Songs of the Bailang
a new transcription with etymological commentary

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1 Introduction

The 'Song of Bailang' (白狼歌) are three poems in a Trans-Himalayan\(^2\) language transliterated with Chinese characters and translated into Chinese during the Han dynasty (specifically 58-75 CE). Apart from Chinese, Bailang is thus the earliest attested language of this family. The three songs are currently preserved in the 後漢書 Hou Hanshu (juan 86, pp. 2856-57). In this source the text of the songs is reported first in Chinese translation, in four-character lines, alternating with the original text in phonetic transcription, also in four-character lines and in smaller characters. The Hou Han shu, was compiled between 433 and 445. However, a note in the commentary to the Hou Han shu by Li Xian 李賢 (677 CE) makes clear that the latter's source was a somewhat earlier work, the Dongguan Hanji 東觀漢記, compiled between ca. 70 and 225 CE. According to Li Xian, in the Dongguan Hanji the text of the songs was in reversed order, with the transcription given as main text and the translation inserted as interlinear annotation (see Li Xian's note in Hou Han shu, juan 86, p. 2867).\(^3\)

In 1979, making extensive use of previous research, W. S. Coblin published a study of these songs. In addition to transcribing the poems into Roman letters following the reconstructions of Chinese available at that time, Coblin translated the context in the Hou Hanshu in which the Chinese versions of the poems appear, translated the Chinese versions of the poems into English, and provided comparanda to Proto-Lolo-Burmese and Proto-Tibeto-Burman reconstructions available at that time. Ma & Dai (1982) make further cognate proposals and does Zhengzhang (1993), the latter particularly making

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2 As a geographic term unburdened by strong implications regarding the place of Chinese on the Stammbaum, 'Trans-Himalayan' has advantages over its competitors 'Sino-Tibetan' and 'Tibeto-Burman' (cf. van Driem 2014).

3 The priority of the Bailang text contradicts Coblin's (and previous researchers') hypothesis that the attested Bailang version is a translation from Chinese (1979: 196-197).
comparisons to Written Burmese. Advances in both Chinese historical phonology and comparative Trans-Himalayan linguistics more than warrant a renewed study of these poems.\(^4\) In 2008, Christopher Beckwith undertook a study that aimed to reevaluate these songs in light of recent progress in Chinese historical linguistics. Despite the many insights of his contribution, Beckwith’s reconstructions are not methodologically explicit and hence not easily verifiable.

The study here proposes to make a new transcription of the Bailang songs, incorporating the contributions of Coblin (1979) and Beckwith (2008). Currently one has a choice of easy to use Old Chinese reconstructions that incorporate the six-vowel hypothesis of Old Chinese vocalism. Schuessler (2009) produces a ‘minimal Old Chinese’, which aims to reflect the \textit{opinio communis} in its reconstructions; he also offers a 'later Han' reconstruction. In contrast to Schuessler's conservatism, Baxter & Sagart (2014a and b) offer a 'new reconstruction', which self consciously incorporates controversial hypotheses and relies on a much broader set of data than previous reconstructions.\(^5\) Broadly speaking the new elements of Baxter & Sagart's reconstructions are relevant to a very early phase of Chinese linguistic history. For those, like myself, who are broadly sympathetic to Baxter & Sagart's reconstructions, it is easy to conceptualize their 'new reconstruction' as an older phase of Old Chinese and to see Schuessler's 'minimal' reconstruction as a more recent phase of Old Chinese. Because the Bailang Song's are of early Han provenance, Schuessler's Old Chinese reconstruction provides the more useful point of departure for their study. Thus, in discussion of the pronunciation of the transcriptional Chinese dialect or of the Bailang language itself, I cite Old and Han Chinese from Schuessler (2009).\(^6\) Because of its elegance and explicitness, I cite Middle Chinese from Baxter (1992).\(^7\) When


\(^5\) The system of Baxter & Sagart has not met with universal endorsement. Positive reviews include G. Starostin 2015, Goldstein 2015, and Hill 2017 'Review'. Negative reviews include Schuessler 2015, Ho 2016, and Harbsmeier 2016. On the one hand many criticisms apply \textit{mutatis mutandis} to all six vowel systems (Ho 2016, esp. pp. 183-184) or even to all efforts in historical linguistics (Harbsmeier 2016, esp. pp. 484-487). On the other hand some criticisms concern details only (Schuessler 2015). Replies to the negative reviews are in press.

\(^6\) To allow the reader to concentrate on real points of disagreement rather than orthographic matters, I employ some of Baxter & Sagart’s (2014b) orthographic conventions in the writing of Schuessler’s Old Chinese. In particular, Old Chinese type A syllables are here marked with pharyngealization (ʼ) and the origin of the \textit{qusheng} tone is written ubiquitously as -s. When Baxter & Sagart disagree with Schuessler on a matter of substance I duly record this in the footnotes.

\(^7\) An inconvenience of this combination of sources, is that the symbol 'a' diverges in meaning among these
citing Old Chinese for etymological comparisons, rather than as a transcription of Bailang words, the most archaic stage of this language is most relevant, consequently in this context I employ Baxter & Sagart’s (2014b) reconstructions.

2 The Chinese version

Before attempting a phonological reconstruction of the Bailang versions of the songs, it is helpful to learn what the Chinese version tells about the pronunciation of Chinese at the time of songs’ composition. The poems rhyme in Chinese and these rhymes provide information on Chinese pronunciation.

I provide each poem in Chinese with Coblin’s translation. The rhyme word of each line is given in Old Chinese, Han Chinese, and Middle Chinese reconstructions, together with a reference number for Schuessler (2009) and Karlgren (1957). For example, the rhyme word of the second line is 意, so it is annotated OChi. ʔəks > Han Chi. ʔɨəᶜ > MChi. 'iH; its rhyme group in Schuessler (2009) is 05-10 and its reference number in Karlgren (1957) is 0957a.

Poem 1

1. 大漢是治 ʔra > ʔa > ʔri 04-30/0976z The great Han is in good order,
   ʔra > ʔa > ʔriH

2. 與天合意 ʔəks > ʔa > 'iH 05-10/0957a Together with Heaven it unites its intention.

3. 吏譯平端 tˤon > tuɑn > twɑn 25-24/0168d The officials and translators are just and upright,

4. 不從我來 ʔrək > ʔa > loj 05-22/0944a They did not, pursuing us, cause us to come.

5. 聞風向化 ʔrəis > huæ > huæ > xwaeH 19-08/0019a Having heard the (winds =) customs and faced toward the (changes =) civilizing influences,

6. 所見奇異 ʔaks > ʔa > yiH 05-17/0954a what we have seen is (strange,

three phases. In order to obviate this situation, I replace 'a' with -ɑ- for Old and Middle Chinese and 'a' with 'æ' for Han Chinese.

8 Lung (2011: 8-15) also translates the Chinese text into English.

9 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 治*C.lrə.

10 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 端*tʰor.

11 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 來*ma.rək.

12 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 化*qʷʰraj-s.
extraordinary =) wonderful

7. 多賜繒布 pʰus > paʔ > puH 01-67/0102j They have manifoldly given us silk cloth

8. 甘美酒食 's-laks > ziaς > ziiH 05-19/0921a and sweet and (beautiful =) fine wine and food.

9. 昌樂肉飛 'pai > pui > pjiH 27-09/0580a In splendid happiness (our flesh flies =) we are elated'

10. 昌申悉備 braks > biaς > bi > bijH 05-34/0984d Whether we are (bending =) declining or (stretching out =) advancing, in all cases we are provided for.

11. 蠻夷貧薄 bʔak > bak > bak 01-67/0771p We, the barbarians, being poor and (thin =) impoverished,

12. 無所報嗣 s-ləs > ziaς > ziH 04-53/0972k have nothing to give in repayment

13. 願主長壽 duʔ > džuʰ > dzyuwX 13-22/1090g We wish for the ruler longevity

14. 子孫昌熾 tʰaks > tʂʰaς > tsyhiH 05-13/0920l And that his sons and grandsons shall be splendid and glorious.

Poem 2.

1. 蠻夷所處 tʰ-k-ʔaʔ > tʂoʰ > tsyhoX, tsyhoH 01-18/0085a The place where we, the barbarians, dwell

2. 日人之部 bʔoʔ > boʰ > buwX 04-61/0999z (is) the sector whee the sun (enters =) sets.

3. 慕義向化 tʰ-ʔoih > huaİ > huaς > xwaeH 19-08/0019a Longing for righteousness and facing toward the civilizing influence,

4. 歸日出主 toʔ > tʂoʰ > tsyuX 10-19/0129a we (return to =) commit ourselves to the ruler of (the place where) the sun comes out (i.e. the Chinese emperor)

5. 聖德深恩 ʔən > ʔən > 'on 32-09/0370j With sagely virtue and deep kindness

13 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 食 *s-m-lak-s.
14 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 飛 *Ca.pa[r].
15 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 處 *t.qʰaʔ.
16 See note 12.
6. 與人富厚 $g^o > go^h > huwX$ 10-07/0114a together with other people he is wealthy and (think =) affluent (i.e. he shares his wealth with others).

7. 冬多霜雪 $sot > syæt > sjwet$ 22-18/0297a In winter there is much frost and snow;

8. 夏多和雨 $\text{wa}^h > wa^b > hjuX, hjuH$ 01-26/0100a in summer there is much harmonious rain.

9. 寒溫時適 $tek > tsek > tsyek$ 07-12/0877s The times of cold and warmth are (suitable) in proper balance,

10. 部人多有 $\text{wa}^h > \text{wu}^b > \text{wa}^b > hjuwX$ 04-17/0995o and the tribal people (manifoldly possess =) have plenty

11. 涉危歷險 $\text{ŋram} > \text{hiam} > \text{xjaemX}$ 36-06/0613f Having traversed dangers and passed through perils,

12. 不遠萬里 $\text{ra} > \text{li}^b > \text{li}^b > \text{liX}$ 04-35/0978a We have not considered ten thousand li to be (too) far.

13. 去俗歸德 $t^sk > \text{tak} > \text{tok}$ 05-12/0919k Departing from (or: 'casting aside') the vulgar and (returning =) turning to virtue,

14. 心歸慈母 $\text{ma}^h > \text{ma}^b > muwX$ 04-64/0947a our hearts return to the loving mother.

Poem 3

1. 荒服之外 $\text{ŋʷats} > \text{ŋuas} > \text{ngwajH}$ 22-08/0322a Beyond the huang-fu region

2. 土地墝埆 $\text{kʰrok} > \text{kʰrak} > \text{khaewk}$ 11-02/-1225- the soil is stony and hard.

3. 食肉衣皮 $\text{bai} > \text{biai} > \text{bie} > \text{bje}$ 18-16/0025a We eat meat and wear skins,

4. 不見鹽穀 $\text{kʰok} > \text{kok} > \text{kuwk}$ 11-03/1226h and we do not see salt or grain.

5. 吏譯傳風 $\text{pam} > \text{puam} > \text{pjuwng}$ 36-26/0625h The officials and translators have transmitted the (winds =) news,

6. 大漢安樂 $\text{ŋʰuks} > \text{ŋære}^e > \text{ngaewH}$ 17-08/1125a and the great Han is peaceful and

17 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 雨 *C.gʷ(r)a?.
18 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 有 *[g]ʷa?.
19 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 險 *qʰ[r][a]+m? for both readings, but the meaning of the notation [a] differs for the two MChi. readings, viz. $xjaemX (< *qʰram? or *qʰrom?)$ and $xjemX (< *qʰram? or *qʰrem?).$ Still, the fact that OChi. *Kram can yield both MChi. $Kjaem$ and $Kjem$ is prime facie a violation of Ausnahmslosigkeit, albeit one the authors are aware of (see Baxter 1992: 539). Presumably the same issues also stimulate Schuessler to reconstruct two MChi. readings to only one OChi. source.
The three Chinese poems rhyme, generally in something approaching couplets, but the pattern is imperfect in all three.

The first poem does not rime particularly well in Old Chinese (*drə(s), 意 *ʔəks, 端 *tˤon, 来 *rˤək, 為 *m-lək, 飞 *pəi, 備 *brəks, 薄 *bˤɑk, 繼), The result in Han Chinese is better, but still not particularly convincing (*ḍiə(ᶜ), 意 *ʔɨəᶜ, 端 *tuɑn, 来 *lə, 為 *huæiᶜ, 繼 *jəᶜ, 備 *pɑᶜ, 食 *źɨk, 飛 *pui, 備 *biəᶜ, 薄, *bɑk, 繼 *dəz, 繼 *tɕʰəᶜ). The change that yields most of the improvement is final cluster simplification (see comm. to 4b). I suspect that with velars

20 The character 食 has two readings *zyik < *m-lək 'eat' and *zih < *s-ləks 'feed'. Coblin (1979: 182) translates 'food' and gives the reading zyik (déjək in Li Fang-Kuei's system used by Coblin).
this took the form *-ks > -x > -h (Baxter 1992: 568). The change of -s > -h improves things further (Baxter 1992: 578) as does a reminder that 来 irregularly lost its velar final already in the later strata of the Odes (Baxter & Sagart 2014a: 230-231); it may be confidently read as *rˤə rather than *rˤək. The rhyme words (治 *drə(h), 意 *ʔəh, 端 *tˤon, 来 *rˤə, 化 *fjrˤoih, 表 *p’ah, 食 *m-lək, 飛 *pəi, 備 *brəh, 薄 *bˤak, 務 *s-lah, 壽 *duʔ, 熾 *tˤah) now yield a pattern AAXAXAXAXXXAXAXA which is still rather unimpressive.21

The second poem rhymes equally well (or poorly) whether in Old Chinese (處 *k-ləʔ, 部 *bˤoʔ, 化 *ŋ̊rˤois, 主 *toʔ, 恩 *ʔˤən, 厚 *gˤoʔ, 雪 *sot, 雨 *wɑʔ, 適 *tek, 有 *wəʔ, 險 *raʔ, 德 tˤək, 母 məʔ) or Han Chinese (處 *k-ləʔ, 部 *bˤoʔ, 化 *huæiᶜ, 主 *tśoᵇ, 恩 *ʔən, 厚 *goᵇ, 雪 *syæt, 雨 *wɑᵇ, 適 *tśek, 有 *wuəᵇ, 錯 *hɨæm / *hɨɑm, 里 *liəᵇ, *tək, *məᵇ). The pattern in either case is ABXBXBXAXCXCXC.

The third poem rhymes slightly better in Old Chinese (外 *ŋʷˤɑts, 墮 *kʰˤrok, 皮 *bɑi, 穀 *kˤok, 風 *pəm, 樂 *ŋrˤɑuks, 仁 *nin, 狀 *grˤep, 峻 *suns, 石 *dɑk, 家 *kæ, *krˤɑ, 洛 *rˤɑk, 賜 *sieᶜ, 帛 *bæk, 人, *nin, 僕 *bok) than it does in Han Chinese (外 *ŋuɑs, 墮 *kʰrɔk, 皮 *bɨɑi, 穀 *kok, 風 *puəm, 樂 *ŋæuᶜ, 仁 *nin, 狀 *gɛp, 峻 *suinᶜ, 石 *dźæk, 家 *kæ, 洛 *lɑk, 賜 *sieᶜ, 帛 *bæk, 人, *nin, 僕 *bok), but the pattern is not particularly clear in either

21 This pattern can be improved slightly to AABABAXAXAXXXAXAXA by seeing 端 *tˤon > *tuan as rhyming with 化 *fjrˤois > *huəʔ. Allowing for this rhyme requires two or three hypotheses. First, that ʷ-r-coloring (Baxter 1992: 573-574) had not taken place; an assumption which the rhyming of the third Chinese poem proves. Second, we must follow Baxter & Sagart (2014b) in reconstructing *-r in 端 and further supposing that *-r changed to *i in the eastern dialect of the capital (Baxter & Sagart 2014a: 264-271). Also in support of this hypothesis is the apparent rhyming in the second poem of 洗 with 尼 and of 藩 with 螺 and 湧 (vide infra). The third hypothesis is necessary if one prefers Baxter & Sagart reconstruction of 化 as *qʷʰˤrais, with the main vowel *-ə-, to Schuessler’s *fjrˤois ,with the main vowel *-o-, a rhyme of *-ə- with original *-o- shows that *-o- had broken into *-uɑ- before acutes (‘rounding diphthongization’, see Baxter 1992: 566-567) by the time this poem was written. The comparison of the Bailang word 螺 *rˤoi > luɑi雨 ‘rain’ (22d) with Bur. ṣe rwā ‘rain’, etc. confirms that this change took place in the Chinese transcriptional dialect, which is no surprise since the much earlier 左傳 Zuozhuan and 楚辭 Chuci already show evidence of rounding diphthongization (Baxter & Sagart 2014a: 252, 255), it would be surprising if rounded vowels before acutes had not diphthongized in the language of these poems.

It might appear tempting to further improve the rimes 端 *tˤuai, 化 *fjrˤuaih, 布 *p(u)ah on the basis of the change *ʷai > ʷa (Baxter & Sagart 2014: 256 esp. n. 60 on p. 399, p. 268). However, such a move is not permissible because the Middle Chinese outcomes of OChi. *-ʷai only merges with *-ʷa in certain environments (environments that 布 does not satisfy), and only after *-r-coloring (Baxter 1992: 570-571), a change that we have already determined had not yet occurred in the Bailang transcriptional dialect.
stage of the language. Final cluster simplification (particularly the change *ats > aih, see Baxter 1999: 309) again improves things a bit. The pattern of the rhyme words (now 外 *ŋʷaih, 坡 *kʰroku, 皮 *bɑi, 風 *pɑm, 樂 *ŋrˤɑuh, 仁 *nin, 狹 *grˤep, 峻 *sunh, 石 *dɑk, 家, *krˤɑ, 洛 *rˤɑk, 賜 *sleh, 帛 *brˤɑk, 人 *nin, 僕 *bˤok) becomes ABABXXCXXDXDXDCB. This pattern, such as it is would be obliterated by 'r-coloring', so we can conclude that this change had not yet taken place (Baxter 1992: 573-574).

In sum, it is possible to conclude that the Chinese transcriptional dialect of the Bailang songs had not yet undergone 'r-coloring', but had undergone 'final cluster simplification' and probably also 'rounding dipthongization' (see note 21).

3 The Bailang version

The presentation of the Bailang version given below follows the conventions used above for the Chinese rhyme words, but in the Bailang case the various pieces of information, viz. Old Chinese, Han Chinese, Middle Chinese, Schuessler reference, Karlgren reference, are given for each character of the text. The Bailang text is aligned with its Chinese translation character by character, a process that on occasion requires an inversion of two Chinese characters. I usually follow Coblin's (1979) suggestions in this regard; all cases are noted explicitly. The Chinese words are also rendered into English.

Poem 1

1. a. 堤 dˤe > de > dej 07-14/0866k 大 'big, great'
   b. 官 kʷan > kuæn > kwan 25-01/0157a 漢 'Han'
   c. 隗 ŋʷai > ŋui > ngjwɨj 28-01/569- 是 'this, that'
   d. 構 kˤos > koᶜ > kuwH 10-02/019g 治 'to be in order, to put in order'
2. a. 魏 ŋʷai(s) > ŋ ui(ᶜ) > ngjwɨj(H) 28-01/569k 與 'together with'
   b. 冒 mʷus > mou³ > mawH 13-74/1062a 天 'Heaven'
   c. 逾 lo > jo > yu 10-23/0125o 合 'unite, join'
   d. 糟 tsˤu > tsou > tsaw 13-55/1053g 意 'intention'
3. a. 冏 maŋʔ > muoŋᵇ > mjɑngX 03-65/0742l 吏 'officials'
   b. 驛 luk > jæk ~ jak > yek 02-25/0790h 譯 'translator'
   c. 劉 ru > liu > ljuw 13-47/1114a' 平 'just, fair'

22 Han 峻 *suinᶜ may however seem like an improvement over Old Chinese 峻 *suns, because in the more recent reading the word can be understood to rhyme with 仁 *nin and 人 *nin.
d. 脾 be > bie > bjie
07-29/0874h 端 ‘honest’

4. a. 旁 b’uŋ > bąŋ > bang,
p’uŋ > pæŋ > paeng

b. 莫 mrˤok > mæk > maek
mˤok > mak > mak
mˤaks > maɑ > muH

03-57/0740f 從 ‘pursue, follow’

b. 莫 mˤok > mæk > maek
mˤaks > maɑ > muH

02-40/0802a 不 ‘not’

从 ‘pursue, follow’

5. c. 支 ke > kie > tse > tsye
07-03/0864a 我 ‘we, us’

d. 留 ru > liu > ljuw
13-47/1114p 來 ‘cause to come’

c. 支 ke > kie > tse > tsye
07-03/0864a 我 ‘we, us’

d. 留 ru > liu > ljuw
13-47/1114p 來 ‘cause to come’

b. 征 drəŋ > ḍɨŋ > dring
27-05/0550a 風 ‘(wind =) custom’

b. trəŋ > tiŋ > tring
27-05/0550a 風 ‘(wind =) custom’

b. 旅 rɑʔ > liαb > ljoX
01-55/0077a 化 ‘(change =) civilizing influence’

23 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *sa.loj.
6. a. 知 tre > iêu > trje 07-13/063a 所 relative clause nominalizer
   b. 唐 l’ allocating > daŋ > dang24 03-12/0700a 見 ‘see’
   c. 桑 s’an > saŋ > sang 03-53/0704a 奇 ‘strange’
   d. 艾 ɲ’as > ɲas > ngojH 21-10/0347c 異 ‘different’

   ɲas > ɲias > ngojH25

7. a. 阮 ja > jae > yae 01-47/0047a 多 ‘much, manifoldly’
   s-la > zae > zjae
   s-la > zia > zjae26
   b. 毗 bi > bi > bjij 26-38/0566u 賜 ‘give’
   c. (reading unknown) 38-11/0658- 蝕 ‘silk’
   d. 便 p’ɑ > pa > puX 01-67/0102- 布 ‘cloth’

8. a. 推 tʰuð > tʰui > thwoj 28-11/0575a 美 ‘beautiful, fine’27
   tʰujd > tʰui > tsyhwij
   b. 潭 l’om > dom > dom 38-16/0646b 甘 ‘sweet’
   c. 僕 b’ok > bok > bowk, buwk 11-23/1211b 酒 ‘wine’
   p’ok > p’ok > phuwk
   d. 遺 wans > wan > hjwnH 25-15/0256f 食 ‘food’
   wan > wanb > hjwnX28

9. a. 拓 tʰak > t’ak > thak 02-17/0795m 昌 ‘splendid, bright’
   b. 拒 ga? > gia > gjoX 01-19/0095i 樂 ‘happiness’
   kwa? > kya > kjuX
   c. 蘇 sŋ’ɑ > sa > su 01-31/0067c 肉 ‘meat’
   d. 便 bens > biæn > bjienH 23-25/0221a 飛 ‘fly’
   ben > biæn > bjien
   ben > biænb > bjienX29

10. a. 局 gok > guok > gjowk 11-05/1214a 屈 ‘bend’
    b. 後 fi’os > yo > huwH 10-08/0115a 申 ‘stretch’
    fi’o’ > yo > huwX

24 Schuessler reconstructs *g-lɑŋ, a view that relies on combining GSR 0700 with GSR 0746, a velar initial series. Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *r[ŋ]-lɑŋ. The most neutral (late) Old Chinese reconstruction is *r-lɑŋ, and we employ this reconstruction here.

25 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *C.n’t[ŋ]-s.

26 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 邪 yae < *[g](r)A, jae < *sa.gA, and zjo < *sa.la.

27 I have switched these two characters around (see discussion at 8b below). Coblin does not do this.

28 Without making his reasons explicit, Beckwith reconstructs with a final *-r (2008: 97).

29 Without making his reasons explicit, Beckwith reconstructs with a final *-r (2008: 97). The
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<td>11.</td>
<td>a. 僔</td>
<td>roʔ &gt; lio̰ &gt; ljuX</td>
<td>10-29/0123b</td>
<td>蠻 ‘southern barbarian’</td>
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<td>b. 讓</td>
<td>naŋ &gt; ńaŋ &gt; nyangH</td>
<td>03-42/0730i</td>
<td>夷 ‘barbarians’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>c. 龍</td>
<td>roŋ &gt; liŋ &gt; ljowng</td>
<td>12-15/1193a</td>
<td>貧 ‘poor’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. 洞</td>
<td>d’oŋ &gt; dŋ &gt; duŋH</td>
<td>12-09/1176h</td>
<td>薄 ‘thin (= poor)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>a. 莫</td>
<td>m³ak &gt; mək &gt; maek</td>
<td>02-40/0802a</td>
<td>無 ‘have not’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. 支</td>
<td>ke &gt; kie &gt; tše &gt; tsye</td>
<td>07-03/0864a</td>
<td>所 relative clause nominalizer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. 度</td>
<td>d’ak &gt; dak &gt; dak</td>
<td>02-16/0801a</td>
<td>報 ‘repay, give in repayment’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. 由</td>
<td>lu &gt; jisu &gt; yuw³¹</td>
<td>13-30/1079a</td>
<td>剿</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>a. 陽</td>
<td>laŋ &gt; jæŋ &gt; yæŋ</td>
<td>03-38/0720e</td>
<td>順 ‘wish, desire’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. 雛</td>
<td>rˤak &gt; lak &gt; læk</td>
<td>02-01/0766q</td>
<td>主 ‘ruler’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. 僧</td>
<td>saŋ³² &gt; song</td>
<td>06-19/0884-</td>
<td>壽 ‘longevity’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. 鱗</td>
<td>rin &gt; lin &gt; lin</td>
<td>32-26/0387k</td>
<td>長 ‘long’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>a. 莫</td>
<td>m³ak &gt; mək &gt; maek</td>
<td>02-40/0802a</td>
<td>子 ‘son’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. 稚</td>
<td>drih &gt; dḭ &gt; drih</td>
<td>28-11/0575y</td>
<td>孫 ‘grandson’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. 角</td>
<td>kr³ok &gt; køk &gt; kaewk</td>
<td>11-02/1225a</td>
<td>昌 ‘splendid’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. 存</td>
<td>dz³an &gt; dzan &gt; dzwon³³</td>
<td>33-22/0432a</td>
<td>熾 ‘glorious’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

reconstruction *[b]e[n] of Baxter & Sagart (2014b) allows for a final *-r, but does not posit one.
30 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 後 *g’oʔ.
32 Schuessler does not offer an Old Chinese reconstruction for the reading of this character.
33 Schuessler regards the rime development as irregular.
Poem 2

15. a. 僂 roʔ > liuX 10-29/0123b 蠻 'southern barbarians'
r⁰-o > lo > ljuw
b. 讓 naŋ > nyangH 03-42/0730i 夷 'barbarians'
c. 皮 bai > bje 18-16/0025a 所 relative clause nominalizer
d. 尼 n⁰is > nejH 26-25/0563a 處 'dwell'

16. a. 且 tsˤɑʔ > ts 01-57/0046a 日 'sun'
b. 交 kˤrɑu > kaew 16-06/1166a 入 'enter (= set, go down)'
c. 陵 rəŋ > liŋ 06-17/0898c 之 possessive or attributive particle
d. 悟 ŋˤɑs > nguH 01-29/0058j 部 'sector'

17. a. 繩 laŋ > jiyŋ 06-24/0892b m-laŋ > ʔiŋ > zying
b. 動 dˤoŋ > doŋ 12-08/1188m 義 'righteousness'
c. 隨 s-wɑi > zjwe 19-09/0011g 向 'face toward, incline toward'
d. 旅 rɑʔ > ljoX 01-55/0077a 化 '(change =) civilizing influence'

18. a. 路 rˤaks > la > luH 02-01/0766l 彥 'return'
b. 且 tsˤɑʔ > ts 01-57/0046a 日 'sun'
c. 擒 tˤoŋ > toŋ 12-06/1175- 出 'come out'
d. 雜 rˤak > laq > lak 02-01/0766q 主 'ruler'

19. a. 聖 ləŋ > syengH 09-17/0835z 聖 'sage'
b. 德 t'sk > tok 05-12/0919k 德 'virtue'
c. 渡 dˤaks > duH 02-16/0801b 恩 'kindness'
d. 諾 nakah > nak > nak 02-30/0777f 深 'deep'

34 Schuessler’s in fact reconstructs Old Chinese *kˤau, with no medial -r-, which is a surprise since the -r- is needed to explain the vocalism of his Han reconstruction. I follow Baxter & Sagart (2014b) in reconstructing *kˤraw.

35 This and the next character are reversed following the suggestion of Coblin (1979: 190).
20. a. 魏 ŋʷəi(s) > ŋui(ᶜ) > ngjwɨj(H) 28-01/0569k 與 'together with'
    b. 菌 gunʔ > guin³ > gwinX36 34-11/0484c 人 'people, men'
    c. 度 d’ak > dak > dak 02-16/0801a 富 'rich'
    d. 洗 s’arʔ > sei³/sem³ > sejX/senX37 33-25/0478j 厚 '(thick =) affluent'
21. a. 綜 ts’uns > tsouŋ³ > tsowngH 15-13/1003f 冬 'winter'
    b. 邪 ja > jae > yae 01-47/0047a 多 'much'
    c. 流 ru > liu > ljuw 13-46/1104a 霜 'frost'
    d. 蕃 par > puan > pjon38 24-54/0195s 雪 'snow'
22. a. 菱 dz’ak > dzak > dzak 02-31/0806- 夏 'summer'
    b. 邪 ja > jae > yae 01-47/0047a 多 'much'
    c. 寻 s’lam > zim > zim39 38-17/0662a 和 'harmonious'
    d. 螺 r’oi³⁰ > luai > lwa 28-15/0577- 雨 'rain'
23. a. 貌 mr’wak > mak > maewk 16-42/1171c 寒 'cold'
    b. 潞 s’lam > zim > zim 38-17/0662- 溫 'warm'
    c. 瀘 r’a > la > lu 01-51/0069- 時 'time, season'
    d. 滴 rai > lae > lje 18-11/0023- 適 'suitable, in balance'
24. a. 菌 gunʔ > guin³ > gwinX41 34-11/0484c 部 'tribe'
    b. 補 p’əʔ > pa³ > puX 01-67/0102c’ 人 'person'
    c. 邪 ja > jae > yae 01-47/0047a 多 'much'
    d. 推 tʰui > tʷui > thwoj 28-11/0575a’ 有 'have'

36 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *grunʔ; their reason for a medial -r- is unclear to me.
37 Schuessler reconstructs *sˤəjʔ / *sˤənʔ. I follow Baxter & Sagart (2014b) in reconstructing *sˤərʔ, because the series, and indeed this character, mixes readings with final -n and -j (cf. note 38).
38 Schuessler reconstructs *pan. I follow Baxter & Sagart (2014b) in reconstructing *par, because the series mixes readings with final -n and final -j. Beckwith (2008: 104) claims that 洗 *sˤarʔ and 菓 *par rhyme.
39 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) do not reconstruct a reading for this character. In their system the 'pre-initial' *s- would have to be 'loose' in order for an OChi. lateral to change to MChi. z- (2014a: 191).
25. a. 辟 b'ek > bek > bek 08-19/0853a 涉 'traverse'
bek > biek > bjiek
pek > piek > pjiek
b. 危 ŋoi > ŋyæi > ngjwe 42 19-12/0029a 危 'danger'
c. 歸 kʷsi > kui > kjwij 28-02/0570a 歷 'pass through'
d. 險 ŋramʔ > hjaem > xjaemX 36-06/0613f 險 'peril'
26. a. 莫 mrˤak > maek > mak 02-40/0802a 不 'not (verbal negative)'
mˤak > mak > mak
mˤaks > maˀ > muH
b. 受 duʔ > dźu̞b > dzyuwX 13-19/1085a 遠 'consider to be (too) far'
c. 柳 mˤans > muanˀ > mjonH 21-26/0267a 萬 'ten thousand'
d. 柳 ruʔ > luiˀ > ljuwX 13-47/1114l 里 'li'
27. a. 術 m-lut 44 > źuit > zywit 31-17/0497d 去 'depart from; cast away'
b. 疊 lᵉp > dep > dep 35-11/1255a 俗 'vulgar, common'
c. 附 boh > buo̞c > bjuH 10-39/0136k 歸 'return to'
d. 德 tˤak > tsk > tok 05-12/0919k 德 'virtue'
28. a. 仍 naŋ > ńiŋ > nying 04-38/0945e 心 'heart'
b. 路 rˤaks > laˀ > luH 02-01/0766l 歸 'return'
c. 孽 dzəs > dziˀ > dziH 04-49/0966k 慈 'loving'
d. 摸 mˤa > ma > mu 02-40/0802- 母 'mother'

Poem 3

40 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *k.rˤoi.
41 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *grunʔ; see note 36.
42 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *[ŋ](r)[o]i.
43 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *qʰr[a]mʔ; see note 19.
44 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *Cə-lut.
29. a. 荒 ṭʰɑŋ > huɑŋ > xwɑng 03-65/0742e 荒 'Huāngfù region'
    b. 服 bak > buk > bjuwk 05-35/0934d 服
    c. 之 ta > tśɑ > tśi > tsyi 04-27/0962a 之 Possessive or attributive particle
    d. 儀 ṇai > ṇiæ > ngje 18-05/0002u 外 'outside'
30. a. 犁 ṟi > lei > lej 26-24/0519g 土 'earth, soil'
    b. 籍 dz(ˤ)ak > dziak > dzjek 02-32/0798a 地 'earth'
    c. 憐 rˤin > len > len 32-26/0387l 境 'hard, stony'
    d. 憐 rˤin > len > len 32-26/0387l 境
31. a. 阻 tsrɑʔ > tṣæ > tsrjoX 01-57/0046y 食 'eat'
    b. 蘇 sŋˤɑ > sɑ > su 01-31/0067c 肉 'meat'
    c. 邪 ja > jaæ > yae
        s-lɑ > zia > zjae
        s-lɑ > zia > zjo
    d. 犁 ṟi > lei > lej 26-24/0519g 皮 'skin'
32. a. 莫 mrˤak > mæk > mæk 02-40/0802a 不 'not (verbal negative)'
    b. 碣 lˤɑŋs > dɑŋ > dangH 03-38/0720f 見 'see'
    c. 粗 tsʰɑ > tsʰɑ > tshu 01-57/0046h' 鹽 'salt'
    d. 沐 mˤok > mok > muwk 11-24/1212e 毅 'grain'
33. a. 為 maŋ? > muŋ > mjɑŋX 03-65/0742l 吋 'official'
    b. 驛 lak > jæk ~ jak > yek 02-25/0790h 譯 'translator'
    c. 傳 dron > ḷæn > drjwenʰʰ 25-25/0231f 傳 'transmit'
    d. 微 mai > mui > mjij 27-18/0584d 風 '(wind =) news, accounts'

46 Because this word is a Chinese loan its meaning can be used to select among various Middle Chinese readings; the Middle Chinese reading is not drjwenH 'a record', or trjwenH 'relay post', but rather drjwen 'transmit'.
34. a. 是 deʔ > džeᵇ > dzyeX 07-14/0866a 大 'great'
b. 漢 hars⁴⁷ > han² > xanH 24-10/0144c 漢 'Han'
c. 夜 jaks⁴⁸ > ja² > yaeH 02-27/0800j 安 'peaceful'
d. 拒 gaʔ > giaᵇ > gioX 01-19/0095i 樂 'happy'

35. a. 蹤 tsioŋ > tsjowng 12-22/1191- 攜 'take by the hand'
b. 優 ʔu > ʔu > 'juw 13-14/1071d 負 'carry on the back'
c. 路 rˤaks > la² > luH 02-01/0766l’ 歸 'return'
d. 仁 nin > ñin > nyin 32-28/0388f 仁 'humaneness'

36. a. 雷 rˤui > lwoj 28-15/0577o 觸 'encounter, but into'
b. 折 d’e > de > dejH 21-19/0287a 冒 'risk, brave'
det > džat > dzyet
tet > tsat > tsyet
c. 險 ǧramʔ > hiaemᵇ > xjaemX 36-06/0613f 險 'precipitous'
ţramʔ > hiamᵇ > xjemX⁴⁹
d. 龍 roŋ > lion > ljowng 12-15/1193a 陜 'gorge, chasm'
mrˤoŋ > mɔŋ > maewng

37. a. 偷 run > luin > lwin 34-24/0470c 山 ⁵⁰ 'mountain'
b. 狼 rˤaŋ > laŋ > lang 03-43/0735l 高 'high'
c. 藏 dzˤaŋ > dzanŋ > dzang 03-49/0727g’ 岐 'precipitous'
dzˤaŋh > dzanŋᶜ > dzangH
d. 頓 drˤoŋ > dŋ > draewng 12-08/1188e’ 崎

38. a. 扶 ba > bua > bju 01-66/0101f 緣 'follow along the edge'
pʰa > pʰa > phu
pa > pu > pju
b. 路 rˤaks > la² > luH 02-01/0766l’ 崖 'cliff, precipice'
c. 側 tsrak > tsik > tsrik 05-24/0906c ！ 'large stone' (?)
d. 祿 rˤok > lok > luwk 11-15/1208h 石 'stone'

47 The reconstruction combines Baxter & Sagart's (2011) *ŋˤars and Schuessler's (2009) *hˤans, because evidence suggests the need to treat *-r separately from *-n in the transcriptional Chinese dialect (cf. note 38), but the initial *ŋˤ- had almost certainly developed to *h- in the transcriptional dialect.
48 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *N.rAk-s.
49 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *qʰr[ə]mʔ; see note 19.
50 This and the following character are reversed at Coblin's suggestion (1979: 194).
39. a. 息 sak > sik > sik 05-29/0925a 木 ‘wood’
b. 落 ræk > lak > lak 02-01/0766q’ 薄 ‘thicket’
c. 服 bak > buk > bjuwk 05-35/0934d 發 ‘send forth, bring forth’
    baʔ > bu > bjuwx
d. 淫 lam > jim > yim 38-15/0657b 家 ‘home, family’
40. a. 理 raʔ > liaʔ > liX 04-35/0978d 百 ‘hundred’
b. 曆 ræk > lek > lek 08-13/0858h 宿 ‘overnight stay’
c. 髳 tse > tsie > tsje 07-25/0358n 到 ‘reach, arrive at’
d. 雛 ræk > lak > lak 02-01/0766q 洛 ‘Lo-yang’
41. a. 捕 bʔas > baʔ > buH 01-67/0102j 父 ‘father’
b. 茎 gin > gin > dzyin 32-01/0377- 子 ‘son’
c. 菌 guʔ > guinb > gwinXgb 34-11/0484c 同 ‘(some, together =) altogether’
d. 般 bi > bi > bijj 26-38/0566u 賜 ‘give’
42. a. 懷 gruʔ > yuei > hweaj 28-06/0600c 懷 ‘cherish’
b. 稿 kǎwʔ > kauʔ > kawX 16-01/1129- 抱 ‘embrace’
c. 匹 pʰit > pʰit > phjit 29-38/0408a 匹 ‘roll’
d. 漏 rʰos > loʔ > luwH 10-27/0120a 帛 ‘silk’

43. a. 傳 dron > ḷyæn > drjwen 25-25/0231f 傳 ‘transmit’
b. 室 l̥it > sít > syit 29-15/0413j 告 ‘tell’
c. 呼 h’a > ha > xu, h’as > haʔ > xuH 種 ‘tribesmen’
d. 救 ṭə > tʰik > trhik 05-15/0917a 人
44. a. 陵 raŋ > liŋ > ling 06-17/0898c 長 ‘long’
b. 陽 laŋ > jəŋ > yang 03-38/0720e 願 ‘desire’
c. 臣 gin > dzin > dzyn 32-01/0377a 臣 ‘subject’
d. 僕 bʔok > bok > bowk, buwk 11-23/1211b 僕 ‘servant’

51 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *grunʔ; see note 36.
52 Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct *s.ti[t], a notation which permits final -k, which would lead to a rhyme.


3.1 Etymological commentary

The reconstructions of pre-historic forms of Tibetan and Burmese given in this commentary assume various proposal I have made in previous publications (see esp. Hill 2012).

1a.堤 *dˤe > de 大 'great' at 34a spelled 是 *deʔ > dźeᵇ. It is tempting to see this word as a loan from Chinese 大. However, if one assumes this loan relationship and accepts Baxter & Sagart's (2014b) reconstruction 大 *lˤɑts (21-12/0317a), then the spellings堤 and 是 would indicate that *l- had already changed to d- in type A syllables of the Chinese transcriptional dialect by the time of the poem's composition, whereas the comparison of潭 *lˤəm 'sweet' (8b) to Chi. 甜 dem < *lˤem (36-16/0621-) 'sweet', etc. suggests that *l- was retained as a lateral in the Chinese transcriptional dialect. There are two options to avoid this pitfall. First, one could understand堤 *dˤe / 是 *deʔ 'great' to be an indigenous Bailang word. Beckwith takes this course, suggesting comparison with Tib. ᴛʰī 'be big' (2008: 107); one might also compare Bur. တယ် tay 'very' (intensive) and Chi. 多 ta < *[t-l]ˤɑi (18-08/0003a) 'many'. Second, it is possible that this is a loanword, but that Schuessler's 大 *dˤɑs is a better reconstruction of the Chinese source than Baxter & Sagart's 大 *lˤɑts. On the development of laterals in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see the discussion at 39d.

1b. The word 官 *kʷˤɑn > kuɑn 漢 'Chinese', spelled 漢 at 34b, is a clear loanword from Chinese 漢 *ŋˤɑrs > hanᶜ. The spelling of 漢 with 官 is intriguing for two reasons. First, there is a mismatch of initials (cf. note 47). Second, Chinese 漢 *ŋˤɑrs has a final -r, and other evidence points to the need to distinguish *-r from *-n in the transcriptional dialect and Bailang (cf. note 38). Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 官 *kʷˤɑ[n], leaving open the possibility that this word has a final *-r. Beckwith (2008: 96) reconstructs 官 *kar.

1c.隗 *ŋʷəi > ŋui 是 'this, that'. Neither Schuessler (2009: 291) nor Baxter & Sagart (2014b) provide reconstructions for this character. I reconstruct *ŋʷəi > ŋui in Schuessler's system. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

1d.構 *kˤos > koᶜ 治 'to be in order, to put in order'

2a. 魏 *ŋʷəi(s) > ŋui(') 與 'together with'. Also occurs at 20a. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

2b. 冒 *mˤus > mouᶜ 天 'Heaven'. OTib. ṅurnished dmu 'a type of sky god' (cf. Coblin 1987),
OBur. မိုဝ်း 'sky', Tan. မိုဝ်း məwḥ < *mu (3513) 'ciel', Japhug Rgy. ตุ-มุ tu-mu 'ciel, pluie', Rawang  DevExpress 'spirits of the upper realm' (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 13). The comparanda suggest the Bailang vowel was closer to the OChi. reading than the Han reading. Ma & Dai (1982: 22) and Zhengzhang (1993: 14) also note the same Burmese cognate, the former also proposing related forms in other languages.

2c. 逾 *lo > jo 合 'unite, join'. Zhengzhang (1993: 14) understands 逾 *lo > jo 合 'unite, join' as meaning 合 'intention' and compares WBur. လို lui 'to want' and Chi. 欲 yowk < *g(r)ok (11-14/1202d) 'to desire', which he reconstructs with initial *l-.

2d. 糟 *tsˤu > tsou 合 'unite, join'. Zhengzhang (1993: 14) understands 糟 *tsˤu > tsou as meaning 合 'unite, join' and compares Bur. စု cu 'gather' and Chi. 遭 tsaw < *tsˤu (13-55/1053h) 'encounter'.

3a. 吳 *mɑŋʔ > muaŋᵇ 吏 'ofcials'. Zhengzhang (1993: 14) compares Bur. မင်း maङ 'king'. This word also occurs at 33a.

3b. 驛 *lɑk > jæk ~ jɑk譯 'translator'. Also occurs at 33b.

3c. 刘 *ru > liu 平 'just, fair'. Zhengzhang (1993: 14) compares WBur. ရိုး ruiḥ 'honest, naïve, simple'.

3d. 脾 *be > bie 端 'honest'.

4a. 旁 *bˤɑŋ > bɑŋ, *pˤɑŋ > pæŋ 从 'pursue, follow'. Tib. བདོ་ 'run', e.g. བདོ་-ste phyi-rol-tu baṅ-nas / brag mthon-po ḏig-la mchoṅs-so / 'he went, ran away, and jumped from a high precipice' (Mdz. 146a-b); bla-ma-la grwa-pa rta-bas baṅ mgyog-pa/ gñaṅ-po-che-bas che-ba gcig yod-pa...the lama had a monk who was faster than a horse and stronger than an elephant' (Mila, de Jong 1959: 40).

4b. 莫 *mrˤɑk > mæk, *mˤɑk > mak, *mˤɑks > maङ, 不 'not'. Chi. 無 mju < *ma (01-69/0103a) 'not have', Tib. མ 'not', Bur. མ 'not', etc. (see Coblin 1979: 200, Ma & Dai 1982: 21, Zhengzhang 1993: 14). The word also occurs with this spelling and meaning at 12a, 26a, and 32a. One must assume the reading *mˤɑks > maङ rather than *mrˤɑk > mæk is intended and that *-ks had reduced to -h (or tone -), i.e. Baxter's 'final cluster simplification' (1992: 568). Baxter points to the rhyme of 路 luH < *Ca.rˤak-s 'road' (02-01/0766l) and 柘 tsyaEH < *tAk-s a 'kind of mulberry tree' (02-17/0795l) with 固 kuH < *[k]ˤa-s 'fortified, secure' (01-01/0049f) in Ode 241.2 as evidence of the early date of this change (1992: 568). In addition, in early Han dynasty renderings of foreign words Old Chinese *-ks never reflects foreign -s but instead “the rare transcriptions suggest an -h or -χ” (Schuessler 2009: 23). A piece of evidence, specific to the reading of 莫 is the transcription 莫邪 for the name of the
Buddha’s mother, reflecting either Māyā or Mahā-Māyā. This transcription appears in a narrative from the *Wei lüe* 魏略, a lost historical work compiled in ca. 265 CE; the *Wei lüe* quotation is included in a 5th-century commentary to another late 3rd-century history, the 三國志 *Sanguo zhi* (vol. 30, pp. 859-60). However, the *Wei lüe* links the story to information that would have been conveyed to the Han court by foreign (Yuezhi) envoys in 2 BCE. If so, the transcription is likely to reflect the phonology of the late 1st century BCE rather than that of the 3rd century CE.  

It is something of a surprise that this negation word appears not to precede a verb at 4b and 12a. The same character, potentially with a different reading, writes the word 'son' at 14a.

4c. 支 *ke > kie > tśe 我 'we, us'. Tib. ṭe kho-bo 'I, me' (male speaker), ṭe kho-mo 'I, me' (female speaker), Olekha kō ‘I’, Hakka Lai ka- ‘my’, Hayu gu ‘I, me’, Chang kvr-, Tāoping Qiang qo‘my’, qa‘me’, Puxi qa ‘me’ (cf. Jacques 2007). It is noteworthy that, so far as we know, no trace of a velar or uvular initial first person pronoun is preserved in a Lolo-Burmese language. The loss of such a pronoun is thus an innovation of these languages relative to Bailang, which are often considered closely related to (e.g. Coblin 1979: 198, 204 and Beckwith 2008: 95). Coblin points out that 莫支 at 12ab also occurs at 12ab, where the combination is glossed 無所 rather than 不我 (1979: 186). He consequently suggests that the gloss 我 'we, us' may be mistaken. However, bearing in mind that he translates 無所 as “we have not that which we (give in repayment)” (1979: 186), it is not at all unlikely that 支 here too marks a first person plural subject. Coblin further notes that “a variant form of this same word is almost certainly represented by 6a 知 trjiei which also corresponds to 支” (1979: 186). Nonetheless, the phonological difference between 支 *ke > kie > tśe and 知 *tre > tie makes it unlikely that they reflect the same morpheme. If 支 is indeed a subordinate marker it is perhaps cognate to the Japhug Rgy. subject participle kɯ-(Jacques 2016) and related velar nominalization prefixes in other languages (Konnerth 2016). One might fear that the comparisons of 支 *ke > kie > tśe 我 (4c) 'we, us' with cognates that have velar initials may not be appropriate because Chinese palatalized velars before front vowels early in the Hán dynasty (Baxter & Sagart 2014a: 79). However, Miyake shows that in the 魏志 *Wei zhi* of 陳壽 Chen Shou (233-

53 Pulleyblank (1983: 79) mentions this transcription, but makes little use of it.
54 The one piece against final cluster simplification in the transcriptional dialect is the comparison of Bailang 路 *rʔaks > la*崖 'cliff, precipice' (38b) to Tib. ṭbrag 'cliff', but it seems possible that this character also had a rusheng reading (vide infra).
297 CE) the character 支 is used to transcribe Japonic velar initials (2003: 111-113). If so, there is no problem proposing that velars were unpalatalized in the earlier Bailang songs.

4d. 留 *ru > liu 'cause to come'. Coblin compares Bur. Ꙑ lā 'come' (1979: 209 note 46), a comparison Ma & Dai repeat (1982: 22). The correspondence of the vowels is a problem; I prefer to compare the same Burmese word to 路 *rˤɑks > ลāc 归 'return' (18a) (see discussion at 4b and 11a-b). It is of course possible that 留 *ru > liu 'cause to come' (4d) and 路 *rˤɑks > ลāc 归 'return' (18a) are morphologically related words in Bailang.


5b. 衣 *ʔəi(s) > ʔɨiᶜ 風 'custom'. Coblin compares WBur Ꙑ liy 'wind' (1979: 211: 111, also cf. Tan. 風 lji < *lji [2302], Japhug Rgy. qale). This suggestion is only plausible if one supposes that 衣 Ḇjj < *ʔ(r)əj (27-05/0500a) 'clothes' had the medial *-r- which Baxter & Sagart (2014b) permit for it, but do not endorse. Even then, the vowel correspondence is not convincing. Zhengzhang (1993: 14) compares WBur. Ꙑ ် အး e Ḇ 'be cool, calm'; a semantically weak comparison. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

5c. 隨 *s-wɑi > zyæi 向 'face toward'. The phrase 隨 旅 s-wɑi rɑʔ > zyæi liɑᵇ 'face toward the civilizing influence' also occurs at 17c-d.

5d. 旅 *rɑʔ > liɑᵇ 化 'change =) civilizing influence'. Coblin plausibly compares 旅 *rɑʔ > liɑᵇ 化 'change' with Bur. Ꙑ lāi 'change v.' (1979: 209 note 42). Also compare Tib. Ḫ rję < *rl'e 'exchange' (Hill 2013: 203), Tan. 風 lej < *lej (5834) 'changer, se transformer' (Jacques 2014: 175), and OChi. 易 yek < *lek 'change, exchange' (08-12/0850a). The phrase 隨 旅 s-wɑi rɑʔ > zyæi liɑᵇ 'face toward the civilizing influence' also occurs at 17c-d.

6a. 知 *tre > ṭie 所 relative clause nominalizer. See discussion at 4c.

6b. 唐 *lˤaŋ (cf. note 24) > daŋ 見 'see'. Coblin (1979: 200), Ma & Dai (1982: 21-22), and Zhengzhang (1993: 14) compare Tib. ꙗ mthoṅ 'see' and Bur. ꙗ mraṅ 'see', two words that Nishida previously proposed as cognates (1957: 54-55, 1977: 5). Zhengzhang (1993: 14) further compares OChi. 望 mjαŋH < *maŋ-s (03-65/0742m) 'look at from a distance'. The comparison with Burmese appears exceptionally strong if one compares Baxter & Sagart’s (2011) reconstruction *[N-]rˤɑŋ. However, this word also occurs at 32b spelled 碭 ꙗ lˤaŋh > daŋ 見 'see'. The comparison of Bailang 潭 *lˤəm > đăm 甘 'sweet' (8b) with Trans-Himalayan cognates beginning with l-,
suggests that the transcriptional Chinese dialect *lˤ- had not yet changed to d-, but the transcription of the Bailang word for 'see' as both 唐 *[N-]rˤɑŋ > dɑŋ and 碍 *lˤɑŋh > dɑŋᶜ suggests that the transcriptional Chinese dialect had already merged *[N-]rˤ- with *lˤ-.

6c-d. 桑艾 *sˤɑŋ ŋˤɑs/ŋɑs > sɑŋ ŋɑs/ŋiɑs 奇 'strange', 異 'different'. Coblin remarks that the “Chinese expression 奇異 'strange, extraordinary' is a synonym compound, and it is possible that 6c-d 桑艾 sang ngàd is also a compound. The fact that bisyllabic compounds do in fact occur in the Pai-lang text is indicated by 30c-d 憐憐 lian-lian 'hard, stony'” (1979: 187).

7a. 邪 *jɑ > jæ, *s-lɑ > ziæ, *s-lɑ > ziɑ 多 'much, manifoldly. Ma & Dai (1982: 21-22) propose a number of possible cognates, the most promising of which is Pumi ʒə. This word also occurs at 21b, 22b, and 24c.

7b. 毗 *bi > bi 賜 'give'. Tib. √byin (pres. and fut.) sbyin, (fut. and imp.) byin 'give', OBur. piyh (cf. Ma & Dai 1982: 22). Zhengzhang (1993: 15) further compares Chi. 異 pijiH < *pi[t]-s (29-39/0521a) 'give', a reasonable suggestion despite the irregularity of the correspondence. This word also occurs at 41d.

7c. 课 *kʰois > khuɑiᶜ 繒 'silk'.

7d. 諦 *tɑ > tśæ 布 'cloth'.

8a. 推 *tʰui > tʰuəi, *tʰui > tśʰui 美 'beautiful, fine'. In the transcriptional Chinese dialect -ui had already broken to -uəi (cf. note 21). Coblin identifies this word with the gloss Chi. 甘 'sweet' and compares with Jinghpaw daw ~ dwi (dui³¹ in Xu et al. 1983) and Mizo thui (1979: 210 note 87); Ma & Dai add further comparisons including Pumi thu<sup>13</sup> (1982: 22). However, I find the etymological comparison of Bailang 潭 *lˤəm > dəm with Trans-Himalayan words meaning 'sweet' sufficiently compelling to instead warrant the equation of Bailang 潭 *lˤəm > dəm with Chinese gloss 甘 'sweet' and identify 推 with the Chinese gloss 美 'beautiful'. Zhengzhang (1993: 15) compares Bur. thuh 'extraordinary, special'. See discussion at 8b.

8b. 潭 *lˤəm > dəm 甘 'sweet', Chi. 甜 dem < *l'em (36-16/0621-) 'sweet', Tib. Ȋim < *l'im 'tasty', Tan. Ȋij < *lim (1079) 'bon à manger', Th. rem ~ rim 'beer drunk during the death ritual'. This word provides evidence that *lˤ- had not yet changed to d- in the transcriptional Chinese dialect (but also cf. remarks at 1a). On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

8c. 僕 *b⁸ok > bok, *p⁸ok > p⁸ok 酒 'wine'. Compare Khaling bhukt 'ferment' (Jacques 2015: 85 table 5).

8d. 還 *wans > wanᶜ, *wanʔ > wanᵇ 食 'food'. The apparent rhymes with 便 *ben >
biæn 飛 'fly' (9d) and 存 *dz'ən > dzən 矼 'glorious' (14d), for which the cognates suggest a final -r, points to the possibility that this word also has a final -r. Beckwith reconstructs 遠 *war (2008: 97). Zhengzhang (1993: 15) compares Bur. erokee: hainh 'curry'.

9a. 拓 *tʰak > tʰak 昌 'splendid, bright'.

9b. 拒 *gaʔ > gəb, *kwaʔ > kyəb 樂 'happiness'. Tib. reesome dgaḥ 'delight'. This word also occurs at 34d.

9c. 蘇 *ŋə > sa 肉 'meat'. Tib.  UIEdgeInsets sa 'flesh', Bur. 注明出处: sāh < *sāh (Lashi ṭoH), Tan. 麓 eju (2385) 'viande, chair' (Jacques 2014: 75-76), Mizo. sā < *saa 'meat' (Chinbok hla) (cf. Hill 2014: 17-18). Zhengzhang (1993: 64) further compares OChí. 蝽 sjek (02-32/0798g) 'dried meat', a word missing in Baxter & Sagart 2014b, which Schuessler 2009 reconstructs *s(ˤ)ak. Ma & Dai also offer additional potential cognates (1982: 23). Whether Bailang merges *ś- and *s-, like Burmese, or whether the distinction is simply not captured in the Chinese transcription, is difficult to know. This case shows that the cluster *sŋ- had simplified to s- before the time of the transcriptional dialect. It may seem reasonable to assume that other s- prefixes likewise were fused by this time. However, the comparison of Bailang 湮 *s-ləm > zim 溫 'warm' (23b) with Bur. 꺫 lum 'warm' etc. show that *s- clusters before laterals were still distinct in the Chinese transcriptional dialect. Thus, *s- clusters in the transcriptional dialect are best handled on a case by case basis. This word 蘇 *ŋə > sa 肉 'meat' also occurs at 31b.


10b. 後 *fiʔos > yo', *fiʔoʔ > yo'b 申 'stretch'.

10c. 仍 *ŋə > niŋ 悉 'all'. On the development of OChí. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

10d. 離 *rai > liæi, *raih > liæic 備 'provided, furnished, prepared'. Coblin suggests that this may be the same word as 漸 *rai > liæi 適 'suitable, in balance' at 23d (1979: 188). Zhengzhang (1993: 15) proposes that this word is cognate with those words given here under 5d.
僂讓 *roʔ/rˤo nɑŋs > lioᵇ/lo ńɑŋᶜ 'southern barbarian', 夷 'barbarians'. Also occurs at 15a-b. Since the “Chinese term 蠻夷 'barbarians' is a binome” the corresponding Bailang syllables 僂讓 “probably also forms a compound” (Coblin 1979: 188). Coblin further speculates that this term may have been the Bailang autonym (1979: 188). I am instead tempted to compare Bailang 僂 *roʔ/rˤo > lioᵇ/lo with Tib. སྦ lho 'south'; this hypothesis suggests that the Chinese transcriptional dialect has already changed *r(ˤ)- to l-. Since 僂 has both type A and type B readings this hypothesis itself consists of two sub-hypotheses: 1. *rˤ- > l- in type B syllables has already occurred, 2. *r- > l- in type B syllables had already occurred.

Let us first consider the hypothesis anent type A syllables. There are two comparisons weighing in favor of *rˤ- > l- in the transcriptional dialect:

1. 犁 *rˤi > lei, *ri > li ート 'earth, soil' (30a) : Chi. 地 *lˤej-s, etc.
2. 祿 *rˤok > lok 石 'stone' (38d) : OBur. ခခခ klok, etc.

There are six comparisons weighing against *rˤ- > l-:

1. 鳞 *rˤoi > luai 雨 'rain' (22d) : Bur. ကု nwä, etc.
2. 瀘 *rˤu > lα 時 'time, season' (23c) : Tib. མ re 'time' (Fr. fois)
3. 犁 *rˤi > lei, *ri > li 'skin' (31d), WBur. ဗိ ဗိ a-re < OBur. ဗိ ဗိ a-riy, etc.
4. 狼 *rˤan > laŋ 高 'high' (37b), Bur. བོ mraŋ?
5. 路 *rˤaks > laŋ 崖 'cliff, precipice' (38b), Tib. ཇི brag 'cliff'
6. 曆 *rˤek > lek 宿 'overnight stay' (40b), OBur. ဗိ ဗိ ryak 'day', etc.

In addition, one must further note that *rˤ > l- would have led to a merger with inherited *lˤ-; as the strong comparison of 潭 *lˤəm > dəm 甘 'sweet' (8b) to Chi. 甘 *lˤem 'sweet', etc. shows that the transcriptional dialect had not yet changed *lˤ- to d-. On balance it seems more likely that *rˤ > l- in type A syllables had not yet occurred in the transcriptional dialect.

Now let us turn to the second hypothesis. There are three comparisons weighing in favor of *r- > l- in the transcriptional dialect in type B syllables:

1. 旅 *raʔ > liaⁿ 化 'change' (5d) : Bur. མ lai 'change v.' etc.
2. 隆 *rəŋ > lɨŋ 之 (16c, for meaning see 16c) : Tib. ཁི gлин 'continent, island, garden', etc.
3. 路 *rˤaks > laŋ 归 'return' (18a). Bur. ཐི la 'come' or Tib. མ log 'return'

There are three comparisons weighing against the change *r- > l- in type B syllables:

1. 蝲 *rin > lin 長 'long' (13d) / 陵 *rəŋ > lin 長 'long' (44a) : Tib. བོ rin, etc.
2. 龍 *roŋ > liŋ, *mrˤoŋ > mɔŋ 陜 'gorge, chasm' (36d), Tib. ḋoŋ 'ravine'
3. 理 *rəʔ > liəᵇ 百 'hundred' (40a), OBur. ṣə rya, etc.

Although technically the evidence in favor of *r- > l- in type B syllables is equal to the evidence against, the evidence in favor has problems (such as the conjectural nature of the meaning of Bailang 陵 *rəŋ > liŋ 之 [16c]), whereas the evidence against is rather straightforward. Thus, again on balance it is more likely *r- was maintained as *r- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect also in type B syllables.

Although in this discussion I give preference to those Trans-Himalayan cognates that point to *r- in Bailang, by no means are the cognate proposals that point to *l- necessarily invalid (including Bailang 僕 *roʔ/rˤo > lioᵇ/lo with Tib. ḋo lho 'south'). Within the Trans-Himalayan languages r : l correspondences are disorderly, as cognates Chi. 田 den < *lˤiŋ 'field', Tib. ḋiṅ < *lĩ, Th. raj 'field' and proto-Tani *ruuk (Sun 1993: 180)⁵⁵ (perhaps related to Bailang 陵 *rəŋ > liŋ 之 [16c]) and Bur. ḋo lā 'come', Th. rah 'come' (perhaps related to Bailang 留 *ru > liu 來 'cause to come' [4d]). Only further research on the historical phonology of many languages will make the picture clearer.

Zhengzhang (1993: 15) compares 僕 *roʔ/rˤo > lioᵇ/lo 蠻 'southern barbarian' with Bur. ṣə lū 'person'.

One may reasonably wonder whether 請 *nɑŋ > ńɑŋᶜ夷 'barbarians' is related to the Tibetan word ḋiān [ndʒaŋ], referring in Old Tibetan to the Nanzhao kingdom.

11c. 龍 *roŋ > liŋ, *mrˤoŋ > mɔŋ 貧 'poor'. See discussion at 11d.
11d. 洞 *dˤoŋ > doŋᶜ 薄 'thin (= poor)'. Coblin notes that since Chinese 貧薄 is a binome 'poor', Bailang 龍洞 may also be a binome.
12a. 莫 *mrˤɑk > mæk, *mˤɑk > mɑk, *mˤɑks > mɑᶜ 'have not'. See discussion at 4b.
12b. 支 *ke > kie > tśe 所 relative clause nominalizer. See discussion at 4c.
12c-d. 度由 *dˤɑk/dˤaks lu > dɑk/dɑᶜ jiəu 報嗣 'repay, give in repayment'. Since the Chinese is a binome, the Bailang is also likely a binome (Coblin 1979: 188).
Zhengzhang (1993: 15) compares the first word with OChi. 度 dak < *[d]ˤak (02-16/0801a) 'measure (v.)', a good phonetic match but not compelling semantically. As a cognate to the second word Coblin points to WBur. ṣə ṛwe < OBur. ṣə ṛuyḥ 'choose, select, redeem, ransom' (1979: 202). I am inclined to reject this comparison.

⁵⁵ Sun supports proto-Tani *ruuk 'swidden' with Bengni S ruk-pe, Bokar OY a-ruk, and Padam-Mising L a-rik (1993: 221).
for several reasons. First, the Burmese word has quite wide semantics. Until philological study confirms that 'redeem' and 'ransom' are more conservative meanings, the semantics are not persuasive. Second, Burmese has initial r- in this word whereas Bailang has initial l- (or j-). The more secure comparisons to 涌 *ləm > jim 家 'home, family' (see discussion at 39d) suggest that *l- in type B syllables had already changed to j- by the time of the transcriptional Chinese dialect. Nonetheless, it is possible that the change *l > j- proceeded through several conditioned subchanges, in which case it might be possible that in the transcriptional Chinese dialect 涌 has initial j- but 由 still retained initial l-. If one assumes that 由 did maintain initial l-, then Zhengzhang's (1993: 15) comparison with Bur. 涌 lhū 'donate, give' or Tib. ཉ blu 'to ransom' are more promising than WBur. 涌 lhū.

13a. 涌 *ləŋ > jəŋ 願 'wish, desire'. This word also occurs at 44b. Coblin suggests that it may be cognate with 綸 *ləŋs > jəŋᶜ, *m-ləŋ > ʑəŋ 慕 'long for' at 17a (1979: 189), a proposal which raises the question of whether Bailang distinguishes -ə- and -ɑ-. Two types of evidence bear on this question: 1. distinct readings of what are perhaps the self-same Bailang word, 2. Trans-Himalayan cognates of Bailang words that are transcribed with Characters that have OChi. *-ə- readings. The case at hand, viz. 綸 *ləŋs > jəŋᶜ, *m-ləŋ > ʑəŋ 慕 'long for' (17a) ~ 涌 *ləŋ > jəŋ 願 'wish, desire' (13a, 14b) is the only instance of the former. In contrast, there are many examples of the latter, so many that it is helpful to organize them according to the final consonant implied by the proposed cognates.

Open syllables: There are three words transcribed as open syllables.

1. 衣 *ʔəi(s) > ʔɨiᶜ 風 'wind =) custom' (5b). WBur uerdo le < OBur *liy 'wind', Tan. ㄌ lji < *lji [2302], Japhug Rgy. qale). The cognates point to *-i-.

2. 孳 *dzəs > dziəᶜ 慈 'loving' (28c). Chi. 慈 dzi < *dzə (04-49/0966j) 'kind adj.', Tib. ང mdzah 'love', Bur. 伟大复兴, Tan. 慈 dzu¹ < *ndə (1338). The cognates point to -ə-.

3. 理 *rəʔ > liəᵇ 百 'hundred' (40a). Chi. 百 paek < *pərak (02-37/0781a) 'hundred', Tib. ང < OTib. ང་ brgyaḥ (PT 1111, l. 5 et passim) < *bryaḥ, OBur. ང ryā, Tan. ང jir² < *r-ja (2798), Japhug Rgy. yurza < *wə-rja (Jacques 2014: 92). The cognates point to *-a-.

The cognates point to a different vowel in each of the three word. Taking the Han vowels as a point of departure, it is plausible that Bailang -ii- is cognate with -i- in other languages whereas Bailang -iə- is cognate with -ə- or -ɑ-.

In the word 'love' the transcriptional vowel -ə- matches the Chinese and pre-
Tangut cognates exactly, suggesting Bailang maintained a distinction between -ə- and -ɑ- in open syllables. If so, Bailang provides further evidence that Handel (2008) is incorrect in proposing the merger of -ə- and -ɑ- in all languages other than Chinese.

Nonetheless, in 'hundred' both Chinese and pre-Tangut have -ɑ-, distinct from the -ə- of Bailang. The two phonetic contexts are however not strictly speaking parallel because 'love' is *qusheng, probably realized as -h in the transcriptional dialect, and 'hundred' is *shangsheng, probably realized as ʔ in the transcriptional dialect. In addition, the possibility should be considered that the Bailang word for 'hundred' is not cognate with Chi. 百 paek < *pˤrak, Japhug Rgy. yurza etc. but instead with the bound Japhug Rgy. classifier -ri ‘one hundred’ and its cognates such as Pumi -ɻɛj (see Jacques 2017: 144).

A further apparent obstacle to the hypothesis that Bailang -ə- in open syllables corresponds to Chinese -ə- is the word 'mother' (Bailang 摸 *mˤɑ > mɑ 母 [28d], OChi. *məʔ). One is free to conclude either that Bailang does not distinguish -ɑ- and -ə-, in which case there is a need to explain why the Chinese transcriber choose the transcriptions he chooses, or that the quality of the vowel in the Chinese is innovative in this word.

**Final labials:** There are three words transcribed with final labials.

1. 潭 *lˤəm > dəm 甘 'sweet' (8b), Chi. 甜 dem < *lˤem (36-16/0621-) 'sweet', Tib. 甘 sim < *лим 'tasty', Tan. lɨj < *lim [1079] 'bon à manger', Th. rem ~ rim 'beer drunk during the death ritual'. The cognates point to *-im or *-em.

2. 寻 *s-ləm > zim 和 'harmonious' (22c) ~ 潺 *s-ləm > zim 溫 'warm' (23b). Chi. 寻 zim < *sə-l[ə]m (38-17/0662a) 'warm up (food)', Bur. မိဳါ 服役 'warm', Tan. लों low² < *lvm (0115) 'chaud', Jinghpaw lum³³ 'tiède' (Jacques 2014: 198, cf. Xu et al. 1983). The cognates point to or are compatible with *-um.

3. 淫 *ləm > jim 家 'home, family' (39d). Chi. 舜 *imH < *q(r)[ə]m-s (653-) 'subterranean room', Tib. བས བྲ 'home', Bur. སྙྲ བ 'home', Tan. ہا .jɨj² < *jim or *C-tɕim (2560), Situ Rgy. tɔ-tɕɪm, Pumi tɕও (Jacques 2014: 186). The cognates point clearly to -im.

Among these words 'sweet' and 'home' point to the vowel -i-, and 'warm' points to -u-. It is noteworthy that nowhere in the transcription of the three Bailang poems is a characters used with an OChi. reading with the rime *-im. This fact points toward the absence of this rhyme in Bailang, and a Bailang internal change *-im > -əm. 56 One

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56 Considering the likelihood that the transcriptional dialect was rather closer to Han Chinese than to Old
could suggest that Bailang also changed *-um as *-əm, but as Chinese would have no way to write /-um/ distinctly from /əm/ in this period (Baxter 1992: 551-552), it is equally possible that the Bailang word for 'warm' was *slum.

Final velars: There are four relevant words transcribed with final velars. One must remember that both Tibetan and Burmese merged -e- and -i- before velars (Dempsey's law), so the witness of Chinese cognates is particularly important in these cases.

1. 陵 *rəŋ > liŋ 之 (16c) Tib. སྣིི 'continent, island, garden', Chi. 田 den < *lɨŋ (32-19/0362a), Tib. སྣིི 'field', Th. rəŋ 'field'. The cognates point to *-i-.

2. 鱗 *rin > lin 長 'long' (13d) ~ 陵 *rəŋ > liŋ 長 'long' (44a). Tib. སྣིི 'field', Bur. སྣིི 'field', Tan. སྣིི 'field', Th. སྣིི 'field'. The cognates point to *-i- or -e-.

3. 仍 *nəŋ > ńɨŋ 心 'heart' (28a). Chi. 仁 nyin < *niŋ (32-28/0388f) 'kindness', Tib. སྣིི 'heart', Bur. སྣིི 'kernel', Tan. སྣིི 'heart', Bur. སྣིི 'kernel'. The cognates generally point to *-i-.

4. 息 *sək > sɨk 木 'wood' (39a). Chi. 薪 sin < *siŋ 'firewood' (32-33/0382n), Tib. སྣིི 'wood', Bur. སྣིི 'tree' (Lashi sə:kH), Tan. སྣིི 'wood'. The cognates point to *-i-.

5. 僧 səŋ 寿 'longevity' (13c). Tib. སྣིི 'tree', Bur. སྣིི 'tree', Tan. སྣིི 'tree'. The cognates generally point to *-ə- with some complications.

In four cases the cognates point to *-i- and in the weakest case they point to *-ə-.

Possible interpretations include: 1. Bailang changed *-iK to *-əK (cf. Lashi sə:kH 'tree'), perhaps merging with inherited *-əK, and the Chinese transcription faithfully reflects
the latter, 2. Bailang maintains -iK in 'field', 'long', 'heart' and 'wood', but the Chinese transcriptional dialect was unable to transcribe this as such, so settled for -əK as an approximation. In this case, one can either dismiss the cognate proposals associated with 僧 səŋ 寿 'longevity' (13c), supposing that the Bailang pronunciation was /siŋ/ or one can suppose that Bailang maintained -iŋ and -əŋ separately, with -əŋ in this word, the two sounds merging only in the transcription. The evidence of 'long' points toward the second proposal. In Chinese velar nasals and dental nasals are difficult to distinguish after the vowel -i-; the distinction was probably lost before the period of this poem (Baxter 1992: 423). Consequently, the alternative transcription 鱗 *rin is not evidence against Bailang *riŋ. It appears the Bailang is *riŋ, a syllable absent in the Chinese transcriptional dialect, which was transcribed once as 鱗 rin > lin with the correct vowel but an incorrect final, and once as 陵 rəŋ > liŋ with the correct final but an incorrect vowel.

Final -i: There are two words transcribed with final -i.

1. 存 *dzˤən > dzən (to be read /dzəi/) 熠 'glorious' (14d). Tib. སྐྲ རྟ ེ 'fair, beautiful, bright', Chi. 炫 tshanH < *tsʰˤɑrs (25-40/0154b) 'bright and white'.
   Cognates point to -ə-.

2. 洗 *sˤərʔ > seiᵇ/senᵇ 厚 '(thick =) affluent' (20d). Tib. སྐ རྟ ེ 'gold'. The cognate points to -e-.

A closeness of the Chinese transcriptional to Han Chinese rather than Old Chinese in this phonetic environment is capable of explaining the divergent vowels of the proposed cognates. A reading 洗 /seiᵇ/ is an excellent match to the proposed Tibetan cognate. The match between Bailang 存 /dzai/ 熠 'glorious' (14d) and Chi. 炫 tshanH < *tsʰˤɑrs is not quite so good, as one would prefer to see -ə- in the Chinese cognate, but a correspondence between Bailang -ə- and Chinese -a- is also met in 'hundred' (理 *rəʔ > liəᵇ 百 'hundred' [40a], Chi. 百 *pˤrak, Tan. 禦 jir² < *r-ja (2798) [Jacques 2014: 92]). This passage suggests that the irregular phonetic development of 存 (i.e. *dzˤən > dzən and not dzen, see Baxter 1992: 431-432) took place in the history of the transcriptional dialect, and preceded the change of *-r > i (or -n in the dialect ancestral to MChi.).

This discussion permit the following tentative conclusions. The transcriptional dialect was closer to the Han reading for 衣 *ʔəi(s) > ʔii(ᶜ) 風 '(wind =) custom' (5b) and 洗 *sˤərʔ > seiᵇ/senᵇ 厚 '(thick =) affluent' (20d) but closer to the OChi. reading for 淫 *ləm > jim 家 'home, family' (39d). It is unclear to what extent the Bailang difference between -ə- and -a- reflects an inherited distinction—'love' (孽 *dzəs >
dziəᶜ 慈 'loving' [28c]. OChi. 慈 *dzə, Tan. 彈 *dzu¹ < *ndə strongly suggests that it is, but 'glorious' (存 /dzai/ [14d], Chi. 役 tshanH < *tsʰˤɑrs), 'hundred' (理 *roʔ > lia⁴ [40a], OChi. 百 *pˤrak, Tan. 劉 jir² < *r-ja), and 'mother' (摸 *mˤɑ > mɑ[28d], OChi. *məʔ) do not. Even if Bailang -ə- is partly inherited one would not expect its value to match that of OChi. all the time. Bailang maintains a rime -ŋ, which the Chinese transcriber was ill equipped to handle, usually writing /ŋ/, but in one case /in/. Returning full circle to 繩 *ləŋs > jɨŋᶜ, *m-ləŋ > źɨŋ 'long for' (17a) and 阳 *lɑŋ > jɑŋ 'wish, desire' (13a, 14b), Coblin may well be right that these words are cognate, but it does not seem likely that they are two attempts to right the same word.¹

It is relevant to mention that there is some evidence that -ə- and -ɑ-, were considered to rhyme in Bailang (vide infra), but it would be premature to draw any conclusions from this evidence about Bailang phonology.

13b. 羅 *rˤak > læk 'ruler'. The possibly cognates Tib. ཙ rje < *rl'e 'lord' and Tamang 'kle 'king' come to mind (see Jacques 2004), but because of the difference in Auslaut are probably to be rejected. Beckwith's speculation that transcriptional Chinese -k reflects Bailang -ʔ would improve these comparisons (2008: 94). Zhengzhang (1993: 15) compares Bur. ٷ rhaι 'lord, master' and OChi. 良 ljang < *[r]aŋ (03-4/0735a) 'good'. This word recurs at 18d.

13c. 僧 səŋ 寿 'longevity'. Coblin speculates that this word “may mean 'long life' or perhaps simply 'life’” (1979: 189). He compares WBur. ٷ rhai 'alive' (1979: 209 note 68, also cf. Benedict 1979: 85 #404). If Coblin's suggested meaning is correct, one can instead, with Zhengzhang (1993: 15), propose Tib. ས rhaι 'life', Bur. ˛ sак < *ʔ sak 'life' (Lashi -ʔ sakhH), and Chi. 息 sik < *sak (05-29/0925a) 'breath', although the velar nasal in Bailang is unexpected. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

13d. 鱗 *rin > lin 長 'long'. Compare Tib. Ԭ riŋ, Bur. ٸ rhaι 'long' < *ʔrŋ, Tan. 役

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¹ For the convenience of the reader I also assemble those Bailang words that are transcribed with characters that have OChi. *-ə- readings without proposed Trans-Himalayan cognates and omitting obvious Chinese loans: 隈 *ŋʷə > ńui 'this, that' (1c), 隈 *ŋʷə(s) > ŋui(ᶜ) 'together with' (2a, 20a), 役 *drəŋ > ḍɨŋ, *trəŋ > ṭɨŋ, *trəʔ > ṭiəᵇ 'hear' (5a), 仍 *nəŋ > ńɨŋ 'all' (10c). 役 *kʷəi > kui 'pass through' (25c), 彥 *mai > mui 'wind (=) news, accounts' (33d), 慎 *tsrək > tṣɨk 'large stone' (?) (38c), 救 *ro > tʰik 'tribesmen' (43d), 彥 *bək > buk, bəʔ > bu 'send forth, bring forth' (39c). For the last, Coblin in fact compares ߒ hphro 'scatter, emanate' (1979: 209 note 40), but this comparison is not credible (see comm. to 39c).

58 This character is not used in early texts, but is first attested in the Han dynasty and is used to transliterate the first syllable of samgha-; it has no OChi. reading (see Shuessler 2009: 117).
$zjir < *s\text{-}rje < *s\text{-}rjeN$ 'long', and with weaker but plausible semantics OChi. \( \frac{\text{yinX}}{\text{yinX}} < *\text{li(n)} \)'draw the bow' \(\text{Zhengzhang 1993: 15, Jacques 2014: 101}\). Ma \& Dai offer further cognates \(1982: 22\text{-}23\). The same word appears as 陵 *rəŋ > liŋ 長 'long' at 44a. See discussion at 13a.


The comparisons suggest the character was not read *mˤɑks > ma¢, since this would be missing the final velar stop in the transcriptional dialect (see discussion at 4b), although it would perhaps be somewhat surprising for the transcriber to use one Chinese character intending two different readings in such a short span.

14b. 稚 *dris > ḍiᶜ 孫 'grandson'. Zhengzhang \(1993: 15\) compares WBur. ေြမး mre Ḥ < OBur မ္ိယ်း mliy 'grandchild', which fits well his own reconstruction of 稚 as *ɦ'li.

14c. 角 *krˤok > kɔk 昌 'splendid'.

14d. 存 *dzˤən > dzən 熾 'glorious'.

15a-b. 僂讓 roʔ/rˤo nɑŋh > lioᵇ/lo ńɑŋᶜ 蛮 'southern barbarian', 夷 'barbarians'. See etymological discussion at 11a-b. For the development of rhotics in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see the discussion at 11a-b.

15c. 皮 *bɑi > bɨæi 所 relative clause nominalizer. Dong \"(1937: 4) suggests that the character 15c 皮 is a graphic error for 支 which corresponds to Chinese 所 in line 12" \(\text{Coblin 1979: 189}\).

15d. 尼 *nˤis > nei¢, *nɾi > nʃ 'dwell'. OBur. ᵈʰɡ niy 'stay' \(\text{Zhengzhang 1993: 18}\).

16a. 且 *tsˤɑʔ > tsaᵇ 日 'sun'. The word also occurs at 18b. Relying on Benedict \(1972: 47 \text{#}187\), Coblin proposes the cognates Bahing ṭʃyar, Jinghpaw dʃan, and Garo sal \(1979: 210\) note 86). Coblin \(1979: 200\) also cites a Lolo-Burmese reconstruction of Bradley *tsal¹ 'sunshine' \(1975: 126 \text{#}338\), based on such forms as Lahu cha: and Akha ũ tsa² (cf. Bradley \(1979: 326, \text{#}338\)).

16b. 交 *kˤrɑw > kæu 入 'enter (= set, go down)'. Compare OBur. ᵈʰɡ kla 'fall' and OChi. 落 lak < *kə.rˤak \(02\text{-}01/0766q\)'fall (v.)' \(\text{Zhengzhang 1993: 18}\).

16c. 陵 *rəŋ > liŋ 之 possessive or attributive particle. Noting that at 29c the Chinese morpheme 之 is borrowed directly into Bailang, Coblin wonders whether here the Bailang syllable 陵 *rəŋ > liŋ does not form a compound with the following syllable 悟 *ŋˤas > ηa¢ 部 'sector' at 16d \(1979: 189\). Coblin suggests comparison with Tib. ס COMPUTER SCIENCE
gliṅ 'continent, island, garden' (1979: 200), if his speculation is correct, one can further propose Chi.田 den < */liŋ (32-19/0362a), Tib. зр < *liṅ 'field', Th. ṛṇ 'field', and proto-Tani *ruuk (see note 55 above). Zhengzhang (1993: 18) repeats Coblin's Tibetan comparison and also suggests WBur. ཉང་źiṅ < *lʲiṅ 'feld', Th. raŋ 'feld', and proto-Tani *rɯk (see note 55 above). Zhengzhang (1993: 18) repeats Coblin's Tibetan comparison and also suggests WBur. ြကည်း kraññḥ 'land' and OChi. 陵 ling < *[r]əŋ (06-17/0898c) 'mound, hill' as cognates. Note that the medial -l- in Tibetan does not match the (-)r- of Burmese and Chinese. For the development of rhotics in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see the discussion at 11a-b. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

16d. 悟 *ŋˤɑs > ƞəc 部 'sector'. Coblin compares Tib. ἵ nō 'face' and ἴ nōs 'surface, side' (1979: 202). Jacques further proposes Japhug Rgy. ῥu-raŋ 'face' and either Tan. ῥwɛr² (3158) or ῥ niŋ² (1204) as cognates of Tib. ἵ nō 'face' (Jacques 2014: 163). Zhengzhang (1993: 18) compares the Bailang words with 峨 nga 'lofty' (18-05/0002k), a word that Baxter & Sagart (1014b) do not reconstruct, for which Schuessler (2009: 212) offers *ŋˤai. Also see discussion at 16c.

17a. 繩 *ləŋs > jɨŋᶜ, *m-ləŋ > źɨŋ 'long for'. Coblin suggests that this word may be cognate with 陽 *ləŋ > jəŋ 願 'wish, desire' at 13a and 44b (1979: 189). Zhengzhang (1993: 18) compares Bur. ῥaŋni < *riŋ 'aim at', Tib. ῥen < *r'en or *r'en 'desire, yearn for', and OChi. 應 len < *rˤiŋ (32-26/0387l) 'love, pity'. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

17b. 動 *dˤoŋʔ > doŋᵇ 義 'righteousness'. Coblin compares Tib. ḫn ḫuru 'straight, sincere, upright' (1979: 202).

17c. 隨 *s-wɑi > zyæi 向 'face toward, incline toward'. The phrase 隨旅 s-wɑi raʔ > zyæi liaⁿ 'face toward the civilizing influence also occurs at 5a-b.

17d. 旅 *raʔ > liaⁿ 化 '(change =) civilizing influence'. The phrase 隨旅 *s-wɑi raʔ > zyæi liaⁿ 'face toward the civilizing influence also occurs at 5a-b.

18a. 路 *rˤaks > laⁿ 彸 'return'. Keeping in mind that *ks had reduced to -h in the transcriptional dialect (see discussion at 4b), compare ᵃⁿ lā 'come'. However, if this word had a rusheng reading in the transcriptional dialect (see discussion at 38b) comparison with Tibetan ᵃⁿ log 'return' is perhaps more appropriate. For the development of rhotics in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see the discussion at 11a-b. The word 路 *rˤaks > laⁿ 彸 'return' also occurs at 28b and 35c.

18b. 且 *tsˤɑʔ > tseᵇ 日 'sun'. See discussion at 16a.

18c. 擇 *tˤoŋʔ > toŋᵇ 出 'come out'. Neither Schuessler (2009) nor Baxter & Sagart

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60 For another language with r- rather than l- in 'come' compare Th. rah 'come'.

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(2014b) offer reconstructions of this word. This reconstruction is supplied on the basis of Coblin’s reading (1979: 190) and the xiesheng series. Coblin compares the Tibetan verb pres. ḡḥdon, past ḡbt on, fut. ḡgd on, imp. ḡthon ‘take out’ (1979: 209: note 47). Perhaps a more straightforward comparison is this verb’s intransitive partner ḡthon ‘come out’, e.g. ṇa-raṅ-gi ḡpe-ch a ṇrms ḡkyer-te/ yum-la yai ḡ ma ḡsus-par ḡthon ḡphiyin-pas/ ‘I put together my books, came out and left, even without telling the lama’s wife’ (Mil a, de Jong 1959: 68). Nonetheless, the correspondence of Bailang -oŋ with Tibetan -on is perhaps a problem. Zhengzhang (1993: 18) compares WBur. ḡṭʰwAk ‘come out’; the correspondence of -oŋ with -wak < *-ok is also not superb.

19a. 聖 *leŋ > ṣeŋ c 聖 ‘sage’. A loan from Chinese.
19b. 德 *tˤək > ṭək 德 ‘virtue’. A loan from Chinese. Also occurs at 27d.
19c. 渡 *dˤəks > dək 恩 ‘kindness’. Coblin tentatively identifies this word with 度 *dˤək > dak, *dˤəks > dək 富 ‘rich’ at 20c, “both possibly meaning ‘thick’” (1979: 190). For the phonology he compares Tib. ḡkʰ‘thick’ and Bur. ḡṭʰwAk thuík (1979: 210 note 100) and for the semantics ḡhòʊ ‘thick, substantial, rich, generous, kind’ (1979: 190). The identification of the two Bailang words may be correct, but the proposed cognates are not. The Bailang word has a different main vowel from the Tibetan comparison. The Burmese comparison I have difficulty Confirming. Perhaps Judson’s ḡṭʰwAk ḡṭʰwAk ‘short, stunted’ (1893: 539) is intended. In any event, the Burmese word is unlikely to be cognate to the Tibetan; most researchers believe that the rime -uik in Burmese is indicative of loans (Luce 1985: vol. I, 100, Pulleyblank 1963: 217). Zhengzhang (1993: 18) compares OChi. 度 duH < *[d]ˤak-s 0801a ‘measure (n.)’, a perfect phonological match, but semantically weak. He also proposes that this Chinese word is cognate to Bailang 度 at 12c; he thus implies that 度 (at 12c and 20c) and 渡 both transcribe the same Bailang word, perhaps with a Gesamtbedeutung ‘largess’.

20a. 魏 *ŋʷəi(s) > ŋui(ᶜ) 與 ‘together with’ also occurs at 2a.
20b. 菌 *gunʔ > guɨnᵇ 人 ‘people, men’. Compare Tib. ḡkun ‘all’ (see Hill 2007: 481-482), Bur. ḡŋb akun < *gun ‘all’. In the transcriptional Chinese dialect -u- had already broken to -uə- before dentals (cf. note 21). The same Bailang word is glossed 部

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'tribe' at 24a and 同 'some, together' at 41c.


20d. 洗 *sˤər > seiᵇ/senᵇ 'thick (=) affluent'. Perhaps related to Tib. གསར gser 'gold'.

On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

21a. 綜 *tsˤuŋs > tsouŋᶜ 冬 'winter'. Coblin (1979: 200), Ma & Dai (1982: 23), and Zhengzhang (1993: 18) compare WBur. .force choŋ < *tsuŋ 'cool season'. Jacques compares this Burmese word to Tan. -force tsur < *r-tso (1490) 'hiver' and Japhug Rgy. qartṣu, but the correspondence of the rimes is unexpected (Jacques 2014: 67). Ma & Dai's (1982: 24) comparison to Jinghpaw n³¹ʃuŋ³³ (from niŋ³¹ʃuŋ³³ acc. to Xu et al. 1983) also merits mention. Zhengzhang also compares Chinese 冬 towng < *tˤuŋ (15-03/1002a) 'winter', which is perhaps possible despite the irregular initial correspondence.

21b. 邪 *ja > jæ, *s-lɑ > zia, *s-lɑ > zia 多 'much'. Also occurs at 7a, 22b and 24c.

21c. 流 *ru > liu 'frost'. Zhengzhang (1993: 18) compares Bur. .fore mrů 'haze'.

21d. 蕃 *par (cf. note 38) > puan 雪 'snow'. Compare Tan. ṭji < *C-S-pja (4091) 'neige' and Japhug Rgy. tr-jpa. According to Jacques there are cognates in Lolo-Burmese languages (2014: 87). On the basis of Bradley's comment that there "is a word for snow even in many languages now spoken too far south to see it, and used instead for hail" (1979: 29), one can presume that Jacques has in mind Bradley's *wa² 'hail', reconstructed on the basis of Lahu va¹ and Lisu wa⁵(ma⁴)sï⁵ (1979: 324-325, #325). Ma & Dai offer related forms in further languages (1982: 23). Perhaps comparison with Chi. 能 ba < *bˤar (24-54/0195r) 'white, white-haired' and Mizo vār 'white' is not unreasonable.

22a. 荻 *dzˤak > dzak 夏 'summer'.

22b. 邪 *ja > jæ, s-lɑ > zia, s-lɑ > zia 多 'much'. Also occurs at 7a, 21b and 24c.

22c. 寻 *s-ləm > zim 和 'harmonious'. Probably the same word as 潼 *s-ləm > zim 温 'warm' at 23b (Coblin 1979: 191, Zhengzhang 1993: 19). On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

22d. 螺 *rˤoi > luai 雨 'rain'. Chi. 雨 hjuX < *C.ɢʷ(r)ʔ (01-26/0100a), Bur. rophe rwā 'rain' (see Ma & Dai 1982: 23, Zhengzhang 1993: 19). Remember *-o- had already broken to -ua- before dentals (and -j) in the Chinese transcriptional dialect (cf. note 21).

62 It is unclear what Bradley intends by the use of parentheses in the Lisu form.
Consequently, 螺 should be understood as /rˤuai/. Also see discussion at 11a-b.

23a. 萌 *mrˤauk > mək > maewk 寒 'cold'.

23b. 躺 *s-ləm > zim 温 'warm'. Chi. 躺 zim < *sa-l[ə]m (38-17/0662a) 'warm up (food)', Bur. ʃə ləm 'warm', Tan. ʃə low² < *ləm (0115) 'chaud'63, Jinghpaw ʃəm 'tiède' (Jacques 2014: 198).64 Probably the same word as 躺 *s-ləm > zim 和 'harmonious' at 22c (Coblin 1979: 191, Zhengzhang 1993: 19). The proposed cognates show that the transcriptional dialect must have preserved the sl- cluster of Old Chinese. The comparison of Bailang 某 *sŋˤɑ > sə 肉 'meat' (9c) to Tib. ས་ ས་ 'flesh', etc. shows that in other cases s- initial clusters had simplified. On the development of laterals in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see the discussion at 39d. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

23c. 渚 *rˤɑ > lɑ 时 'time, season'. Perhaps related to Tib. ར་ re as in ར་ཤག་ re śig 'one time'. For the development of rhotics in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see the discussion at 11a-b.

23d. 渚 *raɪ > liai 適 'suitable, in balance'. See discussion at 10d.

24a. 菌 *gunʔ > guɪnᵇ 部 'tribe'. The same word is glossed 人 'people, men' at 20b.

24b. 補 *pˤɑʔ > pɑᵇ 人 'person'. Chi. 夫 *-pa (as in 田夫 ʃlʲiŋ-pa 'farmer', cf. 田 ʃlʲiŋ 'field'), Tib. ཕ་-pa (as in བཬ་ བཬ་ 'farmer', cf. བཬ་ ʃlʲiŋ < *lʲiŋ 'field'). See LaPolla (2003: 27).

24c. 邪 *jɑ > jæ, s-lɑ > ziæ, s-lɑ > zia 多 'much'. Also occurs at 7a., 21b. and 22b.

24d. 推 *tʰˤui > tʰuəi, tʰui > tśʰui 有 'have'. In the transcriptional Chinese dialect -ui had already broken to -uəi (cf. note 21).


25b. 灾 *ŋoɪ > ŋyaɪ 灾 'danger'. A loan from Chinese.

25c. 畜 *kʷoɪ > kuɪ 歷 'pass through'. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

25d. 險 *ŋrɑmʔ > hiæm, ʃrɑmʔ > hiæm 險 'peril'. Zhengzhang (1993: 19) compares Tib. ʃnæm, a word that appears to only occur in the compound ང་ ང་ nam-grog 'ravine, canyon'. A loan from Chinese appears more likely, in particular as Baxter & Sagart (2014b) reconstruct 險 xjaemX < *qʰr[a]mʔ (36-06/0613f) 'precipitous, dangerous', without the velar nasal initial. This word also occurs at 36c.

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63 In the pre-Tangut reconstruction ‘v’ in this context means a “voyelle autre que i” (Jacques 2014: 193).
64 Bodman suggests comparing Tib. ʃtʰum 'fierce, hot, angry', reconstructing *glum (1980: 539).
26a. *mrˤɑk > mæk, mˤɑk > mak, mˤɑks > mač 'not (verbal negative)'. See discussion at 4b.
26d. *ruʔ > luiⁿ 'li'. A Chinese loan of 里 liX < *rəʔ (04-35/0978a) 'measure of distance'. It is odd that in a loanword the Bailang vowel would not match the Chinese vowel.
27a. *m-lut > źuit 'depart from; cast away'. Zhengzhang (1993: 19) compares Tib. སྟིབ 'crumble, collapse'.
27b. *lˤep > dep 'vulgar, common'. Zhengzhang (1993: 19) compares Bur. csrf: thumh 'custom, tradition'. I am tempted to compare Tib. སྣི 'flat', itself cognate to OBur. ་པོ་klap 'kyat'.
27c. *boh > buoᶜ 'return to'. Zhengzhang (1993: 19) compares Bur. ṭ ག 'be close together, bring together' and OChi. 附 bjuH < *N-p(r)oʔ-s (10-39/0136k) 'be attached to'.
27d. 德 tˤək > tək 'virtue'. A Chinese loanword. Also occurs at 19b.
28b. 路 *rˤɑks > lač 'return'. See discussion at 18a.
28d. 摸 *mɑ > ma 'mother'. Chi. 母 muwX < *mɑʔ (04-64/0947a) 'mother', Tib. ḍ ma,}

65 Although the linguistics literature often cites a word csrf: nhac 'heart' (e.g. Matisoff 2003: 480). In fact, the Written Burmese word for 'heart' is ḍ  nha-luṃ and there is another word csrf: anhcac 'kernel, core'. One may plausibly speculate that ḍ  nha-luṃ was once spelled *nhac-luṃ but I have not confirmed this.

29a-b. 荒服 *m̥̣ạn bák / bəʔ > huan bük / buʰ 荒服 'Huāngfù region'. A loan from Chinese.

29c. 之 *tə > tə > t̥i 之, a possessive or attributive particle, perhaps a Chinese borrowing (Zhengzhang 1993: 64).

29d. 儀 *ŋai > ȵai 'outside'. Zhengzhang (1993: 64) sees as a borrowing from Chi.

ngwajH < *[ŋ]ʷˤa[t]-s 'outside', a distinct possibility.


30b. 籍 *dz(ˤ)ak > dziak 地 'earth'.

30c. 憐 *rˤin > len 墮 'hard, stony'. Zhengzhang (1993: 64) compares Tib. ḡe' rei 'stiff'.

30d. 憐 *rˤin > len 墮 'hard, stony'.


31b. 蘇 *sŋˤɑ > sɑ 肉 'meat'. See discussion at 9c.

31c. 邪 *jɑ > jæ, *s-lɑ > ziæ, *s-lɑ > zia 衣 'wear'.


32a. 莫 *mˤak > mæk, *mˤak > mak, *mˤaks > mạ 'not (verbal negative)'. See discussion at 4b.

32b. 碁 *lˤaŋs > dɑŋᶜ 見 'see'. See discussion at 6b.

32c. 粗 *tsʰˤɑ > tsʰa 盐 'salt'. OCh. dza < *N-[ts]ˤaj (18-13/0005m) 'salt', Tib. ḡ tshwa, Bur. وصل chāḥ < *tšāḥ (Lashi tʃọґ) (also cf. Ma & Dai 1982: 24, Zhengzhang 1993: 64), Tan. 繝 tshjɨ < *tʃjɨ or *tʃjvC (5186), the “correspondance ... est absolument irrégulièr” (Jacques 2014: 164). This is more likely a Wanderwort than genuine cognate among these languages.

32d. 沫 *mˤok > mok 殄 'grain'. Coblin compares Tib. ḡ bru < *ʰmru (Simon's law) 'grain' and Bur. ḡ myui 'type, class' (1979: 200 note 61, cf. Benedict 1972: 43)

⁶⁶ Bodman reports that 地 has an addition reading *lˤis that makes the correspondence regular (1980: 99).
Zhengzhang (1993: 64) omits the Tibetan comparison but adds Chi. ము (*mjuw* (13-77/1110d) 'barley', which Baxter & Sagart (2014b) do not reconstruct, but which Schuessler (2009: 184) reconstructs *mu*. These comparisons are not compelling, either with the Bailang word or with each other.

33a. 堂 *mɑŋʔ > muɑŋᵇ 'official'. Also occurs at 3a.
33b. 驛 *lɑk > jæk ~ jak 譯 'translator'. Also occurs at 3b.
33c. 傅 *dron > ȳæn 傅 'transmit'. Also occurs at 43a.
33d. 微 *məi > mui (wind =) news, accounts'. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcripational dialect see discussion at 13a.

34a. 是 *deʔ > dźeᵇ 'great'. See discussion at 1a.
34b. 漢 *hˤɑrs > hɑnᶜ 'Han'. See discussion at 1b.
34c. 夜 *jɑks > jaᶜ 'peaceful'.
34d. 拒 *gɑʔ > gɨɑᵇ, kʷɑʔ > kyɑᵇ 賦 'happy'. See discussion at 9b.

For the development of rhotics in the Chinese transcripational dialect see the discussion at 11a-b.


38
rhotics in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see the discussion at 11a-b.

37c-d. 藏幢 *dzˤɑŋ *drˤoŋ > dzɑŋ ḍɔŋ, *dzˤɑŋh *drˤoŋ > dzɑŋᶜ ḍɔŋ 岙 'precipitous'.

Coblin (1979: 200) and Zhengzhang (1993: 65) compare the first word with Tib. གཙང་ གཙང་ gtsaṅṅ 'steep, rugged, mountainous'. Zhengzhang (1993: 65) adds WBur စွင့် cwaṅʔ ( < *dzoŋʔ) 'lofty' and compares the second word with WBur. ཡོང་། thoṅ (N.B. -oṅ < *uṅ) 'set upright, raise up'.

38a. 扶 *bɑ > bua, *pʰɑ > pʰa, *pa > pua 緣 'follow along the edge'.

38b. 路 *rˤɑks > lɑᶜ 崖 'clif, precipice'. Tib. བྲ་ braq 'clif. The early date of cluster simplification (see discussion at 4b) suggests that this character was read /rah/ in the transcriptional dialect, in which case the comparison with the Tibetan is not compelling. However, the identification of Turkic qïngïraq with the Xiongniu sword called transliterated 徑路 in the Hanshu (and 輕呂 in the Yi Zhoushu) suggests that 路 may have had a rusheng reading *rˤɑks > lak (see Pulleyblank 1962: 222, Schuessler 2014: 253, and de la Vaissière 2003: 129). Zhengzhang (1993: 65) accepts the qusheng reading and compares Tib. ལ་ la 'mountain pass'.

38c. 側 *tsrək > tṣɨk  'large stone' (?). On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

38d. 禄 *rˤok > lok 石 'stone'. Coblin (1979: 200) proposes OBur. ལྱི secrecy klok, Lashi lük, Mikir lök, Ahi lu⁴⁴ as cognates; Ma & Dai (1982: 24) repeat the Burmese comparison and offer additional apparently related words in other languages. In addition to the Burmese form, Zhengzhang (1993: 65) also compares OChi. 礫 lek < *[r]ˤewk (17-28/1125j) 'pebbles'. See discussion at 11a-b.

39a. 息 *sək > sɨk 木 'wood'. Chi. 薪 sin < *siŋ 'firewood' (32-33/0382n), Tib. མ་ śin 'wood', Bur. སྲིས་ sac < *sik 'tree' (Lashi sa:kH), Tan. སྲི སྲི¹ < *sje < *sjen (4250) 'bois, arbre' (also cf. Ma & Dai 1982: 24, Zhengzhang 1993: 65). For the potential import of this word in the sub-grouping of Bailang within the Trans Himalayan family see discussion at 28a. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

39b. 落 *rˤak > lak 薄 'thicket'.

39c. 服 *bək > buk, bəʔ > bu 發 'send forth, bring forth'. Coblin compares འཕ་ བཀྲ་ bphro 'scatter, emanate' (1979: 209 note 40). The lack of final -g in Tibetan and medial -r- in Bailang are both problems for such a comparison. Zhengzhang (1993: 65) compares Bur. སྲི pac 'throw, shoot'. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese

67 One may perhaps see here a word related to Bailang 賦 *bˤek > bek, bek > biek, pek > piek 涉 'traverse' (25a) and compare Limbu pekma 'go' (Michailovsky 2002), as above.
transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

39d. 淫 *ləm > jim 家 'home, family'. Chi. 家 *imH < *q(r)[ə]m-s (653-) 'subterranean room', Tib. མི 'home', Bur. སྐྱ 'home' (cf. Ma & Dai 1982: 24, Zhengzhang 1993: 65), Tan. 筒 jii² < *jim or *C-tɕim (2560), Situ Rgy. тo-tɕim, Pumi тзэ (Jacques 2014: 186). These comparisons ensure that *l- in type B syllables had already changed to j- by the time of the Chinese transcriptional dialect. However, the comparison of Bailang 潭 *lˤəm > dəm 甘 'sweet' (8b) with Chi. 甜 dem < *lˤem (36-16/0621-) 'sweet' etc. shows that type A *lˤ- had not yet changed to d- in the transcriptional Chinese dialect, and the comparison of Bailang 潭 *s-ləm 温 'warm' (23b) to Bur. ལུ 'warm' etc. means that *s-l- had not yet become z- in the transcriptional dialect. These pieces of evidence support Baxter & Sagart claim that *l- > y- "was the first to occur" (2014a: 109 also cf. Sagart 1999: 30-31). On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

40a. 理 *rəʔ > liəᵇ 百 'hundred'. Chi. 百 paek < *pˤrak (0781a) 'hundred', Tib. ལྡ ལྡ < OTib. ལྡ brgyaḥ (PT 1111, l. 5 et passim) < *bryaḥ, OBur. egrala, Tan. བྲ་ jir² < *r-ja (2798), Japhug Rgy. yurza < *wə-nga (Zhengzhang 1993: 65, Jacques 2014: 92). Beckwith sees the Bailang form as particularly close to Lolo-Burmese (2008: 95, 107), but this is because he follows Matisof (2003) in projecting the epenthetic -g- of the Tibetan form into the proto-language. According to Li’s law this -g- is an Tibetan innovation (Li 1959). Recall that the Bailang word for 'hundred' is potentially better compared to the bound Japhug Rgy. classifier -ri ‘one hundred’ and its cognates, such as Pumi -ɻɛj (see Jacques 2017: 144), rather than to Japhug Rgy. yurza < *wə-nga and its cognates given immediately above. For the development of rhotics in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see the discussion at 11a-b. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.


40c. 髭 *tse > tsie 到 'reach, arrive at'. Zhengzhang (1993: 65) compares OChi. 至 tsyijH

68 Sagart (1999: 31) points out that in the 後漢書 Hòu Hànshū, the same text that preserves the Chinese translations of these poems, the Japanese word Yamato is transcribed 邪馬台 yjae-maeX-doj. If the initial 邪 yjae which suggests the lateral cluster *s-l- had already changed. However, Baxter and Sagart now reconstruct a uvular origin *sə.ɡA for 邪 yjae, so this observation is not of direct relevance for the dating of changes to laterals.
< *ti[t]-s (29-15/0413a) 'arrive'.

40d. 稙 *rˤak > lәk 洛 'Lo-yang'. A loan from Chinese 洛 *rˤak > lәk. Coblin notes that both characters are used to spell this word in Chinese.


41b. 苣 *gin > gin 子 'son'.

41c. 菌 *gunʔ > guɨnᵇ 同 'some, together =') altogether'. This word is also glossed 菌 *gunʔ > guɨnᵇ 人 'people, men' at 20b and 部 'tribe' at 24a. See discussion at 20b.

41d. 毗 *bi > bi 賜 'give'. See discussion at 7b.

42a. 懷 *grˤui > ɣuɛi 懷 'cherish'. In the transcriptional Chinese dialect -ui had already broken to -uəi (cf. note 21). A loan from Chinese.

42b. 稿 *kˤɑuʔ > kɑuᵇ 抱 'embrace'.

42c. 匹 *pʰit > pʰit 匹 'roll'. A loan from Chinese.

42d. 漏 *rˤoh > loᶜ 帛 'silk'.

43a. 傳 *dron > ḍyæn 傳 'transmit'. Also occurs at 33c.

43b. 室 *l̥it (*s.ti[t] acc. to Baxter * & Sagart 2014b) > šit 告 'tell'. Compare Japhug Rgy. ti (past tɯt), Tangut ḍ tshijj < *tshjeej (5612) 'speak'. The proposal of these cognates suggests that OChi. *s.t- had not yet changed to sy- (Baxter & Sagart 2014a: 135).

43c-d. 呼敕 *hˤə rə, *hˤah rə > ha ʧik, hač ʧik 種人 'tribesmen'. On the development of OChi. *-ə- in the Chinese transcriptional dialect see discussion at 13a.

44a. 陵 *rəŋ > liŋ 長 'long'. See discussion at 13d.

44b. 阳 *ləŋ > jaŋ 欲 'desire'. See discussion at 13a.

44c. 臣 *gin > dźin 臣 'subject'. A loan from Chinese.

44d. 僕 *bˤok > bok 僕 'servant'. A loan from Chinese.

3.2 End rhyme in the Bailang songs

Beckwith notes the implicit understanding of previous scholarship (cf. Dong 1937: 10, Coblin 1979: 169) that the Bailang songs are unrhymed, objecting that the "songs themselves do in fact rhyme, and they do so in extremely intricate, artistic ways. This is actually the most significant linguistic point about the texts" (2008: 89). Beckwith emphasizes the methodological inadequacies of traditional Chinese phonological

69 Zhengzhang (1993: 65) reads ꞉ *tsha > tshia (01-57/0046t), which allows him to propose the reasonable looking cognates Bur. ꞉ sǎh, Tib. ꞉ tsha 'grandson', and Chi. ꞉ tsɪX < *tsəʔ (04-47/0964a).
reconstruction and also stresses that the Bailang language would have had a phonological system distinct from Chinese and it is only with respect to Bailang phonology that one can judge whether the poems rhyme. Unfortunately, Beckwith says very little about his own methodology in reconstructing Bailang phonology; his finding are concomitantly difficult to confirm.

Here I present and discuss the Bailang rhyme words (i.e. the phonological material represented by the character standing at the end of each line of verse), marshaling those discoveries presented so far about the phonology of the Chinese transcriptional dialect, and to a lesser extent to Bailang phonology itself.

For chronological reasons one can assume that the pronunciation of the transcriptional dialect was closer to Han Chinese than to Old Chinese. Thus, I take Schuesser's Han Chinese as a starting point. In several respects the transcriptional dialect is more conservative than Han Chinese, in particular initial r- had not yet become l- (see discussion at 11a-b) and '-r- coloring' had not yet taken place (see p. 8). The ensuing discussion makes these changes to Schuessler's Han Chinese in the presentation of the Bailang rhyme words.

End rhyme is most clear in the second poem. The rhyme words in this poem are: 尼 neiᶜ 悟 ŋɑ 旅 rjɑk 洗 sar 蕃 par 螺 ɑi⁷₁ 漓 ɑi⁷₁ 洗 ser 蕃 par 柳 ruiᵇ 德 tək 摸 ma. The apparent rhyme of 洗 sar with 尼 nei and 蕃 par with 螺 ɑi⁷₁ and 漓 ɑi⁷₁ suggests that *-r changed to -i in the eastern dialect of the capital (Baxter & Sagart 2014a: 264-271). If we accept the *-r > -i hypothesis the rhyming pattern is A, B, B, C, C, A, D, D, E, X, E, X, B. It is tempting to suggest further improvements, e.g. suggesting that 德 tək rhymes with 雛 rak and 諾 nak, but this would be imprudent without further evidence.

A look at the end rhymes in the first poem, now assuming *-r > -i, yields the

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70 The alternative reading ni makes for worse rhyming.
71 The alternative reading tsʰui makes for worse rhyming.
72 The first Chinese poem also provides some evidence for the change *-r > -i (see note 21). These syllables may all have been pronounced -r in Bailang. If, as hypothesized here, *-r had changed to -i in the transcriptional dialect, it would have no means of differentiating Bailang -r and Bailang -i.
73 Beckwith reconstructs the end rhymes as: 尼 *ni, 悟 *ŋa, 旅 *aj, 雛 *r/laʔ, 諾 *nraʔ, 洗 *sar, 蕃 *par, 螺 *r/laj, 漓 *r/laj, 推 *tʰwi, 險 kew, 柳 r/lew, 德 toʔ, 摸 maʔ, with the pattern ABBCDDEEEAFFCC (2008: 104). To me the rhyme of 險 hriam/hiam with 柳 ruiᵇ seems quite unlikely. The suggestion that 德 tək and 摸 ma rhyme is not quite so implausible, but I am uncomfortable saying that all -k were lost in the transcriptional dialect (or in Bailang); some cognates (in particular Bailang 莫 *mrˤɑk > mæk, *mˤɑk > mak, *mˤɑks > maʔ 子 'son' [14a] : Bur. ɰɔɪ mák 'son-in-law', etc. and 諾 *nˤɑk > nak 深 'deep' (19d) : Bur. ɰɔɪ nak 'deep', etc. suggest the maintenance of *-k.
following final words: 構 koⁿ, 脾 bie, 旅 riu, 艾 ηas/ŋias, 糟 paⁿ, 遠 waiⁿ/b, 便 briai(ⁿ/b)⁷⁴, 槽 riaiⁿ, 洞 donⁿ, 植 jiauⁿ, 鱗 ri (see comm. to 13a), 存 dzai. These words yield a rhyme pattern: X, A, X, A, B, B, B, C, C, X, A, X, X. Again one could suggest further improvements, in particular that 存 dzai rhymed with 遠 waiⁿ/b, 便 briai(ⁿ/b), and 遠 waiⁿ/b, but it is not clear this would be prudent.⁷⁵

The rhyme patterns of the third poem are less obvious. The rhyme words are: 儀 ηiai, 憐 ren, 犁 rei/ri, 沐 mok, 微 mui, 拒 giob/kyob, 仁 ŋin, 龍 riong/mroq, 幡 droq, 祿 roq, 淫 jəm (see comm. to 13b a) 柿 rik, 棠 bi, 漏 roⁿ, 敎 tʰik, 僕 bok. Looking just at the codas we have: -ai, -en, -ei/-i, -ok, -ui, -a, -in, -ŋ, -ŋ, -ok, -əm, -ak, -i, -o, -ik, -ok. In their Han Chinese garb they do little more than suggest that the poem might have been intended to rhyme. In some cases the Old Chinese readings would improve the rhyming. For example, the Old Chinese readings 憐 *rˤiŋ and 仁 *nīn rhyme, but their Han equivalents 憐 ren and 仁 ŋin do not. I am able to offer no further insight on the rhyming patterns of the third poem.⁷⁶

Beckwith appears to be correct that the Bailang poems rhyme. Nonetheless, much remains murky, and the temptation to alter our interpretation of Bailang phonology to improve rhyming further, although it would be defensible if there were a clearly structured rhyme pattern, is methodologically dangerous, and here avoided. More extensive research is required to improve our understanding of Bailang rhyming.

4 Conclusions about Chinese phonology

This study permits the conclusion that the transcriptional Chinese dialect had already undergone the following changes.

'final cluster simplification' (Baxter 1992: 568) (see comm. to 4b)
'rounding diphthongization' (Baxter 1992: 566-567) (see p. 7)

74 Following the discussion at (8d) and (14d), I take 遠 *wans > wanⁿ, *wanʔ > wanᵇ, 便 *ben > biæn, and 存 *dzˤən > dzən, to have originally had final -r.

75 The A rhymes are somewhat more straightforward in Old Chinese (糟 *tsˤu, 留 *ru, 由 *ju) than in Han Chinese (糟 tsou, 留 riu, 由 jiau) perhaps suggesting that the relevant changes had not yet occurred. Beckwith gives the end rhymes as 構 *kew, 糟 *tsew, 脾 *bi, 旅 *lew, 艾 *ŋi, 輔 *pa, 遠 *war, 便 *bjar, 植 *l/le, 洞 *dew, 旅 *le/w, 鱗 *ro/lin, 存 *dwin (2008: 97) to yield a pattern AABACDDDBAAE. The key hypotheses are that *u and *o had changed to *ew and that nasalization was (in some cases?) super-segmental.

76 Beckwith reconstructs the rhyme words of the third poem as: 儀 *ŋei, 憐 *r NullPointerException, 犁 *r/lei, 沐 *moʔ, 微 *mui, 拒 *gio, 仁 *nin, 龍 *r/lew, 鱗 *drew, 祿 *r/loʔ, 淫 *jew, 鱗 *raʔ, 棠 *bei, 漏 *r/lo, 敎 *r/lei 僕 *boʔ, which leads to a pattern ABAC ADBE ECEF ADAC (2008: 105).
*l- > j- in type B syllables (Baxter 1992: 197) (see comm. to 39d)
-r > -i (Baxter & Sagart 2014a: 264-271) (see p. 42)

The transcriptional dialect had not undergone these changes.

lˤ- > d- in type A syllables (Baxter 1992: 197) (see comm. to 39d)
r > l- in both type A and type B syllables (Baxter & Sagart 2014a: 110) (see comm. to 11a-b)
sə.l- > zy- (Baxter & Sagart 2014a: 191) (see comm. to 39d)

'r-color' (Baxter 1992: 573-574) (see p. 8)

Evidence of erstwhile *-r, whether from the rhyming of the Chinese poems, the Bailang poems, or the etymological connections of Bailang words, is available for readings of the following characters.

端 twan < *tˤor (25-24/0168d) (p. 13, n. 38)
洗 sejX/senX < *sˤəʔ (33-25/0478j) (p. 13, n. 38 and comm. to 20d)
藩 pjon < *par (24-54/0195s) (p. 13, n. 38)
飛 pjij < *Cə.pə[r] (27-09/0580a) (p. 13, n. 38)
便 bjienH < *[b]e[n]-s (23-25/0221a) (see comm. to 9d)
存 dzwön < *[dz]ˤə[n] (33-22/0432a) (see comm. to 14d)
遠 hjwonX < *C.gʷanʔ (25-15/0256f) (see p. 43, n. 74 and comm. to 8d)

Miscellaneous conclusions include that 大 'big' is perhaps better reconstructed in Old Chinese with initial *dˤ- than with initial *lˤ- (see comm. to 1a) and that the irregular phonetic development of 存 (i.e. *dzˤən > dzən and not dzen, see Baxter 1992: 431-432) took place in the history of the transcriptional dialect, and preceded the change of *-r > i (or -n in the dialect ancestral to MChi.); see comm. to 13a.

5 The sub-grouping of Bailang

As Coblin summarizes, there is a tradition of seeing Bailang as a member of Lolo-Burmese, or at least closely affiliated with the Loloish (or Naic) languages (1979: 197). Coblin appears to take this hypothesis for granted in his search for cognates rather than arguing for it explicitly.

Beckwith sees the Bailang word 理 *rəʔ > liəᵇ 'hundred' (40a) as particularly close to Lolo-Burmese (2008: 95, 107), but this is because he follows Matisoff in projecting the epenthetic -g- of the Tibetan form into the Trans-Himalayan proto-language. According to Li's law this -g- is an Tibetan innovation (Li 1959). The Bailang form just as close to Tib. སྨ་ < *bryaŋ, Tan. དོ་ jir² < *r-ja (2798), or Japhug Rgy. yurza < *wə-rja as it is to OBur.  sr ṛya. As noted above, potentially the Bailang word belongs to a wholly different
etymon, namely the etymon seen in Japhug Rgy. -ri 'hundred'. The Bailang first person pronoun 
*ke > kie > tśe j 'we, us' (4c) weighs against an affiliation with Lolo-
Burmese, since velar (or uvular) initial first person pronouns are absent in this sub-
branch, although they are widespread across the Trans-Himalayan family in general.

The word 'home' (Bailang 汶 /jəm/ [39d], Tib. མ ་ khyim 'home', Bur. ག ་ im, Chi. 
*q(r)[ə]m-s 'subterranean room') offers better evidence for a close tie between Bailang
and Lolo-Burmese. Sagart suggests that in such correspondences the Chinese uvular is
original and that it develops a velar in Tibetan and is lost in Burmese (2006: 212). The
loss of uvulars is thus a potential isogloss that unites Bailang and Burmese. However,
taken alone this is not compelling evidence for subgrouping.

One might be tempted to look at those word in which Tibetan -iṅ corresponds to
Burmese -ac < *-ik, such as 'heart' and 'wood', for a clue to which language Bailang
appears closer to. However, such an investigation yields the curious result that in the
word 'heart' (Bailang ལ ་ /nəŋ/ [28a]. Chi.  ་ nyin < *niŋ (32-28/0388f) 'kindness', Tib. 
ས ་ sñiṅ 'heart', Bur. ་ nhac < *nik 'kernel', Tan. ་ njiij < *njeej < *njeeN 'coeur')
Bailang patterns with Tibetan in having a velar nasal final rather than a velar stop final,
but in the word ་ *sək > sik  ་ 'wood' (39a) the velar stop final of Bailang patterns with
the Burmish languages (Bur. ་ sac < *sik 'tree', Lashi sə:kH) against the velar nasal of
other languages (Chi. ་ *si[ŋ] 'firewood', Tib. ་ sīṅ 'wood', Tan. ་ sji¹ < *sje < *sjeN
[4250] 'bois, arbre'). The conclusion appears inescapable that variation between *ik and
*iŋ in these words, probably of a morphological nature, was present already in the proto-
language.

**Abbreviations**
- Bur. Burmese
- Chi. Chinese
- MChi. Middle Chinese
- OBur. Old Burmese
- OChi. Old Chinese
- Rgy. Rgyalrong (apud Jacques 2014)
- Tan. Tangut (apud Jacques 2014)
- Th. Thangmi (apud Turin 2012)
- Tib. Tibetan
- WBur. Written Burmese

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Mdz. *Mdzaṅ blũn žes bya baḥi mdo* (Derge Kanjur, vol. 74, pp. 29a-298a)

Mila *Mi la rä paḥi rnam thar* (de Jong 1959)

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