STAN bodyparts

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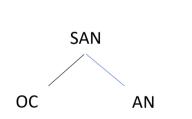
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I. Background

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Chinese, Austronesian

At the 23rd ICSTLL in Arlington, Texas, 1990, I argued that AN and Chinese are genetically related within 'SAN'



23rd International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics 5–7 October 1990, Arlington, Texas, U.S.A.

CHINESE AND AUSTRONESIAN ARE GENETICALLY RELATED

Laurent Sagart

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Central argument: explanation of OC final glottal stop from PAN*-q

PAN	OC
* <u>uta<mark>q</mark> 'vomit'</u>	吐 *tʰˤa <mark>ʔ</mark> > <u>thuⅩ</u> > tǔ 'eject from mouth, spit'
* <u>ta</u> g 'earth'	土 *tʰˤa <mark>ʔ</mark> > <u>thu</u> Ⅹ>tǔ 'earth'
* <u>pana<mark>q</mark> 'shoot'</u>	弩 *C.n ^ç a <mark>?</mark> > nuX > nǔ 'crossbow'
* <u>punu</u> g 'brain'	腦 *n ^ç [u <mark>]?</mark> > nawX > nǎo 'brain'

What of TB ?

In the early version of the proposal, only Chinese was related to AN and TB was left in limbo.

I thought then that all the words shared by Chinese and TB were loans from Chinese.

Excluding TB was an error.

I recognize that sound correspondences do exist.

and the shared vocabulary is too basic for borrowing.

Yet a good part of the observations made on Chinese and AN were real.

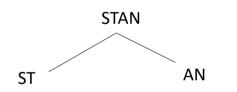
Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian (STAN)

in 2005 I presented a revised version of my proposal, where ST as a whole was a sister to AN.

SINO-TIBETAN-AUSTRONESIAN

An updated and improved argument

Laurent Sagart



75 lexical comparisons, three-way correspondences

PAN	OC	TB	Examples
-0	-0	-0	Palm of hand, chicken, carry, this, come/go
-k	-k	-k	Leech, crooked, loincloth
-t	-t	-t	Bone, hot, dig, close
-p	-р	?	Hunt, grasp
-ng	-ng	-ng	Put together, broad, cage, meet, sunlight, cave, old
-ng	-k	-ng	Horn, stopper, Setaria
-m	-m	-m/-p	Water, think, hold in fist or mouth, dark, cloud
-H _{1,2}	-?	-0	Head, female breast, elbow, salt, broom
-q	-?	-k	Brain, pus, earth, lick, vomit, chew, shoot, wash, open

Table 9.4 Correspondences of syllable-final consonants

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sources of OC *-? (1)

#	PAN (mostly <u>Blust</u>)	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
1	*guluh 'head'	#1221 PTB * <mark>k-lu</mark> HEAD	首 *lu? > shǒu 'head'
9	* <u>nunuh</u> 'female breast'	#253 PTB *s-nəw BREAST / MILK / SUCK	乳 *no? > rǔ 'milk; nipple'

PAN *-h :: PTB (STEDT) -zero :: OC *-?

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Sources of OC *-? (2)

#	PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
16	* <u>siku</u> (x) 'elbow'	#307 PTB *s-g(r)u ELBOW / CUBIT (provisional)	肘 *t-[k] <r>u? > zhǒu 'elbow'</r>
	*inax 'mother'	#1623 PTB *m-na MOTHER / FEMALE	女 * <u>nra</u> ? > nǚ 'female'
	* <u>Capax</u> 'to dry by fire'	#6638 PTani *va: ROAST IN A PAN (without adding oil) / PARCH (provisional)	

PAN *-x :: PTB (STEDT) *-zero :: OC *-?

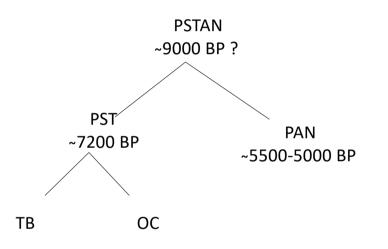
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Sources of OC *-? (3)

#	PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
2	*punuq 'brain'	#243 *s-nəw-k BRAIN	腦 *n ^ç [u]? > nǎo 'brain'
18	* <u>nanaq</u> 'pus'	#1297 *(s/r) <u>nak</u> PUS (provisional)	(茹 *na? > <u>rú</u> 'putrid')
	* <u>basug</u> 'wash'	#5645 PTB *su(k) WASH (provisional)	
	*dzilag 'lick'	#629 * <u>m-lyak</u> <> * <u>s-lyak</u> <> * <u>g-lyak</u> LICK / TONGUE	舐 * <u>Cə.le?</u> > <u>shì</u> 'lick'

PAN *-q :: PTB *-k :: OC *-?

STAN structure



prehistorical hypothesis

- PSTAN assumed to have been spoken by the domesticators of foxtail millet, broomcorn millet and pigs north of the Yellow River before 9000 BP
- Period of unity ends c. 9000 BP: one group remains on site (Cishan culture 磁山文化?), another moves south of the Yellow River (Peiligang culture 裴李崗文化?)
- the northern branch = PST, splits into Sinitic and TB c. 7200
- the southern branch, ancestral to PAN, acquires rice
- then expands south and east
- reaching Taiwan C. 5500-5000 BP, becoming PAN proper.

Domesticate names and subsistence vocabulary shared by ST and AN

Language Families of Southeast Asia a

Laurent Sagart

The Oxford Handbook of Early Southeast Asia Edited by Charles F. W. Higham and Nam C. Kim

Print Publication Date:Mar 2022Subject:Archaeology, Archaeology of Southeast AsiaOnline Publication Date:Feb 2022DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199355358.013.7

includes terms for

- foxtail millet
- possibly broomcorn millet
- no rice
- pig
- dog
- general agricultural vocabulary: 'to sow broadcast', 'to reap', 'seed', 'dehusked grain', 'grain as food'
- importance of fishing: 'fishnet'

The importance of domesticate names and subsistence vocabulary

	Proto-Aus- tronesian	Old Chinese	Tibeto-Bur- man
Setaria italica	* beCeŋ	稷 *[ts]ək	Lhokpu cək, Trung tçja? ⁵⁵
Panicum miliaceum	* baCaR	穄 *[ts][a][t]-s	-
seed	* RaH1ap	粒 *p.rəp	W. Himalayish yeb-mo "to
dehusked	* beRas	糲 *[r]at-s	sow" PTB #b-ras
grain			rice/fruit/bear fruit (STEDT)
polished grain/ grain as food	* Semay	₩ *(C.)mˤ[e]j?	PTB #mey rice/ paddy (STEDT)

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Recent genomic work is convergent with this model

Wang et al. Genomic insights into the formation of human populations in East Asia. *Nature*. 2021 Mar; 591(7850):413-419:

"A surprising finding is our observation that ancient North Chinese individuals are more closely related to ancient individuals of our Taiwan time transect [~1300 BCE to 800 CE] than to early Holocene hunter-gatherers on the mainland side of the Straits of Taiwan."

"Taiwanese peoples from~1300 BCE to 800 CE carried ~25% of a northern East Asian lineage in their genomes"

"A speculative possibility is **that this ancestry was carried by cultivators of foxtail millet**—which was domesticated in the north by around 8000 bc and which, in the south, appears relatively early in the Neolithic Tapenkeng culture (around 3000–2500 bc) of Taiwan."

Article Genomic insights into the formation of human populations in East Asia



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Position of Kra-Dai

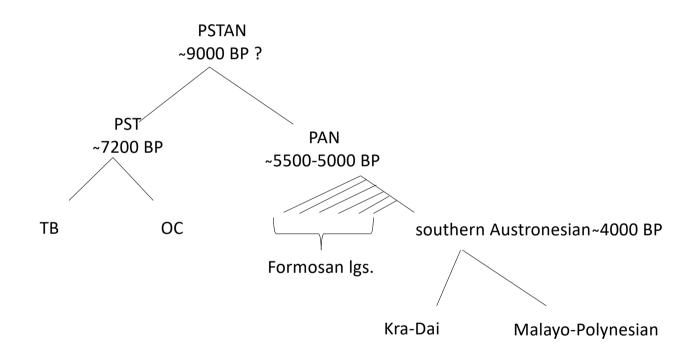
Benedict's 'Austro-Tai' is increasingly accepted

But I have argued in a series of papers that Kra-Dai is actually a **branch** of Austronesian, not a related family

Typologically reoriented through contact with Austroasiatic and with Chinese.

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STAN including Kra-Dai



AN phylogeny including Kra-Dai

A Formosan phylogeny including Kra-Dai and Malayo-Polynesian as sister branches with all supporting evidence can be found on my blog 'Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian' https://stan.hypotheses.org/ It relies on 40+ lexical, morphological and phonological innovations



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II. STAN bodypart terms

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- 19 *human* bodypart terms are shared by Western ST and Austronesian
- Bodypart terms as a proxy for the basic vocabulary in general

Proto-form citations

- PAN forms are either taken directly from Blust's Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (ACD),
- or are based on cognate sets assembled by others (Tsuchida, Wolff, myself), expressed in Blust's system;
- TB forms from STEDT;
- OC forms from the Baxter-Sagart 2014 reconstruction.
- None of these reconstruction systems are problem-free but they are the most recent we have for these extinct languages.

Sagart 2005: nine bodypart terms

	PAN or PECL	OC	ТВ
l Body hair	gumuN	眉 ^b mu[r] (eyebrow)	B. mul (Moshang kemul)
2 Bone	kukut	骨 ^a kut	
3 Brain	punuq	腦 ^a nu?	B. (s-)nuk
4 Elbow	$siku(H_2)$	肘 ^b t-r-ku?	Gyarong tkru
5 Female breast	nunvH	乳 bno?	B. nuw
6 Foot	kakay		B. kriy
7 Head	quluH	首 ^b hlu?	Lushai lu
8 Palm of hand	dapa	扶 ^b pa	B. pa
9 Pus	nanaq		Tib. mag

Table 9.1 Sixty-one basic vocabulary comparisons between AN, Chinese and TB

#2 and 6 above are not listed as PTB in STEDT so they are absent from this presentation.

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ICSTL&L 55 keynote paper, September 18, 2022, Kyoto

Rentation

This presentation

- nineteen bodypart terms shared by TB and AN
- twelve shared by OC and AN
- more than double from 2005

the head

#	PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
1	*quluh 'head'	#1221 PTB * <u>k-lu</u> HEAD	首 *lu? > shǒu 'head'
2	*punuq 'brain'	#243 *s-nəw-k BRAIN	腦 *n ^ç [u]? > nǎo 'brain'
3	*Caŋal 'face, forehead'	#2017 PTB *nar TOPKNOT / FOREPART / FRONT SIDE	顔 * <u>C.ŋ^ςrar</u> > <u>yán</u> 'face, forehead'
4	*qimiR 'cheek'	#1188 PTB * <u>s-myal</u> FACE	面 *C.me[n]-s > miàn 'face'
5	*biRbiR 'lip'	#452 PTB *b(i/u)l × <u>*bya</u> l LIP / LOBE / LID	
6	(<u>Tsuchida</u>) * <u>Raqem</u> 'molar'	#630 PTB *gam JAW / CHIN / MOLAR	頷 *[ɡ]ˤ[ə]m? > <u>hàn</u> 'jaw, chin'
7	*-tuk 'nape'	#359 *tuk × *twak HEAD / SKULL / NECK	脰 *kə.d ^ç ok-s > <u>dòu</u> 'neck'
8	*-quŋ 'throat'	#3361 PTB *gwan NECK / THROAT	胷 *qʰ(r)oŋ > <u>xiōng</u> 'breast, chest'

the trunk

#	PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
9	* <u>nunuh</u> 'female breast'	#253 PTB *s-nəw BREAST / MILK / SUCK	乳 *no? > rǔ 'milk; nipple'
10	* <u>ta-gaRan</u> 'ribcage'	#288 PTB *b/g-ran CHEST	
11	* <u>baRan</u> 'chest cavity'	#288 PTB *b/g-ran CHEST	
12	* <u>debdeb</u> 'chest'	#554 PTB * <u>s-ri</u> (p/m) RIB / SIDE	
13	*- <u>buk</u> 'belly'	#2107 *puk/buk BELLY / STOMACH	腹 *p(r)uk > <u>fù</u> 'belly'
14	*likud 'the back'	#2827 PTB *kur BACK (adv.) / BACK (body part)	

The limbs

#	PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
15	* <u>pikpik</u> 'arm'	#706 IA * <u>pak</u> WING / ARM	臂 * <u>pek-s</u> > <u>bì</u> 'arm'
16	* <u>siku</u> (x) 'elbow'	#307 PTB *s-g(r)u ELBOW / CUBIT (provisional)	肘 *t-[k] <r>u? > zhǒu 'elbow'</r>
17	* <u>kudkud</u> 'hoof, lower leg of an ungulate'	#414 * <u>s-kur</u> NAIL / HOOF	

		'diffuse'	
#	PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
18	* <u>nanaq</u> 'pus'	#1297 *(s/r) <u>nak</u> PUS (provisional)	(茹 *na? > <u>rú</u> 'putrid')
19	*gumuN 'body hair'	#363 PTB *s/ <u>r-mul</u> × *s-mil × * <u>s-myal</u> HAIR / FUR / FEATHER	

How words align

The main syllable in TB and OC reconstruction corresponds to the final syllable of AN words:

PAN *-buk 'belly' #2107 *puk/buk BELLY / STOMACH 腹 *p(r)uk > fù 'belly'
PAN *biRbiR 'lip' #452 PTB *b(i/u)l × *byal LIP / LOBE / LIP
PAN *gumuN 'body hair' #363 PTB *s/r-mul × *s-mil × *s-myal HAIR / FUR / FEATHER
PAN *quluh 'head' #1221 PTB *k-lu HEAD 首 *lu? > shǒu 'head'

What of the first AN syllable ?

At times reflected without the vowel in the TB preinitial

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in particular when the last syllable begins in a liquid

#	PAN (mostly <u>Blust</u>)	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
1	* <mark>guluh</mark> 'head'	#1221 PTB * <mark>k</mark> -lu HEAD	首 * <mark>i</mark> u? > shǒu 'head'
10	*ta- <mark>g</mark> aRaŋ 'ribcage'	#288 PTB *b/ <mark>g</mark> -raŋ CHEST	
11	* <mark>b</mark> aRaŋ 'chest cavity'	#288 PTB * <mark>b</mark> /g-raŋ CHEST	
	* <mark>b</mark> eRas 'dehusked grain'	#2071 PTB * <mark>b</mark> -ras RICE / FRUIT / BEAR FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT	糲 *[r]at-s > <u>ljejH</u> > <u>lì</u> ' <u>dehusked</u> but not polished grain'

Preservation of AN first syllable in other contexts is less common

#	PAN	PTB	OC (B&S 2014)
16	* <u>siku</u> (x) 'elbow'	#307 *s-g(r)u ELBOW / CUBIT (provisional)	肘 *t-[k] <r>u? > zhǒu 'elbow'</r>
19	*gumuN 'body hair'	PTB *g-mul HAIR (body) (Matisoff 2003)	

Pre-initial *s- before sonorants in STEDT reconstructions does not correspond to anything in PAN

#	PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
2	*punuq 'brain'	#243 <mark>*s</mark> -nəw-k BRAIN	腦 *n [‹] [u]? > nǎo 'brain'
4	*qimiR 'cheek'	#1188 PTB * <mark>s-myal</mark> FACE	面 *C.me[n]-s > <u>miàn</u> 'face'
9	* <u>nunuh</u> 'female breast'	#253 PTB * <mark>s</mark> -nəw BREAST / MILK / SUCK	乳 *no? > rǔ 'milk; nipple'
18	* <u>nanaq</u> 'pus'	#1297 *(<mark>s</mark> /r) <u>nak</u> PUS (provisional)	(茹 *na? > <u>rú</u> 'putrid')
19	*gumuN 'body hair'	#363 PTB * <mark>s</mark> / <u>r-mul</u> × *s-mil × * <u>s-myal</u> HAIR / FUR / FEATHER	

The STEDT reconstructs*s- to explain voiceless sonorants in modern languages, even without direct evidence for a sibilant preinitial Voiceless sonorants can be devoiced by any voiceless consonant

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- The sound correspondences presented in 2005 have held up well
- allowing for changes from the Sagart 1999 OC system to Baxter-Sagart 2014
- Here I discuss newly uncovered facts about the ST correspondences for PAN: *j and *d

1. PAN *j

The standard phonetic interpretation of PAN *j is [g^j] My early work had led me to expect ST stops opposite AN stops I expected to find comparisons with g-/k- in ST I could not find any satisfactory comparison Attractive comparisons with OC *n-, PTB *n- have turned up instead:

PAN *j :: TB *n :: OC *n

PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
* <u>sejep</u> 'enter'#7309	#2517 PTB *s-n(i/u)(:)p/m × *r/s-nyap/m PINCH / SQUEEZE / PRESS / OPPRESS / SUBMERGE / SINK INTO / WEST / LOW / SOFT	入 * <mark>n</mark> [u]p > <u>nyip</u> > <u>rù</u> 'enter'
*ajem 'heart, mind: seat of thought processes'	#5554 PTB * <mark>s-n</mark> yam THINK (provisional)	恁 * <mark>n</mark> [ə]m? > <u>nyimX</u> > <u>rèn</u> 'think
root *- <mark>jip</mark> 'to clasp, pinch'	#2517 PTB *s-n(i/u)(:)p/m × *r/ <u>s-nyap</u> /m PINCH / SQUEEZE / PRESS / OPPRESS / SUBMERGE / SINK INTO / WEST / LOW / SOFT	攝 * <mark>kə.n</mark> ep > <u>syep</u> > <u>shè</u> 'catch, gather up'
* <u>Suaj</u> i 'younger sibling'	#5601 PTB *nyey YOUNGER SIBLING	_
*ujuŋ 'nose'	Kaman (Deng) min ⁵⁵ nion ³⁵ nose Thanphum (Kuki-Chin) rə`hnon ⁵ nose Sengmai (Sal) so <mark>n</mark> ūŋ nose Achang (Longchuan) (B-L- ŋon ⁵⁵ 'nose' #2100 PTB *nwan MOUTH	

PAN *j

- was probably a nasal, [n], from pre-PAN *n palatalized after a front vowel
- with fortition to $[n^z]$ and $[n^{dz}]$
- as in Sardinian dialects: Lat. vinea > Campidanese bingia, Logudorese bindza
- followed loss of the nasal component
- Several Formosan languages reflect *j as n.

2. Sagart 2005: PAN *d- :: TB t- :: OC t-

Two examples: 'old' and 'this'.

This correspondence cannot explain the cases where PAN *d (in Blust's system) corresponds to TB *r, OC *r:

PAN *d :: TB *r :: OC *r

#	PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
14	* <u>liku</u> d 'the back'	#2827 PTB * <u>ku<mark>r</mark>BACK (adv.) / BACK (body part)</u>	
17	* <u>kudku</u> d 'hoof, lower leg of an ungulate'	#414 * <u>s-ku</u> r NAIL / HOOF	
	* <u>dem<mark>d</mark>em</u> 'gloom, darkness'	#2624 PTB * <mark>r</mark> (u/i)m DARK / SHADE / DUSK / TWILIGHT	
	*da <mark>d</mark> aN 'old, of things'	#7189 PTB * <mark>r</mark> ar OLD	
	* <u>qapi<mark>d</mark> 'braid, twine'</u>	#2188 PTB *(b/p)yar AFFIX / PLAIT / SEW / BRAID	辮 *m-p ^ç e[r]? <u>biàn</u> 'braid (v., n.)

Explanation

<u>Blust</u> PAN	Ross PAN (2015)	ТВ
	*d	t- ?
*d	*D	
	*Z	r

while my two examples of PAN *d :: TB t- :: OC *t in my 2005 paper

are ambiguous for *d, *D and *Z and may well reflect PAN *d or *D

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conclusion

- This presentation more than doubles the number of bodypart comparisons shared by AN and ST
- lexical evidence relating PTB and PAN stronger than for PAN : OC
- Sound correspondences presented in 2005 have held up well
- Increase in number of comparisons has allowed progress on sound correspondences
- Support from subsistence vocabulary: names of domesticates, general agricultural vocabulary, the fishnet
- Convergence with recent work in genomics

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Evidently much remains to understand



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