News and Errata

Sep. 12, 2022

♦ Wolfgang Behr: Old Chinese-steppe connections in the first millennium BC: insights from the lexicon of metallurgy, to be presented on Friday, Sep. 16 at 9:30 [JST] in Room 1. The abstract was not included in the abstract book. This is an omission in the editing process. We sincerely apologize. Wolfgang Behr-san's abstract is after this notice.

Sep. 12, 2022

❖Zihe Li: The origin and evolution of Naish nasal initials, which was scheduled to be presented on Thursday, Sep. 15 at 17:00 [JST] in Room 2. The presentation was moved to Friday, Sep. 16, 14:30 [JST] in Room 2. The chair will be Kazue Iwasa.

Sep. 11, 2022

♦ Stephen Morey and Wanglung Mossang: Marking of tense and aspect in the Muishvung (Moshang) variety of Tangsa. (was scheduled to report on Sunday, Sep. 18 at 9:30 [JST] in Room 1) has been withdrawn.

Sep. 10, 2022

♦Gabriel Gilbert: Interrogatives in South-Central Tibeto-Burman, to be presented on Friday, Sep. 16 at 10:30 [JST]. The abstract was not included in the abstract book. This is an omission in the editing process. We sincerely apologize. **Gabriel Gilbert**-san's abstract is after this notice.

Old Chinese-steppe connections in the first millennium B.C.: insights from the lexicon of metallurgy Wolfgang Behr (University of Zurich)

During recent decades, archaeological evidence has been slowly converging that some early metal technology, including bronze and iron casting, as well as the use of silver and gold in decorative items is intrusive in China since the late Neolithic, either directly from the North or via the Hexi 河西 corridor (cf. e.g. YANG, SHAO & PAN 2020). One of the earliest undisputed instantiations of external contacts of Zhou China with the steppe cultures of the Northern zone is provided by ample attestations of metal belt hooks (daigou 帶鈎) as part of the influx of a package of "nomadic fashion" since at least the middle of the first millennium B.C. (XIAO BING 1981, WANG RENXIANG 1985, LI ZHIFANG 2011, Bao Guihong 2020). The orthographic instability of the name for this belt hook in transmitted Chinese sources, i.e. xipi 犀毗 (MC *sej+bjij < OC *s^rij+bi), shipi 師 比 (*srij+bjij < *srij+bij), xupi 胥紕 (*sjo(X)+bjie < *sra(?)+be), xianbei 鮮卑 (*sjen+pjie < *s[a]r. pe), and maybe sipitou 私皱頭 (*sij+phje+duw < *[s]əj+phraj+[m-t] $^{\varsigma}$ o), recognized since the beginnings of the 20th century (PELLIOT 1921, EGAMI 1936, BOODBERG 1936), points to a foreign origin. As MAENCHEN-HELFEN (1937, 1945) has convincingly argued, the fact that the reflex of the word serbe 'small hook, notch, agraffe' in Classical Mongolian is isolated within that family would seem to indicate that we are dealing with a migratory term, which he linked to the Indo-European root *ser(p)- 'sickle, hook', a *p-extension of a presumed root *ser- (IEW 911-2) with wide, but irregular reflexes across the daughter families and an only partial attestation within core Indo-European (PRONK 2021). The most probable source of this is PIE *ser(H)- 'join, fasten together, string together, attach' (i.e. Gk. Greek εἴρω, Letin serō etc.; LIV 534-5). Leaving aside the complicated question of this object to the name of the Xianbei tribe 鮮卑 since the Early Imperial period (cf., e.g., GOLDEN 2013), the talk will attempt to trace the possible contact languages and periods underlying the various OC borrowings.

In a second step, an attempt will be made to etymologize the designations for 'copper', 'tin', 'lead' and various bronze alloys and related manufacturing technologies encountered in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. While the lexicon of metallurgy in Chinese excavated texts is extremely rich (Liu Xiang 1986, Chen Jian 1999, Zhu Fenghan 2009, Du Naisong 2015, Li Qi 2019) — 197 characters containing a metal radical (金) have been counted at the end of the Warring states period alone (Hou Kaihua 2008) — its external connections have been little studied or simply subsumed under "dialect phenomena" (e.g. Bai Bing 2005). External comparisons are complicated by the fact that metallurgy terminologies in their incipient stages of borrowing have been shown to be semantically unstable in other language families of the area (e.g. Rybatzki 1994 on Turkic and Mongolian; 2002 on Tungusic) as well as in unrelated language families (e.g. De Maret & Nsuka 1977 on Bantu; Lechtman 1980 on Andean languages).

I will try to show how the terminology Zhou Chinese metallurgy may be useful to better delineate a non-Sinitic "steppe" terminological layer within the Old Chinese lexicon. If time permits this will also allow me to comment on the purely phonological problem of the elusive *-j/*-r/-*n (dialect) distinction within Old Chinese reflected in such early borrowings.

Interrogatives in South-Central Tibeto-Burman

Gabriel Gilbert, Dartmouth College

This paper will provide the first broad comparative survey of interrogative particles and constructions across the South Central (SC, aka Kuki-Chin) subgroup of Tibeto-Burman since initial comparative remarks on the topic by Grierson/Konow in the Linguistic Survey of India. This paper outlines the formal characteristics of polar and content questions across SC, and posits several working reconstructions for interrogative word forms. These interrogative word forms are drawn from the various structures of polar questions and content questions as documented in extant wordlists and grammars of SC languages. Though the structural phenomena herein are not highly irregular in the context of SC languages, specific phenomena like stem alternation are especially apparent in the formation of polar questions. One of this paper's primary goals is to advise future research in stem alternation by presenting precise interrogative constructions where this phenomena surfaces. Although there has not been much systematic discussion for a wide range of languages, it is possible to comment on the general structural characteristics of interrogative sentences based on existing descriptions. Three fundamental generalizations are: a. SC interrogatives tend to involve a final particle; b. interrogatives as opposed to other sentence types may involve a particular verbal stem alternant: c. specific question types may also exhibit a mid-sentence interrogative particle.

a. utterance-final interrogative particle in Lawngtlang Zophei (Lotven 2021:367)

naa tsùh <u>máá</u> 2S leave <u>POL.INTERR</u>

'Did you leave?'

b. stem alternation (marked by tonal difference) in K'Cho (Bedell et al., to appear)

Páinohng'hàichangnehaeiPaiBYmangopickand3Seat_D

'Pai picked the mango and ate it'

vs.

Pái noh ng 'hài chang neh èi ci ang? Pai BY mango pick and <u>eat</u>B NF Q

'Did Pai pick the mango and eat it?'

c. Mid-sentence interrogative particle in Lai (Peterson 2017)

faalaam=?a? ?ahaw<u>=da?</u> na-tha?y
Falam=Loc who<u>=ques</u> 2sg.A/s-know

'Who do you know in Falam?'

Careful consideration of interrogative roots allows reconstructing a number of elements not yet reconstructed (e.g., by Van Bik 2008), including:

- a. *yak 'how many'
- b. 'who' (possibly at the subgroup level)
- c. *yay 'what'
- d. *tu (nominalizer) < interrogative word