

Miao-Yao Manuscript (苗瑶字彙) II

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Chapter 5

THE CASE AGAINST CHINESE

What are the arguments advanced against a Chinese relationship?

Generally there are three: 1. differences in vocabulary, 2. differences in grammar, and 3. differences in the phonological structure of the syllable. Benedict and Greenberg doubt a Vietnamese-Thai-Chinese relationship largely on the basis of vocabulary. Let us look at this vocabulary problem.

Even within the Chinese language family vocabulary correspondences are not easy to establish. Part of the problem comes from the size and complexity of the Chinese vocabulary. Part of it comes from the Chinese writing system and the way it relates to different spoken languages. Benedict and Greenberg's vocabulary problems exist within Chinese.

The K'ang Hsi dictionary of 1716, still the standard dictionary for written Chinese, contains about 40,000 Chinese characters. There are many duplicate and obsolete forms in this total. Fr. L. Weiger estimates that 34,000 of the 40,000 characters might be set down as quite useless.¹ No one knows the exact number of morphemes this represents, or the morpheme correspondences involved. This provides a greater complexity than we find in most European language families.

¹R. A. D. Forrest, The Chinese Language, (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), pg. 38. Six thousand as a basic vocabulary would correspond favorably to the basic vocabularies of many other languages.

There is no question but that modern Pekinese and Sino-Japanese are closely related. By Sino-Japanese we mean Chinese loan words in Japanese, many of them based on T'ang Chinese forms (North China from 600-900 A.D.). Even though Sino-Japanese and Pekinese have been separated by cultural-political-geographical boundaries only for about a thousand years, there are considerable differences in vocabulary. For example, the morphemes for "letter", "to go" and the classifier for "pen", are unrelated in the two dialects.

| | | | | |
|---------|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| letter | 書 | (mod. Pk. pron. su ⁵⁵) | 信 | (mod. Pk. pron. ɕin ⁵¹) |
| to go | 行 | (mod. Pk. pron. ɕiŋ ²⁵) | 走 | (mod. Pk. pron. tsoʊ ²¹) |
| one pen | 一枝筆 | (mei ²) | 一枝筆 | (tʂɛ ²) |

The difference in vocabulary is great enough to give modern Japanese students special difficulties when they try to learn modern spoken Pekinese.

The traditional Chinese writing system complicates the vocabulary problem. The nouns and most verbs tend to be fairly stable in the written language. That is, in spite of geographical and historical diversity in the spoken language, there is a "Standard" written form for the noun or verb in question. This is not true for sentence particles, determinators, classifiers and pronouns. These "grammatical particles" are represented in the written language by characters borrowed on a regional basis for their homonymity, or else there is no written form at all. For grammatical particles often there is no standard written form.

This means there is a great deal of diversity within both written and spoken Chinese for "this", "that", "I", "he", the possessive particle,

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verbal particles, and sentence particles.² In these areas both the spoken and the written forms make it difficult to establish morpheme correspondences.³ This complicates Chinese linguistics in ways that are confusing even to sinologists..⁴ Linguists with a European background are shocked to find apparently unrelated pronominal systems in closely related Chinese dialects.

²p. Demieville, "Archaïsmes de prononciation en Chinois vulgaire," TP, 40 (1951), pp. 1-59. Here Demieville calls attention to this problem in modern Pekinese. He felt that the irregular pronunciations of the written forms of pronouns, determinatives, negatives and particles should be interpreted as survivals of archaic pronunciations in the spoken language. I interpret this irregularity as evidence that even in Pekinese the writing system does not fit the particles of the spoken language as well as it fits most nouns and verbs. Since it is a poor "fit" we must be very careful in reconstructing past pronunciations of these pronouns, determinatives, negatives and particles on the basis of the written form. For me, this vitiates the work that a sinologist like J. W. F. Mulder has done in "On the Morphology of the Negatives in Archaic Chinese," TP, 47 (1959), pp. 251-293, and renders equally suspect all the work on fusion particles that was so popular in the 1940's.

³The most convenient source from which to begin this comparison is Hanyu Fangyan Cihui, (Peking: Wenzhi Gaige Chubanshe, 1964), pp. 1-460.

⁴At a linguistics meeting I remember hearing Leo Chen read a fine paper on "Foochow Reduplication." Y. R. Chao commented that one of the most valuable aspects of the paper was the skillful way Prof. Chen had represented spoken Foochow morphemes with Chinese characters. It came as a shock to me to see that writing Chinese speech with Chinese characters presents problems to Chinese people too.

The grammatical argument is for me a much weaker argument, whether for or against, though Benedict pontificates with a discomforting assurance:

Thai agrees with Indonesian and Kadai, and sharply diverges from Chinese, in placing modifying elements after rather than before modified elements. This significant argument in syntax contributes no little support to our Thai-Kadai-Indonesian hypothesis.⁵

Let us look carefully at two phrases: "modifying elements before modified elements" and "modifying elements after modified elements." For the sake of simplicity let us direct our attention to the noun phrase. Benedict is quite right that the normal order in modern Chinese and in most Chinese dialects is "modifier + noun head".

The qualifying word or phrase regularly precedes the determined, whether the latter be substantive or verb . . . modern Pekinese, in common with all other dialects . . . prefers . . . the regular order.⁶

-san kə 'xai tsr three + classifier + children

But Forrest is familiar enough with classical Chinese to also note:

"Less easy of explanation is the frequent postposition of the numeral with its classifier in the classical literary language."⁷

tsr/ny -san 'mɨŋ children + three + classifier.

P. J. Honey and E. H. S. Simmonds in "Thai and Vietnamese: Some Elements of Nominal Structure Compared,"⁸ apply the same terminology and

⁵Benedict, op. cit., p. 598.

⁶R. A. D. Forrest, The Chinese Language, (London: Faber & Faber, 1938), p. 71.

⁷Forrest, loc cit.

⁸Language Comparison in South East Asia and the Pacific, School of Oriental and Africal Studies, University of London (1963), pp. 70-78.

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techniques that H. F. Simon used for Chinese⁹ to Vietnamese and Thai.

For the noun phrase. "these two large books" the word order is as follows:

Chinese: these + two + classifier + large + books

Thai: books + large + two + classifier + these

Vietnamese: two + classifier + books + large + these

Since "books" is the noun head, the modifiers precede in modern Chinese, the modifiers follow in modern Thai and the modifiers both precede and follow in modern Vietnamese. But since classical Chinese had a different word order: noun + number + classifier, we had better not make too much out of the agreements or contrasts in modern Chinese, modern Vietnamese and modern Thai.

We know that in the Indo-European family of languages English and German, though closely related have a different word order with reference to the place of the verb in the sentence. Word order in Indo-European linguistics is thus an unreliable guide for the postulation of linguistic relationships. It does not thus follow that it is an unreliable guide in other language families, but the diversity within Chinese itself should caution us.

⁹H. F. Simons, "Two substantival complexes in Standard Chinese," *BSOAS*, 15 (1953), pp. 327-55. It is worth noting that the technical vocabulary which Simon used in Chinese applies equally well to Thai and Vietnamese and can, for that matter, be used equally well with Miao-Yao. This fact ought to be noted. During World War II, Japanese linguists were surprised to see that the technical vocabulary of Japanese grammar applied equally well to Mongolian and that one could translate from Mongolian to Japanese and vice versa word for word. The vocabulary differences were considerable but the grammatical similarities were striking. This same thing is often true in the Chinese-Thai-Vietnamese-Miao-Yao linguistic complex.

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In the Miao-Yao language family, word order is not a reliable criteria for establishing linguistic relationships. Mien, a Yao language spoken by Yao people has the order "modifier + noun". Punan, a Miao language spoken by Yao people, has the order "modifier + noun". Laka, a Thai language spoken by Yao people, has the order "noun + modifier".

More specifically:

Mien: that + classifier + noun

Punu: classifier + noun + that

Laka: classifier + noun + that¹⁰

Since we have proved in Chapter 3 that Miao and Yao are related, the differences in word order in the noun phrase are not sufficient criteria to distinguish linguistic relationships in the Chinese language family.¹¹

The phonological argument, the argument based on the phonetic shape of the syllable, has always been taken more seriously by those working in the field. The argument is as follows: Miao, in some cases, has complicated consonant clusters as the initial of the syllable. The word for "tongue" in Hungchan Miao is "mple²", in Yi Miao it is "mplai⁷", in Black Miao it is "ntljai⁷"¹² The initials "mpl-" and "ntl-" complicate

¹⁰"A General Survey of the Languages of the Yao People," op. cit., pp. 144-45.

¹¹The Chinese linguists working in the field feel that differences in word order in the Yao languages are due to Chinese influence. If this is so, the difference derives from borrowing. What is readily borrowed is a poor criteria on which to postulate linguistic relationships.

¹²Chang K'un, "On the Tonal System of the Miao-Yao Languages", Language, op. cit. pg. 375.

or make suspect any relationship to Chinese.

Let us begin by looking carefully at Haudricourt's reconstructions of Common Thai.¹³ Haudricourt used eight Thai dialect/languages: Shan, Laotian, Black Tai, Tho, White Thai, Nung, Dioi, and Ahom. He identified the same morpheme in each dialect and then made a simple equation. On the basis of this equation he postulates a proto-Thai form. The correspondences are synchronic; they are certain. The proto-forms are diachronic hypotheses; they are guesses and are, thus, marked by an asterisk.

In one case Haudricourt discovered that Shan k- = Laotian k- = Black Thai k- = Tho k- = White Thai k- = Nung k- = Ahom k-. There is little doubt but that these all equal a Common Thai *k-. But in the case of Shan kl- = Laotian k(i)- = Black Thai k(i)- tho k(i)- = White Thai k(i)- = Nung k(i)- + Dioi k(i) = Ahom kl-, there is some question. Haudricourt's Common Thai initial is *kl-. There are six cases where we have k(i)- and only two cases where we have kl-. Why does Haudricourt choose kl- over k(i) for the proto-Thai form? This choice discloses a strange bias in the mind of Haudricourt. It runs through all his Common Thai forms. Thus, we get *gr-, *pl-, *ppl-, *br-, *p'r-, *ml-, *dr- all equally suspect. Haudricourt finds consonant clusters in Thai on the basis of an arbitrary fixation in his mind.

Curiously enough we find the same kind of a bias in Chang K'un's treatment of Miao. On the basis of the morpheme "three" Chang K'un

¹³A. G. Haudricourt, "Les phonemes et le vocabulaire du thai commun," op. cit. p. 198.

gives the following equation:

Kaop'o Miao p- = Yi Miao p- = Black Miao p- = Flowery Yao p- =
Black Miao p- = Black Miao p (i)- = Kwangtung Yao b- = Indo-Chinese
Yao p- and p-.¹⁴

He reconstructs the Proto Miao form as *pr-.¹⁵ How do all these p-'s become *pr-? The reconstruction *pr- is an arbitrary hypothesis on his part. There are others quite as arbitrary: *mbr-, *mnh-, *ndl-, *mbl-, etc. Reconstructions without such consonant clusters are at least equally plausible. As in Thai, the clusters begin in the mind of the linguist.

The same situation repeats itself in Chinese. Karlgren reconstructs 林 (655a) *gliəm / liəm / lin and 禁 (655k) *kliəm / kiəm / kin.¹⁶ Notice for Archaic Chinese Karlgren reconstructs *gl- and *kl- initials. He does this on the basis that in Ancient Chinese is pronounced with an l- and with a k-. He thus postulates an Archaic form *kl- and explains development as a split. This is not unreasonable, but it is only an hypothesis. Other hypotheses are equally reasonable. In general, Karlgren's reconstructions of Archaic Chinese are more credible because he follows his principles with considerable restraint.

¹⁴Chang K'un: 苗後聲調問題 op. cit., p. 99.

¹⁵Chang K'un, "A Comparative Study of the Yao Tone System," op. cit., p. 305.

¹⁶Bernhard Karlgren, "Grammata Serica Recensa," BMFEA, No. 29 (1957), p. 174.

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Paul Serruys, in a controversial reconstruction of an archaic Chinese,¹⁷ follows this Karlgren principle without restraint. On the basis of Ancient Chinese pronunciations he postulates *bg-, *p -, *bk-, *dg- and *ts - and then explains all development in terms of splits. The unlikeliness of his forms results from the unsuitability of the method he follows. The reconstructions are suspect because the method is suspect, not just in Serruys but also in Karlgren.

We seem to have the same situation in Thai, Miao, and Chinese. *k(i)- and *k(l)- are equally possible reconstructions. In spite of the great preponderance of modern reflexes in k(i)- the linguists hypothesize the more exotic *kl- forms. Ultimately the *kl- form rests on nothing more substantial than the linguist's prejudice.

In Chinese a much better case can be made for the clusters that are composed of a homo-organic stop and nasal. (mb-, nt-, and ŋk-).¹⁸ Foochow dialect has [m-] and [b-] as allophones of one phoneme. By Karlgren's method we could hypothesize an original *mb- and explain development in terms of a split. We also have readings in Amoy, Sino-Japanese, and Sino-Tibetan where modern Chinese m- is written as a b-.

¹⁷Paul L. M. Serruys, The Chinese Dialects of Han Time According to the Fan Yen, University of California Publications in East Asian Philology, Vol. 2. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles (1959), pp. 1-350.

¹⁸Lo Ch'ang-p'ei in "Tibetan and Chinese Transcriptions of the Sanskrit Palatal Consonants,"

We really cannot handle this within the "ch'ieh-yün" frame of Ancient Chinese. For the present it is best to say simply that homo-organic clusters, stop plus nasal, are not "unthinkable" for Archaic Chinese.

We also shed light on the Miao consonant clusters if we look more closely at the Miao-Yao syllable. Herbert Purnell analyzes the Highland Yao syllable very carefully in his thesis.¹⁹ He makes a basic distinction between a major syllable and a minor syllable. Major syllables are one-syllable phonemes. These are quite common and very important. But there are also minor syllables in phonemes composed of two phonetic syllables. One type of two-syllable phonemes is the result of an emphatic stress; but there are other types that are independent of the stress system. For example, / la pyéy / "rock", / ma gón / "head", / ka sɿə / "stomach" and / pa ken / "spoon". The minor syllables are underlined. They are unstressed and, therefore, have a lost or modified tone and a centralized vowel.²⁰

Sylvia Lombard treats these poly-syllable phonemes a little differently in her dictionary.²¹ For stone or rock she gives: la'g pyeiq / la¹⁸ pyei³ /. Here the minor syllable is given a regular tone and a regular vowel.

¹⁹Herbert C. Purnell, Jr., Phonology of a Yao Dialect, Hartford Studies in Linguistics, (Hartford, Connecticut: Hartford Seminary, 1956), pp. 1-124.

²⁰Purnell, *ibid.* p. 10.

²¹Sylvia J. Lombard, Yao-English Dictionary, Linguistic Series II, Data Paper No. 69, ed. Herbert C. Purnell, Jr. (Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, 1968), pp. i-xv, 1-363.

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The same minor syllable occurs with:

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| la'g Bcv | la ⁷⁸ beŋ ¹ | a long strip of dark blue cloth, usually with cross stitching at the ends, wound around a woman's lower leg. |
| la'g Kaauj | la ⁷⁸ ghāu ⁵ | a button |
| la'g Kwrtq | la ⁷⁸ ghwot ⁵ | the chest (of the body) |
| la'g fapq | la ⁷⁸ fap ⁷ | litter, trash, scattered bits |
| la'g sin | la ⁷⁸ sin ¹ | waist sash (worn by women) |
| la'g scvj | la ⁷⁸ seŋ ⁵ | 'side (of the body) |
| la'g maa Dia | la ⁷⁸ mā ¹ dia ¹ | hemp cloth |

and with verbs:

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|---|
| la'g aiq | la ⁷⁸ ai ³ | to be short, low |
| la'g Ku'q | la ⁷⁸ ghū ⁷⁷ | to forget |
| la'g Rapq | la ⁷⁸ zap ⁷ | to repeat, to keep doing the same thing ²² |

Lombard gives the minor syllable for head no vowel, but full tone: mbGxvq/ m²gɔŋ³ /. In the words: head, eye, ear, cat the Yao phoneme is written as two or three syllables. Thus, whether we have a consonant cluster initial or two syllables sometimes rests on the arbitrary decision of the linguist.

| | | | |
|----------|--------|---------------------------------|------|
| Compare: | mbGxvq | m ² gɔŋ ³ | head |
| | mbziy | m ² ɕiŋ ¹ | eye |
| | mbnxml | m ² ɳɔm ² | ear |
| | mblomb | m ² lom ² | cat |

²²Lombard, *ibid.*, pp. 288-89.

| | |
|---|--|
| with: mb Jaavg txn m ² cāy ⁶ tən ¹ | man, male human, husband |
| mb kuj m ² ku ⁵ | an old lady |
| mb sia'q txn m ² sia ⁷ tən ¹ | woman, female human, wife |
| mb xij pyruq m ² ɔi ⁵ pyou ³ | guava |
| mb keb mienq m ² ke ² mien ³ | the devil, satan, the most powerful evil spirit. ²³ |

This demonstrates that there is a good possibility that some of the syllable initials that have been identified as complex consonant clusters can be re-analyzed into two syllables, usually a major and a minor syllable. In this process our phonological problem disappears.

Better linguistic analysis thus helps us to avoid some phonological problems. One of Egerod's students, Thomas Amis Lyman, provides us with a sophisticated grammatical analysis of one of the constituents of a noun phrase in Green Miao.²⁴ All linguists working in Thai, Vietnamese, Miao-Yao, and Chinese have found numerals, specifiers (this, that, etc.), classifiers and measure words, and nouns in the noun phrase. Lyman identifies a sub-class in Green Miao, Thai, and Malay which he names a "generic designator". The one he discusses is "kua", but he also identifies "ch'ung" as another generic designator in Miao. We get the same morpheme in Chinese,²⁵ so it is possible that this grammatical analysis

²³Lombard, *ibid.*, pp. 234-35.

²⁴Thomas Amis Lyman, "The Generic Designator "Kua" in Green Miao," *TP*, 49 (1961), pp. 96-100.

²⁵"ch'ung" 蟲 is common in this whole linguistic complex. The morpheme is the same in Chinese, as is probably its grammatical class and function.

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could also apply to Chinese.²⁶ More careful analysis of the noun phrase helps us to deal with poly-syllable phonemes in both Miao and Yao. When the minor syllable loses its tone and its central vowel it is often misinterpreted as the intital element in a complex consonant cluster.

We still do not know enough about consonant clusters in the Miao-Yao language family to completely resolve our problem. It is probable, however, that we have nothing more complex than the combinations hono-organic stop plus nasal and homo-organic affricate plus nasal. These consonant clusters are probably peculiar to Miao-Yao, but it is not unthinkable that they could be present in varieties of Chinese older than anything we now know. There is no phonological argument that militates against a relationship with Chinese.

The case against Chinese is pretty well eviscerated. The argument based on vocabulary is a weak one. The argument based on word order is an invalid one. The argument based on the phonological structure of the syllable is, itself, suspect until we know a good deal more about the relationship between major and minor syllables.

²⁶Other possible generic designators in Chinese are 老一, 老二, and 第一, 第二. The Chinese writing system, one character per syllable, helps to obscure the difference between major and minor syllables which the stress systems of the spoken language disclose.

Chapter 6

WORK WITHIN THE FIELD; CHECKING AND VERIFYING

Let us direct our attention the work that is being done and that needs to be done within the field. Our studies of the Miao-Yao language family rest on a limited corpus. The corpus consists of linguistic descriptions, special studies, and dictionaries that have been written by linguists, missionaries and travelers. They are in a variety of languages: Chinese, French and English and are of varying reliability. Every new study makes it possible for us to re-check and possibly to revise the corpus on which alone reliable work can be based.

For example, just after World War I, the French missionary, Fr. F. M. Savina published an extensive Miao dictionary.¹ Because the dictionary mixes indiscriminately White, Black, Green and possibly other varieties of Miao the whole ensemble is virtually worthless. Sound study requires the elimination of this unreliable material from the corpus. How do we know it is unreliable? Only by careful checking with the rest of the corpus.

In 1931 the French missionary, Fr. Joseph Esquirol published a Miao dictionary which he entitled, Dictionnaire 'Ka-nao-Francais et Francais-'Ka-nao."² "Ka-nao" is his term for a variety of Black Miao

¹Fr. M. Savina, Dictionnaire Miao-Tseu Francais, BEFEO, XVI (1916), pp. ii-xxi, 1-245.

²Joseph Esquirol, Dictionnaire 'Ka-nao-Francais et Francais-'Ka-nao, Imprimerie de la Societe des Missions-Etrangeres. Hong Kong (1931), pp. i-xliv, 1-519.

which he recorded at Cheng-fong 眞豐 Kwanghsi but which ultimately derived from the bend of the Yuan 沉 River near Hwuang-p'ing 黃平 Kwanghsi. Fr. Esquirol gave little or no phonetic information about the tone classes, but he did analyze 'Ka-nao morphemes into eight phonemic tone classes. As he noted frequently in his text, this Black Miao vocabulary was heavily infiltrated by massive borrowings from Chinese.

In 1947 Chang K'un published his important article, "On the Tonal System of the Miao and Yao Languages."³ In it, for the first time, Chang established the phonemic tone classes which made it possible to compare the same morpheme in different dialects and establish equations based on cognate forms. Chang used his own data, some from Li Fang-kuei, and others from published sources. One of the published sources he used was Fr. Esquirol's 'ka-nao. Chang equated 'Ka-nao tone classes with other Miao-Yao tone classes in the following way:

- | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|
| 1. ˥ | 3. ˦ | 5. ˧ | 7. ˨ |
| 2. ˦ | 4. ˧ | 6. ˨ | 8. ˩ |

Chang K'un found the tone classes reliable, but there were several printing errors in the individual items. Even so, the 'Ka-nao material passed this first test with flying colors.

In 1950 A. G. Haudricourt used the same tone correspondences and 'Ka-nao materials in his article, "Introduction à la phonologie historique

³Chang K'un, 苗僑語聲調問題 op. cit., pg. 97.

des langues Miao-Yao."⁴ He cited forms for almost all the 131 cognate morphemes he assembled in his study. 'Ka-nao passed the second test.

In 1962 the Chinese Academy of Science, Bureau of Ethnography, Miao Sub-Section of the Minority Languages Linguistic Institute published a general survey of the Miao languages.⁵ They divide the Miao languages into three geographical classes: I. 湘西 Western Hunan,
 II. 黔東 Eastern Kweichow, III. 川黔滇 Szechuan-Kweichow-Yunnan. They used the Miao dialect of 養蒿 as representative of Miao II. On the basis of the article I have drawn up a chart of 26 morpheme correspondences between Miao II (養蒿) and 'Ka-nao, marked Chart A.

⁴A. G. Haudricourt: "Introduction a la phonologie historique des langues Miao-Yao," BEFEO, 42 (1947-50), pp. 555-76.

⁵ 侏族語言概況, 中國語文 113 (1962), pp. 141-48.

CHART A

CORRESPONDENCES

養蒿

'Ka-nao

| | | | | |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. 地 | ta ³³ | [ta ¹] | Ta _⊥ | [ta ¹] |
| 2. 月 | lha ⁴⁴ | [lha ⁵] | 'La _^ | [hla ⁵] |
| 3. 二 | o ³³ | [o ¹] | o _⊥ | [o ¹] |
| 4. 吃 | naŋ ⁵⁵ | [naŋ ²] | Nang | [naŋ ²] |
| 5. 飯 | ka ³⁵ | [ka ³] | Ka _⊥ | [ka ³] |
| 6. 鴨 | ka ¹³ | [ka ⁶] | Ka _∨ | [ka ⁶] |
| 7. 斗 | to ³⁵ | [to ³] | To _⊥ | [to ³] |
| 8. 墨 | me ³¹ | [me ⁸] | Me ₃ | [me ⁸] |
| 9. 日 | nhɛ ³³ | [nhɛ ¹] | N'ai _⊥ | [hnaɪ ¹] |
| 10. 三 | pi ³³ | [pi ¹] | Pie _⊥ | [pie ¹] |
| 11. 四 | lu ³³ | [lu ¹] | 'Lo _⊥ | [hlo ¹] |
| 12. 唱 | həu ⁵³ | [həu ⁷] | hao ³ | [hao ⁷] |
| 13. 白 | lu ³³ | [lu ¹] | 'Leou _⊥ | [hleou ¹] |
| 14. 黑 | lɛ ³³ | [lɛ ¹] | 'Lai _⊥ | [hlai ¹] |
| 15. 天 | vɛ ⁵⁵ | [vɛ ²] | Vai _⊥ | [vai ²] |
| 16. 山 | pi ¹¹ | [pi ⁴] | Pie _⊥ | [pie ⁴] |
| 17. 看 | ŋi ⁴⁴ | [ŋi ⁵] | Gne _^ | [gne ⁵] |
| 18. 老 | lu ¹¹ | [lu ⁴] | Leou _⊥ | [leou ⁴] |
| 19. 炭 | thɛ ⁴⁴ | [thɛ ⁵] | T'ai _^ | [thai ⁵] |
| 20. 茄子 | tɕa ⁵⁵ | [tɕa ²] | Kia _⊥ | [kia ²] |

CHART A; CORRESPONDENCES, Contd.

養蒿

'Ka-nao

| | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------|---------------------|-------|---|-----------------------|
| 21. | 街 | qe ³³ | [qe'] | 'Ka | ⊥ | [hka'] |
| 22. | 千 | shan ³³ | [shan'] | S'e | ⊥ | [she'] |
| 23. | 橋 | tɕu ⁵⁵ | [tɕu ²] | Kiou | + | [kiou ²] |
| 24. | 年 | ɲay ⁵⁵ | [ɲay ²] | Gn'ie | + | [gnhie ²] |
| 25. | 酒 | tɕu ³⁵ | [t u ³] | Kiou | ⊥ | [kiou ³] |
| 26. | 白 | tɕu ¹¹ | [tɕo ⁴] | Kio | ⊥ | [kio ⁴] |

Such substantial agreement increases the value of both materials. The correspondences are almost always exact for the phonemic tone classes. They are close enough in terms of transcription to assure us that we are dealing with two closely related dialects, if we are not dealing with the same dialect. In the 養蒿 materials we would like to know if the l- of numbers 11 and 13 is a different initial from the lh- of number 2.⁶ 養蒿 seems to have both q- (number 21) and k- (numbers 35 and 6) for the 'Ka-nao k-. ɲ- (number 24) is apparently Gn'- and ɣ- (number 17) Gn. The k- of 'Ka-nao (numbers 25, 23, 20) is apparently palatalized tɕ- in 養蒿. The vowels disclose differences which might be more than just differences in transcription.

Numbers 5, 6, 15, 16, 17, and 20 show vocabulary differences among Miao I, Miao II, and Miao III. In every case the 'Ka-nao forms agree only with Miao II. 養蒿, representative of Miao II, is found geographically in an area fairly close to 黃平, the reported source of 'Ka-nao. 'Ka-nao is undoubtedly a Miao II language and it is reasonably accurately reported.

An article published earlier in 1961 on Chinese loan words in Miao⁷ provides an opportunity for more 養蒿 -'Kanao comparisons. These comparisons are listed in Chart B.

⁶The Concise Chinese-Miao Dictionary sheds some light on this problem. They give hl- for the initial in number 2, but dl- for the initials in numbers 11 and 13.

⁷ 漢語在瑤族語言豐富發展中的作用
中國語文 109 (1961), pp. 62-71.

CHART B

CORRESPONDENCES

| | | <u>'Ka-nao</u> | |
|-------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1. 升 | shen ¹ | chin _⊥ | [chin ¹] |
| 2. 銅 | təu ² | Tao ⁺ | [tao ²] |
| 3. 瓦 | ɣi ⁴ | Gai _⊥ | [gai ⁴] |
| 4. 斷 | tɛ ⁵ | Tai _^ | [tai ⁵] |
| 5. 燙 | thay ⁵ | T'ang _^ | [thay ⁵] |
| 6. 鉄 | lhəu ⁵ | 'Lao _^ | [hlao ⁵] |
| 7. 同 | toŋ ² | T'ong ⁺ | [thoŋ ²] |
| 8. 停止 | ten ² | Tin ⁺ | [tin ²] |
| 9. 田 | li ² | Li ⁺ | [li ²] |
| 10. 馬 | lu ² | Leou ⁺ | [leou ²] |
| 11. 里 | li ⁴ | Li _⊥ | [li ⁴] |
| 12. 粮 | la ² | Liang ⁺ | [liang ⁶] |
| 13. 梨 | ɣa ² | kiang ⁺ | [kiang ²] |
| 14. 毛 | ɣoŋ ² | Gōng ⁺ | [goŋ ²] |
| 15. 灶 | so ⁵ | Sə _^ | [so ⁵] |
| 16. 清 | chi ¹ | Ch'i _⊥ | [chhi ¹] |
| 17. 醋 | tshu ⁵ | S'ou _^ | [shou ⁵] |
| 18. 粗 | sha ¹ | S'a _⊥ | [sha ¹] |
| 19. 匠 | caŋ ⁶ | Chiang _∨ | [chiang ⁶] |
| 20. 寫 | cha ³ | S'ei _⊥ | [shei ³] |

CHART B: CORRESPONDENCES; Contd.

| | | <u>'Ka-nao</u> | |
|-----|----|------------------|---|
| | 養蒿 | | |
| 21. | 鎖 | shu ³ | S'eou [┘] [sheou ³] |
| 22. | 瓜 | fa ¹ | Fa _┘ [fa ¹] K'e _┘ [khe ¹] |
| 23. | 過 | fa ⁵ | Fa _┘ [fa ⁵] |
| 24. | 客 | qha ⁵ | K'a _┘ [kha ⁵] |
| 25. | 銀 | ni ² | Gni _┘ [gni ²] |

Even more impressive than the overall correspondences of Charts A and B are the peculiar tonal behavior of certain Chinese loan words as cited below:

1. **鞋**, tone 2 in Chinese, but it becomes 1 in 'Ka-nao, Laka, and Bonshio:

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 養蒿 | kanao | 杜加 | Bonshio |
| ha ¹ | Ha ₁ [ha ¹] | hju ¹ | hue ¹ |

It is a second tone in Highland Yao, Yau-ling Yao, Mak, Vietnamese, Common Thai and **布依**. In most other varieties of Miao it is a tone 5.

2. **傘**, "umbrella," is tone 3 in Chinese, but tone 5 in 'Ka-nao and Highland Yao:

| | | |
|------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 養蒿 | kanao | Highland Yao |
| sha ⁵ | S ¹ e _h [she ⁵] | faa _ŋ [fa ⁵] |

In White Miao it remains a tone 3.

3. **糖** shows an unusual change from tone 1 to tone 8. A ju-sheng tone class with a continuant final is very unusual. It occurs, however, in both **養蒿** and 'Ka-nao:

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| 養蒿 | 'ka-nao |
| ta ⁸ | T ¹ ang ³ [tha ⁷] |

Highland Yao, White Miao, Mien **勉**, **僮**, Vietnamese, Mak and **布依** all keep tone 2.

The more unusual the **養蒿** form, the more significant is a 'Ka-nao correspondence.

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The Concise Chinese-Miao Dictionary⁸ published in 1958, but made available to me only recently, provides us with a standard form of Miao II. This gives us a further check on 'Ka-nao and on 養蒿 Miao. Chart C contains wherever possible, all three versions of Miao II.

Such strong internal agreement greatly increases our confidence in Esquirol's 'Ka-nao and insures that we keep his material as part of the corpus on which all future studies are based. Each item in the corpus has to be checked against all new studies and eliminated if it proves erratic or validated if it proves consistent. This checking process never ceases as long as new materials appear.

⁸ 苗漢簡明詞典 (黔東方言)

Kweiyang (1958), pp. 1-418.

CHART C

CORRESPONDENCES

| | <u>Miao II</u> | 養 蒿 | <u>'Ka-nao</u> |
|--------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. 地 | dab [da ¹] | ta ³³ [ta ¹] | Ta _┘ [ta ¹] |
| 2. 月 | hlat [hla ⁵] | lha ⁴⁴ [lha ⁵] | 'La _┘ [hla ⁵] |
| 3. 二 | ob [o ¹] | o ³³ [o ¹] | O _┘ [o ¹] |
| 4. 吃 | nangx [naŋ ²] | naŋ ⁵⁵ [naŋ ²] | Nang [┘] [naŋ ²] |
| 5. 飯 | gad [ga ³] | ka ³⁵ [ka ³] | Ka [┘] [ka ³] |
| 6. 鴨 | gas [ga ⁶] | ka ¹³ [ka ⁶] | Ka _┘ [ka ⁶] |
| 7. 斗 | dod [do ³] | to ³ [to ³] | To [to ³] |
| 8. 墨 | maif [mai ⁸] | mε ³¹ [mε ⁸] | Me _{┘3} [me ⁸] |
| 9. 白 | hnaib [hnaɪ ¹] | nhε ³³ [nhε ¹] | N'ai _┘ [hnaɪ ¹] |
| 10. 三 | bib [bi ¹] | pi ³³ [pi ¹] | Pie _┘ [pie ¹] |
| 11. 四 | dlob [dlo ¹] | lu ³³ [lu ¹] | 'Lo _┘ [hlo ¹] |
| 12. 唱 | hek [he ⁷] | həu ⁵³ [həu ⁷] | haə ³ [haə ⁷] |
| 13. 白 | dlub [dlu ¹] | lu ³³ [lu ¹] | 'Leou _┘ [hleou ¹] |
| 14. 黑 | dlaib [dlai ¹] | lε ³³ [lε ¹] | 'Lai _┘ [hlai ¹] |
| 15. 天 | waix [wai ²] | vε ⁵⁵ [vε ²] | Vai [┘] [vai ²] |
| 16. 山 | bil [bi ⁴] | pi ¹¹ [pi ⁴] | Pie _┘ [pie ⁴] |
| 17. 看 | ngit [ŋi ⁵] | ŋi ⁴⁴ [ŋi ⁵] | Guə _┘ [guə ⁵] |
| 18. 老 | lul [lu ⁴] | lu ¹¹ [lu ⁴] | Leou _┘ [leou ⁴] |
| 19. 炭 | tait [tai ⁵] | thε ⁴⁴ [thε ⁵] | T'ai _┘ [thai ⁵] |
| 20. 茄子 | jax [ja ²] | tɕa ⁵⁵ [tɕa ²] | Kia [┘] [kia ²] |

CHART C: CORRESPONDENCES, Contd.

| | <u>Miai II</u> | <u>養蒿</u> | <u>'Ka-nao</u> |
|-------|------------------------------|--|--|
| 21. 街 | - - - | qe ³³ [qe ¹] | 'Ka _⊥ [hka ¹] |
| 22. 千 | hsangb [hsaŋ ¹] | shaŋ ³⁵ [shaŋ ¹] | S'o _⊥ [sho ¹] |
| 23. 橋 | jux [ju ²] | tɕu ⁵⁵ tɕu ² | Kiou ⁺ [kiou ²] |
| 24. 年 | niangx [niaŋ ²] | naŋ ⁵³ [naŋ ²] | Gn'ie ⁺ [gnie ²] |
| 25. 酒 | jud [ju ³] | tɕu ³⁵ [tɕu ³] | Kiou _⊥ [kiou ³] |
| 26. 白 | - - - | tɕɔ ¹¹ [tɕɔ ⁴] | Kio _⊥ [kiɔ ⁴] |
| 27. 升 | - - - | ɕhen ¹ | Chin _⊥ [chin ¹] |
| 28. 銅 | dox [do ²] | tau ² | Tao ⁺ [tao ²] |
| 29. 瓦 | ngil [ŋi ⁴] | ŋi ⁴ | Gai _⊥ [gai ⁴] |
| 30. 斷 | dait [dai ⁵] | tɛ ⁵ | Tai _^ [tai ⁵] |
| 31. 漫 | tangt [taŋ ⁵] | thaŋ ⁵ | T'ang _^ [thaŋ ⁵] |
| 32. 鐵 | hlet [hle ⁵] | lhau ⁵ | 'Lao [hlaɔ ⁵] |
| 33. 同 | - - - | toŋ ² | T'ong ⁺ [thoŋ ²] |
| 34. 停 | dinx [din ²] | tɛn ² | Tin ⁺ [tin ²] |
| 35. 田 | lix [li ²] | li ⁵⁵ [li ²], li ² | Li ⁺ [li ²] |
| 36. 驪 | lux [lu ²] | lu ² | Leou ⁺ [leou ²] |
| 37. 里 | li1 [li ⁴] | li ⁴ | Li _⊥ [li ⁴] |
| 38. 粮 | liangx [liang ²] | laŋ ² | Liang ⁺ [liang ²] |
| 39. 梨 | - - - | ɾa ² | J'a ⁺ [jha ²] |
| 40. 龍 | vongx [voŋ ²] | ɾoŋ ² | Gong ⁺ [goŋ ²] |

CHART C: CORRESPONDENCES, Contd.

| | <u>Miai II</u> | 養蒿 | <u>'Ka-nao</u> |
|-------|--------------------------|-------------------|---|
| 41. 灶 | - - - | se ⁵ | Se _ˆ [se ⁵] |
| 42. 清 | hxib [hxi ¹] | shi ¹ | Ch'i _ˆ [ch'i ¹] |
| 43. 醋 | cut [cu ⁵] | tshu ⁵ | S'ou _ˆ [shou ⁵] |
| 44. 粗 | hsab [hsa ¹] | sha ¹ | S'a _ˆ [sha ¹] |
| 45. 匠 | - - - | caŋ ⁶ | Chiang _ˆ [chiaŋ ⁶] |
| 46. 寫 | hxad [hxa ³] | pha ³ | S'ei ^ˆ [shei ³] |
| 47. 鎖 | hsud [hsu ³] | shu ³ | S'eu ^ˆ [sheou ³] |
| 48. 瓜 | fab [fa ¹] | fa ¹ | Fa _ˆ [fa ¹] |
| 49. 過 | - - - | fa ⁵ | Fa _ˆ [fa ⁵] |
| 50. 客 | khat [kha ⁵] | qha ⁵ | K'a _ˆ [kha ⁵] |
| 51. 銀 | nix [ni ²] | ni ² | Gni _ˆ [gni ²] |

Chapter 7: Vocabulary Studies

The delineation of the eight tone classes make it possible for us to move directly into a detailed study of the Miao vocabulary. Since Miao and Yao have been heavily influenced by Chinese, and less heavily influenced by Thai, we cannot always find cognates of the same morpheme in all the recorded dialects. However, the Chinese-Miao Dictionary of the Academy of Sciences,¹ the White Meo Dictionary from Laos,² and the older Black Meo Dictionary from China³ give us a large enough collection of morphemes to enable us to assemble lists of cognates.

1. 苗漢簡明詞典 (黔東方言)

Kweiyang, 1958 pp 1-418. A Table of Initials for this dictionary is given in this chapter.

2. R.P. Yves Bertrais-Charrier: Dictionnaire Hmong (Meo Blanc)-Francais Mission Catholique, Vientianne, Laos, 1964. A Table of Initials for this dictionary is given in this chapter.

3. Joseph Esquirol: Dictionnaire 'Ka nao-Francais et Francais-'Ka nao Imprimerie de la Societe des Missions-Etrangeres Hongkong, 1931 pp i-xliii, 1-519. A Table of Initials for this dictionary is given in this chapter.

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Within these eight tone classes we collect what looks like an impeccable collection of cognates; this we call a "control corpus". We give it here as Chart I. The morphemes are numbered 1 - 80. Column 1 identifies the variety of Miao, Column 2 gives the meaning, Column 3 gives the form as cited in the dictionary, Column 4 gives a provisional and probably incomplete phonemicization. For example, The Qiendung Miao "b-" may be voiced or unvoiced, the important thing is that this labial stop is not aspirated. Haudricourt's Miao-Yao study⁴ suggests some of the phonemic interpretation of the **Hmong** dictionary forms, such as X [x] , CH [ɕ] , CH' [ɕh] and GN [ɣ] . All phonemic interpretations are still tentative.

4. Andre G. Haudricourt: "Introduction a la Phonologie Historique des Langues Miao-Yao" BEFEO 42 (1947-1950) pp 555-576

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With the 80 morpheme correspondences as a control we can begin to look at the initial correspondences of these cognates. We give these initial correspondences as Chart II. The Miao II, Hmong and Kanao forms are cited as they are given in their respective dictionaries. " b - " means "b " in any odd-numbered tone: (1,3,5,7). " b = " means "b " in any even-numbered tone: (2,4,6,8). Notice our corpus does not give us a complete inventory of all Miao II initials. 5. f- , 7.w- . 9.t-, 16.c-, 18.hs-, 20.q-, and 25.k- are missing from our corpus.

With the tone formulas: $1 = 1 = 1$, $2 = 2 = 2$, etc. and the added initial formulas: $b = p = p$, $p = np = p$, etc. we have norms by which we can begin to measure other morphemes in the Miao vocabulary. We use these norms for Chart III, an annotated Miao vocabulary, which forms the conclusion of this chapter.

Table of Initials: Miao II (Qiendung)

| | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|------|----|----|
| b | p | m | hm | f | hf | w |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d | t | n | hn | dl | hl | l |
| 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| z | c | s | hs | | | |
| 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | | | |
| j | q | x | hx | y | | |
| 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | | |
| g | k | ng | v | | | |
| 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | | | |
| gh | kh | h | | zero | | |
| 28 | 29 | 30 | | 31 | | |

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Table of Initials: HMONG

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----|------|----|-----|------|-----|----|----|
| P | PH | NP | NPH | M | HM | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | | | |
| PL | PLH | NPL | NPLH | ML | HML | F | V | | |
| 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | | |
| T | TH | NT | NTH | D | DH | N | HN | L | HL |
| 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 |
| R | RH | NR | NRH | | | | | | |
| 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | | | | | | |
| C | CH | NC | NCH | XY | Y | NY | HNY | | |
| 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | | |
| TS | TSH | NTS | NTSH | S | Z | | | | |
| 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | | | | |
| TX | TXH | NTX | NTXH | X | | | | | |
| 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | | | | | |
| K | KH | NK | NKH | | | | | | |
| 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | | | | | | |
| Q | QH | NQ | NQH | H | | zero | | | |
| 52 | 53 | 54 | 55 | 56 | | 57 | | | |

Table of Initials: Kanao

| | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|-----|----|-----|------|----|
| p | p' | m | m' | f | 'f | v | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
| t | t' | l | 'l | ll | 'll | n | n' |
| 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| j | j' | ch | ch' | s | s' | | |
| 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | | |
| k | 'k | k' | 'k' | h | 'h | | |
| 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | | |
| g | g' | gn | gn' | 'g | | zero | |
| 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | | 33 | |

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Chart I : Control Corpus

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Miao II (Qiendung) | 三 | bib | [pi'] |
| | Hmong | trois | PEB | [pe'] |
| | Kanao | trois | Pie _↓ | [pie] |
| 2. | Miao II | 我們 | bib | [pi'] |
| | Hmong | nous | PEB | [pe'] |
| | Kanao | nous | Pie _↓ | [pie] |
| 3. | Miao | 知道 | bub | [pu'] |
| | Hmong | savoir | PAUB | [pau] |
| | Kanao | savoir | Pang _↓ | [pa'] |
| 4. | Miao II | 滿 | baid | [pai ³] |
| | Hmong | plein | PUV | [pu ³] |
| | Kanao | plein | Pai ³ | [pai ³] |
| 5. | Miao II | 花 | bangx | [pa ²] |
| | Hmong | fleur | PAJ | [pa ²] |
| | Kanao | fleur | Pie _↓ | [pie ²] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|-------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 6. | Miao II | 手 | bil | [pi ⁴] |
| | Hmong | l'épaule | PWG | [pɯ ⁴] |
| | Kanao | main | Pie _ɾ | [pie ⁴] |
| 7. | Miao II | 名字 | bit | [pi ⁵] |
| | Hmong | nom | NPE | [npe ⁵] |
| | Kanao | nom | Gni ⁺ pie _^ | [pie ⁵] |
| 8. | Miao II | 邊 | pit | [phi ⁵] |
| | Hmong | le bord | NPOO | [npɔ ⁵] |
| | Kanao | côté | P'i _^ | [phi ⁵] |
| 9. | Miao II | 病 | mongb | [mon ⁷] |
| | Hmong | avoir mal | MOB | [mo ⁷] |
| | Kanao | seuffrir | Mang _ɾ | [man ⁷] |
| 10. | Miao II | 有 | maix | [mai ²] |
| | Hmong | avoir | MUAJ | [mua ²] |
| | Kanao | avoir, etre | Mai ⁺ | [mai ²] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 11. | Miao II | 眼兒 | mais | [mai ⁶] |
| | Hmong | l'oeil | MUAG | [mua ⁶] |
| | Kanao | l'oeil | Mai [✓] | [mai ⁶] |
| 12. | Miao II | 你們 | mangx | [ma ²] |
| | Hmong | vous | NEJ | [ne ²] |
| | Kanao | vous | Mie ⁺ | [mie ²] |
| 13. | Miao II | 牙齒 | hmid | [hmi ³] |
| | Hmong | la dent | HNI ^{AV} | [hnia ³] |
| | Kanao | dent | M'i ^T | [hmi ³] |
| 14. | Miao II | 夜 | hmangt | [hma ⁵] |
| | Hmong | la nuit | HMO | [hmo ⁵] |
| | Kanao | soir, nuit | M'ang [^] | [hma ⁵] |
| 15. | Miao II | 綫 | hfed | [hfe ³] |
| | Hmong | fil | XOV | [xo ³] |
| | Kanao | fil | 'Fó ^T | [hfo ³] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|-------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 16. | Miao II | 翅膀 | dak | [ta ⁷] |
| | Hmong | aile | TIS | [ti ⁷⁸] |
| | Kanao | aile | Ta ³ | [ta ⁷] |
| 17. | Miao II | 回答 | dab | [ta ¹] |
| | Hmong | répondre | TEB | [te ¹] |
| | Kanao | répondre | Ta _⊥ | [ta ¹] |
| 18. | Miao II | 兒子 | daib | [tai ¹] |
| | Hmong | fils | TUB | [tu ¹] |
| | Kanao | les enfants | Kiou _⊥ Tai _⊥ | [tai ¹] |
| 19. | Miao II | 厚 | dab | [ta ¹] |
| | Hmong | épais | TUAB | [tua ¹] |
| | Kanao | épais | Ta _⊥ | [ta ¹] |
| 20. | Miao II | 拿 | dad | [ta ³] |
| | Hmong | tenir | TUAV | [tua ³] |
| | Kanao | prendre | Ta ^T | [ta ³] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 21. | Miao II | 來 | dax | [ta ²] |
| | Hmong | venir | TUAJ | [tua ²] |
| | Kanao | venir | Ta ⁺ | [ta ²] |
| 22. | Miao II | 樹 | det | [te ⁵] |
| | Hmong | bois | NTOO | [ntō ⁵] |
| | Kanao | arbre | Tao [^] | [tao ⁵] |
| 23. | Miao II | 長 | dad | [ta ⁶] |
| | Hmong | long | NTEV | [nte ³] |
| | Kanao | long | Ta ⁷ | [ta ³] |
| 24. | Miao II | 笑 | diek | [tie ⁷] |
| | Hmong | avoir envie de rire | ROS | [ro ^{7,8}] |
| | Kanao | rire | T'io ³ | [thio ⁷] |
| 25. | Miao II | 門 | diux | [tiu ²] |
| | Hmong | la porte | ROOJ | [rō ²] |
| | Kanao | porte | Tieu ⁺ | [tiou ²] |

Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 26. | Miao II | 蛇 | nangb | [naŋ ¹] |
| | Hmong | serpent | NAB | [na ¹] |
| | Kanao | serpents | Ne ₁ | [ne ¹] |
| 27. | Miao II | 吃 | nangx | [naŋ ²] |
| | Hmong | manger | NOJ | [no ²] |
| | Kanao | manger | Nang ⁺ | [naŋ ²] |
| 28. | Miao II | 人 | naix | [nai ²] |
| | Hmong | condition humaine | NEEJ | [nē ²] |
| | Kanao | homme | Nai ⁺ | [nai ²] |
| 29. | Miao II | 多 | not | [no ⁵] |
| | Hmong | beaucoup | NTAU | [ntau ⁵] |
| | Kanao | bearcoup | No ₁ | [no ⁵] |
| 30. | Miao II | 鼓 | niel | [nie ⁴] |
| | Hmong | gond, tambour | NRUAS | [nrua ⁴] |
| | Kanao | gong, tom-tom | Gnio ₁ | [nio ⁴] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 31. | Miao II | 草 | nanx | [naŋ ²] |
| | Hmong | herbe | NROJ | [nro ²] |
| | Kanao | herbes | Gniang ⁺ | [ñiaŋ ²] |
| 32. | Miao II | 耳朵 | naix | [nai ²] |
| | Hmong | oreille | NTSEJ | [ntse ²] |
| | Kanao | oreille | Gni ⁺ | [ñi ²] |
| 33. | Miao II | 船 | niangx | [niaŋ ²] |
| | Hmong | la barque | NKOJ | [nko ²] |
| | Kanao | barque | Gniang ⁺ | [ñiaŋ ²] |
| 34. | Miao II | 天. 日 | hniab | [hnia ¹] |
| | Hmong | le soleil | HNUB | [hnu ¹] |
| | | | HNOOB | [hnõ ¹] |
| | Kanao | soleil, jour | N'ai ⁺ | [hnaï ¹] |
| 35. | Miao II | 聽, 懂 | hngand | [hnaŋ ³] |
| | Hmong | entendre | HNOV | [hno ³] |
| | Kanao | entendre | N'ang ⁺ | [hnaŋ ³] |

Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 36. | Miao II | 年, 歲 | hniut | [hniu ⁵] |
| | Hmong | année | XY00 | [xyõ ⁵] |
| | Kanao | année | Gn'iao _^ | [hñiao ⁵] |
| 37. | Miao II | 白 | dlob | [dlu'] |
| | Hmong | blanc | DAWB | [da _u '] |
| | Kanao | blanc | 'Leou _L | [hleou'] |
| 38. | Miao II | 黑 | dlaib | [dlai'] |
| | Hmong | noir | DUB | [du'] |
| | Kanao | noir, dormir | 'Lai _L | [hlai'] |
| 39. | Miao II | 狗 | dlad | [dla ³] |
| | Hmong | chien | DEV | [de ³] |
| | Kanao | chien | 'La ^T | [hla ³] |
| 40. | Miao II | 四 | dlob | [dlo'] |
| | Hmong | quatre | PLAUB | [plau'] |
| | Kanao | quatre | 'Lo _L | [hlo'] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| 41. | Miao II | 毛 | dliub | [dliu ¹] |
| | Hmong | poil, plume | PLAUB | [plau ¹] |
| | Kanao | cheveux | 'Liang ₁ | [hliang ¹] |
| 42. | Miao II | 大 | hlieb | [hlie ¹] |
| | Hmong | grandir | HLOB | [hlo ¹] |
| | Kanao | gros, grand | 'Lio ₁ | [hlio ¹] |
| 43. | Miao II | 鐵 | hlet | [hle ⁵] |
| | Hmong | le fer | HLAU | [hlau ⁵] |
| | Kanao | fer, forte | 'Lao ₁ | [hlao ⁵] |
| 44. | Miao II | 吐 | hliad | [hlia ³] |
| | Hmong | vomir | NTUAV | [ntua ³] |
| | Kanao | cracher | 'Lia ³ | [hlia ³] |
| 45. | Miao II | 月 | hlat | [hla ⁵] |
| | Hmong | la lune | HLI | [hli ⁵] |
| | Kanao | lune, mois | 'La ₁ | [hla ⁵] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|----------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 46. | Miao II | 猴 | leib | [lei ¹] |
| | Hmong | macaque | LIAB | [lia ¹] |
| | Kanao | singe | Le ₁ | [le ¹] |
| 47. | Miao II | 短 | laid | [lai ³] |
| | Hmong | court | LUV | [lu ³] |
| | Kanao | court | Lai ³ | [lai ³] |
| 48. | Miao II | 田 | lix | [li ²] |
| | Hmong | rizièrè | LIAJ | [lia ²] |
| | Kanao | rizièrès | Li ² | [li ²] |
| 49. | Miao II | 埋 | liangl | [liang ⁴] |
| | Hmong | enterrer | LOG | [lo ⁴] |
| | Kanao | enterrer | Liang _T | [liang ⁴] |
| 50. | Miao II | 五 | zab | [za ¹] |
| | Hmong | cinq | TSIB | [tsi ¹] |
| | Kanao | cinq | Kia ₁ | [kia ¹] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----------------------|---------|---------------------|
| 51. | Miao II | 曬 | zab | [za'] |
| | Hmong | exposer au soleil | ZIAB | [zia'] |
| | Kanao | se chauffer au soleil | Ki ↓ | [ki'] |
| 52. | Miao II | 房子 | zaid | [zai ³] |
| | Hmong | la maison | TSEV | [tse ³] |
| | Kanao | habitation | 'Ki ↑ | [hki ³] |
| 53. | Miao II | 果子 | zend | [zen ³] |
| | Hmong | fruit | TXIV | [txi ³] |
| | Kanao | fruits | Kiang ↑ | [kia ³] |
| 54. | Miao II | 恨 | saib | [sai'] |
| | Hmong | ha'ir | NTXUB | [ntxu'] |
| | Kanao | ha'ir | Sai ↓ | [sai'] |
| 55. | Miao II | 棺材 | jib | [ji'] |
| | Hmong | le cercueil | HLEB | [hle'] |
| | Kanao | un cercueil | 'La ↓ | [hla'] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 56. | Miao II | 九 | jex | [je ²] |
| | Hmong | neuf | CUAJ | [cua ²] |
| | Kanao | neuf | Kio ^L | [kio ²] |
| 57. | Miao II | 益 | xid | [xi ³] |
| | Hmong | sel | NTSEV | [ntse ³] |
| | Kanao | sel | Chi ^T | [ʃi ³] |
| 58. | Miao II | 難 | xad | [xa ³] |
| | Hmong | assez fortement | TSAWV | [tsa ³] |
| | Kanao | difficile | Chia ^T | [ʃia ³] |
| 59. | Miao II | 血 | hxangd | [hxan ³] |
| | Hmong | sang | NTSHAV | [ntsha ³] |
| | Kanao | sang | Ch'io ^T | [xhie ³] |
| 60. | Miao II | 飛 | yangt | [yan ⁵] |
| | Hmong | voler | YA | [ya ⁵] |
| | Kanao | voler | ie ^A | [ie ⁵] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 61. | Miao II | 角 | gib | [ki ¹] |
| | Hmong | la corne | KUB | [ku ¹] |
| | Kanao | cornes, antennes | Ki _┘ | [ki ¹] |
| 62. | Miao II | 炒 | gab | [ka ¹] |
| | Hmong | frirè | KIB | [ki ¹] |
| | Kanao | frirè | Ka _┘ | [ka ¹] |
| 63. | Miao II | 路 | gid | [ki ³] |
| | Hmong | le chemin | KEV | [ke ³] |
| | Kanao | route, chemin | Ki [┘] | [ki ³] |
| 64. | Miao II | 看 | ngit | [ŋi ⁵] |
| | Hmong | pointer | NTSIA | [ntsia ⁵] |
| | Kanao | voir | G'a _ˆ | [gha ⁵] |
| | | regarder | Gue _ˆ | [gue ⁵] |
| 65. | Miao II | 好 | vut | [vu ⁵] |
| | Hmong | bien, bon | ZOO | [zõ ⁵] |
| | Kanao | bon, bien | J'ao _ˆ | [jhao ⁵] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----------|------------------|---------------------|
| 66. | Miao II | 石頭 | vib | [vi'] |
| | Hmong | pierre | ZEB | [ze'] |
| | Kanao | pierre | Gui _┘ | [gui'] |
| 67. | Miao II | 菜 | vob | [vo'] |
| | Hmong | légume | ZAUB | [zau'] |
| | Kanao | légume | Gə _┘ | [go'] |
| 68. | Miao II | 近 | vit | [vi ⁵] |
| | Hmong | près | ZE | [ze ⁵] |
| | Kanao | proche | Gui _^ | [gui ⁵] |
| 69. | Miao II | 鈎 | ghat | [qa ⁵] |
| | Hmong | accrocher | NQE | [nqe ⁵] |
| | Kanao | accrocher | 'Ka _^ | [hka ⁵] |
| 70. | Miao II | 底脚 | ghangb | [qa ⁵ '] |
| | Hmong | sous | QAB | [qa'] |
| | Kanao | sous | 'Ka _┘ | [hka'] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 71. | Miao II | 青蛙 | ghangd | [qa ³] |
| | Hmong | bactriens | QAV | [qa ³] |
| | Kanao | grenouilles | 'Ke ^ɾ | [hke ³] |
| 72. | Miao II | 客 | khat | [qha ⁵] |
| | Hmong | hôte | QHUA | [qhua ⁵] |
| | Kanao | hôte | k'a _h | [kha ⁵] |
| 73. | Miao II | 邊面 | hiangb | [hiaŋ ¹] |
| | Hmong | côté | SAB | [sa ¹] |
| | Kanao | de côté | 'He _h | [hhe ¹] |
| 74. | Miao II | 磨 | hied | [hie ³] |
| | Hmong | aiguiser | HOV | [ho ³] |
| | Kanao | aiguiser | 'Hô ^ɾ | [hho ³] |
| 75. | Miao II | 雷 | hob | [ho ¹] |
| | Hmong | esprit de tonnerre | XOB | [xo ¹] |
| | Kanao | tonnerre | Fo _h | [fo ¹] |

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Chart I: Control Corpus (Continued)

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 76. | Miao II | 二 | ob | [o'] |
| | Hmong | deux | OB | [o'] |
| | Kanao | deux | Q ₁ | [o'] |
| 77. | Miao II | 苦 | ib | [i'] |
| | Hmong | amer | IAB | [ia'] |
| | Kanao | amer | 'I ₁ | [hi'] |
| 78. | Miao II | 一 | ib | [i'] |
| | Hmong | un | IB | [i'] |
| | | un seul unité | TIB | [ti'] |
| | Kanao | un | I | [i'] |
| 79. | Miao II | 河水 | eb | [e'] |
| | Hmong | salive | OB | [o'] |
| | Kanao | eau | Aó ₁ | [ao'] |
| 80. | Miao II | 做 | ait | [ai ⁵] |
| | Hmong | faire | UA | [ua ⁵] |
| | Kanao | faire | Ai [^] | [ai ⁵] |

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Chart II: Miao Initial Correspondences

Miao II - Hmong - Kanao

Chart I: Control Corpus

1a. b⁻ + p⁻ + p⁻

1, 2, 3, 4,

b⁼ + p⁼ + p⁼

5, 6,

1b. b⁻ + np⁻ + p⁻

7,

2. p⁻ + np⁻ + ph⁻

8,

3a. m⁻ + m⁻ + m⁻

9,

m⁼ + m⁼ + m⁼

10, 11,

3b. m⁼ + n⁼ + m⁼

12,

4a. hm⁻ + hn⁻ + mh⁻

13,

4b. hm⁻ + hm⁻ + mh⁻

14,

6. hf⁻ + x⁻ + fh⁻

15,

8a. d⁻ + t⁻ + t⁻

16, 17, 18, 19, 20

d⁼ + t⁼ + t⁼

21,

8b. d⁻ + nt⁻ + t⁻

22, 23

8c. d⁻ + r⁻ + th⁻

24,

8d. d⁼ + r⁼ + t⁼

25,

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Chart II: Miao Initial Correspondences (cont.)

Miao II - Hmong - Kanao

Chart I: Control Corpus

| | | |
|------|----------------------|-------------|
| 10a. | $n^- + n^- + n^-$ | 26, |
| | $n^= + n^= + n^=$ | 27, 28, |
| 10b. | $n^- + nt^- + n^-$ | 29, |
| 10c. | $n^= + nr^= + gn^=$ | 30, 31, |
| 10d. | $n^= + nts^= + gn^=$ | 32, |
| 10e. | $n^= + nk^= + gn^=$ | 33, |
| 11a. | $hn^- + hn^- + nh^-$ | 34, 35, |
| 11b. | $hn^- + xy^- + yh^-$ | 36, |
| 12a. | $dl^- + d^- + lh^-$ | 37, 38, 39, |
| 12b. | $dl^- + pl^- + lh^-$ | 40, 41, |
| 13a. | $hl^- + hl^- + lh^-$ | 42, 43, 45, |
| 13b. | $hl^- + nt^- + lh^-$ | 44, |
| 14. | $l^- + l^- + l^-$ | 46, 47, |
| | $l^= + l^= + l^=$ | 48, 49 |

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| Miao II | - Hmong | - Kanao | Chart I: Control Corpus | |
|---------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|------------|
| 15a. | z ⁻ | + ts ⁻ | + k ⁻ | 50 |
| 15b. | z ⁻ | + z ⁻ | + k ⁻ | 51 |
| 15c. | z ⁻ | + ts ⁻ | + kh ⁻ | 52 |
| 15d. | z ⁻ | + tx ⁻ | + k ⁻ | 53 |
| 17. | s ⁻ | + ntx ⁻ | + s ⁻ | 54 |
| 19a. | j ⁻ | + hl ⁻ | + hl ⁻ | 55 |
| 19b. | j ⁼ | + c ⁼ | + k ⁼ | 56 |
| 21a. | x ⁻ | + nts ⁻ | + š ⁻ | 57 |
| 21b. | x ⁻ | + ts ⁻ | + š ⁻ | 58 |
| 22. | hx ⁻ | + ntsh ⁻ | + xh ⁻ | 59 |
| 23. | y ⁻ | + y ⁻ | + zero ⁻ | 60 |
| 25. | k ⁻ | + k ⁻ | + k ⁻ | 61, 62, 63 |
| 26. | ɣ ⁻ | + nts ⁻ | + gh ⁻ , g ⁻ | 64 |

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Chart II: Miao Initial Correspondences (continued)

Miao II - Hmong - Kanao

Chart I: Control Corpus

| | | |
|------|---|--------------------|
| 27a. | v ⁻ + z ⁻ + jh ⁻ | 65, |
| 27b. | v ⁻ + z ⁻ + g ⁻ | 66, 67, 68 |
| 28a. | gh ⁻ + nq ⁻ + kh ⁻ | 69, |
| 28b. | gh ⁻ + q ⁻ + kh ⁻ | 70, 71, |
| 29. | kh ⁻ + qh ⁻ + k ⁻ | 72, |
| 30a. | h ⁻ + s ⁻ + hh ⁻ | 73, |
| 30b. | h ⁻ + h ⁻ + hh ⁻ | 74, |
| 30c. | h ⁻ + x ⁻ + f ⁻ | 75, |
| 31. | zero ⁻ + zero ⁻ + zero ⁻ | 76, 77, 78, 79, 80 |

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Chart III: Annotated Vocabulary

| | | | |
|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 81. Miao II | 睡 | bit | [bi ⁵] |
| Hmong | se coucher | PW | [pu ⁵] |
| Kanao | se coucher | Pie _T | [pie ⁴] × 5 > 4 |

The Kanao tone is irregular. Wei-ning [py^{5*}]¹, 布努 pau² 勉 pwei³, Highland Yao pweij [pwei⁵]⁴, Kwang-tung Yao bui [bui⁵]⁵ are all cognate to this morpheme. It is common in both Miao and Yao.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 82. Miao II | 被子 | bongk | [boŋ ⁷] |
| Hmong | la couverture | PAM | [pa ⁶] × 7 > 6 |
| Kanao | couverture | Pong ⁵ | [poŋ ⁷] |

1. 王輔世 貴州威寧苗語量詞、語言研究 2(1957) pp. 75-122, pg. 108
2. 瑶族語言概況 中國語文 113 (1962) pp. 141-148 pg. 147
3. ibid., pg. 147
4. Sylvia J. Lombard: Yao-English Dictionary Data Paper No. 69, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y. January 1968 pp i-xvi, 1-363, pg. 30
5. 黃錫凌 (S.L. Wong): "Phonetics and Phonology of the Yao Language Description of the Yau-ling Dialect" Lingnan Science Journal 18 (1939) pp. 425-456, pg. 452

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The Hmong form is irregular. Yao has a different morpheme: High Yao swavj [swav⁵]⁶, Kwang. Yao sung [suŋ⁵]⁷.

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 83. Miao II | | bil | [bi ⁴] |
| Hmong | la montagne | ROOB | [rõ ¹] x |
| Kanao | colline | Pie _T | [pie ⁴] |

The Hmong form is a different morpheme. A 養蒿 form pi⁴⁸ agrees with Miao II. The Hmong ROOB is probably cognate with a 大南山 (Miao III) toy'⁹, and a Wei-ning (Miao III) tau^{1,3}¹⁰.

| | | | |
|-------------|------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 84. Miao II | 百 | bat | [ba ⁵] |
| Hmong | cent | PUAS | [pua ^{7,8}] x 5>1 |
| Kanao | cent | Pa _T | [pa ⁴] x 5>4 |

6. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 218

7. S.L. Wong, op. cit. pg. 451

8. 苗語概況 中國語文 111 (1962) pp. 28-37, pg. 32

9. ibid., pg. 32

10. 王輔世, op. cit., pg. 108

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Miao I pa⁵¹, 養蒿 pa⁵², 大南山 pua⁵³, and Wei-ning pa⁵⁴ all suggest a tone 5 for Miao. This means that Hmong and Kanao tone are irregular as indicated. The Hmong forms may be directly borrowed from Chinese, the other Miao forms indirectly borrowed. At present we do not know.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 85. Miao II | 猪 | bat | [ba ⁵] |
| Hmong | porc | NPUA | [npua ⁴] |
| Kanao | le porc | Pa _T | [pa ⁴] x 5>4 |

The Kanao form is irregular in tone. The 布努 form mpai⁵⁵ is closely related to Hmong. The Yao forms: 勉 tũy⁶ High Yao tuvd [tuy⁴]⁷, and Kwang. Yao 'ting [tiŋ⁴]⁸ are unrelated.

-
1. 苗語中的漢語借詞, 中國語文 (1962) pp. 218-229
pg. 218
 2. *ibid.*, pg. 218
 3. *ibid.*, pg. 218, also 苗語概況 pg. 31, 36
 4. 王輔世, *op. cit.*, pg. 75
 5. 瑤族語言概況 *op. cit.*, pg. 144
 6. *ibid.* pg. 144
 7. Lombard, *op. cit.* pg. 73
 8. Wong, *op. cit.* pg. 450

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| | | | |
|-------------|----------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 86. Miao II | 羨 | sos | [so ⁶] × |
| Hmong | bouillir | NPAU | [npau ⁵] |
| Kanao | bouillir | Pang [^] | [paŋ ⁵] |

The Miao II morpheme is apparently unrelated to the Hmong and Kanao morpheme.

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 87. Miao II | 夢 | but | [bu ⁵] |
| Hmong | rêver | NPAU | [npau ⁵] |
| Kanao | rêver | Pang _T | [paŋ ⁴] × 5 > |

The High Yao Beij [bei⁵]¹ is a cognate morpheme. The Kanao tone is irregular; compare this irregularity with the tonal irregularity of #81, 84, 85, and 87.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 88. Miao II | 你 | mongx | [moŋ ²] |
| Hmong | toi | KOJ | [ko ²] × |
| Kanao | tu, toi | mong ⁺ | [moŋ ²] |

The Hmong form is a different morpheme; it is probably cognate to 大南山 kau²² and 布努 kau²³. The

1. Lombard, op. cit. pg. 47

2. 苗語概況, pg. 34, 35

3. 瑶族語言概況, pg. 145

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Miao II and Kanao forms, on the other hand, are probably cognate to 勉 mwei²⁴, Laka ma²⁵, High Yao meib [mei²]⁶, Kwang. Yao mui [mui²]⁷, and Common Thai ๒ miy⁸.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 89. Miao II | 猫 | baif | [bai ³] x |
| Hmong | le chat | MIV | [mi ³] |
| Kanao | chat | Mo ^τ | [mo ³] |

I find no cognates for the unusual Miao II form.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 90. Miao II | 女 | mif | [mi ³] |
| Hmong | le sein | MIS | [mi ^{7,8}] |
| Kanao | femelle | Mi ³ | [mi ⁷] |

At the present time it is impossible to determine whether the morpheme in question is Miao II's tone 8 or Kanao's tone 7. Hmong has only one 入-sheng tone, (7,8), and therefore does not establish either one.

4. *ibid.*, pg. 145

5. *ibid.*, pg. 145

6. Lombard, *op. cit.*, pg. 238

7. Wong, *op. cit.*, pg. 455

8. Andre G. Haudricourt: "Les Phonemes et le vocabulaire du Thai Commun" JA 236 (1948) pp 197-238; pg. 223.

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| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 91. Miao II | 母 | mangs | [maŋ ⁴] |
| Hmong | femelle | MAUM | [mau ⁴] |
| | mère, femme | NIAM | [nia ⁴] |
| Kanao | mère | ma _L | [ma' ¹] × |

The Hmong MAUM is related according to the formula 3a: m+m+m. The Hmong NIAM is related according to 3b: m+n+m. The Kanao form is a different morpheme related to the High Yao mā¹.

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 92. Miao II | 去 | mongl | [moŋ ⁴] |
| Hmong | aller | MUS | [mu ⁷⁸] × 4> |
| Kanao | aller | Mong _T | [moŋ ⁴] |

The 布努 muŋ⁴² and the 大南山 mo⁴³ are cognate. Hmong is irregular. The Yao morpheme is a different tone: miŋ²⁴, High Yao mivb [miŋ²]⁵ and Kwang. Yao 'mi [mi²]⁶.

1. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 243

2. 漢語在瑤族語言豐富發展中的作用, 中國語文 109 (1961) pp. 62-71; pg. 70

3. 苗語概況 op. cit., pg. 35, 37

4. 漢語在瑤語 op. cit., pg. 70

5. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 5

6. Wong, op. cit., pg. 448

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The Laka form *pai*¹ is cognate to the Common Thai *ppăy*².

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 93. Miao II | 扇 | nenf | [nen ³] × |
| Hmong | le van | VAB | [va ¹] |
| Kanao | van | Vie _L | [vie ¹] |

The Miao II morpheme is unusual; it is irregular for a 7 or 8 tone class syllable to end in a continuant (-n). I find this only in the Miao language family. The Hmong and Kanao forms may be related to Common Thai *wī*³.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 94. Miao II | 死 | das | [da ⁶] |
| Hmong | mort, mourrir | TUAG | [tua ⁴] × 6>4 |
| Kanao | mourir | Ta _v | [ta ⁶] |

The Hmong tone is irregular. Mien *tay*⁴, High Yao *taig* [tai⁶]⁵ and Kwang Yao *-dai* [dai⁶]⁶ are all cognate.

1. 漢語在瑤語 op. cit., pg. 70

2. Haudricourt, Thai Commun, op. cit., pg. 219

3. Haudricourt, Thai Commun, op. cit., pg. 218

4. Haudricourt, Introduction to Miao-Yao, op. cit., pg. 568.

5. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 65

6. Wong, op. cit., pg. 446

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In many of these languages the morphemes for "die" and "kill" are related through a morphological process that deserves careful study.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 95. Miao II | 及 | dud | [du ³] |
| Hmong | la peau | TAWV | [ta ³] |
| Kanao | peau | Li ₃ | [li ³] _x |

The Kanao form is apparently unrelated to other forms. There is a Miao II morpheme liut [liu⁵]¹ which is possible in terms of initial but not in terms of tone.

I find at least five different morphemes for the word "burn". To burn a house or a mountain is

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|-----|--------------------|
| 96. Miao II | 燒 | kib | [ki ¹] |
| Hmong | bruler | KUB | [ku ¹] |

To burn in order to cook, as rice, etc. is

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 97. Miao II | 燒 | jent | [jen ⁵] |
| Kanao | cuire | Ho _^ | [ho ⁵] |

To burn for illumination is

| | | | |
|-----------|---------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 98. Hmong | 燒 | ZES | [ze ^{7,8}] |
| Kanao | allumer | Teou ³ | [teou ⁷] |

and a general term for to burn

| | | | |
|-------------|---|-----|--------------------|
| 99. Miao II | 燒 | pid | [pi ³] |
|-------------|---|-----|--------------------|

1. Miao-Chinese Dictionary, op. cit., pg. 263

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#99 is reported in Kweichow Miao as $ph\epsilon^3$, phi^3 , $ph\epsilon i^3$ ¹, etc. and in High Yao as $puaq$ [pua^3]² and Kwang Yao as $_bu$ [bu^3]³.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------|------------------|------------------------|
| 100. Miao II | 染 | ded | [de ³] |
| | 染 | hsend | [hsen ³] |
| Hmong | peindre | ZAS | [za ^{7.8}] x |
| Kanao | teindre | Tao ^T | [tao ³] |

The Hmong morpheme is unrelated. The Miao II $hsend$ [hsen³] is probably closely related to the Viet. $nhi\tilde{e}m$ [nhi\tilde{e}m³]⁴ and Chinese [ʒan³].

| | | | |
|--------------|---------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 101. Miao II | 肥 | diangs | [dian ⁶] |
| Hmong | graisse | ROJ | [ro ²] x 6 > 2 |
| Kanao | graisse | Tiang ^T | [tiaŋ ³] x 6 > 2 |
| | gras | Tiang ^v | [tiaŋ ⁶] |

1. 馬學良：貴州省東南部苗語語言的初步比較
語言研究 (1956) pp. 265-282; pg. 277

2. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 25

3. Wong, op. cit., pg. 445

4. Nguyen-Dinh-Hoa: Vietnamese-English Dictionary Charles E. Tuttle, Tokyo, 1966, pp i-xiv, 1-568; pg. 324

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Wei-ning dlo⁶¹, 布努 ntto⁶² and Kwang Yao -tin [tin⁶³] use the same morpheme as Miao III. The Hmong and Kanao tone 2 forms are unusual, but related through the formula 8d: d+r+t. As with "die-kill" there may be a morphological process involved.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------------|----------------------------|
| 102. Miao II | 梯 | diangs | [diaŋ ⁶] |
| Hmong | l'échelle | NTAIV | [ntai ³] × 6>3 |
| Kanao | échelle | Tie _v | [tie ⁶] |

The Hmong form is probably the same morpheme, initial correspondence 8b: d+nt+t, but with an irregular tone. The Miao II form tangb [taŋ⁶] is probably related to Vietnamese than⁵. This is interesting because they are so separated geographically, and because they end in a nasal are probably not related to Chinese.

1. 王輔世, op. cit., pg. 94

2. 瑤族語言概況 op. cit., pg. 144

3. Wong, op. cit., pg. 447

4. Miao-Chinese Dictionary, op. cit., pg. 342

5. Nguyen, op. cit., pg. 452

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| | | | |
|--------------|--------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 103. Miao II | 步 | diex | [die ²] |
| Hmong | un pas | RUAM | [rua ⁶] × 2>6 |
| Kanao | un pas | Tio ¹ | [tio ²] |

The initials are possible according to 8d: d+r+t ,
but the Hmong tone is irregular.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|------|----------------------------|
| 104. Miao II | 六 | diut | [diu ⁵] |
| Hmong | six | RAU | [rau ⁵] |
| Kanao | six | Tiou | [tiou ⁴] × 5>4 |

The Kanao tone is irregular. Miao I 𠵹⁵¹ and
Miao III 𠵹⁵², Wei-ning t_lau^{5,3} and 布勞 𠵹⁵⁴ are all
cognate.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 105. Miao II | 得 | dot | [do ⁵] |
| | | xob | [xo ¹] × |
| Hmong | obtenir | TAU | [tau ⁵] |
| Kanao | obtenir, aux. | T _o [^] | [t _o ⁵] |

-
1. 苗語聲母和聲調中的幾個問題. 語言研究
(1959) pp. 65-79; pg. 75
 2. 瑤族語言概況 op. cit., pg. 147
 3. 王輔世 op. cit., pg. 75
 4. 瑤族語言概況 op. cit., pg. 147

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These are all regular correspondences, and thus cognate, except for the Miao II xob [xo'] morpheme.

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 106. Miao II | 漢 | diel | [die ⁴] |
| Hmong | | ---- | |
| Kanao | les Chinois | Tio _T | [tio ⁴] |
| 107. Miao II | 火 | dul | [du ⁴] |
| Hmong | allumer | RAUV | [rau ³] |
| | le fer | HLUAV | [hlu ³] |
| Kanao | feu | Teou _T | [teou ⁴] |

There is a curious alternation between tones 3 and 4 not just in Miao, but also in Yao; Mien aw¹, High Yao Trud [tou⁴]² and Kwang Yao 'tu [tu⁴]³ contrast with lɕa [lu³]⁴, all probably cognate. The Hmong dual forms probably involve a morphological process which distinguishes between nouns and verbs.

1. Haudricourt, Introduction to Miao-Yao, op. cit., pg. 571

2. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 64

3. Wong, op. cit., pg. 447

4. Nguyen, op. cit., pg. 259

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| | | | |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 108. Miao II | 豆 | def | [de ⁸] |
| Hmong | haricot | TAUM | [tau ⁶] × 876 |
| Kanao | haricots et pois | Tao ³ | [tao ⁷] × 877 |

Yao cognates are all tone 8: 布努 tru⁸¹, 勉 top⁸²,
 High Yao Topg [top⁸]³, Kwang Yao -dup [dup⁸]⁴. This is why
 we suppose that the Hmong and Kanao forms are irregular.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| 109. Miao II | 地 | dab | [da'] |
| Hmong | un étendue (de terre) | THAJ | [tha ²] × 1>2, th? |
| Kanao | la terre | Ta _⊥ | [ta'] |
| | champs | La _^ | [la ⁵] × |

The Hmong form is irregular, both in tone and
 initial, and therefore may not be cognate. Miao I tu⁵,
 養蒿 ta⁵, 大南山 te⁵, 勉 dāw⁶ and High Yao Dau
 [dau']⁷ are all cognate. The Kanao morpheme la⁵ is

1. 瑶族語言概況 op. cit., pg. 143

2. ibid., pg. 147

3. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 71

4. Wong, op. cit., pg. 444

5. 苗語概況 op. cit., pg. 32

6. Haudricourt, Introduction Miao-Yao, op. cit., pg. 558

7. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 88

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cognate with 布努 la_3^{s1} and High Yao $liavj$ $[lia_3^s]^2$.

| | | | |
|--------------|----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 110. Miao II | 尾 | daid | $[dai^4] \times 3 > 4$ |
| Hmong | un bout | TO | $[to^4] \times 3 > 4$ |
| | queue | TW | $[tu^5] \times 3 > 5$ |
| Kanao | la queue | Toue ^T | $[toue^3]$ |

A Miao I ta^{33} , 勉 $tuoy^{34}$ and High Yao $tweig$ $[twei^3]^5$ suggest that the Miao II and Hmong forms are all irregular in terms of tone.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------|-----------|
| 111. Miao II | 先 | denx | $[den^2]$ |
| Hmong | aller devant | NTEJ | $[nte^2]$ |
| Kanao | | ---- | |

I can find no Kanao cognate. 布努 te^2 is a clear cognate and Viet. $ti\acute{e}n^1$ a possible cognate.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 112. Miao II | 碗 | dit | $[di^5]$ |
| Hmong | bot de terre cuite | NTIM | $[nti^6]$ |
| Kanao | bol | Chie ^T | $[chie^3] \times$ |

1. 瑤族語言概況 op. cit., pg. 88
2. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 284
3. 苗語聲母和聲調 op. cit., pg. 70
4. Haudricourt, Introduction Miao-Yao, op. cit., pg. 570
5. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 76

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The Miao II and Hmong morphemes are probably cognate. It is not possible to decide for either tone 5 or tone 6.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 113. Miao II | 布 | dob. | [do'] |
| Hmong | étoffe | NTAUB | [ntau'] |
| Kanao | toile | chi ⁺ | [chi ²] x |

The Kanao form is doubtful. Miao I ntei¹, 大南山 ntou², High Yao Dia [dia']³ and Kwang Yao 'ddeh [de']⁴ are cognate. There are many cognate Miao forms, ntei', dei', ndi', n⁺tei'⁵ reported in the surveys.

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 114. Miao II | 問 | nais | [nai ⁴] |
| Hmong | interroger | NOOG | [nõ ⁴] |
| | interroger | NUG | [nu ⁴] |
| Kanao | demander | Nai [^] | [nai ⁵] x 6 > 5 |

1. Miao Initials and Tones, op. cit., pp. 75,76,77

2. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 31

3. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 85

4. Wong, op. cit., pg.445

5. Miao Initials and Tones, op. cit., pp 75-77

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High Yao naaig [nāi⁶]¹ and Kwang Yao -nnoi [noi⁶]² suggest that the tone 6 is the common form. For the Hmong tone irregularity see #94.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 115. Miao II | 鳥 | nes | [ne ⁶] |
| Hmong | oiseau | NOOG | [nõ ⁶] |
| Kanao | oiseau | Nao _h | [nao ⁵] × 6 > 5 |

Like #114 this shows the Kanao tone change 6 > 5.

Miao III noŋ⁶³, 大南山 noŋ⁶⁴, 布努 naŋ⁶⁵, and Kwang Yao -nnoh [no⁶]⁶ are different realizations of the same morpheme.

| | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 116. Miao II | 雨 | nongs | [noŋ ⁶] |
| Hmong | pluie | NAG | [na ⁶] |
| Kanao | pluie | Nong _r | [noŋ ⁴] × 6 > 4 |

大南山 naŋ⁶⁷ is a cognate form. The Kanao tone

1. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 258
2. Wong, op. cit., pg. 444
3. Yao Survey, op. cit., pg. 147
4. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 31
5. Yao Survey, op. cit., pg. 147
6. Wong, op. cit., pg. 444
7. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 37

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6 > 4 irregularities have precedents. The Yao forms 勉 $bluŋ^{61}$, High Yao Byuvg $[byuŋ^{6}]^2$ and Kwang Yao $\bar{b}ing$ $[biŋ^{6}]^3$ are interesting. At present we do not know whether they are cognate or not.

| | | | |
|--------------|----|-------------------|------------------|
| 117. Miao II | 這 | nong | $[noŋ^3]$ |
| Hmong | ci | NO | $[no^5]$ x 3 > 5 |
| Kanao | ci | Nong ^r | $[noŋ^3]$ |

There are other examples of this morpheme: Miao I nei^{34} , 養蒿 $nuŋ^{35}$, 大南山 na^{36} , Wei-ning $nei^{3.17}$, High Yao $naiq$ $[nai^3]^8$ and Kwang Yao $_na$ $[na^3]^9$. The Hmong tone is irregular, as in #110.

| | | | |
|--------------|------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 118. Miao II | 緣 | nex | $[ne^3]$ |
| Hmong | vert | NTSUAB | $[ntsua^1]$ x 2 > 1 |
| Kanao | vert | Gnie ⁺ | $[nie^2]$ |

-
1. Haudricourt, Miao-Yao, op. cit., pg. 566
 2. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 58
 3. Wong, op. cit., pg. 451
 4. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 35
 5. Miao Initials and Tones, op. cit., pg. 78
 6. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 78
 7. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 77
 8. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 257
 9. Wong, op. cit., pg. 453

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These forms are all cognate by initial formula
10d: n+nts+ñ̃. The Hmong tone is irregular. On the other
hand the Wei-ning ntsa³¹ agrees with Hmong.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 119. Miao II | 穿 | nangl | [naŋ ⁴] |
| Hmong | vêtir | HNAV | [hna ³] × 4 > 3 |
| Kanao | revêtir ses habits | Ne _T | [ne ⁴] |

The Hmong tone is irregular; a Kwang Yao cognate
nong [noŋ³]², however, raises some question.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| 120. Miao II | 鼠 | nangl | [naŋ ⁴] |
| Hmong | mamifer rongeur | NAS | [na ^{7,8}] × 4 > 7,8 |
| Kanao | rats | Ne _T | [ne ⁴] |

Notice the morpheme for "rodent" is a homonym with
"wear" in Miao II and Kanao, but not in Hmong. Haudricourt's
form naŋ⁴³ in his Miao-Yao study is evidently an error, un-
less Haudricourt's Indo-Chinese linguistic survey materials
correct or replace the Bertrais-Charrier dictionary material.
The tone change 4 > 7,8 in Hmong occurs also in #91. A High
Yao naaud [nāu⁴] is cognate⁴.

-
1. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 104
 2. Wong, op. cit., pg. 454
 3. Haudricourt, Miao-Yao, op. cit., pg. 566
 4. Lombard, op. cit., pp 258

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| | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------|
| 121. Miao II | 在 | niangb | [nian'] |
| Hmong | a l'interieur, dans | NRAUB | [nrau'] |
| Kanao | être | Gniang _L | [ñian'] |

There are many different meanings, but the correspondence of initials and tones suggests we have, in fact, different realizations of the same morpheme.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 122. Miao II | 麻 | nos | [no ⁶] |
| Hmong | chanvre (en fibres) | NTUAG | [ntua ⁴] 6>4 |
| Kanao | la ramie | No [^] | [no ⁵] x 6>5 |

Miao I nda⁶ and Miao III nda⁶, nho⁶¹ morphemes suggest that the Miao 2 tone is basic. For the change 6 > 4 in Hmong see also #114, #94. For the change 6 > 5 in Kanao see #115, #114.

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 123. Miao II | 魚 | nail | [nai ⁴] |
| Hmong | la poisson | NTSES | [ntse ^{7,8}] x 4>7,8 |
| Kanao | poisson | Gni _T | [ñi ⁴] |

Both Downer and Haudricourt report the White Meo morpheme as tone 4^{2,3} but Bertrais-Charrier gives it as

1. Miao Initials and Tones, op. cit., pp 66, 73
2. G.B. Downer, "Chinese, Thai and Miao-Yao" in Linguistic Comparison in South East Asia and the Pacific, Univ. of London, SOAS 1963, pp 133-139; pg. 137
3. Haudricourt, Miao-Yao, op. cit., pg. 569

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tone 7,8. The Hmong tone irregularity is the same as in #120 and #91. Miao I $m\alpha u^1$, 養蒿 ze^2 , Miao III $ntse^3$ and scattered Miao II forms: $mb\alpha^4$, $ndzhe^4$, na^4 and ze^4 are all probably cognate; so is the 布努 $ntse^5$.

Yao presents interesting problems: the tone classes agree but the initials are quite different: $bj\ddot{a}u^6$, High Yao Buaud $[byau^4]^7$ and Kwang Yao $'piu [piu^4]^8$. There are also Yao morphemes in tone classes 1 and 2; $bjau^1$ and Laka $p\ddot{i}ha^1$ ⁹. These may be loans from Common Thai $ppl\bar{a}$ ¹⁰.

-
1. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 32
 2. Miao Initials and Tones, op. cit., pg.74
 3. Yao Survey, op. cit., pg. 147
 4. Miao Initials and Tones, op. cit., pp 66, 74
 5. Yao Survey, op. cit., pg. 147
 6. ibid, pg. 147
 7. Lombard, op. cit., pg.57
 8. Wong, op. cit., pg. 447
 9. Chinese in Yao, op. cit., pg. 65
 10. Haudricourt, Thai Commun, op. cit., pg. 220

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| | | | |
|--------------|----------|---------|------------------------|
| 124. Miao II | 力 | dliangl | [dliang ⁴] |
| | 力氣 | ves | [ve ⁶] x |
| Hmong | la force | DAG | [da ⁴] |
| | la force | ZOG | [zo ⁴] |
| Kanao | force | Go ✓ | [go ⁶] |

The Miao II dliang⁴ and Hmong da⁴ are cognates. The other morphemes: Miao II ve⁶ and Hmong zo⁴ and Kanao go⁶ are related in spite of the tonal irregularity in Hmong; the initial formula¹ is 27b: v + z + g. The Hmong 6 > 4 tone shift occurs also in #122, 114 and 94. A Miao I zo⁶, 養蒿 zo⁶, 大南山 zo⁶¹ are also cognate. The Kwang Yao -ya [ya⁶] might be cognate².

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 125. Miao II | 熊 | dlik | [dli ⁷] |
| Hmong | l'ours | DAIS | [dai ^{7,8}] |
| Kanao | l'ours | 'Li ³ | [hli ⁷] |

Perfect agreement in tone: 7 = 7, 8 = 7 and in initials, 12a: dl + d + 'l guarantee the same morpheme. The High Yao morpheme Jeqq [cep⁷]³ is probably different. The Common Thai morpheme m'i⁴ is definitely different.

-
1. 苗語中的漢語借詞, 中國語文 (1962) pp. 218-229; pg. 218
 2. Wong, op. cit., pg. 453
 3. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 94
 4. Haudricourt, Thai Commun, op. cit., pg. 223

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| | | | |
|--------------|----------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 126. Miao II | 討 | dlak | [dla ⁷] |
| Hmong | démander | THOV | [tho ³] x |
| Kanao | démander | 'la ³ | [hla ⁷] |

There is no initial formula with a Hmong "th-" in place of "t-" (12a: dl+d+'l). The Hmong form is probably borrowed from Chinese. The Miao II-Kanao morphemes may or may not be derived from Chinese.

| | | | |
|--------------|-------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 127. Miao II | 求 | quf | [qu ⁸] |
| Hmong | prier | CHAWJ | [cham ²] x |
| Kanao | prier | k'iou ₃ | [khiou ²] |

The Hmong cham² is probably a Chinese loan. Miao II and Kanao are probably cognate.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 128. Miao II | 魂 | dliux | [dliu ²] x 1> |
| Hmong | esprit | DAB | [da ¹] |
| Kanao | âme | 'liou ⁺ | [hlou ²] x 1> |

The Hmong tone is preferred because Miao II "dl-" and Kanao "hl-" do not ordinarily occur with even numbered tones; the initial correspondence 12a: dl+d+'l is generally restricted to odd-numbered tones.

| | | | |
|--------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 129. Miao II | 繩 | haot | [hla ⁵] |
| Hmong | corde | HLUA | [hlua ⁵] |
| Kanao | corde | La _✓ | [la ⁶] x 5>6 |

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Wei-ning la⁵¹ agrees with the other Miao forms. The Kanao tone is irregular.

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| 130. Miao II | 來 | lol | [lo ⁴] |
| Hmong | venir | LOS | [lo ^{7,8}] × 4 > 7,8 |
| Kanao | originairement | Liou ₃ | [liou ⁸] × |
| | arriver | Lei _T | [lei ⁴] |

大南山 lo⁴², Wei-ning l'o⁴³, 布努 lo⁴⁴, and Kwnag Yao 'lau [lau⁴]⁵ suggest that the Hmong lo^{7,8} and Kanao liou⁸ are unusual. The Kanao tone 8 meaning suggests it is a Chinese loan. This might also apply to Hmong, but 4 > 7,8 occurs also in #123, 120 and 91.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 131. Miao II | 兔子 | lok | [lo ⁷] |
| Hmong | le lapin | LUAV | [lua ³] × 7 > 3 |
| Kanao | le lièvre | Lo ³ | [lo ⁷] |

The initials agree perfectly: 14: l = l = l. The Hmong tone looks secondary. However, there are some Miao I forms reported also with tone 3. The final solution awaits more evidence.

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1. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 91
 2. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 35
 3. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 102
 4. Yao Survey, op. cit., pg. 146
 5. Wong, op. cit., pg. 446

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| | | | |
|--------------|------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 132. Miao II | 輪 | liol | [lio ⁴] |
| Hmong | roue | LOG | [lo ⁶] |
| Kanao | rouler | Liang ✓ | [liang ⁶] |
| | contourner | 'Loue _T | [hloue ⁴] |
| | roue | kə ⁺ lio _T | [lio ⁴] |

It is impossible to decide whether tone 4 or 6 is basic. If these morphemes are in any way related to Chinese neither 4 nor 6 is basic. The solution awaits additional material.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 133. Miao II | 黃牛 | liod | [lio ³] |
| Hmong | ---- | | |
| Kanao | boeufs | Li _o ^T | [lio ³] |

I have found no Hmong equivalent for this morpheme.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 134. Miao II | 羊 | lid | [li ³] |
| Hmong | le mouton | YAJ | [ya ²] × |
| Kanao | ovins | Li ^T | [li ³] |

The Hmong ya² is probably a Chinese loan word. One wonders whether #133 and #134 are in any way related.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 135. Miao II | 脚 | lob | [lo ¹] |
| Hmong | pied | TAW | [ta ⁵] × |
| Kanao | le pied | Lo _L | [lo ¹] |

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The Hmong morpheme is unrelated to the other two morphemes, but it has many cognates in other Miao and Yao languages: Wei-ning Miao $t\alpha y^{5,4}$ ¹, 勉 $tsau^{5,2}$, and High Yao $zauj$ [shau⁵]³.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------|---------------------------------|--|
| 136. Miao II | 嘴, 口 | niux | [niu ²] |
| | 嘴 | lot | [lo ⁵] |
| Hmong | bouche | NCAUJ | [ncau ²] |
| | bouchée | LO | [lo ⁵] |
| Kanao | bouche | Ko ⁺ Lo [^] | [ko ²] [lō ⁵] |

Qiendung niu² is limited to animals. Wei-ning Miao $ndz'au^{2,4}$ and assorted Miao I morphemes: $ndz'au^{2,4}$, $nt'co^{2,5}$ are cognate to niu². Wei-ning Miao $lo^{5,4,6}$ and other Miao la^5 and $lau^{5,7}$ are cognate to lo⁵. The combination in Kanao is interesting; perhaps this is the way one makes a general word for mouth.

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1. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 108
 2. Chinese in Yao, op. cit., pg. 65
 3. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 159
 4. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 106
 5. Miao Initials and Tones, op. cit., pg. 66
 6. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 107
 7. Chang K'un 張琨: 苗僂語聲調問題 (1947) pp 93-110; pg. 104

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137. Miao II

| | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Hmong | seulement | TSUAS | [tsua ^{7,8}] |
| Kanao | seulement | Kiou ³ | [kiou ⁷] |

138. Miao II

| | | | |
|-------|-------|------------------|----------------------|
| Hmong | 冷 | seil | [sei ⁴] |
| Hmong | froid | NO | [no ⁵] × |
| Kanao | froid | Sei _T | [sei ⁴] |

大南山 nau⁵¹, Thai Yao nam⁵², and High Yao namj [nam⁵]³ are all cognate; in most cases they are used in the phrase "cold water".

139. Miao II

| | | | |
|-------|---------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Hmong | 風 | jent | [jen ⁵] |
| Hmong | vent | CUA | [cua ⁵] |
| Kanao | le vent | Kiang _T | [kiang ⁴] = 5 > 4 |

Wei-ning tca^{5,4}⁴, 免 yaw⁵⁵, High Yao Ruaauj [zyāu⁵]⁶, Kwang Yao yau [yau⁵]⁷ and probably Viet gió [gio⁵]⁸

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1. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 37
 2. Herbert c. Purnell: Phonology of a Yao Dialect Hartford Studies in Linguistics, No. 15, 1965, pp i-v, 1-124; pg.114
 3. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 257
 4. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg.108
 5. Haudricourt, Miao-Yao, op. cit., pg. 559
 6. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 192
 7. Wong, op. cit., pg. 454
 8. Nguyen, op. cit., pg. 108

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are all cognate. This is interesting because Vietnamese linguists generally consider gio⁵ to be of Mon-Khmer origin¹. The Kanao tone is almost certainly an alteration from tone 5, as in #104.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 140. Miao II | ---- | | |
| Hmong | la bile | TSIB | [tsi ¹] |
| Kanao | la bile | Chiang ₁ | [chia ¹] |

I cannot find the Qi'endung morpheme. The Miao morpheme may be related to the Thai I dī¹, Thai II nī¹, Thai III bi¹². This needs further study.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 141. Miao II | 少 | xus | [xu ⁶] |
| Hmong | peu | NTSIS | [ntsi ^{7,8}] × 6,7,8 |
| Kanao | peu | Chiou _v | [chiou ⁶] |

Kwang Yao huu [hū⁶]³ is probably related to Miao II xu⁶. The Hmong form relates through 21a: x+nts+ch. High Yao tsoq [tso⁶]⁴ agrees with the Hmong form.

1. Wong Li : 漢越語研究 Lingnan Journal 9 (1948)
pp 1-96; pg.3

2. Li Fang-kuei, Consonant Clusters in Thai, Language 30
(1954) pp 368-379; pg. 373

3. Wong, op. cit., pg. 447

4. G.B. Downer, "Phonology of the Word in Highland Yao"
BSOAS XXIV (1961) pp 531-541; pg. 533

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| | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 142. Miao II | 紅 | xok | [xo ⁷] |
| Hmong | rouge | LIAB | [lia ¹].x |
| Kanao | rouge | Chio ³ | [chio ⁷] |

The Hmong form is a different morpheme; it has cognates in some Kweichow Miao dialects: lau¹, lei¹, lan¹, zley¹, Wei-ning lie¹², 大南山 la¹³, 布努 lry¹⁴ and 莫⁵ lan¹. 養蒿 le²⁶ may be related in spite of the difference in tone.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 143. Miao II | 鴨 | gas | [ga ⁶] |
| Hmong | canard | OS | [o ^{7,8}] |
| Kanao | canard | Ka ^v | [ka ⁶] |

The Hmong o^{7,8} is probably a Chinese loan, very common in Southeast Asian languages. 養蒿 ka⁶⁷ is cognate with Miao II ga⁶.

1. Miao Initials and Tones, op. cit., pg. 68
2. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 86
3. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 34
4. Chinese in Yao, op. cit., pg. 70
5. Li Fang-kuei, "Notes on the Mak 莫 Language" CYYY 19 (1948) pp. 1-80; pg. 44
6. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 34
7. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 32

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|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | | | (147) |
| 144. Miao II | 飯 | gad | [ga ³] |
| | 飯 | niaf | [nia ⁴] |
| Hmong | repas | PLUAS | [plua ^{7,8}] |
| | riz (pret à manger) | MOV | [mo ³] |
| Kanao | riz (cuit) | Ka ⁷ | [ka ³] |

There are undoubtedly several different morphemes here. The Miao II ga³, Kanao ka³ has a cognate ka³ in 養蒿¹ and in several dialects of S.E. Kweichow Miao: ke³, ka³², etc. Wei-ning Miao and 大南山 Miao have va⁶³ and t⁶ua⁶⁴ respectively, still another morpheme. Many other varieties of Miao report: n⁶a⁵, n⁶o⁵, n⁶o⁵, mo⁵⁵. This morpheme occurs in 勉 as na⁵⁶ and in High Yao as Naavj [hnā⁵]⁷ and in Kwang Yao as nong [no⁵]⁸ and perhaps as 腊乙坪苗⁹ l⁵he⁵. There is probably such great diversity because this is such a common morpheme.

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1. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 32
 2. S.E. Kweichow Miao, op. cit., pg. 276
 3. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 99
 4. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 32
 5. Miao Initials and Tones, op. cit., pg 69
 6. Chinese in Yao, op. cit., pg 65
 7. Lombard, op. cit., pg. 252
 8. Wong, op. cit., pg. 451
 9. Miao Survey, op. cit., pg. 32

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| | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 145. Miao II | 藏 | vik | [vi ⁷] |
| Hmong | acher | ZAIS | [zai ^{7,8}] |
| Kanao | dissimuler | Gui ₃ | [gui ³] |

These initials agree according to 27b: v + z + g.

It is impossible to know at present whether the basic tone is 7 or 8. If the morpheme had a voiced initial, the basic tone was probably 8.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------|------------------|-------------------------|
| 146. Miao II | 糧 | liangx | [liang ²] × |
| Hmong | cereals | QOOB | [qō ¹] |
| Kanao | riz | 'Ka _L | [hka ¹] |

Wei-ning qau^{5,1} is cognate. The Miao II form is a Chinese loan; any Oïedung cognate should begin with a "gh-" (28b).

| | | | |
|-----------|----------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 147. Miao | 領 | ghanx | [ghan ²] |
| Hmong | menton | TSAIM | [tsai ⁴] × |
| Kanao | machoire | 'Kang ⁺ | [hka ²] |

The Hmong form is probably a different morpheme. Common Thai gān² and Viet cām [cām²]³ are probably cognate to the Miao II and Kanao morpheme.

1. Wei-ning Classifiers, op. cit., pg. 98

2. Haudricourt, Thai Commun, op. cit., pg. 213.

3. André G. Haudricourt, "La Place du Vietnamien dans les Langues Austroasiatiques" BSL (Paris) 49 (1953) pp 122-128; pg. 126

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|--------------|----------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| | | | (149) |
| 148. Miao II | 𠵼 | dliud | [dliu ⁴] × 374 |
| Hmong | le coeur | PLAWV | [plaw ³] |
| Kanao | le coeur | 'Lou ^T | [hlou ³] |

These all agree in initials according to 12b: dl+pl+hl. The Qiendung tone is irregular, also because "dl-" does not often occur with even tones. The High Yao hɲaw³¹ and the Kwang Yao hng³² are probably cognate.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|------------------------|
| 149. Miao II | 精 | hob | [ho'] |
| Hmong | mur | NTSA | [ntsa ⁵] × |
| Kanao | mur | Hə _L | [hə'] |

The Hmong morpheme is not cognate.

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 150. Miao II | 𠵼 | hxib | [hxi'] |
| Hmong | avoir peur | TXHAWJ | [tsham ²] |
| Kanao | craindre | Ch'i _L | [ch'i''] |

There are probably cognate by the formula 22: hx+ntsh+ch' but with the Hmong term irregular, txh- for ntsh-. Tone 2 is irregular too; The Hmong form may be cognate to Common Thai klūo.

1. Downer, Phonology of Highland Yao, op. cit., pg. 538

2. Wong, op. cit., pg. 453

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This kind of morpheme comparison could probably be continued in this way through another 150 items. However, Chinese loan words would become more and more of a problem. For this reason, we turn aside, and devote full attention to Chinese loans in Chapter 8.