

SINO-TAI WORDS FOR 'TO EAT'

Yongxian Luo

ABSTRACT

This paper examines Sino-Tai lexical correspondences in the semantic field of 'to eat'. Several dozen correspondence sets are established, including concepts like 'eating', 'drinking', 'biting', 'chewing', among others. Related concepts involving food preparation, food processing and food vessels are also investigated. Wider connections are sought where appropriate. The findings have implications for the debate on the genetic affiliation of Tai within Sino-Tibetan.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the history of civilisation, food collecting and food production remains one of the fundamental activities of mankind. The way food is gathered and consumed is a distinctive trait of a cultural group, for food has a number of social and communicative functions when it is served on the table. On the other hand, food collecting and production is intrinsically linked to the habitats of the gatherer and producer. As such it reveals the homogeneity of a cultural group and their relationships with nature and the environments.¹ Linguistically, this is even more so because concepts associated with eating, food collecting and food preparation are often found to differ from culture to culture. Indeed, if we want to probe into the roots of a cultural group, we will first of all do well to gain a good understanding of the history of their food culture.

Just as the Chinese are well-known for their inventiveness in science and technology, so they are reputed for their preoccupation with food and food production. The subsistence of the Chinese population is a testimony to this success story. The importance of food in Chinese culture can be adequately captured, in the words of the great historian Sima Qian at the second century BC, 'Food is the first necessity of man.'²

There is no lack of archaeological evidence and historical records that paint a picture of a unique Chinese food culture. Archaeological assemblages indicate that Chinese culinary art existed quite early in history. Vivid descriptions of feasts and food-producing activities abound in numerous historical texts, notably in such early classics as *the Book of Odes*, *the Song of the South*, and *The Book of Rites*, among others. Chang (1976:115-148) has provided an excellent account of this fascinating aspect of Chinese civilisation.

The Tai have cohabited with the Chinese for centuries. They were among the early agriculturalists in Asia. Their history and culture form part of a whole picture of the cultural history of this region. As such any study of regional Chinese culture would be incomplete without taking into account the interaction between the Han Chinese and the other ethnic groups.

¹ On this topic the reader is referred to Levi-Strauss (1964, 1965, 1966, 1968) who has investigated the culinary history of mankind from an anthropological point.

² Sima Qian. *Shiji*, 'Lisheng Lujia Liezhuan'.

Although information on Chinese culinary history is readily available, comparative work is relatively scarce. Little is known about the culinary culture of non-Han peoples in south China who have had a long historical relationship with the Han Chinese and who have played an important role in shaping the history of this region. The aim of this paper is to fill in this gap by offering a comparative study of food culture between Chinese and Tai from a linguistic perspective.

In this study we focus on lexical correspondences between Chinese and Tai in the semantic field of ‘to eat’. We first compare the lexical root of ‘to eat’ and its associated concepts before taking up discussion of food culture, which includes food stuff, food vessels, food preparation, cooking methods, and food taste. Chinese data is drawn from pre-Qin texts and early dictionaries. Tai data will be drawn from Gedney’s multi-volumed data series, the author’s fieldnotes as well as relevant literature in comparative Tai. For the purpose of this paper, Li’s (1972) Old Chinese (OC) reconstruction and Pulleyblank’s (1991) Early Middle Chinese (EMC) reconstruction will be adopted. Proto-Tai (PT) reconstructions are from Li (1977).

2. TERMS FOR ‘TO EAT’ IN CHINESE AND TAI

To begin with, it seems useful to introduce the concept of ‘to eat’ in Chinese and Tai. In both ancient and modern Chinese, there is a word for food and drink, 飲食 (*yin shi*), literally ‘drink-food’. Of these, 食 was found in the oracle inscriptions, where it was a drawing of food vessel with a lid. Hence it also means ‘food’, and ‘to feed’. By contrast, 飲 refers to ‘drink’, and is typically associated with liquid food. This character occurred in *Shi Jing* [*The Book of Odes*] in Zhou times.

Unlike Chinese, which makes a lexical distinction between ‘to eat’ and ‘to drink’, Tai has a cover term for both, reconstructed as **kin*^{A1} by Li (1977:187, item 30). This lexical root is uniformly represented across the Tai languages. It refers to any activity involving taking something into the mouth and sending it down the throat, whether it is solid or liquid.

Words associated with ‘to eat’ in Chinese and Tai appear to form several word groups, as will be discussed below.

2.1 The *K + V + n/t* Group

The Tai term ‘to eat’ appears to be etymologically related to the form for ‘to gnaw, to bite’. A correspondence can be established with Chinese for the latter item.

Gloss	Chinese character	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT ³
1. Gnaw, bite	齦	ken ³	—	khən x	khən'	heen C1	hen C1	hen C2	hen C2	heen C2	—

³ Abbreviations: GSR = *Grammata Serica Recensa*; OC = Li’s (1971) Old Chinese Reconstruction; EMC = Pulleyblank’s (1991) Early Middle Chinese Reconstruction; DH = Dehong (Luo 1999); WT = White Tai (Donaldson 1972); LM = Lungming (Gedney 1992); LC = Lungchow (Li 1977); FS = Fengshan (author’s own fieldnote); HCT = Proto-Tai reconstruction as proposed in *Handbook of Comparative Tai* (Li 1977).

The character 齙 is found in *Shuowen*, indicating its occurrence before the Han times. No reconstruction is offered in Li (1977) for Proto-Tai. From the reflexes, a proto **yen* C2 can be reconstructed for Tai (Luo 1997: 299).

Several words in Chinese meaning ‘to bite, to crunch with the teeth’ take velar initials and final *-t*.

Gloss	Chinese	Pinyin	GSR	OC	EMC
2. bite	齧	xie ⁴	327h	kriat	χeij ^h /χe:j ^h
3. gnaw	齧	nie ⁴	279e	ngjat	ŋet
4. bite	齧	he ²	517o	gət	χət

These forms appear to be related to Example 1. For Item 2, Pulleyblank reconstructs a vowel glide for EMC, while Li reconstructed a final *-t* for OC. Similarly, Karlgren reconstructs **g'ād* for OC. Items 3 and 4 are both reconstructed with a final *-t* by Kalrgren, Li and Pulleyblank. Xing (1999: 4) has proposed Item 4 as a Sino-Tai cognate.

It appears that the above three forms are variants of the same proto root, which has a good comparandum in Tai ‘bite’, a form that is uniformly represented across the Tai languages.

Gloss	Thai	Lao	DH	WT	LM	LC	FS	Yay	Saek	HCT
bite	kat D1S	*kat D1S								

To this group we may add ‘to swallow’ and ‘to choke’:

Gloss	Chin	Pin yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
5. swallow	咽; 嚥	yan ⁴	370h; 243c	iēnh	?en ^h	kliin A1	?win A1	kyxn A1	---	cuan A2	*kliin A1
6. choke	哽	geng ³	475c'	kengx	kaij ^h / ke:jj ^h	kheen C2	ken C2	Nung ken C2	cen C2	ceen C2	*gen C2

‘To swallow’ takes the departing tone (B) in Chinese, but the A tone in Tai. Tai reflexes point to a velar cluster. This item has been posited by Xing (1999:431) as a Sino-Tai word.

The Chinese comparandum for ‘choke’ shows a historically voiceless initial, contrasting with a voiced initial in Tai. The tone fits. An alternation of final *-ŋ* and *-n* can be observed, which is not uncommon.

2.2 *The K + V + m/p Group*

Associated with the concept of ‘eating’ and ‘biting’ are notions of ‘holding or carrying something in the mouth’, for which Chinese and Tai appear to have several items in common.

Gloss	Chin	Pin yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
8. hold in mouth	含	han ²	6511'	ŷām	ŷəm/ŷam	kham A2	kam A2	---	kaam A2	kaam A2	---
9. mouthful	唵	an ³	—	‘āmx	‘am’	—	—	—	ʔaam B1	ʔaam B1	*ʔaam B1
10. gobble	齒合	xia ²	—	ŷāp	—	khop D1	xop D1	khop D1	hap D2	hap D2	*xep D1

For ‘hold in the mouth’, reflexes in Southwestern Tai point to a short /am/, while the Northern dialects show vowel lengthening. Chinese has a variant 衔 xian² (GSR 627c, 608a, OC *ŷām, EMC *ŷaɪm/ŷe:m), with which Bodman (1980:110) has established a link for Sino-Tibetan. No reconstruction is offered in HCT for this item, although Li has proposed a separate etyma, *ʔəm A1 ‘keep in the mouth’, which seems to be etymologically related to the next item, ‘mouthful’.

‘Mouthful’ is not found in the Southwestern Tai dialects in our data. But Li has posited a proto form *ʔəm A1 (HCT p. 244, item 28) with the meaning ‘to keep in the mouth’, which seems to be etymologically related.

The character 齒合 is not found in *Shuowen*, but is recorded in *Yupian* and *Jiayun*, where it is glossed as ‘eat’ and ‘gobble’ respectively.⁴

2.3 ‘Chew’, ‘Drink’, ‘Sniff’ and ‘Spit’

Four items are found in this group. They take various initials and finals.

Gloss	Chin	Pin yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
11. bite, chew	咬	yao ³	—	ngaux	ŋaiw/ŋe:w	khiau C2	keu C2	keew C2	cew C2	cew C2	*giau C2
12. chew	唵	ran ²	622e	njām	niam	Lao nyam C1	yəm C2	Nung nam C1	nam C1	nam C1	—

咬 is not included in GSR, where 咬 (1166g) is found. The meaning of the Chinese form is ‘bite’. In Tai, it refers to the act of munching and chewing something hard.

A tonal mismatch can be observed for Chinese 嗡 (A2) and Tai *nam C1. The Tai comparandum means ‘to chew something (hard)’. It is worth noting that the phonetic element 冂 (ran²) in Chinese shows the C tone, matching with the Tai tone.

⁴ 《玉篇·齒部》：“齒合，食也。”《集韻·洽韻》：“尽內（納）口中也。”

No reconstruction is offered in Li (1977) for Proto-Tai. A proto **hŋjam* C1 is reconstructable (Luo 1997: 286).

Two forms, ‘drink, eat’ and ‘to sniff, smell’, both taking dental initials, appear to exhibit correspondences.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
13. drink, eat	啖	dan ⁴	617n	dâmh	dam'	diim B1	Lue dum B1	n̥n C2	dun C2	dun C2	*?diim (?)
14. sniff, smell	帖	tie ⁴	618p	t'iep	tʰep	dom A1	lom A1	nom A1	dum A1	dum A1	*?duom A1

Chinese 喫 means ‘to devour’. The Thai and Lue reflexes designate ‘to drink’, whereas the Lungming and Northern Tai forms mean ‘to swallow’, with a final *-n*, which may go back to a different source (Li 1977:110-1, note 33). A related form is found in Chinese, 口留 *dan⁴* (GSR 672k, OC dâmh, EMC *dam'*) ‘to swallow’.

The character 喗 designates ‘taste’, as glossed in *Yupian*. The phonetic element points to a final *-p*. The corresponding Tai form means ‘to sniff, smell’, with a final *-m*. This item appears to have Tibeto-Burman links (Jeon 1996:189).

In addition, Chinese and Tai share the word for ‘to spit’, which takes a velar initial:

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
15. spit out (food)	咳 (亥)	kai ⁴	937b (937s)	khəg ^h	khəj ^h	khaai A2	xaai A2	haay A2	haay A2	haai A2	*yaai A2

Chinese 咳 mean ‘to cough’, with the shang tone (B). The character has a different reading, *hai¹*, which takes the A1 tone. The corresponding Tai form means to ‘spit (food)’, with the A2 tone.

2.4 Sibilant/Dental + V + t/p --- ‘Slurp’, ‘Sip’, ‘Suck’

Several correspondence sets can be established for these concepts. These typically take sibilant/dental intials, with final t/p.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
16. slurp	歛	xi ⁴	675s	xjəp	xip	suut D2	sot D1	luup D2	θuit D2	θut D2	—
17. inhale, suck	吸	xi ¹	681j	xjəp	xip	cu:p D1	tsup D1	šop D1	θup D2	θup D2	—
18. suck, inhale	歛	shu ⁴	1222 o	srjuk	—	cu:p D1	tsup D1	cop D1	sup D1	čup D1	*čuu p D1

‘Slurp’ is glossed as ‘to draw in, to contract’ in GSR and EMC. The Tai comparandum refers to the act of eating soup or porridge. There is an alternation of final -t and -p in Tai, probably due to contamination, with Lungming showing -p.

Chinese 吸 is defined as ‘to inhale, to sniff’ in *Shuowen*. The corresponding Tai forms mean ‘to suck, kiss’.

The character 噙 ‘to suck, inhale’ is also found in *Shuowen*, with no text examples. The phonetic element of the Chinese character points to a final -k, while Tai reflexes show final -p. As our data shows, the Southwestern Tai dialects do not distinguish between ‘inhale’ and ‘kiss’, but data from non-Southwestern dialects indicate that we are dealing with two separate but etymologically related forms.

Several items are found in Chinese with meanings related to ‘sip, inhale, suck’, which apparently belong to the same word group:

Gloss	Chin	Pinyin	GSR	OC	EMC
19. sip	歛	sha ⁴	631c	srăp	ʂəip/ʂə:p, ʂiap
20. suck	啜	za ²	660o	dzăp	—
21. sip, suck	啜	za ¹	—	tsăp	tsəp/ tsap

Example 19 is glossed as ‘to smear mouth with victim’s blood’ in *Zuozhuan*, a pre-Qin text. Examples 20 and 21 belong to the same rhyme group. Item 21 is posited as a Sino-Tai word by Xing (1999:171).

Also in the same semantic field are two correspondence sets taking sibilant/dental initials and final back vowels plus -t:

Gloss	Chin	Pinyin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
22. sip, suck	啜	chuo ⁴	295c	trwjet	tç ^h wiat	duut	lut	nxt	dwt	dət	*?duot
23. drink	啜	chuo ⁴	295i	trwjet	tç ^h wiat	duut	lut	nxt	dwt	dət	*?duot

These two roots appear to be closely related in Chinese, glossed as ‘to gulp’ and ‘to drink’ respectively in GSR. No such distinction is made in Tai, where the corresponding form means ‘to suck, to drink (liquor)’, as in Li (1977:109, #30). The two forms cited here have also been proposed by Xing as Sino-Tai cognates (1999: 238-9).

3. FOOD TASTES AND ASSOCIATED CONCEPTS

In addition to terms for eating and drinking, concepts of food tastes and associated psychological experiences are found to be remarkably similar between Chinese and Tai, as illustrated below.

3.1 'To Taste', 'to Lick'

Chinese and Tai appear to share terms for both basic concepts.

Gloss	Chin.	Pinyin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
24. to taste	尝	chang ²	725f	drjang	dziarŋ	chim A2	tsim A2	cim A2	sim A2	çim A2	*jim A2
25. to lick	舐	shi ⁴	867f	dr̥i / dr̥jœu	ʐ̥i / ʐ̥i'	lia A2	le A2	ley A2	ria A2	lia A2	*dlia A2

The correspondences in finals for 'to taste' are irregular, with Chinese taking the traditional Division III of 陽 group of rhymes in contrast with a high front /i/ in Tai. The alternation between /-ŋ/ and /-m/ is not uncommon, though (see 3.3 below for the correspondence for 'fragrant, good smell'). The tones also fit.

'To lick' takes a sibilant initial in Chinese, a liquid in Tai, which points to a sibilant cluster of some sort in the proto language (Luo 1998:116). A wider link can be established with Kadai languages (Ostapirat 2000: 241).

3.2 'Cooked/Ripe', 'Raw'

Like 'taste' and 'lick', Chinese and Tai share a nice pair of etyma for 'cooked/ripe' and 'raw'.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
26. cooked, ripe	熟	shu ²	1026 b	djuk	dzuwk	suk D1	suk D1	sok D1	suk D2	çuk D2	*suk D1
27. raw	嘍	zhe ²	—	diap	—	dip D1	lip D1	nip D1	dip D1	dip D1	*?dlip D1

Both Li (1976) and Manomaivibool (1975: 341) have posited 'cooked, ripe' as an indisputable Sino-Tai cognate, a view shared by Xing (1999: 156-7).

Shuowen glosses 嘍 as '(sliced) raw meat'. Xing (1999:289) is credited for proposing a Sino-Tai link for this etymon. Wider connections can be sought with Kadai (Ostapirat 2000: 236).

3.3 Food Taste and Flavours

If concepts for senses of smell and tastes are indicative of cultural traits, then Chinese and Tai unquestionably form an alliance. A rich set of etyma is found to have cognate relationship in this semantic field between these two languages.

Gloss	Chin.	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
28. fragrant	香	xiang ¹	717a	xjeng	xian	hoom A1	hoom A1	hoom	hom A1	hoom A1	*hom A1
29. bad smell, odor	臭	chou ⁴	1088 a	tshrjéuh	tç ^h uw ^h	khaiu A1	xeu A1	khiiw	haw A1	hau A1	*xau A1
30. stink, foul smell	臊	sao ¹	1134 c	sâu	saw	khaiu A1	xeu A1	khiiw	haaw A2	haau A2	*yaau A2
31. sour	酸	chen ³	—	thrjəmx	—	som C1	som C1	som	θom C1	θom C1	*som C1
32. sweet	甘	gan ¹	606a	kâm	kam	waan A1	waan A1	vaan	vaan A1	vaan A1	*hwaan A1
33. insipid, tasteless	餽	jie ³	—	tsju	—	čiit D1	Lao ci:t D1	cit	sut D1	çut D1	*čiut D1
34. bitter	嗇	yan ³	651d ,	jemx	—	khom A1	xom A1	khom	ham A2	ham A2	*xem A1
35. salty	鹹	xian ²	671f	yäm	yəim/ yə:m	khem A2	tsem A2	kan	kem A2	ham A2	*gem A2

For ‘fragrant’, an alternation of final /-ŋ/ and /-m/ can be observed between Chinese and Tai, very similar to ‘to taste’ above. Two variants, 酥 *han*¹ and 酸 *xian*¹ (belonging under the 𠂔 and 談 groups of rhymes respectively), recorded in *Guangya*, appear to be closer to the Tai form in phonetic shape. Xing (1999:308) has related the latter two forms with Tai.

‘Bad smell, odor’ takes a sibilant initial in Chinese, a laryngeal in Tai, which points to a sibilant-velar cluster of some sort in the proto language (Luo 1997a). So does the next example, ‘to stink, foul smell’. In Chinese, this latter word refers to ‘the smell of urine’. In Tai, it denotes the smell of raw fish or blood. A tonal alternation of the B tone and the A tone can be noted between Chinese and Tai for this item.

Both Manomaivibool (1975:341) and Xing (1999:185) have posited a Sino-Tai link for ‘sour’. The Chinese character is recorded in *Guangya*.⁵ Neither GSR nor EMC includes this item.

An alternation of final /-m/ and /-n/ can be noted for ‘sweet’. This item appears to have a good Tibeto-Burman comparandum, cf. Lepcha *khlyam* (Matisoff 2003: 275).

The character ‘insipid’ is not included in GSR nor EMC, but is recorded in *Yupian* and *Guangya*,⁶ indicating its occurrence at least around the Han times.

嗇 is glossed as ‘bitter (wine)’ in *Shuowen*, with no text examples. The character occurs in the oracle bone inscriptions, indicating its antiquity. At least half a

⁵ 《广雅·釋器》： 酥，酸，酢也。

⁶ 《玉篇·零卷·食部》引《苍吉页篇》：“食且，无味也。”《广韵·马韵》：“食且，无食味也。”

dozen variants are found in *Shuowen*, *Yupian* and *Jiyun* for this concept, including 卤剑 *jian*³ (*Shuowen*); 卤監 *gan*⁴, 卤感 *gan*³, 卤今 *jin*¹ and 卤兼 *jian*³ (all found in *Yupian*); and 卤敢 *gan*³ (*Jiyun*). Xing (1999:304) has proposed a Sino-Tai link for this item. Wider links can be sought with Kadai (Ostapirat 2000:235).

‘Salty’ appears to form a word group with ‘bitter’. Both take a velar initial and with finals ending in -m. This item has good Tibeto-Burman connections (Matisoff 2003: 299).

To ‘salty’ we may add the word for ‘salt’.

Gloss	Chin.	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
36. salt	鹽	gu ³	49q	kwagx	kɔ'	klia A1	kə A1	kyuuu A1	kua A1	cua A1	*klöo A1

There is an alternation of the B tone and the A tone between Chinese and Tai for this item. Li (1976:45) and Xing (1999:344) have both posited this as a Sino-Tai word. Li (ibid) has also proposed a link with Chinese 卤(OC lagx). A proto form is reconstructable for Kadai (Ostapirat 2000: 232). There is a good Tibeto-Burman comparandum (see Appendix I).

3.4 ‘Full’, ‘Hungry’, ‘Drunk’

Closely associated with the sense of tastes and smell are concepts describing the psychological state of ‘full’, ‘hunger’, ‘drunk’. These all display Sino-Tai cognacy.

Gloss	Chin.	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
37. full, satiated	饑	yan ⁴	616d	·jämh	ʔjiam ^h	ʔim B1	ʔim B1	ʔim B1	ʔim B1	ʔim B1	*ʔim B1
38. hungry	飢	e ⁴	—	·ek	—	jaak D1	Lue yak D1	yaak D1	yaak D1	ʔjiak D1	*ʔjiak D1
39. drunk	醉	mao ²	—	mâu	—	mau A2	mau A2	maw A2	—	—	*mau A2

‘Full’ has been proposed as a good cognate by Manomaivibool (1975:356) for Chinese and Thai. So has Xing (1999:300) for Sino-Tai.

Chinese 食厄 ‘hungry’ is recorded in *Shuowen*. The phonetic element 厥 indicates that we are dealing with the traditional 锡 (-ek) rhyme. Xing (1999:438) has posited this item as a Sino-Tai word. The character is not included in GSR or EMC, where the general term for ‘hungry’ 饥 e⁴ (GSR 2o, PL *ya*^h) is found. The latter takes the traditional 歌 (-ar) rhyme, going back to a different source.

No reflexes for ‘drunk’ are found in the Northern Tai dialects, where a different word, *fi* A2, is used, probably related to a different Chinese word 酔 *pei*¹ (not in GSR, but in EMC *p*^həj ‘unstrained wine’).

All the above terms have cognates in Kam-Sui, Lin-gao and Hlai. The last example, ‘drunk’, is attested across Kadai (Ostapirat 2000: 235).

4. FOOD PREPARATION AND PROCESSING

4.1 Grinding, Pounding, Winnowing and Washing Rice

Chinese and Tai share a good number of terms describing food preparation and food processing. Most of these relate to preparing rice for cooking.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
40. wash (rice)	洮	tao ²	1145s	tʰəgw	tʰaw	Lao saao A2	thau C2	WT taau A2	taaw A2	taau A2	—
41. grind	磨	mo ²	17f	mwar	ma	mo B1	mo B1	moo B2	WM mu B2	mwa B2	—
42. pound (rice)	舂	chong ¹	1192a	srjun	çuawŋ	tam A1	tam A1	tam A1	tam A1	tam A1	*tam A1
43. winnow, fan	簸	bo ³	25a	pwarx	pa'	vi A2	vi A2	Nung vi A2	vi B1	vi B1	*wi A2

For ‘wash (rice)’, the initial of the Lao reflex is spurious, so is the tone in Dehong. No reflex is found in Thai. Xing (1999:145) has posited a Sino-Tai link for this item. This etymon is not included in HCT. A proto *ztaau A2 is reconstructable based on the reflexes.

Chinese 磨 has another reading, mó ‘grindstone’, with the *departing* tone which corresponds with Tai B tone. This item is not included in HCT, either.

The Chinese form for ‘to pound (rice)’ takes a sibilant initial, Tai, a dental /t/, which points to a *st- cluster of some sort in the proto language. There is an alternation of final -g and -m between Chinese and Tai, which is not uncommon. This form has wider Kadai links (Ostapirat 2000: 232).

‘To winnow’ shows less full correspondences in finals, with Chinese taking the traditional 歌 /-ar/ rhyme, contrasting with the high front /i/ in Tai where we would expect /a/. Northern Tai dialects show the B1 tone, agreeing with Chinese. Non-Northern Tai reflexes point to a voiced initial, in contrast with a voiceless initial in Chinese and Northern Tai. A Kadai link can be established for this item (Ostapirat 2000:232). This form is included here as a problem to be solved.

4.2 Cooking, Eating/Serving and Storage Utensils

Several terms for serving utensils and vessels are also found to show good correspondences. These include ‘wine vessel’, ‘shallow cup’, ‘plate, dish’, ‘chopsticks’ and ‘ladle’.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
44. wine vessel	觚	gu ¹	41f	kwar	ko ²	koɔk D1	kok D1	kok D1	kok D1	koɔk D1	—
45. shallow cup	盞	zhan ³	155f	djənx	tʂəin' tʂən'	čaan A1	Lao caan A1	WT chen C1	saan C1	čen C1	*čaan C1
46. plate, dish	盤	pan ²	182e	bwan	ban	phaan A2	phaan C2	WT paan A2	paan A2	paan A2	*baan A2
47. chopsticks	箸	zhu ⁴	45j	trjagh	driǎ ⁵	Lao thu B1	thu B1	thow B1	tuu B2	tuu B2	*thu B1
48. ladle	勺	shao ²	1120a	djakw	dziak	Lao lok B2	—	lok D2	rok B1	lok B1	—

‘Wine vessel’ takes the 歌 rhyme (open syllable) in Chinese, a final -k in Tai, for which a proto *kok D1 may be proposed. No reconstruction is posited in HCT.

An alternation of final /aan/ and /en/ can be observed among Tai reflexes for ‘shallow cup’. The same is also true of cognates in Kam-Sui, cf. Kam *ten*³, Maonan *tsa:n*³. There is a fluctuation between A and C tones in Tai. The Chinese form indicates that we are dealing with the C tone.

‘Plate, dish’ shows good correspondences except for the tone in Dehong. Manomaivibool (1975: 324) has proposed a Sino-Thai link for this item. A proto form is reconstructable at Proto-Kam-Tai level: Kam *pon*², Sui *ma:n*², Maonan *pən*², Lingao *fan*².

‘Chopsticks’ is a good Sino-Tai word, as proposed by Xing (1999: 333-4). Wider links can be sought with Kadai (Ostapirat 2000: 231).

A correspondence between a sibilant and a liquid initial can be established for ‘ladle’ for Chinese and Tai, pointing to a sibilant cluster of some sort in the proto language.

Also shared are terms for ‘bucket’ and ‘basket’.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
49. bucket	桶	tong ³	1185p	t ^h ungx	thəwŋ'	thanj A2	thunŋ A2	thorŋ C1	tonŋ C1	tonŋ C1	—
50. basket	籃	gui ³	986a	kwjigx	kwi'	kruai A1	koi A1	kyuuy A1	coy A1	coi A1	*kluai A1

‘Bucket’ displays an alternation of A and C tones among the Tai dialects, similar to ‘shallow cup’. The Chinese correspondence indicates that we are dealing with the C tone. This item is not included in HCT. A proto *tonŋ C1 may be proposed for Tai. Xing (1999:485) postulates this item as a Sino-Tai cognate.

There is an alternation of the C and A tone between Chinese and Tai for 'basket'. A related form, 買 *kui*⁴, is recorded in *Shuowen*, where it is glossed as 'basket made of straw or bamboo.'

Of the above, 'plate', 'chopsticks', 'ladle' and 'bucket' exhibit Tibeto-Burman links (see Appendix I)

4.3 Granary and Preserving Utensils

Chinese and Tai share an important term for 'granary'. The Chinese character occurs in both the bronze inscription of the Zhou times and the silk book of the State of Chu, indicating its antiquity. The initials, finals and tones show perfect correspondence.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
51. granary	倉	cang ¹	703a	ts ^h ang	ts ^h arj	čhaanj A1	Lao saanj A1	saanj A1	saanj A1	čaaŋ A1	*čhaanj A1

Four correspondence sets can also be established with the meanings 'bowl, basin', 'water jar', and 'vat'. They typically refer to large-size pottery or earthenware jars for storing water or grain. Etymologically related, these take laryngeal/velar initials. Except for 'bowel, basin', no reconstructed forms are offered in HCT for Proto Tai.

Gloss	Chin	Pinyin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
52. bowl, basin	盞	ang ⁴	718i	angh	?aj ^h	?aaŋ B1	?aaŋ B1	?aaŋ B1	---	---	*?aaŋ B1
53. water jar	甕	weng ⁴	1184p	ungh	?əwŋ ^h	?ooŋ B1	?ooŋ B1	?ooŋ B1	?ooŋ B1	?ooŋ B1	---
54. jar, jug	罌	ying ¹	814h	eng	?e:ŋj	Lao ?eŋ B1	?eŋ B1	Lue ?oŋ B1	?eŋ A1	?eŋ A1	---
55. vat, jar	瓦	gang ¹	---	kang	---	---	Jinping kaanj A1	kaanj A1	kaanj A1	kaanj A1	---

A tonal fluctuation between the A and the B tone can be observed for Tai dialects for 'jar, jug', with Northern Tai reflexes showing the A1 tone, corresponding with the Chinese form.

Now written as 缸, Chinese 瓦 is recorded in *Fangyan*, where it is glossed as 'big jar, vat', according to Guo Pu.⁷ Neither GSR nor EMC includes this item. Although no reflexes are found in Thai or Lao, our data shows that this etymon is attested across all the three branches of the Tai dialects.

⁷ 《方言》卷五：瓦，器也。郭璞注：“今江东通名大瓮为瓦”。

Of the above, ‘granary’, ‘basin, bowl’, and ‘water jar’ are posited by Manomaivibool (1975:305, 355, 356) as Sino-Thai cognates.

5. COOKING METHODS

5.1 Fire, Firewood, Charcoal, Torch, and Related Fire-Building Tools

Among terms for fire and fire building materials, Chinese and Tai have cognates for ‘fire’, ‘firewood’, ‘charcoal’, and ‘torch’.

Gloss	Chin.	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
56. fire	熾	hui ³	356b	hwjər x	xwi'	fai A2	fai A2	fay A2	fi A2	fi A1	*vei A2
57. fire-wood	焚	fen ²	474a	bjən	bun	fiñ A2	fun A2	fvn A2	fun A2	fun A2	*vñ A2
58. char-coal	炭	tan ⁴	151a	thanh	t ^h an ^h	thaan B1	thaan B1	thaan B1	taan B1	taan B1	*thaan B1
59. torch	燎	liau ²	1151e	ljiaw	liaw	---	—	—	liaw A1	lia A1	---

An alternation of C and A tones can be observed between Chinese and Tai for ‘fire’. Both Manomaivibool (1975:327) and Xing (1999:192) have posited this item as a Sino-Tai word. Reconstruction can be proposed at Proto Kadai level (Ostapirat 2000: 229). Wider links can be sought with Austronesian (cf. PAn *apui).

Chinese 焚 means ‘to burn’. The corresponding Tai form is the generic term for ‘firewood’.

‘Torch’ is of limited distribution in Tai, found mainly in the Northern dialects in our data. Apart from a noun, the Chinese form is also used as a verb, meaning ‘to torch, burn’.

Associated with fire and fire-building are fire-building tools, several of terms for which are found to be shared by Chinese and Tai:

Gloss	Chin.	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
60. tube for fanning a fire	箇	fu ²	934g	bjəkw	buwk	bœk D1	mœk D1	mook D1	bok D1	bok D1	*bœk D1
61. tongs	鉗	jia ²	630i	kiap	kœp	khaa p D2	kaap D2	kaap D2	kaap D2	kaap D2	*gaap D2
62. pincer, tongs	鉗	qian ²	606i	giam	giam	khii m A2	kim A2	kyim A2	cim A2	cim A2	*gim A2

Shuowen glosses 箇 as ‘quiver’. This character appears in the bronze inscriptions, which is a drawing of a case for holding arrows. From the radical it can

be inferred that the utensil was made of bamboo. The Tai form means a bamboo tube or barrel.

Tai correspondences for ‘tongs’ can be used as a verb, meaning ‘to pick up with an instrument’. This item appears to be etymologically related to the next item, ‘pincer, tongs’. The Tai comparandum for the latter shows a high front vowel /i/, with final bilabial nasal ending -m.

5.2 Stove, Cooking Pot and Related Items

Also shared are terms for ‘stove’ and ‘tripod’.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
63. stove	竈	zao ⁴	1027b	tsəgw ^h	tsaw ^h	tau A1	sau B1	saw B1	θaw B1	θau B1	—
64. tripod	鼎	ding ³	834a	tiengx	tejŋ'	Lao khiaŋ A2	keŋ A2	kiŋ A2	ciaŋ A2	ciaŋ A2	*gierŋ A2

No reconstruction is offered in HCT for ‘stove’. Our data shows that this item is widely attested across the Tai languages, for which a proto *sau B1 can be reconstructed. Reflexes are attested in Kadai, eg. Mulam *tɔ'*, Lin-gao *tsau*³, Hlai *tso*¹.

‘Tripod’ shows only partial correspondences. The Chinese form takes a dental initial with the C tone, while Tai, a velar initial with the A2 tone, similar to ‘fire’.

Other shared terms for cooking utensils include ‘cooking pot’, ‘steamer’ and ‘cauldron’.

Gloss	Chin	Pinyi n	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
65. cooking pot	釜	fu ³	—	bjwag x	buə'	mɔɔ C1	mo C1	moo C1	mo C1	mo C1	*hmo C1
66. steamer	疊	lei ²	577l	lwāi	lwəj	hai A1	hai A1	lay A1	ray A1	lai A1	*hrai A1
67. cauldron	鬲	li ⁴	855a	glik	lejŋ	lek D1	lek D1	lyak D1	Buyi liak D1	Tianli n liak D1	*hlek D1

The character 釜 occurs in *Shi Jing*, but is not included in GSR, where a related word, 舩 *fu³* ‘pot’, is found (GSR 102y, EMC *buə’). Xing (1999:339) has posited the Tai form as cognate with Chinese 釜, while Manomaivibool (1975:328) has proposed yet another related form, 瓢 *wu³* ‘wine jar’ (GSR103k, OC mjwagx, EMC muə’).

Chinese 瓢 refers to ‘jar, vase’, as glossed in *Shi Jing* and *Erya*. The Tai comparison means ‘steamer’, which points to a voiceless initial in contrast with a historical voiced initial in Chinese.

鬲 is glossed as ‘tripod with hollow legs’ in GSR and EMC, according to *Shuowen*. The related Tai term means ‘iron’ (HCT p.137). In some Northern and Central dialects, the reflexes designate ‘boiler, wok, pan’, eg. Wuming *ye:k'*, Yongbei *le:k'*, Shanglin *hje:k'*, Long'an *hle:k'*, Ningming *he:k'* (Zhang et al 1999:668). Tai reflexes appear to lend strong support for a proposed proto form **qhleks* ‘iron’ for Sino-Tibetan (Chang 1972:436-445).

Of the above correspondence sets, ‘cooking pot’ appear to have Tibeto-Burman links (See Appendix I).

5.3 STEAMING, COOKING, BOILING, AND SIMMERING

Four terms are found in our data, ‘steam’, ‘cook’, ‘boil’, ‘fully cooked’, and ‘to warm’.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
68. steam	蒸	zheng ¹	896k	trjəng	tɕiŋ	niŋ C1	liŋ C1	nŋŋ C1	naŋ	naŋ	*hnŋŋ C1
69. cooked grain	饗	yong ¹	1184m	wung	?uawŋ	huj A1	huj A1	luŋ A1	ruŋ A1	luŋ A1	*thruŋŋ A1
70. boil soft	燙	tan ²	646d	dām	---	tom C1	tom C1	tom B1	tum	tum	*tuoŋŋ m C1
71. fully cooked	餌	ren ⁴	667p	njəmh	jim'	Lao ɿɔm B1	Lue ɿɔm B1	?on B1	?om A1	?oom A1	—
72. to warm	溫	wen ¹	426c	uən	?wən	?un B1	?un B1	?on B1	—	—	*?un B1

‘To steam’ shows the A tone in Chinese, C tone in Tai, with Chinese taking a sibilant initial, in contrast with a nasal in Tai, which may come from a different source. Steaming is a preferred method for cooking glutinous rice among the Tai communities.

Tai correspondence for ‘cooked grain’ means ‘to cook (rice)’, and can also refer to the act of cooking in general. Manomaivibool (1975: 310) has established a link between Chinese and Thai for this etymon.

Chinese 煙 means ‘boil soft, roast’. The Tai form designates ‘boil’, and is a cover term for cooking something in water. There is an alternation of tone A and C/B between Chinese and Tai.

The character 餌 means ‘thoroughly cooked, overdone’. The Tai form designates ‘to boil slowly for a long time’. This item displays partial correspondence, with Chinese taking the *ŋ*(nj-) initial while Tai, a zero initial. Also, non-Northern dialects show the B tone, corresponding with that of the Chinese form, in contrast with the Northern reflexes which show the A tone. No reconstruction is offered in HCT for this item.

“To warm” is attested in non-Northern dialects in Tai. An alternation between tone A and B can be observed between Chinese and Tai, otherwise the initials and finals show good correspondence.

To this group we may add ‘to scald, blanch, parboil’, ‘to grill/roast’ and ‘to fry’.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
73. brand, burn	烙	lao ⁴	766n	glak	lak	luak D2	lok D2	lok D2	lok D2	look D2	—
74. grill, roast	炙	zhi ⁴	791a	dzjiak	tɕiajk	čii B1	tsi B1	Nung chi B1	sa A2	θa A2	*či B1
75. fry	煎	jian ¹	245g	tsjen	tsian	Lao ču:n A1	Lue tsum A1	ciin A1	sen A1	čen A1	—

The character 烤 means ‘to scorch, to brand, to bake’ in Chinese. The corresponding Tai form refers to the tender cooking of vegetables in boiling water. This item is not included in HCT. A proto *luok is reconstructable for Proto Tai (Luo 1997:268). There is a good comparandum in Tibeto-Burman (see Appendix 1).

‘To grill, roast’ takes the historical *Ru* (D) tone in Chinese, the B tone in Tai. In addition to tonal fluctuations between B1 and A2, there is an alternation of final /i/ and /a/ between non-Northern and the Northern dialects in Tai, which is quite unusual. The Chinese term refers to the act of cooking something over a fire. In Tai, it designates cooking something through applying it close to strong heat, including roasting something in hot ash.

Although no reflexes are found in Siamese or in Dehong for ‘fry’ in our data, this item appears to have a wide distribution across the Tai languages. No reconstruction is offered in HCT. This etymon is reconstructable at proto Kadai level: Mulam *tjen*¹, Sui *tsjen*¹, Maonan *chen*¹, Lingao *tsin*¹, Hlai *tsi:n*³.

6. FOOD PRESERVATION

Like many other parts of the world, food preservation in this region is done through fermentation, drying and smoking.

6.1 Fermentation

Fermentation is not just for food preservation. It is also an alternative way of cooking. Two terms are found in our data, ‘brew/ferment’ and ‘pickle’.

Gloss	Chin.	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
76. brew, ferment	酿	niang ⁴	730j	njengh	nriaq ^h	đocj A1	mɔŋ A1	moom A1	doŋ A1	doŋ A1	?bɔŋ A1
77. pickle	腌	yan ¹	—	’jiäm	?iam	Lao ?ɔm B1	?ɔm B1	?oom A2	?am B1	?ɔm B1	—

酿 in Chinese is more often than not associated with wine and alcohol making. The corresponding Tai form is glossed as ‘to pickle’ in HCT, but it can also refer to

‘ferment’. There is an alternation of tones, with the Chinese showing the B tone, Tai, the A tone. A related Chinese form, 酿 *rong*², is recorded in *Shuowen* and *Guangya*,⁸ meaning ‘to brew a second time’, which appears to be closer to the Tai form in tone. *Shuowen* has yet another form, 酿 *nong*², meaning ‘strong alchohal’, which may also be related.

腌 is recorded in *Shuowen* as ‘to preserve (meat) with salt’. The Tai form means ‘to put away (for ripening), to pickle’. Note that Chinese shows the A tone, contrasting with the B tone in Tai, with the exception of Lungming, which shows the A2 tone.

6.2 Drying and Smoking

The humid climate conditions in this region mean that food preservation typically needs to be done by drying over the fire, which often involves smoking and fumigating.

Gloss	Chin	Pin-yin	GSR	OC	EMC	Thai	DH	LM	Yay	FS	HCT
78. dry over fire	烘	hong ¹	1182r	xung	xwəŋ	khaaj A1	WT khaaj B1	khaaj B1	Nung khaaj B1	huaj B1	*khaaj B1
79. roast over fire	煬	yang ²	720i	jəŋ	jiŋ ^h	jaaj C1	yaaj C1	leeŋ C1	yiaj C2	?jian C2	*?jəŋ C1
80. fumig-ate, smoke	熏	xun ¹	461a	xwŋəŋ	xun	lon A2	Nung lon A2	ləŋ A2	luan A2	luan A2	—
81. smoke (noun)	烟	yan ¹	370i	ien	?əŋ	khwa n A2	xəŋ A2	van A2	hon A2	həŋ A2	*ywəŋ A2

‘Dry over fire’ shows the A tone in Chinese, the B tone in Tai, except for Siamese which sides with Chinese. Reflexes in both languages point to a historically voiceless initial.

A tonal fluctuation can also be observed in ‘to roast over fire’, with Chinese taking the A2 tone, contrasting with the C tone in Tai. This etymon is proposed as a Sino-Tai word by Xing (1999:382-3).

Chinese ‘to smoke, fumigate’ goes back to a historically voiceless velar fricative initial, in contrast with a voiced liquid initial in Tai, suggesting that we are dealing with a velar cluster of some sort, reconstructable as *yr/l- for the proto language. This seems to form a pair with the next item, ‘smoke (noun)’, for which Tai reflexes take a voiced initial, while the Chinese form a voiceless initial. Manomaivibool (1975:322) has made a connection between Chinese 熏 ‘to smoke/fumigate’ and Thai *khwan* A2 ‘smoke (noun)’ (PT *ywəŋ A2). A proto form is reconstructable at proto Kadai level for the latter (Ostapirat 2000:230).

⁸ 《说文·酉部》：酉，酒也。段注：酉，重酸酒也。《广雅·释器》：“酉，酉也。”

7. WIDER CONNECTIONS

A comparison with Tibeto-Burman languages shows that nearly half of the 81 Sino-Tai correspondence sets discussed above in the lexical field under discussion have possible Tibeto-Burman links. Appendix I illustrates. The results are in line with current knowledge of phonological correspondence between Chinese and Tibeto-Burman (Bodman 1980, Cobblin 1986, Jeon 1996). They throw additional light on Old Chinese and Sino-Tibetan reconstruction. For example, Sino-Tai correspondences for ‘cauldron’ (‘tripod with shallow legs’ in Chinese) provide further evidence for the reconstruction of the proto velar cluster *qhl- for Sino-Tibetan. Similarly, words like ‘chopsticks’, ‘bad smell’ and so on, supply supporting evidence for the reconstruction of sibilant and velar clusters for Old Chinese and Sino-Tibetan.

Equally worth noting is the significant number of shared lexical items in Miao-Yao, as exemplified in Appendix II. Of these correspondences, some are found to be more widely distributed while others are sporadically represented, suggesting that the latter may have been early loans into particular dialects rather than pan-Miao Yao.

More significantly still, a good number of Sino-Tai words appear to have possible Mon-Khmer and Austronesian connections, as Appendix III and IV have shown. Of the fifty-six correspondences in our database, forty-three are found to be in complementary distribution: twenty-three items have Mon-Khmer connections only, while twenty with Austronesian links only. Such patterns of correspondence seem to be the results of loan contact between Mon-Khmer, Austronesian, Chinese, Tibeto-Burman and Tai-Kadai at different stages in history, as further evidenced by the fact that of the thirty-six correspondences in Mon-Khmer, eight are not shared by Tibeto-Burman, while nine items out of thirty-five correspondences in Austronesian are not shared by Tibeto-Burman, either.

Finally, comparative work shows that a dozen lexical items are shared by all the languages in comparison. These include such daily words as ‘to bite’, ‘to drink’, ‘to hold in the mouth’, ‘to lick’, ‘to suck’, ‘to taste’. It may be too premature to assume that the historical relationship between Sino-Tai/Sino-Tibetan and the Mon-Khmer and Austronesian are similar in nature. While the Mon-Khmer links can be safely said to be the result of areal convergence, the Austronesian connections must be seen from a different perspective, for Austronesian speakers have not been in contact with Chinese, TB and Tai-Kadai for several thousand years since they spread out to the islands. Also, Austronesian shares with Sino-Tibetan and Tai-Kadai such key vocabulary items as ‘fire’, ‘bird’, ‘chew’, ‘choke’, ‘cooked/ripe’, ‘to eat’, ‘pig’, among others. These words are not found in Mon-Khmer in our data.

8. CONCLUSION

This paper has presented a rich array of words shared by Chinese and Tai in the lexical field of eating and drinking, as well as terms for food stuff, food preparation, food processing, serving utensils and vessels, psychological words associated with food tastes, among others. Several dozen correspondence sets can be established, of which nearly a half show Tibeto-Burman connections. The findings are at variance with the commonly-held view that Chinese and Tai are lacking in common vocabulary.

Sino-Tai words for ‘to eat’ supply compelling evidence for a close historical relationship between Chinese and Tai. Although a definitive answer to the issue is beyond the scope of the present paper regarding the nature of historical relationships between the two groups and their higher genetic affiliation, it has provided fresh insight into the debate. The data can be interpreted in different ways. Either they can be regarded as genetic, or as loan contact. However, it is sobering to realize that at this stage we are far from being able to sort out loans from cognate words. There is still a lot to learn about the the complexities of the linguistic situation in Asia and Southeast Asia. A task awaiting us is to build on earlier work (Wulff 1934, Manomaivibool 1975, Li 1976, Xing 1999) by systematically investigating words which show clear Sino-Tai relationships and which are also represented in other nearby languages. Until then, we will be in a better position to form hypotheses about what the relationships might mean.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Participants in the 11th Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asia Linguistic Society, May 2001, Bangkok, Thailand, provided helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. I am especially indebted to Jerold Edmondson and Tony Diller for useful discussion and feedback, but they are not responsible for shortcomings. Financial support from the Australian Research Council (ARC) Grant DP0209445 is gratefully acknowledged.

REFERENCES

BENEDICT, Paul K. 1943. Thai, Kadai, and Indonesian: A New Alignment in Southeast Asia. *American Anthropologist* 4:4: 576-601.

BENEDICT, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BODMAN, Nicholas. 1980. Proto-Chinese and Sino-Tibetan: data towards establishing the nature of the relationship. Pp.34-199 in Frans Van Coetsem and Linda R. Waugh (eds.) *Contributions to Historical Linguistics: Issues and Materials*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

BURUSPHAT, Somsonge (ed.). 1996. *Languages and Cultures of the Kam-Tai (Zhuang-Dong) Group: A Wordlist*. Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University.

CHANG, Kwang-chih. 1976. *Early Chinese Civilisation: Anthropological Perspectives*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

CHANG, Kwang-chih. 1986. *The Archaeology of Ancient China*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

COBLIN, Weldon South. 1986. *A Sinologist's Handlist of Sino-Tibetan Lexical Comparisons*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 18.

DENLINGER, Paul B. 1989. The Chinese-Tai linguistic relationship: a formal proof. *Monumenta Serica* 24: 35-41.

GEDNEY, William J. 1991a. *William J. Gedney's the Yay Language*. Ed. By Thomas John Hudak. Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia No. 38. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.

GEDNEY, William J. 1991b. *William J. Gedney's the Tai Dialect of Lungming*. Ed. By Thomas John Hudak. Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia No. 39. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.

HUANG, Bufan *et al.* 1992. 藏缅语族语言词汇 [A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon]. Beijing: Central Institute of Nationalities Press.

JEON, Kwang-Jie. 全广镇 1996. *Han Zang Yu Tongyuan Ci Zongtan* 汉藏语同源词综探 [Etymological Studies of Sino-Tibetan Cognate Words]. Taipei: Student Books.

KARLGREN, Bernhard. 1957. *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 29.

KERR, Allen D. 1972. *Lao-English Dictionary*. Bangkok: White Lotus.

LAUFER, Berthold. 1916. The Si-hia language. *TP* 17: 1-26.

LEVIS-STRUSS, Claude. 1964. *Méthologiques I: Le cru et le cuit*. Paris: Plon. (English translation, *The Raw and the Cooked*, New York 1969.)

LEVIS-STRUSS, Claude. 1965. Le triangle culinaire, *L'Arc (Aix-en-Provence)*, no. 26: 19-29. (English translation in *New Society*, Dec. 22, 1966, pp. 937-940, London.)

LEVIS-STRUSS, Claude. 1966. *Mythologiques II: Du meil aux cendres*. Paris: Plon. (English translation, *From Honey to Ashes*, New York: 1973.)

LEVIS-STRAUSS, Claude. 1968. *Mythologues III: L'origine des manières de table*. Paris: Plon.

LI, Fang-Kuei. 1976. Sino-Tai. *CAAAL* 3: 39-48.

LI, Fang-Kuei. 1977. *A Handbook of Comparative Tai*. (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 15). University Press of Hawaii.

LI, Hui-lin. 1983. "The domestication of plants in China: ecogeographical considerations." In *The Origins of Chinese Civilization*, ed. David N. Keightley. Berkeley: University of California Press.

LIU, Baoyuan. 1999. *Han Yao Cidian (Lajia Yu)* [A Chinese-Yao (Lakja) Dictionary]. Chengdu: Sichuan Ethnic Publishing House.

LUCE, G.H. 1981. *A comparative word-list of Old Burmese, Chinese and Tibetan*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

LUO, Yongxian. 1997. *The Subgroups Structure of the Tai Languages: A Historical Comparative Study*. (Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series No. 12.) Berkeley: University of California.

LUO, Yongxian. 1997a. On the Tai Evidence for the *sk- Hypothesis. Paper presented at the 30th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics. August, Beijing.

LUO, Yongxian. 1998. Evidence for a Sibilant Clusters in Tai and Sino-Tai Relationship. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 26.1: 71-125.

LUO, Yongxian. 2000. From 'Head' to 'Toe': Sino-Tai Lexical Correspondences in Body-Part Terms. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 28.1: 67-99.

MANOMAIVIBOOL, Prapin. 1975. *A Study of Sino-Thai Lexical Correspondences*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.

MAO, Zongwu. 1992. *Han Yao Cidian* [A Chinese-Yao (Mien) Dictionary]. Chengdu: Sichuan Ethnic Publishing House.

MIAO-YAO RESEARCH CENTRE. 1987. *Miao Yao Yu Fangyan Cihui* [A Comparative Lexicon of Miao-Yao]. Beijing: Central Institute of Nationalities Press.

OSTAPIRAT, Weera. 2000. *Proto-Kra*. Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area Vol. 23.1. Berkeley: University of California.

PULLEYBLANK, Edwin. 1991. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

SHAFER, Robert. 1966. *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*. Part I. Wiesbadn.

SIMON, Walter. 1929. Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen, Ein Versuch. *MSOS* 32: 157-228.

THURGOOD, Graham. 1994. Tai-Kadai and Austronesian: The Nature of the Historical Relationship. *Oceanic Linguistics* 33.2: 345-368.

TRYON, Darrrel T. (ed.) 1995. *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary*, Part 2, 3, 4. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

VY Thi Be, Janice Saul and Nancy Freiberger Wilson. 1982. *Nung Fan Slihng-English Dictionary*. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

WANG, Chunde. 1992. *Han Miao Cidian* [A Chinese-Miao Dictionary]. Guiyang: Guizhou Ethnic Publishing House.

WANG, Fushi, and MAO Zongwu. 1995. *Miao-Yao Yu Gu Yin Gou-ni* [Reconstructions of Proto Miao-Yao]. Beijing: Chinese Sociao Science Press.

WULFF, K. 1934. *Chinesisch und Tai, Sprachvergleichende Untersuchenungen*. Copenhagen.

XIA, Zhengnong (chief. compil.) 2000. *Cihai* [The Chinese Encyclopedic Dictionary]. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe.

XIANG, Rizheng. 1992. *Han Miao Cidian* [A Chinese Miao Dictionary]. Chengdu: Sichuan Ethnic Publishing House.

XING, Gongwan. 1999. *Han tai yu bijiao shouce* 汉台语比较手册 [A Handbook of Comparative Sino-Tai]. Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan.

XU, Zhongxu. (chief. compil.) 1995. *Hanyu da zidian* [The Grand Chinese Dictionary of Words]. Sichuan cishu chubanshe/Hubei cishu chubanshe.

YAN, Qixiang, and ZHOU Zhizhi. 1995. *Zhongguo Menggaomian Yuzu Yuyan yu Nanya Yuxi* [Mon-Khmer Languages in China and the Austronesian Languages]. Beijing: Central University for Nationality Press.

YUNNAN SHENG DIFANGZHI BIANZUAN WEIYUANHUI. 云南省地方志编纂委员会 1998. *Yunnan Shengzhi Vol 59: Shaoshu Minzu Yuyan Wenzi Zhi*. 云南省志 卷五十九：少数民族语言文字志. Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe.

ZANGMIAN YU YUYIN HE CIHUI BIANXIE ZU. 1991. *Zangmian Yu Yuyin he Cihui* 藏缅语语音和词汇 [Phonology and Lexicon of Tibeto-Burman Languages]. Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press.

APPENDIX I. Sino-Tai Words for ‘To Eat’ with Tibeto-Burman Connections

TB language sources cited:

Benedict, Paul K. 1972.
 Bodman, Nicolas C. 1980.
 Huang, Bufan, et al. 1992.
 Coblin, W. S. 1986.
 Jeon, Kwang-Jie. 1996.
 Yang, Yingxin et al. (eds.) 1998
 ZangmianYuzu Yuyin he Cihui Bianxiezu. 1991.

Gloss	Tibeto-Burman
1. bite (1)	WT <i>so brjab</i> ; Lhasa <i>so⁵³ cap¹³</i> , Dafla <i>gam</i> , Rawang <i>yap⁵³</i>
2. bite (2)	rGyarong <i>ka nə ntsok</i> , Ergong <i>zqa le</i> , Achang <i>kzat⁵³</i> , Yi <i>khui⁵³</i> , Pumi <i>xə¹³qa¹³</i> , Kachin <i>ma³¹ kzei³¹</i> , Moso <i>kha⁵⁵</i> , Burmesase <i>kai⁷⁴</i> , Rawang <i>a³¹ grɔl⁵³</i> , Maru <i>khai³⁵</i> , Lhoba <i>kək³³</i> ,
3. bite, chew	WT <i>kha btəg</i> ; Monba <i>kha təp</i> ; Yi <i>ya</i> , Nu <i>ŋau⁵³</i>
4. bitter	WT <i>kha tig</i> ; Monba <i>khalu</i> ; Qiang <i>qha</i> ; Yi <i>khu³³</i> ; Burmese <i>kha⁵³</i> ; Dafla <i>ka⁵⁵</i>
5. boil, cook	Lhasa <i>tsəp⁵³</i> ; Monba <i>zoŋ</i> , Pumi <i>sqo⁵⁵</i> ; Yi <i>təo⁵³</i> ; Lahu <i>tsA³⁵</i> ; Achang <i>zau⁵⁵</i> ; Midu <i>so⁵⁵</i>
6. blanch, burn	WT <i>lag pa, sreg</i> , Achang <i>lək⁵³</i> , Xiandao <i>lək⁵³</i> , Yi <i>lɔ³³</i>
7. bucket	Lhasa <i>zay⁵³</i> ; Yi <i>thu²¹</i> ; Akha <i>thuŋ²¹</i> ; Achang <i>thuŋ⁵³</i> ; Dafla <i>a tug</i>
8. chew	Tibetan (Batang) <i>təa⁵³</i> , Monba <i>kha⁵⁵ təp⁵³</i> , Dafla <i>ngə ga</i> , rGyarong <i>ka wa ykEi</i> , Kachin <i>ma³¹ ja⁵⁵</i> , Yi <i>ŋgur³³</i> , Lisu <i>gua³¹</i> , Moso <i>gut³³</i>
9. chopsticks	Lhasa <i>sa¹² thu⁵³</i> ; Qiang <i>duə³³</i> ; Yi <i>dzut²¹</i> ; : Lisu <i>a⁵⁵ dʒu³³</i> ; Burmese <i>tu²²</i> ; Nu <i>dzə⁵⁵</i>
10. cooked	Lhasa <i>thəə⁵⁵ po⁵³</i> ; Monba <i>tshəə⁵³</i> ; Burmese <i>təə⁷⁴</i> ; Achang <i>tsua⁵³</i> ; Midu <i>ju⁵⁵</i>
11. cooking pot	Qiang <i>tshie⁵³ pa⁵³</i> ; Namuyi <i>phu⁵³</i> ; Moso <i>bv³³</i> ; Akha <i>se⁵⁵ va³³</i>
12. drink	WT <i>skyem</i>
13. drunk	WT <i>bzi</i> , Akha <i>pv³³</i> ; Lahu <i>bu⁵⁴</i> ; Jino <i>mo³³</i> ; Burmese <i>mu⁵⁵</i>
14. eat	WT <i>gzan-pa</i> , rGyarong <i>ka za</i> , Zhaba <i>kə³⁵ ta⁵³</i>
15. eat	WT <i>thuŋ</i> ‘to drink’; Monba <i>dzam</i> ; Digaru <i>tim³⁵</i> ; Midzu <i>tauŋ⁵³</i>
16. ferment	WT <i>sTal</i> , Lhasa <i>lay¹³</i> , Digaru <i>ntuŋ⁵³</i> , Midzu <i>suŋ⁵⁵</i> , Dafla <i>luŋ</i>
17. fire	WT <i>me</i> ; Monba <i>mi</i> ; Qiang <i>mi³³</i> ; Moso <i>mi³³</i> ; Burmese <i>mi⁵³</i> ; Achang <i>pi³¹</i> ; Nu <i>mi⁵³</i> ; Midzu <i>mai⁵³</i>
18. fragrant	Tibetan (Zeku) <i>cəm</i> ; Qiang <i>χu⁵³</i> ; Lahu <i>xə³³</i> ; Written Burmese <i>hmwe³</i> ; Marux ³³ ; Atsi <i>xom⁵⁵</i> ; Rawang <i>yām⁵⁵</i>
19. granary	WT <i>fibru khay</i> ; Monba <i>tshAŋ⁵³</i> ; rGyarong <i>zgE</i> ; Pumi <i>zə³³</i> ; Yi <i>tsa³³</i> ; Achang <i>təɔ⁵⁵ saŋ³¹</i> ; Atsi <i>tshaŋ⁵⁵</i> ; Dafla <i>nam cug</i>

20. hammer for pounding rice	Tibetan (Zhongdian) <i>te⁵⁵</i> ; Pumi <i>stʃu¹³</i> ; Yi <i>tshy²¹</i> ; Lisu <i>tshē⁴⁴du³¹</i>
21. hold in the mouth	Tibetan <i>gam-pa, gams</i> (J:107); Monba <i>jam</i> , Written Burmese <i>jam²</i> , Achang <i>om⁵⁵</i> , Maru <i>jam³¹</i> , Atsi <i>jam³¹</i> , Kachin <i>mā³¹um³³</i>
22. tripod with hollow legs	WT <i>ltçags</i> , Monba <i>lek⁵³</i> , Tsangla <i>tça?</i> , Pumi <i>çē⁵⁵</i> ; Lhoba (Bogaer) <i>cak</i> ; Karen <i>tha⁵⁵</i>
23. lick	Tibetan (Dege) <i>dzi⁵³</i> ; Monba <i>kla¹³</i> ; Pumi <i>dze³⁵</i> ; Yi <i>le¹³</i> ; Achang <i>liap⁵⁵</i> , <i>le²⁵⁵</i> ; Rawang <i>la²⁵⁵</i> ; Digaru <i>lio⁵³</i> ; Burmese <i>je²⁴</i>
24. pound, pestle	Tibetan <i>rdug</i> , Monba <i>thug</i> , Kachin <i>thu³¹</i> , Burmese <i>thɔy³</i> , Achang <i>thuŋ³¹</i> , Nung <i>thɔy⁵⁵</i> , Akha <i>thɔ³¹</i> , Jino <i>tho⁴⁴</i> , Karen <i>do³¹</i>
25. roast	Tibetan <i>sro</i> ; Lhasa <i>tʂo³³</i> ; Pumi <i>çī⁵³</i> ; Yi <i>tsa⁵⁵</i> ; Burmese <i>ki²²</i>
26. salt	Tibetan <i>tshwa</i> , Monba <i>tshA⁵³</i> , Qiang <i>tshə</i> , Yi <i>tshu³³</i> ; Achang <i>tçɔ³⁵</i> ; Burmese <i>hsa⁵⁵</i>
27. salty	Tibetan <i>tsha⁵³ khu⁵³</i> ; Monba <i>tsha⁵³ ku⁵³</i> ; Written Burmese <i>gam²</i> ; Tujia <i>xan²¹</i> ; Kachin <i>kha⁵⁵</i>
28. sip	Tibetan <i>hab</i> ; Burmese <i>hap</i>
29. sniff, smell	WT <i>snom</i> , Lhasa <i>tshi¹³ mə⁵⁵ num⁵²</i> , Xiahe <i>hnəm</i> , Monba <i>num³⁵</i> , Tsambla <i>num</i> , Queyu <i>snoj¹³</i> , Kachin <i>mā³¹ nam⁵³</i> , Rawang <i>pui³¹ nam⁵³</i> , Digaru <i>nuŋ³⁵</i> , Dafla <i>nam</i> , Written Burmese <i>nam³</i> , Achang <i>nam³¹</i> , Atsi <i>nam³¹</i> , Leqi <i>na:m⁵¹</i>
30. spit	Yi <i>phi²¹</i> ; Moso <i>phi¹³</i> ; Tujia <i>phi³⁵</i> ; Burmese <i>htwe⁵⁵</i> ; Maruphe ³⁵ ; Midu <i>me⁵⁵</i>
31. steam	WT <i>gtoj</i> , Lhasa <i>laŋ⁵⁵ tsø⁵² tay⁵⁵</i> , Tsangla <i>zog</i> , Tujia <i>thoŋ⁵⁵</i>
32. stove	Tibetan (Zhongdian) <i>tho⁵³ kha⁵⁵</i> ; Pumi <i>lo¹² tso¹³</i> ; Lahu <i>tʃAo³⁵ qo¹¹</i> ; Jino <i>tso⁵⁵</i> ; Kachin <i>tsau³³</i> ; Achang <i>xɔ³¹ tsau³⁵</i> ; Nu <i>tso⁵⁵</i>
33. suck, inhale	WT <i>dbugs fidzib</i> , Lhasa <i>tçip¹³</i> , Dafla <i>ntsəv</i> , Kachin <i>ma³¹ zop³¹</i> , Rawang <i>sun⁵⁵</i> , Achang <i>tʂop³⁵</i> ; cf. WT <i>snom</i> ‘sniff’, Xiahe <i>hnəm</i> , Monba <i>num</i>
34. swallow (1)	Tibetan (Zeku) <i>ngam</i> ; Tibetan (Dege) <i>ngay⁵⁵</i> , Ergong <i>sqhle</i> ; Lahu <i>xe</i> ; Yi <i>yu⁵⁵</i>
35. swallow (2)	WT <i>mid khjur btay</i> , Monba <i>jut⁵³ tho²⁵⁵</i> , Qiang <i>thən⁵⁵ tha³³</i> ; Achang <i>thun³¹</i> ; Yi (Nanjian) <i>thuŋ³³ dza²¹</i> , Yi (Dafang) <i>ndɔ²¹</i>
36. sweet	Tibetan (Zeku) <i>yar</i> ; Lhasa Tibetan <i>ya⁵⁵ mo¹³</i> ; Guiqiong <i>qhua⁵⁵</i> ; Written Burmese <i>khjo²</i>
37. tasteless, insipid	Tibetan (Zhongdian) <i>ndzə⁵⁵ mə⁵⁵</i> ; Pumi <i>bza¹³</i> ; Moso <i>so³⁷</i> ; Kachin <i>sit³¹</i>
38. tube for fanning fire	WT <i>sbud pa</i> , Lhasa <i>pi¹³ pə⁵⁵</i> , Qiang <i>phe te</i> , Pumi <i>me¹¹ phz̥i³⁵</i> , rGyarong <i>tə mtsək se wə phu</i> , Zhaba <i>kha⁵⁵ mə⁵⁵</i> , Lhoba <i>mit ba</i> ; Written Burmese <i>mi³ p̥roj³</i> , Maru <i>mi³¹ p̥jaŋi³⁵</i> , Hani <i>my³³ pu³¹</i> ; Karen <i>me³¹ u⁵⁵ bɔ³³</i>
39. winnow	Tibetan (Zeku) <i>tsak ma</i> ; Qiang <i>po³¹ po³¹</i> ; Shixing <i>mi³⁵</i> ; Yi <i>o⁵³ mo³³</i> ; Achang <i>lam³¹ pɔ³¹</i> ; Atsi <i>p̥jɔ⁵¹</i> ; Lhoba (Sulong) <i>a³³ por³³</i>

APPENDIX II: SINO-TAI WORDS FOR 'TO EAT' WITH MIAO-YAO LINKS

Sources:

Liu, Baoyuan. 1999.
 Mao, Zongwu. 1992.
 Miao-Yao Research Centre. 1987
 Wang, Chunde. 1992.
 Wang, Fushi, and Mao Zongwu. 1995.
 Xiang, Rizhen. 1992.

Abbreviations: E.G = Eastern Guizhou; W.H = Western Hunan, S.Y.G = Sichuan, Yunan and Guizhou border areas, NE YN = Northeast Yunan

Gloss	Miao				Yao			
	E.G	W.H	S.Y. G	NE YN	Bunu	Mien	Biao- min	Lakja
1. bite	---	---	---	---	---	ga:t ⁸	---	ka:t ⁷
2. bite; chew	tɕa ⁵ ɕa ⁷	ca ⁵	sao ⁵	---	---	dziu ⁶	dziu ⁴	---
3. blanch, burn	lhu ⁷	ko ⁷		jam ⁷	toi ³	tu ⁷		luk ⁸
4. boil, cook	---	tɕy ^{3/7} ɸu ^{3/7}	---	---	---	tsou ³	təu ³	to ³
5. bucket		thoŋ ⁵	thoŋ ⁷		toŋ ³	thoŋ ³	dɔŋ ³	thoŋ ³
6. choke	---	qY ^{3/7}	---	---	X'jiang jer ⁵	ŋəŋ ³	Daping jaŋ ⁵	ka ²
7. chopstick	tiu ⁶	tui ⁶	deu ⁶	su ⁷	tu ⁶	tsou ⁶	təu ⁴	tsu ⁶
8. cooked	---	ce ^{3/7}	so ⁵	sie ³	---	tsuo ³	thɔ ⁴	tsok ⁸
9. eat	---	---	---	Lanjin ŋjin ⁶	X'jiang nen ⁶	ŋien ⁶	Daping ŋan ⁶	tſen ¹
10. gnaw	ki ⁷	kui ^{3/7}	keu ⁷	---	---	khlən ³	---	---
11. granary	nog ⁴	---	---	---	θay ⁷	---	---	tsa:iŋ ⁷
12. grind	---	---	---	---	mu ⁶	mɔ ⁶	mia ⁴	muə ⁶
13. hammer for pounding rice	tɕɔ ⁴	tɕɔ ^{4/8}	dzo ⁶	tɕo ⁴	co ⁴ te ³	tɔi ⁵	tuai ⁵	tuə:i ⁵
14. hold in the mouth	---	---	---	---	kan ⁴	gɔm ¹	gan ¹	kəm ²
15. cauldron	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	khjek ⁷
16. ladle	he ¹	thɣ ¹	ntsa ⁵	---	ce ³	---	---	tsiek ⁷
17. lick	za ⁸	za ^{4/8}	za ⁸	zai ⁸	ja ⁸	---	---	jie ²
18. pound, pestle	to ³	ko ¹	tua ⁵	ɸie ³	tɔ ³	tsɔŋ ¹	tau ³	fa:ŋ ¹
19. roast	ta ⁵	dui ⁵	nfe ⁵	nti ⁵	nte ⁵	dza:u ⁵	dau ⁵	tsik ⁷

20. salt	<i>ci³</i>	<i>dzau³</i> ₇	<i>ntse³</i>	<i>ntse³</i>	<i>ntse³</i>	<i>dza³</i>	<i>dza³</i>	<i>kje¹</i>
21. steam	<i>tci¹</i>	<i>tce¹</i>	<i>tco¹</i>	<i>tcu¹</i>	<i>cug¹</i>	<i>tsa:y¹</i>	---	<i>tsay¹</i>
22. stove	<i>so⁵</i>		<i>tso⁷</i>	<i>tso⁷</i>	<i>θho⁵</i>	<i>tsu⁵</i>	<i>tou⁵</i>	<i>ta:u⁵</i>
23. suck	<i>hə⁷</i>	<i>hu⁷</i>	<i>hou⁷</i>	<i>hu⁷</i>	<i>hop⁷</i>	<i>hop⁷</i>	<i>hup⁷</i>	<i>hop⁷</i>
24. swallow	<i>gaj⁴</i>	<i>GY⁵</i>	<i>NGao⁴</i>	<i>Nqo⁴</i>	<i>gku⁵</i>	---	---	<i>jen¹</i>
25. sweet	---	---	---	---	<i>ken¹</i>	<i>ka:m¹</i>	<i>kan¹</i>	<i>khwa:n¹</i>
26. taste	<i>tcoi²</i> ₇	<i>Ahai³</i>	---	<i>sati⁶</i>	<i>cin⁴</i>	<i>sei⁵</i>	<i>juə²</i>	<i>si⁵</i>
27. tasteless	<i>cin⁶</i>	<i>te¹</i>	<i>zdua⁶</i>	<i>tga⁶</i>	<i>ci¹</i>	---	<i>tsan³</i>	<i>tsi:p⁷</i>
28. tripod	---	<i>kaif²</i>	<i>ntse²</i>	---	---	<i>tshew¹²</i>	<i>thie¹⁷</i>	<i>tsif²</i>
29. urn	<i>oŋ⁵</i>	<i>qo¹</i>	<i>kaŋ¹</i>	---	<i>kaŋ⁵</i>	<i>oŋ⁵</i>	---	<i>ka:ŋ¹</i>
30. wine cup	<i>ten¹</i>	---	---	---	<i>giŋ³</i>	---	---	---

APPENDIX III. POSSIBLE MON-KHMER LINKS

Sources:

Mon-Khmer: Yan, Qixiang, Zhou, Zhizhi. 1995.

	Mon-Khmer						
	Wa		De'ang		Blang		Khmu
	Masan	Ai-shuai	X.C. Gou	Chayeqing	Man'e	Pangpin	Pusin
1. bite, gnaw	<i>khiat</i>	<i>kiat</i>	<i>kau?</i>	<i>găk</i>	<i>ket³³</i> <i>kiat³³</i>	<i>kak³¹</i>	<i>ʔak</i>
2. blanch, parboil	<i>lök</i>	<i>lok</i>	---	---	<i>klok³³</i>	<i>ʔyök³¹</i>	<i>ləh</i>
3. chopstick		<i>thu</i>	<i>thyu</i>	<i>thu⁵⁵</i>	<i>thu35</i>	<i>thu13</i>	<i>thu</i>
4. to cook	<i>kauh</i>	<i>kuih</i>	---	---	<i>kyl</i>	---	<i>tſau</i>
5. drink	<i>zuat</i>	<i>zət</i>	<i>ŋət</i>	<i>Nanhу</i> <i>ŋat</i>	<i>mut³⁵</i>	<i>dhuat³¹</i>	---
6. fragrant	<i>M.G hom</i>	---	<i>ŋjun</i>	<i>ŋju³¹</i>	<i>hom³⁵</i>	<i>hom³¹</i>	---
7. hold in the mouth	---	<i>kum</i>	<i>ŋǎm</i>	<i>ŋǎm³¹</i>	<i>ŋym³¹</i>	---	Khmu <i>ʔam</i>
8. ladle	<i>lak</i>	<i>lək</i>	<i>laʔ</i>	<i>laʔ⁵⁵</i>	<i>Gantang lak³¹</i>	<i>lak³¹</i>	---
9. lick	<i>let</i>	<i>lət</i>	<i>lia?</i>	<i>let³³</i>	<i>lia³³</i>	<i>lEi³¹</i>	<i>liah</i>
10. salt	<i>khiwəh</i>	<i>kih</i>	---	---	<i>khi³³</i>	---	---
11. salty	—	---	<i>dʒəm</i>	<i>tʃem³¹</i>	<i>ʔym³⁵</i>	---	<i>kEṁ</i>
12. suck, inhale	<i>rhyp</i>	<i>rhuŋ</i>	<i>rup</i>	<i>Nanhу</i> <i>rup</i>	<i>χup³³</i>	<i>srot³³</i>	<i>srup</i>
13. sweet	---	---	<i>ŋam</i>	<i>ŋam³¹</i>	---	---	---

14. taste	<i>tçim</i>	<i>tçim</i>	<i>tçim</i>	<i>dʒim⁵¹</i>		<i>ʔim³¹</i>	<i>sim</i>
15. tasteless		<i>tçut</i>	Nanh <i>tçut</i>	<i>tʃaŋ³⁵</i>	<i>tʃut⁵¹</i>		<i>tʃua?</i>
16. tripod	--	<i>phau?</i> <i>tçiaŋ</i>	<i>geiŋ</i>	<i>käŋ⁵¹</i>	--	--	Manmai <i>glay</i>
17. winnow	<i>bia</i>	<i>bia</i>	<i>ma na</i>	<i>pa na⁵¹</i>	<i>mpeh</i>	--	Manmai <i>mpiar</i>
18. urn	<i>khaŋ</i>	<i>ʔaŋ</i>	<i>glau</i>	<i>klaŋ⁵¹</i>	<i>ʔaŋ³⁵</i>	<i>ʔəm⁵¹</i>	<i>ʔəm hEŋ</i>

APPENDIX IV. COMPARISONS WITH AUSTRONESIAN FORMS

Sources: Tryon, Darrell T. (ed.) 1995.

Gloss	Austronesian		
	Indonesian	Tagalog	Javanese
1. bite, gnaw	<i>kagat</i>	<i>məŋ-gitgit</i>	<i>nakət</i>
2. bowl	<i>marjakuk</i>	<i>majkok</i>	<i>majku?</i>
3. chew	<i>guya?</i>	<i>kunāh</i>	<i>Aceh kūnēh</i>
4. choke	Balanese <i>sukak</i>	<i>mən-čəkik</i>	<i>Aceh cuiki?</i>
5. to cook	Paiwan <i>k-əm-sa</i>	<i>lütu?</i>	<i>ma(ŋ)sə?</i>
6. cooked, ripe	<i>luto?</i>	<i>masak</i>	Sundanese <i>asak</i>
7. drink	<i>inom</i>	<i>minum</i>	Balanese <i>ŋ-inum</i>
8. drunk	<i>Malagasy mamu</i>	<i>mabuk</i>	<i>mabu?</i>
9. eat	<i>kāñin</i>	<i>makan</i>	<i>magan</i>
10. fire	<i>apoy</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>Aceh apuy</i>
11. fragrant	<i>harum</i>	Paiwan <i>salum</i>	Madurese <i>ruñum</i>
12. hold in the mouth	<i>pəgag</i>	Kalinga Limos <i>aggom</i>	<i>ŋ-gəgəm</i>
13. lick	Aceh <i>lalet</i>	<i>mən-jilat</i>	<i>n-dilat</i>
14. mill, pound	<i>giliŋ</i>	<i>məŋ-giliŋ</i>	<i>ŋ-giliŋ</i>
15. pestle (mortar)	<i>lusŋ</i>	<i>ləsŋ</i>	Sundanese <i>lisŋ</i>
16. roast	<i>panggag</i>	Madurese <i>g^huriŋ</i>	<i>ŋ-goreŋ</i>
17. sour	<i>asam</i>	<i>əsim</i>	<i>kəcūt</i>
18. suck, inhale	<i>sipsip</i>	<i>məŋ-isap</i>	Balanese <i>ñə(p)səp</i>
19. swallow	Murut <i>tolon</i>	<i>təlan</i>	<i>ŋə-lek</i>
20. sweet	Yamei <i>itlən</i>	<i>təlan</i>	<i>ŋə-lek</i>
21. to taste	<i>mən-čiçip-i</i>	--	<i>ŋ-ičip-i</i>