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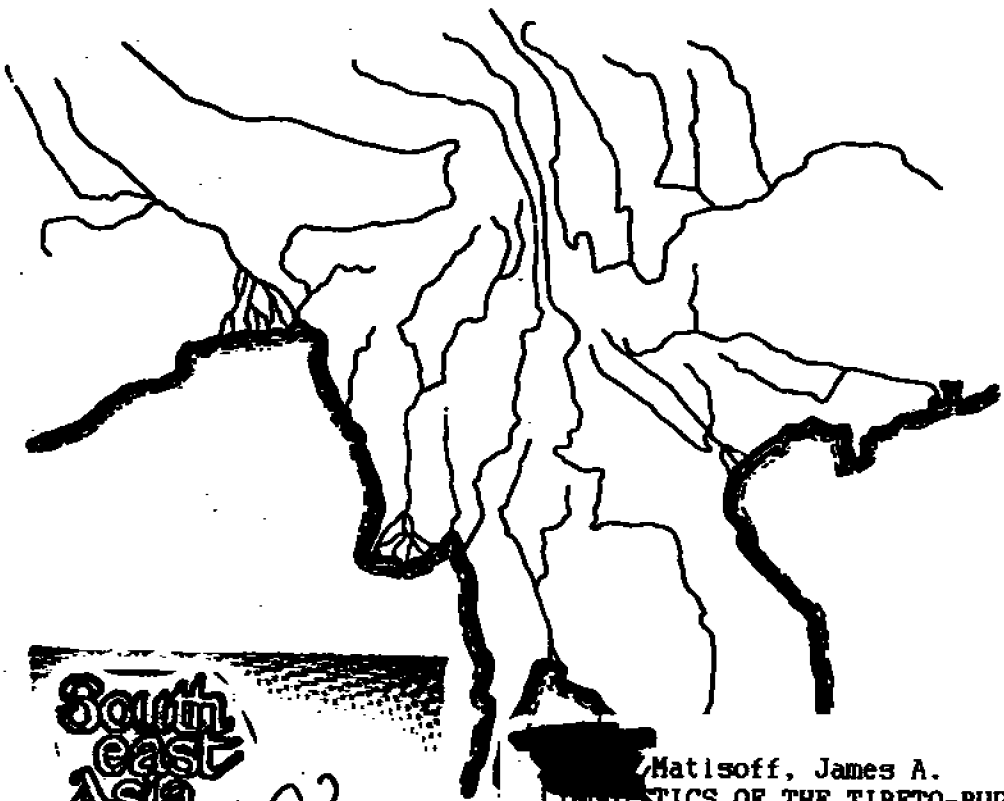
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FROM THE EDITOR

This issue of LTBA is devoted entirely to the fascinating and understudied Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) language family. Many of the articles date from a panel on Hmong Language and Linguistics chaired by David Strecker during the Southeast Asian Studies Summer Institute (SEASSI) Conference at the University of Michigan in the summer of 1985. Later several papers on Mien (by Caron, Court, Purnell, and Solnit) were added, along with last-minute contributions by Lyman and Jaisser. The end result is a well-rounded set of papers that cover a range of synchronic and diachronic topics in Hmong-Mien phonology, grammar, and orthography.

We would like to thank David Strecker and Brenda Johns for conceiving this idea of a special issue on Hmong-Mien. Tanya Smith was ably assisted in the preparation of the manuscripts by Steve Baron, Amy Dolcourt, John Lowe, and Jean McAneny, to all of whom many thanks.

A cumulative index to the first ten volumes of LTBA appears on pp. 177-180. Also, back issues of LTBA (originals when available, photocopies otherwise) may be purchased according to the price schedule on p.182.

We are about to launch a serious Subscription Drive to further stabilize our financial base. We welcome suggestions from our present readership as to whom we might solicit to become new subscribers!

JAM

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The Hmong-Mien Languages

David Strecker

The Hmong-Mien family, which is also called the Miao-Yao family, is one of the major language stocks of Southeast Asia. Most of the languages of the family are spoken in southwestern China, but several languages are spoken in the northern portions of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Burma.

A detailed understanding of the family first became available to linguists as a result of the dialect surveys and descriptive linguistic work undertaken in China after the Liberation. More recently, the Indochinese war forced thousands of speakers of Hmong-Mien languages from Laos to resettle in Australia, Europe, and the Americas, so that a number of linguists outside of China and Southeast Asia have now become active Hmong-Mienists. The present collection includes the work of several of these scholars.

Even today some linguists who are not specialists in these languages tend to think of Hmong-Mien as a small and obscure group, comprising just two languages, "Miao" and "Yao". In fact, Hmong-Mien comprises some two dozen major subgroups which are sufficiently different from one another to be mutually unintelligible. Within several of these subgroups there exist further subdivisions showing marked differences in vocabulary and phonology and considered by their speakers to be separate languages, despite some degree of mutual intelligibility. It is probably closer to the mark to say that there are between 30 and 40 Hmong-Mien languages.

The various subgroups of Hmong-Mien can be grouped in three major branches:

Hmongic
Ho Nte
Mienic

Mienic, also called Yao, is a fairly close-knit group comprising six languages as shown in figure 2. Mun and Mien are widely spoken in China, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. The other four languages are confined to a relatively limited region within China.

Ho Nte, also called She, is a single language spoken in four districts near Hong Kong (figure 1).

By contrast, Hmongic, also called Miao, is extremely diverse. I have tried to give a rough idea of the diversity of Hmongic languages and their approximate geographic distribution in Figure 1. In Chinese publications, Hmongic languages are subdivided into Miáoyǔ 'Miao language' and Bùnǚyǔ 'Bunu language' according to whether the speakers are culturally Hmong (Miáozú) or Yao (Yáozú). This distinction is cultural rather than linguistic.

The Na-e language of Vietnam, also called Pateng, seems in most respects to be simply a southern outlier of the Pa Hng subgroup of Hmongic, as was first pointed out by André Haudricourt. Recently, however, Paul Benedict has argued that Na-e actually constitutes a fourth branch of Hmong-Mien. This suggestion needs further study.

A more detailed breakdown of Hmong-Mien languages is as follows:

I. Hmongic (Miáo yǔzhī)

- A. West Hunan group or QoXiong language (Miáoyǔ Xiāngxī fāngyán; Northern Hmongic)
- B. East Guizhou group or Mhu language (Miáoyǔ Qiándōng fāngyán; Eastern Hmongic)
- C. Sichuan-Guizhou-Yunnan group (Miáoyǔ Chuānqiándiān fāngyán plus Bùnǚyǔ Bù-Nǎo fāngyán; Western Hmongic; Purnell's Western and Central)
 1. Sichuan-Guizhou-Yunnan subgroup (Miáoyǔ Chuānqiándiān cìfāngyán; Purnell's West A); Green Mong, White Hmong, etc.
 2. Northeastern Yunnan subgroup (Miáoyǔ Diāndōngběi cìfāngyán) (A-Hmau)
 3. Guiyang subgroup (Miáoyǔ Guìyáng cìfāngyán) (Hmong)
 4. Huishui subgroup (Miáoyǔ Huìshuǐ cìfāngyán) (Mhong)
 5. Mashan subgroup (Miáoyǔ Mǎshān cìfāngyán) (Mang)
 6. Luobo River subgroup (Miáoyǔ Luóbó Hé cìfāngyán) (A-Hmyo)
 7. Eastern or Zhong'an River subgroup (Miáoyǔ Dōngbù cìfāngyán or Miáoyǔ Zhōng'ān Jiāng cìfāngyán) (Mhong)
 8. Pingtang subgroup (Miáoyǔ)
 9. Qianxi-Pingba-Qingzhen-Liuzhi subgroup (Miáoyǔ)
 10. Luodian Moyin subgroup (Miáoyǔ)

I. Hmongic, continued.

C. Sichuan-Guizhou-Yunnan group, continued.

11. Dushan subgroup (Miáoyǔ)
 12. Luodian Pingyan subgroup (Miáoyǔ)
 13. Ziyun-Zhenning subgroup (Miáoyǔ)
 14. Wangmo subgroup (Miáoyǔ)
 15. Wangmo-Luodian subgroup (Miáoyǔ) (Mhang)
 16. Pu-Nao subgroup (Bùnyǔ Bù-Nǎo fāngyán)
 - a. Pu Nu (Tung Nu) (Bùnyǔ Dōngnǔ tǔyǔ)
 - b. Nu Nu (Bùnyǔ Nǔnǔ tǔyǔ)
 - c. Pu No (Bùnyǔ Bùnuò tǔyǔ)
 - d. Nao Klao (Bùnyǔ Nàogéláo tǔyǔ)
 - e. Nu Mhou (Bùnyǔ Nǔmào tǔyǔ)
- D. Pa Hng (Bùnyǔ Bāhēng fāngyán)
- E. Hm Nai (Bùnyǔ Wúnài fāngyán)
- F. Kiong Nai (Bùnyǔ Jiōngnài fāngyán)
- G. Yu Nuo (Bùnyǔ Yōunuò fāngyán)

II. Ho Nte (Shēyǔ)

- A. Western or Lianhua dialect (Liánhuā fāngyán)
- B. Eastern or Luofu dialect (Luófú fāngyán)

III. Mienic (Yáo yǔzhǐ Miǎnyǔ)

- A. Mien-Kim (Miǎn-Jīn fāngyán)
 1. Mien (Iu Mien) (Yōumiǎn tǔyǔ)
 2. Mun (Kim Mun) (Jīnmén tǔyǔ)
 3. Biao Mon (Biāomàn tǔyǔ)
- B. Biao-Chao (Biāo-Jiāo fāngyán)
 1. Biao Min (Biāomīn tǔyǔ)
 2. Chao Kong Meng (Jiāogōngmiǎn tǔyǔ)
- C. Dzao Min (Zǎomīn fāngyán)

IV. Classification uncertain: Na-e (Pateng)

Note that the articles on Hmong in this collection all deal with White Hmong of Thailand and Laos, which belongs to the Sichuan-Guizhou-Yunnan subgroup of the Sichuan-Guizhou-Yunnan group of Hmongic.

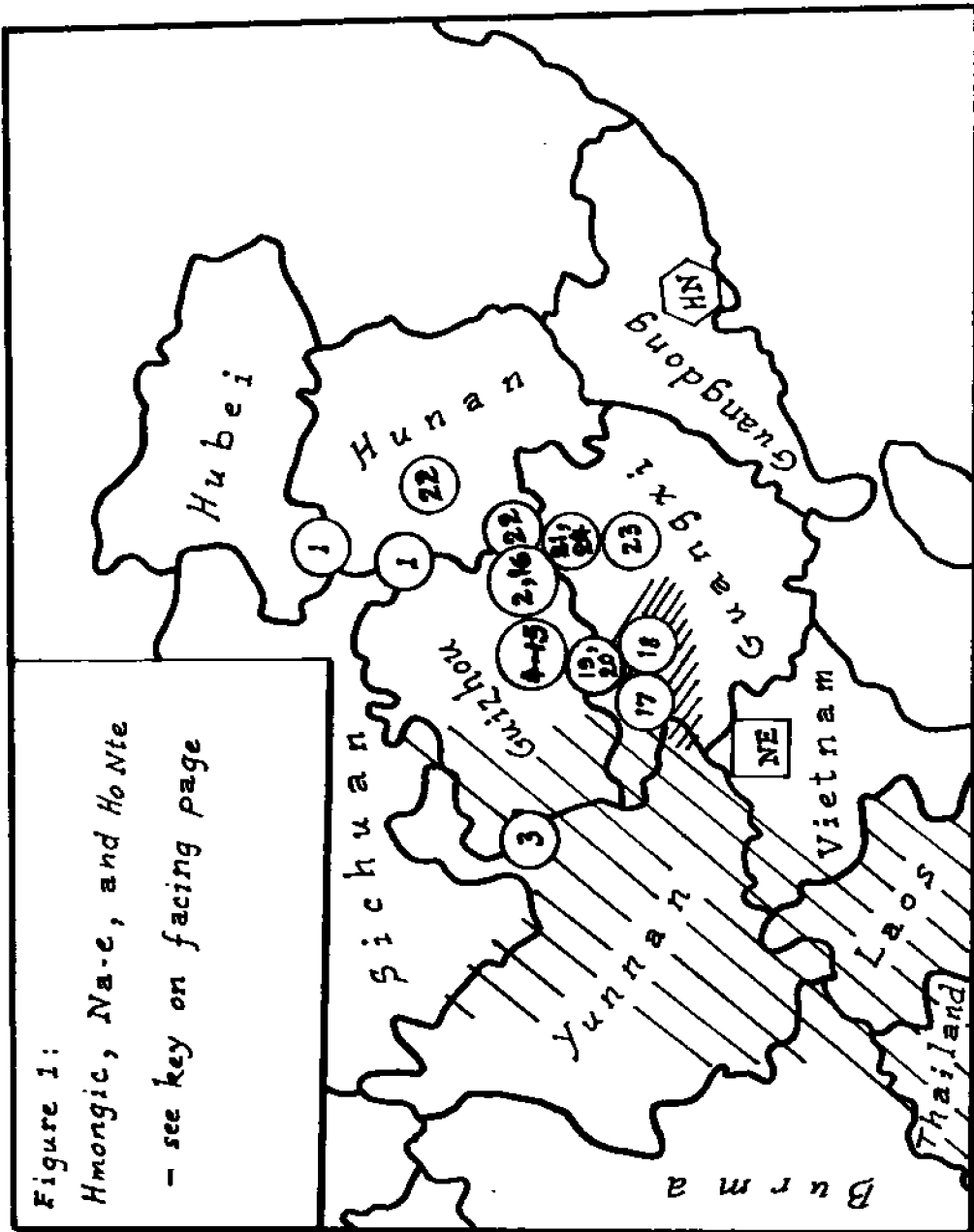
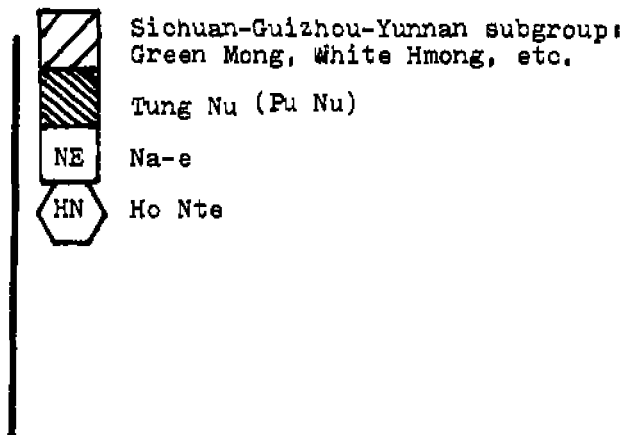
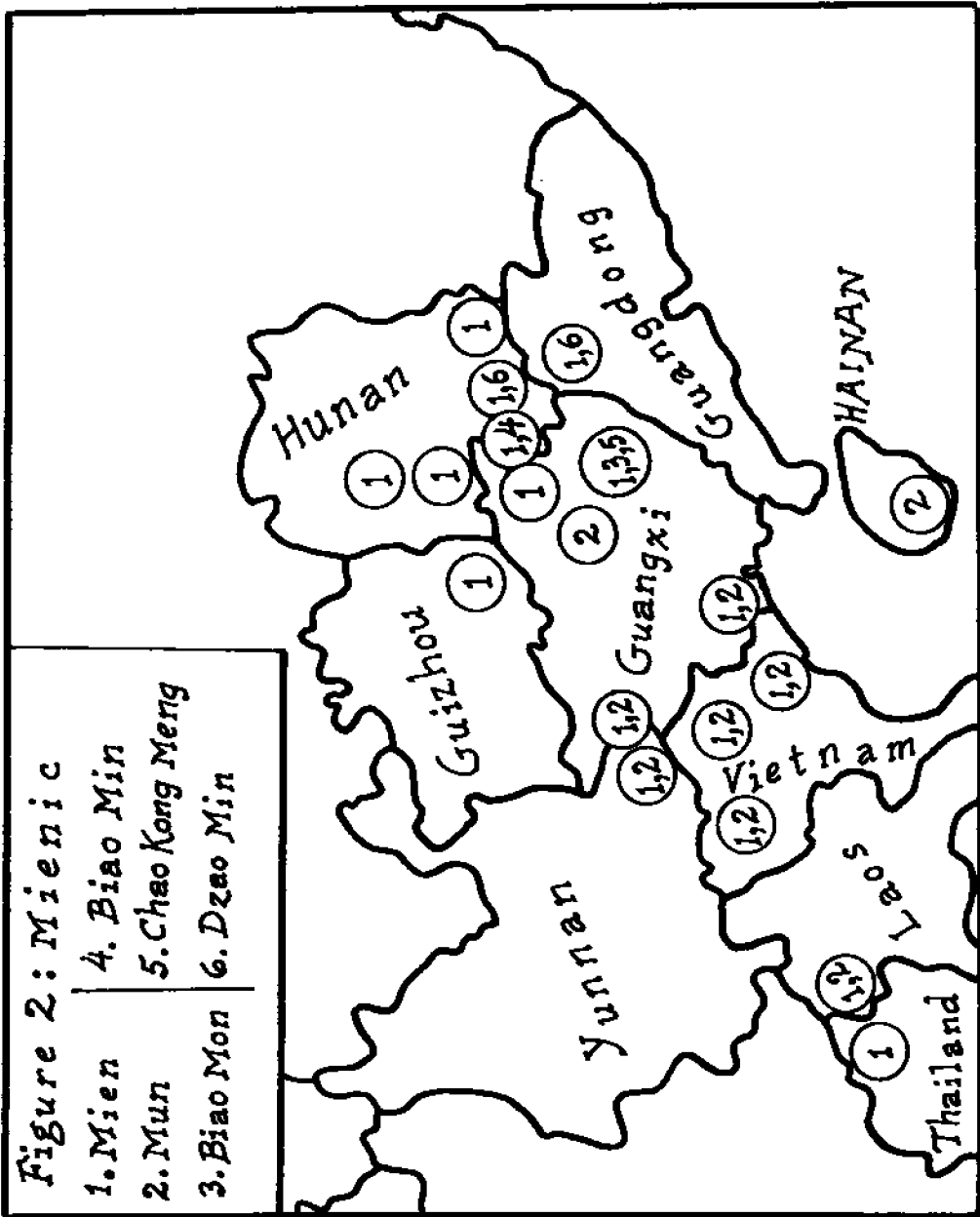


Figure 1: Hmongic, Na-e, and Ho Nte.

- 1 QoXiong or West Hunan group (also speech islands in or near the Tung Nu speaking area)
- 2 Mhu or East Guizhou group (also speech islands in south central and SW Guizhou and in NW Guangxi)
- 3 A-Hmau or Northeastern Yunnan subgroup of Sichuan-Guizhou-Yunnan group
- 4-15 Diverse Hmongic languages of south central Guizhou: Guiyang Hmong, Huishui Mhong, Mang (Mashan subgroup), A-Hmyo (Luobo River subgroup), Pingtang subgroup, Qianxi-Pingba-Qingzhen-Liuzhi subgroup, Luodian Moyin subgroup, Dushan subgroup, Luodian Pingyan subgroup, Ziyun-Zhenning subgroup, Wangmo subgroup, Mhang (Wangmo-Luodian subgroup)
- 16 Zhong'an River Mhong (speech islands within Mhu area)
- 17 Nu Nu
- 18 Pu No
- 19 Nao Klao
- 20 Nu Mhou
- 21 Pa Hng
- 22 Hm Nai
- 23 Kiong Nai
- 24 Yu Nuo





White Hmong Orthography and IPA Equivalentents
(Broad Transcription)

1. Final consonant letters denote tones, not consonants.
2. Doubling a vowel denotes final [ŋ].

Thus the name of the language is spelled Hmoob [mɔŋ⁵⁵].

Initials

p	ph	np	nph	v	f	m	hm
[p]	[ph]	[mb]	[mph]	[v]	[f]	[m]	[g]
pl	plh	npl	nplh			ml	hml
[pl]	[phl]	[mbl]	[mphl]			[ml]	[gl]
t	th	nt	nth	l	hl	n	hn
[t]	[th]	[nd]	[nth]	[l]	[l̥]	[n]	[ŋ]
tx	txh	ntx	ntxh		x		
[ts]	[tsh]	[ndz]	[ntsh]		[s]		
d	dh						
[d]	[d̥]						
r	rh	nr	nrh				
[ɹ]	[ɹh]	[nd]	[nɹh]				
ts	tsh	nts	ntsh	z	s		
[tʂ]	[tʂh]	[ndʂ]	[nʂh]	[z]	[s]		
c	ch	nc	nch	y	xy	ny	hny
[tʃ]	[tʃh]	[ndʃ]	[nʃh]	[j]	[ç]	[ɲ]	[hɲ]
k	kh	nk	nkh			ɛ	
[k]	[kh]	[ŋg]	[ŋkh]			[ŋ]	
q	qh	nq	nqh				
[q]	[qh]	[ŋg]	[Nqh]				
∅					h		
[ʔ]					[h]		

For d and dh see Jarkey's paper in this collection.

Finals

i[i]	ia[ia]	ai[ai]	
e[e]			ee[ɛɛ]
a[a]			
o[ɔ]			oo[ɔɔ]
u[u]	ua[ua]	au[au]	
w[ɥ]		aw[aw]	

Tones

- b [55] high level
- j [52] high falling
- v [24] rising
- s [22] mid-low level
- ∅ [33] mid level
- g [42] falling, whispery voiced
- m [21] low falling, creaky voiced
- d [13], [213] low rising, or falling-rising (a syntactically determined variant of -m)

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EARLY MY/TB LOAN RELATIONSHIPS

Paul K. Benedict

The Miao-Yao (MY) languages appear to have split off from the mainland bloc of Austro-Tai (AT) languages at an early period, moving to the north and west and there coming into contact with the Sino-Tibetan (ST) languages. To make use of an analogy from geomorphology, they came to be positioned at the 'grinding edges' of the vast AT and ST tectonic plates, along a line of maximum anticipated activity. In this case the activity involved the transformation of MY into a monosyllabic, fully tonal language family, as earlier described by the writer (1975 - hereafter ATLC), with many of the details yet to be explored. As regards the monosyllabism, this is a feature of both Tibeto-Burman (TB) and Sinitic (Chinese, Bai) and must be set up for the parental proto-language (PST), hence no clues as to the precise source of the influences are provided. The tones are another matter, however; at an early period (2nd/1st mill. B. C.) Chinese converted the two-tone (or two-accent) *A ~ *B system of PST into a three-tone (or three-accent) system with the addition of a third, sandhi tone (or accent) *C and a system of precisely this kind must be reconstructed for the parent MY language (PMY), with one-to-one tonal correspondences in the early loanwords for such cultural items as 'horse' and 'charcoal'. This is an example of 'direct' diffusion, in contrast to the 'stimulus' diffusion found in Mon-Khmer (e.g. Riang, Khamu) and even in Austronesian (Hulhui, the Chamic language spoken on Hainan); the tonal system itself was borrowed, not simply the 'idea of tones', with the loanwords serving as the bearers of tone. The process undoubtedly began in a highly selective manner, with later spread throughout the language; cf. the situation in T'in, a Mon-Khmer language now on its way to becoming fully tonal, which has borrowed Thai (Siamese) numerals *along with the tones* (see Benedict 1984: 67).

This sort of linguistic happening cannot occur at a distance, inasmuch as it requires a virtual cultural 'flooding', with extensive diglossia on the part of the 'submerged' population (as in the case of T'in). The early (Archaic level) Chinese/MY loans, as currently analyzed (Benedict 1986), point to exactly this kind of prolonged, intimate relationship, thus dovetailing with the tonal evidence. The picture is complicated, however, by the fact that the bulk of Chinese loans into MY reflect early dialect(s) that are distinct from the 'standard' Archaic, notably in the retention of PST final *-a, where the latter shows a regular shift to -o. These loans also commonly show evidence of Chinese 'processing', reflecting manifold prefix + initial shifts of the type described in an earlier paper (1976) by the writer. Thus, the picture is exceedingly complex, even under the best of circumstances, yet all would make good sense historically were it not for the following: a TB rather than Chinese source must be recognized for the basic cardinal numerals of MY as well as for the 'core' (basic) lexical items: 'sun/day' - 'moon/month', along with a number of other items rather less basic in nature. This paper presents the relevant linguistic data, attempts to delineate (if not identify) the donor source or sources (DMY or DMY's) and,

finally, offers some preliminary speculation as to how this strange linguistic state of affairs is likely to have come about.

The numerals of MY, like those of the Kadai languages and even Austronesian (Huihui), nicely exemplify selective lexical retention (SLR - see Benedict 1983b), with a primary 'rule' that cardinals are better retained than ordinals and a secondary 'rule' that the lowest numerals are better retained than the higher (it should be noted here that the Swadesh basic 100-word list includes only 'one' and 'two'). In the case of the MY numeral system, only one loanword managed to break into the native 'one' through 'three' alignment and the intrusion was relatively late: Middle Chinese (MC) — ʔ₁ēt 'one' > Yao (Mien only) *yet¹. The MY numerals above 'ten' are also of Chinese origin but those from 'four' through 'ten' appear to have been borrowed as a set from a TB source (or sources). Both Shafer (1964) and Downer (1971) took special note of the resemblances shown by these numerals while the writer (1976) has analyzed them at some length, along with the early Chinese loans to Tai. Contra the view expressed there, it now seems evident (see fn. 1) that 'four' also belongs in this set of early loans from TB, with the further strong likelihood that 'five' must be included as well, i.e. these numerals were borrowed as a set. As shown in the following listing, the corresponding Chinese numerals developed in different ways (see the above-cited paper), precluding the possibility of their having served as sources for the MY numerals (see Benedict 1972 - hereafter *STC* - for the TB numerals):

'four': PTB *b-ləy; PMY *plei^A; MC 四 st-. PMY regularly has -ei for earlier (PAT-level) final *-i, with *-i as an alternative reconstruction, hence the indicated DMY form is *pli^A, with *-i for final *-ay (as in most TB languages) along with unvoicing of the prefix.

'five': PTB *r-ŋa ~ (secondary) *b-ŋa; PMY *pra^A; MC 五 ŋuo: PTB prefixed *r- is maintained in Old Kuki but replaced in Written Tibetan (WT) by l-, apparently through influence from PTB *lak 'arm/hand'²; general replacement by prefixed *b- through influence from the preceding numeral (see above), with occasional preemption of initial *ŋ-. The indicated DMY form is *pra^A, with the secondary *b- (> p-) preceding the *r- rather than replacing it, followed by preemption of the initial and unvoicing of the prefix, as in 'four'.

'six': PTB *d-ruk ~ *k-ruk; PMY *tru[?]; MC 六 liuk. The PMY initial *tr- has been reconstructed on the basis of the Na-e evidence (see Benedict: forthcoming); the final *-ʔ for earlier *-k is a MY feature, hence the indicated DMY form is *truk, with unvoicing of the prefix as in 'four' and 'five'.

'seven': PTB *snis; PMY *zńia^C; MC 七 ts'iet. Contra *STC*, the PTB *s- stands for the first part of the *sn- cluster rather than for prefixed *s-, with Stau exhibiting a distinction between /zńi/ 'seven' (secondary voicing and palatalization with loss of final *-s) and /sńi/ 'day', from *s-nəy^A (see below). The nasal element of the MY root is maintained only in Yao: Mun (ńi) but it yielded typical secondary nasalization of the final in Miao, with some Western dialects reflecting secondary unvoicing (*zńia^C > *sńia^C). The initial of the DMY form can be reconstructed as *z[n,ń]-, with secondary voicing as in Stau; the ambiguity results from the fact that

secondary palatalization is characteristic of MY, tying in with the same feature in Chinese, probably reflecting an ancient Sprachbund. The final of the DMY form could hardly have been *-i, with loss of *-s (as in Stau), since this would have yielded PMY *-ei (cf. 'four'); PMY does have medial *-ia- for medial *-i-, however (see 'ten' and 'year', below), hence the indicated reconstruction of the DMY final is *-is, with the vocalic shift preceding the eventual loss of *-s (lacking in PMY).

'eight': PTB *(-)ryát; PMY *hyat; MC / \ pwät. The earliest ST prefixation pattern, reflected in WT (brgyad < *b-g-ryat) and Jingpho (mətsát) as well as in Chinese (apparently unvoiced by an original prefixed *-s-) can be set up as *b-g- but within TB the Kuki-Naga forms reflect prefixed *d- (< *d-rát) while those of Burmese-Lolo reflect prefixed *s- > Written Burmese (WB) hrac (< *hryat), with /hyat/ appearing in the inscriptions, exactly matching the PMY root. The indicated DMY form is *h[ry,]yat, with *-ry- a possibility in view of the fact that PMY lacked this cluster and may well have substituted *-y-, paralleling the Burmese development.

'nine': PTB *d-kəw ~ *d-gəw; PMY *gy[ou]A; MC 九 kiəu. The initial *g- form, represented notably in WT (dgu), shows secondary voicing after the prefix, which was replaced by *-s- in some languages (Jingpho, Bodo-Garo). The PMY palatalized initial is generally reflected by palatals or dentals (but Na-e kó); the reconstruction of the final is provisional, with the Yao forms apparently influenced by the similar ordinal forms (< Chinese). PMY regularly has final *-ou for earlier (PAT-level) *-u, paralleling *-ei for earlier *-i (see 'four', above), hence the indicated DMY form here is *[prefix+] [g,gy]u, with ambiguity arising from the palatalization (see the discussion under 'seven', above). The initial voicing points to earlier prefixed *d-, as in WT, with later shift to *t- (cf. 'six', above).

'ten': PTB *gip; PMY *g(y)lap; MC 十 z̄iəp. The PMY initial palatalization appears to have been variable, with Yao forms perhaps influenced by competing forms of Chinese origin. As in 'seven', the PMY medial *-ia- is to be considered secondary, with *gip indicated for the DMY form.

Reconstructed tones (*A or *B) have not been cited for the three relevant PTB numeral roots ('four', 'five' and 'nine') in view of the widespread variation shown by the modern forms, including tonal 'form classes', e.g. WB all < tone *B; Trung (Nungish) all < tone *A, for these three numerals as well as for 'three' (PTB *g-sum). PMY tone *A for the trio indicates that DMY had a 'form class' like that of Trung. The fact that PMY has tone *C for 'seven' supports the final *-s reconstruction since this tone has a sandhi origin, reflecting syllable-final features.

To sum up, the DMY numerals were probably as follows:

	DMY		DMY
four	*pli ^A	eight	*hryat
five	*pra ^A	nine	*t-gu ^A
six	*truk	ten	*gip
seven	*znis		

The DMY phonology is featured by the unvoicing of stop prefixes (the *t- of 'nine' only by inference), along with the *s-r- > *hr- shift, contrasting

with secondary voicing of the *sn- cluster; also the parallel final *-əy > *-i and *-əw > *-u shifts. Although only one numeral root (*gip 'ten') remained without change, none of the DMY forms appears very unusual for TB, with the exception of that for 'five', and even here there are parallels in the modern languages to the initial-preemption involved.

Three other lexical items, all at least partially of calendrical type, have long attracted the attention of comparativists because of the obvious MY/TB resemblances. As reported in the above-cited article (Benedict 1976), there is a competing AT etymology in the case of one of these items ('moon/month') but this must now be discarded, especially in view of the additional evidence available here (see below). As in the case of the numerals, the Chinese cognates exhibit different lines of development, effectively precluding them as possible loan sources:

'sun/day': PTB *nəyA 'sun' ~ *s-nəyA 'day'; PMY *hnɔiA (often prefixed) 'sun/day'; MC 日 *n̄z̄īt̄* 'id.'. The 'sun' vs. 'day' distinction can be established at the PTB level; cf. Stau *sni* 'day' (above); Jingpho *sənf* 'id.'; WB *ne* (< *nəyA) 'sun' - *ne'* (< *s-nəyA) 'day', but has been lost in some TB languages, e.g. Lushai has /ni/ for both 'sun' and 'day'. Chinese also has lost the distinction: *n̄z̄īt̄* < *s-n̄z̄īt̄ (Min evidence for the prefixation), with secondary final -t after the prefix (paralleling the WB glottalization; see Benedict 1983a). In MY the 'sun' vs. 'day' distinction is often made through prefixation but basically the PMY root shows a loss here, of the Chinese rather than Lushai type, i.e. it is the *s- prefixed rather than the unprefixed form that has prevailed. On the basis of this MY loan evidence one can posit a similar loss of distinction in the donor language, although it is possible that MY innovated here. The indicated *hn- for DMY, from an earlier (PTB) *s-n-, contrasts with *zn- from a *sn- cluster in 'seven', precisely as in Stau (see above). The final presents a problem, however, inasmuch as in 'four' PTB final *-əy is represented by PMY *-ei, regularly from an earlier *-i, whereas in this root it is represented by PMY *-ɔi, very likely standing for *-əy itself. At least three possible solutions present themselves: (a) the final reflex was conditioned by the initial (*pl- vs. *hn-) (b) PMY lacked the specific *hnei combination (Mien, at least, appears to lack it) and substituted *hnɔi (3) a somewhat different DMY, perhaps a dialect of the 'standard' DMY, which retained final *-əy, was the source in the case of this item. Of these three possible solutions (a) seems the least likely and (c) the most likely.

'moon/month': PTB *(s-)(g-)laA; PMY *hlaC; MC 月 *ʃək* [GSR 769a] 'new moon', from *s-glāk (see Benedict 1976:189 for the phonetic element here), with prefixed *s- yielding secondary -k after the low vowel, in contrast to the final -t after high front vowel that appears in the preceding root [see Benedict 1983a]. The Garo cognate: *ja* (< *sglaA) is also glossed as 'spirit/apparition/phantom'; WT has the doublet *zla* (< *sglaA) 'moon' - *hla* (< *sla) 'the gods'; Jingpho has only *śətā* (< *s-glaA). Chang-Tangsa (STC: Konyak group) only *glaA and WB only *la'* (< *s-laA), all in the meaning 'moon' (~ 'month'), but Lushai parallels WT in showing a doublet, in this case the product of regular tonal changes (see Benedict 1983a): *thlā* (< *s-glaA) 'moon' - *thlā'* (< *sglaA) 'spirit/soul/one's double'. This all points to an

underlying cult of the moon, with WT hla 'the gods' playing a key semantic role. An identical form but with tone added (*hla^A) must be set up for the donor language (DMY), in this case with the basic meaning of 'moon/month' retained, as in WB la' (< *s-la^A). The indicated *s-1 > *hl- shift here parallels the similar shift before *r- in 'eight' (above). The tone *A reconstruction is conjectural; the PMY (sandhi) tone *C points to an earlier suffix (cf. WT zla-ba 'moon').

This is all straightforward enough, with 'moon/month' joining 'sun/day' to form an interesting pair of 'heavenly body' terms that were borrowed by MY from an early TB source, either the same DMY that donated the numerals or a language very similar to it. There is no evidence in the 'moon' loan of the cult associations of the TB root but, curiously enough, this may simply reflect the fact that the replaced native term had already undergone a parallel shift, thus making 'semantic space' available for the loan; cf. PMY (Miao only) *b|a^{A/C} 'spirit/soul', apparently the direct cognate (PMY lacks final *-1) of PAT *(m)bu|al 'moon/month', represented in Kadai as well as in Austronesian. And the case gets 'curiouser and curiouser': a similar root can be reconstructed for PTB and it shows the same range of meanings as *(s-)(g-)la^A, cited above: PTB *b-la (tone variable): Proto-Tamang (Nepal) *bla^B 'spirit, soul'; Rawang (Nunglish) phəla (< *bəla) 'soul; demon'; Southern Loloish *bəla^C 'moon' (cited under No. 318 in Bradley 1979). The loan here must have been in the reverse (MY > TB) direction, as confirmed by the phonology: if the donor language had been Tibeto-Burman the yield in PMY would have been medial *-1-, as in 'four' (above), while a prototypical *-| could have yielded only *-1- in TB, which lacks the contrast; further, prefixed *b- is known to have been unvoiced to *p- in DMY (see 'four' and 'five' above), excluding this language as a possible loan source for PMY *b|a^{A/C}.

year: PTB *(s-)ni-ŋ^B; PMY *śnjan^C MC 年 nien, from *s-nien^A
 < *s-ni-ŋ^A [GSR 364a] (Min evidence for the prefix), with regular *B > *A tonal shift after *s- and assimilative -n for PST-level final *-ŋ. The PMY medial *-ia- for *-i- is anticipated (cf. 'seven' and 'ten' above) but the initial *śn- (the sibilant is retained only in Western Miao) can hardly be reconciled with the DMY *hn- for *s-n- indicated by the loan for 'sun/day' (above). It is certain, from the Min evidence, that Chinese retained prefixed *s- (variable within TB) and the palatalization of the initial is typically Chinese (although not present in /nien/). It is probable, therefore, that the source of this early MY loan is not Tibeto-Burman but Chinese, specifically an early dialect (other than 'standard' Archaic) that maintained final *-ŋ, with the (sandhi) tone *C pointing to an earlier suffix. Valuable support for this view is supplied by a parallel loan; cf. MC 新 sī^A 'new' [GSR 382k], representing a PST-level *sī^A as shown by PMY (Yao only) *sia^A. The MY loan clarifies another matter here: in STC the /sī^A/ is compared with the well-represented PTB *(s-)sar^A 'new', setting up PST *sar^A with *-ar > -i^A a regular development; the early MY loan now shows that the PST root here is *sī^A, represented in TB by WB sac (< *sik < *sī^A), precisely paralleling the nearly homophonous root for 'tree/wood': *sī^B; PTB *sī^B > WB sac; MC

薪 sɿɛ̃n 'firewood' [GSR 382 n], with *B > *A tonal shift after *s- (as in 'year' above).

The numerals, along with the 'sun' ~ 'moon' pair, stand out in any over-view of early MY loan relationships simply because they must be assigned a Tibeto-Burman, rather than a Chinese, origin, thus differing from the bulk of MY lexical items. The occasional MY/TB lexical resemblances that have been noted to date rarely involve 'core' (basic) vocabulary or even widespread roots, for that matter, hence one can scarcely rule out the chance factor. One of the 'better' comparisons in this group involving both basic vocabulary and well-represented roots, is the following:

'horn': PTB *rɯŋ^A ~ *rwaŋ^A, yielding Garo grɔŋ (g- is a pronominal prefix); PMY krɔŋ^A. If these forms indeed reflect an early loan, the DMY form would be *krɔŋ^A, from *k-rwaŋ^A, with unvoicing of an earlier *g- prefix, as in the *b- and *d- prefixes encountered in the numerals (above).

As indicated above, the cultural items such as 'horse' and 'charcoal' in MY routinely exhibit early loan connections with Chinese, with the direction of the borrowing in doubt at times. In one item of this kind MY has a curious doublet involving inter alia medial -i- ~ -ia- (see above), with TB (limited) as well as Chinese connections:

'field': PTB *liŋ (limited distribution, with indeterminate tone): WT zɿŋ < l(y)liŋ (regular shift) 'field, ground, soil, arable land'; Lepcha lyǎŋ < *s-liŋ (regular shifts) 'land, field'; MC (probably an early loan from a Tibetan group source); MC 田 d'ien 'field', from *s-lien^A < *s-li-ŋ^A (with final -n < *-ŋ shift as in 'year', 'new' and 'firewood' above); PMY *liŋ^A 'paddy field (lowland irrigated rice field)' ~ *ʔliŋ^C 'mountain field' (in Chiangrai Yao [Mien] specified as 'not yet under cultivation'). The WT/Lepcha form is isolated in TB (cf. STC : fn. 246) and appears to be intrusive (borrowed). This is hardly surprising in view of the mountainous region inhabited by the speakers of these two neighboring languages and, in fact, the 'core' agricultural AT root for '(inundated) lowlands/(wet)field/mud': *buna (> *bəna), represented even in Japanese (hena 'earth/mud/clay'), somehow found its way into Tibetan for the alpine equivalent: WT na 'meadow' (cf. the Kadal root: *naa^A 'paddy field'). The Chinese form is *s- prefixed³ and this also is hardly surprising, given the ubiquity of that element in Chinese. Perhaps PMY *liŋ^A stands for the root itself, whatever its ultimate origin (no AT etymology has yet been uncovered), with the original meaning ('lowland field') maintained, serving as a basis for the early loans into TB as well as into Chinese (note the tonal agreement); PMY *ʔliŋ^C, on the other hand, might then represent a back-loan from an *ʔa- prefixed TB form: *ʔa-liŋ, with the meaning accommodated to the terrain (cf. WT na 'meadow', cited above) and the tone modified by the glottal prefix, also with *-l for *-l- through influence from the 'native' doublet. This would point to an underlying AT > ST direction for the loan, which is in keeping with the overall evidence re south > north cultural movements at an early (PAT-level) period in SEA (see ATLC). This all sounds, and is, complicated but it is the kind of historical scenario that has come to be expected in this 'language-crowded' corner of the Asian mainland.

To complete this review of lexical categories, kinship terminologies tend to include more than their fair share of loan words, especially for older-than-Ego and affinal kin. The MY languages present a bewildering variety of kinship terms, far more than one would have anticipated for this fairly compact language family, and it seems evident that extensive borrowing of various kinds has taken place. Chinese loans are much in evidence of course, and even apparent loans from Tai, complicated in this case by the fact that both MY and Tai are of AT descent. As for possible loans from TB, the consanguineal terminology reveals little that can definitely be 'tagged' as borrowed from this source. The Mien branch of Yao on occasion exhibits what appear to be isolated loans from TB, in various lexical categories, and one of these appears in the consanguineal terminology: Mien *naw^B 'younger brother (female sp.)' > 'uncle (mother's y. br.)'; cf. PTB *naw^A 'younger sibling' > (Byangsi, Mru) 'y. br.' ~ (Chinbok) 'y. br. (male sp.)'. The comparison is weakened by the fact that younger, rather than older-than-Ego kin, are involved as well as by the tonal discrepancy.

The MY affinal terminology is quite another matter, however, inasmuch as it seems very likely that both of the key younger-than-Ego terms in this terminology are of TB origin:

'daughter-in-law': PTB *(s-)nam^A 'daughter-in-law'; also (WB: archaic) '(comp.) wife'; (Gyarung) 'sister'; also (Nunglish: Rawang) *ʔa-nam^A 'cousin [female]; (comp.) sister'; also (Magari)*ʔa-r-nam^A 'maiden'; PMY *ʔnaam^A 'daughter-in-law'; also (Yao:Mien) 'wife of older brother'; in Mien (Chiangrai Yao) used only in address or in 'personalized reference' ('She is my /naam/'), in contrast to the general referential term (< *bwaŋ^B). The indicated DMY form is *ʔ-nam^A, with the widespread (< 3rd person) pronominal *ʔa- prefix, as in Nunglish; the secondary palatalization is probably of MY origin, as in the numerals (see above), and the length also appears to be secondary, apparently through influence exerted by the prefixed *ʔa-, although for this PTB root medial length (*-naam^A) cannot be ruled out; note the tonal agreement.

'son-in-law': PTB *krwəy^B: Jingpho khri (< *khrwi) 'son-in-law; paternal aunt's children; sister's children'; WB khrwê:-ma' 'daughter-in-law', from *khrwê: 'son-in-law' + -ma' 'fem. suffix'; PMY *ʔwei^B 'son-in-law'; also (Yao: Mien) 'husband of older sister': in Mien (Chiangrai Yao) used only in address or 'personalized reference' ('He is my /wei/'), in contrast to the general referential term (< *laaŋ^A). Here the indicated DMY form is *ʔa-wi^B, with the final reflexes as in 'four' (above) and prefixed by *ʔa-, as in the preceding affinal term. As for the initial, it appears that the *k- of the root was metanalyzed as common *g- (> k- in DMY) pronominal element (see 'horn', above), often employed with kinship terms in Jingpho, with simplification of the medial *-rw- to -w- rather than to the -r- found in Jingpho; note the tonal agreement.

It is possible, of course, that still other key TB > MY loans (and/or the reverse) will in time be uncovered but for the moment we are left with three groups of such loans, all crying out for an explanation:

1. the numerals from 'four' through 'ten'. Loans of this kind, sparing only the very lowest numerals, are generally explained through a need to communicate in trading. Apparently this must suffice for an explanation here as well,

but one might wonder why the terms for the things exchanged, i.e. the cultural items, did not at times get borrowed along with the numerals. Why would a language borrow, say, the word for 'silver' from Chinese but its higher numerals (through '10') from TB, as the early PM-speakers clearly did? By contrast, the early Tai- (and other Kadai-) speakers borrowed both from a single source (Chinese), as one would have expected. Clearly there was 'something special' about the early MY relationships vis-à-vis TB and Chinese, but what? And can the answer here in any way be connected with the answers for the following two points?

2. the 'sun/day' ~ 'moon/month' pair. The writer originally emphasized the calendrical ('day' ~ 'month') aspects of these two roots and attempted to explain them along the lines of trading, e.g. agreements to return for a given exchange of goods in so many days or months. This was all radically altered, however, by the uncovering of the second 'moon' loan, this in the reverse (MY > TB) direction, with its powerful confirmation of an underlying cult of the moon. It is now apparent that it was this cult trait, with overlapping distribution at the TB/MY border, that shaped the two loans, with PMY supplementing with a loan from TB for 'moon' after having undergone specialization of its own (< AT) root in the cult sense of 'spirit/soul'. The other ('sun') member of this pair of 'heavenly body' roots can be explained along similar lines (cult of the sun) although in this case the linguistic evidence (and by inference the culture trait itself) lies at a rather deeper level. Matisoff (1983) has pointed out that the Mikir cognate for PTB *nəy^A 'sun' (see above) is ar-ni, glossed not only as 'sun/day' but also as 'god, deity' and suggests a relationship to WB ne 'be, dwell'. Although not cited in STC, a homophonous *nəy^A 'be/dwell' (> 'sit') can be reconstructed at the PTB level, to include the above-cited WB ne (- 'sit' in Loloish) as well as the following: Lepcha nyi(-m) 'to be; exist'; West Himalayish *ni 'dwell'; Bahing ni(-so), Sunwari ni 'sit'; Lushai ni (< *s-ni^A) 'to be; become'. Thus, with the help of the Mikir form, one can set up a single basic etymon, widespread in both senses, for PTB: *nəy^A ~ *s-nəy^A (~ *r-nəy^A) 'to be/dwell' > '(heavenly being =) '(sun) god' > 'sun' ~ 'day'.

3. the 'daughter-in-law' ~ 'son-in-law' pair. As pointed out above, affinal terms are rather more susceptible to replacement through borrowing than are consanguineal terms but the writer, who has made extensive/intensive analyses of Tibeto-Burman as well as Chinese, Tai and Vietnamese kinship nomenclatures, knows of nothing even remotely like the apparent early MY borrowing (from TB) of *just this key pair of younger-than-Ego in-law terms*. Where one or (more rarely) both of these terms have been borrowed elsewhere, as commonly in northern TB languages from Indic and also in northern Tai languages from Chinese, they invariably represent only a single aspect of a larger pattern of loans, at times on a very grand scale indeed. This clearly did not occur in the case of these early MY loans from TB and, again, the fact in itself cries out for an answer. The existence of the two sets of in-law terms in Yao (see above) suggests that one of the sets may well have been intrusive (borrowed), in this case the set employed in address and for 'personalized reference', a most unusual distinction. One is tempted to speculate about the existence of an early TB/MY 'bride exchange' marital program or the like, with some transference of the terms involved as well, but in this event influences upon other sectors of the nomenclatures would be likely.

then the loan *mpai C is a shared innovation uniting the non-Mienic branches.

In this connection I should mention that Benedict has also suggested a possible external source for Mienic *duj B 'pig'. He says that there are similar looking forms in the Karenic languages (Benedict 1985:8).

7. Conclusions

In some respects the new Wenjie material provided by Wang corroborates the testimony of the old material, particularly in the development of the finals. It even adds some new evidence, such as the C1 tone in 'thousand', shared by Wenjie and Xishanjie. In other respects the new material introduces complications which may require changing my conclusions:

- (1) The split between velar and uvular initials in Wenjie has no parallel in Xishanjie or Na-e.
- (2) The word for the numeral 'one' is quite different in Wenjie and Na-e: Wenjie [jhu 32(8)], Na-e i.
- (3) Wenjie has a prepalatal initial in [tɕu 55(5)] 'six'. It does not share the distinctive velar initial of Na-e ku.
- (4) 'Mushroom' has a uvular initial in Wenjie versus a prepalatal initial in Xishanjie. If the variation between prepalatal and uvular/velar initials occurs even within Pa Hng, I may have been wrong to use it as an argument for separating Pa Hng from Hmongic.

The discrepancies between Na-e and Wenjie (e.g. 'six') or between Na-e and Xishanjie (e.g. 'fruit') have at least three possible explanations:

- (1) They are errors in Bonifacy. We should forget about Na-e until more accurately recorded material becomes available.
- (2) Na-e is a member of the Pa Hng group that has undergone some aberrant local developments that are of no significance for the overall classification and subgrouping of Hmong-Mien. For example, the velar initial of 'six' might have an explanation purely internal to Na-e, such as analogy or avoidance of homophony.
- (3) Benedict is right that the first split in the Hmong-Mien family was between Na-e and everything else. Subsequently, however, Na-e came into intensive contact with Pa Hng, borrowed many words from it, and shared some areal phonological developments with it.

In other words, I am suggesting as a third possibility that Na-e may not really be a member of the Pa Hng group

