

APPENDIX I

LISTING OF HMONGIC DIALECTS AND MAP

This appendix lists the ethnonym, if known, and location of all the FWHm dialects and Hmongic dialects beyond FWHm referred to in this article. Bibliographical sources are shown in square brackets. Linguistic affiliation, in the case of dialects beyond FWHm, is shown in curled brackets. The list is followed by a map showing the location of each dialect.

Most of the published sources in IPA have been re-phonemicised or re-transcribed to varying extent. All orthographic sources have been transcribed in IPA using the phonetic values specified in the source, or those of a suitable dialect whose phonetic values are known. Several sources, such as Wang's (1994) reconstruction of PHm, contain material from many dialects. As an aid to the reader, the label used to identify the dialect in such sources is noted in the bibliographic reference, for example, Wang (1994 Jiading). The phrase 'various materials written in X orthography' refers to unpublished and locally published literacy primers, teaching materials, leaflets, magazines, collections of folk songs, proverbs or folk stories and correspondence. The author feels it is unnecessary to note the bibliographic details of such material herein. Li, Chen & Chen (1959) is abbreviated below as LC&C, and Wang & Mao (1995) as W&M.

Far-Western Hmongic Dialects

CAOPU	The A-Hmao idiolect of Mr. Long Shugang of Shuijingwan village, Caopu district, Anning county, Yunnan. [Author's field notes].
CHUILONG	The Mu dialect spoken in Chuilong district, Agong area, Zhijin county, Guizhou. [Author's field notes].
CQDG	(Chuan-Qian-Dian orthography: Guizhou). The orthographically-standard Hmong dialect in the area of north-west Guizhou. [Compilation of 1) Wang (1985 Dananshan, 1994 Dananshan), W&M (Xianjin). 2) various materials written in Chuan-Qian-Dian orthography, including Guizhou sheng minzu yuwen etc. (1958). All transcribed with a consensus of the phonetic values given by Wang (1985) and those of the Hmong dialects of Dananshan and Xiaojichang districts, Bijie county, Guizhou, as observed by the author]. Note: the standard dialect represented in both orthographic and linguistic sources is actually a man-made construct based on a selection of phonological and lexico-phonemic properties from the various Hmong dialects of north-west Guizhou, especially those of Bijie county. A model school for the teaching of Hmong literacy was established in Dananshan village, Xiaoshao district (formerly Xianjin), Bijie county, Guizhou, which thus became the locus of the standard. However, the dialect spoken by the inhabitants of Dananshan, as observed by the author, differs phonologically from the standard. For this reason the standard dialect will not be referred to by the precise location-based labels Dananshan or Xianjin, which are used in the linguistic sources.
CQDY	(Chuan-Qian-Dian orthography: Yunnan). The standard Hmong orthography used in the area of south-east Yunnan. [Compilation of various materials written in Chuan-Qian-Dian orthography, including Honghe zhou minzu yanjiusuo (1990). All transcribed with the phonetic values of the Hmong Sou and Mong Leng dialects spoken in Hongzhai village, Mengzi municipality, Yunnan, as observed by the author].
DASHANJIAO	The Mong Bang/Mong Ljai dialect spoken in Dashanjiao village, in the south-east outskirts of Anshun city, Guizhou. [Liu (1990, 1991), Wang (1989 Dashanjiao)].
DONGDI	The Mhong dialect spoken in Dongdi district, Nayong county, Guizhou. [Author's field notes].
FENSHUI	The Mong idiolect of Mr. Tao Fagui of Fenshui township, Xuyong county, Sichuan. [Author's field notes].
HEIYU	The Hmong idiolect of Miss Yang Li of Heiyu village, Jichang district, Dafang county, Guizhou. [Author's field notes].

HMONG DAW	The Hmong Daw (White Hmong) dialects spoken in Laos, Thailand, and the USA. [Compilation of 1) various materials written in RPA orthography, including Heimbach (1969), Lue and Lewis (1984), Mottin (1980 and no date). 2) Author's field notes of the Hmong Daw dialect spoken in Chiangmai province, Thailand. All transcribed with the phonetic values of the Chiangmai dialect].
LONGCHANG	The Hmu dialect spoken in Yingcang village, Longchang township, Zhijin county, Guizhou. [Xian (1997 Bai Miao yi)].
LUZHAI	The Mong dialect spoken in Lingjiaotang village, Babao district, Dafang county, Guizhou (the area is known locally as Luzhai). [Author's field notes].
MONG NTSUA	The Mong Ntsua (Mong Njua)/Mong Leng dialects spoken in Thailand, Laos, and the USA. [Compilation of 1) various materials written in RPA orthography. 2) Lyman (1974 and 1979). All transcribed in accordance with the phonetic values given by Lyman].
MUPING	The A-Hmao idiolect of Mr. Wu Xuewen, of Muping, Yiliang county, Yunnan. [Author's field notes].
PINGSHANG	The Hmong dialect spoken in Shiban village, Pingshang district, Puding county, Guizhou. [Luo (1987)]. Note: In Luo's article the labial stop+palatal clusters /pj-, p ^h j-, mpj-, mp ^h j-/ are erroneously transcribed with lateral symbols, as <pl-, pl'-, mpl-, mpl'->. Luo Xinggui has confirmed that these initials are in fact palatal, not lateral, clusters (personal correspondence, Guiyang, Feb 2001).
SHIMEN	The A-Hmao dialect spoken in Shimenkan village, Zhongshui area, Weining county, Guizhou. [Wang Deguang (1986, 1987), Wang Fushi (1958, 1994 Shimenkan), W&M (Shimen), Wang & Wang (1982, 1983, 1986)].
WAH	(Western A-Hmao). The Western A-Hmao dialects spoken in the Kunming to Chuxiong area, Yunnan. [Compilation of 1) author's field notes of the A-Hmao idiolect of Mr. Long Fuhua of Sapushan village, Wuding county, Yunnan. 2) Chuxiong zhou minzongju deng bian (1999). 3) various materials written in the Revised Pollard Script, as used in the Kunming to Chuxiong area. All transcribed with the phonetic values of Mr. Long Fuhua's speech].
WEIXIN	The Hmong Si idiolect of Mr. Xiong Zongsheng of Weixin county, Yunnan. [Author's field notes].
WULIPING	The Hmu idiolect of Mrs. Li of Wuliping village, Bijie county, Guizhou. [Author's field notes].
XINGFA	The Gha-Mu idiolect of Mr. Li Zhengzhang of Xingfa district, Hezhang county, Guizhou. [Author's field notes].
XUYONG	The Hmong~Hmo dialect spoken in Xuyong county, Sichuan. [Graham (1938)].
YANGLIU	The Hmong idiolect of Mr. Zhu Zhengwen of Daganzhang village, Yangliu district, Zhenning county, Guizhou. [Author's field notes].
ZHIJIN	The Hmong Sa/Hmong Nzi dialect spoken in Zhijin county, Guizhou. [Yang and Yang (1991)].
ZHUCANG	The Hmong idiolect of Mr. Yang Chaoyun of Zhucang district, Zhijin county, Guizhou. [Author's field notes].

Hmongic Dialects beyond Far-Western

BAIJIN	The dialect spoken in Baijin, Huishui county, Guizhou. {Western-Huishui}. [LC&C (Baijin)].
CHANGDONG	The Jiongnai dialect spoken in Longhua village, Changdong district, Jinxiu county, Guangxi. {outlier Hmongic}. [W&M (Changdong)].
FENGXIANG	The Hmong dialect spoken in Fengxiang village, Chong'an district, Huangping county, Guizhou. {Western}. [Wang (1994 Fengxiang), W&M (Fengxiang)].
FUYUAN	The Hmjo dialect spoken in Yejipo village, Ganba district (formerly Fuyuan), Fuquan county, Guizhou. {Western-Luobohe}. [Wang (1994 Yejipo), W&M (Fuyuan)].
GAOPO	The Hmong dialect spoken in Jiading village, Gaopo district, Guiyang municipality, Guizhou. {Western-Huishui}. [Wang (1994 Jiading), W&M (Gaopo)].
GEZHENG	The dialect spoken in Gezhengzhai village, Changshun county (formerly Guangshun), Guizhou. {Western-Guiyang}. [Kun (1976 Ke-cheng)]. Note: the rhotic segment is transcribed by Kun as <r>. Herein the symbol <r> is used.

JIWEI	The Gho-Xiong dialect spoken in Layiping village, Jiwei district, Huayuan county, Hunan. {Northern}. [Wang (1985 Layiping, 1994 Layiping), W&M (Jiwei)]. Note: the labial+rhotic clusters are transcribed as <pɹ-> by LC&C and Chen (1984). In Wang (1980, 1985, 1988, 1994) and W&M they are transcribed as <pz,->, but Wang (1985:8) notes that the phonetic value of the rhotic is actually [-ɹ-]. Herein, the clusters are transcribed with LC&C's original symbol.
QIBAINONG	The Bo-No dialect spoken in Longmo village, Qibainong district, Dahu county, Guangxi. {Bunuic}. [W&M (Qibainong)].
QINGYAN	The Hmong dialect spoken in Baituo village, Qingyan district, Huaxi area, Guiyang municipality, Guizhou. {Western-Guiyang}. [Wang (1994 Baituo), W&M (Qingyan)].
QINGZHEN	The A-Meu dialect spoken in Qingzhen county, Guizhou. {Western-Guiyang}. [Qingzhen xian minwei (1991)].
SHANGLIN	The dialect spoken in Shanglin village, Jiatong district, Pingtang county, Guizhou. {classification within Hmongic uncertain}. [Wang (1989 Shanglin)].
SHIDONG	The Hmu dialect spoken in Shidong district, Taijiang county, Guizhou. {Eastern}. [Author's field notes].
SHUIWEI	The Hme dialect spoken in Shuiwei, Longli county, Guizhou. {Western-Luobohe}. [LC&C (Shuiwei)].
SIDAZHAI	The Mhae dialect spoken in Sidazhai, Ziyun county, Guizhou. {Western-Mashan}. [LC&C (Sidazhai)].
TIESHI	The Hmju dialect spoken in Tieshi district, Qianxi county, Guizhou. {Western}. [Li (1993)].
WENJIE	The Pa-Hng dialect spoken in Bowen village, Wenjie district, Sanjiang county, Guangxi. {Bahengic}. [W&M (Wenjie)].
XIANAITANG	The E-Hmjo dialect spoken in Xianaitang village (formerly Chutang), Bajiaoyan, Guiyang municipality, Guizhou. {Western-Luobohe}. [Wang (1992 Xianaitang)].
XIAOMIAOZHAI	The Mhang dialect spoken in Xiaomiaozhai, Luodian county, Guizhou. {Western-Mashan}. [LC&C (Xiaomiaozhai)].
XINCHANG	The Mheng dialect spoken in Xinchang, Luodian county, Guizhou. {Western-Mashan}. [LC&C (Xinchang)].
YANGHAO	The Hmu/Gha-Ne dialect spoken in Yanghao village, Guading township, Kaili county, Guiyang. {Eastern}. [Wang (1985 Yanghao, 1994 Yanghao), W&M (Yanghao), Zhang (1990)].
YAOLI	The Bao-No dialect spoken in Mangjiang village, Yaoli district, Nandan county, Guangxi. {Bunuic}. [W&M (Yaoli)].
ZONGDI	The Mhang dialect spoken in Jiaotuo village, Zongdi district, Ziyun county, Guizhou. {Western-Mashan}. [Wang (1994 Jiaotuo), W&M (Zongdi)].

Map. Locations of the Hmongic dialects referred to in the text



APPENDIX II COMPARATIVE DATA

Tables 1 to 6 of this Appendix list all of the comparative data discussed in the body of the paper. The cognate sets are numbered sequentially from 1 to 252 throughout the Appendix, in order to simplify their reference in the text. Some cognate sets occur in more than one Table, for example, ‘blood’ occurs as set 46 (in Table 2) and 99 (in Table 4). The sets are referred to in the text by the sequence number in a small font-size, for example, *mbje^{B2} ‘fish’ 141.

In Tables 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6, dialects are arranged on the x-axis and cognate sets on the y-axis. In Table 4, dialects appear on the y-axis and cognate sets on the x-axis. Tables 4 and 6 are very large, covering 8 and 2 pages respectively. In Tables 3 to 6, which are primarily concerned with the place of articulation of initial consonants, each initial series is internally ordered first by rime, then by voicing and prenasalisation categories, then by tone.

Forms whose cognition is questionable are enclosed in parentheses. Phonetic values are given in square brackets where of interest. Square brackets also indicate deviant senses. Borders are used on all the Tables, except Table 4, as an aid to the reader. Solid borders indicate particular isoglosses, for example, in Table 1 they delineate different voicing categories. Dashed borders are used to show variation, which generally implies partial merger, for example ‘dew’ 73 in WAH, or to show isoglosses in the phonetic (allophonic) system, for example, the presence of allophonic breathy voice in ‘hand’ 10, ‘die’ 11, and ‘bean’ 12 in DASHANJIAO, CQDG, and HMONG DAW. Further notes concerning each table are given in the body of the paper.

Table 1. Proto-Far-Western-Hmongic voicing categories

	PFW	WAH	XINGFA	DASHAN JIAO	CQDG	HMONG DAW	DONGDI
vl. aspirated (stop)	¹ 'bucket'	*t ^h oŋ ^{A1}	t ^h au ¹	t ^h o ^{1\6}	t ^h oŋ ¹	t ^h ɔŋ ¹	t ^h oŋ ¹
	² 'hole'	*q ^h ɔ ^{B1}	q ^h o ³	q ^h o ³	q ^h au ³	q ^h ɔ ³	q ^h au ^{3\7}
	³ 'shoe'	*k ^h ou ^{C1}	k ^h au ⁵	k ^h v ⁵	k ^h au ⁵	k ^h au ⁵	k ^h u ⁵
	⁴ 'daughter'	*nts ^h ai ^{D1}	nts ^h ær ^{4\7}	nts ^h er ⁷	ts ^h ai ⁷	nts ^h ai ⁷	nts ^h ai ^{3\7}
voiceless (stop)	⁵ 'crops'	*qoŋ ^{A1}	qaŋ ¹	qo ^{1\6}	qoŋ ¹	qoŋ ¹	qoŋ ¹
	⁶ 'full'	*pu ^{B1}	pu ³	pu ³	po ³	pu ³	po ^{3\7}
	⁷ 'sleep'	*pt ^{C1}	py ⁵	po ⁵	py ⁵	pi ⁵	pu ⁵
	⁸ 'receive'	*tsaŋ ^{D1}	tsær ^{4\7}	tse ⁷	tsaŋ ⁷	tsaŋ ^{4\7}	tsaŋ ^{3\7}
voiced (stop)	⁹ 'flower'	*baŋ ^{A2}	b ^f au ²	baŋ ²	paŋ ²	pa ²	paŋ ²
	¹⁰ 'hand'	*de ^{B2}	d ^f i ^{4\7}	di ⁴	te ⁴ [d ^f e]	te ⁴ [d ^f e]	ter ^{4\7}
	¹¹ 'die'	*da ^{C2}	d ^f a ⁶	de ^{1\6}	ta ⁶ [d ^f a]	tv ⁶ [d ^f a]	tu ⁶ [d ^f a]
	¹² 'bean'	*dou ^{D2}	d ^f au ⁸	dy ⁸	teu ⁸ [d ^f eu]	təu ⁸	təu ⁸
voiceless (nasal)	¹³ 'vine'	*mŋ ^{A1}	mŋau ¹	maŋ ^{1\6}	maŋ ¹	mŋ ¹	mŋ ¹
	¹⁴ 'tooth'	*nɛ ^{B1}	nŋie ³	nɛ ³	nai ³	nŋie ³	nŋai ^{3\7}
	¹⁵ 'night'	*mɔ ^{C1}	mɔ ⁵	maŋ ⁵	mɔ ⁵	mɔ ⁵	mɔ ⁵
	¹⁶ 'cough'	*ŋŋɔŋ ^{D1}	ŋŋau ^{4\7}	ny ⁷	—	ŋŋɔŋ ⁷	ŋŋɔŋ ^{4\7}
fortis voiced (nasal)	¹⁷ 'sickness'	*?mo ^{A1}	mo ¹	mo ^{1\6}	maŋ ¹	mo ¹	maŋ ¹
	¹⁸ 'snake'	*?naŋ ^{A1}	naŋu ¹	naŋu ^{1\6}	naŋ ¹	na ¹	naŋ ¹
	¹⁹ 'cry'	*?nɛ ^{B1}	nŋie ³	nɛ ³ ~nŋi ³	—	nɛ ³	nŋie ³
	²⁰ 'cold'	*?nɔ ^{C1}	nɔ ⁵	nɔ ⁵	naŋu ⁵	nɔ ⁵	naŋu ⁵
voiced (nasal)	²¹ 'have'	*ma ^{A2}	m ^f a ²	me ²	ma ²	muə ²	ma ²
	²² 'horse'	*neŋ ^{B2}	n ^f yŋu ^{4\7}	ner ⁴	nen [n ^f ɛn]	nen ⁴ [n ^f ɛn]	neŋ ^{4\7}
	²³ 'bird'	*noŋ ^{C2}	n ^f au ⁶	ny ^{1\6}	noŋ ⁶ [n ^f ɔŋ]	noŋ ⁶ [n ^f ɔŋ]	noŋ ⁶ [n ^f ɔŋ]
	²⁴ 'mother'	*ne ^{D2}	n ^f ie ⁸	nɛ ⁸	—	ne ⁸	niɛ ⁸
voiceless (continuant)	²⁵ 'high'	*fje ^{A1}	sie ¹	ʃe ^{1\6}	s(w)ar ¹	ʃe ¹	sar ¹
	²⁶ 'thread'	*so ^{B1}	so ³	su ³	sau ³	so ³	sau ^{3\7}
	²⁷ 'seven'	*çan ^{C1}	çau ⁵	çau ⁵	çan ⁵	ça ⁵	çan ⁵
	²⁸ 'drink'	*hou ^{D1}	haŋu ^{4\7}	fy ⁷	fu ⁷	χəu ⁷	haŋu ^{4\7}
fortis voiced (continuant)	²⁹ 'seedling'	*ju ^{A1}	ju ¹	ju ^{1\6}	zo ¹	ju ¹	zo ¹
	³⁰ 'break'	*?lo ^{B1}	lo ³	lu ³	laŋ ³	lo ³	laŋ ^{3\7}
	³¹ 'near'	*vje ^{C1}	vie ⁵	ze ⁵	ze ⁵	ze ⁵	ze ⁵
	³² 'hide'	*vjaŋ ^{D1}	væ ^{4\7}	ze ⁷	zaŋ ⁷	zaŋ ^{4\7}	zaŋ ^{3\7}
voiced (continuant)	³³ 'weigh'	*l <u>^{A2}</u>	l ^f u ²	lu ²	ljo ²	lu ²	lu ²
	³⁴ 'come'	*lo ^{B2}	l ^f o ^{4\7}	lu ⁴	lau ⁴ [l ^f au]	lo ⁴ [l ^f o]	l ^h au ^{4\6\8}
	³⁵ 'strength'	*vjo ^{C2}	z ^f o ⁶	z <u>u</u> ^{1\6}	zau ⁶ [z ^f au]	zo ⁶ [z ^f o]	z ^h au ^{4\6\8}
	³⁶ 'eight'	*ji ^{D2}	z ^f i ⁸	ji ⁸	zi ⁸ [z ^f i]	zi ⁸	zi ^{4\6\8}

Table 2. Proto-Far-Western-Hmongic basic stops and affricates

		PFW	WAH	XINGFA	CQDG	HMONG DAW	MONG NTSUA	WULIPING	HEIYU	ZHIJIN	DASHANJIAO
labial stops	³⁷ 'flower'	*baŋ ^{A2}	b ^f au ²	bau ²	paj ²	pa ²	paj ²	pã ²	—	paj ²	paj ²
	³⁸ 'dream'	*mpou ^{C1}	mpu ⁵	mpy ⁵	mpəu ⁵	mpau ⁵	mpau ⁵	mpu ^{5\7}	mpu ⁵	mpou ⁵	pu ⁵
dental stops	³⁹ 'come'	*da ^{A2}	d ^f a ²	də ²	to ²	tua ²	tua ²	te ²	ta ²	ta ²	ta ²
	⁴⁰ 'book; paper'	*ntət ^{B1}	ntœy ³	ntəu ³	ntəu ³	ntət ³	ntau ³	ntət ³	ntu ^{3\7}	ntəu ³	tuar ³
dental affricates	⁴¹ 'fruit'	*tsi ^{B1}	tsi ³ [tsz]	tsi ³ [tsz]	tsi ³ [tsz]	tsi ³	tsi ³	tsi ³ [tsz]	tsi ^{3\7} [tsz]	tsi ³ [tsz]	tsei ³
	⁴² 'thousand'	*ts ^h e ^{A1}	ts ^h ie ¹	ts ^h ɛ ^{1\6}	ts ^h ɛ ¹	ts ^h ie ¹	ts ^h a ¹	ts ^h ar ¹	—	ts ^h ar ¹	ts ^h ar ¹
	⁴³ 'daughter'	*nts ^h ai ^{D1}	nts ^h æi ^{4\7}	nts ^h ei ⁷	nts ^h ai ⁷	nts ^h ai ^{4\7}	nts ^h ai ⁷	nts ^h er ^{5\7}	nts ^h ar ^{3\7}	nts ^h er ⁷	ts ^h ai ⁷
post- alveolar affricates	⁴⁴ 'tiger'	*tʃo ^{B1}	tso ³	tʃu ³	tʃo ³	tʃɔ ³	tʃu ³	tso ³	tsau ^{3\7}	tsau ³	—
	⁴⁵ 'new'	*tʃ ^h e ^{A1}	tʃ ^h ie ¹	tʃ ^h ɛ ^{1\6}	tʃ ^h e ¹	tʃ ^h ie ¹	tʃ ^h a ¹	ts ^h ar ¹	—	ts ^h ar ¹	ts ^h ar ¹
	⁴⁶ 'blood'	*ntʃ ^h aj ^{B1}	ntʃ ^h au ³	ntʃ ^h au ³	ntʃ ^h aj ³	ntʃ ^h a ³	ntʃ ^h aj ³	nts ^h ã ³	—	nts ^h aj ³	ts ^h aj ³
retroflex stops	⁴⁷ 'return'	*ʈ ^{B1}	ʈo ³	ʈo ³	ʈau ³	ʈɔ ³	ʈɔ ³	ʈau ³	—	tsau ³	tsau ³
	⁴⁸ 'wear shoes'	*ʈou ^{C1}	ʈau ⁵	ʈv ⁵	ʈəu ⁵	ʈau ⁵	ʈau ⁵	ʈu ^{5\7}	tju ⁵	tsəu ⁵	—
	⁴⁹ 'puttees'	*ɳʈ ^h on ^{A1}	ɳʈ ^h au ¹	ɳʈ ^h o ^{1\6}	ɳʈ ^h on ¹	ɳʈ ^h ɔŋ ¹	ɳʈ ^h on ¹	ɳʈ ^h o ¹	nt ^h jon ¹	nts ^h on ¹	ts ^h on ¹
alveolo- palatal affricates	⁵⁰ 'sweep'	*tç ^h e ^{A1}	tç ^h i ¹	tç ^h ɪ ^{1\6}	tç ^h e ¹	t ^h er ¹	t ^h e ¹	tç ^h i ¹	—	tç ^h e ¹	tç ^h e ¹
	⁵¹ 'nine'	*dza ^{A2}	dz ^f a ²	dzə ²	tçə ²	tua ²	tua ²	tçə ²	tça ²	tça ²	tça ²
velar stops	⁵² 'bug'	*kaŋ ^{A1}	kau ¹	kau ^{1\6}	kaŋ ¹	ka ¹	kaŋ ¹	kã ¹	kap ¹	kap ¹	—
	⁵³ 'ten'	*gou ^{D2}	g ^f au ⁸	gy ⁸	kəu ⁸	kau ⁸	kau ⁸	ku ⁸	ku ⁸	ko <u>8</u>	ku ⁴
uvular stops	⁵⁴ 'egg'	*qe ^{C1}	qiə ⁵	qer ⁵	qe ⁵	qer ⁵	qar ⁵	qa ^{5\7}	qe ⁵	qe ⁵	?e ⁵
	⁵⁵ 'guest'	*q ^h a ^{C1}	q ^h a ⁵	q ^h a ⁵	q ^h v ⁵	q ^h aŋ ⁵	q ^h an ⁵	q ^h v ^{5\7}	q ^h a ⁵	q ^h a ⁵	? ^h a ⁵
	⁵⁶ 'meat'	*NGai ^{A2}	NG ^f æi ²	NGe ²	nqar ²	nqar ²	nqa ²	nqe ²	—	nqar ²	?ai ²
glottal stop	⁵⁷ 'two'	*?ɔ ^{A1}	?a ¹	?ə ^{1\6}	?au ¹	?ɔ ¹	?ɔ ¹	?au ¹	?au ¹	?au ¹	—
	⁵⁸ 'duck'	*?o ^{D1}	?o ^{4\7}	?u ⁷	?o ⁷	?ɔ ^{4\7}	?u ⁷	—	—	—	?au ⁷

Table 3. Proto-Far-Western-Hmongic laterals

	PFW	WAH	XINGFA	LUZHAI	DASHAN JIAO	CQDY	HMONG DAW	YANG HAO
59 ‘moon’	* <i>ɿ</i> ^{C1}	ɿ ⁵	ɿ ⁵	ɿ ⁵ [ɿ̥]	ɿer ⁵	ɿ ⁵	ɿ ⁵	ɿ ^h ɿ ⁵
60 ‘squeeze’	*? <i>ɿ</i> ^{C1}	ɿ ⁵	—	ɿ ⁵ [ɿ̥]	ɿer ⁵	ɿ ⁵	ɿ ⁵	ɿ ⁵
61 ‘long (time)’	* <i>le</i> ^{A2}	ɿ ⁶ i ²	ɿ ²	le ²	—	leɪ ²	leɪ ²	le ²
62 ‘red’	*? <i>lɛ</i> ^{A1}	lie ^{1~lɪɛ¹}	lie ^{1~6}	la ¹	laɪ ¹	la ¹	laɪ ¹	—
63 ‘monkey’	*? <i>lɛ</i> ^{A1}	lie ^{1~lɪɛ¹}	lie ^{1~6}	la ¹	laɪ ¹	la ¹	laɪ ¹	lei ¹
64 ‘bridge’	* <i>la</i> ^{A1}	ɿa ¹	ɿe ^{1~6}	—	ɿa ¹	ɿua ¹	—	—
65 ‘rope’	* <i>la</i> ^{C1}	ɿa ⁵	ɿe ⁵	ɿue ⁵	ɿa ⁵	ɿua ⁵	ɿue ⁵	ɿ ^h ɿ ⁵
66 ‘soil’	* <i>la</i> ^{A2}	ɿ ⁶ a ²	ɿe ²	ɿue ²	ɿa ²	ɿua ²	ɿue ²	—
67 ‘snap off’	*? <i>lo</i> ^{B1}	lo ³	lu ³	lo ³	lau ³	lu ³	lo ³	lo ³
68 ‘come’	* <i>lo</i> ^{B2}	ɿ ⁶ o ^{4~7}	lu ⁴	lo ⁴	lau ⁴	lu ⁴	lo ^{4~7}	lo ⁴
69 ‘Clf: general’	*? <i>lu</i> ^{A1}	lu ¹	lu ^{1~6}	lo ¹	lo ¹	lu ¹	lu ¹	le ¹
70 ‘short’	*? <i>lu</i> ^{B1}	lu ³	lu ⁵	lo ⁵	lo ³	lu ⁵	lu ³	le ³
71 ‘word’	* <i>lu</i> ^{B2}	ɿ ⁶ u ^{4~7}	lu ⁴	lo ⁴	lo ⁴	lu ⁴	lu ^{4~7}	—
72 ‘rotten’	* <i>lt</i> ^{A2}	ɿ ⁶ y ²	lø ²	lt ²	ly ²	lt ²	lf ²	le ²
73 ‘dew’	* <i>lt</i> ^{C2}	ɿ ⁶ y ^{6~ɿ⁶y⁶}	lo ^{1~6}	lt ⁶	ly ⁶	lt ⁶	lf ⁶	—
74 ‘to slice’	* <i>taɪ</i> ^{D1}	ɿæi ^{4~7}	ɿer ⁷	ɿæi ⁷	ɿar ⁷	ɿæe ⁷	ɿar ^{4~7}	ɿ ^h ei ⁷
75 ‘iron’	* <i>tou</i> ^{C1}	ɿau ⁵	ɿv ⁵	ɿeu ⁵	ɿeu ⁵	ɿou ⁵	ɿau ⁵	ɿ ^h ø ⁵
76 ‘old’	* <i>tou</i> ^{B2}	ɿ ⁶ au ^{4~7}	lv ⁴	løu ⁴	løu ⁴	lou ⁴	lau ^{4~7}	lu ⁴
77 ‘scald’	* <i>taŋ</i> ^{A1}	ɿau ¹	ɿau ^{1~6}	ɿaŋ ¹	ɿaŋ ¹	ɿaŋ ¹	ɿa ¹	—
78 ‘deaf’	* <i>taŋ</i> ^{A2}	ɿ ⁶ au ¹	lao ^{1~6}	ɿaŋ ⁶	ɿaŋ ¹	ɿaŋ ⁶	la ⁶	ɿɔŋ ²
79 ‘late’	* <i>lɪ</i> ^{C2}	ɿ ⁶ i ⁶	lɪ ^{1~6} [ɿɿ] ^{1~6}	lɪ ⁶ [ɿ ⁶] ^{1~6}	ler ⁶	li ⁶	li ⁶	—
80 ‘shed skin’	* <i>te</i> ^{C1}	ɿi ⁵	(ɿø ⁵)	ɿe ⁵	ɿje ⁵	ɿer ⁵	ɿer ⁵	ɿ ^h ju ⁵
81 ‘sickle’	*? <i>lɛ</i> ^{A1}	lie ^{1~lɪɛ¹}	lɛ ^{1~6}	la ⁶	ljar ¹	la ^{1~la⁶}	lie ⁶	(ljen ²)
82 ‘paddy field’	* <i>lɛ</i> ^{A2}	ɿ ⁶ ie ²	lɛ ²	la ²	ljar ²	la ²	lie ²	lji ²
83 ‘harrier’	* <i>lɛ</i> ^{A2}	ɿ ⁶ ie ²	lɛ ²	la ²	ljar ²	la ²	lie ²	—
84 ‘youth’	* <i>la</i> ^{D1}	ɿa ^{4~7}	ɿa ⁷	ɿua ⁷	ɿa ⁷	ɿua ⁷	ɿua ^{4~7}	—
85 ‘rabbit’	*? <i>la</i> ^{B1}	la ³	lø ³	løa ³	lja ³	lua ³	lue ³	(lo ⁷)
86 ‘happy’	* <i>la</i> ^{C2}	ɿ ⁶ a ⁶	lø ^{1~6}	løa ⁶	lja ⁶	lua ⁶	lue ⁶	lje ⁶
87 ‘bury’	* <i>lɔ</i> ^{B2}	—	lo ⁴	løa ⁴	ljaʊ ⁴	løu ⁴	lø ^{4~7}	ljan ⁴
88 ‘big’	* <i>to</i> ^{A1}	ɿo ¹	ɿu ^{1~6}	ɿo ¹	ɿjaʊ ¹	ɿu ¹	ɿ ¹	ɿ ^h jə ¹
89 ‘weigh’	* <i>lu</i> ^{A2}	ɿ ⁶ u ²	lu ²	lo ²	ljo ²	lu ²	lu ²	lji ²
90 ‘pouch’	* <i>lt</i> ^{D1}	ɿy ^{4~7}	ɿø ⁷	ɿø ⁷	—	ɿu ⁷	ɿ ^{4~7}	—
91 ‘go, leave’	*? <i>lət</i> ^{D2}	ɿ ⁶ œy ⁸	ɿœu ⁸	ɿær ⁸	—	lət ⁸	lət ⁸	lju ⁸
92 ‘pour’	*? <i>lou</i> ^{A1}	—	ɿv ^{1~6}	ɿeu ¹	lju ¹	lou ¹	lau ¹	lju ¹
93 ‘male bird’	*? <i>lou</i> ^{B1}	ɿau ⁵	ɿv ³	ɿeu ⁵	lju ³	lou ³	lau ³	—
94 ‘sash’	* <i>tanj</i> ^{A1}	ɿau ¹	ɿau ^{1~6}	ɿen ¹	ɿjan ¹	ɿan ¹	ɿa ¹	(ɿ ^h an ¹)

Table 4. Proto-Far-Western-Hmongic labial stop+sonorant clusters (in 8 parts)

	95 'see'	96 'sleep'	97 'fruit'	98 'tiger'	99 'blood'	100 'net; forest spirit'	101 'wring out'	102 'Clf: threads'	103 'play (flute)'	104 'strain (in defecating)'	105 'alight'	106 'flame'	107 'dark'
PFW	*bo ^{D2}	*p ^u ^{C1}	*tsi ^{B1}	*tʃo ^{B1}	*ntʃ ^h aiŋ ^{B1}	*bjɔ ^{A2}	*pjo ^{C1}	*pjo ^{C1}	*p ^h jo ^{B1}	*mpju ^{A1}	*pjət ^{D1}	*pjou ^{C1}	*pjou ^{D1}
WAH	b ^h o ⁸	py ⁵	tsi ³ [tsz]	tʂo ³	ɳtʂ ^h au ³	dʐ ^h o ²	tso ⁵	tso ⁵	ts ^h o ³	—	tsœy ^{4\7}	—	tsau ^{4\7}
CAOPU	bo ^{6\8}	py ^{4\7\5}	tsi ³ [tsz]	tʂo ³	ɳtʂ ^h au ³	—	tso ^{4\7\5}	tso ^{4\7\5}	ts ^h o ³	—	tsœy ^{4\7\5}	—	tsau ^{4\7\5}
WULIPING	—	pu ^{5\7}	tsi ³ [tsz]	tso ³	nts ^h ã ³	—	—	—	ts ^h o ³	—	—	—	tsu ^{5\7}
YANGLIU	pɛu ⁸	—	tseɪ ³	tseu ³	nts ^h aj ³	—	—	—	ts ^h eu ³	—	—	—	—
FENSHUI	po ⁸	p ^u ⁵	tsi ³	tʃo ³	ntʃ ^h aj ³	tʃau ²	—	—	tʃ ^h o ³	—	—	—	tʃət ⁷
WEIXIN	po ⁸	pu ⁵	tsi ³	tʃo ³	ntʃ ^h aj ³	—	—	—	tʃ ^h o ³	—	—	—	tʃeu ⁷
XUYONG	po ⁸	pu ⁵	tsi ³	tʃo ³	ntʃ ^h aj ³	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tʃʌu ⁷
CQDG	po ⁸	p ^u ⁵	tsi ³ [tsz]	tʃo ³	ntʃ ^h aj ³	tʃau ²	tʃo ⁵	—	tʃ ^h o ³	ntso ¹	tʃεu ⁷	tʃəu ⁵	tʃəu ⁷
CQDY	pu ⁸	p ^u ⁵	tsi ³ [tsz]	tʃu ³	ntʃ ^h aj ³	tʃeu ² /tʃau ⁶	tʃu ⁵	tʃu ⁵	tʃ ^h u ³	ntʃu ¹	tʃət ⁷	tʃou ⁵	tʃou ⁷
MONG NTSUA	pu ⁸	p ^u ⁵	tsi ³	tʃu ³	ntʃ ^h aj ³	tʃɔ ^{4\6}	tʃu ⁵	tʃu ⁵	tʃ ^h u ³	ntʃu ¹	tʃət ⁷	tʃau ⁵	tʃau ⁷
HMONG DAW	po ⁸	p ⁱ ⁵	tsi ³	tʃo ³	ntʃ ^h a ³	tʃɔ ² /tʃɔ ⁶	tʃɔ ⁵	tʃɔ ^{4\7}	tʃ ^h ɔ ³	ntʃu ¹	tʃət ^{4\7}	tʃau ⁵	tʃau ^{4\7}
LUZHAI	po ⁸	p ^u ⁵	tsi ³ [tsz]	tʃo ³	—	—	—	—	tʃ ^h o ³	—	—	tʃəu ⁵	tʃəu ⁷
XINGFA	bu ⁸	pø ⁵	tsi ³ [tsz]	tʃu ³	ntʃ ^h au ³	dʒo ^{1\6}	tʃu ⁵	—	tʃ ^h u ³	ntʃu ^{1\6}	—	—	tʃy ⁷
DONGDI	pau ^{4\6\8}	pu ⁵	tsi ^{3\7} [tsz]	tsau ^{3\7}	nts ^h an ^{3\7}	pjau ²	pjau ⁵	pjau ^{3\7}	p ^h jau ^{3\7}	mpju ¹	pjeu ^{3\7}	pjeu ⁵	pjeu ^{3\7}
DASHANJIAO	—	py ⁵	tseɪ ³	—	ts ^h aj ³	—	—	—	p ^h jau ³	—	—	—	pjeu ⁷
BABAO	pau ⁸	p ^u ⁵	tsi ³	tʃau ³	—	pjau ² /pjau ⁶	pjau ⁵	pjau ⁵	p ^h jau ³	mpju ¹	pjət ⁷	pjou ⁵	pjou ⁷
PINGSHANG	pau ⁸	pu ⁵	—	—	ntʃ ^h aj ³	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ZHIJIN	pau ⁸	pu ⁵	tsi ³ [tsz]	tsau ³	nts ^h aj ³	—	pjau ⁵	pjau ⁷	—	—	pjəv ⁵	pjəv ⁷	—
QIBAINONG	po ⁸	pau ⁵	pi ³	sɔ ³	nts ^h əŋ ³	—	pjɔ ⁵	pjɔ ⁷	p ^h jau ³	mpjuŋ ²	pjɔ ⁷	pja ⁵	pju ⁷
YANGHAO	poŋ ⁸	pi ⁵	tſen ³	çə ³	ç ^h aj ³	tsaŋ ²	tso ⁵	—	ts ^h ə ³ /f ^h ə ³	—	tsu ⁷	tso ⁵	tsə ⁷

	108 ‘wash (vegetables)’	109 ‘together’	110 ‘ant’	111 ‘winnow’	112 ‘fine clothes’	113 ‘sick (of chickens)’	114 ‘cliff’	115 ‘blow’	116 ‘rat’	117 ‘spray (with mouth)’	118 ‘scrub (land)’	119 ‘green’
PFW	*bjou ^{C2}	*bjou ^{C2}	*mbjou ^{D2}	*pjɔŋ ^{B1}	*bjɔŋ ^{B2}	*mbjɔŋ ^{B2}	*pjɑ ^{C1}	*p ^h ja ^{A1}	*bja ^{C2}	*bja ^{D2} ?T	*mpja ^{A1}	
WAH	—	dz ^f au ⁶	ndz ^f au ⁶	tsau ³	dz ^f au ^{4\7}	ndz ^f au ^{4\7}	tsa ^{4\7}	ts ^h a ¹	—	dz ^f a ⁶	dz ^f a ^{4\7}	ntsa ¹
CAOPU	—	dzaʊ ^{6\8}	ndzaʊ ^{6\8}	tsau ³	dz ^f au ^{4\7\5}	ndz ^f au ^{4\7\5}	tsa ^{4\7\5}	ts ^h a ¹	—	—	dz ^f a ^{4\7\5}	ntsa ¹
WULIPING	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts ^h we ¹	—	—	—	ntswɛ ¹
YANGLIU	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts ^h wa ¹	—	—	—	—
FENSHUI	—	—	—	—	tʃɔŋ ⁴	—	tʃua ⁵	tʃ ^h ua ¹	—	—	—	ntʃua ¹
WEIXIN	—	—	ntʃeu ⁸	—	—	—	—	tʃ ^h ua ¹	tʃua ⁶	—	—	ntʃua ¹
XUYONG	—	—	ntʃʌu ⁸	—	tʃɔŋ ⁴	—	—	tʃ ^h ua ¹	—	—	—	ntʃua ¹
CQDG	—	tʃəu ⁶	ntʃəu ⁸	—	tʃɔŋ ⁴	—	tʃv ⁵	tʃ ^h v ¹	tʃv ⁶	—	tʃv ⁶	ntʃv ¹
CQDY	tʃou ⁶	tʃou ⁶	ntʃou ⁸	—	tʃɔŋ ⁴	ntʃɔŋ ⁶	tʃua ⁵	tʃ ^h ua ¹	tʃua ⁶	tʃua ⁶	tʃua ⁶	ntʃua ¹
MONG NTSUA	tʃau ^{4\6}	tʃau ^{4\6}	ntʃau ⁸	tʃɔŋ ³	tʃɔŋ ^{4\6}	—	tʃua ⁵	tʃ ^h ue ¹	tʃ ^h an ^{4\6}	tʃ ^h an ^{4\6}	tʃue ^{4\6}	ntʃue ¹
HMONG DAW	tʃau ⁶	tʃau ⁶	ntʃau ⁸	tʃɔŋ ³	tʃɔŋ ^{4\7}	ntʃɔŋ ^{4\7}	tʃua ⁵	tʃ ^h ue ¹	tʃua ⁶	tʃua ⁶	tʃue ⁶	ntʃue ¹
LUZHAI	—	—	—	—	—	—	tʃvə ⁵	—	—	—	—	ntʃvə ¹
XINGFA	—	dʒy ⁷	ndʒy ⁸	ntʃo ³	—	—	—	tʃ ^h e ^{1\6}	—	—	dʒe ⁷	ntʃe ^{1\6}
DONGDI	p ^h jeu ^{4\6\8}	—	mpjeu ^{4\6\8}	pjɔŋ ^{3\7}	p ^h jon ^{4\6\8}	mp ^h jeu ^{4\6\8}	pja ⁵	p ^h ja ¹	p ^h ja ^{4\6\8}	p ^h ja ^{4\6\8}	pja ^{4\6\8}	mpja ¹
DASHANJIAO	—	—	—	pjɔŋ ³	—	—	—	p ^h ja ¹	pja ⁶	—	—	pja ¹
BABAO	pjou ⁶	—	mpjou ⁸	pjɔŋ ³	pjɔŋ ⁴	mpjəθ ⁴	pja ⁵	p ^h ja ¹	pja ⁶	pja ⁶	pja ⁸	mpja ¹
PINGSHANG	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	p ^h je ¹	mpjp ⁶	—	—	—
ZHIJIN	—	pjɔu ⁶	—	—	pjɔŋ ⁴	—	pja ⁵	p ^h ja ¹	pja ⁶	—	pja ⁸	mpja ¹
QIBAINONG	pjau ⁶	—	—	pjaj ³	—	—	pjai ⁵	p ^h ju ¹	—	pju ⁶	—	mpju ²
YANGHAO	—	—	nɔ ⁶	ts ^h ɔ ³	—	—	tsə ⁵	ts ^h o ¹	—	tso ⁶	—	no ²

	120 ‘(bamboo) shoot’	121 ‘orphan; widow’	122 ‘groan’	123 ‘tail; buttocks’	124 ‘skylark’	125 ‘k.o. herb’	126 ‘Int: get up suddenly’	127 ‘chestnut’	128 ‘five’	129 ‘flee’
PFW	*mbja ^{C2}	*mbja ^{C2}	*mbjan ^{A2}	*mbjan ^{D2} ?T	*pjεŋ ^{B1}	*bjεŋ ^{A2}	*bjεŋ ^{B2}	*mbjen ^{A2}	*pjɪ ^{A1}	*pjɪ ^{B1}
WAH	ndz ^f a ⁶	ndz ^f a ⁶ /ndz ^f a ^{4\7}	ndz ^f aʊ ²	ndz ^f aʊ ^{4\7}	—	b ^f ɣw ²	b ^f ɣw ^{4\7}	—	pɣw ¹	pɣw ³
CAOPU	ndza ^{6\8}	ndz ^f a ^{4\7\5}	ndz ^f aʊ ²	ndz ^f aʊ ^{4\7\5}	pɣw ^{4\7\5}	—	b ^f ɣw ^{4\7\5}	—	pɣw ¹	pɣw ³
WULIPING	—	ntswɛ ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	—	tst ¹	tst ³
YANGLIU	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tswi ¹ [ptsz ₇]	—
FENSHUI	ntʃua ⁶	ntʃua ⁹	—	—	—	—	—	ntʃwen ²	tʃwe ¹ [tʃwei]	tʃwe ³ [tʃwei]
WEIXIN	ntʃua ⁶	ntʃua ⁹	ntʃwaŋ ²	—	—	—	—	ntʃwen ²	tʃwe ¹ [tʃwei]	—
XUYONG	ntʃua ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tʃwei ¹	—
CQDG	ntʃp ⁶	ntʃp ⁶	ntʃaj ²	—	—	tʃen ²	tʃen ⁴	—	tʃi ¹ [tʃi ₂]	tʃi ³ [tʃi ₂]
CQDY	ntʃua ⁶	ntʃua ⁶	ntʃaj ²	ntʃaj ⁶	tʃen ³	tʃen ²	tʃen ⁴	ntʃen ²	tʃi ¹ [tʃi ₂]	tʃi ³ [tʃi ₂]
MONG NTSUA	ntʃue ^{4\6}	ntʃue ^{4\6}	ntʃaj ²	ntʃaj ^{4\6}	—	—	tʃeŋ ^{4\6}	næŋ ²	tʃi ¹	tʃi ³
HMONG DAW	ntʃue ⁶	ntʃue ⁶ /ntʃue ⁸	ntʃa ²	ntʃa ⁶	tʃεŋ ³	tʃεŋ ²	tʃεŋ ^{4\7}	ntʃεŋ ²	tʃi ¹	tʃi ³
LUZHAI	ntʃue ⁶	ntʃue ⁶	—	—	(ntʃεŋ ³)	—	—	—	tʃi ¹ [tʃi ₂]	tʃi ³ [tʃi ₂]
XINGFA	ndʒe ⁴	ndʒe ⁴ /ndʒe ⁷	ndʒau ²	—	—	dʒeŋ ⁴	ndʒeŋ ²	tʃi ^{1\6} [tʃi ₂]	tʃi ³ [tʃi ₂]	—
DONGDI	mp ^h ja ^{4\6\8}	mpja ^{4\6\8}	mpjan ²	mpjan ^{4\6\8}	—	pjen ² [p̩m̩]	p ^h jen ^{4\6\8} [p ^h m̩]	mpjen ² [mb̩m̩]	pi ¹	pi ^{3\7}
DASHANJIAO	pja ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	pjɪ ¹ [p̩z]	—
BABAO	mpja ⁶	mpja ⁸	mpjan ²	mpjan ⁸	—	pjen ² [p̩ŋ]	pjen ⁴ [b ^h ŋ]	mpjen ² [mb̩ŋ]	pjɪ ¹ [p̩z]	pjɪ ³ [p̩z]
PINGSHANG	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ZHIJIN	mpja ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	pjɪ ¹ [p̩z]	pjɪ ³ [p̩z]
QIBAINONG	mpjɔ ⁶	mpjɔ ⁶	mpjəŋ ²	—	—	—	—	mpjo ^{2b}	pjo ¹	—
YANGHAO	ne ⁶	ne ⁶	naiŋ ²	—	—	—	tsə ⁴	—	tse ¹	—

	130 ‘strain off (liquid)’	131 ‘thin out’	132 ‘noose trap’	133 ‘puffball fungus’	134 ‘peppery’	135 ‘lungs’	136 ‘twist’	137 ‘nose’	138 ‘sow’	139 ‘house’	140 ‘ear’
PFW	*pjɪ ^{C1}	*p ^h ji ^{A1}	*bjɪ ^{B2}	*mp ^h ji ^{B1}	*mbjɪ ^{D2}	*mpjɪ ^{C1}	*mbjɪ ^{A2}	*mbjɪ ^{C2}	*pje ^{A1}	*pje ^{B1}	*mbje ^{A2}
WAH	pχw ⁵	p ^h χw ¹	b ^f χw ⁶	—	mb ^f χw ⁸	mpy ⁵	mb ^f y ²	mb ^f y ⁶	pɪə ¹	—	mb ^f iə ²
CAOPU	—	p ^h χw ¹	bχw ^{6\8}	—	mb ^f χw ^{6\8}	mpy ^{4\7\5}	mb ^f y ²	mby ^{6\8}	pɪə ¹	pɪə ³	mb ^f iə ²
WULIPING	—	—	—	—	ntsɪ ⁸	—	ntsɪ ²	ntsɪ ⁶	—	tswei ³	ntswəi ²
YANGLIU	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ntsɪ ⁶	—	tswei ³	ntswəi ²
FENSHUI	—	—	tʃwe ⁴ [dʒ ^f wei]	—	ntʃwe ⁹ [ndʒ ^f wei]	ntʃɪ ⁷	ntʃɪ ²	ntʃɪ ⁶ /ntʃɪ ⁹	tʃwe ¹ [tʃwei]	tʃwe ³ [tʃwei]	—
WEIXIN	—	—	tʃwe ⁴ [dʒ ^f wei]	—	ntʃwe ⁹ [ndʒ ^f wei]	ntʃɪ ⁷	ntʃɪ ²	ntʃɪ ⁶	tʃe ¹	tʃe ³	ntʃe ²
XUYONG	—	—	tʃwei ⁴	—	—	ntʃɪ ⁷	—	—	—	tʃer ³	ntʃer ²
CQDG	—	tʃ ^h i ¹ [tʃ ^h ʒ]	tʃi ⁴ [dʒ ^h ʒ]	—	ntʃi ⁸ [ndʒʒ]	ntʃɪ ⁷	ntʃɪ ²	ntʃɪ ⁶	tʃe ¹	tʃe ³	ntʃe ²
CQDY	tʃi ⁵ [tʃʒ]	tʃ ^h i ¹ [tʃ ^h ʒ]	tʃi ⁴ [dʒ ^h ʒ]	ntʃ ^h i ³ [ntʃ ^h ʒ]	ntʃi ⁸ [ndʒʒ]	ntʃɪ ⁷	ntʃɪ ²	ntʃɪ ⁶	tʃer ¹	tʃer ³	ntʃer ²
MONG NTSUA	—	tʃ ^h i ¹	tʃi ^{4\6}	—	ntʃi ⁸	ntʃɪ ⁷	ntʃɪ ²	ntʃɪ ^{4\6}	tʃe ¹	tʃe ³	ntʃe ² /ntʃe ⁶
HMONG DAW	tʃi ⁵	tʃ ^h i ¹	tʃi ⁶	ntʃ ^h i ³	ntʃi ⁸	ntʃɪ ⁷	ntʃɪ ²	ntʃɪ ⁶ /ntʃɪ ⁸	tʃer ¹	tʃer ³	ntʃer ² /ntʃer ⁶
LUZHAI	—	—	tʃi ⁴ [dʒ ^h ʒ]	—	ntʃi ⁸ [ndʒʒ]	—	—	ntʃɪ ⁶	—	tʃe ³	ntʃe ² /ntʃe ⁶
XINGFA	—	—	dʒi ⁴ [dʒʒ]	—	ndʒi ⁸ [ndʒʒ]	ntʃø ⁷	ndʒø ²	ndʒø ^{1\6}	tʃer ^{1\6}	tʃer ³	ndʒer ²
DONGDI	pi ⁵	—	—	mp ^h i ⁵	mpi ^{4\6\8}	mpy ⁵	mpy ²	mpy ^{4\6\8}	pje ¹	pje ^{3\7}	mpje ²
DASHANJIAO	—	—	—	—	pjɪ ⁸ [b ^h ʒ]	pjy ⁵	—	pjy ⁶	—	pe ³	pje ²
BABAO	pjɪ ⁵ [pʒ]	—	pjɪ ⁴ [b ^h ʒ]	—	mpjɪ ⁸ [mbʒ]	mpu ⁵	mpu ²	mpu ⁶	pje ¹	pje ³	mpje ²
PINGSHANG	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	mpje ¹	—	—
ZHIJIN	—	—	—	—	—	—	mpu ²	mpju ⁶	pje ¹	pje ³ ~ pe ³	mpje ²
QIBAINONG	pjai ⁵	—	pjai ^{4b}	—	mpjø ⁸	mpjau ⁶ [chest]	mpjau ²	mpjau ⁶	—	pje ³	mpje ^{2b}
YANGHAO	tsɛ ⁵	ts ^h e ¹	—	—	ne ⁸	ne ⁵ [spleen]/ ne ⁶ [lungs]	ne ²	ne ⁶	—	tse ³	ne ²

	141 ‘fish’	142 ‘soul’	143 ‘rice plant’	144 ‘worn; wilt’	145 ‘four’	146 ‘sticky’	147 ‘dust’	148 ‘leaf’	149 ‘shed skin’	150 ‘sting; stinger’	151 ‘crack (in wall)’	152 ‘Blua clan’	153 ‘puckery’
PFW	*mbje ^{B2}	*bli ^{A2}	*mble ^{A2}	*mplɔ̄ ^{C1}	*plou ^{A1}	*mbloŋ ^{D2}	*plaj ^{B1}	*mbloŋ ^{A2}	*p ^h l i ^{D1}	*ple ^{C1}	*ple ^{A1}	*pla ^{C1}	*pla ^{D1}
WAH	mb ^f iə ^{4\7}	d ^f li ¹	nd ^f li ²	ntlo ⁵	tlaʊ ¹	nd ^f laʊ ⁸	tlaʊ ^{4\7}	nd ^f laʊ ²	t ^h l i ^{4\7}	tli ⁵	tli ¹	tla ⁵	tla ⁵
CAOPU	mb ^f iə ^{4\7\5}	dli ¹	nd ^f li ²	ntlo ^{4\7\5}	tlaʊ ¹	nd ^f laʊ ^{6\8}	tlaʊ ⁵	nd ^f laʊ ²	t ^h l i ^{4\7\5}	tli ^{4\7\5}	tli ¹	tla ^{4\7\5}	—
WULIPING	ntswei ⁴	—	ntwei ²	—	twu ¹	—	—	ntwu ²	—	—	—	—	—
YANGLIU	ntswei ⁴	—	mpler ²	—	plu ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FENSHUI	ntʃwe ⁴ [ndʒ ^f wei]	ple ⁶	mple ²	—	pləθ ¹	mpləθ ⁸	—	mplonj ²	p ^h le ⁷	ple ⁵	ple ¹	—	—
WEIXIN	ntʃe ⁴	ple ⁶	mple ²	—	pleu ¹	mpleu ⁸	—	mplonj ²	—	—	—	—	—
XUYONG	ntʃer ²	pler ⁶	mpler ²	—	plau ¹	mplau ⁹	—	mplonj ²	p ^h lei ⁷	—	—	—	—
CQDG	ntʃe ⁴	pli ⁶ [b ^f]	mple ²	—	pleu ¹	mpləu ⁸	plaj ³	mplonj ²	—	ple ⁵	ple ⁵	plu ⁵	—
CQDY	ntʃer ⁴	pli ⁶	mpler ²	mpləu ⁵	plou ¹	mplou ⁸	plaj ³	mplonj ²	p ^h li ⁷	pler ³ /pler ⁵	pler ¹	plua ⁵	plua ⁷
MONG NTSUA	ntʃe ^{4\6}	pli ^{4\6}	mple ²	—	plau ¹	mplau ⁸	plaj ³	mplonj ²	p ^h li ⁷	ple ³ /ple ³	ple ¹	plue ⁷	—
HMONG DAW	ntʃer ^{4\7}	pli ⁶	mpler ²	mplɔ̄ ⁵	plau ¹	mplau ⁸	pla ³	mplonj ²	p ^h li ^{4\7}	pler ³ /pler ⁵	pler ¹	plue ⁵	plue ^{4\7}
LUZHAI	ntʃe ⁴	pli ⁶ [b ^f]	mple ²	mpləu ⁵	pləu ¹	—	—	mplonj ²	—	ple ⁵	ple ¹	—	—
XINGFA	ndʒer ⁴	b ^f li ⁴ [b ^f]	mbler ²	mplau ⁵	p ^h y ^{1\6} ~plau ^{1\6}	mbly ⁸	—	mb ^h lau ²	p ^h l i ⁷ [p ^h]	—	—	—	—
DONGDI	mp ^h je ^{4\6\8}	p ^h le ^{4\6\8}	mple ²	—	plou ¹	mplou ^{4\6\8}	—	mplonj ²	p ^h le ^{3\7}	ple ⁵	—	—	—
DASHANJIAO	pje ⁴	pler ⁶	ple ²	—	pleu ¹	pleu ⁸	—	plonj ²	—	—	—	—	—
BABAO	mpje ⁴	pli ⁶	mple ²	—	plou ¹	—	—	mplonj ²	—	—	pli ¹	—	—
PINGSHANG	—	—	—	—	pjəu ¹	—	—	mpjɔ̄j ²	—	—	—	—	—
ZHIJIN	mpje ⁴	pjer ⁶	mpje ²	—	pjəu ¹	mpjɔ̄u ⁸	—	mpjɔ̄j ²	—	—	—	—	—
QIBAINONG	mpje ⁴	tlo ^{2b}	ntle ²	—	tla ¹	ntlu ⁸	—	ntlanj ^{2b}	(t ^h lo ⁷)	tle ³	—	—	tli ⁷
YANGHAO	ne ⁴	tju ²	na ²	—	tɔ̄ ¹	na ⁸	—	na ²	(t ^h u ⁷)	tji ³	—	—	—

	154 'Int: suddenly'	155 'Clf: meals'	156 'come apart'	157	158	159	160 'Int: floating'	161	162	163	164 'finger'	165	166
PFW	*p ^h la ^{B1}	*b ^h la ^{B2}	*b ^h la ^{D2}	*mpla ^{C1}	*mb ^h la ^{C2}	*mp ^h la ^{C1}	*mb ^h lo ^{B2}	*b ^h lo ^{A2}	*p ^h lu ^{C1}	*p ^h l ^h u ^{C1}	*mp ^h lar ^{A1}	*pl ^h e ^{B1}	*p ^h l ^h e ^{B1}
WAH	t ^h la ³	d ^h la ^{4\7}	d ^h la ⁸	ntla ⁵	nd ^h la ^{4\7\5}	nt ^h lo ⁵	nd ^h lo ^{4\7\5}	d ^h lo ²	t ^h lu ⁵	t ^h ly ⁵	nt ^h lær ¹	tlœy ³	t ^h lœy ³
CAOPU	t ^h la ³	d ^h la ^{4\7\5}	d ^h la ^{6\8}	ntla ^{4\7\5}	nd ^h la ^{4\7\5}	nt ^h lo ^{4\7\5}	—	d ^h lo ²	t ^h lu ^{4\7\5}	t ^h ly ^{4\7\5}	—	tlœy ³	—
WULIPING	—	—	—	ntwe ^{5\7}	ntwe ⁶	—	—	twu ²	—	t ^h wu ^{5\7} ?R	—	twœ ³	—
YANGLIU	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FENSHUI	—	plua ⁴	—	mplua ⁵	—	—	—	plo ²	p ^h lo ⁵	—	—	—	—
WEIXIN	—	pla ⁴	—	mpla ⁹	—	—	—	p ^h lo ⁵	p ^h lu ⁵	mp ^h lar ¹	plar ³	—	—
XUYONG	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	plo ²	p ^h lau ⁵	—	mp ^h lar ¹	pleu ³	—
CQDG	p ^h lp ³	plo ⁴	plo ⁸	mplp ⁵	mplp ⁶	—	mplau ⁶	plo ²	p ^h lo ⁵	p ^h lt ⁵	mp ^h lar ¹	pleu ³	p ^h leu ³
CQDY	p ^h lua ³	plua ⁴	plua ⁸	mplua ⁵	mplua ⁶	mp ^h lau ⁵	mplau ⁶	plu ²	p ^h lu ⁵	p ^h lt ⁵	mp ^h læe ¹	plœ ³	p ^h lœ ³
MONG NTSUA	p ^h lue ³	plue ^{4\6}	plue ⁸	mplue ⁵	mplue ^{4\6}	—	—	plu ²	p ^h lu ⁵	p ^h lt ⁵	mp ^h lar ¹	plau ³	p ^h lat ³
HMONG DAW	p ^h lue ³	plue ^{4\7}	plue ⁸	mplue ⁵	mplue ⁶	mp ^h lo ⁵	mplo ^{4\7}	plo ²	p ^h lu ⁵	p ^h li ⁵ ~p ^h li ^{4\7}	mp ^h lar ¹	plœi ³	p ^h lœi ³ /p ^h lœi ⁵
LUZHAI	p ^h lœ ³	—	p ^h lœ ⁸	—	—	—	—	—	p ^h lo ⁵	—	mp ^h lær ¹	—	—
XINGFA	p ^h lœ ³	b ^h la ^{1\6}	—	mpl ^h e ⁵	mb ^h la ⁷	—	—	b ^h œw ²	p ^h lœw ⁵	p ^h l ^h e ⁵ [p ^h lœ] ?R	mp ^h lœi ^{1\6}	p ^h œur ³	—
DONGDI	—	—	pla ^{4\6\8}	—	—	—	—	—	p ^h lo ⁵	p ^h lu ⁵	mp ^h lar ¹	pleu ^{3\7}	—
DASHANJIAO	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	p ^h lo ⁵	—	p ^h lar ¹	pluar ³	—
BABAO	p ^h la ³	—	—	mpla ⁵	—	—	—	—	p ^h lu ⁵	—	—	plœ ³	—
PINGSHANG	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	pjaʊ ²	p ^h jo ⁵	—	mp ^h jar ¹	—	—
ZHIJIN	p ^h ja ³	—	—	mpja ⁵	—	mp ^h jau ⁵	—	—	p ^h jo ⁵	—	mp ^h jer ¹	—	—
QIBAINONG	—	—	(tlo ⁸)	—	—	—	—	—	t ^h lai ⁵	—	—	—	—
YANGHAO	—	—	(tji ⁸)	—	—	—	—	—	ɸ ^h ɛ ⁵	ɸ ^h jen ¹	tju ³	—	—

	167 ‘Int: fast motion’	168 ‘whip’	169 ‘hair’	170 ‘shell’	171 ‘spread on’	172 ‘stomach’	173 ‘Int: shiny’	174 ‘to comfort’	175 ‘wildcat’	176 ‘flat (of object)’	177 ‘forehead’	178 ‘slippery’
PFW	*b ət ^{B2}	*mb ət ^{D2}	*plou ^{A1}	*ph ou ^{A1}	*plej ^{B1}	*palŋ ^{A1}	*mb alŋ ^{B2}	*mbLi ^{B2}	*pLi ^{D1}	*pLε ^{A1}	*bLε ^{A2}	*mbLε ^{C2}
WAH	d̪f̪lœy ^{4\7}	nd̪f̪lœy ⁸	t̪lau ¹	t̪h̪lau ^{1\~}	t̪l̪w ³	t̪lau ¹	nd̪f̪law ^{4\7}	nd̪f̪li ^{4\7\~}	tli ^{4\7\~}	—	—	nd̪f̪lie ^{6\~}
CAOPU	—	nd̪f̪lœy ^{6\8}	tlaʊ ¹	t̪h̪lau ¹	t̪l̪w ³	tlaʊ ¹	—	nd̪f̪li ^{4\7\5}	tli ^{4\7\5}	—	—	ndli ^{6\8}
WULIPING	t̪wət̪ ⁶	—	t̪wu ¹	—	—	t̪w̪a ¹	—	—	t̪w̪ ^{5\7}	—	—	—
YANGLIU	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FENSHUI	—	mplær ⁸	plet̪ ¹	—	—	plan ¹	—	mpla ⁴	ple ⁷	—	—	—
WEIXIN	plar ⁴	mplar ⁸	pleu ¹	p̪leu ¹	—	plan ¹	—	—	ple ⁷	—	pla ²	mpla ⁶
XUYONG	—	—	plau ¹	p̪lau ¹	—	plan ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—
CQDG	pleu ⁴	mplesu ⁸	pləu ¹	p̪ləu ¹	plen ³	plan ¹	mplan ⁴	mpli ⁴ [mbf̪l̪]	pli ⁷ [pl̪]	ple ¹	ple ²	mples ⁶
CQDY	plət̪ ⁴	mplət̪ ⁸	plou ¹	p̪lou ¹	plen ³	plan ¹	mplan ⁴	mpli ⁴	pli ⁷	pla ¹	pla ²	mpla ⁶
MONG NTSUA	plat̪ ^{4\6}	mplat̪ ⁸	plau ¹	p̪lau ¹	plej ³	plan ¹	mplan ^{4\6}	mpli ^{4\6}	pli ⁷	pla ¹	pla ²	mpla ^{4\6}
HMONG DAW	plaʃ ^{4\7}	mpləʃ ⁸	plau ¹	p̪lau ¹²	plej ³	pla ¹	mpla ^{4\7}	mpli ²	pli ^{4\7}	plie ¹	plie ²	mplie ⁶
LUZHAI	—	mpłæi ⁹	płeū ¹	p̪łeū ¹	—	płaj ¹	—	—	płi ⁷ [pł̪]	—	pła ²	mpła ⁶
XINGFA	błeu ⁴	mbłeu ⁸	płv ^{1\6}	—	płer ³	płau ^{1\6}	—	—	płi ⁷ [pł̪]	płe ^{1\6}	błe ²	mbłe ^{1\6}
DONGDI	—	mpleu ^{4\6\8}	plou ¹	p̪lou ¹	—	plan ¹	—	—	ple ^{3\7}	—	plar ²	mpʰlar ^{4\6\8}
DASHANJIAO	—	pluar ⁸	pleu ¹	p̪leu ¹	—	plan ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—
BABAO	—	—	plou ¹	—	—	plan ¹	mplan ⁴	—	pli ⁷	—	plar ²	mplar ⁶
PINGSHANG	—	—	—	p̪jœu ¹	—	p̪jan ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—
ZHIJIN	p̪jœu ⁴	mp̪jœu ⁸	p̪jœu ¹	—	p̪jen ³	p̪jan ¹	mp̪jan ⁴	—	—	p̪jar ²	mp̪jar ⁶	—
QIBAINONG	—	—	tla ¹	—	—	tləŋ ¹	—	—	—	—	—	ntləŋ ⁶
YANGHAO	—	—	tju ¹	—	—	—	—	—	t̪jan ⁷	(t̪je ¹)	(t̪an ²)	—

	179 ‘leech; slug’	180 ‘scale; petal’	181 ‘tongue’	182 ‘owl’	183 ‘main room’	184 ‘Clf: fields’	185 ‘door’	186 ‘oil’	187 ‘trough’	188 ‘jump; run’	189 ‘spirit’	190 ‘river; water’
PFW	*mbLa ^{B2}	*mpLai ^{C1}	*mbLai ^{D2}	*pLai ^{D1}	*bLai ^{A2}	*bLai ^{B2}	*griŋ ^{A2}	*grɔ ^{A2}	*klaŋ ^{A1}	*kʰlɛ ^{C1}	*klaj ^{A1}	*gle ^{A2}
WAH	nd ^f la ^{4\7~}	—	nd ^f læi ^{4\7~}	—	—	—	d ^f lau ²	d ^f lo ²	tlaɯ ¹	t ^h lie ^{5\4\7~}	tlaɯ ¹	d ^f li ²
CAOPU	nd ^f la ^{4\7\5}	—	nd ^f læi ^{4\7\5}	—	dlaɯ ¹	—	d ^f lau ²	d ^f lo ²	tlaɯ ¹	t ^h lie ^{4\7\5}	tlaɯ ¹	d ^f li ²
WULIPING	—	—	—	—	—	—	tɔŋ ^{2~tɔ} ²	tɔu ²	n̥t̥a ¹	—	nt̥a ¹	nts ² [nts ²]
YANGLIU	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsoŋ ²	tseu ²	—	—	?daŋ ¹	?de ²
FENSHUI	—	—	mplær ⁹	—	—	plaj ⁴	tɔŋ ²	tɔu ²	tlaŋ ¹	t ^h la ⁵	tlaŋ ¹	tle ²
WEIXIN	—	—	mplar ⁹	—	—	—	tɔŋ ²	tɔu ²	klaj ¹	—	klaj ¹	kle ²
XUYONG	—	—	mplar ⁷	—	—	—	tɔŋ ²	—	—	k ^h la ⁵	klaj ³	klei ²
CQDG	—	mplar ⁷	mplar ⁸ /mplar ⁶	plaj ⁷	plaj ⁶	plaj ⁴	tɔŋ ²	tɔu ²	klaj ¹	k ^h le ⁵	klaj ¹	kle ²
CQDY	mplua ⁴	mplæe ⁵ /mplæe ⁷	mplæe ⁸ /mplæe ⁶	plaj ⁷	plaj ⁶	plaj ⁴	tɔŋ ²	təu ²	tlaŋ ¹	t ^h la ⁵	tlaŋ ¹	tler ²
MONG NTSUA	mplue ²	mplar ⁵ /mplar ⁷	mplar ⁸ /mplar ^{4\6}	plaj ⁷	plaj ^{4\6}	plaj ^{4\6}	tɔŋ ²	tɔ ²	klaj ¹	k ^h la ⁵	klaj ¹	kle ²
HMONG DAW	mplue ^{4\7}	mplar ⁵ /mplar ^{4\7}	mplar ⁸ /mplar ⁶	pla ^{4\7}	pla ² /pla ⁶	pla ^{4\7}	tɔŋ ²	tɔ ²	?da ¹	?d ^h ie ⁵	?da ¹	?de ²
LUZHAI	—	—	mplær ⁹	p̥laŋ ⁷	p̥laŋ ⁶	p̥laŋ ⁴	tɔŋ ²	təu ²	n̥t̥əŋ ¹	n̥t̥h̥a ⁵	nt̥əŋ ¹	nti ²
XINGFA	—	mp̥ler ⁵	mb̥ler ⁸	—	—	—	qo ²	qo ²	lau ^{1\6}	n̥t̥h̥e ⁵	lau ^{1\6}	li ²
DONGDI	—	mplar ^{3\7}	mplar ^{4\6\8}	—	—	p ^h laŋ ^{4\6\8}	tɔŋ ²	tɔu ²	tlaŋ ¹	t ^h lar ⁵	tlaŋ ¹	tle ²
DASHANJIAO	—	—	plar ⁸	—	—	—	tsoŋ ²	tsau ²	—	t ^h lar ⁵	tlaŋ ¹	tle ²
BABAO	—	—	mpler ⁸	—	—	—	tʃoŋ ²	tʃau ²	?daŋ ¹	?d ^h ar ⁵	?daŋ ¹	?de ²
PINGSHANG	—	—	—	—	—	—	tau ²	—	t ^h lar ⁵	—	—	tle ²
ZHIJIN	—	mpjer ⁵ /mpjer ⁷	mpje ⁸	—	—	—	tsoŋ ²	—	—	nt̥h̥ar ⁵	ntaŋ ¹	nte ²
QIBAINONG	ntli ⁴	ntlinj ⁵	ntla ⁸	—	—	—	taj ²	—	tlaŋ ^{1b}	—	tlaŋ ¹	—
YANGHAO	n̥en ⁴	—	n̥i ⁸	t̥jon ⁵	t̥aj ²	t̥aj ⁴	tju ²	tjaŋ ²	t̥jon ¹	—	t̥jaŋ ¹	(t̥e ² [leak])

Table 5. Partial merger of Proto-Far-Western-Hmongic *p- and *pj- in the Han Miao dialects

	PFW JIAO	DASHAN	DONGDI	HEIYU	ZHIJIN	BABAO	ZHU CANG
191 ‘sleep’	*pt ^{C1}	py ⁵	pu ⁵	—	pu ⁵	p ^h a ⁵	—
192 ‘split’	*p ^h a ^{C1}	p ^h a ⁵	p ^h a ⁵	—	p ^h a ⁵	p ^h a ⁵	—
193 ‘embrace’	*ba ^{C2}	—	p ^h a ^{4\6\8}	pa ⁶	pa ⁶	—	pa ⁶
194 ‘burn’	*p ^h e ^{B1}	p ^h ji ³ [p ^h ɿ]	p ^h je ^{3\7}	p ^h je ^{3\7}	p ^h e ³	—	p ^h ie ³
195 ‘Pn: 1p’	*pe ^{A1}	pe ¹	pe ¹	—	pe ¹	pe ¹	—
196 ‘up there’	*be ^{B2}	—	p ^h e ^{4\6\8}	—	pe ⁴	pe ⁸	—
197 ‘mountain’	*be ^{B2}	pe ⁴	—	—	pje ⁴	pje ⁴	—
198 ‘three’	*pe ^{A1}	pe ¹	pe ¹	pe ¹ [pε]	pje ¹	pje ¹	pie ¹
199 ‘name’	*mpe ^{C1}	pe ⁵	mpe ⁵	mpe ⁵ [mbε]	mpje ⁵	mpje ⁵	mie ⁵
200 ‘ear’	*mbje ^{A2}	pje ²	mpje ²	mpje ²	mpje ²	mpje ²	mpie ²
201 ‘fish’	*mbje ^{B2}	pje ⁴	mp ^h je ^{4\6\8}	—	mpje ⁴	mpje ⁴	—
202 ‘house’	*pje ^{B1}	pe ³	pje ^{3\7}	pje ^{3\7}	pje ³ ~ pe ³	pje ³	pie ³
203 ‘twist’	*mbju ^{A2}	—	mpy ²	—	mpu ²	mp ^h u ²	—
204 ‘lung’	*mpju ^{C1}	pjy ⁵	mpy ⁵	—	—	mp ^h u ⁵	—
205 ‘nose’	*mbju ^{C2}	pjy ⁶	mp ^h y ^{4\6\8}	—	mpju ⁶	mp ^h u ⁶	—
206 ‘five’	*pji ^{A1}	pji ¹ [pz]	pi ¹	pji ¹	pji ¹ [pz]	pji ¹ [pɿ]	pji ¹
207 ‘flee’	*pji ^{B1}	—	pi ^{3\7}	—	pji ³ [pz]	pji ³ [pɿ]	—
208 ‘blow’	*p ^h ja ^{A1}	p ^h ja ¹	p ^h ja ¹	p ^h ja ¹	p ^h ja ¹	p ^h ja ¹	p ^h ja ¹
209 ‘play (flute)’	*p ^h jo ^{B1}	p ^h jau ³	p ^h jau ^{3\7}	—	—	p ^h jau ³	p ^h jau ³

Table 6. Correspondences to the Proto-Far-Western-Hmongic labial stop+sonorant clusters in the rest of Hmongic (in 2 parts)

	PHm	WENJIE NONG	YAOLI	QIBAI NONG	JIWEI HAO	YANG XIANG	FENG XIANG	GAOPO ZHEN	QING YAN	TIESHI	FUYUAN	GE ZHENG	ZONGDI	PFW
210 'pus'	*bou ^C	p ^h i ⁶	pia ⁶	pa ⁶	po ⁶	pu ⁶	pou ⁶	po ⁶	—	pu ^{6a}	pau ^{4\6}	vu ^B	—	p ^h o ⁶
211 'sleep'	*pu ^C	p ^h y ⁵	paø ⁵	pau ⁵	pø ⁵	pi ⁵	pu ⁵	pur ^{5\7}	—	pu ^{5\7}	—	pu ^C	pi ^{5\7}	pu ⁵
212 'full'	*pon ^B	pð ³	—	punj ³	pe ³	pe ³	pu ^{3\7}	pð ³	peu ³	ponj ³	—	paj ^B	pi ³	punj ³
213 'see'	*bo ^D	p ^h a ⁸	puc ⁸	pɔ ⁸	—	ponj ⁸	pau ^{4\8}	pø ^{2\8}	pao ^{2\8}	pau ^{2\8}	—	mpu ^{A\D}	pau ⁸	po ⁸
214 'pig'	*mpa ^C	mpe ⁵	mpai ⁵	mpai ⁵	mpa ⁵	pe ⁵	mpa ⁵	mpa ^{5\7}	mpo ^{5\7}	mpo ^{5\7}	mpi ^{5\7}	m?pei ^C	mpo ^{5\7}	mpe ⁵
215 'split'	*p ^h au ^C	p ^h a ⁵	p ^h uo ³	p ^h ɔ ³	p ^h a ⁵	p ^h e ⁵	p ^h a ⁵	p ^h u ^{5\7}	—	p ^h o ^{5\7}	p ^h u ^{5\7}	p ^h a ^C	—	p ^h e ⁵
216 'Pn: 1p'	*pæ ^A	pø ¹	pei ¹	pe ¹	pui ¹	pi ¹	pi ¹	pæ ¹	pa ¹	pa ¹	tsi ¹	pei ^{A\D}	—	pæ ¹
217 'three'	*pæ ^A	p ^h y ¹	pei ¹	pe ¹	pu ¹	pi ¹	tsi ¹	pæ ¹	pa ¹	pa ¹	tsi ¹	pzi ^{A\D}	pa ¹	pæ ¹
218 'burn'	*p ^h æ ^B	p ^h o ³	p ^h ei ³	p ^h e ³	—	p ^h i ³	ts ^h ei ^{3\7}	p ^h æ ³	p ^h a ³	p ^h a ³	—	—	p ^h a ³	*p ^h e ^{B1}
219 'name'	*mpæ ^C	mpo ⁵	mpei ⁵	mpe ⁵	mpu ⁵	pi ⁵	mpi ⁵	mpæ ^{5\7}	(m)pa ⁴	mpa ^{5\7}	—	m?pei ^C	mpa ^{5\7}	mpæ ⁵
220 'spill; fall'	*ben ^A	—	—	po ²	pe ²	pe ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
221 'plait'	*mbin ^B	—	mpei ⁴	mpinj ⁴	(mp ^h e ¹)	mi ⁴	mpen ^{4\8}	mpε ⁴	—	mpjen ⁴	mpa ^{4\6}	mpen ^B	—	mp ^h jæ̯ ⁴
222 'plank'	*bin ^C	—	—	pɪŋ ⁶	—	pi ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
223 'gizzard'	*pin ^B	—	pø ³	—	—	pi ³	ponj ^{3\7}	pe ³	—	pjen ³	—	pu ^B	—	pjæ̯ ⁵
224 'daughter'	*mp ^h ei ^D	p ^h e ⁷	mp ^h ia ⁷	mp ^h a ⁷	mp ^h a ⁷	p ^h i ⁷	mp ^h ɛ ^{3\7}	mp ^h e ^{5\7}	—	mp ^h jai ^{5\7}	mp ^h a ^{5\7}	m?p ^h je ^{A\D}	mp ^h jai ^{5\7}	mp ^h je ⁷
225 'twin'	*mpei ^A	—	—	mpa ¹	—	pi ¹	mpε ¹	mpε ¹	—	mpjai ¹	mpa ¹	m?ple ^{A\D}	—	mpje ¹
226 'Clf: sides'	*p ^h ei ^C	—	—	p ^h a ⁵	—	p ^h i ⁵	p ^h ɛ ⁵	p ^h e ⁵	p ^h lai ^{5\7}	p ^h jai ⁵	p ^h a ^{5\7}	p ^h je ^C	—	p ^h je ⁷
227 'to patch'	*mpa ^B	mpa ³	—	mpo ³	mpa ³	pe ³	mpa ^{3\7}	mpo ³	—	mpji ³	mpu ³	m?pa ^B	—	mpi ³
228 'male'	*pa ^B	pa ⁷	pou ³	po ³	pa ³	pe ³	pa ^{3\7}	po ³	plei ³	pje ³	—	pa ^B	—	pi ³
229 'split'	*p ^h e ^A	—	p ^h ai ¹	p ^h ai ¹	p ^h a ¹	p ^h e ¹	ts ^h i ¹	p ^h i ¹	—	—	—	—	—	*ts ^h i ^{A1}
230 'fruit'	*pi ^B	pe ³	ptsi ³	pi ³	pi ³	tsen ³	tsi ^{3\7}	pi ³	—	pji ³	tsa ³	pze ^B	pi ³	pei ³
														*tsi ^{B1}

	PHm	WENJIE NONG	YAOLI	QIBAI NONG	JIWEI HAO	YANG XIAO	FENG XIANG	GAOPO	QING ZHEN	QING YAN	TIESHI	FUYUAN	GE ZHENG	ZONGDI	PFW	
231 ‘winnow’	*p̥n̥r̥ ^B	—	ptsɔ̥ ³	p̥jaŋ ³	p̥n̥r̥ ^{3\7}	(tsʰə ³)	tsoŋ ³	plo ³	—	pjen ³	pju ³	p̥jɔŋ ^B	—	pʰz̥aiŋ ³	*pjɔŋ ^{B1}	
232 ‘dark’	*p̥r̥ ^D	—	ptsau ⁷	p̥ju ⁷	p̥ru ^{3\7}	tsə ⁷	tsou ⁷	plə ⁷	plu ⁴	pju ^{5\7}	pju ^{5\7}	p̥jo ^{A\D}	—	pz̥u ⁷	*pjou ^{D1}	
233 ‘nose’	*mb̥ru ^C	mp̥jɔ ⁶	mptse ⁶	mp̥jaŋ ⁶	mr̥a ⁶	ne ⁶	ntsi ⁶	mplu ⁶	mplu ⁶	mp̥jou ⁶	mp̥jo ^{2\8}	mp̥ju ^C	—	mpʰz̥u ⁶	*mb̥ja ^{C2}	
234 ‘a shoot’	*mb̥rau ^C	mp̥fɪ ⁶	mptseŋ ⁶	mp̥jo ⁶	mr̥a ⁶	ne ⁶	ntsa ⁶	mplu ⁶	—	mp̥jo ⁶	—	mp̥ja ^C	—	mpʰz̥e ⁶	*mb̥ja ^{C2}	
235 ‘orphan’	*mb̥rau ^C	—	mptseŋ ⁶	mp̥jo ⁶	mr̥a ⁶	ne ⁶	ntsa ⁶	mplu ⁶	—	mp̥jo ⁶	mp̥jo ^{4\6}	mp̥ja ^C	—	mpʰz̥e ⁶	*mb̥ja ^{C2}	
236 ‘green’	*mp̥n̥r̥ ^A	mp̥jo ¹	mptsaŋ ²	mp̥ju ²	mr̥o ¹	no ²	ntsa ¹	mplu ¹	plo ^{2\8}	mp̥jo ¹	mp̥ju ¹	m̥p̥ja ^{A\D}	mp̥ro ^{1b}	mpz̥e ¹	*mp̥ja ^{A1}	
237 ‘blow’	*pʰr̥ ^B	pʰj̥ɔ ¹	—	pʰju ¹	pʰr̥ ¹	tsʰo ¹	tsʰa ¹	pʰlu ¹	pʰlo ^{2\8}	pʰj̥o ¹	pʰju ¹	pʰja ^{A\D}	pʰr̥ ^{1b}	pʰz̥a ¹	*pʰja ^{A1}	
238 ‘ear’	*mb̥ræ ^A	mp̥fɪ ²	mptse ²	mp̥je ^{2b}	mr̥ar̥ ²	ne ²	ntsei ²	mplæ ²	—	mp̥æ ^{2\8}	m̥pei ^{2\8}	mp̥ji ^{A\D}	mp̥ra ²	mpz̥æ ²	*mb̥je ^{A2}	
239 ‘fish’	*mb̥ræ ^B	mp̥jo ⁴	mptsi ⁴	mp̥je ⁴	mr̥ar̥ ^{4\8}	ne ⁴	ntsei ⁴	mplæ ⁴	—	mp̥æ ⁴	m̥pei ^{2\8}	mp̥ji ^B	mp̥ra ⁴	mpʰz̥e ⁴	*mb̥je ^{B2}	
240 ‘house’	*p̥ræ ^B	p̥jɔ ³	ptse ³	p̥je ³	p̥r̥ ^{3\7}	tse ³	tsei ³	pla ³	pla ³	pæ ³	pei ^{5\7}	pei ^B	ar̥ ³	pz̥æ ³	*p̥je ^{B1}	
241 ‘peppery’	*mb̥r̥ ^D	mp̥fɪ ⁸	mptsaŋ ⁸	mp̥jo ⁸	mr̥er̥ ^{4\8}	ne ⁸	ntsa ⁸	mpla ⁸	—	m̥pe ^{2\8}	mp̥ju ^{2\8}	mp̥ja ^{A\D}	—	mpz̥i ⁸	*mb̥ji ^{D2}	
242 ‘five’	*p̥r̥ ^A	p̥jɑ ¹	ptsiu ¹	p̥jɔ ¹	p̥r̥ ¹	tse ¹	tsa ¹	pla ¹	plei ^{2\8}	pe ¹	p̥ju ¹	p̥ja ^{A\D}	p̥r̥i ^{1b}	pz̥i ¹	*p̥ji ^{A1}	
243 ‘leaf’	*mblun ^A	mp̥fɪ ²	ntlɔŋ ²	ntlaŋ ^{2b}	nu ²	ne ²	mplɔŋ ²	mplo ²	p̥leu ^{2\8}	m̥plen ^{2\8}	mplau ^{2\8}	mplɔŋ ^{A\D}	mplati ²	mplan ²	*mblon ^{A2}	
244 ‘rice plant’	*mblæ ^A	mp̥fɪ ²	mjuɔ ²	ntle ²	nui ²	ne ²	—	mplæ ²	mpla ^{2\8}	m̥pla ^{2\8}	—	—	mpla ²	mplæ ²	*mble ^{A2}	
245 ‘four’	*p̥loɪ ^A	pi ¹	tljia ¹	tl̥a ¹	p̥rei ¹	fo ¹	plou ¹	plo ¹	—	plou ¹	pla ¹	plou ^{A\D}	plo ^{1b}	plo ¹	*plou ^{A1}	
246 ‘whip’	*mb̥Leu ^D	—	m̥jia ⁸	—	—	—	—	mplə ⁸	mplao ^{2\8}	—	—	m̥plo ^{A\D}	—	mplə ⁸	*mb̥ləu ^{D2}	
247 ‘tongue’	*mb̥lei ^D	mp̥fɪ ⁸	ntljia ⁸	ntla ⁸	m̥ja ^{4\8}	ni ⁸	m̥ple ⁸	m̥ple ⁸	—	mplai ^{2\8}	mplai ^{2\8}	m̥ple ^{A\D}	mplai ⁸	m̥ple ⁸	*mb̥lai ^{D2}	
248 ‘slippery’	*mb̥lin ^C	mp̥fɪ ⁶	ntlei ⁴	ntlɔŋ ⁶	m̥je ⁶	—	m̥plen ⁶	m̥ple ⁶	—	m̥plen ⁶	—	m̥plen ^C	—	mpʰlær̥ ⁶	*mb̥Le ^{C2}	
249 ‘wildcat’	*p̥l̥ ^D	—	—	—	—	ɿjaŋ ⁷	p̥li ⁷	p̥li ⁷	—	p̥li ^{5\7}	pla ^{5\7}	ple ^C	—	p̥lei ⁵	*p̥Li ^{D1}	
250 ‘soul’	*b̥la ^A	—	—	tlo ^{2b}	p̥jə ²	ɿju ²	pla ²	pla ⁶	—	ple ⁶	plu ^{4\6}	vlo ^{A\D}	ple ^{5\7}	p̥li ⁶	*b̥li ^{A2}	
251 ‘hair’	*p̥loɪ ^A	pi ¹	tljia ¹	tl̥a ¹	p̥ji ¹	ɿju ¹	plou ¹	p̥lo ¹	plu ^{2\8}	plou ¹	plau ¹	plou ^{A\D}	—	p̥lo ¹	*p̥lou ^{A1}	
252 ‘heart’	*p̥leu ^B	—	tlou ³	—	—	ɿju ³	—	pla ³	—	—	—	—	p̥lo ^B	—	p̥lo ³	*p̥ləu ^{B1}