

Linguistic evidence relates languages, archeological evidence relates cultures, genetic evidence relates populations: implications for STAN and related hypotheses

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### **Companion Handout to Powerpoint Presentation**

#### **I. Laurent Sagart's Proposed Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian Cognate Sets**

This chart reproduces the information found in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 of Sagart 2005:163-165, and appends three proposed comparisons from Sagart 2011 that were not in Sagart 2005. Two additional columns of data have been added: The reconstruction (if available) in Baxter & Sagart's Old Chinese system version 1.00 (downloaded March 2011), and my additional notes. In version 1.00, Type A syllables are reconstructed with pharyngealized initials (marked <sup>ʕ</sup>), and Type B syllables are unmarked.

In the "Irr" column, I! V! F! T! S! mark irregularities of correspondence in Initial, Vowel, Final, Tone, or Syllable Type, respectively.

The following abbreviations are used in the "TB" column:

B.: Benedict (1972) Proto-Tibeto-Burman reconstructed form

B-G: Bodo-Garo

Bur.: Written Burmese

PS: Peiros & Starostin (1995) Proto-Sino-Tibetan reconstructed form

Tib.: Written Tibetan

Cells with shaded backgrounds indicate possible problems with the comparison if the newer OC v1.00 reconstructions are used.

Sagart 2005 Table 9.1

Set	Gloss	PAN or PECL	Char	Type	OC	Irr	OC v1.00	OC gloss if diff't	TB	Notes
1	Body hair	gumuN	眉	b	mu[r]		mrər	eyebrow	B. mul (Moshang kemul)	OC v1.00 has *r as part of root; is this a problem for the comparison?
2	Bone	kukut	骨	a	kut		k <sup>h</sup> ut			
3	Brain	punuq	腦	a	nu?		n <sup>h</sup> [u]?		B. (s-)nuk	
4	Elbow	siku(H <sub>2</sub> )	肘	b	t-r-ku?		t-k < r > u?		Gyarong tkru	
5	Female breast	nunuH <sub>1</sub>	乳	b	no?		no?		B. nuw	
6	Foot	kakay							B. kriy	No Chinese comparandum
7	Head	quluH <sub>1</sub>	首	b	hlu?		ɿlu?		Lushai lu	
8	Palm of hand	dapa	扶	b	pa		p(r)a	breadth of four fingers	B. pa	Cf. Sagart 2011
9	Pus	nanaq							Tib. rnag	No Chinese comparandum
10	Mother	ina(-q)	女	b	nra?		nra?	woman	B. m-na	
11	Egg	qiCeluR	卵	a	Cə-lo[r]?		k.r <sup>h</sup> or?		B. twiy < t-l- ?	Cf. Sagart 2011, which instead compares to OC *t <sup>h</sup> u[r] 'egg', unattested but reconstructed based on southern dialect forms meaning 'testicles', and writes the PAN form as *qitsəluR
12	Horn, antler	(q)uRung	角	a	k-rok		C.k <sup>h</sup> rok		B. rung = rwan g	Cf. Sagart 2011
13	Leech	Limatek	蛭	b	tik					Matisoff 2003:352 compares the Chinese word to the PTB root *m-li:t. Note that the words in this phonetic series (GSR 413) could be reconstructed with OC *-k or *-t; OC v1.00 has *-t for most words while acknowledging the alternative possibility. Although the OC *t- initial and TB *l- initial do not appear to be a good match, there are a number of interesting parallel examples (see Matisoff 2003:201) involving GSR 413 words. If that OC-PTB comparison is correct, it precludes

comparison with this PAN form.

14	Snake	bulay	蛇	b	m-la[r]	Cə.lAj		P-Loloish lay <sub>1/2</sub> 'python'	
15	Worm	[ ]ulej	蚓	b	lin?	F?	[m-q](r)ə[r]?		OC v1.00 initial I! ?
16	Cloud, cloudy	-qem	陰	b	ʔim		q(r)[u]m	Bur. um'	
17	Earth	-taq	土	a	tha?		th <sup>ʰ</sup> a?	Tib. ndag pa 'mud'; B s-la	
18	Moon	qiNaS						B. s-la	No Chinese comparandum
19	Salt	siRaH <sub>1</sub>	鹵	a	ra?	S!	[r] <sup>ʰ</sup> a?	B. la I!	
20	Sunlight	siNaŋ	陽	b	lang		laŋ	Bur. lang 'to be light'	
21	Water	daNum	瀋	b	t-hlim?		th[ə]m?	liquid, juice	OC v1.00 initial I! ?
22	Wind	bali						B. g-liy	No Chinese comparandum
23	Cave, hole	b[e]lung	洞	a	long	S!			
24	Year	kawaS	歲	b	s-hwat-s	S!	s-q <sup>wh</sup> at-s		
25	Carry	baba						B. ba	No Chinese comparandum
26	Chew	paqpaq	哺	a	m-paʔ-s		[b] <sup>ʰ</sup> a-s		
27	Close, shut	kupit	閉	a	pit		p <sup>ʰ</sup> i[t]-s		
28	Come, go	duwa	于	b	wa		ɣ <sup>w</sup> (r)a	B. s-wa	
29	Cut off, short	[p,b]utul	斷	a	to[r,n]ʔ; to[r,n]		t <sup>ʰ</sup> o[n]ʔ	Lepcha tultul	
30	Dig	-kut	掘	b	khut		[k <sup>h</sup> ] <sup>ʰ</sup> ut	Kaching kot	Also compared to 掘 *m-kut
31	Drown, disappear	Nemes	滅	b	met		met	B. mit 'extinguish' (fire)	
32	Fall	-luR	墜	a	lo[r]ʔ		m.lru[t]-s		OC v1.00 has *r as part of root and *m not identified as morphological prefix; is this a problem for the comparison?

33	Flow > water, river	qaluR 'to flow'	水	b	hlu[r]?	s.tur?		B. twiy < t-l-, lwiy 'to flow'	Also compared to Chinese 水 blu[r]? (water); cf. Sagart 2011
34	Follow	duNuR	隨	b	s-lo[r]	sə.loj			OC v1.00 has *sə not identified as morphological prefix; is this a problem for the comparison?
35	Grasp, embrace	-kep	夾	a	m-kep, s-kep, k-r-ep	C.k <sup>ʕ</sup> <r> ep			
36	Hold sth in fist/mouth	gemgem (in fist)	含	a	gim	Cə-m-k <sup>ʕ</sup> [ə]m	in mouth	B. gam 'put into mouth'	OC v.100 has a voiceless initial; is this a problem for the comparison?
37	Lick	dilaq	舐	b	m-le?	Cə.le?		B. m-lyak	
38	Meet	Cebung	逢	b	bung	S! [C.b](r)oŋ		PS pung 'assemble'?	
39	Open	-kaq	啟	a	khe?			Kachin kha? < -k 'parted, open'	
40	Put together	pulung	同	a	long	l <sup>ʕ</sup> oŋ			
41	Ruin, damage	r[i]bas	閉	b	bet-s	p <sup>ʕ</sup> i[t]-s			
42	Scrape I	kuSkuS	括	a	k-r-ot			Tib. r-ko, Gyarong ka rkos, Kuki-Naga d-kew	
43	Scrape II	ku[Ct]ku[Ct]	括	a	k-r-ot			B. kut	
44	Sink	-neb						B. nup	No Chinese comparandum
45	Sleep	-zem	寢	b	tshim?	[ts <sup>h</sup> ][i]m?		Tib. gzim, Dhimal dzim	

46	Speak, say	kawaS	話	a	m-kw-r- at-s	[g]w <sup>ɿ</sup> rat-s	Tib. s-go	also 𑄎 * <sup>b</sup> wat / *[ <sup>ɠ</sup> ]wat S!
47	Think	nemnem	念	a	nim-s	n <sup>ɿ</sup> im-s	Tib. s-nyam-pa 'to think'	
48	Vomit, spit	utaq	吐	a	thaʔ	th <sup>ɿ</sup> aʔ	B. (m-)tuk V!	
49	Wash	basuq	溲	b	s(r)uʔ		Lushai shuk, Luoba ɕuk	
50	Wrap around (belt)	-kes	繫	a	ket	Cə.k <sup>ɿ</sup> e-s		OC v1.00 does not have a -t-coda rù-tone reading; *Cə.k <sup>ɿ</sup> e-s is glossed 'tie (v.)'; see also reading *m-k <sup>ɿ</sup> ek-s 'attach, suspend'; is this a problem for the comparison?
51	Bent, crooked	-kuk	局	b	N-k(r)ok	N-k <sup>ɿ</sup> (r)ok	B. kuk	
52	Broad	-bang	旁	a	bang	[b] <sup>ɿ</sup> aŋ	Boro go2 bangl 'wide, many'	
53	Curled, bent	-kul	卷	b	N-k(h)ro [r,n]		PS kuar	OC v1.00 has entries for 卷 *[g]wren for gloss 'handsome' and *[k]rorʔ for gloss 'to roll'
54	Dark	-lem	黧	a	līmʔ, hlīmʔ			
55	Far	ma-dawiN	遠	b	wa[r,n]ʔ	V! C.ɠ <sup>w</sup> a[n]ʔ	B. wiy	OC v1.00 has uvular *ɠ <sup>w</sup> where formerly OC *w corresponded to PAN *w; is this a new regular correspondence?
56	High, tall	-kaw	高	a	kaw	Cə.[k] <sup>ɿ</sup> aw	Bur. kaw: (heavy tone) 'rise up, swell, bulge'	
57	Hot	qa(i)nget	熱	b	nget	C.nat (or C.ŋet?)		

58	Old, grownup	-daŋ	丈	b	drang?	[d]raŋ?				
59	Sharp	Cazem	𪗇	b	tsim					
60	Thick	-tul	敦	a	tu[r,n]	t <sup>h</sup> ur			PS tu:r	
61	This	di	時	b	di	I?	[d]ə			Tib. <sup>n</sup> di 'this'

**Sagart 2005 Table 9.2**

Set	Gloss	PAN or PECL	Char	Type	OC	Irr	OC v1.00	OC gloss if diff't	TB	Notes
1	Setaria	beCeng	稷	b	tsik		[ts]ək			This is a Chinese Type A, word, apparently mistakenly labeled "a" in Sagart's text, so it is a syllable-type mismatch: S! Sagart's text has "麻 + 黍", referring to the character with "黍" under "麻" found in <i>Shuōwén</i> and glossed there 稷 'non-glutinous millet'. Seems to be an obscure character, Lü Shì Chūnqiū identifies it as a western China dialect word. Found in <i>Guǎngyǎ</i> and <i>Jíyùn</i> in the form U + 2A40E (黍 + 麻), glossed as 稷 or 稷 'non-glutinous millet'.
2	Panicum sp.	Numay	𪗇	a	maj					
3	Husked rice	beRas	糲	b	mə-rat-s		([m]ə-)r <sup>h</sup> at-s		Tib. <sup>m</sup> bras 'rice' < m-ras	Also in B&S v1.00 with second reading *([m]ə-)r <sup>h</sup> at
4	Paddy	Sumay 'rice as food'	米	a	mij?		C.m <sup>h</sup> ij?	grain of cereal	B-G 'rice; paddy'	
5	Chicken	kuka	雞	a	ke		k <sup>h</sup> e		B. ka 'kind of fowl'	
6	Cage, enclosure	kurung	籠	a	kə-rong		k.r <sup>h</sup> oŋ		B. kru:ŋ	Cf. Sagart 2011
7	Net	aray	羅	a	raj		r <sup>h</sup> aj			
8	Broom	CapuH <sub>1</sub>	帚	b	t-pu?		[t.p]ə?			
9	Stopper, plug	seŋseŋ	塞	a	sik		[s] <sup>h</sup> ək			

10	To bury, tomb	-buN 'to bury'	墳	a	bu[r]			tomb, tumulus	
11	Loincloth, robe	sabuk	服	b	buk	[b]ək			Tib. <sup>m</sup> bog 'k. o. garment'
12	To plait, braid	-pid	編	a	pin(?)	F?	p <sup>h</sup> e[n], pe[n]		B. byar~pyar
13	To shoot	panaq	弩	a	naʔ		C.n <sup>h</sup> aʔ	crossbow	
14	To hunt	qaNup	獵	b	Cə-lap		r[a]p		Chepang krup

### Sagart 2011 comparisons not found in Sagart 2005

Set	Gloss	PAN or PECL	Char	Type	OC	Irr	OC v1.00	OC gloss if diff't	TB	Notes
1	rib, rib-cage	baRaŋ							B. braŋ	No Chinese comparandum
2	bright color	bərak	白				b <sup>h</sup> rak		B. brak, prak	
3	pine tree	saləŋ	蒸				təŋ		B. taŋ	

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