

WEDGE ISSUES*

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

When I elicited the Pumi (Prinmi) word *tsó* ‘wedge’ in Kunming (March 1996), I was struck by its resemblance to Lahu *jû* ‘wedge’. Since the Qiangic languages are not particularly close to Loloish on the TB family tree, this apparent cognate for an item of non-core vocabulary was of interest. The first task in establishing a relationship between the Pumi and the Lahu forms was to reconstruct the PLB ancestor of Lahu *jû*. Then possible cognates to the Pumi form in other Qiangic languages had to be examined. Given our present rudimentary knowledge of comparative Qiangic, could parallel examples establish a Proto-Qiangic reconstruction resembling our newly reconstructed PLB form?

As it turns out, the Pumi and Lahu forms are not cognate after all. Still, this study has unearthed several new etyma for ‘wedge’, and clarified some Qiangic rhyme developments, especially as concerns the fate of PTB *-am and *ap. Finally, it raises some cautionary issues in comparing sets of forms across distant subgroups of the vast TB family.

2.0 THE PLB PROVENIENCE OF LAHU *jû*: PLB *N-džam²

Lahu *jû* (N; Mpx) ‘wedge; shim; stake’ is both a free noun (N) and a morpheme prefixable by *ɿɔ-* (Mpx), occurring in collocations like:

<i>che-kə-jû</i> (N)	‘shim used in a rice-pounder’
<i>jû dʒi ve</i> (OV)	‘drive in a wedge/stake’
<i>jû ʃe ve</i> (OV)	‘insert a wedge; insert a wooden pin into a prepared hole’
<i>ɿɔ-jû ka ve</i> (OV)	‘drive in a wedge/stake’

No etymology was offered for this morpheme in Matisoff 1988:163, 568. The abundant new Lolo-Burmese data provided in Sun et al, 1991 (henceforth

* This paper was originally presented orally in Chinese (Minorities University, Beijing; June 3, 1997) with the title 用楔子撬开问题 “*Yǐlóng xiēzi qīkāo kāi wēntí*” (‘Using a wedge to pry open a problem’). It was then published under the same title in *Yǔyán Yánjiū* (Wuhan) 2000.1:106-27.

ZMYYC), and Dai et al, 1992 (henceforth *TBL*), now allows us to reconstruct a PLB root with confidence.

2.1 *Burmish reflexes*

Achang (Longchuan)	a ³¹ ɕe ⁵¹	ZMYYC #413, p. 783; TBL #620, p. 207
Bola	s ⁵³⁵ tʃɛ ³¹	TBL #620
Langsu (=Maru) ¹	saŋ ³⁵ tʃɛ ³¹	ZMYYC #413; TBL #620
Zaiwa (=Atsi)	siŋ ²¹ tʃam ²¹	ZMYYC #413; TBL #620

The Burmish reflexes are crucial, pointing unmistakably to a nasal-finalled rhyme. The Zaiwa form narrows it down to **-am*. In WB itself, the reflex of **-am* is *-am*, but there is no apparent Burmese cognate to this set.² The Achang (Longchuan) form a³¹ɕe⁵¹ cited above (2.01) is not cognate, since the regular Achang reflex of **-am* is also *-am* (see sets below).

The dozen or so best-attested **(w)am* etyma in Lolo Burmese, and their WB reflexes, are as follows:

	<i>PLB</i>	<i>WB</i>
'bear'	*d-wam ¹ ⚭ ²	(wak-)wam
'belly'	*p-wam ²	wām
'bridge'	*dzam ¹	tsam
'dare'	*wam ³	wam'
'ear/spike (grain)'	*s-nam ¹	hnam
'fathom/cord'	*s-lam ¹ ⚭ ²	lam ⚭ hlām ³
'fence/garden'	*kram ¹	khram
'fly' (v.)	*byam ¹	pyam
'hair (head)'	*tsam ¹	tsham
'iron'	*syam ¹	sam
'otter'	*syam ¹ ⚭ *pyam ¹ < PTB *sram	phyam
'road'	*lam ² ⚭ ³	lam
'sesame'	*s-nam ²	hnam
'smell'	*nam ¹ ⚭ ² ⚭ ³	nam, nām, nam'

¹ The first syllables in the Langsu and Zaiwa forms apparently mean 'wood', although the free morphemes for 'wood' in Langsu and Zaiwa have final stops rather than nasals (Langsu *sək*, Zaiwa *sik*³⁵). This root shows -ŋ ⚭ -k variation in TB as a whole.

² See below 4.2 for a discussion of WB *sap* and its possible cognates.

³ The aspirated allofam means 'to stretch out the arm'; the **s-* prefix is also reflected in Yi Mile *tur*³³ and Jinuo *te*³³.

Reflexes of these etyma in other Burmish languages are quite regular:

	<i>Achang</i>	<i>Zaiwa</i>	<i>Leqi</i>	<i>Langsu</i> ⁴	<i>Bola</i>
'bear'	ɔm ⁵⁵	vam ⁵¹	wɔm ³¹	vɛ ³¹	vɛ ⁵⁵
'belly'	ɔm ³¹ tau ³¹	vam ²¹	wɔm ³³ tou ³³	vɛ ³⁵ tuk ³¹	vɛ ³¹ tau ³¹
'bridge'	tɕam ⁵⁵	tsam ⁵¹	tsam ³¹	tsɛ ³¹	tsɛ ⁵⁵
'dare'	---	vam ⁵⁵	wum ⁵⁵	vɛ ⁵⁵	vɛ ⁵⁵
'fathom'	lam ⁵⁵	lam ⁵¹	lam ³¹	lɛ ³¹	lɛ ⁵⁵
'ear/spike (grain)'	tɕɔ ⁵⁵ ɲam ⁵⁵	a ²¹ ɲam ⁵¹	a ⁵⁵ ɲam ³³	kauk ³¹ nɛ ³¹	nɛ ⁵⁵
'fly'	tɕam ⁵⁵	[ta ɲ ²¹]	[ta: ɲ ³³]	[tɕ ³⁵]	[tɕ ³¹]
'garden/fence'	---	khjam ⁵¹	khjam ³³	khjɛ ³¹	khjɛ ⁵⁵
'hair (of head)'	---	u ²¹ tsham ⁵¹	tsham ³³	tshɛ ³¹	tshɛ ⁵⁵
'iron'	ɣam ⁵⁵	ɣam ⁵¹ tɕɔ ⁵⁵	[tɕɔ ³¹ tɕɔ ⁵⁵]	ɣɛ ³¹ tɕɔ ⁵⁵	ɣɛ ⁵⁵ tɕɔ ⁵⁵
'otter'	sam ⁵⁵	xam ⁵¹	ɣam ³³	xɛ ³¹	xɛ ⁵⁵
'smell'	nam ⁵¹	nam ⁵¹	na:m ³¹	nɛ ³¹	nɛ ⁵⁵
'wedge'	[a ³¹ ɕɛ ⁵¹]	siŋ tɕam ²¹	---	saŋ ³⁵ tɕɛ ³¹	sɔ ³⁵ tɕɛ ³¹

These Burmish reflexes may be tabulated as follows:

PLB	<i>Achang</i> (<i>Longchuan</i>)	<i>Zaiwa</i> (<i>Atsi</i>)	<i>Leqi</i> (<i>Lashi</i>)	<i>Langsu</i> (<i>Maru</i>)	<i>Bola</i>
*-am	-am, -ɔm	-am	-am, -ɔm, -um	-ɛ	-ɛ

2.2 Loloish reflexes for 'wedge'

<i>Gazhuo</i>	sɿ ³⁵ tse ³¹	TBL #620
<i>Hani (Lüchun)</i>	tsha ³¹ tshɔ ³¹	TBL #620
<i>Hani (Mojiang)</i>	tɔ ³¹ tɕu ³¹	TBL #620
<i>Hani (Shuikui)</i>	tɔ ³¹ tɕhu ³¹	ZMYYC #413
<i>Lahu (Black)</i>	dzu ⁵³	ZMYYC #413
<i>Lisu</i>	dʒo ³¹ tɕhe ⁵⁵	ZMYYC #413
<i>Lisu (Northern)</i>	nɔ ⁵⁵ dʒɔ ²¹	DB-Lisu ⁵
<i>Naxi (Lijiang)</i>	ɣu ⁵⁵	ZMYYC #413; TBL #620
<i>Nusu (Bijiang)</i>	tɕa ⁵⁵	ZMYYC #413
<i>Nusu</i>	tɕa ⁵⁵	TBL #620
<i>Sani</i>	sʒ dzɿ ¹¹	TBL #620
<i>Yi (Mile (Axi))</i>	dzɿ ²¹ bu ³³	ZMYYC #413
<i>Yi (Mojiang)</i>	ci ³³ dze ³³	ZMYYC #413
<i>Yi (Nanjian)</i>	dzy ²¹	ZMYYC #413
<i>Yi (Nanhua)</i>	ci ³³ dzur ²¹	ZMYYC #413
<i>Yi (Weishan)</i>	bu ²¹ dzy ²¹	TBL #620
<i>Yi (Wuding)</i>	ɲtɕhe ³³	TBL #620
<i>Yi (Xide)</i>	ndzɔ ³³	ZMYYC #413; TBL #620

⁴ The Bola forms given in TBL (Language #32 of 50) are virtually identical to these Langsu (Maru) forms (Lg. #31 in TBL).

⁵ This form is not from either ZMYYC or TBL, but rather from Bradley 1994.

At first glance, some of these forms look like possible loans from Chinese 楔子 (cf. Mandarin *xiēzi*), especially Yi Nanhua ɕe²¹ tsɿ³³ (TBL #620). On the other hand, the first syllables might be reduced forms of morphemes meaning 'wood' (< PTB *sik ɤ *sin). To ascertain whether, e.g. the Gazhuo, Sani, Mojiang, and Nanhua (ZMYYC) forms are loans from Chinese or not, we shall have to look at other cognate sets reflecting the rhyme *-am.

2.3 The PLB *initial

The voicedness of the initial in Lahu jû points unmistakably to a *prenasalized prototype.⁶ The Chinese Lahu source has **dz-**, perhaps inaccurately recorded; but in any case there is no contrast in Black Lahu between dentals and palatals. The palatal phonemes /c ch j š y/ have dental allophones before -ɾ:

/c ch j š y/ → [ts tsh dz s z] / ———⁷

The prenasalization of the PLB initial is directly confirmed by the Yi Wuding and Yi Xide reflexes.

2.4 The PLB *tone

Since Lahu jû is from PLB Tone *2, we expect that its LB cognates will also reflect that tone. To check that out, all we need do is compare the tones for 'wedge' in these languages with the tones of the reflexes of an "exemplary" Tone *2 etymon. In the case of the Burmish forms we should select a non-verbal⁸ etymon, e.g. PLB *sum² 'three':

	Tone of WEDGE	Tone of THREE
Burmish		
<i>Achang (Longchuan)</i>	---	31 sum ³¹
<i>Bola</i>	31	55 sam ⁵⁵ ⁹
<i>Zaiwa (Atsi)</i>	21	21 sum ²¹
<i>Langsu (Maru)</i>	31	31 sam ³¹
<i>Leqi (Lashi)</i>	---	55 sɔm ⁵⁵
<i>WB</i>	---	^ sũm

⁶ See Matisoff 1972:15-16.

⁷ See Matisoff 1973/1982, pp. 6-8.

⁸ As Burling (1968:57-8, 69) demonstrated, Atsi and Maru tonal reflexes of PLB Tone *2 are different for verbs as opposed to non-verbs.

⁹ I cannot explain why this form has tone 55, since many other Tone *2 etyma give Bola tone 31: 'bone' *row² > Bo. fã-u³¹, 'four' *bɔy² > Bo. moi³¹, 'five' *ŋa² > Bo. ŋa³¹, 'nine' *gɔw² > Bo. kau³¹. Furthermore, other Tone *2 etyma with initial *s- develop Bola tone 35: 'blood' *swɔy² > Bo. suɿ³⁵, 'meat' *sa² > Bo. fa³⁵. On the other hand, numerals frequently show tonal irregularities in LB; Lahu šē? 'three' is also tonally anomalous (the 'correct' form šē only occurs with certain classifiers).

In the case of Loloish, 'three' will not do as a comparison, since etyma with voiceless sibilant initials often acquire special tones. Better would be 'bitter' (PLB *ka²):

	<i>Tone of WEDGE</i>	<i>Tone of BITTER</i>
Loloish		
<i>Gazhuo</i>	31	31 kha ³¹
<i>Hani (Lüchun)</i>	31	31 xa ³¹
<i>Hani (Mojiang)</i>	31	31 xo ³¹
<i>Hani (Shuikui)</i>	31	31 xo ³¹
<i>Lahu (Black)</i>	53	53 qha ⁵³
<i>Lisu</i>	31	31 khua ³¹
<i>Lisu (Northern)</i>	21	21 hkwā ²¹
<i>Nusu (Bijiang)¹⁰</i>	55	53 kha ⁵³
<i>Sani</i>	11	11 qho ¹¹
<i>Yi (Dafang)</i>	---	33 khu ³³
<i>Yi (Mile (Axi))</i>	21	21 kha ²¹
<i>Yi (Mojiang)</i>	33	33 kha ³³
<i>Yi (Nanhua)</i>	21	21 kha ²¹
<i>Yi (Nanjian)</i>	21	21 kha ²¹
<i>Yi (Weishan)</i>	21	21 kha ²¹
<i>Yi (Wuding)</i>	33	33 kha ³³
<i>Yi (Xide)</i>	33	33 kha ³³

2.5 The PLB *rhyme

When you have widely divergent rhymes in cognates from language to language, it's a good bet that they reflect a closed syllable proto-rhyme (i.e. one with a final stop or nasal). As we shall see, Loloish reflexes of *-am go all over the map:

i	y	ɿ	ʊ	ɤ	u
ɪ		ʏ		ʊ	
e					o
ɛ					ɔ
	a	ɱ			ɑ

¹⁰ The conditioning for the reflexes of Tone *2 in Nusu are not yet clear. Other Tone *2 etyma do give Nusu 55, e.g. 'five' PLB *ŋa² > Nusu ŋa⁵⁵.

2.51 Loloish sets with the *-am rhyme

	BEAR	BELLY	BRIDGE
	*d-wam ¹ 2	*p-wam ²	*n-dzam ¹
<i>Lahu (Black)</i>	ɣlɛ-mi-tɕ	gō-ŋlɛ / ɣu ⁵³ pɛ ³¹ 11	cɔ
<i>Yi Xide</i>	ɣo ³³ (ɿ *1)	[ɿ ²¹ mo ²¹] 12	dzi ³³
<i>Yi Nanjian</i>	---	---	ɣo ²¹ dzy ⁵⁵
<i>Yi Nanhua</i>	ɣu ³³ mA ²¹	---	dzu ³³
<i>Yi Mile (Axi)</i>	---	tsi ³³	---
<i>Yi Mojiang</i>	---	---	dzu ²¹ gu ²¹
<i>Yi Dafang</i>	ɣu ²¹	ɣo ¹³ mo ⁵⁵	tu ³³ 13
<i>Lisu</i>	ɣo ³³ / vɛ-ti ⁵⁵ 14	[he ³¹ khi ³¹]	kho ³¹ dze ³³
<i>Naxi Lijiang</i>	gv ³¹	---	ndzo ³¹
<i>Naxi Yongning</i>	---	---	dzo ³³
<i>Hani Biyue</i>	ɔ ³¹ je ⁵⁵	---	tse ³³ kv ³¹
<i>Hani Dazhai (Luchun)</i>	xa ³¹ ɔ ⁵⁵	b ⁵⁵ dzo ⁵	---
<i>Hani Shuikui (Mojiang)</i>	xo ³¹ v ⁵⁵	ɣu ³¹ mo ³³	tɕho ³¹
<i>Akha</i>	k' a ɿ hm̃	---	law̃ dzm̃
<i>Jinuo</i>	a ³³ ɕ ⁴⁴	---	khka ³³ tshɛ ³³
<i>Gazhuo</i>	---	---	tse ³³
<i>Yi Sani</i>	ɣu ³³	[ɿ ¹¹ pi ⁴⁴]	tsv ³³
<i>Yi Wuding</i>	je ¹¹ mo ⁵⁵	---	ntshe ¹¹
<i>Yi Weishan</i>	---	[hɿ ²¹ mo ³³ dz ɿ ³¹]	ɣo ²¹ dzy ⁵⁵
<i>Nusu (Bijiang)</i>	ua ³³	va ³¹ lo ⁵³	gu ⁵⁵ dza ³³

EAR/SPIKE/PANICLE of GRAIN¹⁵DARE¹⁶*s-nam¹*wam³

Lahu (Black)

ɿɔ nu

*Yi Xide*ŋi³³

*Yi Nanjian*ŋy⁵⁵

11 Lahu here has initial ɣ-, instead of the usual v- reflex of *w-, since Lahu does not tolerate syllables of the shape vo. Several Lahu words (including some loans from Burmese) show alternation between ɣ- and v-. See Matisoff 1973:9.

12 There is a separate root PLB *ɣwik 'stomach' that may underlie the Xide, Lisu, Weishan, and Sani forms for 'belly'. See Matisoff 1972 (TSR) #176.

13 Note the deaffrication of the initial, as in Mpi (see Matisoff 1978). But 'hair' in Dafang is affricated.

14 The former form is from ZMYC, the latter from TBL. Both are varieties of the Lisu of Fugong District, Nujiang County.

15 This is an excellent etymon that must be set up at the PTB level, though it is sparsely attested in Loloish. Cf. Proto-Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manang *^{ah}nam (Mazaudon 1996).

16 This etymon is sparsely attested in Loloish.

<i>Yi Nanhua</i>	<i>nur</i> ³³	---
<i>Yi Mile (Axi)</i>	---	---
<i>Yi Mojiang</i>	<i>ne</i> ⁵⁵	---
<i>Yi Dafang</i>	<i>nur</i> ³³	---
<i>Lisu</i>	<i>e</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ni</i> ³³ , <i>e</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ne</i> ³³	---
<i>Naxi Lijiang</i>	---	---
<i>Naxi Yongning</i>	<i>ɲu</i> ³¹	---
<i>Hani Biyue</i>	ɔ ³¹ <i>ne</i> ⁵⁵	---
<i>Hani Dazhai (Luchun)</i>	<i>a</i> ⁵⁵ <i>no</i> ⁵⁵	---
<i>Hani Shuikui (Mojiang)</i>	<i>tʃhe</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ny</i> ⁵⁵	---
<i>Akha</i>	---	---
<i>Jinuo</i>	<i>ko</i> ³³ <i>ne</i> ⁴⁴	---
<i>Gazhuo</i>	<i>tʃhe</i> ³³ <i>ne</i> ²⁴	---
<i>Yi Sani</i>	<i>ny</i> ⁴⁴	---
<i>Yi Wuding</i>	<i>ne</i> ³³	---
<i>Yi Weishan</i>	<i>ɲy</i> ⁵⁵ / <i>ɲy</i> ⁵⁵	---
<i>Nusu (Bijiang)</i>	<i>na</i> ³³	<i>va</i> ³¹

	FATHOM	FENCE/GARDEN	FLY (v.)
	*s-lam ¹	*kram ¹	*byam ¹
	---	---	---
<i>Lahu (Black)</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>kho</i>	<i>plo</i>
<i>Yi Xide</i>	<i>li</i> ³³	<i>xo</i> ³³ <i>gu</i> ⁴⁴	<i>dzi</i> ³³
<i>Yi Nanjian</i>	---	<i>tchy</i> ⁵⁵	<i>by</i> ⁵⁵
<i>Yi Nanhua</i>	<i>lu</i> ³³	---	<i>du</i> ³³ (also <i>biu</i> ³³)
<i>Yi Mile (Axi)</i>	<i>lu</i> ³³	<i>gu</i> ⁵⁵ <i>khur</i> ³³	<i>li</i> ³³
<i>Yi Mojiang</i>	<i>le</i> ²¹	<i>go</i> ²¹ <i>tsho</i> ²¹	<i>be</i> ²¹
<i>Yi Dafang</i>	<i>lu</i> ²¹	---	<i>ql</i> ²¹
<i>Lisu</i>	---	---	<i>dze</i> ³³ (also <i>bi</i> ³³)
<i>Naxi Lijiang</i>	<i>ly</i> ³¹	<i>xo</i> ³¹ <i>phe</i> ⁵⁵ <i>kho</i> ³¹	<i>mbi</i> ³¹
<i>Naxi Yongning</i>	---	<i>tsha</i> ³³ <i>khua</i> ¹³	<i>dze</i> ¹³
<i>Hani Biyue</i>	<i>le</i> ⁵⁵	<i>ja</i> ⁵⁵ <i>khe</i> ⁵⁵	<i>pe</i> ⁵⁵
<i>Hani Dazhai (Luchun)</i>	<i>b</i> ⁵⁵	---	<i>bjo</i> ⁵⁵
<i>Hani Shuikui (Mojiang)</i>	<i>li</i> ⁵⁵	<i>xo</i> ⁵⁵ <i>khu</i> ⁵⁵	<i>pu</i> ⁵⁵
<i>Akha</i>	<i>lm</i> [~]	<i>km</i> [~] <i>ceh</i> [~]	---
<i>Jinuo</i>	<i>te</i> ³³	<i>a</i> ³³ <i>ke</i> ³³ <i>khe</i> ³³	<i>pwe</i> ³³
<i>Gazhuo</i>	<i>le</i> ²⁴	---	<i>phv</i> ³¹
<i>Yi Sani</i>	<i>lv</i> ³³	<i>khur</i> ³³ <i>ə</i> ³³	<i>thi</i> ³³
<i>Yi Wuding</i>	<i>le</i> ¹¹	---	<i>qe</i> ¹¹
<i>Yi Weishan</i>	---	<i>chy</i> ⁵⁵	<i>by</i> ⁵⁵
<i>Nusu (Bijiang)</i>	<i>la</i> ³³	<i>khua</i> ³³	<i>bia</i> ³³

	HAIR (head) *tsam ¹	IRON *syam ¹	OTTER ¹⁷ *s-/p-yam ¹ < PTB *sram
<i>Lahu (Black)</i>	[cɛ-khe-mu] ¹⁸	šo	ḡt̚-šo-lo
<i>Yi Xide</i>	---	ṣu ³³ du ³³	ṣo ³³
<i>Yi Nanjian</i>	u ²¹ tchy ⁵⁵	xy ⁵⁵	---
<i>Yi Nanhua</i>	u ⁵⁵ tshu ³³	xu ³³	zi ²¹ ṣi ³³
<i>Yi Mile (Axi)</i>	o ⁵⁵ tshi ³³	xu ³³	---
<i>Yi Mojiang</i>	ŋu ³³ tche ²¹	ce ²¹	zi ²¹ ce ⁵⁵
<i>Yi Dafang</i>	o ³³ tshu ³³	xu ²¹	zi ²¹ sɿ ³³
<i>Lisu</i>	o ⁵⁵ tshe ⁴⁴	xo ⁴⁴	---
<i>Naxi Lijiang</i>	---	ṣu ³¹	ṣu ³¹
<i>Naxi Yongning</i>	---	ṣe ³³	ṣu ³³
<i>Hani Biyue</i>	tshe ⁵⁵ khv ⁵⁵	se ⁵⁵	ɿ ⁵⁵ se ⁵⁵
<i>Hani Dazhai (Luchun)</i>	tshe ⁵⁵ kho ⁵⁵	so ⁵⁵	uɿ ⁵⁵ so ⁵⁵
<i>Hani Shuikui (Mojiang)</i>	tshe ⁵⁵ khu ⁵⁵	fu ⁵⁵	ɿu ⁵⁵ fu ⁵⁵
<i>Akha</i>	---	shm̃	uĩ shm̃ ~ ĩ shm̃
<i>Jinuo</i>	tshe khu ³³	ce ⁴²	ce ⁴²
<i>Gazhuo</i>	---	se ³³	---
<i>Yi Sani</i>	o ⁵⁵ tshv ³³	xu ³³	z̥ ³³ ṣv ⁴⁴
<i>Yi Wuding</i>	---	ce ¹¹	ji ¹¹ se ³³
<i>Yi Weishan</i>	ŋy ²¹ tchy ⁵⁵	cy ⁵⁵	---
<i>Nusu (Bijiang)</i>	tsha ³³	ṣa ³³	ŋa ⁵⁵ dza ⁵⁵
	ROAD *lam ² ʔ ³	SESAME ¹⁹ *s-nam ²	SMELL *nam ¹ ʔ ² ʔ ³
<i>Lahu (Black)</i>	[lo ' loc. prt. < *3]	n̄i	ŋu
<i>Yi Xide</i>	---	---	n̄i ²¹
<i>Yi Nanjian</i>	---	---	ny ²¹
<i>Yi Nanhua</i>	---	---	nu ⁵⁵
<i>Yi Mile (Axi)</i>	---	---	nu ²¹
<i>Yi Mojiang</i>	---	---	nu ²¹
<i>Yi Dafang</i>	---	---	bi ⁵⁵ nu ³³
<i>Lisu</i>	---	---	tʃhɿ ³¹ nu ³³
<i>Naxi Lijiang</i>	---	---	nv ³¹
<i>Naxi Yongning</i>	---	---	bv ³³ nv ³³
<i>Hani Biyue</i>	---	---	ne ⁵⁵
<i>Hani Dazhai (Luchun)</i>	---	---	no ⁵⁵
<i>Akha</i>	---	nm 20	---

¹⁷ The first elements in all the compounds except Nusu are from WATER < PLB *ɾəy¹.

¹⁸ The first syllable (ḡ) of the Lahu form is from *n-dzi-k, not *tsam.

¹⁹ Unfortunately this item is missing both from ZMYYC and TBL.

<i>Jinuo</i>	---	---	<i>ne</i> ⁴² <i>tje</i> ³³
<i>Gazhuo</i>	---	---	<i>ne</i> ³¹
<i>Yi Sani</i>	---	---	<i>ny</i> ¹¹
<i>Yi Weishan</i>	---	---	<i>ny</i> ²¹
<i>Nusu (Bijiang)</i>	---	---	<i>no</i> ³³

2.52 BRIDGE and WEDGE

In most Loloish languages the reflexes for 'wedge' are very similar to those for 'bridge', except for tone and the manner and/or position of articulation of the initial affricate. These etyma have identical PLB reconstructions, except for tone and (I now believe) type of affricate:

	BRIDGE <i>*n-dzam</i> ¹	WEDGE <i>*n-dzam</i> ²
<i>Lahu (Black)</i>	<i>cɔ</i>	<i>jɨ</i>
<i>Yi Xide</i>	<i>dzi</i> ³³	<i>ndzɔ</i> ³³
<i>Yi Nanjian</i>	<i>ɣo</i> ²¹ <i>dzy</i> ⁵⁵	<i>dzy</i> ²¹
<i>Yi Nanhua</i>	<i>dzu</i> ³³	<i>ci</i> ³³ <i>dzu</i> ²¹
<i>Yi Mile (Axi)</i>	<i>tsi</i> ³³	<i>dzi</i> ²¹ <i>bu</i> ³³
<i>Yi Mojiang</i>	<i>dzu</i> ²¹ <i>gu</i> ²¹	<i>ci</i> ³³ <i>dze</i> ³³
<i>Yi Dafang</i>	<i>tu</i> ³³ 21	---
<i>Lisu</i>	<i>kho</i> ³¹ <i>dze</i> ³³	<i>dzo</i> ³¹ <i>tʃhe</i> ⁵⁵
<i>Naxi Lijiang</i>	<i>ndo</i> ³¹	---
<i>Naxi Yongning</i>	<i>dzo</i> ³³	---
<i>Hani Biyue</i>	<i>tse</i> ³³ <i>kv</i> ³¹	---
<i>Hani Dazhai (Luchun)</i>	<i>b</i> ⁵⁵ <i>dzo</i> ⁵⁵	<i>tsha</i> ³¹ <i>tsho</i> ³¹
<i>Hani Shuikui (Mojiang)</i>	<i>tse</i> ³³ <i>ky</i> ³¹	<i>to</i> ³¹ <i>tʃhu</i> ³¹ (ZMYYC); <i>to</i> ³¹ <i>tʃu</i> ³¹ (TBL)
<i>Akha</i>	<i>law</i> [~] <i>dzm</i> [~]	---
<i>Jinuo</i>	<i>khka</i> ³³ <i>tshe</i> ³³	<i>ze</i> ⁴² (ZMYYC); <i>ze</i> ³¹ (TBL)
<i>Gazhuo</i>	<i>tse</i> ³³	<i>sɿ</i> ³⁵ <i>tse</i> ³¹
<i>Yi Sani</i>	<i>tsɿ</i> ³³	<i>sɿ</i> ⁴⁴ <i>dzy</i> ¹¹
<i>Yi Wuding</i>	<i>ntshe</i> ¹¹	<i>ntʃhe</i> ³³
<i>Yi Weishan</i>	<i>ɣo</i> ²¹ <i>dzy</i> ⁵⁵	<i>bu</i> ²¹ <i>dzy</i> ²¹
<i>Nusu (Bijiang)</i>	<i>gu</i> ⁵⁵ <i>dza</i> ³³	<i>tʃa</i> ⁵⁵

For some speculations as to a possible semantic interconnection between 'wedge' and 'bridge', see below.

²⁰ The tone here is irregular, pointing to a *low-stopped provenience instead of *2 (as elsewhere in LB).

²¹ Note the deaffrication of the initial, as in *Mpi* (see JAM 1978). But 'hair' is affricated. Could there be a typo?

2.6 *Lahu Reflexes of *-am etyma*

'bear'	[ɣɛ-mĩ-ɔ̃]
'belly'	ḡō-pɛ
'bridge'	ɕo
'dare'	—
'ear/spike (of grain)'	ɭɔ-n
'fathom'	hɔ
'fly'	pɔ
'garden/fence'	kho
'hair' (of head)	—
'iron'	šo
'otter'	ḡɿ-šo-lo
'road'	[lo 'locative particle' < ²³]
'sesame'	nĩ
'smell'	ɱu
'wedge'	ɰ

The most common Black Lahu reflex of **-am* is *-o*. However, the regular reflex of **-am* after *n-* is clearly *-u*, with three excellent examples ('sesame', 'smell', 'ear/spike of grain').²² Furthermore, exactly paralleling 'wedge' is the word *jũ-qō ~ jō-qō* 'blacksmith's bellows' [DL 569, 574], with *j-* initial and variation between *-o* and *-u*. In fact there is considerable alternation between Black Lahu *-o* and *-u* (e.g. *ɿoʔ* 'burn' \times *tũ* 'set on fire', etc.; see GL, pp. 12-13). Even the ethnonym for Lahu is often written *Ladhōl* (i.e. *Lāhō*) in China.

The rhyme of 'bear' is irregular, perhaps because of the preempted *-w-* (< PTB **d-wam*).

2.7 *Reflexes in other Loloish languages (in alphabetical order)*

<i>Akha</i>	ɱ	'bear', 'bridge', 'fathom', 'garden/fence', 'iron', 'otter', 'sesame'
<i>Gazhuo</i>	ɛ	'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fathom', 'iron', 'smell', 'wedge'
	ɣ	'fly'
<i>Hani Biyue</i>	ɛ	'bear', 'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fathom', 'fly', 'garden/fence', 'hair', 'iron', 'otter', 'smell'
<i>Hani Dazhai</i> (<i>Lǐchun</i>)	ɔ	'bear', 'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fathom', 'fly', 'iron', 'otter', 'smell', 'wedge'

²² A fourth example is 'snot' (Lh. *nũ*) from a stopped prototype **s-nap*, with the high-rising tone /' / derived by dissimilation from a doubly glottalized pre-Lahu **ʔ-nəʔ*. The usual Lahu reflex of **-ap* is *-oʔ*. See Matisoff 1972, p. 61.

<i>Hani Shuikui</i> (<i>Mojiang</i>)	-u	'fly', 'ear/spike', 'garden/fence', 'iron', 'fathom', 'otter', 'wedge'
	-ɣ	'bear'
<i>Jinuo</i>	-ɛ	'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fathom', 'fly', 'garden/fence', 'hair', 'iron', 'otter', 'smell', 'wedge'
<i>Lisu</i>	-o	'bear', 'iron', 'wedge'
	-u	'smell'
	-e	'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fly', 'hair'
<i>Naxi Lijiang</i>	-u	'iron', 'otter'
	-v	'bear', 'smell'
	-o	'bridge', 'garden/fence'
	-y	'fathom'
	[-u]	'wedge'] ²³
<i>Naxi Yongning</i>	-o	'bridge'
	-e	'fly', 'iron'
	-u	'garden/fence', 'otter'
	-v	'smell'
	-u	'ear/spike'
<i>Nusu (Bijiang)</i>	-a	'bear', 'belly', 'bridge', 'dare', 'ear/spike', 'fathom', 'fly', 'garden/fence', 'hair', 'iron', 'otter', 'wedge'
	-ɔ	'smell'
<i>Yi Dafang</i>	-u	'bear', 'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fathom', 'hair', 'iron', 'smell'
	-ɔ	'belly'
	-ɿ	'fly', 'otter'
<i>Yi Mile (Axi)</i>	-i	'bridge', 'fly', 'hair', 'wedge'
	-u	'fathom', 'garden/fence', 'iron', 'smell'
<i>Yi Mojiang</i>	-e	'ear/spike', 'fathom', 'fly', 'hair', 'iron', 'otter', 'wedge'
	-u	'bridge', 'smell'
	-o	'garden/fence'
<i>Yi Nanhua</i>	-u	'bear', 'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fathom', 'fly', 'hair', 'iron', 'smell', 'wedge'
	-i	'otter'
<i>Yi Nanjian</i>	-y	'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fly', 'garden/fence', 'hair', 'iron'
<i>Yi Sani</i>	-ɣ	'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'hair', 'fathom', 'otter', 'smell', 'wedge'
	-u	'bear', 'iron', 'garden/fence'
	-ɿ	'fly'
<i>Yi Weishan</i>	-y	'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fly', 'garden/fence', 'hair', 'iron', 'wedge'
<i>Yi Wuding</i>	-e	'bear', 'ear/spike', 'bridge', 'fathom', 'fly', 'iron', 'otter', 'wedge'
<i>Yi Xide</i>	-o	'bear', 'garden/fence', 'otter', 'wedge'
	-i	'belly', 'bridge', 'ear/spike', 'fathom', 'fly', 'smell'
	-u	'iron'

²³ One might think this form for 'wedge' comes from *sap [see 4.2 below], but two forms from *-am in Naxi Yongning have the same reflex.

Eleven languages/dialects have quite regular phonological developments here. Seven others (Lisu, Naxi Lijiang, Naxi Yongning, Yi Mile, Yi Mojiang, Yi Sani, Yi Xide) have some unexplained phonological developments of the *-am rhyme. As adumbrated above, there are no fewer than 15 Loloish reflexes of this rhyme, sprawled all over vocalic space:

i	y	ɿ	ʊ	ɤ	u	ɯ
ɪ			ʏ			
e					o	
ɛ					ɔ	
	a					ɐ̃

3.0 ETYMOLOGICAL POSSIBILITIES FOR PUMI tsó 'WEDGE'

We are on much shakier ground when trying to deal with Qiangic words for 'wedge'. Forms for 'wedge' have been recorded for at least five dialects of Pumi:

Pumi (Dǎyáng)	tsó [tsʰo ⁵⁵]	JAM fieldnotes
Pumi (Jīnghuá)	tso ⁵⁵	ZMYYC, p. 783
Pumi (Jiǔlóng)	tso ⁵⁵	TBL, p. 207
Pumi (Lánpíng)	sí ē ¹³ dzə ⁵⁵	TBL, <i>ibid.</i>
Pumi (Tǎobā)	sē ³⁵ kuei ⁵³	ZMYYC, <i>ibid.</i>

The latter two are obvious loans from Chinese, the Lanping form apparently from the SW Mandarin pronunciation of xiēzi 'wedge', and the Taoba form perhaps from a compound like Mand. xiē-guī 楔規 'wedge gauge'.²⁴ It is the other, presumably native word (e.g. Dayang tsó) that is of particular interest in connection with the Lolo-Burmese forms just discussed:

Taking what one might call the "bottom-up" approach, one could look at other Dayang words with the -o rhyme and see where they come from. Here too, however, the situation is not clear, with at least four attested velar-rhyme proveniences:²⁵

²⁴ It is not clear why the first syllables of the Lanping and Taoba words have nasalized vowels.

²⁵ Note that the three examples of *-ak > Pumi -o are all etyma with -r- or -l- in the initial cluster, and -- apparently more importantly -- are all in the high tone (symbolized by the acute

*ak	'chicken'	PTB *k-rak	(STC p.88; TSR #184)	Dayang ɲ
	'boil/cook'	PTB *s-klak	(STC #124; TSR #61)	Dayang ɲ, ɲʰ
	'rat'	PTB *k-r-wak	(STC p.107; TSR #188)	Dayang wɔ
*ɬk	'year'	PTB *kɬk	(TSR #34)	Dayang kɔ
	'back'	PTB *s-nok/ŋ	(STC #354; TSR #155)	Dayang nɔ
*ɲ	'tiger'	PTB *s-ɲ	(STC p. 107)	Dayang wɔ
	'peacock/'	PTB *m-dɔŋ	(STC #341)	Dayang ɲɔ dɔ
	pheasant'	---	---	---
*aŋ	'mountain'	PTB *s-gaŋ	(DL, p. 299)	Dayang ɲɔ

But can Pumi Dayang tsɔ be related to PLB *N-dʒam²? Several other Qiangic languages have words for 'wedge' that are phonologically similar to the Pumi and LB forms, e.g. Namuyi ʂo³⁵ / ʂuo³⁵, Lusu ndze³⁵, Queyu tsɔ³⁵, etc. Are these relatable to Pumi tsɔ and/or to our LB etymon *N-dʒam²?

In order to decide these questions, we will have to figure out what the regular reflexes of the PTB *-am rhyme are in Pumi and the other Qiangic languages.

3.1 Qiangic reflexes of exemplary PTB *-am etyma

Data on the following Qiangic languages and dialects are available:²⁶

PT	Pumi (Taoba)	ZMYYC #10
PJH	Pumi (Jinghua)	ZMYYC #11
PJL	Pumi (Jiulong)	TBL #1
PLP	Pumi (Lanping)	TBL #9
PD	Pumi (Dayang)	JAM fieldnotes
QM	Qiang (Mawo)	ZMYYC #8
QT	Qiang (Taoping)	ZMYYC #9
QA	Qiang (Mao, Aba Prefecture)	TBL #8
RGB	rGyalrong (Benzhen)	Jackson Sun fieldnotes
RGC	rGyalrong (Caodeng)	Jackson Sun fieldnotes
RGS	rGyalrong (Suomo)	ZMYYC #12
RGM	rGyalrong (Maerkang)	TBL #11

accent). The most frequent Dayang reflex of *ak seems to be -ɲ, with at least nine examples, all of them under the low tone (symbolized by a wedge): 'ashamed' *g-yak & *s-rak > PD ʃtʃhɔ; 'bowl/cup' *kwak > PD ɬwɔ; 'dirty' *tʂak > PD tʃɔ; 'drop' *N-dzak > PD sthɔ; 'hand' *g-lak > PD zɔ; 'leaf' *r-pak > PD ɬpɔ; 'lick' *m-lyak > PD dɔ; 'pig' *p-wak > PD ɬtʃhɔ; 'weave' *t(r)ak > PD tʂɔ.

²⁶ The crosshatched numbers in this list refer to the position of the particular language among all those cited in the sources, e.g. "ZMYYC #10" means that Pumi Taoba is the tenth out of the 52 languages cited in the synonym sets of ZMYYC; "TBL #9" means that Pumi Lanping is the ninth out of the 50 languages cited in the sets of TBL, etc.

DF	Daofu (=Horpa = Stau)	TBL #12
EG	Ergong	ZMYYC #14
MYS	Muya (Kangding, Shade)	ZMYYC #15
MYG	Muya (Kangding, Ganzi)	TBL #15
QYY	Queyu (Yajiang) [“Zhábā”]	ZMYYC #16
QYX	Queyu (Xinlong)	TBL #13
ZB	Zhábā	TBL #14
GQY	Guiqiong (Kangding, Yutong)	ZMYYC #17
GQG	Guiqiong (Kangding, Ganzi)	TBL #16
ES	Ersu	ZMYYC #18
LS	Lüsu	TBL #18
NML	Namuyi Muli Luobo	ZMYYC #19
NMM	Namuyi Muli	TBL #46
SXS ²⁷	Shixing (Shunfuo River)	ZMYYC #20
SXM	Shixing (Muli, Liangshan)	TBL #17

BEAR (ZMYYC #125; TBL #311)²⁸

PT	gi ³⁵	PJH	u ³⁵	PTB *d/g-wam			
RGM	tə wam	RGB	tə-wam?	PJL	ɲue ³⁵	PD	wéN
EG	wo	MYS	ʒe ³⁵ we ³⁵ ²⁹	RGC	pre? tom	DF	ɬam
QYX	wɛr ¹³	ZB	ɲi ³⁵ vɛɛ ³⁵	MYG	re ³³ we ³⁵	QYY	wua ³⁵
NM	vu ³⁵	SXS	gi ³⁵	GQY	ɛ ³³ ngui ³³	GQG	ɬ ¹³ gui ³⁵
				SXM	gi ³⁵		

BELLY (ZMYYC #260; TBL #96)

DF	vo	EG	veu	PTB *p-p-wam			
QYY	bu ³⁵	QYX	hu ³⁵ / ru ³⁵	MYS	vu ³⁵ lo ⁵³	MYG	βə ³³ lo ⁵³
				ZB	vei ¹³		

²⁷ These two Shixing dialects are virtually identical.

²⁸ Here the crosshatched numbers refer to the position of the particular synonym set among the 1004 presented in ZMYYC and the 1822 sets of TBL.

²⁹ For the first syllable of MY ʒe³⁵we³⁵ see the first syllable of Lahu ʒɛ-mí-tɕ.

BRIDGE (ZMYYC #477; TBL #70)

PT	dza ³⁵	PJH	dzi ³⁵ du ¹³	PJL	dza ³⁵	PD	dzo ³⁵ uN
QM	tshi	QT	tshie ³³ da ²⁴¹	QA	tshua	RGS	ta ndzam
RGM	ta ndzam	RGB	te-ndzam	RGC	ndzem	DF	dzo
EG	dzo	MYS	ndzo ³⁵	MYG	ndzo ²⁴	QYY	dza ³⁵
QYX	tso ³⁵	ZB	ptsI ³⁵	GQY	zɔ ³³ pu ³³	GQG	zo ³⁵ pa ³⁵
ES	dzi ³⁵	LS	dze ³⁵	NM	dzo ³⁵	SXS/SXM	ze ³⁵

Note that in 'bridge', **-o** is indeed the reflex of ***-am** for several of these languages (Daofu, Ergong, Muya, Queyu Xinlong, Namuyi) - but not for Pumi!

DARE (ZMYYC #731; TBL #1335)PQiangic ***s-n-wam** [JAM]³⁰

PT	wa ³⁵	PJH	nxi ³⁵	PJL	nxi ³⁵	PD	nōN
RGS	kha nos	RGM	ku nos	RGB	ka-ndɔs	RGB	kə/nɛ- nos
DF	znə	EG	snuu	MYS	ne ³⁵	MYG	nɛ ³³
QYY	'nu ³³	ZB	na ¹³	GQY	ji ³⁵ nyi ³⁵	GQG	ny ³⁵
ES	no ³⁵	LS	ɣu ³³ 31	NM	na ³³	SXS	fi ³⁵
SXM	fi ³⁵						

The rGyalrong forms may not be cognate: why final **-s** instead of **-m**?

EAR/SPIKE of GRAIN (ZMYYC #229; TBL #407)PTB ***s-nam**

RGB	kha-fnem	RGC	ka-fnem?	QYX	ɕnoŋ ¹³		
PT	'ni ³³	PJH	'nia ³⁵	PLP	'nia ³⁵	PJL	'ne ³⁵
EG	sno-zime	ES	ndzo ³³ ndzo ³⁵				

There is another root ***s-nye** (cf. WT **snye-ma** ≠ **snyi-ma**), which may underlie the following syllables:

QYY	ɣa ³⁵ 'ne ³³	ZB	ne ³³ dzi ³⁵	SXM	hā ³³ ni ³³	SXS	lu ³⁵ nu ³³
-----	------------------------------------	----	------------------------------------	-----	-----------------------------------	-----	-----------------------------------

FATHOM (ZMYYC #959; TBL #899) **PTB *lam** (perhaps > PQiangic ***g-lam**)

PT	ɔ ³⁵ ji ³⁵	PJH	ɔ ³⁵ ie ³⁵	PJL	ɔ ³⁵ ie ³⁵	PD	yiN
QM	zɔ	QT	zi ²⁴¹	QA	ɛ zɛ	RGS	ɔ kɕam
RGM	kɕam	DF	a cho	EG	gɛl (? < gɛl-)		
MYS	te ³⁵ de ³⁵	MYG	te ³⁵ de ³⁵	QYY	ɔ ³⁵ lo ³⁵	QYX	tu ³⁵ lu ³⁵
ZB	te ³⁵ li ³⁵	GQY	ti ³³ xɔ ³³	GQG	ta ³¹ hɔ ³⁵	ES	lio ³⁵
LS	te ³⁵ liu ³³	NML	ty ³⁵	NMM	tu ³⁵	SXS	ji ³⁵
SXM	dzi ³³ jɛ ³⁵						

³⁰ This etymon is reconstructed as PTB ***hwam** in STC #216, on the basis of forms from Lushai, Jingpho, and WB. The root is also represented by Proto-Tamang ***wam** 'coax' < PTamangic ***hnam** (tone A). See note 15.

³¹ Perhaps with preemption by the outer, sibilant prefix (i.e. < ***s-wam**).

FLY/RUN ³² (ZMYYC #782; TBL #1318) PTB ***byam** > PQiangic ***N-byam**

PT	kh ³⁵ be ³⁵	PJH	kh ¹³ bɛ ¹³	PJL	bɛ ¹³	PD	b(d)ɔɪN
QM	gzi	QT	dze ²⁴¹	RGS	ka bjam	RGM	ku bjam
RGB	ka-nbjam	RGC	kɛ-qɛ-lɛnbjəm?	DF	bjo	EG	bzo la
MYS	ndzye ³⁵	MYG	thi ¹³³ ndzue ⁵⁵	QYY	tɔ ³⁵ de ⁵⁵	QYX	rde ¹³
ZB	tɔ ⁵⁵ mdzl ⁵⁵	GQY	phu ⁵⁵	GQG	phu ³¹	LS	bze ³⁵
SXS	bu ³³ zi ⁵⁵	SXM	dze ⁵⁵	NMM	mi ¹³³ ndzu ⁵⁵ ndzu ⁵⁵		

GARDEN (ZMYYC #366; TBL #522)PTB ***kram**

PT	kh ⁵⁵ re ⁵³	PJH	ŋu ³³ qhe ¹³	PJL	gi ¹¹ tsɿ ⁵⁵	PD	th ³ ³³
QM	kuz (< ku-z)	QT	tshie ⁵⁵ kie ³³	QA	tse k'u	DF	skəo rjo
ZB	xo ⁵⁵ ji ⁵⁵	NM	dze ³³ ntshu ⁵⁵ qhe ⁵⁵	SXS	h ⁵⁵ ji ³³		

FENCE (bamboo, twig) ³⁴ (TBL #521)

DF	rjo	MYG	tshæ ⁵³	QYX	ntsho ⁵⁵	LS	tshu ⁵³ dzæ ⁵³
SXM	qu ⁵⁵						

HAIR (ZMYYC #234; TBL #75)PTB ***tsam**

ES	tsi ⁵⁵	ZB	gu ³³ tshi ⁵⁵	LS	tce ³¹
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Most Qiangic words for 'hair' descend from other roots, e.g. ***skra** (STC #115), ***ney** (STC #292), ***mul** (STC #2).

IRON (ZMYYC #38; TBL #54)PTB ***syam**

PT	ɕi ⁵⁵	PJH	ɕi ⁵⁵	PJL	ɕi ⁵⁵	PD	jɿN
QM	su' nu	QT	ci ⁵⁵	QA	su: ² nu	RGS	jam
RGM	ɬam	RGB	ɬam?	RGC	ɬam?	DF	tco
EG	tco	MYS	ce ⁵³	MYG	ce ⁵³	QYY	ɕa ⁵⁵
QYX	co ⁵⁵	ZB	ci ⁵⁵	GQY	ɬɔ ⁵³	GQG	ɬɔ ³¹
ES	ɕe ⁵⁵	LS	ɕu ⁵³	NM	ɕu ⁵³	SXS	ɕu ⁵⁵
SXM	ɕo ⁵⁵						

OTTER (ZMYYC #133, TBL #317)PTB ***srām**

PT	xi ⁵⁵	PJH	skhē ⁵⁵	PJL	ɕe ⁵⁵	QM	ɣdzɿ
QT	[tsuo ³³ ma ³¹ ŋy ³³]	QA	ɣdzæ	RGS	ɬɔ ɬram	RGM	ɬhə srām
RGB	ɬram	RGC	ɬam?	DF	ɕsəm	EG	sɬəm
MYS	dzye ³⁵	MYG	dzu ²⁴	QYY	sɔ ⁵³	QYX	ɕse ⁵⁵
ZB	ɬa ³³ ɕi ³³	GQY	wi ⁵⁵ zɿ ⁵³	GQG	ɬhə ⁵⁵ sɔ ⁵⁵	ES	ɕi ⁵⁵ ji ⁵⁵ ³⁶
LS	ɕe ⁵⁵	SXS	ɕe ⁵⁵	SXM	ɕe ⁵⁵		

³² This root often means 'run' in Qiangic.

³³ The initial reflex here is quite regular (see Matisoff 1996 for many parallel examples); but the rhyme is irregular with respect to all the other *-am reflexes in Dayang.

³⁴ This is the same etymon as 'garden'.

³⁵ This compound means literally "water-cat" (p. c., Jonathan P. Evans).

³⁶ Judging from the Lusu and Shixing forms, it is the first syllable of this compound which is the cognate; but it is apparently the Guiqiong second syllables which are cognate.

SMELL v. (ZMYYC #548; TBL #1707) PTB ***s-nam**

PT	xɔ ³⁵ ɲɔ ³⁵	PJH	xɔ ¹³ ɲiɔ ⁵⁵	PJL	xɔ ¹³ ɲiɔ ⁵⁵	PD	ɲɛN
RGC	kɛ-mɛ-mnəm?	DF	nɔ	EG	snw nɔ	MYS	khur ⁵⁵ nur ⁵³
MYG	khi ³³ sɔ ⁵⁵ næ ³³	QYY	tɔ ³⁵ lu ⁵⁵ nū ⁵⁵	QYX	ʂnoŋ ¹³	ZB	ɲʌ ³³ mni ⁵⁵ mni ³³
SXS	by ⁵⁵ nɔ ⁵⁵	SXM	hū ⁵⁵ nu ⁵⁵				

The first syllable hū⁵⁵ of the SXM form seems to indicate that a number of other syllables in **h** - belong to a different etymon than ***s-nam**:

GQY	xū ⁵⁵ xū ³³	GQG	ji ³⁵ hɔ ⁵⁵	ES	hi ⁵⁵ hi ⁵⁵	LS	tɛ ⁵³ hū ⁵³ hū ³¹
NM	hi ³³ hi ⁵⁵						

WHITE (ZMYYC #840; TBL #1006) PQiangic ***pram** ³⁷

PT	phɹ̥ ă ⁵⁵ mɔ ⁵³	PJH	phɹ̥ ɔ ⁵⁵	PLP	phɹ̥ ɔ ⁵⁵	PJL	phɹ̥ i ⁵⁵ lɔ ⁵⁵ lɔ ¹¹
PD	phɹ̥ ɛN	QM	phi	QT	phɹ̥ i ⁵⁵	QA	phɹ̥ iŋ (< phɹ̥ -ŋ)
RGS	kɔ pram	RGM	kɔ pram	RGB	kɔ pram	RGC	kɔ ɣrəm?
ZB	ptɕhi ⁵⁵ ptɕhi ⁵⁵						

The following forms look as if they descend from a distinct etymon, PTB ***plu** (STC pp. 60-1):

DF	phru phru	EG	phɕu phɕu	MYS	tɕhɔ ⁵⁵ tɕhɔ ³³	MYG	tɕhɔ ⁵³ tɕhɔ ³³
QYY	tɕhɔ ⁵⁵ tɕhɔ ⁵⁵	QYX	ptɕho ⁵⁵ ptɕho ³³	GQY	ɕɔ ⁵⁵ mɔ ⁵⁵	GQG	ɕɔ ⁵⁵ ma ⁵⁵
NM	phu ⁵⁵ lu ⁵⁵	SXS	phu ³³	SXM	phu ³³ tɕi ³³ tɕi ⁵⁵	SXM	phu ³³ tɕi ³³ tɕi ⁵⁵

3.2 Pumi reflexes of exemplary PTB *-am sets

A quick look at the Pumi reflexes of these etyma from PTB ***-am** makes it clear that Pumi **tso** cannot possibly be related to PLB ***N-džam**², thus answering in the negative the question posed above in 3.0 (a):

³⁷ This root has not been discovered in Lolo-Burmese.

PT (Taoba); PJH (Jinghua); PJL (Jiulong); PLP (Lanping); PD (Dayang)

'bear'		PTB *d/g-wam			
PT	giẽ ⁵⁵	PJH	uẽ ⁵⁵	PJL	ŋuẽ ³⁵
				PD	wéN
'bridge'		PTB *n-dzam			
PT	dzã ³⁵	PJH	dziũ ¹³	PJL	dzã ³⁵
				PD	dzouN
'dare'		PQiangic *s-n-wam			
PT	wã ⁵⁵	PJH	nu ⁵⁵	PJL	nu ⁵⁵
				PD	noN
'draw water'		PTB *kam ✕ *kap ³⁸			
PJL	tʃɔ ⁵⁵ khẽ ⁵⁵				
'ear/spike of grain'		PTB *s-nam			
PT	ŋi ⁵³	PJH	ŋio ⁵⁵	PLP	ŋio ⁵⁵
				PJL	ŋẽ ⁵⁵
'fathom'		PTB *lam (perhaps > PQiangic *g-lam)			
PT	tɔ ³⁵ ji ⁵⁵	PJH	tɔ ⁵⁵ iẽ ⁵⁵	PJL	tɔ ⁵⁵ iẽ ⁵⁵
				PD	yiN
'fly/run'		PTB *byam			
PT	khɔ ⁴⁵ bẽ ³⁵	PJH	khɔ ¹³ bʒẽ ¹³	PJL	bʒẽ ¹³
				PD	b(d)ʒiN
'iron'		PTB *syam			
PT	çi ⁵⁵	PJH	ʂɔ ⁵⁵	PJL	ʂẽ ⁵⁵
				PD	ʃiN
'otter'		PTB *sram			
PT	xi ⁵⁵	PJH	skhẽ ⁵⁵	PJL	ʂẽ ⁵⁵
'smell'		PTB *s-nam			
PT	xɔ ³⁵ ŋũ ³⁵	PJH	xɔ ¹³ ŋio ⁵⁵	PJL	xɔ ¹³ ŋio ⁵⁵
				PD	ŋéN
'white'		PQiangic *pram			
PT	phɰ̌ ă ⁵⁵ mɔ ⁵³	PJH	phɰ̌ ă ⁵⁵	PLP	phɰ̌ ă ⁵⁵
PD	phɰ̌ éN			PJL	phɰ̌ i ⁵⁵ lɔ ⁵⁵ lɔ ¹¹

As these sets show, almost all Pumi reflexes of ***-am** etyma have nasalized vowels. In Dayang, the reflexes include **-eN** ('bear'; 'draw water'; 'white'), **-iN** ('fathom'; 'fly/run'; 'iron'), **-ɛN** ('smell'), and **-ouN** ('bridge'). Dayang forms are lacking for 'ear/spike' and 'otter', but the Jiulong dialect has **-eN** (written **-ê**) for both. The Dayang form for 'dare' has **-ɔN**, but that set is a bit problematical.

³⁸ See STC #336 and n. 226; TSR #39. STC only sets up the allofam with final stop ***kap** (underlying, e.g. WB *khap*); the variant ***kam** is directly attested by forms like Lahu *qho* and Zaiwa *kham*⁹¹.

3.3 Other Qiangic words for WEDGE

Several other forms for 'wedge' in Qiangic languages bear a surface similarity to Pumi **tsɔ**, but they must be individually scrutinized, since several etymological possibilities exist for each one of them. First let us just present them in an alphabetical list³⁹ :

Daofu	(DF)	zav
Ersu	(ES)	ndzi ³⁵
Guiqiong ⁴⁰	(GQG)	ze ³⁵
Lusu	(LS)	ndze ³⁵
Muya (=Minyak)	(MYS)	tsh ur ³³ ze ⁵⁵
Muya	(MYG)	tshə ³³ ze ⁵³
Namuyi Muli Luobo	(NML)	ʒo ³⁵
Namuyi Muli	(NMM)	ʒuo ³⁵
Pumi (Lanping)	(PLP)	siē ¹³ dza ⁵⁵ 41
Qiang Aba	(QA)	qe se
Qiang (Taoping)	(QT)	sie ³³ tchy ³³
Queyu Yajiang (Zhabā)	(QYY)	tsə ⁵³
Queyu Xinlong	(QYX)	ʒsa ³⁵
rGyalrong	(RGS; RGM))	tə cəhə
rGyalrong Benzhen	(RGB)	tə -tjəhə
rGyalrong Caodeng	(RGC)	tə -mtʃi
Shixing	(SXS)	ʒə ⁵⁵
Shixing	(SXM)	ʒo ⁵³
Zhabā	(ZB)	cəhə ¹³

Several of these forms bear a *prima facie* resemblance to PLB *N-dzə^{m2} (above), especially those with prenasalized initials (Ersu, Lusu, rGyalrong Caodeng):

Lusu ndze³⁵ 'wedge'

The same reflex -e occurs in Lusu 'bridge', 'fly', 'hair', 'otter':

Lusu dze ³⁵	'bridge'
Lusu bze ³⁵	'fly'
Lusu tce ³¹	'hair'
Lusu ʒe ³⁵	'otter'

³⁹ Forms taken from ZMYYC #413 (p. 783) and TBL #620 (p. 207).

⁴⁰ The Guiqiong form cited in ZMYYC (GQY), cə³³ tsɿ³³, is an obvious loan from Chinese.

⁴¹ Despite the nasalization of the first syllable, this form looks like a loan from Chinese.

Other Lusu reflexes of ***-am** etyma include: **u** ('iron', 'fence') and **iu** ('fathom'). For another possible etymology of Lusu **ndze**³¹, see below.

Ersu **ndzi**⁵⁵ 'wedge'

The same reflex **-i** occurs in Ersu 'bridge':

Ersu **dzi**⁵⁵ 'bridge'

However, other Ersu reflexes of ***-am** etyma include: **ɿ** ('otter'), **o** ('ear/spike'), **io** ('fathom'), and **ɛ** ('iron').

The *rGyalrong* forms, despite the prenasalization in Caodeng, cannot be related to our PLB etymon, since ***-am** is generally preserved as such in *rGyalrong* dialects.

The rhymes of the *Namuyi* forms are also consistent with an ***-am** origin:

Namuyi Muli Luobo (NML) **ʂo**³⁵, *Namuyi Muli* (NMM) **ʂuo**³⁵ 42

The same reflex **-o** occurs in *Namuyi*:

dzo⁵⁵ 'bridge'

Other *Namuyi* reflexes of ***-am** etyma include: **u** ('iron', 'bear', 'garden'), and **-y** ('fathom').

The *Guiqiong* (GQG) form **ze**³⁵ looks very much like Lusu **ndze**³¹, that we have already assigned to ***N-dzam**. However, *Guiqiong* does not have **-e** as the reflex of any other ***-am** etymon. Rather, the unruly *Guiqiong* reflexes of ***-am** include **ɿ** ('bridge', 'fathom', 'iron'), **ɿ** ('otter'), **ui** ('bear'), and **u** ('fly'). An alternative proposal for the origin of this *Guiqiong* form is given below.

The remaining forms for 'wedge' in our list (Muya, Qiang, Queyu, Shixing, Zhaba) similarly show no particular rhyme similarities to established ***-am** etyma:

Muya (MYG) **tshɔ**³³ **ze**⁵³, (MYS) **tshu**³³ **ze**⁵⁵

The same MYS reflex **-u** occurs in only one ***-am** etymon:

Muya (MYS) **khɯ**⁵⁵ **nu**⁵³.

Muya reflexes of ***-am** etyma include: **-e** ('bear', 'fathom', 'fly', 'iron'), **-o** ('bridge'), **ɿ** / **ɿ** ('otter').

42 The **-u-** in the NMM form may represent an allophonic labialization of the initial consonant before the vowel **-o**. As similar labialization occurs automatically in Pumi Dayang before **-o** (Matisoff 1996).

Qiang (QA) qɛ sɛ, (QT) sie³³ tɕhy³³ 43, Qiang (QM) sa sɔɪ

The most frequent QM reflex of **-am* seems to be *-i* ('bridge', 'fly', 'otter', 'smell', 'white'). QT reflexes are all over the place, including *-ie* ('bridge',⁴⁴ 'garden'), *-e* ('fly'), *-i* ('iron'), *-i* ('white'). QA reflexes range from *-ua* ('bridge'), to *-ə* ('otter'), to *-i* ('white').

The QM and QA forms for 'iron' are transcribed with a rhotic offglide (written above the line in the sources): QM suɹ mu, QA suɹ mu. It is possible that these descend from PTB **syi:r* ≠ **sya:l* (STC #372), but note that the QM word for 'wedge' (QM sa sɔɪ) and the QA word for 'otter' (QA ʏdʒə) show similar rhotacization. In the case of QM 'wedge' there is a possible explanation (see below).

Queyu Yajiang ["Zhábā"] (QYY) tsɔ⁵³, Queyu Xinlong (QYX) ʂsa³⁵

QYY reflexes of **-am* etyma include *-ua* ('bear'), *-ā* ('bridge', 'iron'), *-ō* ('fathom', 'otter'), *-ū* ('smell'), *-e* ('fly')

QYX reflexes of **-am* etyma include *-ɛ* ('otter'), *-ɛr* ('bear') [again note the rhotacization], *-o* ('bridge', 'iron', 'fence/garden'), *-u* ('fathom'), *-e* ('fly')

Shixing (SXS) ʂā⁵⁵, (SXM) ʂō⁵³

SXS reflexes of **-am* etyma include *-ī* ('bear', 'fathom', 'fly'), *-ē* ('bridge'), *-ē* ('otter'), *-ā* ('iron'), *-o* ('smell'), *-ō* ('dare')

SXM reflexes of **-am* etyma include *-ī* ('bear'), *-ē* ('bridge', 'fathom', 'fly', 'otter'), *-ō* ('iron', 'dare'), *-u* ('smell')

The irregularity of these reflexes makes it less impressive that the SXS reflexes of 'iron' and 'wedge' are the same, or that the SXM reflexes of 'iron', 'dare', and 'wedge' are all the same.

Zhábǎ (ZB) cɕhǎ¹³

Zhaba reflexes of **-am* etyma include *-A* ('bear', 'dare'), but also especially *-i* ('bridge', 'fly', 'smell', 'white'), and *-i* ('iron', 'fathom', 'otter').

In general, then, these Qiangic forms do not seem unequivocally relatable to our PLB root in **-am*. There are, however, several other possibilities.

⁴³ The first syllable of this form looks like a loan from Chinese (Mand. xiē).

4.0 TIBETAN AND BURMESE FORMS, AND THEIR POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP TO QIANGIC ONES

4.1 Tibetan *gzer* \approx *hdzer* 'peg; wedge' and its possible congeners

Most of the Qiangic forms for 'wedge' we have cited bear a strong resemblance to forms from Tibetan dialects. Jäschke (pp. 495, 489) cites WT *gzer* \approx *zer* 'nail; tack', which appears together with *lčags* 'iron' and *śiŋ* 'wood' in compounds meaning 'iron nail' (*lčags-gzer*) and 'wooden nail' (*śiŋ-gzer*), the latter elsewhere glossed 'peg' (p. 559). This morpheme can also be used verbally (*gzer-ba* 'bore into, drive or knock into'), and has developed some interesting extensions of meaning as a noun, including 'mnemonic verse' (presumably intended to knock a text into one's head); 'ray, beam (e.g. of sunlight)', perhaps because of the elongated shape; and 'pain, ache' (maybe by association with sharp or pointed objects). TBL (p. 207) cites a Written Tibetan form *ciŋ hdzer* 'wedge' (not to be found in Jäschke),⁴⁵ with the *a-chung* prefix; this is confirmed by forms in several Tibetan dialects with prenasalized initials:⁴⁶

Tibetan (Batang)	xhi ³⁵ ndze ⁵⁵	TBL #620
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ndzer na	ZMYC #413

This now raises the strong possibility that our best Qiangic candidates for relationship with PLB **n-džam*, i.e. Lusu *ndze*³⁵ and Ersu *ndzi*³⁵ (above 3.3), are to be related instead to this Tibetan morpheme.

Other Tibetan dialect forms for 'wedge' include:

Tibetan (Lhasa)	ciŋ ⁵⁵ se ¹⁵	ZMYC #413
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ciŋ ⁵⁵ se ⁵⁵	TBL #620
Tibetan (Kham:Dege)	chin ⁵⁵ dze ⁵⁵	ZMYC #413
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	tchə	ZMYC #413
Tibetan (Alike)	tchə	TBL #620

The Monpa Tshona (Mama = Takpa) form *ceŋ⁵⁵zer¹³* (ZMYC #413; TBL #620) also has the morphemic structure 'wood' + 'peg', and is obviously closely related to or borrowed from Tibetan.⁴⁷ The same may now be said for

⁴⁴ If it is the *first* syllable of QT *sie³³ tchy³³* that is being compared, its rhyme -ie would agree with 'bridge' and 'garden'.

⁴⁵ ZMYC #413 has *ciŋ gzer* 'wedge'.

⁴⁶ For the connection between *a-chung* and prenasalization, see e.g. Matisoff 1975. It is possible that this nasal prefix arose secondarily in the compound for 'wedge' by assimilation to the final of the first syllable *śiŋ* 'wood'.

⁴⁷ Other Tshona (= Cuona) forms reflect a distinct etymon **sap* found also in Burmese (see below 4.2).

the Muya forms: (MYS) ts^hur³³ zɛ⁵⁵, (MYG) ts^hə³³ zɛ⁵³ (cf. Muya ts^hə⁵³ 'wood' TBL #511). Pumi Lanping (PLP) ʃə⁵⁵ zɛ⁵⁵ 'nail' contains the same second element, though as the gloss implies, the first syllable ʃə⁵⁵ means 'iron', not 'wood'.⁴⁸

Also possibly related to the Tibetan forms is Lepcha zǎ 'a wedge (for placing in eye of hatchet etc. to render tight the handle, or for splitting wood', **ku** rǎ 'wooden wedge', zǎ kyóp 'fix in a wedge' (Mainwaring 1898:313-4).

Several other Qiangic languages have forms for 'wedge' very similar to those of Amdo Tibetan, including rGyalrong (RGS; RGM) tɛ cɕhə⁴⁹, (RGB) tɛ-tʃhə, (RGC) tɛ-mtʃi (with prenasalization); Zhábǎ (ZB) cɕhə¹³; Queyu (QYY) tsə⁵³, (QYX) ʃsa³⁵; and Qiang (QA) qɛ sɛ, (QT) siɛ³³ tɕhi³³.⁵⁰

Finally, a few more miscellaneous wedge-words (from ZMYYC #413 and/or TBL #620) from languages whose phonological history is quite obscure, but which also have affricate initials: Bai (Dali) tɕi³⁵, Bai (Jianchuan) tɕi⁵⁵ ne²¹ (for the second element see below 5.2); Tujia tɕhi⁵⁵.

4.2 Written Burmese sap and its congeners

Quite a separate root is represented by WB **sap** 'wedge'⁵¹, which surprisingly has a perfect cognate in Tshangla Monpa (Menba Cangluo Motuo) **sap** 'wedge' (ZMYYC #413, p. 783; TBL #620, p. 207). The form cited in Lu Shaozun 1986:170 is the compound ɕɛŋ⁵⁵sap⁵⁵, with 'wood' as its first element, contrasting etymologically with Monpa Tshona ɕɛŋ⁵⁵zer¹³, cited above 4.1.

A Qiangic form which certainly appears cognate is Daofu **zav** 'wedge' (TBL #620), with the unusual rhyme **-av** paralleled in at least two other unimpeachable ***-ap** etyma:

'snot' PTB ***s-nap** [STC #102] > Daofu **snav** (ZMYYC #278; TBL #157)

'repay' PTB ***tsap** [STC #63] > Daofu **xshav** (TBL #1183)

≠ **xsav** (TBL #1381)

The closely related Ergong language has similarly parallel forms for 'wedge' and SNOT:

Ergong **sui zau** 'wedge' (ZMYYC #413) **snau** 'snot'⁵²

⁴⁸ Despite its superficial similarity to these forms, Jinuo (aberrant Loloish) zɛ⁶ / zɛ³ has been assigned to PLB ***N-dʒam** because of parallel reflexes in several other ***-am** etyma (above 2.34).

⁴⁹ It is hard to be sure of the actual phonetic realization of this cluster "cɕh". The Qiangic languages are remarkable for their profusion of fricatives and affricates, difficult for the non-native to produce and to distinguish. See Matisoff 1996.

⁵⁰ The first syllable of this QT form looks like Mand. xié.

⁵¹ This is mistranscribed as tɕap in ZMYYC #413.

⁵² The Muerzong dialect of Ergong also has a labiodental reflex of ***-ap**, e.g. 'needle' ɲɛf (< ***k-rap**), 'fold' lɛf (< ***l-tap**) [p.c., Sun Tianshin].

A strong Kamarupan cognate is Tangkhul Naga *thiŋ-tap* ‘wedge’ [Pettigrew 1918:211, 456]. Like other Kuki-Chin-Naga languages (e.g. Mizo, Lai), Tangkhul has developed dental stops from PTB **s-* [see STC p.28], e.g. ‘die’ **səy* > TN *thi*, ‘wood’ **siŋ* > TN *thiŋ* [this is the first element in the compound for ‘wedge’ just cited]. The lack of aspiration in the second syllable of *thiŋ-tap* is perhaps due to its non-initial position as a bound constituent of the compound (*tap* does not appear as a head entry in Pettigrew).

I have just learned that another Kamarupan language, Lai Chin, has an obviously cognate form, *tsop* (p.c., Kenneth VanBik).

Another possible reflex of **sap* is Naxi (Lijiang) *ɣu⁵⁵* ‘wedge’ (but see 2.34 above).

Finally, there is a solid comparandum in Chinese: 接 OC *tsiap* (GSR 635f) ‘peg, tenon’.

Since this etymon must now definitely be set up for PTB and probably for PST as well, this leads us to a new question. Could Dayang Pumi *tsó*, which started this whole investigation, perhaps come from **sap* instead of **N-čam*? There is actually one shred of evidence that this might be so: the Pumi word for ‘needle’ (< PTB **k-rap*; see TSR #191) has the same rhyme as Pumi ‘wedge’. As a matter of fact, the Namuyi words for ‘needle’ and ‘wedge’ also have the same rhyme *o*:

‘needle’	PTB <i>*k-rap</i>	WB <i>ɽap</i>	Pumi Dayang <i>qhǒ</i>	Namuyi <i>ko³³</i>
‘wedge’	PTB <i>*sap</i>	WB <i>sap</i>	Pumi Dayang <i>tsó</i>	Namuyi <i>šo³⁵</i>

Unfortunately, however, no further examples of Dayang *-o* < PTB **-ap* have yet been uncovered.⁵³ Dayang reflexes of etyma in **-ap* include *-a* (WEEP **krap* > PD *χqwa*), and *-ɔ* (SHOOT **gap* > PD *thǒ*).⁵⁴

5.0 WORDS FOR WEDGE IN OTHER BRANCHES OF TIBETO-BURMAN; OTHER ETYMA FOR WEDGE

Several forms in the little-known Abor-Miri-Dafla (Mirish) branch of TB have forms for ‘wedge’ with affricate initials and non-front vowels that look superficially very much like our Pumi *tsó*, but which remain equally obscure in origin (data from ZMYYC #413; TBL #620):

Darang Deng (=Taraon)	<i>ta³¹tsau⁵³</i>
Geman Deng (=Kaman)	<i>da³¹tsuu⁵⁵</i>
Idu (Luoba)	<i>ɕ⁵⁵tsu⁵⁵</i>

⁵³ Except perhaps for Dayang *mɔsɪN* ‘morning’ < PTB **m-nap*. This root also has a well-attested variant **m-nak* in Lolo-Burmese (see TSR #131).

⁵⁴ Although there are over 30 cognate sets reconstructed with PTB and/or PLB **-ap* in STC and TSR, only a handful of them have so far been shown to have solid Qiangic cognates.

A few other new etyma for 'wedge' may perhaps be reconstructible, though the evidence is still scattered:

5.1 *san

The Akha (S. Loloish) word for *seh* 'wedge' cannot be from *-am, since the regular Akha reflex of *-am is definitely syllabic /-ṃ/ (see above 2.51), but might be from PLB *san² (cf. 'louse' PLB *san^{1/2} > Ak. *sheh*⁵⁵).^{55/56}

This would make the Akha form a perfect cognate to Dulong (Nungish group) *san*⁵⁵ 'wedge' (TBL #620). We should probably also include another Nungish form in this set, Anong *ga*³*saŋ*⁵⁵ (ZMYC #413; TBL #620), despite the difference in position of the final nasal.

Less secure would be an attempt to relate Qiangic forms like Shixing (SXS) *ḡā*⁵⁵ (SXM) *ḡō*⁵³ to this root, though anything is possible.

In any event, this new etymon seems quite distinct both from *džam and *sap.

5.2 *-n(y)e

This flimsily attested item occurs as the second syllables of compounds in Apatani (Tani group of Mirish) and Bai, two languages whose geographic separation precludes contact with each other:

Apatani	<i>pu-ñe</i>	J. Sun 1993
Apatani	<i>ú-ñe</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
Bai (Jianchuan)	<i>tɕi</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ne</i> ²¹	ZMYC #413, p. 783

5.3 *ka

This equally flimsy prospective etymon occurs only in the (unclassified) Tujia language and in Tibetan:

Tujia (Northern)	<i>ko</i> ²¹	wedge/clip	Tian and He 1986
Tujia (Southern)	<i>kha</i> ³	wedge/clip	<i>id.</i>
Tibetan (Written)	<i>ka-ru</i>	wedge	Jäschke, p. 2

The non-aspirated Tibetan initial immediately stamps this lexical item as somehow aberrant, perhaps a loanword, since non-prefixed WT syllables with voiceless obstruent initials are overwhelmingly aspirated in native vocabulary.

⁵⁵ But 'hawk' *džwan¹ gives Ak. *k'a* *de*.

⁵⁶ The Akha compound for 'nail' is *shm seh* ('iron' + 'wedge', with the first syllable < *syam). This compound thus has the same *semantic* structure as WT *léags-gzer* 'nail', though both syllables are *etymologically* distinct in the two languages. The first syllable of the Lahu compound *šo-chû* 'nail' reflects the same etymon for 'iron' as the Akha compound, though the second element means 'thorn' < PTB *tsow [STC # 276].

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

Although we have not achieved our original goal of etymologizing Pumi tsó 'wedge', the attempt to do so has yielded a number of side benefits. We have reconstructed several new roots for 'wedge', including PLB *N-*dzam*², Proto-Himalayish *-*zer*, and PTB **sap*, clarifying in the process the fate of the rhymes *-*am* and *-*ap* in both Lolo-Burmese and Qiangic. A number of other forms have not been assigned with certainty to any of these etyma, but at least some of the difficulties involved have been expounded.

It will be challenging to work out Qiangic phonological developments in sufficient detail to establish the exact nature of the relationship of this branch of TB to the other subgroups of the family. Although Qiangic initial consonants are justly famous for their manifold complexities, the rhymes of Qiangic languages (except for the rGyalrong/Ergong group) are often just as depleted as those of Loloish, with total loss of post-vocalic consonants. The phonological evolution of originally *closed syllables in Qiangic seems particularly intricate.⁵⁷ Compounding the comparativist's headaches is the high degree of dialectal differentiation within individual Qiangic languages. Some of the invaluable data provided in recent Chinese sources may be insufficiently phonemicized, so that certain reflex-patterns appear more complicated than they actually are. Despite the copiousness of these published sources, many key cognate forms are undoubtedly still lacking, not because they do not exist, but simply because they were accidentally not recorded, in favor of a more or less synonymous form. It behooves us then to approach comparisons between Qiangic and other branches of TB with due humility.

In closing, I cannot resist one speculative semantic sally. We have seen that the PLB root *N-*dzam*² 'wedge' is almost identical (except for tone) with PLB *N-*dzam*¹ 'bridge'. Could there be some intrinsic semantic connection between the two concepts? Wedges have both splitting and joining functions: they can be used to pry things apart,⁵⁸ or conversely to bridge the gap between objects that are too far apart (in the manner of a shim). The 'bridge' of a violin wedges the strings apart from the sounding-board, while simultaneously connecting the four strings together by causing them to vibrate over the same thin piece of wood.

⁵⁷ Not that the evolution of *open syllables is straightforward either! Even *-*a*, the most common of all TB rhymes, has complex conditioned reflexes in Dayang Pumi, with the most common reflex being *-*i*. See Matisoff 1996.

⁵⁸ Cf. Jingpho *sɯm-prət* 'wedge' (< *prət* 'split').

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