

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ráo – rén

ráo₁ 橈（ǎnjiāu）LH ńau（from earlier *njaun or *nau）
‘Oar’ [Chuci].
[E] MK: Khmer thnaol ‘punting pole’ < nominal n-infix derivation from dao ă ‘to punt’.
In CH, the n- often survives as a perceived initial (§2.6). For the loss of the coda in
CH, see §6.9.

ráo₂ 墵（ǎnjiāu）LH ńau, OCM *ńjaw or *n(i)au ă̄n
‘Herbs for fuel’ [Meng], ‘fuel gatherer’ [Shi].

* shǎo 燹（jiāu）LH ńau, tsńhau, OCM *ńhjaw or *nh(i)au ăn
‘To burn’ [Li].

[<] *ńhjaw + caus. devoicing (§5.2.2).

rāo 據 → náo₃ 据

rè 榆（ǎnjā）LH ńat, OCM *ńet or *net OCB *ńjet (i.e. OCM ńet)
‘Hot’ [Shi].

[<] *ńjat + caus. devoicing (§5.2.2).

ré₁ 人（ānjen）LH ńin, OCM *nin
‘Human being, person, man’ [OB, Shi] > ‘other persons, someone’ [Shi]. Rén tends to
refer to a member of a clan, i.e. upper class (Gassmann JAOS 120.3, 2000: 348ff).

[<] *ńin + caus. devoicing (§5.2.2).

ré₂ 仁（ānjen）LH ńin, OCM *nin
‘Be kind, good’ [Shi, Shu], ‘qiil ~ to love’ [Shi, Shu], ‘kind, gentle, humane’ (A.
Waley) and similar translations [Lunyu, Meng]; ‘pit’ (i.e. ‘heart’), e.g. of an apricot
xing-รง [Bencao; Yanshi jiaxun, 6th cent. AD] (Baxter p.c.).

[<] *ńin + caus. devoicing (§5.2.2).
rén – rēn


Possible allofams are → shēn3 身 ‘body’, → qīn3 親 ‘to love, relative’, but see there. The TB items are sometimes thought cognate to → nǐng1 聲 ‘be at peace’.

rén3 仁 ‘pit’ → rēn2 仁

rēn4 任 (ńįjm) LH nǐm, OCM *nəm ‘Carry on the shoulder, to load’ [Shi] > ‘sustain, endure’ [Zuo].

* rēn 任 (ńįjmC) LH nǐmC, OCM *nəms ‘Burden (of office)’ > ‘charge, office’ [Shu]; ‘be burdened, pregnant’ 妊 [SW]; ‘be burdened, entrust’ 任 [Zuo].

[<] exopass. of rēn, lit. ‘being loaded, be burdened’ (Wāng Lī 1982: 611) > ‘entrust, pregnant’. ‘Pregnant’ is hardly cogn. to its synonym yǔn 孕 ‘pregnant’; a semantic parallel ‘bear’ > ‘pregnant’ is also found in many other languages, including English.

[T] Sīn Sukchu SR rim (钅), PR, LR rim; MGZY ‘Zhīm (钅) [rim]

[EN] ST: WT snom-pa, bsnams ‘to take, seize, hold, put on’. This etymon may have enjoyed wider distribution, note PKS *nam1 ‘to hold’, and AA-OKhmer nām ‘to carry, convey, transport’. See also comment under → rēn3 任.

rēn3 纏 (ńįjm, ńįjm) LH nǐm, nǐm, OCM *nim, nrim ‘To weave’ [Zuo].

[EN] KT, AN: PKS *tam3 ‘to weave’, PTai *tamB1; AN anem, IN anam ‘plait’ (Benedict AT: 98; Sagart LCL 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 针).

rēn1 忍 (ńįjmB) LH nǐnB, OCM *nən? ‘To endure’ [Guoyu].

[EN] ONW nǐn — [D] PMin *niunB ~ nǐnB

[EN] ST: WT ñan-pa ‘to be able, (not) be able’.


rēn3 耐 (ńįjmB) LH nǐmB, OCM *nəm? ‘Year’ [Zuo]. Later ‘ripe’ (of cereal etc.) [SW], ‘harvest’ [Hanshu].


The word’s earliest occurrences in Zuòzhūàn in stock expressions like ‘not lasting (more than) five years’ give the impression of a relict from a substratum, rather than being part of the active language (similar to AA → huāng1 聲 ‘blood’). The AA sources do not mean ‘harvest’ or ‘ripe’; therefore it seems that AA ‘year’ and → rēn4 任 *nəm (basic notion: ‘burden, carry, bear’) have converged during the Han period (ears of grain ‘bearing’ > ‘ripe, harvest’) [SW, Hanshu], perh. with additional interference from → rēn2 任 ‘soft’ > ‘cooked’ and → nián 年 ‘year, harvest’. Rēn has perh.
töne B because it was felt to be an endoactive derivation (§4.5.1) from ‘soft / heavy’.

rén₄ 胖 → rén₂ 胖

rén₅ 认 → niàn₃ 认

rén₁, rén 任 (ńţjamⁿ) LH ńimⁿ, OCM *num?
‘A kind of big bean’ [Shi].
[E] ST: WB ńam ‘leguminous plant’. On the other hand, Bodman and Wáng Lì (1982: 611) believe that the following is a variant, both from an original *num (a nearly identical pair also means ‘great’):
≈ róng 任 (ńţjun) LH ńuŋ, OCM *nuŋ
‘A kind of bean’ [Lie].

rén₂ 任 (ńţjamⁿ) LH ńimⁿ, OCM *num?
‘Soft’ [Shi] > ‘flexible, insinuating, artful’ [Shu]; ‘cooked’ 脠 [Li], ‘overcooked’ 餰 [Lun].
≈ rǎn 染 (ńţjamⁿ/C) LH ńamⁿ/C, OCM *namʔ/s — [T] ONW ńam
‘Soft, flexible’ [Shi].
≈ rǎn 哗 (ńţjam) LH ńam, OCM *nam
‘To chew’ [Xun] is perh. related (< ‘make soft’).

rén₃ 念 → niàn₁ 念

rén₄ 任 → rén₄ 任

rén₅ 认 → rén₂ 胖

rén₆ 脠 → rén₂ 脠

rén₇ 认 (ńţjenⁿ) LH ńimⁿ, OCM *nams’, i.e. perh. *niam
‘To know’ [Guanyin].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR rin (去); MGZY Zhi (去) [rin] — [D] PMin *ninC

réng 仍 (ńţjaŋ) LH ńiŋ, OCM *nəŋ
‘Be done repeatedly, as before’ [Shi, Lunyu].
[<] terminative derivation from → ēr₁ 二 *nis ‘two’ (§6.5.1), lit. ‘gotten to be done twice / again’. Alternatively, the word could be related to PTB *(s-)nãŋ ‘follow’ (STC no. 334; p. 160 n. 432).

rì 日 (ńţjet) LH ńit, OCM *nit
‘Sun’ > ‘day’ (not night), ‘24 hr. period’ [BI, Shi] > ‘sun as spirit’ [OB]; also MC ńţiC (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992: 88).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ri (入); MGZY Zhi (入) [ri]; ONW ńit
[D] Ō-Guāngzhōu jìt²-tuv² 熱頭, Táishān tätig²-heu² 熱頭 ‘sun’; PMin *nit ‘sun’; in most Mand. dialects replaced by tàiyáng 太陽.
rong – róng


rong₁ 容 (jiwọ) LH jon, OCM *lon
‘Be generous, indulge’ [Shi, Shu], ‘at ease, easy’ [Lunyu], ‘pleased’ [Meng].

[r] Sin Sukchu SR jun (平); MGZY y’yung (平) [jun]; ONW iuon

[ST] WT log ‘leisure, free time’ (Coblin 1986: 102), it also occurs in Tai: S. 10f)-S ‘feel at ease’. This word is perh. a ST-level allofam of ~ yu11, yu11 ‘Iw: *101+I)

[€] Area etymon. ST: WT log-pa, logs ‘rise up’ (of water), log-log ‘uprising in waves, bulging out’ (Bodman 1980: 101; HST: 126) ~ kloq ‘wave’ (WT prob. is not related to → lăng 澗 ‘wave’). <- AA: Khmer /röəŋ/ ‘to rise, mount, well up’ (of water, tears) ~ gholona /klöŋ/ ‘rising movements of waves’, acc. to Jenner / Pou (1982: 332) derivatives from the root under → sŏng₂ 崧 ‘high’. This wf is prob. connected with → hong₄ 洪 ‘great (waters)’. It may ultimately belong to → yŏng₄ 踱 ‘to jump, leap’.

rong₄ 融 (jiuŋ) LH juj, OCM *luŋ — [T] ONW iuŋ
‘Hot air, steam, heat’ [Zuo].

[ST] PL *(?)-lon1 ‘hot’, WB log ‘burn, scald’, o-log ‘the burning of fire’. Possibly, this word may be a variant of the ST root *lum → xin 燧 (so Bodman 1980: 124).

[€] ST: PL *(?)-lon1 ‘hot’, WB log ‘burn, scald’, o-log ‘the burning of fire’. Possibly, this word may be a variant of the ST root *lum → xin 燧 (so Bodman 1980: 124).

rong₅ 戍 (ni związku) LH nuj, OCM *nuŋ
‘You’ [Shi].

[ST] Sin Sukchu SR rjuŋ (平); PR ruj; MGZY Zhıyung (平) [rjuŋ]; ONW nuj

[€] The etymology is obscure. One possibility would be to invoke the rare (and doubtful) equation PTB *a = OC *u and thus connect rong with PTB *na:1 ‘you’ (so STC: 160 n. 432; see under → rū₂ 女 (§11.9.3). Alternatively, this pronoun could be related to → nong₁ 農 ‘farmer’, just as nong functions as the first person pronoun in Min dialects. But these are speculations.

rong₆ 螂 → rën₁, rën 茧
rong₇ 濩 → jiŏng₂ 洞شاشة
rong₈ 榮 → yĭng₃ 營
rong₉-guăn 榮觀 ‘imperial palace’ → yîng₄ 營
rong 猱 → nong₄ 積
rōu — rú

rōu₁ 软 (niźjau) LH ńu, OCM *nu
‘Flexible, soft, mild, gentle’ [Shi].

rōu² 柔 (niźjau) LH ńu, OCM *nuh — [T] ONW ńu
‘To make pliable, subdue, tranquilize’ [Shi].

<r>exoactive / caus. of rōu 柔 (§4.3.2).

[ST] JP nu³³ 'relaxed, slack' (e.g. rope) ≡ nu³¹ 'relax' (effort, attention); perh. also WT nūg-pa ‘to rub, stroke, caress, besmear’ (HST: 136), Lushai nēkʰ ‘rub against, loll against’. This stem OCM *nu is prob. a ST variant of the synonymous stem OCM *no (→ rú₁ 柔).

[C] An allofam is → rōu₁ 肉 ‘flesh, meat’.

Pulleyblank (1973: 121) has pointed out that there are many words with initial *n but different rimes which mean ‘soft, weak’, including:

< rU ३ 'I'g;.

in addition to Pullayblank: → rënu₂ 在任, Syn. → xuān₂ 暖.

rōu₂ 柔 (niźjau[Bl/C]) LH ńu(Bl/C), OCM *nu(ʔ/h)
‘Tread, trample’ [Shi].


rōu₁ 肉 (niźjuk) LH ńuk, OCM *nuk
‘Flesh, meat’ [Yi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ru (入), LR ru?; MGZY Zhǔ (入) [ry]; ONW ńuk

<r>肉 (niźjuk) LH ńu, OCM *nukh
(Fleshy:) ‘rich’ (of music) [Li] (Downer 1959: 281).

< a late general purpose tone C derivation (§3.5).

[E] Wáng Lì (1982: 236) includes 肉 in the wf → rōu₁ 软‘soft’ which is the most likely etymology. Other languages have an etymon *na: Tai. S. nēa²² < *n- ‘flesh, meat’ (cogn. acc. to Li F. 1976: 42), also KN-Khami na ‘meat, flesh’. Possibly rōu is the result of convergence and re-etymologization. See → rōu₁ 软 for possible additional allofams.

rōu₂ 柔 → rōu₁ 软

rú₁ 如 (niźjwo, niźjwo[GY]) LH ńo(ς), OCM *na(h)
‘Be like, as if’ [Shi]. The alternate MC reading niźjwo[GY] is not only reported in GY, but is also required by Shǐjīng rimes (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 Sukchu SR ry (平); MGZY Zhǔ (平) [ry]; ONW ńo > ňo

[E] ST: Mru na ‘be so’, KN-Khami na (Awa) ‘be so’, in Lushai in the expression na naa naa ‘it being so, since’. The word has perh. a wider distribution: AA-OMon ńaahn /njɑŋ/ ‘resembling, be like’ (loan from TB?).

[C] Allofams: → ěr₂ 而, → ěr₄ 爾, → nài₂ 奈, → nuò₂ 諧, → rán₂ 然, → ruò₁ 若.

rú₂ 如 (niźjwo) LH ńa, OCM *na
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area root meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiāng₁ 向, 善卿.

rú₃ 如 (niźjwo[Bl/C]) LH ńa(Bl/C), OCM *na?/h
‘To swallow’ [Shi, EY].

[D] Acc. to FY 7.27 a Wú-Yuè (i.e. ancient Zhèjiāng-Fújiàn) dialect word for ‘to eat’, still current in M-Xiāmén luA² ‘to eat’.

[E] AA: PVM *s-jaʔ ‘to chew, masticate’ [Ferlus]; Kharia poʔ ‘to eat’. AA -> PMY:
ru - ru

*na?7 ‘to swallow’. The AA etymon seems to have been absorbed through MY.

A similar-looking word is → xīu, ‘nourish’. Related may be the items under → xiāng, 饭. The graph 嘈 writes additional words ｒｕ.

**rù**4儒羸 (ńżju) LH ńo, OCM *no

‘Weak, timid’儒 [Xun]; ‘pliant, soft’羸 [Xun].

[ŋE] ST: PTB *now ‘tender, soft’ (STC no. 274) > PL *C-nu2, WB nuC < noC ‘young, tender’ ≈ nuB ‘be made soft’ ≈ hnuB ‘make soft, mollify’, Lushai noK < noo? ‘young, tender, soft, young of animals’. This stem OCM *no is prob. a variant of the synonymous stem OCM *nu (→ róu1柔).

≈ rú儒 (ńżjuC) LH ńoC, OCM *noh — [T] ONW ſuo

‘Child’ [Shu]. Rú has an unexpected Mand. tone, Pulleyblank (1991: 268) sets up competing variants in tone A and C for the Yuan period. In the meaning ‘child’, rú occurs in OC usually (always?) as an adjective to zǐ ‘child’, hence the phrase means literally ‘weak child’, therefore rú is a derivation from rú儒 above, perh. even the same word.

In late Zhanguo texts [Hanfei, Li] rú-rén儒人 and rú-zǐ儒子 is the term for the ‘wife of a low nobleman (大夫).

[C] Cognates are → xū, 須需 ‘wait, tarry’, → ruǎn 軟软 ‘soft’; perh. also → rū3乳 ‘female breast’, → ruò3弱 ‘weak’, → rū5濡 ‘moisten’.

**rù**5濡 (ńżju) LH ńo, OCM *no

‘To moisten, wet, glossy’ [Shi], ‘soak’ [Zuo].

≈ rù, ruǎn懦 (ńżwát) LH ſuat, OCM *not


≈ rū濡 (ńżwoK) LH ſok, OCM *nok

‘Moist’ (soil), ‘rich-tasting’ [Li].

[ŋ] rú濡 (ńżju) + final -k (§6.1).

[C] Perh. related to → rù4儒羸, 儒羸 ‘soft’, originally ‘soften by soaking’; → náng3 濃醆.

**rù**6濡 → rù4儒羸

**rú-ér濡児, 儒兒 → ěr5喲

**rú**8醚 → náng3 濃醆

**rú**1汝 (ńżjwoB) LH ńaB, OCM *na? — [T] ONW ńoB > ńoB

Rú is the name of at least two rivers, one a northern tributary of the Huái in southern Henan, the other of the Hán river. Both were once in the non-Chinese sphere of the ancient state of Chǔ and its neighbors. The Chǔ ruling clan Xióng 熊 (‘bear’) had the name mi, 半 ‘bear’ which points to a KT presence (KT mui ‘bear’). It may therefore possibly be more than a coincidence that the KS word for ‘water’ is *naA or *n-kñaA.

**rú**2汝 (ńżjwoB) LH ńaB, OCM *na?

‘You’ [BL, Shi], an independent pronoun (§3.3.3). This word survives in col. coastal Mín: Xiàmén ńiB, Fúzhōu nyB (Norman 1988: 234), while most dialects have forms which go back to → ěr5醚. G-Wünng njeA2 ‘you’ (Sagart 1993: 173) does not agree in tone.


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**nǎi** 乃 (nǎiB) **LH** nǎB, **OCM** *nǎ? — [T] **ONW** nǎB

‘Your’ possessive [BL, SHi] is a proclitic (unstressed) form of ròu 汝 ‘you’ (see §3.3.3). Allofam may be 向 ròu2 若; parallel stems or synonyms → ér3 而, → ěr5 鳥 and its col. variant → nǐ 你 ‘you’; → róng5 柔.

### rǔ 乳 (nájlB) **LH** náoB, **OCM** *nǎ?

‘Nipple, breast’ [Zhouli], ‘milk, suckle’ [Zuo] > ‘breed, raise’ [Lü] > ‘hatch’ [Li].

#### [T] Sin Sukchu **SR** ry (上); **MGZY** Zhī (上) [ry]; **ONW** náoB

- **[E]** The OC vowel *o, as in *nǎ?, often corresponds to foreign *u in open syllables (§11.9,1).
- On the other hand, *nǎ? also looks like a regular endoactive derivation (§4.3.1) from *nǎ ‘soft’, lit. ‘the thing that is soft’, a possible re-etymologization of the area word.

### nòu, gòu 胚 (nòuC) **LH** nòuC, **OCM** *nòʊ

‘To suckle’ [Zuo] is a Chü dial. word acc. to Zuòzhuan. The reading nòu is either simply a derivation from rǔ *nǎ? (Pulleyblank 1983: 427); or more directly from an AA source where the etymon means ‘drink, suckle’ (see below).


- ‘mother, married woman’, PLB *nò3, WB nòC; JP *nò ‘mother, mother’s sister’, etc. (CVST 2:38), JP *nù-nè3 ‘mother’. <> Perh. an area word: AA-Kharia, Mundari *nunu ‘female breast’ ≈ Mundari nun ‘to drink’, Wa-Lawa-Bulang *jì ‘drink’. AA may be the ultimate source of this word because it is the common word for ‘drink’ whereas the meanings in ST are specialized. Some TB languages indicate that the protoform was prob. *nùw?.

#### [C] Perh. cognate to → xū 愕 *sno ‘elder sister’; → ě-nú 阿奴 ‘younger brother’.

### rǔ 乳 → rǔ, 滥

### rǔ, rù 辱 → xū 潰

### rǔ 乳

- **LH** nǐB, **OCM** *nò? < *nùp

  ‘To enter, to set’ (e.g. sun) [OB, SHi].

#### [T] Sin S. **SR** ri (入), **PR**, **LR** ryǐ; **MGZY** Zhī (入) [ri]; **ONW** nǐ

- **[D]** The expected Mand. reading ri is avoided for taboo reasons. PMin *nǐ

### nǎi 内 (nǎiC) **LH** nàB (> nuxis), **OCM** *nà? < **PCH** *nùps, **OCS** *nùps

- **[E]** Exopass. of nà 納 below (§4.4)

### nà 内

- **LH** nàB, **OCM** *nà?

  ‘Inside’ [BI, SHi].

#### [T] Sin Sukchu **SR** nùj (去), **LR** nùj; **MGZY** nùe (去) [nue]; **ONW** nùj

- **[C]** Exopass. of nà 納 below (§4.4)

### ná 納

- **LH** náB, **OCM** *ná? — [T] Sin Sukchu **SR** nà (入); **ONW** nà

  ‘To bring inside, put into’ [BI, SHi].

#### [E] ST: **PTB** *nùp (STC no. 400) > **WT** nùb-pa ‘to fall, sink, set’ (e.g. sun) ≈ nùb ‘west’ ≈ snùb-pa ‘cause to perish, suppress’; Garo nap, Bodo hap < hnup (< **sn?-? ‘to enter, set (sun), sink, drown’ (Bodman 1980: 52).

### rǔ 乳

- **LH** náB, **OCM** *ná?

  ‘To examine, scrutinize’ [SHi].

#### [E] ST: **WT** mño-ba ‘to think, imagine, think upon, consider’; JP ná55 ‘to feel, be aware, conscious of’ (CVST 2: 18).

### rǔ 乳

- **LH** náB, **OCM** *ná?

  ‘Soft’ [Chuci] looks like a Chü dialect variant of ròu 揉 (under → róu, 柔). Alternate-
ru " - ruō

tively, it may actually belong to → rú 幽 如 ‘swallow, eat’ as ‘eat’ > ‘chew’ and ‘soft’ are closely related notions, see → rěn 任. For potential allofams, see → róu 幽.

rú 幽 (ńţjwō[C]) LH ūa(C), OCM *na(h)
'Marsh' [Shi].

ruō 卒 → xiū 習

ruó 卓 → rú 幽

ruán 纹 → ruō 卒

ruǎn 陨软 (ńţjwān[B]) LH ūaŋB, OCM *non?
'Soft, weak' [Guoce], 'weak, timid' 儒 [Zuo].
[EN] Sin Sukchu SR ryan (上); MGZY Zhwyan (上) [ryen]

nuăn 威 (nuăn[C]) LH nuonC, OCM *nōns
'Weak' [Xun], 'weak, timid' 儀 [Zuo]. A variant reading MC nuâC points to an earlier final *l.

[C] Cognate to → rú 幽, 儀; possibly also to → róu 幽, nén, nūn 嫚.

ruí 炎綾 → ruī 炎

ruī 炎蕊 (ńţwie[B], ńţnwi[B]) LH ūaiB, ūiB, OCM *ni?, *niu?
'Vent, weak' [Guoce], 'weak, timid' 蕊 [Zuo], 'ovary of flower, fruit' 蕊 [Chuci].

ruī 炎綾 (ńţwie) LH ūi, OCM *niu
'Hanging bands' (of a cap) 翠 [Li], 'tassel' 綾 [SW; Shi], 'pennon' 綽 [Li].
[EN] ST: WB nwai ‘stretch along, as a creeper’; JP nōi ‘suspend, hang’ ≠ 2nōi ‘hang onto’ [notations of HPTB: 215]; possibly WT nar-mo ‘oblong’ ≠ bsnar-ba ‘to extend in length, pull out’ from TB *nwar could belong here. Perh. also connected with AA: OMon jnor ~ jnow ‘hanging banner’ with the nominalizing n-infix. HPTB considers the TB items under → chiú 垂 cognate; further comparanda are → duǒ 朵, → wēi 姧.

ruí 枭 (ńţjwāi[C]) LH ūaiC, OCM *nōts
'Peg, pin, tenon' [Zhuang].
[EN] AA: Khmer tota /tnaaot/ ‘impaling pole, skewer, spit’ < tota /daaot/ ‘to impale, run into...’

rùn 閏 (ńţjwen[C]) LH ūunC, OCM *nuns (*mnuns ?)
'Intercalary month’ [Shu]. — Etymology unknown.

ruò 若 (ńţjwak, GY also ńţja[B]) LH ūak, OCM *nak
(Perhaps: ‘Of all possible cases, the one like this’:) ‘like this, such, if’ [BI, Shu] > as a full vb. ‘to agree, approve’ [OB, BI, Shu].
[EN] Sin Sukchu SR rjaw (入), LR rjaw; MGZY Zhew (入) [rew]; ONW ūak, ūa [>] ruò is derived from rú 如 with the distributive suffix *-k (see §6.1.2).
ruò

※ nuò 諾（nāk） LH ńak, OCM *nāk — [T] ONW ńak
‘To agree, say yes’ [Shi]. For the MC div. I, see §9.1.1.
[C] See → rū₁ 如 for allofams.

ruò₂ 若（ńžjak） LH ńak, 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 rū 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 → ruò₂ 若. Allofams are listed under → rū₂ 汝.

ruò₃ 若 ‘that’ → nā₃ 那

ruò₄ 若（ńžjak） LH ńak
A Han period Chũ dialect word meaning ‘bamboo skin’ [SW], today ruò-li 笠笠 ‘hat made of bamboo leaves’; the basic meaning seems to have been ‘leaf’ which is still current in Mĩn dialects: PMin *ńiok (Norman 1983: 205).

ruò₅ 若（ńžjak） LH ńak, OCM *n(ı)auk?
‘Weak > consider weak, despise’ [Shu], ‘young, tender’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR rjaw 內), LR rjawʔ; MGZY Zhew 內) [rew]; ONW ńak
[E] ST: WT n̄og-n̄oŋ ‘soft, tender, weak’. For possible allofams, see → ńou₁ 柔.

ruò₆ 若（ńžwāt） LH ńuat, OCM *ńiot or *not?
‘To burn’ 燃 [Zuo], ‘hot, burn’ 燒 [Li] (also MC ńżwāt).
[E] Most likely, this is a final -t derivation (§6.2.2) from a ST root *nwe: WB nweB, hnweB ‘warm’, Lai nwé ‘be warm’ [Van Bik LTBA 25.2., 2002: 107]; or, less likely, from → rāo₂ 燃 ‘fuel’. There are parallels for the medial-vowel metathesis, see → nēi 煰, → shuāi 熱. For the n- > ŋ- vacillation in the initial, see §5.12.1. Since ruò is apparently related to → nuăn 燜 *non ‘warm’, its relationship to → rè 熱 *get or *net (?) ‘hot’, if any, is not clear. Wang Li (1982: 494) relates ruò to → rán₁ 然 ‘burn’.

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sā, sā 撒 → sān 散
sān, shāi 酒 → shāi, shī 飾
sāi 撒 → qī 菱
sāi 思 (sāi, sāi) ‘bearded’ or ‘white-haired’ [Zuo] is an allofam of → ēr 1 而 ‘whiskers’ acc. to Pulleyblank. Sāi 腮 ‘jaw’ is perh. the same word.

sāi, sāi, sè 塞 (sāi, sāi) LH sāi, saC, OCM *sāk(h) — [T] ONW sāk, sāi
‘To stop up, block; a mountain pass’ [Shi]. Downer (1959: 275) determined that the verb had the reading MC sāk, the noun tone C MC sāiC in Zuozhuan.
[E] Etymology not clear; prob. connected with AA-Khmer sukā ‘to stop up, plug, block, obstruct...’, but the vowels 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-pā ‘to stop up’.

sān 三 (sām) LH sām, OCM *sām
‘Three’ [OB, Shi]. The LH, MC vowels are irregular, one should expect MC ʂ.
[T] Sin S. SR sām (ʂ), PR sān; MGZY sām (ʂ) [sam]; ONW sām.
[D] PMin *sām; Y-Guangzhōu sāmAi
[E] ST: PTB *sām > WT sum ‘three’ (in compositions); JP mō31-sum3, WB sumC, Lushai tjunH. >> Tai: S. saamAi is obviously a CH loan (Tai would have preserved an original vowel *u).

>> sān 撒 → sōu 撒

>> sān 三 (sām) LH sām, OCM *sāms
‘Thrice’ [Lunyu].
[<] *sām + s-suffix, adverbial derivation §3.5.1.

>> cān 参 (tsʰām) LH tsʰām, OCM *tsʰām < *k-sām
‘Be a unit of three, be threefold’ 参 [BL, Shi]; ‘three horses of a team’ 参 [Shi]. Perh. ‘to accumulate’ [Shu] is the s. w. (so Sagart 1999: 151; he also connects the word to shēn 穎).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰām (ʂ), PR tsʰan; MGZY tʃəm (ʂ) [tsʰam].

>> shēn 参 (səm) LH səm, OCM *səm
‘Three stars in the Orion belt’ [Shi] is thought to be related to sān (Baxter 1992: 550).
[<] *səm + other element (pre-initial / prefix *?),

sān 年 LH sān, OCM *sān?
‘Come loose, fall apart, scatter’ [Shi].

>> sān 散 (sān) LH sān, OCM *sāns
‘Disperse’ [Shi].
[<] exopass. of sān 散 *sān? (§4.4), lit. ‘be scattered’.
[E] ST: PLB *sān ‘sow, broadcast (as mustard seeds), scatter seeds’ > WB swanB ‘pour upon, cast out by pouring’ >> swan ‘pour out, spill, shed’.
sān ～ sāo

※ sā, sā 撒 (sât) LH sat, OCM *sât
‘Cast, let go’ [Zhanguzu; JY]; SW, GY write the graph with shā 殲 as phonetic. This is apparently a late OC word.


sān2 撒 (sâmb) LH samb, OCM *sâm? — [T] ONW sam
‘Rice gruel with meat’ 撒 [Zhou], 撒 [Xun].

[E] Perh. ST: WT rtsam-pa < *r-tsam or *r-sam? ‘roast-flour’ to be mixed with water or tea for a pap. Alternatively, Sagart (1999: 151) relates the WT word to tân (dân) 蝕 (dâm) ‘rice gruel with meat’, but this word is only known from SW and GY.

sàn 散 → sān1 散

sāng1 喪 (sânh) LH saŋ, OCM *sâŋ
‘Mourning, burial’ [Shi], ‘corpse’ [Shij]. For a semantic parallel ‘grave’ ~ ‘corpse’, see → mû3 蒯. This word is prob. not related to sâng 喪 ‘lose, destroy’ (under → wâng1 亡 ‘lose’), although these two words share the same graph due to similar sound and mental semantic association.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR saŋ (平); MGZY sang (平) [sâŋ]
 [<] prob. → zâng1, 葬 ‘to bury’ + nominal ST’s-prefix (§5.2.4), hence *s-tsaŋ.


sāng2 桑 (sânh) LH saŋ, OCM *sâŋ
‘Mulberry tree’ [Bi, Shi]. Etymology not clear. In early literature and folklore, this tree was associated with wild places beyond ordered civilization (Boileau BSOAS 65.2, 2002: 350ff).

sâng 麓 (sâmb) LH saŋb, OCM *sâŋ < *sâng? ? — [T] ONW saŋ
‘Forehead’ [Zuo; SW 3915]; FY 10, 34 says this is an eastern Qi dialect word for central Chinese 額 ‘forehead’; it is, however, a common pre-Han word.

[E] Etymology not clear. Since this word’s source is Qi in Shandong which is believed to have been inhabited by AA speakers down to early historic times (Pulleyblank), it may be an AA word: Kharia s;m;I, Munda samaŋ ‘forehead’, possibly connected with the root OKhmer san/soŋ/ ‘to raise’, since other words for ‘forehead’ are derived from the notion ‘lift, high’.

[C] Syn. → ding2, 定額, 额 and yán 颜 (both under → yâ2 御筵詳). → yâng8 揚錫

sàng 喪 → wâng1 亡

sâo1 擦 (sàu) LH sou, OCM *sû
‘To scratch’ [Shi].


※ sâo 据 (sàu/b) LH sou/b, OCM *sû/h
‘To brush, sweep’ 据 [Shi], 据 [Li].

[C] It is often assumed that zhòu 割 (tsâu/B) [tû?] ‘broom’ [Li] (M-Xiàmén tsûtû/B, Fúzhōu siu/B) is cognate (so Wâng Li 1982: 234), but the similarity is prob. only graphic and semantic. Perh. related to → zào2 足 ‘flea’. An allofam is → xû3 舌 ‘rub’.

sâo2 擦 (sàu) LH sou, OCM *sû
‘To move, disturb, be shaken’ [Shi], ‘hastily’ [Li] is perh. a vocalic variant of → sôu3, sôu 搜 ‘move’.

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sāo

sāo 3 嘆 (sâu) LH sau, OCM *sû

‘Sad, worried’ [Guoyu: Chuyu], ‘grief’ [Chuci].

[E] AA: OKhmer sok /sûk/ ‘sorrow, affliction, pain, grief, be sad... to grieve, mourn’. Loss of OC coda is due to a long vowel (§6.9).

⇒ châu 憔 (dzjav) LH dżu, OCM *dzru?

‘Grieved’ [Chuci]. Retroflex MC dż- is unexplained, but note Tai šraw² -> Viet xâu ‘sad’ [Ferus MKS 7, 1978: 16].

⇒ cāo 糗 (tshau B) LH tshou B, OCM *tshû? < *C-su? [Shi] is prob. a vocalic or graphic variant of cāo above.

⇒ chiu 丘 (tsjuk) LH tsiuk, OCM *tsû? ‘Grieved’ [Meng]. Occasionally final -k is irregularly retained.

 ⇒ All the variations prob. reflect some AA morphological differences.

sāo 4 酞 (sâu) LH sau, OCM *sâu ~ [T] ONW sau — [D] Min-Amoy tsʰo~

‘Fat of swine or dog’ [Li].


This may be the same word as...; sao 4 ‘fat’ which would be parallel with...; xinfǎ 處 (sienj) ‘raw meat, offensive smell’.

sāo 5 酞 (sâu) LH sau, S tsʰau, OCM *sâu ~ *C-sâu?

‘Putrid smell’ [Yanzi].

[D] PMin *tsʰau ‘rank, fishy’


Wáng Lì (1982: 220) believes that this is the same word as...; sāo 4 酞 ‘fat’ which would be parallel with...; xinfǎ 處 ‘raw meat, offensive smell’.

sāo 1 掃埽 据

sāo 2 嫌 据

sè 1 色 (šjok) LH šik, S šëk, OCM *srâk, OCB *srjok

‘Color’ [Shi] (as opposed to...; cǎi ‘pigment’) > ‘color of face’ [Zuo] > ‘appearance, countenance, mien’ [Shi] > ‘looks’.  

[T] Sin S. SR šaj (※), LR šaj?; MGZY shïy (※) [šaj]; ONW šik

[E] ST: Lushai saarH < saar ‘prismatic colors’ * saarK / sarhK ‘healthy looking, rosy, ruddy’. The Lushai and CH words both refer also specifically to the healthy attractive color of the face. The OC word derives therefore from an earlier *srâ-k. Alternatively, sè has been connected with TB items under...; hê 赫. ~ chǐ 赤 ‘red’ may possibly also be connected, but this is doubtful. Note also AA: OMon sâk, sek /saik/ ‘color’, Khmer sâk ‘resemblance, pattern’.

The twist towards ‘good looks / charms of women’ as in...; hào sè 好色 ‘be fond of women’ [Lunyu, Mengzi] > ‘sex’ may be due to an AA substrate, note Khmer /srèk/ ‘thirst or lust after’ /fê /fè /enjoy oneself’.

sè 2 溺 (sjap) LH šip, OCM *srâp — [T] ONW šip


sè 3 糬啬 (šjok) LH šik, S šëk, OCM *srâk, OCB *srjok — [T] ONW šik

‘Farming, to reap, to harvest’ 割 [Shi], ‘harvest’ 割 [BI, Yili].
**sēn** – **shāi**

[E] Etymology not certain. Perh. related to TB-PLB *C-sak ‘pluck, pick’ (fruit etc.). Or to AA-Khmer crūta/crōt/ ‘to reap, harvest’ [Jenner / Pou 1982: 254], Khmer srov ‘harvest the paddy’. Baxter (1992: 205) implies that this word is cog. to → cāi 采 (tsʰāi) OCB *sri(k)? ‘to gather, pluck’.

**sēn** 森 → **lín** 林

**shāi** 沙 (sa) LH šai, OCM *srā́i → [T] Sin Sukchu SR ša (平); ONW šā ‘Sand’ [Shi]; ‘sandfish, mudfish’ 鱼 [Shi].

[E] Etymology not certain, but a TB etymon is similar: PTB *z(l)a-y < *s(l)a-y (with diminutive *-i/-y acc. to Matisoff 1995a: 68) > WB saíB ~ solaiB ‘sand’, PL *say2, JP dzai31- (in compounds) ‘sand’. <>? PTai *zaay: S. saai ‘sand’. Written S. drai may in fact reflect an earlier cluster (Maspero 1912: 86), therefore OC may be closer to Tai than to TB forms.

**shāi** 殺 (sāt) LH ša/et, OCM *srā́t, OCB *srjet < *srjat ‘To kill’ [OB, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ša (入); ONW šāt ‘To smite’.

[E] ST: PTB *g-sat ‘to kill’ > WT gsod-pa, bsad, Chepang sat-sa, WB sat, PL *C-sat, JP sat31 ‘to kill’ (STC no. 58) ≠ go31-sat35 ‘attack’ (with a weapon). AA-PMonic *k-r-sat ‘to kill’ (< kcat ‘to die’) appears phonologically also close to CH.

**shāi** 敗 (šāp, šjāp) LH šep, šap, OCM *srā́p ‘Plume-fan’ [Zuo].

[E] This word belongs to a widespread SE Asian assemblage of etyma for ‘wink, blink’, incl. PAN sap ‘winnow’; K-Méixian sap7 ‘wink’, Y-Hongkong saap7 ‘id’. For an exhaustive collection and treatment, see R. Bauer LTEA 15.2: 151-184. This word also may be an iterative derivation from → liè 觞 ‘beard, broom’ (§5.2.3) due to paronomastic attraction.

**shāi**, shǐ 筷 (ši) LH ści, OCM *sri ‘To sieve, screen’ [Hanshu], ‘a sieve’ [GY].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ści, șaj (平), PR șî; MGZY 筷 shǐ́ (平) [ṣî]

[D] In SM this word has a curious stop initial: Amoy thajÁ; this is similar to → chu 筷 ‘beard, broom’ (§5.2.3) due to paronomastic attraction.

≈ sā, shāi 酒 (sāiB) LH śeiB, OCM *sri?

‘To sprinkle’ [Shi].

[E] ST *sri: Lushai hrií/-hriík< hriih / hriik ‘to sift, screen’ (CVST 4: 106). This cognate shows that sā is unrelated to → xī 洗洗 ‘wash’ (as suggested by Karlgren 1956: 16). There are also forms with TB initial *l which may be cognate: WB hleC ‘winnow’, Lushai l̥hìí/-l̥hìlií < slí / slit ‘to strain, pour off, winnow’.

This etymon has nearly converged with → shǐ shǐ́ *sre, but the Lushai cognates suggest separate etymologies.

**shāi** 酒 → **shāi**, shǐ 筷
shāi — shāng

shāi₁, shì (šje¹) LH şé¹, OCM *srehv
‘To dry something in the sun’ [SW].
[E] <> AA: PMonic cay ‘to spread in the sun to dry’.

shāi₂ 殺 → shuāi 衰

shān₁ 山 (shan, sán) LH şan, şen, OCM *srân, OCB *srjan
‘Mountain’ [OB, Shi]. Etymology not clear.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR şan (平); MGZY (zhan >) shan (平) [shan] — [D] PMin *şan

shān₂ 彰 (şam) LH şam, OCM *srâm
‘Long hair’ [SW]. The graph is also used for a syn. → biāo₁ 彪. The TB cognates show that the MC retroflex prob. does not derive from an earlier *sr- cluster (§7.4).
[T] Sin S. 彰 SR şam (平), PR şan; MGZY 彖 şan (平) [şam]

shān₃ 菲撕 → lián₈ 磚鎧

shān₄ 潘 → lián₁ 連聯

shān 閃覘 → yán₂ 炎

shān₁ 讚 → jiàn₄ 燕

shān₂ 扇 (şjan²) LH şan², OCM *nhans?
‘Wicker door, leaf door’ [LI] > ‘fan’. Since shān₁ 燐 ‘blaze’ (with 扇 as phonetic) is probably related to → rán₃然 *nan ‘burn’, this word’s OC initial was prob. also a nasal. Etymology not clear.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR şjan (去); MGZY (zhyan >) shyan [şjen]; Onw shan

shān₃ 燐 → rán₁ 然

shān₄ 燠 → tān 坦

shān₅ 禪 → chān₂ 喧嚨嚨

shān₆ 燩 (şjan²) LH dżan¹, OCM *dan?
‘Be good, good at, do well’ [Shi] > put. ‘approve’ [Meng] > caus. ‘make good’ [Lunyu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR şjen (上), LR zjen (上); MGZY zhen (上) [şen]; Onw dżan

shān 膳綱 (zjän²) LH dżan², OCM *dans
[T] Sin Sukchu SR şjen (去); Onw dżan
(1) [s] exopass. of *dan (§4.4): ‘cooked food’ [Shi] > ‘eat’ 膳 [Li], lit. ‘what has been made good / ready’.
[E] Etymology not certain. Perh. ST: Chepeng dyanh: ‘be good’; and / or AA-Khmer comman (i.e., c-mn-an) ‘be good at’.

shān₇ 蠟 (şjan²) LH dżan², OCM *dan?
‘Earthworm’ [Xun] is compared in CVST 2: 156 with Lushai taal² < taal? ‘to struggle, wriggle, writhe’ which may also be related to → wēi₁-tuō 委佗 ‘be winding’.

shāng₁ 壞 → yán₄ 燧烎

shāng₂ 湯 → yán₇ 燉

shāng₃ 商 ‘trade’ → shē₁ 賷

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shāng — shè

shāng₁ 上 (zhān③) LH زةん, OCM *dān? or *dān? ?
‘To rise’ [Shi]. Shī sàng rimes indicate occasional tone A.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR zhān (上; ) MGZY zhāng (上) [zhān]; MTang زةנ, ONW زةנ
[D] The PMin ‘softened’ initial *dān⑧ points to PCH *m-dān? or rather *m-jān?.
[E] ST *ja ‘above’ + ST terminative *-ŋ (§6.5.1).

* shāng 上 (zhān⑦) LH زةנ, OCM *dān? or *dān? ?
‘Upper part, above’ [BI, Shi].
[D] PMin *dzbl] or *djal]?
[E] ST *ja ‘above’ + ST terminative *-ŋ (§6.5.1).

shāng₂ 尚 → cháng₂ 常

shāo₁ 梢 (shāu) LH 肇, OCM *sr(i)au
‘Branch, staff’ [Han: Yang Xiong et al.].

* shāo 梢 (shāu) LH 肇, OCM *sr(i)au
‘Little, few’ [Zuo].

* shuō 搏 (shāk, shāu, sieu) LH 搏, shāu, sieu, OCM *sruo(k) ?
‘Drawn out to a point, pointed’ [Zhouli].

This wf implies something which is getting smaller or thinner, tapering. It is not obvious if or how this wf may be related to → xiāo₁ 小 'small'.

shāo₂ 燒 → rào₂ 罥

shāo 梭 → zhuó₂ 洌

shāo 少 (shāu⑧) LH 肇, OCM *hjau? ?, OCB *h(l)jew? — [T] ONW 肇
‘Be few, little, junior’ [Shi].
[D] M-Amoy tsio⑤ ⑤

* shāo 少 (shāu) LH 肇, OCM *hjau?
‘Young, junior’ [Lunyu], second, sub-’ [Zuo].

[E] This etymon is often thought to be cognate to → xiāo₁ 小 (shāu⑧) [siau?] ‘small’, but the alternation Me -s- and s- is exceptional if not impossible in wfs (a parallel ‘set’ of unrelated words is → sǐ 死 ‘to die’ and shì 尸 ‘corpse’ under → yǐ 亖 夷, 宰).

shāo 稍 → shāo₁ 梢

shè₁ 賺 (shà) LH 賽, OCM *lha — [T] ONW 賽

[E] ?? Tai: S. laak ③ ‘to trade, exchange, barter’.

* shì 賺 (shà) LH 賽, (d)žà C, OCM *lhas, *m-las
‘Lend, borrow’ [Zhouli], ‘remit’ [Guoyu].

[E] *lha + s/h-suffix extrovert (§4.3.1).

* shāng 商 (shān) LH ㄒ, OCM *lha
‘To trade’ [OB?, Zuo], ‘to sell’ [Hanfei] > ‘debate’ [Li].

[E] *lha + terminative -ŋ (§6.5.1).
The word *shāng* appears earlier than the synonym *māi* 買. A possible connection with one or another TB etymon remains speculative: PTB *b*əlɛ 'barter' (STC no. 283); Lushai lei² 'buy, barter', Tiddim leiH / leiH < lei? / leih 'to buy', Chepang le?-sa 'to buy'.

If related to the latter *leih*, the CH vocalism might have been influenced by superficially similar words like → *shē₁ 舍 'bestow, give'. Alternatively, Bodman (1980: 80) compares this group with WT *g-yar* 'borrow, lend, hire'.

Most likely, *shē* is to be associated with an area root: MK-Khmer /-lée/ as in /tlée/ 'to snake, move sinuously' (as through water). In OC, this root also provides the second syllable in → *wēi₁-tuŏ 船蛇, wēi-yī 委蛇 'winding, compliant, graceful'. Shē 'the winding thing' is then a euphemism for → *hu₁ 虎 'snake' < ST *(s)mrul in order to avoid the name of a dangerous creature (for a similar taboo, see → *hu₁ 虎 ‘tiger’).

*shē₁ 舍 → *yū₁, 舍 *

*shē₂ 蝸 (dżja) LH ざ, OCM *m-lai*  'Snake' [OB, Shi]. The OB graph seems to depict a cobra.

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* zje (±); ONW ia (~ ざ ?) — [D] PMin *dżioi*

[E] The etymology is not certain. Some languages have synonyms which look similar: KD-PHLai *ljiʔa*: Baoding za², Qiantui ía² 'snake'; on the Malay peninsula AN-Radē etc. ala 'snake'; or TB: Lushai *ruuH-hlai* 'sp. of snake' (*ruuH* 'snake'), JP pə³⁻lai³³ 'a sp. of iguana' (CVST 3: 6). However, the KD forms could be loans from CH, and the cited TB forms appear to be unrelated.

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*shē₁ 舍 (sjaB) LH ざ, OCM *Iha?*  'To bestow, grant' [BI, Shi], 'give, bestow' [Zuo].

[E] Prob. AA: MMon *salah* 'to give away, disburse'.

*shē₂ 舍 (sjaC) LH ざC, OCM *Ihah* — [T] ONW ざ

'Put down, deposit' [Zuo].

[<] *Iha?* + s/h-suffix, perh. exoactive (§4.3).

*shāng 賜 (šanB) LH そんB, OCM *Ihaj* — [T] ONW そん

'To award, reward, bestow' [BI, Shu].

[<] *Iha?* + terminative -y (§6.5.1), i.e. a reward is given for a completed action and is therefore itself a final, concluding act.


[A] Superior person giving something to an inferior is the basic meaning of this wf, whereas the root from which it is prob. derived, → *yū₁* 與, means ‘to give’ in general. The etyma *Iha?* ~ *Ihai* (~ shī₁ 施) are prob. variants. A similar triplet of stems is found with the group ‘to give up’ (~ *shē₁ 舍捨). The latter and this set ‘bestow’ tend to coalesce, may even derive from the same root (give something < let go of something?).

*shē₂ 舍 (šjaB) LH ざB, OCM *Iha?*

'To let off' [BI, Shi], 'set aside, leave' [Shi]; 'give up, let go' [Guoyu], ‘shoot’ [Shi].

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* ざje (±); MGZY shya (±) [sje]; ONW ざ

*shē₂ 舍 (šjaC) LH ざC, OCM *Ihah*

'Let go' [Shi], 'let off, liberate' [Zuo], ‘pardon’ [Shu].

[<] *Iha?* + s/h-suffix, perh. exopass. ‘be let go’ (§4.4).

she

Kur), ‘escape, be free from’ (Mon) *būlah > Nyah Kur *phalāh ‘to release’ (Nyah Kur), > Mon *halēgh ‘let go, free from, send for’. OKhmer jā /laj/ ‘to (de)part, leave, quit (doing), cease’ *ghlā /klīha/ ‘part, leave, quit...’ <> MK ? -> Tai: S. sa-²-lā ‘let go’.

This wf is parallel to → yij in CH as well as AA, the difference being OC final *-ʔ vs. OC final *-k. As a result, she 舍 [sah] and she 赦 [sah] ‘let go, pardon’ seem to be the same word written with different graphs. However, the graph 舍 implies OC *ihaʔ (< *ihaʔ+ʔ) and is derived from she 舍 *ihaʔ, whereas the graph she 赦 implies OC *ihaʔ. The roots *ihaʔ ~ *ihaʔ ~ *ihaʔ (→ sh14a) are prob. variants with parallel morphological and semantic developments. A similar triplet of stems is found with the homophone group ‘to give, bestow’ (→ she ⅰ).

The latter and this set ‘let go’ tend to coalesce, may even derive from the same root (give something = let something go).

shè 社 (žjaB) LH džāB, OCM *daʔ? — [T] ONW dža
‘Altar to the spirit of the soil’ [Shi], ‘spirit of the soil’ [SW], is assumed to be cognate to → ūj ‘land, soil’ (Karlgren GSR 62j; Wáng Lì 1982: 146).

shè 舍 (šjaC) LH šaC, OCM *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. → ūj ‘resting place’.

shui 說 (šwāC) LH šuas, OCM *ho(t)s (< *lu(ha(t)s)’
‘To halt, rest overnight’ [Shi].

Apparently shared with PKS: *s-lwaB ‘to rest’. The PCH root must have been *s-lwas, identical to the KS one, with the later regular OC initial *sl- > *l-; KT tone B is the regular counterpart of MC tone C (< *s). Both CH forms reflect a PCH final *s, she as suffix, shui as part of the root. The erstwhile PCH medial *w after acute initials survives perh. in syllables in final -t and -(t)s, as in shui; however, in open syllables like she, 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’ → shè 舍

shè 舍 ‘let go’ → shè 舍

shè 赦 → yij 繇; also → shè 舍

shè 涉 (žjäp) LH džap, OCM *dap — [T] ONW džap
‘To wade (through a river), cross a river’ [Shi], ‘to cross a river’ (by boat) [Zuo].

Perh. related to PTB *lāp ‘dive, sink, drown’ (STC no. 375), WT lčeb-pa ‘seek death’ (by drowning), but the initials do not agree.

shè 射 → shí 射

shè 設 → yij 藝.

shè 懼 (tśjäp) LH tsap, OCM *tep or *tap ?
‘Despondent, to fear’ 懼 [Li]; zhe 懼 ‘to fear’ [Zhuang]; ‘scared stiff, stupefied’ 懼 (Mand. zhi), also MC tśjap, niep [Zhuang].

shè 懼 (šjäp) LH ſap, OCM *nhep or *nhap ?
‘To scare, frighten’ tr. (JDSW) [Zuo, Xiang 11].

Perh. directly related to Khmer spap (see below) with an intensive (?) s-prefix, except that OC has reinterpreted the devoiced initial < *s- as a trans. / caus. prefix.

niè 幸 (ńjäp) LH ńap ?, OCM *nrep
‘That by which you frighten people’ n. [SW] (Karlgren GSR no. 638d; Baxter and Sagart 1998: 52).

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shè – shēn

[E] AA: OKhmer ɲyāp /ɲap/ ‘to tremble, fear’ š/šnap/ intr. ‘to shake, tremble, be frightened, terrified’. The un-ST co-occurrence of MC initial tš-, šj- and nj- within a wf prob. reflect fragments of AA morphology, especially the initial n- suggests an AA infix.

shè0 捕 (sjāp) LH sap, OCM *nhep < *s-nep, OCB *hnjep — [T] ONW šap
‘To pinch between’ [Lunyu] > ‘to grasp, gather up’ (skirts), ‘combine’ (two offices) [Lunyu] > ‘assist’ [Shi].

≈ niè 捕 (njāp) LH āp, OCM *nrep — [T] ONW nap
‘Pincers, tweezers’ [Shimíng, GY].

[E] The OC pair derives from a ST doublet *s-njap ~ *r-njap: PTB *s!r-nyap ‘pinch, squeeze’ (HPTB: 339) > WT rñaβ-rñaβ-pa ‘to seize or snatch together’, Chepang nep ‘press together uniformly...’, ‘Mikir nép ‘to catch’; PLB *(s-)nyap > WB ɲap ‘be pinched, squeezed between’ ≈ hñap ‘to squeeze, press between two objects’, in Lolo lgs. also ‘shoes’ (HST: 118). CH -> Tai: S. neepDIL < *hn- ‘pincers, to hold’ (with pincers). This ST root *njap is distinct from the parallel stem *nip (→ niē0 擠 ‘pinch’).

shè1 捕 (dzja C) LH ẑa C, OCM *m-lah — [T] ONW ia
‘Musk deer’ [EY, SW].


shēi, shuí 誰 (źwi) LH dzui, OCM *dui
‘Who?’ [Shi].

< *du + final *-i is the independent form of the pronoun (§3.3.3).

≈ chōu 疑 (dzjau) LH uzu, OCM *dru (?)
‘Who’ [only in Shu].


≈ shū 孰 (źjuk) LH dzuk, OCM *duk — [T] ONW dzuk
‘Which one, who?’ [Lun].

< *du + distributive k-suffix (§6.1.2).

shēn1 伸伸呻 → yín2 引

shēn2 身 (śjen) LH ẑin, OCM *lhin ? or nhin ?, OCB *hniǐŋ
‘Body, person, self’ [B1, Shi]; ‘belly’ [Yijing 52] (acc. to Qiu Xigui 2000: 182 [quoting Yu Fan]; Shaughnessy 1997: 54 translates ‘body’, but since shēn contrasts with ‘flesh on the spine’, ‘belly’ may be more to the point).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ẑin (平); MGZY shin (平) [sin]; ONW ẑin

[N] The alleged meaning ‘pregnant’ (Wáng Lì 1982: 538, based on the ancient commentator Yú Fān); Shaughnessy 1997: 54 translates ‘body’, but since shēn contrasts with ‘flesh on the spine’, ‘belly’ may be more to the point).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR shin (平); MGZY shin (平) [sin]; ONW shin

[N] The alleged meaning ‘pregnant’ (Wáng Lì 1982: 538, based on the ancient commentator Yú Fān); Shaughnessy 1997: 54 translates ‘body’, but since shēn contrasts with ‘flesh on the spine’, ‘belly’ may be more to the point).

[E] Etymology not certain. Geilich (1994: 274–277) suggests that shēn 身 ‘body’ is related to shèn 伸伸呻 ‘stretch out’ (→ yín2 引), then lit. = ‘the stretched one’, also related to shi 尸 ‘corpse’ (under → yín2 引) which also means ‘stretch out’. Shēn would then be a nominal n-derivation from the root in question (§6.4.3). Alternatively, Baxter (p. c. 2001) conjectures that shēn was OCB *hniǐŋ and cognate to → rěn2 仁 and the TB items there, because, among other considerations, in the Guódiàn texts → rěn2 仁 is written with shēn 身 above xīn 心, ‘heart’.

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shên – shèn

shên₃ 深 (šěn Languages) LH šim, tšim, OCM *nhom ? — [T] ONW šim, BTD šim
‘Deep’ [Shi].
[D] PMin *tšim; Y-Guangzhou 5$i$im
※ shên 深 (šěn Languages) LH šim Languages, OCM *nhoms ?
‘Depth’ [Zhouli].
[<] shên + s-suffix to form nouns (§3.5.2).
※ shên 深 (šěn Languages) LH šim Languages, OCM *nhom ?
‘Be startled and flee’ (of fish), i.e. ‘go down into the deep’ [Liyun] (Unger).
[<] shên + tone B endoactive (§4.5).

[T] The OC initial *n- has been suggested by Unger (Hao-ku 47, 1995) because of shên and possible cognition with → nān₂ 掠. If the OC initial was indeed *n-, then the following TB items are related: PTB *nem (STC no. 348): WB nim ‘be low’ ≈ nim ‘be kept low, below’; Lushai hni$m$im ‘be low, sink into’ (land) ≈ hni$im^
$ ‘be humble’, WT nems ‘sink a little, give way’ (a floor).

An alternative connection: PKiranti *g$hl$am ‘deep’ (van Driem 1995: 254: Starostin); or Chepang jiumh-$qō$ ‘deep’. See → ché$n₂$ 沈 for syn. and further comments. → tān₁ 探 may be cognate.

shên₄ 萍詮 (šěn Languages) LH šin, OCM *srən
‘Numerous’ [Shi].
※ zhên 深 (šèn Languages) LH ts$èn$, OCM *tsrən
‘Be full of (leaves), lots of (descendants)’ [Shi] (Wáng Lǐ 1982: 538).

shên₅ 参 → sān 三

shén-mo 甚麼
‘What’ Mand. is derived from shí wá 十物 (žiop mjuət) (‘ten things’:) ‘vessels, household utensils’ (Zhāng Húiyìng, see Norman 1988: 119f).

shên₂ 神 (džen Languages) LH žin, OCM *m-lín
‘Spirit’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR žin (平); MGZY chin (平) [dzin]
[Ε] Perh. ST: Chepang glíph ‘spirit of humans’.

shên₁ 瞼晒 (šěn Languages) LH šin Languages, OCM *hnìn?
[Ε] ST: PTB *s-nil (STC no. 3; p. 177) > WT rānil ~ snil ‘gums’, Kan stil < snil,
Lepcha fo-nyāl (fo ‘teeth’), Chepang na$ñ$l, Dimasa ha-rni (ha ‘teeth’), Lushai ha$ñ$-hni # < -hni? (we should expect Lushai final -I, hence a loan?).

shên₂ 深 → shên₃ 深

shên₃ 寬 (šěn Languages) LH šim Languages, OCM *omʔ?
‘To investigate, discriminate’ [Lunyu], ‘minutely, really’ [Shu].
[Ε] Etymology not clear. This word could belong to → shên₃ 深 ‘deep’. Karlsgren GSR 647a considers this to be the same word as cân 参 ‘thrice’ (under → sān 三), Sagart (1999: 151) relates it to cân 参 (tsim) [tscem] ‘examine’ [Xun], but reconciliation of the initials presents problems.

shên₄ 深沈 → ché$n₂$ 沈沈

shên₁ 腎 (žen Languages) LH gi$ñ$, OCM *ginʔ?
‘Kidney’ [Shu].
[E] ? ST: Perh. related to PTB *m-glun ‘kidney’ (*HPTB: 73); for the vowels, see §11.5.1.

shèn2 聲 (żjenC) LH dzinC, OCM *dœn
‘Clam, oyster’ [OB, Li]; ‘some kind of dragon’ [Hànshù, Tiānwén zhi], → chén3 辰.

shèn3 甚 → zhên2 崇

shèn4 聲 (dzömB, žjemB) LH žimB (or dzimB ?), OCM *(m-)döm? ?
‘Mulberry fruit’ (which is dark purple or black) [Shi].

shèng1 升昇 → chéng3 長

shèng2 生 (ʂəŋ) LH ʂəŋ, OCM *ʂêŋ
‘To live, be alive, fresh’ [OB, BI, Shi] > (‘cause to live’) ‘give birth to, create’ [Shi]; ‘a (live) sacrificial animal’ 牲 [BI] > ‘domestic animal’ (as beast of burden).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʂəŋ (平), PR, LR ʂəŋ; MGZY shhing (平) [ʂəŋ]; ONW ʂəŋ

Table S-1 Live, fresh, green (A): *s(r)iŋ ~ *s(r)aŋ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S-1</th>
<th>ST *sriŋ</th>
<th>*sraŋ live</th>
<th>*(k-)siŋ green</th>
<th>*k-saŋ green</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>shèng 生 *sêŋ live</td>
<td>qīng 青 *tshên &lt; *k-sëŋ green</td>
<td>cāng 藏 *tshâŋ *k-saŋ green</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>qsiŋ-ma pasture-land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanauri</td>
<td>sriŋ live</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garo</td>
<td>(tʰaŋ live) (1)</td>
<td>gatʰaŋ green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimasa</td>
<td></td>
<td>gatʰaŋ alive, green, unripe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>reŋ &lt; re/ŋ-l live</td>
<td>reŋ-sëŋ &lt; -se/ŋ green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>hrinB / hrinR bear, begét hriŋl / hriŋl fresh, green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNaga</td>
<td>*C-riŋ alive *C/V-riŋ raw, grass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawang</td>
<td></td>
<td>mōsêŋ green ~ māšîŋ blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>tsîŋ33 &lt; rjîŋ33 ? grass, green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td></td>
<td>hraŋ live, alive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note on Table S-1: (1) Garo tʰaŋ < saŋ (instead of *sraŋ or *sriŋ) is prob. formed in analogy to gatʰaŋ.
shēng — shéng


ST *sri survives prob. as ....... 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 *s- in OC *srıŋ where the alleged caus. function was felt to be transparent, but was lost in tı as part of the stem.

ST has several parallel stems, prob. ultimately related, for the notion ‘live, fresh, green’:

- ST *sri → shēng 生 ‘live’
- ~ ST *sraŋ → WB hraŋ ‘live’
- ~ ST *siŋ → xìng 性 ‘nature’, qīng 青 ‘green’
- ~ ST *san → cāng 苍 ‘blue’, Garo təan ‘live’

For an overview of the *s(r)iŋ ~ *s(r)an contrasts (§11.1.3), see Table S-1; for an overview of the sriŋ ~ siŋ contrasts, see Table Q-1 after → qīng 青 ‘green’. For synonyms, see → chuò, xù 窄.

 shaóng 亜 (shēn) LH 亜, OCM *srıŋ
‘Sister’s son’ [Shi], (daughter’s husband:) ‘son-in-law’ [Meng], ‘father’s sister’s son, mother’s brother’s son, sister’s husband’ (K. C. Chang 1976: 89).

[E] ST: Western TB languages: WT sriŋ-mo ‘sister’ (of a male), Zangskar riŋmo; Lower Kanuri riŋs.

shaóng 亜 (shēn) LH 亜, OCM *srıŋ — [T] ONW 亜
‘Reed-organ’ [Shi] may be related to → míng, 鳴 OCB *mręŋ ‘to sound’ acc. to Baxter (1992: 499).

shaóng 亜 (shān) LH 亜, OCM *hjeŋ?
‘Sound’ (especially with respect to volume), ‘note, fame’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR siŋ (平); MGZY shıng (平) [siŋ]; ONW 亜

[D] PMin *siaŋ > Xiämén col. siāAlg, Fúzhōu siaerà Alg, K-Méixiān sāŋ44, PMin *~ *tsiaŋ > Jiānyáng tsiāAlg

[E] Perh. ST, note a similar-looking Lushai word with identical meaning: tḥanH / tḥanL < sāŋ ‘become known, be renowned; to sound or travel (as sound), resound’. However, foreign initial s- is impossible to reconcile with MC ṣj- which goes back to an OC voiceless continuant, perh. *hj-, unless we assume *he/ŋ ~ *saŋ parallel stems of the kind which have been suggested for ‘odor, smell’, see under → xiāng 香. <> Tai: S. siaŋ44 ‘sound’ looks like a loan from a southern CH dialect.

[C] A derivation is perh. → shaóng 倩 ‘wise’.

shaóng 亜 (shào) LH 亜, OCM *lŋoŋ?
‘Equal to, capable of, be worthy of’ [BI, Shi, Lunyu].

≠ shaóng 聳 (shào) LH 亜, OCM *lŋoŋ? — [T] ONW 亜
‘To vanquish, conquer, overcome’ [Shi], ‘surpass’ [Lunyu]

[<] *lŋoŋ + s/h-suffix – perh. an exoactive / extrovert derivation of shaóng (§4.3.1). Downer (1959: 288) considers this a pass. or neuter derivation.

[C] This wf is perh. cognate to → chéng 乘.

shaóng 亜 (zhāng) LH 亜, OCM *m-lŋoŋ
‘String, cord; continue’ [Shi].

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shèng – shī

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zin (平); MGZY cing (平) [dzi]n
[E] ST: PTB *bliŋ 'string, cord' (HPTB: 307); Metu (Nungish) ambriŋ 'cord', et al., perh. also WB a-hmyay*b 'string, thread, fiber, nerve'; Mei Tsu-Lin (1985: 338, 342) adds WT *p*reg < npreg, and suggests it is a variant of → min 萃. For the *m- ~ *b-difference, see §5.12.2.

shèng₁ 聖 (ṣjänC) LH šenC, OCM *hjenŋ? or *hienŋ?
‘Be wise’ [Shi], ‘a wise, knowledgeable person’ [Hanfei].

shèng₂ 乘 → chéng₃ 乘

shèng₃ 勝 → shèng₆ 勝

shèng₄ 腹 ‘pregnant’ → yùn₁ 孕

shèng₅ 盛 → chéng₁ 成盛城

shī₁ 尸 → yǐ₁ 夷亁

shī₂ 失 (ṣjet) LH ʃit, OCM *hjet — [T] ONW ʃit
‘To lose, fail, neglect’ [Shi], ‘let go, err’ [Zuo] (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 56). Perh. the wf → yǐ₁ 失 is a semantic extension of this group.

shī₃ 虫 (ṣjet) LH ʃit, OCM *hjet — [D] PMin *ṣat.
‘Louse’ [Zhuang].

shī₄ 師 (ṣi) LH ʃi, OCM *siri
‘Multitude, army’ [OB, BI, Shi] > ‘captain’ (of an army) [BI, Shi] > ‘master’. CVST (2: 78) relates this word to → jie₂ 皆 ‘all’.

shī₅-zǐ 獅子 (ṣi-tsi²) LH ʃi-tsioʔ
‘Lion’ [Hanshu]

[E] <> Note Tai: S. lêt²,lêt² ‘escape artfully or adroitly’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 181).

shī₆ 飾 → shāi, shī 師

shī₇ 湿 (ṣjap) LH ʃip, S tʃɪp, OCM *həp — [T] ONW ʃip — [D] PMin *tʃʰiəp or *tʃʰiəp
‘Damp, wet’ (of soil) [BI, Yi].
shī 《shī》 LH ㄕ, OCM *lhə?
'Song, ode, poem' [Shi].

shī 施 (ʂje) LH ㄕ, OCM *lhai
‘To bestow, apply (color, the law), place’ [Shi, Shu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ㄕ (平), PR, LR ㄕ; MGZY shī (平) [ʂ]; ONW ㄕ

shī 施 (ʂjeC) LH ㄕ, OCM *lhain
‘To give, bestow’ [Shi], ‘to bestow alms’ [Li).

shī 施 ‘expand’ .... chl3

shī 施 ‘dodge’ .... yi6

shī (ʂje C) (root *slek) with final -k (§6.1).

shī 施 ‘sprinkle’ > ‘distribute’ [Li].

shī 施 ‘expand’ → chīz 侈侈移

shī 施 ‘dodge’ → yī6 侶侶

shī (ʂje) LH ㄕ, OCM *sre
‘To strain off’ (wine) [Shi]. The graph also writes the synonym → xū1 渠 *sra ‘strain off’ which has a different etymology, though.

shī 施 ‘expand’ → chīz 侈侈移

shī 施 ‘dodge’ → yī6 侶侶

shī 施 ‘sprinkle’ > ‘distribute’ [Li].

shī 施 ‘expand’ → chīz 侈侈移

shī 施 ‘dodge’ → yī6 侶侶

shī 施 ‘sprinkle’ > ‘distribute’ [Li].

shī 施 ‘expand’ → chīz 侈侈移

shī 施 ‘dodge’ → yī6 侶侶

shī 施 ‘sprinkle’ > ‘distribute’ [Li].

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shī 施 ‘dodge’ → yī6 侶侶

shī 施 ‘sprinkle’ > ‘distribute’ [Li].

shī 施 ‘expand’ → chīz 侈侈移

shī 施 ‘dodge’ → yī6 侶侶

shī 施 ‘sprinkle’ > ‘distribute’ [Li].

shī 施 ‘expand’ → chīz 侈侈移

shī 施 ‘dodge’ → yī6 侶侶

shī 施 ‘sprinkle’ > ‘distribute’ [Li].

shī 施 ‘expand’ → chīz 侈侈移

shī 施 ‘dodge’ → yī6 侶侶

shī 施 ‘sprinkle’ > ‘distribute’ [Li].
shí

shí₁₄ 食 (dzjäk) LH ぢき, OCM *m-läk
‘To eat’ [Shi] (> ‘eating of sun, moon’ by a celestial monster) ‘eclipse’ 食 [Shi], 食 [Lüshi chunqiu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zi (入); MGZY ci (入) [dzi]; ONW ぢき

[D] This is still the word for ‘eat’ in southern dialects: Y-Guangzhōu 22sekD2, K-Méxiǎn set; PMin *zī/k ‘eclipse’.

[E] ST *lak + pre-initial *m- (§8.1.3); PTB *m-lyak ‘lick’ (STC no. 211) > PLB *m-lyak ‘to lick’, WB łyak; WT ļags < ļyaks ‘tongue’. Idag-pa < nłak ‘to lick’; Limbu lak- ‘to lick’; JP ma31-ta55: Lepcha lyak ‘taste, try’. M: *m-liak > Lushai liak8 / liakpl, Tangkhul kōmālek ‘to lick’ [IST: 27], Liangmei ma-ljak [Weidert 1987: 257]. STC: 64 considers JP šiglet ‘tongue’ to belong to this root, see → shī₁₆ 舐, also WB hlya ‘tongue’ appears to have been influenced by it. Matisoff (1995: 71) connects this word with shī ‘eat’. Independently also in TB: Limbu lagma < lak- ‘to feed’.

* (shī) (QYS *dzäk)

[D] PMin *džiC ‘raise livestock’ is an exoactive / caus. derivation from an equivalent of shī ‘eat’. Independently also in TB: Limbu lagma < lak- ‘to feed’.

* s 養食 (džiC) LH ⽐C, OCM *s-lak
‘To give food to, feed’ [Shi].

[T] ONW ⽐.

[E] ST *liak + ST causative s-prefix (§5.2; §8.1.2; Pulleyblank 1973: 117), + OC exoactive / causative s/h-suffix (§4.3.2). PTB *s-lyak > PLB *jlak ‘to feed an animal’; Garo sraak ‘lick’.

* tāi 胎 (tāi) LH たC, OCM *thā
‘To nourish’ [FY 1.5], a Han period dialect word (incl. in the ancient state Sòng) which could also have derived from earlier *s-lo(k).

shí₁₅ 食 → shí₁₄ 食

shí₁₆, shī, duō 妯 (ţje, ťjeC, tāb) LH džoi(b), taiC, OCM *dai(?) ~ *tāi?
‘Wife’s parents’ (in ŭ-shī 父姊, mŭ-shī 母姊) [FY] is a Han period dialect word from Southern Chǔ, a Tai word:

[E] PTai *ta ‘maternal grandmother’, or PTai *ta ‘maternal grandfather’ (Mei Tsu-Lin AAS paper 1980).

shí₁₇ 時 ‘this’ → zhī₁ 之

shí₁₈ 時 ‘time’ → zhī₂ 之

shí₉ 射 (dzjäk) LH ざC, S ざC, OCM *m-lak — [D] PMin ざC ~ ざC ‘shoot’
‘To hit with arrow’ [Lunyu].

* shè 射 (dzjäkC) LH ざC, OCM *m-lakh — [T] ONW ざ — [D] PMin ざC
‘To shoot’ [Bl. Shi].

*[e] exopass. of shī 射 (dzjäk), lit. (cause) ‘to be hit by arrow’ (§4.4.1).

* xiè 柄 (ţjaC) LH ざC, OCM *s-lakh
‘Archer’s hall’ [Chunqiu].

*[e] *-lakh + s-prefix (§8.1.2).

shí – shi

[C] Sagart (in W. Wang Ancestry of the Chinese Language 1995: 369) considers this group to be part of → yìyì 宙.

shí 10 星 (zjok) LH dzík, OCM *dök — [T] (ONW šik ?)
‘Really’ [Shi, Shu].


× shí 寧 (dzjet) LH žit (or džit ?), OCM *dít — [T] ONW Žit
‘Be solid, true, really’ [Shi] > ‘to verify’ [Shu]; perh. > ‘be rich’ [Shi] > ‘enrich’ [Shu]. This may be a mere phonetic variant of shí 寧.

shí 11 寧 ‘this’ → shí 13 寶

shí 12 寶 (dzjet) LH žit, OCM *m-lit?
‘Fruit’ [Shi], also fruit as seat of life, hence ‘seed’ [Shi 290, 291].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ši (入); MGZY ci (入) [dži]; ONW žit

[E] Etymology not certain. Most likely, shí is related to a ST or area etymon: Unger (Hao-ku 85, 1992: 93f) relates it to TB-Lepcha If, If-m ‘be ripe’, If, a-If ‘seed’; Mikir lik ‘pick, pluck’. This may possibly be connected with MK: PVM *p-le?: > p-le?: > tle?: ‘fruit’ [Ferlus], Khmu? ple?, PWa *pIi?, Pear phli, PSBan. *pIaj, Khmer phla£. Shí could be equally close to the AA or the TB items because the OC final *-t is a nominalizing suffix for natural objects (§6.2.1), and OC *m- for foreign b- has parallels (§5.12.2).

Alternatively, Baxter / Sagart (1998: 52) relate this word to → zhì18 資 ‘essential’ and note a possible relationship with PTai *mlet or *mret ‘grain, seed’ [Li F. 1977: 93]; the Tai word could, however, also be connected with → mǐ1 米 ‘rice’.

shí 13 密 (dzjet) LH žit, OCM *m-dít?
‘This’, resumptive pronoun [Shi]. Since the word is derived from → shí 14 是 (Pulleyblank 1995: 89) and the graph a loan application, its earlier initial was probably *d-, i.e. different from → shí 12 密 ‘fruit’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ši (入); MGZY ci (入) [dži]; ONW žit

× shí 寧 (zjok) LH dzík, OCM *dök — [T] ONW šik ?
‘This’, resumptive pronoun [Zuo], is considered a dialect variant of the above (Pulleyblank).

shí 14 寶 ‘solid, rich’ → shí 10 寧

shí 1 矢 (šiB) LH šiB, OCM *lhi? — [T] ONW ši
‘Arrow’ [Shi].

[E] This is prob. a ST etymon, considering that on occasion the meanings of ‘arrow’ and ‘bow’ can merge or be interchanged: PTB *d-liy ‘bow’ [STC no. 463] > Bahing li, Limbu li ‘bow’, Lepcha să-li, Nung tšolì, WB leB (Bodman LTBA 11.1, 1988), PLB *s-liy2 > Lahu hò ‘slingshot’.

shí 2 矢 ‘display’ → yìyì 宙

shí 3 矢 (šiB) LH šiB, OCM *lhi?
‘To swear, make a solemn declaration’ [Shi]. This may be the same word as shí 2 矢 (under → yìyì 宙); acc. to Qiu Xigui (2000: 397f), 矢 ‘swear’ started out perh. as a short form of a longer phrase.

shí 4 弩 (šiéB) LH šaiB, OCM *lhai?
‘Unstring, slacken’ (a bow) [Li], ‘release’ [Li], ‘remove’ [Zuo].
This is a final *i variant of the synonym → shé₂ 舍 (root *ha?). The CH voiceless initial could be the result of a lost *k-, note the PWMiao relation *klaŋ ‘release, forgive’.

shě́ 5 驰 ‘extend’ → chě́ 3 侈哆移

shě́ 6 驰 ‘destroy’ → zhě́ 7 畏, 隘

shě́ 7 巳 (jièB) LH šéB or šiB, OCM *lheʔ or *lhaʔ?
‘Pig’ (wild or domestic) [BL, Shi], ‘boar’ [Zuo].
[EN] This is possibly of MK origin: PMonic *čliik, Mon klot, kloik ‘pig’, PWa *lik ‘pig’, Katicu alic (K. Smith LTBA 2.1 [n.d.]: 9) (for finals see §3.2.2). A Rural variant (§1.3.1) is prob. → xi5 猪 ‘swine’.

shě́ 8 使 → lè́ 6 理

shě́ 9 厩 (šiB) LH šiB, OCM *lheiʔ — [T] Sin Sukchu SR ㄫ (士) → PRC ㄫ
‘Excrement, dung’ [OB, Zhuang]; in some dialects it means other body excretions such as ‘earwax, tear’ (e.g. M-Xiàmén).
[EN] ST *kliʔ?: PTB *kliyʔ?) ‘excrement, dung’ (STC no. 125 p. 39) > Chepang -kliʔ? ‘any kind of excrement, incl. snot, ear wax, tears etc.’. WT lēi < lhyi, Kanauri kli; Thulung, Bahing kʰliʔ, PTamang *kli; OBurm. kʰliy [IST: 336], WB kʰyeB, PL *k(ʔ)e2 ‘feces’; JP kʰyi2 (HST: 74), Gao kʰiʔ. CH → PTai *xeiʔ ‘excrement’ could be related, in some dialects the tone points to PTai *y.

shī́ 1 士 (dīB) LH dīB, OCM *dzraʔ?
‘Male person’ [BL, masculine] [Yi], as in shì-nǚ 士女 ‘men and women’ [BL] (syn. of the classical → nánB 男), or shì fū 士夫 (‘masculine’: ‘young husband’ (for an older wife 老婦) [Yi]; from ‘male person’ derives > ‘man’ as in liáng shì 良士 ‘a good gentleman’ [Shi]. The original notion of ‘man, male, masculine’ is also suggested by the graph which serves as an element in → mǔ, 士 ‘male’ (of animals).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ㄫ (士), PRC ㄫ; MGZY ㄫ (士) [dzǐ]; MTang ㄫ (士), ONW dzǎ (?)
[EN] This word is reminiscent of AA synonyms: OKhmer si ‘male’, MK languages on the Malay Peninsula have forms like ?l)siil, ensir, bs~y ‘male, man’ (Lewitz 1976: 769), Foreign final -r (note ensir) sometimes leaves a trace in the OC initial complex (§7.7.3).

shī́ 2 士仕 (dīB) LH dīB, OCM *dzraʔ?
→ [T] MTang ㄫ (士), ONW dzǎ (?)
(‘To give or carry out an assignment’: ‘to take office, give an office, serve’ 仕仕 [Shi]; ‘retainer, knight’ (A. Waley), ‘retainers’ [BL, Shi] > ‘servant, officer’ [BL, Shi] ‘officer’ 士 [BL, Shi]; later ‘scholar’.

It is natural to assume that shī́ 士 and shī́ 2 士 are the same word with the semantic development ‘male > man > servant > to serve’. However, the ancient derivation shī 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 shī́ 2 士 ‘serve’ from shī́ 士 ‘male’. MK relations of shī́ 士, if valid, would support this distinction.

* shi 事 (dīC) LH dzǎC, OCM *dzraʔ?, rarely *dzrah
‘Assignment, affair, thing’ > ‘carry out an assignment, serve’ [BL, Shi]. Mostly tone B reading in Shōjing (Mattos 1971: 309), hence a homophone of, and perhaps the s. w. as, shī́ 士仕.
[T] Sin S. SR ㄫ (士), PRC ㄫ; MGZY ㄫ (士) [dzǐ]; MTang ㄫ (士), ONW dzǎ (?)
[<] exopass. of shī́ 2 士仕 (§4.4), lit. ‘what has been assigned’.
These forms derive from the root \( \text{-0} \) and are therefore ultimately AA. The MC initial \( \text{d}- \) normally does not co-occur with MC \( \text{I} \) and \( \text{s} \) in a ST wf, which could confirm a non-ST provenance. Possibly, MC \( \text{d} \)- could here go back to an OC configuration \( *\text{s-r} \) (\( \neq \) MC \( \text{s} \)- in *st-r-). => AA or OC -> PTB *\( \text{d} \)-\( \text{zay} \) 'send on an errant' (HPTB: 199) > WB ca 'a thing' (Gong Hwang-cherng 1999). WT rdzas 'thing, matter, object'. TB cognates of this etymon and of \( \text{-0} \) su are difficult to distinguish.

\[\text{shl}_3 \text{ 仕 } \rightarrow \text{shl}_2 \text{ 士仕}\]

\[\text{shl}_4 \text{ 氏 (zie) LH gieB, OCM *ge? ?}\]

An honorific which is suffixed to place names (fiefs, e.g. 夏氏 ‘the Lord of Xia’), kinship terms (舅氏 ‘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.

\[\text{shl}_5 \text{ 市 (zi) LH džioB, OCM *dø? } \rightarrow [T] \text{MTang źi }< \text{dži, ONW džo}\]

‘Market’ [BI, Shi] is also found in PTai *zïC2 ‘to buy’, in Ahom ‘come to terms, consent’.

\[\text{shl}_6 \text{ 杢 (dži) LH džøB, OCM *sø?}\]

‘Persimmon’ has an unexpected PMin form *gøB.

\[\text{shl}_7 \text{ 世 } \rightarrow \text{yê}_4 \text{ 葉}\]

\[\text{shl}_8 \text{ 贳 } \rightarrow \text{shê}_1 \text{ 賢}\]

\[\text{shl}_9 \text{ 式 (sjak) LH šik, OCM *hak } \rightarrow [T] \text{ONW šik}\]

‘To use, make use of, use as model or norm’ [BI, Shi].

\[\Rightarrow \text{shl}_1 \text{ 試 (sjC) LH šãC, OCM *hakš } \rightarrow [T] \text{MTang ši, ONW šø}\]

‘Apply, make use of’ > ‘test, try’ [Shi].

\[\langle \text{hlak } + \text{exoactive } > \text{caus. s/h-suffix (§4.3.2).}\]

[C] This wf is perhaps connected with \( \rightarrow \text{yê}_2 \) ‘take, use’.

\[\text{shl}_{10} \text{ 試 } \rightarrow \text{shl}_9 \text{ 式}\]

\[\text{shl}_{11} \text{ 使 } \rightarrow \text{H}_6 \text{ 理}\]

\[\text{shl}_{12} \text{ 事 } \rightarrow \text{shl}_2 \text{ 士仕}\]

\[\text{shl}_{13} \text{ 室 (sjet) LH šit, OCM *hit } ?\]

‘House, hall’ [Shi] > ‘family’ (as in 王室 ‘royal house /family/clan’) [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ši (入); MGZY shi (入) [ši]; ONW šit

[E] ST *k-li(s)> WT gži < glyi ‘ground, foundation, cause; residence, abode’, sa-gži ‘earth’ (as opposed to sky) \( \approx \) gžis ‘native place’, yul-gžis ‘house, estate, property’, gžis sgriJ-ba ‘to change one’s abode, move to another place’ (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992).

These forms are cognate to PTB *mliy [STC no. 152] (see \( \rightarrow \text{di}_1 \) 地) > Lepcha lii ‘house’; WB mre ‘earth, ground’, Mikir mili ‘bare ground’, Nung moli ‘ground, mountain’, Dulong mšli ‘place’ [LaPolla LTBA 24.2: 33]. For the OC initial of \( \text{shi} \) 室, see §8.1.5.

\[\text{shl}_{14} \text{ 是 (zie) LH džøB, OCM *de?}\]

‘This’ [Shi], an independent pronoun (§3.3.3) > ‘be right, correct, so’ (§6.2.2), opposite \( \rightarrow \text{fë}_1 \) ‘非’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ži (入); PR ží; MGZY zhi (入) [ži]; ONW dže

[E] ST: PTB *day (STC no. 21): WT de ‘that’; JP \( n^{55} \)-de\( ^{55} \) ‘this, there’, \( n^{55} \)-de\( ^{51} \) ‘so (many...), thus’, but Kachin dai ‘this, that’. A derivation is \( \rightarrow \text{shl}_{13} \) 實.
shi

shi 15 侍 (zhì) LH dzØ, OCM *dø? — [T] MTang ḟı < dzı, ONW dzØ
‘To depend on, rely on’ [Shi].

shi 侍 (zhì) LH dzØ, OCM *dø
‘To accompany, wait upon, attend upon’ [Shi].

[C] Karlsgren (1956: 17) adds dāi 侍 ‘wait’ to this wf (under → dēng, etc).

shi 16 舔 (dié) LH zè, OCM *m-le?, OCB *mlät
‘To ‘lick’ [Zhuang].

[D] In some dialects, this etymon means ‘tongue’.

shi 釉 (dié) LH zat, OCM *m-lat !, OCB *mlat
‘Tongue’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zje (入); ONW zat

< shì 釉 *m-le? ‘to lick’ + nominal t-suffix for natural objects (§6.2.1), lit. ‘licker’.

[D] Some southern dialects have preserved the OC initial *l- in this sound symbolic etymon. The equivalents of shì and shé mean variously ‘tongue’ or ‘to lick’:


(2) She: The ‘softened’ initial in PMin *džiat ‘tongue’ may indicate prenasalization, hence OCM *m-l-, which is supported by the MY borrowing *nbret (norman 1986: 383). SMen Dōngshāndūn tsi?D2 ‘to lick’, Fūzhōu liak D1 ‘to ‘lick’.

[S] ST, the stem *m/s-lei means ‘to ‘lick’ or ‘(licker):’ ‘tongue’: PTB *m/s-lei (STC no. 281): > Kokborok (Bodo-Garo) slây [Joseph / Burling LTBA 24.2, 2001: 52], WT lè < lhye, Kanauri-Manchati hle, Gurung le’, Dimasa sala, WB hlya (STC p. 64); JR temeli. Kuki *m-lei > Lushai leiH, Schin Daai mlei ‘tongue’ [Hartmann ICSTLL 1999: 2]; Dulong pšla < ‘tongue’ [LaPolla, LTBA 24.2: 26]. Benedict (LTBA 5.1, 1979: 21) suggests that TB ‘penis’, e.g. WT mje, is the same etymon (‘body-tongue’).

Since only few TB languages have forms with final *-t like CH shé, the t-suffix has prob. not been inherited from ST: Magari milet (or me-le?), let, Newari meč ‘tongue’, JP firH -letH.

Initial *l- 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 *la:s ‘tongue’ [Ferlus]; Kam-Tai: S. lia A< *dl- ‘to ‘lick’, PKS *ija2 ? [Thurgood].

[C] Matisoff (1995: 71) connects this wf with → shì 食 ‘eat’ (whose TB cognates mean ‘lick’), and → tian 3 甜美 ‘sweet’, all of which have the phonesthetic OC initial *l-.

shi 17 視 (zhì, zhì) LH giB, (giC:?). OCM *gi?
‘To look at’ [Shi], ‘to look after, watch’ (e.g. the people, of a supervisor) [Shu 26.4]. The tone C variant reading has prob. been transferred from the next item.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zi (去), PR qì; MGZY zhi (上去) [zi]; MTang dāi > zi, ONW dāi

shi 釉 (dié) LH giC, OCM *gih
‘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 此 had the same initial as 視 (Coblin 1991: 20–21), but later material agrees with the QYS.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zi (去), PR qì; MGZY ci (去) [dzi]; ONW dāi

< *gi? + caus. s/h-suffix (§4.3.2).

zhī 指 (zhǐ) LH kiB, OCM *ki?
‘To point to’ [Shi], ‘aim’ [Shu] > (‘pointer:) ‘finger’ [Zuo]. Tone B is apparently part of the stem, therefore zhī is not an endoactive derivation.

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shl

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ǒsi (.), PR, LR ǒsi; MGZY ji (.) [ǒsi]; ONW ǒsi

$\text{chén}_1~$ (ʒen) LH gin, OCM *gin

‘Episkopos’, one who ‘watches’ and looks after things / people on behalf of higher authority; an echo of the etymology is a phrase like chén zuò zhèn...ér mù臣作朕...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 ‘minister, person in charge’, ‘be subject to, function as a subject of’ [OB, BI], xiǎo-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-qìè臣妾 ‘servants and maids’ [BI, Shu] (Keightley 1969: 191ff); ‘servant’ > ‘I’ (when speaking to a superior).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzǐn (平); MGZY zhīn (平) [ʒin]; ONW dzǐn

[N] OC initial *g- is supported by GSR 368 which includes qiān 擎 (kʰien), where chén (GSR 377) is phonetic.

[<] nominal *-n derivation from → shi₁, 視 *giʔ ‘to watch, look after’ (§6.4.3), lit. ‘a watcher, supervisor’.

[E] Bodman (1980: 158) relates chén to WT ‘gyiʔ-ba ‘look down upon, despise’ (for the difference in finals, see §6.4.1), but see next:

[E] Prob. ST in light of TB-Lushai kʰiɟin ‘a seer’. Additional comparanda may include MK-PWa *ker ‘to look, watch’, PMon *ŋgiir ‘look for’, PSBahn. *ker ‘look, aim’ (for finals see §7.7.5), but the phonological distance from the OC form is rather large.

shi₁₈ 逝 → chè₂ 徹撤

shi₁₉ 誓 (ʒjai²f) LH džas, OCM *dats

‘A formal statement, oath, make an oath’ [BI, Shi, Shu]. Perh. the homophone shi 笈 ‘divine with milfoil oracle’ [BI, Shi] is the same word (‘make clear’). This etymon may belong to → zhé₃ 誓 ‘clear, perspicacious’.

shi₂₀ 睦 → zhī₄ 旨

shi₂₁ 畏 → chǐ₃ 赤

shi₂₂ 笈 → shi₁₉ 誓

shi₂₃ 誓 (ʒjai²f) LH džas, OCM *dats

‘To bite’ [Shi, Zuo] may be cognate to WT lidad-pa, blad ‘to chew’ ~ blad-pa ‘to chew’ (HST: 43), but the initial consonants do not agree. A syn. is → diè₂ ñana ‘to chew’.

shi₂₄ 施 ‘give’ → shì₂ 施

shi₂₅ 勢 → yī₂₇ 艺

shi₂₆ 釋 (ʒjak) LH ʃak, S ʃəak, OCM *hak — [T] ONW ʃek — [D] M-Amoy tsʰiəʔ²³

‘To put into water, moisten’ [Li], ‘wash’ (rice) [Shi], also 释.

$\text{xǐ}_1$ 洗 (siek) LH ʃek, OCM *sèk < *slek

‘To wash rice’; for vocalic alternations, see §11.1.3.

[P] KS *s-lak (Edm. / Yang) / *rak (Thurgood) ‘to wash clothes’; perh. connected with PTai *zək ‘wash clothes’. This etymon may possibly be ST instead and be derived from → yè₂ 液 ‘fluid’.

shi₂₇ 谢 ‘lay open the ground’ → yī₃₅ 艺

shi₂₈ 釋 → yī₃₅ 艺

shi₂₉ 適 ‘go to’ → chè₂ 徹撤

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shi - shōu

shi 30 適 ‘scared’ → tì 4 恬

shi 31 適 (šje) LH şehir, OCM *lhek? ‘Only’ [Shu, 適 (*lhek?) [Meng]. The phonetic series has a T-like initial. The phonological differences make a relationship with → zhīŋa قإ۵:; *ke ‘only’ very doubtful.

shi 32 識 (šjak) LH šik, OCM *-ak ‘To know’ [Shu, Zuo].

[E] Etymology not clear, but note some TB comparanda (OC ṣ = TB ṣ is rare; see §11.2.2): Chepang tɔ̀i-sa ‘to know’, JP とし [Weidert 1987: 28].

shi 33 適 → chi 4 翼

shōu 收 (šjau) LH ｓu, OCM *nhiu ?, OCB *xjïw ‘To gather up, collect, take possession, remove, retire’ [Shi], ‘harvest’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ｓi (入); MGZY shì (入) [ši]; ONW šik

≈ zhí 識 (šiæ) LH tıṣC, OCM *takh? ‘To remember, record’ [OB, Shi].

The alternation of the MC initials šj- and tš- in a wf is very unusual, casting doubt on the relationship.

[E] Etymology not clear, but note some TB comparanda (OC ṣ = TB ṣ is rare; see §11.2.2): Chepang tɔ̀i-sa ‘to know’, JP とし [Weidert 1987: 28].

shōu 熟 → shū, shōu 熟

shōu 1 手 (šjauB) LH ｓuB, S tšhùB, OCM *nḥu? ?, or OCB *hju? ? ‘Hand’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ｓi w (上); MGZY shìw (上) [šiæ]; ONW šu
[D] PMin *tšhùB > Xiàmén tšhùB, PMIn *tjhuB.

[E] The OC form and etymology are a matter of conjecture: (1) Unger (Hao-ku 46, 1995: 133f) reconstructs this word with an OC nasal initial; he bases this on the Shìmìng (a Han period sound gloss dictionary) gloss xù 須 < *sn-, and the GY graph for QYS ɲhùB ~ tʃjauB 手 (also Wáng Li 1982: 231). He suggests that shōu is cogn. to → niu 1 手, ‘finger’. (2) Alternatively, shōu may be derived from → shōu 收 ‘take, gather’, tone B would then be the endoactive morpheme: ‘hand’ < lit. ‘the thing that is doing the taking’ (§4.5.1).

shōu 2 守 (šjauB) LH ｓuB, OCM *-u? ‘To keep, guard’ [BI, Shi], ‘fief’ [Zuo].


[C] -u? + s/h-suffix exopass. (§4.4) ‘what is kept, guarded’ (Lau 1999: 43), then transferred to a person: ‘governor’. 469
shōu — shū

shōu

‘Head’ [BI, Shi] may already have become a homophone of shōu 手 ‘hand’ in a WZhou BI (Yu gui 遍簋); shōu was replaced by → tōu 頭 ‘head’ by the Zhànguó period (Unger Hao-ku 46, 1995: 133). A tone C derivation is ‘to point the head towards’ [Liji] (Downer 1959: 280).


shōu

‘Receive, accept’ [BI, Shi].

En Sin Sukchu SR; MGZY; ONW diu, shōu 2 (ZjdU C)

‘To give, to hand’ [BI, Shi], ‘hand over’ [Zuo]. shōu 2 ‘sell’ is prob. the same word.

shōu

‘Wild animal, animal’ (i.e. quadruped) [Shi]. Opposite → chu, xu 畜 ‘domestic animal’, lit. ‘what is raised’.

[E] CVST (2: 3) compares this wf with WT ’thu-ba ‘to gather’, but see → zú 卒.

shōu

‘To cut off’ [Shi 1956: 17] > ‘kill’ > pass. ‘to die’ [Zhuang].

[E] Outside CH, WT ’chor-ba, (b)sor ‘to hunt’ could theoretically be reconciled with MC if we assume a voiceless palatalized initial *hj-, *Ihj-, or *hj-, and loss of ST final *.r which has occurred in a few other words. But this is rather speculative.
shū 2 横（tš̄ju）LH tš̄o, OCM *k-hlo?
‘Pivot’ [Yi]; the graph originally wrote a word ‘thorny elm’. In some Yuè and Kèjìà dialects, ‘pivot’ has a velar initial: Yuè HK-NT kʰyA1, Cónghuà kʰyA5, etc.; K-Huizhōu kʸ33, Dōngguān kʰj33.

shū 3 梳（sjwo）LH ša, this form would correspond to an OCM *srâ ‘Comb’ [SW]. Acc. to Shimín, the comb is named shū because its teeth are ‘spaced apart’ shū 蓖, but this pun may be folk etymology.

shū 4 書（sjwo）LH ša, OCM *hla?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.

shū 5 抒 → chú 2 除

shū 6 紹 → yù25 豫

shū 7 舒 → yù25 豫

shū 8 增 → yù18 踏逾

shū 1 稀（džjut）LH žuǐ, OCM *m-lut? — [T] ONW žuǐ ‘Glutinous millet’ [Li].

shū 2 收 ‘harvest’ → shōu 收

shū 3 蕎（sjuk）LH šuk, OCM *nhuk ‘Bean’ [Shi].

shū 4 孰 ‘who’ → shéi, shúi 誰

shū 5, shóu 熟（žuk）LH džuk, OCM *dük ‘Be ripe, fruitful, productive’ [Shu].

shū 6 饒（džiwok）LH žok, OCM *m-lök ‘To ransom, redeem’ [Shi].

shū 1 鼠（sjwoB）LH šaB ~ tš̄aB, OCM *nha? ?, OCB *hja? (?) ‘Rat’ [Shi].
shǔ

[T] Sin Sukchu SR shu (上); MGZY shyu (上) [sy]; ONW そ > ぞ
[D] Southern and NW dialects have variants with affricate initial: PMin *tśhυB; Xiāmēn tsʰuB, Fúzhōu tsʰυB, Kējiā *tśhυB; Měixiān tsʰυB; W-Wēnzhōu tsʰυ45 (Bēidà tsʰeiB). NW-Xīnīng tsʰυ53, Dūnhuáng -tsʰυ42, Lánhōu tsʰυ33.
[E] Etymology not clear. Note AA-PMon *[c/s]naa? in Nyah Kur ‘shrew’ (a shrew is hard to distinguish from a mouse), in Mon ‘squirrel’; the PMon word for ‘rat, mouse’ is *knii?; PNBahnaric *kane ‘rat’ which is an alternate candidate as a source for shǔ if we assume the occasional shift from front vowel to OC *a (§11.1.3). <> PKS *kh_noC ‘rat’ (Edmondson / Yang 1988) may be related. The case for OCM *n- in shǔ is suggested by → shǔ 應 *nha?. The TB word for ‘rat, mouse’ *yu had acquired the meaning ‘weasel’ in Old Chinese (→ yòu 鼠).

shǔ_2 應 (sjwOB) LH そB, OCM *nha? ?
‘Painful, suffering’ [Shi].

‘Millet’, prob. ‘glutinous millet’ [OB, BI, Shi] can perh. be compared with WT nas ‘barley’. Both millet and barley were the staple cereals grown in ancient Northern China and Tibet respectively.

shǔ_4 數 (sjuB) LH そB, OCM *sro? 
‘To calculate, count’ [Shi].

shǔ_5 昼 (sjwOC) LH そC, OCM *dah or *djah?
‘Sunrise’ [Guanzi, Huainanl > later also ‘moon rise’. This word belongs prob. to a larger wf ‘rise’, see → shang 上.

shǔ_6 屬 → zhǔ_8 屬

shǔ_7 樹 (sjuB) LH ぞC, OCM *do? 
‘To plant, place upright’ [Shi], ‘establish’ 樹 [Zuo]; ‘to stand’ [Hou Hanshu], ‘be in attendance’ [OB], (someone standing by:) ‘attendant’ 樹 [Zuo].

shǔ_8 樹 (sjuC) LH ぞC, OCM *doh
(1) ‘Tree’ [Zuo]. See comment below.

shǔ_9 樹 (sjuC) LH ぞC, OCM *doh
(2) ‘To raise, put up’ 彩 [Han].

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**shù**

**zhù** 壹 (tjuC) LH ṣòC, OCM *troh
‘Post or stand for musical instruments’ [OB].

[E] Area word: TB-Lushai τu2l < tus ‘to plant’ (a seed) (for the vowels, see §11.9.1). <> AA: Khmer ʈuḥ /ḥoḥ/ ‘to grow, sprout...’ * caus. /dḥoh/ ‘to plant, grow’ (crops).

The development to the CH meaning shù 树 ‘tree’ may have been encouraged through interference from AA: PSouthern MK *jhuʔ or *perh. *jhiʔ ‘wood’ (substance, general) [Difflloth MKS 16–17, 1990: 4] > OKhmer jhe [Jenner / Pou], jhō [Difflloth] ‘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, *e normally do not correspond to an OC dental stop initial.

It is not clear if / how the following candidates for cognation are connected: WT bźugs-pa (< *b-dyuk-s?) ‘to sit, dwell’ (so HST: 68f), or PTB *dzu[:k] (STC no. 360) > WT 'dzug-pa ~ zug-pa ‘prick or stick into, plant, erect’. Syn. → zhī12 置.

**shù₁** 成 (ṣjuC) LH ṣoC, tš⁹oC, OCM *-oh — [T] ONW ﾙ ﾀ ‘Be stationed at a military outpost’ [BI, Shi], ‘to guard’ (the frontier) [Zuo]. Acc. to Norman 1984, this has become the word for ‘house’ in some Southern dialects: PMin *tš⁹ioC; Y-Guangzhou 33ts h ｰ, Taishan ts h uj21 ‘house’.

**shù₂** 束 (ṣjwok) LH  sóc, OCM *lhok ?
‘To bind, tie together, a bundle’ [Shi].

[Ε] Perh. ST: WB hlui’B ‘bind into a bundle’.

**shù₃, shuò** 敕 (ṣǎk) LH ʂok, OCM *srók ? < *C-sok ?
‘Suck, inhale’ [SW], in southern dialects (written 嘆): G-Changsha ʂ033, Y-Guangzhou ƒok33 (lower D1 tone), M-Xiamen ʂu21 (D1).

[Ε] ST: 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 *sro:p (~ *sru[ʔ]p) ‘absorb, suck up’ (Shorto 1972: 13f).

**shù₄** 述術鍊 (dzjuet) LH ｚuıt, OCM *m-lut ?
‘To follow’ [Li], ‘proceed, pass on, then’ 鍊 [BI, Shi] > ‘road, path’ (in a town) 術 [Li, SW] > ‘procedure, device, art’ 術 [BI, Zuo]; ‘to lead’ (as needle) 鍼 [Guoyu] > ‘needle’ [Guanzi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ｚy (入); MGZY ㄔyu (入) [dzy]; ONW ｚuıt [ε] *lut + ST m-prefix (§8.1.3).

**xù** 訛 (ṣjue) LH ｓuıt, OCM *sut < slut ?
‘To entice’ [Guoce].

[ε] *lut + ST caus. s-prefix (§8.1.2).

**yù** 誘 (jiaB) LH ｊuB, OCM *luʔ (or *juʔ ? — then unrelated)
‘To entice, seduce, guide’ [Shi].

[Ε] ST: WT slu-ba, bslus ‘to entice, seduce, deceive’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 66). Note also PTai *l-: S. lṣoB2 ‘to lure, deceive’ which is prob. a CH loan. Shù and xù form a ST s~m- set. Bodman (1980: 96) has set up a wf which combines all the items in final *-t here with → lù ₁ 律. For additional possible comparanda, see under → suı₂ 遂.

**shù₅** 曙 ‘to place’ → zhù₁₃ 曙

**shù₆** 曙 → shù₅ 曙

**shù₇** 數 → shù₄ 數

**shù₈** 樹 → shù₇ 樹

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shuā – shuāi

shuā 刷 (šjwät, šwat) LH ũuat, OCM *srot
‘Scrape clear, brush’ [Zhouli].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ñwa (入); MGZY (zhwa >) shwa (入) [šwa]

[E] ST roots for ‘brush’ show some variety; some of the following TB items may
belong to → ũu 挨 or → bi 筆 instead: Mru charüit ‘comb’ (Löfler 1966: 144);
Lushai hru / hruuk ‘to rub (off), wipe (off)’, JP brut² ‘a brush’ (shuâzì) ≠ lə55-rut55 ‘a
brush’ (shuâzì), WT šuð-pa, bšuð < *rhyut ‘to rub, get scratched’. Perh. also related to
Spilo-Kanauri šwartma ‘to comb’ [Bodman].

[C] A cognate is prob. → guā3 刮 *krot ‘scrape’; shuā is not related to → ũu 挨
‘comb’. Table S-2 ‘Brush, comb, scrape’ provides an overview over similar etyma.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>prut brush</th>
<th>C-rut / hruut</th>
<th>srot</th>
<th>*sra(t) comb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>bī 笔 *p(r)ut writing brush</td>
<td>guā 刮 *krot scrape (2)</td>
<td>shuā 刷 *srot cleaning brush</td>
<td>shū 梳 *sra comb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ūu 挨 *pha/ut &lt; *sprut? /brush off (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td></td>
<td>ūu 挨 &lt; *rhyut to rub, get scratched (3)</td>
<td>gšod-pa, (g)sad-pa &lt; *rhyat to comb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kanauri

šwartma comb

Lushai

hru / hruuk to rub / wipe (off)

hriat / hria? to comb

Mru

charüit comb

JP

brut² cleaning brush

lə55-rut55 a cleaning brush

Notes on Table S-2: (1) See under ūu 挨 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 šuð is perh. due to influence from gšod.

shuāi 衰 (šwi) LH ñui, OCM *srui
‘To diminish, decline, decay’ [Lun].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ñui (平), PR šwij; MGZY (zhway >) shway (平) [šwij]

♀ chuf 衰 (tš’wie) LH tš’hiui, OCM *k-sroi
‘To reduce, graduate’ [Zuo].

[<] shuāi 衰 (šwi) *srui (or sroi?!) with initial *k (§5.9.1).

♀ shāi 殺 (šāi?) LH şes, OCM *srēts
‘To diminish, reduce’ [Zuo], ‘of a smaller degree’ [Li].

[<] shuāi 衰 (šwi) *srui (or *sroi?) with final -t (§6.2.2). Karlgren (1956: 11) adds
this word to → shā, 殺 ‘kill’ (unlikely). For loss of medial w, see §10.2.1.

[E] AA has a similar-looking word: Khmer /riəw/ ‘diminish, decrease, taper (off), slim
slender...’ or /sriəw/ ‘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 → nei 餓
‘hungry’). An alternative comparandum may be TB-Lushai zuai³ < juai? ‘decline’ (in
diligence, enthusiasm), but Lushai initial z- usually derives from PTB *y-, and the semantic
agreement is not as close.

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shuài – shuí

shuài₁ 率 ‘all’ → sōu₂ 搜
shuài₂ 率帅 → lǔ₁ 律
shuài₃ 率率 → lǔ₅ 續率
shuàn, luán 善 ‘twins’ → shuāng₁ 雙
shuāng₁ 雙 (sān) LH  sangat, OCM *srōŋ, OCB *sr(j)ōŋ < PCH *sruŋ ‘A pair’ (e.g. cap pendants) [Shi].

[T] *SR hät (平), PR šwaŋ; MGZY sh‘ang (平) [SÅŋ]
[E] Most likely, [sōŋ] is cognate to WT zuŋ ‘a pair, single’ (HST: 115), Mru choŋ ‘pair’ (Löffler 1966: 142), but in this case a ST *C-zuŋ must be assumed (for initials, see §7.4). Alternatively, shuāng could be a doublet of → lúán, shuàn 善 ‘twins’. Tai may have borrowed shuāng as sōŋ ‘two’.

shuāng₂ 霞 → liáng₃ 涼

shuāng₁ 爽 (sān) LH  sangat, OCM *srōŋ? — [T] ONW  săŋ ‘Twilight’ (of dawn) [Bl., Shui].


shuāng₂ 爽 → liáng₁, làng 倚

shuí 水 (swi²) LH suī², S tsūi², OCM *tlui³, OCB *[l]huiʔ? ?
‘Water, river’ [OB, Shi].

[T] *SR hät (平), PR ši, LR suī; MGZY shṳ̀e (平) [sue]; ONW suī [D] PMin *tsūi²

[E] ST: PTB *lwi(y) [STC no. 210] > JP lūi³ ‘to flow’ (as water), Lushai lūi¹ < lūih, Tiddim luu⁴ < luuīh ‘stream, river’ (HST: 158). Perh. this is an area etymon, note possible MK connections: OMon lway; Khmer /lui/ ‘float, drift’; Viet. ilogue ‘swim’, Wa-Lawa-Bulang *li³ ‘flow’. MK -> PTai *hlw; ‘to flow’ > S. lai¹ (Li 1977:137; 286); Khmer -> PTai *li³ > S. lōj; ‘to float’ (Li 1977: 134, 288), Saek tlu³ ‘to flow’. Given the occasional alternation between l and r, the following may also be connected or be parallel etyma: PKS *kru:j³ ‘stream’, PTai *xru:j³ < S. kōj³ ‘to float’ (Li 1977: 134, 288), Saek kōj³ ‘stream’. The voiceless initial may go back to an earlier coding prefix, either *k- (§5.4) or *s- which is found in old ST nouns which relate to naturally occurring things (§5.2.4). Another derivation from the ST root may be → xuàn, ‘a stream, creek’. Similar-looking MK etyma are prob. not connected: PNBahn. hayūh, P-Hsêng-Sedang riùh ‘stream’ [Smith 1972: 52], also PMonic *hiw ‘to flow, drift’.

Tone B prob. marks the word as an endoactive derivation from a ST root, lit. ‘what is flowing’ (§4.5.1). The voiceless initial may go back to an earlier nominalizing prefix, either *k- (§5.4) or *s- which is found in old ST nouns which relate to naturally occurring things (§5.2.4). Another derivation from the ST root may be → xuàn, ‘a stream, creek’.

shuí₁ 睡 (zwie²) LH dźuai³, OCM *doih or *djoih? — [T] ONW dzue ‘To sleep’ [Guoce].

[E] Since both CH and WT have a word for ‘sleep’ which is nearly homophonic with one for ‘droop’, it is probable that shuǐ is derived from → chuí, 垂 *doih ‘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.
shui – shuo

shui₂ 稅（ājuǎn） LH 稅, OCM *lhot⁵ — [T] ONW 稅 ‘To present, give, donate’ [Li] > ‘tax’ [Chunqiu]. Boltz (1994: 101) relates this word to the wf → yú₁₁ ‘yú’; then ‘tax’ means lit. ‘something peeled off the top’. Alternatively, shui may be derived from shū 輸 ‘to transport, convey to’ (under → yú₁₈ ‘yú’).

shui₃ 說 → tuō₃ 說

shuo⁺ 普 → shuo 普

shun₁ 湿 (džjuan) LH 湿, OCM *m-lun? ? — [D] PMin *dzjion < *Ndʒ- ‘To suck’ [Hanfei].

shun₂ 据 → dün₁, shün 屏

shun₁ 順 (džjuan) LH 湿, OCM *m-luns ‘To follow, agree, be agreeable’ [Bl, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR syn (去); MGZY cyn (去) [dzjion]; ONW 湿

shun₂ 据 → mén₂ 擋

shun₃ 湍 (sjuen) LH 湍, OCM *hwins ‘To move the eyes, wink’ [Zhuang], ‘give a signal with the eyes’ [Shiji], ‘blink’ [Lie].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR syn (去); MGZY shyun (去) [syen]

shuo 普 (sjwat) LH 稅, OCM *lhot ‘Explain, excuse’ [Lun], ‘speak’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR sye (入); MGZY shwyē (入) [syen]; ONW 稅

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shuò - sf

[<] caus. devoicing of yuè 悦-general *lot ‘relax’ (under → yú₁₇ 喻) (§5.2.2).

⇒ shuí 説 (ʃw̚iː) LH ɕhui, OCM *hōts
‘To exhort’ [Meng].

[<] exoactive (?) of shuò 説 (ʃw̚ət) *hot (§4.3).

[C] This wf is derived from → yú₁₇ 喻; see there for allofams.

shuò₁ 朔 → nǐ₆ 逆

shuò₂ 敦 → shù₃, shuò 敦

shuò₃ 蟋 → xf₁₁₅-shuò 蟋蟀

shuò₄ 駟 → shāo₁ 駟

shuò₅ 敷 → shū₄ 敷

shuò₆ 烬 (ʃak) LH ʃak, OCM *liauk — [T] ONW ʃak
‘To melt, fuse’ 燬 [Zhouli], 燬 [Guoyu].

⇒ yuè 燬 (ʃak) LH ʃak, OCM *liauk
‘To melt, disperse’ 燬 [BI, 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 → yào₄ 藥 ‘cure’.


[C] This wf may belong to → yào₄ 藥 ‘cure’. The relationship with → xiāo₂ 消 (ʃjâu) ‘melt’ is not clear, because initial MC sj- normally does not co-occur with sj-.

shuò₇ 燼 (ʃak) LH ʃak, OCM *liauk
‘To shine’ [Lú], perh. s. w. as ‘beautiful, fine’ 燼 [Shi].

⇒ yuè 燼 (ʃak) LH ʃak, OCM *liauk
‘To shine’ 燼 [Lú].

⇒ yào 暝耀耀 (ʃjau²) LH ʃau², OCM *liaukh, OCB *ʃja/ewk
‘Be brilliant, shiny’ 暝耀 [Shi]; 暝耀 [Zuo].

[E] This group prob. belongs to the wf → zhú₁₁ 濁. CVST and Gong 1995 connect this etymon to WT glog ‘(flash of) lightning’.

sf₁ 司 (ʃi) LH ʃia, OCM *s̚io — [T] ONW ʃio
‘Be in charge, manage’ > ‘regulation, supervisor’ [BI, Shu].


The semantic fields of similar etyma suggest that sf 司 ‘act’ and → sī₃ 思 ‘think’ are the same word.

sf₂ 私 (ʃi²) LH ʃi², OCM *s̚i?
‘Private’ [Shi], ‘egotistic’ [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR s₁ (ifiant); MGZY s̚i (ifiant) [s̚i]; ONW ʃi

[E] This may be related to Lushai tēe<i> < tēis ‘myself, thyself...’ since a Lushai t- could possibly correspond to s- elsewhere (§12.3). Alternatively, STC no. 284 connects the Lushai word with PTB *s-tay ‘navel’.

sf₃ 思 (ʃi, ʃi²) LH ʃiə, OCM *s̚i
‘To think, think of, long for’ [Shi], originally ‘to observe outside things, fix attention’ acc. to A. Waley. The graph is also read → sái 思 ‘beard’.
The semantic fields of similar etyma suggest that \( sf \) 'act' and \( sl \) 'think' are the same word, see §6.2.2 for further comment.

**sf** (sǐ) LH sǐ, OCM *säh

'To brood' [Shi], 'thought' n. [Li, Yue-zao] (Unger Hao-ku 21, 1983: 182).

**sf** (sje) LH sje, OCM *sē

'Silk' [Bi, Shi] is often said to be the source of European words for 'silk', Gr. sērikōn. 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 \( sf \) Qin)

**sl** (siB) LH sīB, OCM *sī

'Snivel' [Shi]. The etymology is uncertain; Wang U (1982: 418) relates \( sl \) to \( \text{si} \) 'tears, mucus from nose', but see there.
sì – sōng

sì 梟 (zi₅) LH zìə², OCM *s-laʔ or *s-jaʔ?
‘To imitate, resemble’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zì (主营); MGZY zìi (主营) [zì]

[E] This is reminiscent of TB-Lushai zìr < jir ‘to learn, copy, imitate’, but the
cognition requires the assumption of a ST root *ji(r). The TB items under → xiàng 像
象 could perh. belong to this etymon instead.

sì 兀 (zi₅) LH zì, OCM *s-jaʔ?
was sometimes mistakenly thought to be a variant of → xiři 象 ‘rhinoceros’.

‘wild gayal (buffalo)’ (se- is the contracted form of siaľH). <> NTai *ʃəA/C (Li 1977)
or *ʃəA (Gedney ICSTLL 1981) ‘ox, cow’, the OC and PTai initials are the same as in
→ xiäng 象 ‘elephant’. <> The ultimate source of this word may be AA; note Munda
saihil, saili ‘wild buffalo’, Gutob (Munda) saail ‘wild buffalo, deer’ [Pinnow 1959:
423]. However, the contact with OC would be so remote that a regular phonological
history is elusive.

sì 稲 (zi₅) LH zì, OCM *s-laʔ?
The usual gloss is ‘plowshare, to plow’ [Shi]; however this implement consisted of a
blade-like spade which was attached to a → līi 犁 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. → līi 犁.

sì 肆 ‘lax’ → yí₄ 夷

sì 肆 ‘arrange’ → yí₅ 夷倅

sì 食 → shì₄ 食

sì 賜 → cì₄ 賜錫

sì 睿 → yí₂ 賜詔

sōng 松 (ziwɔŋ) LH zioŋ, OCM *s-lon Ş — [T] ONW zuoŋ
‘Pine’ (the tree) [Shi].

[D] M-Xiamén lit. siongA², col. tsiongA²

[E] This word has been associated with Old Japanese sugi² 杉 ‘cryptomeria’ (Miyake
1997: 197). See comment under → míe, 梅. It also has superficial similarity with Tai:
S. son² ‘a pine’.

sōng 松 (sjuŋ) LH sìuŋ, OCM *sun < *sλuŋ?
‘High’ (of mountains) 嵯 [Shi], 嵯 [Li]

[D] M-Xiamén lit. siongA¹, col. siongA¹.

[N] The phonetic implies an OC medial *l in the initial. Sōng is the name of several
mountains in Henan, Shandong, Huna, 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.

※ sōng 讚 (ziwɔŋ) LH sioŋB, S tsʰ(i)onC, OCM *sonʔ, *C-soŋh
‘To lift up, raise’ 讚 [Guoyu], ‘rise up high, rise sharply (of mountain)’ [GY].

[D] M-Xiamén lit. siongB¹, col. tsʰiongCl

[E] PMK *sλuŋ (Shorto 1976: 1052) > PMonic *sλon ‘be high up, high, tall’ (person,
mountain), OMan s-lon ‘be high’ ※ *s-m-lon ‘top’ (of something) ※ /cloŋ/ ‘highest point,
apex, spire’ ※ PMK *s-r-lonŋ (Shorto) > OMan siriŋ ‘height’; Khmer /-lôŋ/ ‘high, lofty’;

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sǒng — sǒng

Palaung *hlọŋ ‘long’, PWa *hlọŋ ‘high’ ≠ *ʔm-loquent ‘hill’; Kharia *hlorọŋ ‘high’ ≠ selọŋ ‘deep’.


sǒng 3 隆 (suọŋ, tsjwọŋ)
‘Loose, slack’ [GY].
[D] M-Xiamén lit. soŋ⁴, col. suŋ⁴
≈ zǒng 縱 (tsjwọŋ) LH tsoŋ⁴, OCM *tsọŋ
‘To release, let off, indulgent; granted that, even though’ [BI, Shi].

sǒng 1 僅 (sjuŋ⁴) LH siong⁴, OCM *sọŋ?
‘To scare, fear’ 聲 [Zuo], 悚 [Hanfei]; ‘be careful about’ 悚 [Guoyu], 悚 [GY];
Mand. 聲 ‘to alarm, be sensational’.
[C] This word may possibly be related to → xǒng⁴ 兇 ‘fear’.

sǒng 2 慘憟 騎 (sjuŋ⁴ ~ sọŋ⁴) LH siong⁴, OCM *sọŋ?
‘To incite, encourage’ 聲 [Guoyu], 悚 [GY] (QYS only sjuŋ⁴) > ‘to shake the bit of a horse to make him run’ 騎 [Gongyang] (also QYS sọŋ⁴); Mand. 慘 ‘to instigate, incite’.
[D] M-Xiamén (lit.) siong⁴
≈ zǒng 縱 (sọŋ⁴) LH tsoŋ⁴, OCM *tsọŋ?
‘Quickly’ [Li].
[E] ST: WB cuı̃ng⁴ ‘drive or ride fast’.
[C] These items are related to → sù̀ 走 and → zǒu 走, and are ultimately derived from the root → sǒu⁴, sǒu 捕.

sǒng 3 隆 (sjuŋ⁴) LH siong⁴, OCM *sọŋ?
‘Be born deaf’ [SW], a Han period dialect word from the eastern Huái-Yangtze region, in Chǔ and Chén [FY 6, 2]. This word has the same meaning and OC rime as → lọŋ⁶ 坚 *rọŋ ‘deaf’. The ʃY gives a variant reading shuǎng (sǎŋ⁴) < *sọŋ? which makes this word look like a s-prefix allofam of lōng, but this reading is late and might have been prompted by a gloss ‘deaf on both’ shuǎng 雙 (sǎŋ) ears’ [FY 6].

sǒng 4 僅辯 ‘high’ → sǒng 2 崇高

sǒng 1 送 (suŋ⁴) LH song⁴, OCM *sọŋh.
‘To escort, send, go along’ [Shil], ‘to send’ [Zuo], ‘to present’ [Li].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR sùŋ (去): MGZY sung (去) [suŋ]; ONW sọŋ
[D] M-Xiamén lit. soŋ⁴, col. soŋ⁴
[E] Etymology not certain. Note AA-PSBahn. *sọŋ ‘hand over’, and / or OKhmer jon /joon/ ‘to urge, persuade, invite, ...drive, ...accompany, escort, ...bring to, offer, present’ (→ Thai chuon ‘to urge, persuade...ask, invite...’). Association with WT stos-pa, bstas ‘to accompany’ (Bodman 1980: 44), or with WT rdozọŋ-ba, (b)rdzọŋ(s) ‘to send, expedite, dismiss’ are problematic because the WT vowel a does not agree with OC *o.
[C] It is not clear if there is an etymological connection with → chóng⁴ 從 ‘follow’.

sǒng 2 訟 (zjwọŋ) LH ziong, OCM *s-lọŋ
‘Litigate’. 480
sǒu

☆ sǒng 訟誦 (zjwɔŋc) LH zionc, OCM *s-loŋh
‘To quarrel, litigate, sue’ 訟 [Shi]; ‘admonish’ 訟 [Lunyu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjuŋ (去), PR suŋ; MGZY ｚｙｉｕŋ (去) [zjuŋ]; ONW zuoŋ
[D] M-Xiāmén (lit.) sioŋcc

[E] This wf could be ST and related to WT luoŋ ‘exhortation, admonition, instruction’ (HST: 36). Alternatively, it may be connected with WT gsuŋs (pf. of gsuŋ) ‘to speak’ (resp.) (Unger Hao-ku), but the initials do not agree.

[C] → xióŋq, 是 probably unrelated.

sǒu 1 搜 (sjou) LH ʂu, OCM *sro/u ?
‘To search’ [Zhuang].


sǒu 2 搜 (sjou) LH ʂu, OCM *sro or *sru ?
‘Be many, numerous’ [Shi].

☆ shuài 率 (sjwat, swiC) LH ʂuıt, ʂuıs, OCM *srut(s)
‘All’ adj. and adv. [OB, BI, Shi].

sǒu 3, sǒu 搜 (souB) LH ʂoB, OCM *sǒ?o?
‘To move’ [JY], Zhèng Xuàn ‘vigorou and rapid’ (Karlgren Gl. 1154).

[E] ST: PTB *m-sow ‘awake’ > Dimasa masau, Lushai tɔoB / tɔɔ?. Lai su ‘be awake’ ≠ dža-su ‘awaken’ [VanBik LTBA 25.2, 2002: 106], Lakhir pət’eu, Khami ønt’au, Ao Naga meso ‘arise, awake’ (STC: 65 no. 295; p. 118); Tamang ‘so live’; WT gson-pa ‘be alive, to wake, rouse, urge on’; WB (a-)choB ‘be quick’ ≠ cʰo ‘to rouse, urge on’, soC ‘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 → zhèn2 振震 ‘shake / pregnant / morning’.

Related words and stems are:
> sǒ 4 速 ‘quick’ > caus. ‘urge on’
> sǔ 4 色 ‘vegetables’ <> WT tʃo-bo, sos ‘to live, revive, last; feed, graze’ ≠
gson-pa ‘be alive, to wake, rouse, urge on’
> sǒ3 控 (‘time when one wakes up’:) ‘early morning; pregnant’ <> PLB: *C-sok ∼
*V-sok ‘morning, morning’
> zǒu 走 ‘run, make run, urge on’ <> WB (a-)choB ‘be quick’ ≠ cʰo ‘to rouse, urge on’
> sǒng2 悠耸 驊 ‘incite, make run’ <> WB cuinB ‘drive or ride fast’
> xuń5 逊 ‘rapid’
> sǎo2 驯 ‘move, be shaken, hastily’

sǒu 4 搜 (sjou) LH ʂu, OCM *s?o? – Leibian souB < *sǒ?
‘Dog’; acc. to SW náo-sǒu 猪獰 [nau-ʂu] is a Southern Yuè word (Mei / Norman 1976: 279). The role of the presyllable náo ‘monkey’ is not clear.

[E] AA: Khmuɔ?, Palaung-Wa *sɔ?; PSBahn. *sɔ, but PNBahn. chó, Khmer ckae, PEKatuic *aco. If available MK forms are any guide, the underlying word with its fricative /s/ (not affricate /ʃ/) 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’.
sōu - sù

sōu₃ 悯 (sjau, sjeu) LH ʂu, OCM *sru
‘Three-year-old bovine’ [SW] (Baxter 1977: 287). The additional reading MC sâm is obviously that of the phonetic.


sōu₁ 老 (soub) LH sò, OCM *sô
‘Old man’ 老 [Meng, Zuó], ‘blind’ 老 [Shi]. Wáng Li (1982: 241) believes that sâo 娘 (sâub) ‘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.

sōu₂ 草 (soub) LH sò, OCM *sô? — [T] ONW sò
‘Grassy marshland’ 草 [Shi], 棉 [Li] is perh. related to OTib. sog ‘grassland’ (Zhol inscr.) (HST: 88).

[E] ? AA: PSBahn. sør ‘wet, humid’. Alternatively, the word may be connected with sōu 潮 (sjaub) [ʃúʔ] ‘soak’ [Shi].

sōu₁ 咳 (souc) LH sòc, OCM *sôh
‘To cough’ [Zhou].


sōu₂ 污 → xiá₂ _ue 污

sù₁ 蘇 (suo) LH ʂu, OCM *ʂã, OCB *ʂã (Baxter 1992: 225) — [T] ONW so
‘Grass, plant’, a Han period Chú, Huái, Jiàng dialect word [FY 3, 8].

[E] This may be the same etymon as sù 蘇 ‘revive’ and belong to the wf... wù 悟. The concepts ‘live’ ~ ‘fresh, green’ ~ ‘plant’ are often connected. Although the OC graph needs to be set up with an *ʂã-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 *ʂã had simplified to *s- which made the graph then suitable for writing a word *sa. The item is not related to WT sjo-ba ‘be green’ ≡ sjo ‘plant, vegetable, greens’; see → yuè 月.

sù₂ 蘇 ‘fear’ → UNUSED

sù₃ 縮 → sù₈ 肅瀧

sú 俗 (sjwok) LH ʃiok, OCM *s-lok
‘Rustic, vulgar, custom, popular usage’ [Meng, Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zy (入); MGZY jỹu (入) [zy]; ONW zook

[D] M-Xiànmén lit. siokD², col. sioD²

[E] This is prob. a ST word: WT lugs ‘custom, way, manner’ (HST: 60). MK-Khmer jw/cúus/ ‘be low, base, mean, common, vulgar’ (with addition of the CH -k, see §6.1) looks similar, but the initials do not agree.

sù₁ 洗訴→ yū₁ 卩

sù₂ 素 (suc) LH sòc, OCM *sãh, OCB *sña (Baxter 1992: 225)
‘Be white, colorless, plain’ (also figuratively) [BI, Shi].

* suō 素 (sâk) LH sâk, OCM *sâk
‘To search, inquire into, demand’ [Zuo]. The Khmer forms below show the semantic connection between ‘white’ and ‘search’.

[E] AA: Khmer /soa/ ‘be white, colorless’ > ‘pure’ > ‘purify, clarify’ > ‘inquire into, probe,
examine’ /samnoa/ ‘the white metals’ (this form suggests that a nasal might in fact have been present in OC, note OCB).

**su**

sū₃ (sjuk) LH siuk, OCM *suk — [D] M-Xiàmén lit. siok[^D1]
‘Early morning, early, soon’ [Shi].


= sū ㄪ (sjuk) LH siuk, OCM *suk
‘To quicken’ > ‘become pregnant’ [Shi] (Shaughnessy 1991: 103f) 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) sū occasionally means ‘to rout’ (an enemy). This is supported by the semantic range of this wf, but it is not certain if sū was the actual word intended by the graph, rather than a semantically closer cognate under → sū₅ 速.

[E] ST *so(w) ‘move’ (under → sō₃, sōu 搜), PTB *m-sow ‘to stir, waken, move’; sū is ‘the time when one wakes up and gets moving’. The OC final *-k in this word has been inherited from ST: *so + ST *-k of uncertain function (§6.1).

sū₄ (sjuk) LH siuk, OCM *suk — [T] ONW suk
‘To stay overnight, lodge’ [Shi].

[D] M-Xiàmén lit. siok[^D1], col. sik[^D1]
 réserve

 provincia

 sū₅ běn (sjwok) LH siok, S tsʰok, OCM *sok
‘Foxtail millet’ [Shi], etymology is not clear.

[D] PEMin *tsʰuok[^D1], PWMin *JuOk D1 ‘unhusked rice’

sū₆ (suk) LH sok, OCM *sōk
‘Rapid, quick’ [Lunyu], ‘urge on, invite’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR su (入); MGZY su (入) [su]; ONW sok

[D] M-Xiàmén lit. sok[^D1], col. sak[^D1]
 réserve

 provincia

 sū₇ de (sjwok) LH tsʰiok, OCM *tshok — [T] ONW tsʰuok
‘To urge, press’ [Zhuang].

[E] This group is part of a large wf, see under → sō₃, sōu 搜. The final *-k is the familiar CH innovation (§6.1). Spin-offs from this particular group are → zōu 走, → sōng₂ 傾聾 牌, → xūn 搜.
su – sur

[E] ST: WT 'tsho-ba, sos ‘to live, revive, last; feed, graze’ \(\vDash\) 'tsho 'life; livelihood, sustenance, nourishment, entertainment' \(\vDash\) gso-ba 'to feed, nourish, rear, cure, stir up again (fire), refresh' \(\vDash\) gson-pa 'be alive, to wake, rouse, urge on'; also JP \(n^31\)-soi\(^{33}\) ‘life’ may be related.

[\(<\>] OC has added \(-k\) to the ST root *so(w) (see \(--\) sou 3 , sou \(~\) _, see there for more allofams) (§6.1). A semantic parallel is \(--\) sheng 2 \(\vDash\) Clive’ ‘fresh food’.

sù 茓 (sjuk) LH suuk, OCM *siuk – [T] ONW suk

‘Shrivel’ [Shi], ‘contract, shut’ (as flowers) 蓁 [Li]; ‘slice of dried fish’ 鳥 [Li], also QY \(\s_j\)ou, see below.

~ suó 糬 (sjuk) LH suk, OCM *sruk – [T] ONW suk
‘To draw back, shrink’ [Huainan].

\(\times\) xìu 修 (sjou) LH sju, OCM *siu – [T] ONW su
‘Dry up’ (of plants), ‘shrink’ [Shi], ‘dried meat’ [Lunyu].

[E] Lushai \(t^\text{h}u^\text{r}\) < \(s\text{u}\) ‘dried’ (as fish), ‘dried and rotten’; perh. ultimately connected with AA: Khmer \(k\text{hso}\)ḥ /\(k\text{saoh}/ ‘be dried up / out’ \(>\) ‘tasteless’.

~ sù 茓 (sjou) LH sju, OCM *sr(i)u – [T] ONW sju
‘Slice of dried fish’ [Li], also read QY \(s\text{j}\)uk, see above.

IE Two etyma seem to have converged in CH: (1) an old *su(k) attested in Shijing from a ST (and area?) word; see under xìu.

(2) Late Zhanguo / Han variants with medial *r, perhaps influenced by an area word AA-Khmer /\(r\mu\text{h}\u\text{u}\text{at}/ > /\(r\text{um}\mu\text{h}\text{u}\text{at}/ ‘dried up / out, evaporation’ \(\times\) /\(h\mu\text{h}\text{u}\text{at}/ id. \(<\) MK \(\rightarrow\) PTai \(\vDash\) hr\(\text{to}\)S ‘to shrink, contract’; Be s\(\text{u}\)t\(^{13}\) ‘shrink’.

[C] An allofam is prob. \(\rightarrow\) zh\(\text{ou}\)_, 微.

sù 麴 \(\rightarrow\) sù 茓 蓃

suān 酸 (suānC) LH suān, OCM *sôn
‘Sour’ [Shu].

[E] ST and area word: PTB *suːr ~ *swaːr ‘sour’ (STC no. 42) > Kan. sur-k, Lushai \(t^\text{h}u^\text{r}\) < \(s\text{u}\) ‘dried’; AA-Khmer [\(\text{uer}\)] , OKhmer \(j\text{ur}\) ‘sour’ is perh. connected.

suān\(_1\) 蒜 (suān\(_C\)) LH suān\(_C\), OCM *sôns
‘Garlic’ [Dadai Liji].


suān\(_2\) 算 (suān\(_B\), suān\(_C\)) LH suān\(_B/C\), OCM *sôn\(_{/s}\)
‘To calculate, count’ [Yili] \(>\) ‘reckon, take into account’ [Lunyu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR swān (去); MGZY son (去) [son]; ONW suān

[E] Etymology is not clear. A connection with WT \(\vDash\) ò\(\text{h}\)or-ba, ñor ‘to count’ has been suggested (Gong Hwang-cherng 1991); but WT \(\vDash\) s- would derive from earlier *sy-.

suf 締 (swi) LH sui, OCM *sniui, OCB *snuij – [T] ONW sui
‘To pacify, comfort’ [Shi], ‘tranquill’ [Shu], ‘walk slowly’ [Shi].

\(\times\) tuō 妥 (tuō\(_B\)) LH tuō\(_B\), OCM *nhōi?, OCB *nhōj?

[E] ST has *\(n\text{ja}\)wāl \(\sim\) *\(n\text{wal\) parallel stems (§5.12.1) for this etymon:

(1) *\(n\text{nal}\) > 締 *snu\(i\), WT r\(n\)al ‘rest, tranquility of mind’ \(\vDash\) m\(n\)al ‘sleep’, perh. also \(\vDash\) n\(♀\)al-ba, n\(♀\)ol ‘lie down, sleep’ \(\vDash\) m\(n\)el-ba ‘get tired’ \(\vDash\) n\(♀\)el-ba ‘be ill’ \(\vDash\) m\(n\)ald-po ‘fall ill’ (Bodman 1980: 70; HST: 124); KN-Lai nuar / no\(♀\)r ‘be slow’ [LTBA 20.2: 112].

(2) A ST parallel stem *\(n\text{wal\) is represented by \(\rightarrow\) wō‧, 歇 (§5.12.1).
suí 隨 → suí₂遂

suí₁ 隨 (swie³⁸) LH syai³⁸, ST³⁸yai³⁸, OCM *soi? (< *swai??). — [T] ONW sue ‘Marrow’ [Kuoce).

[D] M-Xiàmén col. ts'e³⁸

[E] ST *swai is prob. related to ST *s(-)wi ‘blood’, see → xuè, 血 ‘blood’ (Matisoff LTBA 15.1, 1992: 168–177). Some TB languages have a cognate of xuè as well as of suí, one meaning ‘blood’, the other ‘marrow’, but not always the same ones: NNaga-Chang sì ‘blood’ (≠ xuè), hai ‘marrow’ (≠ suí); Jp sa³³ ‘blood’, lo³³-sui³³ ‘marrow’ (Matisoff op. cit. p. 169).

suí₂ □ A Min word: Xiàmén suí³⁸ ‘pretty, beautiful, lovely’. Norman (p. c.) suggests that this word may perh. be the same as Mand. shuí 水 ‘water’ which is found in the sense of ‘pretty’ ('pretty much') in certain expressions. But note also Tai: Siam suui³¹ ‘beautiful’.

suí₁ 隨 (sjwaiC) LH syas, OCM *swats ‘Year’ [OB, BI, Shi], ‘planet Jupiter’ [Zuo] (Shaughnessy 1991: 99), ‘year’ (of age) [Meng]. Shānhǎijīng implies that ‘Jupiter’ was already named suí at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR suj (去): MGZY sue (去) [sue]; ONW suë ‘To advance, accomplish, achieve’ [BI, Shi].

[D] PMIn *hue c ‘year’ (of age) does not agree with the rest of Chinese dialects; perh. there is a Tai connection.

[<] Prob. derived from → yuè 越 ‘pass over’ (Mei Tsu-Lin Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies 12.1, 1979: 117–132) with the iterative s-prefix, lit. ‘pass on again’ (§5.2.3); the original sense was either ‘traveling = passing planet’ = ‘Jupiter’ > ‘Jovian cycle’ > ‘year’ (Takashima 1996 II: 131), or ‘passing time period’ = ‘year’ > ‘year star, Jupiter’ (Mei). Alternatively, suí may be derived from a word like → yuàn 官圆圆 *wan < ST *val ‘circle’, then lit. ‘start the circle again’. In CH and many TB languages temporal units are seen as recurrent cycles; note zhōu 周 ‘circle’ > ‘week’.

[E] Mei Tsu-Lin relates suí further to WT skyod ‘to go, walk; go down, set’, but see → yuè 越. The connection with PTai *xuap > S. kʰuapDI ‘year’ (of age of children) is not clear. Acc. to Bodman (1980: 66) Tai could be a loan from Chinese (OC *-ts from *-ts or *-ps). Note the Min form which seems closer to Tai.

suí₂遂 (zwI⁴) LH zuis, OCM *s-wis ~ *s-jus, OCB *zjuts — [T] ONW zue ‘To advance, accomplish, achieve’ [BI, Shi].

*[suí 隨 (zie) LH zyai, OCM *s-wa/oi ? — [T] ONW zue ‘To follow, go along’ [BI, Shi]. This is prob. cognate to the preceding word (so Matisoff LTBA 15.1, 1992), but the rimes do not agree.

*[yù 遠 (jiuet) LH wit, OCM *wit ‘To follow, come to, to the point of, thereupon’ [BI, Shi, Shu].

[E] ST: PLB *s-yuy has a grammaticalized function; ‘Kamarupan’ *s-yuy ~ *m-yuy ‘to follow’ (Matisoff), Kuki-Naga *jiw ‘follow’ > Lushai zui, Siyin jui.

[C] An alloform may possibly be → dui 隊 (so Sagart 1999: 85). This wf *wi(t) is distinct from others which all share a root *lu ~ *ju: → lù 樂, → yóu 遠 by, → shùn 順.

suí₃穂 (zwI⁴) LH zuis, OCM *s-wis ‘Ear of grain’ [Shi], 極 [Shi].

[E] ST: Lushai vui⁴ L/vui⁴ L < vuis ‘to ear’ (of grain, grass), ‘come into ear’, Kuki-Chin languages *vui.
sun — suǒ

sun₁ 孫 (suon) LH suan, OCM *sun — [T] ONW son
‘Grandchild’ [BI, Shi].

[E] ST: PTB *su(w) (so STC: 158) > Mikir, Meithei, Dimasa, etc. su, Bodo sou, JP fu’si ‘grandchild’, Lushai tu’ ‘id.’ (for the initial, see §12.3). The MK synonyms may be look-alikes: PMK *cuuʔ ‘grandchild’ (Shorto 1976: 1062) > OMon cow, Khmer /cav/, Palaung su ‘grandchild’ < *cu (*c-s- is a Palaungic innovation).

sun₂ 孬 (suonB) LH suanB, OCM *sun
‘Cooked rice’ [Shi], ‘(warm) evening meal’ [Meng] may perh. be a variant of fno ~m [sim] *sl;ːm (PTB *slum) ‘to heat’ (food) with labial dissimilation of the final nasal -m rather than vocalic dissimilation (§6.7), but this is not likely.

sun 损 (suon³) LH suan³, OCM *sun
‘Diminish, subtract’ [Yi], ‘damage’ [Lunyu].

[E] Sagart (1999: 70) derives this word from → yún, 隱殞贒 *win? ‘fall, drop’. There is no MC syllable like siwen in div. 4, therefore a front vowel i might have been lost early in OC *sun? (from *suin? ?).

sun, xùn 遜巽 (suon⁵) LH suan⁵, OCM *suns
‘To withdraw, yield, be compliant’ [Shu] (Mand. xun); ‘humble’ ~ [Yi] (Mandarin sun).

[E] ST: TB cognates are perh. WT sun-pa ‘be tired of, weary, renounce, resign’, WB sun ‘fail, fall behind, turn away’ → sunb ‘spent, expended’.

sun, xùn 遜巽 → sun 损

suǒ₁ 細 (sjuk) LH shük, OCM *sruk
‘To be straight, upright’ [Meng], ‘vertical, longitudinal’ [Li].

[E] AA: OMon: crok /c:\uk/ ‘to set / plant upright’ (flags, umbrellas, etc.); perh. related to Khmer jara /c:\ra/ ‘be straight’ → jhara /c:\oːr/ ‘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).

suǒ₂ 細 ‘shrink’ → suǒ 肅

suǒ₁ 細 (sjwo⁶) LH ʂə⁶, OCM *sra?
‘Place, position, situation’ [BI, Shi]. The function as an indefinite substitute for the post-verbal element (Dobson, LAC: 157), as in yǒu suǒ gù ‘有所歸 ‘have a place to return to’, or suǒ qu 所去 ‘what [the subject] rejects’, is derived from the noun ‘place’ (Pulleyblank 1995: 68). → yǒu 攸 provides an exact semantic parallel.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʂu (su)、LR ʂə; MGZY (zhu >) shu (su); ONW ʂə < şə


suǒ₂ 細 (sək) LH ʂək, OCM *sək
‘Rope’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR saw (入), PR, LR sawʔ; MGZY saw (入) saw; ONW ʂək

[E] AA: PVM *jək ‘rope’ [Ferlus], PMonic *jook ‘creeper, vine, rope’ > Mon ‘string,
suǒ

cord’. AA -> Tai: S. čhIAkD2L < PTai * j- ‘rope’. Saak saakD2 < z- ‘vines, rope’. In Mǐn and other southern dialects, this is the common word for ‘rope’ (as opposed to → shéng 繩 in the north). OC must have borrowed this word because foreign / ST *z- > OC s-, whereas OC *s- is not expected to become a voiced initial elsewhere. For a possible parallel development, see → xiāo2 消磨. Also the narrowed CH meaning ‘rope’ speaks in favor of a foreign origin.

suǒ 3 索 ‘search’ → sù 2 素

suǒ 4 索 ‘fear’ → 碴 6 愕鄂噩

suǒ 5 瑣 (suâB) LH suaiB, OCM *sôî? ?
‘Small’ (birds), ‘petty’ [Shi]; ‘fragments’ [DùnYúcáí], Mand. ‘trivial, petty’.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR swo (上); MGZY swo (上) [swo]

* cuǒ 膏璀 (tsuâuB) LH tsuâoiB, OCM *tshôî? < *C-sôî? ?
‘Small, trifling’ 膏 [Shu]; ‘rubble’ 熠 [GY].

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tā 他 (tā)
  Mand. ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’.
  [T] Sin Sukchu SR tā (平); PR tā; MGZY tho (平) [tɔ]

tāi 裔 (dāi) LH dāi, OCM *dāi — [T] ONW dāi
  ‘Babble’ [Shi], ‘babble, garrulous’ [Guoyu].
  [E] ST: WT lab-pa ‘to tell’ => lo ‘talk, rumor’ < lop (HST: 145); or alternatively related to WT dob-dob-pa ~ cāb-cāb ‘talk nonsense’.
  ※ Perh. yi 語 (jiāc) LH jas, OCM *lats < *laps (?)
  ‘Garrulous’ [Xun].

tǎi 皑 (dāi) LH dāi, OCM *dāi — [T] ONW dāi
  ‘To touch, reach to’ [BI], ‘together with, and’ [Bi]; ‘join, unite’ 赦 [Chuci].
  [E] Etymology not certain. MC d- can derive from an OC T-like or L-like initial, most likely from the latter: Baxter (1992; also CVST 3: 18) relates tā to TB-WT sleb-pa, (b)slebs ‘to arrive, reach, extend’; he also relates it to → dǎi, 皑.
  Alternatively, a T-like initial would connect the word to AA: Khmer tǎpā /daap/ ‘to follow closely, close in on, be close (together)...’.

tāi 皑 (dāi) LH dāi, OCM *dāi — [T] ONW dāi
  ‘Globe-fish like’; ‘rounded’ person’s back in old age [Shi] (so Karlgren) brings to mind WT lidir-ba ‘be distended, inflated’.

tǎi 皑 (dāi) LH dāi, OCM *dāi — [T] ONW dāi
  ‘To kill’ in Min: PMin *dʰaiA2, *dʰi.
  [E] Area word: Tai: S. tāiAI, Zhuang tǎiA1/2 ‘to die’ (< PTai *trai, *prai); PMY *tǎj < *tǎj ‘to kill’ < *tǎj ‘to die’ (M. Ratliff, p. c.).

tǎi 孈 (dāi) LH dāi, OCM *dāi — [D] PMin *dʰai, *dʰi.

tǎi 皑 (dǐ) LH dǎi, OCM *dǎi
  ‘Servant or slave women’ 嬷 [BI], the lowest kind of servant 嬷 [Zuo].

tài 鈦軌 → zhī 止 桢

tǎi 唐 → nèng 能

tǎn 鈦 (tǎn) LH tǎn, OCM *rhôm
  ‘Be covetous, greedy’ [Shi].
tán – tán

[T] Sin Sukchu SR t'ān (平), PR t'an; MGZY tham (平) [t'am]; ONW t'ām

> lán 赂(赂) LH ล้ม, OCM *्रम < *g-ram
‘Covetous’ [Chuci]; ‘covetous, rapacious’ [Zuo].

> lān 緖(賙) LH ล้ม, OCM *ร่ำ < *g-rāms
‘To stuff (one’s face), be gluttonous’ [Huainan] may belong here.


tān2 窈 (ऩ्ध) LH ठम, OCM *र्धम — [T] ONW ठम
‘To kill’ is a Han-period Chll dialect word [FY 1, 16], cognate to lān (ऩ्ध) which was a Chén-Chll dialect word for ‘kill’ [FY 2, 19]. It is doubtful that this root is connected with –7 kan 6 (Wf(ऩ्ध) which was a Chen-Chll dialect word for ‘kill’ [FY 2, 19]. It is doubtful that this root is connected with –7 kan 6.


tān3 探 (ऩ्ध) LH ठम, OCM *र्धम?
‘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 –7 shen 3 15R ‘deep’ (provided the initial was OCM *nh-; so Unger Hao-ku 47, 1995). Alternatively, the word agrees with TB-Lushai tham ‘to feel’ (especially with the hand).

tān4 jiǎn 湛 ‘soak’ > jiān 湛 漸漸

tān5 聲 → dān3 磚孀


tān6 潭 (ऩ्ध) LH ठम
‘To dry up’ (of a river) [SW], later ‘beach’. The graph suggests an OC initial *nh-. Yet tān could be compared to PTB *tan > WT t'ān-‘pā ‘dry weather, heat, drought’, WB t'ānC-t'ānC ‘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 OC *nh- and *th- had merged into t'h.


tān1 塘 (ऩ्ध) LH ठम, OCM *लम
‘Extend, spread’ [Shi].

> diān 賤 (ऩ्ध) LH ठम, OCM *लम?
‘Bamboo mat’ [Shi] (Karlgren 1956: 16).


tān2 塘 for yān ‘sharp’ > yān4 刃韡


tàn – tán

* tân 弹 (dàn) LH dàn, OCM *dâns — [T] ONW dân ‘Bow for shooting pellets’ [Guoce, SW]; dàn-wân 弹丸 ‘pellet’ [Hanfei], later dàn also ‘pellet’.

[<] general derivation of tân (§3.5).

[E] This etymon is prob. related to PTB *m-dan (STC: 190) or rather *tal > JP n31-dan13 ‘crossbow’, Tiddim tâpanion < tâal? ‘a bow’, Lushai tâpanion < tâal? ‘arrow, dart’.

tán_6 弹 ‘shake’ → dàn_7 潭

tán_7 炎 (dám) LH dâm, OCM *lâm ‘Brilliant, magnificent’ [Zhuang], ‘aflame, burning’ (of sensation) [Shi]. This is an allofam of the wf under → yán_2 炎.

tán_8 談 (dám) LH dâm, OCM *lâm ‘To speak’ [Shi].

[<] Sin Sukchu SR dam (平), PR dán; MGZY tam (平) [dam]

≠ Perh. zhàn 唐 (tijâm) LH tšam, OCM *tam ‘Talkative’ [Zhuang]; ‘to speak’ 嗔 [Xun]. The initial does not agree with the other items.

≠ tán 談 (dám) LH dâm, OCM *lâm ‘To speak’ [Zhuang] (Pulleyblank 1973: 120; he also includes → dào_2 道 ‘to talk about’ in this wf).


tán_5 檟 → zhan_4-tân 柱alnum

(tán_10) □ (dám)

A Min dial. word for ‘wet’: PMin *dom > Fú’an, Amoy tam. Loan from AA: Viet. ām, ām ‘wet, moist’ (Norman / Mei 1976: 298). This etymon occurs also in Tai lgs.: Lóngmìng tam ‘wet’, Lóngzhōu tam < *d- (Yue Hashimoto CAAAL 6, 1976: 1).

tân_1 祖檀 (dân) LH dàn, OCM *dâns — [T] ONW dân ‘To bare (to the waist)’ 褓 [Shi], 祖 [Zuo].

≠ zhàn 言 (tjân) LH tân, OCM *tâns ‘To bare, leave open, single, simple’ [Li].

≠ zhàn 言 (tjân) LH tân, OCM *tâns ‘Bare, undecorated’ (robe) [Li].

[E] Etymology not certain. (1) Pulleyblank (in Rosemont 1991: 31) adds dân 但 ‘only’ (under → dân_2 畢 which also could be related), hence the root means ‘only, bare’. (2) tân could be cognate to → dân_1 畢 ‘red’ because nakedness is associated with ‘red’ (Lau 1999: 118). (3) ST: WT star-ba ‘to clean, polish’, note also têr ‘bald, bare’ (so CVST 2: 122). An allofam may be → tû_3 徒 ‘bare’, but see there.

tân_2 坦 (tân) LH tân, OCM *thăn? ‘Level’ [Yi] (same word as ‘easygoing’ → tân_3 要坦 ?); in southern dial. ‘beach’ (~ tân_6 開).

≠ shàn 言 (ziân) LH dzân, OCM *dan? ‘Leveled area’ [Shi].

tân_3 要坦 (tân) LH tân, OCM *thăn? ‘At ease’ [Lunyu] (s. w. as ‘level’ → tân_2 坦 ?); ‘easygoing’ 堆 [Zhuang].
tán  –  tàng

* dân (dân^C) LH đan^C, OCM *dâns
‘Let loose, free of care’ [Zhuang].

[C] This w.f could belong either to → chăn２ 惣‘slow’ or to → tán２ 坦‘level’.

tăn* 嘲 → lín* 林

tăn* 吝 (tʰâm^B, dam^B) LH tʰâm^B, dam^B, OCM *thâmʔ ~ *dômʔ
‘Dark’ [Zhuang].

[E] Area word: MK: Khmer {ap!//-daml ‘be dark’, dâp!//-tuml ‘be ripe, dark’, PSBahn. dum ‘ripe, red’. It is not clear how the following KT items are related, especially since OC could also have had a cluster with *[1 in the initial: S. dam^A1 < *[?dl/- ‘dark’, Saek râm^A1 ‘black’; PKS *[?nam^A ‘black’, Be lam^13 ‘black’. Acc. to Thurgood (1994: 358), the KT forms are loans from PAN *qitem ‘black’, Dempwolff 1938 PAN đaqom ‘be dark’ ≠ lamîom ‘be gloomy’ (‘düster sein’); note also AA-Khmer lîym/ ‘be dark, obscure, dim, unclear’, Wa-Lawa-Bulang *ntîm ‘dark’ (skies). <> TB-Lushai hlim ‘shadow, shade’.

The final -m is phonesthemic for ‘keep in the mouth’ > ‘keep hidden’ > ‘dark’, see → shèn４ 蕪. → gàn２ 畚. → qián２ 黒. → yín３ 陰 and → ān３ 黑. Therefore it is difficult to match the disparate OC syn. with foreign items cited above and under → yín３ 陰.

tán* 炭 (tʰán^C) LH tʰán^C, OCM *thâns
‘Charcoal’ [Li], ‘lime’ [Zuo].


tân* 窟 (dâm^B) LH dom^B, OCM *lâmʔ
The earliest occurrence is in the combination kān¬-tân 坎窞 (kʰâm^B-dâm^B) LH kʰâm^B-dom^B, *khâmʔ-lâmʔʔ ? ‘trap pit’ (Shaughnessy 1996) [Yi]. SW says “tân is a small pit (kān) in a pit (kān)”.

[D] In some dialects tân means ‘pit, puddle’ as in shuí-tân ‘puddle’, e.g. Y-Táishān suī^55-hem2†

[N] For the irregular aspiration of tân, see §5.8.5. Except for the above SW entry, tân occurs by itself only in post-Han texts and makes therefore the impression of an original reduplicative syllable of *khômʔ with lateral initial (§2.7); but in light of the Tai connection, tân has prob. been a full word in OC.

[E] Tân is of KT origin or an area word (Tai /u/ precludes borrowing from CH): Tai hlum ‘pit, ditch, cavity’, Saek lum^A1 < l¬ ‘pit, hole’ (as trap), possibly also TB-Lushai hum^H ‘pitfall’ as trap for elephants etc. Similar CH and foreign comparanda are here tentatively sorted according to connections revealed in Table K-I → kânt: 坎窞.

The relationship with PTai *th¬-: S. tham^Cl ‘cave’, also MK-Wa thâm (Dông Wëiguâng et al. CAAAL 22, 1984: 110) is not clear.

tăng* 磚 (tʰâŋ) LH tʰâŋ, OCM *thâŋ
‘Sound of drum’ [Shi].

→ tián 閻 (diën) LH den, OCM *dîn
‘Sound of drum’ [Shi some versions].

tăng* 湯 (tʰâŋ) LH tʰâŋ, OCM *thâŋ
‘Hot water’ for drinking [Meng], for washing oneself [Chuci]; (‘hot’:) ‘reckless’ (of feasting) [Shi].

[D] ‘Warm’ (of a spring) in Mīn dialects; later ‘soup’

[E] Bodman (1980: 102) relates this word to WT rlâns ‘vapor, steam’.

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táng – táo

※ dàng 盪 (dàn) LH đanC, OCM *lành
‘A basin to hold hot water for washing, wash basin’ [SW] (Wáng Li 1982: 355).

※ yáng 晳 (jiàn) LH jànC, OCM *lành
‘To heat, roast’ [Zhuang] > ‘cruel’ [Yì Zhou shu].

táng1 唐 (dàn) LH đan, OCM *lành
‘Path in a temple’ [Shì 142, 2; EY].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR đan (平); MGZY tang (平) [dàn]; ONW đan


The PMonic form is also reminiscent of ḍẹ̀ng 增 (koŋC) [koŋ] *klążh ? ‘road’ [Liji], as well as of → xíng 行. Wáng Li (1982: 147) relates this word to → tú2 涂途塗 ‘path’ (along the bank of a canal; paved path).

táng2 塚 (dàn) LH đan, OCM *lành — [D] PMin *dōŋ ‘pond’
‘Dam, dike’ [Guoyu]. Later ‘a (round) reservoir, pond’. This could be a variant of → tán 潭; the word looks like a cognate of → zhàng 隘 ‘dike, dam’, but the OC initials do not agree (*t- vs. *l-).


táo1 燕 (thâu) LH thòu, OCM *thủ
‘Envelop’ [Lì] prob. does not belong to → zhòu 周 as we should expect MC thieu.

táo2 燕 → gāo5 鼓

táo3, táo 滔 → yóu10 泳油

táo4 滔 ‘reckless’ → tōu1 偷

táo5 慢 ‘pleased’ → yú17 偷

táo6 慢 ‘doubtful’ → zhòu3 青

táo7 燕 → zhòu3 青

táo1 匣陶 (dào) LH dou, OCM *lũ, OCB *b-lu
‘To mold, make a mold’ [Shì] > ‘kiln’ 匣 [SW], 陶 [Zuo] > ‘pottery’ [Lì]. Possible cognate → yáo1 窯.

[T] Sin S. 掏 SR daw (平); MGZY 掏 taw (平) [daw]; ONW dou

táo2 桃 (dào) LH dou, OCM *làu, OCB *g-law

táo3 逃 (dào) LH dou, OCM *làu
‘To run away’ [Shì].

[E] Etymology not clear, but note MK: PVM *(k)ə do ‘to run (away)’ [Ferlus], Bahn. kadəw ‘run away’, PNBahn. *gadəw ‘run’, Mon dau (PMon. *d-). -> Tai: Saek theewA2 < d- ‘to flee, go away, leave’. However, the initials do not agree.

táo4 洮 (tʰâu) LH tʰou, OCM *l’hâu — [T] ONW tʰou
‘To pour water, wash’ [Shu].

[E] PMiao *lheu3 ‘to pour’.

táo5 陶 ‘nourish’ → yǔ22 英毓霝
tão 葡 → pú 葡

tè1 貫 (tʰok, dok) LH tʰok, OCM *l hôk
‘To beg, demand’ [Xun].

※ dái, tè 貫 (tʰ infection) LH tʰâ, OCM *l hôkh
‘To lend’ [Zuo] (Herforth 1984 acc. to Takashima 1996 II: 130).
[<] exoactive of tè (§4.3.1).

[E] This set is prob. related to the wf → dâi 代 ‘substitute’.

tè2 特 (dok) LH dok, OCM *dôk
‘Male animal, bull’ [OB, Shi, Shu].

[T] Sin S. SR daq (入). LR daq; MGZY tʰiy (入) [daq]; ONW dok


The graph 特 appears first in a Zhanguo (late Zhou) inscription; zhir, tè (next) seems to be its earlier form (Baxter 1992: 338f):

= zhí, tè 牠 (dok) LH dok, OCM *dôk
‘Single’ [Li] = 牠 [Yili, Lü], but ‘single’ is not necessarily the same thing as ‘bull’, see → zhí 直.

tè3 牠 → dái 代“single” → zhí 直

tè4 牠 牠 ‘single’ → zhí 直

tè5 慧 (tʰok) LH tʰok, OCM *nhôk
‘Evil, wrong’ n. (in ‘do evil’) [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR t’oj (入), LR t’oj?; MGZY (cʰiy > thʰiy) (入) [t’oj]

[E] ST: WT nag ‘black, dark’, also in the sense of ‘criminal’ ≠ gnag ‘black, wicked’ ≠ snag ‘ink’; PLB *(s-)nak ≠ *na? ‘black’ > WB nak; Nung na?; Trung na [Matisoff TSR no. 142]. Lahu nā < ʔnak ‘be deep, thick, dense, steep, hard to understand, profound’ (Matisoff D. of Lahu: 731).

※ ni 嵝 (ŋok) LH ŋîk, OCM *ŋrôk
‘To conceal, what is concealed, secluded’ (of plans, lands) [Shu].

téng1 疼 (duŋ) LH douŋ
‘To hurt’ [GY]. HST keeps this late word (post-classical) in *-ŋ distinct from the one in *-ŋ (→ tông 懂).

téng2 驰 (dang) LH dâŋ, OCM *lâŋ — [T] ONW dâŋ
‘To mount, rise’ [Shi], ‘ascend’ [Li] > ‘overcome, oppress’ [Shi]. The phon. series GSR 893 implies that the OC initial was L-like which connects it with → chéng 乘, but semantically and otherwise, this word appears to agree with the wf → dêng 登 with an OC T-like initial.

tī1 梯 (tʰiei) LH tʰei, OCM *thê or *thôi — [T] ONW tʰêi — [D] PMin *tʰôi ~ *tʰuai
‘Ladder’ [Guoyu].

[E] Etymology not certain. The word appears to be cognate to PTB *s-lay ≠ *s-ley (so HPTB: 220): WB hle-ka B ‘stairs, ladder’, TGTM *Ahli, Chepang hlay (Bodman 1980: 102; 142). <> Tai: S. ban-dai A L, kra?DI-dai A L < *dî/roiA ‘ladder, stairs’. CH ? -> PW Miaoa ntaí, PYao t’êi!. However, the foreign initials do not agree with OC (T vs. L); perhaps the OC item has been reinterpreted as an allofam of di 第 ‘sequence’ (under → di2 弟) (Karlgren 1956: 14). – The elements WB -ka B ≠ WT skas-ka, skad ‘ladder’
and Lao kʰanCl-dai ‘stairs’, S. kʰanCl ‘steps’ may be related to each other (Manomai-vibool 1975: 134).

tf₂ 刷(teik) LH t'ek, OCM *lhêk
‘To cut (trees)’ [Shi]; ‘cut off, cut to pieces’ (also read MC tʰieiC) [Zhouli]; ‘cut hair’. Syn. → ti₁ 剃.

tf₁ 搗掇(die) LH de, OCM *dê
‘To raise’ [Zhouli], ‘to take, take up’ [Shi] > ‘bank, dike’ [Zuo] (the Mand. reading is that of 腦); ‘forehead’ [Li].

[f] Sin S. SR diej (平), PR, LR di; MGZY ti (平) [di]; ONW deì
≈ df 刷(tie) LH te, OCM *tê
‘Bank, dike’ [Li] (Karlgren 1956: 10).

[C] Possible allofams are → di₅ 頭顱, → ding₂ 定顱 ‘forehead’, → ding₃ 町 ‘boundary dike’, → zhèn₃ 町 ‘id.’

tf₂ 毫 → zhìfǎ 提

tf₃ 睁(die) LH de, OCM *dê
‘To weep, howl, cry’ [Zuo], later also for animal sounds (crows).

[<] ST: Perh. related to Lushai tɕʰk < *tr- ‘to cry out’ (in pain, fear), ‘shriek’, but the OC initial has no trace of an *r-.

[f] 髂(tie) LH theiB, OCM *rhi?, aCB hri? → ONW thei ‘Body, form, shape, content’ [Shu].

[<] endoactive tone B derivation from the ST stem (‘the thing which exists’) (§4.5.1).

[f] ST *sri ‘to exist’ (Benedict 1976: 190) > PTB *sri(-t): WT gisí < g-rhyis (?)
‘person, body, natural disposition’ ≠ WT srid-pa ‘existence, things existing, the world, life, a single being’, also ‘procreate’ (Stein BSOAS 36.2, 1973: 412ff); WB hri’a ‘to be (in some place)

From the ST root is also derived → shèng₂ 生 ‘give birth, live’. It is not certain why a hypothetical ST *sr- shows up as a voiceless *rh in tf (regular development from ST? or because of a *k-sr- configuration? Note WT), but as a sr-cluster in shèng (*s-reanalyzed as a causative prefix ? §2.8.1).

ti₁ 涕 (tʰieiB/C) LH tʰieB, tʰieiC, OCM *thiʔ/h, OCB hrîjʔ — [T] ONW tʰei
‘Body, form, shape, content’ [Shi].

[<] the graph belongs to an OC initial L-phonetic series, but the graph appears late and is prob. only a loan for 涕 (in a T-series).


Wàng Li (1982: 418) connects ti to → si₂ 泣 ‘snivel’ and → lèi₁ 涕 ‘tears’ (unlikely). Perh. → zhǐ₆ 腔 ‘vagina’ is a cognate.
tl — tiān

**tl**

1. **tʰiei**<sub>2</sub> (tʰiei<sub>C</sub>) ONW tʰei.
   - [D] PMin *tʰie<sub>C</sub>
   - ‘To cut hair’ [Huainan, Yupian, JY]. This is perh. a post-Han variant of → tl₂ 剃 (tʰiei<sub>C</sub>). In OC the two forms would have been quite different, *lhēk vs. *thēi or *thī. It is not clear how the next item relates to these words:
   - ?? di 拆 (tiei<sub>B</sub>) LH tʰi, OCM *tēi?
   - ‘To cut off’ [Huainan; Yupian; JY]. This is perh. a post-Han variant of *thēi<sub>C</sub>, in OC the two forms would have been quite different, *lhēk vs. *thēi<sub>B</sub> or *thēi<sub>C</sub>.

2. **tʰiek**<sub>3</sub> LHF tʰek, OCM *thēk?
   - ‘Be distant, far away’ [Shi], ‘remove’ [Zuo]. Prob. not related to → zhōu<sub>2</sub> 远 ‘distant’ (as proposed by Wáng Lì 1982: 211).

3. **tʰek**<sub>4</sub> LHF tʰek, OCM *lhēk?
   - ‘Be anxious, to respect, to grieve’ [Shi, Shu].

4. **tʰien**<sub>5</sub> (thieu) LH then, OCM *thēn
   - ‘Sky, heaven, heavenly deity’ [BI, Shi]. The graph shows a person (god) with a head in the shape of a disk like the BI character for dǐng 丁 *tēn ‘a cyclical sign’ which seems to be phonetic. The anthropomorphic graph may or may not indicate that the original meaning was ‘deity’, rather than ‘sky’. For the *-en ~ *-in variation, see §6.4.1.
   - [T] Sin Sukchu SR t’ien (平); MGZY then (平) [t’en]; MTang th’an < thian, ONW tʰen
   - [D] Y-Guāngzhōu sʰien<sub>5</sub>th‘in<sub>1</sub> ‘sky’, Tāishān sʰen<sub>5</sub>th‘in<sub>1</sub>; PMin *bʰien, Xīmān th‘in<sub>5</sub>th‘in<sub>1</sub>

   An old NW dialect variant QY xien, ONW hēn, is also found in Tang-period Guāngzhōu, written 宛 ‘Heaven’ (Coblin 1994: 341). An old southern dialect form *th‘ien survives in Mǐn-Jiānglè th‘āi<sub>4</sub> ‘sky’ (Norman 1979: 271), which is prob. the same etymon as 拆 t‘an<sub>B</sub> < which the Shìmíng records for dialects to the east of the central area (Coblin TP 1994: 155f).

   [E] Because the deity Tiān came to prominence with the Zhou dynasty (a western state), a Central Asian origin has been suggested, note Mongolian tengri ‘sky, heaven, heavenly deity’ (Shaughnessy Sino-Platonic Papers, July 1989, and others, like Shirakawa Shizuka before him). Alternatively, Bodyman (ICSTLL 1987) connects tiān with TB-Adi taleq, Lepcha tā-iyan ‘sky’. One could add JP mō<sub>5</sub>-len<sub>5</sub> ‘sky’, yet these items could belong to → lǐng<sub>6</sub> 雲 ‘cloud’ instead.

   Most likely, this word is connected with → diān<sub>1</sub> 顚顚 ‘top’ (so SW) and its TB cognates: WT, OTib. steg ‘above, upper part, that which is above’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 48), steg-tha ‘the upper gods, gods in heaven’ [Hoffmann 1979: 94]; Kachin pʊʔɗiŋ ‘zenith, top’ (ST<sub>C</sub>: 180); Zemi (Naga) tʊj ‘sky’, Lushai pal-t‘iyan<sub>4</sub> ‘god’ (lit. ‘father above’) (French 1983: 157f; 374), perfh. also Chepang dɪŋ ‘(helpful) spirits’. For a similar semantic development ‘top, high’ > ‘sky’, see → lǐng<sub>6</sub> 雲, also note the semantic parallel shǎngdi dé 上帝 ‘god on high’ (i.e. in heaven). If MC aspiration should be a reflex of an earlier *-in in the initial (§5.8.1), then tiān would agree closely with WT steg. A common TB syn. for ‘sky’ belongs to the root → mào<sub>2</sub> 効 ‘cover’.

   - **tʰien**<sub>6</sub> (thieu) LH tʰem
   - ‘Full’ [Tangshu; JY], but PMin *diem<sub>B</sub> ‘full’.

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田 (dien) LH den, OCM *lìn — [T] MTang dian < dàn, ONW dèn
‘Field’, a general term [Bl; Shi].

[?] Y-Guangzhōu pīn42 ‘field’. PMin *dz̥on ‘field’ is unlikely to be related
(Norman 1988: 231), but see → zèng 曾增增增.

※ dàn 田 (dienC) LH denC, OCM *lìn
(1) ‘To cultivate, till; hunt’ 田 [Shi 260, 1].
[?] exoact. of tián 田 *lìn (§4.3.2).
[?] ST: WT lǐgs ‘hunting or chase’ (HST: 96).
(2) ‘Demesne, royal domain, a type of fief, a feudal title’ 甸 [Bl; Shi].
[?] exopass. of tián (§4.4), lit. ‘what is being 田 has been cultivated’.

※ tian 田 (dien) LH den, OCM *lìn
‘Be calm, tranquil’ [Shu].
[?] ST: Lepcha glyám ‘be calm, to calm’, Lushai thrleem ‘to comfort, pacify’ (Geilich

※ ? dàn 偦 據 (dâmB/C) LH dâmB/C, OCM *dâm?/h or *lâm?/h
‘Be calm’ 濃 [Lao], 偦 [Chuci]. The phonetic series implies an OC T-like initial.

※ tian 甜 (dien) LH dem, OCM *lim or *lêm
‘Sweet’ [SW].

※ dian 捻 (dienC) LH denC, OCM *dǐns
‘To stop up’ [Chuci].

※ tián 填 (dienC) LH denC, OCM *dǐns
‘Full, to fill, block’ 填 [Guoce], 填 [Li].

※ dián 涐 (dienC) LH denC, OCM *dǐns
‘Earplug or pendant of jade’ [Shi] (Wáng Lí 1982: 531).

Perh. cognate to → yíng2 盈盈 ‘full’. Syn. to tián3 深. The graphs imply a T-like initial
in OC.

tián1 舌 (thiemB) LH thémB, OCM *lìm?, OCB *hlim?
‘To lick up’ [Tang – Li Bai]. — [?] Y-Guangzhōu limB1 < lim? ‘lick’.

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Words meaning 'sweet', 'lick', 'tongue', 'flame' often share the same root, see allosams - tián₂ 甜, → tián₂ 純, → yán₂ 燃.

Some words share the same root:

- **tián** 純 → **tian** 甜
- **tiao** 悠 → **tiao** 支, **tiao** 2 11:1i:
- **tie** 辣 → **tie** 2 11* 「branch」
- **tfng** 聽 → **tfng** 3 "铁":

**tián** 純, **tian** 甜, **tiao** 悠, **tie** 辣, **tfng** 聽.
tīng — tǐng

[<] exoactive of tīng (§4.3). This may be a late Zhou-period derivation, commentators to some texts read all occurrences in tone A tīng.

[Ex] This etymon is often considered cognate to → shèng, 聖 ‘wise’. Outside connections are not clear; but note PHlai *tīŋ ‘hear, say’ [Matisoff 1988c, no. 295]; or AA-PNBahn. *tān ‘hear’ ≠ *tāmān ‘listen’, PSBahn. *kataan ~ *tōŋ ‘to hear, listen’, Wa-Lawa-Bulang *hm[ə]ŋ ‘hear, listen’, PMonic *muŋ ‘listen’ ≠ *grmun ‘hear’, but the AA initial *t- does not agree with OC.

tīng_1 亭 (diēŋ) LH deŋ, OCM *deŋ
 ‘Settle, regulate’ 亭 [Lao].

= tīng_2 停 (diēŋ) LH deŋ, OCM *deŋ
 ‘To stop’ [Guanyin], prob. a later meaning.

≠ diēŋ 定 (diēŋC) LH deŋC, OCM *dēŋ₃
 ‘Sit down, settle, establish, determine’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR diŋ (去); MGZY tīng (去) [diŋ]; ONW deŋ

[Ex] ST: PTB *diŋ > Lushai diŋH / din ‘to stand, stop, halt, stand up, go straight up’ (as smoke) ≠ dinL ‘to erect, build, set up’ (house, image); JP diŋ ‘be perfectly straight’, PLB *tiŋ ‘is m-din’ (HPTB: 123) ‘put, place on, set up, establish’ (Lahu gloss) ≠ *NdinJ ‘come to rest, alight’ [Matisoff Lahu D: 642], WB tān ‘place in position, build’, Lepcha diŋ ‘be erect, to stand’ (Bodman ICSTLL 1987).

[C] This wf could be related to → zhèng, 正 ‘correct, govern’ (Karlgren 1956: 16).

tīng_2 停 → tīng_1 亭

[tīng_3 亭 (diēŋ) LH deŋ, OCM *lēŋ
 ‘Courtyard, court of a palace, mansion, temple’ [OB, BI, Shi].

[T] MTang diēŋ < diŋ, ONW deŋ

[D] M-Xiàmén tīā₃²

[Ex] ST: Perh. PTB *gliŋ ‘ground, land, country, region’: NNaga *C/v-khliŋ ‘place’ (e.g. place to sit, abode) [French 1983: 532], WT gliŋ ‘island, continent’. In a roundabout way, this etymon might have entered the language of the ancient state of Chū during the Han period where we find tīng ⟷ (tiēŋ) LH tēŋ ‘island’ [Chuci]; if true, the word must have been written down at a time (Han or later) when OC *hl- and *th- had merged into th-.

[C] This is perhaps related to the wf → tīng_2 條 in the sense of ‘straight’ > ‘level’.

tīng_4 庭 ‘straight’ → tīng_2 條

tīng_5 條 → tīng_3 條

tīng_1-tuān 町疃 → dìāng_4 町

tīng_2 條 (tiēŋB) LH tēŋB, OCM *lēŋ₃
 ‘Straight’ [Zuō].

≠ tīng 庭 (diēŋ) LH deŋ, OCM *lēŋ — [T] ONW deŋ
 ‘Be straight, upright’ (of growing grain, morals) [BI, Shi]; ‘stalk, stem’ 迹 [Zhuang]; ‘small bamboo rods used for divination’ 迹 [Chuci].

[Ex] ST: PTB: *blēŋ ‘straight’ (STC no. 352). The wf → zhèng, 正 ‘correct’ may belong here, but the initials point to *l- vs. *t- respectively which are difficult to reconcile. Matisoff (1988) combines this wf with → yǐŋ_2 盈盈 ‘full’, → pīng_1 平 ‘level’ and → zhèng, 正 ‘straight’. See also → tīng_3 條.
tǐng — tóng

tǐng3 銜, dìng 銜 (dìngh) LH deŋ⁶, OCM *lêŋ?

‘Stick, staff’ tǐng 銜 [Meng]; ‘metal rod inserted in arrow’ dìng 銜 [Zhouli].

※ tǐng 銜 (dìngh) LH deŋ, OCM *lêŋ

‘Stalk, stem’ 銜 [Zhuang]; ‘small bamboo rods used for divination’ 銜 [Chuci].

[EN] Perh. ST *C-lîn (originally referring to the tibia bone, hence ‘marrow’ as well as the hollowed tube-like piece): PTB *r-klîn (STC no. 126) > Mikir arklen, Lushai tʰlîn⁸ ‘marrow’, Mru klîn ‘id.’; WT gîn-bu ‘flute’ which is sometimes made of a human femur, lit. bu ‘son’ (i.e. ‘derivative’) of a ‘gîn’, PLB *klîn > PL *lîn⁷ ~ *hîn¹ ‘flute’, WB kyaŋ ‘tube’ (Matisoff 1970 no. 98).

This etymon and the wf → kěng 管 *khrel) as well as → xīng, jīng 竭 *genh tend to converge. For an overview, see Table K-2 under → kěng3 管. Less likely, this wf may be connected with → tǐng2 銜 ‘straight’.

tóng1 侗 (t'ün⁴) LH tʰôn⁴, OCM *thôn or *thôn?

‘Pained, grieved’ [Shi].

※ tóng 痛 (t'ün⁴) LH tʰôn⁴, OCM *łôn⁴ or *thôn⁴? — [T] ONW tʰôn

‘To hurt’ [Zuo].

[<] Tóng + caus. s-suffix (§4.3.2).

[EN] This wf could be related to WT gduŋ-ba (< g-lun?) ‘to desire, long for, love, feel pain’, mthô-ba ‘to suffer, endure pain, misfortunes’ etc. (HST: 144). HST: 115 keeps this etymon distinct from the one in *-ul) (→ těng1 爛). It is not clear if the OC / ST initial was of the L or T type.

tóng2 通 (t'ün⁴) LH tʰôn⁴, OCM *łôn⁴

‘Penetrate, pass through, communicate’ [Shu], ‘reach everywhere, clearly understand’ [Lunyu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR t’un (平); MGZY thung (平) [t’un]; ONW tʰôn

[EN] Perh. ST, but an OC initial lateral which is implied by the phonetic series is difficult to reconcile with WT th-, unless the latter derives from *m-lh-: mthô-ba ‘to see, perceive, understand’ ※ mthôns ‘smoke hole in a roof’ (HST: 116).

tóng1 同 (dún) LH dôn⁶, OCM *dôŋ

‘Together, join, assemble’ 同 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR d’un (平); MGZY tung (平) [d’un]; ONW dôn


tóng2 銅 (dún) LH dôn⁶, OCM *lôn⁴ or *d(l)ôn⁴?

‘Bronze, copper’ 銅 [Zuo].

[EN] Karlgren (1956: 5) relates this word to → tóng1 同 ‘to join’ (i.e. two metals); but metals are typically associated with color, therefore the word is probably related to tông 彤 ‘red’ (under → hông⁴ 紅) (this idea is implied by Benedict MKS 18–19, 1992: 1–13). The word ‘copper’ occurs in some SE Asian lgs. with initial l-: Tai-Wuming lưŋ’, MK-Palaung mən ‘copper’ (Sagart 1999: 199).

tóng3 简箫 (dún) LH dôn⁶, OCM *d(l)ôn⁴?

‘Tube’ 简 [Lû], 箫 [Hanfei].

tóng – tóu

Benedict MKS 18–19, 1992: 9). <> PTai *kl-: S. kʰɔ̃ŋ\Cl ‘tube, cylinder’; Li lɔŋ, IN t’lun (Benedict AT: 38). The initials are difficult to determine.

tóng₄ 彈 → hóng₂ 紅

tóng₃ 童 (duŋ) LH don, OCM *dōŋ — [T] MGZY tung (平) [duŋ]
  ‘Be young, young person, fellow; young’ (of animals, i.e. without horns) 童 [Shi];
  ‘young person, servant’ [Zuo] > ‘ignorant’ 僭 [Guoyu].

※ tóng 瞳 (tʰuŋ) LH tʰoŋ, OCM *tʰoŋ
  ‘Be inexperienced, ignorant’ 瞳 [Zhuang], 侗 [Shi] (also MC duŋ). 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.


tóng₆ 童 (duŋ) LH don
  ‘Sorcerer, medium, to dance’ in Min dialects: PMin *dōŋA > Amoy col. dāŋA² (lit. dōŋ¹² ‘boy’).

tóng 桶 (tʰuŋ²) LH tʰoŋ², OCM *lhō² or *tʰoŋ? ?
  ‘Bushel, measure of capacity’ [Lǔshì, Shiji], later ‘bucket’.


tóng 痛 → tóng₁ 懶

tóu₁ 偷 (tʰou) LH tʰo, OCM *lhō
  ‘Reckless, careless’ [Li] > ‘rude’ [Zuo] > tr. ‘to slight, despise’ [Zuo].
  This word’s meaning is rather different from the homophone ‘to steal’ (→ tóu₂ 偷) so that it is prob. directly derived from → yú₁⁷ 偷 *lo ‘pleasant’ (< ‘relaxed’).

～ tōo 溜 (tʰau) LH tʰou, OCM *lhū
  ‘Reckless’ [Shi]. This variant might have been influenced by the homophone tāo 溜 ‘overflowing’ (under → yóu₄ 油).

※ tūō 脫 (tʰuat, duat) LH tʰuat, duat, OCM *l(h)ōt
  ‘Careless’ [Zuo].

[T] ONW tʰuat, duat

[C] This group belongs to the root → yú₁⁷ 偷 *lo ‘pleasant’ (< ‘relaxed’), q.v.

tóu₂ 偷 (tʰou) LH tʰo, OCM *lhō
  ‘To steal’ [Guan]. CVST (3: 42) relates this word to WB lu\C ‘take by force’.

※ dúō 奪 (duāt) LH duat, OCM *lōt
  ‘To rob, take away’ [BI, Shi], Pulleyblank (ICSTLL 1998: 11) connects this word with dāo 盜 (dāu\C) LH dauh ‘thief, to rob’ [Shi].

[C] This group belongs to the root → yú₁⁷ 偷 *lo ‘pleasant’ (< ‘relaxed’), see there for allomorphs.

tóu₁ 投 (dou) LH də, OCM *dō — [T] ONW dou
  ‘To throw’ [Shu], ‘throw out, eject, throw to, present’ [Shi], ‘reject’ [Li].

[E] ST: WT dör-ba ‘to throw or cast away, throw out, eject, decline, reject’ ※ gtor-ba ‘to strew, scatter, throw, waste’ (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 33). For loss of ST final *-r, see §7.7.5.
tóu – tǔ

tóu₂, yú 歌 (dau) LH do, OCM *lō
‘A kind of song’ [Chuci].

[E] ST: WT glu ‘song’, Mru klo ‘sound, melody’, WB kyuB ‘produce melodious sound’ (Löffler 1966: 130), and / or kruB ‘kind of song’.

tóu₃ 頭 (dau) LH do, OCM *dō
‘Head’ [Eastern Zhou BI, Zuo], replaced earlier → shǒu₃ 首.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dow (平); MGZY tʰiawi (平); ONW dou

[D] Y-Guangzhou t₄uB-₉-hokD 頭(戴); K-Méixiàn t₄eu₂-na₄ 頭那; Dānshuí t₄uB₂-na₄-hokD1 (R. Bauer CAAAL 28, 1987: 60f); PMin *dʰu₄: Jiānglè t₄uB₄1, Fúzhōu t₄uB₄₃, Xiàmén t₄uB₂₉₄-k₄ak; W-Wénzhōu diēu₂²¹

[N] The initial consonant in the phonetic series 豆 could be either *d or *l, but it was prob. *d- as forms for ‘skull’... shǒu₃ 首 suggests that it is derived from the much earlier attested vessel → shǒu₂ 首 (Sagart 1999: 156), but dōu (tone C) looks like a derivation from tóu instead which may therefore originally have meant ‘skull’. An allofam may be → diēu₂ 豆 ‘bean’.

The word tóu has two possible outside connections. (1) ST: Loloish *ʔdu² ‘head’ [Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 168] where u corresponds directly to OC o. Or (2) MK: Khmer -tūlə /-dool/ ‘head, to bulge’ which would also be a direct phonological equivalent of OC (for CH loss of final MK consonant, see §6.9). The MK word belongs to a large wf ‘bulge, knoll’ and would thus provide an etymology.

tóu₄-lù 头顚 → dú₈-lóu 墜髷

tōu 植 → dū₃ 朵

tū 突 (tʰuat, dust) LH tʰuat, duat, OCM *thucht, *dût — [T] ONW dot
‘To dig through, break through’ [Zuo] > ‘bursting forth > suddenly’ [Shi].


[t] 途 (duo) LH da, OCM *lā — [T] ONW do
‘To plaster, mud, plaster’ [Shi], ‘to soil’ [Zhuang].

[D] PMin *dho ‘soil, earth’; for a semantic parallel ‘mud’ > ‘earth, soil’ see → nǐ₂ 泥.

tú₂ 涂途 植 (duo) LH do, OCM *lā
‘Path’ (along the bank of a canal; paved path) [Zhouli]; ‘road’ 途 [Lie], 塗 [Lunyu].

[E] Etymology not clear. Perh. related to → tǎng₂ 塘 ‘dam, dike’. Wáng Li (1982: 147) relates this word to → tǎng₁ 塏 ‘path in a temple’, but see there. Or it may be the s. w. as → tú₁ 途 ‘mud, plaster’.

tú₃ 徒 (duo) LH dc, OCM *dā
‘Bare, naked’ [Li], ‘only’ [Meng].

[E] ? AA: Khmer dabh, Bahn.-Stieng dsh ‘to take off’ (clothing) [Huffman 1975]. <>
Tai: S. taa₄ ‘only, sole’. This word may have alternative etymological connections, see → tǎn₁ 被 ‘to bare’ and the items listed there.

tú₄ 圖 → dù₁ 度

tǔ₁ 土 (tʰuaB) LH tʰuaB, OCM *thâʔ — [T] ONW tʰo
‘Land, soil’ [Shi]. The phonetic series GSR 62 implies a dental stop initial.

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tǔ – tuǐ

[D] Y-Guǎngzhōu tʰou², Táishān hù⁴. Some modern dialects have replaced this word with → niè 泥.

[E] There is no obvious cognate and etymology, unless it may be related to AA-PMon *ti? 'soil, ground consisting of earth, earth', Aslian ti? ~ te?; however, this would require the assumption of a shift from front vowel to OC *a (§11.1.3). Prob. related to → shè 社.

tǔ 叨 (tʰou², tʰou⁴) LH tʰou², OCM *thâ\ ~
‘To spit out’ [Shi].

[D] Mand. tǔ ‘spit’, tǔ ‘vomit’; Y-Guǎngzhōu tʰou⁴ (both meanings), Táishān hù⁴

⇒ tǔ 叨 (tʰou², tʰou⁴) LH tʰou⁴, OCM *thâ\  ~
‘To vomit’ Mand. Not all dialects have both these words.

[E] ST *twa > PTB *(m-/s-)twa > Kachin m::JtiJo, Garo stu, Kanauri t'u 'spit'. Although tǔ looks like a variant of the syn. → tuò, 唿, 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.

tù 兔 (tʰou⁴) LH tʰou⁴, OCM *lhâ\  ~
‘Hare, rabbit’ [OB, Shi]. The OC initial *lh- is revealed by the graph’s use as phonetic in a word for ‘tiger’ in Zuōzhuàn (→ hǔ 虎).


tuān 象 (tʰuān) LH tʰuān, OCM *dôn\  ~
‘Round, everywhere, plenty’ 圍 [Shiwen: Shi]; ‘make round’ [Li], ‘collect’ [Guan], ‘bundle’ 搀 [Zhouli]; ‘rich, plentiful’ (dew) 溥 [Shi]; ‘plentiful’ 敷 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dwon (平); MGZY ton (平) [don]

⇒ zhuàn 縛 (dziwán) LH dwon, OCM *dron\  ~
‘Roll and wrap up’ [Zuo], ‘bundle’ [Zhouli].

[C] Allofam is perh. → zhuān, 轉 ‘turn around’ (so Karlgren 1956: 13).

⇒ tuān 象 (duan, tʃjwän) LH duan, tšuan, OCM *dôn\, *ton\  ~
‘To cut’ [Li].

⇒ zhuàn 縛 (dziwán, tʃjwän) LH dz/tšuan, OCM *don\?, *ton\  ~
‘Cut meat, slice’ [Huainan].

tuān 象 (tʰuān) LH tʰuān, OCM *thôns\  ~
‘A kind of pig’ [Yi, SW], variant tuān 象 (tʰuān) [EY, SW, Chu]; → tǔn 豚 is prob. variant of the same etymon.

[E] <> PY *dun² ‘pig’ (M. Ratliff, p. c.); their first textual occurrence in Chu-ci and Han texts suggests that these words are of MY origin.

tuí 推 (tʰuái) LH tʰuai, OCM *thuí, OCB *thui\  ~
‘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:

⇒ cùi 催 (tʰuái) LH tʰuali, OCM *thuí, OCB *tʃui\ (→ *Stui?)  ~
‘To urge, press’ [SW: Shi].

⇒ cùi 催 (duái) LH dzuai, OCM *dzui\  ~
‘To repress, oppress’ [Shi 258, 3].
tuǐ - tún

[E] Possibly ST: Chepang dus- ‘to push away, shove’ ≅ dus- id.

tuí 腿 (tʰui²) (a hypothetical PCH form corresponding to MC might have been *thul)
‘Thigh’, also ‘lower leg’ [Tang: Han Yu; GY].
MK: PMon *dul ‘thigh’.

tuí1 退 (tʰui³) LH tʰuas, OCM *thú(t)s, OCB *hnuts < *hnups (Baxter 1992: 557)
‘Withdraw, retire’ [Shi].

[T] ONW tʰuoi

[E] Etymology not clear. This may be connected with tui 鵞 *l(h)ots ‘withdraw’ (under...

... tuo 3). Perh. related to MK-Mon dui’ ‘to stop, keep quiet, stay put’.

tuí2 鵞 → tuō 3 鵞

tún 1 吞 (tʰun) LH tʰun, OCM *thún ?
‘To swallow’ [Guoce].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR t'un (平), PR t’ən; MGZY th’un (平) [t’un] — [D] PMin *t’un


tún 2 吞 (tʰun) LH tʰun, OCM *thún
‘The rising sun’ [Chuci].

[E] This word has two possible sources, although the first appearance in Chūci favors an AA connection; perh. it is a blend of the two: (1) TB: WT tʰon-pa, tʰon ‘to come out, go out’, WB po-tʰon⁶ ‘come out’ (e. g. the sun), Monpa Cuona 3tebun, Motuo tʰon ‘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 šar ‘to rise, east’, CH rí chū 日出 ‘the sun comes out’), while ‘west’ → xī 西 ‘west’ is associated with ‘to go down, rest, nest’.

(2) AA: PMon *tun ‘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 allofam may be → dōng 2 東 ‘east’.

tún 1 屯 (duon) LH duan, OCM *dūn
‘Hill’ [Zhuang].

→ dūn 頓 (tuan⁶) LH tuan⁶, OCM *tüns
‘Hill’ [Shi].


tún 2 屯 (duon) LH duon, OCM *dūn — [T] Sin Sukchu 紅 SR dun (平)
‘Accumulate’ [Yi] > ‘to mass troops, put pressure on’ [BI, Shi], ‘garrison, station soldiers’ [Zuo].


[C] Tún could possibly be related to → tún 屯; and / or to → dūn, 堆.
tún - tuō

tún3 [tun3] LH duan, OCM *dun
‘Tie together, envelop’ [Shi].
[ST]: WT *tulen ‘furled coat, cloak; to roll or wind up’; Nung *radul ‘roll, wrap, enwrap’, Angami Naga *râtue < rtul ‘roll’ (STC p. 110; Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 30). Perh. related to → tún2 屯亷 ‘accumulate’.

tún4 氖 → chūn 車

tún5 豬 (duan) LH duan, OCM *dun
‘Young pig’ [OB, Lun! (see Li Liu EC 21: 1996: 17). Perh. → tu₃n 薅 and tu₄n 猫 are variants of this word.

tr₃n 臀 (duan) LH duan, OCM *dun
‘Buttock’ [Guoyu].

The ST etymon may have wider connections: PKS *lun² ‘back, behind’, Tai-Saek tloon¹ ‘to bulge’. A variant is → diim² ‘hill’ which belong to a wf ‘to bulge’. A variant is → dîn² ‘go back’.

tu₁1 他 (tha) LH *hai, OCM *hài
‘Other, different’ [Bi, Shi], in modern dialects the word has the specialized meaning ‘he, she, it, they’, and is in most places pronounced → tā₁. He. Etymology not clear. Perh. cognate to → chī, chī 逃 ‘to separate’; for a semantic parallel, note AA-Khmer -dai-ta ‘be other, different’ OKhmer didai ‘be different, distinct, separate’.

tu₂, tuō 喔 → dān3 達

tu₃3 脫 (tuêt, duêt) LH tuat, duat, OCM *l(h)öt → [T] ONW tuat, duat
‘Take away’ 脫 [Zuo], 撒 [Lao], ‘peel off’ 脫 [Lie], ‘take off’ (clothes) [Shi, Guoyu] > ‘let off, let escape’ [Shi], ‘escape’ [Lao], ‘relieve’ [Gongyang].
[D] M-Amoy col. te²D2, lit. toat², Jiéyàng to²D2 ‘take away forcibly’; Amoy col. t’uoa²D1, lit. tuat² ‘escape’. We would expect the tr. meanings (‘take away, take off’) to go with LH tuat, the intr. (‘escape, careless’) with LH duat.

≈ tuì 脫 (duaiC, thuai C) LH duas, tuas, OCM *l(h)öts
‘Withdraw, flee’ [Shi].
[<] exopass. / reflexive of tuō (§4.4). We would expect the intr. use to correspond to LH duas.

≈ shuí 撒 (sjwaiC) LH suat, OCM *lhot
‘Wipe off’ [Yili].
[ST]: PTB *g-Iwat (STC no. 209) > WT hlod-pa ‘loose, relax’ ≠ glod-pa ‘loosen, relax, slacken’; PLB *k-Iwat > PL *k-Iwat¹ ‘free’, WB hlwat ‘free, relax’ ≠ Iwat ‘be free’ ≠ kywat < klwat ‘loosed, freed’ ≠ k̆ywat < k̆lwat ‘release, free’; Mru lot, lon ‘loose, let out’; Lushai t’lao¹ < thlons ‘to come / fall off’ [Löffler 1966: 123], Lai lot ‘free’ ≠ se-lot ‘set free’ [VanBik LTBA 25.2, 2002: 106], JP lat² ‘to escape, get lost’. <> Tai: Shan lat² < ‘dil- ‘to be free, to free’ is prob. a TB loan.
[C] This group belongs to the root → yú₁ ‘pleasant’ (< ‘relaxed’), see there for allofams. Perh. → róng, 容 is related. This wf comes close to → chū₁ 抽.
tuó 佗 → wēi, tuò 委佗

tuó̀ 陝 → zhi, 陝, 陳 (duò)

tuó³ 雉 (dā, dān) LH dāi, dan, OCM *dāi, *dān
‘Freshwater alligator, Alligator sinensis’ [Shi].

[E] Its mythological meanings and etymological speculations are discussed by Carr (LTBA 13.2, 1990: 131ff). Tuó is distinct from → ès 鱷 (nǎk) ‘aquatic reptile’ [SW].

Löffler (1966: 140) relates this word tentatively to Mru tam ‘alligator’, but the final nasals do not agree. The word is also reminiscent of AA: Santali tajan ‘broad-headed crocodile’.

tuŏ́ 雉 (tuāB) LH tūaiB, OCM *lhōi?
‘Shred sacrificial meat’ [Zhouli].

[E] ST: WB tʰwa ‘mince with a knife’ is prob. unrelated since neither initial nor rime match.

tuṑ 陝 (tuāB) LH tūaiB, OCM *lhōi?
‘Long and narrow, oval’ [Chuci].

※ duò 陝 (duāB) LH duaiB, OCM *lōi?
‘Long and narrow’ (mountain) [Shi].


tuō³ 委 → sui 綴

tuṓ 拓 (thâk) LH tʰak, OCM *thâk
‘To take up, lift’ [Lie].

[T] Sin Sukchu 註 SR t'aw (入); MGZY 註 thaw (入) [t'aw]


tuṑ 拓 (thâk) LH tʰak, OCM *thâk
‘Noise of pounding earth’ [Shi].

[E] This word is onomatopoetic, but note also AA-Mon tâk ‘to beat’, Khm ṭɔk ‘beat (shake) a rattle’ [Pinnow 1959: 318].

tuō³ 傢 (tuāC) LH tūaiC, OCM *thōih
‘Spittle’ [SW, Hanshu], ‘to spit’ [Zuo].

[D] PMin *thoiC; some dialects in the Yuè area have archaic rimes: Guǎngzhōu col. tʰeC beside tʰeC, Zēngchēng səC, Bào’ān suǐB2, Enpīng tʰuiA2; K-Dōngguān suǐB.

[E] ST *tol > WT tʰo-le (i.e. *tol-e) ‘debs-pa ‘to spit’ (‘debs-pa ‘to throw’) (HST: 138); WB tʰweB ‘spit’ (STC: 30 n. 95) seems to agree with the WT and CH forms. But alternatively, STC connects WB with PTB *twɔy (= *tui) ‘water’. Although tuō looks like a variant of the syn. → tǔ3 蔟, the OC and the TB forms are quite distinct. CH aspiration is associated with forceful ejection §5.8.5.

tuṑ 傢 (thâk) LH tʰak, OCM *lihâk
‘To wither, fallen leaves’ [Shi].

[E] Prob. AA: Khmer slaʔka /slak/ ‘to fade, wilt, dry up’, from a root -laʔka /-lak/ ‘to fall’, acc. to Jenner / Pou 1982: 523. Alternatively, tuō could possibly be related to → luō 落 *râk ‘fall’ (Unger Hao-kū 39, 1992: 92; Sagart 1999: 18), but then one would need to assume OCM *rhâk for tuō which is not supported by the phonetic series.
wā₁ 蛙 (ʔwai) LH ?ue, OCM *ʔwǎ or *ʔwe?
   ‘Frog’ [Zhouli].
   [E] Perh. KT: PT *kw-. Boai kwecCl, Wuming kw e ‘small green frog’; PKS *k-waiCl
   ‘small frog’ (Bodman 1980: 144).

wā₂ 窝 (ʔwai) LH ?ue, OCM *ʔwǎ
   ‘Hole, hollow, concave’ 窝 [Lü], 窝 [Lao].
   ※ wā 洼 (ʔwej) LH ?ue, OCM *ʔwè
   ‘Concave, puddle’ [Zhuang].
   ※ ke 洞 (kʰu) LH kʰui, OCM *kʰwǎi
   ‘A hollow, cavity’ [Meng), ‘hollow of a tree trunk’ [Yi] is perh. a nominalizing
   k-prefix derivation (§5.4).

wā 瓦 → ē₄ 證恆

wài 外 (ŋwáiC) LH ηuos, OCM *ŋwâts, OCB *ŋxats
   ‘Outside, external’ [OB, BI, Shi].
   [T] Sin S. SR ŋwaj (去), PR ŋwaj, waj; LR waj; MGZY xue (去) [fiue]; ONW ŋuάC
   [N] In the OB, the graph is a vertical line with a stroke on one side 丿, i.e. ‘outside’;
   the graph is identical to 个别, 个别. ‘Moon’ yuè 月 LH ŋyat has been added later as
   phonetic. Bodman (1980: 136) connects this word with WT ŋos ‘side, direction’, see →
   yù₁ 月.

wān 灣關 (ʔwan) LH ʔuan, OCM *ʔrôn
   ‘To bend’ (a bow) 關 [Meng] > later ‘bent coastline, a bay’ 灣. This word may be
   connected with → yù₁ 迂فح, → wėi₁-tuō 疲佗, → wēi₂ 逶, or → wēi₃ 委.

wán 頹 → yú₂₃ 哑

wān₁ 宛 ‘accommodating’ → yāo₂ 妖

wān₂ 婉 → yāo₂ 妖

wān₃ 宛 → yuán₁ 宛

wān₄ 碗 (ʔuánB) LH ʔuánB, OCM *ʔôn?
   ‘A bowl’ [Guan] (written with rad. 木).
   [C] ǒu 為 (ʔou) with nominalizing n-suffix (§6.4.3).
   ※ ōu 為 (ʔou) LH ʔo, OCM *ʔô
   ‘A bowl’ [Xun].
   [E] ST: WB ǔ'B ‘pot, jar, chatty’; → wéng 副 may also be connected.

wān 膺 → yù₁ 迂続

wān₂ 慢 (mjwenC) LH muǎnC, OCM *mâns
   ‘Be extending, long, wide’ 慢 [Shi] > ‘creeping plant’ 慢 [Shi].
   ※ màn 慢漫 (muánC) LH monC, OCM *mâns — [T] ONW mon
   ‘Distant, unlimited’ [Zhuang] > ‘free, careless’ [Zhuang].
   ※ màn 慢慢 (manC) LH manC, OCM *mâns?
   ‘Be slow, negligent’ [Shi] > ‘indulgent’ 慢 [Li] > ‘to slight, be insolent’ 慢 [Zuo].
 wan – wáng

[T] Sin Sukchu SR man (去) [man]; MGZY man (去) [man]

[B] ST: Lushai muanH / muanL ‘be slow and leisurely, to linger’, Lepcha mon ‘be quiet, silent’. (Geilich 1994: 139; 159 includes these TB items in the wf mư15 ‘silent’).

wan3 萬 (mjwunC) LH muanC, OCM *mans — [D] CDC mvan6
‘Ten thousand’ [BI, Sh].

[wang1 (mjwal) LH mU0l), OCM *mal), OCB *mjal) ‘To lose, disappear, flee’ [BI, Sh]: ‘to have none, there is not’ intr. [Lunyu] (Pulleyblank 1995: 109).

[wang2 (mjwanC) LH muan(C), OCM *man, OCB *mjan ‘To forget’ [BI, Sh], i.e. ‘to lose’ (from memory) is the s, w, as wangL 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 of wangL (§3.5), acc. to Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983).

[wang3 萬 (mjwanB) LH muanB, OCM *man ‘To lose’ (e.g. a country) [OB, Sh], ‘destroy’ [Shu], ‘to die’ [Shu, Liji] (Pulleyblank 1962: 136; Baxter 1992: 187). → sangL ‘burial’ is prob. unrelated.

[wang4 (mjwanB) LH muanB, OCM *maŋ + *-h of wangL (§3.5), acc. to Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983).

[wang5 (mjwanC) LH muanC, OCM *man ‘King’ [BI, Sh].

[wang6 王 (jwan) LH wO, OCM *wan, OCB *wjan ‘King’ [BI, Sh].

[wang7 王 (jwanC) LH wO, OCM *wan, OCB *wjan ‘Be king, rule’ [Shi 241, 4].

[wang8 王 (jwan) ‘might, power’ → dban- ‘ruler’, WB an ‘strength, power’, NNaga *wan ‘chief’ [French 1983: 389]. The initials present difficulties, though (WT *b- vs. OC *w-), unless one assumes that occasionally WT b- can derive from a *w (db- < *dw-); the WB form seems to support this. Alternatively, wáng may possibly be connected with an AA homophone: OKhmer vah ~ vāh(n) ‘royal palace...’ (→ Tai: S.
wang – wàng

wáng ‘palace’), cognate to luán ‘king’ (> Tai luán ‘royal’); the identification of ‘king’ with his palace is perh. supported by a BI where wáng refers not to the Zhou king but to a place (Shaughnessy 1991: 197). Thus wáng would belong to the complex of stems under –yáng

connection with –huáng 皇 ‘august’ is not clear. Otherwise, speculations have related wáng to wáng 延 (?wàn) ‘emaciated’ [Zuo] (under → räu, jù 鬼) and to kuáng 狂 (gjwàn) ‘mad’, based on certain theories on ancient CH kingship and shamanism (see D. Keightley JAS 54.1, 1995: 132).

wáng₁ 往 (jwán⁴) LH wán⁵, OCM *wán⁴
‘To go to, gone, past’ 往 [OB, Bl, Shi], 延 [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR wán (↑); MGZY xwáng (↑) [fiwán]; ONW wän

[<] yú 于 *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 languages is ‘go to’ > ‘arrive’ > ‘come’.

※ wàng 延 (jwán⁴) LH wán⁵, OCM *wán⁴
‘To go’ [Zuo].

[<] *wán⁴ + general purpose suffix s/h (§3.5).

[É] ST: PTB *wán⁴ (STC no. 218) > Chepang wän ‘to come’ (Bodman 1980: 81), Barish-Nocte 2wän? (Chepang and Barish (= Bodo) disagree in phonation, Weidert 1987: 30), WT ‘ön̂-ba ‘to come’ ※ perhaps also WT sog < s-wän ‘went’, Tamang ‘wän ‘enter, go in, come in’; WB wän ‘to enter, go or come in’ ※ swän⁸ ‘to put into’, PL *wän⁴ ‘to enter’; Mikir wän ‘to come’ (HST: 86), NN *wön ‘come’. It is not clear how Tai luän⁸ to ‘pass time, go beyond’ (Bodman 1980: 107) may relate to this ST stem.

wáng₂ 枉 → yū ₁ 迂 纠

wáng₃ 网 (mjwán⁴) LH muán⁵, OCM *main⁴
‘Net’ 網 [Yi], 網 [Shi]; ‘to catch, snare, entangle’ 網 [Meng], ‘to tie, interlace’ [Chuci].
[T] MTang muán, ONW muän < main

[É] Perh. KT: PTai *muän⁴ ‘a type of fishnet’ (Luo Yongxian MKS 27, 1997: 274), Saek muço⁴ ‘long net across the river’. This may be the s. w. as wäng 網 ‘deceive’ (under → wū.sg 誣).

wáng₄ 網 ‘deceive’ → wù₃ 誣

wáng₅ 網 ‘not’ → wáng₁ 亡

wáng₆-liǎng 網兩 (mjwán⁴-liān⁴) LH muǎn⁵-liān⁵, OCM *mǎnʔ-ray⁵
‘Water spirit’ [Zuo]. A variant is prob.:)

※ wáng-xiàng 網象 (mjwán⁴-ziaŋ⁴) LH muán⁵-ziaŋ⁴, late OCM *mǎnʔ-ziāŋ⁴ (?)
‘A water dragon which eats people’ [Zhuang, Guoyu, Shiji].


wàng₁, guǎng 延 ‘fear’ → jù sg 懼

wàng₂ 妄 (mjwán⁴) LH muán⁵, OCM *main⁴
‘Lawless, rude’ [Zuo], ‘reckless’ [Li].

※ màn 謀 (muǎn) LH mon⁴, OCM *mǎns
‘Excessive, reckless’ [Zhuang]. For the difference in finals, see §6.4.2.

[É] This wf converges and overlaps with → wǔ₃ 誣 ‘deceive, false’.

wàng₃ 妄 → wáng₁ 亡

wàng₄ 望 (mjwán⁴) LH muán⁵, OCM *main⁴
‘Look toward’ [Shi], ‘look into the distance’ [Xun], > ‘hope’ [Meng]. Perh. the s. w. as

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wang – wei

→ wàng 望. Tone A in older parts of Shēng (Mattos 1971: 309).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR, LR van (去); MGZY wang (去) [van]; MTang muan, ONW muan<br>→ mān

[E] ST: PTB *mraŋ (STC no. 146) > Gurung (Himal.), Thakali mraŋ ‘to see’, PL<br>*mraŋ > WB mraŋ ‘see’ (HST: 129) « caus. PLB *s-mraŋ or *mraŋ ‘to show, teach’
[Matthiessen D. of Lahu: 1027; Mikir làng ‘to see’, Nung jāŋ (j = palatal glide).

wàng 望 (mjwà/ŋ/C) LH muan, OCM *maŋ (tone not clear)
‘Full moon’ [BI, Shu] is considered to be the s. w. as → wàng 望. If the OC word had the equivalent of later 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 from afar’ (§4.4). Alternatively, Van Auken (JAOS 122.3, 2002: 528) suggests that ‘full moon’ is cognate to Lushai bai ‘light’.

wei 1-tuó 委佗 (?jwie 3-dá) LH ?yai-doi, OCM *?wai-lái or *?oi-?
‘Graceful, compliant’ [Shi].

⇒ wei-yí 委佗 (?jwie 3-jie) LH ?yai-joi, OCM *?wai-lai or *?oi-?
‘Be graceful, compliant, be winding’ (as road) [Shi].

⇒ wei-chí 委遜 (?jwie 3-dí) LH ?yai-di, OCM *?wai-d-l(é) ?
‘Be winding’ (as road) [Shi].

[E] Qiu Xigui (2000: 374) lists over 20 graphic variants of this sound-symbolic word. The etymology is not clear. The first syllable may be related to TB-Lushai via/ñ < via/ñ ‘to writhe’, although the item could also be linked to either → wei, or Lushai vai/ñ < vai/ñ; or it could be an *-i final cognate of → yao, 妖 or → yào, 夭妖. Lushai cognates show that this etymon is not related to → wéi, 逶 ‘flattering’.

The second syllable tuó / yí / chí reflects an area etymon: TB-Chepang kloy? ‘be winding’ (path or stream). <> MK-Khmer /-léel/ as in /rléel/ ‘to snake, move sinuously (as through water)’. AA-Khmer final /é/ corresponds also in other words to OC *-ai.

TB languages have a similar item whose initial t is irreconcilable with OC l: Lushai taal/ñ < taal? ‘to struggle, wriggle, writhe’, or Chepang toy- ‘to circle or spiral upward’.

[C] An allofa of the first syllable is prob. → yuán3 蛇 ‘worm’, of the second syllable → shé, 蜥 ‘snake’.

wei 1 逶 (?jwie 3) LH ?yai, OCM *?wai or *?oi ?
‘Tortuous movement, fluttering’ (of a flag) [Chuci]. TB (Lushai) cognates show that this etymon is not related to → wei, 逶 ‘fluttering’.

⇒ hui 撂 (?xjwie 3) LH hyai, OCM *hwai
‘To signalize, manifest’ [Yi] is an iterative derivation (§5.2.3) from wei. A variant or syn. is → hui, 鹿.

[E] ST: PTB *waway (STC no. 90; HPTB: 210) > Kachin wai ‘whirl, as a whirlpool, stir, strike out with a sweeping motion’; WB wai/ñ ‘whirlpool, brandish’ a sword..., ‘soar around’ as a bird; Lushai vai/ñ < vai/ñ ‘to wave’ with the hand, arm, or anything horizontally, ‘brandish’ (a sword) *hui/ñ ‘to beckon’ with hand. Acc. to Shorto 1972 likely derived from PMK *wa(a)y(-s): Palaung yay ‘to wave hand, beckon’, Viet. vây ‘to wave’.

[C] An overview of synonyms for ‘turn, rotate’, see under → hui, 鹿.

wei 2 逶 (?jwie 3) LH ?yai, OCM *?wai or *?oi ?
‘Tortuous movement, fluttering’ (of a flag) [Chuci]. TB (Lushai) cognates show that this etymon is not related to → wei, 逶 ‘fluttering’.

⇒ hui 撂 (?xjwie 3) LH hyai, OCM *hwai
‘To signalize, manifest’ [Yi] is an iterative derivation (§5.2.3) from wei. A variant or syn. is → hui, 鹿.

[E] ST: PTB *waway (STC no. 90; HPTB: 210) > Kachin wai ‘whirl, as a whirlpool, stir, strike out with a sweeping motion’; WB wai/ñ ‘whirlpool, brandish’ a sword..., ‘soar around’ as a bird; Lushai vai/ñ < vai/ñ ‘to wave’ with the hand, arm, or anything horizontally, ‘brandish’ (a sword) *hui/ñ ‘to beckon’ with hand. Acc. to Shorto 1972 likely derived from PMK *wa(a)y(-s): Palaung yay ‘to wave hand, beckon’, Viet. vây ‘to wave’.

[C] An overview of synonyms for ‘turn, rotate’, see under → hui, 鹿.

wei 3 蜓 (?jwie 3) LH ?yai, OCM *?oi or *?wai ?, OCB *?(r)oj?
‘To wither’ [Shi].

⇒ yuán 宛 (?jwenB, ?jut) LH ?yênB (also ?ut ?), OCM ?on? (?ut ?) or *?wan? ?
‘To wither’ [Huainan]. For the final -n, see §6.4.4.

[E] ST: PTB *hwary (HPTB: 214) > Lushai vuai/ñ ‘to wither, wilt, droop’ *uai/ñ ‘to wither,
wei - wei

wilt, droop' ≠ uaiL 'to hang onto, hang upon'; Tangkhul Naga hûy 'fade', JP waiH ~ woiH, Lahu hwê 'id.' [Matisoff D. of Lahu: 1111].

[D] Ancient dialect variants are cited under → yu2 益.

wei4 威 (ţwei) LH ʔui, OCM *ʔui — [T] ONW ʔui 'To overawe, intimidate' [Shu], 'imposing, majestic' [Shi], 'intimidating, majesty, dignity' [Bl, Shi, Shu]. Acc. to Sagart, → guí 鬼 'ghost' is a derivation.

wei 畏 (ţweiC) LH ʔuiC, OCM *ʔuih 'To fear, be in awe of; to respect' [Shi, Shu]. [>] *ʔui + exopass. s/h-suffix, lit. 'be intimidated' (§4.4.1).

wei1.3 惟 (jiwi) LH ʔi, OCM *ʔi 'To be' [Bl, Bl]; Ṭi [Shi], ˊ [Shi]; Cit is' > 'it is only' » 'only' [Shi and later] (GSR 575n; Dobson EAC; §2.10). Syn. of 'to be': → sh14 > ye 1 ift; syn. of 'only': → zhí 只, dàn 但 (under → dán2 单). [T] Sin Sukchu SR vi (平); MGZY ẏvi (平) [yi]; ONW ʔui [E] ST: WB ʔiwa 'large, high, project'. CH and WB can be reconciled if a ST final *-l is assumed. This may be a vocalic variant of → wei9 覈 'high'.

wei2 惟唯佳維 (jiwi) LH ʔi, OCM *ʔi 'To be' [Bl, Bl]; ˊ [Shi], 維 [Shi]; ('it is' > 'it is only' >) 'only' 唯 [Shi and subsequent classical Chinese]; ('to consider to be') > 'to think' [Shi and later] (GSR 575n; Dobson EAC; §2.10). Syn. of 'to be': → shí14 是, → yě 也; syn. of 'only': → zhí1 只, dàn 但 (under → dán2 單). [T] Sin Sukchu SR vi (平); MGZY ẏvi (平) [yi]; ONW ʔui [E] ST: PTB *ʔwʌj > PLB *ʔwʌj 'to be' (Thargood 1982, CLAO XI. 1: 65–81); Lushai ęحركة < ʔe, ve, JP we pres. tense particle; perh. WT yìn 'to be' <*w-in (?) (earlier *w disappears before i in WT).

[>] See §6.2.2 for the 'irrealis' role of the OC final consonants.

wu 惟 (jiwiC) LH ʔi, OCM *ʔi 'To be' [Bl, Bl]; Ṭi [Shi], ˊ [Shi]; Cit is' > 'it is only' » 'only' [Shi and later] (GSR 575n; Dobson EAC; §2.10). Syn. of 'to be': → shí14 > ye 1 ift; syn. of 'only': → zhí1 只, dàn 但 (under → dán2 單). [T] Sin Sukchu SR vi (平); MGZY ẏvi (平) [yi]; ONW ʔui

[>] See §6.2.2 for the 'irrealis' role of the OC final consonants.

wei3 為 (jiwi 3) LH ʔi, OCM *ʔi, OCB *w(r)jaj 'To make, do, (function as:) be' [Bl, Bl]. Note that often words meaning 'do, make' also develop the meaning 'function as, act as, to be'; see → yí6 役, → zuó3 作.

[>] See §6.2.2 for the 'irrealis' role of the OC final consonants.

wei 為 (jiwiC) LH ʔi, OCM *ʔi 'For, on behalf, because' [Bl, Bl].

[>] Etymology not clear. Some lgs. have similar looking words: TB-Mikir īngôy < m-hol 'to do, make'. <= MK: Khm ḫuy (spelled oy) 'give', resultative marker; MK lgs. on the Malay peninsula 'to make, do': Semai ḫuy, Jah Hut ḫoy, Semelai j-ᶌy [Diffloth 1975]. Khmer /-wɔ/ 'do, make' ≠ OKhmer thve ~ tve /tβɔ/ 'to do, make, perform, act, serve as, carry out function of, act as if, pretend to be...' (Jenner / Pou 1982: 349). The OC and AA vowels are rather different, though. A derivation is perch. → yí6 役.

[>] See §6.2.2 for the 'irrealis' role of the OC final consonants.

(wéi4 為) (jiwi) PCH *ʔi or *ʔi 'Elephant' [Shang dyn.]. Since the element 'elephant' is puzzling in this graph for 'to do', it has been suggested that an obsolete area word for this animal had once served as phonetic, note AA-PVM *h2wʌ, PSBahn. *ruas, PTB *m-gwi(y) > JP gui31 'elephant' (Matisoff LTBA 15.1, 1992: 169; HPTB: 200). For lack of initial *r in OC, see §10.1.3.
wèi — wěi

wèi (jwei) LH wui, OCM *wœi — [T] ONW uí
‘To surround, encircle’ [Li], ‘besiege’ [Zuo] (Yates EC 19, 1994: 112) is prob. cognate to → wèi, wèi even though the finals differ, prob. due to differences in the donor lgs. The basic meaning of the etymon is ‘to walk around something in order to watch it’.

wèi (mjswei) LH mui, OCM *mœi
‘It is not that, if it had not been for’ [Shi] is the negative root *m- → wèi, wèi, wéi ‘to be’ (Pulleyblank 1995: 110). It is often considered the s. w. as → wèi, wèi ‘small’.

wèi (mjwei) LH mui, OCM *mœi
‘To go against, disobey, oppose; go too far, transgress’ [Shi] > ‘err, fault’ [Zuo].

wèi (wei) LH hui, OCM *hwœih
‘Avoid, taboo’ [Zuo].

wèi (niwei) LH nui, OCM *nœi
‘High, majestic’ [Lunyu].

wèi (j1wei) LH nui, OCM *nœi
‘Be small, eclipsed’ [Shi].

wèi (iwei) LH mui, OCM *mœi
‘To copulate, have sexual intercourse’ [Shu].

wèi (mwei) LH mui, OCM *mœi, OCB *mœj — [D] PMin *mue
‘Tail’ [Shi] > ‘to copulate, have sexual intercourse’ [Shu].

wèi (mwei) LH mui, OCM *mœi, OCB *mœj — [D] PMin *mue
‘To copulate, have sexual intercourse’ [Shu].
wei - wèi

**wèi ②** (jwieB) LH ?yai B, OCM *?oi? — [T] ONW ?ue
‘To fall’ [Zhuang], ‘to hang down’ [Li]. Perh. the same word as → wèi ③ 委?
‘suspend from the shoulder’. The OC form is similar to words with nearly identical
meaning (‘hang down’): → chuí 垂, → ruí 椽.

**wèi ③** (jwieB) LH ?yai B, OCM *?oi?
‘To bend’ [Li], 髩 [Liezi] may be the same word as → wèi ② 委.
WB kwe ɿ ‘bend, curve’ ≠ kwe ɿ ‘bend around, curved’ are perh. MK loans (Shorto 1972): Sre kue ‘bent,

**wèi ④** (jwieC) LH wui C, OCM *waih, OCB *waih ? — [T] ONW ui
‘Woof’ [Zuo], ‘to weave’ [Zhuang].
≠ yán 織 (juanC) LH wun C, OCM *wans, OCB *wian
‘Woof’ [SW] (Karlgren 1933: 28).
[<] n-nominalization of wèi 織 (jwieC) (§6.4.3).

**wèi ⑤** 織 → huf ② 燦燦

**wèi ⑥** 膜眉 (mjweiB) LH mui B, OCM *mai?
‘Be vigorous’ (of persons) [BI, Shi, EY] is cognate to items under → mín ④ 疲
‘suffering’ (so Wáng L 1982: 410). There may perh. be a connection with → wù ①11 務
‘apply oneself, work’.
≠ wù 勿 (mjwat) LH mut, OCM *mat
‘Eagerly’ [Li].

**wèi ①** (mjweiC) LH mus, OCM *mots (?)
‘Not yet’ [OB, Shi, Mand.], in contrast to → bù ① 不, wèi focuses on whether an action
occurred or not, without reference to the subject’s intention (Norman 1988: 98).
Pulleyblank (1995: 109) considers this word a fusion of the negative root *m- with
the perfective particle → ji ① 既 ‘already’.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR vi (去); MGZY wí (去) [vi]; ONW mui C
[D] W-Wènzhōu, Y-Guǎngzhōu mèi C, M-Fúzhōu mui C, Xiàmén be C

**wèi ②** (mjweiB) LH mus, OCM *mats
The 8th of the Earthly Branches identified with the sheep / goat [OB]. Acc. to Norman
(1985: 88), possibly a loan from AA: note MK: OKhmer-Lao *mamee ‘goat’ ≠
Khmer babae ≠ Mon bàp ‘[Ferlus] MKS 18–19, 1992: 56], also Atayal (AN) mits
‘goat’.

**wèi ③** 味 (mjweiC) LH mus, OCM *mats — [T] ONW mui
‘Taste’ [Yili].
[E] This word is perh. of MK origin: PMonic *[?]mop ‘good tasting, have a pleasant
flavor, be pleasant’ (the QY rime can derive from Proto-Chinese *-s, *-ts, and *-ps).
Unger (Hao-ku 39, 1992: 89) connects wèi with WT brød ‘taste’. The meaning of
KN-Lushai hmui H ‘savory smelling’, Lai hmuj / hmuj ‘be fragrant’ is somewhat
removed from ‘taste’; however, these items are phonologically close to Chinese.
Boltz (JAOS 99, 1979: 432) draws attention to binomes for ‘taste’: zǐ-wèi 味味 LH
tsí-a-mus [Shiji, Lie] and cān-wèi 嗜味 LH tsé-am B-mus [Huainan], apparently with two
different ways to write the first syllable.

**wèi ④** (jwiC) LH wis, OCM *wrat(t)s ?, OCB *(w)japs
‘Position, place, seat’ in the center of a court or group of persons [BI, Shi].

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wèi

[T] Sin Sukchu SR uj (去); MGZY xue (去) [fiue]; ONW ui

Etymology not clear. Although it is often related to → occan (so Pulleyblank 1962: 233; Baxter 1992: 446), the role of occan in the graph wèi is prob. semantic, not phonetic. Possibly related to WT *bus ‘center’, this word and wèi perh. from ST *d-wus.

wèì 4 风 (jwič) LH wìc, OCM *wih
‘Gadfly’ [Guoyu, Chuyu].


Matisoff (1995: 71) suggests that the final *i in wèi is a ST diminutive suffix added to → yóu3 猴; theoretically, the latter’s initial could have been PCH *w-.

wèì 5 精 (jwič 4, jwič, jiuč) LH wìc ~ luiB, OCM *wih ~ *rui? (< *r-wi?) OCB *lũjs
‘Kind of monkey-like animal’ [Zhouli]. The form *rui? is close to Wa-Lawa-Bulang *rɔyol ‘white-handed gibbon’; in the variant *wih, the AA initial *r- was lost, see §10.1.3.

For synonyms, see under → wài2 回. See → wèi5 闳 for outside cognates.

wèì 6 食 (jwič 3) LH was (wes?), OCM *wets, OCB *wrjats — [T] ONW uei
‘To guard, patrol’ [BI, Shu]. The graph shows feet walking around an enclosure. Wèi is related to → wèì 闳 ‘surround, encircle’ even though the vowels differ and the final *s is unusual in an etymon with ST *-1, but note the parallel word Lushai veel~ /ve wł/ (< *wes) ‘to put round or on, cause to encircle; a single encircling’ (under → wèi5 闳). For synonyms, see under → wùi2 回. See → wèi5 闳 for outside cognates.

wèì 7 食 (jwič 3) LH wus, OCM *wats ?
‘Stomach’ [Li].

The etymology is not clear. The OC initial is difficult to reconcile with WT *grod ‘belly, stomach’. The CH word is reminiscent of TB-PLB *wɪk ‘stomach’, and MK-PWa *wek ‘entrails, stomach’. However, OC is easiest to reconcile with PLB *p-wam2 > WB *wam ‘stomach’ (HPTB: 46) if we assume a PCH *waps (-m ~ -p has parallels).

wèì 8 食 (jwič 3) LH wus, OCM *wats, OCB *wrjats — [T] ONW uei
‘To say, call, be called’ [Shi] is thought cognate to → yúni2 云 (Wáng Li 1982: 456). Alternatively, it could possibly be a derivation from → yóu2 有 ‘there is, have’ (§6.2.2; §2.10).

wèì 9 食 (jwič 3) LH wus, OCM *wats, OCB *wrjats — [T] ONW uei
‘Screening’ (of mist) [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu 慰 SR ?uj (去); MGZY 慰 ‘ue (去) [uie]

yù 食 (juiat) LH ūs, ūt, OCM *ut(s)
‘Screening’ (of mist) [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu 慰 SR ?uj (去); MGZY 慰 ‘ue (去) [uie]

yù 食 (juiat) LH ūts, OCM *ot(s)
‘To screen’ (as mists) [Shi]. For a semantic parallel, see → yuàn1 院...

wèì 10, yù 食 (jwič, jiuat) LH ūs, ūt, OCM *ut(s)
‘Screening’ (of mist) [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu 慰 SR ?uj (去); MGZY 慰 ‘ue (去) [uie]

wèì 11, yù 食 ‘artemisia, mugwort’ → yù32 鬱

wèì 12 像 → ū7 誓

wèì 13 麻 → kuf3 茎

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wèi 14 饲 (?wei^c) LH ?ui^c, OCM *?uih
‘To feed’ (an animal)’ [Liji, Chuci], Mand. 餵喂 (Wáng Lì 1982: 430).

wèi 15 魏 → wèi9 威

wén 湫 (?wun) LH ?un, OCM *?un
‘Warm’ [Li], ‘mild, gentle’ [Shi].
[Œ] Sin Sukchu SR ?un (平); MGZY ‘un (平) [un]; ONW ?un
[Œ] ST *ur: TB-Lushai urH ‘to burn’ (in cooking), ‘get smoky’, urH ‘to smoke, to heat, distill; to warm’ ≠ uut ‘to burn, char, scorch’ ≠ urH roH ‘to dry’ (at a fire); Mikir ur ‘to dry over the fire’ (Benedict HJAS 5, 1940: 122 no. 62). Prob. not (directly?) related to → yù20, yú 媾 ST *to.

wén1 文 (mjuan) LH mun, OCM *man
‘Be striped, patterned’ [BI, Shi], ‘written character’ [Zuo] > ‘literature’ [Lunyu] > ‘refined, accomplished’ [LI, Shi].
[Œ] Sin S. SR vun (平), PR, LR vun; MGZY wun (平) [vun]; MTang mvun, ONW mun
[<] Prob. a nominal n-derivation (§6.4.3) from → mèi 照 *mɑ ‘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.

wén2 蚊 (mjuan) LH mun, OCM *man
‘Mosquito’ [Zhuang].
[Œ] MTang mvun, ONW mun — [D] PMin *mən
[Œ] The identification with → wén1 文 as the insect with ‘patterned markings’ on its wings (Williams 1941 / 1974: 281) is prob. folk etymology. It is not clear if mèng 曬 (mjuan^b) LH moy ‘mosquito’ [Lie] is related: PMin *mən^b.
[Œ] AA ‘mosquito’: PSBahn., PVM *mː>s [Ferlus], Khmer muuh, Stieng mː>h, Bahnaric *mː>s [Diffloth 1976: 223]. CH added the nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3).

wén3 閃 (mjuan^c) LH mun, OCM *man, OCB *mjun
‘To hear about, hear’ [BI, Shi], ‘to smell’ [Shu]. Baxter’s (1992: 352f) reconstruction *mjun ‘to hear’ is based on Shijing rimes and an earlier form of the graph.
[Œ] Sin Sukchu SR vun (平), PR vun; MGZY wun (平) [vun]; MTang mvun < mun, ONW mun
※ wén 問 (mjuan^c) LH mun^c, OCM *mans, OCB *mjun
(1) ‘Be heard about, renowned, fame’ [Shi].
[<] *mən + passive s-suffix (§4.4).
(2) ‘To ask about, inquire’ [Shi].
[Œ] The step from ‘hear’ to ‘ask’ is not easy to understand, but it occurs also in TB lgs., e.g. PLB *na ‘listen’ ≠ *na ‘ask’ (Matisoff D. of Lahu: 726f), also in Tani (J. Sun L’BA 16.2, 1993: 152). Perh. MK had some paronomastic influence on OC, note PMonic *smaan ‘inquire’, Wa-Lawa-Bulang *hmən ‘to ask for, ask a question’. MK → Tai: Sack maan^c2 ‘ask for help’.
[Œ] The CH word ‘to smell’ is prob. derived from a ST *m-nam: PTB *m/s-nam ‘smell’ (HPTB: 250f), WT mnam-pa ‘to smell of’ ≠ snom-pa (> snum-pa) ‘smell’ (Tib. > Spilo
Kanauri mun- ‘to smell’ – recorded by N. C. Bodman; WB nam ‘stink’ ≠ namB/C ‘smell’, Lushai namH ‘smell of’, JP ma3t1 namS5 ‘to hear, smell’. The inversion of n and m in CH is the result of labial dissimilation or prefix-preemption.

In almost all major TB lgs. this etymon means only ‘to smell’. One or other factor may help explain the application of ‘to hear’ in CH. The semantic affinities of hear ~ smell have a parallel in TB *na ‘ear ~ nose’ and hence perh. in ST, see → ẹ̄r, ē. The CH stem may have converged with a MK etymon (cf. PMonic *smaañ ‘inquire’ above); also note WT (m-)nman-para ‘to hear’ which is phonologically quite close to CH. Finally, Baxter’s distinct form *mjun ‘hear’ implies that this is a separate etymon (etymology not clear) which eventually merged phonetically with ‘smell’.

wèn (mjunB) LH munB, OCM *møn?
‘Corner of the lips, shut the lips’ [Zhouli].

wèn (mjunC - tone!) LH munC, OCM *møns
‘Tangle, confused’ (net) [Shu]. This word may be cognate to → mén, but the notions of ‘dark > confused’ and ‘tangled = confused’ are semantically distinct. Wáng Li (1982: 524f) relates this word to → fën, fën ‘mixed, confused’.

wèn1 翁 (mjunB) LH munB, OCM *møn?
‘Old man’ [FY], ‘father’ [SW].

wèn2 翁 (mjunC - tone!) LH munC, OCM *møns
‘A bellied jar with small opening’, also ‘tub, vat’ [FY], ‘swollen’ [Zhuang]. Acc. to FY 5, 10, this was in some parts of northern China a synonym of yìng (under → yìng, yìng ‘ulcer’; → wán may also be connected.

wò (tuq) LH ?oŋ, OCM *ʔoŋ
‘Bell’, ‘pot’, WT gǒŋ ‘bucket’, Lepcha jōŋ-mə ‘bucket, tub’ (Unger Hao-ku 63, 1999). <→ Tai: S. lug2C2 < *l- ‘vessel, utensil for keeping provisions’. The initial l- in these languages is difficult to reconcile with OC; Unger assumes a ʔ-prefix; see §5.11.

wò1 汤 (tuq) LH ?ouk, OCM *ʔauk, OCB *ʔawk
‘Be / look glossy’ (of leaves) [Shi], ‘sprinkle, moisten > fertile’ [Zuo], ‘wash’ (hands) [Zhouli].
wò – wū

= wò 畳 ... ‘silvery’ [Shi].

[E] This word is perh. cognate to WB u8 ‘to polish, make bright’, with the CH final -k (§6.1).

wò2 臥 (ȵuáC) LH ȵuaiC, OCM *ŋōih or *ŋwāih
‘To lie down, sleep’ [Meng].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ȵuá (去), PR, LR x, MGZY o (去) [ŋ]; ONW ȵua

[E] ST has *ŋwaj ~ *nwal parallel stems (§5.12.1) for this etymon:
(1) *ŋwaj > *nwal: WT ȵal-ba ‘to rest’ ≠ mwal ‘womb’ (lit. resting place with body part *m-); Lushai ȵaiH / ȵaiP < ȵai ‘to be quiet, silent, stop, pause’. NNaga *C-ŋuai ‘easy, gentle, quiet’, Kachin ȵwi ‘gentle, mild’ = JP ȵui31 ‘slow, satisfied’, WB ȵweC ‘gentle, moderate’ (STC no. 315) agree phonologically with Chinese.

(2) A ST parallel stem *nwal (§5.12.1) is represented by ...

Non-ST lgs. in the area have words which look similar: AA-PVM t-ŋah ‘(to lie) on the back’, PTai ȵaiA ‘lie on the back looking up’.

wò3 平 → wū4 屋

wò4 平 → du 湖

wū1 池 (ȵuo) LH ȵua, OCM *ȵwā
‘Pool, stagnant water’ 池 [Zuo], 池 [Meng].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ȵu (平); MGZY u (平) [ȵ]; ONW ȵo

※ wāng 池 (ȵwan) LH ȵuɑŋ, OCM *ŋwāŋ

wū2 巫帔 (mju) LH mua, OCM *ma — [T] ONW muo
‘Spirit medium, shaman’ [OB, Yi, Shu, Lunyu] of either sex, but eventually female
[SW] when contrasted with xi 淠 (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).

[E] ST: WT 'ba-po/-mo < nba ‘spirit medium, shaman/ess’ (HST: 107). As to foreign initial b- for CH m-, see §5.12.2. Another WT word for ‘shaman’ is gšen (→ xiān2 仙). <+ Tai: S. mɔ1A < *mɔA ‘doctor, sorcerer’ is usually considered a CH loan (Li 1976: 40) and has been cited as evidence for an OC voiceless initial. MK-PWa *səman ‘shaman’ may also be connected.

Several alternative etymologies have been proposed: (1) Perh. → wū3 謐 ‘to deceive’ is the same word. Note a WT semantic parallel ‘deceive’ ~ ‘magical power’: sprul-ba ‘to juggle, make phantoms, miraculous power’ ≠ ’prul ‘magical deception’. (2) Wū could be cognate to wū 舞 ‘to dance’ [Shi] (Lau 1999: 87). (3) Wū could in addition to ‘dance’ be cognate to → mū3 母 ‘mother’ as wū were female acc. to late Zhou and Han texts (E. Schafer, see Jensen EC 20, 1995: 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).

wū3 謐 (mju) LH mua, OCM *ma
‘To deceive’ [Lunyu], ‘slander, accuse falsely’ [Zuo].


※ wāng 巫 (mjwanB) LH mʊŋB, OCM *mæŋ?
‘To deceive, confusion, to outwit, wits’ [Shi].

[E] Tai: S. pʰraŋA2 < *br- ‘to deceive, cheat’. For foreign initial b- for CH m-, see

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§5.12.2. The Tai form throws doubt on the possibility that wâng is the s. w. as → wâng1, 网 ‘net, to snare’.

* màn 謂 (muǎn[CN], manC, mján 3) LH ma/an(C), mían, OCM *mrân(s), *mân(s) ‘To deceive’ [Xun]. For the difference in final nasals, see §6.4.2.

[E] This w. converges and overlaps with → wâng2 宣 ‘reckless, false’. Perh. related to → wâ₂ 巫 ‘spirit medium’.

wâ₄ 屋 (ʔuk) LH ?ok, OCM *ʔok
‘Roof’ [Shi, Zuo], ‘house, room’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?u (入); MGZY ‘u (入) [ʔu]; ONW ?ok
Etymology not clear. The basic meaning of this word is apparently ‘roof’, yet comparanda all mean ‘house’. It is sometimes associated with Tai: Po’ai luk<sup>b<sup>2<sup>5</sup></sup> < *dl­ ‘room’ whose initial l- is difficult to reconcile with OC, see §5.11. Alternatively, note PTai *ʔj-: S. *au<sup>Cf</sup> ‘home, house’. But wâ may be closer to AA forms: PVM *k-rn-ʔ ‘house’ (with infixes and separated initial omitted in CH), and or Kharia orâ, Munda orâ. Wang Li (1982: 293) believes that wâ was originally the same etymon as wâ³ 艮 (ʔǎk) ‘tent’.

wâ₅ 惡 (ʔuo) LH ?a, OCM *ʔa — [T] ONW ?o
‘How’ [Lun], ‘to what place, where’ [Meng], also wâ hu 惡乎. This and the following interrogatives occur before the vb, basically asking ‘at / to which place’ (Dobson LAC: 146f).

* ân 安 (?án) LH ?an, OCM *ʔán — [T] ONW ?on
‘To / at what place, in what respect?’ [Shi, Zuo] (Dobson). The final -n in this and the next item is probably the same demonstrative morpheme encountered in → rân₂ 然 and other grammatical words (§6.4.5).

* yân 焉 (?ján 3) LH ?on, OCM *ʔan
‘To what place, at which place?’ [Shi] (Dobson). Probably a (sandhi?) variant of ân above.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?jen, jen (平); ONW ?an

wâ₆ 烏 (ʔuo) LH ?a, OCM *ʔa
‘Crow, raven’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?u (平); MGZY ‘u (平) [ʔu]; ONW ?o
This onomatopoetic word could perh. be cognate to PL *ak < a³.

~ yâ 鴉 (?a) LH ?a, OCM *ʔa
‘Crow, raven’ [Zhuang], a later variant of the above which for reasons of sound symbolism preserves the earlier vowel, see §7.2.2 (Pulleyblank AM n.s. 9.1, 1962: 103; Unger Hao-ku 22, 1983).

wû₁ 毋 (mju) LH muo ≠ OCM *mə?
‘Should not, don’t!’ Injunctive and imperative negative [OB], already in Zhou time phonetically confused with, and read like, wû 無 (DEZC: 48, 647).

* wû 勿 (mjwat) 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 wû with zhî 之 [Meng et al.] (Pulleyblank 1995: 108). The OB graph is distinct from that for → wû₅ 物 ‘thing’ which was therefore not a graphic loan.

* mèi 沒 (mut) 沒 ‘not have, there is no, not yet’ Mand.; MC mut may be a col. (j-less) variant of wû 或 wêi 未, which later fused with, or was contaminated by, yōu 有 (Norman
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: → m16, w16, → m12
末, → wáng1 亡 (incl. sān 喪), → wú4 無 (incl. mō 莫). Pulleyblank (1973: 121) combines all these words in one large wf.

wú2 吾 (μνο) LH JoinColumn. OCM *ŋa
‘I, my’ [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 yá 處 *ŋa, or with yú 魚 *ŋa under the ‘tiger’. During the Nanbeichao and Tang periods, there is no distinction between wó and wú, and wú disappears from the col. Iq. (Norman 1988: 118). Wú is directly cognate to the TB forms below, even though it is missing in the earliest texts.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ηu (平); MGZY u (平) [u]; ONW ηo


* wó 我 (ηhB) LH ηa, OCM *ŋaï
Independent pronoun ‘I, we’ [OB, BI, Shi], in classical texts ‘I (stressed), we’ (§3.3.3). Originally, the graph for wó seems to have been created to write the name of a Shang period people / country, ‘sheep’ 半 was later added 義 (prob. signifying pastoralists) in order to distinguish the name from the pronoun (Sagart TP 81, 4–5, 1995: 328–342).

[T] Sin S. SR ηo (上), PR, LR c; MGZY ηo (上) [ŋo]; ONW ηa

[D] Mand. wó is a col. archaism, some northern dialects have the expected 𢈱 (Demieville 1950: 5; Stimson 1972: 177); some southern dialects have preserved the OC rime: Y-Fóshān  itemCount=2 B; K-Méixiàn ŋaB, PMin *ŋaB (Norman 1988: 223).

[*] *ŋa + independent marker *-i; this final is also a suffix in TB, see below. The OC glottal element may have resulted from *ŋa +ʔi > *ŋai > *ŋaiï. In OC, wó occurs in all sentence positions, unlike the dependent wú 吾, see §3.3.3 for more details.


* áng 印 (ŋanB) LH ηoŋ, OCM *ŋaŋ
‘I, we’ is perhaps a stressed form [Shi] (Sagart 1999: 135).

[C] For possible wider connections, see → yà2 仰詣詣. Syn. → yú5 子余.

wú3 吳 (μνo) LH ηo, OCM *ŋəwá
‘To shout’ [Shi].

[E] Perh. related to WT ŋar-skad ‘roaring of a tiger’ *ŋa-ro ‘be loud’. WT does not preserve earlier medial *w (§912.9).

wú4 無 (mu) LH mua, OCM *ma
‘There is no, not have’ [later Western Zhou texts and since].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR, LR vu (平); MGZY vu (平) [vu]; MTang mvu < muo, ONW muo

[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 → wáng1 亡 for ‘not have, there is no’, the Shūjīng has both wāng 哀 (under → wáng1 亡) and wú 無, the Shūjīng both wú 無 and → mī6 墓. In the OB, negatives with initial *m- negate actions which are controllable by living persons (Takashima 1996: 370ff).

[D] Wú is the common ST negative ‘not’ which has survived as such in southern dialects: W-Shanghai m2A, Y-Guangzhou, Kējīa m2A, M-Xiān mC2 (Norman 1988:
wú  –  wǔ

199), also sporadically in Zhou texts as some investigators claim, but the instances are ambiguous.

In many dialects, this etymon fused with → yǒu 有 ‘to have, there is’ for ‘not have, there is no’: G-Nánchāng, Fēngxin mauA⁶, Líncuān mauA⁶; X-Chángshā mauC², Šuāngfēng mauC²; Y-Guāngzhōu mauB² (Mand. mōu), Táishān mauA¹; K-Méixiān mauA² (Norman 1988: 213 etc.).

[E] ST *ma: PTB *ma ‘not’, widely represented in TB languages, e.g. WT ma ‘not’, WB maC, PL *ma² ‘not’.

※ mò 莫 (mǎk) LH mak, OCM *mâk
‘None, nothing’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR maw (入), LR maw?; MGZY maw (入) [maw] ONW mak
[C] *ma + distributive suffix *-k (§6.1.2).

[C] Derivatives from the stem *ma are: → mǐō, → mò, → wáng L (incl. sal), as well as prob. the wf under → wú1 惶; → ma 骂 interrogative particle. Pulleyblank (1973: 121) used this large wf to show that allofams can have different rimes.

wú₃ 蕨靡 (mju) LH mūo, OCM *mā

※ huāng 荒 (xiān) LH huān, OCM *hmân
‘Weed-covered’ [Meng].

[C] Perh. → wǔ₁ 惶靡, → mǎng₃ 蕨 are cognate; possibly also → mò₂ 蕨 ‘obscure’.

wú₄ 憤 → mò₃ 蕨

wú₁ 午 (nuōB) LH ŋòB, OCM *ŋā?
The 7th of the Earthly Branches which is associated with the horse [OB], acc. to Norman (1985: 88) a loan from MK; note Viet. ngư’a ‘horse’, PVM-Pakatan mauo [Ferlus MKS 18–19, 1992: 57].

wú₂ 午 ‘go against’ → yū₁ yù 禁

wú₃ 五 (nuōB) LH ŋòB, OCM *ŋā?
‘Be five’ [Shi]. — [T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋu (上); MGZY u (上) [u]; ONW ŋo.

[D] PMín *ŋoB; Y-Guāngzhōu 1ŋgB²

[E] ST: PTB *ŋ-ŋ > WT lija, WB ģB, PL *ŋa², Lushai pa₁-ŋaH < ŋa. CH -> KT: Tai: S. hēaC¹ (< ŋ-ŋ?); Sui ŋC²; these forms are CH loans.

wú₄ 武 (mjuB) LH mūoB, OCM *ma?, OCB *Np(r)ja?

[E] ST: WT dmag ‘army’, PLB *mak ‘war, soldier’ > WB mak (HST: 107). For the finals, see §3.2.2.

wú₅ 武 (mjuB) LH mūoB, OCM *ma?
‘Footprint’ [Shi].

[E] Etymology not clear. Cognition with TB-WT mal ‘situation, vestige, trace’ is not likely, we should also expect a trace of a foreign final *-l in CH.

wú₆ 蕨 (mjuB) LH mūoB, OCM *mo?
‘To offend, insult, maltreat’ [BI, Shi] may be compared to WT dmod-pa ‘to curse, accurse, execrate’, which can, however, just as well be linked to → mā ‘骂’ ‘scold’, especially since the WT word is prob. a derivation from ma ‘below’.

wú₇ 慟 → mù₆ 慟

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wǔ

Wǔ 舞
‘To dance’ [Shi]. — [E] ? WT bro ‘dance’ (initials, see §5.12.2). Or 矛 wǔ_2

wǔ_9 腹 (mjuB) LH muoB, OCM *ma?
‘Big, important, numerous’ 腹 [Shi]; ‘big house’ 腹 [Guan], Mand. ‘hallway’. This
may be the s. w. as → wǔ_10 腹 and perf. be related to PTB *mra ‘much, many’.

wǔ_10 腹 (mjuB) LH muoB, OCM *ma?
‘Rich, beautiful’ 腹 [Shi]; ‘luxuriant’ 腹 [Shi]. This
may be the s. w. as → 腹 and perh. be related to PTB *mra ‘much, many’.

wǔ_11 腹 (mjuB) LH muoB, OCM *ma?
‘Jar’ [Li] is perh. connected to Tai: S. 腹 CL (WrSiam hmaa) ‘beautiful’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 173).

wǔ_1 元 (ŋuat) LH ŋuat, OCM *ŋut
‘To cut the feet’ [Zhuang] is perf. connected to Tai: S. məC < *hm- ‘cooking pot’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 55).

wǔ_2 抗 (ŋuat) LH ŋuat, OCM *ŋut
‘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-čʰuŋ
cf. §6.7; §12.9.

wǔ_3 勿 ‘not’ → wǔ_1 勿

wǔ_4 勿 ‘eagerly’ → wěi_6 眉

wǔ_5 物 (mjuat) LH mut, OCM *mat
‘ Variety’ (of color, objects) > ‘to sort, classify, class, sort’ [Zuo] > ‘things’ [OB, Shi]
(Boltz 1994: 60). The OB graph for wǔ was distinct from wǔ_1,勿 ‘don’t’.

wǔ_6 悟寤 (ŋuɔC) LH ŋuɔC, OCM *ŋâh
‘To wake, awake’ 悟 [Shi]; ‘to awake, realize’ 悟 [Shu].

wǔ_7 反 (ŋuat, SUO) LH sọ, OCM *sọ — [T] ONW sọ
<s-caus. of wù 悟癮 (quòC) (§5.2.1).

This wf may also include → ąú 蘇 ‘grass’. Curiously, AA-PSBahn. has a word *raŋal ‘awaken’ (cognate to Wa-Lawa-Bulang *sdı ‘awaken’ tr. ?), but a final -l should have left a trace in MC (§6.9).

wù 7 悟⋈悟悟悟悟 → yù17 嬖
wù 8 危 ‘hate’ → ę3 恶
wù 9  Bool → ę6 懿鄠
wù 10 嬖 → yù17 嬖
wù 11 嫠 (mjuC) LH muoC, OCM *moh, OCB *m(r)jos
‘To apply oneself to, be intent on’ [Zuo], ‘occupation, task’ [Yi].

[T] MTang mju < muo, ONW muo
⇒ mao 懮 (mouC) LH moC, OCM *mòh, OCB *m(r)jos
‘To make effort, be energetic, strive’ [BI, Shu].


wù 12 霧 (mjuC) LH muoC, OCM *moh
‘Fog, mist’ [Shu].

[D] This word survives in almost all dialects: Y-Guangzhou mou22, M-Xiàmén bu33, bo24, Fúzhōu muo52. In Y-Yángjìāng it means ‘dew’ mou54-fui21 霧水.

[E] ST: PTB *r-muw (STC no. 488) > WT rmu-ba ‘fog’ ≠ rmus-pa ‘foggy’; WB mru ‘floating dust particles’.


[C] Possible allofoms may be → mù 嬠 (so HST: 82), → mài3-mù 嬠霖 ‘drizzle’. Words meaning ‘dark, covered, obscure, dull’ and the like tend to have the phonestemic initial *m- followed by a back vowel.

wù 13 嬠 → wʊ1 沃
"Evening" [Shi, Zhuang]; 'evening tide' 江 [Lêipîân], opp. cháo 潮 (→ zhàò 潮). [E] ST: PTB *s-r(y)ak 'spend the night, full day and night, 24 hrs.' (HPTB: 323; STC p. 171; no. 203) > WT ṣag < ryak 'day' (24 hrs. from sunrise to sunrise); Kanauri ḥra-k 'day'. Lahul ṣag 'day'; Lep. ayak 'day' (i.e., 24 hrs.); PLB *ṭrak > WB rakh, o-ra-k a complete day of 24 hrs.', Lahu ḥá 'spend the night', ḥ-há 'night'; Lushai ṣiaq / riaq 'put up for the night, stay the night' (STC no. 203, 417; n. 487; CVST 2: 84); JP ya?55 < yak55 'day'; Limbu yajkt- 'to stay' (especially overnight). CH preinitial *s- for other lgs. *r- and vice versa is not uncommon, see §5.3.

In the OB, the 24 hr. day started and ended some time in the evening or night. Since → ri 日 ‘sun’ had acquired the meaning ‘24 hr. day’ already in OC, xī was then restricted to the time of the day’s end.

This word is thought to be cogn. to → yè 夜 ‘night’, but TB keeps the etyma *ryak ‘24 hr. day’ and *ya ‘night’ strictly separate. → xī 昔 is prob. related; → lā 旅 ‘lodge’ may possibly be another manifestation of this stem.

西棲栖 (sie) LH sei (also sen ?), OCM *sâi (or *sâi ?), OCB *saj

‘Nest’ n. [Shi] > ‘to roost, rest’ 棲 [Shi] ‘keep still’ 栖 [Lunyu]; ‘west’ 西 [Shi] > ‘turn or go west’ [Shu].

Xī has several possible etymologies. (1) Because 西 appears to be the phonetic in the graph náb 酒 (náb) *nâ?, some investigators assume an OC *sn- cluster. Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 60) relates xī to WT ner-ba ‘to sink, go down’; or (2) it is related instead to Chepang nel?- ‘go down, set’ (sun) (same etymon as WT?). (3) A MK nominal n-infix derivative from the root ‘go down’ as in OMon cnis ‘ghat’ < cis ‘go down’ (to the river, and generally), with PAA *tsn- > PCH *sn-, see §2.6.1. Therefore this etymon meant lit. ‘the place where one goes down to’ > Mon ‘ghat’ > OC ‘nest, west’. The base form is → jì15 資 ‘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 OC medial *n.

吸 (xij) LH hip, OCM *h%p or *h%p — [D] Mín: Xiàmén khipDI

‘To inhale’ [Zhuang].

Xī the OC initial is not clear, therefore xī could be cognate either to WT rjub-pa, brjubs ‘to draw in (air), breathe”, or, more likely, to Lushai inl-hipH ‘draw in’ (as air). An allofam may be → hē 喝喝 ‘drink’ (Lushai hupH); for the *u ~ *i alternations, see §11.5.1.

析 (siek) LH sek, OCM *sêk

‘To cleave, split’ [Shi], ‘disperse’ [Shu].

ST *sek: Mikir ijsêk < m-sêk ‘to split’ (Mikir -ek can also derive from -ik), JP se~p55 < sek ‘cut’. TB cognates show that → sê, 斯 ‘cleave’ is prob. not (directly) related. This word does not belong to any of the stems listed under → lā 離. Less likely: the meaning ‘disperse’ may point to a connection with MK: OKhmer /ceek/ ‘to divide, distribute’ ច coincide chaæk/ ‘be divided, split, cleft, forked’. Possibly the ST
and the AA etymology have coalesced. The AA word may also underlie \( \rightarrow \text{chā}_1 \) 叉 'fork'.

\[ x_i \]

\( x_i \frac{5}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \) 释 ‘wash rice’

\( x_i \frac{6}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \) (sjāk) LH siak, OCM *sak or *sjak?

(Past time separated by at least one night:) ‘Earlier, formerly, former times’ [Bl, Shi]. ‘yesterday’ [Zuo]; ‘night’ [Zuo, Zhuang] is rare, perhaps a later development, possibly derived from the implied notion ‘intervening night’. Since in Zuozhuan [Ai 4] 昔 means clearly ‘night’, it cannot be a graphic substitution for \( \rightarrow \text{xī}_1 \) 夕 ‘evening’. \( \text{xī} \) 腊 [Yi] ‘dried meat’ (i.e. ancient meat) is the same word according to Karlgren GSR 798a.

\[ x_i \frac{7}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \] 腊 \( \rightarrow \text{xī}_6 \) :1i

\[ x_i \frac{8}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \] 息 (sjāk) LH sik, OCM *sāk

‘To breathe’ [Lunyu], ‘rest’ [Shi].

\[ x_i \frac{9}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \] 何

\[ x_i \frac{10}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \] 湖 (kʰie) LH kʰe, OCM *kʰē — [T] ONW kʰei

‘River valley’ \( \text{xī} \), qī 濕 [Zuo], ‘mountain stream, river’ \( \text{xī} \) 溪 [JY]. Etymology not clear, the word looks similar to PWHMiao *kle A1 (Purnell *gle A1) ‘water, river’.

\[ x_i \frac{11}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \] 既 (sjei) LH sei, OCM *sēi — [T] ONW séi

‘Rhinoceros’ [Shi]; this word is not a variant of \( \rightarrow \text{xī}_4 \) 兜 ‘little buffalos’.

\[ x_i \frac{12}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \] 希 (xjei) LH hī, OCM *hōi — [T] Sin Sukchu SR xi (平); MGZY hi (平) [xi]

‘To hope, look for’ 翦 [Lü], 希 (modern CH) is probably cognate to \( \rightarrow \text{ji}_1 \) 縦 ‘yesterday’, among others.

\[ x_i \frac{13}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \] 膝 (sjei) LH sīt, OCM *sit — [T] MTang sir, ONW sit

‘Knee’ [Yili]. Unger (Hao-ku 39, 1992) compares this word to WT sgyid (< s-yit?) ‘bend of knee, knee joint’. Gong (BIHP 51.3, 1980) relates \( \text{xī} \) to \( \rightarrow \text{ji}_9 \) 縦 *tísit ‘joint’.

\[ x_i \frac{14}{6}, \text{shī}_2 \] 悉 (sjei) LH sīt, OCM *sit

‘All, everything’ [Shi], ‘exhaust’ [Zuo]; ‘to know, comprehend’. 523
xī – xì


XI₅-shud 螳螂 (sjet-sjut) LH šit-šuit, OCM *srit-srót

XI₆ 蟲 (yiwei) LH yue, OCM *wē
‘Big tortoise’ [Chuchi]. Etymology not clear.

XI₇ 蠟 (xjie 3) LH hioi
‘A ladle’ [FY 33.6] is a Han-period dialect word in the areas of Chén, Chǔ, Sòng, and Weì, also at Guō Pú’s time (ca. 300 AD) in tīängdòng (lower Yangtze); today found in Mfn: PMin *hiː ‘ladle’ (Norman 1983: 205).

XI₈ 烏 → hé 5 合

XI₉ 烏 → yí 10 儀宜

XI₂₀ 喝 → hē 喝歔

XI₁ 席 (zjäk) LH ziak ~ ziak, OCM *s-lak — [T] ONW ziek — [D] PMin *dzjiːkD2
‘Mat’ for sitting or lying on [Shi].

[X] Because commentators suggest that xí is made of grass (藺) or rushes, and because the syn. → jiän₁₁ 蒺 means both ‘grass’ and ‘mat’, it is possible that this word is cognate to → mànɡ₁ 藺 ‘grass, weeds’ (*młaʔ ~ mlanʔ?). We would have here an example of the TB-like m-/s- alternation in prefixes: *młaʔ? (< *mlakʔ?) ~ *s-lak. Wáng Li (1982: 289) associates xí with other words, incl. → jiän₁₁ 蒺, zū 筆 ‘bedding or packing of straw’ (under → jū₁ 草 — unlikely).

XI₂ 習 (zjäp) LH zip, OCM *s-lêp
‘To flap’ (the wings) [Läshi], ‘flutter’. XI₂ and XI₃ are usually considered the same word. However, the present xí may instead be cognate to → yè⁶ 煞 ‘flashing’.

XI₃ 習 (zjäp) LH zip, OCM *s-lêp
‘To do repeatedly’ [Shi], ‘to repeat’ [Shu]; ‘to practice’ [Lun, Li]; ‘habit, custom’ [Meng], ‘to know, be familiar with’ [Guoyu]: ‘additional robe over another, to cover’ 襷 [Li, Zuo]. XI₂ and XI₃ are usually considered the same word.

[T] Sin Sükchu SR zi (入); MGZY zi (入) [zi]; ONW zip

[X] Area word: TB-WT slob-pa, slaps ‘to learn, teach’ ≠ slob ‘exercise, practice’. Lushai has a different vowel (MK source?): tlip⁴l < slip (?) ‘to repeat, do over again, to perfect’. < MK: Khmer dlhā ‘pa /tloop/ ‘to do frequently, be used to doing, to accustom, habituate’; PMonic *liːp: Nyah Kur ‘skillfully’, Mon *tēp ‘to know how to, be skilled at’ [Diffloth 1984: 213].

<X> iterative s-prefix derivation (§5.2.3) of the following:

* yi 鍬 (ic) LH jis, OCM *jits < *laps
‘To exercise, practice’ [Zuo]; the word may have acquired the meaning ‘toil’ [Shi] through convergence with → yī₁₁ 耳 *las ‘toil’.

[C] This etymon partially overlaps with → dié 鍬.

XI₄ 鍬 (siek) LH sek, OCM *sèk < *sleik — [T] MTang sîk, ONW sèk
‘Tin’ [Shi].

[X] Area word: MK: Late OMon slā/k/slaik/ ‘bronze’. <> Tai: Longzh hikD1S, Po’ai liik < *tēr- ‘tin’ (reconstruction of this initial as *tēr- is uncertain, HCT: 124); Nung

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xi - xi

xlek <- Chinese. Some Tai forms for ‘tin’ listed in HCT: 124 are closer to CH forms for ‘iron’ (→ tìe2, 鐵). Both OCM *slek ‘tin’ and *lhít ‘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 slik, Mon sla?; leaves of silver have been used as money in Java acc. to the Sôngshí (History of the Song Dynasty), but this is much later.

xi5 錫 ‘give’ → ci4 賜錫

xi6 貢 → wū2 巫

xi7 賜 → xi3 習

xi8 維 ‘circumference’ → guī1 規

xi9 賜 → shī7 溥

(xi10) □ (yíci?) LH ge ?
A Mín dialect word for ‘(small) salted fish’: PMin *gei > Fúzhōu kieA2, Amoy kueA2, Jiānỳáng aiB; it is from an AA substrate: Viet. kê ‘type of small fish’ (Norman / Mei 1976: 299).

xi1 洗酒 (sienB, sieiB) LH seizB, OCM *sēi? or *s(f(n))? , *sēn? ? — [T] ONW sēi
‘To wash’ 洗 [Shi 246], ‘wash clean’ 酒 [Shi 43].

[ E] ST *sil: PTB *(m-)sil ~ *(m-)syal ‘to wash’> WT bsil-ba ‘to wash’, Lushai silB (STC: 173 n. 462; HST: 158), WB tsilB, Mikir ištahu(?) , JP gšt31-sin31. Prob. not cognate to sāi, shāi 酒 (sāiB) ‘to sprinkle’ (under → shāi, shī 筋; so Karlgren 1956: 16). The root of this word is the same as that for ‘cool’ → qī4 涼, which is much later. Because of the OC vowel *ö, Baxter related xǐ to WT sel-ba, bsal ‘to cleanse, clear, remove’ (impurities etc.).

xi2 徙 (sjeB) LH sieB, OCM *sēi? — [T] Sui-Tang si, ONW se
‘Move toward’ [BL, Lunyu], ‘remove to, go to’ [Zuo].

[ E] Also found in WB sai ‘carry from one place to another, remove by repeated processes’.

[ C] Perh. related to → yī3 移; for similar items, see also → lǐ10 離.

xi3 経 (sēiB) LH sieB, OCM *sēi?
‘Hemp’ [Shu], the phonetic GSR 976 implies an OC * in the initial, hence CVST 3: 4 connects this word with Lushai la-< la?/h ‘cotton’, but see → zhū4 草経.

xi4 喜 (xjiB) LH hioB, OCM *hiao?
‘To rejoice’ [Shi] is prob. cognate to → xīn5 欣 (Wáng Lì 1982: 88; LaPolla 1994: 140).

[ T] Sin S. SR xi (上); MGZY hi (上) [xi]; MTang hi, ONW hio

xi5 猪 (xjeiB[2]) LH huiB, OCM *hui(?) (< *hui(?) (?)
‘Swine’ [Zhuang] is a Han period dialect word of S Chǔ [FY 8, 5]. This word looks like a dialect variant (*lh- > *hl > *h) of → shī7 猪 ‘pig’ (§5.6).

xi6 纏屧緈 (sjeB) LH seB, OCM *sēi?
‘Band wound round the hair’ 綯 [Li], also 纏 [Li]; ‘sandal’ 履 [Lù], ‘straw sandal’ 鞣 [Guoce].

* li 纏 (lie) LH lie, OCM *re
‘Rope’ [Shi].

[ E] ST: This word is thought to be connected with WT sle-ba, bsles ~ hle-ba, hlas ‘to
twist, plait, braid’ (Bodman 1980: 71; HST: 47), OC *r for foreign *l has parallels (§7.3).

Prob. no connection with → lè̩è̩j.

xl₁ 系繫 (giei) LH ge, OCM *gēh, OCB *N-keks — [T] ONW yēi

‘To be attached, connected’ [Yi] (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 46).
[<] endpass. of xi 系繫 (giei) (§4.6).

[D] Norman (1988: 223) suggests that this word is the source of the Kèjiā and Yuè copula ‘to be’: K-Méixiàn he, Huayáng xie. The OC initial consonants in this and the following xi 系 and xr 係 is not certain (*g- or *k-?).

xl 系繫 (giei) LH ke, OCM *kēh, OCB *keks — [T] ONW kēi

‘To bind, tie up, attach’ [Yi]; ‘continue, perpetuate’ [Shi] (read Man, jī).

xl₂ 细 (seic) LH se (or sei C), OCM *sēh or *sfh — [T] ONW sei C

‘Thin, small’ [Zuo].

[<] ST: PTB *ziy > West Tib. zi ‘very small’; Limbu ci ‘little, few’; WB se ‘small, fine’; Kachin zi ‘small’ (HST: 135), Lushai tēe / tēet ‘to be small’.

xl₃ 戏 (xieic 3) LH hēi, OCM *haih

‘Joke, play’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR xi (去); MGZY hi (去) [xi]

[<] Other lg. families have words which may be connected: PMY *kr-: Anc. Miao *qheia ‘to tie up’ (Strecker 1989: 30); AA: Kharia ke ‘to fasten’ ∗keke ‘rope’.

xl₄ 潸 (sjiak) LH siak, OCM *sak

‘Salty soil’ [Zhouli] is perh. connected with (dialectal simplification?) and may belong to — glS and — lUL.

xl₅ 覥滟 — hē₅ 赫

xl₆ 氣餌 — q1₃ 怛

xl₁ 酥 (xap) LH hap, OCM *hap

‘To drink with a sucking movement’ [SW], in some southern dialects it is the word for ‘to drink’: Y-Guàngzhōu hap, W-Súzhōu haʔ44. The QY vocalism may be due to sound symbolism or archaistic colloquialism and not go back to OCM *r-. This word may be related to — hē 喝歏 ‘drink’.


xl₂ 裨 — hē₅ 合

xl₃ 狹 — jiā₃ 窄

xl₄ 膽礪霞礪 (ya) LH ga, OCM *grā

‘Red’ 煢 [SW], ‘the color of dawn’ [Yupian] > ‘rosy dawn’ 霞 [SW xinfu]; ‘jade with
xiá – xiān

some red’ [SW] > ‘be flawed, blemished’ (of a person’s reputation, greatness) 瑕 [Shi];
‘horse of mixed red and white color’ 驒 [Shi] (Wáng Lì 1982: 145). This word may be
cognate to → hè 赫 ‘red’.

xiá 下, how, why → hé 何

xiá₁ 下 (yaB) LH gaB, OCM *graḥ?
‘To descend, down, below’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR yja (上去); MGZY (Hjà >) Hya (上去) [yja]; ONW yaB
※ xiá 下 (yaC) LH gaC, OCM *grāḥ — [T] ONW yāC
(1) ‘To be put down’ [Shi, old part].
[<] exopass. of xiá 下 (yaB) *gra? (§4.4).
(2) ‘To descend, fall’ [Shi, late part].
[<] general tone C derivation of xiá 下 (yaB) *gra? (§3.5).

xiá₂ 晞 (yaC) LH gaC, OCM *grāḥ
‘Be at leisure, lazy’ [BI, Shi] is cogn. to → xián5 閑寝 acc. to Pulleyblank (1973: 121).

xiá₃ 夏 ‘great’ → jiā₂ 假暇

xiá₄, hè 嚇 → hè₅ 赫

xiá₅, shà 夏 (yaB) LH gaB
‘House, room’ [Chuci] > Mand. shà ‘tall building, mansion’. This word is prob. not
related to → jiā₇ 家 ‘house’; Wáng Lì (1982: 144) relates it to → jiā₂ 假暇 ‘great’.

xiān₁ 先 (sien) LH sēn, OCM *sān
‘To go in front, ahead, before, former’ [OB, BI, Shi, Shu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjen (平); MGZY syan (平) [sjen]; MTang sian < sian, ONW sēn
※ xiān 先 (sienC) LH sēnC, OCM *sāns
‘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).

xiān₂ 仙僊 (sjiān) LH sēnC, OCM *sāns or *sān
‘An immortal’ [Lie], a relatively late word. Xiān are men and women who attain
supernatural abilities; after death they become immortals and deities who can fly
through the air. For example, Làozi, the founder of Taoism, is called a xiān. Xiān can
also refer to living persons who have unusual skills in their profession (Eberhard 1983:
287).

[N] The original graph was 仙, the simplified form 僮 has been partially inspired by
the notion that xiān live as recluses in the mountains shān 山.

[E] Perh. ST: WT gṣen < g-syen (?) ‘shaman’, one who has supernatural abilities, incl.
travel through the air; Gṣen-rab(s) was the founder of the ancient Tibetan Bon religion,
sometimes thought to be identical with Làozi. – Or is WT gṣen a CH loan?
xiān – xián

xiān_3 米 (sjān)
‘Non-glutinous rice’ is a dialect word south of the Yangtze River [JY] which is shared with PTai *sān ‘husked rice’.

xiān_4 鮫 (sjān) LH sian, OCM *sən, OCB *sjen (Baxter 1992: 296; 385)
‘Be fresh’ (of meat, fish) [Shu, Li], ‘be fresh’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjen (平); MGZY sjyan (平) [sjen]


xiān_5 嘎 → xiān_2 戏

xiān_6 维 → qīn_2 纔

xiān_7 纔 (sjān) LH sian, OCM *sam or *sem?
‘Thin, slender, sharp pointed’ [Zhouli] > ‘fine-textured silk’ [Shu].
This word has two possible etymologies: (1) ST: WT zim-bu ‘fine, thin, slender’ (IST: 52). (2) This could be the s. w. as xiān 锋 ‘sharp’ (under → jiān 尖).

xiān_8 铨 → jiān_1 尖

xiān_1 弦 → qīn_7 牵

xiān_2 润 (zjān, jiānC) LH zian, janC, S lanB, OCM *(s-)lan ‘Saliva’ [SW, GY].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR jen (平); MGZY zen (平) [zen]

[D] The Old South variant is *IonB: PMin *IonB, K-Méixiàn lanA2, Y-Zhōngshān hewB-nanB 口涎


xiān_3 咸 (yān) LH gem, OCM *grām
‘To complete, finish, unite, completely’ > ‘all’ (adv.) [Shi]: ‘harmony’ 諲 [Shu].

※ lān 濃 (lānB) LH lomB, OCM *rām? < *g-r-ram?
‘To join, unite’ [Liji]; or is this the s. w. as lān 揚 ‘take’ (under → liān 數)?

[E] This word also seems to occur in Tai: S. ruamB2 < *ruamB ‘together, join together’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 176).

[E] The nature of the relationship with similar words in SE Asia is not clear. AA-Khmer brāma/praom/ OKhmer braṃ ‘go along with, follow, be with at the same time, agree...’ Khmer → Tai: S. pʰrəomC2 < *vr- ‘together’, Saek pʰrəomC2 ‘together, altogether’ (usually thought to be related to → fān_4 几).

xiān_4 餰 (yān) LH gem, OCM *grām
‘Salty’ [Shu].


[E] ST: PTB *g-r-yum (STc no. 245) > Kiranti *rum ‘salt’ [van Driem 1995: 249];
Kachin djum31 ‘salt’ > fum33 ‘be salted’. CH > Tai: S. kʰemA2 < *g- ‘salty’ (Li F. 1976: 46). <> Some Aslian lgs. have forms for ‘salt’ which look similar to OC: garam, garem [Benjamin 1976: 114], but their relationship to xiān, if any, is not clear.

[C] This word is sometimes thought to be related to → yàn_9 深 (so Li Fang Kuei) – unlikely.

xiān_5 靜 (yān) LH gen, OCM *grān, OCB *fikren — [T] ONW ? kān
‘Be moving slowly, lazy’ 鬧 [Shi]; ‘leisure’ 閃 [Meng], ‘peace’ [Zuo].
xián – xiǎn

Karlgren (GSR 191) and more recently Baxter (1992: 219) connect this word with → jiàn, 門聞 ‘interstice time’ > ‘leisure’, but it could well be a separate etymon; also → xià幅度 ‘be at leisure’ is cogn. acc. to Pulleyblank (1973: 121); perh. → làn懶 ‘lazy’ is a popular variant.

xián6 門 (yán) LH gen, OCM *gün
‘Barrier, bar’ [Yi], ‘obstruct, guard against’ [Zuo], ‘protect’ [Meng]. → Syn. → guān門, 門聞; possibly the s. w. as → xián門.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR yjan (平); MGZY (Xyán >) Xyan (平) [yjan]; ONW yán

xián7 門 (yán) LH gen, OCM *gün
‘To restrain, train’ (horses > then general) [Shi]. This is prob. a semantic extension of → xián門, 門聞 ‘barrier’. A near-synonym → xián11, 衛 ‘horse’s bit’, which is a near homophone, can also mean ‘to train’ (horses).

xián8 門 (yán) LH gen, OCM *gün — [T] ONW yán
‘Be large’ (of pillars and the like) [Shi] is prob. cognate to → jiè2介仴 ‘increase’ and perh. derived from → jiǎ2假假 ‘large’.

xián9 督 (yán) LH gen, OCM *gün
‘To spy on, watch’ [Meng] is perh. related to WB kranC ‘look at’ (CVST 5: 122).

xián10 衛 → liàn2 涼涼

xián11 衛 (yam) LH fam, OCM *grám
‘To carry in the mouth, a horse’s bit’ [Zhuang] > ‘harbor’ (grief) [Shi]; later ‘train’ (horses). This is prob. related to → hán含 ‘have in the mouth’ (so Bodman 1980: 110) and to → qián2柑箱 ‘wooden gag’.

xián12 燭 (zjam) LH ziam, OCM *s-lam
‘To heat, warm’ 燭 [Yili]; ‘to heat’ [Li], ‘to roast or broil soft’ 燭 [Zhouli]; ‘to boil’ (meat) 燭 [Li]. The graphs 燭 are in the phonetic series in -ám.

xiǎn1 錳銑 (sienB) LH senB, OCM *sǐn? (or *sǐn?)?
‘Glossy’ (of hair) 錳 [Shu]; ‘well-polished metal’ 銑 [Guoyu].

xiǎn2 靱 (xjamB, xjemB) LH hiamB or hiamB, OCM *hij(r)am?
‘Precipitous, dangerous’ [Shi]. Bodman (1980: 176) relates this word to → yán8巖.


\textbf{xian \textemdash xian}

\textbf{xian}_3, \textbf{h\textae}n 閣 (xäm\textsuperscript{8}, xam\textsuperscript{8}, xâm\textsuperscript{8}) \textbf{LH} ham\textsuperscript{8}, \textbf{OCM} *h(t)âm? or *hrâm??

‘Roaring, enraged’ (of a tiger) [Shi].

\textbf{E} Area word: MK-PMonic *grom > Nyah Kur ‘to growl’ (of tiger or dog), Khmer \textit{gamrâma} /\textit{kumrīəm}/ ‘to roar, shout, to cow, awe, intimidate’; Viet sâm (< kr-?) ‘thunder’ \textit{Ḳhâm} ‘thunder’, Cham \textit{gram} ‘id’ [Maspero 1912: 83]. Note also Mon krêm ‘to cheer’.

\textbf{TB-Limbu} ukt- ‘to roar’ (of tiger), ‘thunder’, or English ‘roar’, for that matter.

\textbf{xian}_4 鮫_groups (sjan\textsuperscript{8}) \textbf{LH} sian\textsuperscript{8}, \textbf{OCM} *sen? ?, \textbf{OCB} *sjen? (Baxter 1992: 385)

‘Be rare, few’ [Shi], [Yijing]. Etymology not clear.

\textbf{xian}_5 鮥 (sjan\textsuperscript{8}) \textbf{LH} sian\textsuperscript{8}, \textbf{S} tsʰian\textsuperscript{8}, \textbf{OCM} *sa/en? ?, \textbf{OCB} *sjen?

‘Scab’ [Guoyu]. The OC vowel *e is suggested by the Shiming’s comment that the Shandong pronunciation was \textit{xǐ} 徕 OCB *sje? (Baxter 1992: 296). 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.

\textbf{xian}_1 見 \textdistarrow jiàn 見

\textbf{xian}_2 眼 \textdistarrow niàn 眼

\textbf{xian}_3 陷餗 (yâm\textsuperscript{C}) \textbf{LH} gem\textsuperscript{C}, \textbf{OCM} *grâms

‘Small pit’ (as a trap), ‘get trapped’ [OB, BI, SW]; ‘fall into (a pitfall)’ [Zuo] > ‘throw down’ 陷 [Meng], 餗 [Zhuang].

\textbf{E} \textit{Sin S. SR} yjam (平), \textit{PR} yjan, \textit{LR} yjen; \textit{MGZ} Hyam (平) [yjam]; \textit{ONW} yám.

\textbf{D} M-A moy ham\textsuperscript{C2} ‘fall into great calamity’; Y-Guângzhóu ham\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{ST} *grom: \textit{WB} gyaum\textsuperscript{B} < grom\textsuperscript{B} ‘a trap’, perh. also \textit{JP} gyaum ‘lie in wait for, hunt’ [Matisoff 1974 no. 189]. Similar CH and foreign comparanda are listed in Table K-1 under \textit{kâŋ} 坎. Since OC *sm can reflect any foreign rime other than *am, it is difficult to relate the various CH and foreign comparanda to each other.

\textbf{xian}_4 懎 \textdistarrow hên 恨

\textbf{xian}_5 霧 (sien\textsuperscript{C}) \textbf{LH} sen\textsuperscript{C}, \textbf{OCM} *sêns

‘Sleet’ [Shi]. SW records an alternate character with jiàn 見 OCM *kênh as phonetic so that Baxter (1992: 354) reconstructs OCB *s(k)êns.

\textbf{E} \textit{ST}: WT ser-ba ‘hail’, \textit{JP} sin\textsuperscript{13} ‘hail’ (Bodman 1980: 173; \textit{HST}: 135), prob. also Chepang wer ~ yor ‘hail’, therefore ST *swer; 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 \textit{wi}.

\textbf{xian}_6 線 (sjan\textsuperscript{C}) \textbf{LH} sian\textsuperscript{C}, \textbf{OCM} *sans — \textbf{D} PMin *sian\textsuperscript{C}

‘Thread’ [Zhouli].

\textbf{E} The ambiguities of monosyllables is quite apparent in this etymon which can be compared to several TB items: (1) Unger (\textit{Hao-ku} 35, 1986: 29) relates this word to WT \textit{snal-ma} ‘thread’, but (2) WT \textit{srان-bu} is a possible alternative; (3) note also Lushai \textit{tʰi}\textsuperscript{H} < \textit{sil} ‘thread’. In addition, there is AA-Khmer -\textit{sai} /-saj/ ‘line, thread’.
xiàn

xiàn1 燕 (zjían, dzjían) LH zian, OCM *s-lans?
The basic meaning seems to be ‘to elevate, elevated’: ‘to display, present’. [Shi] > ‘eminent men’ [Shu], ‘illustrious’ 憲 [Li] > ‘exemplary, model, law’ 燕 [Bl, Shi].

xiàn2 佃 → liàn² 確練鍊

xiàn3 燕 (xien) LH hien, OCM *hıans
The basic meaning seems to be ‘to display, present’: ‘affluence’ [Shi]. Perh. related to -7 YU 6 ~*s-lans?

xiàn-xiàn 憲憲 LH hien, ‘be elated’ [Shi].

yiàn, yan (qjunB/C) LH li-onB/C, OCM *yan?/h
‘A boiler’ (‘elevated’ on three legs) [Bl, Zuo, Zhouli, SW].

xiàn-xiàng 憲像 LH hien, OCM *s-lans?

xiàng1 相 (sian) LH sian, OCM *sān
‘Each other, mutually’ [Shi] is classical for the preclassical allofam → xū1 胥 (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 xiàng cóng 相從 ‘(you) follow me’ [Shu], later xiàng functions as object pronoun (Pulleyblank 1996: 137).

xiàng2 香 (xian) LH hion, OCM *hıan
‘Fragrance, smell’ [Shi] reflects the ST vocalic *hıan counterpart to ST *hın → xıng, 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.
xiāng – xiáng

[T] Sin Sukchu SR xiaŋ (平); MGZY (hyang > hyang (平) [xian]; MTang hian < han, ONW han

[E] A derivation is prob. → xiāng3 饕餮. Pulleyblank (1962: 140) relates this word to → fäng5 香 ‘fragrant’.

Table X-1 Strong smell, odor, fragrance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lg.</th>
<th>*sij</th>
<th>~</th>
<th>*san</th>
<th>*hinj</th>
<th>~</th>
<th>*han</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>xīng 腥 *sēn̄</td>
<td>offensive smell</td>
<td>xīng 腥 *hēn̄</td>
<td>fragrant</td>
<td>xīng 腥 *hān̄</td>
<td>fragrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>t'aanR / t'aan5</td>
<td>have smell or odor</td>
<td>like raw flesh</td>
<td>hiinl / hiin5</td>
<td>stinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNaga</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>sin33 smell of raw food</td>
<td>kʰjɪŋ33 stink</td>
<td>kʰaŋ33 stink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>san⁶ emit pleasant odor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note for Table X-1: NNaga *sriŋ ‘smell’, Lushai ōeen / ōeen < ōeen ‘ill-smelling’ seem to represent a separate root. Note also MK-Pearic sraŋ ‘to scent’.

xiāng3 璧 (xiāng) LH xiāng, OCM *sanŋ
‘Belt’ [BI], ‘sash’ [Chuci], ‘horse’s belly-band’ [Guoyu].

[E] AA: campañña/campannat/ ‘a tie, band, strap, bond’ < nominal n-infix derivative of čana /cana/ (OKhmer /coañ/) ‘to tie, knot, secure, attach by tying or knotting’ (→ Tai /coañ/ ‘to tie’ [Jenner / Pou 1982: 52]). For the initial, see §2.6.1. It is not clear how PY *[sr]ŋ⁶ ~ PM *[sr]ŋ⁵ ‘rope, sash’ [Wáng F.] is connected.

xiāng4 谧 → ràng 讥

xiāng5 卯 → xiāng3 向嚮卿

xiāng1 璧 (xiāng) LH ziaŋ, OCM *sjaŋ or *s-lanŋ?
‘Fortune’ (good or bad) [Zuo] > ‘happy omen, auspicious, lucky day’ [Shi] (Wáng Lì 1958: 549). Many different etymologies are theoretically possible: xiāng may belong to → yǔ8 愚謙 ‘happy’; and / or be related to WT g-yán ‘happiness, blessing’ (so Bodman 1980: 95), but see → qǐng2 慶; or note Tai-Saek laaŋ⁴ ‘luck’.

xiāng2 璧 (xiāng) LH ziaŋ, OCM *sjaŋ or *s-lanŋ?
‘School’ [Meng] is perh. the same word as xiāng ‘manage the support for the elderly’ (under → yǎng2 養; s-prefix caus. of → yǎng2 業 ‘rise’), both imply ‘make rise, raise’ (then > ‘educate’ / ‘take care of’). Alternatively, this word could also be the same etymon as → xiāng4 詳 ‘explain in detail’.


xiāng3 璧 ‘to take care of the elderly’ → yǎng2 養

xiāng4 詳 (xiāng) LH ziaŋ, OCM *sjaŋ or *s-lanŋ
‘Explain in detail’ [Shi, Meng], ‘attention to detail, diligence’ [Zuo]. This is perh. the same etymon as → xiāng2 璧 ‘school’, and may be related to → xiāng6 象 ‘interpret’.

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xiáng – xiàng

[T] LMing: Ricci c’iâm [ts’ian]; Sin Sukchu SR zjan (平), LR zjan; MGZY (zyang >) zyang (平) [zian]

xiáng5 翔 (zjan) LH zian, OCM *s-ian or *s-laŋ?
‘To roam back and forth’ [Shi], ‘fly to and fro’ [Lun].
[<] iterative of yáng 亜 below (§5.2.3).

* yáng 衆 (jian) LH ian, OCM *jian or *laŋ?
‘To walk irresolutely, hesitate’ [Chuci].

xiáng6 降 → jìàng2 降

xiáng1 想 → xiáng1 相

xiáng2 餔飫 (śjanA/B/C) LH šanB, OCM *nharı/h — [T] ONW šan
‘Bring food to’ (workers in the field) 餔 [Shi], 饔 [Meng]; ‘to eat’ tr. [Hanfei], ‘pay for soldiers’ n. [Hanshu].


[C] See also → xiáng3, 餔飫享; it may be related to → rū 3 如.

xiáng3 餔飫享 (śjanB) LH hianB, OCM *haŋ⁴!
‘To feast’ [BI]; ‘enjoy the use of something’ [BI, Shi], ‘feast, enjoy’ 享 [Zuo]. Tone A in Shijing (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 pers. a tone B endoactive / introvert derivation from → xiáng2 餔 ‘fragrance’ (§4.5). The semantics are supported by the TB cognates: Lushai ḷon⁵/ haŋ⁵ (< haŋ) ‘be tasty, nice, cooked’ (vegetables), PLB *haŋ² which variously means ‘cooked rice, a meal, curry’ in LB languages > WB haŋ B ‘curry’ [Matisoff D. of Lahu: 220]. Popular perception may have connected this word with ‘to face’ → xiáng1 向曙卿.

Semantically more plausible would be a basic meaning ‘to eat’ for this word, hence it may be a variant of → xiáng2 餔飫; 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.

xiáng4 昴 → xiáng1 向曙卿

xiáng1 向曙卿 (śjaC) LH hianC, OCM *haŋ
‘To face, approach’ 昴 [Shi], ‘turn towards’ 向 [Zhuang] > ‘direction’ 卿 [Hanfei],
(‘facing side’: ‘south side, north side’ 卿 = 昴 [Shi], ‘before, previously’ 卿 [Meng].

[T] Sin S. SR xjan (去); MGZY (hiyang >) hyang (去) [xjan]; MTag hian < ONW haŋ

[D] Mín has an unexpected vowel: Xiamen col. hiōn⁴ CI, ɔCI


Although CH has no trace of an initial *n (蚋 [Meng] may only be a late graphic variant of 餔 *nharı; see → xiáng2 餔飫), xiáng agrees with a pattern of occasional loss of sonorants in devoiced initials (§5.6). Final -ŋ alternates with open vowels in cognate sets (§6.5.2), especially in glottalized syllables (KT tone C corresponds to CH tone B < *ŋ?).

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xiàng

*xiàng 背 (xiānɡ) LH hianɡ, OCM *hanɡ
‘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 → fānɡ 方 ‘side’ > ‘area, region’.

*xiǎng 背 (xiǎnɡB) LH hianɡB, OCM *hanɡ!
‘Echo’ [Zhuang, Lie).
[<] endoactive / reflexive of → xiǎnɡ 向 facing ‘to face, turn toward’, i.e. something that turns in (toward) itself (§4.5).
[<] Bodman (1980: 155) relates this word to Chepang mray ‘echo’ – mrayṅ ‘to echo’, Pulleyblank (1962: 140) to WT brag ‘echo’, but the TB initials are difficult to reconcile with Chinese.
[C] An allofam may also be → rú 如 ‘go to’.

xiào2 相 → xiǎnɡ1 相

xiào3 街 (yānC) LH guanC, OCM *grɔŋ
‘Lane, street’ [Shi].
[D] → lónɡ2 弄 ‘alley, lane’ is a Wú dialectal variant which supports the OC initial cluster, as do forms like Jìn-Taiyuán xępD2-L.C 黑流 (Zhānɡ Xīnɡ-yà YWYJ 1996.4: 12). Cf. also Beijing hǔ-túng 胡同.
[E] Etymology not clear, perh. ST: WT groŋ ‘houses, village, town’, Bumthang kroŋ ‘village’ (Bodman 1980: 143; HST: 156); LaPolla (1994: 176) sets up PTB *g-raw-ŋ (then perh. related to → li 里). <> PMiao *roNŋ, PYao *raanŋ ‘village’ could either belong here, or it could be related to Tai → chánɡ 铔, <> AA is prob. unrelated: Khmer kruña /krong/ , OKhmer kurun /krul/ /’to cover, shelter, protect...manage, administer, rule, realm, kingdom, royal seat, capital’ (→ Tai: S. kruŋ ‘capital city’).

xiào4 頭 (yānB) LH guanB, OCM *grɔŋ? — [T] ONW yānB
‘Neck’ [Zuo]. ‘stretch the neck’ [Shi 191], occurs in a few Mand. dialects: Chénɡdū 53tín-J correspondent, Yānzhōu 42tín-J 55X01 (col.).
[E] ST: Chepang groŋ-ko ‘stretch the neck’ (downward to eat, of cattle); OBurm. kʰloŋŋ, WB kʰyönŋB ~ kʰrongB ‘throat’ > PWa *kroŋ ‘throat’. Similar looking words are > hang3 頭 ‘stretch the neck’, > häng1 亢 ‘neck’.

xiào3 象 (jānB) LH ziongB, OCM *s-jān? ? or *zān?, OCB *zaŋ?
‘Elephant, ivory’ [OB, Shi].

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 → hǔ 虎 ‘tiger’ and → si 動 ‘wild buffalo’; the latter has the same rare OC initial as xiǎng. Under these circumstances, xiǎng prob. did not have an OC L-like initial. Furthermore, Boodberg (1937: 363) cites variants which may confirm a sibilant / affricate: an alternative word for ‘elephant’ zăng-yā 藏牙 [tsaŋŋ-na] (lit. ‘bury tooth’), and a place name associated with elephants qiānɡ-wú 檜吾 [tsʰaŋŋ-na] (lit. ‘pointed
xiàng – xiǎo

tooth’). Xiàng is not cognate to → yù₂⁵ 豫 ‘elephant’, nor is WT glan ‘ox’ related which is cognate to → gāng₄ 纏.

xiàng₆ 象 (zjānB) LH zìōngB, OCM *s-jān?, OCB *zān?
‘To interpret, translate’ (a foreign language) [Liji, Huainan], xiàng-xū 象胥 ‘interpreter’ [Zhouli] (Behr 2000). This word may be cognate to → xiàng₄ 象 ‘explain in detail’, in which case xiàng may be an endoactive derivation of xiàng. Behr considers this the s. w. as → xiàng₇ 像象 ‘outline, represent’.

xiàng₇ 像象 (zjānB) LH zìōngB, OCM *s-jān?
‘To be / look like’ [Zuo], ‘resemble’ [Xun] > ‘image’ [Huainan], ‘to delineate, outline, appearance, symbols’ 象 [Shu].

xìao₁ 削 → xūe, xūe, xǐo 削

xǐo₂ 消溶 (sjiāu) LH siau, OCM *siau — [T] ONW siau
‘To melt, dissolve’ 消 [Shi], ‘annihilate, disappear’ [Yi]; ‘melt, reduce, diminish’ 銷 [Li]; ‘disperse’ 肖 [Zhuang]; ‘sleet’ (= melting snow) 霧 [SW].

xǐo₁ 擦 (sïau) LH seu, OCM *sïau
‘To eliminate’ [Zhouli].

[Etymology is uncertain. Perh. (1) WT *džu-ba ~ šu-ba ‘to melt’ (STC p. 52); WT and OC can perh. be reconciled if we assume a ST *sïau ~ *sju. (2) Alternatively, this word may belong to the wf → xǐo₁ 小 ‘small’. (3) Or related to PTai *juakD2L ‘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 → suō₂ 索.

xǐo₃ 梢 (kïeu) LH keu, OCM *kiū
‘An owl-like bird’ [Shi] is perh. related to → jiū₄ 誼 ‘owl’.

xǐo₁ 小 (sjiāuB) LH siauB, OCM prob. *siau? rather than *sau?
‘Be small, little, young’ [OB, BI, Shi], ‘belittle’ [Zuo].

[ST] Sin Sukchu SR sjew (上), PR sjaw: MGZY sjāw (上) [sjew]; ONW siau

xìào 参 (sïauC) LH siauC, OCM *siauh
‘To resemble’ (as son his father) [Lunyu].
[<] exoactive of *xiào 小 (sjāuB) (§4.3).

* qiào [sāi] LH tsʰiáuC, OCM *-siauh?

‘Similar’ [Lie], derived from *xiào 肖 (sjāuC) (for the initial, see §5.9.1).

[C] Similar items are → *shāo 少, → *sūo 琐, → *xiào 消耗.

xiao₂ [sxāuB] LH heuB, OCM *-siau-

‘Clarity’ [Zhuang], ‘clear, understand’ [Xun], ‘to know’ is a Han period Chú dialect word [FY 1, 1]; it is the word for ‘to know’ (in some places ‘to understand’) in all modern dialects from Heféi south, except in Mín whose word corresponds to northern zhē 知 (e.g. Xiàmén tìAI).

[T] Sin Suk chu SR sjāu ( ), PR sjāw; MGY hýaw ( ) [sjāw]

[É] Area word: MY: Pyao hiu³ ‘to know’; MK-Viet. hièu ‘to know’. Kadai lgs. have a word which looks similar: Be hú2⁷ ‘to know, see’, PHlai yweg⁴ ‘to know, recognize’ [Matisoff 1988c: 306]. A KT etymon with initial r- could possibly be related: PTai *ruo² ‘to know’ (in many Tai dial. *r- > h-, but not in the north within China), PKS *h-roC ‘to know (how)’ (Edmondson / Yang 1988). If all these words should be related, the ultimate source might have been KT with a voiceless r- (rh-) initial > h-.

If all these words should be related, the ultimate source might have been KT with a voiceless r- (rh-) initial > h-.

Another word where Tai has *hr-, but OC *h-, see → xuè, hù 鼻 ‘vomit’.

xiao₁ [sxāuC] S tsʰiáuC, OCM *siau-

‘To laugh, smile’ [Shi]. The composition of the graph shows that the word was understood as something like *s + i’au. Cikoski derives *xiào from *xio₂ ‘small’, hence lit. ‘belittle’.

xiao₂ [sxāuC] LH gauC, OCM *grauh

‘An enclosure’: ‘enclosure for animals’ [Zhouli], ‘school’ [Meng]; probably not related to → jiāo 教.

xiao₃ [sxāuC] OCM *siáu

‘Verification’ → jiāo 教; ‘imitate’ → jiāo 教.

xiao₄ [sxāuC] OCM *-xiào

xiao₅ [sxāuC] OCM *siāu

‘To whistle’ [Li], ‘to croon’ [Shi].


xiao₆ [sxāuC]


xiē₁ [sxēp] LH hiap, OCM *hap?

‘Sides of the body’ [Shi], ‘ribs’ [Zuo].

[É] ST: JP go3⁷-rep⁴ ‘rib’, Kanauri *hrip, Chepang rib, WT rtsib < rhyip. This word belongs to a complex of stems which include → jiāg 夹 and items under → xiē 检. Voiceless aspiration in xiē suggests perh. a Rural variant (§1.3.1).

xiē₂ [sxēt] OCM *sēt (< *snet ?), OCK *siai

‘A wedge’ (inserted for fastening something) [Huainan] (put between the teeth of a corpse) [Li].

[É] AA: Khmer sniata /snìat/ ‘peg, pin,... wedge, ...’ < derivation with nominalizing n-inf from siti /siat/ ‘... to stick into, insert, stop or block up, plug’. The choice of the phonetic is not clear (because of → niè 尼 gnaw?).
xié — xiè

xié₁ 拽協（giep）LH gep, OCM *gep?
‘Grasp, hold’ [Shi]; ‘clasp under the arm, hold onto’ 拽 [Meng] (also read QY tsiep);
‘in harmony, together, conform’ 協 [Shu].

※ jiá 莖疾銃（kiep）LH kep, OCM *kêp

[C] Allofam → jié₁, jià 拽 ‘chopsticks’.

[E] Four etyma have blended together:
(1) → jiá₃ 拽 *krep ‘press between’.
(2) ST *kep ~ *kiap, reflected in OCM forms *gep, *kep (*tsep?) above. PTB *gyap
(HPTB: 338) > WT kʰyab-pa ‘be filled with, embrace, comprise’ ※ skyob-pa, bskyabs
‘protect, defend, preserve’, skyabs ‘protection, help’ (HST: 71; Bodman 1980: 64), PLB
*gyap > WB kyap ‘tight, close, crowded’, Lahu cō? ‘be narrow’ (of an opening).
(3) ST *(C-)rap, as reflected in OC *krap above, possibly also → xié₁ 骨 ‘ribs’. TB-Tiddim
gaap⁸ < raap ‘pod’.
(4) → jiā 拽 *tsep.

xié₂ 迦 → jí₁ 估

xié₃, qiè 齡 → jié₁₂ 睢

xié₄ 諧 → jie₂ 皆睹

xié₁ 寫（sja²）LH sia⁸, OCM *sa? — [T] ONW sia
‘To pour off’ (a liquid’) 寫 [Li] > ‘cast’ (metal) 寫 [Guoyu] > ‘disburden, relief’
(heart, grief) [Shi].

※ xiè 寫（sja³）LH sia³, OCM *sah
‘To drain off’ [Zhouli].

[<] exoactive of xié 寫 (§4.3.2), lit. ‘make / let pour off’. This wf is not related to →
shē₂ 舍捨 ‘let off’.

xié₂ 寫（sja²）LH sia⁸, OCM *sa? (< *sla? or *sja? ?)
‘To depict’ [Guoyu], ‘to write’ [Shiming, Hou Hanshu].

[E] Etymology not clear. Similar-looking words in other lgs. are unrelated; Lushai
ziak’ / zia’l < jak / jaks ‘to write, draw, inscribe, engrave’; Lushai lehk’a (cited from
Geilich 1994: 184) is a Pali loan; WB ca ‘writing, document’ (<- CH zi 字?), JP tfa３３
‘paint, daub, dye’ [Matisoff 1974: 161]. Alternatively, one may compare the word with
AA-Khmer saka ‘to write, draw, inscribe, engrave’; the semantics
would be parallel to → wén₁ 文.

xié₁ 泄洩（sjāt, jīi₂）LH siat, jas, OCM *sia(t) ? (or *j instead of *l?)
‘To leak, reduce’ 洩 [Zuo], 泄 [Guanzi] > ‘spread, distribute’ [Liji], ‘be dispersed,
relieved’ (suffering) 泄 [Shi].

※ yi 洩（jīi₂）LH jas, OCM *iat(s) ? (or *j instead of *l?)
‘Be dispersed’ 洩 [Zuo].

[E] ST: Mru yat ‘to leak, ooze’. The phonetic implies an OC L- or J-like initial, Mru’s
initial y- seems sometimes to correspond to PTB *j- (beside *j; it certainly corresponds to
PTB *j- in ya ‘easy’), therefore the root initial in this group is not certain.

xié₂ 絮絛（sjāt）LH siat, OCM *sat or *set
‘To bind’ 絛 [Zhouli] > ‘bridle strap’ 聞 [Yi], ‘leading-string’ (GSR 339m) [Li];
'rope, fetters' [Lunyu], 'reins' 纏 [Zuo]. Sagart (1999: 73) relates 'leading-string' to yi₁₁ 'to pull'.

xìě³ 蝦 (yajB) LH geB, OCM *greʔ — PMin *heB.

'Crab' [Li].


xìě₄ 履 (siek) LH sep, OCM *sip < *slip

'Bottom inlay in shoe, shoe' [Li]. Perh. related to the wf ~ ye ~ 'leaf'.

xìě₅ 榫 → xìě₂ 榫

xìě₆ 解 → jiě 解; → hui₃ 会

xìě₇, jiě 懐 → jiě 解

xìě₈-hou 迴返 → jiě 解

xìě₉ 駭 → jiè₉ 戒誡

xìě₁₀ 縫 → shi₉ 射

xìě₁₁ 禽 → xìě₁ 寫

xìě₁₂ 豈 → ēr₇ 遊

xīn₁ 心 (sjam) LH sim, OCM *səm, OCB *sjam

'Heart > mind' [Shi, Shu], 'emotions' (between people) [Shi]; > 'center' [Liji].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sim (平), PR, LR sin; MGZY sim (平) [sim]; ONW sim.

[D] PMin *sim; Y-Guangzhōu 55seim₁¹

[E] ST: PTB *sam (STC: 51) or *sam (STC: 126) > Bahing sam 'breath, life'; Limbu sam 'soul'; Thakali sam 'heart', WT sem(s) 'soul, spirit, mind' ≠ sem(s)-pa, bsams 'to think' ≠ bsams 'thought', Lepcha a-səm 'spirit, breath', WB a-sam 'sound, voice' (STC: 183 n. 482; HST: 93). A ST synonym is → rén₂ 仁.

MK has a similar word: PMK *-TS;əm 'heart' [Ferlus MKS 7, 1978: 18], PPalaung sem 'breath, heart, mind', Khmer ɲhəм, Semai ləhəm, Wa-Lawa-Bulang *rhom 'heart, mind'. However, the s- may be secondary.

xīn₂ 辛 (sjen) LH sin, OCM *sin

'Bitter, pungent > painful' [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sin (平); MGZY sin (平) [sin]; ONW sin.

[E] ST: PTB *m-sin (STC no. 234) > WT m-chin 'liver', Kanauri sin, Chepang sinh, Miri ašin, Lushai thinL 'liver, heart', WB a-saːnB 'liver', PL. (*-)sin, JP moⁿ-sin³ 'mind' (i.e. seat of thought and emotions), 'courage' (Benedict HIAS 4, 1939: 225; HST: 44). Dulong pɔːsin 'heart, liver' [LaPolla, LTBA 24.2: 19].

xīn₃ 新 (sjen) LH sin, OCM *sin

'New, renew' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sin (平); MGZY sin (平) [sin]; ONW sin.

[E] ST: PLB *C-sik or *v-sik: WB sac 'new'. This word may belong to the ST stem *sin 'alive, fresh, green' and may hence be related to → qíng₄ 青 'green' as well as → xīn₄ 紅 'wood'.

xīn₄ 薪 (sjen) LH sin, OCM *sin

'Firewood' [Shi].
xin - xīng

[ST] PTB *sin (STC no. 233) > WT *sin 'tree, wood', Lepcha *saŋ 'firewood', Chepang *sɨŋ 'wood, timber, tree', PLB *sɨk ~ *sin 'tree, wood' > WB sac (STC no. 233; HST: 161), Lushai tʰɨŋ ~ tʰɨŋ 'tree, wood, firewood, fuel', Mru chʰɨŋ 'tree' [Löffler 1966: 123]. This word may belong to the ST stem *sin 'alive, fresh, green' and may hence be related to > qîng 'green' as well as > xin 新 'new, renew'.

xìn ① (xi3) LH hín, OCM *hun
'To rejoice, make merry' [Shi] is prob. cognate to > xí xi4喜.

xīn ② (xìn) LH zim, OCM *s-lam — [T] ONW zim
'To warm up' [Guoyu] > 'sacrifice of boiled meat' 燒 [Li], perh. also 'large boiler'

=xīn 訊 (sjeŋ) LH sin, OCM *sin (!) (OCB *sins)
'To believe, trust, faithfulness, truth' [Shi] > ('something written entrusted to an envoy' 書信) 'letter' [Six Dyn.] (Wáng Lì 1958: 547). Shǐng rimes indicate OC tone A (Mattos 1971: 309). This is perh. the s. w. as next.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sin (去), MGZY sín (去) [sin]; ONW sin

=xīn 恬 (sjeŋ) LH sui, OCM *swin?
'Sincere, certainly' 恬 [Shi] > 'to believe' 恬 [Lie].

*[T] These words are prob. derived from > yún yín 'trust, be true, sincere'. For the loss of medial *w in xìn, see §10.2.1.

xīn ③ (xìn) LH sin, OCM *siŋ *seŋ
'Staying one more night' → yín 1 引

xīng ④ (xi3) LH sien, OCM *seŋ
'Wasel' [Zhuangj.]

[X] ST: PTB *sren (HPTB: 77), WT *sre(n) > sre-mon, sre-mo 'weasel', Lepcha sā-myoŋ 'marmot', Mikir iyren < m-ren 'mongoose', WB hraŋ 'squirrel' (STC: 79, 171). A different etymon is probably Lushai tʰel-hlel 'squirrel', Mikir karleH 'id.'.

We should expect a trace of the ST *r in the MC syllable.

xīng ⑤ (xǐng) LH sien, OCM *sēŋ — [T] MTang sien < sǐŋ, ONW sēŋ
'Star' [OB, Shi].

[X] Y-Guangzhou 55sēŋA!, Táishān 33sēnA1, Enpíng 35siaŋA1; PMin *tsʰən ~ *sēŋ: Xiàmén col. tsʰən1 ~ san1, lit. sīnA1

Perh. cognate to → qīnɡ 清 'clear'. TB-PKiranī *saŋ 'star, ray' (CVST 4: 99) is a derivation from a parallel ST root (see → qīnɡ 清).

=xīnɡ 星 (dzjēŋ) LH dzien, OCM *dzēŋ, OCB *dzshien
'Weather clearing during the night' [Shi] is perh. 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 晴 [Yupian]. Alternatively, this word may be directly derived from → qīnɡ 清 'clear' (so Baxter 1992: 219).
xīng – xīng

xīng ₃ (*siŋ) LH seŋ, OCM *səŋ
‘To bark’ (dog) [SW]. Perhaps ST: KN-Liangmei tʰaŋ, Zemei ʔke-ʔaŋ ‘to bark’ [Weidert 1987: 191]. For the vowels, see §11.1.3; for the initials, see §12.3 Lushai.

xīng ₄ (*siŋ) LH seŋ, OCM *səŋ — [T] MTTang sien < sɨŋ, ONW səŋ
‘Raw meat’ [Lunyu], ‘offensive smell’ [Shu]. Perhaps ST: KN-Liangmei tʰaŋ, Zemei ʔke-ʔaŋ ‘to bark’ [Weidert 1987: 191]. For the vowels, see §11.1.3; for the initials, see §12.3 Lushai.

xīng ₅ — qiàn ₃

xīng ₆ (*xioŋ) LH hŋj, OCM *həŋ — [T] ONW hŋj
‘To raise, start, prosper, rise’ [BI, Shi]. Bodman (1980: 185) considers this a doublet of shēng ₃ *). Possibly related to Tibeto-Burman: Chepang *hɪŋ ‘stand up, set out for’.

xīng ₇ (*xien) LH heŋ, OCM *həŋ
‘Be fragrant’ (of food, spices, offerings) [Shi]. This word and → xiăng₂ 香 ‘fragrance’ (cognate acc. to Wang 1982: 323) are ST *həŋ ~ *hɪŋ variants, furthermore there is the ST *səŋ ~ *sɨŋ pair, see under → xiăng₂ 香 for an overview.

LE] This word belongs to a ST *səŋ ~ *sɨŋ set (§11.1.3) which is parallel to a ST *səŋ ~ *sɨŋ pair, see Table X-1 under → xiăng₂ 香 for an overview.

ST *səŋ: JP siŋ33 ‘smell, scent, odor of fresh, raw food’ (Benedict 1940: 105 no. 17), Chepang *səŋ ‘emit smell, odor, be rotten’, Lepcha *səŋ ‘to smell’, Lushai (ceI) *təŋ ‘ill-smelling’ seem to represent a separate root; Lushai vowel shows that this stem is unrelated to → shēng₂ 生 ‘fresh’.

~ PTB *sɨŋ: NW *sɨŋ ‘to smell’, Lushai tʰəŋ < tʰəŋ ‘ill-smelling’ seem to represent a separate root; Lushai vowel shows that this stem is unrelated to → shēng₂ 生 ‘fresh’.

~ PTB *səŋ: WB səŋ ‘emit pleasant odor’, Lushai tʰəŋ < tʰəŋ ‘be greasy, oily’.

xīng ₁ — gāŋ, OCM *grəŋ
‘To go, travel, act, practice, a march, road, way, manner’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣɨŋ (平); MGZY ɣɨŋ (平); ONW ɣɵŋ

[D] This is still the Min word for ‘to go, walk’: M-Xiamen ƙià ⁴⁺²

xīng — [ьнъ] LH gāŋ², OCM *grəŋ
‘To go on an inspection tour’ [BI?, Zuo, LiL ‘action’ [Yi].

xīng ₂ (*yın) LH kəŋ, OCM *krəŋ
‘Road’ [Zuo]; ‘to continue, succeed’ (also MC kəŋ) [Shu].

xīng ₃ — gāŋ, OCM *gəŋ
‘Row, rank’ [Shi] (Karlgren 1956: 12). The absence of OC medial *r is unexplained.


xīng ₄ (*yın) LH gəŋ, OCM *gəŋ
‘Bear, carry, conduct, perform’. However, MC has no trace of a medial *r.


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xíng 3 胸 → jīng 4 脊

xíng 1 擦（xiàng）LH hǐn，OCM *hān
‘To blow one’s nose’ can be compared to Tai: S. sangšt which has been absorbed into Yüè dialects: Guǎngzhōu sangšt (Yue Hashimoto CAAAL 6, 1976: 2).

xíng 2 醒 → qǐng 2 着

xíng 1 腥（xiāng）LH sèn，OCM *sēn — [T] MTang sèn < sǐn，ONW sēn
‘Grease’ [Zhou].

xíng 2 性（xièng）LH sèn，OCM *sēn > *sēn

[ST] Sin Sukchu SR sǐn (负); MGZY sǐn (负) [sǐn]; ONW sǐn
[ST]: this word belongs to the ST *sǐn stem of the groups listed under → shèng 生 and is therefore directly related to the items under → qǐng 青, but only indirectly cognate to shèng (parallel stem ST *sǐn). Alternatively, the medial *r of shèng might have been felt to be a causative infix and was thus dropped in allofams. The JP word n55-ten51 ‘name’ could possibly be related, but there are phonological difficulties.

xíng 3 jīng 胸 (xiāng) LH gén，OCM *gēn
‘Leg, shank’ [Lun].

xíng 1 兄 (xuéng) LH hùn，OCM *hùn?
‘Older brother’ [Bl. Shi].

xíng 2 兄 ‘inauspicious’ → xíng 3 兄

xíng 3 兄 (xuéng) LH hùn，OCM *hùn — [T] ONW hùn
‘To fear’ 兄 [Zuo], 兄 [Guoyu]. This word may be the same as xíng 兄 ‘be inauspicious, baleful, bad’ [Bl. Shi] (< ‘frightening’?). Some words have a similar rime: → kông 恐 ‘to fear’; → sǒng 恤 悼.

xíng 4 匿 (xuéng) LH hùn，OCM *hùn
‘Breast’, ‘chest’ [Meng].

xíng 5 匿 (xuéng) LH hùn，OCM *hùn
‘Litigate, discord’ [Shi]; ‘shout, bawl’ 匿 [Xun].

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**xiōng – xiū**

[C] Perh. related to → hòng 鴻; prob. unrelated to → sòng 賽.

**xiōng6 涌 → rónɡ3 溶**

**xiōnɡ1 雄 (juŋ 3) LH wun, OCM *wəŋ**

‘Male’ of birds and small animals [Shi], later also larger animals; opposite → cí 雌 ‘female’. Etymology not clear.

**xiōnɡ2 熊 (juŋ) LH wəm, OCM *wəm**

‘A bear’ [Shi]. Acc. to SW, yán 炎 OCM *wam is phonetic; if true, yán would confirm the final *-m in xiōng, and xiōng the initial *w- in yán.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR 是汝 (平); MGZY Hyung (平) [yjun]; ONW γyam?? γyuŋ (?) γun

[D] The OC final *-m is preserved in Min dialects: Amoy himA2, Fú’an hemA2, Yǒng’an hamA2 ‘bear’.

[E] ST: PTB *d-wam > WT dom ‘bear’, Tebor hom, Jiaron twöm; PL *k-d-wam, WB (wak-) wam; Bahang wam; Diqar toham ~ tohum (HST: 40); Kuki-Naga *d-wam, Lushai sa^-wamH; Mru tom. Other Igs. in East Asia have words which look similar: Middle Korean kwom, Old Japanese kuma (Miyake 1997: 197), Ainu kamuy ‘bear’; on Taiwan AN languages include cumai / cumay. Note also AA: PMonic *kmum ‘Himalayan black bear’.

**xiōnɡ 熊 → xù4 旭**

**xiōnɡ 涌 → jiōnɡ2 涧**(?)

**xiū1 休 (xiou) LH xu, OCM *hu**

‘To rest’ [Shi].

= xiū ‘Shade of a tree’ 麓 [EY], 萱 [Huainan], 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 Lì 1982: 230; Qiu Xigui 2000: 210).

**xiū2 麓(?) 休 → xiū1 休**

**xiū3 羞 (sjou) LH siu, OCM *snu**

‘Shame’ [Shu], ‘diffidence’ [Zuo], Mand. ‘shy, bashful’.

≠ niū 恥 (njuk) LH nuk, OCM *nruk < *r-nuk ?

‘Disgrace, ashamed’ [Meng], Mand. ‘blushing, bashful’.

≠ rū, rǔ 辱 (ńjwok) LH ņok, OCM *nok

‘Disgrace’ [Shi], ‘condescend’ [Zuo].

[E] The vacillation between pre-initial *s- and *r- is also observed in TB wfs (§5.3). The role of the final *-k in niū is not clear; alternatively, xiū 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 rimes: → chǔ 耻; → nǐ 脾 (which, however, is prob. unrelated). Eberhard (1967: 12) derives the notion ‘shame’ from ‘dirty’.

**xiū4 羞 (sjou) LH siu, OCM *snu**

‘To nourish’ [Shu], ‘viands’ [Zuo].


**xiū5 修 (sjou) LH siu, OCM *su or *sìu? < *sliu? → [T] ONW su**

‘To repair, cultivate, put in order’ [Shi], ‘adorn’ [Li].

[k] s-caus. of *lju (§5.2.1).
xǐ — xu

※tiáo 修 (dieu) LH deu, OCM *liǔ — [T] MTang diau, ONW deu
‘Orderly’ [Shu], ‘paragraph’ [Guoce] (Sagart 1999: 70).

xiù_6 修 ‘long’ ∠ yóu_2 虚

xiù_7 修 ‘dried’ ∠ su_8 酸

xiù_8 溺 → xiù_2 湮溺

xiù_1 朽 → chǒu_2 醜

xiù_2 湮溺 (sjao^B) LH ʂ^B, OCM *sru?
‘To wash’ 糧 [Li]; ‘moisten, wash, soak’ 滄 [Li].

~ xiù 滄 (sjao^B) LH ʂ^B, OCM *sru?
‘Wash rice’ [Li], ‘urinate’ 滄 [Xun]. <> Tai: S. *saau^42 < *sau^ ‘to wash and clean’ (rice). Alternatively, this word without OC medial *r may be a s-causative derivation from ∠ yóu_10 淘油 ‘flow’, hence lit. ‘let water flow over’ > ‘wash’, ‘let water flow’ > ‘urinate’.

※ xiù 溺 (sjao^B) LH ʂ^B, OCM *sru?
‘To urinate’ [Guoyu] is perh. a euphemism.

※ sōu 漱 (sauC, sjaoC^) LH ʂ^C, OCM *srukh?
‘To wash’ 漱 [Li].


xiù_3 漣 → xiù_2 湮溺

xiù_1 秀 (sjao) LH ʂiuc^, OCM *suh (prob. < *swuh), OCB *sλjus
‘To flower and set ears’ (grain) [Shi], ‘to flower’ [Lanyu], ‘flourishing, beautiful’ [Zuozhuan]. Sagart (1999: 72) considers this the caus. of → you_1, 燕 (sjao^C) (§5.2.1).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR siw (去); MGZY siw (去) [siw]

[B] ST: TB-Chepang syu- ‘to prosper, flourish’, Lushai vuul^H ‘be in full bloom’ (as flowers); the MC lack of a trace of a ST final *~ 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.

xiù_2 祧 → zhǒu_3 背

xiù_3 嗅 → chǒu_3 醜

xiù_4 窠 ‘sleeve’ → zhǒu_3 背

xū_1 虚 (sjwo) LH siu, OCM *sa

[B] Acc. to FY 6, xū is a Wú-Yuè dialect. word for ‘assist’, which is prob. derived from ‘mutual’ as in the parallel and cognate wf → xiāng1 相 (Pulleyblank 1962: 233). The Han period (FY) association with the language of Wú and Yuè (Viet) seems to strengthen the possibility that this is originally a MK etymon: Pearic sa: ‘each other’. However, xū is well attested as a CH word already in Shijing.

[C] A derivation is perh. → xū_2 虚.

xū_2 虚 (sjwo) LH hiu, OCM *ha
‘Empty, modest’ [Li]. In Wú dialects: Wēnling lit. ʂ^jy^A ~ col. ʂ^jhe^A (Lǐ Róng FY
xū – xu


[T] Sin Sukchu SR xy (平); MGZY hū (平) [xy]; MTang hy, ONW hō < hio?

xū 3 虚 (xjwo)
A Yuè dialect word: Guǎngzhōu 55hāy41, Táishān hui21 ‘seasonal market’. This word occurs also in some Tai lgs., e.g., Yay (Dioi) hui41 ‘market’ (Luo Yongxian MKS 27, 1997: 284).

xū 4 頃 (sju) LH sio, S tsʰio, OCM *sno.
‘Beard of chin’ 頃 [Yī], 鬚 [Zuo]. This word survives in Yuè and Mǐn dialects, elsewhere it has been replaced by húizi 鬚子.

[T] Sin S. SR sy (平); MGZY sǐyu (平) [sy]; MTang sy, ONW suo

[D] PMin *tsʰiuʰ ~ *siuʰ

[E] This word appears to be ST *sno ‘mouth’ with a semantic shift from ‘mouth’ to its defining edge and surrounding area: PTB *sno(w) ~ *sno(t) (Benedict LTBA 1976: 16) (perh. ‘a cavernous opening’) > WT snod ‘vessel’, bu-snod ‘womb’, Motuo Monpa no-wəŋ ‘mouth’, Kanauri sə ‘face’, Lepcha (a-)so ‘vessel for body-fluid’ [HPTB: 107], WB hnut (see → hui₁₀ 頃嗥, Pwo, Sqaw Karen no? ‘mouth’ (STC: 144f); Achang pot55,mui31 ‘beard’ (‘mouth hair’), Leqi nuger55-mo3·; Jiàorang tənos ‘lips’. In light of the ST etymology, xu has prob. no connection with WT sru-mo ‘mother’s sister’ (as in STC: 171 n. 457; HST: 38).

xū 5 棄 (sju) LH sio, S tsʰio, OCM *sno.
‘To wait’ 髮 [Shí], ‘tarry’ 髮 [Zuo] is prob. a causative derivation from → rú 恤, lit. ‘make (time) pliant = stretch (time)’, the semantic development is parallel to WB nwaï (under → ruǎn 软软).

xū 6 老 (sju) LH sio, OCM *sno
‘Elder sister’ [Chuci] may belong to the TB words for ‘mother, woman’ (cited under → rú 恤, 乳 ‘breast, milk’) (so CVST 2: 38). Xu would be difficult to reconcile phonologically with WT sru-mo ‘mother’s sister’ (as in STC: 171 n. 457; HST: 38).

xú 徐 → yù25 豫

xú 1 清 (sjwoA/B) LH sō(B) ?, OCM *sra(?)?
‘Be dripping’ (dew), ‘flowing, to strain’ (spirits) (also read shū 蘚 QY sjwoʰ = GSR 878h) [Shī], ‘abundant, luxuriant’ [Shī], ‘grain ripe so as to drop its kernels’ 蘚 [Lī]; (‘ripe grain’ [?]) ‘sacrificial grain’ 蘚 [Chuci] (also read shū QYS sjwoʰ).

[E] AA: Khmer sra’ka Israkl intr. ‘to drop, drip, trickle’; for CH tone B, see §3.2.2. This looks like the iterative s-prefix form (§5.2.3) of the next item whose late appearance, as well as the etymology of xu, suggest a back formation:

xú 2 漏 (ljwoC) LH liöC ‘to drip’ [Yupian], a late character (Wáng Li 1982: 152).
Allofam → liö 露 ‘dew’, ultimately → lūë 落 ‘fall’. Unrelated to → shī₁₂ 蘚 (gie).

xú 3 照 → xù₄ 旭
xù – xù

xù₄ 盽 (sjuB) LH sioB, OCM *sno? (perh. < **snot?).
‘A kind of ritual vessel’ [BI], an object which appears only during the Mid-Western Zhou period as a hybrid of two earlier forms (the guṅ 盍 and the lidded fângdīng 方鼎) (Fitzgerald-Huber 2003, The X Gong Xu, Dartmouth College, NH: 37).

[?] ST: TB-Lushai noH, Mru no ‘cup’ [Löffler 1966: 130], note also WT snod ‘vessel’ which would connect xù with xù₄ 頑 ‘beard’.

xù₁ 序 (zjwok) LH zioB, OCM *s-la?
‘School’ [Meng] has two possible etymologies: (1) it is the same word as ‘north-south (east-west) running walls at sides of a hall, space or galleries close to such walls’ [Shi] (under → xù₂ 序敟緒) (Wáng Lì 1982: 170). (2) It is an allofam of → xiáng 序 ‘school’ (Pulleyblank 1962: 233) which is perh. derived from → yâng 揚 ‘rise, raise’.
In fact, xù may be parallel to xiáng in being derived from → yû₁ 展 ‘to lift’. It must be pure coincidence that Modern Khmer ‘school’ sâjaa is nearly identical to OC.

xù₂ 序敟緒 (zjwok) LH zioB, OCM *s-la?
‘Continue, remains’ 繼 [Zhuang]; ‘arrange in order, continue, succeed’ [Shi], ‘north-south (or east-west) running walls at sides of a hall, space or galleries close to such walls’ [Shi], ‘order, sequence’ 序 [Mand.J]: 許 [Shi, Shu] > ‘line of work, work’ (which is continued) 繼 [Shi]; perh. → xù₁ 序 ‘school’ is the same word, i.e. place along the galleries. (SW and the Chinese commentaries say ‘east-west running walls’, Karlgren in GSR 83h says ‘north-south running walls’).

Based on his theories, Pulleyblank (1973: 120) finds cognates of xù in different directions: sî 隨 (zïC) ‘continue, succeed, inherit’ (under → yi₂ 費詫), and xù 續 (zjwok) ONW zuok, LH zïok ‘continue’ [Shi].
[C] A paronym is → yî35 繼 [jak ~ jak] *lak.

xù₃ 烏 (sjuet) LH suit, OCM *sut?
‘To rub, brush’ [Li]. The phonetic → xuè 血 implies an OC *swit, but the likely cognate → sào 擦 *su ‘to scratch’ as well as the TB cognate require an OC *sut. Since Liji is a relatively late text, OC *swit and *sut may already have merged into *suit and have made the phonetic suitable for this word.


xù₄ 旭 belongs to a root *ho
‘Brilliance of the rising sun’ [Shi] has several readings, hence the etymology is not clear: (1) It seems to write the word also written xù 煦 [hîoB/C] ‘to warm’ (as the rising sun). (2) The reading (xjwok) [hîok] goes with a meaning ‘noisy’ as in xiōng-xiōng xù-xù 洋洋旭旭 LH hîoŋ-hîoŋ hîok-hîok [Hun: Yâng-xlông], from there the reading may have extended to the graph in general, including ‘rising sun’. (3) The reading LH hûB, glossed in SW as hão 好 [houB] < *hû?, is possibly inspired by the phonetic jiû 九 [kuB] *ku?.

* xù 煦 (xjüB/C) LH hîoB/C, OCM *hoi/h
‘To warm’ (with breath or air, e.g. Heaven’s warm breeze to make things grow) tr. [Liji] which is what SW apparently means by zhêng 燥 ‘steam’; also xù 煦 ‘incubate eggs’. See also → xù₄ 旭.

* xiōng 煦 (xjwønB) LH hîonB, OCM *hoŋ?
‘Become warm, balmy’ (of the rising sun) [Shi], also read xù 煦 (xjüB/C); the reading xiōng is listed in the late JY, but final -ŋ agrees with the semantics.
xù — xuán

[<] terminative -ŋ of xù 煥 (xjwB/C) (§6.5.1), ‘become’ warm thanks to the rising sun.

xùăn 煥 (xjwB) LH hyanB, OCM *hwan? or *hon? ?
‘To sun, dry in the sun’ [Yi], ‘sunlight’ [Zhouli]. The QY reading xjwieB ‘sunlight’ prob. belongs to the syn. → huf2 晞輝輝.

xùăn 煥 (xjwB) LH hyan, OCM *hwan
‘Warm’ [Li]. This word is not related to → nuăn 煬.

[E] All the above items prob. belong to the same root *ho or perh. *hwo ‘warm in the sun’; the latter would logically result in the OC / MC forms above; *hwon would have to dissimilate to OC *hwan. This wf coalesces partially with → yū20, yū 輔, perh. together they belong to a single wf.

xù5 環 (xjwok) LH biok, OCM *ŋoŋ — [T] ONW huok
‘Disconcerted’ [Zhuang].


xù6 畜 → chù4, xù 畜

xù7 畜 (—) LH sioC, OCM *sah
‘Son-in-law’ [Zuo]. Mand. xù [cyC], G-Nánchāng cyA.


xù8 臭 → yù21 腹

xù9 畜 → sù6 速

xù10 訣 → shù4 述術録

xù11 續 → xu21 序敘緒

xù12 間溪 → guó 國

xuān1 宣 (sjwān) LH syan, OCM *swan, OCB *swjan
‘To spread, diffuse, proclaim, display’ [Shi].

[E] ST: PLB *swan2 > Lahu së ‘sow, broadcast’, WB swanB ‘pour upon, cast by pouring’.

xuān2 暖 (xjwB[9]) LH hyunB, OCM *hwan(ŋ)
‘Soft, mild’ [Zhuang] is perh. related to WT hol-hol ‘soft, loose, light’ (HST: 136).

xuān3 燃 → xu4 旭

xuān1 玄 (yiwen) LH yuen, OCM *wín, OCB *gwín
‘Black, dark’ [BI, Shi] is the oldest basic color term for ‘black’ which is later replaced by → hēi 黑 (Baxter 1983).

xuān2 洲 ‘far’ → jióng2 洞迥

xuān3 邁旋 → yuán5 懸圃圃

xuān4 錢懸 (yiwen) LH guen, OCM *gwín — [T] MTang yuian(?), ONW yuén
‘To suspend, hang up’ 篤 [Shi], 懸 [Meng] is today the word for ‘high’ in Mǐn: PMin
*guen > Fúzhuō keiŋ²⁴‘high’ ≠ heiŋ²⁴‘hanging down’ (Norman 1979: 271). Tai has borrowed the word ‘suspend’: S. kʰween⁴¹ < *xw- (Manomaivibool CAAAAL 6, 1976: 16). Prob. related to → guà 挂 ‘suspend’ (for final -n, see §6.4.4), perh. also to → qíng₂ 晴 ‘id’.  

xuǎn 焚 → xù₄ 旭

xuàn nuances (yiwen⁵) LH yuēn⁶, OCM *wûn?
‘To flow’ [Lun] may derive from the same ST root *lw ‘to flow’ as → shuí 水 ‘water’; earlier *r- and *l- often leave no trace in MC before initial *j- and *w-.

xuān 湧 (kiwen⁴) LH kuen⁶, OCM *wûn?
‘Watering channels in fields’ 割 [Zhouli], 割 [Shu].
 [<] nominalizing k-prefix derivation from xuǎn (§5.4). The aspirated Mand. reading is probably an analogy to 犬 ‘dog’.

xuān 漣 (jwän) LH wan or wen, OCM *wan or *wen?
‘To flow’ [Chuci] may be a Chê dialect variant of xuǎn.

xuē, xuě, xiāo 削 (sjak, sjau⁴) LH siök, siao⁶, OCM *siauk(h)?
‘To scrape, pare, cut, destroy’ [Shi].

xué 學 (yâk) LH gok, OCM *grûk
‘To learn’ [Shi].

xuē 雪 (sjwât) LH syat, OCM *sot < *snot?, OCB *sjet — ONW suat ‘Snow’ [OB, Shi].

xué 血 (xiwet) LH huet, OCM *hwît, OCB *wit — ONW huêt ‘Blood’ [Shi].

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xuè  —  xún

vi, WT yi in yi(d)-dam ‘oath’ ≈ yid ‘soul, mind’ (STC no. 222). In some TB lgs., this etymon means ‘marrow’, see → suī 随 ‘marrow’. The Tai word for ‘blood’ S. Ḥiat\textsuperscript{D2L} < *hl - is unrelated, see → lù₄-liáo 脂膏.

xuè\textsubscript{2} 厩 (xjwat 3) LH hyat, OCM *hmât or *hmēt ‘To wink at, give signal with the eyes’ [SW].

※ miē 也
‘To squint, glance (sideways)’ is a more recent cognate (dialects have forms in tone C or D; Giles (A Chinese–English Dictionary p. 975) lists among others Canton mêt, Hakka mak, Ningpo mêt, Peking mêi.

[\textsuperscript{E]} Area etymon *Cmit or *Cmet ‘wink / signal with eyes or finger’: TB-WB hmīt ‘to wink’, Lahu mêt. < AA-Khmer /mic/ corev /mēc/ ‘to wink’ (by way of signaling) ≈ /tmeec/ ‘shut the eyes’. < AN: Malay gamit ‘beckoning with the fingers’ (Kuiper 1966: 61). → juē 映 looks like a further variant of this foreign loan. → hu₄ 麓 *hmâi may have been influenced by xuè.

xuè\textsubscript{3}, xiāo 削 → xuè, xuè, xiāo 削

xuè\textsubscript{4}, hù 毒 (xâk, xuk) LH hok, hok, OCM *hrok ‘Vomit’ [Zuo].

[\textsuperscript{E]} PTai *râk\textsuperscript{D2}, PKS *twak? ‘vomit’.

xuè\textsubscript{5} 威 ‘destroy’ → miē\textsubscript{1} 減

xuè\textsubscript{6}, nuè 諱 → nuè\textsubscript{1} 虐

xūn 煙燻 (xuān) LH hun, OCM *hwén < *C-un ? — [\textsuperscript{T]} ONW hun ‘To make smoke, befumed’ 煙 [Shi], 煙 [Hanfei]; ‘vapor, odor’ 煙 [Li], ‘be pungent’ [Yi] > ‘strong smelling vegetables’ 葫 [Li] (Mand. hûn), ‘a fragrant herb’ 煙 [Zuo].

[\textsuperscript{E]} This word is prob. ST, but its TB counterpart is difficult to pinpoint: perh. *(C)-wu ‘smoke’ (STC: 159 n. 429: *kaw; HPTB: 451), in CH with the addition of the nominal final -n (§6.4.3): Dulong muu\textsuperscript{31}tuu\textsuperscript{31} < *-u (?) ‘smoke’ (muu\textsuperscript{31} ‘sky’), WT du-ba \textasciitilde dud-pa ‘smoke’ (a few other words have WT d- for a velar initial elsewhere, note → liū 六 – Matisoff 1974: 195 n. 119), WB kʰui\textsuperscript{B}, Bahing kuni, Sunwar kun. Alternatively, or in addition, xūn may belong with Kanauri w̠̬n ‘steam’. CVST 5: 180 relates xūn to Lushai hu\textsuperscript{L} < huh (< hus) ‘vapor, gas’ and by implication to WT hus ‘moisture, humidity’.

※ yún 芸 (juān) LH wun ‘Fragrant plant’ [Li] > ‘ample, numerous’ (flowers > people) [Shi] (also MC juān\textsuperscript{C}).

xún\textsubscript{1} 辍 → jūn\textsubscript{2} 鈞

xún\textsubscript{2} 洗 ‘drip’ → yún\textsubscript{2} 陨殒震

xún\textsubscript{3} 恨 ‘sincerely’ → xīn\textsubscript{1} 信

xún\textsubscript{4} 胸 → shùn\textsubscript{3} 瞽

xún\textsubscript{5} 尋 (zjām) LH zim, OCM *s-lam ‘A measure’ (8 chi) [Shi].

[\textsuperscript{T]} Sin Sukchu SR zim (平), PR, LR zin; MGZY zim (平) [zim]; ONW zim

[\textsuperscript{E]} ST: PTB *lâm (HPTB: 298) > Lushai hâm\textsuperscript{R} < hlam ‘measure with arms extended’, WB lam id. ≈ hâm\textsuperscript{B} ‘reach out, stretch out’ (Gong Hwang-cherng 1999: 12), JP lā\textsuperscript{31}-lâm\textsuperscript{31} ‘a fathom’ ≈ lā\textsuperscript{31}-lâm\textsuperscript{31} ‘to measure’ (Bodman 1980: 106), WT ‘dom ‘fathom’.

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xǔn — xùn

xǔn₆ 尋 ‘warm up’ → xún 尋煥

xǔn₇ 循 → shùn 順

xǔn₁ 訓 (xuăn) LH hun, OCM *huns
‘Instruct, comply’ [Shi, Shu]. Perh. ST: WT ‘kʰul-ba ‘to subdue, subject’ ≠ skul-ba, bskul ‘to exhort, admonish’ (so HST: 143).

xǔn₂ 徑 Courier → jūn 鈷

xǔn₃ 訊 → xìn 信

xǔn₄ 遙 → sūn 损

xǔn₅ 迂 (sjuen) LH suin, OCM *suns?
‘Rapid’ [Li] is related to → sù₆ 速 and belongs to the wf → sōu₃, sōu 搜.
yā

押 \( \rightarrow \) yā 1 按

yā 2 啄 \( \rightarrow \) wū 6 鳥

yā 3 按 \( ? \) LH ?ap, OCM *?rāp or *?əp ?

‘To press down, press upon’ 按 [Zuo]; ‘stamp, seal’ 押 [Hanfei].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?ja (走入) \( \rightarrow \) [D] M-Xiàmén col. a?D1, a?D2, lit. apD1

[E] A derivation is prob. \( \rightarrow \) chā, ‘to stamp’, with the iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3).

yā 1 牙 (ŋa) LH ŋa, OCM *ŋrā, OCB *ngra.

‘Tusk, tooth’ [Shi] > ‘sprout’ [Lij].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋja (平), PR, LR ja; ONW ŋa

[D] M-Xiàmén col. geA2, giaoA2, lit. gaA2


Pulleyblank (1983: 439) believes that OC is the donor.

yā 2 牙 \( \rightarrow \) yā 1 牙; \( \rightarrow \) niè 10 類

yā 3, ái 崖涯涯 (ŋai) LH ŋaí, OCM *ŋré

‘Riverbank’ 涠 [Shu], ‘cliff’ 崖 [Zuo], ‘limit’ [Zhuang], ‘rim’ (of the eye) 眼 [Guoce], later also ‘margin, edge’ (of the world).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋja, jaj (平), PR, LR ja; MGZY yay (平) [jaj]

[E] This word looks similar to the ST stem *ŋra ~ *ŋa, but is unrelated (the basic meaning of yā is ‘edge, limit’); for an overview of similar words, see under \( \rightarrow \) yā 2 御


‘Mute’ [Guoce]. This onomatopoetic root represents throaty sounds. The MC div. II vocalism is unlikely to be due to an OC medial *r (Pulleyblank JAOS 118.2, 1998: 212), but is probably due to sound symbolism.

♀ yā, yà 耸 (ŋa [GY]) LH ?a, OCM *?a ?

‘To cut one’s throat’ [Guoyu].

♀ è 喔 \( ? ? \) LH ?ak, OCM *?ak ?

‘Laugh’ [Yi].


yā 2 雅 (ŋaB) LH ŋaB, OCM *ŋrā? — [T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋja (走入), PR ja; ONW ŋa

‘Proper, refined, a kind of song’ [Shi].

[E] Etymology is unknown; it has been suggested that yā is connected with Xià 夏 [ga?] ‘Xia dynasty, Chinese’.

yā 1 亞 (ŋaC) LH ŋaC, OCM *ʔa or *ʔrāh ?

‘Next in line, second, inferior’ [BI, Shi].

Karlgren relates yā to \( \rightarrow \) è 3 惡 ‘evil’, but this seems semantically forced. Bodman (1980: 87; HST: 97) suggests cognation with WT rag(-pa) ‘to depend on’ \# rag

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‘subject, subservient, dependent’; the WT forms are cognate to Lushai raR < raL ‘be bad, poor’.

yà 御返訶 (naC) LH naC, OCM *ŋraŋ
‘To meet, welcome, provide against, receive’ 御 [Shi], 返 [Shu], 訥 [Yili], 归 [Zuo]. [E] ST: PTB *ŋra (STC no. 154) > WB ṃra ‘meet with, find’, JP nya55 ‘to meet, conflict, clash, frolic’ (HST: 109).

yáí 颜 (qan) LH ɲan, OCM *ŋran, OCB *ŋran
‘The appearance of a face, face, countenance, color’ [Shi]. Perhaps under the influence of the synonym → s_CI色 ‘color’, yán acquired later the connotation ‘sex’ (Eberhard 1967: 12).

[D] From northern Chü eastward to the Huái region it was a Han period dialect word for ‘forehead’ [FY 10, 34].

[E] This noun is either derived with the nominalizing n-suffix from yà 御返訶 (above), and / or it could be related to WT ṃar ‘front-side’, in the expression ‘go against, instigate’ (so IST: 37).

yè 誤 (ŋak) LH ɲak, OCM *ŋrak
‘Dispute, contest’ [Mo], ‘insisting’ [Li], ‘attack’ 誤 [Zhuang]; ‘defiant’ 頥 [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR aj (入), PR Ḉaj?; MGZY yaw (入) [jaj]

Table Y-1 Meet, against for yà 御返訒

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<td>yà</td>
<td>ɲaŋ *ɲaŋa? defend</td>
<td>wù ɲak (h) resist, oppose</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ɲaŋ</td>
<td>ɲan</td>
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<td>WT</td>
<td>no ɲaŋ face, look</td>
<td>hàn / ɲaŋ scroll, riverbank</td>
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<td>ɲaŋ</td>
<td>ɲak</td>
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<td>ɲak</td>
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<td>WT</td>
<td>dgo ɲak shore, bank</td>
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<td>ɲaŋ</td>
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<td>ṃar front-side</td>
<td>Nung ɲaŋ deny</td>
<td>WT ɲar front-side</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes for Table Y-1:
Two parallel stems comprise this wf, one with, one without ST / OC medial *r (§2.5).
Open vowel and final *ŋ forms are inherited from ST.
The nouns in final -n are CH innovations (§6.4.3). The form yán 顏 *ŋran ‘face’ is ambiguous because it could either be *ŋra + n, or be directly related to WT ɲar as TB final *-r can on occasion correspond to a MC div. II syllable with final n (§7.7.2). The forms in final -k are CH innovations (§6.1).
‘Outside’ → wài 外 does not belong to these stems.
yăn — yăn

ê é 额 (ησκ) LH 𪚧, OCM *ŋrák
‘Forehead’ is only attested during Han and later [SW, Shiming, FY, Hou Hanshu]; it is a semantic extension of the homophone 諬 ‘to face’ (lit. ‘confront’).

[D] PMin *ŋiyak: Xiâmén gia?D2, hio?D2, lit. gikD2


[C] For a synopsis of related words, see Table Y-1 and notes. Cognates are → an2 岸 ‘riverbank’, → ni6 迎 ‘go against’, → yǐng1 迎 ‘go to meet’, → yù17 禱 ‘defend’. Prob. unrelated is → yā3 愛 [!I 'riverbank'. Benedict (1995: 33) includes in this wf wǒ 我 ‘I’ via ‘self’ (under → wū2 吾), as well as WT dgos ‘reality’; see however → yi10 儀 宜 ‘prop’.

yăn1 咽 (tiem) LH ?en (?tein), OCM *ʔün

※ yăn 咽喡 (tiemC) LH ?énC (?teinC), OCM *ʔüns
‘To swallow’ (Meng). The second graph 喡 should go back to OCM *ʔüns, but since Hánfeizi is a relatively late text, the two forms may already have merged.

[<] exoactive of yăn 咽 *ʔün (§4.3).

yăn2 焉 interrogative → wū5 恶; ‘there’ → yú8 於

yăn3 溪 → yăn2 奧

‘Be content, satisfied, tranquil’ [Bi, Shi], ‘to satiate, satisfy’ 獸 [Guoyu], 厭 [Zuo].

※ yăn 獸 (?jiam4) LH ?iamC, OCM *ʔems
‘Be full of, satiated > abundant’ [Shu, Shi]; ‘fed up, tired’ [Shi].

[<] exopass. of yăn 獸 厭 *ʔem ‘have been filled / contented’ (§4.4).

[E] This wf may belong to → yăn2 奥. Note PTai *ʔimBi ‘full, satiated’.

yăn1 沿 (jiwan) LH juan, OCM *lon? or *jon?
‘Go along a river’ [Shu], ‘follow, imitate’ [Li].

= yuán 縁 (jiwän) LH juan, OCM *lon?
‘Go along, follow’ [Zhuang].

※ yuán 縁 (jiwänC) LH juanC, OCM *lons?
‘A hem, border on garment’ [Lijí].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR, LR yen (平): MGZY ywyan (平) [yjên]

[<] exopass. of yăn 沿 (§4.4), lit. ‘what is followed / follows’.

[E] Etymology not clear. There are several possible etymologies, but the MC rounded element does not agree with the first two: (1) Tai: S. lianA2 ‘imitate, follow’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 235). (2) ST: Lushai zcellicer < jel ‘a road or path along the side of a hill or range, to walk along’ (such a road); JP ma31-jan33 ‘(flow) along a cliff’. (3) Or it could be derived from → yòu2 由 ‘go along, follow’.

yăn2 炎 (jiam 4 [JY]) LH jam, OCM *lam, prob. *liam — [T] ONW iam
‘To blaze, burn’ [Shi]. The graph 炎 had two different ancient readings, LH jam and wam → yăn3 炎. Both forms are supported by outside connections; yăn2 炎 transcribes
yán

Indic yāma. The same doublet *l- ~ *w- (Tai *w-, PTB *l-) is found in → yè₆ 焗 which could perh. be related.

[E] ST and area word: PTB *(s-)lyam > Tamang me-lahm ‘flame’ (me ‘fire’), Lepcha lim ‘to flame up’ ≈ á-lim ‘flame’; JP lam* → ‘to flash, as bright as steel’ ≈ ga*lam* ‘flutter’ ≈ pa*lam* ‘butterfly’ ≈ pram* ‘flashling’; WT lèam-me-ba < lhyam ‘shining, dazzling’ ≈ p’yam-p’yam ‘glittering’; WB lcam-me-ba → ‘coruscation of flame’ ≈ lcam ‘shining, dazzling’ ≈ phyam-pham ‘glittering’. The first syllable in the WT p’yi-ma-λε < p’yim ‘to flash, as bright as steel’ may be related, hence lit. the ‘glittering flat thing’. <> Also AA: Khmer lama, ilfi::lmi ‘to flare, flame’ n bhlama, ilfi::lmi ‘move like a flash, immediately, next moment’ n babhlama ilfi::lmi ‘to gleam, glitter, glisten’.

<yāna> 颟剎 (jiāmB) LH jamB, OCM *lam? 
'Be flaming up, blazing up (of fire)' 燎 [Shu] (also MC jiāmC); ‘rising’ [Li], ‘brilliant’ 剎 [Chuci].

[<] endoactive of yān3 燎 (jiām 4) *lam (§4.5).

<shān> 閃鸞 (sjāmB) LH šamB, OCM *lham?
'To twinkle' 燿 [SW]; ‘time of a short glance, moment’ 閃 [SW: Gongyang], in modern dialects ‘lightning’: Mandarin shān diān 閃電. The basic meaning is apparently ‘to flicker’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjem (上); MGZY shem (上) [sem]; ONW šam
[<] iterative devoicing of yān 颟剎 (jiāmB) §5.2.3.

[E] ST *l(jam) (§5.2.3): WT lhem ‘now, at present’; note also lhams ‘at once’.

[C] Alloforms are → tán3 燎, → tián3 鞠, → xián3 搖, → yān4 燊. Words meaning ‘flame’, ‘tongue, lick’ (→ tián3 蝟) and ‘sharp’ (→ yān4 剎) are near homophones and may derive from the same root.

yān3 燎 (jām 3 [GY]) LH wam, OCM *wam — [N] Early MC wiām (Pulleyblank 1991) ‘To blaze, burn’ [Shi]. The graph 燎 had two different ancient readings, LH wam and LH jam → yān. The same doublet *l- ~ *w- is found in the cognate → yè₆ 焗. Acc. to SW, yān 燎 < OC *wam is phonetic in xióng 熊 *wom ‘the bear’; if true, yān would confirm the final *-ν in xióng, and xióng the initial *w- in yān. [E] ST: JP (g)w31-wam31 ‘sway up and down’ (e.g., bridge) ≈ wam31 ‘a flash’, Lushai vaam+ / wam+ ‘red-hot glowing’ of fire, iron, etc. OC → Tai: S. weem → wam A2 in weem A2 ‘brilliant, glowing (of fire)’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 180). Tai / OC → Sino-Vietn. viēm [Maspero 1912: 68, n. 1].

yān4 言 → yū₆ 語

yān5 延綫 (jiān) LH jan, OCM *lan — [T] ONW ian
'To extend, prolong’ [Shu], ‘continue’ [Zuo], ‘stretch’ (neck) [Lunyu]; ‘bamboo mat’ 纨 [Shi]. The OC initial is uncertain; Viet. and Tai relations suggest *l, TB comparanda *j.

<chān> 橫 (tjān) LH t’un, OCM *t-hlan?
‘Long’ (of beams) [Shi].

<đan> 諧 (đānB) LH đonB, OCM *đan?

Unrelated are prob. TB items with initial *y- (Shorto 1972: 17), they may have converged in OC: PTB *yar ‘to spread out, extend, sail’ (STC: 138) > WT g-yor-mo ‘sail’,

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yan – yan

Lushai zaarH ‘spread’ (wings, a sail), JP yan31 ‘to unroll, spread’. ‘Sail’ may ultimately be connected with an AN word (Shorto), e.g. Proto-Eastern Formosan *layaR ‘sail’ [Li Jen-kuei LL 5.2, 2004: 370].

**yan6** 砣 (gien) LH ēn, OCM *ğên, OCB *ğen
‘To grind’ [SW] > ‘examine’ [Yi]. Perh. there is a connection with WT ēn̞̞ ‘take pains’.

**yan** 頂 (gienC) LH ēnC, OCM *ğênS — [D] PMin *ğïanC
‘Inkstone’ [SW, Shiming].

**yan7** 顔 → y吗 御饒訣

**yan8** 嚴 (ğam) LH ēam, OCM *ğamS — [T] ONW īam
‘Be high, lofty’ (of mountains) [Shi], ‘precipitous, dangerous’ [Zuo].

**yan9** 盐 (ğiam) LH īam, OCM *ğam < *r-ğam
‘Salt’ [Shu]. The phonetic implies an initial *r- which is supported by the WT form.

**yan** 頂 (gienB) LH īamB, OCM *ğam?S, OCB *ğam(r)jam (?)
‘Dignified’ [Shi].

**yan** 頂 (gienC) LH īamC, OCM *ğamS
‘To salt, pickle’ [Liji] (Downer 1959: 281).

**yan** 頂 (gienB) LH īamB, OCM *ğamS
‘To flow out, extend’ [Guoyu]. Karlgren (1956: 15) adds īam to this wf. Note yam 面 (gienB, īamB 3) *ğam (?) ‘hill-top’ [Shi] which may be a variant.

**yan** 頂 (jian B) LH īanB, OCM *ğamS
‘Be overflowing> abundant, extensive’ [Shi], (‘floodplain’:) ‘lowland’ [Zuo].

**yan** 液 (jian B / C) LH īanB/C, OCM *ğamS
‘To exceed, err, fail, lack’ īan [Shi] > ‘be defective, injured’ īan [Shi].

**yan** 彦 (jianB/C) LH īanB/C, OCM *jian?S, OCB *ran?S
‘Be overflowing> abundant, extensive’ [Shi], (‘floodplain’:) ‘lowland’ [Zuo].

**yan** 液 (jianB) LH īanB, OCM *jian? — [T] ONW īan
‘To flow out, extend’ [Guoyu]. Karlsgren (1956: 15) adds īan to this wf. Note yian 頂 (gienB, īanB 3) *ğam (?) ‘hill-top’ [Shi] which may be a variant.

**yan** 液 (jianB) LH īanB, OCM *jian?S
‘To exceed, err, fail, lack’ īan [Shi] > ‘be defective, injured’ īan [Shi].

**yan** 彦 (jianB/C) LH īanB/C, OCM *jian?S
‘To exceed, err, fail, lack’ īan [Shi] > ‘be defective, injured’ īan [Shi].

**yan** 液 (jianB) LH īanB, OCM *jian?S
‘To exceed, err, fail, lack’ īan [Shi] > ‘be defective, injured’ īan [Shi].
yăn

yăn 2 墓 (ォjamB 3) LH ʔamB, OCM *ʔam? — [T] ONW ʔam
‘Be spreading over, covering, extensively’ 墓 [Shi]; 佷 also QY ʔamB ‘cover’ [Mutingzi], ‘narrow pass’ [Zuo]; ‘to cover, shut’ (nose, ears) 掛 [Li].

= yăn 捕 (ォjamB 3, ʔemB) LH ʔamB, OCM *ʔam?
‘To cover’ [Meng] > ‘thickening, gathering (clouds)’ [Shi].

≠ yăn 墓 (ォjamB) LH ʔemB, OCM *ʔäm? ?
‘Cover’ [Li].

≠ yăn 捕 (ォjamB 3) LH ʔam, OCM *ʔam
‘Submerge, soak’ [Li].

[E] <> KT: S. homBl (< PTai *h-), Po’ai homBl ‘to cover up’ ≠ Po’ai homAl ‘to bury’; PHlai *kom ‘bury, cover’. MY: Mun (Yao) ʔäm33 ‘to cover’ (Strecker 1989: 21). It is not clear if and how PVM *ʔam ‘moist, humid’ [Thomas] is related.

[C] The word under → yăn 黠 may belong here, also → yè, 帽 ‘kerchief’.

yăn 3 捕 (ォjamB) LH ʔamB, OCM *ʔam

yăn 4 割貫 (ォjamB) LH ʔamB, OCM *ʔam?
‘Pointed, sharp’ (of plowshare) 贯 [Shi]; ‘sharp, pierce’ 割 [Li], ‘cut’ [Xun]; ‘jade tablet with pointed top’ 琯 [Shu].

[E] ST *ʔ-jam ‘sharp’. The word yăn has lost the ST initial *ʔ- (§9.2.1) which has been preserved in → lian 鏘, lian 鏘 ‘sharp’ (see there for cognates); in yăn the ST *ʔ- was treated as a pre-initial, in lian as the word initial.

yăn 5 墓 (ォjenB) LH ʔenB, OCM *ʔen?
‘To lie down’ (on bed, trees toppled by storm) [Shi, Shu] > ‘low-lying land’ [Zuo].

≠ yăn 墓 (ォjenB/C) LH ʔenB/C, OCM *ʔen/?s
‘Gutter, latrine’ (< ‘lowered place, depression’) [Zhouli].

[E] ? ST: Lushai ʔaalH < jaal ‘to lie down, recline ≠ zalʔk < jalʔ/h ‘lay on the back’. The TB initial *ʔ- is expected to correspond to MC div. IV (ォjianB), not III. This casts doubt on the genetic relationship. On the other hand there are no syllables of the corresponding div. IV type in MC, hence they might have merged with div. III, perh. under the influence of the similar etymon → ʔan 舖 ‘press down’.

yăn 6 眼 (ォjanB) LH ʔenB, OCM *ʔen
‘Eyeballs, eyes’ [Yi] > ‘eyes’ [Han period].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔen (_), PR ʔen, LR ʔen; MGZY yan (_) [jan]; ONW ʔen

[D] This word replaces mü 目 in all modern dialects except Mín. Acc. to Sagart (1999: 154) derived from

≠ ʔen 眼 (ォjanB) LH ʔenB, OCM *ʔen?
‘Knob, bulge’ [Zhouli].

yăn 7 眼 (ォjamB) 4 LH ʔiamB, OCM *ʔem?
‘Bitter wine’ [SW].

[E] PMY ʔiʔm ‘bitter’ [Wáng F.].

yăn 8 島 → yăn 黠

yăn 9 島 ‘hillock’ → yăn 黠

yăn 10 島 (ォjamB 4) LH ʔiamB, OCM *ʔem?
‘Black mark on face’ (面有黑字) [GY]; 島 ‘wild mulberry tree’ (GY: ‘mountain mulberry’) [Shi].

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yan - yăng

= ān 暗 (?jäm B 3, ?äm B) LH ?äm B, ?ën B, OCM *?am ?
‘Dark’ [Xun].

yan1 宴燕 (?ien C) LH ?en C, OCM *?êns, OCB *?ëns — [T] ONW ?ên
‘To be at ease, rest, feast’ 燕 [Bl, Shi]; ‘be pleasant’ (e.g. with a lamb skin; laughing)
晏 [Shi].

‘Be peaceful, mild’ [Shi]; ‘peace, at rest’ [Li).

[E] A Tai word may be related: S. lën B2 ‘have pleasure, play’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 357),
but the initial l- is unexplained (§5.11). A parallel stem is → ān, 安 (§2.5).

yan2 燕 (?an C) LH ?an C, OCM *?än ? — [T] ONW ān
‘Wild goose’ [Shi].

[E] Yan appears to derive from → ē 鵝 ‘goose’ with the noun suffix *-n (§6.4.3), but
the TB connections make that doubtful: WT ṭan-pa ‘goose’, WB ṭan B (STC p. 99 n. 284; HST: 87) where the difference in final nasals, i.e. CH / WB -n for WT -ŋ, is odd,
but not unique (§6.4.1-2). CH -> PTai *han B1 < *hën ‘goose’ (Li F. 1976: 46). Alternatively,
yan and ē may both reflect an earlier final *-l (or *-r?).

yan3 鵝鵝 (?an C) LH ?an C, OCM *?än
‘A quail-like game bird’ 鵝 [Guoyu], 鵝 [Liji].

[E] ST: KN-Lushai ʔaar ‘fowl’, Tiddim ʔaak ‘fowl’ < *ʔaar. AA-Bahnaric lgs. have
words for ‘chicken’ which look similar: īer, iār, ial, etc. The MC div. II vocalism
(thought to derive from OC medial *r) occurs occasionally in words whose TB
cognates have a final *r, see §7.7.2.

yan4 燕 (?ien C) LH ?en C (~ ?en B), OCM *?ëns
‘The swallow’ [Shi].

[D] Some dialects have tone B: X-Chângshâ ien B, W-Wênhâo jı B.

[E] <> Tai: Sæk ʔeen C2 ~ ʔeen C2 ‘swallow’, S. ʔeen B1. This word is thought to be
connected with → yân, 咬 ‘to swallow’, but this is doubtful (note that the two English
homophones are etymologically unrelated as well).

yan5 嚼 → yân1 咬
yan6 飽剝 → yân2 炎
yan7 咬 → yân1 咬
yan8 喜諱 → yǔ6 語
yan9 奪 → xiàn9 獻憲

yan10 豔 (jiam C) LH jam C, OCM *jam < *r-jams (?)
‘Beautiful’ [Shi].


yăng1 央 → yū8 於

yăng2 秸 (?jan) LH ?on, OCM *?on — [D] PMin *on A
‘Sprout, rice seedling’ [SW].

[E] This word is closely related to PMiao *?zon A [Wâng Fûshi – but most Miao lgs.
have the final nasal -j] ‘young rice plant’ (Haudricourt / Strecker, 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 ljan B-u < *lj- ‘shoots, sprouts’ ≈ ljan B-u ‘rice seedlings’,
yáng – yáng

ljæŋ-k’u /-gu ‘green’, Lepcha tǖ-lyʊŋ ‘young blades...of corn, rice’ (Bodman 1980: 177; HST: 139).

yáng₂ 矣 (jian) LH ṭan, OCM *taŋ
‘Calamity’ [Zuo], ‘damage, destroy’ [Meng]. Unger (Hao-ku 33, 34, 1986) connects this word with → yáng₂ 矣.

yáng₁ 羊 (jian) LH jiaŋ, OCM *jaŋ or *ląŋ, OCB *(l)jang
‘Goat, sheep’ [OB]. Sin Sukchu SR jiaŋ (平); MGZY yang (平) [jian]; ONW ian
[?] Perh. ST: Lushai sa̱-za̱ < -jaα? ‘a wild goat’, JP jaα55 ‘blue sheep’. Matisoff adds WT g-yaŋ ‘yak’ (HPTB: 304). It is not clear if / how PTai *lα: S. liajA² -pəaA¹ ‘goat, antelope’ is related, see → yáng₂ 矣. Sagart (1999: 194) raises the possibility that it is related to → yáng₂ 矣 ‘nourish, feed, rear’, meaning lit. ‘livestock’, which would be semantically parallel to → chú4, xù 畜 ‘nourish, rear, domestic animal’.

yáng₃ 伴 → xiàng₇ 像象

yáng₄ 矣 (jian) LH jiaŋ, OCM *jaŋ or *ląŋ
‘Be sick, suffering’ 矣 [Shi] (also LH ziaŋ); ‘sore, ulcer’ 矣 [Zuo] (also LH jiaŋB [Zhouli] — a late text, hence the incongruous phonetic).

yáng₅ 矣 (jian) LH saŋ, OCM *jaŋ or *ląŋ
‘Sickness’ [Chuci], ‘defect, shortcoming’ [Guoce].

<] yáng + s/h-suffix (§3.5).

yáng₆ 矣 (jian) LH jiaŋ, OCM *jaŋ or *ląŋ
‘To hurt’ [SW], also = shäng 傷.

<] s-caus. reprefixation of shäng 傷 (§5.2.2). This iand the next items may possibly represent a different root *ląŋ, not *jaŋ.

yáng₇ 矣 (jian) LH saŋ, OCM *s-hiąŋ or *s-liąŋ
‘To rise, raise, extol, make known’ [BI, Shi]; ‘tossed up by the wind’ 矄, [Chuci]; Bodman (1980: 102) believes that yáng 矄 ‘be elated’ [Shi] is the same word.
**shāng-shāng** 湛湛（jian） LH 𝓼𝓪ⁿ, OCM *ihan
‘Voluminous’ (flow of water, i.e. rising river) [Shi].
[<] iterative / intensive derivation from yāng (§5.2.3).
[E] ST: WT lai-ŋa ‘to rise, arise’ ≠ lāŋ-ja ‘to rise, get up’ ≠ slan-ŋa ‘cause to rise’ (Pulleyblank 1962: 233; HST: 125); Lushai laaŋ⁴ / laan⁶ ‘to float, go up’. Note also Tai: S luuan⁶, luau⁶ (Gong Qinhu MZYW 2, 2000).
[C] Further derivations may be → yāng, 養 ‘to raise’ and items mentioned there. All of them are → yāng, 養 ‘lift, extol’ also has WT cognates.

**yāng** 揚（jian） LH jəŋ, OCM *laŋ
‘Forehead’ [Shi]: (horse’s) ‘metal frontlet’ [Bl, Shi 261, 2].
This word could be the same as → yāng, 揚 ‘lift’, hence ‘rising part’ > ‘forehead’.

**yāng** 揚（jian） LH jəŋ, OCM *laŋ, OCB *ljang — [T] ONW laŋ
‘Sunshine’ [Shi], ‘be shining, shiny’ [Shi] > ‘sunny side, south side, north slope’ (of a valley) [Shi] > ‘outside (fake) appearance (of a person)’ [Guoce] (in contrast to → yīn, 隱 ‘the inside reality’) [Hou Hanshu] > ‘the bright, dry, male, etc. principle’ (as opposed to yīn, 隱).

**yāng** 揚（jian） LH jəŋ, OCM *laŋ, OCB *ljang
‘Poplar’ [Shi].
[E] ST: WT lēŋ-ma < lhan⁹ ‘willow’ (Salix viminalis), in the Golok dialect rtcən-ma ‘willow’, but rtcən-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 klan¹³. ma³⁵ or klan³³ ‘willow’ (ceŋ ‘tree’).

**yāng** 仰 (njang⁶) LH ɲəŋ², OCM *ŋəŋ?, OCB *ŋjang?
‘To lift the face, look up’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɲaŋ (.), PR jəŋ, ɲəŋ, LR jaŋ; MGZY (ŋyang >) nyang (.) [npj]; ONW ɲaŋ
[D] In southern dialects: ‘to tend livestock’: PMin *ːɲ⁶ > Amoy ɲ⁶, Fuzhōu aŋ⁶; G-Ruijia nian⁶ aŋ² 仰牛.

**áo** 印昂 (nàng) LH ɲəŋ, OCM *ŋaŋ
‘Be high’ [Shi], ‘lift high’ 昂 [Chuci].
[E] Perh. related to MK: PMonic *[-]-ŋaak ‘to look upward’, Viet. ngúa, Muong qa ‘face up’ (Pulleyblank JCL 22.1, 1994: 82). Note also Tai: S. hjaan² ‘to turn the face upward, look up’.

**yāng** 養（jian⁸） LH jəŋ⁸, OCM *jəŋ? or *laŋ? ?, OCB *(I)jang? — [T] ONW laŋ
‘To nourish, feed, rear’ [Shi].
[<] perh. *laŋ + the generic tone C derivation from yāng (§4.5).

**yāng** 養（jian⁶） LH jəŋ⁶, OCM *jaŋ or *laŋ?
‘To keep, support’ [Shu].
[<] *laŋ + the generic tone C derivation from yāng (§3.5).
[N] In earlier times, ‘to manage the support for the elderly’ was called xiāng 序 (zjan)
yang - yao

(during the Yin dyn. acc. to SW, the Zhou dyn. acc. to Mengzi) – a PCH caus.
s-prefix derivation from *laŋ (→ yang, 揚).

[E] Two genetic connections are possible: (1) OC *jan?; PTB *s-gyol (HPTB: 294): WB kyol^2 ‘feed, tend cattle’; the vowel *o does not agree with OC, but WT skyol^2, bsakyol^2 ‘to guard, keep, tend’ (cattle) has the vowel *a. The TB etymon is also reflected in the ethnic name → Qiăng, 羊 and the clan name Jiaŋ 姜. 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 *l(j)an? <> Tai: S. lian^2 ‘feed, nourish’, Ahom liq^2 (Bodman 1980: 106), see also → yang1 羊. WT and Tai could be reconciled by assuming an earlier *lj- → yang1, 羊 ‘goat, sheep’ is perh. also related.

yang3 掸 (jian^B) LH jan^B, OCM *jan? — [D] PMin *dzioŋ^B
‘To itch’ [Li].


yang2 煥 → täng2 湯
yang3 樣 → xiäng7 像象
yao1 么 ‘small’ → yǒu4 幼
yao2 妖 (jiau 3) LH jēu, OCM *jau — [T] ONW ?au

wăn 婉 (?jwen^B) LH ?yan^B, OCM *lon? (< *?au-n? ?)
‘Be lovely’ 婉 [Shi], ‘obliging, polite’ 宛 [Shi], ‘accommodating’ 宛 [Zhuang], ‘gentle, docile’ 婉 [Zuo]. ‘Small’ (bird) 宛 [Shi] is prob. the same word.

yao3 禧訃 → yăo2 妖
yao4, jiau 哎 (tau) LH ?au, OCM *?râu?
‘To shout’ [Zhuang]. Div. II vocalism is perh. due to sound symbolism, not to OC medial *r.

yăo5 腰要 (?jiău 4) LH ?iau, OCM *?iau, OCB *?jiew (i.e. *?jew?) — [T] ONW ?iau
‘Waist’ 腰 [Guoce], 要 [Li]; ‘waistband’ 要 [Shi].

<yao1 腹 (jiău, jieu [QY]) LH jau, OCM *jau
‘Kiln’ 窯 [Mo] > ‘pottery’ [SW].
This is usually thought to be cognate to → táo, 看陶 (so Wáng Li 1982: 231).

yao2 搖姨 (jiău) LH jau, OCM *jau, OCB *iaw
‘To shake, be agitated’ 搖 [Shi]; ‘to caper, be merry’ 搰 [Chuci].

[6] Sin Sukchu SR jew (平); MGZY yew (平) [jew]; ONW iau
yǎo — yè


Perh. diào (dieu^B/C) LH deu^B/C, OCM *diâu/h
‘To shake, move, arrange’ [Zuo] (so Wáng Lì 1982: 214), but the two words are difficult to reconcile phonologically.

yǎo 1 夭妖 (?jäu^B 3) LH ?iäu^B, OCM *iäu? — [T] ONW ?au
‘Bend’ [Zuo] (the graph shows a person with tilted head) > ‘break, cut off’ [Zhuang] > ‘kill prematurely’ 夭 [Shi], ‘premature death’ 妖 [Meng]. For a semantic parallel, see → zhé 折.


yǎo 2 咬 (nau^B) LH nau^B, OCM *n̆au? ‘To bite, gnaw’.

[D] PMin ɣau^B > Amoy ka^C2, Jianshê hau^9 is reminiscent of Tai khiau^C2 < *g- ‘chew’.


yǎo 3 紓 → yú_{16} 损

yǎo 4 杞窺 → yōu_{4} 幽

yǎo_{6}-tiǎo 游纠 → yǎo_{6}-tiāo 窈窕

yǎo_{6}-tiāo 窈窕 (?ieu^B-dieu^B) LH ?euv-deu^B, OCM *iūʔ-liūʔ ‘Be beautiful’ (of a woman) [Shi].

≈ yǎo_{6}-jiāo 游纠 (?ieu^B-gjāu^B, -kjiāu^B 3) LH ?euv-kjiāu^B, OCM *iūʔ-kauʔ?
‘Be elegant, beautiful’ [Shi]. The phonetic of jiāo suggests that originally this syllable might have rhymed with yǎo, i.e. OCM *kiuʔ?.
Líú Yùqìng (ZGYW 2, 2002: 156f) concludes that the term yǎo_{6}-jiāo was originally referring to something cave-like, ‘dark, deep’ [SW] of the interior of a house, then also in a metaphorical sense, finally of the beauty of a woman. The first syllable is prob. cognate to → yōu_{4} 幽 ‘dark’.

yǎo 1 窈窺 → yōu_{4} 幽

yǎo 2 要 (?jīāu^C 4) Sin Sukchu SR ?iēw (平); MGZY Yēw (平) [riēw]
‘Must, have to, want, will’ [Tang: Du Fu (Gūdài Hányǔ cídìan: 1826)] col. Mand. for → yū_{5} 欲 [Gao Ming-kai 1957: 222].

yǎo 3 要 ‘if’ → rūd_{1} 若

yǎo 4 薬 (jiak) LH jak, OCM *jauk < *r-jauk, OCJ *rawk — [T] ONW iak
‘To cure’ [Shi], ‘medicinal plant’ [Zhouli], ‘medicine’ [Zuo]. Yǎo is prob. cognate to → liāo_{3} 療藥. In addition, yǎo (and liāo) may belong to the group of wfs ‘cleanse, drain, melt, shine’ mentioned under → shuō_{6} 燦燦 ‘melt’. In fact, yǎo may be the same etymon as yuē 澜 ‘to drain off, clear the course (of a river), purify (the heart)’, hence 薬 ‘to cure, heal’ < ‘drain away, purify, cleanse’. On the other hand, the word may be connected with Lushai hlo ‘a weed, drug, medicine’.

yǎo 5 曜耀耀 → shuō_{7} 燦

yè 憲 (yiet) LH ?et (?iēit), OCM *iēt — [T] ONW ?ēt
‘To choke’ intr. [Shi]. This wf may be related to → yū_{5} 欲 (yiē^C) LH ?ēh ‘strangle’, in which case the Proto-CH stem would have been *ʔik (not *ʔit).
ye - ye

* yi 禪 (ięic) LH ｉes (ięis), OCM *iis
to choke' [Lü].

* yi 禘 (ięic) LH ｉis, OCM *iis
to kill' (animal; a dynasty) [Shi].

ye1 也 (jia) LH jaB, OCM *la? — [T] ONW ia
A phrase or sentence final particle which occurs first late in Shijing [Guofeng], 'a particle of noun predication' (Pulleyblank 1995: 16), i.e. ye is used like the copula 'to be'; it replaces the early copula → wéi 惟.

[SE] Etymology not clear. The similarity with MK-Mon ra is interesting: ra "especially at closing sentence, marking unqualified character of assertion," perh. originally the weak form of das 'to be' (Shorto 1971). Alternatively, ye may be of ST origin, being connected with the WT suffix -la which usually marks the dative case, but is also used as a topicalizer like ni 'as for...' (Beyer 1992: 278).

ye2 冶 (jia) LH jaB, OCM *la? — [T] ONW ia
'To smelt, fuse, cast' [Meng] occurs also in Tai: S. hloB 'cast' (metal) (Unger Haa-ku 36, 1990: 55).

ye3 野 (jia) LH jaB, OCM *la?, OCB *ljA? — [T] ONW ia
'Uncultivated land, grassland' [Shi], 墟 [Lü] > 'rustic, wild' 野 [Lunyu], 'open country' [Chuci]. GY has an additional reading: QYS žjwoB, LH džia? 'fields, open country', 鄉 'field hut, detached residence, villa' [GY], 'field' [QY ms.] (Coblin AO 1986: 107). It is not clear if this is cognate to ye.

[SE] The word ye may have one of two possible etymological connections. (1) ST: In Tibet and the Himalayas exists a common word *la which originally might have referred to an area far from settlements, i.e. 'wilderness': WT la 'mountain pass, hillside, mountain slope'; SWTib.: Dzongkha, Gloskad la 'mountain'; Western Tib.: Zangskar la 'border, frontier'; Kanauri: Pat. lha, Kaire la 'mountain'; Tamang lah2l 'hill'. Or (2) the word belongs to the same AA root to which also belongs → yi35 羽: OKhmer là [laa] 'to open, unfold, extend...' * dalā [dlaa] 'to be open, extensive, broad' (of space); PMonic *lah > OMon 'to extend' > Mod. Mon 'be level, flat, extensive'.

ye1 夜 (jia) LH jaC, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks
'Night' [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR je (去); ONW ia < ja
[SE] OC initial *j- is likely in the phonetic series 陧. The final OC *-k is not certain. In the oldest parts of Shijing (Dâyâ 278; 255.5, and in 124.4) the rime words had no *-k (Baxter 1992: 311f). In later parts it rimes with words in *-akh (OCB *-aks) (Shi 17.1; 100.3); in one older ode (Xiāoyâ 194.2) ye rimes with words in *-ak. This distribution suggests that in early Zhou times one strain of OC was lacking the *-k. In any case, OC often adds a final *-k to words which in TB have open vowels (§6.1), therefore this is the ST etymon for 'night':

[SE] ST: PTB *ya 'night' (STC no. 417) > Chepang ya? diŋ 'night', yoh 'yesterday', yoh-dyah-may 'last night'; WB haC 'evening' < ne-ja 'sun-night', JP na? < nak-55 'evening'; Dulong ja? 'night', Karen hja (STC p. 188). Lushai zaan1 ~ zan' < jag (?) 'night', ni-zaan < jaanh < jaans 'last night', Areng (Khami/Kuki-Chin) jáy 'yesterday' (Löföfler Anthropos 55, 1960: 553); Limbu yan 'day' (24 hrs.) (quantifier suffix). → xi 夕 is usually thought to be cognate, but TB keeps the etyma ST *rjak '24
hrs., day, night’, and *ja ‘night’ strictly separate, and there is no reason why this should not be done in OC.

ye₂ 淤 (jiāk) LH jak, OCM *jak < *r-jak
‘Fluid, moisture’ [Zhuang], ‘to moisten’ [Zhouli].

[E] ST: PTB *ryak (STC no. 204) > WT ṣag < ryak ‘grease’ (in liquid state); WB pan-rak ‘juice of flowers’ ≠ ṣ-rak ‘liquor’; NNaga *rjak ‘oil’, Lush sa鲜活 ‘grease, oil’ (HST: 81).

ye₃ 鴨 (jāp 3) LH jap (or wap ?), OCM *wap (or *jap ?)
‘To carry food to’ (workers in the field) [Shi] survives in PMin *jiap (or *jiat ?) ‘to eat’ (J. Norman’s Min reconstruction).

ye₄ 果 (jiāp) LH jap, OCM *iap, OCB *jap — [T] ONW iap
‘Leaf, foliage, generation’ [Shi]. LH jap rather than jap is suggested by Min forms.
[D] In some southern dialects ye also seems to be the word for ‘wing’: W-Zhengjie ie‘ wing’, *ie.*pʰo (written 翼) ‘wing’; PMin *ziap > Yóngān siapB2, Fúǎn siapD2, Zhèyáng siap ‘wing’; Northern Min *ziapD2 ‘fin’ (J. Norman, p. c.). Perh. a substratum had some influence on this semantic development, note Tai: S. szęɐi-laapDIL < Khmer /slaap/ ‘wing, feathers, hair’ (sa- is a pre-syllable).


✘ shì 世 (jāiC) LH ʃas, OCM * lhats < *-ps
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʂ (去); MGZY shi (去) [si]; ONW ʂci
[C] iterative devoicing of *lap (§5.2.3), + s/h-suffix (§4.2), meaning successive foliages of a tree > generations.

[E] The relationship with WT rabs ‘lineage, succession of families, generation’ is not clear because the initial correspondence is unusual (OC *i = WT r).

✘ yì 子 (jāiC) LH jas, OCM *lats < *laps ?
‘Posternity, descendants’ [Zuo].
[C] Allofams are perh. > ǎìï 膊, > xié 膊.

ye₅ 肩 (jæp) LH ?æp, 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 年 and has TB cognates:


ye₆ 燧 (jāp 3, also jæp) LH either jap or wap, or both, OCM *lap, *wap
‘Gleaming’ [Shi].

[E] A widely distributed phonaeesthetic etymon in East and SE Asia, incl. AN, with the rime *-ap and initial *r-, *l-, *w-, *j-, etc., often with pre-syllables (see R. Bauer LTBA 15.2: 151–184). The L-initial variant is widely encountered in the area: PTB *s-lyap (HPTB: 338), WT lhab-lhab-pa, lhab-se-lhab ‘to flutter to and fro, to glimmer, glisten’, Lepcha lyöp [lɪəp] ‘flap’, Adi lip-lip ‘to flash’ [Bodman ICSTLL 1987: 10];
WB *lyap-lyap 'wavingly (as flag)' ∼ hlyap 'lightning'; Lushai in-klap 'to flick, flap' (someone with cloth etc.), JP prap 'a flash'. ↔ KT: leepD2L ∼ ma-leep 'to flash' (as lightning); PHLai lijip 'lightning'.

The W-initial variant also occurs in Tai: S. weepD2-wapD2 'glittering, flashing' (Manomaivibool 1975: 180). The Tai form looks like the equivalent of a hypothetical CH compound yè-yè 樂樂 *wap-wap.

A Y-initial variant is common in TB: *ya:p 'wave, fan, paddle' (HPTB: 339).

Lushai zaap, Garo tso, Tangkhul Naga kʰayap 'fan', WB yap; WT (g-)yab-mo 'the act of fanning' ∼ g-yob-pa 'to move about, swing, brandish'.

A variant is → yì27 'be flashing'; perh. related to 'butterfly' → hú6-đié 蝴蝶.

This etymon is perh. cognate to → yän2-yän3 眼眼 where we also find the *w- ~ *l-doubles.

### yè7 發

#### (ŋje) LH ṇiap, OCM *ŋiap, OCB *ŋ(r)jap — [T] ONW ṇiap

'Work, deed, achievement' [BI, Shu]. — Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ṇje (入户); ONW ṇiap

#### yè8 業

(ŋje) LH ṇiap, OCM *ŋiap

'Be awe-inspiring, terrifying, terrific' [Shi] belongs to the wf → yán8 廣.

### yí1 一

(ŋjet) LH ?it, OCM *?it

'Be one, single, whole' [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin S. SR ?i (入户); MGZY ?i (入户) [?[j]; M?ang ?it, ONW ?it

[D] M-Xiàmén lit. it (?); Fúzhōu ci (?); K-Méixiàn jir (?); Y-Guǎngzhōu jat (?)

[B] ST: PTB *?it (STC: 94); Chepang yat ‘one’, Kanauri ?it ‘one’, and WB ac ‘unit, one’ (HST: 114). Lushai zet 'first, previous'. This word is found only at the periphery of the ST area and must therefore be old. ↔ Tai ?et occurs only in compounds and is clearly a CH loan, the native Tai word for 'one' is níŋA2/B1.

### yí2 伊

(ŋi) LH ?i, OCM *?i

'This' [Shi], starting in the 4th ~ 5th cent. AD 'he, she, it', survives as a 3rd person pron. in Wú dialects (Norman 1988: 118).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?i (入户); MGZY ?i (入户) [?[j]; STCA ?i, ONW ?ii

[B] ST: Lushai ?iL ‘this, that’, Chepang ?it ‘he’, WB i ‘this’. Perh. this is a widespread sound-symbolic area word, note the AA demonstrative *i / e [Pinnow 1965: 32].

### yí3 衣

(ŋjei) LH ?i, OCM *?ai (?), OCB *?aj

'Garment, clothes' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?i (入户); MGZY ?i (入户) [?[j]; ONW ?i

[D] PMin *?ai ‘afterbirth’ is the analog to a MC div. I ?ǎi

= yi 衣 (ŋjeiC) LH ?i, OCM *?eih, OCB *?eajs

'To wear' [Shi].

[><] exoactive of yi 衣 (§4.3.2).

[N] This character writes on occasion the dynastic name Yín 殷 LH ?ín (OCB *?iǎn) 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 may be derived from an original Yín.

[B] Yi ‘clothes’ may belong to a wf whose basic meaning is ‘to envelop, conceal’ and hence is cognate to → yǐ3 防, yín 防 (Karlgren 1933: 28; Lau 1999: 69).

Prob. ST: PTB *wit ≠ *w(y)at ‘wear clothes’ [HPTB: 333, 508] > PLB *wit ~ *?wit ‘wear clothes, cause to wear’ [Matisoff 2002 no. 181]: open vowel forms of etyma alternate often

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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 *ʔwa(k/t).

yǐ́ 依 (ʔjei) LH ŭi, OCM *ʔai
‘To lean on, rely on, depend on’ [Shi] is thought to be cognate to → yǐ́ 仪 (Wáng Lí).

※ yǐ́n 隱 (ʔjeïŋ [GY]), LH ŭìn, OCM *ʔæns
‘To lean on’ [Meng].

[C] Perh. → yǐ́n 因 is an allofam (Pulleyblank in Rosemont 1991: 32), but the vowels do not agree. This is perch. a ST word: WB inC ‘roll over and over obliquely, to lean’.

yǐ́ 予 (ʔjei[C]) LH ŭi(h), OCM *ʔai(h) or *ʔi(h)
‘Screen, shade, cover’ [Guoyu] is prob. cognate to .... yǐ́ (Wang U).

※ yǐ́n 隠 (ʔjeïŋ) LH ŭınB, OCM *ʔæn
‘To conceal’ [Guoyu], ‘low wall’ [Zuo] (Karlgren 1933: 28).

※ ài 愛 (ʔeiC) LH ŭas, OCM *ʔas

yǐ́ 予以 ‘I, my’ → yǔ́ 予 ‘I, we’

yǐ́ 予 予 (ji) LH jã, OCM *l[a] ← [T] ONW iə
‘To transmit, bequeath, hand down, give’ [Shi]. This word appears to form an introvert / extrovert pair with → yǐ́ 仪, ‘take’, like ‘buy / sell’, ‘borrow / lend’; however, the extrovert form ought to have tone C. Here, yǐ́ ‘give’ appears to be primary while yǐ́ would be a tone B derivation. The two are prob. not cognate after all, because of what would be an unusual morphology.

※ sì 單 (ziC) LH ziaC, OCM *s-la
‘Continue, succeed, inherit’ [Shi].

[<] iterative / caus. of yǐ́ 賜詣 *lə (§5.2.3–2). Pulleyblank (1973: 120) relates this word to → xù́ 休 序殺繋.

※ yǐ́n 赠 (jiŋC) LH jìnC, OCM *lən
‘Be a follower, successor, heir, posterity’ [Shi, Shu].

[<] noun from yǐ́ 賜詣 *lə (§6.4.3) + general purpose tone C (§3.5).

※ yíng 赠 (jiŋC) LH jìnC, OCM *ləŋ
‘To make a present, exchange presents, to present (someone) to serve, concubine’ [BI]; ‘concubine’ [Zuo].

[<] terminative of yǐ́ 賜詣 *lə (§6.5.1) + exoactive (§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.

yī́ 仪 (ji) LH jì, OCM *l(a)i, OCB ljaj ← [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’ (Pullen 1983: 440). Since the ancient Yùè (= Viet)
word for ‘sea’ is said to have been ｙī (Yùè juè shì 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 Yùè word ｙī *(o)j ‘sea’ can be connected with
AA-Khmer ḏhle /tḗ/ ‘expanse of water’ ≠ OKhmer danle(y)/donle/ ‘lake, sea’.
> Miao lgs. have forms like tjī, t̀e ‘river’ which, however, can instead (or also) be
associated with → xī10 溪.

ｙī４ 夷 (ji) LH ji, OCM *(ji)jī, OCB ljaj
‘Be level’ (road), (make level:) ‘pacify, at ease’ [Shi]; ‘rule, norm’ [BI, Shi] >
‘normally’ 彈 [BI]. This word ‘level’ is unrelated to → ｙī易 ‘easy’.
≠ si 肆 (sǐ) LH si, OCM *sih < *slih ?
‘To be lax’ [Shu], ‘unrestrained’ [Lun] > caus. ‘to relax, pardon’ [Shu].
[<] caus. of ｙī 夷 (ji) *li ‘easy’ (§5.2.2; §4.3). The meaning may have evolved under
the influence of ｓｈè 舍 (under → ｓｈè 舍); at any rate ｓｈè demonstrates semantic
parallelism between ‘easy, relax’ and ‘let go’.
[C] This is prob. the same etymon as → ｙī₃ 夷僃 ‘set out, spread’.

ｙī₅ 夷僃 (ji) LH ji, OCM *li
‘Extend, expose, display’ 夷 [Li]; ‘set out, spread out’ 僃 [Yili].
≠ shǐ 施 (sǐ) LH sǐ, OCM *sih — [T] ONW sǐ
‘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] > ‘corpse’
(Carr, CAAAL 24, 1985: 1ff).
[N] In Old Korean ǔ is used to transcribe what is prob. a lateral like l (Vovin 1999).
[E] The common assumption that shǐ is cognate to → sǐ 死 (sǐB) LH sǐB, *si? ‘to die’
must be rejected because MC initial s- *(lh-, *nh-, *hj-) never derives from an
*-s, except when they share an initial *l or *n (such a case is si below). Perh. cognate to →
šēn₂ 身 ‘body’ (Geilich 1994: 277).
≠ shè 死 (sǐB) LH sǐ, OCM *si? — [T] ONW sǐ
‘To line up, marshal, display, arrange’ [Shi]. Perh. → shī 死 ‘swear’ is the same word.
≠ sì 肆 (sǐ) LH si, OCM *sih < *slih ?
‘To spread, set forth, arrange’ [Shi] > ‘a set, row’ (of ancestral vessels) [BI], (of bells)
[Zhouli] > ‘shop, market’ [Lun, Zuo].
[<] *lhi + caus. s-prefix (§5.2.2) + s-suffix (§4.3).
[E] This is prob. the same etymon as → ｙī₄ 夷 ‘level’, also related to items under → ｙī₃ 夷僃
(Geilich 1994: 277).
≠ shì 施 (sǐ) LH sǐ, OCM *si? — [T] ONW sǐ
‘To slant, deflect’ 施 [Zhouli]; ‘turn aside’ (of a river’s course) 施 [OB, Shu].
[E] ST: Lushai leiH ‘to be on one side, be awry, leaning to one side, rock and roll’ (as a
boat) ≠ lei?l < leis ‘to pour out, upon, water plants’. For more CH and Lushai
cognates, see → shí₁₂ 鈴.
≠ shǐ 施 (sǐ) LH sǐ, OCM *si? ‘Dodging’ (of walking) [Meng].
[<] *lai + iterative (?) devoicing (§5.2.3).
≠ zhǐ 佢 (dǐ) LH qǐ, OCM *d-lai?
‘Slope’ [Zhouli].
yi

yi₁  迤移胞 → chǐ₁  搬

yi₂  移 (jie)  LH  jai, OCM *lai, OCB *ljaj  — [T]  Sui-Tang i, ONW ie,
‘To change, alter’ (one’s character) [Meng].
[ ] ST *lai: PTB *laa ‘change, exchange’ (Matisoff 1995a: 42) > Chepang bles
‘change condition’ (for better), WB laiB ‘change, exchange; empty’ (contents of one
vessel into another, also hlaiB) ※ hlaiB-pbai ‘exchange’; JP lai33 ‘to change’ ※ gə31-lai33
‘change, exh.’ ※ ma31-lai33 ‘change, substitute’; Tiddim Chin lai3l (≠ lai < -s)
‘change’. Dimasa salai ‘alter, change, exch.’, Garo sre ‘change, exchange’ (STC p.
64). This etymon is distinct from → yi₉ 移 as Tiddim Chin shows.
※ yi₂ 易 (jìäk)  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.).
[ ] *lai + k-extension (§6.1).
[ ] ST: TB-Lushai leet⁴ / leet¹ < leet / leh ‘to alter, change’. CH -> Tai: S. leekD2L <
*dl- ‘to change, exchange’; PKS *hlik⁷ ‘exchange’.
Sagart (1999: 71) adds → ci₁ 賜賜 ‘be given’ to this item. This root is distinct from
PTB *ley ‘barter’ (STC no. 283, 293), see → shé, 除.
[ ] Shorto 1972 relates the TB items to
PMK *kla(a)y > Mon krai ‘translate’, Khmer khlay: ‘change, dissolve’. -> PTai *klayAI ‘to pass by, change into’. The connection with → gài 改
‘change’ if any is not clear.

yi₉ 移 (jie)  LH  jai, OCM *lai, OCB *ljaj
‘To transfer, move’ (population) [Shu], 疇 [Chuci].
[ ] ST: Tiddim Chin laf³ / laf¹ ‘to migrate’, perf. also Tamang 4le: ‘displace’. Tiddim
Chin shows that this etymon is distinct from → yi₁ 移. A cognate may be → xì₂ 徙. <=
Tai: S. reeB² ‘wander about, move, changeable’ is unrelated and prob. a MK loan:
OKhmer *re / ree ~ ra/ ‘to move, stir, change course or direction, come and go...’

yi₁₀ 稀宜 (jie 3)  LH  n̄ai, OCM *n̄ai
‘Be proper, correct, suitable’ 宜 [Shi], 儀 [BI]; ‘proper conduct, demeanor, manner,
dignity’ 儀 [BI, Shi].
[ ] Sin S. SR i, (ŋi)* (平), LR qi, i; MGZY ngi (平) [ŋi]; ONW n̄e
※ yi₁ 義議 (ŋiC 3)  LH  n̄aiC, OCM *n̄aih
‘Be right, righteous, proper’ [BI, Shi]; ‘true sense, meaning’ [Li]; (putative: ‘consider to
be right’) ‘to plan, criticize’ 議 [Shi]. A philosophical term like this is difficult to
translate; in his Mòzì translation, Yi-pao Mei renders 義 by English ‘notion, idea,
view, purpose, standard’; these overlap with the KN semantic field. – The role of tone
C is not clear (§4.2).
※ xí 應 (xie 3)  LH  h̄ai, OCM *h̄ai
‘Sacrificial animal, pure victim’ > ‘sacrificial’ (vessel) [Shi] is prob. a derivation
from the present root, the voiceless initial goes perh. back to an earlier k- or s-prefix
which forms nouns (§5.4).
[ ] ST *n̄aij: PTB *n̄ay > KN-Lushai naih¹ / naih²l < nai ‘to think, consider, be necessary,
have need to, be customary’; KN-Khami nài ‘to wish, need’; Lai naj / nai ‘to yearn, long
for’; in KN this is the word for ‘to love’: Tiddim nai² < nai / nai?. Also note WT dgos
‘reality, real, proper, true’ may be related.
[ ] Benedict (1995: 33) connects this group with wō 我 ‘I’ (under → wū₂ 吾) and yán 顏
‘face’ (under → yā₂ 御), Matisoff (BSOAS 63.3, 2000: 364f) with → ài₂ 愛 ‘love’.

566
yf - yi

yf₁₁ 馱 (ŋje 3) LH ɲəi̯, OCM *ɲəi — [T] ONW ɲe
‘To come’ [Shu acc. to GSR].
[D] Acc. to FY (2.14) an ancient Chên-Yîng dialect word for → lài 來 ‘come’.

yf₁₂ 遣 (jiwi) LH ɯi, OCM *ɯi
‘To leave, hand down’ > (leave alone:) ‘reject, throw away, neglect’ [Bl, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (平); MGZY yî (平) [yî]
[E] This word is perh. related to TB: Lushai vî ‘to be offended, displeased’.

yf₁₃ 疑 (ŋi) LH ɲi̯, OCM *ɲo
‘To doubt’ [Lunyu], ‘suspect, hesitate’ [Li] > ‘to fear’ [Li] is perh. related to → ãi̯ ㄑˇ 確 ‘obstruct’.
[T] MTang ɲi [ŋi]. ONW ɲe

yf₁₄ 繼 → yf₁ 遲

yf₁ 已 (jiib) LH jə, OCM *jə
‘To cease, end, finish, already’ [Shi]. — Etymology is not clear.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (上); MGZY yî (上) [jî]; MTang i ONW iə

yf₂ 以 (jiib) LH ja, OCM *jə
‘To take’ (e.g. prisoners) [OB], ‘use, employ, in order to’ tr. [Bl, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (上); MGZY yî (上) [jî]; MTang i ONW iə
[E] ST *jə: Lushai lae/ / la = laah ‘to take, get’, Tiddim laa/ / laah < laa/ / laak ‘to take’, Newari laa- (Unger; Geilich 1994: 137). But the TB items have also been associated with CH → yū 觀 ‘give’. Prob. related to → shi 吳 式 ‘use’; a possible derivation may be to yi ㄧ 購; see also → yi ㄧ 購 購.

yf₃ 傢 (ŋeib) LH ɲeib, OCM *eai? — [T] Sin Sukchu 傢 SR ñi (上)
‘To lean against, pull aside, lead astray’ [Shi], ‘rely upon’ [Guoce] is thought to be cognate to → yî ㄧ 依 (e.g. Wáng Li 1982: 392).

yf₄ 崁 (ŋeib) LH ɲeib, OCM *eai?
‘Luxuriant’ (leaves) [Shi] may be related to → yuăn ㄧ 花 ‘trees with rich foliage’.

yf₅ 崁 → yf₅ 繼

yf₆ 蟹 (ŋeib) LH ɲeib, OCM *eai?
‘Ant’ [Li] > ‘ant-colored’ [Shu]. The first syllable in Mand. mā-yĩ́ 麻蟻 is prob. an old prefix which occurs also with other animal names (Unger Hao-ku 31, 1985: 308).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (上); MGZY ngi (上) [ŋi] — [D] PMin *ŋiə(i)b

～yi 繼 (ŋeib) LH ɲi, OCM *ŋi?
‘Ant’ [Chuci], a phonological variant of the above (Baxter 1992: 417; §11.1.2).
[E] ST: KN-Lai hje?r-tee ‘ant’ (tee ‘small’). This implies that both forms show the change of ST *r > OC *i (§7.7.4). Folk etymology derives yì 繼 from 義 ‘orderly’.

yf₁ 弋 (jiok) LH jok, OCM *lak
(‘To take / seize birds’) ‘to shoot (birds) with stringed arrow’ [Shi], (‘taker / seizer’ of
yi

bird etc.:) ‘bird of prey’ [Dadai Liji]. The word is supposed to mean ‘take’ in a Shuijing passage which would be the obvious semantic communality with ‘arrow’ and ‘eagle’. It may then be a derivation from 

yi2 艾刈 (ni2j) LH  handleClose, OCM *jà(t)is ‘to mow, cut, reap’; ‘regulate, govern, orderly’ 艾 [Shi].

yi3 亦 (jiak) LH jak, OCM *jak — [T] ONW iek
‘Also, furthermore, then’ [OB, Shi].

yi4 腋掖亦 (jiak) LH jak, OCM *jak ‘Armpit’ 亦 [OB], 腋 [Zhuang], 揀 [Li], ‘lift under the arms’ [Zuo].

yi5 衣 → yi3 衣

yi6 役 (jiwak) LH wek, OCM *wek < *wai-k
‘To do service, do labor, corvée’ [Shi, Shu] > ‘to serve’ [Meng], ‘to toil’ [Zhuang], ‘affair, matter’ [Guoyu]; > ‘to function as, to be’ [Guoyu]. Often words meaning ‘do, make’ also develop the meaning ‘function as, act as, to be’, see → we13 為, → zuo3 作用. [T] Sin Sukchu SR ıyij (入); MGZY ywi (入) [yi]

yi7 曳泄 ‘drag’ → yi6 拽

yi8 郏 (?jap) LH ?ip, OCM *?iap, OCB *(r)jup
‘Settlement, town’ [OB, BI, Shi], ‘to take up residence’ [Shi]; a general term for a place where people dwell, i.e. no implied reference to wall, market, administrative function, and the like.

yi9 也 (qi) LH ?ip, OCM *qi, OCB *qi/ (qi)up
‘‘Settlement, town’ [OB, BI, Shi], ‘to take up residence’ [Shi]; a general term for a place where people dwell, i.e. no implied reference to wall, market, administrative function, and the like. Alternatively, it could be connected with PTB *(g-)yak ‘house as a home’: Magar im ~ jum, WB im, Lushai ?im^8 <
yi


yi9 易 (jie?) LH je, OCM *lekh, OCB *lje
‘Be easy, at ease, neglect’ [Shi]. 易 was borrowed to write → yi 役 (jiwâk) LH wâk in some pre-Han texts as if there might still have been a *w element in the initial as in the TB cognate.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (去); MGZY y (去) [ji]; Sai-Tang i, ONW i

[ST] PTB *iway ‘easy’ (STC no. 302): WB Iway ‘easy, yielding’, JP loi ‘easy’; WT legs ‘good, happy, comfortable’ is phonologically / morphologically identical with OC; note also WT yag-po ~ ‘jag-po ‘good’ (STC: 54). This word is sometimes thought to be related to yi 易 ‘change’ (under → yi8 移), i.e. < ‘changeable’ (so Karlgren 1956: 12), but the TB cognates show that these are different etyma.

yi10 易 ‘change’ → yi8 移

yi11 軸 → shi2 失

yi12 車 → yi13 汎溢

yi13 汎溢 (jiét) LH jìt, OCM *lit
‘To rush forth’ 汎 [Shu]; ‘overflow’ 潰 [Xiaojīng], ‘inundate’ [Li], ‘overwhelm’ [Shi].

[D] In M-Xiâmén the graph writes a different word jo?AIL ‘to wave, shake’. Perh. this wâf is merely a semantic extension of the wâf under → shi 失.


yi1 泛軸 (jiét, dié) LH jìt, det, OCM *lit, *lît
‘To gush forth’ 汎 [Zhuang]; ‘rush past, overtake’ 軸 [Zuo].

yi14 流激 → xi1 流激

yi15 勉 (jiâi?) LH jas, OCM *las
‘Toil, fatigue’ [Shi].

[E] ST: WT las, OTib. and dial. blas ‘work, toil’, TGTM *gjat < *gl- (HST: 162). The ancient Wû dialect word li 勉 (liâi?) ‘to do’ [FY 6; EY] could be related. Alternatively, li 勉 may be connected with → li20 勉 ‘energetically’. Yi 勉 ‘toil’ (under → xi1 習) may possibly be a vocalic variant.

yi16 挽 (jiâi, jiât) LH jas, jat, OCM *lat(s)
‘To pull’ [Xun], ‘oar’ [Chuci, also 橋].

[Sagart (1999: 73) relates this word to ‘leading string’ → xi2 纏綫繩。Another possible allofam is yi 曳 (jiâi?) ‘drag, trail’ [Shi], ‘dragging, slow moving’ 流 [Shi].

yi17 益 (?jiâk 4) LH ?iek, OCM *?ek — [T] ONW ?iek
‘To add, increase, profit’ [Shi], ‘more, advantage’ [Lunyu]. Acc. to Bodman (1980: 66) this word is related to WT skye(d) ‘growth, increase, profit, benefit’ ? skye-ba ‘be born’ ? skye-d-pa, bskyed ‘to generate, procreate, produce’; the WT forms should then derive from an earlier *s?-e. For the CH final -k, see §6.1.

yi18 暗 (?jiâk) LH ?iek, OCM *?ek
‘Throat’ [Zhuang] > ‘flesh on the neck’ 黕 [Yili].

yi 闕 (tiei?) LH ?e, OCM *?eth < *?ikh
‘To strangle’ [Zuo].
ST: PTB *?ik (STC no. 112) > Nung i < ik ‘strangle’; WB ac ‘squeeze, throttle’ (HST: 142). WT ske ‘neck, throat’ could either derive from *s-?e and then belong to this wf; or it could belong to → jīng 頭 ‘neck’.

[C] This wf is prob. related to → ē1 厄軸 ‘narrow passage’, and / or to → yān1 咽 ‘gullet’ (so Wang Li 1982: 268); or to → yē 喘 ‘choke’ (Wang Li).

yī19 愈 → yī18 哽
yī20 慰 → yī18 哽
yī21 澈 → yī13 汩
yī22 翼 (jiāo) LH jak, OCM *lok, OCB *ljok — [T] ONW ik ‘Wing’ [Shi].

[D] PMin *ziit ‘wing’: Xiàmén sīitD2

[E] ? ST: This is perh. 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 → li1 力 (ljok) OCB *C-rōk ‘strength’ may be cognate to the TB items instead (the CH picture an arm). Syn. CMin *ziop ‘wing’ see → yē4 葉.

yī23 意 → yī24 意
yī24 意 (jiāo) LH ❋sk, OCM *sk, OCB *rjok — [T] ONW ʔik ‘One’s breast, thoughts’ [Lie] > (‘keep in one’s breast / thoughts’?; ’to remember’ 倫 [Li]; (‘feeling in one’s breast’?; ’satisfied, tranquil’ 意 [Zuo]).

yī 意 (ʔC) LH ❋sk, OCM *sk, OCB *rjoks ‘To think’ [Shi], ‘thought, intention, will’ [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?i (去); MGZY ‘i (去) [ji]; MTang ‘i, ONW ?i

<y> exoactive (?) of yī 意 (*sk [§4.3].)

[E] In contrast to → yīng3 胸 which signifies the outside aspect of the ‘breast, chest’, yī refers to the internal aspect. Wang Li (1982: 312) relates this word to → yīng3 胸. Prob. not related to WT yīd ‘mind’, see → xūe1 血.

yī25 胸 → yī24 意
yī26 毅 → xǐ3 習

yī27 晰 (jiāo, jōp) LH jōp, wōp, OCM *wōp ‘Be flashing’ [Shi]. Variant of → yē6 墓.

yī28 藝 (ŋiāi4 4) LH ᵣiās, OCM ᵣets, OCB ᵣets ‘(To establish’): ‘to plant, cultivate’ (a crop, land) 枚 cưới[Shi], 藝 [Shu] > ‘accomplished, skill’ 藝 [Shu], ‘art, method, rule, regular’ 藝 [Zuo], 藝 [Zhuang].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (去); MGZY ‘i (去) [ji]; ONW وافق

[E] CH -> Tai: S. kra-‘net4 ‘tactics, methods, strategy’.

šè 設 (sjāt) LH ᵣat, OCM ᵣet < ᵣet, OCB ᵣet(0)jet — [T] ONW ᵣat ‘To set up, establish’ [Shi]. The OC initial is assumed on the basis of its relationship with yī 藝. MC sj- from *ŋi/i-e- via *ŋi- is a regular development.

<y> valence increase devoicing of yī 藝 (§5.2.2).

[E] ST: Lushai ᵣetL / ᵣetPl < ᵣets ‘be firm, establish’ ᵣetL intr. ‘to settle or get firm’ (as earth, cooked rice). It is not clear if or how WT gñod ‘strength, durability’ (< g-nyot or g-ŋot?) may be related.
yi

* shì 勢 (ṣjāic) LH sas, OCM *nhets < *ṇhets — [T] ONW seī
(‘What is established, is a given, a reality’): ‘force of circumstance, conditions’ 勢 [Meng], ‘influence’ 扱 [Li].

[<] exopass. of she 設 (§4.4).

[E] ST *ṇals? : The basic meaning of the ST root is ‘certain, firm, make firm’ establish’: PTB *ṇēis > WT ges-pa ‘certain, true, firm’, Lushai ēll < ēn < ē ins ‘really, truly, verily’. Tiddim ēll < ēn < ē ins ‘certainly, be sure’; Limbu nem < ness- ‘to lie’ (including of geographical features, fields, etc.). The CH meaning ‘to cultivate’ is therefore derived.

yi 29 家 (ŋjeic) LH ē, OCM *ēǎs? or *ōwìh (< *ṇals)?
‘Enraged boar’ 家 [SW] > ‘bold, resolute’ 殽 [Shu], note the Lushai parallel for this semantic extension.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (i); MGZY ṇ (i) [i]


yi 30 殊 → yi 29 家

yi 31 肢 (jiāic) LH jas, OCM *lats
‘Border’ [Zuo] can be compared to WT idebs ‘side, enclosure, fence’ (HST: 47).

yi 32 肢 ‘posterity’ → yē4 葉

yi 33 逸 → shǐ2 失

yi 34 起 → yi 111 儀

yi 35 纡 (jiāk) LH ēk ~ ēk, OCM *lakh
‘Unloose’ [Yili], ‘dissolve’ [Li], ‘let go, detach, unravel, explain’ 纡 [Zuo] > ‘interpret, translate’; ‘put away, do away’ [Shi], ‘to lay open’ (ground by plowing) 纡 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (i); MGZY yi (i) [i]

* shì 紇 (ṣjāik) LH šak, OCM *lakh
‘Unloose’ [Yili], ‘dissolve’ [Li], ‘let go, detach, unravel, explain’ 紇 [Zuo] > ‘interpret, translate’; ‘put away, do away’ [Shi], ‘to lay open’ (ground by plowing) 紇 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ši (i); MGZY shi (i) [i]; ONW šek
[<] causative devoicing of yi 紇 (jiāk) (§5.2.2).

* shē 敛 (ṣjaic) LH ša, OCM *lakh
‘Let go’ [Shi], ‘let off, liberate’ [Zuo], ‘pardon’ [Shu] (paronym of shē 舍 under → shē 舍). The phonetic element implies an OC final *-kh, thus the word is formally different from the homonym shē 舍 (under → shē 舍).

[<] exoactive (caus.) of shi 紇 *lakh (§4.4).

* cī 赤 (tsjāik) LH ts’lakh, OCM *s-lakh
‘To expel’ [Zhouli], lit. ‘cause to let go, make go away’.

[<] caus. of shē 敛 *lakh (§5.2.2).
Three different valence-increasing morphemes are added to the root *lakh: (1) causative devoicing *lakh, (2) final s/lh: *lakh, (3) s-prefix: *s-lakh. A similar profusion of forms is seen in the wf → yū25 豫.

[E] Apparently this wf has expanded as a result of convergence with several paronyms, i.e.
nearly homophonous synonyms which feel somehow related: → shē 舍捨 *īha╯ ‘let go > pardon’; (2) *la → yūŋ 念譬如 ‘happy’; (3) *la → xù 言絲 ‘a line, succession’. A further derivation from the same AA root may be → yē 野. Sagart (in Ancestry of the CH Lg. 1995: 369) considers → shē 射 ‘shoot’ to belong to this group.

This root is shared with AA: OKhmer ldr [laa] ‘to open, unfold, extend...’ ≠ dalā [dlaa] ‘to be open, extensive, broad’ (of space); PMonic *lah > OMon ‘to extend’. CH has added a final *-k (§6.1).

yi 36 譯駛懲教 → yi 35 鞭
yi 37 義 → yī10 儀宜
yi 38 諭 → yī10 儀宜
yi 39 殟 → yē 嫚
yi 40 㝎 → yē 嫚

yi n 1 因 (?jen 4) LH ?in, OCM *?in
‘Rely on, depend on, follow, therefore’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?in (平); MGZY Yin (?jen) [Pjin]; ONW ?in

[N] This is prob. the s. w. as yi n 馴 (?jen) ‘floormat’ [Shi] (Karlgren GSR 370a). Perh. the homophone yi n 娘 *?in ‘relative by marriage’ [Shi] is the s. w., lit. ‘dependent’. → yi 3 仍 could be an allofam (Pulleyblank in Rosemont 1991: 32), but the vowels do not agree.

yi n 2 姻 → yi n 1 因
yi n 3 茹 → yi n 1 因

yi n 4 淵埡闊 (?jen 4) LH ?in, OCM *?in
‘To dam up, obstruct’ (floods) 隱 [Shu]; ‘curved piece of wall for protection of city gate’ [Shi] > ‘crooked’ 防 [Zhuang]; ‘block’ 濤, ‘stop up’ 濤, ‘obstruct’ 濤 [Zuo]. This word is prob. not related to → yīn 陰 ‘block, hoard’.

yi n 5 陰 (?jen) LH ?im, OCM *?im, OCB *?(r)jum — [T] ONW ?im
‘Overcast, cloudy, dark’ [BI, Shi].

≠ yi n 陰陰 (?jən) LH ?imC, OCM *?ims
‘To shelter’ 隠 [Shi], ‘shade’ 萬 [Zuo].

[C] exoactive of yīn 陰?im ‘cause to cover’ (§4.3.2).


[C] A probable allofam is → ân 贲. A derivation is perh. → qīn 蒁 ‘a blanket’.

yi n 1 冪 (jı́n) LH jim, OCM *ləm
‘To walk’ [SW, Hanshu].

[E] ST: The basic meaning of the PTB root *ləm ‘to trample’ raises the possibility that this is its OC cognate: Tiddim Chin laamM / laamF ‘to dance’ ≠ lamK ‘way, road’, Lai
yín – yín

laam / laʔm ‘to trample, dance’; WT 'čʰam-pa < n-lhayam ‘to dance’ × lam ‘path, road’. The latter ‘path, road’ is derivable from the meaning ‘to trample’.

yín2 堆 → hèn 恨

yín3 淫 (ji̇om) LH jin, OCM *lom (li̇om ?)
‘To soak’ [Zhouli], ‘excess, licentious, liberate, let loose’ [Shu]; Mand. ‘excessive’ (rain), [Huainanzi, GY].

x̂ Sin Sukchu SR im (平), PR, LR in; MGZY yin (平) [jin]
C Wáng Lì (1982: 612; also Sagart 1999: 127) considers this cognate to...

yín4 銀 (qjen 3) LH qin, OCM *qran — [D] PMin *qyn ~ *quin
‘Silver’ [Shu].

x̂ Sin S. SR qin (平), PR, LR in; MGZY qin (平) [qin]; ONW qin
E ST: WT dŋul ‘silver’, WT variant and Western Tib. dialects mŋul; WB ñwe, PL *C-ñwe‘ (HST: 133).

yín1 尹 (ji̇enB) LH jinB, OCM *win? or *j/lun?
‘Straight’ [Shi]; ‘to straighten out, arrange, administer’ [BI, Shu]; ‘administrator’ [OB].

x̂ ST: Mtang iun < iuin, ONW iuin

yín2 引 (ji̇enB) LH jinB, OCM *lin? (?)
‘Pull, draw’ [Zuo] > ‘draw the bow’ [Meng] > ‘to pull, lead on, encourage, prolong’ [Shi] > ‘stretch’ [Lunyu].

x̂ Sin Sukchu SR in (土); MGZY qin (土) [jin]; ONW in
E The word yín is sometimes compared with WB a-hrañ ‘length’ (recently Pān 2000: 73), WT riŋ ‘long’, but the initials do not agree.

x̂ yín 靈 (ji̇enC) LH jinC, OCM *lins (?)
‘Pulling-strap for carriage’ [Shi].

< *lin? + s-suffix, prob. exoactive ‘what is pulled with’ (§4.4).

x̂ zhèn 紘 (djenB) LH ğinB, OCM *d-lin?
‘Rope by which cattle are led’ 紘 [Zhouli]. 紘 [Li].
<br> < *lin? + unknown initial element.

x̂ shèn 申伸呻 (sjen) LH sin, OCM *lhin
‘Stretch, prolong’ > ‘continue, repeat’ [Shi], ‘extend’ 伸 [Li] > ‘straighten’ 信 [Meng].
伸 [Yili] > ‘chant, drone’ 呻 [Li].
<br> < *lin + devoicing caus. / iterative (§5.2.3-2).

x̂ xìn 信 (sjenC) LH sinC, OCM *sins (irreg. from *slins?)
‘Be staying one more night, staying two nights’ [Shi] (Karlgren GSR 384).
<br> < *lin + iterative s-prefix (§5.2.2) + s-suffix (§4.3).

yín3 飲 (sjamB) LH ?imB, OCM *ʔam?
‘To drink’ [BI, Shi].

D PMin *ʔamBI ‘rice water’ (i.e. the water of half-cooked rice); Y-Guangzhōu 33(j)im BI ‘rice water; to drink’.

x̂ yín 飲 (ʔamC) LH ?imC, OCM *ʔams, OCB *ʔ(r)jum(?)s
‘To give to drink’ [BI, Shi].
<br> < *ʔam? + exoactive / causative s-suffix (§4.3).

yǐn – yǐng

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 體 and WT skyem-pa ‘be thirsty’ (resp.) = skyems ‘thirst, a drink’ (respect expression). Note also → ǐn6 ‘to drink’, and the Hlai form ?jōm² ‘to swallow’ (Matisoff in Edmondson 1988: 298). A final -m in words with these meanings is natural sound symbolism.

yǐn₁ 蟲蚓 (jenis) LH jìn², OCM *la/ln? or *ja/ln? — [D] Mín *un²
‘Earthworm’ 蟲 [Xun]. 蟲 [Meng]. The Mín form derives from an earlier rime *-ən (舺); the following bisyllabic variants point to an OC rime *-in (舺): qiū-yǐn 蚯蚓 (kʰjou-) [Liji, Yuè-ling] = qǐn-yǐn 蟲蚓 (kʰjenis 4-) [EY] = qǐn-tiān 蟲蠢 (kʰin²-lin²b) [EY] (Bodman 1980: 77).

E Tai and TB words look similar and are sometimes considered related, but the initials are difficult to reconcile: Tai: S. dian²l < *?dl/r- ‘earthworm’ (Li 1976: 45).

STC (p. 37 n. 121; p. 171 n. 457; also HPTB: 78) relates yǐn to PTB *zril - *zrin > WT srin ‘worm’, Kuki-Chin *til (CVST 2: 160). Theoretically, the MC form could derive from a PCH *r-jil > jil (§9.2.1).

yǐn₂ 隱 → yǐn² 隱
yǐn³ 陰 → àn⁴ 隱
yǐn₄ 亖 → yǐn₂ 引

yǐng₁ 英 (？jìn) LH ?ǐaŋ, OCM *raŋ?, OCB *rjan
‘Brilliant’ > ‘ornament; flower, blossom’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?in (平); MGZY 'în (平) [？in]; ONW ?en (？æŋ)?

E Etymology not certain. Most likely is a ST connection: TB-Lushai aān²l / aān² ‘to open (mouth), gape with open mouth’ ≠ aān² tr. ‘to open the mouth to receive food, to open to’ (as flowers to the sun, dew, etc.); hence yǐng may derive from the notion of an open flower. Alternatively, note an AA word: PSBahn. *ʔaŋ ‘bright light’, Bahn. ?aŋ ‘shine’. Or Lushai eē² ‘light’ n. ≠ eē² ‘to shine, give light, bright, brilliant’. These last items may perhaps belong to → yǐng₁ 影 ‘shadow’ instead, which could also be related.

‘Eagle, falcon’ [Shi].

E ST: This etymon agrees phonologically with WT skyin-ser ‘eagle, vulture’ (Benedict MKS 18–19, 1992: 8), if one assumes derivation from *s-ʔiŋ. Alternatively, in spite of the difference in the initials, yǐng is widely held to be related to a ubiquitous area word: PMK *knleen ‘hawk’ or *k(a)lan ‘bird of prey, hawk, eagle’ [Diffloth 1980] > Khm kleŋ [Haudricourt 1950: 566], PMonic *liŋ-liŋ ‘hawk’ (in Nyah Kur), Mon kənŋŋ ‘kite’ [Diffloth 1984: 69]. PTB *q-lāŋ (STC no. 333) > WB lan⁴-b-tā⁴ ‘vulture’, Kachin laŋ ‘bird of the falcon family’; Garo do-raq ‘falcon, kite’, Bodo dau-lāŋ-a ‘eagle’, Dimasa dau-liŋ ‘kite’ (HST: 76) (do ~ dau ‘bird’). PPMY *klāŋ² (Downer 1982). The initial l- in these lgs. is difficult to reconcile with OC, see §5.11.

yǐng₃ 腸 (？jìn) LH ?iŋ, OCM *ɔŋ
‘Breast, chest, breastplate, belt across breast of a horse’ [BI, Shi]; ‘to resist’ [Shi]. In contrast to the root yi臈 ‘one’s breast, thoughts’ (i.e. the inside of the chest; under →
yīng – yīng

yi₂₄ 恆臆), yīng and its cognates represent the exterior aspect of the ‘chest, breast’.
Wáng Li (1982: 312) relates this word yi 意 (yi₂₄ 恆臆).
[E] ST: Prob. related to Lushai ciŋ ‘the breast’.

※ yīng 应 (?jəŋ⁵) LH ?ŋ⁵, OCM *ŋəŋ — [T] ONW ʔŋ
(‘To turn one’s chest to’ ➔ ‘to face, respond’ [Shi], ‘correspond, agree’ [Yi, Guoyu].
[<] exoactive of yīng 胸 (?jəŋ) (§4.3).

※ yīng 应 (?jəŋ) LH ʔŋ, OCM *ŋəŋ
‘Ought, of right’ [Zuo] is perh. a back formation of yīng 应 (?jəŋ) ‘respond’.

yīng₄ 婚 (?jiān⁴) LH ?ŋen⁴, OCM *ŋəŋ
‘Necklace’ [Xun], ‘surround’ [Guoce] is prob. related to, or the same word as, → yīng₅ 珠 (?jiwàn⁴) ‘entwine’. For the absence of MC medial w, see §10.2.1.

yīng₅ 珠 → bīng₂ 秉

yīng₁ 迎 (?ŋŋ) LH ŋŋ, OCM *ŋəŋ — [T] ONW ʔŋ
‘To meet’ [Zuo]; Mand. ‘go to meet, greet, welcome, receive’.
[D] PMin *ŋŋ > Jiānyáng ŋŋA¹; Xiàmén col. ŋŋA² / già, lit. genŋA² / giŋ ‘to receive ceremoniously’.

※ yīng 迎 (?ŋŋ) LH ŋŋ, OCM *ŋəŋ
‘Go to meet, receive’ [Shi].
[E] ST *ŋəŋ: PTB *ŋəŋ (STC no. 155) > WB ŋəŋ ‘contradict, deny’, Nung ŋŋ ‘deny’. Cognate is ST *ŋəŋ; see under ➔ ya z 应 for an overview over this large wfd the alternation between open syllable and final -ŋ is common in Sino-Tibetan lgs. (§6.5.2).

yīng₂ 盈赢 (jiān) LH ŋŋ, OCM *ŋŋ, OCB *(l)jŋ
‘To fill, satisfy’ 盈 [Shi]; ‘surplus’ [Shi], ‘profit’ 贏 [Zuo].
[E] ST: PTB *ŋəŋ: TB ŋəŋ (STC no. 155) > WB ŋəŋ ‘contradict, deny’, Nung ŋŋ ‘deny’. Cognate is ST *ŋəŋ; see under → yà, 正政 ‘straight’. – Syn. → tián, 添. [C] An allofam is perh. → yún 孕 ‘pregnant’, as well as → tian tian

yīng₃ 燃 (yiwen[A/B/C]) LH ʔuŋ⁴, OCM *węŋ

~ xuàn 昕 (yiwen[C]) LH ʔuŋ⁴, OCM *węŋ(s) ?
‘Troubled sight, delude, deceive’ [Meng].

~ xuàn 昕 (yien C) LH ʔuŋ⁴n⁴, OCM *węŋs
‘Bright’ [Guoce], ‘dazzle, show off’ [Zhan’guoce]. For loss of medial w, see §10.2.1.

※ jiǒng 類 (kiwenB) LH kuŋ⁴, OCM *kwęŋ?
‘The light’ [Shi].
[<] yīng 燃 *węŋ + nominal k-prefix (§5.4).

※ yīng 燃 (jwen) LH waŋ⁴, OCM *węŋ ?, OCB *wṛŋ
‘Bright, color of jade’ [SW] > ‘kind of beautiful stone’ [Shi].

※ róng 燿 (jwen) LH waŋ⁴, OCM *węŋ ? — [T] ONW ʔuŋ
‘Flower’ [Li] > ‘flowering, prosperity’ [Shi] > ‘glory’ [Zuo].

[E] This wfd’s stem is *węŋ ‘bright, dazzle’; it converges with → shùn 瞬 *win ‘move the eyes’. For the difference in finals, see §6.4.1. Perh. this wfd could be ST and be related to Lushai ven⁴ / ven⁶ ‘be open, unobstructed by trees, clouds, be clear, be bright (weather)’. 575
yíng - yíng

yíng₄ 營（jiān 4） LH 웨قه, OCM *웨قه
‘To lay out, plan, build’ [BI, Shi], ‘to encamp’ [Zuo], ‘to surround’ [Gongyang].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR juη (平), PR juη, iη, LR iη; MGZY yúŋg (平) [juη]; ONW iueŋ

= yíng 堆（jiān 4） LH 웨قه, OCM *웨قه
‘Grave area’ [Li], i.e. a special area set aside.

= róng-guàn 螢觀（jiwèn-） OCB *wrjen-k*ans [Laozi ch. 26],
~ huán-guān 環官（ywan-） OCB *wren-k*an [Mawangdui version]
‘Imperial palace’ (Zhōu Zúmò acc. to Baxter 1992: 383), the term is the equivalent of MK ‘enclosure or rather 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.

~ huàn 環銜 （ywan） LH Դան, OCM *wрен, OCB *wрен
‘Ring’ [Shi], ‘encircle’ [Meng]; ‘metal ring’ [Guoce]; ‘royal domain’ [Guliang], ‘enclosing wall around the imperial palace’ (Giles). For the -ŋ ~ -n alternation, see §6.4.1.

[yWN] Sin Sukchu SR ywan (平); MGZY Xwan (平) [ywan]; ONW yuan

[51] This is a prolific AA or area etymon with vocalic variants (Shorto 1971: 345; 1973):
(1) *weŋ: OMon wîŋ [wŋ] ‘surrounding, round about’, tuhûñiñ / tomwîŋ/ ‘enclosure, enclosing hedge’, Lit. Mon wuŋ - WB wuĕŋ ‘surround, circle of people, do by joint effort’  x o-wuēŋ ‘circle, anything round’. The source of Chepang wîŋ ‘around’ (Bodman 1980: 60) is not clear, but may also be AA, note Khasi r-wîŋ ‘to go and return the same day’.  

[C] Possible allofam → yîng7 營, → xiàn10 縣, → yuán5 員圓, → guí1 規; → huáng1 皇, → wâng2 王. Many of these words and wî ‘round, turn’ are difficult to disentangle.

yíng₃ 營（jiân 4） LH ?yeŋ, OCM *?weŋ
‘To entwine’ (as creeping plants) [Shi] may be the terminative form (§6.5.1) of → wēi3 委 ‘bend’.
[51] ST: TB: Lushai veg⁸ / ven⁴ < veg ‘to gird / wear round the waist’ which prob. is related to this word rather than to → yîng4 營. Allofam → yîng4 嬰 ‘necklace’.

yíng₆ 蜜（jiâng） LH jîŋ, OCM *jîŋ or *îəŋ?
‘A fly’ [Shi].

yíng₁ 影（yângB） LH ?iâŋ, OCM *?raŋ? (?)
‘Shadow’ [Zhouli].

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yǐng – yōng

[D] Coastal Mín *ʔɔŋ² > Fúzhōu oun², Amoy ɲ⁴; Jiàn’ōu, Jiânyâng iœn² (< *ʔion²), Southern Mín ʔiœn²

[E] This word may be a cognate of → yǐng₁, meaning ‘bright’, or rather the AA items mentioned there; the semantic association of ‘shadow’ with ‘light’ is paralleled in the word jiāng. Alternatively, yīng may be connected with → yuān₁, meaning ‘shady’.

yǐng₂ 雀 (?iœn² 4) LH ʔiœŋ, OCM *ʔen? ‘Tumor, swelling’ [Zhuang], Mand. ‘goiter’ is related to → yōng₂ 雀 LH ʔen? ‘ulcer’ by the *e ~ *o ablaut relationship (§11.3.5). An allofam is prob. yīng 露 (ʔen?) and other MC readings, ‘bellied jar with small opening and one handle’. [SW; Mu Tianzizhuan].

yǐng₁ 迎 → yǐng₁ 迎

yǐng₂ 应 ‘respond’ → yǐng₃ 硬 ‘breast, chest’.

yǐng₃ 硬 (ʔen?) → [T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔen (去); MGZY ying (去) [ʔiŋ] ‘Hard’ [Tang: Han Yu].

※ nǐng 凝 (ʔen?) LH ʔen, OCM *ʔen (‘To become hard’ > ‘to freeze, consolidate’ [Shi, Shu].

[E] This etymon is reminiscent of items cited under → jiān₂ 坚 and → gāng₄ 剛銅.

yǐng₄ 織 ‘full’ → yùn₁ 孕

yǐng₅ 膛 臀 → yǐ₂ 貰治

yōng₁ 善 (ʔiœn) LH ʔiœn, OCM *ʔen < PCH *ʔen ‘City moat’ [Shi].

※ yōng, yōng 雛雀 (ʔiœn³/⁴/⁵) LH ʔen (ʔi/h) ? < PCH *ʔen ‘Obstruct, dam up’ 雛 [Zhouli], ‘stop up’ 雛 [Zuo].


yōng₂ 雛 (ʔiœn) LH ʔiœn, OCM *ʔen ‘Ulcer’ [Meng] (< ‘swelling’) is cognate to → wèng 窺窺 ‘jar, swollen’. → yōng₂ 雛 LH ʔiœn² ‘tumor’ is related to yōng by the OC *e ~ *o ablaut relationship (§11.3.5).


yōng₃ 雛 → yù₂ 雲

yōng₁ 善 (jiœn) LH joŋ, OCM *long ‘To use, employ, need’ [Shi, Bl].

※ yōng 用 (jiœn) LH joŋ, OCM *long ‘To use; obey’ (a decree) [Shi], (‘use’ for a sacrificial ceremony:) ‘to sacrifice’ tr. [OB, Yi Zhoushu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔuŋ (去); MGZY ʔyʊŋ (去) [ʔuŋ]; ONW ʔuŋ

[E] ST: WT ʔuŋ ‘the use or enjoyment of something’ (e.g. wealth).

yōng₂ 善 → oû 偶

yōng₁ 永 (jwəŋ) LH wəŋ, OCM *wran?, ?, OCB *wrəŋ? ‘Long time, eternal’ [Bl, Shi]. This is the original graph for → yōng₂ 泳 ‘swim’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔuŋ (去), PR, LR ʔuŋ; MGZY ʔyʊŋ (去) [ʔiŋ]; ONW ʔen
yōng - yōu

*yōng* 詠 (jwěn⁵) LH わん(C), OCM *wraŋ?*
‘To chant’ [Shu] (Karlgren 1956: 8).

[E] exoactive of *yōng* 詠, lit. ‘make long’ (§4.3).

An outside cognate is difficult to identify. Bodman (1980: 88) suggests TB-WT *ryan-ba* ‘extend, stretch’ (*ryaŋ-ma* ‘distance’, Lepcha hryān ‘length, distance’, all from a hypothetical ST *wraŋ* (with WT metathesis of the *r* and regular loss of medial *w*). The connection with WT *riŋ* ‘long, tall’ (of space, time), Tamang *rep-pa* ‘long’, WB hre < hraiŋ ‘be long’, hreB ‘former time’, PL *s/m-riŋ1* ‘be long, length’, *s/m-riŋ2* ‘long’ adv. [TB: STC no. 433], or with *jiong* 今 ‘distant’, if any, is not clear. Bodman associates the last TB items with Kanauri rwi ‘high’. However, phonetically less complicated and semantically closer to OC is MK-Khmer वञ्ज ‘to prolong’.

*yōng* 永 (jwěn⁵) LH わん(B), OCM *wraŋ?*
‘To wade, swim’ [Shi].

This word may be connected with Tai: PT *hwai>* S. waaiB2 ‘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).

*yōng* 跃 (jiwōŋ⁵) LH јon(B), OCM *jŋ?
‘Suspension ring at the top of a bell’ [Zhouli] is prob. related to WT ?a-log ~ ?a-luŋ ‘a ring’ (HST: 125) and may belong to → rōŋ2 容 ‘hold’, hence yōng ‘a holder’.

*yōng* 踏 (jiwōŋ⁵) LH јon(B), OCM *jŋ?
‘To jump’ [Shi] (as in ‘jump and bounce’).

*yōng* 涌, 浸 → rōŋ₃ 蹴

*yōng* 雍壅 → yōng₁ 延

*yōng* *yōng* 雍壅 → yōng₁ 延

*yōng* 永 (jwěn⁵) LH わん(C), OCM *wraŋ(h)?*
‘Sacrifice to heavenly bodies and spirits of rivers and mountains to avert a natural calamity’ [Zuo].


*yōng* 用 → yōng₁ 窦

*yōu* 攸 (jiu) 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 ruò 非天攸若 ‘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 yul ‘place’, but the loss of ST *-l in CH is unexplained (dissimilation from *jul*).

*yōu* 悠 (jiu) LH ju, OCM *liu*, OCB *ljiw*
‘Long-trailing, longing, depressing, persistent, far away, distant’ [Shi].

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= yóu 由 (jīu) LH ju, OCM *liu
  ‘To prolong; a shoot from a tree’ [Shu].

※ tiáo 條 (dieu) LH deu, OCM *liù, OCB *liw — [T] ONW dēu
  ‘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
  strips, tiáo became a measure for ‘matters, items of business, affairs’ (Norman

※ tiǎo 條 (tǐe) LH tǐe, OCM *hiǔ
  ‘Pull leaves off branches’ [Shi].
  [<] perhaps causative (tr.?) of tiáo 條 (§5.8.2).

※ xiū 修 (sjiu) LH siu, OCM *siu or *siú, OCB *sliw
  ‘Long’ (of an animal) [Shi].
  [E] ST: Mru iu (i.e. ?iu) ‘dark’ (Laffler 1966: 151), perh. also related to WT
g-yogs ‘cover’. Allofam is prob. → yáo-tiǎo 窈窕.

yóu３哟 (?jieu 4) LH ?iu, OCM *?iu
  ‘Cry of deer’ [Shi]. Though sound symbolic, this word has apparently a TB parallel:
  Lushai eu?l (i.e. ?iu?) ‘to bark or call’ (as sambhur deer).

yóu４幽 (?jieu 4) LH ?iu, OCM *?iu — [T] ONW ?iu
  ‘Dark’ [Shi] > solitary, secluded, obscure, difficult to understand’ [Yi], ‘to confine’
  [Zuozhuan].

※ yóu 由 (?jieuⁿ 4) LH ?iuⁿ, OCM *?iu?
  ‘Black’ [Li].

※ yāo 窈 (jieu) LH ?eu, OCM *?iū or *?iàu? ?
  ‘Dark’ 窈 [Guan] > ‘retired, despondent’ 窈 [Zhuang].

※ yào 窈 (jieu) LH ?eu, OCM *?iū
  ‘Obscure, secluded’ 嵙 [Yi]; ‘obscure, deeply hidden’ 嵙 [Zhuang] (also MC ?ieu[B]).
  [E] ST: Mru iu (i.e. ?iu) ‘dark’ (Löffler 1966: 151), perh. also related to WT
g-yogs ‘cover’. For
  absence of final consonant in CH, see §7.7.5.

yóu３櫵椳 (?jou) LH ?u, OCM *?u
  ‘To cover seeds with earth’ [Lun, Meng].
  [E] ST: Lushai vuur ‘to fill’ (as grave, hole), ‘fill up’ (with earth), ‘cover’. For
  absence of final consonant in CH, see §7.7.5.

yóu１尤 (jau) LH wù, OCM *wò — [T] ONW iu
  ‘Guilt, fault, blame’ [BI, Shi].
  [E] ST: WT yu ‘blame, charge, accusation’ (for the WT initial, see §12.9 (2)).

yóu２由 (jiau) LH ju, OCM *liu or *ju (from *wu ?)
  ‘Proceed from’ [Shi], ‘go along’ [Li], ‘follow’ [Shi].
  [T] Sin Sukchu SR iu (平); MGZY Yiw (平) [jiw]; ONW iu

※ dǐ 迪 (dick) LH dek < deuk, OCM *liūk
  ‘To advance, promote’ [Shi], ‘go along, follow, lead, walk, conduct’ [Shu].

※ zhòu 輝 (djiou) LH jù, OCM *d-liuh
  ‘Descendant’, i.e. eldest son of the principal wife [Shu] (< ‘the outcome, follower’)
  (Karlgren 1956: 14). This word may belong to → yù22 育毓鵝 ‘give birth’ instead. For
  additional possible cognates, see under → súi 逝.

yóu３由 ‘prolong’ → yóu２悠

yóu４油 (jiau) LH ju, OCM *lu
  ‘Overflowing, abundant’ [Meng], prob. unrelated to → yòu₁₀ 油 and → yóu₅游玩.

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you - yǒu

[T] *Sin Sukchu* SR イュ (平); *MGZY* イョウ (平) [jiw]

**tāo** 滅 (t'âu) LH tóu, OCM *lù

‘Be swelling up’ (river) [Shi] > ‘to assemble, to crowd’ [Zhuang]. ‘Reckless’ may be a semantic extension, but see → tōu 偷.

[<] *lu + caus. / intensive devoicing (§5.2.3-2).

**tāo** 滅 (dàu) LH dou, OCM *lù

‘To assemble, to crowd’ [Zhuang].

you s

you 6

you 7, yāo 叫 → yú16 握

you 8

shū (jiù) LH *ju, OCM *jü, OCB *jù.

‘Float, swim, wander’ [Shi]; ‘to wander about’ [Zhuang], ‘leisure’ [Li]; ‘freely, unrestrained’ 逕 [Lie]; ‘pendants of a banner’ 亜 [Zhouli].

ST: WT rgyu-ba < kh-ju ‘to go, walk, move, wander, range’ (of men, animals, etc.), Lepcha yû, Rawang yí ‘to flow’ [Bodman ISTLL 1987: 13]. For the pre-initial *r-, see §9.2.1. Cognates are → liú 流, *ju, OCB *jii.

you 10 流 (jiù) LH *liu, OCB *ljiw

‘To be flowing’ 流 [Shi], 油油 [Chuci].

[T] *Sin Sukchu* SR イュ (平); *MGZY* イョウ (平) [jiw]

[N] This word seems to be distinct from → yōu 游 and → yóu10 滅油.

yóu 9, yú 佇 → yú16 握

you 10, yáo 漁 → yú16 握

you 1

有 (jiù) LH wu, OCM *wo? — [D] M-Xiàmén u

‘Have, there is, some’ (“definite existential quantifier” – Harbsmeier 1981: 88) [OB, Shi] > ‘to possess, take possession’ [Bl, Shi] > ‘rich’ [Shi] (Karlgren GSR 9950).

[T] *Sin Sukchu* SR イュ (平); *MGZY* イョウ (平) [jiw]; *M Tang* eu < u, *ONW* u
The element ‘meat’ in the graph has occasioned much speculation; perh. the graph was originally intended for the word 肉 (xiǎo) LH は ‘dried meat’ [Shi] which also has the 又 element as phonetic.

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, a, o, even u, as well as wa and wo; WT final -d has its counterpart in CH tone B in a few grammatical words: WT 使者 ‘I. wǒ 我 *nǎi?, WT med ‘not have’ *mǐ 麦 *mai?, hence WT yod ‘be, have’ could be the equivalent of *wa? ‘have’.

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yòu – yū

oneself, from one’s own perspective to which ‘mouth’ was later added to distinguish it from yòu 又 which was commonly used to write ‘repeat, again’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (去); MGZY ngiw (去) [ŋjw]; MTang eu < u, ONW u

[E] ST *wòs > WT g-yas ‘right’ (side) (for the WT initial, see §12.9 (2); HPTB: 46). <> PTai *k̀waA1 ‘right side’, PNTai *gwaA2; PKS *h-waA ‘right’.

The semantics in this wf are parallel to - zuó 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 Min-Xiàménén 正手 tsìnú/51-tsiŋú51 ‘right hand’, lit. ‘correct hand’ vs. 倒手 to2/2/53-ds'íu53/21 ‘left hand’, lit. ‘upside down / wrong hand’. This second metaphor explains the OB meaning ‘left’ > (consider or treat as left = unfavorable) > ‘not approve, to oppose’. If this interpretation of ‘left’ is valid, then ‘right’ should also have meanings which are derivable from ‘consider or treat favorably’ (Takashima 1996: 314ff), like the following word:

« yòu 友 (jauB) LH wuB, OCM *waʔ, OCB *waʔ
‘Be friendly’ > ‘friend, companion’ [BI, Shi] (consider right = favorably).

[<] endoactive of yòu 右 (jauB, jauC) (§4.5). Li Fang Kuei relates yòu to → qiú 侷仇.

E] ST *wa: WT ya ‘associate, companion, assistant’ (for the WT initial, see §12.9 [2]).

« yòu 右佑祐侑有 (jauC) LH wuC, OCM *wòh
‘To aid, support, assist, wait, honor, appreciate’ > ‘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].

[<] exoactive of yòu 右 (§4.3).

yòu1 國 → guó 國

yòu2 幼 (?jieuC) LH ?iuC, OCM *?iuh
‘Be young’ [Shu, Meng]. Shi Xiàngdōng (2000: 33) relates this word to WT yu-bo ‘without horns’ (of animals).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?iw (去); MGZY Yiw (去) [ʔjiw]

« yào 么 (?ieu) LH ?eu, OCM *?iù
‘Small’ [SW, EY].

yòu3 誘 → shū4 歴術銚

yòu4 亵 (ji;auC) LH ?iuC, OCM *?iuh
‘Be young’ [Shu, Meng]. Shi Xiàngdōng (2000: 33) relates this word to WT yu-bo ‘without horns’ (of animals).

[<] Sin Sukchu SR ?iw (去); MGZY Yiw (去) [ʔjiw]

yòu5 語 → shū4 歴術銚

yòu6 袢 ‘sleeve’ → zhèu3 袢

yòu7 ॐ (ji;auC) LH juC, OCM *juh < *wuh (?)
‘Big, tall’ (of grain) [Shi].

[E] ST: Lushai vu ‘be ripe and yellow’ (as standing rice), ‘show up / be conspicuous’ (as flowers). Sagart (1999: 72) relates this word to → xù 侷秀.

yòu8 蕃 ‘brood’ → yù20, yū 咒

yòu9 隱 (ji;auC) LH juC, OCM *juh
‘Weasel’ [Dadai Liji] is phonologically identical with the widely attested TB word for ‘rodent, small animal’: PTB *yu or *b-yaw ‘rat’ (STC no. 93) > Chepang yu? ‘animal, rodent’, Mru yu ‘weasel’ (Löffler 1966: 151), WT yos ‘hare’ (in year name). The word → qūn 蓋 ‘hare’ is perch. an allofam, see there for TB cognates.

yū1 迦紓 (ʔju) LH ?ya, OCM *ʔwa
‘To bend, deflect’ 迴 [Shu] (also QYS ju, LH wa); ‘bent, crooked’ 紓 [Zhoulii] >
'astray, far away from' [Lunyu]. *HST* (41f) considers this word cog. to the WT words which are found under → 年, 天孜.

**wàn** 腕 (tuan⁵) LH ?uon⁵, OCM *?wâns
‘Wrist’ [Zuo, Guoce].

[<] wva + the nominalizing n-suffix (§6.4.3), lit. ‘the thing that bends’; for a semantic parallel, see → 灼, 皆 ‘wrist, elbow’. It is not clear if Naga-Khoirao wan ‘hand’, Lotha ewon ‘arm’ are related (so Matossik 1985a: 434).

*HST* (4lf) considers this word cog. to the WT words which are found under...

There are words with similar meaning and initial, but different final consonants which may perh. be related:

**wâng** 杖 (tjwan⁶) LH ?yan⁶, OCM *?wan?
‘Bent, crooked’ [Li], ‘unjust’ [Lunyu].

**kuâng** 匙 (kjwan) LH k³yaoⁿ, OCM *khwâng
‘Crooked’ [Zhouli].

[<] ST: WB kwaŋ⁶ ‘bend into a ring, go round’  k³wâng ‘be bent, curved’.

**yuân** 冤 (tjwen) LH ?yan, OCM *?wan (or *?on ?)
‘Injustice’ [Chuci].

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* ?yen (平); *MGZY* ‘wyan (平) [?yen]


**yu** 2 菇 (tjwo) LH ?io, OCM *?io
‘Withered’ [Chuci] is said to be an ancient Guânxi (NW) dialect word.

**yu** 3 瘭 (tjën) LH ?ion, OCM *?an
‘Withered’ [SW] is said to be an ancient Shandong (eastern) dialect word (Unger Hao-ku 33, 1986) which Pulleyblank (*JCL* 22.1: 95) relates to Viet. uon ‘languid, listless’. These etyma could be ancient dialect variants of → wêï₁ 委 ‘wither’.

**yu** 1 于 (jiu) LH wa, 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 inceptive action (‘go flying’) (Pulleyblank 1995: 53). This etymon is distinct from → 年 于.

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* y (平); *MTang* y < uo, *ONW* uo


**yuán** 愛 (jwen) LH wan, OCM *wan
‘There’ [Shi] stands for the ungrammatical *之 and is a fusion of *u 平 *wa plus an *n with a demonstrative meaning, see §6.4.5 (Norman 1988: 86).

[C] Additional cognates: → wâng₁ 往, → qu₃ 鰻.

**yu** 2 于 ‘enlarge’ → kuâng₁ 涴

**yu** 3 孟 (jiu) LH wa, OCM *wa
‘Bowl’ [BI, Hanfei]. Prob. ST *wa: WB k³wak ‘a cup’. Perh. the s. w. as ‘concave’, see under → qu₄, jù 腸.

**yu** 4 雨 → **yu** 3 雨

**yu** 5 余 (jwo) LH jo, OCM *la (or *ja?)
‘1, we’ 余 [OB, BI]. *Chúc* has both 余 and 余 where the former is used mostly in a post-verbal position (Pulleyblank 1995: 76), this suggests that 余 was perh. read LH jo?: see §3.3.3.
**yú**

* yú 子 (jiwo) LH ıyla, OC *la? (or *ja? ?)
  ‘I, we’ [Shi] is usually considered a graphic variant of 余 (Qiu Xiguai 2000: 392), but Shijing rimes indicate that this graph was read in tone B (Mattos 1971: 309).

* yí 台 (ji+?) LH ıyla, OC *la
  ‘I, my’ [Shi].

  [E] Unstressed derivation from * yú 子 ‘I, we’ (Pulleyblank 1995: 76), see §3.3.3.

* yú 餘 (jiwo) LH ıyla, OC *la
  ‘Remains, leftover, surplus, superfluous’ [Shi].

  [T] MTang iy < iø < ONW io
  [E] KT: Tai: S. liaA< *hl- ‘to be left over’ (Li F. 1976: 43); PKS *kla ‘leftover’. In CH, a possible earlier initial consonant was treated as a pre-initial and lost. Perh. related to → xù2 序‘continue, remains’; possibly also related to→ xiàn7 污.

* yú 餘 (jiwo) LH ıyla, OC *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 → zì8 禄.

  [E] Perh. ST: if OC was *ja, yí would be related to shè and its TB cognates. Because of the different vowel, TB *low cannot be cognate.

  cf. shé 餘 (*ja) < OCM *hja ?
  ‘Slash-and-burn field, swidden’ [Tang Dynasty writers, GY], a late word.


* yú 餘 (jiwo) LH ياة, OCM *?a
  ‘Be in, at, on, to...’, general locative link vb. or ‘preposition’ [Shi]. Yú 餘 begins to appear occasionally in Shijing, but over time gradually replaces, the older yú 子. The irreg. Mand. tone 2 has been transferred from → yú1 子 (QY would predict tone 1).

  [E] ? ST: PTB *hay ‘to go, directional particle’ [HPTB: 209: -y may be a suffix], Lushai locative, ablative, etc. suffix a / a?L ‘in, into, on, to...’. Alternatively, note the similarity with MK: PMonic *1a(a) ‘to go’, post-verb after verbs of motion and vbs. with ingressive force [Diffloth 1984: 227], PVM *?æC ‘at, located’.

* hú 乎 (ywo) LH ياة, OC *hā
  ‘In, at, on, to’, general locative particle [Shi], an attirited or unstressed form of yú 餘 (Pulleyblank 1995: 56).

  [T] Sin Sukchu SR ły (平坦); MGZY Xu (平坦) [yu]; ONWCollapse: *?a, OC *?a
  ‘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 → zì8 禄.

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  [E] Perh. ST: if OC was *ja, yí would be related to shè and its TB cognates. Because of the different vowel, TB *low cannot be cognate.

  cf. shé 餘 (*ja) < OC *hja ?
  ‘Slash-and-burn field, swidden’ [Tang Dynasty writers, GY], a late word.


* yán  январ (jan 3 -irregular) LH ?an, -an, OC *?an > an — [T] ONW ?an, -an
  ‘In it, on it, there’ [Shi] stands for *於之 which is a fusion of yú 餘 with an element *-n with a demonstrative meaning; see §6.4.5 (Norman 1988: 86; Pulleyblank 1995: 80). The Mand. tone 1 derives from MC $jən$. This word’s initial div. III j- is exceptional. The word is parallel to yuán 爱 (under → yú1 子).

* yāng 央 (jan) LH ?an, OC *?an
  ‘To hit the center’ (of a target), get into the middle (of a stream, of the night) vb. > middle, center’ [Shi] (Pulleyblank 1995: 171).
yú

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?ja? (平); MCZY (‘yang >) ‘yang (平) [?]an
[<] *?a + terminative *-ŋ (§6.5.1) hence lit. ‘to get to be in the middle’. This etymology is phonologically more straightforward than the traditional association with PTai *klaŋ ‘middle’.

[N] The near-synonyms / homophones *?a and → yú₁ → *wa are distinct etyma (Pulleyblank 1995: 53£), and their derivations with the terminative suffix *-ŋ result in quite different words which cannot be phonological variants.

yú₉ 於 prefix → ąż 阿

yú₁₀-tù 於免, yú-shì 於釋 → hű₁ 虎

yú₁₁ 幹訾 (jiwo) LH jo, OCM *la — [T] MTang iy < i0 < ONW io
‘To lift’ 幹 [Han]; ‘to praise’ 譽 [Shi].

yú₁₂ 呃 → lů₁ 娑 ‘drag, trail’

yú₁₃ 誨 → líaọ₅ 膟

yú₁₄ 偶 (jiu) LH jo, OCM *lo
‘Make a boat by hollowing the log’ [SW], 富木 ‘hollowed tree, canoe’: lú 鱷 (luo) ‘boat’ [Xin Tangshu] is perhaps a variant of this word.

[E] ST: This is an ancient area word: TB-WB hło- ‘boat’. <> PKS *lwa ‘boat’ (Edmondson / Yang 1988: 157 *s-lwa(n) on the basis of Ai-Cham zu:nZ), PTai *drío, Be lua. The ancient (Han time) Yue language’s word for ‘boat’ xu-lű 須盧 [sio-lich] belongs to an AA etymon chalā. The meaning of this wf is ‘to hollow out, make hollow’ (Huang Jìn-qi and Shèn Xi-róng YYWZX 1987.8: 41fi). Allofams are → yú₁₄ 偶 ‘hole’, → dů₃ 漏 ‘drain’, → yú₁₆ 偶 ‘scoop’. → chauważ, ‘boat’ may also be remotely related (see there for cognates), → zhōu₁ 舟 ‘boat’ is not.

yú₁₅ 偶 (jiu) LH jo, OCM *lo
‘Say yes, agree’ [Shu].

yú₁₆ 偶 (jiu, dâu) LH jo, dâu, OCM *lo, *lọ?
‘To scoop out (as a mortar), pull toward oneself’ [Shi, Karlgren: faulty verse?].

yú₁₇ 偶 (jiu, dâu) LH jo, dâu, OCM *lo, *lọ?
‘To scoop out (as a mortar), pull toward oneself’ [Shi, Karlgren: faulty verse?].

Syn. → yú₁₈ 慣 ‘plesant, enjoy’ [Shi].
**yú**

* tāo 恤 *(tʰâu)* LH tʰou, OCM * tłû*
  'To please' [Zuo]. Vocalic variants *o ~ * u occur elsewhere, see → yú₁₆ 恤.

* yuè 悅閲 (jiwát) LH jyat, OCM * lót — [T] ONW iuat
  'Be delighted, pleased, glad' 悅 [Shi]; 'be liked' [Shi], 'satisfied' 閲 [Shu].

* dui 悅 *(duâic)* LH duas, OCM * löts
  'Glad' [Zhuang].

[C] OCM * lót is the apparent root of a large wf whose basic meaning is 'loosen, relax':
  'Relax, loosen' > 'explain' → shuô 説 * lhot
  'Relax' > 'careless' → tōu₁ 偷 * l hô
  'Relax, loosen' > 'take off / away' → tōu₃ 脫 * l hô
  'Take away, rob' → tōu₂ 偷 * l hô

**yú₁₈** 踊逾 *(jiu) LH jo, OCM * lót (or * j o ?)*
  'To leap or pass over, transgress' 踊 [Shu]. 踊 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ryo 平); MGZY yúu 平) [jy]

* yú 悅逾 *(jiu)* LH jō, OCM * lót (or * j o ?)*
  'Be increasing' (grief), 'be pressing' (burden) 悅 [Shi]; 'be suffering' 悅 [Shi];
  'surpass' [Lun], 'convalesce' 悅 [Meng].

[<] * lót + tone B: endoactive (§4.5).

* shū 輸 *(sju) LH şo, OCM * lho (or * hjo ?) — [T] M Tang sū ㄕゥ, ONW ㄕ rewarding
  'To transport, convey' [Zuo], 'transmit' [Shu] (Huang Jín-gui, Shên Xí-róng YYWZX 1987: 46f).

[<] * l ot + caus. devoicing (§5.2.2).

[E] Etymology not clear. Comparanda are: (1) TB-JP jō ㄕゥ ‘to jump’; if related, the OC words should have initial * j-, not * l-. (2) AA: Khmer lota / lôt/ ‘to jump, leap, spring’, for absence of final -t in CH, see §6.9. Old Sino-Viet. 俸 (Pān Wūyūn 1987: 29). Perh. related to → yòng₄ 踂 ‘jump’; to shuí 稅 ‘to present’ may also be a derivation.

**yú₁₉** 窩逾 *(jiu, dâu) LH jo, do, OCM * lót, * lô
  'Opening, small gate' [Lunyu].

* yuè 閎 *(jiuat)* LH jyat, OCM * lot
  'Hole' [Shi].

* dui 悅 *(duâic, tââic)* LH duas, OCM * löts
  'Open a passage through' [Shi], 'opening' [Lao] has been loaned into Tai: S. lâtD₂L < * dl- ‘to slip through a hole or tunnel’.

* dui 奪 *(duâic)* LH duas, OCM * löts
  'Narrow passage' [Lijil].

* dōu 賀 *(duâc, duk)* LH dōc, dok, OCM * lôk(h) — [T] MGZY tīw (去) [dōw]


**yú₂₀** 轸 → dû₆ 睢

*yú₂₁** 睚 → y unthinkable

**yú₂₂** 魚 *(ńwō)* LH ńi, OCM * nā
  'Fish’ n. 魚 [OB, Shi], ‘to fish’ 睰 [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ńy (y); MGZY ńyü (y) [ñy]; ONW ńio (?) > ńo


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yu - yǔ

(Matisoff 1995a: 40; STC no. 189), Garo naʔ, Tiwa ना (Joseph / Burling LTBA 24.2, 2001: 43). The TB branch has a form *ŋ(y)aʔ, the Sinitic branch *ŋ(j)a without final ʔ.

yu₂₃ 隅隅 (ŋju) LH ना, OCM *ŋa ‘Angle, corner’ गय [Shi], ‘corner or bend of a hill’ 嶴 [Meng].

[E] Etymology not clear. WT गो ‘side, margin, edge’ ≈ गो ‘shore, bank, edge’ (of knife) is more likely to be related to → घ, घ ‘shore, bank, edge’ (of knife).

yu₂₄. yóng 隅 → oǔ 偶


yu₂₆ 興 (jiwo) LH ज़ा, OCM *la, OCB *la ‘Interrogative particle’ (Lü), fusion of व ‘also’ (Pulleyblank 1995: 9).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR य (ः); MGZY यूः (ः) [ू]; MTang य < औू < ONW औ ‘Carriage box, carriage’ [Yi], ‘carrier, carry on the shoulders’ [Zuo].

yu₂₇ 興 (jiwo) LH ज़ा, OCM *la — [T] MTang य < औ < ONW औ ‘Carriage box, carriage’ [Yi], ‘carrier, carry on the shoulders’ [Zuo].

[E] Because these items are fusions and hence secondary in OC, there is probably no connection with PLB *la2 ‘interrogative particle’ (Matisoff 1995a: 73f) > WB ला।

yu₁ 羽 (juB) LH व, OCM *wa ‘Feather, wing’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR य (ः); MGZY यूः (ः) [ू]

[E] Possibly a ST item, note PTB *wa = *(b)wa ‘bird’ (Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 142f). It also appears to be connected with PKS *pwa ‘wing’ (Matisoff 1985a: 445: Benedict).

yu₂ 字 (juB) LH व, OCM *wa ‘Eaves > abode, estate, territory’ [BI, Shi].

[E] Etymology not clear. Perh. the s. w. as → यू, यू ‘wings’ (i.e. ‘wings’ of a house?); or related to the stem *wa ‘enlarge’ under → 꺼 ‘wings’?

yu₃ 雨 (juB) LH व, OCM *wa ‘Precipitation, rain’ [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR य (ः); MGZY यूः (ः) [ू]; MTang य < औ, ONW औ

[E] Exoactive यू (§4.3.2), i.e. ‘transitive vb.’ (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 58).

yu 雨 (juC) LH व, OCM *wah ‘To rain (something), rain’ [Shi].

<y> = *wah

Yu 23 隅隅 (ŋju) LH ना, OCM *ŋa ‘Angle, corner’ गय [Shi], ‘corner or bend of a hill’ 嶴 [Meng].

E] Etymology not clear. WT गो ‘side, margin, edge’ ≈ गो ‘shore, bank, edge’ (of knife) is more likely to be related to → घ, घ ‘shore, bank, edge’ (of knife).

Yu 24. yóng 隅 → oǔ 偶


Yu 26 興 (jiwo) LH ज़ा, OCM *la, OCB *la ‘Interrogative particle’ (Lü), fusion of व ‘also’ (Pulleyblank 1995: 9).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR य (ः); MGZY यूः (ः) [ू]; MTang य < औू < ONW औ ‘Carriage box, carriage’ [Yi], ‘carrier, carry on the shoulders’ [Zuo].

E] Because these items are fusions and hence secondary in OC, there is probably no connection with PLB *la2 ‘interrogative particle’ (Matisoff 1995a: 73f) > WB ला।

Yu 27 興 (jiwo) LH ज़ा, OCM *la — [T] MTang य < औ < ONW औ ‘Carriage box, carriage’ [Yi], ‘carrier, carry on the shoulders’ [Zuo].

This is prob. the same etymon as → यू, यू ‘wings’ (i.e. ‘wings’ of a house?); or related to the stem *wa ‘enlarge’ under → 꺼 ‘wings’?

Yu 1 羽 (juB) LH व, OCM *wa ‘Feather, wing’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR य (ः); MGZY यूः (ः) [ू]

E] Possibly a ST item, note PTB *wa = *(b)wa ‘bird’ (Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 142f). It also appears to be connected with PKS *pwa ‘wing’ (Matisoff 1985a: 445: Benedict).

Yu 2 字 (juB) LH व, OCM *wa ‘Eaves > abode, estate, territory’ [BI, Shi].

E] Etymology not clear. Perh. the s. w. as → यू, यू ‘wings’ (i.e. ‘wings’ of a house?); or related to the stem *wa ‘enlarge’ under → 꺼 ‘wings’?

Yu 3 雨 (juB) LH व, OCM *wa ‘Precipitation, rain’ [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR य (ः); MGZY यूः (ः) [ू]; MTang य < औ, ONW औ

E] Exoactive यू (§4.3.2), i.e. ‘transitive vb.’ (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 58).

Yu 雨 (juC) LH व, OCM *wah ‘To rain (something), rain’ [Shi].

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yǔ

[<] a tone A noun derived from yǔ (§3.1).

[<] ST *wa? > PTB *ra > Khambu kwa, Bahing rja-wa; Chepang wa?-yo; PL *ra/wa/1, WB rwa, Lushai rwa (HST: 122). A rare ST parallel stem *ra is represented in CH by the wf → yǔ, 限产地. It is not clear if or how PT *ra-: S. haa ‘shower,’ classifier for rain etc. could be related. Syn. → dōng4 涼, → fēn2 霧氛, → lín8 霧零。

yǔ 4 禹 (jiw6) LH waB, OCM *wa? — [T] MTang y < uo, ONW uo
‘Insect, reptile’ [SW] has been compared to PTB *was ‘bee, honey’ (STC p. 17 n. 62). However, MK-PWa *wak ‘insect’ is semantically closer (for the finals, see §3.2.2).

yǔ 5-yǔ 偶偶 → jù5 結

yǔ 6 語 (niwoB) LH njoB, OCM *nja?
‘Speak’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR y (上市); MGZY y (上市) [fì]; MTang y < njo < ONW njo (?)

≪ yù 語 (niwoC) LH njoC, OCM *nja
‘To tell’ [Zuo].

[<] exoact. §3.4.2. Acc. to Downer (1959: 284), tone C has an ‘effective’ connotation.

[<] ST: WT nąg, dqags ‘speech, talk, word’ ≡ snąg-pa, bsprągs ‘to praise, extol, recommend’ ≡ snąg ‘incantation’; PLB *s-nąk ‘bird’ > WB ḥnąk; JP ną33 ‘to say’.

≪ yán 言 (niwoC) LH njoC, OCM *nja
‘To console’ [Shi]; ‘saying, proverb’ 言 [Zuo] are cognates of yán acc. to Wáng Lì (1982: 138). Although the two words look identical in most dialects except for the tone, including LH, the QYS makes a fine vocalic distinction.

yǔ 7 國 (niwoB) LH njoB, OCM *nja?
‘Prison’ 國 [Lī], 國 [Yízhoushu]; ‘to imprison, keep horses, groom’ [Zuo], ‘border, contain’ [BL, Shi], ‘restrain, embarrass’ 國 [Meng].

≪ an 狂 (niwoC) LH njoC, OCM *nja
‘Prison’ 岸 [Shi], 狂 [Xun].

[<] *nja? + nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3).

[C] An allofam is → yǔ16 餐 ‘manage’ (i.e. ‘control’). Pmy *njo1 ‘prison’ is prob. a Chinese loan.

yǔ 8 與 (jiwoB) LH jaB, 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 → yǔ11 异膊 ‘to lift’. SW makes a graphic distinction between this yǔ and yǔ.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR y (上市); MGZY y (上市) [fì]; MTang iy < iɔ, ONW io

≪ yǔ 與 (jiwoC) LH jaC, OCM *lah (or *jah ?) — [T] MTang iy < iɔ, ONW io
‘To participate’ [Zuo]. Acc. to Downer (1959: 285), tone C implies an ‘effective’ meaning.

yǔ 9 與 (jiwoB) LH jaB, OCM *la?
‘To give’ 與 [Shi, Shu], 與 [SW]; ‘to present, give’ 予 [Shi].

[E] The wf → shě1 舎 is prob. derived from this word, yǔ is hence related to foreign etyma mentioned there. CVST (3: 3) connects the word with the TB items under → yǐ2

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yu 10 亖 → gōu1 句鉤柵

yu1 芕 (juC) LH waC, OCM *wah
‘Tarō’ [Yili].


yu2 浸 → xuān1 澗

yu3 谷 ‘nourish’ → yù22 育毓鬻

yu4 浴 (jiwok) LH jok, OCM *lok
‘To bathe, wash’ [Lunyu].

[TF] Sin Sukchu SR y (入); MGZY yū (入) [iy]

[EF] Area word. Chinese and WT share a final *-k, the other TB Igs. have open syllables: WT lďug(s)--UA, lďug < nluk ‘to pour’ (water into vessel, on hands) > ‘cast, found’ (STC: 110). Also AA-Pearic kluk ‘to pour’. <> PTB *(r-)lu(w) ~ *(m-)lu(w) > Angami Naga rōlu ‘bathe’, NNaga *C/V-ru [French 1983: 334]. Mikir iŋlu < m-lu, Dimasa lū ‘to pour’, Karen lu ‘to pour’. Also Mrū lu, WB k’yuiB ‘wash, bathe’ [Löfler 1966: 130]. There is a similar but unrelated item zhū 鑄 ‘to cast, pour’ (under → zhũ 注) whose initial is a dental stop. The relationship with → yê2 治 ‘smelt, cast’, if any, is not clear.

yu5 欲 (jiwok) LH jok, OCM *lok — [TF] ONW iuok
‘To want, wish’ [Shi]; ‘desire, passion’ 慾 [Lun]. The colloquial Mand. form is thought to be → yà'o2 要.

x yù 亖 (jiu[C]) LH jo(C), OCM *lo or *loh
‘To look for, desire’ [Zuo].

[<] perh. exoact. (§4.3).


yu6 慾 → yù5 欲

yu7 裕 (jiuC) LH joC, OCM *lokh
‘Be indulgent, abundant, opulent’ [Shi, Shu] can be compared with WT lhug-po ‘wide, diffuse, luxurious’ ≠ lhug-par ‘amply, copiously, plentifully’. CVST (3: 32) relates yù to WB lōk ‘enough, sufficient’.

yu8 念誉豫 (jiwoC) LH joC, OCM *lah — [TF] MTang iy < iø, ONW io
‘Pleased’ 念 [SW: Shu]; ‘joy’ 豫誉 [Shi]; ‘happy’ 豫 [Shu], ‘amusement, recreation’ [Meng].

[C] This is prob. the same word as → yù25 豫 ‘slow’ (< ‘relaxed’). A derivation may be → xiáng1 康祥 ‘happy omen’. A cognate and paronym is → yǐ35 绣 ‘pleased’.

[EF] The related AA root under the cognate → yǐ35 绣 ‘pleased’ also has the semantic range ‘open up’ > ‘carefree, happy’: OKhmer là [lā] ‘to open, unfold, extend... ≠ klā [klaa] ‘be free of restraint, be lively, merry, gay’. Gông Qùnhū (MZYW 2, 2000) compares this word to Tai rãaB2 ‘happy’.

yu9 狸 (njuC) LH nioC, OCM *nōh
‘Monkey’ [Li, N. Fr.].

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[E] ST: Kuki-Naga branch of PTB: *ŋə:w 'ape' > Lushai ŋau^h < ŋau 'grey monkey' (STC: 192 n. 491). Note also → náu2 猴猴 *nu 'monkey'; if related, inter-lingual borrowing is probably responsible for the variants. For other similar-looking words for 'monkey', see → yù8 猴.

yù10 遇 → oǔ 偶

yù11 茂 ‘pent up’ → wèi10, yù 蔚

yù12 歸 → yù21 龜

yù13 域 → guó 國

yù14 間 → guó 國

yù15 御 → yù16 閣 ‘control’

yù16 禦 (ŋjwɔ) LH ŋæC, OCM *ŋa?
(‘To control’:) ‘to secure’ (an area 方) [Bl, YiZhao], ‘to curb’ [Zhuang], ‘hinder, prevent’ [Meng] (yù16 and yù17 blend into each other).

[E] ST: WT mga ‘might, dominion’, mga-ba ‘having, owning, to be’; the fundamental ST meaning might have been ‘be in control’.

≈ yù 御 (ŋjwɔC) LH ŋæC, OCM *ŋah — [T] MTang ny < ño < ONW ŋio (?)
‘To drive (a chariot), to direct, manage’ [Bl, Shi]; (‘drive’ >) ‘drive out, exorcise’ [OB].

[E] ST: WB mon^b ‘threaten, drive away’ ≈ a-mon^b ‘driving’ (§2.8.3).

[C] Allofam is → yù3 囲圈 ‘prison, restrain’. See also → yi2 艾刈.

yù17 禦 (ŋjwɔ) LH ŋæB, OCM *ŋa? — [T] MTang ny < ño, ONW ño < ñio
‘To defend, object, oppose, prevent’ [Bl, Shi] (yù16 and yù17 blend into each other).

≈ wù 惟 (ŋuɔC) LH ŋæC, OCM *ŋah
‘To go against’ 惟 [Lü], 僿 [Lü]; ‘encounter’ 惟突 [Chuci]; ‘face to face’ 畏 [Shi];
‘to turn against’ 惟 [Yili]; ‘oppose’ 惟 [Hanfei]; ‘resist’ [Li] (Qiu Xigui 2000: 335).

≈ wù 唐 (ŋak, ŋuɔC) LH ŋak, ŋæC, OCM *ŋak(h)
‘Resist, oppose’ [Zhuang].

≈ sù 溢 (suɔC) LH soC, OCM *snak(h)
‘Go upward against’ 溢 [Shi]; ‘go up against current’ 溢 [Zuo]; ‘complain’ 懽 [Shi],
‘accuse, inform’ 訴 [Zuo].

[<] perh. intensive of wù 嚇 *ŋak(h) (§5.2.3) (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 53).


yù18 喻 (jüC) LH joC, OCM *joh or *loh?
‘To understand, instruct’ [Lun] > ‘example’ 喻 [Meng]; ‘proclaim, understand’ 諭 [Li, Guoce].


yù19 愈痘 → yù18 喻痘

yù20. yù 姦 (?)uB LH ?uB, OCM *?o?
(Of birds:) ‘to sit on eggs, incubate’ 姦伏 [Liji] > ‘to warm with body’ (as mother a child, or the earth all things to make them grow) [Liji].

[E] ST *?o: PLB *u3 > WB uB (i.e. /tuB/) ‘lay an egg’ ≈ a-u^B ‘egg’ (HPTB: 180).

≈ yù 姨 (?)uC LH ?oC, OCM *?oh
‘Mother’ [SW] > ‘Mrs.’ [Shiji] > ‘(old) woman’ [Guangya].

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[<] a late general purpose tone C derivation of yù, yù 媼 (§3.5), lit. ‘the one who is breeding, mothering’.

 xu yù 隈 (?juC) LH ?uC
‘To brood, hatch (eggs)’ is acc. to Guō Pú’s commentary to FY 8, 4 a Jiāngdōng (lower Yangtze) dialect word; it survives today in Min dialects: Jiàn ’du iuCl, Chóngān ieuC (Norman 1983: 206).

 xu yù 隈 (?juk) LH ?uk
‘Warm’ (of season, house, clothing) [Shi].

[C] This wf coalesces partially with → xù. 旭, perh. they together form a single wf. → wēn 温 ‘warm’ could be an allofam, but it prob. belongs to a ST root *ʔur, while the above items belong to ST *ʔo.

 xu yù 隈 (?jwoc) LH ?oC, OCM *ʔah, kho (?)
‘To satiate, nourished’ [Shu, 隈 [Shi] seems to be a vocalic variant of the preceding word.

 xu xù 酉 (xjuc) LH hioC, OCM *hoh
‘Drunk, mad’ (with wine) [Bl, Shu].

 xu yǒng 𢽉 (yjwoc) LH ?oŋ, OCM *ʔoŋ
‘Cooked meal’ (for sacrifice to the dead) [Shi], (for banquet) [Meng].

 xu yù 隈 (juC) LH juk, OCM *luk
‘To give birth, to rear, breed, nourish’ 育 [Shi, Shu]; ‘produce’ 鱸 [OB, BI, Zhouli]; ‘nourish’ [Zhouli], ‘young’ 鱸 [Shi]. Baxter and Sagart (1998: 52) derive → zhōu 米粥 ‘rice gruel’ from this word.

 xu tao 霞 (duoC) LH dou, OCM *luk
‘To nourish’ [Lao]. The graph 霞 was used in this late Zhou text when *C-l- and *d- had apparently already merged. Or was this graph simply borrowed for yù?

 xu táo 陶 (dáu) LH dou, OCM *lā
‘To nourish’ [FY 1.5] a Han period Qin dialect word.

 xu yù 賣 (juk) LH juk, OCM *luk
‘To sell’ [BI]. Originally, this graph was distinct from the one for mài ‘sell’, see SW 2776.

 MK: OKhmer /luk/, Khmer /luk/ ~ /ruk/ ‘to sell, to fine’. Yù looks like a cognate of → shú 责 *m-luk ‘ransom’ (Sagart 1999: 82), but the vowels should be identical in a closely related introvert / extrovert pair; also, simultaneous close connections with
both TB-WT (→ shú 贰) as well as MK are difficult to explain, therefore these words may not be related. Syn. → dī 疾;  → gū 財;  → mǎi 買;  → shǒu 售.

yù 24 豫 (jiwöC)
Supposedly ‘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 (gūwén 古文) did not have xiàng 象 ‘elephant’ as a graphic element. SW was guessing at the original meaning of the graph (cf. shè 射 ‘to shoot’, §1.4.2).

yù 25 豫 (jiwöC) LH jöC, OCM *lah — [T] MTang iy < iō < ONW io
‘Slow and deliberate’ [Lao], ‘think beforehand’ [Li], ‘anticipate’ [Zuo].
[E] Karlgren GSR 83e derives this word from the homophone ‘elephant’ → yù 豫 [SW] (< ‘elephant-like’) which is unlikely. This is prob. the s. w. as → yù 豫 ‘pleased’ (both from < ‘relaxed’) (so Wáng Lì 1982: 162). A semantic parallel is → yù 豫.

* shū 舒 (jiwo) LH șa, OCM *lha
‘Relax, slowly, leisurely, easy’ [Shi], ‘lazy’ [Shu].
[<] *la + devoicing (meaning?) (§5.1)

= shū 舒 (jiwo, dzjwo) LH șa, ūz, OCM *lha ~ *mla ?
‘Be remiss’ [Shi], ‘relax, alleviate, delay’ [Zuo]. If the reading MC dzjwo can be trusted, the initial *m- is prob. inherited from ST.

* xú 徐 (jiwo) LH zia, OCM *s-la
‘Walk slowly, gently’ [Meng], ‘slow, by and by’ [Zuo], ‘quiet’ [Zhuang].
[<] *la + s-prefix (meaning?) (§5.2).
[E] Three different valence-increasing morphemes are added to the root *la: (1) final s/h: *la-h, (2) causative devoicing *lha, (3) s-prefix: *s-la. A similar profusion of forms is seen in the wf → yì 翡.

yù 26 薨 (kjuet, jiuet) LH kiut (kuit), juit, late OCM (k-)ju(i)t ?
‘Well rope’ [Li] occurs also in WT: rgyud < r-yut ‘string, cord’. This could possibly be a variant of → lū 薨, both from PCH *rjut ~ *r-jut (§9.2.1), provided the late OCM form (Liji) was already -uit and had merged with the reflex of -wit.

yù 27 遙 → suǐ 逐
yù 28 漂 → xuàn1 泫
yù 29 晰 → yù11 异譬
yù 30 語 → yù 6 語
yù 31 造 → yù20, yū 娅
‘A fragrant herb’ [Li]. Unger (Hao-ku 39, 1992) suggests that this is the s. w. as → wèi10, yù 蔂 ‘a kind of artemisia’.

yù 33 鱷 ‘dense’ → wèi10, yù 蔂
yuăn 1 鹰 (jiwän) LH juan, OCM *jon ?
‘Hawk, kite’ [Shi] is shared with TB-PL: *(k-)dzwan1 ‘hawk’.

yuăn 2 冤 → yū 1 湮紛

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yuán

3. 元 (njwen) LH ȵyon, OCM *ŋon or *ŋowan
‘Head’ [Zuo, Xi 33] (Unger Hao-ku 28, 1984: 251; Mei 1985: 335), ‘to be at the head, first, eldest, principal, great’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ȵyen (平); MGZY xwyən (平) [fiyen]; ONW ȵuan
[E] Yuán is perh. 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-, m- does occur elsewhere, but is rare. Alternatively, the WT etyma could also be related to → gao, 高 (kâu) (so HST: 93), yet yuán’s semantic agreement with WT is significant. Mei Tsu-Lin (in Thurgood etc. 1985: 335f) considers both yuán and -7 jiun,;g (kju:m) ‘lord, prince’ variants which he relates to WT mgon.

[C] → yuán .lbl may be the same word. Allofams are perh. → hou, 后, → yuán3 原.

2. 元 (jiwán) LH juän, OCM *jon?
‘Marsh between mountains’ [SW] has perh. a Tai connection: S. keen ‘marsh, mire’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 235).

3. 元 (njwen) LH ȵyon, OCM *ŋon, OCB *ŋwjan
‘A plain, highland’ [Shi], ‘spring, source’ [Meng] is perh. the s. w. as → yuán 元 ‘head’ (Qiu Xigui 2000: 275).

4. 元 (njwen) LH ȵyon, OCM *ŋon or *ŋwan
‘Quiet talk’ [SW: Meng] is perhaps related to PTB *ŋoŋ ‘mild, quiet’.

5. 元 (jiwán) LH wen, OCM *wen, OCB *wjwjan
‘Circle’ 員 [Shi]; ‘round’ 圓 [Yi], 員 [Meng], 圓 [Hanfei]; ‘return’ 員 [Shu]; yuán ‘circle’ is symbolic for ‘sky, heaven’, 方 ‘square’ for ‘earth’ [Huainan].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yen (平); MGZY xwyən (平) [fiyen]; ONW עונ
≡ yuàn 院院 (jiwán) LH wen*, OCM *wens (?)
‘Wall around a courtyard’ 院 [Mo]; ‘ring-shaped jade insignium’ 璞 [Xun], also MC jwen; Downer (1959: 280) adds caus. ‘encircle oneself > put on’ (a buff coat) 撲 [Zuozhuaxuan].

≡ xuán 迴旋 (ziwán) LH zyan, OCM *s-wen, OCB *en
‘To turn around, to wheel’ 旋 [Zuo], ‘to turn around, return’ 迴旋 [Shi], ‘turn away, all round’ 旋 [Shi, Yi] > (turning this way and that:) ‘agile’ 迴 [Shi]; ‘ring’ 旋 [Zhou].

<y] caus. of yuán 員圓院 (jiwán) (§5.2.2), lit. ‘make go around’.

[E] Area word: PMK *wial ‘turn around’ (Shorto 1972: 4; 1973: 380) ≈ *wal ‘bend, return, halo’. < ST *w(i)al: PTB *wal (STC no. 91) > WB wan ‘circular’, Kachin wan, Lushai vʌn ‘be in the form of a ring or circle’ (HST: 55) ≈ hual ‘to surround, encircle’. CH → Tai: S. wian ‘revolve, encircle, circle’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 179). MC -ji- suggests that the OC vocalism was not /a/ but frontish (e, ia?), therefore prob. not (directly?) related to → huan, 恒. Or this CH wf, or some of its members, belong to → ying, 營. Most likely, the area roots *wen ~ *wen and *wial ~ *wel have converged in OC. For synonyms, see → hui, 回.

6. 元 (jwen) LH wen, OCM *wan
‘Monkey’ [Zhuang, Guoce].

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yuán – yuàn


yuán7 園 (jwén) LH won, OCM *wan, OCB *wjan — [T] ONW uan
‘Garden, park’ [Shi].

[E] This word is prob. derived from one or other root *wan ‘round, encircle’ (see → huí 回), semantically like yuán 院 ‘wall around a courtyard’, see → yíng 隔. Therefore, the following are unrelated: TB-KN-Kom ra-hyun ‘garden’; AA-Khmer swna /suu~n J ‘care for, look after > flower / pleasure garden’ (Jenner / Pou 1982: 373) → KT *swjan (Li acc. to Benedict AT: 37; 1976: 90) > S. suan ‘garden’. <> PMY *wen 2 ‘garden’ agrees phonologically with CH (M. Ratliff, p. c.).

yuán8 爰 (jwén) LH won, OCM *wan
‘Be slow’ [Shi]. Acc. to Karlgren (1956: 14), the following is related:
※ huàn 缓 (yuánB) LH yuanB, OCM *wan?

yuán9 戤 → xuàn1 晉

yuán10 爰 → yú1 于

yuán11 緣 → yán1 沿

yuán12 遠 (jwén) LH yuán, OCM *yon or *ywan
‘Large turtle’ [Zuo] is perh. the same word as → yuán 元 (Unger Hao-ku 28, 1984: 251, 260). On the other hand, this word may be related to
※ áo 龟 (néu) LH yuán, OCM *nâu
‘Turtle’ [Liezi]. If yuán should be the original form, the final nasal has been lost in the process of back formation.

yuán1 遠 (jwén) LH wonB, OCM *wan?
‘Far away, distant, far-reaching, extending’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yen (上); MGZY xýan (上) [yíen]; ONW uan
※ yuàn 遠 (jwénC) LH wonC, OCM *wans
‘Keep at a distance, keep away’ [Shi].

[*] *wan? + exoactive > caus. s-suffix (§4.3.2).

[E] This item has no apparent TB cognate, but may be an unexplained rime *-an variant of the wf → jiǒng2 洞 ‘distant’. Allofam is perh. → jiǒng3 洞 *kwan? which represents a transitional rime. Baxter and Sagart (1998: 60) relate this etymo to → yè4 越 ‘pass over’.

yuán2 遠 (jwénB) LH yuánB, OCM *ywan? or *yón?
‘Sleeve’ is an ancient Jiāngdōng (lower Yangtze) dialect word acc. to Guó Pú’s commentary to FY 29.32. It still survives in Mín dialects: PMín *yônB > Fú ‘ân unB, Fúzhōu yuánB1, Xiàménén yuánB, Jiānyáng yègB1 (Norman 1983: 206). ‘Sleeve’ is perh. connected with wán 腕 ‘wrist’ (under → yú 屎).

yuàn1 元 (jwénB) LH yuánB, OCM *yôn?, OCB *pjon?
‘Trees with rich foliage, umbrageous’ [Guoyu] > ‘pent up’ (feelings) [Shi]. For a semantic parallel, see → wèi10, yù 蔵.
yuàn – yuè

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?yen (上); MGZY ‘wúyán (上) [?yen]

≠ yuàn 夙 (?jwenC) LH ?yong, OCM *?jons, OCB *?jons
(1) (‘Pent up’): ‘resent, bear resentment’ [Shi].
(2) (‘Who is resented’): ‘enemy’ (also read with tone A).

[C] An allofam may be → yī 'luxuriant foliage'.

yuàn2 夙 ‘wither’ → wēi 萎
yuàn3 夙 → yuàn1 夙
yuàn4 院瑗 → yuàn3 具圓圃
yuàn5 緣 → yán1 沿

yuàn6 頌 (?jwenC) LH nyonC, OCM *nyons, OCB *jions — [T] ONW nūn ‘To wish’ [Shi]. Prob. not related to Lushai ȵit ‘to demand, wish for’.

yuē1 日 (jwut) 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 → huà 話 acc. to Sagart (1999: 113). Syn. → yún, 云.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yè (入); MGZY xwīa (入) [yè]; MTang uar, ONW uat < wat


≠ yào 納 (?jiau 4) LH ?iau, OCM *iawk ‘Bond, contract, agreement’ [Zuo].

[E] ST: WB yok ‘wind around, as thread’.

yuē3 曬 (?jwet, ?jwät) LH ?wat, OCM *?wat or *?ot ‘Sound of vomiting’ [Li].

≠ ou 曝 (?uB) LH ?oB, OCM *?ot ‘To vomit’ [Zuo].

[E] This is an onomatopoetic expression, other lgs. in the area have similar words: PTB *?ōw ‘vomiting’ (HPTB: 227), PLB *ut ‘to belch’; Lushai uak ‘to vomit, regurgitate’ [Diffloth 1984: 151]; also WB an ‘vomit’; WT skyug-pa ‘vomit’; ‘vomit, eject’.

yuè1 月 (njwt) LH njat, S njat, OCM *njat, OCB *njat ‘Moon > month’ [OB, Shi].


[E] ST: Unger (Hao-ku 39, 1992) proposes as cognate WT ȵo(s) ‘waxing and waning moon, half moon’, Lepcha ȳom. These belong to PTB *ŋow (STC no. 296) > WT sgo ‘blue-green’, Lushai ŋoh ‘white, fair’, Thado ŋou ‘clean’, Lepcha ta-ŋot ‘white hair, old’ ≠ ȵo ‘old’ (Bodman 1980: 136). The widespread semantic association of ‘moon’ with ‘white’ would support this etymology; see → bái 白, → pò4 魄, → pò5 霹魄 for a parallel. There may possibly be a connection with → ǎi1 艾 ‘white-haired’, but that is phonologically problematic. Matisoff sets up PTB *ŋ-ŋ(y)at ‘moon, star’ (HPTB: 85)
yuè

or PTB *s-ŋwa-t `star / moon' (HPTB 24; 25). Tai *ŋwatD2 `recurring period' (Manomaivibool 1975: 330) would be a CH loan if the ST etymology is correct.

yuè₂ 刈 → wò₁ 尾

yuè₃ 戎鋤 (jwe reopen LH wat, OCM *wat

‘Battle-ax’ [BL, Shu, Shii]. 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 Kwang-chih 1963; Chén Zhōngmín LTBA 22.2: 42) where the word for ‘iron’, in places ‘ax’, is reconstructed PAN *bari > *basi, in some lgs. wasi and the like. Yuè < *wat could therefore perh. be an AN loan. The etymon also occurs in AA: PWA *wac ‘knife, sickle, sword’, OMon rwas /rwɔści ‘weapon’, perh. -> TB-JP n31-wa?55 < n31-wak55 notched knife.

Curiously, some Taiwanese tribes have the tradition that they originally came from ‘Vasai’ across the Taiwan straits on the mainland, i.e. the area which has been known as Yuè < *wat since mid-Zhou times.

yuè₄ 越 (jwe reopen LH wat, OCM *wat — [T] ONW wat

‘To go on, go beyond, transgress’ [Shi, Shu] > ‘furthermore, and now, later on’ [BL, Shí, Shu], ‘far away’ [Guoyu].

< yuè may be derived from → yú₁ 于 ‘to go’ with a t-suffix of unknown function.

[C] A derivation is prob. → suí 週 ‘year’. Baxter and Sagart (1998: 60) relate yuè to → yuān, 遠 ‘far away’; Matisoff (ICSTLL 1978: 16) relates kūó 開 ‘far apart’ (under → kuān 開) to this word.

yuè₅ 越 (jwe) LH wat, OCM *wat

The ancient state of Yuè, earlier Yú-yuè 於越 *ʔa-wat; see → yuè₃ 戎鋤.

yuè₆ 岳嶽 (ŋák) LH ŋok, OCM *ŋrök — [T] ONW ŋák

‘Mountain, peak’ [Shi]. 岳 [Shi].

[E] AA: PNBahn. ŋok ‘mountain’. Note also PHLai *ŋwɔŋɔ ‘mountain’. Perh. also connected with WB ŋok, ŋok-ŋak < PLB *ŋokl- ‘project, stick up or out’ and WB ŋrogC ‘any sharp thing sticking out, sharp stump or thorn’, WT rjog ‘hump’ (of an animal); for a semantic parallel, note Khmer kòok ‘knoll, hillock’ 𧵱 Lao ‘hump, bump’ (of ox).

yuè₇ 悅閑 → yú₁⁵ 悅

yuè₈ 間 ‘gate’ → yú₁⁹ 窍俞

yuè₉ 樂 (ŋák) LH ŋok, OCM *ŋrūak — [T] ONW ŋák

‘Music’ [Shi].

[E] The etymological relationship with → lè₃ 樂 ‘joy’ has been much debated, extensively by K. Wulf (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, historisk-filologiske meddelelser XXI, 2, 1935, Kobenhavn), more recently by Unger (Hao-ku 19, 1983) who suggests something like OCM *grăuk ‘joy’ from which is derived *ŋ-grăuk ‘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 initialŋ - in a wf. 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’  ----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
yue — yun

yue10 箫 (jiak) LH jak, OCM *liauk ?, OCB *ljewk
‘Bamboo flute’ [Shi]. Baxter (1992: 535) suggests that the following item is from the same root:
※ dí 笛 (diek) LH dek < deuk, OCM *liùk, OCB *liwk
‘Flute’ [SW, Fengsu tong].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR di (入); MGZY ti (入) [di]
yue11 熬 ‘melt’ → shuò6 燦爍
yue12 熬 ‘shine’ → shuò7 燦

yun1 匀 (jiuen) LH win, OCM *win
‘Even, uniform’ [JY] is cognate to → jün1 均鈞.

yun2 云 (jwen) LH wun, OCM *wən — [T] ONW un
‘To say it’ [Lunyu], ‘is called’, ‘to speak’ intr. (Pullenblank 1995: 81f; see §6.4.5).
Syn. → yue1.

yun3 茹 → xün1 熏燻煩

yun4 普 (jwen) LH wun, OCM *wən (< *wun ?)
‘To weed’ [Shi].
[E] ST: WT yur-ma ‘the act of weeding’, for the initial correspondence, see §12.9 WT.
Note also yōu 莠 (jiouB) LH juB OCM *ju? (< *wu? ?) ‘weeds’ [Shi] which may be connected.

yun5 雲 (jwen) LH wun, OCM *wən
‘Cloud’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR yn (平); MGZY xwin (平) [fiwin]
[D] PMin *hiun, W-Wenhōu îyogA2, Guangzhêou wanA2
[E] This word has no obvious outside connection, except possibly TB-Mikir ighun < m-hún ‘clouds’: or alternatively KN vaan > Lushai vaanL < vaanh ‘sky’ (in some lgs., ‘sky’ and ‘cloud’ are the same word).

However, ‘cloud’ is possibly cognate to → yun2 雲遊 ‘revolve’, thus yun was lit. a ‘whorl’ or ‘swirl’ in the sky (the OB graph for yun shows a whorl). Therefore one or other of the numerous synonymous and similar-looking roots in the area (see under → huí 回) is probably represented here. Closest is perh. AA-Khmer /wul/ ‘to turn (around), revolve, rotate, spin, whirl, eddy, swirl’. From *wul to *wun is only one phonological step; an equally appropriate root PTB *wir would instead require two steps, in addition to -r > -n also the change u > i (§11.5.1): TB-Lushai virB < vir? ‘rotate, revolve, spin’ ※ vir6 < virh (< -s) ‘a whorl’, Mru wir ‘rotate, spin’. WT ‘k’.yir-ba ‘to turn around in a circular course’, JP-Hkauri ka-wín ‘rotate’ [Matisoff 1974: 166]; WB ə-k’yin ‘a time period, season’ (for semantics, note xün 旬 under → jün2 鈞).

yun1 允 (jiuenB) LH juinB, OCM *jun? or *win?
‘To trust, be true, sincere’ [Shi] seems to be related to → xin1 信 ‘believe, trust’: if so, OC should be expected to be *win? (not *jun?). 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 yn (上); MGZY yṳn (上) [jyn]
yun  -  yun

yun2  孕愨 (jiwen)  LH  winB, OCM  *w(r)on(?) or *win(?)?, OCB *wrjin(?)
‘To drop, fall’ [Shi]; ‘fall to the ground’ [Zuo]; ‘to rain, fall down like rain’ [Gongyang]; ‘to drop, lose’ (one’s life) [Guoyu]; ‘lose’ [Zuo] > caus. ‘to overthrow’ [Zuo], ‘destroy’ [Xun].

※ xun  海 (sjuen)  LH  suin,  OCM  *swin
‘To drip, tears falling’ [Guoyu].

[?] iterative derivation of yun (§5.2.3).

yun1  孕  (jiao)  LH  jinC,  OCM  *lajh  —  [T]  ONW in
‘Pregnant’ [Zuo, GY] is prob. the s. w. as ying 繼 ‘full’ (of ears of grain) [Zhouli].
[D] Medieval dictionaries and non-Mandarin modern dialects reflect a reading which is the equivalent of QY jiaoC; W-Wenzhou hiaoC2, M-Xiamen lit. jiaoC2, Fuzhou eioC2, Chaozhou eioA. Occasional forms with the equivalent of QYS rime -jen prob. represent secondary developments: Guangzhou jenC2 (but northern Yue dialects point to -jen), M-Xiamen col. jinC2. Mand. dialects have forms riming in -un which may possibly reflect the ancient (LH and OC) form jun. Many modern dialects have replaced this word with other expressions.

※ sheng  聖  (dianC)  LH  zihC,  OCM  *m-laajh
‘Pregnant’ [Guanzi; GY] (GY 432; GYSX: 884).
[C] This etymon is perh. related to → ying2 盈赢 (jiao) ‘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 繼育 (*-en) in Guanzī. More tenuous would be identification with the WT dictionary word lijs-pa ‘quite round or globular’.

yun2  刮捫 (juenC)  LH  wunC,  OCM  *wans
‘Revolve, turn around’ [Yi], ‘move’ [Zhuang], ‘longitudinal’ 刮 [Guoyu]; ‘bring supply of food to’ [Zuo]; ‘vapor, halo’ [Liu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR yun (go); MGZY xwin (go) [liwin]: ONW un
[E] → yun3 雲 ‘cloud’ is prob. related. Karlgren (1933: 28) relates this etymon to → wei3 圍, Wáng Li (1982: 398) to → huí 回, but see there.

yun3  繼 → wei3 繼

yun4  蘚蕡 (juenB/C)  LH  ?unB/C,  OCM  *?un/s  —  [T]  ONW ?un
‘To block, accumulate’ (pent-up feelings) 蘌 [Shi] > ‘to hoard, accumulate’ 蘌 [Zuo].

※ yun  垢 (juenB)  LH  ?unB,  OCM  *?un?
‘To pack, store up’ [Lunyu].

※ yun  垢 (juenB)  LH  ?unC,  OCM  *?unh
‘To hate’ [Shi] (note 蘌蕡 ‘pent-up feelings’), ‘grieved’ [Li].
[B] This wf may perh. be related to → yong1 恩; for the difference in final nasal, see §6.4.2. The wf → yun4 蘌蕡 ‘to obstruct’ is probably not related. We have prob. these developments:
PCH *?un  >  LH  ?on  (→ yong1 恩)
   >  LH  ?un  (yun 蘌蕡)

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zá | 嘴 (tsāp) LH tsɔp, OCM *tsāp
‘To bite, sting and suck’ (as a mosquito) [Zhuang].

[E] Sound symbolic area word: PTB *dzɔp (STC no. 69) > PLB *tʃp ~ *tʃup ~ *C-cup ‘suck, milk’; Thado tɔsp, Siyin tuɔp, Dimasa dzɔp; Lushai dzɔp (Lorrain fəwp) / fɔp[PL] ‘to kiss, suck’; WT *ʃo-ba, bɔţs ‘to milk’ derives from a form with medial *j (PTib. *-op > WT *-o, see §12.9); IP (*-op > WT *tʃ, see §12.9) ‘to suck’, tʃup[PL] ‘suck’. HPTB: 382 lists many TB variants. Note also AA: Kharia jo’b ‘to suck’, Munda cep, Khmer -japa /-ćiɔp/ ‘to take in, suck’.

Foreign words with the rime -op, -up usually become MC -ɔp (via earlier -wɔp, with the medial w lost due to dissimilation); occasionally, such words appear in OC as *-ot, *-ut, thus → chuò２ 嘴吸 ‘drink’ may be related. Karlsgren (1956: 18) relates this word to → cän 嘴 ‘hold in the mouth’.

zā | 杂 → jí| 集輯

zái | 灾 (tsi) LH tsə, OCM *tsə — [T] ONW tsoi
‘Natural disaster’ (fire, drought, flood, locusts, eclipse, pestilence, etc.), ‘accident, injury’ [OB, Shī, 裁 [Li], ‘conflagration’ [Zuo, SW, Hanshu].


[C] Prob. cognate to → zī, 满 ‘slash and burn’, and possibly to → zāi 贻.

zái２ | 载哉 (tsi) LH tsə, OCM *tsə
‘To plant’ [Li]; ‘to begin’ 前 [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaj (平); MGZY dzay (平) [tsaj]; ONW tsoi ≠ zāi１ 载 (tsi) LH tsaC, OCM *tsəh — [T] ONW tsoiC
‘To initiate, start work, undertaking, achievement; at first’ [Shi, Shū].

≠ zāi 载 (dzəCi) LH dzɑC, OCM *dzəh
‘To board, erect building frames’ [Shi, Zuo].

[E] The basic meaning of this wF is ‘to be at a place > to put at a place > put into place > plant / initiate’. The word → zāi１ in ‘to be in, at’ is prob. related; this wF belongs perh. to ST *tsə ‘come forth’ from which → zī 子 (tsiB) is derived.

zài | 载 → zài 再

zái１ | 在 (dzəB) LH dzəB, OCM *dzə?
‘Be in, at, to exist’ [OB, BI, Shī] appears to be the endoactive form of the items under → zài２ 载哉 (§4.5). On the other hand, Matisoff (ICSTLL, Bangkok 2000: 8) compares zài to Lahu chè ≠ jē ‘stop, cease, come to rest’ *N-dzay2 (JAM) or *cyə2 ≠ *jya2 (Bradley 1979). Allofam → cän 存.

[T] Sin S. SR dzaj (上去); MGZY tsay (上去) [dzaj]; ONW dzai

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zài 1 载 (tsâi)\(^\circ\) LH tso\(^\circ\), OCM *tsâ\(h\)
‘To load, carry, pour, fill, conveyance’ [Shi].

zài 2 载 (dzâi)\(^\circ\) LH dzø\(^\circ\), OCM *dzâ\(h\)
‘To load, a load’ [Shi]

zài 3 载 ‘start’ → zài 2 载哉

zài 4 再 (tsâi)\(^\circ\) LH tso\(^\circ\), OCM *tsâ\(h\)
‘Twice, again and again’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaj (去); MGZY dzay (去) [tsaj]; ONW tsoi\(^\circ\)

zái 載 (tsâi)\(^b\) LH tso\(^b\), OCM *tsâ\(h\)
‘A turn’ (as in: ‘it is his turn to...’), ‘a year’ [Shuj].

zì 载 (tsi)\(^\circ\) LH tsi\(^\circ\), OCM *tsô
‘Year’ [Guoce], as in jìn zì ‘this year’, lài zì 來茲 ‘next year’.

jiàn 載 (dzien)\(^\circ\) LH dzen\(^\circ\), OCM *dzâns
‘Repeat, repeatedly’ 記 [Shi], ‘repeat, a second time’ 滄 [Yi], ‘repeat, increase’ 荐 [Zuozhuan].

zān 師 (tsâm, tşâm) LH tšom, tşøm, OCM *tšrøm
‘Hairpin’ [Xun].

[D] PMin *tsâm (> Jiânglî tso\(n\)^\(A\), Fûzhîu tsa\(n\)^\(A\)) ~ *tšøm (> Amoy tsiam\(^A\)); Y-Guangzhou ʒøtšâm\(^A\)

zèn 賄 (tšâm, tṣâm) LH tšom, OCM *tšrøms
‘To slander’ tr. [Shi]. For semantics, see → zhēn 簡,āi, cì, 束.


zàng 葬 (tsâŋ) LH tsaŋ, OCM *tsâŋ
‘Be good’ (of quality of persons, horses, state) [Shi].

zàn 葬 (tsâŋ)\(^\circ\) LH tsaŋ\(^\circ\), OCM *tsâŋ
‘To bury’ (a corpse) [Lunyu]. 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 → câŋ 藏.

[C] An allofamis is prob. → sān 喪 ‘burial’.

zàng 葬 → câng 藏

zāo 足 → zú 卒

záo 遭 (tsâu) LH tsou, OCM *tsû → [T] ONW tsou
‘Meet, encounter’ [Shi].

cáo 曹 (dzâu) LH dzou, OCM *dzû
‘Come together’ [Guoyulu], ‘crowd’ [Zuo].
zāo — zào

[T] MGZY tsaw (平) [dzaw]; Sin Sukchu SR dzaw (平)
[C] endopass. / intr. of zāo 遭 (tsâu) (§4.6).

※ qiú 遭 (dzjau) LH dzu. OCM *dzu
‘To collect, bring together’ (blessings, states) [Shi].

※ zōng 締 (tsuøtC) LH tsuøtC. OCM *tsuøt
‘Bring together, collect, sum up’ [Yi].


※ zú 卒 (tsuøt) LH tsuøt. OCM *tsuøt, OCB *Stut
‘Group’ (of men, families, states) [Li], ‘soldier, army’ [Zuo].

[T] MTang tsur < tsuir, ONW tsuit
[C] derived from zāo 遭 above with the nominal t-suffix (§6.2.1).

※ cui 卒 (dzuiC) LH dzuis. OCM *dzuts, OCB *dzjuts < *dzjups?
‘To collect, assemble’ [Shi], ‘assemblage, crowd’ [Meng]. Bodman links this word to...

※ zů 卒 (tsuøt) LH tsuøt. OCM *tsuøt
‘Early’ [Shu]. Acc. to Norman (1986: 382) the Northern Min ‘softened initial’ *ts-
indicates OC prenasalization which is supported by Yao dzjou < *ntz- ‘early’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaw (上): MGZY dzaw (上) [tsaw]; ONW tsau
[E] Zāo is prob. derived from → zāo₃ 締 ‘do, make, begin’ and thus semantically similar to other words for ‘morning’ (→ chēn₃ 晨, → sū₃ 審). WB coB ‘early, premature’ ※ ch₂oC ‘be early’ (as rains), JF tʃau₃ are prob. Tai loans (Matisoff 1974: 178): PTai *zauB₂ ‘time of cock crowing’ (Luo Yongxian MKS 27, 1997: 293) or *ʃauC² [Li Fang Kuei].

zāo₁ 早 (tsâuB) LH tsauB. OCM *tsuø?
‘Early’ [Shu]. Acc. to Norman (1986: 382) the Northern Min ‘softened initial’ *ts-
indicates OC prenasalization which is supported by Yao dzjou < *ntz- ‘early’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaw (上): MGZY dzaw (上) [tsaw]; ONW tsau
[E] Zāo is prob. derived from → zāo₃ 締 ‘do, make, begin’ and thus semantically similar to other words for ‘morning’ (→ chēn₃ 晨, → sū₃ 審). WB coB ‘early, premature’ ※ ch₂oC ‘be early’ (as rains), JF tʃau₃ are prob. Tai loans (Matisoff 1974: 178): PTai *zauB₂ ‘time of cock crowing’ (Luo Yongxian MKS 27, 1997: 293) or *ʃauC² [Li Fang Kuei].

zāo₂ 蚤 (tsâuB) LH tsauB. OCM *tsuø?

zāo₃ 沸 (tsâuB) LH tsauB. OCM *tsuø?
‘To wash’ [Li].

[E] PMY *nts¹au³ B/C ‘to wash (bathe)’. Note also TB-Lushai su¹ / suuk³ < tsuø/h ‘to wash’, but the vocalism does not agree with OC.

zāo₁ 皂 (dzâuB) LH dzouB. OCM *dzuø?
‘An acorn, black-dying fruit’ [Zhouli]. CVST (4: 13) relates this word to WT ts⁶os ‘paint, dye’ which, however, could phonologically also agree with → cāi₂ 采 *tshaø?
‘full of color, color’ [Shi].

zāo₂ 造 (tsbâuC) LH tsbouC. OCM *tshuø
‘To proceed to’ [Shi, Meng], ‘reach to’ (mountains the sky) [Hou Hanshu].

※ jìu 就 (dzjauC) LH dzuC. OCM *dzuø

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dziu (去); MGZY tsiw (去) [dziu]; MTang dzeu < dzu, ONW dzu
[N] This wf is perh. related to → zāo₃ 造, → zū₁ 卒.

zāo₃ 造 (dzâuB) LH dzouB. OCM *dzuø? — [T] ONW dzau
‘To do, make, build’ (boats, bridges), ‘be active, begin’ [Shi]; ‘to achieve’ [Shi].
The element 告 ‘report’ with initial 亻 is not phonetic, it was part of the original word 亻 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.

The element 我 ‘go into, commence, take root’ > 做 ‘to stick into, set, erect, put down, begin’ > *ts’ud-pa ‘be put into, enter’, PLB *tsuk ‘build’ (a house). An allofam is prob. to → zāo, 早 ‘early’. This wf is perh. related to → 早, 昼, 早.

Consequently, thereupon, otherwise (Shi). Sin Sukchu SR dzaj (入), LR tsaj?; MGZY dz’ve (入) [tsaj]; ONW tsak

*zhài 傷 (tsai?) LH tsaiC, OCM *tsrēkh

‘To choose’ [Shi].

This word is a variant of → 賤 擱 and → cè 箭 whose OC vowel may be due to interference from either → chá 又 *tshrai ‘fork’ (incl. ‘tree fork for spearing fish’) or ci 刺 (ts’hjak) [ts’iek] *tsh’ek ‘stab’ (under – ci, 箭), semantically parallel to → cè 箭.

仄 仄, cè 侧

To injure, damage; robber’ [BI, Shi] may possibly be related to → zāi, 災 ‘disaster, injury’.

? ST: WT jāg < ? ‘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: xlvii].

增 視 → zān 箭
‘To add’ [Meng] > ‘to double, to rise high’ 箭 [Chuci]; ‘increase, numerous’ 增 [Shi];
zèng – zhài

‘bundles of branches’ 森 [Li] > ‘to hate’ 憎 [BI, Shi] may be the same word (i.e. emotional increase, accumulation).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsæŋ (平), PR tsæŋ; MGZY dzʰæŋ (平) [tsæŋ]; ONW tsæŋ

※ cèng 層 (dzæŋ, tsæŋ) LH dzæŋ, OCM *dzøŋ

‘In two stories, double’ [Chuci].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzøŋ (平), PR, LR dzøŋ; MGZY tsʰæŋ (平) [dzæŋ]

[D] Perh. this (i.e. MC dzøŋ) is the s. w. as PMin *tsʰæŋA2 ‘wet rice field’ (J. Norman, p. c.); note also zèng 濃 (tsæŋB) ‘wet field’ [JY], but initial and tone don’t agree with PMin. Chen and Li (1991: 24) identify the MIn word with chéng 色 (dzjøŋ) ‘raised path between fields’ [SW].

[<] endopass. of zèng (tsæŋ) (§4.6), lit. ‘what is increased, raised’.

[El Prob. ST: WT *tsʰæŋ-ba ‘increase, improve’ (CVST 4: 4), WB chaŋC ‘to place one upon another, step, grade’. Alternatively, this group may be an iterative s-prefix derivation (§5.7) from → děng, 登 (HST: 126), but ts- from *st- is doubtful.

zhèng 厚 → zhēng4 熱

zhā 茶 (τα) LH tài, OCM *tr’ai

‘To open’ (a door) [Zhuang], the graph shows a person with the legs opened.

This word’s final -k variant is → zhēk 烏. OC rimes *-e and *-ai do occasionally mix in wfs, the initial OC *tr- could derive from some consonant + medial r as is also seen in the allofams → bɔŋ, 炮 and its Tai cognates. Therefore this word may be cognate to → bāi, 拜 OC *breŋ? ‘to open’. For an overview of similar items, see Table P-1 under → pǐ 披. For a listing of similar words and possible allofams, see → li₁₀ 離.

zhā 札 (tšät) LH tšet, OCM *tsrët

‘To die prematurely’ [Zuo], ‘pestilence’ [Zhouli].

※ zhài 實 (tšaïC) LH tšes, OCM *tsrëts, OCB *tsr(j)ëts

‘To suffer, hurt’ [Shi].

[E] AA: Zhèng Xuán (commentary to Zhōulǐ) says that zhài means ‘to die’ in the ancient Yüè (Viet) ig. (Pullenblank 1983: 438), which however does not necessarily mean that zhài is a loan from PVM; it could have come from other AA branches: PVM *k-çet > Viet. chêt ‘to die’ (Norman / Mei 1976: 277); PSBahn. *kɔsɨt ~ *kɔsät ‘to die, dead’, Katic *çet ‘dead’ ※ *k/gɔçet ‘to kill’; PMonic kçet ‘to die’ ※ k-r-çet ‘to kill’; Khmer /sɔt/ ‘to die’ ※ /bñosiət/ ‘to kill’ (ban- is caus. prefix). For the initials, see §10.5.2.

zhā 簋 → chuō 擎

zhái 宅 (dék) LH ɗak, OCM *drāk

‘To inhabit, reside, dwell, settle, residence’ [Shi, Shu], ‘homestead, farmstead’ [Meng]; Mand. ‘residence, house’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzaj (入), LR dzaj; MGZY caγ (入) [dzaj]; MTang ɗek, ONW ɗek

[E] MK: Khmer ɗak ‘put down, settle, lodge...’ ※ domnak (i.e. d-mn-ak) ‘residence’. As in many words, OC has an assumed *r in the initial which is absent in other ligs. (§7.6.2). Alternatively, it has been suggested that zhái may be connected with Tai: S. riakD2 (perh. ‘field’?) (Manomaivibool 1975: 150–153).

zhài₁ 儲 → zé₂ 貢

zhài₂ 腦 → zhí₂, zhài 麻

zhài₃ 坯 → zhá 札
zhān – zhǎn

zhān₁ 占 (tšjām) LH tšam, OCM *tem, OCB 占 *tjem (Baxter 1992: 541)
(‘To look at, gaze, look at omens, dreams’): ’prognosticate, interpret’ [OB, BI, Shi].

zhān₁ 瞻 (tšjām) LH tšam, OCM *tam (actually *tiam), *tjam (Baxter 1992: 539)
‘To look at, gaze’ [Shi]. The OC vacillation between *-em and *-am points to an actual
*-iam (§11.3.2).

zhān₁ 僖 (tšjām) LH tšam, OCM *tjem, *tjam (Baxter 1992: 539)
(‘To look, observe’ [Li] > ‘to spy’ 見 (also read tšjāmC) [Zuo].

zhān₂ 挟 (tjam) LH tiam, OCM *tram or *trem ? — [T] MTang tiam, ONW tám
‘To moisten, soak through’ 露 [Shi], 汲 [Chuci]. Perh. cognate to → jiān 漱漉湛 (so
Karlgren 1949: 80).

zhān₂ 挟 (tjam) LH tiam, OCM *tram or *trem ? — [T] MTang tiam, ONW tám
‘To moisten, soak through’ 露 [Shi], 汲 [Chuci]. Perh. cognate to → jiān 漱漉湛 (so
Karlgren 1949: 80).

zhān₃ 吏 ‘taste’ → diē₂ 咀

zhān₄ tān 梶檀 (tšijān-dān) LH tšan-dōn, OCM *dān
‘Sandalwood’ <- Indic: Skt. candana. The earlier word consists of just the second
syllable [Shi] where the connection with Skt. is doubtful.

zhān₅ 旃 → dān₁ 丹

zhān₆ 該 → tán₁ 談

zhān₁ 展 (tjiānB) LH tōn⁸, OCM *tran?
‘Roll over’ 賽 [Shi], ‘unfold, open’ 展 [Yili] > ‘develop, set forth’ [Zuozhuan] >
‘examine’ [Liji].

zhān₁ 展 (tjiānC) LH tōn⁵, OCM *trans
‘A ritual robe’ [Shi] is perhaps a derivation (i.e. ‘rolled = draped around’?).

zhān₂ 斬 (tšāmB) LH tšem⁸, OCM *tšrem? ?, OCB *tšrjam?
‘To cut off, cut down’ [Shi].

zhān₃ 剿 (tšjāmC) LH tšam(C), OCM *dʒrām(s)
‘Sharp’ [Mo].

zhān₃ 剿 (tšjāmC) LH tšam(C), OCM *dʒrām(s)
‘Sharp’ [Mo].

zhān₄ 賓 → tán₁ 賓
zhàn  湛 (dānB)  LH  děmB,  OCM *drôm?  
  ‘Be soaking’ (as dew) [Shi]; ‘deep’ [Chuci].

zhàn2 戰 (tśjänC)  LH  tśanC,  OCM *tans  
  ‘War, battle’ [Lunyu].
  [T] Sin Sukchu SR  tśjen (去); MGZY  jýan (去) [tśjen]; ONW  tśan  
  [E] This word is commonly thought to be cognate to WT  räl ‘fight, war’ (so STC: 155 n. 419; p. 173 n. 461), Lushai  raalH ‘enemy’, or to  rgyal ‘victory, victorious’. However, TB initial *r for OC *t- is unlikely. As in many lgs., the word for ‘war, battle’ zhàn may be a semantic extension zhān ‘tremble, fear’ (under → dān7 悚). (Geilich 1994: 238). The semantics are identical to Greek  pēlemos ‘war’ which is derived from a root ‘tremble, fear’ (Buck 1949; §20.13). The TB word *räl belongs to the root ‘separate’ which is cognate to CH -“ tā  ‘depart from, divide’ which has a semantic parallel in Skt.  vigraha- ‘strife, war’ (Buck ibid.).

zhàn3 戰 ‘tremble, fear’ → dān7 悚

zhàn4 棋 (dānB/C, dānB)  LH  džanB (or dženB/C ?),  OCM *dzran?  
  ‘A shed made of intertwined branches’ [Zhuang], ‘carriage box made of lath or bamboo’ [Shi].

zhàn5 站 → lǐ3 立

zhàn6 鏈 → zhàn2 戰

zhàn7 顥 → dān7 悚

zhāng1 張 (tjan)  LH  tōnC,  OCM *trāŋ  
  ‘Make long, to string a bow’ [Shijing], ‘string an instrument’ [Guoce], ‘stretch, extend’ [Laozi].
  ※ zhāng 張帳 (tjanC)  LH  tōnC,  OCM *trāŋh  
  ‘Be swollen, conceited; wanting to go to stool’ 張 [Zuo]; ‘a tent’ (< ‘something stretched’) 賀 [Shiji], ‘a curtain’ [Chuci].
  [<] exopass. of *trāŋ (§4.4), lit. ‘be stretched’.
  ※ zhāng 長 (tjanB)  LH  tōnC,  OCM *trāŋ?,  OCB *trjan?  
  ‘To grow tall’ [Meng], ‘increase, elder’ [Shi].
  [T] Sin Sukchu SR  tśjan (上); MGZY  jang (上) [tśjan] — [D] PMin *tαnB  
  [<] endoactive of *trāŋ 張 (§4.5).
  ※ cháng 長 (djan)  LH  douC,  OCM *draŋ,  OCB *htrjan? — [T] MTang  daŋ,  ONW  daŋ  
  ‘Be long, tall, long-lasting’ [BI, Shi].
  [D] PMin *djan  
  [<] endopass. (§4.6) of *trāŋ 張, lit. ‘be extended, stretched’ (intr. voicing; Baxter and Sagart 1998: 46). The lack of TB cognates indicates that this word is a CH innovation.
  ※ zhāng2 長 (djanC)  LH  daŋC,  OCM *draŋh  
  ‘Length, measure of length’ [Li].
  [<] LOC general derivation *draŋ (§3.5.2) (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 55: a noun derived from a ‘gradable adjective’).
  [E] ST: WT  dren-ba, draŋ (s) ‘to draw, drag, pull, draw tight’ (a rope), PLB *rāŋ ‘draw, pull, drag’; Lushai  ūanH / ūanL ‘be distended’ (as breasts w. milk), ūanH / ūanL ‘to grow’,
zhāng – zhàng

perh. also WB kranʃ 'tense, tight' (see §12.9 WT (5) for the TB initial correspondences).

Several lgs. have a syn. with simple initial t-, perh. of AA origin: Khmer /-dæŋ/ /tradaŋ/ 'stretch out, extend' /tæŋ/ 'draw out, prolong, lengthen'; Mon dāŋ, Bahnar tāŋ 'stretch out'. AA → TB-Lepcha daŋ (Forrest JAOS 82, 1962: 334); WB tæŋB 'tightly, become tense, stiff' (from *tr-?); WT tʰæŋ-po 'hardy, strong, tense' (HST: 150). Table Z-1 provides an overview of the ST items.

Table Z-1 Tight, tense for zhāng₁ 長

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*kranʃ</th>
<th>⚫Cranʃ</th>
<th>*tæŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>zhāng 張</td>
<td>*tæŋ pull tight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>'dren-ba, draŋ pull tight</td>
<td>tʰæŋ-po tight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KC</td>
<td>*kranʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Lushai</td>
<td>kr- &gt; tr →</td>
<td>tæŋH / tæŋ &lt; tæŋ / tranh be distended (as breasts w. milk)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Tiddim</td>
<td>kan33 / kan53 &lt; kan / kanh stretch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>atkæn- &lt; m-kan tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>kren33 pull tight</td>
<td>kan33 pulled tight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>kranʃC tense, tight</td>
<td>tæŋB tighten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

zhāng₂ 根 → liáng₅ 根

zhāng₃ 章 (tśan) LH tsoŋ, OCM *tæŋ
‘Be distinguishing, distinction’ [Shi, Shu], ‘to display’ [Shu] > ‘emblem, insignium, jade tablet’ [Shi, Shu].

[Œ] ST: KC-Tiddim tæŋM / tæŋ F 'be bright, shining' ⚫ tanF ⚫ tæt 'to illuminate'.

zhāng₄ 章 (tśan) LH tsoŋ, OCM *tæŋ (or *kian ?)
‘River deer’ [Lü].

[D] In Min the word has initial k-: Xiàmén kiǔA¹, hence perh. OCM *kian?

zhāng 長 → zhāng₁ 張

zhāng₁ 文 (djaŋB) LH ㄉanB, OCM *draŋ?
‘Old man’ 文 [Lunyu], 枝 [Yì].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjaŋ (上榜); MGZY cang (上榜) [dzjaŋ]; MTang ㄉan, ONW ㄉan

[Œ] ST: PTB *zran (STC no. 205) (or rather *ryan ?) > WT ㄉan an honorific: ㄉan-ㄉan ‘chief uncle’, WB ㄉ-hran ‘master, lord’, Kuki *rjan ~ *tæŋ ‘father’s sister’s husband’, Mru taran ‘uncle’ (Löffler 1966: 140). This may be an old area word: PAN gu demás ‘adult, grown up’ (Sagart JCL 21.1, 1993: 32 associates AN with items under → zhāng₁ 張). This word is sometimes thought to be the same as → zhāng₃ 枝 ‘staff’, i.e. someone who walks with, or leans on, a staff (unlikely).

zhāng₂ 丈 (djaŋB) LH ㄉanB, OCM *draŋ? — [T] MTang ㄉan, ONW ㄉan
‘A length measure of ten chi’ [Zuo].

[D] PMin *djaŋB

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zhàng – zhāo

[E] ST: Lushai țaagʰ-kaiʰ a measure as much as the distance from the tip of the middle finger to...breast bone...·

zhàng (dʒan⁴) LH dəŋ³, OCM *drəŋ⁴ — [D] PMin *dʰioŋ⁴
‘Stick, staff’ [Lunyu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjan (.), MGZY cang (.) [dʒan]; MTang țan, ONW țan

[D] PMin *dʰioŋ⁴

zhàng 枝 (dʒan⁴) LH dəŋ³, OCM *drəŋ⁴
‘To lean on’ [Zuo].

I.E KT: Prob. a Tai word: Lao kiau BI ‘to reap, sickle’, S. kiau BJ ‘to cut with a sickle’ n

khiau A² < *a ‘sickle’ (Li 1976: 47).

zhào- (tsjaʊ⁴) LH tʂau³, kiu², OCM *kiau²
‘To cut’ [SW]; ‘a big sickle’ 铳 (MC tʃajü only) [Guan]; 铳 is a Han period dialect word from the eastern Huái-Yangtze region, in Chú and Chén [FY 5, 30].

[E] KT: Prob. a Tai word: Lao kiau⁵ ‘to reap, sickle’, S. kiau⁵ ‘to cut with a sickle’ n

khiau² < *g- ‘a stick’ (Li 1976: 47).

zhào 張 ↔ zhāng 張

zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau³, keu < kiau, OCM *kiau²
‘To cut’ 铳 [SW]; ‘a big sickle’ 铳 (MC tʃajü only) [Guan]; 鋲 is a Han period dialect word from the eastern Huái-Yangtze region, in Chú and Chén [FY 5, 30].

zhào-zhào (tsjaʊ B) LH tʂau B or kiau B, OCM *kiau B
‘Glorious’ [Shi].

zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau or kiau ?, OCM *kiau²
‘To cut’ 鋲 [SW]; ‘a big sickle’ 鋲 (MC tʃajü only) [Guan]; 鋲 is a Han period dialect word from the eastern Huái-Yangtze region, in Chú and Chén [FY 5, 30].

zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau C or kiau C, OCM *kiau²
‘To shine, be brilliant, visible’ 燃 [BL, Shi]; ‘shine, shine on’ (of sun, moon) 燃 [Shi].

zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau C or kiau C, OCM *kiau²
‘To shine, be brilliant, visible’ 燼 [BL, Shi]; ‘shine, shine on’ (of sun, moon) 燻 [Shi].

zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau C or kiau C, OCM *kiau²
‘To shine, be brilliant, visible’ 燼 [BL, Shi]; ‘shine, shine on’ (of sun, moon) 燼 [Shi].

zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau C or kiau C, OCM *kiau²
‘To shine, be brilliant, visible’ 燼 [BL, Shi]; ‘shine, shine on’ (of sun, moon) 燼 [Shi].

zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau or kiau B, OCM *kiau B
‘Morning’ [BL, Shi]. A labial initial may be assumed for OC because zhāo serves as phonetic for → miǎo 晦 ‘temple’, note also Tai. See also §7.1.4.

zhāo-zhāo (tsjaʊ B) LH tʂau B or kiau B, OCM *kiau B
‘Glorious’ [Shi].

zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau or kiau ?, OCM *kiau²
‘To cut’ 鋲 [SW]; ‘a big sickle’ 鋲 (MC tʃajü only) [Guan]; 鋲 is a Han period dialect word from the eastern Huái-Yangtze region, in Chú and Chén [FY 5, 30].

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zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau or kiau ?, OCM *kiau²
‘To cut’ 鋲 [SW]; ‘a big sickle’ 鋰 (MC tʃajü only) [Guan]; 鋲 is a Han period dialect word from the eastern Huái-Yangtze region, in Chú and Chén [FY 5, 30].

zhāo (tsjaʊ) LH tʂau or kiau B, OCM *kiau B
‘Morning’ [BL, Shi]. A labial initial may be assumed for OC because zhāo serves as phonetic for → miǎo 晦 ‘temple’, note also Tai. See also §7.1.4.
zhāo – zhé

zhāo 1 爪 (tšauⁿ) LH tšauⁿ, OCM *tsruⁿ — [D] M-Xiàmén col. liăoⁿ (< ?).
‘Claw’ [Shi], 又 [SW]. This is the s. w. as, or cognate to, → zhū 抓 ‘grasp’; it may perh. also be related to → sāo, 搔 ‘scratch’.

zhāo 2 找
‘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 (gajauⁿ) LH gajauⁿ, OCM *druhn
‘To call, summon’ [BI, Shi].
[E] Prob. related to Tai: S. riakⁿ ‘summon, call’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 152), for the initials see §7.1.4, for the finals §6.9.

zhāo 2 召 → zhāo 1 召

zhāo 3 眭照 → zhāo 3 昭

zhāo 4 召 (gajauⁿ) LH gajauⁿ, OCM *d-lauⁿ?
‘To prognosticate omen, symptom’ [Zuo].
[E] Perh. ST: Chepang hrawⁿ- ‘forebode, portend ill fortune, be ill’.

zhào 着
著 (tjak, gjak)
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšjaw, dzjaw (入), LR tšjawⁿ; MGZY jew, cew (入) [tšew ~ dzew]
A Mand. progressive suffix, first appears in the 9th cent. AD; in Wú dial.: tsì (< Southern MC tçıx), it has now also assumed the function of the perfective aspect marker (Mei Tsu-Lin CAAAL 9, 1978: 39ff.).

zhé 1 聒 (tjāp) LH tōp, OCM *trap
‘Hanging ears’ [Zuo, N. Pr.], also dā 聒 (tāp) LH tōp ‘ears long and hanging down’ [GY] is acc. to JY the common graph for zhé.

zhé 2 折 (tšjāt) LH tšat, OCM *tet, OCB *tjet (1998) — [T] ONW tšat
‘To break off’ tr. [Shi], ‘destroy’ [Yi], ‘decide’ [Shu].

‘To bend’ intr. [Li], ‘be cut off, broken off > to die prematurely’ [Shu].
<C> endopass. of zhé 折 (tšjāt) (§4.6) (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 43). For a semantic parallel, see → yāo, 图妖.
[E] ST *tet ~ *tjet (for the vowels, see §11.3.2): Chepang tet- ‘break or snap a rope, tear cloth’. PTB *tsyat (STC no. 185), or rather *tyat (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 43); PLB *tsat ~ *C-tsat ‘break in two, cut through, conclude’; WT ćb²ad-pa, ćb²ad ‘to cut, explain’ ćgød-pa, běad ‘to cut’. Lushai ċa¹l / ća²p (Lorr. chat) ‘to break or snap’ (as rope, string), ‘asunder, apart’ ćb³at² / ćba²p² ‘to fetch or cut’ (long pieces of cane etc.).
[C] Karlgren 1956: 16 relates → zhé 3 聒 ‘wise’ (< ‘penetrating’) to this wf.

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zhé 3 哲 (tjät) LH तत, OCM *trat — [T] ONW तत
‘Be intelligent, wise, clever’ sv [Shi]; a Han period Qi-Sòng (eastern) dialect word for ‘know’ [FY 1.1].

zhé 4 哲 (tjät, tjajt) LH धत, धत, OCM *drat, *thrat, OCB *trhret, *thret
‘To understand’ tr. [BI, Shi].

zhé 5 哲 (tjat, tjai) LH ष, ष, OCM *tat(s), OCB *tjats
‘Be bright, shining’ [Shi], ‘perspicacious’ [Shu].

zhé 6 哲 (tēk) LH ताक, OCM *trāk
‘To rip open’ (a victim) [Zhuang].

zhé 7 哲 (tjap) LH ताप, OCM *tap — [T] ONW ताप
‘To fold’ [GY; Nanshi], not an OC word.

zhé 8 哲 (tēk, ēk) LH तेक, खेक, OCM *trēk, *drēk, OCB *trek
‘To blame, punish’ [Shi], 賦 [Zuo]. Possibly related to → zhē 2 ‘hold responsible’.

zhé 9 哲 (tjāt) LH धत, OCM *drat
‘Track’ of wheel [Zhuang], also ‘footprint’ as the graph ष (GSR 286f) suggests.

zhē 10 憤 → shē 5 憤

zhē 赭 (tśaB) LH त्सा, OCM *ta?
‘Red paint’ [Shi].

zhē (tśaB) LH त्सा, OCM *ta?
‘Red paint’ [Shi].

zhē 3 哲 (tjät) LH तत, OCM *trat — [T] ONW तत
‘Be intelligent, wise, clever’ sv [Shi]; a Han period Qi-Sòng (eastern) dialect word for ‘know’ [FY 1.1].
zhè — zhēn

zhè₁ 林 (tśja²) LH tśa², OCM *takh — [T] ONW tśa
‘A kind of thorny tree whose leaves can be used in place of mulberry leaves in feeding silkworms’ [Shi].

zhè₂ 宅 → zhái 宅

zhè₃ 灾 → zhí₁ 卯

zhēn₁ 珍 (tjen) LH tìn, OCM *tren
‘Precious’ [Zuo].

zhēn₂ 资 (tśjom) LH tśim, OCM *täm — [T] ONW tśim
‘To pour in, ladle out, serve’ (< ‘to fill up’?) [Chuci].

zhēn₃ 構 (tjęm) LH tım, OCM *trem
‘Chopping block’ [Zhouli]. Baxter (1992: 551) relates this word to zhēn₁ 林.

zhēn₄ 資 (tjpın) LH tën, OCM *tren — [T] MÌang tën, ONW tën
‘To test, try out, correct, verify’ [OB].

zhēn₅ 針 (tśjen) LH tśim, OCM *tìn
‘To be true, real’ [Zhuang].

zhēn₆ 燕 → zhèn₂ 振

zhēn₇ 振 (tśjen) LH tśīn, OCM *tən
‘Be numerous, in a flock’ [Zhouli]. Baxter (1992: 551) relates this word to zhēn₁ 林.

zhēn₈ 筆 (tśjom) LH kım, OCM *kim — [T] ONW tśim — [D] PMin *tśim ~ *tśem
‘Needle’ 筆 [Zuozhuan], 筆 [Liji] > ‘to criticize’ 筆 [Zuozhuan]. For a semantic parallel, see → zān, → cíc, 杖.

zhēn₉ 筆 (tśjom) LH kım, OCM *kim?, OCB *Kjum? — [T] ONW tśim
‘Headrest, pillow’ [Shi]. A tone C verb ‘to pillow oneself on’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 280) is an exoactive / caus. derivation (§4.3).
zhèn — zhēng


zhèn 2 疹 (tsjen C) LH tʰin C, OCM *thrans or *rhans
‘Fever’ [Shi], ‘suffer’ [Shi] is perh. a MK word: Khmer krún vb. ‘have a fever’, the OC vowel *a after an initial with *r could correspond to foreign *u as in → chén 鬱 ‘dust’.

zhèn 3 觐 (tsjen B) LH tʰin B, OCM *tʰan?, OCB *tjón?
‘Path between fields’ [BL, Shi], ‘boundary dikes’ [Zhuang] is perh. cognate to the synonymous → dǐng 町.

zhèn 4 給 → jǐn 緊

zhèn 1 脾 (djamb) LH dǐm B, OCM *drəm?, *drəŋ?
‘My, our’ [BL, Shi, Shu], etymology not clear.

zhèn 2 振震 (tsjen C) LH tʰin C, OCM *tʰans — ONW tʰin
(‘To stir, be stirring’): ‘to shake, rouse, quake’ 振 [Shi] > ‘to alarm, fear’ 振 [OB, Shi], ‘scared’ 振 [Guoce]; ‘thunder’ 震 [Shi]: > ‘move’ [Li], ‘lift’ 振 [Guoyu] > ‘save, help’ 振 [Yi], ‘endow, succor’ 振 [Mo].

zhèn 3, shèn 娠 (tsjen C, sjen) LH tʰin, OCM *tʰans
‘Pregnant’ 娠 [Zuo], ‘become pregnant’ 震 [Shi]. The reading shèn has prob. been transferred from → shén 身 ‘body’ with which it is unrelated. ‘Pregnant’ is derived from ‘to shake, rouse, excite’ (e.g. a grasshopper from hibernation, i.e. coming to life), hence lit. ‘start stirring, moving’ (of an embryo).

zhèn 5 振 (tsjen) LH tʰin, OCM *tʰan
‘Majestic’ [Shi] is prob. related because of the frequent semantic connection between ‘shake’ and ‘fear, fearsome’.

zhèn 3, shèn 娠 → zhèn 2 振震; → zhèn 4 偕娠

zhèn 4 偕娠 (tsjen C) LH tʰin, OCM *tʰans
‘Child, boy or girl’ [Han texts]; in the ancient Yān-Qi region (NE and Eastern China) the word meant ‘someone who raises horses’ (stable boy / girl)?, 娠 also refers to a ‘maid’ of an official’s wife [FY 3, 3]. Perh. related to → zhèn 2 振震, i.e. someone moving about, being busy?

zhèn 5 酎鴆 → chén 2 沈

zhèn 6 絲; 綏 ‘rope’ → yǐn 2 引

zhèn 7 陳 → chén 7 陳

zhèng 1 正征 → zhèng 1 正政

zhèng 2 婦 (tsjen) LH tsehen, OCM *tsrəŋ
‘To fight, quarrel’ [Shi].
zhèng – zhèng

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* ʦʰəŋ (平), *PR, *LR ʦʰəŋ; *MGZY* j’ìŋ (平) [ʨʰəŋ]; *OWN* ʨʰəŋ

zhèng₃-róng 崎嶸 → jiǒng₂ 洞迥

zhèng₄ 燥 (tʃʰəŋ) *LI* ʨʰəŋ, *OCM* ʨʰəŋ
‘To steam’ (food) *[Shi]*. Sagart (1999: 73) derived the following from this word:

*zhèng* 靜 (tʃʰəŋ) *LI* ʨʰəŋ, *OCM* ʨʰəŋ
‘Boiler, earthenware pot for steaming rice’ *[Meng]*.

zhèng₅ 燥 ‘many’ → zhèn₁ 栓

zhèng₆ 蒸 (tʃʰəŋ) *LI* ʨʰəŋ, *OCM* ʨʰəŋ — [T] *OWN* ʨʰəŋ
‘Brushwood’ (as firewood) *[Shi]*.


zhèng₇ 燥 ‘to offer’ → chéng₂ 丞承

zhèng₈ 微 → zhèng₂ 證

zhèng₉ 燥

zhèng₁ 正政 (tʃʰəŋC) *LI* ʨʰəŋC, *OCM* ʨʰəŋ
‘Be straight, correct > govern, determine’ *[Shi, Shu]*; ‘to govern, government’ *政 [Shi, Shu], ‘remonstrate’ 証 *[Guoce]*.

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* ʨʰəŋ (去); *MGZY* jing (去) [ʨʰəŋ]; *OWN* ʦʰəŋ
[<] exact. / tr. derivation of zhèng *(§4.3.2)*.

*zhèng* 正征 (tʃʰəŋ) *LI* ʨʰəŋ, *OCM* ʨʰəŋ
‘Center of target; first (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.

*zhèng₂ 證 (tʃʰəŋB) *LI* ʨʰəŋB, *OCM* ʨʰəŋ
‘Be orderly’ *[Zuo]*, caus. ‘arrange, dispose’ (troops) *[Shi]* *(Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50)*
[<] endoactive of zhèng 正征 (tʃʰəŋ) *(§4.5)*.

[E] ST or area word: TB-Lushai diiŋ² ‘to go straight or direct, go straight through without breaking the journey’, etc.; Chepang *lën* ‘be straight’; *JP* teŋ² ‘right, correct’, Lepcha atʰəŋ ‘right, correct’, WB tʰəŋC ‘straightforward, direct’. <> AA: Khmer *diana* /tʰəŋ/ ‘be true, accurate, correct, right’.

This wf could be related to → tǐng₁ 亭 (so Karlgren 1956: 16), but prob. not to → tǐng₂ 挺 because the initials are different (*t*- vs. *t*-). Matisoff (1988) combines this wf with → yǐng₂ 盈赢 ‘full’, → píng₁ 平 ‘level’, → tǐng₂ 挺 ‘straight’.

zhèng₂ 證 (tʃʰəŋC) *LI* ʨʰəŋC, *OCM* ʨʰəŋ
‘Testify, prove’ *[Lunyu]*. Perh. related to → zhēn₄ 賛, and / or → zhēn₅ 真.

[T] *Sin Sukchu SR* ʨʰəŋ (去); *MGZY* jing (去) [ʨʰəŋ]; *OWN* ʨʰəŋ
zhèng 微 (tjon) LH LOYEE, OCM *trον? — [T] MTang سوء, ONW ูน
‘To examine, verify, summon’ [Shu], ‘test, testify, prove’ [Zuo].

[E] MK-Khmer diana (tioj) ‘be true, accurate, correct’ ≠ phdia'nα/pdιον/ ‘to correct, verify, confirm’ (or are these CH loans?). Perh. related to → zhēn zhēn/ 賢.

zhī1 (tśi) LH tśô, OCM *tô
[T] Sin S. SR tśi (平), PR, LR tśî; MGZY ji (平) [tśî]; ONW tśô
(1) Demonstrative pronoun ‘this, he, she, it’. As a subject it is common in OB, sporadic in Shljf and subsequent classical texts, but it is everywhere the normal object pronoun ‘him, her, it’. Placed after the negatives bû 不 and wû 毋, the obj. pronoun is reduced to its initial t- and fused with the preceding negatives yielding {bû tśô ‘not it’ and wû tśô ‘don’t...it’, see under ~ bû and ~ wû.
(2) Derived from the pronoun is the use as the common genitive marker. A medieval colloquial genitive marker was written → dî2 底; subsequently → de3 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.

zhī2 (tśî) LH tśô, OCM *tô (= *tia ?)
‘To go, proceed’ [Shili].
[T] Sin S. SR tśî (平), PR, LR tśî; MGZY ji (平) [tśî]; ONW tśô
[E] ST *tâu?: WT ㄔi-ba ‘to go, become, be going to’; WB ca ‘begin, at first’ ≠ ca ‘beginning’. These TB items do not belong to → chû 足 as has been suggested.

zhī 時 (zi) LH džô, OCM *dzô
Demonstrative pronoun ‘this, now, then’ [Shili]. Pulleyblank (1995: 89) considers zhī a relatively unemphatic form of → shî 賢. See also §3.3.3.
[T] Sin S. SR zi (平), PR, LR zî; MGZY zhi (平) [zî]; ONW džô

zhî h2 之 (tśi) LH tśô, OCM *tô
‘Goal, purpose, will, wish’ [Shu] > ‘spirit, mind, record, treatise’ [Zuo]. Note the semantic proximity with the root in the phrase ‘My thoughts are not equal to (where I am going:) my purpose’ [St 54, 5].

zhî 志 (zii) LH džô, OCM *dzô (tone!)
[<] *tô + endopassive devoicing (§4.6) + endoactive tone B (§4.5) forming an introvert noun, ‘what is proceeding’.

zhî 志 (zii) LH džô, OCM *dzô
‘Foot > heel’ [BI, Shili]; > ‘to settle, stop’ 止 [Shili].
[<] *tô + endopassive s/h-suffix (§4.4), lit. ‘what is being proceeded to’. This word is unrelated to zhî. 識 (suggested by Wáng Li 1982: 95).

zhî 止 h2 (tśî) LH tśô, OCM *dzô
‘Date, time, season’ [BI, Shili].
[<] *dzô 識 + the nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3), lit. ‘what is proceeding’. Chên partially converges with → chên. 昼辰. It replaces its simplex shî 賢 in southern dialects as the word for ‘time’: M-Fúzhōu xienA۲-gauC۲ 昼辰, Y-Guāngzhōu siA۲-sunA۲ 昼辰 (for Mand. shî-hou 時候).

chêng 辰 (tjen) LH džîn, OCM *dôn — [T] ONW džîn
‘Date, time, season’ [BI, Shili].
[<] *dôn 識 + the nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3), lit. ‘what is proceeding’. Chên partially converges with → chên. 昼辰. It replaces its simplex shî 賢 in southern dialects as the word for ‘time’: M-Fúzhōu xienA۲-gauC۲ 昼辰, Y-Guāngzhōu siA۲-sunA۲ 昼辰 (for Mand. shî-hou 時候).
zhī

zhī₃汁 (tš/op) LH kip, OCM *kip — [T] ONW tšip

‘Juice, sap, melting snow’ [Li].

[D] PMin *tšep

≠ qi 淹 (kʰjop) LH kʰip

‘Juice’ [Yi]. Is perh. a cognate of zhī (Unger Hao-ku 47, 1995: 141); the dialect word from East of the Passes xīé (yiep) [gep] [FY 3, 7] is prob. related.

[E] Etymology not certain. Perh. related is PLB *tsep ‘lac, pine resin’; WB kʰrip, kʰyip [STC: 38] (CVST 5: 65); or to Kachin mgyep ‘liquor’ (STC: 38); or HST: 99 relates zhī to WT ḍʰab ‘water’, but initial velars do not palatalize in WT. Prob. not related to → chĕn 潘 ‘a liquid’.

zhī₄ 支枝肢 (tšje) LH tše < kie, OCM *ke — [T] ONW tše (kie?) — [D] PMin *ki

‘Limb, branch’ 支枝 [Shi, Yi], ‘body limb’肢 [Meng]; ‘to separate’肢 [Xun] (OC → Tai: S. ke ‘go astray’).

= chi 翅 (šjeC) // LH kie, OCM *ke

‘Wing’ [Guoce] (< ‘limb’). The reading chi (šjeC) has been transferred from an unrelated synonym, see → chi₄翅.

≠ qf 支岐 (qje 4) LH gic, OCM *ge — [T] ONW gie

‘Bifurcating, forked (road)’岐 [Lie]; ‘to stride’岐 [Shi] (HST p. 65).


zhī₅ 知 (tje) LH te, OCM *tre

‘To know, understand’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tśi (ʃ); MGZY ji (ʃ) [tši]; ONW te

≠ zhí 智 (tʃeC) LH teC, OCM *treh


[k] exopass. of zhī 知 (tje) *tre, lit. ‘what is known’ (§4.4).


zhī₆ 隻 (tʃak) LH tsek, OCM *tek — [T] ONW tšek — [D] PMin *dziok ~ *džit

‘Single’ [Gongyang], measure word for individual birds, animals, and things that occur naturally in pairs, eventually extended to include other objects (Norman 1988: 116).

[E] ST *tjak: PTB *tyik ~ *tyak (STC p. 94; HPTB: 346) > PLB *C-tik ~ *ti ‘one’ > WB tae ≠ PLB *C-dik ‘only’ (Matisoff 1997a: 81) > Lahu tī ‘only’; Limbu thik ‘a little, only’; WT gčig ‘one’; JR katiag (Beyer 1992: 83). Vowel e as in OC (from *-ja-): Bumthang t(h)ek, Cuona Monpa tʰej (Matisoff 1997a: 20; HPTB: 507). ≠ PLB *day2 ~ tיו ‘only’ > WB tʰB ‘single, alone’ (Matisoff 1997a: 21), JP tai33 ‘single’. For the vowels, see §11.3.2.

zhī₇ 淨 (diei, tšje, žje) LH tšec, OCM *te, *de

‘Peace, happiness’ [SW: Yi].


zhī₈桎 (tşet) LH tšit, OCM *tit — [T] ONW tšit

‘Foot fetters’ [Zhoul]. The final *t is prob. a nominal suffix (§6.2.1).


≠ tài, dí 鉛鉄 (dieiC, dài) LH des, das, OCM *dês, *dás

‘Foot shackles for criminals’鉛 [Guan]; (‘shackle for axle’): ‘wheel-axle cap’鉄
zhī

[Chuci] (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992). The vowel correspondence is unusual, perh. these two CH words are unrelated.

zhī₉a

ghi (tšje) LH tše < kie, OCM *ke

‘Only’ [Shi].

⇒ zhī₃

ghi (tšjeB) LH tšeB < kieB, 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 zhī ghi above, but the difference in tone is unexplained (has tone B been transferred from the particle?). This wF is prob. not related to → shì₃₁ ‘only’, nor to zhī₆ ‘single’.

[E] Prob. ST: TB *kya(-) ‘one’ as in Kamarupan lgs. ke, k'e, perh. these are cognate to WT rkyan-pa, WB kʰyaŋB ‘single’ [Matisoff 1997a: 18]. For the connections ‘one’ - ‘single’ - ‘only’, note Engl. ‘only’ (< one-ly) and the items under zhī₆ ‘single’. For the vowels, see § 11.3.2.

zhī₉b

ghi (tši) LH tši, OCM *ti

‘Be reverent, revere, respect’ [BI, Shu]. CVST (2: 126) relates this word to WT sti-ba ‘honor, respect, reverence’.

zhī₁₀

ghi (tši) LH tši, OCM *ki? — [T] ONW tši

‘Grease’ (for lubrication) [Shi]. SW says that zhī belongs to animals with horns, → gāo, 膏 ‘grease, fat’ to animals without horns (e.g. pigs). The OC initial is not certain, the phonetic implies an OC *k-, but palatalization of Ei' may have occurred so early in the Zhou period that it could also be used for words with original dental initials.


zhī₁₁

ghi (dī) LH dī, OCM *dri — [T] ONW dī

‘To tarry, slow’ [Shi].


⇒ zhī 遏 (dīC) LH dīC, OCM *drih

‘To wait’ [Xun]; ‘to sow late, unripe’ [Shi].

zhī₁₂

ghi (tšék) LH tšik, OCM *tok — [T] ONW tšık

‘To weave’ vb. [Shi].


⇒ zhī 織 (tšékC) LH tšıkC, OCM *takh — [T] ONW tšıkC

‘Woven cloth, be woven’ [Shi].

[<] exopass. of zhī 織 (tšék) (§4.4), lit. ‘what is woven’.


[E] Some TB lgs. have a variant, or different etymon, with initial *r: PLB *rak, *k-rak, also Mutwang (Rawang - Nung) ra? ‘weave’ [Matisoff TSR: 70]; Lushai tḥaB < trā? or trah ‘to weave, woven’. There is another word with *t- ~ *r- variants: PTB *ti ~ *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.
zhí

zhí₁ 直 (djøk) LH ðík, OCM *døk
‘Simply, only’ [Meng]. Karlgren GSR 919a believes that the homophone ‘straight, right’ [Shi] is the same word (see under → zhí₂ 置).

zhí₂ 直 (djøk) LH ðík, OCM *døk — [T] ONW døk
‘Single’ [Li], ‘single, an only one’ [Yili], ‘only’ [Lü]; ‘a mate, a match for’ [Shi]. The meaning ‘male animal, bull’ [see → tè₂ 特] could be derived from the meaning ‘a mate, match’, but this is speculation.

zhí₃ 姼 (diet, djet) LH ðet, ðet, OCM *lit or *d-lit ? — [T] ONW ðet
‘Nephew, niece’ [Zuo].

zhí₄ 姼 (diet, djet) LH ðet, ðet, OCM *lit or *d-lit ? — [T] ONW ðet
‘Nephew, niece’ [Zuo].

zhí₅ 縫 (tsjøp) LH tsjip, OCM *top — [T] ONW tsjip
‘To hold, seize, take’ [BI, Shi]. → zhí₆ 賄‘bind’ etc. is perh. cognate.

zhí₆ 賄 (tsjøp) LH tsjip, OCM *top — [T] ONW tsjip
‘To hold, seize, take’ [BI, Shi]. → zhí₆ 賄‘bind’ etc. is perh. cognate.

zhí₇ 縫 (djøp) LH ðip, OCM *døp?
‘Rope, tether’ [Shi], ‘to bind’ 資 [Zuo]; ‘to hobble, bind the front feet of a horse’ 資 [Zhuang].

zhí₈ 賄 (djøp) LH ðip, OCM *døp?
‘Rope, tether’ [Shi], ‘to bind’ 資 [Zuo]; ‘to hobble, bind the front feet of a horse’ 資 [Zhuang].

zhí₉ 賽 (tjøp) LH tøk, OCM *tok
‘Duty, attend to, manage’ [Zuo], ‘duties of office’ [Shi]. This word could belong to the wf → zhí₂ 置.

zhí₁₀ 周 (tjøp) LH tøk, OCM *tok
‘Duty, attend to, manage’ [Zuo], ‘duties of office’ [Shi]. This word could belong to the wf → zhí₂ 置.
zhǐ — zhī

zhǐ₁ 懷 → shè₉ 懷懇
zhǐ₁ 止趾 → zhī₂ 之
zhǐ₂ 湖 → zhōu₂ 淀
zhǐ₃ 只 ‘only’ → zhī₉ 祇
zhǐ₄ 旨 (tǐ¹) LH kí¹, OCM *kiʔ, OCB *kjij — [T] Sin S. SR tsi (十), PR, LR tsi¹; MGZY ji (十) [tši]; ONW tší

zhǐ₅ 胎 ‘bring about’ → zhī₇ 底 底
zhǐ₆ 指 → shí₁₇ 視
zhǐ₇ 底底 → zhī₁ 至
zhǐ₈ 紙 (tǐ³) MHan tšaiʔ? or kioiʔ? — [T] ONW tšè ‘Paper’ [Hou Hanshu].

zhǐ₉ 剃 (tì¹) LH tì¹, OCM *triʔ

zhī₁ 濃 ‘be fine tasting, excellent’ [Shi] > (flavor:) ‘basic idea’ [Yi] (so Karlgren GSR 552a).

zhī₂ 止趾 → zhī₁ 之
zhī₃ 湖 → zhōu₂ 淀
zhī₄ 只 ‘only’ → zhī₉ 祇
zhī₅ 胎 ‘bring about’ → zhī₇ 底 底
zhī₆ 指 → shí₁₇ 視
zhī₇ 底底 → zhī₁ 至

zhī₉ 剃 (tì¹) LH tì¹, OCM *triʔ

zhǐ₁ 至 (tǐ³) LH tís, OCM *tits

zhǐ₂ 至 (tǐ³) LH tís, OCM *tits
zhí

bring about, establish, settle' 著 [Shi]. The root initial is a dental, the graph 葉 which had an OC velar initial was perh. borrowed after palatalization.

[E] ST: WT mc\(^{b}\)-ba `come, go, say'.

[SH] The root initial is a dental, the graph 葉 which had an ac velar initial was perh. borrowed after palatalization.

I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.

[SH] The root initial is a dental, the graph 葉 which had an ac velar initial was perh. borrowed after palatalization.

I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.

I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.

I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.

I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.

I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.

I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.

I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.

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I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.

I.E] ST: WT m\(^{c}\)-ba.
zhì

zhì₇ 陜. 陜 (duò) (Mand. tuò), 陜 (Mand. duò) (djeB) LH 佷B, OCM *d-laiB?
‘To fall down’ 陜 [SW]; ‘fall down, collapse’ 陜 [Guoyu].

zhìṣ 弭 (šjeB) LH 偠B, OCM *lhai?
‘To destroy’ (e.g. a house) [Guoyu].

zhì₈ 陜 ‘slope’ → yí₈ 曦
dzhì₉ 棹. 擀 → chǐ₁ 扯

zhì₁₀ 攪 (tšjeC) LH 挲C, OCM *kēh
‘Wicked, malignant’ [Shi].

zhì₁₁ 陼 (dʒiC) LH 佼C, OCM *d-laih
‘To work, make, regulate, govern’ [Shi] > ‘well-governed, in good order’ [Yi], ‘punish’ [Zuo]. Downer (1959: 287) reads ‘well-governed’ [Liji] in tone C, the other meanings in tone A. Sagart (1999: 127) relates this word to -lai ‘regulate’. If related, zhì may possibly belong to an AA wf; see there for more.

zhì₁₂ 志 → zhǐ₂ 之

zhì₁₃ 祇 (tšiC) LH 体C or kiaC ?
‘Black mole’ [Shiji 詃. GY].

zhì₁₄ 祇 (tšiagram) LH 佢, OCM *tak ?
‘To roast’ [Shi].

zhì₁₅ 陟 (tjak) LH 以k, OCM *tak → [T] ONW 机组
‘To ascend, die’ [Shi], ‘promote’ [Shu].

zhì₁₆ 慣 (tjiC) LH 嗦C, OCM *trits
‘To slip, trip’ [Shi]. This etymon is apparently parallel to, but distinct from, the syn. → dié₃ 蹤, see there for more.

zhì₁₇ 隝 (tjiagram) LH 嗦 (tjiagram), OCM *trits ?
‘To stumble’ [Zuo] which writes prob. the s. w. as 隝 above (so Duàn Yùcái).
zhì

zhí₁₁₇ 懑懑 (tśiᶜ, ṭiᶜ) LH ｔīs, ṭīs, OCM *tīs, *ṭīts; ‘Be angry’ 懑 [Shi], 懑 [Shu]. As in → zhí₁₆ 窺, the two graphs for this word are MC homophones but placed in different OC rime categories.

zhí₁₈ 質 (tśet) LH ｔīt, OCM *tśt — [T] ONW ｔīt
‘Natural qualities’ [Li], ‘substance’ [Yi], ‘essential’ [Lunyu].

zhí₁₉ 踟 → zhí₁₆ 窺

zhí₂₀ 值 → zhí₂₂ 置

zhí₂₁ 植 (ţjak, ṭič) LH ｔţık or ṭō, OCM *ďək or *ṭdrǒk — [T] ONW ｔţık
‘Aim, will’ [Chuci] could belong either to → zhí₂₂ 置, or to → zhí₂ 之.

zhí₂₂ 置 (ṭič) LH ṭō, OCM *ṭdrǒk — [T] MTang ṭō, ONW ṭō
‘To set, place, arrange’ [Shi].

zhí 稽 (ţjak) LH ｔţık, OCM *ṭdrǒk — [T] ONW ｔţık
‘To sow or plant early’ [Shi].

zhí 稽 (ţič) LH ṭō, OCM *ďək
‘Hold upright’ 值 [Shi], 植 [Shu], ‘a pole’ 植 [Li] (植 has also the MC reading ţiţk).

zhí 稽 (ţjak) LH ｔţık, OCM *ďək — [T] ONW ｔţık
‘To plant, cultivate’ 植 [Shu], 植 [Zhouli], ‘raise, establish’ 植 [Guoyu], 植 [Zhouli];
‘to place’ 植 [Lun]; ‘grow, flourish’ 植 [Huainan] (has also the MC reading ţič).

zhí, dé 植 (ţşak) LH ｔşık, OCM *ṭǎk
‘A pole’ [Zhouli].


zhí₂₃ 絹 → zhí₉ 藥

zhí₂₄ 猃 (ţjǎjič) LH ḥas, OCM *d-lats
‘Wild boar, pig’ [OB, Li].

zhí₂₅, zhài 猃 (ţjeB, ḥaiB) LH ḥeB ?, OCM *djeB?
‘Some kind of small deer’ [OB, SW]. When hunting, Shang dynasty kings would often kill this animal by the hundreds [OB], but later its identity was mostly forgotten. SW has the variant xie-zhái 解獺 or 解獺 LH ɡeʔ-ɡeʔ. This rime binome makes it likely that the LH reading was ɡeʔ rather than ɡiæʔ. Curiously, in a passage in Zuòzhùan (Xuan 17) the ? is supposedly a graphic loan for ‘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 xie 解 ‘distinguish, understand’ may be responsible for the belief that this animal could tell straight from crooked, right from wrong.

zhí₂₅ PMK *draay (Shorto 1976: 1048) > OMon *dray ‘hog deer’ (> WB darai ‘hog deer’), Biat draai ‘swamp deer’, PVM *k-de: ‘dearer’ [Feulner], Khm. triay ‘stag’. < PYao *dʒaiʔ ‘deer’ [Purnell].
zhōng ㄓ 中

zhōng₂ ㄓ zhōng₂

zhōng₃ ㄓ zhōng₃

zhōng₄ ㄓ zhōng₄

zhōng₅ ㄓ zhōng₅

zhōng₆ ㄓ zhōng₆
zhōng — zhòng

zhōng 4 終 (tştún) LH ʦuŋ, OCM *tun
‘To end, terminate, complete, completely’ [Shi]. Wang Li (1982: 608) derives → dōng, 冬 ‘winter’ from this word.

[T] Si̕n Sukchu SR tstsún (أشياء), PR, LR ʦuŋ; MGZY jung (أشياء) [ʦuŋ]; ONW ʦuŋ

[E] ST: Chepang doŋ? ‘to end, cease’ (period of time, spell of weather, speech), KN-Lai doŋ / doŋ? ‘to end’ [LTBA 21:1: 210]. The connection with the following is not clear (for the difference in final consonants, see §6.7): WB tum ‘be ended’ (CVST 2: 4), JP t̄um ̓ ‘be ended, terminated’, Lushai chum < chum? ‘finish reaping’.

zhōng 5 種 (tstsún) LH ʦuŋ, OCM *tun (= *C-jun ?), OCB *tjun
‘Locust, grasshopper’ [Shi].

[E] ST: WB kjuïŋ ~ gjuïŋ ‘locust’ (HST: 104). The root initial was prob. *j-, see §9.3.

zhōng 6 種 (tstsún) LH ʦuŋ, OCM *tun
‘A mound, peak; be great’

This is still the word for ‘tomb’ in some dialects, e.g. Mrn-Jiiln’ou treYl; in most modern dialects, the word for ‘tomb’ is... fen 4.

[A] possible Han period dialect variant is... long. A possible root is... long.

zhōng 7 種 (tstsún) LH ʦuŋ, OCM *tun
‘Seeds, cereals’

‘descendants’ [Guoce].

zhōng 8 種 (tstsún) LH ʦuŋ, OCM *tun
‘To sow’

‘twice, repeat’ [Zuo].

zhōng 9 種 (tstsún) LH ʦuŋ, OCM *tun
‘Swell, swollen’

‘tumor’ [Zhouli] > ‘heel’ [Li] > ‘follow in the footsteps of’ Jim [Zuo]. For the semantic link between ‘swollen’ and ‘heel’ (< * ‘swelling’), see Matisoff (LTBA 17.2, 1994: 144). There are other etyma for ‘swollen’ with the same rime:... yông 2, weng ‘jar, swollen’.

zhōng 10 種 (tstsún) LH ʦuŋ, OCM *tun
‘Be swollen, inflated’ [Shi].

[E] endopass. of zhōng 種 (tstsún) (§4.6).

zhōng 11 種 (tstsún) LH dzon, OCM *don
‘Heavy’ [Shi] > ‘important’ [BL, Zuo], ‘increase, to honor’ [Zuo].

zhōng 12 種 (tstsún) LH dzon, OCM *don
‘Double, two, accumulate’ [Shi] > ‘twice, repeat’ [Zuo].
zhòng – zhōu

[EB] Etymology not certain, but note TB-WB cum ‘double, form a pair’ (for the final nasal, see §6.7).

zhòng2 （ji uomo, tūn） LH tōn, tōn, OCM *tōn, *tōn
‘Milk (of cows and mares)’ [Mu tianzi zhuan], ‘milk-like fluid’ [SW] is a loan from some ancient Central Asian lg. (Pulleyblank 1962: 250f). LH was probably tōn because it is the simpler reading and MC tōn is the reading of the phonetic element.

zhòng3 鳅 zhōng
LH tōl, tōlf, OCM *trol, *tol
‘Milk (of cows and mares)’ [Mu tianzi zhuan], ‘milk-like fluid’ [SW] is a loan from some ancient Central Asian Ig, (Pulleyblank 1962: 250f). LH was probably tōl because it is the simpler reading and MC tōl is the reading of the phonetic element.

zhòng4 䣯 zhōng
LH tśuí, OCM *tulh (*tjulh 7) ‘Be numerous, all, the multitude (i.e. common people)’ [B], [Shi].

zhōu1 舟 (tājou) LH tśu, OCM *tu
‘Boat’ [B], [Shi]. Acc. to the Yi jing, a zhōu was originally a hollowed tree trunk (canoe) (Huang Jingui, Shèn Xíróng YYWZX 1987.8: 41ff) like → yú, 俞.

zhōu2 洲 (tājou) LH tśu, OCM *tu
‘Island in a river’ [B], [Shi].

zhōu3 周 (tājou) LH tśu, OCM *tiu ⎯ [T] ONW tśu
‘To surround, encircle, circle, everywhere, curve (in the road)’ [Shi].

zhōu4 周 (tājou) LH tśu, OCM *tiu
‘To have aid, help’ [Shi], ‘relieve, succor’ 呷 [Zhouli].

zhōu5 諸 zhōu
‘Various’ [Shi].

zhōu6 週 zhōu
‘Weekly’ [Shi].
zhōu — zhòu

aid’ are often derived from the notion ‘next to, or around, a person’ (see under zuō and → yòu, 右). Alternatively, note AA: Khmer jwya [juu] /cúuaj/ ‘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.

zhōu (tšuk) LH tšuk, OCM *tuk — [T] ONW tšuk — [D] PMin *tšyk ‘Rice gruel’ [Zuo, Li].

[E] ST: Association with WT t'ug-pa ‘soup, broth’ (Bodman 1980: 172; HST: 137) is more straightforward than Karlgren’s (1956: 17) derivation from yù 庶育 ‘produce’.


☞ zhōu 縱 (tšauC) LH tšu, OCM *tšru ‘To crinkle, crepe’ [Shi].

[<] exoactive of zhōu 皺 (tsjau) (§4.4).


zhōu (tjauB) LH tuB, OCM *tru ‘Wrist, elbow’ [OB, Zuo].

[<] This is a tone B endoactive body part derivation (§3.3.2) from a root *tru which also underlies → chù 㜊, hence lit. ‘the thing that is bending’. The phonetic in the latter may indicate some sort of velar in the complex initial, hence the word may be related to TB-WB kruC ‘bow down, stoop’, and perh. also to WT gru-mo ‘elbow’ (HST: 70), which lit. means ‘corner, angle’, however. Note also PTai *x-: S. kʰəC‘(loan?)’. The Lushai word for ‘elbow’ kiu < kiul/h may belong to the root → jiu 縛. For a semantic parallel, see wàn 腕 (under → yū 由).

zhōu (tjgu) LH tuC, OCM *truC ‘Helmet’ [Shi].

zhōu (tjgù) LH tuC, OCM *truC ‘Sleeve’ [Shi]. The role of *s- is not clear, perhaps iterative because sleeves come in pairs.

zhōu (tšau) LH tšu, OCM *tšru ‘To wrap, cover’ [Yili]; ‘conceal, doubtful’ [Zuo]. This word may be unrelated. This wf refers to any kind of ‘cover’ one slips over something.

zhōu (tjau) LH tu, OCM *tšru ‘Full dress’ [Shi].

zhōu (tjgù) LH tu, OCM *tšru ‘Descendant’ → yòu 由

zhōu (tjou) OCM *tšru ‘Helmet’ [Shi].

zhōu (tjgù) LH tu, OCM *tšru ‘Helmet’ [Shi].

zhōu (tjgù) LH tu, OCM *tšru ‘Helmet’ [Shi].

zhōu (tjgù) LH tu, OCM *tšru ‘Helmet’ [Shi].
zhōu – zhú

zhōu₁ 髓 → zhōu₆ 髓

zhū₁ 朱 (tjsjù) LH tso, OCM *to — [T] ONW tšuo
‘Be red, scarlet’ [BI, Shi] may be an old basic word for ‘red’, rivaling → chī₁ 赤 (Baxter 1983).

zhū₂ 株 (tjù) LH tō, OCM *tro or *trio ?
‘Tree trunk’ [Yi; Hanfei].

zhū₃ 訴 → shū₁ 訴

zhū₄ 猪 (tjwo) LH tō, OCM *tra
‘Pig’ [Zuo].

zhū₅ 許 ‘all’ → duō 多

zhū₁ 竹 (tjuk) LH tük, OCM *truk
‘Bamboo’ [Shi].

zhū₂ 逐 (djuk) LH dük, OCM *d-luk
‘To pursue’ (animals, not men) [OB, Shu] (Schuessler 1987: 851; Qiu Xigui 2000: 213).
See → zhū₂ 追 for a near synonym which may be related in spite of the difference in finals.

zhū₃ 檐 (tšjwok) LH tšok, OCM *tok — [T] ONW tšuok
‘Torch’ [Li]. Note the syn. → zhuo₃ 釣 and the comment there.
[E] ST: PLB *duk ‘burn, be blazing’ ≠ *dük ‘kindle, set on fire’ [Matisoff TSR: 39] >
WB tok ‘blaze, flame, shine, glitter’; WT dug-pa ‘to make warm, to light, kindle’;
Lushai duk⁴ ‘be glowing with heat’ (like ashes) (HST: 151). This word may have a
wider distribution, note MK: Bahnar tök, Stieng dlik ‘to burn’.

zhū₄ 趴 (djwok) LH dök, OCM *drok
‘To check the foot, stop walking’ [Yi], ‘stamp the foot’ [Xun].

zhū₅ 趴 (tjuk) LH tük, OCM *truk
‘To stamp earth, earth up’ (earth into walls) > ‘build’ [Shi]; ‘beat, strike’ [Zhouli].
[E] ST *truk: WT rdug-pa ‘to strike against, to stumble at’; WB tük ‘strike against,
zhū

engage in combat'. For more ST cognates and / or parallel stems, see under → chu₁ 触.

zhū₁ 主 (tsjuʰ) LH tsoʰ, OCM *to?
'Master' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšy (ט), MGZY jyü (ט) [tʃy]; ONW tšuoʰ

[E] Etymology not clear; note these comparanda: (1) ST: WT jo-bo ‘elder brother, lord, nobleman’ ≠ jo-mo ‘mistress, lady, goddess’. (2) WT tʰu ‘chief’ (Peiros and Starostin CAAAL 22, 1984: 125). (3) MK: PMon *dndoo? Nyah Kur ‘headman’, Mon ‘to teach, instruct’. (4) Tai: S. čok ‘a leader, chief’ (for final -k, see §3.2.2).

zhū₂ 拉 → zhū₉ 柱

zhū₃ 龋 (tsjwʰ) LH tsoʰ, OCM *taʔ?
'A large deer living in the mountains' [Yi Zhoushu]; its tail was used as a duster.

[E] This word is perh. connected to MK: PMonic *truus ‘boy, man’, OKhmer *trus ‘strong male of animals’; Kha Boloven truy ‘male of deer’, but we should expect an *r in the OC initial.

zhū₄ 煮 (tsjwʰ) LH tsaʰ, OCM *taʔ?
'To boil, cook' [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšy (ט), MGZY jyü (ט) — [D] PMonic *tšyʰ

[E] Bodman (1980: 134) compares this word with WB kyak. Lushai tlak < klak ‘to boil’ (vegetables). If related, an OC *kiaʔ needs to be assumed which had palatalized by the time of the Liji, but this would leave Lushai still unexplained.

zhū₅ 池 → zhōu₂ 洲

zhū₆ 贯 (tsjwʰ) LH tsoʰ, OCM *traʔ?
'To store away, bag for clothes’ 褐 [Zuo] (Mand. chū); ‘to store, supplies, storehouse, ownership’ [BI], ‘to heap’ 貯 [Guliang].

zhū₇ 斬 (tsjwok) LH tək, OCM *trok
'To cut’ 斬 [Guoyu], ‘cut out, eradicate’ 鐵 (zhūǒ) [Xun].

zhū₈ 斬 (tək) LH tək, OCM *trok
'To hew, chop, carve’ (trees, wood) 斬 [Shi], ‘to carve, chisel’ 碎 [Shi], ‘break open’ 斬 [Zuo]; ‘to castrate’ 刎 [SW: Shu], ‘to beat, strike’ 斬 [Shi].

[D] In some Yue dialects this is the word for ‘to chop, cut’ (written → duǒ₄ 刹): HK col. tæk², Jiāngmén tiaekʰ, Dōumén (Zhen) tiaekᵈ₁, Bāo’ǎn tiaekʰ. The late word Mand. duǒ 刹 (tuʰ) [GY] ‘chop, cut’ may be related.

[E] ST *trok: Mikir artok < r-tó/uk ‘chop off’.

zhē (tuk, tuk) LH tək, tok, OCM *trok.


zhē (tɔu, tɔu) LH tɔ, tɔʰ, OCM (*tɔ(k)s, i.e. prob.) *tɔh, *trob
‘Beak’ 噩 [Shi], 噩 [Han texts]. In MC, there is no div. II in the QY rime -au.


[TB parallel stem: Lushai tšuˡ / tšukʰ (Lorr. chu) ‘to bite’ (as snake), ‘peck, strike with
a pecking motion, knock against, injure’. WT mě̀hu ‘lip, bill or beak of birds’ (the WT word is not related to → chū₄, 唬). [C] For ST cognate and / or parallel stems, see under → chū₁ 觸 for an overview.

zhū₈ 鶙 (tšjwok) LH tšok, OCM *tok
‘To attach, connect’ [Li], ‘copulate’ [Mozi], ‘touch’ [Zuo], ‘to apply’ (e.g. ear to wall) [Shijing].

zhū₇ 鶥 (tšjwok) LH džok, OCM *dok — [T] ONW džuok
‘Be connected, attached to’ [Shi], ‘belong to’ [Shu]; (‘fit’: ‘socket’ and related items: ‘vulva, penis, to copulate’ (the SW radical of shū is ‘tail’ – GSR 1224s).

zhū₆ 鶥 (tšuk) LH tšuk, OCM *tuk
‘To bind, attach’ [Shi]. Rather than being cognate to zhū, this word may perh. instead be the base for → zhū₁₀ 語 ‘prayer’, i.e. ‘binder’.

zhū₅ 鶥 (tšuk) LH tšuk, OCM *tuk
‘To bind, attach’ [Shi]. Rather than being cognate to zhū, this word may perh. instead be the base for → zhū₁₀ 語 ‘prayer’, i.e. ‘binder’.

zhū₄ 鶥 (tšuk) LH džok, OCM *tok
‘To attach, connect’ [Li], ‘copulate’ [Mozi], ‘touch’ [Zuo], ‘to apply’ (e.g. ear to wall) [Shijing].

zhū₃ 鶥 (tšuk) LH džok, OCM *tok
‘To attach, connect’ [Li], ‘copulate’ [Mozi], ‘touch’ [Zuo], ‘to apply’ (e.g. ear to wall) [Shijing].

zhū₂ 鶥 (tšuk) LH džok, OCM *tok
‘To attach, connect’ [Li], ‘copulate’ [Mozi], ‘touch’ [Zuo], ‘to apply’ (e.g. ear to wall) [Shijing].

zhū₁ 鶥 (tšuk) LH džok, OCM *tok
‘To attach, connect’ [Li], ‘copulate’ [Mozi], ‘touch’ [Zuo], ‘to apply’ (e.g. ear to wall) [Shijing].
zhù

† zhù (tšju<sub>B</sub>) LH tšo<sub>B</sub>, OCM *toʔ
‘Ladle’ [Zhouli] is a tone B noun derived from zhù, lit. ‘the thing which does the pouring’.

♦ dōu (tsu<sub>B</sub>) LH to<sub>B</sub>, OCM *tōʔ
‘Bushel, ladle, name of a constellation’ [Shi].

[B] Bodman (1980: 172) compares WT čʰu ‘water’ ≡ čʰu-ba, čʰus ‘to ladle or scoop water, irrigate’ and also includes dōu in this wf. TB *lu ‘to pour, cast’ has initial *l and belongs to → yǔ<sub>4</sub> 浴 ‘to pour, bathe’.

zhù<sub>6</sub> 注 (tšju<sub>C</sub>, tjue) LH tšo<sub>C</sub>, to<sub>C</sub>, OCM *toh, *troh
‘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<sub>3</sub> 注 ‘to pour’.

[E] Etymology not certain. On the one hand, this word seems to be the cognate of WT mdo ‘point where two valleys / rivers meet’, i.e. ‘confluence, lower part of valley’; it could be the s. w. as → zhù<sub>7</sub> 注 ‘to pour’. On the other hand, this may be the same word as → zhù<sub>9</sub> 注 ‘to pour’ which, however, has a different WT cognate.

zhù<sub>7</sub> 注 (tšju<sub>C</sub>, tjue) LH tšo<sub>C</sub>, to<sub>C</sub>, OCM *toh, *troh
‘To apply’ [Zuo, ‘be touched’ [Zhuang], ‘bring together’ [Zhouli].

♦ dōu 飽 (tsu<sub>C</sub>) LH to<sub>C</sub>, OCM *tōh
‘To come in contact with, meet, next following day’ [OB].

[E] ST: WB tu<sub>C</sub> ‘touch lightly’, Lushai tuuk ‘to touch’ (as in a game). This stem may be related to → zhù<sub>8</sub> 注 ‘to pour, bathe’.

zhù<sub>8</sub> 注 → zhù<sub>4</sub> 踐

zhù<sub>9</sub> 枝 (dsu<sub>B</sub>) LH čo<sub>B</sub>, OCM *droʔ
‘Pillar’ [Yili].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dz<sub>y</sub> (+)/ MGZY cž<sub>u</sub> (+) [dz<sub>y</sub>]

† zhù 注 (tšju<sub>B</sub>) LH tšo<sub>B</sub>, OCM *troʔ
‘To prop up, support’ [Guoce] (Karlgren 1956: 9).

[E] ST: TB-WB tu<sub>ŋ</sub> ‘post, column’; SCHin Daai ktuŋ ‘post’ [Hartmann ICSTLL 1999: 6], JP to<sub>3</sub> < tok<sub>3</sub> ≡ f<sub>55</sub>-to<sub>55</sub> ‘pillar’. For the TB final -ŋ, see §3.2.4). Perh. related to → zhuò<sub>9</sub> 縖.

zhù<sub>10</sub> 祝 (tšjuk) LH tšuk, OCM *tuk
‘Prayer; invoker’ [BI, Shi], ‘to pray’ [Zuo]. This word may perh. be the same etymon as ‘to bind, attach’ (i.e. ‘a binder’), see → zhù<sub>7</sub> 縖.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšy (+)/ MGZY ĭž<sub>u</sub> (+)/ [tšy]

† zhù 注 (tšjau<sub>C</sub>) LH tšu<sub>C</sub>, OCM *tukh
‘To curse’ [Shi] (Karlgren 1956: 12).

[<] perh. extrovert (§4.3).

♦ dāo 饕 (tâu<sub>B</sub>/C) LH tou<sub>B</sub>, tou<sub>C</sub>, OCM *tūʔ/h
‘To pray’ 饕 [Shi]; ‘a horse sacrifice consisting of a prayer 饪 promising a sacrificial animal offering’ [SW; Zhōuli] (Sterckx EC 21, 1996: 64).

[E] There is no outside etymological connection, similarity with AA-Pearic troː ‘to pray’ is prob. coincidence.

zhù<sub>11</sub> 祝 (tšjuk) LH tšuk, OCM *tuk
‘Cut off’ [Gongyang].
zhù – zhuān

[E] ST *tu(k): Lushai *takL ‘cut, chop’, JP *taku33 ‘cut’. For ST cognate and / or parallel stems, see under → chù 触 for an overview.

zhù12 助 (dzjwoC) LH dzɔC, OCM *dzrah
‘Aid, help’ (in a cooperative endeavor) [Shi], almost certainly a semantic generalization of → chù 触, 触. — [T] Sin Sukchu SR dzʊ ( 上); MGZY cu ( 上) [dzʊ]

zhù13 著 (tjwoC) LH tɔC, OCM *trak
‘To place, order of place, position’ [Zuo].

zhù14 著 (tjwoC) LH ɗɔC, OCM *dra(kh)
‘To place, position’ [Guoyu].

zhù15 壹 → shù 侓
zhù16 鑄 → zhù5 注

zhuā 抓 (tsau^A/B/C), LH tsɔu^B/h ?, OCM *tsrʊ/h ? — [D] M-Xiàmén tsua^A1
‘To grasp’ [Zhuang].

zhuān 專 (tʃjwān) LH tʃuan, OCM *tron
‘Alone’ [Lun], ‘entirely, exclusively’ [Meng], ‘have sole power, make sole object’ [Zuo].

zhuān1 轉 (tʃjwān) LH tʃuɑən, OCM *tron — [T] MTang tʃuɑn, ONW tʃuɑn
‘To turn around, turn away’ [Shi]. Acc. to Norman (1986: 382) the Northern Mín ‘softened initial’ *t- points to OC prenasalization which is supported by Yao dzwon^2 < *ndz- ‘return’.

zhù 触 (tʃjwān) LH ɗuan, OCM *dron
‘To transmit’ [Lunyu], ‘remove’ [Li].
zhūn - zhūn

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzyen (平); MGZY cyŵan (平) [dzyen]; MTang ㄑuan, ONW ㄑuan

zhūn 傳 (djwán台) LH ㄑuan台, OCM *druns

'A record' [Zuo].

[<] expass. of chuán 傳 (djwán) (§4.4), lit. 'what has been transmitted'.

zhūn 傳 (tjwán) LH ㄑuan台, OCM *druns

'Relay' (of post etc.) [Zuo].


zhūn2 肢 'cut meat' → tuán1 團 ' 団 'round'

zhūn1 轉 → zhūn1 轉

zhūn2 轉 → tuán1 団 "round"

zhǔng1 狀 (dzjâng) LH dzñg, OCM *dzrâf

'Form, shape' [Guoyu], 'depict, describe' [Zhuangj], 'appearance, record of merits' [Zuozhuan].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzñg (去). PR dzwâŋ; MGZY c'âng (去) [dzAn]; ONW dzñg (?)

[E] AA: Khmer râna /rûⁿgh/ 'body build, form, figure, shape, cut, seize, dimension, height, stature, bearing'. Khmer → Tai: S. raâf p2 'form, shape' (Manomaivibool 1975: 157), and perh. also to WB can 'frame, stage', consequently 狀 is prob. also cognate to → chuâng1 喬 'bed'. Perh. connected with → fâng 東 '方'. For the initials, see §7.1.5.

zhǔng2, chông 捗 → chuâng2 捗

zhǔng3, hóng 戀 (xun 臺, tâŋ 臺) LH hòń 臺, tòń 臺, OCM *hông ~ trông

'Stupid' [Xun].

[E] AA: PMonic *trâu? 'foolish, insane' (for finals, see §6.5.2).

zhú1 佳雕 (tswi) LH tsâi 臺, OCM *tui

'Bird with a short tail' [SW]; 'a kind of bird' ('turtle dove') 雕 [Shi]; (horse of that bird's color?) 雕 [Shi]; (horse of mixed gray and white color) 雕 [Shi].

[E] Perh. ST *twîl (?); WT mêhî-ba 'a little bird'.

zhú2 追 (twi) LH tâi 臺, OCM *trui

'To pursue' (men, enemy troops, not animals) [OB, Shi] > 'to escort, recollect, be mindful' (Schuessler 1987: 855; Qiu Xigui 2000: 213).

[E] Perh. related to TB-Lushai chûuiH (Lorr. chuhi) < chui 'to track, trace, follow up, follow a trail', Chepang duyl 'follow a trail...'. However, if related to Chepang we should expect a Lushai final -l; the role of the *r in the OC initial is not clear. See → zhú 逐 for a near synonym which may be related in spite of the difference in finals.

zhú1 墬 (dwi) LH dus 臺, OCM *drus

'To fall' [Lun], 'fall down' [Zhouli], 'throw down' [Shu].

[E] AA: Khmer OKhmer ruh /ruh/ 'to fall, drop' ※ jruh /cruh/ 'to fall, drop, come off... intr. ※ jamruh /curnuh/ 'to let fall, knock down...' tr.; PNBahn. *ruh 'water-fall', PVM *ruh 'to fall' intr. AA final -h can derive from -s, but that seems not to be the case here. For the initials, see §7.1.4. Alternatively, the word may instead belong to AA-OKhmer tol, Khmer twâ /dúul/ 'to fall down, drop'.

zhú2 碼 → chuú1 垂

zhú3 嶓 → zhú0, zhui 綴

zhūn1 淳 → chún2 淳
zhūn – zhūó

zhūn₂ 慴 → dūn₁ 敢慎
zhūn₃ 耧 ‘sincere’ → dūn₁ 敢慎
zhūó₁ 稿 → gǔ₁₂, zhūō 稿
zhūó₂ 稿 (tāk) LH tōk, OCM *trāuk
 ‘Distant’ [Chuci], ‘high’ [Lunyu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tswaw, LR tswaw?; MGZY jwaw (入) [tswaw]; ONW tāk
≈ chūō 迢 (tāk) LH tōk, OCM *trāuk
 ‘Far, distant’ [Chuci].
[C] → tī₃ 迢 is prob. unrelated.
zhūó₁ 勺酌 → zhūó₂ 汇
zhūó₂ 汇 (tāk, ʒak, jiak) LH tōk, ʒak, OCM *kauik ?, *jauk
 ‘Ladle’ [Zhuang], ‘ladle out, pour out’ [Guliang].
≈ zhūō 勺酌 (tāk) LH tōk, OCM *kauik ?
 ‘To pour into a cup, draw water’ 酌 [Shi], ‘to ladle, serve wine’ 勺 [Li], ‘ladle out, pour out’ 汇 [Guliang].
[E] CH → Tai: S. takDIS < *t- ‘to dip up water’ (Li F. 1976: 41) has been borrowed after palatalization of the initial velar.
≈ shāo 勺杓 (ʒak) LH ʒak, OCM *iauk or *C-jauk
 ‘Ladle 杓 [Li], 汇 [Zhuang], ‘ladle, cup’ 勺 [Zhouli]. If we follow the first possible etymology below, the QY initial could be explained as a palatalized earlier *kiok.
[E] ST: Two TB etyma ‘ladle’ could be related to CH:
(2): Lepcha läk ‘to pour (out)’ (liquid, not metal) (Unger Hao-ku 33, 1986), Chepang lhayk ‘ladle’ (Bodman 1980: 128), PL *?-lük ‘ladle’. These items may possibly belong to → 汇₁₆
揑 ‘scoop out’ instead.
zhūō₃ 灼 (tāk) LH tōk, OCM *kauik ?
 ‘To burn, illuminate, brightly, clearly’ [Shu], ‘brilliant’ [Shi].
≈ dī 的 (tiek) LH tek, OCM *tāuk
 ‘Bright, brilliant’ [Li], ‘mark in target’.
[E] Prob. not related to → zhū₃ 灼.
zhūō₄ 斧 (tāk) LH tōk, OCM *tāuk ? — [T] ONW tōk
 ‘To cut, hack’ [Mo].
[E] ST: PTB *tuk (STC no. 387) > PLB *ntōk ~ *tōk ‘to cut by a blow, hack away at’ [Matisoff TSR: 49], WB tok ‘fillip, cut by a single light blow, gnaw’, JP tok ‘cut into pieces’; Garo dok ~ dak ‘knock, pound’. For alternative comparanda and / or parallel stems, see under → 汇₁ for an overview.
zhūō₅ 斬 → chā₂ 様
zhūō₆ 桇 → zhū₇ 陃
zhūō₇ 哎 → zhū₇ 斬
zhūō₈ 豞 → zhū₈ 属
zhūō₉ 斧 (tākwāt) LH tṣuat or tṣyat, OCM *tot
 ‘Short pillars supporting rafters’ [Lunyu].
zhuó - zi

**zhuó₁₀, zhuó 縴 (tjwāt, tjwāi) LH туот, ቱוס, OCM *trot(s)
  ’To sew, stitch, connect’ [Shi, Shu]; only MC tjwāi: ‘needles used as tallies’ 錠 [Guan].
≠ zhuī 縴 (tʃjwāi) LH ʦuas or ʦyas, OCM *tots
  ’To unite, together’ [Shi].
[.isLoggedIn] ST: WT: gtd-pa, btd-pa ‘to tether, tie up, stake’ ≠ rtod-pa ‘to tether, a stake or peg’ (Bodman 1980: 175; HST: 150). Bodman adds zhuó 靱 (tjwat) LH ʦuat ʦiot ‘sharp point at end of whip’.
≠ zhōu 縪 (dau) LH ʤau, OCM *d-liaukh
  ’To wash clothes’ [Li].
[isLoggedIn]< exoactive / caus. of zhuó 蜻 (dak) (§4.3), lit. ‘make bright’.
≠ dī 照 (diek) LH dek, OCM *lii’uk, OCB *lewk
  A long-tailed pheasant which lives in the mountains [Shi, SW], ’feather’ of such a pheasant [Shi]. This animal is possibly related to the above words because if it had no striking shiny feathers, it would have been of no interest. For a semantic parallel (shiny ~ bird), see → hे, 鶴 ’crane’. In this phonetic series 照, MC ʣ- seems to derive from some OC L-like initial. Perh. → shuò 燦 and → dī, 氨 ‘to clean’ are related.
[.isLoggedIn] ST: WB hlyo (i.e. -au) ‘wash’ (hair, clothes).

**zhuó₁₁ 稔 (gak) LH ʣk, OCM *d-liauk, OCB *lewk
  ’Be clean, brilliant, bright, glossy; to moisten, wash’ [Shi] (Baxter 1992: 522).
≠ zhào 照 (gau) LH ʤau, OCM *d-liaukh
  ’To wash clothes’ [Li].
[isLoggedIn]< exoactive / caus. of zhuó 照 (gau) (§4.3), lit. ‘make bright’.
≠ dī 照 (diek) LH dek, OCM *lii’uk, OCB *lewk
  A long-tailed pheasant which lives in the mountains [Shi, SW], ’feather’ of such a pheasant [Shi]. This animal is possibly related to the above words because if it had no striking shiny feathers, it would have been of no interest. For a semantic parallel (shiny ~ bird), see → hे, 鶴 ’crane’. In this phonetic series 照, MC ʣ- seems to derive from some OC L-like initial. Perh. → shuò 燦 and → dī, 氨 ‘to clean’ are related.

**zhuó₁₂ 稔 → gǔ₁₂, zhuó 稔

**zhuó₁₃ 斷 → zhǔ₇ 斷

**zhuó₁₄ 著 → zhǔ₁₃ 著

**zī₁ 仔 → zài₁₂ 載

**zī₂ 滋 → qī₅ 漆

**zī₃ 兹 ‘black’ → zī₈ 莟

**zī₄ 兹 ‘year’ → zài₄ 再

**zī₅ 嗌 → wèi₃ 味

**zī₆ 嘞 ‘sigh’ → jié₅ 沉
c

**zī₇ 資 (tsi) LH tsi, OCM *tsai or *tsi, OCB *tsi, CMB *tsi, MUS -[.isLoggedIn] ONW tsi
  ’Property, resources’ [Shi], ’provisions, materials’ [Zuo], ’possess, rely on’ [Meng], ’furnish, give’ [Guoce]; Mand. ’money, capital’.
≠ zī 積 (dzi) LH dzi, OCM *dzi or *dzi
  ’Provisions, store of grain’ [SW: Shi]. Perh. related to → ji₉ 積.
[.isLoggedIn] ST *tsai; PTB *(t)say ≠ *(d)zay ‘property, livestock, talent’. For the vowel correspondence, see §11.6. Matisoff (1995: 42f) connects the TB etymon with → cái₁ 才材, but the rimes do not agree; some of the TB words there are here associated with → xī₁₁ 厘 ‘rhinoceros’.

**zī₈ 珲 (tshi) LH tsə, OCM *tsə
  A field cleared by slash and burn (Wáng Lì 1982: 96): ’to break the soil, recently broken field, field under cultivation for one year’ [Shi].
[.isLoggedIn] r-caus. of zāi 災 ‘conflagration’ (§7.5).
zf - zǐ

**zf, zǐ**  茅 根 (tsi²)  LH  ti²  OCM  *tsioh  
‘Cleared by burning’; ‘dead tree stumps’ 茅 [Shi], 根 [EY] (Wáng Li).

**zf**  韭 (tsi¹)  LH  ti³, OCM  *tsio  
‘Black’ (< color of burnt soil??) [Shi] is perh. the s. w. as zf 茅 above.

**zǐ**  紫 (tsi³)  LH  ti⁴, OCM  *tsio  — [T]  ONW  tsio  
‘Black’ [SW: Zuo] may be a mere variant of zf above.

zǐ  韭 → zǐ  紫

zǐ  子 (tsi²)  LH  tsio³, OCM  *tsio, OCB  *tsjo  
‘Offspring’ (Sagart 1999: 164): Child, son [OB, Shi], ‘young of animals’ [Shi], ‘plant seeds, eggs’. Syn. → 子 曰, → 童 n. [T]  Sin Sukchu SR  ts³ (上); MGZY  dz³i (上) [ts²]; ONW  tsio
[O] In Mand. suffixed to nouns as diminutive marker, to persons, animals, things in general (Norman 1988: 114). Acc. to FY 10.4, zāi 齡 is a southern dialect form of the Han period, still used today (§9.1.1).

[<] endoactive noun (§4.5.1), lit. ‘one who has come forth’ (i.e. offspring).

**E** ST  *tsio ‘to come forth’ (as child at birth). In this ST root the ‘offspring, child’ is the agent, note WT  umbed-ba bu  btsas ‘a son (bu [subj.] has come forth (ftsas) for (-la) the wife (pañ-ma)’, i.e. ‘the wife has given birth to a son’ (Jaeschke p. 434). By contrast, with the verb → shēng  生 ‘give birth’, the woman is the agent.


zǐ  子 (tsi²)  LH  tsio³, OCM  *tsio  
‘To treat as a child’ [Shu].

**E** exoactive / putative of zǐ 子 (tsi²) (§4.3).

zǐ  子 (dzi³)  LH  dzio³, OCM  *dzio  
‘To be loving, kind’ [Zuo].

[<] endopass. of the active root *dzio (§4.6; see comment above)

**E** ST: WT  mdza ’-ba ‘to love’ (as friends, kinsmen), WB ca ‘to have tender regard for, feel for’ (STC no. 67).

zǐ  子 (dzi³)  LH  dzio³, OCM  *dzio  
‘To breed’ [Shu], *zui 'nurture, love' [Shi]; 字 (‘progeny’): ‘compound character of script consisting of two or more elements’ as opposed to wén  文 ‘graph consisting of a single element’ [SW] (W. Boltz in M. Loewe, ed. 1993: 431).

[O] The ‘softened initial’ of Northern Mǐn dialects *dz- may suggest OC prenasalization which is supported by the Yao loan  dzaaŋ² < *ndz- (Norman 1986: 383). This would agree with WT  mdza ’-ba (see cí above). <> WB ca ‘writing, letter’ is apparently a CH loan (Sagart 1999: 211).  [E] ST  *tsio: WT  btsa⁶, btsas ‘to come forth’ (as child at birth).
[C] To the same root may belong the wfs → zāi, 肉‘to plant’, → cái 肉 ‘be well endowed, ability, talent’; possibly also → cái 肉 ‘harvest’.

zǐ  子 → zǐ  肉

zǐ  姊 (tsi²)  LH  tsi³, OCM  *tsio, OCB  *tsjo  
‘Elder sister’ [Shi].

**E** MK: PMoníc  *kmii ‘sister’ (in Old Mon). OC and MK agree exactly (*tsio? / cií?, the configuration Mon *km- precedes also other terms for humans). Phonetically less
direct is the connection with PTB *dzar (STC no. 68) from a hypothetical ST *dzər ~ *tsər (STC: 170 n. 455).

*zī₄ 种 → jī₆ 渙

*zī₃ 彩 (tseB) LH tseB, OCM *tse?
‘Defame, slander’ [Shi].

※ cf 载 (dzje) LH dzie, OCM *dze
‘Flaw’ [Shi], ‘defect’ [Zuo].

※ sf 彩 (jce) LH zie, OCM *?
‘Fault’ [Li]. However, the MC initial z- derives from OCM *s-1- or *s-j- and hence does not agree with the other words.

*zī₁ 自 (dziC) LH dziC, OCM *dzih ?
‘Self’ [OB, Shi] is used adverbially, the near syn. jī 己 is a personal pronoun (Pulleyblank 1995: 83). The original graph is identical with → bī 鼻 ‘nose’ (SW), the drawing of a nose. This has occasioned much speculation about a possible phonetic and etymological relationship of zī with bī (e.g. MC dziC < OC *sb-?, note also WT sbrid-pa ‘sneeze’), but phonologically these two syllables are difficult to reconcile; in fact, Xu Shēn (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 Sukchu SR dzī (否); MGZY tsi (否) [dzi]; ONW dzi

[E] The homophone zī 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 self’] = ‘er hat das selbst gemacht’ [‘he did it himself’]).

*zī₂ 字孳 → zī₁ 子

*zī₃ 骨 (dzje[C]) LH dzie(C), OCM *dze(h)
‘Bones with meat on’ 骨 [Zhou], 骨 [Lü], ‘carcass, bones of an animal’ 骨 [Li] is perh. cognate to jī₁ 骨 ‘spine’. This word is distinct from → cī₂ 骨.

*zī₄ 骨 (tseC) LH tseC, OCM *tsrəh
‘Pick, hoe’ [Guanzi].

※ Perh. zī 脚 (tsiB) LH tsiB, OCM *tsə ?
‘To hoe up earth around a plant’ [Shi].

[E] This wf is perh. related to WT tsʰi-ba ‘furrow’ (in a plowed field).

*zī₅ 積 → jī₉ 積

*zī₆ 蕃榴 → zī₈ 蕃

*zōng₁ 宗 (tsuoŋ) LH tsouŋ, OCM *tsuŋ
‘Ancestral temple, ancestral, lineage’ (which performs ancestor worship), ‘royal clan; to venerate, honor’ [OB, BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsuŋ (平); MGZY dzung (平) [tsuŋ]; ONW tsouŋ

[E] ST: WT rdzog(s) ‘castle, fortress’ as administrative center, WB (a-)cʰog ‘a building’. A Chinese temple is conceived and designed as an abode for deities or ancestors, from a simple structure to a palace (L. Thompson 1996: 60). “To govern the [zōng ‘lineage temple’] was to govern the town” (Chang K.C. 1976: 70).

*zōng₂ 稷 → jù, 聚

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zōng - zú

zōng 縱 → sōng₂ 憲聳 鞄 (2)
zōng₁ 從 → cóng₁ 從
zōng₂ 縱 → sōng₃ 縱
zōng₃ 縱 → zāo₂ 遭

zōu₁ 皁 (tsau, tsju) LH tso, tsio, OCM *tsuo
‘Angle, corner’ [Guoce].

zōu₂ 駮 (t'jau) LH t'su, OCM *tsro — [D] Mín: Xiâmén (lit.) tsɔ₄¹
‘Groom’ [Shi].
≠ cōu-mā (qu-mā) 趨馬 (tsʰɔuB-maB) LH tsʰoB-maB, OCM *tshōʔ
‘Manager of horses’ [Shi].
[E] The words are derived from → chú₄ 動 ‘hay, fodder; feed / raise’ (horses, cattle), but cōu-mā may have been influenced by items under → zōu 走 ‘to run’.

zōu 走 (tsaub) LH tsob, OCM *tsōʔ.
‘To run’ [B, Shi, classical CH] > ‘to go’ [Yili].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsow ( thượng); MGZY dz'iw ( thượng) [tsəw]; ONW tsouB
[D] Mand. ‘to walk’ where ‘run’ is replaced by → pāo 跑; southern dialects use xīng 行 for ‘walk’ (Norman 1988: 197). M-Xiâmén lit. tsɔᵢ¹, col. tsaoB¹ ‘to run’.
≠ zōu 奏 (tsac) LH t الص, OCM *tsōh
‘To hasten forward, bring forward, offer, make a report, play music’ [B, Shi].
[<] exoactive of zōu 走 (tsarb) (§4.3).
≠ qù 趣 (tsʰjuC) LH tsʰioC, OCM *tshoh
‘Hasten to’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'jy ( 行); MGZY tsh'yu ( 行) [ts'jy]; MTang tsʰy, ONW tsʰuO
≠ qù 趣 (t'sju) LH ts'ho, OCM *tshro
‘To hasten, run to’ [Shi], ‘strive for, aim’ [Meng].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'y ( 行); MGZY tsh'yu ( 行) [ts'y]
≠ zōu 蹴 (dz'jauC) LH dz'uC, OCM *dzrōh, OCB *dzrjos
‘Fast-running’ (horse) [Shi], ‘quickly, suddenly’ [Zuo], 驅 [Li].
[E] This group belongs to a large ST wf whose root and core meaning is represented by → sōu₃, sōu 捲 ‘to rouse’. It is more immediately related to → sū₆ 速 ‘quick’.

zōu₁ 奏 → zōu 走
zōu₂ 蹴駿 → zōu 走
zū 草 → jū, 草

zū₁ 卒 (tsjuet) LH tsuit, 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 cuwtma (cuwt-) ‘be finished, be completed’. Bodman (1969: 327) relates this word to WT sdud-pa ‘to close, conclude, terminate’.
≠ cul 疲碎 (dzwiC) LH dzuC, OCM *dzuts
‘To be exhausted, suffering’ 疲 [Shi], ‘distressed’ 悴 [Meng].

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zu — zuì

※ qiú 齁 (dzjau) LH dzu, OCM *dzu
‘To end’ (one’s life naturally) [Shi].

※ zào 僮 (tsåu) LH tsou, OCM *tsû
‘Complete, end’ [Xun].

[C] This wöf is perh. related to → zào 齁 and → zào 齁; possible allofam → qiū 秋.

zu₂ 卒 → zào 齁 遡

zu₃ 足 (tsjwok) LH tsio, OCM *tsok
‘Lower leg with foot, leg, foot’ (of person, bed, vessel) [OB, Shi], also of hills (foothills).

[E] Etymology not certain. Zu agrees with a MK etymon except for the final consonants: PMonic *jił ‘lower limb, leg, foot, base’ (in Mon), also ‘foot of a hill’ (Nyah Kur); Wa-Lawa-Bulang *joŋ ‘foot’, Semai /jukŋ/, Temiar /juk/ (from -ŋ).

zu₄ 足 (tsjwok) LH tsio, OCM *tsok
‘Enough, sufficient’ [OB, Shi]; caus. in tone C LH tsio C ‘to complete, form’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 282).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsi ( ), PR, LR tsu?; MGZY dzjù ( ) [tsy]; ONW tsuok


zu₅ 族 → jù, 挤

zu 祖 (tsuoB) LH tsöB, OCM *tsä? — [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’.

[C] endoactive noun of a root *tsa (§4.5.1), lit. ‘the one who is gone’.

※ cu 祖 (dzuo) LH dzã, OCM *dzã
‘To go, go away, march’ 祖 [Shi] > ‘to pass away, die’ 祖 [BI, Shu]; a Han period dialect word for ‘to marry’ (of a woman) in Qi [FY 1, 14].

[<] ? endopass. of a root *tsa (§4.6), perh. lit. ‘to get to be gone’.

zuān 穴 (tsuān) LH tsuon, OCM *tsön
‘To bore, perforate’ [Zhuang] > ‘penetrate’ [Lunyu].

※ juān 鰍 (tsjwān) LH tsyan, OCM *tson
‘To bore, perforate’ [Zhuang] > ‘penetrate’ [Lunyu].

※ jū 鰆 (tsjwān) LH tsyen, OCM *tson
‘Chisel, sharp point’ [Mo].


[C] The word → zuò 遞 (dzâk) ‘to bore, chisel out’ may be related.

zuī 嘀 (tswieB?)
‘Mouth, beak, snout’ [JY], a late word (Wang Li 1982: 116) which is prob. the s. w. as = zuī, zi 齁 (tswieB?, tsie) LH tsyeB?, tsie ?, OCM *tsöi? ?, *tse or *tsai?
‘Beak’ [Li].

[E] This word is perh. related to WT mts’sul-pa ‘lower part of face, muzzle, beak’.

zuì 醉 (tswieC) LH tsuis, OCM *tsuts — [T] ONW tsui
‘Drunk’ [Shi].

※ cul 嚼 (tsʰuáC) LH tsʰuas, OCM *tsʰúts
‘To taste, drink’ 嚼 [Lij].


[C] This wöf belongs perh. to the same root as → cul 浮 ‘dip into’ because of the common

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notion that one ‘soaks’ in vices, note → yín₃ 淫; cuì 瘡 and 淫 may be the same word. Alternatively perh. connected with WT bźi ‘intoxication’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 62).

zuò 最 → jū₇ 聚

zuò 罪 (dzuāt²) LH dzuāi⁸, OCM *dzūi² — [T] ONW dzuāi ‘Crime, offense, guilt’ [Bl, Shi]. The original graph for zuō looks similar to huáng 皇 so that Qin Shi Huangdi replaced it with 罪 which was the original graph for ‘fish trap’ [SW] (Wáng Li 1982: 406); the element fēi 非 is therefore not phonetic. The etymology is not clear, unless it is a ST word cognate to Lushai sual² ‘bad, wicked, evil, wrong, to misbehave, sin’ ≠ sual⁹ ‘to rape’ (a woman).

zūn 尊 (tsuăn) LH tsuan, OCM *tsūn ‘To honor, perform (a sacrifice)’ > ‘ritual vessel’ [OB, BI, Shi].

zūn 撰 (tsuăn²) LH tsuan⁸, OCM *tsūn ‘Regulated, to regulate’ [Li, Guoce].


zuò 左 (tsā²) LH tsūi⁸, OCM *tsāiʔ ‘Left (side)’ [BI, Shi] > (‘consider or treat as left’ = ‘unfavorable’ >) ‘not approve, to oppose’ [OB] (Takashima EC 5, 1979–1980: 54), ‘disagree’ xiāng-zuò 相左 [Zuo]; ‘crooked’ (road) [Hanshu].

zūo 左 (tsā²) LH tsūi⁸, OCM *tsāiʔ ‘To help, assist, aid’ (be to one’s (left) side) [BI, Shi]. The semantics are the mirror image of → yòu₂ 右.

zú 失 *zai² ‘left’.

zuò 左 (tsā²) LH tsūi⁸, OCM *tsāiʔ ‘To sit’ (Shi).

zuò 左 (tsā²) LH tsūi⁸, OCM *tsāiʔ ‘Seat’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 275).
zuò

[<] exopass. derivation (§4.4), lit. ‘what is sat on’.

[B] Bodman (1980: 134) compares zuò to WT sdod-pa ‘to sit’, but this raises many phonological difficulties (for the initials, see §5.7). This word is shared with PKS *dzuːj6 ‘to sit’.

zuò₃ 作 (tsák) LH tsak, OCM *tsâk
‘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’ [Shu]; 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 → wéi₃ 為, → yī₆ 役.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaw ( ), tsɔ (去), tsu (去), PR tsɔ, LR tsawī; MGZY dzaw ( ) [tsaw], dzu (去) [tsu]

<k> cuò 摺 (tsʰuoɔ) LH tsʰɔɔ, OCM *tshâkh
‘To establish’ [Yi], ‘to place’ [Lunyu], ‘lay aside, cease’ [Li].

[E] This etymon may perh. be related to WT mdzad-pa ‘to do, act’, Kukish ca, Mru caŋ ‘to do, make’ (Löffler 1966: 140), yet there are phonological and semantic difficulties, therefore the TB items are more likely related to → sf₃ 為.

zuò₄ 作 → jū₁ 咭

zuò₅ 醍醋祚昨 → cuò₄ 鏊

zuò₆. záò 鑿 (dzak) LH dzak, OCM *dzauk
‘To bore, chisel out’ [Shi]; ‘a borer’ [Lunheng].

[E] <> TB-WB chok ‘chisel’.

<k> zào 燽 (dzauɔ) LH dzauɔ

[<] exopass. of zuò, záò 燽 *dzauk (§4.4), lit. ‘what has been bored’.

[C] An allofam is prob. → zuān 鑿 ‘to bore’. Note also AA-OKhmer coh /coh/ ‘to bore, pierce’ (→ Tai: S. /cʰq/ ‘to make a hole’ [Jenner / Pou 1982: 67]); this may possibly be an area etymon.
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