# Hsihsia, Tosu and Lolo-Burmese Languages

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We have so far treated the Hsihsia language as one rather isolated from Lolo-Burmese proper, of which Burmese and the Lolo languages are representative. However, some of its word forms have turned out to be fairly closely paralleled by the Tosu cognate forms. This may be considered due to the fact that Hsihsia and Tosu preserve the earlier linguistic strata well[1].

As one of the most striking features of these languages we may refer to the correspondence of Hsihsia/Tosu -i with the reconstructed TB * -a.

1.  Hsihsia -i, -ɨ :  Tosu -i :  WrB -a :  Akha -a :  Nyi-Lolo -ɑ :  TB -a

| | Hsihsia | | Tosu | WrB | Akha | Nyi | TB |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'flesh' | tšhi (L10) | : | ˉshi | : $a$-$saa^2$ : | šà-dži | : xɑ 11 | : *sha |
| 'child' | riħ (L11) | : | 'tshi̱na. : | $saa^2$ | : zà | : zɑ 11 | : *sra- |
| 'food' | ⁿdziħ (R10) | : | 'dzi'liu. : | $a$-$caa$ | : dzà-ħɯ | : dzɑ 11 | : *dza- |
| | | | | | 'to eat' | | |
| 'salt' | tshɨ (R28)-'u : | | ˉtshi | : $chaa^2$ | : sà-dɤ | : tshɑ 11 | : *tshwa<tsha-ba |

As the Tibetan cognates WrT *sha* 'flesh', *tshwa*<tsha-ba 'salt', *sras* 'child', *za-s* 'food', *za-ba* 'to eat' typically shows, the reflexes of this correspondence set are -a in most TB languages. Thus it is a rather peculiar feature of Hsihsia and Tosu that their reflexes are high vowels -i and/or -ɨ. Even if we leave aside the question of whether the shift -a to -i could be assumed to have taken place in these forms, we may still say that they have at least this characteristic feature in common. Nevertheless, the forms with -i corresponding to -a in other TB languages do not always agree between each other. Hsihsia shows this peculiar correspondence in a wider range of the words. Even many Hsihsia forms that fit in the following correspondence set exhibit the i-vocalism.

2.  Hsihsia -i, -ɪ :  Tosu -a :  WrB -aa :  Akha -a :  Nyi-Lolo -ɑ :  TB *-a
3.           -a, -ɑ :        -a :       -aa :         -a :            -ɑ :      *-a

| | Hsihsia | Tosu | WrB | Akha | Nyi | TB |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. 'thin' | mbiħ (L11) : 'paa | : $paa^2$- | : jo-bà | : bɑ 11 | : *ba, *phra- |

1.  For the reconstruction of the Hsihsia language, see T. Nishida 1964–66, 1967 and 1969; Sofronov 1968; Kychanov 1969; Grinstead 1972. Only a limited number of the *Fan-ch'ie* was available to me at the time of writing 1964–66, the revision of which appeared in T. Nishida 1967. My recent view has been presented in my review of *More pis'men* by Kychanov, et al. 1969. The lineage of this language has been considered in T. Nishida 1973. Chap. 5, Sec. 3. For the most part, this paper is a translation of that section. L and ʀ indicate the respective Level and Rising tones. The number given after them shows the rhyme number. Hshihsia had 97 rhymes for Level tone and 86 for Rising.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'negation' | miɦ (L11) | : ⁻ma. | : *ma³* | : mà | : ma 11 | : *ma |
| 'to get' | rir (L79) | : ⁻wa‿da. | : *ra³* | : ? | : ɣɑ 33 | : *gra-, *dra |
| 'nose' | nɪɦ (R12) | : ‿ya.⁻ku | : *hnaa-* | : nà-mé | : nɑ 44 -bɪ 33 | : *s-na |
| 'hundred' | yir (R72) | : ⁻ya. | : *raa<ryaa* | : ti-já | : hɑ 33 | : *br-gya |
| 'moon' | hli (?) | : ʹlaɴ ʹma | : *la³* | : bà-la | : hlɑ 44 | : *zla |
| 'ear' | nˇiuɦ (R3) | : ‿ya.⁻yi. | : *naa²-* | : nà-bó | : nɑ 55 -po 44 | : *r-na |
| 3. 'to come' | lhaɦ (L20) | : ⁻la. | : *laa-* | : lá-ɦɯ | : (lɪ 33) | : *la- |
| 'bitter' | khɑɦ (L17) | : ‿khaa | : *khaa-* | : jo-xà | : qhɑ 11 | : *qha- |
| 'I' | hŋaɦ (R14) | : ⁻ŋa. | : *ngaa* | : ŋá | : ŋɑ 33 | : *nga |
| 'father' | paɦ (L20) -pɨ (L30) | : ⁻ʹa⁻paa | : *a-pha* | : ʹa-dá | : i 44 -bɑ 11 | : *da∼*pha |

In that all the Tosu forms belonging to this correspondence set have -a, not -i, it is closer to written Burmese and Nyi-Lolo than to Hsihsia and Moso, in which the cognate forms under this correspondence set are divided into two different types of finals or rhymes: i- and a-vocalisms[2].  However, supposing that Hsihsia forms indicating the finer distinction of vowels are considered to preserve an aspect of a stage earlier than Proto-Lolo-Burmese, we will be compelled to admit that a wide range of merger occurred among the Lolo-Burmese and Tibeto-Burman languages at a very early stage.   Thus, on the basis of the above examples, we may set up the following correspondences:

Hsihsia

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| L10=R9 | L11=R10 | L14=R12 | ⎫ | |
| -i | -iɦ | -ɪɦ | ⎪ | |
| L30=R28 | L79=R72 | L3=R3 ³ | ⎬ : LB *-a | |
| -ɨ | -ir | -ˇiuɦ | ⎪ | |
| L17=R14 | L20=R17 | | ⎭ | |
| -aɦ | -aɦ | | | |

There is a sufficient possibility that some other types of Hsihsia vowels may turn out to correspond to LB *-a.   We must emphasize that the comparative study of Hsihsia and LB proper will have an important bearing on Lolo-Burmese linguistics in the near future.   The probability is very strong that the reconstructed TB *-a is the result of merger of some of the earlier distinctive vowels that are kept separate in Hsihsia.   It is also likely that some of the Tosu and Moso forms would be of great use to corroborate a merger of this kind.

In addition to its correspondence with TB/LB *-a, Tosu -i is found to

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2.  In this respect Moso also resembles Hsihsia and Tosu.   Thus while the finals of kha 41 'bitter', ŋa 21 'I', mpa 51 'father', ma 33 'negation' are reflected as -a, those of tshɛ 51 'salt', zy 55 'child', ntsi 33 'to eat', ňi 55 'nose', çi 33 'hundred', hɛ 33 'moon' as a narrower vowel.   Moso forms are cited from Fu Mao-chi 1943, but his notation is simplified.

3.  Cf. p. 6 and p. 11 of this paper.

correspond to LB *-i, *-iy in many examples, while Hsihsia exhibits varied reflexes.

4. Tosu -i : WrB -ii, -ei : Hsihsia -eɦ, -ʉ : WrT -i, -e,
        -ö                        -i̵, -i̧         -u

|        | Tosu      | WrB         | Akha      | Hsihsia    | WrT      |
|--------|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| 'near' | ‑ɦa‑'ni   | $nii^2$-sǎn | x         | neɦ (L36)  | nye      |
| 'red'  | ‑ňi 'gold'| nii-sǎn     | jo-né     | neɦ (L36)  | x        |
| 'to know' | (a)-'sö | $si^3$-sǎn  | šì-ňá-ɦɯ  | seɦ (R33)  | shes-pa  |
| 'fire' | 'mi.      | $mii^2$     | mì dzà    | mʉN (L31)  | me       |
| 'water'| ‑wi       | riy>rei     | 'í-tšù    | ʁzi̧r (R85)| chu      |
| 'wind' | 'mö-'li   | liy>lei     | džà-lé    | li̧ɦ (L29) | rlu-ng   |
| 'heavy'| 'lii      | $liy^2<lei^2$ | x       | lʷi̧N (L32)| lci      |

In a few cases, however, LB *-iy correlates to Hsihsia -i, -i̧ and Tosu -e, -u, -o.

|        | Tosu     | WrB       | Akha     | Hsihsia   | WrT   |
|--------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
| 'bow'  | 'le‑khö  | liy>lei   | tša-'ø   | hli̧ (L69)| gzhu  |
| 'foot' | ‑ku'tu   | khriy>khrei | 'a-khɯ́ | khi̧ (L30)| rkang |
| 'earth'| ‑mo‑     | mliy>mrei | mí tshà  | lli̧ (R61)| gzhi  |

From these examples we may deduce the following correspondences between Hsihsia and Lolo-Burmese.

Hsihsia

| L29 | -i̧ɦ |
| L30 | -i̧ |
| L32 | -ʷi̧N |
| L69-R61 | -i̧ |
| R85 | -i̧r |

} : LB *-iy

Hsihsia

| L36-R33 | -eɦ |
| L31 | -ʉN |

} : LB *-ii

5. LB *-ɯ: corresponds to Tosu -ö, -öN: WrB -o<-ɯ: Akha -œ: Hsihsia -ʉ, -ʉr -i̧r: WrT -u.

|         | Tosu    | WrB          | Akha    | Hsihsia     | WrT    |
|---------|---------|--------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 'sky'   | 'mö :   | $mo^2<mɯ^2$ : | mm̀ :   | mʉɦ (L27) : | ——     |
| 'bones' | ‑yö‑ku :| $a\text{-}ro^2<a\text{-}rɯ^2$ : | šà jœ : | ri̧r (L86) : | rus-pa |
| 'body'  | ‑köN :  | koy<kɯ :     | x :     | kʉr (L84) : | sku    |

Quite a few written Burmese and Hsihsia forms that fall under this correspondence set can be found[4].

| WrB | | Hsihsia |
|-----|-----|---------|
| $uu^2$ khyo<khyɯ | 'horn' | khʷʉ (L28) |
| $a\text{-}pho^2<phɯ^2$ | 'value, price' | pʉɦ (L27) |

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4. Besides, the correspondence Hsihsia -ïuɦ (L3/R3): WrB-o<-ɯ is also certain.

| | Hsihsia | WrB | | Hsihsia | WrB |
|-------|---------|-----|-------|---------|-----|
| 'such' | sïuɦ (R3) | $so^3$ | 'to shoot' | thïuɦ (L3) | $tho^2$ |
| 'to store' | sïuɦ (R3) | so- | 'wave' | mbïuɦ (L3) | tan $po^2$ |
| 'to dye' | tshïuɦ (L3) | $cho^2$ | 'to send' | mbïuɦ (L3) | $po^3$- |
| 'smoke' | ɣɦïuɦ (L3) | $mii^2$-$kho^2$ | 'according to' | mbïuɦ (L3) | $pho^3$- |

a-myo² < myɯ²       'a kind'        mʉɦ (R25)
po² < pɯ²          'insect'        mʉɦ (R25)
kho²- < khɯ²-       'to steal'      khịr (L92)

In the following cognate sets the Tosu forms have final -i, which may be in complementation with the above Tosu finals -ö, -öN. The split of the two might have been due to the nature of their initials.

|          | Tosu      | WrB                    | Akha         |          | Hsihsia         |
|----------|-----------|------------------------|--------------|----------|-----------------|
| 'finger' | ˋlo. ´ɲi : | lak-ňo² < ňɯ²          | là ňœ̀        | :        | nʉr (R76)       |
| 'blue'   | ˋmö ´ňi :  | ňo²-sañ ⁵ < ňɯ²        | jo-ňœ̀        | 'green'  | : ŋɾʉr (R76)    |
| 'soft'   | ´ɲi ´mo :  | hňo²-sañ < hňɯ² :      | ňœ̀-ɦɯ        | 'to wither' |              |

In the following two cognate sets, the Tosu forms are not sure to fit in and may probably be exceptional.

|          | Tosu      | WrB                 | Akha   | Hsihsia                     |
|----------|-----------|---------------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| 'smoke'  | ˋmai‿kha. | mii²kho² < khɯ²     | ù-xœ̀   | mʉN (L31)-ɾĭuɦ (L3)         |
| 'nine'   | ¯hai      | ko² < kɯ²           | gœ̀     | ŋgɨN (L32)                  |

'Smoke' is expressed in Burmese as mii²-kho² 'fire-smoke'[6]. Similarly, mii² 'fire' occurs as the first constituent in the compounds mii² pho 'fireplace' and mii² hruu² 'torch'. The corresponding Hsihsia words have a similar composition, but their first element is not always the word for 'fire'.

|             | WrB        | Hsihsia                          |
|-------------|------------|----------------------------------|
| 'smoke'     | mii²-kho²  | mʉN (L31)-ɾĭuɦ (L3)             |
| 'torch'     | mii² hruu² | mʉN (L31)-ʁzĭur (R70)           |
| 'fireplace' | mii² pho   | pĭuɦ (R3)-ˋyĭʷo (R50)           |

In the last example Hsihsia pĭuɦ (R3) signifies 'to burn', corresponding to WrB prut 'to boil (trans.)'.

As we will see in these examples, there are many other Hsihsia compounds whose construction is extremely similar to their Burmese equivalents. To give some typical examples:

|             | Hsihsia                  | WrB             |
|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 'to burn'   | mʉN (L31)-lu (R1)        | mii² lɔng-sañ   |
| 'to be fat' | tshu (L1)-nɑɦ (L17)      | chuu wa-sañ     |
| 'to dye'    | tsʉ̣ (L68)-tshĭuɦ (L3)   | chei² cho²-sañ  |
| 'lion'      | kɑɦ (R14)-tšεɦ (R25)     | khrang-sei³     |
| 'flea'      | khʷɨ (L30)-lʉɦ (R25)     | khwei² hlei²    |
| 'belly'     | ɾɔɦ (L49)-mɑɦ (L20)      | wam² phok       |

Together with the comparison of the phonemic forms of their cognates, the survey of the distribution of some particular word forms in Hsihsia and Tosu may help clarify their common character. Take for instance Tosu ˋmai‿tho.

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5. 'to be dark in colour; between blue and black; to be of a deep-blue or green' Judson (Bur.-Eng. Dct.: 440).

6. Mien-Tien A has ⌈ˋa-khou⌋; cf. T. Nishida (1972: 83).

'knife'. The second morpheme -tho. clearly corresponds to WrB *thaa²* and WrT *sta-ri*, but the first morpheme ˈmai have its counterpart in neither WrB nor WrT. We find the cognate forms of this element to be distributed among the Lolo-Burmese languages as in the following:

| Tosu | ˈmai -tho. | Lahu Na | a-tho |
|------|-----------|---------|-------|
| Nyi-Lolo | mɪ 55 thɑ 11 | Lisu | a-thaa |
| Ahi-Lolo | mi¹ tho⁴ | WrB | *thaa²* |
| Akha | mì tšhé | Maru | sheng |
| Bisu | hmja-thaŋ | Lashi | shám |
| Lahu-Shi | mi-te | WrT | (Hon.) *phyag shan* |
| Hsihsia | mbɨr (L86) | Moso | žo 51 'sword', žo 51-thɛ 55 'knife' |

The form corresponding to mai- is already lost among the languages in the rightside column, while it is still retained among those in the leftside column. It is observed that Hsihsia, like Tosu, preserves the element derived from *mai-. Including this form, then, we may suppose that there were four distinct TB forms for 'knife', corresponding to mai (mi)-, thaa, sham (zhan) and WrT *gri*, of which thaa and sham may be cognate to Chinese 刀 tâu<tog and 銛 sjăm<srjăm 'sharp', respectively[7].

The forms for 'white' and 'snake' have one and the same initial in both Tosu and Hsihsia, but this is not the case with the other Lolo-Burmese languages.

|  | Tosu | Hsihsia | WrB | Moso |
|---|------|---------|-----|------|
| 'white' | ˉwai ˊco. | phïoɴ (L55) | *phluu>phruu* | pho |
| 'snake' | ˈwo ˊpha. | phïow (R43) | *mluy>mrwei* [8] | zhi |

From the examples given so far, it is seen that Tosu w- was derived from many originally distinct initials, such as r-and ph-. I give several other examples here to show its sources:

|  | Tosu | Hsihsia | WrB | WrT |
|---|------|---------|-----|-----|
| 'rain' | ˉwa ˉju | vɪr (R71) | *rwaa<rʷɔɦ* | ×*char* |
| 'rat' | ˈwu | vi (L10) | *pwei²<puy²* | *byi-ba, byu* |
| 'below' | ˉwa. | wi (R9) | *ɔk* | *hog* |
| 'head' | ˈwu ˉju | ɣuɦ (L4) | *ˈuu²* | *dbu* (Hon.), *mgo* |
| 'wine' | ˈwu | ɣɔɦ (R42) | *a-rǎn* | ×*chang* [9] |
| 'silver' | ˈwu | ŋɔɦ (R42) | *ngwei<nguy* | *dngul.* |

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7. Maru-Lashi sham corresponds to WrT *shan*, but these may be in their turn cognate to WrB *khywan* 'sharp'.

8. For WrT stop: WrB nasal as seen in the example of 'snake' WrT *sbrul*: WrB *mrwei<mluy* we have the following parallel examples:

|  | WrT | WrB |  |  | WrT | WrB |
|---|-----|-----|---|---|-----|-----|
| 'border' | *mthaa* | *a-naa²* |  | 'body-hair' | *spu* | *a-mwei²* < *muy²* |
| 'king' | *dbang-po* | *mang²* |  | 'incense' | *spos* | *a-hmwei* < *hmuy* |
| 'with' | *dang* | *hnang³* |  | 'monkey' | *sprehu* | *myɔk* |

cf. Sedláček, 1962.

9. I compare this form WrT *chang* with WrB *se<siy*.

Though WrT *nyan-thos* 'Śrāvaka (聲聞)' became ˌɲanˉtho in Tosu, it tended to change BL *n- to y-.

|        | Tosu      | Hsihsia | WrB          | WrT    |
|--------|-----------|---------|--------------|--------|
| 'ear'  | ˌya. ˉyi. | nĭuɦ (L3) | *naa²*     | *rna-ba* |
| 'nose' | ˌya. ˉku  | nɪɦ (R12) | *hnaa*     | *sna*  |

Hsihsia nĭuɦ may be analyzable as composed of two morphemes ni - uɦ, but Tosu form ˌya.- is unique in the Lolo-Burmese languages. The following Tosu forms also have the initial y-[10].

|            | Tosu    | Hsihsia    | WrB            | Nyi    | Moso    |
|------------|---------|------------|----------------|--------|---------|
| 'low'      | ˉya. ʹmo | nĭeN (L42) | *nim³*        | næ 44  | hy 31   |
| 'house'    | ˉya.    | ˙yĭeN (R37) | *˙im*        | hæ 33  | çi 55   |
| 'hundred'  | ˉya.    | ˙yir (R72) | *raa*<*ryaa*  | hɑ 33  | çi 33   |

Taken as a whole, it may appear that the similar features of Tosu and Hsihsia are not very conspicuous. However, let us further consider their similarities with regard to the characteristic features of Hsihsia.

First of all, I would like to emphasize the fact that the Hsihsia language has, in general, forms much closer to their LB cognates (especially Burmese cognates), than to their Tibetan cognates. This may be most typically represented by the cognate forms for 'dog' and 'leg'.

|        | WrT        | WrB              | Hsihsia      | Tosu       |
|--------|------------|------------------|--------------|------------|
| 'dog'  | *khyi*     | *khwei²*<*khuy*  | khʷɨ (L30)  | ˌkhöN     |
| 'leg'  | *rkang-pa* | *khrei*<*khriy*  | khɨ (L30)   | ˌku ʹtu. [11] |

The Hsihsia rhymes -ʷɨ 'dog' and -ɨ 'leg' both belong to level tone 30, but they are distinguished clearly in their *Fan-ch'ieh* (反切) spellings as the *Ho-kou* (合口) and the *K'ai-kou* (開口). This distinction must be kept whatever method of representation we may adopt for these categories. The correspondences of these distinct finals (Rhymes) with the respective WrB finals are well established. However, we will encounter difficulty when we try to adapt them to the other comparable

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10.   It is seen that Hsihsia preserves the TB distinction of these initials while they are partially merged in Nyi-Lolo and Moso, but completely merged into y- in Tosu.

| TB      | WrT    | Anc. Bur. | Hsihsia | Nyi-Lolo | Moso | Tosu |
|---------|--------|-----------|---------|----------|------|------|
| *n-   | x      | n-        | n-      | n-       | h-   |      |
| *khy- | *khy*  | ˙i-       | }˙y-    | }h-      | }ç-  | }y-  |
| *brgy- | *brgy* | ry-      |         |          |      |      |

The examples of 'ear' and 'nose' may be represented as follows;

| TB      | WrT   | Anc. Bur. | Hsihsia | Tosu |
|---------|-------|-----------|---------|------|
| *rn-  | *rn-* | n-        | }n-     | }y-  |
| *sn-  | *sn-* | hn-       |         |      |

The same change from n- to y- also appears in Miri and Apa Tanang of the Abor-Miri group, as shown in 'nose' and 'ear'.

|        | Miri    | Apa Tanang |     | Tagen       | Yano    |
|--------|---------|------------|-----|-------------|---------|
| 'nose' | yebung  | yapin      | cf. | nyepöm     | nyepöm  |
| 'ear'  | yerung  | yaru       |     | nyeru       | nyerung |

N. L. Bor, 1938.

11.   Tosuˌku ʹtu. corresponds to WrB *khrei thɔk*.

cognate sets, even though the example 'spring' Hsihsia nʷɨ (R28): WrB *nwei*<
nuy shows quite parallel correspondence with 'dog'.

|  | Hsihsia | | WrB |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'flute' | lĭu (L2) | : | *palwei*<luy |
| 'saliva' | tĭu (L59) | : | *tam twei²*<tuy² |
| 'blood' | seɦ (L36) | : | *swei*<suy |
| 'silver' | ŋɔɦ (L49) | : | *ngwei*<nguy |
| 'snake' | phĭow (R43) | : | *mrwei*<mluy |
| 'hair' | mwɛ (R30) | : | *mwei²*<muy² |

None of these examples fit into either of the correspondences WrB -*wei*<-uy:
Hsihsia -ʷɨ or WrB -*ei*<-iy: Hsihsia -i, deduced from 'dog' and 'leg' above.
Still, taking each of these examples, we feel that each equation is certain. We
must then set up so many correspondence sets to explain these equations, and
recognize a diversity of sources for WrB -*wei*<-uy.

The following procedure is not a particularly complicated task: to search
for the morpheme with a given meaning or the morphemes with some related
meanings in each of the languages in question: to examine its phonemic form or
forms: and then to establish phonemic correspondences between these languages
on the basis of the cognate sets thus recognized. The task is all the simpler, in
fact, when the meaning of a morpheme in question refers to the name of an
object. In such cases the main problem will be how to recognize a given form
in one of the languages as cognate to a form in some other language. Nevertheless,
it is another thing whether the correspondences thus recognized could be regarded
as a general rule that can be applied to all of the languages of the linguistic group
concerned.

It is not a difficult matter to determine the equivalent forms in Hsihsia with
so rich a vocabulary at the present stage of our study. Even so, due to the
marginal character of Hsihsia, it will take yet considerable time to accomplish
the comparative study of this language.

I would divide the procedures for a comparative study of this language into
the following four stages. First, determine the reliable Hsihsia cognate forms
among the other related languages, especially the Lolo-Burmese languages, so
that correspondences between Hsihsia and each of these languages may be
established.
For instance,

|  | Hsihsia | LB | Maru-Lashi | Tosu | WrT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'bridge' | soN (L54) | *dzam | dzam | 'tsa. | *zam-pa* |
| 'man (homo)' | ⁿdzĭɔɦ (R44) | *dzang | ˣbyu | ˋsu | ˣ*mi* |
| 'ten thousands' | khɨ (R28) | x | ˣmun | ˣmö. | *khri* |
| 'blue' | ŋgiɦ (L11) | x | x | 'ňi | *sngon-po, sngo-ba* |
| 'waist' | ⁿdžĭəw (L45?) | *džu | *thuəm | ? | ˣ*rked* |

As a matter of course, we have to find other examples of sets of correspon-
dences thus recognized.   At present, no other examples exactly parallel to 'bridge'
above (Hsihsia -ON (L54): LB *-am) have yet been found, but the following show
a similar correspondence (Hsihsia -ĭʷON (L56/R49); LB *-am):

|        | Hsihsia      | LB                | WrT    |
|--------|--------------|-------------------|--------|
| 'iron' | šĭʷON (L56)  | *sam              | ×lcags |
| 'otter'| šĭʷON (R49)  | *p-yam<*p-syam    | sram.  |

Second, we must decide whether the form of a given Hsihsia word is found
in the stock of Tibetan, Lolo-Burmese or some other group of languages.   Among
the examples given above, the form for 'man (homo)' and 'waist' belong to the
LB stock while those for 'blue' and 'ten thousands' to the Tibetan stock.   Strictly
speaking, it is difficult to decide conclusively the affiliation of a given Hsihsia
form to one or the other stock.   For it is often the case that we cannot say
definitely that its cognate forms are found only among the Lolo-Burmese languages,
and not among the Tibetan languages.

For instance, Hsihsia tshụ (L68) 'lungs', WrB a-chut and Tosu 'tsö ˍpu may be
taken to have derived from the same proto-form while WrT glo-ba obviously from
a different one.

To give several other such examples:

|           | Hsihsia     | LB        | Tosu      | WrT        |                 |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| 'incense' | šĭa (L19)   | *nam-saa  | ˉso.      | ×spos      | LB stock        |
| 'hawk'    | lạ (L63)    | *sim²     | ˍkhö      | khra, glag | Tibetan stock   |
| 'horse'   | rĭẹ (L74)   | *mrang²   | ˉmo.      | rta        | LB stock        |
| 'to come' | lafi (L20)  | *laa      | ˉla.      | ×·ong-ba   | LB stock        |
| 'to get'  | rir (L79)   | *ra³      | ˉwaˍda.   | thob       | LB stock        |
|           | rir (R72)   |           |           |            |                 |

Such a procedure is also intended for investigating the distribution of the later
changed forms of a given morpheme among the Tibeto-Burman languages.

According, this constitutes the third task.   Take the Hsihsia forms for 'to
give' for example.   There are two morphemes in Hsihsia for it: khĭʷON (L56)
and khĭeN (L42), which may be used in combination as khĭʷON-khĭeN.   The only
cognate forms that we may refer to at present are Tosu 'khö and Lisu gùh-ˑah.
In most other TB languages we find the forms *biy- and *khĭo- for 'to give':

| TB      | WrT      | WrB          |           |
|---------|----------|--------------|-----------|
| *biy-   | sbyin-   | pei²-<piy²-  |           |
|         | Hsihsia  | Tosu         | Lisu      |
| *khio-  | khĭʷON   | 'khö.        | gùh-ˑah   |
|         | khĭeN    |              |           |

There were three different TB forms *gu-, *wat-, *dum- for 'to put on'.

| TB    | WrT    | WrB | Nyi    | Lisu   | Akha | Tosu | Hsihsia |
|-------|--------|-----|--------|--------|------|------|---------|
| *gu-  | gon-pa | x   | qhu 44 | gu-ˑah | x    | x    | x       |

| *wat- | x | *wat* | VI 2 | x | x | wai- | vɛ (R54) |
| *dum- | x | x | dɣ 2 | x | dm̆ | x | x |

Besides, the distribution of the forms for 'to put up (=to spread) an umbrella';
'to put on (a bamboo hat)' and 'umbrella; bamboo hat' is found as follows:

|  | WrB | WrT |
| 'umbrella' | *thii²* | *gdugs* |
| 'to put up; to put on' | *chɔng²-saň* | *gdugs ẖbubs-pa* |

We may suppose that the noun *a-chɔng² derived from WrB *chɔng²-saň* existed,
to which the Chinese 傘 *sɑng 'umbrella' corresponds.  Bisu tsɔng-ngɛ 'to put
on a bamboo hat' is also cognate to WrB *chɔng²-saň*.  Hsihsia has the following
three distinct forms:

| tšĭɛ (L34) | (noun) | 'umbrella' |
| tšĭɛ (R31) | (verb) | 'to put on a bamboo hat' |
| tšhĭow (R43) | (verb) | 'to put up an umbrella' |

WrB *chɔng²* signifies 'autumn' as well, to which Hsihsia tshụ (L68) can be
equated.  But the correspondence between these two cognate forms does not
agree with the one set up between those for 'bamboo hat'[12].

The Hsihsia, WrB and Tosu cognate forms for 'spring' and 'autumn' parallel
each other well.

|  | Hsihsia | WrB | Tosu |
| 'spring' | nʷi (R28) | *nwei* | ′ňu. |
| 'autumn' | tshụ (L68) | *chɔng²* | ˌtšhu |

As the following examples show, WrB -ɔng corresponds to Hsihsia -u, -ụ, -iɴ.

|  | Hsihsia | WrB |
| 'to bend a bow' | thu (L1) | *thɔng-saň* |
| 'thousand' | tụ (L58) | *thɔng* |
| 'to hide' | lu₂ (R1) | *hlɔng-saň* |
| 'harp' | siɴ (R29) | *cɔng²* |

cf. also 'to burn' above.

Similarly, WrB -ɔk corresponds to Hsihsia -ụ.

|  | Hsihsia | WrB |
| 'backside' | kụ (L58) | *kyɔk* |
| 'stone' | lụ (L58) | *kyɔk<klɔk* |

Following, I gave some other correspondences between Hsihsia and Written
Burmese.

Hsihsia -oɴ, -ofi, -ɔ̣, -ɔr correspond to WrB -um.

|  | Hsihsia | WrB |
| 'to use' | šofi (L48) | *sum²-saň* |
| 'warm' | loɴ (R47) | *lum-saň* |

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12. In parallel with this we have Hsihsia -ow: WrB -ɔng for Hsihsia low (L53): WrB *lɔng²*
-*saň* 'to bet'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'round' | loɴ (R47) | *lum²-saň* |
| 'to collect' | tšioɴ (L55) | *cum-saň* |
| 'three' | sǫ (L70) | *sum²* |
| 'mortar' | tsɔr (L91) | *chum* |

Hsihsia -ɛɴ, -ĭeɴ correspond to WrB *-im, ip.*

| | Hsihsia | WrB |
|---|---|---|
| 'cloud' | nɛɴ (R55) | *tim* |
| 'house' | ˙yĭeɴ (R37) | *˙im* |
| 'bag' | ˙yĭeɴ (R37) | *˙it* |
| 'low' | ndĭeɴ (L42) | *nim³-saň* |

Hsihsia -ɨ corresponds to WrB *-it, -ip.*

| | Hishsia | WrB |
|---|---|---|
| 'goat' | tshɨ (L30) | *chit* |
| 'to sleep' | ˙ɨ (R28) | *˙ip* |
| cf. 'shadow' | rʉr (R76) | *rip* |
| 'to shut' | phe (L37) | *pit-saň.* |

The last two examples are not certain since there is a possibility that we may give a different Hsihsia cognate for each.

In the foregoing I have shown the examples for WrB *-ɔng*: Hsihsia -u, but Hsihsia -u is found in more examples to correspond to WrB *-u.*

| | Hsihsia | WrB |
|---|---|---|
| 'thick' | tu (L1) | *thuu-saň* |
| 'fat' (adj.) | tshu (L1) | *chuu* |
| 'soft' | nu (L1) | *nuu* |
| 'similar' | ndu (R1) | *tuu-saň* |
| 'shape' | su (R1) | *chuu* |
| 'chopstick' | ndu (R1) | *tuu* |
| 'intestines' | vĭu (R2) | *uu* |
| 'head' | ɣuɦ (L4) | *uu²* |
| 'hammer' | tĭuɦ (R3) | *tuu* |
| 'to help' | ˙ǫ (R51) | *kuu-ňii-saň* [13] |
| cf. 'egg' | tǝw (L43) | *u³* [14] |
| 'year' | kĭɔw (L45) | *khu³* |

To Hsihsia -ĭu (R2), -ĭuɦ (L3) corresponds WrB *-aa.*

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13. We have the following examples for the correspondence Hsihsia ˙-(zero): WrB *k-:*

| | Hsihsia | WrB | WrT |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'saddle' | ˙i (R60) | *ka³* | *sga* |
| 'hen' | ˙yar (R75) | *krak* | |
| 'eight' | ˙yar (L82) | *hrac* | *brgyad* |
| 'big' | lɛ (R54) | *krii²-* | |
| 'to look' | leɦ (R33) | *kraň³-* | |
| 'stone' | lǫ (L58) | *kyɔk*<*klɔk.* | |

14. This Hsihsia form corresponds to TB *\*thul* (cf. Tiddim Chin *˙tuui*, Lushai *tui*); cf. Benedict TB *\*twiy* (1972: 45).

|         | Hsihsia       | WrB      |
|---------|---------------|----------|
| 'fish'  | ńẕïu (R2)     | ngaa[2]  |
| 'flesh' | śïu (R2)      | a-saa[2] |
| 'to seek' | ·yïu (R2)   | hraa-saň |
| 'ear'   | hnïuɦ (L3)    | naa[2]   |

Side by side with śïu (R2) above, there is another form tšhi (L10) for 'flesh'. The latter form raises the important question of whether it is analyzable into two morphemes: śi-·u, the second element of which might have functioned as a 'diminutive' suffix. If so, then might it be possible to consider the forms for 'fish' and 'ear' equally constructed as ńẕi-·u and ni-·uɦ? A similar question arises in the case of Hsihsia kïaɦ (L21): WrT ka-ba 'pillar'. There is a possibility that the correspondence Hsihsia -ïaɦ: WrT -a may be justifiable. But it is also possible to assume that, since the correspondence Hsihsia -i: TB *-a is a fundamental one between Hsihsia and TB, it will enable us to analyze the Hsihsia form as ki-·aɦ, and that Hsihsia might have had a suffix corresponding to Tibetan -ba, -ma at an earlier time but later fused it with the stem. Such a position will contribute, however partially, to reduce the number of Hsihsia rhymes from the standpoint of the comparative linguistics. But since this question involves discussion of the nature of morphemes to be treated as suffixes, I shall leave it for future investigation.

Fourth, our consideration will center upon the parallelism that obtains among the divisions of semantic fields. For instance, the semantic fields of 'black', 'deep' and 'night' share the common part 'black'. These semantic fields are divided in WrB, Hsihsia and WrT as follows:

|         | WrB        | Hsihsia       | WrT     |
|---------|------------|---------------|---------|
| 'black' | nak-       | hnïaɦ (L21)   | nag-po  |
| 'deep'  | nak-       | naɦ (L17)     | zab     |
| 'night' | ňa[3]~ňaň[3] | hnaɦ (L17)  | mtshan  |

In addition to ňa[3], ňaň[3], WrB retains nak in compounds such as nak-phran 'tomorrow', where nak may be taken to stand for 'night', hence the compound as a whole signifying 'to pass the night'. The Hsihsia equivalent of this WrB form is hnaɦ (L17)-rar (R73), and the Hsihsia character for hnaɦ is made up of that for 'night' with one semantic element replaced by the one for 'to pass'. In Hsihsia the first morpheme of the compound for 'tomorrow' is the same morpheme with that for 'night' while the second one with that for 'to flow'. Thus the Hsihsia word for 'tomorrow' is expressed as 'the night flows'. Incidentally, WrB ňa[3] corresponds to Hsihsia ŋi (R28). Hsihsia -aɦ (L17/R14), -aɦ (R17), -ar (L82/R75), -ạ (R56) correspond to WrB -ak, -ap.

|         | Hsihsia     | WrB       |
|---------|-------------|-----------|
| 'needle'| ɤaɦ (L17)   | ·ap       |
| 'to weave'| laɦ (L17) | rak-saň   |

| 'pig' | vaɦ (L17) | *wak* |
|---|---|---|
| 'to dip up' | khaɦ (R17) | *khap* |
| cf. 'hen' | ˙yar (R75) | *krak* |
| 'to stand' | ˙yar (L82) | *rap-saň* |
| 'leaf' | phạ (R56) | *phak* |

As we have seen above, the majority of Hsihsia forms are closely similar to their Lolo-Burmese cognate forms. However, their final forms are by far more finely distinguished one than those in any Tibeto-Burman languages. Thus arises the question of whether we should consider Hsihsia forms to represent a much earlier stage than any other Tibeto-Burman languages. Or was Hsihsia a language where more elements from other languages got mixed in even though the fundamental stratum of the language was from the common Lolo-Burmese? The investigation of this question will be the most significant task for the comparative study of the Tibeto-Burman languages as well as that of the Hsihsia language[15].

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15. In a previous paper, I remarked on the lineage of the Hsihsia language as follows: "I am of the opinion that all the ruling tribes of the Hsihsia kingdom such as the Phing Hsia clan of Tangut, the Mi tribe and their royal family that represented the Tho-Pa clan and the Mi-nyak were people of Tibetan origin, and were in the closest relationship with the Ch'iangs. ...On the assumption that there existed a national language of Hsihsia that was based on the language of the Mi but was inclusive of the vocabularies of the languages of the other tribes as well, it is possible to prove that the language was not of the Hsien-Pi (Altaic) but Tibeto-Burman. ... 1. Hsihsia formed the aspect expressions by the affixation of a prefix to the verb stem. For instance, ˙a- was prefixed to the perfect form like ˙a-thiɦ 'drunk'—thiɦ 'to drink' and ˙a-lɪ 'frightened'—lɪ 'to fear'. Though this kind of prefixation is not found among the Altaic languages, it is found among the Tibeto-Burman. Thus the following derivational process of Ch'iang may be equated to it: de-thi 'drunk'—thi 'to drink, de-qu 'frightened'—qu 'to fear'. 2. The transitive and intransitive forms of some Hsihsia verbs were distinguished by contrast for a vocalic feature (glottalized: non-glottalized).

| lu (L) | to get mixed' | thiɦ (L) | 'to drink' | mbiɦ (R) | 'to below' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lụ (L) | 'to mix' | tị (L) | 'to give to drink' | mbị (L) | 'to make below' |

It is supposed that this process was not productive in the twelfth century Hsihsia language already, but this feature agrees with that of some Tibeto-Burman languages, esp. Lisu and Lahu.

In the vocabulary of Hsihsia we find more loanwords from Chinese than we would expect. With the progress of our reconstructions of Hsihsia forms, hitherto hidden Chinese loans may have been brought to light. However, the native forms of Hsihsia are mostly of Tibeto-Burman origin. For instance, there are two different forms for 'tears': mɛ-lʷi and mɛ-mbi. The second element -lʷi in the former word is a loan from Chinese, but -mbi in the latter corresponds to the second elements of Akha mja-bí, Hani ma-pi and WrB *myak-raň*<praň 'pus' of Lolo-Burmese. In such respects, we can consider the Hsihsia language as one of the Tibeto-Burman languages" (T. Nishida, 'The Character of the Hsihsia Kingdom and its Culture' *Iwanami's World History* 9, 1970: 66-67). Incidentally, an interesting article on the prefixes of Hsihsia has appeared: K. B. Keping: "A Category of Aspect in Tangut," translated, with comments, by Eric Grinstead, *Acta Orientalia* 33, (1971: 283-294).

Unfortunately, the Survey of Chiang is not yet developed enough to draw a definite conclusion on its linguistic position among the Tibeto-Burman languages, but it is sure that Chiang contains a fair amount of cognate words with Hsihsia as enumerated below (The Chiang forms here cited are quoted from K. Chang 1967 TS=Tsengt'ou Hsiachai dialect, C=Chiutzu Ying dialect).

| TS | C | Hsihsia | WrT | |
|----|---|---------|-----|---|
| qə | qə | khĭow (R43) | ḫkhyud-pa | 'to be able' |
| qu | qu | khịr (L92) | rku-ba | 'to steal' |
| qha | qha | khɑɦ (L17) | kha-ba | 'bitter' |
| qhe | khri | khɪĕ (R8) | x | 'rice' |
| kwæ | | kha (R15) | x | 'shade' |
| khwə | khwə | khʷɨ (L30) | khyi | 'dog' |
| gwə | ḫgwə | ŋgʷiɴ (L32) | dgu | 'nine' |
| thje | thje | thiɦ (L11) | ḫthung-ba | 'to drink' |
| də | di | tu (R1) | sran-ma | 'bean' |
| | | | <*sdran-ma | |
| pæ | pje | vɑɦ (L17) | phag | 'pig' |
| pu | pu | wi (L10) | byed-pa | 'to do' |
| pəšje | pəse | pɨ (L30)-seɦ (L36) | x | 'now' |
| pu | ḫpu | pʉ (L68) | x | 'pus' |
| pho | pho | phu (L1) | x | 'tree' |
| phṣi | phri | phĭoɴ (L55) | x | 'white' |
| bje | bji | phị (L67) | x | 'urine' |
| bə | ḫbə | vɪ (L8) | ḫbrug | 'dragon' |
| pu | pu | mɑɦ (R17) | x | 'belly' |
| phə | phə | mʉɴ (L31) | ḫbud-pa | 'to blow' |
| ba | ba | mɑɦ (L17) | x | 'to return' |
| bu | bu | mbɑɦ (L17) | x | 'deaf' |
| be | ba | mbiɦ (R10) | dmaḫ | 'low' |
| bɯ | bɯ | mbiɦ (L11) | (phra-ba) | 'thin' |
| bu | ḫbo | mbɑr (L80) | x | 'drum' |
| xe | xe | ɣɑɦ (L17) | khab | 'needle' |
| hady | xadu | ɣɑ (R56) | x | 'ten' |
| xola | xwəla | lʉr (L84) | ḫkhrud-pa | 'to wash' |
| ši | ši | šĭʷoɴ (L56) | x | 'iron' |
| ši | si | ʁzĭər (R78) | gzig | 'leopard' |
| šjeqə | šjeqə | ⁿdzị (L67) | gzer | 'fingernail' |
| šjæli | sazi | šʉ (L28) | x | 'thread' |
| syæmæ | swama | šoɦ (L48) | x | 'to sweep' |
| šyæ | swa | səw (L43) | gsal-ba | 'bright' |
| šjæ | se | sɛ (R54) | x | 'to write' |
| ṣe | sa | siɦ (R10) | shi-ba | 'to die' |
| sala | sahqə | sɪ (L8) | so-ma | 'hemp' |
| sa | sa | seɦ (L36) | x | 'blood' |
| | so | su (L1) | x | 'than' |
| swɯ | pṣu | tšhi (L10) | so | 'tooth' |
| zwɯ | bẓɯ | sɨ (L30) | sa-bon | 'seed' |
| ḫwa | ɣwa | ŋɣʉɦ (L27) | lnga | 'five' |
| ḫo | ɣo | lụ (L58) | rdo | 'stone' |
| žwi | i | ·yar (R75) | x | 'chicken' |
| ẓị | ri | ·yar (L82) | x | 'to stand' |
| zwɯ | bẓɯ | rar (L82) | zhing | 'field' |
| læ | le | llɑ (L63) | x | 'thick' |
| ly | lu | laɦ (L20) | x | 'to come' |
| tso | tsolo | lʉɦ (R25) | x | 'flea' |
| tso | tso dẓa | tšhĭoɴ (L55) | ḫching-ba | 'to tie' |
| tswɯ | ptsu | ʁzir (R85) | chu | 'water' |
| tswɯ | hptṣu | sĭɔɦ (R44) | x | 'sweat' |
| tshə | tshə | ⁿdzĭeɴ (L42) | tshe | 'time' |
| | tṣhɯ tṣhɯ | tsĭụ (L59) | x | 'spider' |
| | tṣhu | saɦ (L20) | gsod-pa | 'to kill' |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| tʂhə | ʔtshɯ | tšhi (L10) | sha | 'meat' |
| tshə | tshə | tshi (R28)-·u | tshwa | 'salt' |
| tšhe | tsha | tshɨ (L30) 'goat' | x | 'a kind of sheep' |
| tshu | tshu | tshṳ (L68) | x | 'lung' |
| 'to cough' | | | | |
| tšhjeda | tshe | soN (L54) | zam-pa | 'bridge' |
| tšhi | ʔtshi | sɔ (L70) | gsum | 'three' |
| džjo | džjo | ⁿdžoɦ (L48) | x | 'hole' |
| dži | dži | khi (L30) | rkang-pa | 'foot' |
| dʐo | dʐo | saɦ (L17) | rtswa<rtsa-ba | 'grass' |
| dʐe | dʐe | ⁿdziɔɦ (R44) | x | 'long' |
| dzo | dzo | ⁿdzʊ (R5) | bzhug-pa | 'to sit' |
| dzɯ | | ńźiu (R2) | nya | 'fish' |
| | ptshɯ | ŋzʉr (R84) | x | 'mountain' |
| | bdʐɯ | tšhi (L10?) | hju-ba | 'to melt' |
| šidžje | htšidze | ⁿdzieN (L42) | x | 'money' |
| tʂu | htʂu | tšhiew (L46) | drug | 'six' |
| | tsɯ | ⁿdzi (R7) | zha-nye | 'tin' |
| ŋa | | hŋaɦ (R14) | nga | 'I' |
| ŋu | ɦŋu | ŋɔɦ (R42) | dngul | 'silver' |
| ńyńy | ńyńy | nəw (L43) | nu-ma | 'breast' |
| ńi | ńi | hńiaɦ (L21) | nag-po | 'black' |
| ńi | ńhi | neɦ (L36) | x | 'red' |
| no | no | niɦ (R10) | | 'you' |
| ńi | nə | nɨN (L32) | gnyis | 'two' |
| ńike | nəka | nĭuɦ (L3) | rna-ba | 'ear' |
| nhe | nhe | neN (R36) | snabs | 'nasal mucus' |
| ńiqopə | nhəpaqə | nɪɦ (R12) | sna | 'nose' |
| mi | mi | mɛ (L33) | mig | 'eye' |
| mə | mə | mɨr (L86) | mi | 'man' |
| mæńy | many | mow (L53)-ʁi (L10) | x | 'cat' |
| mu | mu | mur (L75) | mun-pa | 'dark' |
| mi | mi | miɦ (L11) | ma; mi | 'negation' |
| mhə | mhə | mɛ (R30) | x | 'hair' |
| | ɦmə | mĭeɦ (R35) | ming | 'name' |

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