## STAN bodyparts

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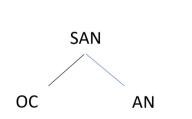
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## I. Background

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#### Chinese, Austronesian

At the 23<sup>rd</sup> 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 <sup>ç</sup> a <mark>?</mark> > nuX > nǔ 'crossbow'
* <u>punu</u> g 'brain'	腦 *n <sup>ç</sup> [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 <sub>1,2</sub>	-?	-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? &gt; 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 \*-?

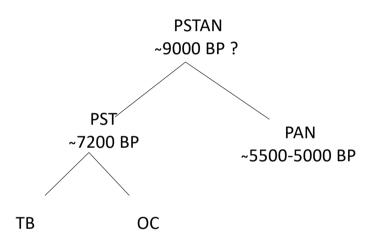
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### Sources of OC \*-? (3)

#	PAN	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
2	*punuq 'brain'	#243 *s-nəw-k BRAIN	腦 *n <sup>ç</sup> [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? <sup>55</sup>
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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Nature | Vol 591 | 18 March 2021 | 413

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#### Position of Kra-Dai

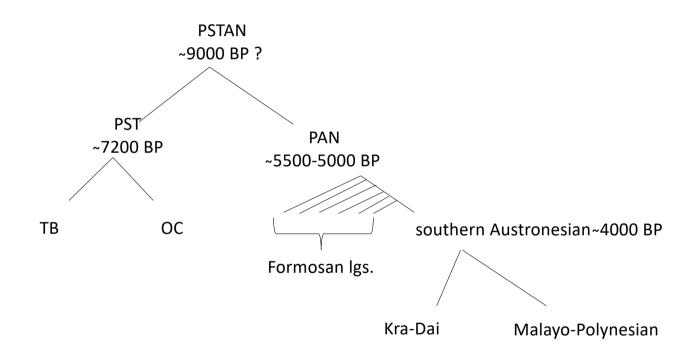
Benedict's 'Austro-Tai' is increasingly accepted

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 <sup>b</sup> mu[r] (eyebrow)	B. mul (Moshang kemul)
2 Bone	kukut	骨 <sup>a</sup> kut	
3 Brain	punuq	腦 <sup>a</sup> nu?	B. (s-)nuk
4 Elbow	$siku(H_2)$	肘 <sup>b</sup> t-r-ku?	Gyarong tkru
5 Female breast	nunvH	乳 bno?	B. nuw
6 Foot	kakay		B. kriy
7 Head	quluH	首 <sup>b</sup> hlu?	Lushai lu
8 Palm of hand	dapa	扶 <sup>b</sup> 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 <sup>ç</sup> [u]? > nǎo 'brain'
3	*Caŋal 'face, forehead'	#2017 PTB *nar TOPKNOT / FOREPART / FRONT SIDE	顔 * <u>C.ŋ<sup>ς</sup>rar</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 <sup>ç</sup> 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? &gt; 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? &gt; 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 <sup>‹</sup> [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<sup>j</sup>] 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 <sup>55</sup> nion <sup>35</sup> nose Thanphum (Kuki-Chin) rə`hnon <sup>5</sup> nose Sengmai (Sal) so <mark>n</mark> ūŋ nose Achang (Longchuan) (B-L- ŋon <sup>55</sup> '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 <sup>ç</sup> 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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