Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Hmong group (Hmong-Mien family).

Languages included: Western Xiangxi Hmong [hmo-xxi]; Eastern Xiangxi Hmong [hmo-xxe]; Qiandong Hmong [hmo-qia]; Chuanqiandian Hmong [hmo-cqd]; Diandongbei Hmong [hmo-hmd]; Hmong Daw [hmo-daw]; Hmong Njua [hmo-nju]; Bunu (proper) [hmo-bnu]; Baonao Bunu [hmo-bna]; Numao Bunu [hmo-nmu]; Longhua Jiongnai [hmo-lhj]; Liuxiang Jiongnai [hmo-lxj]; Xiaozhai Younuo [hmo-ynz]; Huangluo Younuo [hmo-ynl]; Northern Pa-Hng [hmo-phin]; Southern Pa-Hng [hmo-phins]; Hm-Nai [hmo-wun]; Lianhua She [hmo-lia]; Luofu She [hmo-luo]; Pa-Na [hmo-pna].

DATA SOURCES

General.

MYYFY 1987 = 苗瑤語方言詞匯集 [Miao-Yao yu fangyan cihui ji] [A collection of vocabularies of Miao-Yao dialects]. Beijing: Zhongyang minzu xueyuan chubanshe. // Comparative vocabularies for seven varieties of Hmong-Mien spoken in the People’s Republic of China, including Xiangxi, Qiandong, Chuanqiandian, and Diandongbei Miao. A significant amount of data, accompanied, however, only by brief listings of the corresponding dialects’ phonemic inventories.

I. Xiangxi Hmong (Western, Eastern).


Western and Eastern Xiangxi Hmong, including a large comparative vocabulary for three Western and three Eastern Xiangxi locations.

II. Qiandong Hmong.


III. Hmong Daw.


IV. Hmong Njua.


V. Bunu (proper; Baonao; Numao).

VI. Jiongnai (Longhua; Liuxiang).


VII. Younuo (Xiaozhai; Huangluo).


VIII. Pa-Hng (Northern; Southern); Hm-Nai.


IX. She (Lianhua; Luofu).

Mao & Meng 1986 = 毛宗武, 蒙朝吉. 畲語簡志 [Mao Zongwu, Meng Chaoji. She yu jianzhi] [Mao Zongwu, Meng Chaoji. A brief description of the She language]. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe. // Detailed analysis of the phonology, lexicon, and grammar of the She language, concentrating on the Lianhua (Western) and Luofu (Eastern) dialects.

Hiroki 2003 = Nakanishi Hiroki. A She Vocabulary. Haifeng Dialect. Kyoto University: Institute for Research in Humanities. // A large classified Chinese-language vocabulary of the Haifeng dialect of She, collected by the author. This dialect is lexically closer to Lianhua She than to Luofu She.
X. Pa-Na.


NOTES

I. Xiangxi Hmong.

General.

Xiangxi Hmong may be considered a "macro-language", with close to a million speakers, most of which are assumed to be speakers of its "Western" variety. The precise number of individual lects that could be thought of as individual languages is not easy to ascertain: based on [Yang 2004], so far the most detailed account on the dialectal variety of this cluster, even lects spoken in geographically closed locations may have up to 10% lexicostatistical discrepancies between them (although much of this has to do with stronger/weaker influence of colloquial and literary Chinese on specific dialects).

Although in practice, due to the availability of [Yang 2004] it is technically possible to compile separate wordlists for as many as six different varieties (Jiwei, Yangmeng, Zhongxin dialects of Western Xiangxi; Danqing, Xiaozhang, Dengshang dialects of Eastern Xiangxi), we have not used this option, because it is not clear to what extent the actual vocabularies in [Yang 2004] are semantically accurate, and we would not want to confuse potential semantic inaccuracies with real historical distinctions. Therefore, for the sake of extra safety we have adopted the following strategy:
(a) For Western Xiangxi, our default source is [Xiang 1992], a special detailed dictionary of just one dialectal variety, with the data in [MYYFY 1987] and in [Yang 2004] used as control sources.

(b) For Eastern Xiangxi, where the only usable source is [Yang 2004], we have selected the Danqing dialect as the one that seems the least infiltrated with Chinese borrowings (although that does not mean that it is entirely free of them, either). Data from the other two dialects (Xiaozhang, Dengshang) are given in the notes section.

Transliteration.

Although the Xiangxi vocabularies in [Xiang 1992] and [MYYFY 1987] are almost identical from a lexical standpoint (with just a few minor discrepancies in the choice of desemanticized classifiers, etc.), the IPA-based transcription in [MYYFY] and Xiang Rizheng’s alphabetic notation for Xiangxi sometimes reflect different phonetics, probably due to their describing different subdialects. In particular:

(1) Xiang’s initial clusters of nasals + unaspirated / aspirated stops (nd, np, etc.) are consistently transcribed as voiced unaspirated / aspirated consonants (d, bʰ, etc.) in [MYYFY];

(2) Those finals in -n which, according to Xiang’s conversion tables, represent nasalized vowels (e. g. Xiang’s en = our ɛ), are consistently transcribed in [MYYFY] without nasalization (i. e. simply as ɛ, etc.).

Transcription in [Yang 2004] is IPA-based and largely the same as in [MYYFY].

The basic conventions for transliteration of [Xiang 1992] are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Xiang 1992]</th>
<th>UTS transliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>ϕ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bl</td>
<td>p₁</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Xiang 1992]</td>
<td>UTS transliteration</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>The sequence kʰ- is transcribed as ɕ- [IPA cʰ] in MYYFY, reflecting palatalization. In fact, k- before front vowels in [Xiang 1992] seems to generally correspond to c- in [MYYFY].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>q</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>x</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>hl</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>The sequence lʰ- is transcribed as ɻʰ- in MYYFY.</td>
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<td>hm</td>
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<td>hn</td>
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<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>ɻʰ</td>
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<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>The sequence lʰ- is transcribed as ɻ- in MYYFY.</td>
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<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
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<tr>
<td>ml</td>
<td>mɻ</td>
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<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>The sequence nɻ- is transcribed as ɲ- in MYYFY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb</td>
<td>mp</td>
<td>Transcribed as b in MYYFY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>nt</td>
<td>Transcribed as d in MYYFY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngh</td>
<td>nq</td>
<td>Transcribed as ɕ in MYYFY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj</td>
<td>nɕ</td>
<td>Transcribed as ʒ (dʒ) in MYYFY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>np</td>
<td>mpʰ</td>
<td>Transcribed as bʰ (bh) in MYYFY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nq</td>
<td>nɕʰ</td>
<td>Transcribed as ʒʰ (dʒʰ) in MYYFY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>ɻʰ</td>
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<td>r</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Xiang 1992]</td>
<td>UTS transliteration</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>zh</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
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<tr>
<td>an</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>Transcribed as ē in MYYFY.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ang</td>
<td>an</td>
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<tr>
<td>ao</td>
<td>ə</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ea</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>Transcribed as a in MYYFY.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei</td>
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<td>en</td>
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<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>ıa</td>
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<tr>
<td>ian</td>
<td>ņı</td>
<td>Transcribed as ıe in MYYFY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iao</td>
<td>iɔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>iea</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>Transcribed as ɔ in MYYFY.</td>
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<td>uou</td>
<td>ɯɯ</td>
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<tr>
<td>-b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tone 1 is described as mid-rising (35).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-x</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tone 2 is described as mid-falling (42).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tone 3 is described as high level (44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-l</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tone 4 is described as low level (22).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tone 5 is described as high-to-mid-falling (54).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tone 6 is described as mid-to-low-falling (31).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. Qiandong Hmong.

Transliteration.

There are very few transcriptional differences between the orthographic system used in [Zhang 1989] and the IPA-based transcription in [MYYFY 1987]. Both sources represent the same dialect of Qiandong Hmong: Northern Qiandong, spoken in the Yanghao village and other locations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Zhang 1989]</th>
<th>UTS transliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
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<td>hl</td>
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<td>hs</td>
<td>sʰ</td>
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<tr>
<td>hv</td>
<td>xʰ</td>
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<td>hx</td>
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<td>j</td>
<td>ğ</td>
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<td>k</td>
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<td>kh</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Zhang 1989]</td>
<td>UTS transliteration</td>
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<td>p</td>
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<td>ai</td>
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<td>ang</td>
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<tr>
<td>ao</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>əu</td>
<td>Transcribed simply as a in [MYYFY 1987].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
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<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei</td>
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<td>u</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. Chuanqiandian Hmong, Diandongbei Hmong.

General.

There are two varieties of Hmong speech, covered in [MYYFY 1987], that both belong to the so-called "Chuanqiandian cluster": "Chuanqiandian proper" is spoken in Xyükǒng (敘永), in the southeast of Sichuan, and "Diandongbei Hmong", also known as "Large Flowery Miao" (dà-huā-miáo 大花苗), is spoken in Shíménkǎn (石門坎), in west Guizhou. Since these two dialects are quite close, and data for them comes from the same unified source, we discuss them together.

Transliteration.

The phonetic systems of Chuanqiandian and Diandongbei are relatively close (although the former is significantly more rich), and their phonetic representation in [MYYFY 1987], based on the IPA, has only minor differences from the UTS transliteration. Some general notes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Zhang 1989]</th>
<th>UTS transliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ua</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uai</td>
<td>uɛ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uang</td>
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<td>ui</td>
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<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>un</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tone 1 is described as mid-level (33).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-x</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tone 2 is described as ultrahigh-level (55).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tone 3 is described as mid-rising (35).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-l</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tone 4 is described as low-level (11).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tone 5 is described as high-level (44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tone 6 is described as low-rising (13).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tone 7 is described as high-falling (53).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-f</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tone 8 is described as mid-falling (31).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Chuanqiandian proper has phonologically relevant voiced (b, d, ʒ, etc.) and prenasalised voiced (mb, nd, nʃ, etc.) initials that are missing in Diandongbei.

2. Chuanqiandian proper has initial consonantal clusters of labial and alveolar stops with -l- (pl-, tl-), whereas Diandongbei generally transforms both of these series into lateral affricates (ƛ-), etc. In terms of transcription, therefore, [MYYFY 1987] tl = UTS tl, but [MYYFY 1987] tɬ = UTS ƛ, tɬh = UTS ƛʰ.

3. Both dialects, like most Hmong varieties, have 8 tones, but their phonetic realization varies. According to [MYYFY 1987], the system is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone number</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation in Chuanqiandian</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation in Diandongbei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>High-falling (43)</td>
<td>High-falling (53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mid-falling (31)</td>
<td>Mid-rising (45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>High level (55)</td>
<td>High level (55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Low-falling (21)</td>
<td>Low level (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Low level (44)</td>
<td>Mid level (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Low-rising (13)</td>
<td>Mid-falling (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mid level (33)</td>
<td>Low level (11) [merged with Tone 4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mid-rising (24)</td>
<td>Low-falling (21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. Hmong Daw.

Transliteration.

The transliteration of E. Heimbach’s transcriptional system into UTS is based on his own phonetic commentary, which is sometimes approximate, and may not be 100% adequate. However, all the phonological oppositions (consonantal, vocalic, and tonal) have been carefully preserved.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Heimbach 1979]</th>
<th>UTS transliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ç</td>
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<tr>
<td>ch</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>’d</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[Heimbach 1979]</td>
<td>UTS transliteration</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Heimbach 1979]</td>
<td>UTS transliteration</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>s</td>
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<tr>
<td>xy</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tone 1 is described as high-level (55).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-j</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tone 2 is described as high-falling (53).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-v</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tone 3 is described as mid-rising (34).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0 (unmarked)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tone 4 is described as mid-level (33).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tone 5 is described as low-level (11).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tone 6 is described as low-falling (21).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tone 7 is described as low-level checked (11).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tone 8 is described as low-rising (13).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

1. Word-initial vowels are automatically preceded by a glottal stop; it is not marked in Heimbach's transcriptions and is not reproduced in our transliteration either.

2. Tone 8 (Heimbach’s -d) is described as a rare variant of tone 7 (Heimbach’s -m) that "appears only on a certain class of words". We still mark it separately in the only word on the Swadesh list where it appears (‘that’).

3. It should be noted that, since the system of word-initial consonants and clusters in Hmong Daw is so complex, many of these elements do not appear in the database at all.
Nevertheless, we offer a complete transliteration system for a better understanding of the phonological oppositions in this language.

V. Hmong Njua.

Transliteration.

Like most early researchers of Hmong languages, Th. Lyman uses a rather idiosyncratic transcriptional notation in his dictionary. For simplicity's sake, we list his entire system as transcoded to UTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Lyman 1974]</th>
<th>UTS transliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>౜</td>
<td>ḋ</td>
<td>The glottal stop is automatic before an initial vowel; it also sometimes replaces velar and uvular consonants in the specific &quot;children's speech&quot; variants of certain words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>Postalveolar affricate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>čh</td>
<td>Postalveolar affricate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>Retroflex affricate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čh</td>
<td>čʰ</td>
<td>Retroflex affricate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĺ</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>Alveolar affricate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>čʰ</td>
<td>Alveolar affricate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
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<tr>
<td>hl</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
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<tr>
<td>hs</td>
<td>sʰ</td>
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<td>hy</td>
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<td>k</td>
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<td>kh</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>-b- in this nasal cluster is an allophone of -p-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mph</td>
<td>mpʰ</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[Lyman 1974]</td>
<td>UTS transliteration</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>kh</td>
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<td>ň</td>
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<tr>
<td>ňch</td>
<td>ňcʰ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ňd</td>
<td>ňʒ</td>
<td>-ʒ- in this nasal cluster is an allophone of -ɛ-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ňj</td>
<td>ňʒ</td>
<td>-ʒ- in this nasal cluster is an allophone of -ɛ-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ňh</td>
<td>ňcʰ</td>
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<td>ň</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ňch</td>
<td>ňcʰ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ňj</td>
<td>ňʒ</td>
<td>-ʒ- in this nasal cluster is an allophone of -ɛ-.</td>
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<td>ň</td>
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<td>ňh</td>
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<td>ňh</td>
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<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>ŝ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>šh</td>
<td>šʰ</td>
<td>Palatal affricate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>y</td>
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<td>[Lyman 1974]</td>
<td>UTS transliteration</td>
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<td>wŋ</td>
<td>uŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ŷ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tone 1 is described as high-level (55 or 54).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tone 2 is described as mid-rising (35).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tone 3 is described as mid-level (33, long).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ŷ</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tone 4 is described as low-level (22).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ŷ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tone 5 is described as high-falling (41).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tone 6 is described as low-level (11) + breathy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V+</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tone 7 is described as low-rising (214), with additional length and glottal stop.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VI. Bunu.

Transliteration.

The transcription system used in [Meng 2001] to transcribe the three dialectal varieties of Bunu is generally based on the IPA, and consequently requires only cosmetic change when transliterated to UTS. Below we give an exhaustive list of such changes, without printing out the entire inventory of Bunu initials or finals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Meng 2001]</th>
<th>UTS transliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph, th...</td>
<td>pʰ, tʰ...</td>
<td>Aspirated initials.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Palatal affricates and fricatives.

These initials are also transcribed in [Meng 2001] as tɬ, tɬh, nɬ for the Bunu proper dialect. However, the difference between tɬ and tl seems to be purely graphical, without any underlying phonetic reality.

We interpret the "softened" (palatalized) initials of Bunu as combinations with the medial glide -ɬ- and transcribe them accordingly.

Tones. All Bunu dialects have an 8-tonal system; additionally, some of the tones (1-4 in Bunu proper; 1-3, 6, 8 in Numao; none in Baonao) undergo further binary splits under certain conditions, usually through active or "fossilized" tonal samdhi (however, very few examples of this tonal split are encountered in the Swadesh list). The precise phonetic realisations, according to [Meng 2001], are as follows:
The "split" variants of the tones (1a, 2a, etc.) are marked as 1’, 2’, etc. in [Meng 2001].

VII. Jiongnai.

*Transliteration.*

The transcription used in [Mao & Li 2002] to render the forms in the Longhua and Liuxiang dialects of the Jiongnai language is generally consistent with the IPA, and requires only the usual IPA > UTS transliteration elements (the same as outlined above for Bunu).

It must be mentioned that Mao & Li mark the Jiongnai tones in accordance with their register/contour characteristics rather than with a general abstract scheme from 1 to 8. The standard eight tones of Jiongnai are marked as follows: (1) = 44; (2) = 33 (Longhua), 31 (Liuxiang); (3) = 53 (Longhua), 35 (Liuxiang); (4) = 31 (Longhua), 53 (Liuxiang); (5) = 35 (Longhua), 22 (Liuxiang); (6) = 22 (Longhua), 21 (Liuxiang); (7) = 43; (8) = 32.

VIII. Younuo.

*Transliteration.*

The transcription used in [Mao & Li 2007] to render the forms in the Xiaozhai and Huangluo dialects of the Younuo language is generally consistent with the IPA, and requires only the usual IPA > UTS transliteration elements (the same as outlined above for Bunu and Jiongnai).

As in the case of Jiongnai, tones in [Mao & Li 2007] are marked in accordance with their register/contour characteristics rather than with any general abstract scheme from 1 to 8. The eight-tonal scheme is reduced to six tones in the Xiaozhai dialect and to five tones in the Huangluo dialect. The correlations between the "ideal" eight tones and the actual phonetic values in both dialects are as follows: (1) = 33; (2) = 13; (3) = 22; (4) = 22; (5) = 35 (Xiaozhai), 53 (Huangluo); (6) = 31 (Xiaozhai), 22 (Huangluo); (7) = 53; (8) = 31.
IX. Pa-Hng and Wunai.

1. General.

Data on the closely related Pa-Hng (= Bāhēng) and Hm-Nai (= Wùnài) languages are drawn here from the most detailed and up-to-date source on both of them, [Mao & Li 1997]. According to this source, Pa-Hng shows a primary division into Northern and Southern dialects, represented in Mao & Li's description by the lects spoken respectively in Gundong (滚董) (Liping County, Guizhou) and Wenjie (文界) (Sanjiang County, Guangxi). Hm-Nai is represented in the monograph with the lect spoken in Huxingshan (虎形山), Longhui County, Hunan. Although Wunai is usually described as a separate language, the data in Mao & Li 1997 clearly show that it is very closely related to Pa-Hng.

2. Transliteration.

The transcription used in [Mao & Li 1997] is generally consistent with the IPA, and requires only the usual IPA > UTS transliteration elements (the same as outlined above for Bunu, Jiongnai, and Younuo).

It should be mentioned that Mao & Li treat the "voiced" simple and prenasalized initials of Pa-Hng as combinations of a voiceless initial with voiced aspiration (pʰ, tʰ, mʰ, nᵗʰ, etc.). We preserve their transcription in this matter.

Tones in [Mao & Li 1997] are marked in accordance with their register/contour characteristics rather than with any general abstract scheme from 1 to 8. The eight-tonal scheme is reduced to seven tones in Northern Pa-Hng, six tones in Southern Pa-Hng, and seven in Wunai; however, Proto-Bahengic definitely had a complete eight-tone system, as is evident from the correspondences.

The correlations between the "ideal" eight tones and the actual phonetic values in both dialects are as follows: (1) = 35; (2) = 33; (3) = 22 (Northern Pa-Hng), 31 (Southern Pa-Hng), 13 (Hm-Nai); (4) = 22 (Northern Pa-Hng, Wunai), 31 (Southern Pa-Hng); (5) = 55; (6) = 44 (Pa-Hng), 31 (Wunai); (7) = 53; (8) = 31.
X. She.

1. General.

Our main source on the She language, once thought of as possibly forming its own (third) branch of the Hmong-Mien family, but now definitively established as a divergent branch of the Hmong group, is [Mao & Meng 1986], a stereotypical Chinese language description of the phonology and grammar of She, accompanied with an extensive vocabulary for two idiolects: Lianhua (蓮花) and Luofu (羅浮), respectively representing the Western and Eastern dialects of the language, although lexical discrepancies between the two varieties are absolutely minimal anyway.

As a control source, we also use [Hiroki 2003], a large classified dictionary of the Haifeng (海豐) variety of the She language that seems most close to Lianhua (and is therefore quoted in the notes section on the Lianhua dialect), despite a few important phonetic discrepancies (for instance, Lianhua $n$ regularly corresponds to Haifeng $l$).

2. Transliteration.

The transcription used in [Mao & Meng 1986] is generally consistent with the IPA, and requires only the usual IPA > UTS transliteration elements (the same as outlined above for Bunu, Jiongnai, Younuo, and Pa-Hng).

Tones are marked in [Mao & Meng 1986] according to the schematic 1-8 notation. Actual phonetic values are as follows: (1) = 22; (2) = 53; (3) = 33; (4) = 42; (5) = 31; (6) = 35; (7) = 21; (8) = 54. In [Hiroki 2003], register/contour characteristics are chosen as the basis for the numeric index instead.

XI. Pa-Na.

1. General.

Pa Na, a language spoken by 1,000 to 3,000 native speakers in Southwest Hunan, is
closely related to She, but has not been as thoroughly described due to the significantly smaller number of speakers. Our main source for the original wordlist has been Taguchi 2001; unfortunately, although the author uses a diagnostic 200-item wordlist, it is not based on Swadesh and, therefore, contains a large number of gaps. These had to be filled in with data taken from the brief description of the language given in Chen 2001; fortunately, despite some transcriptional differences and occasional morphological discrepancies (e.g. Chen more often gives nominal roots in conjunction with desemanticized prefixes, while Taguchi often sticks to "bare" roots), in most situations the data agree with each other.

2. Transliteration.

[Taguchi 2001] uses a simplified transcription for the language, much of which has to be reconverted. [Chen 2001] is closer to IPA, but still uses certain idiosyncrasies of his own.

(a) aspirated consonants: Taguchi’s, ph, th, etc. = Chen’s ph, th, etc. = UTS pʰ, tʰ, etc.;

(b) coronal affricates: Taguchi’s ts, tsh, dz = Chen’s ts, tsh, dz = UTS c, cʰ, ʒ;

(c) lateral affricates: Taguchi’s tl, tlh, dl = Chen’s tl, tɭh, dl = UTS ɭ, ɭʰ, Ł;

(d) Taguchi’s ng = Chen’s η = UTS η;

(e) Taguchi’s q = Chen’s ? = UTS ?;

(f) Taguchi’s nasalized vowels i~, u~, o~ = UTS ɨ, ʉ, ơ.

Additionally, Chen postulates a separate series of palatal initials for the language, which usually correspond to Taguchi’s combinations of coronal initials with a medial glide: Chen’s tɕ, tɕh, dz, ʑ, ɕ = UTS ɕ, ɕʰ, ʒ, ʑ, ʃ (= Taguchi’s tsj, tshj, dzj, zj, sj).

Tones are marked in [Taguchi 2001] according to the schematic 1-8 notation. Actual phonetic values are as follows:
(1) = 24 (Taguchi), 13 (Chen); (2) = 12 (Taguchi), 313 (Chen); (3) = 44; (4) = 21 (Taguchi), 31 (Chen); (5) = 35; (6) = 22; (7) = 45 (Taguchi), 55 (Chen); (8) = 42 (Taguchi), 53 (Chen).

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (Last update: June 2017).
1. ALL
Western Xiangxi sa (1), Eastern Xiangxi xa (3), Qiandong se (1), Chuanqiandian tau (2), Diandongbei tu (2), Hmong Daw hu (3), Hmong Njua ci (4), Bunu tu (2), Baonao kou (5), Numao tey (6), Longhua Jiongnai tu (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai tu (2), Xiaozhai Younuo tou (2), Huangluo Younuo tu (2), Northern Pa-Hng qa (1), Southern Pa-Hng qa (1), Hm-Nai kj (1), Lianhua She s (1), Luofu She s (1), Pana p (2).

References and notes:
Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 362; MYYFY 1987: 42. Polysemy: 'to end, finish / all'.
Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 42.
Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 42.
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 56. Meaning glossed as 'all, altogether'. Cf. also hu-ši id. Possible synonyms include: (a) ti-ši 'all, altogether' [Heimbach 1979: 316], derived from ti 'single, one only'; (b) ři [Heimbach 1979: 356], only in the expression ři-ž or ž ři 'all people'.
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 105. Meaning glossed as 'all, each, every'. Examples show that this is the default equivalent for 'all' when applied to a group of objects without distributive semantics; čʰua is the more appropriate equivalent for the meaning 'each (of several)' [Lyman 1974: 112]. Cf. also hu-ši 'completely, all (of a number), every single one' [Lyman 1974: 123].
Bunu: Meng 2001: 233; MYYFY 1987: 42. Additional synonym: ɕo [Meng 2001: 233]. We select the variant represented in both sources.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 313.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 313.
Pana: Not attested.

2. ASHES
Western Xiangxi fi (1), Eastern Xiangxi pʰi (2), Qiandong fi (1), Chuanqiandian čʰau (1), Diandongbei čʰao (1), Hmong Daw čʰw (1), Hmong Njua čʰu (1), Bunu kš = sʰa (1), Baonao sʰu (1), Numao fi (1), Longhua Jiongnai tau = ře (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ču = ře (1), Xiaozhai Younuo čʰ (1), Huangluo Younuo cʰ (1), Northern Pa-Hng qa (1), Southern Pa-Hng qa = ře (1), Hm-Nai fi (1), Lianhua She s (1), Luofu She s (1), Pana pʰi # (2).
References and notes:


Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 245. This seems to be an innovation; the old Hmong root for 'ashes' is, however, still preserved in Xiaozhang be5=si5 and Dengshang si4.

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 241; MYYFY 1987: 170. Also used in conjunction with a desemanticized classifier: qa4=yu3 id.


Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 256. The first morpheme is 'fire' q.v.

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 149. Literally 'skin of tree'. The main root is the same as in 'skin' q.v. Initial qa1 is a desemanticized classifier; tu5 = 'tree' q.v.

Chuangqianbian: Not attested.

Diandongbei: Not attested.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 317. Literally 'skin of tree' (see 'skin', 'tree').

References and notes:

BARK


References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 203. Literally 'skin of tree'. The main root is the same as in 'skin' q.v. Initial qa3 is a desemanticized classifier; ntu5 = 'tree' q.v.

Eastern Xiangxi: Not attested.

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 149. Literally 'skin of tree'. The main root is the same as in 'skin' q.v. Initial qa3 is a desemanticized classifier; tau5 = 'tree' q.v.

Chuangqianbian: Not attested.

Diandongbei: Not attested.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 312. Literally 'skin of tree'. The main root is the same as in 'skin' q.v.; nto5 = 'tree' q.v.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 312. Literally 'skin of tree' (see 'skin', 'tree').
Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 265. Literally 'skin of tree'.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 265. Literally 'skin of tree'.
Xiaozhai Younuo: Not attested.
Huangluo Younuo: Not attested.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 265. Literally 'skin of tree'. Initial qa is a desemanticized classifier.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 265. Literally 'skin of tree'. Initial qa is a desemanticized classifier.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 265. Literally 'skin of tree'.
Luofu She: Not attested in [Mao & Meng 1986].
Pana: Not attested.

4. BELLY

Western Xiangxi qo=qʰi1 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qa3=pi3 (2), Qiandong qʰu1 (1), Chuanqiandian pla1 (3), Diandongbei a3=qʰao1 (1), Hmong Daw pla1 (3), Hmong Njua pla1 (3), Bunao naut4 (4), Numao nuy3 (4), Longhua Jiongnai tʰe44 (5), Liuxiang Jiongnai tʰey44 (5), Xiaozhai Younuo ta31-tu33 (6), Huangluo Younuo ta31-tu33 (6), Northern Pa-Hng a33=ŋny22 (4), Southern Pa-Hng a44=ŋn31 (4), Hm-Nai naŋ35=ŋn13 (4), Lianhua She ŋj23-ka3 (4), Luofu She ŋj23-ka3 (4), Pana cʰi1 (1).

References and notes:

Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 118.
Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 118. Initial a3=qʰ is a desemanticized classifier.
Bunao: Meng 2001: 203. Quoted as ka3=ľŋ1 in [MYYFY 1987: 118]. Initial ka3= is a desemanticized classifier.

5. BIG
Western Xiangxi \(l_j o_2\) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \(\lambda^{b}_{23}\) (1), Qiandong \(l^4_2\) (1), Chuanqian\(dian\) \(l_2\) (1), Diandongbei \(l_2\) ~ \(a\_lau\) (1), Hmong Daw \(l_2\) (1), Hmong Njua \(l_5\) (1), Bunu \(l_\text{ai}\) (2), Baonao \(l^4_2\) (1), Numao \(l_5\) (2), Longhua Jiongnai \(l_\text{ie}\_44\) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \(l_\text{ie}\_44\) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \(l_\text{iu}\_3\) (1), Huangluo Younuo \(l_\text{iu}\_3\) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \(l_jo\_3\) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \(l_jo\_3\) (1), Hm-Nai \(l_jo\_3\) (1), Lianhua She \(\nu\_\text{ai}\) (2), Luofu She \(\nu\_\text{ai}\) (2), Pana \(l_i\_w\) (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 37. Transcribed as \(\lambda^2\) in [MYYFY 1987: 104]. The former source additionally lists \(\tilde{p}_3\) and \(m_i\) as synonyms (illustrated by such examples as "big (strong) wind" for the former and "big (wide) river" for the latter), but they seem to have more specific applications (strong' and 'wide' respectively). Cf. in [Yang 2004: 321]: Jiwei \(\lambda^3\), Yangmeng \(\lambda_\text{ai}\), Zhongxin \(\lambda_\text{iu}\).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 321. Cf. Xiaozhang \(\lambda^{a}_{33}\), Dengshang \(\lambda_\text{ai}\) id.


Chuanqian\(dian\): MYYFY 1987: 104.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 104. The two variants may be subdialectal.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 114. Meaning glossed as 'large, great (of quantity, area, or status)'. Illustrating examples include such expressions as "a large house" or "great river", "large house", "great enemies", etc. It seems that the primary difference between these two words is close to English big vs. great, but the issue requires further scrutiny.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 172. This seems to be the most frequent and basic equivalent of the required meaning; cf. also \(\text{tu}\_1\) 'to be large, to increase in size, to grow up, grow big, become mature, adult' [Lyman 1974: 127], sometimes translated as 'big' (e.g. in 'big wind' = 'increased wind'). There is also a bound augmentative prefixal morpheme \(\text{nu}\_\text{ai}\) 'large, great, major' [Heimbach 1979: 140], with illustrating examples such as "capital city", "large river", "large house", "great enemies", etc. It seems that the primary difference between these two words is close to English big vs. great, but the issue requires further scrutiny.

Bunu: Meng 2001: 226; MYYFY 1987: 104. Also \(\tilde{t}^2\) id. [Meng 2001: 226]; we choose as default the variant that is represented in both sources.


Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 294. Also \(p\_\text{ai}\) id. (semantic difference is unclear).

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 294. Also \(p\_\text{ai}\) id. (semantic difference is unclear).


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 302. Also \(p\_\text{ai}\) id. (semantic difference is unclear).

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 302. Also \(p\_\text{ai}\) id. (semantic difference is unclear).


Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 124. Quoted as \(\nu\_\text{ai}\) in [Hiroki 2003: 269].


Pana: Taguchi 2001: 91. Quoted as \(l\_\text{ai}\) in [Chen 2001: 81].

6. BIRD

Western Xiangxi \(t^a\_4\_\text{nu}\_6\) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \(n\_\text{ai}\_1\) (1), Qiandong \(n\_\text{nu}\_6\) (1), Chuanqian\(dian\) \(n\_\text{ai}\_6\) (1), Diandongbei \(n\_\text{ai}\_6\) (1), Hmong Daw \(n\_\text{ai}\_6\) (1), Hmong Njua \(n\_\text{ai}\_6\) (1), Bunu \(n\_\text{ai}\_6\) (1), Baonao \(n\_\text{ai}\_6\) (1), Numao \(n\_\text{nu}\_6\) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \(n\_\text{ai}\_2\) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \(n\_\text{ai}\_2\) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \(n\_\text{ai}\_1\) (1), Huangluo Younuo \(n\_\text{ai}\_2\) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \(t\_\text{ai}\_3\_\text{ai}\_4\) (1).
(1), Southern Pa-Hng \( t_33=m\tilde{o}_{44} \) (1), Hm-Nai \( tan_33=nu\eta_{31} \) (1), Lianhua She \( nu\tilde{t}an_1 \) (1), Luofu She \( nu\tilde{t}an_1 \) (1), Pana \( la_6=nu_6 \) (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 154; MYYFY 1987: 86. Initial \( ta_\theta \) is a classifier for animals. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 269]: Jiwei \( ta_\theta=nu_{11} \), Yangmeng \( ta_\theta=nu_{11} \), Zhongxin \( ta_\theta=nu_{11} \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 269. Cf. Xiaozhang \( no\eta_{46} \), Dengshang \( n\tilde{o}_{33} \) id.

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 326. Transcribed as \( nt_5 \) in [MYYFY 1987: 86].

Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 86.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 86.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 142. Used with the classifier \( tu_5 \).

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 204. Used with the classifier \( tu_6 \).


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 257. The original meaning of the first component is 'man, male' q.v.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 257. The original meaning of the first component is 'man, male' q.v.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 257. The original meaning of the first component is 'man, male' q.v.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 98. Quoted simply as \( l\tilde{o}_{54} \) in [Hiroki 2003: 26].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 98.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 86. Quoted as \( nu_{42} \) in [Chen 2001: 77].

7. BITE

Western Xiangxi \( to_4 \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( t_33 \) (1), Qiandong \( t_8 \) (1), Chuanqiandian \( to_8 \) (1), Diandongbei \( so_{5}=so_5 \) (2), Hmong Daw \( t_7 \) (1), Hmong Njua \( tu_7 \) (1), Bunu \( t_8 \) (1), Baonao \( tu_8 \) (1), Numao \( tau_8 \) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \( tu_{32} \) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( tu_{32} \) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \( t_33 \) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \( tha_{31} \) (1), Hm-Nai \( t^h_{31} \) (1), Lianhua She \( t^h_x \) (1), Luofu She \( t^h_{u_6} \) (1), Pana \( tau_{53} \# \) (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 259. Transcribed as \( ta_\delta \) in [MYYFY 1987: 64]. Applied to animals (quoted examples in both sources include "tiger bites pig" and "cat bites mouse"). 'To bite / sting' of insects (e.g. mosquitoes) is expressed differently, with the verb \( q\tilde{i}_i \) [Xiang 1992: 259]. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 364]: Jiwei \( t_{22_9} \), Yangmeng \( tu_{16} \), Zhongxin \( tu_{15} \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 364. Cf. Xiaozhang \( t_{33} \), Dengshang \( d_{u_3} \) id.

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 60; MYYFY 1987: 64. Judging by textual examples, applied to animals (dogs) as well as insects (mosquitoes).

Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 64.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 64.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 322. Meaning glossed as: 'to bite, to sting (of animal and human bites and stings from vegetation but not of insect stings)' (the meaning 'to sting' is expressed with the verb \( ple \) [Heimbach 1979: 250]).

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 282. Also ηuŋ id. (semantic difference unclear).
Xiaozhai Younuo: Not attested.
Huangluo Younuo: Not attested.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 114. Quoted as tʰɤ35 in [Hiroki 2003: 192].
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 114.

8. BLACK

Western Xiangxi qwe1 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qwe53 (1), Qiandong tɛ1 (1), Chuanqianqian tlo1 (1), Diandongbei ʌu1 (1), Hmong Daw ˈdu1 (1), Hmong Njua ʌu1 (1), Bunu ʌuŋ (1), Baonao ʌuŋ (1), Numao ʌuŋ1 (1), Longhua Jiongnai klanŋ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai klanŋ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo klnŋ (1), Huangluo Younuo kuŋ (1), Northern Pa-Hng kluŋ (1), Southern Pa-Hng kluŋ (1), Hm-Nai ɳuŋ (1), Lianhua She kian (1), Luofu She kian (1), Pana ʌdı (1).

References and notes:

Chuanqianqian: MYYFY 1987: 100.
Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 100.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 304.
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 126.
9. BLOOD

Western Xiangxi $\nu^h\text{in}_3$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $c^h\text{e}_{55}$ (1), Qiandong $f^h\text{a}_3$ (1), Chuanqiandian $nc^h\text{a}_3$ (1), Diandongbei $\eta^c\text{au}_3$ (1), Hmong Daw $nc^h\text{a}_3$ (1), Hmong Njua $\nu^c\text{ha}_2$ (1), Bunu $nc^h\text{ao}_3$ (1), Baonao $nc^h\text{b}_3$ (1), Numao $nc^h\text{ja}_3$ (1), Longhua Jiongnai $\theta^i\text{a}_3$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai $\theta^i\text{a}_3$ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo $c^h\text{un}_{22}$ (1), Huangluo Younuo $c^h\text{un}_{22}$ (1), Northern Pa-Hng $\eta^c\text{in}_2$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng $\eta^c\text{en}_3$ (1), Hm-Nai $\nu^c^h\text{ei}_3$ (1), Lianhua She $\text{si}_3$ (1), Luofu She $\text{si}_3$ (1), Pana $\text{bi}_3$ (2).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 253. Transcribed as $\text{z}^\text{en}_3$ in [MYYFY 1987: 128]. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 254]; Jiwei $\text{z}^\text{en}_4$, Yangmeng $\text{z}^\text{en}_4$, Zhongxin $\text{z}^\text{in}_3$. Same word as 'red' q.v.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 254. Cf. Xiaozhang $c^\text{e}_{55}$, Dengshang $c^\text{e}_{2}$, id. Same word as 'red' q.v.

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 234; MYYFY 1987: 128. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 254]: Jiwei $\text{z}^\text{en}_4$, Yangmeng $\text{z}^\text{en}_4$, Zhongxin $\text{z}^\text{in}_3$. Same word as 'red' q.v.


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 207. Used with the classifier $c_3$.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 232. Used with the classifier $\omega_2$.

Bunu: Meng 2001: 203. Quoted as $nc^h\text{en}_2$ in [MYYFY 1987: 128].


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 269.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 102. Quoted as $\text{si}_3$ in [Hiroki 2003: 178].


Pana: Taguchi 2001: 88. Quoted as $\text{bi}_3$ in [Chen 2001: 77].

10. BONE

Western Xiangxi $q_\text{a}_3=\text{so}_3$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $q_\text{u}_{53}=\text{s}_\text{a}_{55}$ (1), Qiandong $p_\text{o}_3=\text{s}^h\text{on}_3$ (1), Chuanqiandian $c^h\text{an}_3$ (1), Diandongbei $a_3=c^h\text{au}_5$ (1), Hmong Daw $p_\text{a}_3=c^h\text{a}_4$ (1), Hmong Njua $c^h\text{an}_3$ (1), Bunu $k_\text{a}_3=\theta^h\text{on}_3$ (1), Baonao $k_\text{a}_3=\text{t}^h\text{on}_3$ (1), Numao $\text{so}_3$ (1), Longhua Jiongnai $\theta^a\text{an}_{53}$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai $\theta^a\text{an}_{35}$ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo $t^h\text{on}_{22}$ (1), Huangluo Younuo $t^h\text{an}_{22}$ (1), Northern Pa-Hng $q_\text{a}_{22}=\text{so}_3$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng $q_\text{a}_{31}=\text{s}^\text{on}_{31}$ (1), Hm-Nai $n_\text{an}_{35}=\text{su}_3$ (1), Lianhua She $\text{su}_3-k_\text{a}_3$ (1), Luofu She $\text{su}_3-k_\text{a}_3$ (1), Pana $\lambda^h\text{on}_3-\lambda^c\text{on}_3$ (1).
References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 231, 388. Initial p₃₁ is a desemanticized classifier (usually preceding "round" or "bulky" objects).

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 109. Also pa₃₅=te₃₅ id. (with the same fossilized classifier as in Hmong Daw).


Baonao: Meng 2001: 203. Initial ka₁ is a desemanticized classifier.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 268. Initial qo₁ is a desemanticized classifier.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 268. Initial qo₁ is a desemanticized classifier.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 268. Initial na₃₅ is a desemanticized classifier.


11. BREAST

Western Xiangxi qo₁=mon₂=lɛ₂ (1), Eastern Xiangxi jʊn₃₅-pʰu₃₁ (-1), Qiandong kə₁=κα₁ (2), Chuanqiandian hau₃=nj₃₁ (3), Diandongbei fao₁=hi₃=η₃ (3), Hmong Daw hɔw₃=ʃja₁ (4), Hmong Njua hau₃=ʃja₁ (4), Bunu fa₃₅=mpiau₆ (5), Baonao pев₃₅=nʌ₃₁ (6), Numao tiə₆ (7), Longhua Jiongnai mplay₃₃ (5), Liuxiang Jiongnai m₃₅ (5), Xiaozhai Younuo f₂₃₅=son₃₅-lau₃₅ (5), Huangluo Younuo f₂₃₅=son₃₅-lau₃₅ (5), Northern Pa-Hng a₃₅=ɛa₃₅ (8), Southern Pa-Hng a₃₅=ɛa₃₅ (8), Hm-Nai na₃₅=ɛa₃₅ (8), Lianhua She hɪn₁₃-pʰu₃₅-kɔ (-1), Luofu She hɪn₁₃-piu₄₃-kɔ (-1), Pana d₄₅=-bo₂₂ # (9).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 251 (translates Chinese 胸 xiōng ‘chest (male)'). Cf. also 胸腔 xiōng tāng ‘chest cavity, thorax'. The same word, transcribed as p₀₁=le₁, is glossed in [MYYFY 1987: 142] as 胸 前 xiōng pú, also 'chest, thorax’. In both cases the main invariant is represented by the morpheme lɛ₂: qo₁=mon₂= 'heart' q.v., and p₀₁ is 'shell, cover’. The word is quite distinct from ma₁, 'female breast' [Xiang 1992: 182]. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 253]: 胸前 xiōng pú ‘chest, thorax’ = Jiwei p₀₁=le₁; however, two other dialects have a different equivalent, cf. Yangmeng p₀₁=so₃₅, Zhongxin p₀₁=so₃₅ id.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 253. Borrowed from Chinese 胸前 xiōng pú ‘chest’. Distinct from ne₃₅-ne₃₅ 'female breast' [ibid.]. Cf. Xiaozhang f₀₁=ku₃₅, Dengshang f₀₁=ku₃₅ id. (judging by the first component, both these forms are also Chinese borrowings, although the second morpheme is unclear). Additionally, Xiaozhang x₅₁ and Dengshang x₅₁ are also listed in the same meaning.

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 124; MYYFY 1987: 142. A compound of kə₁, which may also mean ‘breast' on its own [Zhang 1990: 123],

**Chuanqiandian**: MYYFY 1987: 142. Internal structure of the compound is unclear.

**Diandongbei**: MYYFY 1987: 142. Internal structure of the compound is unclear.


**Hmong Njua**: Lyman 1974: 120. Literally: 'high point' + 'liver / heart' q.v. Distinct from *mi 输入* 'female breast' [Lyman 1974: 182].


**Longhua Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 267. Also *nplay 输入* id. Distinct from *nŋ* 'female breast' [ibid.].

**Liuxiang Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 267. Distinct from *nŋ 输入* 'female breast' [ibid.].

**Xiaozhai Younuo**: Mao & Li 2007: 240. Distinct from *mŋ 输入* 'female breast' [ibid.].

**Huangluo Younuo**: Mao & Li 2007: 240. Distinct from *mŋ 输入* 'female breast' [ibid.].

**Northern Pa-Hng**: Mao & Li 1997: 267. Initial *ŋŋ* is a desemanticized classifier. Distinct from *me 输入* 'female breast' [ibid.].

**Southern Pa-Hng**: Mao & Li 1997: 267. Initial *ŋŋ* is a desemanticized classifier. Distinct from *ŋŋ 输入* 'female breast' [ibid.].

**Hm-Nai**: Mao & Li 1997: 267. Initial *ŋŋ 输入* is a desemanticized classifier. Distinct from *ŋŋ 输入* 'female breast' [ibid.].

**Lianhua She**: Mao & Meng 1986: 102. Seems to be borrowed from Chinese 胸脯 *tǐchōu* 'chest'. Cf. *kaŋ 输入* 'liver' in [Hiroki 2003: 186], where only the second component of this borrowing (preceded by a desemanticized classifier) is present. Distinct from *ŋŋ 输入* 'female breast' [Mao & Meng 1986: 102].

**Luoju She**: Mao & Meng 1986: 102. Seems to be borrowed from Chinese 胸脯 *tǐchōu* 'chest'. Distinct from *ŋŋ 输入* 'female breast' [Mao & Meng 1986: 102].


12. BURN TR.

Western Xiangxi *ŋ* (1), Eastern Xiangxi *ŋ* (1), Qiandong *ti* (2), Chuanqiandian *fa* (2), Diandongbei *ŋ* (2), Hmong Daw *lau* (2), Hmong Njua *la* (2), Bunu *fa* (2), Baonao *ŋ* (2), Numao *ŋ* (2), Longhua Jiongnai *ŋ* (3), Liuxiang Jiongnai *ŋ* (3), Xiaozhai Younuo *ŋ* (2), Huangluo Younuo *ŋ* (2), Northern Pa-Hng *ŋ* (4), Southern Pa-Hng *ŋ* (4), Hm-Nai *ŋ* (5), Pana *ŋ* # (3).

References and notes:


**Qiandong**: Zhang 1990: 79; MYYFY 1987: 54.

**Chuanqiandian**: MYYFY 1987: 54.

**Diandongbei**: MYYFY 1987: 54.

**Hmong Daw**: Heimbach 1979: 62. Cf. also *lau* 'to burn, to use as fuel' [Heimbach 1979: 312], a verbal correlate of the nominal stem *lau* 'firewood, fuel'; applied only to words denoting fuel (*oil*, 'torche', etc.).

**Hmong Njua**: Lyman 1974: 125. Transitive verb. Distinct from the intransitive verb *ku* 'to be hot; to burn' [Lyman 1974: 140].

**Bunu**: Meng 2001: 221; MYYFY 1987: 54.

**Baonao**: Meng 2001: 221.

**Numao**: Meng 2001: 221.

**Longhua Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 286.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 286.
13. CLAW(NAIL)

Western Xiangxi po=tei5 (1), Eastern Xiangxi kʰjɔ3=təei5-bv35 (1), Qiandong kens (2), Chuanqianbian tɔu5-de4 (1), Diandongbei kis=təo5 (1), Hmong Daw tɔw4-te5 (1), Hmong Njua çau5-te6 (1), Bunu kwa5-pə4 (3), Baonao kʲwa5-pəy4 (3), Numao kua5 (3), Longhua Jiongnai čaw35 (4), Liuxiang Jiongnai ntey35=təway22 (4), Xiaozhai Younuo t'ou22=kʰjɔ3 (5), Huangluo Younuo hou22=kʰjɔ3 (5), Northern Pa-Hng qa44=vi35-pu22 (6), Southern Pa-Hng qa31=vi35 (6), Hm-Nai qʰau35=ŋkw35 (6), Lianhua She kʰwə4=təe=k'i6 (7), Luofu She kʰwə4=təe=k'i6 (7), Pana ko35-da44 # (3).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: MYYFY 1987: 136. Not attested in [Xiang 1992]. This form corresponds to the general meaning 'nail'; for the more specific 'fingernail', the extended form po=tei5-tu may be used instead (where tu4 = 'hand' q.v.). Cf. in [Yang 2004: 257]: Jiwei pəko=tei5-tu53, Yangmeng pəko=tei5-tu53, Zhongxin pəko=tei5.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 257. The final component (-bv35) is 'hand' q.v. Differently in Xiaozhang: gii=kʰjɔ3-bu35, and still differently in Dengshang: tu35=cii-gii (where the first component is 'hand', and the other two syllables represent a borrowing from Chinese 指甲 zhijia 'nail').


Chuanqianbian: MYYFY 1987: 136. The main morpheme here is tɔu5 'nail'; de4 = 'hand' q.v. Cf. also tɔu5-tens 'toenail'. Additionally, the same source also lists the compound nti7-dei4 in the simple meaning 'nail' (Chinese 指甲), without further semantic specification; this lexeme has no external parallels and remains unclear.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 136. Initial kis= is a desemanticized classifier. The word is simply glossed as 'nail'; cf. also kis=təo5-ti4 'fingernail', kis=təo5-toe5 'toenail'.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 275. The main morpheme here is təw4 'claw / nail'; te5 = 'hand' q.v. Cf. also təw4-təw4 'toenail' (təw4 = 'foot' q.v.).

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 93. The main morpheme here is gau 'claw / nail'; te4 = 'hand' q.v.


Baonao: Meng 2001: 202. The main morpheme here is kwa5-pə4 = 'hand' q.v.

Numao: Meng 2001: 202. The main morpheme here is kəw4-pəy4 = 'hand' q.v.

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 267. The first component is 'hand' q.v.

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 267. The first component most likely means 'finger' (cf. ntey35-ta44 'finger').


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 267. Initial qa4ʷ is a desemanticized classifier. The final morpheme pu22 = 'hand' q.v.


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 267. The first component qa4ʷ = 'skin' q.v.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 102. The first component is ŋwɔ 1 'hand' q.v. Quoted as tɯ=kiŋ in [Hiroki 2003: 185].
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 102. The first component is ŋwɔ 1 'hand' q.v.


14. CLOUD
Western Xiangxi kja=t 1 (1), Eastern Xiangxi ʐʰi̯-dɯ 3 (1), Qiandong ten= 2 (2), Chuanqiandian hua 3 (3), Diandongbei hau 3 -po 7 (3), Hmong Daw hɯ 1 (3), Hmong Njua fu 3 (3), Bunu kə=t 4 (3), Baonao tei 3 -ŋk 2 (4), Numao ou 1 (4), Longhua Jiongnai tʔn 1 (5), Liuxiang Jiongnai tian 2 (5), Xiaozhai Younuo hau 3 (3), Huangluo Younuo hau 3 (3), Northern Pa-Hng qa 3 =ton 5 (5), Southern Pa-Hng qa 3 =tō 5 (5), Hm-Nai ho 3 (3), Lianhua She fɔ 3 (3), Luofu She fu 1 (3).

References and notes:
Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 243. Borrowed from Chinese ʂʰi̯-dɯ (Middle Chinese hun- dru) ‘cloud’. Also Xiaozhang ʐn 1, Dengshang znt 2 id. (same borrowing, but without the desemanticized nominal suffix of the second syllable).
Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 64. The main lexical morpheme is en 3, also attested by itself in the same meaning [Zhang 1990: 113]; ten 1 is a modifier root with the meaning ‘sky’. Quoted as such in [MYYFY 1987: 58], with an additional equivalent glossed as te 3 =ə 1 id. (but not confirmed in [Zhang 1990]).
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 56. Used with the classifier tɯ 3 or tɯ 3.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 248. Initial qa 3 is a desemanticized classifier.
Pana: Not attested.

15. COLD
Western Xiangxi cɛ 1 (1), Eastern Xiangxi ʒɛ 3 (1), Qiandong seɪ 4 (1), Chuanqiandian ʒa 6 (2), Diandongbei ɕie 4 (1), Hmong Daw cja 5 (1), Hmong Njua ca 6 (1), Bunu ʔən 4 (1), Baonao tθe 4 (1), Numao ncan 6 (2), Longhua Jiongnai nən 3 (3), Liuxiang Jiongnai nən 22

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 271. Transcribed as ɕe2 in [MYYFY 1987: 2]. This is the default adjective as applied to objects, i.e. ‘water’. For ‘cold weather’, a different word is employed: ɲəŋ. [Xiang 1992: 127; MYYFY 1987: 40]. The latter is also the only equivalent for Chinese ɨŋ lěng ‘cold’ in [Yang 2004: 325]: Jiwei ɲəŋ34, Yangmeng ɲəŋ36, Zhongxin ɲəŋ31. However, there is also a separate equivalent for Chinese ɨŋ lěng ‘cool, chilly’, glossed as Jiwei ɕe25, Yangmeng ɕe35, Zhongxin ɕe35-ʨu35 [ibid.].

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 325. Cf. Xiaozhang ʐəŋ id. The Dengshang equivalent is quoted as ɲəŋ35 (cf. the entry for Western Xiangxi).

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 366; MYYFY 1987: 2, 40. No difference between ‘cold’ (of objects) and ‘cold’ (of weather); in [MYYFY 1987: 40], ‘cold (of weather)’ is transcribed as sən, instead of ɕe2, but this looks like a misprint.

Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 2. Applied to ‘water’, etc. For ‘cold weather’, a different word is employed: ɲəŋ [MYYFY 1987: 40].

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 2. Applied to ‘water’, etc. For ‘cold weather’, a different word is employed: ɲəŋ [MYYFY 1987: 40].

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 381. Also with tonal change as ɕəŋ, e. g. in ’deŋ ɕəŋ lěng “cold water”’. This is the default adjective as applied to objects. For ‘cold weather’, a different word is employed: ɲəŋ [Heimbach 1979: 141].

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 101. Applied to ‘water’ as well as various other objects. Distinct from ɲəŋ ‘to be cool, cold (of personal sensation or weather)’ [Lyman 1974: 199].

Bunu: Meng 2001: 227. Meaning glossed as ‘cool’ (Chinese ɨŋ liăng), opposed to ɲəŋ ‘cold’ (Chinese ɨŋ lěng), but attestation of the expression ‘cold water’ aŋ, ɨŋ liăng, ‘cold water / cool water’ in [MYYFY 1987: 2] shows that this is most likely an inaccurate attempt at rendering the lexical difference between ‘cold’ (of objects) and ‘cold’ (of weather), typical of all other varieties of Hmong.

Baonao: Meng 2001: 227. Meaning glossed as ‘cool’ (Chinese ɨŋ liăng), opposed to ɲəŋ ‘cold’ (Chinese ɨŋ lěng); see notes on Bunu.

Numao: Meng 2001: 227. Meaning glossed as ‘cool’ (Chinese ɨŋ liăng), opposed to ɲəŋ ‘cold’ (Chinese ɨŋ lěng); see notes on Bunu.


Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 283.


16. COME

References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 328. Meaning glossed as: 'to come (to a place other than one's home, to come to a place where one does not reside or belong)'. Cf. lɔ 'to return, to come (back to a place where you reside)' [Heimbach 1979: 115], not eligible for inclusion due to the semantics.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 327. Meaning glossed as: 'to come (in a direction away from one's residence, home area, or temporary staying point; to come up)'. Distinct from lɑ [Lyman 1974: 173], glossed as 'to come (strictly, in a direction toward one's residence, home area, or temporary staying point)'. Analysis of examples shows that the semantics of the latter word is indeed closer to 'come back, return', than the required Swadesh meaning.


Numao: Meng 2001: 218. Meng 2001: 218. Semantic difference from lɑ is unclear; we list both forms as technical synonyms.


Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 283.


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 298.


Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 121.


17. DIE

Western Xiangxi ta6 (1), Eastern Xiangxi da11 (1), Qiandong ta6 (1), Chuanqiandian da16 (1), Diandongbei na6 (1), Hmong Daw tɑ6 (1), Hmong Njua tɑ6 (1), Longhua Jiongnai ta23 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ta23 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo ta23 (1), Huangluo Younuo ta23 (1), Northern Pa-Hng tei44 (1), Southern Pa-Hng the44 (1), Hm-Nai te31 (1), Lianhua She tʰa4 (1), Luofu She tʰa4 (1), Pana ta6 (1).

References and notes:


Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 328. Cf. also the euphemistic expression \( tu_a \ 'to die' \) [Lyman 1974: 300], literally 'to break life'.  
Bunu: Not attested in [Meng 2001]. Cf., however, \( tu_o \ 'die' \) in [MYYFY 1987: 66].

Baonao: Not attested.

Numao: Not attested.

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 293.  
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 293.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 301.


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 301.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 123. Quoted as \( tʰa_{54} \) in [Hiroki 2003: 209].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 123.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 89. Quoted as \( tə_{32} \) in [Chen 2001: 80].

18. DOG

Western Xiangxi \( tə_{3}=qwu_{3} \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( qv_{55} \) (1), Qiandong \( tə_{3} \) (1), Chuanqiandian \( tə_{3} \) (1), Diandongbei \( λə_{3} \) (1), Hmong Daw \( 'də_{3} \) (1), Hmong Njua \( λə_{2} \) (1), Bunu \( λə_{3} \) (1), Baonao \( λə_{3} \) (1), Numao \( λə_{3} \) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \( kla_{35} \) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( kla_{35} \) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \( kou_{22} \) (1), Huangluo Younuo \( kou_{22} \) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \( qa_{22}=ljan_{53} \) (2), Southern Pa-Hng \( qa_{35}=l̕jə_{53} \) (2), Hm-Nai \( ljan_{53} \) (2), Lianhua She \( kja_{3} \) (1), Luofu She \( kja_{3} \) (1), Pana \( lə_{a}=λə_{3} \) (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 71; MYYFY 1987: 102. Initial \( tə_{1=} \) is a classifier for animals. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 266]: Jiwei \( tə_{3}=qwu_{3} \), Yangmeng \( tə_{3}=qwu_{3} \), Zhongxin \( tə_{3}=qwu_{3} \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 266. Cf. Xiaozhang \( qo_{53} \), Dengshang \( ku_{44} \) id.


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 34. Used with the classifier \( tə_{1} \). Cf. also a rare dialectal synonym: \( kə_{1} \) [Heimbach 1979: 1].

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 154. Used with the classifier \( tə_{1} \).


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 255. Initial \( qa_{22} \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 255. Also \( ŋə_{3}=lə_{3} \) id.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 255.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 97. Quoted as \( kia_{4} \) in [Hiroki 2003: 31].


Pana: Taguchi 2001: 89. Quoted as \( λə_{4} \) in [Chen 2001: 77].
19. DRINK
Western Xiangxi xu₃ (1), Eastern Xiangxi xu₂₃₅ (1), Qiandong hau₇ (1), Chuanqianbian heu₇ (1), Diandongbei hao₇ (1), Hmong Daw h̥ɔ₃ (1), Hmong Njua hau₄ (1), Bunu hu₇ (1), Baonao hau₇ (1), Numao yu₇ (1), Longhua Jiongnai xu₄₃ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai hu₄₃ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo h₃₃₁ (1), Huangluo Younuo h₃₃₁ (1), Northern Pa-Hng h₃₅₃ (1), Southern Pa-Hng h₃₆₃ (1), Hm-Nai hau₃₅₃ (1), Lianhua She h₃₆ (1), Luofu She h₃₆ (1), Pana ho₇ (1).

References and notes:
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 287.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 114. Quoted as h₃₆ in [Hiroki 2003: 192].
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 114.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 89. Quoted as ho₃₅ in [Chen 2001: 80].

20. DRY
Western Xiangxi qʰu₃ (1), Eastern Xiangxi qʰe₃₅₅ (1), Qiandong ŋa₆ (2), Chuanqianbian qʰu₄₃ (1), Diandongbei ŋqʰa₁ (1), Hmong Daw qʰu₂₃ (1), Hmong Njua qʰu₂₃ (1), Bunu ŋkʰen₃ (1), Baonao ɤe₅ (3), Numao ŋkʰa₃ (1), Longhua Jiongnai ŋkʰey₄₄ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ŋkʰ₁₄₄ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo kʰey₂₂ (1), Huangluo Younuo kʰey₂₂ (1), Northern Pa-Hng qʰei₂₂ (1), Southern Pa-Hng qʰe₃₁ (1), Hm-Nai qʰe₁₃ (1), Lianhua She kʰui₁ (1), Luofu She kʰui₁ (1), Pana gay₁ (1).

References and notes:
in [Yang 2004: 322]: Jiwei qʰa44, Yangmeng qʰa44, Zhongxin qʰɛ55.

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 322. Cf. Xiaozhang qʰɛ55, Dengshang kʰa44.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 327; MYYFY 1987: 148.

**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 148.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 148. Alternate synonym: n̂iö [ibid.].

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 272. Polysemy: 'dry, arid / alone / free (without payment)'. Distinct from nqʰ ɐi, 'to dry up (as a stream, pond)' [Heimbach 1979: 172].

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 291. Verbal stem: 'to be dry'. Distinct from že¹, 'to dry in the sun; to be exposed, dried (as in the sun)' [Lyman 1974: 368].

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 229. Quoted as kʰa44 in [MYYFY 1987: 148]; qʰ̄.

**Baonao:** Meng 2001: 229.

**Numao:** Meng 2001: 229.

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 305.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 305.

**Huangluo Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 305.

**Northern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 2002: 305.

**Southern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 2002: 305.

**Hm-Nai:** Mao & Li 2002: 305.

**Lianhua She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 127.

**Luofu She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 127.

**Pana:** Taguchi 2001: 91. Quoted as kʰa44 in [Chen 2001: 81].

**References and notes:**

**Western Xiangxi** ʃn̂=mu2 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qュ53=mjuɔ31 (1), Qiandong nɛ2 (1), Chuanqiandian qɛ2 (1), Diandongbei aʦ=mpa2 (1), Hmong Daw nɔ́e2 (1), Hmong Njua nʒe5 (1), Bu nú mpiɛ2 (1), Baonao kɔ̄=mpce2 (1), Numao mpiɛ2 (1), Longhua Jiongnai mpa₃ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai mpa₃ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo kɔ̄=mje3 (1), Huangluo Younuo kɔ̄=muy3 (1), Northern Pa-Hng aʦ=ŋny₁=niɔ3 (1), Southern Pa-Hng aʦ=qʰɔ́=mphjɔ́ (1), Hm-Nai qʰunj3=mpjau3 (1), Lianhua She kɔ=ŋnu3 (2), Luofu She kɔ=ŋnu3 (2), Pana kɔ=bjɔ₂ (1).

21. EAR

**Western Xiangxi** ʃn̂=mu2 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qュ53=mjuɔ31 (1), Qiandong nɛ2 (1), Chuanqiandian qɛ2 (1), Diandongbei aʦ=mpa2 (1), Hmong Daw nɔ́e2 (1), Hmong Njua nʒe5 (1), Bu nú mpiɛ2 (1), Baonao kɔ̄=mpce2 (1), Numao mpiɛ2 (1), Longhua Jiongnai mpa₃ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai mpa₃ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo kɔ̄=mje3 (1), Huangluo Younuo kɔ̄=muy3 (1), Northern Pa-Hng aʦ=ŋny₁=niɔ3 (1), Southern Pa-Hng aʦ=qʰɔ́=mphjɔ́ (1), Hm-Nai qʰunj3=mpjau3 (1), Lianhua She kɔ=ŋnu3 (2), Luofu She kɔ=ŋnu3 (2), Pana kɔ=bjɔ₂ (1).

**References and notes:**

**Western Xiangxi:** Xiang 1992: 55; MYYFY 1987: 84. The main root morpheme is =mu2 ʃn̂= is a partially desemanticized classifier with the general meaning ‘vessel’, ‘container’, etc. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 251]: Jiwei ʃn̂=mu2, Yangmeng ʃn̂=mu2, Zhongxin ʃn̂=mu2.

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 251. Cf. Xiaozhang qʰa53=di₁=mu2, Dengshang mu44.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 319; MYYFY 1987: 84. Also attested in the bisyllabic form as qa=ne2 [Zhang 1990: 151], with a desemanticized classifier.

**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 84.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 84. Initial aʦ= is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 199.

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 238. Used with the classifier lu₁ or ʃn̂.

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 202. Quoted as ka=nceh in [MYYFY 1987: 84].
Baonao: Meng 2001: 202. Initial \( k_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.


Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266.

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266.

Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 238. Initial \( k_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 238. Initial \( k_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 266. Initial \( a_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier. The component \( q^3\) is also encountered in the Bahengic word for 'nose' q.v.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 266. Initial \( a_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier. The component \( q^3\) is also encountered in the Bahengic word for 'nose' q.v.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 266. The component \( q^3\) is also encountered in the Bahengic word for 'nose' q.v.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 101. Quoted as \( k_3 = k_3\) in [Hiroki 2003: 181].


Pana: Taguchi 2001: 88. Quoted as \( k_3 = k_3\) in [Chen 2001: 77].

22. EARTH

Western Xiangxi \( l_u \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( q_u \) (1), Qiandong \( t_a \) (2), Chuanqiandian \( l_u \) (1), Diandongbei \( a_3 \) (1), Hmong Daw \( a_3 \) (3), Hmong Njua \( \_a_3 \) (3), Bunu \( k_a = t_e \) (2), Baonao \( k_a = t_e \) (2), Numao \( t_a \) (2), Longhua Jiongnai \( t_a \) (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( t_a \) (2), Xiaozhai Younuo \( k_3 = t_o \) (2), Huangluo Younuo \( k_3 = t_o \) (2), Northern Pa-Hng \( q_t \) (4), Southern Pa-Hng \( q_t \) (4), Hm-Nai \( \_a_3 \) (4), Lianhua She \( t_a \) (2), Luofu She \( t_a \) (2), Pana \( t_3 \) # (2).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 226; MYYFY 1987: 162. This syllable renders Chinese monosyllabic \( \pm \) 'earth (soil)' in both sources. For the colloquial binome \( \pm \) 'earth (ground)', the added equivalent in [Xiang 1992: 226] is \( z_i = l_u, z_i = l_u \) in [MYYFY 1987: 160] it is \( q_3 = l_u \). Both of these are really compounds of \( l_u \) 'earth' with \( l_u \) 'field' [Xiang 1992: 219]; the main morpheme remains the same in both the monosyllabic and the tetrasyllabic forms. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 245]: Jiwei \( l_u \), Yangmeng \( l_u \), Zhongxin \( l_u \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 245. Also Xiaozhang \( l_u \), Dengshang \( l_u \).

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 46, 138; MYYFY 1987: 162. Also attested in a variant with a desemanticized classifier: \( q_t = t_a \).


Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 162. Initial \( a_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.


Bunu: Meng 2001: 194. Renders Chinese \( \pm \) 'earth = soil'. Distinct from \( l_a \) 'earth = land, surface' (Chinese \( d_i \)) [ibid.]. Quoted as \( k_3 = t_e \) in [MYYFY 1987: 162]. Initial \( k_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Baonao: Meng 2001: 194. Renders Chinese \( \pm \) 'earth = soil'. Distinct from \( l_a \) 'earth = land, surface' (Chinese \( d_i \)) [ibid.]. Initial \( k_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Numao: Meng 2001: 194. Renders Chinese \( \pm \) 'earth = soil'. Distinct from \( l_a \) 'earth = land, surface' (Chinese \( d_i \)) [ibid.].

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 255. Renders Chinese \( \pm \) 'earth = soil'. Distinct from \( l_a \) 'earth = land, surface'.

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 255. Renders Chinese \( \pm \) 'earth = soil'. Distinct from \( l_a \) 'earth = land, surface'.

Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 234. Renders Chinese \( d_i \) 'land'. Initial \( k_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 234. Renders Chinese \( d_i \) 'land'. Initial \( k_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.


Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 93. Renders both Chinese 地 'land' and 土 'earth = soil'. Quoted as ta2 in [Hiroki 2003: 14].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 93. Renders both Chinese 地 'land' and 土 'earth = soil'.


23. EAT

Western Xiangxi non2 (1), Eastern Xiangxi naŋ31 (1), Qiandong non2 (1), Chuanqiandian nao2 (1), Diandongbei na2 (1), Hmong Daw nɔ2 (1), Hmong Njua nao5 (1), Bunu non2 (1), Baonao nɔ2 (1), Numao nou2 (1), Longhua Jiongnai naŋ33 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai naŋ31 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo naŋ13 (1), Huangluo Younuo naŋ13 (1), Northern Pa-Hng naŋ33 (1), Southern Pa-Hng naŋ33 (1), Hm-Nai naŋ33 (1), Lianhua She nuŋ2 (1), Luofu She nuŋ2 (1), Pana non2 (1).

References and notes:


Numao: Meng 2001: 220.


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 287.


Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 114.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 89. Quoted as nɔŋ33 in [Chen 2001: 79].

24. EGG

Western Xiangxi nuŋ2-ŋai (1), Eastern Xiangxi quŋ11 (3), Qiandong kŋ3 (2), Chuanqiandian qeŋ-ŋay1 (3), Diandongbei qaŋ-ŋay1 (3), Hmong Daw qe4 (3), Hmong Njua qay3 (3), Bunu
k`es (2), Baonao q`es (2), Numao k`eyes (2), Longhua Jiongnai k`jaes (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai k`jaes (2), Xiaozhai Younuo kees=kous (3), Huangluo Younuo kees=kous (3), Northern Pa-Hng qo55 (3), Southern Pa-Hng qo55 (3), Hm-Nai qo55 (3), Lianhua She k`at (2), Luofu She k`ias (2), Pana k`jaes (2).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 95. Transcribed as n`u-q`e: in [MYYFY 1987: 136]. The main root for 'egg' is n`u-q`e: q`at means 'chicken', cf. n`u=n`u: 'duck egg', etc. [MYYFY 1987: 136]. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 281]: Jiwei q`o55-n`u55, Yangmeng q`o55-n`u11, Zhongxin o55=n`u11 'egg' (with a desemantized classifier in prefixal position) vs. Jiwei n`u11=q`a11, Yangmeng n`u11=q`a11, Zhongxin o55=n`u11=q`e55 'chicken egg' (same as in [Xiang 1992] and [MYYFY 1987]).


Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 183; MYYFY 1987: 136. More often found in compound formations, such as k`e-q`e: 'chicken egg', etc.


Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 250. The main root for 'egg' is kou55; ke55 means 'chicken'.

Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 250. The main root for 'egg' is kou55; ke55 means 'chicken'.


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 259.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 99. Quoted as k`at in [Hiroki 2003: 26].


Pana: Taguchi 2001: 86.

25. EYE

Western Xiangxi l`es=q`e: (1), Eastern Xiangxi q`e5=me11 (2), Qiandong me5 (2), Chuanqiandian m`a6 (2), Diandongbei a5=m`a6 (2), Hmong Daw q`e35=m`a35 (2), Hmong Njua q`a55=m`a6 (2), Bunu k`i35=m`e35 (2), Baonao l`e35=k`e35 (1), Numao m`e35 (2), Longhua Jiongnai m`a35=me135 (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai m`a35=me135 (2), Xiaozhai Younuo ki35=me31 (2), Huangluo Younuo ki35=me32 (2), Northern Pa-Hng qo55=me34 (2), Southern Pa-Hng a44=q`a55=m`h44 (2), Hm-Nai n`a55=me31 (2), Lianhua She k`at=k`h35 (3), Luofu She k`at=k`h35 (3), Pana ke2 (3).

References and notes:
Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 256; MYFY 1987: 82. Initial \( l_2 \) is a desemanticized classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 252]: Jiwei \( l_4 = m_3 \), Yangmeng \( l_3 = q_3 \), Zhongxin \( l_3 = q_3 \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 252. Cf. Xiaozhang \( q_3 = m_4 \), Dengshang \( k_u = m_6 \).

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 305. Polysemy: ‘face / eye’. Glossed as \( m_3 = m_5 \) in [MYFY 1987: 82], but the semantics of the first member of this compound is quite unclear (possibly an error).

Chuanqidian: MYFY 1987: 82.

Diandongbei: MYFY 1987: 82. Initial \( a_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 271. Initial \( q_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier attached to words with the general semantics of ‘hole’. Without this classifier, the simple root stem \( m_3 \) is glossed as ‘face’ [Heimbach 1979: 132].

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 288. Initial \( q_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier attached to words with the general semantics of ‘hole’. Without this classifier, the simple root stem \( m_3 \) usually has the meaning ‘face’.


References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Not attested in our main sources. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 281]: Jiwei \( k_2 \), Yangmeng \( k_2 \), Zhongxin \( k_2 \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 281. Cf. Xiaozhang \( k_2 = m_5 \), Dengshang \( s_2 \).

Qiandong: Not attested.

Chuanqidian: Not attested.

Diandongbei: Not attested.


Bunu: Not attested.

Baonao: Not attested.

Numao: Not attested.

Longhua Jiongnai: Not attested. Cf. \( k_2 = m_3 \), ‘oil’ [Mao & Li 2002: 275].

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Not attested. Cf. \( k_2 = m_3 \), ‘oil’ [Mao & Li 2002: 275].

Xiaozhai Younuo: Not attested.

Huangluo Younuo: Not attested.

Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 277. Applicable to all sorts of ‘fat’, solid animal or liquid etc.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 277. Applicable to all sorts of 'fat', solid animal or liquid etc. Initial 31= 'water' q.v.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 277. Applicable to all sorts of 'fat', solid animal or liquid etc.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 107. Meaning glossed as 'oil'; however, in [Hiroki 2003: 178] it is explicitly stated that ɔ31 means 'solid fat' (Chinese 脂肪) as well.


Pana: Not attested.

27. FEATHER

Western Xiangxi ɡ01=pi1-qo1-pi3 (1), Qiandong ɿi4-nau6 (1), Hmong Daw ɿw5 (1), Hmong Njua plau1 (1), Longhua Jiongnai ple4 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai pley4 (1), Northern Pa-Hng ti35 (1), Southern Pa-Hng pi35 (1), Hm-Nai pi35 (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 269. The first two syllables are the same word as 'hair' q.v.; the second two syllables are unclear (formally, they coincide with the word for 'fruit, seed' [Xiang 1992: 77], but such derivation would be strange). In any case, the head word is 'hair'.

Eastern Xiangxi: Not attested.

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 96. A compound of 'hair' q.v. + 'bird' q.v.

Chuangqiandian: Not attested.

Diandongbei: Not attested.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 249. Polysemy: 'hair / fur / feathers' (see 'hair'). The singulative form 'feather' is translated as i1 tu6 ɿw5, where i1 = 'one' q.v., and tu6 is a classifier. Cf. also ti5 'a wing; a feather (from the wing or tail or body)' [Heimbach 1979: 318] (this word seems to bear the semantics of 'wing' rather than 'feather', so we do not currently include it on the main list).


Bunu: Not attested.

Baoao: Not attested.

Numao: Not attested.

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 262. Polysemy: 'hair (on body) / fur / feather'.

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 262. Polysemy: 'hair (on body) / fur / feather'.

Xiaozhai Younuo: Not attested.

Huangluo Younuo: Not attested.

Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 261. Same word as 'hair' q.v.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 261. Same word as 'hair' q.v.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 261. Same word as 'hair' q.v.

Lianhua She: Not attested.

Luofu She: Not attested.

Pana: Not attested.

28. FIRE

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 93; MYYFY 1987: 74. Initial *pi* is a desemanticized classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 245]: Jiwei *pi*=*ty*31, Yangmeng *pi*=*ty*31, Zhongxin *pi*=*to*33.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 245. Also Xiaozhang *po*35=*ta*55, Dengshang *ka*35=*te*22 id. (all three dialects seem to feature different fossilized classifiers).


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 65, 312. The literal meaning of the compound, if derived synchronically from its constituents, is *g*1 ‘coals’ + *ta*30 ‘firewood’; however, *ta*30 is also found in the meaning ‘fire’ in several idiomatic expressions (e. g. *ci*7 *ta*8 ‘sparks’, etc.), and also means ‘to burn (fuel)’, so it may be considered the “main” morpheme in this word. Cf. also *ɕu*1 ‘a fire; fire confined to one place’ [Heimbach 1979: 17].

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 318. Used with the classifier *ɕu*1, or as the second morpheme in the bisyllabic compound *ɕa*2=*ta*6. With a different classifier, *ɕa*6, the same word has the meaning ‘firewood’.

Bunu: Meng 2001: 194. Also *ka*1=*to*4 id. Quoted as *tu*4 in [MYYFY 1987: 74].


Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 251. Initial *a*4 is a desemanticized classifier.


Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 94. Quoted as t*ʰ*4 in [Hiroki 2003: 19].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 94.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 86.

29. FISH

Western Xiangxi *ta*=*mu*4 (1), Eastern Xiangxi *myu*33 (1), Qiandong *nou*8 (1), Chuanqiandian *ŋe*4 (1), Diandongbei *mpa*4 (1), Hmong Daw *ŋe*5 (1), Hmong Njua *jί*6 (1), Bunu *np* (1), Baonao *mpci*4 (1), Numao *mp* (1), Longhua Jiongnai *mp*31 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai *mp* (1), Xiaozhai Younuo *mp*2 (1), Huangluo Younuo *mp*2 (1), Northern Pa-Hng *njo*2 (1), Southern Pa-Hng *ŋ*31=*mp* (1), Hm-Nai *mp*2 (1), Lianhua She *pia*4 (1), Luofu She *pia*4 (1), Pana *pia*4 (1).

References and notes:

Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 86.
Diantongbei: MYYFY 1987: 86.
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 239. Used with the classifier tɔt.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 258.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 258.
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 98.

30. FLY V.

References and notes:

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 359. Meaning glossed as 'to fly, soar'.
Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 293.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 293.
Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 278.
Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 278.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 301.
31. FOOT

Western Xiangxi $qo_1=l31$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $qu_53=ta_33$ (2), Qiandong $lo_1$ (1), Chuanqiandian $teu_{44}$ (2), Diandongbei $toey_{5}$ (2), Hmong Daw $k_34=tao_4$ (2), Hmong Njua $tau_3$ (2), Bunu $lau_1$ (1), Baonao $to_{5}$ (2), Numao $to_5$ (2), Longhua Jiongnai $ley_{44}$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai $lay_{44}$ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo $tu_{33}$ (2), Huangluo Younuo $tau_{33}$ (2), Northern Pa-Hng $qa_{44}=lu_35$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng $tha_{35}=lu_35$ (1), Hm-Nai $ha_{35}$ (3), Lianhua She $tɔ_{11}$ (2), Luofu She $tɔ_5$ (2), Pana $tu_{5}$ (2).

References and notes:


**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 255. Cf. Xiaozhang $qi_{21}=ta_{21}$. Differently in Dengshang (a form cognate with Western Xiangxi): $l34$ ‘foot’.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 299; MYYFY 1987: 96.

**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 96.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 96.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 85, 310. Initial $k32$ = is a desemanticized classifier; in various compound expressions (‘to drag the feet’, ‘to stamp the feet’, ‘ankle’, ‘toe’, etc.), only the root morpheme $tau_{3}$ is used.

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 317. Also $qu_5=tau_{5}$ id. (with a desemanticized prefix). Used with the classifier $c^3i_{ty_4}$.

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 203. Quoted as $tau_1=tau_1$ in [MYYFY 1987: 96]. Additional synonym: $to_{5}$ [Meng 2001: 203]. We list $tau_{1}$ as the primary synonym, since it is the one that is confirmed in both sources.

**Baonao:** Meng 2001: 203.

**Numao:** Meng 2001: 203.

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 268.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 268.

**Xiaozhai Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 241.

**Huangluo Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 241.

**Northern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 268. Initial $qai_{3}=$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Southern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 268. Initial $tha_{33}=$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hm-Nai:** Mao & Li 1997: 268.

**Lianhua She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 102. Polysemy: ‘foot / leg’. Quoted as $tau_{3}$ in [Hiroki 2003: 189]; the same source also lists $k3_3$ as a synonym, but the meaning ‘leg’ only corresponds to the equivalent $k3_{3}$, not $tau_{3}$.

**Luofu She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 102. Polysemy: ‘foot / leg’.

**Pana:** Taguchi 2001: 89. Quoted as $la_{4}=tu_{13}$ in [Chen 2001: 77].

32. FULL

Western Xiangxi $pe_3$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $pe_{35}$ (1), Qiandong $pe_3$ (1), Chuanqiandian $po_3$ (1), Diandongbei $pu_3$ (1), Hmong Daw $pu_3$ (1), Hmong Njua $pu_2$ (1), Bunu $puŋ_{3}$ (1),
Baonao lay (2), Numao pun (1), Longhua Jiongnai pan (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai pā (1), Xiaozhai Younuo pun (2), Huangluo Younuo pot (1), Northern Pa-Hng pan (1), Southern Pa-Hng pū (1), Hm-Nai pan (1), Lianhua She pan (1), Luofu She pan (1), Pana pon # (1).

References and notes:


Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 266. Meaning glossed as 'to be full, reach ultimate capacity'. Cf. also maŋ 'to be complete, full' [Lyman 1974: 178]; nj aŋ 'to be full (of the moon)' [Lyman 1974: 245].


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 304.


Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 126.


33. GIVE

Western Xiangxi kan (1), Eastern Xiangxi gu (1), Qiandong pe (2), Chuanqiandian san (3), Diandongbei sau-ao (3), Hmong Daw pu (2), Hmong Njua pu (2), Xiaozhai Younuo haŋ (4), Huangluo Younuo haŋ (4), Northern Pa-Hng gu (5), Southern Pa-Hng ñu (5), Hm-Nai kwañ (1), Pana pō (2).

References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 234. Meaning glossed as: 'to give (free of charge), to hand to'. Also used as a compound: pu; [Heimbach 1979: 245]; the author notes that "this word is used in this sense in Laos but is seldom so used among Thailand Hmong."
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 266. Polysemy: 'to give / to feed (animals)'. Cf. also m g1 with the basic meaning 'to hold, take, seize', but occasionally used in the meaning 'to give, offer' [Lyman 1974: 185].
Bunu: Not attested.
Baonao: Not attested.
Numao: Not attested.
Longhua Jiongnai: Not attested.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Not attested.
Numao: Not attested.
Longhua Jiongnai: Not attested.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Not attested.
Longhua Jiongnai: Not attested.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Not attested.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 296. Also p å5 id. (semantic difference is unclear).
Lianhua She: Not attested. Cf., however, paŋ22 'to give' in [Hiroki 2003: 252].
Luofu She: Not attested.

34. GOOD

References and notes:
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 305. Said of people (as in 'good person'). The meaning 'good = beautiful, pretty' is expressed with the word yu55. 
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 305. Said of people (as in 'good person'). The meaning 'good = beautiful, pretty' is expressed with the word yu55. 
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 305. 
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 127.

35. GREEN
Western Xiangxi liɔ4 (-1), Eastern Xiangxi ʌɔ35 (-1), Qiandong niu4 (1), Chuanqiandian nçua1 (1), Diandongbei nca1 (1), Hmong Daw rŋua1 (1), Hmong Njua rŋua1 (1), Bunu mþu2 (1), Baonao mpcau2 (1), Numao mpjɔ2 (1), Longhua Jiongnai mpʰ44 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ʌɔ22-hu43 (2), Xiaozhai Younuo ɲe31 (-1), Huangluo Younuo ɲu31 (-1), Northern Pa-Hng njo35 (1), Southern Pa-Hng mpjɔ35 (1), Hm-Nai mpjɔ35 (1), Lianhua She ka6=þu4 (1), Luofu She ka6=þu4 (1), Pana liɔ31 # (-1).

References and notes:
Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 137; MYYFY 1987: 82. Borrowed from Chinese (绿 lǜ ‘green’). The old word mɹo1 is still preserved in some idiomatic combinations, e. g. nu4 mɹo1 ‘green leaves’ [Xiang 1992: 137]. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 325]: Jiwei ɭɔ22, Yangmeng ɭɔŋ33, with the old word still preserved in Zhongxin: mɹɯ55.
Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 325. Borrowed from Chinese (绿 lǜ ‘green’). The older equivalent still seems to be preserved in the Xiaozhang dialect: mpjə31. Cf. also Dengshang ɭa22=nʃə44.
Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 82.
Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 82. Additionally, the compound mi1-si3 (internal structure unclear) is also listed in the same meaning [ibid.].
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 296. Cf. hu43 ‘dark green’ [ibid.].
Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 283.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 304.
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 126.

36. HAIR
Western Xiangxi pi1 (1), Eastern Xiangxi ʃai3=þei33=þei33 (1), Qiandong ʃiu3-ʃu4 (1), Chuanqiandian plau1-hau5 (1), Diandongbei ɭa1-fa5 (1), Hmong Daw plaw1-haw4 (1), Hmong Njua plau1-hau5 (1), Bunu ɭa1-fa1 (1), Baonao ɭa1-vhia3 (1), Numao ɭia1-kʰan1 (1), Longhua Jiongnai ɳkau33=pley44 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ɳkɔ35=pley44 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo
ha31=pj33 (1), Huangluo Younuo ha22=pj33 (1), Northern Pa-Hng ti35 (1), Southern Pa-Hng pi35 (1), Hm-Nai pi35 (1), Lianhua She kanη=kʰŋ51=pj1 (1), Luofu She kanη=kʰŋ51=pj1 (1), Pana pj01-pj01 # (1).

References and notes:


Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 252. The first two morphemes are ‘head’ q.v. Differently in Xiaozhang: non51=pi35 ‘hair’, where =pi35 is ‘head’ q.v. Still differently in Dengshang: duu35=xwau35 ‘hair’, which seems to be a borrowing from Chinese 頭髮 tòu-fà ‘head hair’.


Chuanniandian: MYYFY 1987: 100. Literally: plau1 ‘hair (gen.)’ + ha61 ‘head’ q.v.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 100. Literally: xao1 ‘hair (gen.)’ + fao1 ‘head’ q.v.


Bunu: Meng 2001: 202; MYYFY 1987: 100. Literally: xao1 ‘hair (gen.)’ + fao1 ‘head’ q.v.


Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266. The first morpheme is ‘head’ q.v.

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266. The first morpheme is ‘head’ q.v.


Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 101. The first two components are ‘head’ q.v. Quoted as kuau3=kʰŋ51=pj1 in [Hiroki 2003: 180].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 101. The first two components are ‘head’ q.v.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 88. Meaning glossed as ‘body hair’, however, since no alternate synonym is attested for ‘head hair’, we tentatively include the word on the list. Quoted as fo41=ppj1 ‘head hair’ in [Chen 2001: 77], where fo41 = ‘head’ q.v.

37. HAND


References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 313. Meaning glossed as: 'the lower arm and hand, pertaining to the lower arm, the hand or the fingers'. The word is used with the classifier cʰay in the meaning 'arm, hand', and with the classifier tu⁵ in the meaning 'finger'.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 267. Initial qa⁴⁴ is a desemanticized classifier.


Pana: Taguchi 2001: 88. Quoted as la⁴⁴=kwa⁳¹ in [Chen 2001: 77]. Distinct from ka¹³=ʆi¹³ ‘arm’ [ibid.].

38. HEAD

Western Xiangxi ko⁵=pe⁵ (1), Eastern Xiangxi la₃=p.uei₃⁵ (1), Qiandong qʰo₁ (2), Chuanqiandian hau₅ (1), Diandongbei fao₃ (1), Hmong Daw tɔw⁴=hɔw⁴ (1), Hmong Njua tau¹=hau₃ (1), Bunu fa₃ (1), Baonao viha₃ (1), Numao kʰan₁ (3), Longhua Jiongnai ηkau₃₃ (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai ηk₃₃ (2), Xiaozhai Younuo ha₃=kʰ₃₃ (2), Huangluo Younuo ha₂₂=kʰ₂₂ (2), Northern Pa-Hng a₃₃=toŋ₃₅=ti₂₂ (1), Southern Pa-Hng a₄₄=ϡ₃₅₃=pi₃₁ (1), Hm-Nai naŋ₃₅=ci₁₃ (1), Lianhua She kanj=e=kʰ₅ (2), Luofu She kanj=e=kʰ₅ (2), Pana fo₃ (1).

References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 49, 308. Initial tɔwⁿ is a desemanticized classifier with the original meaning ‘gourd, pumpkin’ [Heimbach 1979: 307]. In various compound expressions (“forehead”, “bald-headed”, etc.), only the root morpheme hɔw⁴ is used.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 120. Initial tau¹ is a desemanticized classifier with the original meaning ‘pumpkin, turban squash’ [Lyman 1974: 315]. In various compound expressions, only the root morpheme hau₃ is used.


Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266.

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266.

Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 265. Initial あは is a desemanticized classifier.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 265. Initial あは is a desemanticized classifier.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 265. Initial なは is a desemanticized classifier.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 101. Quoted as かんは<k>a1 in [Hiroki 2003: 179]. The word かん is also listed there as a separate equivalent for 'head'.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 88. Quoted as かん is also listed there as a separate equivalent for 'head'.

References and notes:

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 437; MYFY 1987: 40. The second morpheme of this compound formation is とえ 'ear' q.v.; the first component is the proper verbal root 'hear', also used by itself in occasional contexts.
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 198. Polysemy: 'to hear / to smell / to feel / to be aware'. Distinct from なは 'to listen / to smell / to feel' ('to initiate the functioning of one's senses') [Lyman 1974: 204].
Bunu: Meng 2001: 218. Quoted as シュン in [MYFY 1987: 40].
Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 282. Distinct from シュハ 'to listen'.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 282. Distinct from シュハ 'to listen'.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 287. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 287. Distinct from なは 'to listen'.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 287. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'.
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 114.
Pana: Chen 2001: 81. Probably not attested in [Taguchi 2001: 89], where the word トゥハ corresponding to the Chinese character 聽, means 'to listen' = トゥハ id. in [Chen 2001: 81].

40. HEART
Western Xiangxi \( \text{qi}_1 = \text{mən}_2 \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( \text{sen}_{33} \text{-ca}_{31} \) (-1), Qiandong \( \text{tiu}_3 \) (2), Chuanqiandian \( \text{sa}_{35} = \text{ŋə}_1 \) (3), Diandongbei \( \text{lo}_3 \text{y}_3 \) (2), Hmong Daw \( \text{pl}_{aw}_3 \) (2), Hmong Njua \( \text{pla}_1 \) (2), Bunu \( \text{pi}_1 = \text{sə}_1 \) (4), Baonao \( \text{xə}_3 \text{y}_3 \) (2), Numao \( \text{mu}_3 \text{y}_3 \) (5), Longhua Jiongnai \( \text{pa}_{22} = \text{ŋə}_{33} \) (6), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( \text{pa}_{21} = \text{ŋə}_{31} \) (6), Xiaozhai Younuo \( \text{f}_{32} = \text{sen}_{33} = \text{lin}_{33} \) (7), Huangluo Younuo \( \text{lin}_{33} \) (7), Northern Pa-Hng \( \text{a}_{33} = \text{no}_3 \text{y}_3 \) (5), Southern Pa-Hng \( \text{a}_{44} = \text{ŋ}_3 \text{m}_3 \) (8), Hm-Nai \( \text{na}_{35} = \text{ŋə}_{33} \) (8), Lianhua She \( \text{sa}_{31} \) (9), Luofu She \( \text{fun}_3 \) (10), Pana \( \text{san}_{1} \text{-taw}_2 \) (11).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 249; MYYFY 1987: 100. Initial \( \text{qi} \) is a desemanticized classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 254]: Jiwei \( \text{qi}_{35} = \text{mən}_{45} \), Yangmeng \( \text{qi}_{42} = \text{mən}_{16} \), Zhongxin \( \text{qi}_1 = \text{mən}_{15} \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 254. Borrowed from Chinese 心脏 \( \text{xin}-\text{zang} \). Two other dialects seem to preserve older terms: Xiaozhai \( \text{ti}_{11} = \text{fin}_{30} \), Dengshang \( \text{ku}_{42} = \text{ŋə}_{72} \).


Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 100. Internal structure of this compound is not quite clear.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 100.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 249. Polysemy: 'heart / in the midst of'. Used with the classifier \( \text{li}_{4} \).\n
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 277. Used with the classifier \( \text{li}_{4} \). Polysemy: 'heart (as a bodily organ) / core, center, middle'. Distinct from ʂai 'liver / heart (fig.), mind, seat of emotion' [Lyman 1974: 299].

Bunu: Meng 2001: 203. Initial \( \text{pi}_{1} \) is a desemanticized classifier. Different equivalent listed in [MYYFY 1987: 100]: \( \text{θin}_{1} = \text{tau}_{4} \).


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 269. Initial \( \text{a}_{33} \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 269. Initial \( \text{a}_{34} \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 269. Initial \( \text{na}_{35} \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 102. Differently in [Hiroki 2003: 186]: \( \text{cu}_{22} \text{-li}_{11} \) 'heart'. Not clear if this is a borrowing from Chinese 心 \( \text{xin} \).

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 102. Same word as 'liver' q.v.


41. HORN

Western Xiangxi \( \text{qi}_1 = \text{kə}_{1} \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( \text{ku}_{33} = \text{ku}_{33} \) (1), Qiandong \( \text{ki}_1 \) (1), Chuanqiandian \( \text{ku}_{7} \) (2), Diandongbei \( \text{ku}_1 \) (1), Hmong Daw \( \text{ku}_1 \) (1), Hmong Njua \( \text{ku}_1 \) (1), Bunu \( \text{ki}_1 \) (1), Baonao \( \text{ki} \) (1), Numao \( \text{ku}_1 \) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \( \text{kə}_{44} \) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( \text{kə}_{44} \) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \( \text{kə}_{33} = \text{ku}_{33} \) (1), Huangluo Younuo \( \text{ku}_{33} = \text{ku}_{33} \) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \( \text{qa}_{35} \) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \( \text{th}_{33} = \text{q}_{35} \) (1), Hm-Nai \( \text{qa}_{35} \) (1), Lianhua She \( \text{kə}_{1} \) (1), Luofu She \( \text{kə}_{1} \) (1), Pana \( \text{kə}_{1} \) (1).
References and notes:


**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 267. Cf. Xiao Zhang j1=ɕe1, Dengshang k1=ɕe.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 176; MYYFY 1987: 134.

**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 134.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 134.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 88. Used with the classifier tu (for a single horn) and ci (for a pair).

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 140. Both sg. and pl. meanings.

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 199. Quoted as ɕuŋ in [MYYFY 1987: 134].

**Baonao, Numao:** Meng 2001: 199.

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 263.

**Xiaozhai Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 248. Initial kə3 is a desemanticized classifier.

**Huangluo Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 248. Either a reduplication, or assimilated from kə3=kuə, where kə3= is a desemanticized classifier.

**Northern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 261.

**Southern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 261.

**Hm-Nai:** Mao & Li 1997: 261.

**Lianhua She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 99. Quoted as ɕuŋ in [Hiroki 2003: 23].

**Luofu She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 99.

**Pana:** Taguchi 2001: 86.

42. I

Western Xiangxi wɐ4 (1), Eastern Xiangxi wɐ55 (1), Qiandong ɐi4 (1), Chuanqiandian kə3 (2), Diandongbei ku3 (2), Hmong Daw ku3 (2), Hmong Njua kuə (2), Bunu ɕuŋ (3), Baonao kə3 (2), Numao ɕuŋ (3), Longhua Jiongnai ɐə31 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ɐə33 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo ɐə32 (1), Huangluo Younuo ɐə32 (1), Northern Pa-Hng ɕuŋ (2), Southern Pa-Hng ɕuŋ (1), Hm-Nai ɕuŋ (1), Lianhua She ɕuŋ (1), Luofu She ɕuŋ (1), Pana ɕuŋ (1).

References and notes:


**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 400; MYYFY 1987: 32.

**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 32.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 32.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 89; Mottin 1978: 44.

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 141.

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 232; MYYFY 1987: 32.

**Baonao, Numao:** Meng 2001: 232.
43. KILL

Western Xiangxi \( ta_5 \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( ta_{31} \) (1), Qiandong \( ta_5 \) (1), Chuanqiandian \( tua_5 \) (1), Diandongbei \( ta_5 \) (1), Hmong Daw \( tu\mathring{a}_4 \) (1), Hmong Njua \( tu\mathring{a}_3 \) (1), Bunu \( tu_5 \) (1), Numao \( pu\mathring{e}_6 \) (2), Longhua Jiongnai \( ta_{35} \) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( ta_{22} \) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \( t\mathring{a}_{35} \) (1), Huangluo Younuo \( t\mathring{a}_{53} \) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \( ta_{55} \) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \( ta_{55} \) (1), Hm-Nai \( ta_{55} \) (1), Lianhua She \( ta_5 \) (1), Luofu She \( ta_5 \) (1), Pana \( ta_5 \) (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 186; MYYFY 1987: 66. Applicable to people. In the meaning ‘to kill (small animals)’, the word \( py\mathring{a}_3 \) is used instead ([Xiang 1992: 186]; [MYYFY 1987: 50]); ‘to kill (large animals, like cows)’ is \( b\mathring{a}_0 \) [Xiang 1992: 186]. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 355]: Jiwei \( ta_{46} \), Yangmeng \( ta_{56} \), Zhongxin \( ta_{54} \) ‘to kill (gen.)’, opposed to Jiwei \( py\mathring{a}_{42} \), Yangmeng \( py\mathring{a}_{31} \), Zhongxin \( p\mathring{h}_{35} \) ‘to kill (e. g. pigs)’.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 355. Applied to people and animals alike. Cf. Xiaozhang \( ta_{21} \), Dengshang \( ta_{22} \).

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 58. Secondary synonym: \( ma_0 \), glossed as ‘to cut, hack; to kill’ in [Zhang 1990: 304].


Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 66. Additional synonym: \( p\mathring{a}_3 \) [ibid.].

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 326. With tonal variation, cf. i \( p\mathring{a}_6 \) ‘to die’ q.v.


Bunu: Meng 2001: 221. Quoted as \( to_5 \) in [MYYFY 1987: 66].

Baonao: Meng 2001: 221.

Numao: Meng 2001: 221.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 293.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 293.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 293.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 117. Quoted as \( ta_{11} \) in [Hiroki 2003: 254].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 117.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 90. Quoted as \( ta_{15} \) in [Chen 2001: 80].

44. KNEE

Western Xiangxi \( pi_{3}=\varepsilon_{6} \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( pi_{35}=\varepsilon_{11} \) (1), Qiandong \( po_{3}=qo_{5}=\varepsilon_{6} \) (1),
Chuanqiandian *hau*3=3*əu*6 (1), Diandongbei *faɔ*=*q*6 (1), Hmong Daw *hɔw*=*θ*6 (1), Hmong Njua *hau*=*əu*6 (1), Bunu *fa*=*q*6 (1), Baonao *vi*6 (1), Numao *kön*=*əu*6 (1), Longhua Jiongnai *dj*6*əu*3 *ŋ* *kau*53 (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai *h*35=*l*31*ŋ* 55 (2), Xiaozhai Younuo *fɔ*33=*ti*22=*k*u22 (3), Huangluo Younuo *tou*33=*k*u*31*ŋ* 55 (4), Northern Pa-Hng *pɔ*35=*q*44 (1), Southern Pa-Hng *a*44=*qh*31=*q*ə*i*44 (1), Hm-Nai *k*ʰ*ŋ* *ŋ*i31 (1), Pana *fo*44=*q*u22 # (1).

References and notes:


**Eastern Xiangxi**: Yang 2004: 255. Differently in Xiaozhang: *po*11=*p*35=*fa*35 (where the last morpheme is ‘foot, leg’ q.v.) and in Dengshang: *bɔ*33=*q*35=*fa*35 id.

**Qiandong**: Zhang 1990: 33. Transcribed as *po*11=*qo*11 in [MYFY 1987: 14]. The main root morpheme is *qo*, ‘knee’ [Zhang 1990: 265], rarely used autonomously; *po*11 is a desemanticized classifier, and *qo* is a root meaning ‘joint; hook’ [Zhang 1990: 171].

**Chuanqiandian**: MYFY 1987: 14. See notes on Hmong Daw for morphemic structure.


**Hmong Daw**: Heimbach 1979: 9, 51. Initial *hɔ* is a desemanticized classifier with the basic meaning of ‘within, inside; underneath; stump, base, basis’ (ultimately from ‘head’ q.v.). The root morpheme *qo*6 is encountered on its own in compound expressions (*‘to kneel, etc.*).

**Hmong Njua**: Lyman 1974: 120. Meaning glossed as ‘knee-cap, knee’. The first component is ‘head’ q.v.; the second component may also be used on its own with the meaning ‘knee’ [Lyman 1974: 341].


**Baonao**: Meng 2001: 203. The first component is ‘head’ q.v.

**Numao**: Meng 2001: 203. The first component is ‘head’ q.v.

**Longhua Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 268. The first component is ‘head’ q.v.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 268. The second component is cognate with Longhua Jiongnai *dj*31 id.; the first one is unclear.

**Xiaozhai Younuo**: Mao & Li 2007: 241.

**Huangluo Younuo**: Mao & Li 2007: 241. The first component is ‘foot’ q.v.

**Northern Pa-Hng**: Mao & Li 1997: 268.

**Southern Pa-Hng**: Mao & Li 1997: 268. Initial *a*44 is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hm-Nai**: Mao & Li 1997: 268.

**Lianhua She**: Not attested.

**Luofu She**: Not attested.

**Pana**: Chen 2001: 77. Not attested in Taguchi’s vocabulary. The first component is ‘head’ q.v.

45. KNOW

Western Xiangxi *ŋi*6 (1), Eastern Xiangxi *p*i*33 (2), Qiandong *pu*1 (2), Chuanqiandian *pau*1 (2), Diandongbei *pao*1 (2), Hmong Daw *pɔw*1 (2), Hmong Njua *pau*1 (2), Bunu *pa*1 (2), Baonao *pja*1 (2), Numao *pu*1 (2), Longhua Jiongnai *pe*44 (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai *pey*44 (2), Xiaozhai Younuo *tou*22=*pɔ*33 (2), Huangluo Younuo *tou*22=*pɔ*33 (2), Northern Pa-Hng *kɔ*33=*p*35 (2), Southern Pa-Hng *pi*35 (2), Hm-Nai *pi*35=*to*13 (2), Lianhua She *pe*1 (2), Luofu She *p*ə1 (2), Pana *taw*5=*p*ə1 (2).
References and notes:


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 297.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 121. Quoted as pe22 in [Hiroki 2003: 261].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 121.


46. LEAF

Western Xiangxi qo31=nu2 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qu33=nu31 (1), Qiandong qa31=nu2 (1), Chuanqiandian mplon2 (1), Diandongbei a5=nλao2 (1), Hmong Daw mblō2 (1), Hmong Njua mblon3 (1), Bunu nλay2 (1), Baonao nλəy2 (1), Longhua Jiongnai mplən3 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo mïon3 (1), Huangluo Younuo mïon3 (1), Northern Pa-Hng qa22=ðian3 (1), Southern Pa-Hng qa31=mphïo33 (1), Hm-Nai nuŋ3 (1), Lianhua She pïŋ2 (1), Luofu She pïŋ2 (1), Pana Liū2-Ljū2 (1).

References and notes:


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 265. Initial qa₃ is a desemantized classifier.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 265. Initial qa₃ is a desemantized classifier.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 265.

47. LIE

Western Xiangxi px₅ (1), Qiandong pi₅ (1), Chuanqiandian pu₅ (1), Diandongbei pʰi₅ (1), Hmong Daw pi₃ (1), Hmong Njua ph₃ (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 215; MYYFY 1987: 8. The same source also lists qa₃ as a synonym; considering, however, that the latter word also means 'to fall' [Xiang 1992: 42], it probably at best reflects dynamic action ('to lie down'), whereas the basic equivalent for the static 'to be lying (on a bed, etc.)' is px₅ (also confirmed by numerous derived idiomatic expressions, etc.).

Eastern Xiangxi: Not attested.
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 239. The verb expresses both static ('to be lying') and dynamic ('lie down') action, depending on the context.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 269. Meaning glossed as 'to lie down, recline; (loosely) to sleep'. Examples show that this verb is freely used in the static meaning ('to be lying') as well, and that most of the specific terms denoting various manners of lying down are compound formations that contain pu₃ as the primary morpheme.

Bunu: Not attested. Possibly the same word as 'sleep' q.v.
Baonao: Not attested. Possibly the same word as 'sleep' q.v.
Numao: Not attested. Possibly the same word as 'sleep' q.v.
Longhua Jiongnai: Not attested. Possibly the same word as 'sleep' q.v.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Not attested. Possibly the same word as 'sleep' q.v.
Xiaozhai Younuo: Not attested.

48. LIVER

Western Xiangxi fɛ₁ (1), Eastern Xiangxi fʲi₃ (1), Qiandong fʰu₃=ŋeorganisation=ŋaŋₓ (2), Chuanqiandian fᵃ₁ (1), Diandongbei a₃=sɨ₁ (1), Hmong Daw ʃa₁ (1), Hmong Njua ʃa₁ (1),
Bunu *mₚjaᵤ₆* (3), Baonao *ɕey₃=mₚcₐ₆* (3), Numao *mₚᵢ₆* (3), Longhua Jiongnai *ŋₖʰ⁸ۍ₄₄* (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai *h₄₄* (1), Xiaozhai Younuo *s₃₃₃₃* (1), Huangluo Younuo *s₃₃₃₃* (1), Northern Pa-Hng *a₃₃=ʰijing₃₅* (1), Southern Pa-Hng *a₄₄=ʰĩ₃₅* (1), Lianhua She *hin₁* (1), Luofu She *fun₁* (4), Pana *sᵢʰ₁* (1).

References and notes:


**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 254. Cf. *ʃe₅₃* id. in Xiaozhang. The Dengshang equivalent is *kã₅₄*, most likely borrowed from Chinese *肝*.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 204. Quoted as *fʰu₃₅=ɛ₆-ɕoŋ₅* in [MYYFY 1987: 32] (with a different tonal characteristics of the first syllable). The structure of this trisyllabic compound is not quite clear. The bisyllabic formation *fʰu₃₅=ɛ₆* is a generic term for several internal organs (translated as ‘liver and lungs’ in [Zhang 1990]); -ɕoŋ₅ is an additional lexical modificator for ‘liver’, probably = *ɕoŋ₅* ‘tight; hard’ [Zhang 1990: 261]. The initial *fʰu₃₅* may be a desemanticized classifier (cf. *fʰu₃₅* as the old equivalent for ‘head’ q.v.), which leaves *nɛ₆* as the main root morpheme denoting certain internal organs including the liver.

**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 32.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 32. Initial *a₃*= is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 295. Used with the classifier *lu₁*.

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 299. Used with the classifier *lu₁*. Polysemy: ‘liver / heart, mind, seat of emotion (fig.)’.

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 203. Quoted as *ka₁=ncau₆* in [MYYFY 1987: 32].

**Baonao:** Meng 2001: 203. Initial *ɕey₃*= is a fossilized classifier.

**Numao:** Meng 2001: 203.

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 269.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2007: 241.

**Xiaozhai Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 241.

**Huangluo Younuo:** Mao & Li 2002: 269.

**Northern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 269. Initial *a₃*= is a desemanticized classifier.

**Southern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 269. Initial *a₄*= is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hm-Nai:** Mao & Li 1997: 269.

**Lianhua She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 102. Quoted as *hin₂₂* in [Hiroki 2003: 187].

**Luofu She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 102.

**Pana:** Taguchi 2001: 88. Quoted as *ʃi₁₃* in [Chen 2001: 77].

49. **LONG**

**Western Xiangxi** *ntu₃* (1), **Eastern Xiangxi** *du₅₅* (1), **Qiandong** *ta₃* (1), **Chuanqiandian** *nte₃* (1), Diandongbei *nti₃* (1), Hmong Daw *nte₃* (1), Hmong Njua *nde₂* (1), Bunu *nte₃* (1), Baonao *nte₃* (1), Numao *nta₃* (1), Longhua Jiongnai *da₃₃* (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai *la₃₅* (2), Xiaozhai Younuo *nou₂₂* (3), Huangluo Younuo *nau₂₂* (3), Northern Pa-Hng *to₂₂* (1), Southern Pa-Hng *to₃₁* (1), Hm-Nai *to₁₃* (1), Lianhua She *kat₃ta₃* (1), Luofu She *kat₃ta₃* (1), Pana *da₃* (1).

References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 188.


50. LOUSE

Western Xiangxi ta₁=te₃ (1), Eastern Xiangxi te₅₅ (1), Qiandong ka₅=ʃhu₃ (1), Chuanqiaidian to₃ (1), Diandongbei ɲtɕʰau₃ (1), Hmong Daw nčʰw₃ (1), Hmong Njua ɲtɕʰau₃ ~ ɲtɕʰau₃ (1), Bunu ka₁=te₁ (1), Baonao jɨɐ=t₃ (1), Numao tuŋ (1), Longhua Jiongnai taŋ₃ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai t₃₅ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo ma₅₅=te₂ (1), Huangluo Younuo ma₅₅=tou₂ (1), Northern Pa-Hng naŋ₂ (1), Southern Pa-Hng ma₅₁=ŋ₃ (1), Hm-Nai ntaŋ₂ (1), Lianhua She taŋ (1), Luofu She taŋ (1), Pana tò (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 197. A different form is recorded in [MYYFY 1987: 140]: tə=ʃ⁵. (This can hardly be a dialectal difference in pronunciation). Initial tə= is a classifier for animals. In [Yang 2004: 271], two different items are recorded: (a) 'louse' (Chinese 虱子 shìzi) = Jiwei tə⁵=ʃ⁵, Yangmeng tə⁵=ʃ⁵, but Zhongxin tə=te₃ id. and (b) 'head louse' (Chinese 頭虱 tóu-šiti) = Jiwei tə⁵=ʃ⁵, Yangmeng tə⁵=ʃ⁵, Zhongxin tə⁵=ʃ⁵.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 271. Meaning glossed as 'louse' (Chinese 虱子 shìzi) = Xiaozhang te₅₅ id., but Dengshang se₃=ʃ₂ id. (the latter is borrowed from Chinese). The equivalent for 'head louse' is no different from regular 'louse' in Xiaozhang and Dengshang, but is different in Danqing: mei²=ʃ⁵id.

Qiandong: MYYFY 1987: 140. Not attested in [Zhang 1990]. The classifier is ka₅ 'insect'.

Chuanqiaidian: MYYFY 1987: 140.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 140. Alternate synonym: tu₃ [ibid.]. Semantic difference is not stated, but external data (see notes on Hmong Daw) suggest that ɲtɕʰau₃ is the word for 'head louse', and tu₃ for 'body louse'.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 207. Meaning glossed as 'head lice'. Used with the classifier tu₃. Distinct from tu₃ 'body lice' [Heimbach 1979: 326].
Baonao: Meng 2001: 199. Initial qei is a desemanticized classifier.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 87. Quoted as tẹnii in [Chen 2001: 78] (although the same source also adds ʰp4ii as an additional synonym with the meaning of 'head louse').

51. MAN
Western Xiangxi qo='ni5 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qei35=ni32 (1), Qiandong tia4 (2), Chuanqiandian ẑeu6 (3), Diandongbei a1='qey6 (3), Hmong Daw ci3-ŋɤ2 (4), Hmong Njua qa1=qi4 (5), Bunu po3='qon6 (6), Baonao tɔ1=qey6 (6), Numao ɔt2=ɔan6 (6), Longhua Jiongnai nɔi22=ŋai33 (7), Liuxiang Jiongnai nɔi22=ŋai33 (7), Xiaozhai Younuo te31-tanŋ33-ŋai33 (2), Huangluo Younuo te31-kin22-ŋai33 (2), Northern Pa-Hng qo22=tanŋ33-ŋai33 (8), Southern Pa-Hng qo31=t53 (8), Hm-Nai qas3=tanŋ33-na133 (8), Lianhua She ne2=ɔy3 (9), Luofu She ne2=pu3 (9), Pana tọn13-na313 # (8).

References and notes:
Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 261. Cf. Xiaozhang te3=men3, Dengshang te4=ɔi3, id. (the last item is a different root).
Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 52. Initial a is a desemanticized classifier.
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 378. Meaning glossed as 'male, a male individual, man'. The first part of the compound (ci) has the semantics of 'male, father, husband, male relative'; the second morpheme is a tonal variant of ŋɤ 'person' q.v.
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 286. The first morpheme is a 'generic designator for people' (see also 'woman'); the second has the meaning 'male (person) all by itself'.
Bunu: Meng 2001: 204. Quoted as pu=təŋ6 in [MYYFY 1987: 52].
Baonao: Meng 2001: 204.
Numao: Meng 2001: 204. The modifier ɔt2 = 'person' q.v.
Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (see the same morpheme in 'woman' q.v.); the second is the same word as 'person' q.v.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (see the same morpheme in 'woman' q.v.); the second is the same word as 'person' q.v.
Northern Pa-Hong: Mao & Li 1997: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (see the same morpheme in 'woman' q.v.); the third one is 'person' q.v.
Southern Pa-Hong: Mao & Li 1997: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (see the same morpheme in 'woman' q.v.).
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (see the same morpheme in 'woman' q.v.).
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 103. The first morpheme is 'person' q.v. Quoted as le31=pɤ44 in [Hiroki 2003: 235].
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 103. The first morpheme is 'person' q.v.
Pana: Chen 2001: 77. Not attested in Taguchi's vocabulary. The second morpheme is 'person' q.v.

52. MANY

References and notes:
Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 52. Transcribed as ɲɔ1 in [MYFY 1987: 88]. Secondary synonym: ɡu, [Xiang 1992: 52], transcribed as çu in [MYFY 1987: 88]. Judging by the examples in [Xiang 1992], ɲɔ may be used with countable objects ('people') and çu with uncountable ones ('a lot of speech'), but this is not certain. In [Yang 2004: 321], only the second equivalent is listed in the meaning 'many': Jiwei çu35, Yangmeng çu54, Zhongxin çu35.
Hmong Nju: Lyman 1974: 212. Meaning glossed as 'to be much, many, a lot of; very, a lot'.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 295. Also hoŋ35 id. (semantic difference unclear).

53. MEAT
Western Xiangxi niə2 (1), Eastern Xiangxi nəa31 (1), Qiandong nɪ2 (1), Chuanqiandian nqa2 (1), Diandongbei qa2 (1), Hmong Daw nqay2 (1), Hmong Njua nca5 (1), Bunu nka2 (1), Baonao nka2 (1), Numao nqa2 (1), Longhua Jiongnai nkay33 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai nkəe31 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo pe3 (2), Huangluo Younuo pe33 (2), Northern Pa-Hng ne33 (1), Southern Pa-Hng nqhe33 (1), Hm-Nai nqai33 (1), Lianhua She kwe2 (1), Luofu She kwe2 (1), Pana ge2 (1).

References and notes:


Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 146.


Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2007: 258.

Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 258.

Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 278.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 278.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 278.


54. MOON

Western Xiangxi qe3=la4 (1), Eastern Xiangxi lha31 (1), Qiandong lha5 (1), Chuanqiandian ti5 (1), Diandongbei li7 (1), Hmong Daw li4 (1), Hmong Njua ti3 (1), Bunu po3=lo3 (1), Baonao vei3=lu5 (1), Numao lo5 (1), Longhua Jiongnai le35 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai lei22 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo ha33=la3 (1), Huangluo Younuo kwen22=la53 (1), Northern Pa-Hng a33=la55=qa22=ma22 (1), Southern Pa-Hng a44=la55 (1), Hm-Nai naŋ35=la55 (1), Lianhua She ne5 (2), Luofu She ne5=khu2 (2), Pana las=la5 (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 271. Quoted as l' in [MYYFY 1987: 106], without the desemanticized classifier qe3. Cf. in [Yang 2004:
Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 243. The respective equivalents in Xiaozhang (ゞye[ŋ]ŋ) and in Dengshang (ゞe[ŋ]ŋ) seem to be rather transparent loans from Chinese 月月 ‘moon’; only Danqing preserves the inherited term.


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 62. Polysemy: ‘moon / month’. Used with the classifier ³u³. ³u³ is a desemanticized classifier. Literally = ‘luminary-night’ (the first bisyllabic component is the same as in ‘sun’ q.v., whereas the second one = ‘night’ q.v.).

Northern Pa-Háng: Mao & Li 1997: 248. Initial a³ is a desemanticized classifier. Literally = ‘luminary-night’ (the first bisyllabic component is the same as in ‘sun’ q.v., whereas the second one = ‘night’ q.v.).


Hm-Nái: Mao & Li 1997: 248. Initial a³ is a desemanticized classifier.

Lianhua She: Meng & Mao 1986: 93. Same root, but with additional modifiers in [Hiroki 2003: 9]: pa³=k³u³=le³.

Luofu She: Meng & Mao 1986: 93.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 86. Quoted as lu³=le³ in [Chen 2001: 76].

55. MOUNTAIN

Western Xiangxi pi³=q³4 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qµ³3=k³31 (2), Qiandong pi³ (3), Chuanqiandian tao³ (4), Daliandongbei tao³ (4), Hmong Daw t³ (4), Hmong Njua çò³ (4), Bunu ò³ (4), Baonao y³ (5), Numao yan³ (5), Longhua Jiongnai ŋ⁴ (5), Liuxiang Jiongnai ²³ (7), Xiaozhai Younuo k³³=³ (5), Huangluo Younuo ³ (6), Northern Pa-Häng te³=k³ (1), Southern Pa-Häng a³³=y³³ (8), Hm-Nái yu³ (8), Lianhua She ³³³ (9), Luofu She ³³³ (9), Pana pa³ (10).

References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 279. Used with the classifier ³u³.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 95. Used with the classifier ³u³.

Bunu: Meng 2001: 193. Quoted as ³u³ in [MYYF 1987: 8]. Two additional forms, ³³ and ³³³ are also listed in [Meng 2001: 193] as additional synonyms. We provisionally select the root that is confirmed in two independent sources.


Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 254. Also əŋɔjio id. (although only əi is frequently used in compound formations, such as ‘foot of the mountain’, etc., as well as independently).
Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 235. Initial ɑŋɛ is a desemanticized classifier.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 249. Initial ɑŋɛ is a desemanticized classifier.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 249.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 86. Quoted as pəːt in [Chen 2001: 76].

56. MOUTH

Western Xiangxi ɡaː5=lo5 (1), Eastern Xiangxi pa3ʒ=ŋɔ3j (2), Qiandong lo5 (1), Chuanqiandian nəu2 (2), Diandongbei a5=əo2 (2), Hmong Daw qʰɔ2=ŋɔ3w2 (2), Hmong Njua ɲzau5 (2), Bunu nɛu2 (2), Baonao kaː=ŋɛau2 (2), Numao lau5 (1), Longhua Jiongnai ntiɛ3 (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai ntiɛu3 (2), Xiaozhai Younuo pa3ʒ=liɔ3ɔ (1), Huangluo Younuo pɔʒ=liɔ3 (1), Northern Pa-Hng a3ɔ=la₅₅ (1), Southern Pa-Hng a4a=la₅₅ (1), Hm-Nai naŋə=la₅₅ (1), Lianhua She tiɔ2 (2), Luofu She tiɔ2 (2), Pana law5 (1).

References and notes:


Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 250. Cf. a different equivalent in two other dialects: Xiaozhang qa=ɬスポ3, Dengshang ka=ɬスポ3 id. They seem to have the same root as the Western Xiangxi terms for ‘lip’ q.v., but the situation is made even more confusing by the fact that ‘lip’ in Eastern Xiangxi is glossed as Xiaozhang pa=ɲu3a, Danqing pa=ɲu3a, id. with the same root as ‘mouth’ (l). Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 302; MYYFY 1987: 98.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 98. Initial əŋ is a desemanticized classifier.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 145, 271. Initial ɡʰɔ is a desemanticized classifier attached to words with the general semantics of ‘hole’. Without this classifier, the root morpheme ɲzaw is frequently used in various compounds (‘lips’, ‘to curse’, etc.).

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 233. Used with the classifier lu. Also ɡʰɔ=ŋzaw id. (lit. ‘mouth hole’, ‘mouth orifice’).


Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266.
Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 239.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 266. Initial ɑŋɛ is a desemanticized classifier.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 266. Initial ɑŋɛ is a desemanticized classifier.
57. NAME

Western Xiangxi *mpu*5 (1), Eastern Xiangxi *bu*31 (1), Qiandong *nan* = *pi*5 (1), Chuanqiandian *mpe*5 (1), Diandongbei *nci*5 (1), Hmong Daw *mbe*4 (1), Hmong Njua *mbe*3 (1), Bunu *mpe*5 (1), Baonao *mpey*5 (1), Numao *mpa*5 (1), Longhua Jiongnai *mpa*35 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai *mpa*5 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo *mu*35 = *hou*31 (1), Hu *31 = *mpo*55 (1), Northern Pa-Hng *a*33 = *mu*55 (1), Southern Pa-Hng *a*44 = *mpo*55 (1), Hm-Nai *nan* = *mian*33 (2), Lianhua She *mu*5 (1), Luofu She *mu*5 (1), Pana *bo*5 (1).

References and notes:


Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 321; MYYFY 1987: 86. The main lexical root is *pi*5 ‘name’ [Zhang 1990: 29]; *nan* is a modifier with the original meaning ‘to sound; to shout’.

Chuangqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 86.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 86.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 159. Used with the classifier *lu*1.


Bunu: Meng 2001: 211. In [MYYFY 1987: 86], the Chinese borrowing *men* = *nci*5 (< Chinese ‘名, ming-zi’) is listed instead.

Baonao: Meng 2001: 211.

Numao: Meng 2001: 211.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 286. Initial *a* is a desemanticized classifier.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 286. Initial *a* is a desemanticized classifier.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 286. Initial *nan* = *mian* is a desemanticized classifier.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 112. Quoted as *mu*3 in [Hiroki 2003: 221].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 112.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 89. Quoted as *la* = *bo*3 in [Chen 2001: 79].

58. NECK

Western Xiangxi *son* = *nqon*3 (1), Eastern Xiangxi *q* = *wu*35 (1), Qiandong *qa* = *qon*3 (1), Hmong Daw *qa* = *da*1 (2), Hmong Njua *kaus* = *λon*1 (1), Bunu *kun* = *λon*1 (1), Baonao *kza* = *λon*1 (1), Numao *ljan* (1), Longhua Jiongnai *kan*35 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai *kan*35 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo *ka*35 = *kan*33 (1), Huangluo Younuo *ka*35 = *kan*33 (1), Northern Pa-Hng *a*33 = *on*32 (1),
Southern Pa-Hng $a_{44}=\eta_{33}$ (1), Hm-Nai $n\eta_{35}=n\eta_{13}$ (1), Lianhua She $ka_1=kin_1-ka_3$ (1), Luofu She $ka_1=kJen_1$ (1), Pana $ka_{13}=\lambda\eta_{13}$ # (1).

References and notes:

**Western Xiangxi:** Xiang 1992: 15. Initial $so\eta_{44}$ is a desemanticized classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 253]: Jiwei $so\eta_{44}=\eta_{44}$, Yangmeng $so\eta_{44}=\eta_{44}$, Zhongxin $sa\eta_{44}=\eta_{33}$.

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 253. Cf. Xiaozhang $si_{21}=qa\eta_{55}$, Dengshang $g\ddot{a}_{22}\dddot{g}_{22}$ id.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 143. Initial $qa_{1}$ is a desemanticized classifier. Polysemy: 'neck / throat'.

**Chuanqiandian:** Not attested.

**Diandongbei:** Not attested.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 7, 29. Initial $ɕa_2$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 152. Probably $= 'neck in general' or 'back of neck', as opposed to $ɕe_5=ƛaŋ_1$ 'neck, throat' [Lyman 1974: 342]. Original semantics of the first components is not quite clear, but $ƛaŋ_1$ is a morpheme common to both words and, consequently, the primary bearer of the meaning 'neck' in general.

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 202.

**Baonao:** Meng 2001: 202.

**Numao:** Meng 2001: 202.

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 267.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 267.

**Xiaozhai Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 239.

**Huangluo Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 239.

**Northern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 267. Initial $a_{13}$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Southern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 267. Initial $a_{44}$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hm-Nai:** Mao & Li 1997: 267. Initial $n\eta_{35}$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Lianhua She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 101. Quoted as $ka_{2}=kin_3 - ka_{2}=kin_2-ka_{44}$ in [Hiroki 2003: 184].

**Luofu She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 101.

**Pana:** Chen 2001: 77. Not attested in Taguchi’s vocabulary.

59. NEW

Western Xiangxi $Ѐ_{(1)}$, Eastern Xiangxi $s\varepsilon_{33}$ (1), Qiandong $x\varepsilon_i_1$ (1), Chuanqiandian $Ϛ^b a_1$ (1), Diandongbei $a_{3}=Ϛ^h i_1$ (1), Hmong Daw $Ϛ^h a_1$ (1), Hmong Njua $Ϛ^h a_1$ (1), Bunu $ƶ^h i_1$ (1), Baonao $Ϛ^h a_1$ (1), Numao $f_1$ (1), Longhua Jiongnai $ʃi_{2}=η^k\varepsilon_{44}$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai $h\varepsilon_{44}$ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo $so_{33}$ (1), Huangluo Younuo $l\varepsilon_{33}$ (1), Northern Pa-Hng $s\varepsilon_{35}$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng $s\varepsilon_{35}$ (1), Hm-Nai $f\varepsilon_{35}$ (1), Lianhua She $tx_{e}=hin_1$ (1), Luofu She $tu_{e}=fun_1$ (1), Pana $ta_{44}=f1n_{13}$ # (1).

References and notes:

**Western Xiangxi:** Xiang 1992: 249. Transcribed as $Ѐ_{(1)}$ in [MYYFY 1987: 148]. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 329]: Jiwei $Ѐ_{33}$, Yangmeng $Ѐ_{34}$, Zhongxin $Ѐ_{35}$.

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 329. Cf. Xiaozhang $si_{33}$, Dengshang $se_{34}$ id.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 228; MYYFY 1987: 148.

**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 148.
Numao: Meng 2001: 228.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 305.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 305.
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 127.

60. NIGHT

Western Xiangxi ʄŋ (1), Eastern Xiangxi ʨŋ=ʄŋ (1), Qiandong ʄŋ (1), Hmong Daw ʄŋ (1), Hmong Njua ʄŋ (1), Longhua Jiongnai ʄŋ (2), Liujiang Jiongnai ʄŋ (2), Northern Pa-Hng ʄŋ (3), Southern Pa-Hng ʄŋ (3), Hm-Nai ʄŋ (3), Lianhua She kaŋ (4), Luofu She kaŋ (4).

References and notes:

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 302. Cf. Xiaozhang ʄŋ=ʄŋ, Dengshang ʄŋ=ʄŋ. Attested in compounds, such as ʄŋ=ʄŋ "at night, in the night / in the evening", etc.
Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 211. Polysemy: 'evening / night'.
Chuanqian: Not attested. Cf., however, ʄŋ=ʄŋ 'evening' in [MYYFY 1987: 26].
Diandongbei: Not attested. Cf., however, ʄŋ=ʄŋ 'evening' in [MYYFY 1987: 26].
Bunu: Not attested.
Baonao: Not attested.
Numao: Not attested.
Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 258. Attested in compounds, such as ʄŋ+ʄŋ "at night, in the night / in the evening", etc.
Liujiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 258. Attested in compounds, such as ʄŋ+ʄŋ "at night, in the night / in the evening", etc.
Xiaozhai Younuo: Not attested.
Huanglubo Younuo: Not attested.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 254. Initial ʄŋ is a desemanticized classifier.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 254. Also ʄŋ=ʄŋ id. Initial ʄŋ is a desemanticized classifier.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 254. Initial ʄŋ is a desemanticized classifier.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 96. The listed forms, corresponding to the Chinese equivalent 夜里 ʄŋ "at night, in the night" are ʄŋ=ʄŋ allowing to isolate the basic root ʄŋ 'night'. Cf. also Chinese 夜間 ʄŋ "at night", glossed as ʄŋ in [Hiroki 2003: 298].
61. NOSE

Western Xiangxi \( pa_3=mx_6 \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( du_5=m\mathbf{a}_{11} \) (1), Qiandong \( po_5=n\mathbf{e}_6 \) (1), Chuanqiandian \( ci_5=\mathbf{n}_5u_6 \) (1), Diandongbei \( a_1=mp\mathbf{u}_6 \) (1), Hmong Daw \( n\mathbf{a}_6 \) (1), Hmong Njua \( n\mathbf{a}_6 \) (1), Bunu \( k^h_3=mp\mathbf{a}_u_6 \) (1), Baonao \( k\mathbf{a}_3=mp\mathbf{a}_6 \) (1), Numao \( mp\mathbf{u}_6 \) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \( mp\mathbf{a}_u_2 \) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( mp\mathbf{a}_u_2 \) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \( k^h_3=m\mathbf{u}_3 \) (1), Huangluo Younuo \( k^h_3=m\mathbf{u}_3 \) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \( a_5=m\mathbf{y}_4 \) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \( a_4=q^h_3=m\mathbf{p}_4 \) (1), Hm-Nai \( kei_5=m\mathbf{p}_3 \) (1), Lianhua She \( k^h_3=\mathbf{p}_4 \) (1), Luofu She \( h\mathbf{a}_6 \) (2), Luofu She \( a_6 \) (2).

References and notes:

**Western Xiangxi**: Xiang 1992: 11; MYFY 1987: 14. Initial \( pa_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 253]: Jiwei \( pa_5=mx_5 \), Yangmeng \( pa_4=mx_5 \), Zhongxin \( muu_5 \) (also Zhongxin \( pa_5=muu_5 \), with the same classifier but apparently a different root).

**Eastern Xiangxi**: Yang 2004: 253. Cf. Xiaozhang \( q^h_3=m\mathbf{a}_u_6 \), Dengshang \( k_5=m\mathbf{y}_3 \); id. (same root, different prefixes).


**Chuanqiandian**: MYFY 1987: 14. Initial \( ci_5 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

**Diandongbei**: MYFY 1987: 14. Initial \( a_1 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hmong Daw**: Heimbach 1979: 206. Also used with the desemanticized classifier \( q^p_3 \) (formerly 'hole'); \( q^p_3=m\mathbf{y}_6 \) 'nose, nostril'.

**Hmong Njua**: Lyman 1974: 242. Used with the classifier \( lu_1 \).


**Baonao**: Meng 2001: 202. Initial \( ka_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.


**Longhua Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 266.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 266.

**Xiaozhai Younuo**: Mao & Li 2007: 238.

**Huangluo Younuo**: Mao & Li 2007: 238.

**Northern Pa-Hng**: Mao & Li 1997: 266. Initial \( a_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

**Southern Pa-Hng**: Mao & Li 1997: 266. Initial \( a_4 \) is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hm-Nai**: Mao & Li 1997: 266. Quoted as \( k^v_5=\mathbf{p}_4 \) in [Hiroki 2003: 182].


**Luofu She**: Mao & Meng 1986: 101.

**Pana**: Taguchi 2001: 88. Quoted as \( k^v_5=\mathbf{b} \) in [Chen 2001: 77].

62. NOT

Western Xiangxi \( ce_2 \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( a_35 \) (2), Qiandong \( a_2 \) (2), Chuanqiandian \( ci_5 \) (1), Diandongbei \( hi_5 \) (3), Hmong Daw \( ci_5 \) (1), Hmong Njua \( ci_3 \) (1), Bunu \( ma_2 \) (4), Baonao \( ma_2 \) (4), Numao \( mon_2 \) (4), Longhua Jiongnai \( \eta_{33} \) (4), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( \eta_{35} \) (4), Xiaozhai Younuo \( m_{22} \) (4), Huangluo Younuo \( m_{22} \) (4), Northern Pa-Hng \( \eta_{35} \) (4), Southern Pa-Hng \( \eta_{33} \) (4), Hm-Nai \( a_53 \) (2), Lianhua She \( ha_6 \) (2), Luofu She \( a_6 \) (2).
References and notes:


Southern Pa-Hnga: Mao & Li 2007: 313. Also a3 id., although examples in the grammar section show that the latter form is probably the prohibitive '(do) not!' than the indicative negation.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 313.


Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 132. Also ɕi5 ~ m5 id.

Pana: Not attested.

63. ONE

Western Xiangxi a3 (1), Eastern Xiangxi a55 (1), Qiangdong i1 (1), Chuanqianbian ?i1 (1), Diantongbei i1 (1), Hmong Daw i1 (1), Hmong Njuai ?i1 (1), Bunu i1 (1), Baonao i1 (1), Numao ?i1 (2), Longhua Jiongnai i33 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai i35 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo 特色小镇 (3), Huangluo Younuo 特色小镇 (3), Northern Pa-Hnga yfi22 (1), Southern Pa-Hnga yfii31 (1), Hm-Nai i33 (1), Lianhua She i6 (1), Luofu She i6 (1), Pana a6 (1).

References and notes:


Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 308. Cf. Xiaozhang a3, Dengshang a44 (also ta45 id.).


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 3; Mottin 1978: 60.


Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 129. Quoted as ɨ35 in [Hiroki 2003: 314]; the same source also adds the Chinese borrowing zìɨ11.
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 129.

64. PERSON

Western Xiangxi ne2 (1), Eastern Xiangxi ne31 (1), Qiandong ne2 (1), Chuanqianidian nen1 (1), Diandongbei tu1=nu1 (1), Hmong Daw ny6 (1), Hmong Njua nef5 (1), Bunu no2 (1), Baonao nou2 (1), Numao nu2 (1), Longhua Jiongnai nay33 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ne31 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo n33 (1), Huangluo Younuo n33 (1), Northern Pa-Hng nɨ33 (1), Southern Pa-Hng a44=mɨɛ33 (1), Hm-Nai nai33 (1), Lianhua She ne2 (1), Luofu She ne2 (1), Pana na2 (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 179; MYYFY 1987: 84. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 259]: Jiwei ne4s, Yangmeng ne3s, Zhongxin ne3s.
Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 259. Cf. Xiaozhang nen3s, Dengshang nen4s.
Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 84. Initial tu= is a classifier.
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 137. Used with the classifier tu also within the compound ti=nɨ6, literally 'single person' [Heimbach 1979: 315].
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 202. Polysemy: 'human being / mankind / existence, being'. Mass noun. Cf. also the bound morpheme tu=, used in the meaning 'person, man' to form compound terms designating various kinds of people, e.g. tu=2ɨ6 'worker', etc. [Lyman 1974: 324]; on its own, the word actually means son rather than person.
Bunu: Meng 2001: 204. Quoted as nu2 in [MYYFY 1987: 84].
Baonao: Meng 2001: 204.
Numao: Meng 2001: 204.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 270.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 270. Initial a44= is a desemanticized classifier.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 270.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 103. Quoted as le33 in [Hiroki 2003: 237].
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 103.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 90. Quoted as na33 in [Chen 2001: 76].

65. RAIN
Western Xiangxi nonŋ (1), Eastern Xiangxi nanŋ35 (1), Qiandong nonŋ (1), Chuanqiandian nanŋ (1), Diandongbei nawi (1), Hmong Daw naŋ (1), Hmong Njua nanŋ (1), Bunu anŋ=nonŋ (1), Baonao nɔŋ (1), Numao noŋ (1), Longhua Jiongnai nanŋ21 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai nanŋ21 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo lanŋ33=ŋa31 (1), Huangluo Younuo laŋ33=ŋa22 (1), Northern Pa-Hng anŋ35=nonŋ44 (1), Southern Pa-Hng ɲɔŋ44 (1), Hm-Nai nanŋ31 (1), Lianhua She naŋ4 (1), Luofu She naŋ4 (1), Pana noŋ (1).

References and notes:

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 135. Used with the classifier kɔ1 for "showers", pʰɔw4 for "a period of rain".
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 93.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 86. Quoted as nanŋ2 in [Chen 2001: 76].

66. RED

Western Xiangxi nŋʰin5 (1), Eastern Xiangxi cʰe31 (1), Qiandong foŋ (2), Chuanqiandian laŋ (3), Diandongbei lieŋ (3), Hmong Daw ljaŋ (3), Hmong Njua laŋ (3), Bunu laŋ1 (3), Baonao lŋ (3), Numao lanŋ (3), Longhua Jiongnai θiŋ35 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai θi22 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo cʰunŋ35 (1), Huangluo Younuo cʰunŋ3 (1), Northern Pa-Hng taiŋ44 (4), Southern Pa-Hng thoŋ44 (4), Hm-Nai taiŋ31 (4), Lianhua She sɨŋ (1), Luofu She sɨ (1), Pana bɨŋ (5).

References and notes:

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 42; MYYFY 1987: 134. Initial \( ne_3 \) is a desemanticized classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 246]: Jiwei \( ne_4 = kv_{44} \). Yangmeng \( ke_3 = kv_{44} \). Zhongxin \( o_{13} = ne_3 = kw_{13} \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 246. Also Xiaozhang \( kw_{13} \). Dengshang \( m_{13} = kw_{13} \) id.


Bunu: Meng 2001: 212. Quoted as \( lw_1 \) in [MYYFY 1987: 134].

Baonao: Meng 2001: 212.
Numao: Meng 2001: 212.


67. ROAD

Western Xiangxi \( ne_3 = kv_{33} \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( m_{23} = kv_{55} \) (1), Qiandong \( ki_3 \) (1), Chuanqiandian \( ke_3 \) (1), Diandongbei \( ci_3 \) (1), Hmong Daw \( ke_3 \) (1), Hmong Njua \( ke_2 \sim ki_2 \) (1), Bunu \( ki'\) (1), Baonao \( wi_3 \) (1), Numao \( kje_3 \) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \( kja_{53} \) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( kja_{35} \) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \( kou_{22} \) (1), Huangluo Younuo \( kou_{22} \) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \( qo_{22} \) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \( qo_{31} \) (1), Hm-Nai \( qo_{13} \) (1), Lianhua She \( ka_3 \) (1), Luofu She \( kja_3 \) (1), Pana \( la_0 = kja_3 \) (1).
68. ROOT

Western Xiangxi \( pa3=\text{\textpi}_2 \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( gu33=gu33 \) (2), Qiandong \( \text{\textpi}_2 \) (1), Chuanqiandian \( \text{\textpi}_2 \) (1), Diandongbei \( a2=\text{\textpi}_1 \) (1), Hmong Daw \( \text{\textpi}_6 \) (3), Hmong Njua \( \text{\textpi}_6 \) (3), Bunu \( ka3=\text{\textpi}_2 \) (1), Baonao \( ka3=\text{\textpi}_2 \) (1), Numao \( \text{\textpi}_2 \) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \( ka44 \) (4), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( \text{\textpi}_{31} \) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \( f33=ka33=\text{\textpi}_{13} \) (1), Huangluo Younuo \( f33=t33=\text{\textpi}_{13} \) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \( kon33=\text{\textpi}_{35} \) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \( q33=\text{\textpi}_{35} \) (1), Hm-Nai \( ku33=ca33 \) (1), Lianhua She \( t\text{\texteta}_5=\text{\textnu}_5 \) (1), Luofu She \( t\text{\texteta}_5=\text{\textnu}_5 \) (1), Pana \( \text{\textomega}_1=\text{\textnu}_{133}=\text{\textomega}_{133} # \) (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 69. Quoted as \( \text{\textom}_{\text{\textpi}2} \) in [MYYFY 1987: 114], with a different classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 274]: Jiwei \( \text{\textom}_{\text{\textpi}2} \), Yangmeng \( pu4=\text{\textpi}_{33} \), Zhongxin \( \text{\textom}_{\text{\textpi}2} \). Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 274. Cf. Dengshang \( du50=\text{\textnu}_4=\text{\textnu}_6 \) id. (the first morpheme is 'tree' q.v.). Different equivalent in Xiaozhang: \( \text{\textnu}_1=t\text{\texteta}_{63} \) id.


Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 114. Initial \( a_2 \) is a desemanticized classifier.


Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 338. Also as a bisyllabic compound: \( \text{\texteta}_6-\text{\textnu}_{33} \) (where \( \text{\textnu}_{33} \) = 'tree' q.v.).

Bunu: Meng 2001: 200. Quoted as \( ka=\text{\textpi}_2 \) in [MYYFY 1987: 114]. Initial \( ka \) is a desemanticized classifier.

Baonao: Meng 2001: 200. Initial \( ka \) is a desemanticized classifier.


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 265.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 100. Literally 'tree-root'. Quoted as \( t\text{\texteta}_1=\text{\textnu}_{13} \) in [Hiroki 2003: 46].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 100. Literally 'tree-root'.


69. ROUND

Western Xiangxi \( \text{\textpi}_2 \) (1), Qiandong \( \text{\texteta}_2 \) (2), Chuanqiandian \( k^h\text{\texteta}_3 \) (3), Diandongbei \( \text{\textom}_{\text{\textpi}3}=\text{\textnu}_8 \) (4), Hmong Daw \( k^h\text{\texteta}_2 \) (3), Hmong Njua \( q^h\text{\texteta}_5 \approx k^h\text{\texteta}_5 \) (3), Bunu \( \text{\texteta}_6=\text{\textnu}_1 \) (5), Baonao \( t\text{\texteta}_2 \) (6), Numao \( pu_2 \) (7), Longhua Jiongnai \( kl\text{\texteta}_{33} \) (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( kl\text{\texteta}_{33} \) (2), Xiaozhai
Younuo /auto2 (5), Huangluo Younuo /auto2 (5), Northern Pa-Hng /aws (5), Southern Pa-Hng /aws (5), Hm-Nai /aws (5), Lianhua She /aws (1), Luofo She /aws (1), Pana /aws # (2).

References and notes:


Eastern Xiangxi: Not attested.


Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 100. Internal morphemic structure is not quite clear.


70. SAND


References and notes:


Eastern Xiangxi: Not attested.


Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 160. Initial /aws is a desemanticized classifier; internal structure of the remaining bisyllabic combination is not quite clear.


Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 123. Meaning glossed as ‘sand, sandy’. Cf. also s p:, ’sand’ [Lyman 1974: 372], where  = ’stone’ q.v.; a misprint for  ?

Bunu: Not attested.

Baonao: Not attested.

Numao: Not attested.


Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 256. Meaning glossed as ’sand, sandy’. Cf. also  s a : ’sand’ [Lyman 1974: 372], where  = ’stone’ q.v.; a misprint for  ?

Bunu: Not attested.

Baonao: Not attested.

Numao: Not attested.

Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 250. Initial qa is a desemanticized classifier.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 250. Initial qa is a desemanticized classifier.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 250.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 94. Quoted as hia in [Hiroki 2003: 14].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 94.


71. SAY

Western Xiangxi  (1), Eastern Xiangxi  (2), Qiandong  (2), Diandongbei  (2), Hmong Daw  (2), Hmong Njua  (2), Bunu  (3), Baonao  (4), Numao  (5), Longhua Jiongnai  (5), Liuxiang Jiongnai  (5), Northern Pa-Hng  (6), Southern Pa-Hng  (6), Hm-Nai  (6), Lianhua She  (6), Luofu She  (6).

References and notes:


Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 357. Also m  id. Different equivalents in Xiaozhang:  , and in Dengshang:  .

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 216; MYFY 1987: 178. In [MYFY 1987: 26],  is also listed as a synonym; in [Zhang 1990: 211], this word is given in the meaning ‘to say, to explain’, i. e. ‘to tell’ rather than ‘to say’, used to introduce direct speech.


Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 118. Polysemy: ’to say / to speak / to utter’. Distinct from  ’to say, inform; to indicate; to teach, advise’ [Lyman 1974: 288] and from tu/ ’to say, state; to tell, inform’ [Lyman 1974: 310].


Baonao: Meng 2001: 221.

Numao: Meng 2001: 221.

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 282. Also k  id. (semantic difference unclear).


Xiaozhai Younuo: Not attested.

Huangluo Younuo: Not attested.


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 287.
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 114.
Pana: Not attested.

72. SEE


References and notes:


Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 347. Cf. Xiaozhang *pʰɛ* (*ca* (2). Dengshang *be* (*p* (2). (the first morpheme in both these cases is the verb 'to look').

Bunu: Meng 2001: 222. Quoted as *po* in [MYYFY 1987: 16].
Baonao: Meng 2001: 222.
Numao: Meng 2001: 222.
Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 282. Literally = 'to look-see'; the simple predicate *pu* may also be used in some contexts.
Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 282. Literally = 'to look-see'.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 287.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 114. Literally = 'to look-see'.
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 114. Literally = 'to look-see'.
Pana: Chen 2001: 80. Not attested in [Taguchi 2001]: the verb 'to see' is listed there on p. 89 as *mo* but its Chinese equivalent is given as *kim* 'to look' (= *mo* to 'look' in [Chen 2001: 80]); likewise, external data confirms that 'to look' is the more probable meaning of this word.

73. SEED

(1), Bunu \( n\eta_1 \) (1), Baonao \( n\omega_1 \) (1), Numao \( n\omega_1 \) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \( n\omega_{34} \) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( n\omega_{34} \) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \( p\eta_{35} \) (3), Huangluo Younuo \( p\eta_{35} \) (3), Northern Pa-Hng \( e_{53}=\eta\eta_{35} \) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \( m\tilde{\omega}_{35} \) (1), Hm-Nai \( m\omega_{35} \) (1), Lianhua She \( ka_{1}=n\omega_1 \) (1), Luofu She \( ka_{1}=n\omega_1 \) (1), Pana \( ni\omega_1-\tilde{\omega}_1 \) (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 284. Quoted as \( q\eta_{1}=\tilde{u}_1 \) in [MYYFY 1987: 90]. Initial \( q\eta_{1} \) is a desemanticized classifier (in both cases). Cf. in [Yang 2004: 278]: Jiwei \( q\eta_{1}=\tilde{u}_{1} \), Yangmeng \( q\eta_{1}=\tilde{u}_{1} \), Zhongxin \( q\eta_{1}=\tilde{u}_{1} \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 278. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 278]: Jiwei \( q\eta_{1}=\tilde{u}_{1} \), Yangmeng \( q\eta_{1}=\tilde{u}_{1} \), Zhongxin \( q\eta_{1}=\tilde{u}_{1} \).

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 214; MYYFY 1987: 90. Also attested as \( \eta_{1}=\tilde{u}_{1} \) in [Zhang 1990: 145].

Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 90. Differently in Xiaozhang: \( m\tilde{\omega}_{35} \) (difference unclear), and still differently in Dengshang: \( m\tilde{\omega}_{35} \).

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 90. Differently in Xiaozhang: \( m\tilde{\omega}_{35} \) (difference unclear), and still differently in Dengshang: \( m\tilde{\omega}_{35} \).

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 142. Used with the classifier \( lu_{1} \).

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 203. Used with the classifier \( lu_{1} \).


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 265.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 100. Quoted as \( ka_{2}=\tilde{b}_{2} \) in [Hiroki 2003: 46].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 100.


74. SIT

Western Xiangxi \( \omega_{35} \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( t^b_{53}=\omega_{35} \) (5), Qiandong \( n\eta_1 \) (2), Chuanqiandian \( \omega_{1} \) (2), Diandongbei \( n\eta_{1} \) (2), Hmong Daw \( \tilde{\omega}_{35} \) (3), Hmong Njua \( \omega_{35} \) (2), Bunu \( \eta_{1} \) (2), Baonao \( \omega_{1} \) (2), Numao \( \omega_{1} \) (2), Longhua Jiongnai \( \eta_{34} \) (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( \eta_{34} \) (2), Xiaozhai Younuo \( \tilde{\eta}_{35} \) (5), Huangluo Younuo \( \tilde{\eta}_{35} \) (3), Northern Pa-Hng \( \eta_{35} (2) \), Southern Pa-Hng \( m\tilde{\omega}_{35} \) (2), Hm-Nai \( m\tilde{\omega}_{35} \) (2), Lianhua She \( \tilde{\eta}_{35} \) (2), Luofu She \( \tilde{\eta}_{35} \) (2), Pana \( \tilde{\eta}_{35} \) (2).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 293; MYYFY 1987: 80. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 369]: Jiwei \( \omega_{35} \), Yangmeng \( \omega_{35} \). Differently in Zhongxin: \( \eta_{35} \).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 369. Differently in Xiaozhang: \( \eta_{35} \) and \( \omega_{35} \) (difference unclear), and still differently in Dengshang: \( \eta_{35} \).

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 330. Polysemy: ‘to be (somewhere) / to dwell / to sit’. In [MYYFY 1987: 80], the equivalent for the meaning
'to sit' is given as นิยูนง-1-ตู, where ตู = 'earth' q.v.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 434. Cf. also นิยูนง-1-ตู 'to sit down' [ibid.] (นด ตู is a "post-verbal intensifier").
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 289.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 89. Quoted as นิยูนง in [Chen 2001: 81].

75. SKIN

Western Xiangxi โปง1=mขื่0 (1), Eastern Xiangxi โปง31-โปง31 (1), Qiandong ตู5 (2), Chuanqiandian ทู5 (2), Diandongbei โปง5=โตงย5 (2), Hmong Daw ตาว3 (2), Hmong Njua ตาウ2 (2), Bunu คา5=ลูอู5 (1), Baonao คา5=ลูอู5 (1), Numao อู5 (1), Longhua Jiongnai กิเออู35 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai กิเออู3 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo กิอู35 (1), Huangluo Younuo กิอู3 (1), Northern Pa-Hng กิยา22=ลิอู55 (1), Southern Pa-Hng กิยา31=ลิอู55 (1), Hm-Nai กิอู35 (1), Lianhua She กิอู35 (1), Luofu She กิอู35 (1), Pana อูอู5=ลิอู5 (1).

References and notes:

Diandongbei: MYFY 1987: 74. Initial โปง5=m is a desemanticized classifier.
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 312. Polysemy: 'skin / leather / bark' (see also under 'bark').
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 317. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / bark / rind / peel / leather' (see also under 'bark'). Used with the classifier ลูอู.
Baonao: Meng 2001: 203. Glossed as Chinese ผิว 'human skin'. The simple root ลูอู is glossed as Chinese ผิว 'skin (generic term)' [Meng 2001: 199]. Initial คา5=m is a desemanticized classifier.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 268. Initial qa2= is a desemanticized classifier.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 268. Initial qa= is a desemanticized classifier.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 268.

76. SLEEP
Western Xiangxi pɤ5=nque1 (1), Eastern Xiangxi pa31 ≠ (2), Qiandong pi5 (2),
Chuanqiandian pu5 (2), Diandongbei pu5 (2), Hmong Daw ndu1 (3), Hmong Njua čau6-žu6
(4), Bunu pau5 (2), Baonao paə5 (2), Numao puey5 (2), Longhua Jiongnai pau5 (2), Liuxiang
Jiongnai pi5 (2), Xiaozhai Younuo puy5 (2), Huangluo Younuo puy5 (2), Northern Pa-
Hng vaŋ5 (5), Southern Pa-Hng pɤ5 (2), Hm-Nai pei5 (2), Lianhua She pɤ5 (2), Luofu She
p35 (2), Pana pu5 (2).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 206. Transcribed as pɤ5= in [MYYFY 1987: 8]. Literally = "to lie (in) sleep" (see under 'lie' for more
details). Lexicostatistical calculations should be based on nq ɤ1, as the main morpheme carrying the meaning 'sleep'. Cf. in [Yang
2004: 357]: Jiwei pɤ5, Yangmeng pɤ5, Zhongxin pə5 as glosses for the Chinese meaning 睡 'sleep' (but really transcribing the
verb 'to lie'?). However, in [Yang 2004: 354], the Chinese verb 入睡 'to go to sleep' is given as Jiwei ɤ35, Yangmeng
ɤ35, Zhongxin ɤ35.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 357. Dubious, since the word glosses the same Chinese meaning 睡 'sleep' that in the case of
Western Xiangxi (see notes on W.X.) is most likely inaccurate. Nevertheless, this is the only known equivalent for this particular
dialect. Cf. also Xiaozhang pɤ5, Dengshang pə5.

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 29; MYYFY 1987: 8. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'. In the meaning 'to sleep', also encountered in a compound
formation: pi5-la, 'to sleep', literally 'to lie-earth' [Zhang 1990: 30].


Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 8. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'. An additional synonym in the meaning 'to lie' is listed as ə [ibid.].

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 192. Also as a compound: ɤ4 ɗa1 ndu1, where ɤ4 = 'to do, make' [Heimbach 1979: 5] and ɗa1 =
'drowsy, drowsiness' [Heimbach 1979: 28], i.e. literally 'to make drowsy-sleep'.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 77. Meaning glossed as 'to sleep, to be sleepy; to soften up one's energy; to relax one’s strength'. The
idiomatic expression literally means "to be lacking in strength" (žu6 = 'strength'). Other potential candidates for the same meaning
include pu5 'to lie down' (see 'to lie'); and k'wə: 'to rest; (loosely) to sleep' [Lyman 1974: 146]. However, textual examples show that
the most straightforward equivalent for 'to sleep' is indeed the listed idiomatic expression.

Bunu: Meng 2001: 221; MYYFY 1987: 8. The latter source also lists liŋ, as an additional synonym.

Baonao: Meng 2001: 221.

Numao: Meng 2001: 221.


Pana: Taguchi 2001: 89. Quoted as ɲu35 in [Chen 2001: 80].

77. SMALL

References and notes:
Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 246; MYYFY 1987: 132. The former source also lists as quasi-synonyms the words ɲə3 (rather ‘tender, young, small (of child)’) and ɲe3 (rather ‘young (of animals), infant’). Cf. in [Yang 2004: 329]: jiwei ɲH55, Yangmeng ɲu34, Zhongxin ɲH35.
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 182. Lyman 1974: 362. The forms ɲi2 and ɲau3 are listed as complete synonyms in Lyman’s dictionary, and listed contexts give no clue as to what the semantic difference is; we have to treat both as technical synonyms.
Numao: Meng 2001: 228.
Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 294. Also ɲə3 id. (semantic difference is unknown).
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 302. Also tə33 and ɲə3 id. (semantic difference is unknown).

78. SMOKE
Western Xiangxi ɲo1=ɲɛʰo5 (1), Eastern Xiangxi ɲə35-ɲɛʰo5 (1), Qiangdong ɲu1=i1 (2), Chuanqiandian ɲə3=ɲɛʰo5 (1), Diandongbei ɲau3=ɲɛʰo5 (1), Hmong Daw ɲɛʰə4 # (1), Hmong Njua ɲə3-taŋ6 (3), Bunu ɲa=təŋ3-to4 (3), Baonao ɲv5-tiu4 (3), Longhua Jiongnai ɲau3=ə43 (4), Liuxiang Jiongnai tə33=ɲəu22 (5), Xiaozhai Younuo to22=ɿ1 (6), Huangluo
Younuo zin\text{33} (6), Northern Pa-Hng qa\text{22}=u\text{35} (4), Southern Pa-Hng qa\text{31}=u\text{35} (4), Hm-Nai u\text{35}=tou\text{22} (4), Lianhua She tʰ\text{4t}=ka\text{1}=nɔ\text{1} (7), Luofu She tʰ\text{4t}=ka\text{1}=nɔ\text{1} (7).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 255. Transcribed as qo\text{1}=ʓ in [MYYFY 1987: 2]. Initial qo\text{1} is a desemanticized classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 248]: Jiwei qo\text{35}=牖, Yangmeng qo\text{3}= getWindow. Zhongxin ʒɯ\text{33}.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 248. Cf. Xiaozhang kʰa\text{33}=ɕʰ, Dengshang kʰa\text{22} id.


Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 2. Initial paŋ\text{5} is a classifier.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 2. Initial paŋ\text{5} is a classifier.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 150. Listed only in the verbal meaning: 'to produce smoke, to smoke', but no separate nominal stem is listed in the dictionary; considering the external evidence, it may be assumed that the word may be used as a noun as well.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 259. The main root morpheme paŋ\text{3} is glossed with polysemy: 'vapor / mist / steam / breath / smoke'; the specific meaning 'smoke (of fire)' is generated by joining up with taŋ\text{6} 'fire' q.v.

Bunu: Meng 2001: 194. Quoted as ka\text{3}=poŋ\text{5} in [MYYFY 1987: 2]. Initial ka\text{3} is a desemanticized classifier; tou\text{6}='fire' q.v.

Baonao: Meng 2001: 194. The modifier tiu\text{4}='fire' q.v.

Numao: Not attested.

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 256. The first morpheme is 'fire' q.v.

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 256. The first morpheme is 'fire' q.v.

Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2002: 256. The second component tou\text{2} = 'fire' q.v.

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2007: 235. The first morpheme is 'fire' q.v.

Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 251. Initial qa\text{2} is a desemanticized classifier.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 251. Initial qa\text{3} is a desemanticized classifier.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 251. The second component tou\text{2} = 'fire' q.v.

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 94. The first component is tʰ\text{4}= 'fire' q.v. Quoted as ka\text{2}=t\text{2} in [Hiroki 2003: 20].

Pana: Not attested.

79. STAND

Western Xiangxi j\text{1} (1), Qiandong j\text{1} (1), Hmong Daw šæw\text{3} (1), Hmong Njua šau\text{2}=ŋiŋ\text{6} (1), Bunu sʰō\text{3} (1), Baonao sʰou\text{3} (1), Numao sau\text{4} (1), Longhua Jiongnai ŋjau\text{53} (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ŋ\text{35} (1), Xiaozhai Younuo so\text{22} (1), Huangluo Younuo so\text{22} (1), Northern Pa-Hng ʃa\text{4} (2), Southern Pa-Hng ʃhau\text{4} (2), Hm-Nai ŋου\text{13} (1), Lianhua She s\text{1} (1), Luofu She s\text{1} (1), Pana s\text{1} (1).

References and notes:


Eastern Xiangxi: Not attested.


Chuanqiandian: Not attested.

Diandongbei: Not attested.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 290. This stem by itself is glossed as a dynamic action verb: 'to arise, to stand up'. The static 'be
standing’ is expressed by compounds: debian, joyu, ‘to stand erect, to stand upright’ (joyu = ‘erect, vertical, steep (of a roof)’ [Heimbach 1979: 199]); debian xjoyu ‘to stand straight up’ (xjoyu = restricted post-verbal intensifier [Heimbach 1979: 182]), etc.

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 304. The first morpheme by itself is glossed with the meaning ‘to rise, arise, get up, wake up (intrans);’ it forms several compound verbs, including the static ‘to stand’ by joining up with the “modifier” joyu that has no independent usage in Hmong Njua.

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 220.

**Baonaob:** Meng 2001: 220.

**Numao:** Meng 2001: 220.

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 284.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 284.

**Xiaozhai Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 293.

**Huangluo Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 293.

**Northern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 2007: 289.

**Southern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 2007: 289.

**Hm-Nai:** Mao & Li 2007: 289.

**Lianhua She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 115. Quoted as sva in [Hiroki 2003: 202].

**Luofu She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 115.

**Pana:** Taguchi 2001: 89. Quoted as fii in [Chen 2001: 81].

80. STAR

**Western Xiangxi** tei=qei-la5 (1), **Eastern Xiangxi** qei35 (1), **Qiandong** tei=qei (1), **Chuanqiandian** noi=qo1 (1), **Diandongbei** nui=qu1 (1), **Hmong Daw** nui=qu1 (1), **Hmong Njua** nui=qu1 (1), **Bunu** vei=kun1 (1), **Baonaob** oei=k21 (1), **Numao** kun1 (1), **Longhua Jiongnai** ka44=nta44 (2), **Liuxiang Jiongnai** ka44=nta44 (2), **Xiaozhai Younuo** lin33-tay35 (3), **Huangluo Younuo** lin33-tay35 (3), **Northern Pa-Hng** a33=qay35 (1), **Southern Pa-Hng** a44=q535 (1), **Hm-Nai** nay35=qay35 (1), **Lianhua She** nes-tay1 (2), **Luofu She** nes-tay1 (2).

**References and notes:**

**Western Xiangxi:** Xiang 1992: 250; MYYFY 1987: 36. Literally: ‘infant-moon’ (see under ‘moon’). Cf. in [Yang 2004: 243]: Jiwei tei=qei, tia, Yangmeng tei=qei, tia, Zhongxin tei=qei, tia. **Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2000: 243. The Danqing dialect preserves the original root; however, the Xiaozhang equivalent (en35=sen35=cen35) and the Dengshang equivalent (en23=foa) for this Swadesh meaning seem both to be loanwords from Chinese z=(t) xing(zi) ‘star’.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 50. Quoted as ci=qei in [MYYFY 1987: 36]; this transcription is probably erroneous (c instead of t).

**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 36. The first component of this compound is c1 ‘sun’ q.v.; the second component is the original root morpheme for ‘star’.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 36. The first component of this compound is c1 ‘sun’ q.v.; the second component is the original root morpheme for ‘star’.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 71. The first component of this compound is c1 ‘sun’ q.v.; the second component is homonymous with ‘old’, but the homonymity may be accidental if this is really the original root morpheme for ‘star’.

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 204. Polysemy: ‘star / planet’. Explained by Lyman as literally ‘old sun’, where nui ‘sun’ q.v. and qu1 = ‘old’ [Lyman 1974: 284]. The homonymity with ‘old’ may, however, be accidental.

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 193. Quoted as tei=kun1 in [MYYFY 1987: 36].

**Baonaob:** Meng 2001: 193.

**Numao:** Meng 2001: 193.

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 254. Collective form (‘stars’).
81. STONE

Western Xiangxi $qo_1=ʐu_1$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $qu_{33}=v_{33}$ (1), Qiandong $po_3=γi_1$ (1), Chuanqiandian $zê_1$ (1), Diandongbei $a_3=v_3$ (1), Hmong Daw $pζ_1=žê_1$ (1), Hmong Njua $žê_1$ (1), Bunu $fa_3=γe_1$ (1), Baono $γe_1$ (1), Numao $γe_1$ (1), Longhua Jiongnai $ŋkja_44$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai $za_44$ (1), Zhaozhai Younuo $ha_{22}=v_i_33$ (1), Huanglou Younuo $ha_{22}=v_33$ (1), Northern Pa-Hng $qa_{22}=yo_{35}$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng $qa_{31}=yo_{35}$ (1), Hm-Nai $ntju_{33}=ci_{13}=yo_{35}$ (1), Lianhua She $ŋa_1-kɔ_3$ (1), Luofu She $za_1-kɔ_3$ (1), Pana $pe_15$ (2).

References and notes:

**Western Xiangxi:** Xiang 1992: 197; MYYFY 1987: 14. Initial $qo_1$ is a desemanticized classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 247]: Jiwei $qo_{33}=ʐu_{53}$, Yangmeng $qo_{33}=ʐu_{53}$, Zhongxin $qo_{33}=ʐu_{53}$.

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 247. Also Xiaoazhang $ci_{33}=xu_{63}$ id.; Dengshang $ŋγ_3=ŋp_3$ seems to represent a different root.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 34; MYYFY 1987: 14. Initial $po_3$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 14.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 14. Initial $a_3$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 436. The first part of the compound is the fused classifier $pγ$, denoting ‘roundness’ or ‘bulkiness’ [Heimbach 1979: 231]; the second part is the root morpheme.

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 372. Used with the classifier $l_u_1$. Cf. also $pao_1$ ‘stone, rock’ [Lyman 1974: 260], said to be an interchangeable synonym; the two morphemes may also be joined together in a single compound formation $pao_1-ζê_1$ ‘stone, rock’ [ibid.].

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 194; MYYFY 1987: 14.

**Baono:** Meng 2001: 194.

**Numao:** Meng 2001: 194.

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 255.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 255.

**Zhaozhai Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 236.

**Huanglou Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 236.

**Northern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 250. Initial $qa_{12}$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Southern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 250. Initial $qa_{12}$ is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hm-Nai:** Mao & Li 1997: 250. The root morpheme $ŋyo_3$ is the same as in Pa-Hng, but the first two components are unclear.

**Lianhua She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 94. Quoted as $ŋa_{12} ~ ŋa_{12}-kɔ_{44}$ in [Hiroki 2003: 14].

**Luofu She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 94.

**Pana:** Taguchi 2001: 86. Quoted as $pe_15$ in [Chen 2001: 76].
82. SUN

Western Xiangxi $\eta_1$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $\eta_1^h\ae_{35}=\eta_1^h\ve_{53}$ (1), Qiandong $\eta_1^h\ae_1$ (1), Chuanqiandian $\eta_0$ (1), Diandongbei $lu_1=\eta_1$ (1), Hmong Daw $\eta_1$ (1), Hmong Njua $nu_1$ (1), Bunu $po_3=\eta_1$ (1), Baonao $\vei_3=\eta_1$ (1), Numao $t\ae_2=\eta_kau_1$ (2), Longhua Jiongnai $nt\ae_2$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai $nt\ae_2$ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo $hu\ae_1=\eta_0$ (1), Huangluo Younuo $hu\ae_1=\eta_0$ (1), Northern Pa-Hng $a\ae_3=\ae_2=\eta_1^e$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng $a\ae_4=\ae_3=\eta_1^e$ (1), Hm-Nai $n\eta_3=\eta_1^e$ (1), Lianhua She $n\ae_1-k\ae_3 \sim n\ae_1-k\ae_3$ (1), Luofu She $n\ae_1-k\ae_3$ (1), Pana $n\ae_1$ (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 214; MYYFY 1987: 90. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 243]: Jiwei $\ne_1$, Yangmeng $\ne_1$, Zhongxin $ci\ae_1=\ne_1$.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 243. Also Xiaozhang $\eta_1^h\ae_3=\ne_1$, Dengshang $\eta_1^h\ae_3=\ne_1$.


Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 90. The bisyllabic form $\eta_1^h\ae_3=\eta_1^h\ve_5$ is also listed as a synonym.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 90. Initial $lu_1$ is a classifier.


Bunu: Meng 2001: 193. Quoted as $ni\ae_1=\eta_1^e$ in [MYYFY 1987: 90]. Same classifier as in ’moon’ q.v.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 248. Initial $a\ae_3=\eta_3$ is a desemanticized classifier. Formally, this is a double compound that consists of $a\ae_3=\eta_3$ ’moon; luminary (gen.)’ (q.v.) and $q\ae_3=\ve_3$ ’sun, day’ (the morpheme $\ve_3$ on its own has the primary meaning ’day’).

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 248. Initial $a\ae_3=\eta_3$ is a desemanticized classifier; the morpheme $\eta_3$ probably = ’water, rain, sky’, and the proper root morpheme is $\ve_3$. Cf. also $q\ae_3=\eta_0$ id.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 248. Initial $n\eta_3$ is a desemanticized classifier.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 93. Quoted as $l\ae_3-k\ae_4$ in [Hiroki 2003: 9].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 93.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 86. Quoted as $la\ae_3=\nu_1$ in [Chen 2001: 76].

83. SWIM

Western Xiangxi $n\eta_3=\ae_1$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $n\eta_3^e=\ae_3=\ue_3$ (1), Qiandong $l\eta_3=\au_1$ (1), Chuanqiandian $lu_8$ (1), Diandongbei $\la_8=\oa_8$ (1), Hmong Daw $\eta_8=lu_\gamma\ae_2$ (1), Hmong Njua $lu_\gamma=\ae_5$ (1), Pana $d\eta_3=\eta_1^e$ # (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 267. Literally = ’to swim (in) water’, where $n\eta_3$ is the verbal stem and $\ae_1$ is ’water’ q.v. Transcribed as $n\eta_3=\ae_1$ in [MYYFY 1987: 98] (the same source also adds $n\eta_3=\ae_1$ as a synonym, but this expression is translated as ’to wash (in water)’.
in [Xiang 1992: 239], so we do not include it. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 365]: Jiwei na\textsubscript{44}-\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{33}. Differently in the two other dialects: Yangmeng ɡi\textsubscript{44}-\textsubscript{w}u\textsubscript{13}-\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{33}, Zhongxin ɡi\textsubscript{33}-\textsubscript{w}u\textsubscript{11}-\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{33} (with the same noun 'water', but a different verbal base).

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 365. Cf. Dengshang ni\textsubscript{33}-\textsubscript{w}u\textsubscript{11} id. Differently in Xiaozhang; ʒi\textsubscript{33}-\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{33}.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 301. Transcribed as loŋ\textsubscript{2}+\textsubscript{3} in [MYYFY 1987: 98]. Same morphological structure as in Xiangxi.

**Chuaniqianian:** MYYFY 1987: 98.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 98. The second morpheme is 'water' q.v.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 34, 121. Literally = 'to make swim-water', where the only morpheme whose meaning may be close to 'swim' on its own is l ɡu ( ɡu is the auxiliary verb 'do, make' and ɡu is 'water' q.v.).

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 74, 176. 44 ʔ is 'to do, make': ɡu\textsubscript{3} is glossed with the original meaning of 'stick, rod; handle' [Lyman 1974: 287].

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 199. Quoted as ku\textsubscript{33}=t\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{33} in [MYYFY 1987: 162].

**Baonao:** Meng 2001: 199. Initial ka\textsubscript{33}= is a desemanticized classifier.

84. TAIL

Western Xiangxi pi\textsubscript{3}=t\textsubscript{v}\textsubscript{3} (1), Eastern Xiangxi ti\textsubscript{33}=t\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{33} (1), Qiandong qa\textsubscript{1}=t\textsubscript{e}\textsubscript{3} (1), Chuaniqianian ku\textsubscript{3}=du\textsubscript{3} (1), Diandongbei a\textsubscript{3}=ca\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{4} (2), Hmong Daw k\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{2}=ti\textsubscript{4} (1), Hmong Njua q\textsubscript{h}\textsubscript{3}=t\textsubscript{h}\textsubscript{2} (1), Bunu t\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{3} (1), Baonao k\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{3}=c\textsubscript{3} (1), Numao t\textsubscript{öy}\textsubscript{3} (1), Longhua Jiongnai δa\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{33} (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai l\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{33} (1), Xiaozhai Younuo k\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{3}=te\textsubscript{22} (1), Huangluo Younuo k\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{3}=te\textsubscript{22} (1), Northern Pa-Hng t\textsubscript{ai}\textsubscript{33}=t\textsubscript{ai}\textsubscript{22} (1), Southern Pa-Hng tfi\textsubscript{33}=t\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{31} (1), Hm-Nai t\textsubscript{ei}\textsubscript{33}=t\textsubscript{ei}\textsubscript{33} (1), Lianhua She k\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{1}=t\textsubscript{3} (1), Luofu She k\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{1}=t\textsubscript{3} (1), Pana la\textsubscript{44}=tje\textsubscript{44} # (1).

References and notes:

**Western Xiangxi:** Xiang 1992: 234; MYYFY 1987: 162. Initial pi\textsubscript{3}= is a desemanticized classifier. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 268]: Jiwei pi\textsubscript{44}=t\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{34}. Yangmeng pei\textsubscript{44}=t\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{34}, Zhongxin e\textsubscript{3}=pi\textsubscript{33}=t\textsubscript{d}\textsubscript{31}.

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 268. Cf. Xiaozhang ti\textsubscript{44}=t\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{33}, Dengshang ti\textsubscript{44}=t\textsubscript{d}\textsubscript{31} id.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 139. Erroneously quoted as qa\textsubscript{1}=t\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{3} in [MYYFY 1987: 162]. Initial qa\textsubscript{1}= is a desemanticized classifier.

**Chuaniqianian:** MYYFY 1987: 162. Initial ku\textsubscript{3}= is a desemanticized classifier.

**Diandongbei:** MYYFY 1987: 162. Initial a\textsubscript{3}= is a desemanticized classifier.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 330. Initial k3\textsubscript{a}= is a fused classifier with the original meaning 'handle' [Heimbach 1979: 85]. The root morpheme may also be used on its own, with a classifier (tu; ti4 'the tail').

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 329. The root morpheme tu\textsubscript{3} is glossed with polysemy: 'tail / rump / buttocks'. The (sometimes) fused classifier q\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{3}= is glossed with the original meaning of 'stick, rod; handle' [Lyman 1974: 287].

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 199. Quoted as ku\textsubscript{33}=t\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{33} in [MYYFY 1987: 162].

**Baonao:** Meng 2001: 199. Initial ka\textsubscript{33}= is a desemanticized classifier.
85. THAT

Western Xiangxi a₁ (1), Eastern Xiangxi te₃₅=i₅₅ (1), Qiandong i₁ (1), Chuanqianadian hi₃ (1), Diandongbei ti₄ao₅ (2), Hmong Daw nda₅ (2), Hmong Njua nda₅ (2), Bunu uŋ₁ (3), Baonao a₁ (3), Numao yi₄ (1), Longhua Jiongnai mi₄₄ (9), Liuxiang Jiongnai mi₄₄ (9), Xiaozhai Younuo ni₁₃ (5), Huangluo Younuo ni₂₂ (5), Northern Pa-Hng ṭ₃₅ (10), Southern Pa-Hng ṭ₃₅ (10), Hm-Nai wo₃₅ (10), Lianhua She wa₄ (10), Luofu She wa₄ (10), Pana lō=tinj₈ (11).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 150. Transcribed as a₁ in [MYYFY 1987: 2]. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 318]: Jiwei a₄, Yangmeng a₄. According to the specifications in [Yang 2004], this is the equivalent for 'that (closer)'. The dialect of Zhongxin, however, has a different equivalent in this meaning: xo₃₅=i₅₅, an extension of the regular i₅₅ 'that (farther)'.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 318. Cf. Dengshang tei₃₅=i₄₄ id. Neither Danqing nor Dengshang show any distinction between 'that (closer)' and 'that (farther)'. However, such a distinction is specified for the Xiaozhang dialect: e₅₅-ta₁, 'that (closer)' vs. e₅₅-e₅₅ 'that (farther)'. The principal morpheme in both these stems is e₅₅, cognate with Danqing e₅₅ and Dengshang i₄₄.


Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 214. Meaning glossed as 'that (further away), yonder'.

Bunu: Meng 2001: 233. Meaning glossed as 'that (further away)'.

Baonao: Meng 2001: 233. Meaning glossed as 'that (further away)'.

Numao: Meng 2001: 233. Meaning glossed as 'that (further away)'.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 312.


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 312.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 131. Quoted as ny₄₋₄₈ in [Hiroki 2003: 324]. According to Hiroki, denotes an object that is near to the listener, but far from the speaker.

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 131. See notes on Lianhua She for semantics.
85. THAT

Western Xiangxi \(\ddot{z}i_{4}(4)\), Qiandong \(nen_{3}(5)\), Diandongbei \(\eta_{ci_{7}}(6)\), Hmong Njua \(hao_{2}(7)\), Bunu \(kau_{2}(8)\), Baonao \(kə_{2}(8)\), Numao \(köy_{2}(8)\), Lianhua She \(\gamma_{3}(3)\), Luofu She \(u_{3}(3)\), Pana \(\ddot{z}i_{4}#(4)\).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 150; MYYFY 1987: 2. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 318]: Jiwei \(\ddot{z}i_{4}\) id. According to the specifications in [Yang 2004], this is the equivalent for 'that (farther)'. A different equivalent for this meaning is attested in the other two dialects: Yangmeng \(c_i_{4}\), Zhongxin \(i_{5}\).

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 325. According to the dictionary, refers to 'that (far away from the speaker, close to the listener)'.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 2. The difference between \(t^hə_{3}\) and \(\eta_{ci_{4}}\) is not specified.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 119. Meaning glossed as 'that (close by), there (close by)' (i.e. = intermediate degree of proximity).

Bunu: Meng 2001: 232. Meaning glossed as 'that (close by)'.

Baonao: Meng 2001: 232. Meaning glossed as 'that (intermediate)'.

Numao: Meng 2001: 232. Meaning glossed as 'that (intermediate)'.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 131. Quoted as \(ɤ_{44}~u_{64}\) in [Hiroki 2003: 324]. According to Hiroki, denotes an object that is equidistant from the listener and the speaker.

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 131. See notes on Lianhua She for semantics.


86. THIS

Western Xiangxi \(nen_{3}(1)\), Eastern Xiangxi \(ne_{55}(1)\), Qiandong \(nøn_{3}(1)\), Chuanqiandian \(na_{3}(1)\), Diandongbei \(ni_{3}(1)\), Hmong Daw \(nɔ_{4}(1)\), Hmong Njua \(nṇa_{2}(1)\), Bunu \(nøn_{3}(1)\), Baonao \(nøn_{3}(1)\), Numao \(ney_{3}(1)\), Longhua Jiongnai \(ne_{53}(1)\), Liuxiang Jiongnai \(ni_{35}(1)\), Xiaozhai Younuo \(no_{25}(1)\), Huangluo Younuo \(no_{22}(1)\), Northern Pa-Hng \(ŋ_{22}(1)\), Southern Pa-Hng \(ŋ_{31}(1)\), Hm-Nai \(ne_{13}(1)\), Lianhua She \(ne_{3}(1)\), Luofu She \(ni_{3}(1)\), Pana \(lدينةni_{6}(1)\).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 278; MYYFY 1987: 88. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 318]: Jiwei \(nen_{4}\), Yangmeng \(nøn_{4}\), Zhongxin \(nen_{3}\).

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 318. Cf. Xiaoziang \(nen_{35}\), Dengshang \(ne_{64}\) id.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 312.  
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 312.  

87. THOU

References and notes:
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 85; Mottin 1978: 44.
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 135. The "children speech" variant of this pronoun is ìao5 [Lyman 1974: 70].
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 311.

88. TONGUE
Western Xiangxi qo1=mja4 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qu33=mja33 (1), Qiandong nis (1), Chuanqiandian bla6 (1), Diandongbei a3=nlay4 (1), Hmong Daw mblay6 (1), Hmong Njua
mblay6 (1), Bunu nλa6 (1), Baonao nlias (1), Numao nliye6 (1), Longhua Jiongnai mpli32 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai mpli32 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo kɔ33=mi31 (1), Huangluo Younuo kɔ33=mi31 (1), Northern Pa-Hng tai33=njei31 (1), Southern Pa-Hng mpli31 (1), Hm-Nai tei33=nt3ei31 (1), Lianhua She pi6 (1), Luofu She pi6 (1), Pana la44=Li33 # (1).

References and notes:


Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 80. Initial a3= is a desemanticized classifier.


Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 239. Initial k31= is a desemanticized classifier.

Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 239. Initial k31= is a desemanticized classifier.

Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 266.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 266.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 266.


89. TOOTH

Western Xiangxi qo1=ʃ3 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qu33=ʃe35 (1), Qiandong mʃ3 (2), Chuanqiandian na3 (2), Diandongbei niʃ3 (2), Hmong Daw nja3 (2), Hmong Njua na2 (2), Bunu fa3=miʃ3 (2), Baonao may3 (2), Numao may3 (2), Longhua Jiongnai may3 (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai mʃ3 (2), Xiaozhai Younuo fun22 (3), Huangluo Younuo fun22 (3), Northern Pa-Hng qa44=mi22 (2), Southern Pa-Hng mi131 (2), Hm-Nai tei33=miŋ31 (2), Lianhua She mun3 (2), Luofu She mun3 (2), Pana mon3 (2).

References and notes:


Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 266.
Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 239.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 261. Initial qa₄₄ is a desemanticized classifier.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 261.

90. TREE

Western Xiangxi qa₁=ntu₅ (1), Eastern Xiangxi dɔ₃₃ (1), Qiandong tau₅ (1), Chuanqiandian nτu₅ (1), Diandongbei ntao (1), Hmong Daw ndo₄ (1), Hmong Njua ndo₃ (1), Bunu ntaŋ (1), Baonao nτu₅ (1), Numao nτu₅ (1), Longhua Jiongnai nτu₅ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai nτu₅ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo fɔ₃₃ (2), Huangluo Younuo fɔ₃₃ (2), Northern Pa-Hng tja₃₅ (3), Southern Pa-Hng pja₃₅ (3), Hm-Nai ca₃₅ (3), Lianhua She tω₃ (1), Luofu She tω₃ (1), Pana fa₁ (2).

References and notes:

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 263.  
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 263.  
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 261.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 87. Quoted as rowIndex in [Chen 2001: 76].

91. TWO

Western Xiangxi $u_1$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $v_{53}$ (1), Qiandong $o_1$ (1), Chuanqiandian $\tilde{a}a_1$ (1), Diandongbei $a_1$ (1), Hmong Daw $o_1$ (1), Hmong Njua $\tilde{a}a_1$ (1), Baonao $u_1$ (1), Numao $\tilde{o}_1$ (1), Longhua Jiongnai $u_{44}$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai $u_{44}$ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo $u_{33}$ (1), Huangluo Younuo $u_{33}$ (1), Northern Pa-Hng $v_{a35}$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng $v_{a35}$ (1), Hm-Nai $v_{a35}$ (1), Lianhua She $u_1$ (1), Luofu She $u_1$ (1), Pana $wu_1$ (1).

References and notes:

Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 344; MYYFY 1987: 6. Also used as the personal pronoun 'we (dual)'.
Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 70.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 129. Quoted as $u_{12}$ in [Hiroki 2003: 314]. The same source also adds the Chinese borrowing $n_{44}$ as an alternate equivalent.
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 129.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 92. Quoted as $\tilde{a}_{13}$ in [Chen 2001: 79].

92. WALK (GO)

Western Xiangxi $m_{o4}$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $m_{a33}$ (1), Qiandong $m_{o4}$ (1), Chuanqiandian $m_{o4}$ (1), Diandongbei $mao_4$ (1), Hmong Daw $mu_5$ (1), Hmong Njua $m_{o6}$ (1), Baonao $mu_4$ (1), Numao $mu_4$ (1), Longhua Jiongnai $m_{41}$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai $m_{53}$ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo $\eta_{22}$ (1), Huangluo Younuo $\eta_{22}$ (1), Northern Pa-Hng $m_{133}$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng $m_{133}$ (1), Hm-Nai $m_{33}$ (1), Lianhua She $\eta_{4}$ (1), Luofu She $\eta_{4}$ ~ $hu_{4}$ (1), Pana $\eta_4$ (1).
93. WARM (HOT)

Western Xiangxi ʧ03 (1), Eastern Xiangxi ƙu33 (2), Qiandong fʰu3 (1), Chuanqiandian ʂ03 (1), Diandongbei ʂ03 (1), Hmong Daw ʂ3 (1), Hmong Njua ʂu2 (1), Bunu ʃ03 (1), Longhua Jiongnai kʰjə44 (3), Liuxiang Jiongnai kʰǔə44 (3), Xiaozaishi Younuo kʰuə33 (3), Huangluo Younuo kʰu33 (3), Northern Pa-Hng nou33 (4), Southern Pa-Hng ntle33 (4), Hm-Nai wuə35 (5), Lianhua She sv3 (1), Luofu She su3 (1), Pana kʰiə1 (3).

References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 299. Distinct from ku 'hot' (also 'to be burned or scalded') [Heimbach 1979: 88].

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 307. Meaning glossed as 'to be warm, be warmed up'. Distinct from ku 'to be hot' [Lyman 1974: 140].


Baonao: Not attested. Cf., however, ɕ3 'hot (of weather)' in [Meng 2001: 228].

Numao: Not attested. Cf., however, ʃu 'hot (of weather)' in [Meng 2001: 228].
Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 287. Meaning glossed as 'hot'; no separate word for 'warm' is attested.
Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 287. Meaning glossed as 'hot'; no separate word for 'warm' is attested.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 306. Meaning glossed as 'warm (of water)'. Distinct from ɕ qaŋ35 'hot (of weather)' and from qaŋ35 'hot (of water)'.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 306. Meaning glossed as 'warm (of water)'. Distinct from vo55 'hot (of weather)' and from q35 'hot (of water)'.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 306. Meaning glossed as 'warm (of water)'. Unlike Pa-Heng, Wunai uses the same word for 'hot (of water)' and 'hot (of weather)': qaŋ35.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 90. Meaning glossed as 'hot (food)'. Distinct from s u3 'hot (weather)'.

94. WATER

References and notes:
Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 244. Also Xiao zhong u33, Deng shang u34.
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 34. Used with the classifier ɗu5 "for streams and watercourses".
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 93. Quoted as ɗŋ1 in [Hiroki 2003: 15].
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 93.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 86. Quoted as ɗŋ1, with polysemy: 'water / river' in [Chen 2001: 76].

95. WE
Western Xiangxi *pu*$_1$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi *pv*$_{53}$ (1), Qiandong *pi*$_1$ (1), Chuanqiandian *pe*$_1$ (1), Diandongbei *pi*$_1$ (1), Hmong Daw *pe*$_1$ (1), Hmong Njua *pe*$_1$ (1), Bunu *pe*$_1$ (1), Baonao *pey*$_1$ (1), Numao *pa*$_1$ (1), Longhua Jiongnai *pa*$_{44}$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai *pa*$_{44}$ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo *pou*$_{33}$ (1), Huangluo Younuo *pou*$_{33}$ (1), Northern Pa-Hng *pu*$_{35}$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng *pu*$_{35}$ (1), Hm-Nai *wan*$_{22}$-*kan*$_{13}$ (2), Lianhua She *pa*$_1$ (1), Luofu She *pa*$_1$ (1), Pana *pa*$_8$ (1).

References and notes:

**Western Xiangxi:** Xiang 1992: 236; MYYFY 1987: 6. Noclusivity. Cf., however, a special dual form (*we two*) in [Xiang 1992: 236]: *pe*$_1$-[le]. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 317]: Jiwei *pu*$_{53}$, Yangmeng *pu*$_{53}$, Zhongxin *pu*$_{53}$ *we*; Jiwei *pu*$_{53}$-[le]$_3$, Yangmeng *pu*$_{53}$-[le]$_4$, Zhongxin *pu*$_{53}$-[u]$_3$-[le]$_5$ *we two*.

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 317. Noclusivity, but cf. the dual form (*we two*): *pv*$_{53}$-[v]$_3$-[le]$_3$ [ibid.]. Cf. Xiaozhang *pu*$_{53}$-[r]$_{35}$ Dengshang *pu*$_{53}$ *we*; Xiaozhang *pu*$_{53}$-[r]$_{35}$ Dengshang *pu*$_{53}$-[u]$_{22}$-[le]$_{35}$ *we two*.


**Chuanqiandian:** MYYFY 1987: 6. Noclusivity.


**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 227; Mottin 1978: 44. Cf. a special dual form (*we two*): *i*$_{1}$ [Heimbach 1979: 6; Mottin 1978: 44].

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 263. 1st p. plural pronoun. The corresponding dual form is *ʔn$_{1}$ ~ *ʔn$_{1}$ *ni* [Lyman 1974: 73].

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 232; MYYFY 1987: 6. Cf. a special dual form: *e*$_1$ [ibid.].

**Baonao:** Meng 2001: 232. Cf. a special dual form: *n*$_{1}$ [ibid.].

**Numao:** Meng 2001: 232. Cf. a special dual form: *m*$_{53}$-[d]$_{35}$-[e]$_2$ [ibid.].

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 302. Also *v*$_{53}$-[k]$_{35}$-[s]$_{35}$ id. (derived from *v*$_{53}$ T q.v.). Cf. a special dual form (*we two*): *a*$_{44}$-[n]$_{44}$ [ibid.], and the inclusive *we*: *tan*$_{35}$-[k]$_{35}$ [ibid.].

**Liuxiang Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 302. Cf. a special dual form (*we two*), also capable of functioning as the plural form: *a*$_{44}$-[n]$_{44}$ [ibid.]. The inclusive variant is *p*$*a*$_{35}$-[s]$_{35}$, and it is also said to be capable of functioning as the exclusive plural.

**Xiaozhai Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 294.

**Huangluo Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 294.

**Northern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 311. Plural form; cf. also dual *pu*$_{53}$-[v]$_{53}$-[le]$_{35}$ [ibid.].

**Southern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 311. Plural form; cf. also dual *v*$_{35}$-[v]$_{44}$, [ibid.].

**Hm-Nai:** Mao & Li 1997: 311. Plural form; cf. also dual *wan*$_{35}$-[w]$_{35}$-[n]$_{35}$ [ibid.].

**Lianhua She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 130. Also *pa*$_1$-[n]$_{1}$-[t]$_{1}$ id. Quoted as *pa*$_{32}$ ~ *le*$_{35}$-[pa]$_{32}$ in [Hiroki 2003: 323].

**Luofu She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 130. Also *pa*$_1$-[n]$_{1}$-[t]$_{1}$ id.

**Pana:** Taguchi 2001: 93. Quoted as *pa*$_{35}$ in [Chen 2001: 79].

96. WHAT

Western Xiangxi *qa*$_1$=[*n*]$_1$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi *m*$*e*$_{55}$-[y]$_{31}$ (2), Qiandong *qei*=[*f*]$_3$ (3), Chuanqiandian *lu*$*$a*$_{8}$=[*c*]$_5$ (3), Diandongbei *qa*$_1$=[*s*]$_5$ (3), Hmong Daw *da*$_1$=[*c*]$_4$ (3), Hmong Njua *λ =$*$[*c*]$_3$ (3), Longhua Jiongnai *la*$_{44}$-[*d*]$_{35}$ (4), Liuxiang Jiongnai *ne*$_{44}$-[*z*]$_{35}$ (5), Xiaozhai Younuo *ka*$_{35}$-[*l*]$_{35}$ (6), Huangluo Younuo *ho*$_{35}$-[n]$_{35}$ (7), Northern Pa-Hng *ka*$_{35}$-[*y*]$_{35}$ (8), Southern Pa-Hng *qa*$_{35}$-[*y*]$_{35}$ (8), Hm-Nai *hou*$_{35}$-[*mpou*]$_{33}$ (9), Lianhua She *e*$_{3}$-[*a*]$_{35}$-[*na*]$_1$ (10), Luofu She *ha*$_5$-[*na*]$_1$ (10).

References and notes:


Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 154. The structure of the word is bimorphemic, but the morphemes have no individual meaning on the synchronic level.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 154. The structure of the word is bimorphemic, but the morphemes have no individual meaning on the synchronic level.


Bunu: Not attested.

Baonao: Not attested.

Numao: Not attested.

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 302. Also a44-ða43 id.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 312.


Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 312.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 131. Quoted as cʰa31-la54 or simply as cʰa31 in [Hiroki 2003: 326].


Pana: Not attested.

97. WHITE

Western Xiangxi qwx (1), Eastern Xiangxi qwa (1), Qiandong tui (1), Chuanqiandian leui (1), Diandongbei λoeyi-nci-ei (1), Hmong Daw 'daw (1), Hmong Njua λaui (1), Bunu λo (1), Baonao λou (1), Numao λjo (1), Longhua Jiongnai klau (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai klau (1), Xiaozhai Younuo kje (1), Huangluo Younuo kju (1), Northern Pa-Hng k35 (1), Southern Pa-Hng (1), Hm-Nai kwau (1), Lianhua She kجا (1), Luofu She kجا (1), Pana λu (1).

References and notes:


98. WHO


References and notes:


Qiandong: Zhang 1990: 409; MYFY 1987: 60. Initial tè₄ is a classifier for (generally) animate objects; =fi₃ is the same nominal interrogative morpheme as in 'what?' q.v.

Chuanqiandian: MYFY 1987: 60. Initial lò₁ is a classifier.

Diandongbei: MYFY 1987: 60. Initial qa₂ is a classifier.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 330; Mottin 1978: 64. This morpheme has a general interrogative meaning. The subject interrogative pronoun ‘who?’ usually combines it with either the neutral classifier for persons and living things tu₄ (tu₄, ti₄) or the “polite” classifier for persons by₂ (by₂, ti₄).

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 329. The main interrogative morpheme is tu₂₃; leŋ₃= is a classifier for people. An additional synonym is sa₀: ‘who?’ [Lyman 1974: 293]; the difference between the two words remains unclear.


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 312. The first morpheme is a general interrogative; the second is a generic classifier.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 2007: 312. The first morpheme is a general interrogative; the second is a generic classifier.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 2007: 312. The first morpheme is a general interrogative; the second is a generic classifier.


99. WOMAN


References and notes:


Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 4. Initial  qa5 is a desemanticized classifier.


Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 267. Synonym:  q e-mau2 [Lyman 1974: 181]. In both cases,  q e= is a prefixal extension with the general semantics of 'person' (see the word for 'man', where it is present as well). The difference between the two words is not quite clear, but  qa21=pwu5 is more frequently found in text examples, and certain attestations suggest that  qa21=mau2 could be more specifically understood as 'female' (biological term), whereas  qa21=pwu5 is more of a social term.

Bunu: Meng 2001: 204. Quoted as  pu=mpʰa5 in [MYYFY 1987: 4].

Baonao: Meng 2001: 204.

Numao: Meng 2001: 204.

Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (same as in 'man' q.v.).

Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (same as in 'man' q.v.).


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (see the same morpheme in 'man' q.v.); the third one is 'person' q.v.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (see the same morpheme in 'woman' q.v.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 270. The first morpheme is a classifier for people (see the same morpheme in 'man' q.v.); the third one is 'person' q.v.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 103. The first morpheme is 'person' q.v. Quoted as  le=va44 in [Hiroki 2003: 235].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 103. The first morpheme is 'person' q.v.

Pana: Chen 2001: 77. Not attested in Taguchi’s vocabulary. The second morpheme is 'person' q.v.

100. YELLOW

Western Xiangxi  qaen2 (1), Eastern Xiangxi  gwe31 (1), Qiantong  faŋ3 (1), Chuanqianbian

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References and notes:

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 304.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 126. Quoted as k’un1 in [Hiroki 2003: 126].
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 126.

101. FAR
Western Xiangxi qu1 (1), Eastern Xiangxi qu3 (1), Qiandong to4 (2), Chuanqiandian tle1 (1), Diandongbei ɻi1 (1), Hmong Daw ‘de1 (1), Hmong Njua ɻe1 (1), Bunu ke1 (1), Baonao ke1 (1), Numao ku1 ~ ʔpa1 (1), Longhua Jiongnai ku44 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ku44 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo kje3 (1), Huangluo Younuo ku3 (1), Northern Pa-Hng ko15 (1), Southern Pa-Hng ko35 (1), Hm-Nai ko35 (1), Lianhua She ku5 (1), Luofu She ku1 (1), Pana ku1 (1).

References and notes:


102. HEAVY
Western Xiangxi xen3 (1), Eastern Xiangxi njh3 (1), Qiandong njhio3 (1), Chuanqiandian naŋ5 (1), Diandongbei nia1 (1), Hmong Daw na5 (1), Hmong Njua naŋ2 (1), Bunu naŋ3 (1), Baonao nw5 (1), Numao γy1 (2), Longhua Jiongnai n5 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai ni5 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo suŋ2 (3), Huangluo Younuo sou2 (3), Northern Pa-Hng na2 (1), Southern Pa-Hng na3 (1), Hm-Nai na3 (1), Lianhua She ngi3 (1), Luofu She ni3 (1), Pana nǐu3 (1).

References and notes:
Xiaozhai Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 293.
Huangluo Younuo: Mao & Li 2007: 293.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 126. Quoted as ng in [Hiroki 2003: 275].
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 126.
103. NEAR

References and notes:

Numao: Meng 2001: 228.

104. SALT
Western Xiangxi ɲəu3 (1), Eastern Xiangxi ɲə35 (1), Qiandong ɿi3 (1), Chuanqianian nən3=ɲɛ3 (1), Diandongbei ɲə23 (1), Hmong Daw ɲə3 (1), Hmong Njua ɲə2 (1), Bunu nce3 (1), Baonao ncə (1), Numao ncə (1), Longhua Jiongnai nčə (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai nʔə (1), Xiaozhai Younuo ɿə (1), Huangluo Younuo ɿə (1), Northern Pa-Hng ɲə (1), Southern Pa-Hng ɲə3 (1), Hm-Nai ɲə (1), Lianhua She ɿə (1), Luofu She ɿə (1), Pana ɖə # (1).

References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 120.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 326. The two morphemes can also be joined together in a bisyllabic compound: t g1-lu3 id.


Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 108. Quoted as ca44 in [Hiroki 2003: 76].


105. SHORT

Western Xiangxi le3 (1), Eastern Xiangxi li55 (1), Qiandong le3 (1), Chuanqianian lo5 (1), Diandongbei lu8 (1), Hmong Daw lu3 (1), Hmong Njua lu3 (1), Bunu lu3 (1), Baonao lu3 (1), Numao lu3 (1), Longhua Jiongnai laŋ3 (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai lâ35 (1), Xiaozhai Younuo lu22 (1), Huangluo Younuo lou22 (1), Northern Pa-Hng lu22 (1), Southern Pa-Hng lu22 (1), Hm-Nai laŋ3 (1), Lianhua She naŋ3 (1), Luofu She naŋ3 (1), Pana l3 (1).

References and notes:


Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 120.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 326. The two morphemes can also be joined together in a bisyllabic compound: t g1-lu3 id.


106. SNAKE

Western Xiangxi $ta_{1}=nen_{1}$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $nɛ_{33}$ (1), Qiandong $nany_{1}$ (1), Chuanqiandian $nany_{1}$ (1), Diandongbei $pi_{1}=nau_{1}$ (1), Hmong Daw $na_{1}$ (1), Hmong Njua $nany_{1}$ (1), Bunu $nany_{1}$ (1), Baonao $nv_{1}$ (1), Numao $nan_{1}$ (1), Longhua Jiongnai $nen_{44}$ (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai $nan_{44}$ (1), Xiaozhai Younuo $kau_{35}=ni_{33}$ (1), Huangluo Younuo $ni_{33}$ (1), Northern Pa-Hng $nη_{35}$ (1), Southern Pa-Hng $ŋ̩_{31}=n̩_{35}$ (1), Hm-Nai $n̩_{22}=n̩_{35}$ (1), Lianhua She $tɔ_{5}=ɔn_{2}$ (2), Luofu She $tɔ_{4}=ɔn_{2}$ (2), Pana $la_{5}=gn̩_{3}$ (1).

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 192; MYYFY 1987: 86. Initial $ta_{1}=nen_{1}$ is a classifier for animals. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 272]: Jiwei $ta_{13}=nen_{13}$, Yangmeng $ta_{1}=n̩{9}_{13}$, Zhongxin $ta_{13}=n̩_{35}$.

Eastern Xiangxi: Yang 2004: 272. Cf. Xiaozhang $ne_{33}$, Dengshang $ne_{34}$ id.


Chuanqiandian: MYYFY 1987: 86.

Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 86. Initial $pi_{1}=nau_{1}$ is a classifier.

Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 135. Used with the classifier $tu_{1}$.

Hmong Njua: Lyman 1974: 197. Also used as a generic term for various reptiles or non-reptiles that resemble a snake (eels, etc.). Used with the classifier $tu_{1}$.

Bunu: Meng 2001: 198. Quoted as $nv̩_{1}$ in [MYYFY 1987: 86].


Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 258.

Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 258. Initial $ŋ̩_{31}=n̩_{35}$ is a desemanticized classifier.

Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 258. Initial $ŋ̩_{31}=n̩_{35}$ is a desemanticized classifier.

Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 98. Quoted as $tɔ_{5}=n̩_{13}$ in [Hiroki 2003: 36].

Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 98.

Pana: Taguchi 2001: 87. Quoted as $gan̩_{3}$ in [Chen 2001: 78].

107. THIN

Western Xiangxi $ji_{1}$ (1), Eastern Xiangxi $ji_{35}$ (1), Hmong Daw $pi_{5}$ (2), Hmong Njua $na_{6}$ (2), Bunu $s^{h}a ny_{1}$ (3), Baonao $ma_{4}$ (4), Numao $nc^{h}a y_{3}$ (5), Longhua Jiongnai $piy_{31}$ (2),

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Liuxiang Jiongnai \(\text{pin}_5\) (2), Xiaozhai Younuo \(\text{pi}_2\) (2), Huangluo Younuo \(\text{pi}_2\) (2), Northern Pa-Hng \(\text{pi}_2\) (2), Southern Pa-Hng \(\text{pii}_3\) (2), Hm-Nai \(\eta_{22}\) (2), Lianhua She \(\eta_{in}_{4}\) (2), Luofu She \(\eta_{in}_{4}\) (2).

References and notes:

**Western Xiangxi:** Xiang 1992: 242. Same word as 'small' q.v. However, a separate equivalent is found in [Yang 2004: 329]: Jiwei \(\text{ma}y_{33}\), Yangmeng \(\text{ma}y_{33}\), Zhongxin \(\text{ma}y_{33}\).

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 329. Cf. Xiaozhang \(\text{ɕi}_3\), Dengshang \(\text{ɕi}_3\) id.

**Qiandong:** Not attested.

**Chuanqiandian:** Not attested.

**Diandongbei:** Not attested.

**Hmong Daw:** Heimbach 1979: 219. Meaning glossed as 'thin, not thick, measuring relatively little between opposite surfaces'.

**Hmong Njua:** Lyman 1974: 226. Meaning glossed as 'to be thin, sheer'. Cf. also the reduplication \(\text{nza}_6-\text{nza}_6\) 'to be thin (i.e. not thick)'.

Additionally, cf. \(\text{nza}_6\) 'to be thin', \(\text{nza}_6-\text{nzau}_6\) 'to be skinny, emaciated' [Lyman 1974: 222].

**Bunu:** Meng 2001: 228.

**Baonao:** Meng 2001: 228.

**Numao:** Meng 2001: 228.

**Longhua Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 294.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai:** Mao & Li 2002: 294.

**Xiaozhai Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 273.

**Huangluo Younuo:** Mao & Li 2007: 273.

**Northern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 303.

**Southern Pa-Hng:** Mao & Li 1997: 303.

**Hm-Nai:** Mao & Li 1997: 303.

**Lianhua She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 125. Quoted as \(\eta_{in}_{4}\) in [Hiroki 2003: 270].

**Luofu She:** Mao & Meng 1986: 125.

**Pana:** Taguchi 2001: 91. Quoted as \(\text{ni}_{ij}\) in [Chen 2001: 81].

108. WIND

Western Xiangxi \(\text{ki}_5\) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \(\text{ɕi}_3\) (1), Qiandong \(\text{ɕe}_5\) (1), Chuanqiandian \(\text{ɕua}_5\) (1), Diandongbei \(\text{ɕa}_5\) (1), Hmong Daw \(\text{ɕu}_4\) (1), Hmong Njua \(\text{ɕa}_3\) (1), Bunu \(\text{ɕa}_5=\text{ɕi}_5\) (1), Baonao \(\text{ɕi}_5\) (1), Numao \(\text{ɕi}_5\) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \(\text{ɕi}_5\) (1), Liuxiang Jiongnai \(\text{ɕi}_5\) (1), Xiaozhai Younuo \(\text{ki}_5\) (1), Huangluo Younuo \(\text{ki}_5\) (1), Northern Pa-Hng \(\eta_{3i5}=\text{ɕi}_5\) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \(\text{ɕi}_5\) (1), Hm-Nai \(\eta_{3i5}=\text{ɕi}_5\) (1), Lianhua She \(\text{ki}_1\) (1), Luofu She \(\text{ki}_5\) (1), Pana \(\text{ɕi}_5\) (1).

References and notes:

**Western Xiangxi:** Xiang 1992: 62. Transcribed as \(\text{ɕi}_5\) in [MYFY 1987: 108] (with palatalization). Cf. in [Yang 2004: 243]: Jiwei \(\text{ɕi}_3\), Yangmeng \(\text{ɕi}_3\), Zhongxin \(\text{ɕi}_3\).

**Eastern Xiangxi:** Yang 2004: 243. Also Xiaozhang \(\text{ɕi}_3\), Dengshang \(\text{ɕi}_3\) id.

**Qiandong:** Zhang 1990: 255. Transcribed as \(\text{ɕin}_5\) in [MYFY 1987: 108].

**Chuanqiandian:** MYFY 1987: 108.
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 18. Used with the classifier $t_i$ for 'gusts of wind'.
Bunu: Meng 2001: 193. Quoted as $k_a_t_i$ in [MYYFY 1987: 108]. Initial $k_a$ is a desemanticized classifier.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 248. A compound in which the first component is 'water' q.v.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 248. A compound in which the first component is 'water' q.v.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 248. A compound in which the first component is 'water' q.v.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 93. Quoted as $k_i$ in [Hiroki 2003: 10].
Luofu She: Mao & Meng 1986: 93.
Pana: Taguchi 2001: 86. Quoted as $i_35$ in [Chen 2001: 76].

References and notes:

Western Xiangxi: Xiang 1992: 28. Transcribed as $t_a=\text{qen}_1$ in [MYYFY 1987: 138] (with palatalization). Initial $t_a$ is a classifier for animals. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 270]: Jiwei $t_a=\text{qen}_3$, Yangmeng $t_a=\text{qen}_4$, Zhongxin $t_a=\text{qen}_5$.
Diandongbei: MYYFY 1987: 138. Initial $p_i$ is a classifier.
Hmong Daw: Heimbach 1979: 18. Meaning glossed as 'earthworm'. Used with the classifier $t_i$. The second component of the compound is $n_1$, 'snake' q.v.; the first one is probably the old root morpheme of 'worm'.
Bunu: Meng 2001: 199. Initial $k_j$ is a desemanticized classifier.
Longhua Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 262. Initial $k_a$ is a desemanticized classifier.
Liuxiang Jiongnai: Mao & Li 2002: 262. Initial $k_e$ is a desemanticized classifier.
Northern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 260. Initial $q_3$ is a desemanticized classifier.
Southern Pa-Hng: Mao & Li 1997: 260. Initial $q$ is a desemanticized classifier.
Hm-Nai: Mao & Li 1997: 260. Initial $q_5$ is a desemanticized classifier.
Lianhua She: Mao & Meng 1986: 99. Quoted as \( \text{ka}_2\text{p}=\text{zv}\eta_2 \) in [Hiroki 2003: 99].


110. YEAR

Western Xiangxi \( \varepsilon u_5 \) (1), Eastern Xiangxi \( \varsigma c_31 \) (1), Qiandong \( \eta^h\text{iu}_5 \) (2), Chuanqiandian \( \text{f}\eta\varsigma_5 \) (1), Diandongbei \( \text{ja}_2\text{t} \) (1), Hmong Daw \( \text{b}_4 \) (1), Hmong Njua \( \text{f}\eta_3 \) (1), Bunu \( \text{s}\eta_5 \) (1), Baonao \( \text{s}\eta_5 \) (1), Numao \( \text{ci}_5 \) (1), Longhua Jiongnai \( \mu\text{nu}n_35 \) (2), Liuxiang Jiongnai \( \mu\text{a}_22 \) (2), Xiaozhai Younuo \( \text{l}\text{un}_35 \) (3), Huangluo Younuo \( \text{l}\text{un}_35 \) (3), Northern Pa-Hng \( \varepsilon\eta_35 \) (1), Southern Pa-Hng \( \varepsilon\text{u}_5 \) (1), Lianhua She \( \eta\text{p}_5 \) (2), Luofu She \( \eta\text{p}_5 \) (2), Pana \( \varepsilon\text{o}_35 \) (1).

References and notes:

**Western Xiangxi**: Xiang 1992: 152; MYYFY 1987: 90. Secondary synonym: \( \varepsilon\varepsilon_1 \) [Xiang 1992: 152] (transcribed as \( \varepsilon\varepsilon_1 \) in [MYYFY 1987: 80]). This word, however, is specified in both sources as Chinese 过年 \( \text{guo}_5\text{nian} \) ‘next year’, so it is clearly not eligible for inclusion. Cf. in [Yang 2004: 305]: Jiwei \( \varepsilon\text{u}_5 \), Yangmeng \( \varepsilon\text{u}_5 \), Zhongxin \( \varepsilon\text{u}_5 \).

**Eastern Xiangxi**: Yang 2004: 305. Cf. Xiaozhang \( \text{cu}_33 \), Dengshang \( \text{c}_22 \) id.


**Chuanqiandian**: MYYFY 1987: 90.

**Diandongbei**: MYYFY 1987: 90.

**Hmong Daw**: Heimbach 1979: 416.

**Hmong Njua**: Lyman 1974: 131. Cf. also \( \text{ce}_1 \) ‘one-year period of time which has already passed’ [Lyman 1974: 78], e. g. \( \text{ce}_1\text{n}_2 \) ‘last year’.

**Bunu**: Meng 2001: 195. Quoted as \( \text{f}\eta\varsigma_5 \) in [MYYFY 1987: 90].

**Baonao**: Meng 2001: 195.

**Numao**: Meng 2001: 195.

**Longhua Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 256.

**Liuxiang Jiongnai**: Mao & Li 2002: 256.

**Xiaozhai Younuo**: Mao & Li 2007: 271.

**Huangluo Younuo**: Mao & Li 2007: 271.

**Northern Pa-Hng**: Mao & Li 1997: 252.

**Southern Pa-Hng**: Mao & Li 1997: 252.

**Hm-Nai**: Mao & Li 1997: 252.

**Lianhua She**: Mao & Meng 1986: 95. Quoted as \( \eta\text{p}_5 \) in [Hiroki 2003: 292]; the same source also lists \( \eta\text{jin}_5 \) as a synonym (a borrowing from Chinese?).

**Luofu She**: Mao & Meng 1986: 95.