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Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw

Keita KURABE

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to provide a preliminary descriptive account of the phonological properties of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw especially focusing on their segmental phonology. Burmese loan phonology in Jinghpaw is significant in two respects. First, a large portion of Burmese loans, despite the fact that the contact relationship between Burmese and Jinghpaw appears to be of relatively recent origin, retains several phonological properties of Written Burmese that have been lost in the modern language. This fact can be explained in terms of borrowing chains, i.e. Burmese → Shan → Jinghpaw, where Shan, which has had intensive contact with both Burmese and Jinghpaw from the early stages, transferred lexical items of Burmese origin into Jinghpaw. Second, the Jinghpaw lexicon also contains some Burmese loans reflecting the phonology of Modern Burmese. These facts highlight the multistratal nature of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw. A large portion of this paper is devoted to building a lexicon of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw together with loans from other relevant languages whose lexical items entered Jinghpaw through the medium of Burmese.

Key words: Burmese, Jinghpaw, Shan, loanwords, contact linguistics

1 Introduction

Jinghpaw is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language spoken primarily in northern Burma (Myanmar) where, as with other regions of Southeast Asia, intensive contact among speakers

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* I would like to thank Professor Hideo Sawada and Professor Keisuke Huziwara for their careful reading and helpful suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper. Two anonymous reviewers are also acknowledged for their constructive comments. Any errors that remain are, of course, solely my responsibility. My fieldwork on Jinghpaw, Lhaovo, and Lacid was supported by a Grant-in-Aid for JSPS Fellows (Nos. 24-2938 and 26-2254) from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

Abbreviations for languages and language families dealt with in this paper are as follows: Arb. (Arabic); Bur. (Burmese); En. (English); Hin. (Hindi); IA (Indo-Aryan); Jg. (Jinghpaw); La. (Lacid); Lh. (Lhaovo); MB (Modern Burmese); Ng (Ngochang); P. (Pali); Per. (Persian); Por. (Portuguese); Ra. (Rawang); Sh. (Shan); Sk. (Sanskrit); TB (Tibeto-Burman); WB (Written Burmese); Za. (Zaiwa). Abbreviations in glosses are based on Leipzig Glossing Rules. Additional abbreviations are: COUP (couplet) and DECL (declarative).
from diverse linguistic backgrounds has been a long-standing phenomenon. For example, Jinghpaw serves as a lingua franca in northern Burma, spoken among the linguistically diverse Kachin people who form a complex socio-cultural society of shared cultural traits. Simultaneously, Jinghpaw is in contact with other linguistic groups of higher prestige such as Burmese. Building upon a lexicon of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw provided in Appendix A, this paper offers a preliminary descriptive account of the phonological properties of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw, focusing especially on their segmental phonology.\(^1\) Burmese loan phonology in Jinghpaw, which exhibits the characteristics of both old and new strata in Burmese phonology, provides a case study of complicated contact situations in Southeast Asia.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses the stratal nature of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw and its historical background. Section 3, beginning with initial consonants, provides a detailed description of Burmese loan phonology in Jinghpaw. Conclusions and future objectives are presented in Section 4. Appendix A presents Burmese loans in Jinghpaw, including other source languages whose lexical items filtered into Jinghpaw through the medium of Burmese, and Shan that has played an important role in introducing Burmese items into Jinghpaw. A brief sketch of the semantics of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw is provided in Appendix B. In the remainder of this section, I provide a brief literature review and sources of linguistic data presented in this paper.

### 1.1 Previous studies

Few previous studies have addressed the lexical borrowing between Burmese and Jinghpaw. Hanson (1896:87–8) is one of the earliest studies to identify about thirty Burmese loans in Jinghpaw. He highlights the important fact that several Burmese loans in Jinghpaw are also found in Shan, a Tai-Kadai language whose distribution partially overlaps with Jinghpaw making it difficult to determine whether a given word entered Jinghpaw from Burmese or Shan. Hanson (1906), a dictionary of Jinghpaw, is a significant contribution to the Burmese-Jinghpaw contact linguistics in that it identifies a number of Jinghpaw lexical items of Burmese origin with their source words in their orthographic transcription. Maran (1978), an updated dictionary of Hanson (1906), is also an important contribution that presents additional data. Dai and Xu (1995:265–6), based on a Jinghpaw dialect spoken in China, identify about two dozen Jinghpaw words

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\(^1\) Burmese loans in this paper include not only loans of Burmese origin but also loans that entered Jinghpaw through the medium of Burmese (see Section 1.2).
of Burmese origin. They observe that Burmese borrowings in Jinghpaw are culturally motivated, being primarily related to daily commodities or terms associated with politics, economics and culture. This paper is a first step to provide a detailed description of Burmese loan phonology in Jinghpaw.

1.2 Data and transcriptions

The data of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw presented here are collected based on Hanson (1906) and Maran (1978). The author identified corresponding Shan forms using the SEAlang Library Shan Dictionary. This paper also includes loans of Indic and European origin, most of which likely found their way into Jinghpaw through Burmese. This paper treats only established and integrated loans; regarding a given word as a loan only if it is listed in the aforementioned sources. Although spontaneous language mixing between Jinghpaw and Burmese is commonly found in ordinary Jinghpaw speech, this paper does not consider such cases as genuine loans (for more details see Section 2.4).

The data in this paper are primarily secondary data obtained from the following sources: Burmese (Myanmar Language Commission ed. 2009); Hindi (McGregor 1993); Jinghpaw (Maran 1978); Lacid (my field notes); Lhaovo (Sawada 2003, 2004, supplemented by my field notes marked by K); Mon (Jenny 2015); Ngochang (Nasaw Sampu et al. 2005); Pali (Rhys Davids and Stede, eds. 1921-1925); Persian (McGregor 1993); Rawang (LaPolla and Sangdong 2015); Sanskrit (Monier-Williams 1899); Shan (Sao Tern Moeng 1995); and Zaiwa (Lustig 2010). The Jinghpaw data based on Maran (1978) are given with slight modifications according to the phonemic transcription employed by Kurabe (2016). The Shan data based on Sao Tern Moeng (1995), an updated version of Cushing (1881 [1914]), are transcribed according to the system used in the SEAlang Library Shan Dictionary. The transcription of Written Burmese (WB) is based on the system outlined by Duroiselle (1916) and the data for Modern Burmese (MB) are transcribed according to the system illustrated by Kato (2008). For details on the phonological systems of WB, MB, Jinghpaw, and Shan, the four main languages discussed in this paper, readers can refer to Duroiselle (1916), Kato (2008), Kurabe (2016), and Sao Tern Moeng (1995), respectively. The Lhaovo and Lacid data based on my field notes are provided in their orthographic forms (for the phonological systems and/or correspondences between phonological and orthographic transcriptions, see Sawada 2006 and Wannemacher 2011).

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2 http://www.sealang.net/shan/dictionary.htm (accessed December 4, 2016)
2 Stratal nature and historical background of Burmese loans

2.1 Co-existence of Written and Modern Burmese phonologies in Jinghpaw

The phonology of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw, by exhibiting two distinct phonological properties reflecting different historical periods, displays at least two strata of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw. The older loan stratum, whose items predominate over the other, consists of borrowings that display the phonological properties of WB that have been lost in MB. The younger stratum, on the other hand, consists of borrowings that display the phonological properties of MB. To illustrate this, let us compare two Burmese loans in Jinghpaw *ŋarāy ‘hell’ and *me ‘ballot’, where the former reflects the properties of WB (WB *ŋarāi, MB ŋāyr), in contrast to the latter that reflects properties of MB (WB mai, MB mē). The same holds for the contrast between (1a) and (b), where only the former retains the final velar of WB that has been reduced to a glottal stop in MB, and between (1c) and (d), where only the former retains the final bilabial nasal that has been merged into */s/ in the modern language together with other final nasals (for more examples see Section 3).

(1) Examples representing separate loan strata
   a. ‘measles’ Jg. wāksāk (from WB waksak, MB wr?r?)
   b. ‘screw’ Jg. wē?wu (from WB wakū, MB wr??ū)
   c. ‘luck’ Jg. gān (from WB kain, MB kān)
   d. ‘pencil’ Jg. khédan (from WB khaitāin, MB khédān)

2.2 Contact relationship between Jinghpaw and Burmese

Burmese, the national language of Burma, is the medium of education and communication throughout modern Burma. The majority of Jinghpaw speakers today are thus fully bilingual in Burmese from childhood (see also Section 2.4). This situation, however, does not seem to hold a century ago, as can be seen in the following quotation from Tegenfeldt (1974:174) who describes the situation in the early 1900s:

A few Kachin [Jinghpaw] young men who appeared especially promising and who had some knowledge of the Burmese language were sent for training to the Burmese Theological Seminary at Insein, near Rangoon. The first of these seems to have been Zau Mai, son of a chief from the Shan State, who completed his course during the four years 1907-1911.... However, there were not many sent to Insein,
partly because of the Burmese language requirement, and partly because there undoubtedly was some question in the minds of the missionaries about the suitability of the training provided in an urban environment in Lower Burma for service in the Kachin Hills.

It is also of importance to note that the name of Jinghpaw or Kachin does not appear in Old Burmese inscriptions of the Pagan period (Luce 1959), where, along with the name of the extinct Pyu people, the names of other modern major ethnic groups in Burma such as Arakanese, Sgaw, Pwo, Mon, and Shan are already attested. This fact seems to suggest that the Jinghpaw people were, in general, not under the direct control of Pagan kings, and that intensive contact between Burmese and Jinghpaw is of relatively recent origin. The name “Kachin” itself, the Burmese exonym for the Jinghpaw and associated groups in northern Burma, seems to have a relatively short history.

2.3 Borrowing chains
The predominance of Burmese loans reflecting the conservative WB phonology in Jinghpaw is remarkable given that the intensive contact relationship between Burmese and Jinghpaw appears to be of relatively recent origin. The puzzle of the existence of conservative Burmese phonology in a language with a relatively short historical relationship with Burmese is attributable to borrowing chains. The Jinghpaw lexicon, together with a rich array of inherited words, contains a considerable number of foreign elements from languages belonging to both TB and non-TB stock, including Shan, Burmese, Chinese, Pali, and Sanskrit. It is not always the case that Jinghpaw borrowed a given word directly from a given source language. Matisoff (2013:24) provides the borrowing chains across several language families presented in (2), remarking that the Jinghpaw lexicon has a large number of Shan elements, and “[s]ome of these Shan items were themselves from Burmese, and in turn some of these were originally from Indo-Aryan”. Jinghpaw, which serves as a lingua franca among the ethno-linguistically diverse Kachin people, further introduced some of these items into languages inside the Jinghpaw sphere of influence such as Rawang.

(2) Borrowing chains
Pali (IA) → Burmese (TB) → Shan (Tai) → Jinghpaw (TB) → Rawang (TB)

Many Burmese loans with conservative phonological characteristics thus entered Jinghpaw, not directly from Burmese but by way of Shan, a language that has a well-
established historical relationship with both Burmese and Jinghpaw. The early contact relationship between Shan and Burmese is well attested to the extent that the Shan people, after the fall of the Pagan dynasty of Burmese kings in A.D. 1287, swiftly gained power and established several kingdoms ruled by Burmanized Shan kings in Central Burma. It is thus fairly likely that Shan borrowed Burmese lexical items from early stages. A number of Burmese loans in Shan that exhibit the phonological properties of early Burmese also indicates this scenario. The contact relationship between Shan and Jinghpaw is also well established. The Jinghpaw lexicon, in which there are more Shan loans than from any other languages (Kurabe to appear), shows that the most prominent donor language of loans in Jinghpaw is Shan, with which Jinghpaw has been in contact relationship for the past centuries. The intensive contact between the Shan and Jinghpaw people is well attested to the extent that, as a result of cultural assimilation, it is not infrequent that a Jinghpaw “becomes a Shan” (Leach 1954:30). A large number of Burmese loans with conservative phonology being also found in Shan (Hanson 1896:87–8) were thus introduced into Jinghpaw through the medium of Shan not directly from Burmese.

To summarize, the conservative phonological properties in many Burmese loans in Jinghpaw, together with historical evidence indicating recent contact between Burmese and Jinghpaw, suggest that a large number of Burmese items filtered into Jinghpaw through Shan. The fact that some Jinghpaw words of Burmese origin have additional non-etymological Shan elements further supports this scenario. WB *mʊn* ‘coconut’, for example, is borrowed into Jinghpaw as *m̃iiblyn* (cf. Shan *maak2Pun1*) with a Shan class term *maak2* ‘fruit’ that frequently occurs in Shan fruit names, just like many other Shan fruit names borrowed into Jinghpaw (Kurabe to appear).

### 2.4 Loans and code-switching

As noted earlier among Burmese loans of different origins, the majority of established loans belong to the older stratum having been introduced into Jinghpaw through Shan. This does not imply, however, that Jinghpaw is resistant to Burmese influence. Rather, modern Jinghpaw, with the majority of speakers being fully bilingual in Burmese from a very young age, is greatly influenced by Burmese. This can be observed in the code-switching (both alternational and insertional) that occurs among modern Jinghpaw speakers who frequently insert Burmese elements into their ordinary speech, whether they are words, phrases, or utterances, even when there is no need to compensate for lexical gaps. The following extract from a Jinghpaw monologue illustrates insertional switches within a single sentence, where a Burmese noun phrase *shānwīn dō* ‘turmeric’s’ and a Burmese...
idiotic phrase ɓà ɗò ñà ɗò ‘something like that’ are inserted:

(3) ɗànθe cədu ?ay ɗò yà? nà ɗànθn sʰànwíń dò ɓà ɗò ñà ɗò
    3pl   cook NMLZ TOP now GEN like   turmeric PL what PL COUP PL
    n-bàŋ   ?ay.
    NEG-put DECL
    ‘They don’t, unlike today, put turmeric and the like into what they are cooking.’

Although instances of lexical insertions like (3) can be widely observed, this paper
distinguishes such types of spontaneous language mixing from borrowing, which is es-
seentially a diachronic process. In what follows, as noted in Section 1.2, we shall study
established and integrated loans alone, regarding a given word as a loan only when it is
listed in Hanson (1906) and Maran (1978).

3 Phonology of Burmese loans

This section deals with the phonological properties of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw in terms
of initials (3.1), open rhymes (3.2), nasal rhymes (3.3), and checked rhymes (3.4) by com-
paring them with Burmese and Shan through the medium of which, as noted in Section
2.3, many Burmese words entered Jinghpaw. Section 3.5 presents a brief summary of the
importation and adaptation observed in Burmese loans in Jinghpaw.

3.1 Initial consonants

Table 1 below displays the correspondences of initial obstruents between WB, MB, Shan,
and Jinghpaw attested in our data in Appendix A. Since Burmese initials have not under-
gone drastic sound changes compared with its rhymes, it is often difficult to determine
whether a given loan in Jinghpaw reflects the phonology of WB or MB.

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Shan and Jinghpaw, as demonstrated in Table 1, faithfully retain Burmese voice-
less aspirated stops, as illustrated by (4a) to (c), mapping them straightforwardly to their
equivalents. Some voiceless unaspirated stops of Burmese, as in (4d) and (e), are mapped to their Shan equivalents and to either voiceless or voiced Jinghpaw counterparts, the conditioning factor of which is unknown. Voicing instability of loans in Jinghpaw is also observed for Shan loans in Jinghpaw (Kurabe to appear). As far as our data reveals, Burmese voiced stops that were devoiced in Shan with no voice contrast regularly correspond to Jinghpaw voiced stops as in (4f). This fact can be taken to suggest that they entered Jinghpaw directly from Burmese. It is also possible, however, that the correspondence is merely accidental given the insufficient data and voicing instability of loans.

(4) Correspondences of stops

a. ‘raft’ WB poîñ, MB phâuñ, Sh. pʰəŋ, Jg. phon
b. ‘jail’ WB thoîñ, MB thàuñ, Sh. tʰəŋ, Jg. thon
c. ‘bell’ WB khoîñ cheated, MB khâùslâuñ, Sh. kʰəŋ’ləŋ, Jg. khoyløŋ
d. ‘class’ WB tanñ, MB tánn, Sh. tahn, Jg. tán
e. ‘fort’ WB tap (from Mon), MB taʔ, Sh. tap⁵, Jg. dàp
f. ‘rheumatism’ WB dûlå (from Sanskrit), MB dûlì, Sh. tuʔláà, Jg. dula

WB /c/ that has developed into MB fricative /s/ is reflected with /ts/ in Shan. As illustrated by (5a) and (b), it corresponds to Jinghpaw /c, j, ts/ suggesting different periods or paths of borrowing (i.e. Bur. > Jg. or Bur. > Sh. > Jg.). Based purely on phonological similarity, Jinghpaw /c, j/ appears to reflect WB /c/ while Jinghpaw /ts/ appears to reflect Shan /ts/. The fact that /ts/ in loans of Shan origin is always mapped to Jinghpaw /c, j/, however, obscures the correspondences (Kurabe to appear). As exemplified by (5c) to (e), WB /ch/ and /j/ that have become MB /sh/ and /z/ are usually mapped to /sh/ and /ts/ in Shan and to /s/ and /j/ in Jinghpaw, where words showing the WB /j/ vs. MB /z/ vs. Jg. /dz/ ([dz] ∼ [z]) correspondence appear to be of recent origin.

(5) Correspondences of affricates

a. ‘machine’ WB cak (from Pali), MB seʔ, Sh. tsak³, Jg. jåk
b. ‘envelope’ WB cã’it, MB sãʔeʔiʔ, Jg. tsãʔik
c. ‘teacher’ WB charã, MB shayà, Sh. sʰraa², Jg. sora
d. ‘Jataka’ WB jât (from Pali), MB zaʔ, Sh. tsat³, Jg. jåt
e. ‘spoon’ WB jwan³, MB zúnx, Jg. dzúnx

The two WB fricatives, as illustrated by (6a) and (b), are mapped to close equiv-
alents in Shan and Jinghpaw. Jinghpaw, as illustrated by (6b), sometimes displays hesitation between /kh/ and /h/ for the voiceless glottal fricative of Burmese. This can be accounted for in terms of the competition between importation and adaptation: the phoneme /h/ is only restricted to interjections and mimetic words in the Jinghpaw native phonology (see Section 3.5).

(6) Correspondences of fricatives
a. ‘Murraya’ WB sanapkhā³, MB thānākhā, Sh. sʰa’naap³kʰa’a⁴, Jg. sanāpkhā
b. ‘preach’ WB ho, MB hó, Sh. hɔ⁴, Jg. hó ~ ho

The regular phonological mapping of initial sonorants between source and borrowing languages attested in our data is summarized in Table 2.

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The voiced nasal, liquid and glide of Burmese, as given in (7a) and (b), are faithfully preserved in Shan and Jinghpaw without any substitution.³ On the other hand, the voiceless sonorants are replaced with their voiced counterparts in the borrowing languages to conform to their native phonologies where voiceless sonorants are absent, as illustrated by (7c) and (d). As (7e) and (f) exemplify, WB liquid r that appears to have been shifted to /y/ by the end of the 18th century (Nishi 1999:6) is mapped both in Shan and Jinghpaw to /r/ or /y/, the latter of which suggests its recent origin. The WB voiceless liquid rh that has developed into MB fricative /c/ is reflected as /ʃʰ/ in Shan. The phonological similarity suggests that loans displaying this correspondence were introduced into Shan after the fricativization of the WB voiceless liquid. This sound, as exemplified by (7g), is reflected in Jinghpaw either with /s/ or /ʃ/, the former of which appears to have been introduced into Jinghpaw through Shan and the latter directly from Burmese, based on their phonological similarities.

³ A few exceptions include WB jaluN ‘bowl’ (MB zalòuN) that appears as jaruN in Jinghpaw (cf. Shan tsal¹haŋ⁴).
(7) Correspondences of sonorants
a. ‘prince’ WB mañ̃ša³, MB místhá, Sh. may⁴sh₂a₄, Jg. māȳsā
b. ‘intellect’ WB nāṇ (from Pali), MB jáx, Sh. jaaur², Jg. nyàn
c. ‘offer’ WB lhū, MB lhū, Sh. lu², Jg. lu

d. ‘certificate’ WB laknat, MB lrʔhnaʔ, Sh. laak³maat³, Jg. làknät
e. ‘office’ WB rui³, MB yöun, Sh. ru⁴, Jg. ru⁴
f. ‘affair’ WB are³, MB ŋávé, Sh. ŋa³je⁴, Jg. ŋaye

g. ‘be messy’ WB r̥up, MB couʔ, Sh. s̥uk⁵, Jg. çúk ~ súksák

Table 3 displays the correspondences involving consonant clusters between WB, MB, Shan, and Jinghpaw.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>py</th>
<th>phy</th>
<th>ky</th>
<th>khy</th>
<th>my</th>
<th>pr</th>
<th>phr</th>
<th>kr</th>
<th>khr</th>
<th>mr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>py</td>
<td>phy</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>py</td>
<td>phy</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>kj</td>
<td>ḵj</td>
<td>mj</td>
<td>p(y)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>kj/ts</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>mj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jg</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ky/gy/j</td>
<td>khy</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>py</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ky/c</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Burmese loans in Shan and Jinghpaw, compared with MB where some clusters were affricated, preserve WB consonant clusters well, as (8a) illustrates. WB clusters with a liquid that were palatalized in MB appear with medial /y/ in Shan and Jinghpaw, as in (8b). There are some instances, as provided in (8c), where WB clusters are, like MB, mapped to affricates in Jinghpaw. These can be viewed as representing the recent stratum of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw.

(8) Correspondences of consonant clusters
a. ‘to rest’ WB khyam⁵sā, MB cháxtá, Sh. ḵjaum⁵sh₂a₄, Jg. khyámsā
b. ‘emerald’ WB nra, MB myá, Sh. mja⁵, Jg. mya
c. ‘school’ WB kyoñ⁴, MB cáux, Sh. kjaŋ⁴, Jg. jöŋ

3.2 Open rhymes
Table 4 shows the correspondences of open rhymes between WB, MB, Shan, and Jinghpaw.
Table 4 Correspondences between open rhymes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ā</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ɨ</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>ǚ</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ai</th>
<th>ay</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ǚ</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ɚ</td>
<td>ɚ</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>a/aa</td>
<td>a/aa</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ǚ</td>
<td>aaj</td>
<td>ɚ</td>
<td>aaj</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jg</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>aay</td>
<td>aay</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WB open rhymes, as illustrated by (9), are usually mapped to their equivalents in Shan and Jinghpaw straightforwardly. WB rhyme e, as seen in (9f) and (g), appears as either /i/ or /e/ in Jinghpaw, the condition of which is unknown. There are some instances, such as (9h), where Jinghpaw shows hesitation between /i/ and /e/. WB rhyme ui, which represents [o] as in MB (Bradley 1985:189), appears as /o/ in Shan and /u/ in Jinghpaw. The mapping from /o/ to /u/ is also attested well in Shan loans in Jinghpaw (Kurabe to appear), e.g. dûsât ‘animal’ (from Shan to¹šat⁴).

(9) Correspondences of open rhymes

a. ‘emerald’ WB mra, MB myã, Sh. mjaa³, Jg. mya
b. ‘rank’ WB arã, MB ṭäyã, Sh. ṭa¹jaa², Jg. ṭaya
c. ‘lottery’ WB thã, MB thã, Sh. tʰʢ, Jg. thi
d. ‘work’ WB amhu, MB ṭähmã, Sh. ṭa¹mu⁵, Jg. ṭamû
e. ‘offer’ WB lhã, MB lhã, Sh. lʰ², Jg. lu
f. ‘affair’ WB are³, MB ṭäyé, Sh. ṭa¹je⁴, Jg. ṭaye
g. ‘law’ WB upade (from Pali), MB ṭúbodë, Sh. u³pa⁵te², Jg. ṭúbodi
h. ‘deputy commissioner’ WB are³puiû, MB ṭäyébâix, Jg. ṭâyêyëj ~ ṭâyêyïj
i. ‘preach’ WB ho, MB hó, Sh. h³, Jg. kho ~ hó
j. ‘interest’ WB atui³, MB ṭâtô, Sh. ṭa¹to⁴, Jg. ṭatû

WB rhymes ai and ay that have developed into MB /e/ are mapped to either /aa/ or /e/ in Shan and to /ay/ or /e/ in Jinghpaw. This fact, as noted in Section 2.3, is due to the different paths or periods of borrowing. Compare:

(10) Correspondences of open rhymes with WB ai and ay

a. ‘hell’ WB ṭarai, MB ṭayê, Sh. ṭaar⁴raaj⁴, Jg. ṭarây
b. ‘pencil’ WB khâitauñ, MB khêdan, Sh. kʰe⁵taa⁵, Jg. khêdan
c. ‘sea’ WB pailay, MB pislê, Sh. paaj²laaj², Jg. paylay
d. ‘herring’ WB ñã’phay, MB ṭãphê, Jg. ṭãʔûpe
3.3 Nasal rhymes

Table 5 presents the correspondences of nasal rhymes with WB a between WB, MB, Shan, and Jinghpaw.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>am</th>
<th>aĩ</th>
<th>an</th>
<th>aĩ</th>
<th>aĩ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>i/e/e</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>aam</td>
<td>am/aam</td>
<td>aam</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>an/aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jg</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>am/an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>aŋ/an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrasts of WB final nasals (except ū) that have merged into /s/ in MB are often preserved in loans that entered Shan and Jinghpaw, as illustrated by (11a) to (d). WB rhyme aĩ that is reflected with three reflexes in MB appears as /e/ and /e/ in Shan and Jinghpaw respectively, as shown in (11e). There are also some instances where Jinghpaw has final /n/ for WB finals ū and ū as in (11f), which indicate their status as recent loans. Variation in Jinghpaw such as (11g) is due to the the different periods or paths of borrowing: the form with final ū is of recent origin, having entered Jinghpaw directly from Burmese, while the form retaining WB final ū is a loan that entered Jinghpaw through Shan.

(11) Correspondences of nasal rhymes with WB a

a. ‘to work’ WB tham³, MB thān, Sh. ḫaam³, Jg. thām
b. ‘luck’ WB kaiñ (from Pali), MB kān, Sh. kaam², Jg. gām

c. ‘telescope’ WB mhānpran², MB hmānbyāun, Sh. maan²pjan⁴, Jg. maanpyōŋ
d. ‘capital’ WB araŋ³, MB ?ayīn, Sh. ?a⁴raŋ⁴, Jg. ?ārāŋ

e. ‘disciple’ WB tapaṅ¹, MB dābē, Sh. ta⁴pe⁴, Jg. sopē
f. ‘oil’ WB renaiñ, MB yēnāx, Jg. yena

g. ‘bottle’ WB pulaṅ³, MB pālīx, Sh. pa⁴lēŋ², Jg. pōlēŋ ~ pōlīn

WB labialized rhymes -wan and -wāṅ that are reflected in MB by /un/ and /wīn/ appear as /un/ and /un/ respectively in Shan and Jinghpaw, as illustrated by (12a) and (b). WB palatalized rhyme -yan, as given in (12c), is retained as such in Shan and Jinghpaw. Note that the PTB palatalized rhyme *yam has regularly developed into /en/ in Jinghpaw (Benedict 1972:51, Matisoff 2003:252), e.g. Jg. pyen ‘fly’ (from PTB *pyam, cf. WB
Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw

pyam) and Jg. kh\text{yen} ‘snow’ (from PTB *kyam, cf. WB khyam\text{°}). The structural gap in the Jinghpaw native phonology once created by this sound change is filled by Burmese loans suggesting that they entered Jinghpaw after the sound change.

(12) Correspondences of WB labialized or palatalized nasal rhymes

a. ‘doctor’ WB char\text{ë}wan, MB sh\text{ø}y\text{ë}w\text{ï}n, Sh. s\text{°}r\text{æ}ru\text{°}\text{r}u\text{°}u, Jg. ts\text{°}-sar\text{ø}w\text{ï}n\text{°}  
b. ‘olive’ WB sa\text{ø}i\text{ø}w\text{ï}, MB th\text{ø}\text{ë}\text{i}w\text{ï}n, Sh. s\text{°}a\text{ø}a\text{ø}n\text{°}lu\text{°}u, Jg. tsan\text{l}un  
c. ‘to rest’ WB khyam\text{°}s\text{ø}a, MB ch\text{á}\text{x}\text{ø}\text{t}\text{ø}, Sh. k\text{°}ja\text{ø}m\text{°}sh\text{ø}a, Jg. khy\text{á}ms\text{ø}

Phonological correspondences of WB nasal rhymes other than a are summarized in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>in</th>
<th>in</th>
<th>u\text{ï}n</th>
<th>un</th>
<th>o\text{ï}n</th>
<th>u\text{ï}n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>ei\text{n}</td>
<td>ei\text{n}</td>
<td>o\text{ï}n</td>
<td>o\text{ï}n</td>
<td>a\text{ï}n</td>
<td>a\text{ï}n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>i\text{j}</td>
<td>u\text{j}</td>
<td>u\text{ï}</td>
<td>o\text{j}</td>
<td>e\text{j}/u\text{j}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jg</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>i\text{j}</td>
<td>u\text{j}</td>
<td>u\text{ï}</td>
<td>o\text{j}</td>
<td>e\text{j}/u\text{j}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is of importance to note that WB final nasals, when preceded by high vowels, are often mapped as velars in Shan and Jinghpaw not always being faithfully replicated in the borrowing languages. The regular mapping of WB rhymes in and u\text{ï}n in Shan and Jinghpaw are thus /i\text{ï}j/ and /u\text{ï}j/, as illustrated by (13a) and (b).\textsuperscript{5} A parallel development is also observed for checked rhymes with high vowels, e.g. WB i\text{p}, it \text{→} /i\text{k}/, WB u\text{p}, ut \text{→} /u\text{k}/ (see Table 7 in Section 3.4). This “velarization”, however, does not hold for WB un, as in (13c). WB rhyme u\text{ï}n, as exemplified by (13e), is usually mapped to /e\text{j}/ and /e\text{j}/ in Shan and Jinghpaw respectively. In (13f), it is adapted as /e\text{j}/ that, based on their phonological similarity, seems to reflect the older form of Burmese.

(13) Correspondences of nasal rhymes with vowels other than WB a

a. ‘time’ WB akh\text{y}i\text{n}, MB ?\text{æ}c\text{ë}\text{ï}n, Sh. k\text{°}i\text{ï}j\text{°}, Jg. khyi\text{ï}  
b. ‘office’ WB ru\text{ï}n\text{°}, MB y\text{o}n\text{ï}, Sh. ru\text{ï}j\text{°}, Jg. ru\text{ï}  
c. ‘goods for sale’ WB kun, MB k\text{o}\text{ï}x\text{ø}, Sh. k\text{u}r\text{ø}\text{°}, Jg. gi\text{ïn}

\textsuperscript{4} The first syllable ts\text{ë} refers to ‘medicine’ in Jinghpaw.

\textsuperscript{5} Exceptions include Jg. sin from WB cin ‘diamond’ (ultimately from Pali, cf. MB s\text{ë}\text{ï}n), for which Shan presents a regular correspondence (i.e. ts\text{ï}j\text{°}), and Jg. thun ‘lime’ from WB thu\text{ï}n\text{°} (cf. MB th\text{o}\text{ï}x, Sh. t\text{°}\text{un}\text{°}), which seems to be of recent origin.
3.4 Checked rhymes

Table 7 presents the correspondences of checked rhymes between WB, MB, Shan, and Jinghpaw.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>ap</th>
<th>at</th>
<th>ac</th>
<th>ak</th>
<th>ip</th>
<th>it</th>
<th>up</th>
<th>ut</th>
<th>ok</th>
<th>uik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>ap/aap</td>
<td>at/aat</td>
<td>r/t/et</td>
<td>ak/aak</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>uk</td>
<td>uk</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ik/ek/uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jg</td>
<td>ap</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>ak</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>uk</td>
<td>uk</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ik/ek/uk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The contrasts of WB final stops (except c) that have been lost in MB when preceded by WB a are well-preserved in Burmese loans that have entered Shan and Jinghpaw, as illustrated by (14a) to (c). The final velar stop that is restricted in the Jinghpaw native phonology is faithfully imported into Jinghpaw (through Shan) without substitution. WB rhyme ac appears as /rt, et/ and /et/ in Shan and Jinghpaw respectively, as in (14d).6

(14) Correspondences of checked rhymes with WB a
a. ‘fort’ WB tap (from Mon), MB ta?, Sh. tap², Jg. dâp
b. ‘butter’ WB thopat, MB thóba?, Sh. thóbat

c. ‘era’ WB lakthak, MB leʔtheʔ, Sh. laak²thak, Jg. lakthak

d. ‘guilt’ WB aprac (from Pali), MB ?apyiʔ, Sh. ?aʔpet³, Jg. ?apyét

It is noteworthy that WB finals t and p, when preceded by high vowels, are regularly replaced with velar finals in Shan and Jinghpaw, as illustrated by (15).7 A parallel development, as noted in Section 3.3, is also observed for nasal finals. The WB rhyme uik, as illustrated by (15f) and (g), appears in various forms in Shan and Jinghpaw, where forms with front vowels seem to be of recent origin in contrast to forms with the back vowel that appear to be older.

6 Some of the WB rhyme ac came from -yat (Professor Hideo Sawada, p.c., 2016).
7 A few exceptions include Jg. wūt ‘brick’ from WB ut (ultimately from Pali; cf. MB ?ouʔ, Sh. ?uʔ), and Jg. j répond ‘provisions for a journey’ from WB carit (cf. MB zāyaiʔ, Sh. ðaʔrip³).
3.5 Importation and adaptation

As we have seen above, Jinghpaw often preferentially imported Burmese segments (sometimes through Shan) without substitution, occasionally even at the cost of restrictions to its native phonology. Loanwords, thus, may sometimes violate native phonological constraints such as those given in Table 8, which are usually restricted in native words (some of which are exceptionally allowed in mimetic words8): (a) final /k/; (b) initial /h/; (c) /w/ before front vowels; (d) /ŋ/ before front vowels; (e) minor syllable /ŋ/.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8 Native constraints violated in loans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>native words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loanwords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimetic words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final velars are usually not allowed in native words of modern Jinghpaw due to the sound change of PTB *k to a glottal stop in inherited words (Benedict 1972:14). Jinghpaw, after this sound change, imported final /k/ from neighboring languages, as in (16a), filling the structural gap in the native phonology once created by the sound change. Jinghpaw words with final /k/ are thus good candidates for loans (Matisoff 1974:157). Burmese /h/, a marginal sound restricted to interjections and mimetic words in the Jinghpaw native phonology, is sometimes straightforwardly maintained without substitution. Some items, as illustrated by (16b), show hesitation between /h/ and /kh/, the latter of which results from adaptation. Jinghpaw has a native phonotactic restriction


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against combining an initial /w/ or /ŋ/ with front vowels that arose as a result of a sound change (Kurabe 2014a, 2014b). Such illicit combinations in the native phonology were imported into Jinghpaw during the course of borrowing, as in (16c). Jinghpaw also has a restriction against a sequence of /ŋ/ plus /o/. The sequence, however, was imported into Jinghpaw, as given in (16d), as an outcome of language contact.

(16) Examples of importation
a. ‘weapon’ Jg. lâknâk (from WB lâknak, MB leʔnuʔ, Sh. laak’hnaak³)
 b. ‘preach’ Jg. hó ~ khó (from WB ho, MB hó, Sh. hó⁴)
 c. ‘spirit’ Jg. wé:n/yí (from WB wīnānũ, MB wé:n/yin, Sh. wé:n/yen²)
 d. ‘hell’ Jg. ṣarây (from WB ńarai, MB ṣâyé, Sh. ṣâadrâaj⁴)

Although Jinghpaw largely adopted Burmese inputs without any adaptation, it sometimes repaired foreign inputs in accordance with its native phonology. Burmese /h/ thus sometimes underwent an adaptation process, the fully nativized form of which is /kh/, as illustrated by (16b). Jinghpaw, as exemplified in (17), systematically adapted voiceless sonorants in Burmese (sometimes through Shan) as voiced counterparts, because its native phonology lacked them. Modern Jinghpaw speakers, although they possess full knowledge of Burmese phonology, even apply this repair strategy to insertions in code-switching. Burmese /hlâ/ ‘be beautiful’ is thus more likely to be pronounced /là/ by Jinghpaw speakers.

(17) Voicing of voiceless sonorants
a. ‘certificate’ Jg. lâkmât (from WB lâkmhat, MB leʔmaʔʔ, Sh. laak³maat³)
 b. ‘strike’ Jg. nák ~ nák (from WB nhak, MB hnrʔ, Sh. naak³)
 c. ‘offer’ Jg. lu (from WB lhû, MB lhû, Sh. lu²)

4 Conclusions
This paper, as a preliminary approximation toward studies in Burmese-Jinghpaw contact linguistics, provided a descriptive account of the phonological properties of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw especially focusing on their segmental phonology. Our findings indicated that Burmese loans in Jinghpaw often retain the phonological characteristics of WB, many of which underwent sound changes in MB. This situation is remarkable given that the intensive contact relationship between Burmese and Jinghpaw appears to be of relatively recent origin. This fact is due to borrowing chains, i.e. Burmese → Shan
Jinghpaw, where Shan, which has had well-established contact relationships with both Burmese and Jinghpaw from early stages, performed the function of transferring Burmese lexical items into Jinghpaw. Our findings also revealed that Jinghpaw possesses some Burmese loans that reflect MB phonology, which highlights the multistratal nature of Burmese loans in Jinghpaw. Sporadic irregularity in loans, together with suprasegmental and morphological correspondences between source and borrowing languages, need to be addressed in future studies.

Appendix A: Lexicon of Burmese loans

This appendix provides Burmese loans entered into Jinghpaw, together with loans of other source languages that filtered into Jinghpaw through Burmese. The remainder of this section is organized as follows. Section 0.1 presents loans of Burmese origin with WB and MB forms, and if any, with corresponding forms of Shan, by way of which many Burmese loans entered into Jinghpaw. Section 0.2 gives loans of Indic origin that found their way into Jinghpaw through Burmese (and Shan). These Indic loans are identified based on Myanmar Language Commission ed. (2009). Section 0.3 provides loans of other origin, especially English, many of which entered into Jinghpaw during the colonial period (1824 to 1948) presumably through Burmese (and Shan). This is suggested by the fact that Jinghpaw shares some peculiar properties of English loans with Burmese and Shan, such as the deaspiration of stops, e.g. WB kā⁴ ‘car’, MB ká, Sh. kaa⁴, Jg. ká, and the mapping of English /f/ to /ph/, e.g. WB phoitin ‘fountain pen’, MB phàuntin, Jg. phoitin.

Notes on the lexicon are as follows. The first column provides English translations for Jinghpaw words based on Hanson (1906) and Maran (1978). The second column offers Jinghpaw words in the orthographic forms followed by phonemic transcriptions enclosed in slashes. The third column gives corresponding forms of Burmese and other source languages, which are followed, if any, by corresponding forms from Shan.

0.1 Loans of Burmese origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>Shan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>affair</td>
<td>āye /áye/</td>
<td>ἀέγι</td>
<td>?äye; Sh. ?a⁴ je⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>āsak /ášāk/</td>
<td>ἀσακ</td>
<td>MB ?a⁴ tre; Sh. ?a⁴ s⁴ aak³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amulet</td>
<td>lak hpoi /lākhpóy/</td>
<td>ὧκ phoi</td>
<td>WB lakphwai⁴, MB leʔphwē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
anticipate /htæŋ/ \(\text{WB thañ} \text{‘think’}\)

antique /lak hawng/ \(\text{WB lakoùn}\)

apologize /tawng ban/ \(\text{WB toùn} \text{pan, MB táwbn}; \text{Sh. tŋŋpəan}^2\)

asafotida /hkkiny hku/ \(\text{WB rîn”khùi, MB cêixkhò}; \text{Sh. sʔin’kθ^2}\)

auger /lun bu/ \(\text{WB lwɔnû, MB lwɔbù}\)

ballot /me/ \(\emptyset \text{WB maì, MB mê}\)

be closed /píyik/ \(\emptyset \text{WB pit, MB pëi?}; \text{Sh. pík}^5\)

be destroyed /byak/ \(\emptyset \text{WB pyak, MB pye?}\)

be deterred /a na/ \(\emptyset \text{WB á’nà, MB ðànà, Sh. ðaa’nda}^2\)

be important /ʔɔkhyak/ \(\text{WB akhyak ‘point’, MB ðàchù?}; \text{Sh. ðà’kθjaak}^3 \text{‘subject’}\)

be lucky /htík/ \(\emptyset \text{WB thuik, MB dai?}\)

bell /hkawng lawng/ \(\text{WB khoùlòù}, \text{MB khàwlnòû}; \text{Sh. kθŋ’làng}^4\)

bottle /pàlin/ \(\emptyset \text{WB pulaùn}, \text{MB pàlîn}; \text{Sh. pàl’làng}^4\)

bowl /jàrung/ \(\emptyset \text{WB jaluûn, MB zàlònû; Sh. tsål’lùn}^2\)

bread /muk/ \(\emptyset \text{WB munû, MB mòun}\)

bucket /ye bung/ \(\emptyset \text{WB repûnû}, \text{MB yêbùnû, Sh. pûnû}^4\)

butter /htaw bat/ \(\emptyset \text{WB thòpaù, MB thòba?}; \text{Sh. ðò’pəat}^3\)

camphor /påyûk/ \(\emptyset \text{WB parût, MB pàrû}; \text{Sh. pà’rùk}^3\)

---

\(^8\)This verb is used especially in Jinghpaw dialects distributed in northern Shan State, Burma.

\(^9\)Asafoetida, a wax-like extract of herbal plants, of strong odour used for medicinal purposes, especially of young children (the substance is patted to a round, thin, flat shape and then applied to the regions of the temporal lobes in order to bring down fever).

\(^{10}\)Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. mšvjuq, Lh. myu (K), La. myu, Ra.

\(^{11}\)Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. ma-ûn (K), La. ma-ûn, Ra.

\(^{12}\)Also widely found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. msk, Lh. msk, La. msk, Ra. msk.

\(^{13}\)The irregular final -k in Jinghpaw may reflect the falling or ‘creaky’ tone in Burmese which is articulated with a glottal constriction.
Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw

cannon\(^{14}\)  myawk /ʔamyok/  WB arek, MB ʔamyauʔ; Sh. ʔajmok\(^3\)
capital\(^{15}\)  arang /ʔaráng/  WB araʔ, MB ʔoyín; Sh. ʔaʔraay\(^4\)
carpenter\(^{16}\)  lak sáma /låksamå/  ~  WB laksamå\(^1\), MB leʔamå; låsåma /låsamå/  Sh. laak\(^3\)ša\(^1\) maa\(^4\)
catfish\(^{17}\)  ngächyawng /ŋoʔon/  WB nāʔkroí\(^2\), MB gjajañ

catfish\(^{18}\)  ngamyin /ŋamyín/  WB nāʔmrau\(^3\), MB gāmyín
certificate  lak mat /låkmåt/  WB lakuhnát, MB leʔhuaʔ; Sh. laak\(^3\)maat\(^1\)

chief  ságyi /sɔgyi/  WB sükri\(^3\), MB ðají
cigar  sālik /sɔlik/  WB che\(^3\)lip, MB šhéleiʔ; Sh. še\(^5\)lik\(^3\)
city\(^{19}\)  myu /myú/  WB mrui\(^1\), MB myó
class  tan /tán/  WB tan\(^3\), MB tän; Sh. taan\(^4\)
clerk\(^{20}\)  chyāre /care/  ~ tsāri /tsérì/  WB cāre\(^3\), MB sāyè; Sh. tsáre\(^4\)

coconut\(^{21}\)  mā-un /moʔún/  WB un\(^3\), MB ʔóun; Sh. maak\(^2\)ʔun\(^1\)
contract\(^{22}\)  buk pyat /bùkpyët/  WB putrat, MB pouʔpyaʔ
copy (v.)  ku /kù/  WB kù\(^3\), MB kù; Sh. ku\(^4\)
cork  paw /po/  WB pho\(^\)\(^1\), MB phó; Sh. p\(^5\)jë

custard  aw za /ˈtòdza/  WB ojá, MB ʔózà
custums  kang /kâŋ/  WB kâŋ\(^3\), MB kín; Sh. kaâŋ\(^1\)

\(^{14}\) Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. amyung (K), La. amyoug, Ng. vmyauq.
\(^{15}\) Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. a’ran\(^3\), Lh. arang (K), La. arang “.
\(^{16}\) Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. lag sama (K), La. lag sama”, Ra. lvksvną.
\(^{17}\) ‘the long-headed catfish, Mystus aor’
\(^{18}\) ‘the short-headed catfish, Danio nigrofasciatus’
\(^{19}\) Also widely found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. mvyuq\(^3\), Lh. myú’ (K), La. myú, Ra. myoq ~ myuq.
\(^{20}\) Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. cāre\(^1\), La. jiri, Ra. jeré.
\(^{21}\) Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. ma-un (K), La. ma-un, Ra. mwóunshí.
\(^{22}\) ‘a job or contract, where terms of payment are based on the entire contract’
\(^{23}\) The irregular correspondence between unaspirated and aspirated stops obscures the relationship.
\(^{24}\) Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. o’za (K), La. o’za, Ng. ohza.
\(^{25}\) ‘outpost; post for collecting custom duties’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kachin</th>
<th>WB akok, MB ?äkau?; Sh. ?a¹kək³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>customs</td>
<td>kawk /kɔk⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cutch²⁶</td>
<td>sha ji /càjì⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dengue</td>
<td>tuk kui /túkkùy⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>depository²⁷</td>
<td>dek /dêk⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deputy commissioner</td>
<td>aye bying /tɔyèbyin⁴</td>
<td>~ ²⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missioner</td>
<td>aye byeng /tɔyèbyen⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desk</td>
<td>sàboi /sɔbɔy⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detain</td>
<td>hkyuk /khyûk⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detective</td>
<td>jum htawk /jûmthòk⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disciple</td>
<td>sàpe /sɔpè⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>tsi sàra wun /tsɔsɔrawûn⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emerald</td>
<td>mya /mya⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>envelope</td>
<td>tsa ik /tɔaʔik⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epsom salts</td>
<td>sàhkà /sɔkhà⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>era</td>
<td>lak htak /làktàhk⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>event²⁸</td>
<td>äkyu äkyawing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explain</td>
<td>sang lang /sàjì̞⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factory</td>
<td>jak rung /jaʔrùŋ⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>favor</td>
<td>äkyu /ʔaʔkyû⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁶ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. ca” jih” (K), La. ca” jih” , Ra. shâzì.
²⁷ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. se’ dyek¹, Lh. sadig (K), Ra. svdík. This root, which is likely to be an old Chinese loan, is a widespread root shared by related and unrelated languages of Southeast Asia, such as Burmese, Mon and Thai (Jenny 2015:11–2). The same holds for ‘plow’ and ‘spoon’ below.
²⁸ ‘occurrences, affairs, events, the happenings, the drama, the action, the cause-and-effect of a situation, a state of affairs’
²⁹ The first syllable is ultimately from Pali (see Section 0.2 below).
Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw

feast poi /póy/  WB pwai, MB pwé; Sh. pɔj

film dat shin /dátcìn/ WB dhāthtān, MB daʔcìn

firearm20 tung mi /túmjí/  WB tūmí, MB tūmítína?

fisherman dam nga /dànmjá/  WB tāínā, MB tɔjá; Sh. tamʔjaa

flag dawng hkawn  WB taشركw ‘pennant’, MB /dɔŋkhon/31 dągvo; Sh. tamʔkʰon

France pyin tit /pyintí/  WB prausac, MB pyixthiʔ

gain32 ãmyat /ʔəmyáʔ/  WB amrat, MB òmyaʔ; Sh. miaat

gasoline dat si /dátsí/  WB dhātchí, MB daʔshi; Sh. ʔaʔsiʔsiʔ

gecko tau te /tawtèʔʔ/  WB tokTai1, MB tauʔtë; Sh. takʔte5

goal ban dung /bandùŋ/  WB paŋtuí, MB păsdàin; Sh. paanʔtuŋ

goods for sale gun /ɡùn/  WB kun, MB kóux; Sh. kun2

government33 ãsuya /ʔəsúyáʔ/  WB acuiʔra, MB ðásóyä; Sh. ʔa¹tsòjaa5

guess tak /ták/  WB twak, MB twëʔ; Sh. tak5

habit ãkyang /ʔəkyáŋ/  WB akyaíl, MB ðácíŋ; Sh. ʔa¹kjaaj5

handcuffs lak htik /lákhtík/  WB lākhtit, MB lɛʔteiʔ?

herring nga u hpe /ŋáʔúphε/  WB ŋáʔphay, MB ñáphè

hole pawk /pók/  WB apok, MB ðăpau?

honor ãrawng /ʔərawŋ/  WB aroí ‘color’, MB ðáyàún; Sh. ða¹ræj2 ‘color, brightness’

hose pyun /pyuŋ/ ò byawng  WB prwan, MB pyúñ

byóŋ/30 ‘flintlock firearm, a gun that takes loose black power’

31 The final velar nasal can be accounted for in terms of assimilation to the following syllable.

32 Also widely found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. myat1, Lh. ŋmyat1, La. amyaid ðamyat, Ng. myat, Ra. myet.

33 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. ʔatsuyáʔyáʔ, La. asuˈya, Ng. vsuya, Ra. súyaq ~ vsúyaq.
hundred thousand sand\(^{34}\) sen /sên/

muk hkyu /mûkhyû\(^{35}\)

a species of large fish of the suborder Siluroidea\(^{37}\)

related numerals are widespread among Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. sen\(^{6}\), Lā. sen, Ng. dvsens’, Ra. sën.

Numhpuk Singpho, a Jinghpaw dialect spoken in northeastern India, has a form more faithful to its input, i.e. moku /mûk\(^{39}\) sun\(^{37}\) ‘hunter’ (Morey 2007:25).

Also widely found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. tong\(^{55}\), Lh. thaung: (K), Lā. thung; Ng. thung; Ra. tông.

a marquee, a bungalow, a guest house, a tent or canopy set up for an exhibition or party, lit. a place for an officer to rest\(^{39}\)

a unit of volume measurement (esp. of grain) equal to eight cups, 64 ounces, one-half gallon\(^{40}\)

‘a measure of volume or capacity roughly equal to a bushel’\(^{41}\)
Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw

messy
shuk /cúk/

money
kye daw /kyédó/

offering
lu /lu/

oil
ye nan /yenan/

olive
tsan lun /tsanlun/

order
ámimg /támíy/

other
dákhyá /dókhyá/

pencil
hke dan /khédan/

42 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. suk¹ suk¹ sak¹ sak¹, Lh. sug sag (K), La. sug sag.
43 ‘post, pillar, unit of measure for distance (one thousand và or approximately two miles)”
44 ‘a model, a pattern, or a template’
45 ‘a sum of money paid as revenue or tax to the authorities concerned’
46 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. sanab kha” (K), La. sa naid kha”, Ra. dvnakká.
47 ‘to offer, present respectfully, as a present to a chief’
48 Also widely found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. alu: (K), La. alu:, Ng. vlu, Ra. vlu.
49 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. rung¹¹, Lh. yu⁴, La. yung”, Ng. yungh muh, Ra. róng.
50 Also widely found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. tsan: lun: (K), La. zhan loin:, Ng. tsanlun, Ra. zanlún.
51 Found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. kue³¹ dan³¹, Lh. khe⁴ tain⁴, La. khe” tain:, Ra. kédan.
petition (v.)⁵² shawk /cök/ ophon /h[v]ay/ ʔaʔat¹puŋ²
photograph dat pung /dát-puŋ/ ʔaʔat¹puŋ²
pickaxe pawk tu /pòktú/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
plow (v.) htau /thetai/ ʔaʔat¹puŋ¹
power dągu /dɔgú/ øøø³py ʔaʔat¹puŋ²
preach⁵³ hkw /khó/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
present⁵⁴ lak sawŋ /laksəŋ/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
prince⁵⁵ mang ʔa /maŋsə/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
princess⁵⁶ mang səmi /maŋsəmi/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
provisions⁵⁷ jàrit /jarīt/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
raft hpowng /phɔŋ/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
rank⁵⁸ aya /ʔája/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
read⁵⁹ hpat /phat/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
recover⁶⁰ sak sa /saksə/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
rest⁶¹ hkyam sa /khyāmsə/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
robber⁶² dāmya /dmayaʔa/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³
room⁶³ hkan /khán/ ʔaʔat³puŋ³

⁵² ‘to petition a court of justice, to sue, bring a law suit, to prosecute’
⁵³ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. kho” (K), La. kho”, Ra. kó.
⁵⁴ ‘property or money used as a bride’
⁵⁵ ‘the man who plays the part of the prince in a dramatic presentation, a dancer’
⁵⁶ ‘the woman who plays the part of a princess in a dramatic presentation, a dancer’
⁵⁷ ‘provisions for a journey, expenses while on the road’
⁵⁸ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. òja⁴, La. aya: ò akhàng” aya; Ng. vya, Ra. ya ò vya.
⁵⁹ Used especially in Jinghpaw dialects spoken in northern parts of the Jinghpaw-speaking area.
⁶⁰ ‘to be relieved, to recover (e.g. as from sickness), to regain comfort’
⁶¹ ‘happiness, rest, pleasure, reprieve’
⁶² Also widely found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. de¹myaq¹, Lh. damya, (K), La. damya, Ra. dmymaq.
⁶³ ‘a flat (an apartment), a room in a boarding house’
rupee\(^64\) kyap /kyəp/  

salary la hka /làʔkhàʔ/?/  

satin hpe /phè '/'  

school\(^65\) jawng /fjoŋ/  

screw we wu /wèʔwu/'  

sea\(^66\) pang lai /paŋlay/  

semi-divine ārawng /ʔoróŋ/  

being ngāman /ŋomáŋ/  

shop\(^67\) seng /seŋ/  

spoon zun /dzúŋ/  

stake (v.)\(^68\) lawng /lóŋ/  

stamp\(^69\) dázik /dɔęzik/  

stew (v.) chyaw /cól/  

strike (v.) nak /nàk/ ~ nak /nàk/  

strugglingly kuk kuk /kụkụkụk/  

tax\(^70\) kawn /kùn/  

teacher (f) sāra ma /sɔramáʔ/?/  

teacher (m)\(^71\) sāra /sora/  

telescope man pyawng /manpyówŋ/  

\(^64\) kyat, Myanmar unit of money  

\(^65\) Also widely found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. zyong\(^{11}\), Lh. cuφ\(^{1}\), La. jung, Ng. jungs, Ra. zùŋ.  

\(^66\) Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. paŋlai\(^{4}\), La. pang: lai; Ra. baŋlay.  

\(^67\) Found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. sueng\(^{25}\), Lh. seyn\(^{2}\), La. sain; Ng. sen, Ra. sîŋ.  

\(^68\) ‘to stake, wager, bet, as in gambling’  

\(^69\) Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. tāsît\(^{6}\), La. dažid, Ra. dvzok.  

\(^70\) ‘a tax paid to a chief, esp. the thigh of any piece of large game caught by a villager’  

\(^71\) Also widely found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. seʔra\(^{29}\), Lh. sàra\(^2\), La. sara; Ra. svra.
time
hkying /khyiŋ/ ~ āhkkying
WB akhyin, MB ?āchēi; Sh. kʰiŋ

torchlight
dat mi /dātmī/
WB dhātmī³, MB daʔmi

truely
āman /ʔāman/
WB amhan, MB ?āhmān

tube
pyawng /pyōŋ/
WB proũ, MB pyāun; Sh. pjoŋ

turmeric
sānwi /sānūy/
WB nānwín ~ sānwin

two-anna bit
mu /mu/
WB mi⁴, MB mū

use (v.)
sung /sūŋ/
WB sūn³, MB ōoun; Sh. sʰūŋ

usefulness
āsung /ʔāsūŋ/
WB asūŋ³, MB ?āhōun

vessel
kye dawk /kypadōk/
WB kyaõtok, MB cidau?

violin
daw raw /dōtōɾe/
WB tēo, MB tō; Sh. taʔɾa⁴

washbowl
ang dung /ʔaʔndoŋ/
WB aūtuin, MB ?iíndōun; Sh. ?aʔŋ

water basin
ang /ʔaŋ/
WB aŋ ‘tray’, MB ?iix; Sh. ?aʔŋ

weapon
nak lak /lāknāk/
WB laknāk, MB leʔneʔ; Sh. laak⁵naak³

week
bat /bāt/
WB paʔt, MB paʔ; Sh. paat⁵

withdraw
htuk /ʔiʔhūk/
WB thu, MB thouʔ; Sh. tʰuk³

work
āmu /ʔāmū/
WB amhu¹ ‘matter’, MB ?āhmū; Sh. ?aʔmu⁵

X-ray
dat man /dātmən/
WB dhātmən, MB daʔhmān;
Sh. tʰaʔmu¹maaʔ⁵

zinc
san pyaw /sanpyo/
WB saniphru, MB bāxhyu

0.2 Loans of Indic origin

almond
bātan /botan/
Hin. bādām ‘almond’ (from Per. bādām);
WB bādān, MB bātan

72 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. dat⁵-mi¹¹ ~ tat⁵-mi¹¹, Lh. dad’ mi” (K), L.a. daid mi; Ra. datmī.
73 ‘a tube, a pipe, a barrel (e.g. as of a gun)’
74 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. sanun” (K), La. sa noin”, Ra. svnuṅ.
75 ‘ordinary bamboo drinking vessel, made with a handle’
76 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. bat’, Lh. bad (K), L.a. bad.
77 ‘to draw, as a salary or money from a bank’
78 Found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. ba: dan: (K), L.a. ba tain ~ ba tan, Ng. batan zains.
Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw

betel  gang ze /gàŋzę:/  P. kamuka ‘areca’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB kwam³ si³ ‘betel nut’, MB kâńdí
bless  mang gâla /màŋɡələ/  P. mâŋgala ‘auspicious’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB mâŋgâlə, MB mânggələ; Sh. mâng⁴ kâl⁴ laa²
brick  wut /wʊt/  P. ìtthakā ‘burnt brick’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB ut, MB ?ou⁵; Sh. ?u⁵
brimstone  kan /kān/  Sk. gandhaka ‘brimstone’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB kan¹, MB kān⁸; Sh. kaan⁶
Buddha ʰ⁷⁹ hpâra /phōrā/  ဗ်မ်ား WB bhurâ¹, MB phāẏa⁴; Sh. ḫ.booking²
camel ʰ⁸⁰ gawla-uk /golaʔûk/  P. kula-ôṭha;  ဗ်မ်ား WB külâ³, MB kâl̂ə?ou⁵; Sh. kâl⁴ laa² UK
causon ʰ⁸² sâdi /sədiʔ/  P. sati ‘recognition’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB sati, MB dādi; Sh. sʰa¹ ti²
Ceylon  tihu /tīhu/  P. sīhala ‘Ceylon’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB sīhul, MB thò; Sh. sʰa² ho²
clock ʰ⁸³ nayî /nâyî/  P. nâîi ‘tube’, Hin. nāři ‘pulse’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB nâři, MB nàyi; Sh. nār² ri²
coin  dengga /dēnggá/  Sk. tâuka ‘stamped coin’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB daŋg³, MB dīsgá; Sh. teŋ⁴ kâa⁴
creator  sāgya /səgyâ/ ~ sāhkà  Sk. šākra ‘Indra’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB sikrâ³ ‘Indra’, MB dâjà
diamond  sin /sin/  P. vâjira ‘diamond’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB cin, MB sēin; Sh. tsii²
element ʰ⁸⁵ dat /dât/  P. dhâtu ‘element’;  ဗ်မ်ား WB dhât, MB daʔ; Sh. ëaat¹

⁷⁹ Items whose corresponding Indic forms are not identified are marked with asterisks.
⁸⁰ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. ko¹ la³ ru², La. go: la: ug, Ra. golawu.
⁸¹ WB kula³ ut (lit. Indian-camel), whose roots are not combined in the donor language, seems to be a novel compound coined in Burmese.
⁸² Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. sâti⁴, La. sa di, Ra. svdiq.
⁸³ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. na³⁵, Lh. na: yi: (K), La. na: yi:; Ra. nari.
⁸⁴ ‘the Hindu god Indra which appears in Buddhist Scriptures as Sakka, the lord of the first and second levels of existence of the nat devas’
⁸⁵ ‘an element, constituent part, particle, member: the four grand elements, i.e. air, earth fire, water’
All borrowed round numbers over hundred thousand in Jinghpaw exhibit semantic shifts (see Kurabe to appear).

Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. za31moq1de1ra35, Lh. nam mug dara: (K), La. phung gyi , Ng. bunggyis, Ra. p`on

The first syllable is of Shan origin, i.e. Shan samuddar¯a

The second syllable is of Burmese origin, i.e. WB kye3jü3, MB cézú; Sh. ke4tsu

Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. bung11ki11, La. phung gyi , Ng. bunggyis, Ra. p`on

Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. gvyam11, Lh. bu

Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. sa: sana: (K), La. sa: sana: , Ra. p`on

Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. nam31moq1de1ra35, Lh. nam mug dara: , Ng. nvmuk-dra, Ra. p`on

Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. za35, Lh. phung" (K), La. pung". Ng. phunk, Ra. püungbàng, MB phounkàn

Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. za35, Lh. phung" (K), La. pung". Ng. phunk, Ra. püungbàng, MB phounkàn

Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. gvyam11, Lh. bu

Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. gvyam11, Lh. bu

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Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>u pa di /ʔûbodî/</td>
<td>P. upadesa ‘indication’; WB upade, MB ʔûbodî; Sh. ʔûbodî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luck</td>
<td>gam /gàm/</td>
<td>P. kamma ‘deed’; WB kàm, MB kàv; Sh. kàm²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machine</td>
<td>jak /jâk/</td>
<td>P. cakkà ‘wheel’; WB cak, MB cak’; Sh. tsaak³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantra</td>
<td>ga hta /gatha/</td>
<td>P. gàthà ‘verse’; WB gàthà, MB gàthà; Sh. kàm²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantra</td>
<td>mandan /màndan/</td>
<td>P. manta ‘charm’; WB mantan, MB màndâm; Sh. màn²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merit</td>
<td>ku su /kû?su/</td>
<td>P. kusala ‘merit’; WB kusui, MB kûdò; Sh. kùdò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mission</td>
<td>sasana /sasanà/</td>
<td>P. sàsanà ‘teaching’; WB sàsanà; Sh. sàsò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>hpung kyi /phûnkyì/</td>
<td>‘teaching’, MB thàdànà; Sh. sò²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monk</td>
<td>jàdi hpu /jàdiphu/</td>
<td>P. bhaga ‘luck’; WB bhûra³; MB phûngji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutmeg</td>
<td>za di hpu /dzadîʔphu/</td>
<td>P. jàti puppha ‘nutmeg’; WB jàdipphuil, MB zàdeiʔphò; Sh. tsàra²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ocean</td>
<td>nam muk dâra /nàmmûkâra/</td>
<td>P. samuddà ‘ocean’; WB samuddâra, MB thàmouʔdàya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officer</td>
<td>bu /bu/</td>
<td>P. bala ‘power, army’; WB buila, MB bò; Sh. po²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

90 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. gvyam⁹¹, Lh. kàuf, La. gam, Ra. gâm.
91 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. zyak¹, Lh. cak⁵, La. jag, Ra. jvk.
92 ‘magic spell or incantation, a verse or stanza of four lines each of which has eight syllables’
93 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. man: dàn: (K), La. man tan, Ng. mandan, Ra. mandan,
94 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. sa: sana: (K), La. sa: sana:; Ra. sasvna.
95 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. bung¹¹kì³, Lh. phung gyì, Ng. bunggyìs, Ra. pûnggwì.
96 The second syllable is of Burmese origin, i.e. WB kri³ ‘be big’.
97 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. nam⁴⁴moq¹⁴de’ra¹⁵, Lh. nam mug dàra: (K), La. nam mug dàra:, Ng. nvmuk-dra, Ra. nvmukdvra.
98 The first syllable is of Shan origin, i.e. Shan nān³ ‘water’.

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Keita Kurabe

officer

tha na up /tha?na?up/99 P. thana ‘place’; ȹȹȹȹ MB thäna’up, MB thäna’ou?

omen

nämk /nämk/ P. nimitta ‘omen’; ȹȹȹȹ MB nimit, MB nämei?; Sh. nĩ³mik³

paisa100

pyek san /pyèksan/ Hin. paisā ‘copper coin’; ȹȹȹȹ WB puik-chain, MB pai’shan; Sh. pek³-s³aaur²

period

gap /gãp/ P. kappa ‘fixed time’; ȹȹȹȹ WB kap, MB ka?; Sh. kaap³

policeman101

pya da /pyada/ Hin. pyädä ‘messenger’ (from Per. piyäda); ȹȹȹȹ WB präta ‘messenger’, MB pyäta; Sh. pjaa²taa² ‘messenger’

punishment102

dam /dãm/ ~ dan /dan/ P. daŋda ‘stick as means of punishment’; ȹȹȹȹ WB dañ, MB dän; Sh. taam²

representative*103

amat /ãmät/ ȹȹȹȹ WB amat, MB ãma?; Sh. ã³ma³

rheumatism*

du la /dula/ ȹȹȹȹ WB dülä, MB dülä; Sh. tu²laa²

rich man104

sähti /sãthi/ P. sæthi ‘treasurer’; ȹȹȹȹ WB sæthe³,105 MB thäte³; Sh. s³a²q³e⁴

ruby

bat dämya /bátämyä/ Sk. padma-räga ‘ruby’; ȹȹȹȹ WB patträ³, MB bädämyä; Sh. pa³ta³mjaa⁴

saffron

shang gan /çanggan/ P. sankära-cola ‘rag’; ȹȹȹȹ WB sañkan³, MB thängän; Sh. s³a¹q³kaan⁴

sapphire107

ni la /nila/ P. nilä ‘blue’; ȹȹȹȹ WB nilä, MB nilä; Sh. ni²laa²

ship; papa-
sangphaw /sãmphõ/ ȹȹȹȹ WB sañbho, MB thınbõ; Sh. maak²s³a¹q³p³⁴

99 The second syllable is of Burmese origin, i.e. WB up ‘to cover’.
100 ‘a piece or paisa, the small unit of currency under the British’
101 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. pya²-ta², La. pya: da:, Ng. pyada, Ra. byadä.
102 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh dan (K), La. dam, Ra. dvm zì.
103 ‘a representative of the people elected to the state council, national parliament, or some assembly’
104 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. sæthe³, La. sa the” ~ sa thi”, Ra. svtè.
105 The first syllable of Pali sæthi that does not convey any meaning is replaced by sæ ‘person’ in
Burmese as a result of folk etymology.
106 ‘the saffron robe of a Buddhist priest’
107 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. ni: la:, La. ni: la:, Ng. nila luk.
108 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. sang³po³³, Lh. sañ phò’, La. sang phoo’, Ng.
### Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>P. upaddava ‘misfortune’;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sin</td>
<td>yu bak /yūbāk/</td>
<td>ṭūba; Sh. wīḥpaaq3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socks</td>
<td>maw za /moza/</td>
<td>moza ‘sock’ (from Per. moza);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirit</td>
<td>hpuk /phiuk/</td>
<td>bhūta ‘ghost’; bhut ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>state</td>
<td>jat /jāt/</td>
<td>jāti ‘rebirth’, jātaka ‘birth story’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topaz*</td>
<td>u tāphāya /tutaphaya/</td>
<td>usāpharā3, MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unhappiness</td>
<td>duk hka /diūkkhāʔ/</td>
<td>dukkha ‘unpleasant’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>university</td>
<td>dakkāsu /dākkasū/</td>
<td>takkasul, MB trākāth;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water festival</td>
<td>shang gyen /cānggyen/</td>
<td>saṅ.krānti ‘Sankranti’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheat</td>
<td>jung /juŋ/</td>
<td>gehūm ‘wheat’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisdom</td>
<td>byeng ya /byępỳa/</td>
<td>paṃnā ‘of wisdom’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witness</td>
<td>sak se /sāksē/</td>
<td>sakse, MB ṭvʔə;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

109 This item, which appears to have entered Burmese during the colonial period, is rarely known by modern Burmese speakers, but words derived from the same etymon is retained in minority languages as in Jinghpaw and other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. moza3, Lh. mōt-sa, La. mawza, Ra. moza, and Chin languages as in Tedim Chin mawza and Mizo mawza tawi (Dr. Kosei Otsuka, p.e., 2016).

110 ‘a nat that has the power to take possession of a corpse and appear in the apparently living body of a deceased person, a zombie’

111 ‘state of existence, of which there are three divisions past, present, and future’

112 ‘a town situated in present-day Pakistan considered to be one of the earliest universities’

113 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. sag se: (K), La. sag se; Ra. svkse ~ shvkse.
0.3 Loans of English and other origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kachin</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>baw lung/ bölýŋ/</td>
<td>En. ball; ლყყლყლყ WB bholuin³, MB bõlõn⁴; Sh. ps³łuy⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bomb</td>
<td>bawm/ bõm/</td>
<td>En. bomb; ლყ WB buir³, MB bóun⁴; Sh. maak²-pom⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camera</td>
<td>kemmar/kemmarə/</td>
<td>En. camera; ლყყყ WB kaimarä, MB kinmarä; Sh. kaa²ma¹raa²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>ka/ ká/</td>
<td>En. car; ლყ WB ká³, MB ká⁴; Sh. kaa⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>mawdaw/ modo/</td>
<td>En. motor; ლყყყ WB mo²to² ‘motorboat’; MB môt³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ</td>
<td>hkri säädu/ khrísodü/?</td>
<td>En. Christ; ლყ WB karacto², MB khâri?ti; Sh. kʰä¹ri³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td>hkri säämat/ khrísamät/</td>
<td>En. Christmas; ლყ WB karacca-mat, MB khâri?sâma?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>college</td>
<td>kaw lik/ kólík/</td>
<td>En. college; ლყყყ WB kolip, MB ëlëi²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>company</td>
<td>gung mání/ guṃmonyi/</td>
<td>En. company; ლყ WB kunpani, MB köunbâni; Sh. kun²-pal² ni²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>Inggālan/ ïwngəlan/</td>
<td>En. England; ლყ WB aigungalan, MB ïnggålan; Sh. ïŋg²ka¹ lan²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>inglik/ ïŋlik/ ~ inggålik/</td>
<td>En. English; ლყ WB aigungilip, MB ïŋgålik; Sh. ïŋg²ka¹ let³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fit</td>
<td>htuk/ thůk/</td>
<td>Mon thek; ლყ WB thuik, MB thai³; Sh. òk²uk²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹⁴ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. bo¹¹ lung²¹, Lh. bo: lung” (K), La. boo: lung”; Ra. bõlţûŋ.
¹¹⁵ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. bom, La. boem, Ra. bôm ~ bûm.
¹¹⁶ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. kem²-ra³, La. kem ra; Ra. kemvra.
¹¹⁷ Found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. mo³⁵ to³⁵ ~ to⁵⁵, Lh. mo³ to³, La. moo doo, Ra. modo.
¹¹⁸ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. khye” stu, La. khrį sa du, Ra. kristuq.
¹¹⁹ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. khye” smad, La. khrį sa mad, Ra. kristmat.
¹²⁰ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. gung: mani; La. gung ma ni; Ra. gungbyñi.
¹²¹ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. In ga lan.; La. in ga lan, Ra. inggvlən.
¹²² Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. In ga lid, La. in ga lid, Ra. engvlək.
dap /dáp/ Mon dap; 伟大复兴 WB tap, MB ta‘; Sh. tap⁵
fountain pen hpawng tin /phoon tin/ En. fountain; 伟大复兴 WB phoōtin, MB phàṵtin
furlong hpa lung /phalūn/ En. furlong; 伟大复兴 WB phālṵn, MB phàlāvn
grape¹²⁴ tsābyi /tsābyī/ Arb. zabīb ‘raisin’; 伟大复兴 WB capyac, MB zābyī?; Sh. tsat³ pit³
guava¹²⁵ māli ga /molīga/ Malay Melaka ‘Malacca’; 伟大复兴 WB mālāgā, MB mālāgā; Sh. maak² kar²
gun sānat /sōnāt/ Por. espinharda;¹²⁶ 伟大复兴 WB senat, MB thāna?
Jesus¹²⁷ Yesu /yesū/ En. Yes; 伟大复兴 WB yerhu, MB yècū; Sh. je⁵ shu⁵
lottery¹²⁸ hti /thī/ En. lottery; 伟大复兴 WB thī, MB thī; Sh. thī²
magazine mekgāzin /mēkgōdzīn/ En. magazine; 伟大复兴 WB maggajañ³, MB mr̃gəzìn; Sh. mrk³ kal¹ tsin¹
mile mai /māy/ En. mile; 伟大复兴 WB muḭ, MB mā̀în; Sh. mīr̃²
minute¹²⁹ mānit /mōnīt/ En. minute; 伟大复兴 WB mina, MB mīnī?
motorcycle mawdaw saike /mōdō-sayke/ En. motorcycle; 伟大复兴 WB mōdōʔ chū̀ikay, MB mōt̃sha̰nkī; Sh. mō³ t̃ tsaaj² kṣ̀²
number¹³⁰ nambat /nāmbāt/ En. number; 伟大复兴 WB nāt̃pāt, MB nāxba?

¹²³ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. kyę⁵ tap, La. gye; Ng. jesdyp, Ra. dap.
¹²⁴ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. sabý, La. za bý, Ng. zvią.
¹²⁵ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. ma⁷ laga, La. ma⁷ laga, Ra. maļgashí.
¹²⁶ This widespread root, which found its way into many other Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer and Tai languages, ultimately has its source in a slang of Portuguese soldiers in the 16th century, i.e. espinharda ‘musket’ (Matisoff 1988:747). The Burmese form appears to have a direct connection with Dutch snaphaan (Myanmar Language Commission ed. 2009:500).
¹²⁷ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. Ye: su’, La. Ye su, Ra. yesu.
¹²⁸ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. thī, La. thī, Ra. ti.
¹²⁹ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Lh. mi⁶ ni⁴, La. myi: nid, Ra. minot ~ mvnt.
¹³⁰ Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. nam⁵ bat’, Lh. nam: bad (K), La. nam bed, Ra. ñunbvt.
Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. bya₁₁ ~ sa₁₁', L. sa” pya; Ng. sapyä, Ra. sapbyä. This item, ultimately derived from an etymon of Proto-Indo-European, was adopted by a massive number of genetically related and unrelated languages across Europe, Africa, the Middle East, South, East and Southeast Asia, the Pacific, and North America (see Bauer 1992).

The second syllable is of Burmese origin, expressing ‘to boil’.


Appendix B: Semantics of Burmese loans

Burmese loanwords, as exemplified in (1), sometimes underwent semantic changes in Jinghpaw, illustrating such changes as specialization, generalization, and melioration.

(1) Examples of semantic shifts between Burmese and Jinghpaw

a. WB lakchó’ ‘gift’ > Jg. láksøy ‘property or money used as a bride’
b. WB tainkhwán ‘pennant’ > Jg. dönkhon ‘flag’
c. WB aró ‘color’ > Jg. ñarøy ‘honor’
d. WB prätá ‘messenger’ > Jg. pvada ‘police officer’
e. WB kán³ ‘post for collecting custom duties’ > Jg. kán ‘custom duties’

131 Also found in other Kachin languages, e.g. Za. bya₁₁ ~ sa₁₁’, L. sa” pya; Ng. sapyä, Ra. sapbyä. This item, ultimately derived from an etymon of Proto-Indo-European, was adopted by a massive number of genetically related and unrelated languages across Europe, Africa, the Middle East, South, East and Southeast Asia, the Pacific, and North America (see Bauer 1992).

132 The second syllable is of Burmese origin, expressing ‘to boil’.

133 From Mon according to Myanmar Language Commission ed. (2009:2).
Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw

f. WB khyam⁵să ‘be rich; have peace and quiet’ > Jg. khyãnsă ‘to rest; be cheap’
g. WB säsana ‘teaching’ > Jg. sasanā ‘mission work’

WB lakcho‘n ‘gift’ (cf. Shan laak⁵⁵sà ‘gift’), narrowing its range of referent, is specialized to mean ‘property or money used as a bride’ in Jinghpaw. WB tainkhwan ‘pennant’ (cf. Shan tam⁵⁵khon ‘flag offered in worship’), on the other hand, is generalized to encompass any kinds of flags in Jinghpaw. WB aro‘n ‘color’ (cf. Shan ?a‘raŋ ‘color, brightness’) underwent melioration in Jinghpaw, gaining a more positive sense of ‘honor’. A similar shift can also be observed in WB prātā (ultimately from Persian through Hindi) ‘office boy; messenger’ (cf. Shan pjaa²taa² ‘peon; messenger’), which is borrowed into Jinghpaw first with the meaning of ‘police force serving as the chief’s messengers’¹³⁴ and then with the meaning of ‘police officer’ in general today. Jinghpaw kày ‘duties’, having its diachronic source in WB kàn³ ‘post for collecting custom duties’, illustrates metonymic transfer. WB khyam⁵să ‘be rich; have peace and quiet’ is introduced through Shan (i.e. kʰjaam⁴⁴sà ‘be at ease; ease’) into Jinghpaw, where it underwent further semantic shift meaning not only ‘happiness, rest, pleasure’ but also ‘be cheap, inexpensive’. As the majority of the Jinghpaw people today are Christian, Buddhism terminology such as WB säsana ‘teaching, dispensation’ (cf. Shan sʰaə²sʰa’nəa² ‘religious system’; ultimately from Pali) is adopted by Jinghpaw as terminology of Christianity (i.e. Jg. sasanā ‘mission work’).

References


Dai, Qingxia and Xu Xijian. (1995) Jingpoyu cihuixue (Jinghpo lexicology). Beijing: Cen-

¹³⁴ “[A]ll gumrawng gumsa chiefs maintain a regular police force serving as the chief’s messengers or agents of law enforcement” (Maran 1964:39).


Phonology of Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw


ジンポー語におけるビルマ語借用語音韻論

倉部 慶太

要旨

本稿の目的は、ジンポー語のビルマ語借用語を対象に、特に分節音に注目しながら、その借用語音韻論の記述的説明を行うことにある。本稿は、複雑な文化接触地域を成す東南アジアにおける言語接触の一つの事例を提供する。ジンポー語のビルマ語借用語音韻論は特に次の2点で注目に値する。第一に、ビルマ語とジンポー語の言語接触の歴史は比較的新しいにも関わらず、ジンポー語のビルマ語借用語の多くは現代ビルマ語で失われた保守的な音特徴を示す点である。この事実は、ビルマ語→シャン語→ジンポー語という語族を超えた借用の連鎖を想定することにより説明可能となる。すなわち、ビルマ語ともジンポー語とも長い接触の歴史を持つシャン語を介して、多くのビルマ語がジンポー語に導入されたのである。第二に、ジンポー語のビルマ語借用語が、古いビルマ語と現代ビルマ語の両方の音特徴を示す点である。この事実は、ジンポー語のビルマ語借用語が多層的性質を持つことを示す。附録Aではビルマ語借用語語彙を提示し、附録Bではビルマ語借用語に観察される音変化の記述を行う。

Keita Kurabe

ジンポー語におけるビルマ語借用語音韻論

倉部 慶太

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