

Grammatical Phenomena of Sino-Tibetan Languages 4

Link Languages and Archetypes in Tibeto-Burman

シナ=チベット系諸言語の文法現象 4
繋聯言語と古態

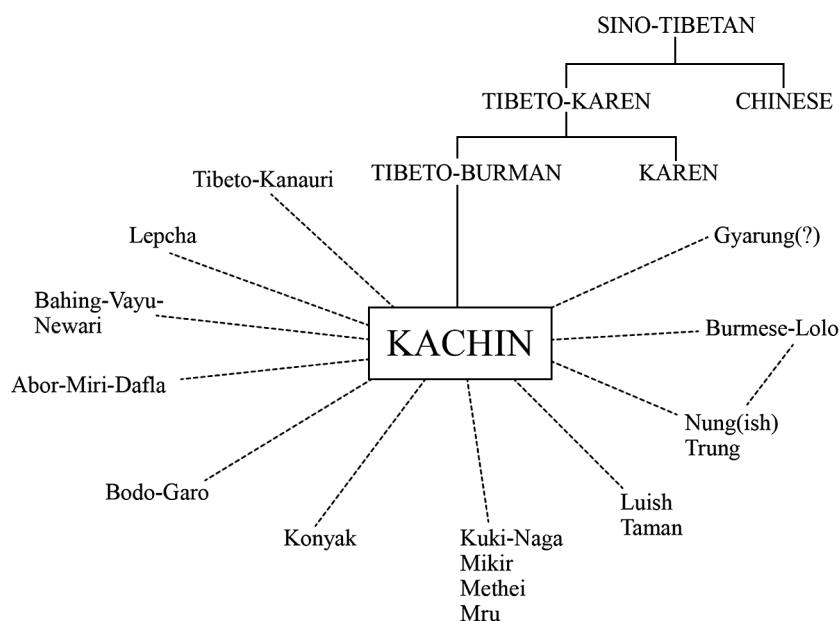
NAGANO Yasuhiko and IKEDA Takumi (eds.)

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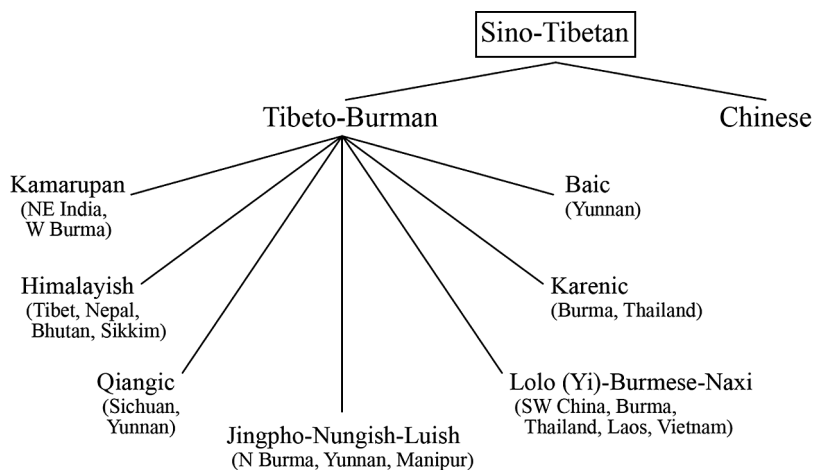
Preface

This volume presents part of the research results of the JSPS Overseas Research Grant, “International Joint Survey of the Link Languages of Tibeto-Burman Language Family” (ID: 16H02722, headed by NAGANO Yasuhiko), supporting research conducted from FY 2016 through FY 2019.

The Tibeto-Burman (TB) language family, which constitutes part of the larger Sino-Tibetan language family, is distributed in a wide area encompassing Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu, and Yunnan Provinces and the Tibet Autonomous Region in China, the southern sub-Himalayan region in northeastern and northwestern India, and northeastern Pakistan. The TB languages were established as one language family by Wolfenden (1929), *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, and the sound form of the proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) language has since been clarified to some extent through the achievements of Benedict (1972), *Sino-Tibetan*, and Matisoff (2003), *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman*. In this situation, where we cannot draw any persuasive genealogical tree like we have for the Indo-European language family, Benedict and Matisoff proposed the following correlation diagrams as shown below:



[Schematic Stammbaum by P. K. Benedict 1972]



[Provisional Sino-Tibetan family tree by J. A. Matisoff 2003]

Thanks to these previous studies, we have accurate phonetic shapes of PTB and an outline of genetic relations among TB languages. However, reconstructions of the proto-languages of the subgroup languages have not been completed yet, and while occasional efforts have been made toward the reconstruction of the morphosyntax of PTB, we still have some distance to go before obtaining tangible results.

Among TB languages, some languages hold characteristic grammatical features found in several different sub-groups and lexical shapes directly comparable with PTB. The late Professor NISHIDA Tatsuo termed these languages *link languages*. Looking into them carefully, however, we now understand that their ways of “linking” comprise quite a variety.

Some languages show very close lexical shapes to PTB that are recognizable as its direct descendants. Others, however, are borrowings of older written forms of Tibetan, Burmese, Newari, and so on. Some languages present highly complicated morphosyntactic procedures, such as pronominalization, directives, and voice systems. We are tempted to simply hypothesize that PTB used to have such complex systems or that they are remnants of PTB shapes. However, recent research has revealed that the majority of these are later developments. The issue we face is, therefore, how to identify so-called “archaic” forms that may point us to PTB forms out of this complexity.

The project members share the following common understanding:

- (1) The link languages that share grammatical features found in some sub-group languages, especially Tibeto-Himalayan languages (mainly West Himalayan and West Bhutan languages), Qiang-rGyalrong languages, and Jingpho languages, have not been described systematically enough to build a corpus.

- (2) A comprehensive morphosyntax database was needed.
- (3) “Comparison” is the most sophisticated methodology of historical linguistics, and this is also true for research on TB languages. Considering the repeated encounters and movements of peoples in the TB-speaking area, however, an approach from the viewpoint of “linguistic substrata” is of critical importance for research on TB languages. Linguistic substrata are closely associated with the archaic forms that are still found in link languages, but there has been little methodological examination of their mutual relations.
- (4) The rapid spread of Chinese and Hindi languages in the communities where these link languages are spoken is posing a threat to the survival of these communities and endangers the link languages.

To address the abovementioned problems, research was conducted focusing on the following objectives:

- (1) To collect detailed descriptive data of rapidly endangered languages/dialects mentioned under item No. 1 of the previous paragraph, by conducting intensive fieldwork and by paying special attention to typological features.
- (2) To reconstruct the archaic stratum of the abovementioned three sub-group languages and recover the vocabulary and morphosyntax of Proto-TB more precisely.
- (3) To build an open database that enables users to search words and grammars collected via (1) and (2) above along with sound data. This database, to be linked to other databases locally and independently compiled worldwide, was expected to play a central role in the reconstruction of PTB.
- (4) To analyze the older forms of these link languages to gain insights into their archaic word forms and basic morphosyntax, and regarding syntax, explore how these languages retain archaic forms in ergativity, pronominalization, direction marking, and affixes in VPs.

After the expiration of research project: “International Joint Survey of the Link Languages of Tibeto-Burman Language Family” (ID: 16H02722, headed by NAGANO Yasuhiko) in 2019, all the project members took part in the new enlarged research project: “A Study of the Historical Development of the Sino-Tibetan Languages and their Typological Geography” (ID: 18H05219, headed by IKEDA Takumi), to continue their own research focusing on the historical development and typological varieties of Tibeto-Burman languages.

This volume is a collection of reports on the research results of the project members, who have long been puzzled by the questions mentioned above. With a deep understanding of the underlying problematics, they carried out fieldwork on the respective languages of

their specialization, as a result of which we are pleased to present eight articles in three categories: grammar, typology, and phonology. I hope their descriptions can be an impetus for Tibeto-Burman linguistics.

Finally, the publication of this volume was supported by Grant-in-Aid of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (18H05219 above).

December 2020

Editors

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Notes on the Phonological Development of Menglun Akeu*

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Summary

This paper attempts to investigate the phonological development of Menglun Akeu, a lesser-known Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Mengla County of Yunnan Province of China. Using the author's firsthand data of Menglun Akeu and two related languages (Akha Buli and Youle Jino), both segments and suprasegments of the language are compared with those of written Burmese and the proto languages reconstructed by David Bradley and James A. Matisoff.

The stop and affricate onsets in Menglun Akeu mostly preserve the VOT system of the Proto-Loloish or the Proto-Lolo-Burmese, whereas the fricative in Menglun Akeu corresponds to Lolo-Burmese languages in a complicated manner. The medial /-j-/ can be preceded by the velar onsets (/k-, g-/) in Menglun Akeu, which in some cases ('to steal' and 'nine') corresponds only to Youle Jino in the dataset of this paper. Syllabic nasal /n/ can be found in Menglun Akeu, which is the outcome of deleting the rime.

The rime correspondence between Menglun Akeu and other Lolo-Burmese is complex, although there are a few corresponding rules [Menglun Akeu: Proto-Loloish = -i: *-ey/ *-i, -ε: -*am, -a: *-a, -u: *-u, etc.].

As a result of the tonal comparison between Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese languages, it is arguable that the tonal correspondence between Menglun Akeu and Akha Buli is quite clear, which follows the general principles of tonal merge proposed by Bradley (1977) [Proto-Loloish > Menglun Akeu/ Akha Buli = *1 > 55, *2/*L > 21, *3/*H > 33].

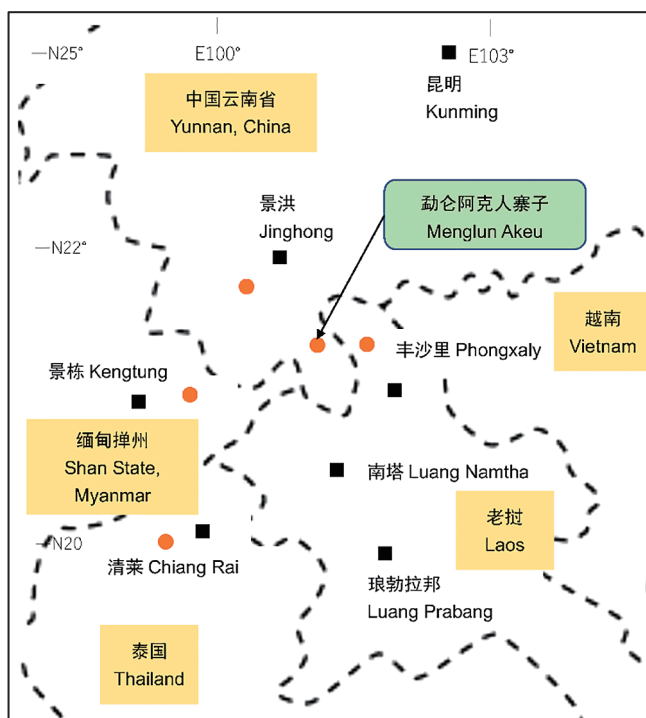
Key words: Akeu, Southern Loloish, Yunnan, Phonological Development

*The linguistic fieldwork for this study is financially and academically supported by JSPS Kaken (JP26370492, 16H02722), to which the author expresses his sincere gratitude. The linguistic fieldwork in Yunnan was supported and arranged by the Yunnan Nationality Museum 中国云南民族博物馆 (Mr. Xie Mohua 谢沫华, Mr. Gao Liqing 高力青, Mr. Gao Xiang 高翔, and many staff), which I appreciate very much. It can be said that the earliest version of this paper, entitled "Two Akeu Dialects in Myanmar and China," was presented at the 25th Annual Conference of the Southeast Asian Linguistic Society held at Payap University in Thailand in 2015. However, through later extensive fieldwork in China, the content of the analysis has been completely revised and refined; this paper can thus be considered a new paper.

1. Introduction

The Akeu language [Glottocode: akeu1235, ISO 639-3: aeu] is a member of the Southern Loloish (Yipho) branch of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic family (Bradley 1997, 2002, see Figure) and is spoken in four different countries: China, Myanmar/ Burma, Laos, and Thailand (see Map). The Menglun variety of Akeu (henceforth Menglun Akeu) is a dialect of the Akeu language spoken in the town of Menglun, located in Mengla County in Yunnan Province, China. This paper presents an exploration of the phonological development of Menglun Akeu through a comparison of firsthand data¹ for this language with data from other Tibeto-Burman (henceforth TB) languages.

Several studies have been conducted on other varieties of the Akeu language. Gong



Map The villages of Akeu (●)
[Adapted from Hayashi and Gao 2019]

¹ The author has carried out linguistic fieldwork on this language in the town of Menglun [Mengla County, Yunnan Province, China] since 2014 and has collected basic lexicon, faunal, and sentential data. The main language consultants are ZD (male, born in 1949) and ZL (male, born in 1969), who are both proficient speakers of both this language and Chinese. The author expresses his sincere gratitude to the consultants and the people at the field site.

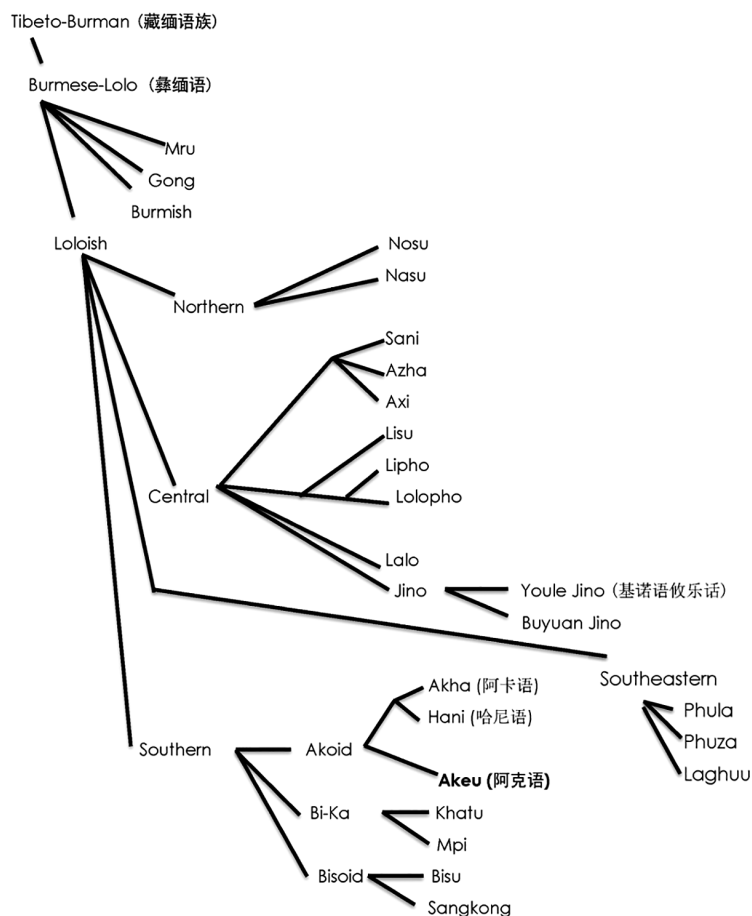


Figure Genealogy of Akeu and Lolo-Burmese (Bradley 1997, 2002)²

(1982) introduced the Kengtung dialect of Akeu, which is spoken in Shan State, Myanmar, and compared it with Akha. Hansson (1988, 1997 [1992]) illustrated the Chiang Rai dialect of Akeu (she utilizes the autonym ‘Gokhy’ in her papers) by comparing it with Akha, which is the surrounding language. Shintani (2017) compiled the lexicon of the Kengtung dialect of Akeu. Shi et al. (2017) conducted a sociolinguistic study of the Akeu language of Menghai County in Yunnan, China. These varieties of Akeu and the analyses of their phonology in these previous works differ from those in this paper, in regard to which several points will be mentioned in the footnotes of the later sections.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Before moving toward the historical comparison, the synchronic aspect of the phonological inventories should be noted. The

²This figure is adapted from Hayashi and Gao (2019).

Table 1 Segmental Chart of Menglun Akeu Phonology

[Consonants]			[Plain Vowels]			[Creaky Vowels]		
p b	t d	k g	i y	ɯ	u	ĩ ỹ	ɰ	ũ
	ts dz		e	ɤ	o	ẽ	ɥ	õ
m	n	ɲ	ɛ	a	ɔ	ɛ̰	ɑ̰	ɔ̰
	s	x ɣ						
w	l	j						

segmental and suprasegmental units are thus summarized in Section 2. Each segment of the syllable structure, such as onsets, medials, rimes, and tones, are compared with those of other TB languages in Section 3. Section 4 concludes this paper.

The Menglun Akeu data are all extracted from the author's fieldnotes, and the data sources of other languages including proto-languages are summarized in the **Data Sources** section.

2. Synchronic Phonology

This section summarizes the synchronic phonological inventories of Menglun Akeu based on the description provided by Hayashi and Gao (2019). The syllable structure of this language is $C_1C_2VC_3/T$. C_1 , C_2 , V , C_3 , and T represent onset, medial, vowel, ending, and tone, respectively. This paper calls the combination of $V + C_3$ 'rime.' The consonantal and vowel charts are given in Table 1.

As seen in Table 1, there are 18 consonants and 20 vowels. The vowels have two phonation types, namely plain vs. creaky, which is quite typical in Southern Loloish languages (For Akha, see Hansson 2003, Hayashi 2016).

As for the consonants, the plosives and affricates have voicing contrasts, namely voiceless vs. voiced, like /p/ vs. /b/, the former of which is phonetically aspirated when it is followed by plain vowels, e.g., /pa/ [p^hɛ].³ The affricates /ts/ and /dz/ both have allophones such as [tɕ/ tɕ^h] and [dʒ] when they are followed by front vowels. /n/ can be syllabic in some words. /j/ can be slotted as medial, which co-occurs with velar onsets. The ending is slotted by /n/ and /ŋ/, the former of which is seen only in loanwords.

Regarding the suprasegmentals, Menglun Akeu has a syllabic tonal system. There are three tonemes: 55, 33, and 21.

³This type of complementary distribution can be also found in Akha Puli, spoken in Kengtung, Shan State, Myanmar (Lewis 1968). Gong (1982) and Hansson (1997 [1992]) recognize that there are three-way contrasts in plosives, namely voiceless unaspirated vs. voiceless aspirated vs. voiced unaspirated in Kengtung Akeu and Thailand Akeu.

Table 2 Correspondence sets of Menglun Akeu stop onsets with those of other Lolo-Burmese languages

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘sugar cane’	pɔ ²¹ tsi ⁵⁵ a ²¹ ly ³³	phɔ ²¹ tɕhø ⁵⁵	pho ³³ tʃhi ⁴⁴	bhawa:	---
‘to roast’	pø ³³	pu ³³	phju ⁵⁵	phut	PL *put ^H
‘moon’	ba ³³ la ³³	ba ³³ la ³³	pu ⁵⁵ ɔ ⁴⁴	la	PLB *s/?-la ³ , PL *bə la ³
‘to give’	bɿ ²¹	bɿ ²¹	pi ⁵⁵	pei:	PTB *s-bəy-n/k, PLB *bəy ²
‘thick’	a ²¹ tu ⁵⁵	jɔ ³³ thu ⁵⁵	a ³³ thu ⁵⁵	thuu	PL *tu ¹
‘above’	pu ³³ tə ²¹	a ²¹ tə ³³	a ³³ tha ⁵⁵ pɔ ⁴⁴	a-thak	PL *tak ^H
‘to dig’	du ²¹	du ²¹	tu ⁵⁵	tu:	PTB *s/m-du, PLB *n-du ²
‘to go out’	dɔ ³³	dɔ ³³	to ³³	thwak	PTB *s-twak, PLB *?-twak ^H
‘bitter’	a ²¹ ka ²¹	xa ²¹	a ⁵⁵ khɔ ⁵⁵	kha:	PTB *b-ka-n/m/ŋ, PLB *ka ²
‘year’	a ²¹ kɔ ²¹	a ⁵⁵ xɔ ²¹	[a ³³ mjɔ ⁵⁵]	[hnac]	PLB *C-kok ^L
‘bone’	xa ²¹ gu ²¹	ɕa ²¹ gu ²¹	a ⁵⁵ kju ⁵⁵	a-krɔ	PTB *d/s-kəw, PL *(j)-gru ²
‘to pick up’	gɔ ³³	[ju ³³ ma ³³]	ko ⁴²	kək	PTB *s-g-ruk, PLB *k-ruk ^H

3. Phonological Development of Menglun Akeu

This section explores the phonological development of Menglun Akeu. The development of onset, rime and tones are discussed in the Section 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3, respectively.

3.1 Onset

3.1.1 Stops/Plosives

The stops/plosives of Menglun Akeu have voicing dichotomy such as /p/ vs. /b/, /t/ vs. /d/, and /k/ vs. /g/. The basic correspondence sets of the stop onset in Menglun Akeu are illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2 shows relatively clear correspondence sets for the stops, but note that the words for ‘to go out’ and ‘to pick up’ have voiced onsets in Menglun Akeu, and these voiced onsets correspond to voiceless onsets in Proto-Lolo-Burmese. This may indicate that the onsets in these Menglun Akeu words became voiced after divergence from related languages, though this needs to be investigated further.

If we use “T,” “Th,” and “D” to indicate unaspirated voiceless, aspirated voiceless, and unaspirated voiced stops, respectively, we can summarize the correspondence sets of Menglun Akeu stops and those of other Lolo-Burmese language as in Table 3.

Menglun Akeu is very similar to Akha Buli in many aspects, but we should note that the velar stop /k-/ in Menglun Akeu corresponds to /x-/ in Akha Buli.

Table 3 Corresponding Chart of Stops in Menglun Akeu and LB

Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
TV	ThV/ xV	ThV	D(h)V	PLB/ PL: *T
T_V	T_V/ x_V	ThV	ThV	PLB/ PL: *T
DV	DV	TV	TV	PLB/ PL: *D
D_V	D_V	TV	ThV	PLB/ PL: *T (/ *D)

Table 4 Correspondence sets of Menglun Akeu affricate onsets with those of other Lolo-Burmese languages

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘ten’	tsʏ⁵⁵	tshɛ⁵⁵	tshʏ⁴²	chay	PTB * ts(y)i(y) ≠ *tsyay PLB * tsay ¹
‘earth’	mi³³tsa²¹	mi⁵⁵tsha²¹	mi³³tshə⁵⁵	[mrei]	PTB * ts(y)a , PL * tsa ²
‘cold’	a²¹tsy²¹	[jɔ ³³ ɲɛ ⁵⁵]	a³³tʃho⁵⁵	khyam:	PLB * s-krak ≠ s-krok
‘salt’	tsa²¹dʏ²¹	tsha²¹dʏ²¹	tshə⁵⁵khə⁴²	chaa:	PTB * tsa , PL * (t)sa ²
‘to eat’	dza²¹	dza²¹	tsɔ⁵⁵	caa:	PTB * m-dz(y)a-k/n/t/s , PLB * dʒa ²
‘cicada’	bø²¹dze²¹	a²¹dʒɛ²¹	pu⁵⁵tʃe⁵⁵	pu cañ: kii:	---

It is arguable that Menglun Akeu relatively retains the VOT system of the proto-language, though the voiced stop in Menglun Akeu is often problematic.

3.1.2 Affricates

As with stops, affricates in Menglun Akeu also have voicing dichotomy such as /ts/ vs. /dz/. The basic correspondence sets of the affricate onsets in Menglun Akeu are shown in Table 4.

As seen in Table 4, the basic correspondence of the onset /ts/ in Menglun Akeu can be summarized as follows: MA: AB: YJ: WB: PTB/ PLB= ts-: tsh-: tsh-: ch-: ts-. Menglun Akeu /ts/ seems to have retained the PTB/ PLB *ts,⁴ though it is articulated as voiceless aspirated [ts^h] when followed by plain vowels.

As for /dz/ in Menglun Akeu (‘to eat’ and ‘cicada’), this affricate corresponds to Akha Buli /dz/ or /dʒ/.⁵ At present, there are scant examples of /dz/ with creaky vowels in Menglun Akeu, for example, /ga²¹dʒɔ³³/ ‘story,’ etc., and no clear correspondence has been identified for this affricate in other Lolo-Burmese languages.

⁴The word for ‘cold’ in Menglun Akeu violates this rule. It is arguable that the consonant cluster of PLB *kr- underwent the affrication process, to which Menglun Akeu /ts/ corresponds.

⁵Note that the word for ‘to eat’ in Menglun Akeu retains PTB *dz-.

Table 5 Corresponding chart of affricates in Menglun Akeu and LB⁶

Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
TSV	TShV	TShV	TShV	PLB/ PL: *TS
TSV̥	TS(h)V̥	TShV	TShV	PLB/ PL: *TS/ gr
DZV	DZV	TSV	TSV	PLB/ PL: *DZ

Table 6 Correspondence sets of Menglun Akeu nasal onsets with those of other Lolo-Burmese languages

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘fire’	mi ²¹ dza ²¹	mi ²¹ dza ²¹	mi ⁵⁵	mii:	PTB *mey, PLB *s/?-mey ²
‘body hair’	a ²¹ mɣ ²¹	tɕa ²¹ xm ³³	a ⁵⁵ mw ⁵⁵	a-mwei	PTB *g-mul, PLB *?-maw ¹
‘spirit’	ne ²¹	ne ²¹	ne	nat	PTB *na-n ɳ *na-t, PL *C-nat ^L [LTSR]
‘deep’	a ²¹ nɛ ²¹	jɣ ³³ nɛ ²¹	a ³³ ŋa ⁵⁵	nak	PTB *s-nak, PLB *?-nak ^L
‘cattle’	ny ²¹ nɣ ⁵⁵	mo ³³ ne ³³	mɛ ³³ nu ⁵⁵	nwaa:	PTB *ŋwa, PLB *nwa ²
‘green’	a ²¹ ny ⁵⁵	jɔ ³³ ŋø ⁵⁵	a ³³ ŋu ⁵⁵	nyo	PTB *s-ŋow, PLB *?-jo ¹
‘short’	da ²¹ ni ⁵⁵	jɔ ³³ ŋm ⁵⁵	[a ³³ tso ⁵⁵]	nim.	PL *?/s-n-yum ¹
‘five’	ŋa ²¹	ŋa ²¹	ŋɔ ⁵⁵	ŋaa	PTB *l/b-ŋa, PLB *ŋa ²
‘1SG’	ŋa ⁵⁵	ŋa ⁵⁵	ŋɔ ⁴²	ŋaa:	PTB *ŋa, PL *C-ŋa ¹

The basic correspondence is summarized in Table 5. ‘TS,’ ‘TSh,’ and ‘DZ’ represent voiceless unaspirated affricates, voiceless aspirate affricates, and voiced unaspirated affricates, respectively.

3.1.3 Nasals

There are four Menglun Akeu nasals, /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/, all of which are voiced. These are exemplified in Table 6.

As seen in Table 6, the corresponding rules for nasals in Akeu and Lolo-Burmese languages are quite clear; MA: AB: YJ: WB = m-: m-: m-/ m̥-: m-, n-: n-: n-/ n̥-: n-, ɲ-: ɲ-: ɲ̥-: n-/ n̥-, ŋ-: ŋ-: ŋ̥-: ŋ-. Consonant clusters such as *ʔ-N and *s-N correspond to Youle Jino voiceless nasals (e.g., /m̥-/, /n̥-/, etc.; see Hayashi 2002), while in Menglun Akeu and Akha Buli, they are reflected as voiced nasals, as can be seen in the words for ‘body hair’ and ‘deep.’

⁶ Only one word can be found with {/dz/ + creaky vowel}, /a²¹dzy³³tsu³³/ ‘fat,’ which phonemes in other related Loloish languages generally correspond to in the final syllable; thus, Tables 4 and 5 do not include this word.

⁷ Youle Jino has /ŋ̥/, which occurs only in the word for ‘to pick off’ /ŋ̥a⁵⁵/ (Hayashi 2009a). The author has not yet determined the corresponding set for this word.

Table 7 Correspondence sets of Menglun Akeu fricative onsets with those of other Lolo-Burmese languages

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘blood’	a ²¹ si ²¹	ɕi ²¹	a ⁵⁵ ʃi ⁵⁵	swei:	PTB *s-hywəy, PLB *swəy ²
‘seven’	si ²¹	ɕi ²¹	ʃi ⁵⁵	[khu-nac]	PTB *s-ni-s, PLB *ʔ-nit ɕ *ʃi ²
‘clean’	a ²¹ sɔ̃ ^{33 8}	jɣ ³³ ɕɔ̃ ⁵⁵	[a ⁵⁵ kri ⁵⁵]	san.	PTB *(t)s(y)aŋ
‘three’	xɛ ³³	sm ⁵⁵	sø ⁵⁵	sum:	PTB *g-sum, PLB sum ²
‘to kill’	xɛ̃ ²¹	sɛ̃ ²¹	se ⁵⁵	sat	PL *C-sat ^L
‘fruit’	a ²¹ xɣ ²¹	a ⁵⁵ ɕi ²¹	a ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	a-sii:	PL *si ²
‘gold’	xɣ ⁵⁵	ɕu ⁵⁵	ʃu ⁵⁵	hrwei	PLB *s-rwəy ¹
‘dry’	a ²¹ ɣu ³³	jɔ̃ ⁵⁵ ɕu ³³	a ³³ ku ⁵⁵	[khrɔk]	PTB *(k/g)aŋ, PLB *ʔ-gaŋ ¹
‘to win’	ɣa ²¹ lɛ̃ ³³	ɣa ²¹ ma ³³	kɔ̃ ⁵⁵	[nong]	PTB *k-ra

3.1.4 Fricatives

The fricative corresponding sets are exemplified in Table 7.

Menglun Akeu has only three fricatives, /s, x, ɣ/. The words beginning with /s/ in Menglun Akeu, such as ‘blood,’ ‘seven,’ and ‘clean’ in Table 7, have a relatively clear correspondence: MA: AB: YJ: WB = s-: ɕ-: ʃ-: s-, which can be reconstructed as PTB *s-.

The words beginning with /x/ in Menglun Akeu seem to have multiple origins.⁹ The words for ‘three,’ ‘to kill,’ and ‘fruit’ in Menglun Akeu are /xɛ³³/, /xɛ̃²¹/, and /a²¹xɣ²¹/, respectively, with onsets corresponding to Akha Buli /s/ or /ɕ/, Youle Jino /s/, and Written Burmese /s/. This suggests that /s/ and /x/ in Menglun Akeu derived from *s- in the proto-language, but the conditioning factor of the split into these two phonemes may relate to the difference of rime mutation from the proto-language. Matisoff (2003) reconstructed *-y- or *-i- at the Proto-Tibeto-Burman stage for ‘blood,’ ‘seven,’ and ‘clean,’ which may have remained /s-/ in the modern Menglun Akeu.¹⁰ On the contrary, the proto language *s-, which was not followed by *-y- or *-i-, has changed into /x-/ in the Menglun Akeu.¹¹ The problem with the word for ‘gold’ is discussed later in this section.

The correspondence of /ɣ/ in Menglun Akeu is also complicated. The word for ‘dry’

⁸ Note that Hansson (1997 [1992]: 471) described this word as /hɔ̃/ in Thailand Akeu, corresponding to her Akha data /shɔ̃/.

⁹ Fricatives of the Jino language also have complex and multiple origins, which is discussed in Hayashi (2015).

¹⁰ As may be noticed, the word for ‘fruit’ in Table 7 violates this rule, which is an exceptional case.

¹¹ Hansson (1997 [1992]: 471) stated that “[s]ome of the s-initialed words in Gokhy may be loanwords, like “Werewolf, Lahu, Lisu, Carbon, Ruler”, but some very common words, like “Seven, Die, Blood, Urine” should be checked again,” as at this time the author thinks they are cognates in Menglun Akeu because they can be clearly understood from regular correspondence with other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Table 8 Correspondence sets of Menglun Akeu semivowel onsets with those of other Lolo-Burmese languages

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘elephant’	ja ³³ ma ³³	ja ³³ ma ³³	jo ⁴⁴	[chang]	PTB *s-ya, PL *ʔ-ya ³
‘hundred’	ja ⁵⁵	ja ⁵⁵	ɕo ⁵⁵	raa	PTB *b-r-gya, PL *C-ra ¹
‘chicken’	ja ³³ tsi ³³	ja ³³ tei ³³	ja ⁴²	krak	PTB *k-rak, PL *k-rak ^H
‘to go’	je ³³	i ⁵⁵	je ⁵⁵	[swaa:]	PTB *ʔay, PL *ay ¹
‘pig’	wa ²¹	a ²¹ ja ²¹	va ⁵⁵	wak	PTB *p ^w ak, PLB *wak ^L

has /y/ in Menglun Akeu, which corresponds to Akha Buli words with /g/, Youle Jino words with /k/ and Written Burmese words with /k/. This type of /y/ is a result of spirantization *g > y.

The words for ‘gold’ and ‘to win’ in Menglun Akeu can be analyzed in terms of the change of *r-. The onsets (cluster) of the words for ‘gold’ and ‘to win’ are reconstructed as *s-r- and *k-r- by Matisoff (2003); these onsets caused voiceless and voiced sounds, respectively.¹²

3.1.5 Semivowels and lateral

The semivowel corresponding sets are illustrated in Table 8.

Words beginning with /j-/ in Menglun Akeu are often found in basic lexicons, some of which are exemplified here. The Menglun Akeu word for ‘elephant’ is morphologically similar to that in Akha Buli, both of which seem to retain *y- from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman and Proto-Loloish languages. /j-/ in the Menglun Akeu words for ‘hundred’ and ‘chicken’ can be traced back to *r- in the proto-languages, though the reflex in Akha Buli and Youle Jino is relatively complicated.¹³ The word for ‘to go’ in Menglun Akeu is an interesting example corresponding with Youle Jino /j-/, though it might have undergone a rime mutation, *ay > je, after the divergence from Proto-Loloish.

The word for ‘pig’ is the only word with onset /w-/ in Menglun Akeu, corresponding with Akha Buli /y-/, Youle Jino /v-/, and Written Burmese /w-/, which can be reconstructed as PLB. *w-.

Another point to be made regards laterals. There is one lateral in Menglun Akeu, namely /l/, the basic corresponding sets of which are shown in Table 9.

Table 9 shows the basic corresponding sets of laterals between Menglun Akeu and other

¹² Matisoff (2003: 170f) noted that PTB *k-ra is related to Written Burmese ʔaa: ‘strength’ and Lahu ya ‘strength; to win’ and Lalo ya ‘to win.’

¹³ As for the problems with the development of the words for ‘hundred’ and ‘chicken’ in Youle Jino, see Hayashi (2015).

Table 9 Correspondence sets of Menglun Akeu lateral onsets with those of other Lolo-Burmese languages

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘moon’	ba ³³ la ³³	ba ³³ la ³³	pu ⁵⁵ ɔ ⁴⁴	la	PTB*s/g-la, PL *bə la ³
‘stone’	lo ³³ ma ³³	xa ²¹ lo ³³	lo ³³ mɔ ⁵⁵	kyɔk	PTB*r-luŋ ɤ k-luk, PL *k-lok ^L
‘hand’	a ²¹ la ²¹	a ²¹ la ²¹	la ⁵⁵ pu ⁴⁴	lak	PTB*g-lak, PL *lak ^L
‘to undress’	lɔ ³³	lɛ ³³	lɔ ⁴²	[khywat]	-----
‘four’	li ²¹	ɔ ²¹	li ⁵⁵	lei	PTB *b-ləy, PL b-le ²

Table 10 Combinations with medials in Menglun Akeu

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘throat’	kjɔ ²¹ ma ³³	khɤŋ ²¹ bjɤŋ ²¹	khju ⁵⁵ pe ⁵⁵	khyɔŋ:	PL *ʔ-kroŋ ²
‘to steal’	kjy ²¹	xɔ ²¹	khju ⁵⁵	kho:	PTB *r-kəw, PLB *kəw ²
‘comb’	u ²¹ kjɛ ³³	u ²¹ ka ³³	khja ⁴²	[bhi:]	PTB *k ^{wi} -s, PLB *ʔ-g ^{wəy} ²
‘to bite’	kjɛ ²¹	kɔ ²¹	khe ⁵⁵	kok	PTB *g-wa-t, PLB *m-gwap ^L ɤ *C-krap ^L
‘nine’	gjy ²¹	yɔ ²¹	kju ⁵⁵	ko:	PLB *gəw ²
‘waist’	a ²¹ gjy ²¹	dzɔ ²¹	a ³³ tʃɔ ⁵⁵	[khaa:]	PLB *gyuk ^L ɤ *dzuk ^L
‘to hear’	gja ²¹	ga ²¹ ma ³³	kjɔ ⁵⁵	kraa:	PLB *gla ²

Lolo-Burmese languages. Menglun Akeu /l-/ basically corresponds to Akha Buli /l-/ , which can be traced back to PTB or PL *l- onsets.¹⁴ The last example in Table 9 is the word for ‘four,’ which is /li²¹/ in Menglun Akeu, inheriting onset *l-* from the Proto-form *b-ləy or *b-le², though interestingly, the corresponding phoneme in Akha Buli is /ɔ²¹/, as is mentioned in the comparison of Thailand Akeu and Akha by Hansson (1997 [1992]).

3.1.6 Miscellaneous problems

3.1.6.1 Combinations with medial

Menglun Akeu allows only the velar to be followed by medial (Hayashi and Gao 2019), which are exemplified in comparison to other Lolo-Burmese languages in Table 10.

The words for ‘throat,’ ‘to bite,’ ‘waist,’ and ‘to hear’ can be dated back to **velar* + *medial* (-l-, -r-, -y-) at the proto-language stage, which merged into {*velar* + -j-} in Menglun Akeu. The remaining examples are explained below one by one.

¹⁴ The onset of the words for ‘moon’ and ‘to undress’ in Youle Jino is /ɭ-/ , which is another problem in historical linguistics. Youle Jino has both voiceless and voiced laterals, the former of which are partly derived from the onset cluster *sl- at the proto-language (Hayashi 2002).

Table 11 Syllabic nasal in Menglun Akeu

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘two’	n ²¹	ni ²¹	ṇ ⁵⁵	hnac	PL * s-ni (k) ^{2/L}
‘sun’	n ⁵⁵ ma ³³	nɣ ³³ ma ³³	[mi ⁵⁵ tshɔ ⁵⁵]	nei	PTB * nəy , PL * ?-ne ¹
‘to do/ to make’	n ⁵⁵	m ⁵⁵	m ³³	mu	PTB * day , PL * ?um ¹

The words for ‘to steal’ and ‘nine’ in Menglun Akeu both have /-j-/, which is also attested in Youle Jino. The Proto-Tibeto-Burman and Proto-Lolo-Burmese forms for these are generally reconstructed without medials, as in Table 10, because most Lolo-Burmese languages including Written Burmese do not attest medials in these two words. It is safe to say that the rime mutation ***əw** > Menglun Akeu **y** induced the emergence of medials in Menglun Akeu.¹⁵

The word for ‘comb’ is also an idiosyncratic example with /-j-/ in Menglun Akeu, which is reconstructed without medials at the proto-language stage. It can be speculated that this is also caused by the rime mutation ***-wəy** > **jɛ**.¹⁶

3.1.6.2 Syllabic nasal

/n/ can be syllabic in Menglun Akeu (Hayashi and Gao 2019).¹⁷ Some examples compared to other Lolo-Burmese languages are illustrated in Table 11 below.¹⁸

Table 11 suggests that Menglun Akeu underwent deletion of the rime leading to the existence of the syllabic nasal /n/. As for the words for ‘two’ and ‘sun,’ most of the cases in Lolo-Burmese do not have syllabic nasals, thus the proto-forms are reconstructed with a vowel. The word for ‘to do/ to make’ is an interesting example. The Proto-Loloish form of this word is reconstructed as ***?um**¹, which became Akha Buli /**m**⁵⁵/ and Youle Jino /**m**³³/. It can be speculated that in the case of Menglun Akeu it changed into /m/ and then developed as /n⁵⁵/ because this language forbade /m/ to be syllabic.¹⁹

3.2 Rime

This section describes the corresponding sets of Menglun Akeu rimes.

¹⁵ The same kind of medial emergence is also attested in Youle Jino, as discussed in Hayashi (2009b, 2017).

¹⁶ Another motivation for the emergence of medials in Menglun Akeu is fusion. The author’s fieldnotes describe the word for ‘bird’ as /kja²¹/, while Hansson’s (1997 [1992]: 515) data describes two forms, *kiaq* and *kjaq*. This word may have developed from the fusion of two syllables, */ki/ + /a/, at the proto-stage and corresponds to /khj-jà/ in the Sida language of Luang Namtha in Laos (Badenoch 2019: 72).

¹⁷ Hayashi and Gao (2019: 44) explained that /m/ can be syllabic in Menglun Akeu, which should be corrected.

¹⁸ There are more examples with syllabic nasal /n/ in Menglun Akeu, such as /kɔ⁵⁵n²¹/ ‘chair,’ /pɥ³³n²¹/ ‘below,’ etc., which rarely correspond to other related languages.

¹⁹ Gong (1982) and Hansson (1997 [1992]) describe /ŋ/ as a syllabic nasal in Kengtung Akeu and Thailand Akeu, respectively, which is, interestingly, different from Menglun Akeu.

3.2.1 Plain vowels

First, the corresponding sets of rimes with plain vowels in Menglun Akeu are discussed. See Table 12.

Table 12 Corresponding sets of plain vowels in Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘fire’	mi ²¹ dza ²¹	mi ²¹ dza ²¹	mi ⁵⁵	mii:	PLB *s/?-mey ²
‘heavy’	a ²¹ li ²¹	[jɔ ³³ khɔŋ ³³]	a ⁵⁵ li ⁵⁵	lei:	PL *C-li ²
‘tail’	dɔ ²¹ mi ²¹	dɔ ²¹ mi ²¹	to ⁵⁵ mi ⁵⁵	a-mrii:	PL *?-mri ²
‘foot/ leg’	a ²¹ ki ⁵⁵	a ²¹ khui ⁵⁵	jɔ ⁵⁵ khi ⁵⁵	---	PL *kre ¹
‘to take’	y ⁵⁵	ju ³³ ‘to have’	ju ⁴² ‘to buy’	yuu	PLB *yu ¹
‘nine’	gji ²¹	yo ²¹	kju ⁵⁵	ko:	PLB *gəw ²
‘to wear’	dy ³³	dm ³³	tø ⁵⁵	[wat]	PL *m-dum ¹
‘green’	a ²¹ ny ⁵⁵	jɔ ³³ nø ⁵⁵	a ³³ nu ⁵⁵	ñø ‘brown’	PL *?-jno ¹
‘to go’	je ³³	i ⁵⁵	je ⁵⁵	[swaa:]	PTB *?ay, PL *ay ¹
‘seed’	a ²¹ ji ²¹ a ²¹ me ³³	[a ⁵⁵ nyŋ ³³]	[a ³³ tsu ⁵⁵]	[a-sei.]	PTB *(m/b)rəw
‘mouth’	mø ³³ to ²¹	xa ²¹ mɛ ³³	nø ⁵⁵ nø ⁵⁵	hmut ²⁰	PL *Cme ² / mok ^L
‘finger’	la ²¹ nø ⁵⁵	la ²¹ nø ⁵⁵	la ³³ nu ⁵⁵	[lak-khyon:]	PL *s-jno ¹
‘to push’	dø ²¹	thvŋ ²¹ i ⁵⁵	[zu ⁵⁵]	twan:	-----
‘to fly’	be ³³	[ʏɔ ³³]	pre ⁴²	pyam	PLB *byam ¹
‘hair’	u ²¹ xu ²¹ tse ³³ kr ³³	u ²¹ du ²¹ tshe ⁵⁵ khvŋ ⁵⁵	tshe ⁵⁵ khui ⁵⁵	cham	PL *?-tsam ¹
‘three’	xe ³³	sm ⁵⁵	sø ⁵⁵	sum:	PTB *g-sum, PLB sum ²
‘five’	ŋa ²¹	ŋa ²¹	ŋɔ ⁵⁵	ngaa:	PLB *ŋa ²
‘to eat’	dza ²¹	dza ²¹	tsɔ ⁵⁵	caa:-	PLB *dʒa ²
‘red’	a ²¹ nr ⁵⁵	jɔ ³³ ne ³³	a ³³ nr ⁵⁵	nii-, a-nii	PLB *?-ni ¹
‘yellow’	a ²¹ xr ⁵⁵	jɔ ³³ cu ⁵⁵	a ³³ fu ⁵⁵	[waa]	PL *s-rwe ¹
‘to drink’	dɔ ⁵⁵	dɔ ⁵⁵	tə ⁴²	[sok]	PL *m-dan ¹
‘hot’	a ²¹ lo ⁵⁵	jɔ ³³ loŋ ⁵⁵	a ³³ lo ⁵⁵	[puu]	PL *?-lon ¹
‘mouse’	o ³³ tsa ²¹	xo ³³ tca ²¹	xo ³³ t[ha ⁵⁵]	krwak	PL *(k)-rwak ⁴¹
‘to enter’	o ³³	u ⁵⁵	o ⁴²	wang-	PL *wan ¹
‘dog’	ku ²¹	a ²¹ khui ²¹	khui ³³ ni ⁵⁵	khwei:	PLB *kʷəy ²
‘oil’	o ²¹ tsu ²¹	ya ²¹ tshi ⁵⁵	a ³³ tshu ⁵⁵	chii	PTB *tsil
‘father’	a ⁵⁵ bu ³³	[a ²¹ də ³³]	a ⁵⁵ pu ⁵⁵	a-phei	PTB *pu, PL *ʔəpa ³
‘belly’	bo ⁵⁵ pu ²¹	[m ²¹ ma ³³]	o ⁵⁵ phu ⁴⁴	[wam:]	PTB *pʷu, PL *wam ²
‘soft’	a ²¹ nu ²¹	[jɔ ³³ bje ³³]	[a ⁵⁵ prø ⁵⁵]	[pjo.]	PL *C-nu ²
‘to call’	ku ⁵⁵	khu ⁵⁵	khu ⁴²	khɔ	PTB *gaw, PL *ku/kaw ¹

²⁰ This Burmese word means ‘to blow with the mouth.’

Table 13 Stable corresponding rules for plain vowels in Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese

No.	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PL
[1]	-i	-i	-i	-ii/ -ei	*-ey/ -i
[2]	-ɛ	-ɛ	-ɛ	-am	*-am
[3]	-a	-a	-ɔ	-aa	*-a
[4]	-u	-u	-u	-o	*-u

As can be seen in Table 12, the corresponding rules for plain vowels in Menglun Akeu with many parallel examples is too complicated to set up,²¹ but some stabler sets can be seen (see Table 13).

The corresponding rule [1] in Table 13 is attested by the words for ‘fire,’ ‘heavy,’ and ‘tail’ in Table 12. Rule [2] is exemplified by the words for ‘to fly’ and ‘hair,’ Rule [3] by the words for ‘five’ and ‘to eat,’ and Rule [4] by the words for ‘father,’ ‘belly,’ ‘soft,’ and ‘to call.’ This is a brief summary of the plain vowel correspondence, indicating that /-i, -a, -u/ in Menglun Akeu as well as in Akha Buli generally retain the vowel quality of the proto-languages.

In principle, the checked syllables in Proto-Tibeto-Burman and/or Proto-Loloish are reflected as creaky vowels in Menglun Akeu, but in some cases, they became plain vowels. For example, the word for ‘mouse’ in Table 13, /o³³tsa²¹/, derived from Proto-Loloish *(k)-*rwak*^H.

There are a small number of the words with nasal endings the /-n/ and /-ŋ/, the former of which can only occur in loanwords from the local dialect of Mandarin Chinese or Tai Lue [Tai-Kadai],²² such as /jen⁵³/ ‘eel’ from Tai Lue *jen² nɛ̃ʃɕ* (Hanna 2012: 118). The words with /-ŋ/ can be seen among the cognates, for example /tsaŋ⁵⁵bɣ³³lɣ³³/ ‘bow for arrow’ and /xɔŋ³³/ ‘perfective marker’, though the correspondence with the related languages has not yet been clarified. They can be considered to have originally developed through compounding or fusion after the change of PL *aŋ > MA -ɔ.

3.2.2 Creaky vowels

In this subsection, the corresponding sets of rimes with creaky vowels in Menglun Akeu are discussed. See Table 14.

The creaky vowels in Menglun Akeu are more problematic than the plain ones. Notably fewer examples exist to show stable correspondences with Lolo-Burmese languages, some of which are summarized in Table 15.

²¹ For example, the words for ‘to wear’ and ‘three’ in Table 12 both have the reconstructed rime *-um, but they have developed a different vowel the conditioning factor of which has not yet been discovered.

²² In the Menglun area, the dominant languages have been the local dialect of Mandarin Chinese [Sinitic, Sino-Tibetan] and Tai Lue [Southwestern Tai, Tai-Kadai].

Table 14 Corresponding sets of creaky vowels in Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘new’	a ²¹ ɕi ²¹	jɔ ³³ ɕu ²¹	a ³³ ʃi ⁵⁵	sac	PTB *g-sik, PL *C-ʃik ^L
‘to give’	bi ²¹	bi ²¹	pi ⁵⁵	pei	PTB *bəy-k, PLB *bəy ²
‘waist’	a ²¹ gi ²¹	dzo ²¹	a ³³ tʃo ⁵⁵	[khaa:]	PLB *gyuk ^L ɤ *dʒuk ^L
‘cold’	a ²¹ tʃy ²¹	[jɔ ³³ ŋɛ ⁵⁵]	a ³³ tʃho ⁵⁵	khyam:	PLB *s-krak ɤ s-krok
‘spirit’	ne ²¹	ne ²¹	ne ³³	nat	PL *C-nat ^L
‘to kill’	xe ²¹	se ²¹	se ⁵⁵	sat	PL *C-sat ^L
‘eight’	e ²¹	je ²¹	xe ⁵⁵	hrac	PTB *b-r-gyat ɤ *(b-)g-ryat, PLB *ʔ-rit ^L
‘monkey’	a ⁵⁵ mɔ ²¹	a ³³ mjo ²¹	xo ³³ mɔ ⁵⁵	myok	PTB *m-ruk, PLB *myuk ^L
‘tall/ high’	da ²¹ mɔ ³³	[jɤ ³³ gɔ ⁵⁵]	la ⁵⁵ mjo ⁴²	mraŋ.	PTB * m-raŋ, PLB *ʔ-mraŋ ³
‘to undress’	lɔ ³³	le ³³	lɔ ⁴²	[khywat]	-----
‘bean’	a ²¹ bɛ ³³	a ⁵⁵ bɛ ³³	no ³³ pjə ⁴⁴	pay	PTB *be, PL *ʔ-bay ² /at ^H
‘pumpkin’	ma ⁵⁵ dɛ ³³	ma ⁵⁵ dɛ ³³	[tho ⁵⁵ khɔ ⁵⁵]	[pha-rum]	PTB *ma:y, PLB *pu ²
‘leaf’	a ²¹ pa ²¹	a ⁵⁵ pa ²¹	a ³³ pha ⁵⁵	phak	PTB *r-pak, PL *C-pak ^L
‘black’	a ²¹ na ³³	jɔ ³³ na ³³	a ³³ na ⁵⁵	nak	PTB *s-nak, PLB *s-nak ^H
‘pig’	wa ²¹	a ²¹ ya ²¹	va ⁵⁵	wak	PTB *p ^w wak, PLB *wak ^L
‘back’	xɔ ²¹ nɔ ³³	na ⁵⁵ xɤŋ ³³	a ⁵⁵ no ⁴²	nɔk	PTB *s-nuŋ ɤ *s-nuk, PLB *ʔ-nuk ^L
‘knee’	pɔ ²¹ tsu ²¹	phɔ ²¹ tsu ²¹	phu ⁵⁵ tshu ⁵⁵	pu-chac	PTB *put-s
‘to shoot’	bɤ ³³	bɤ ³³	pə ³³	pac	PTB *m-puk, PLB *m-pök
‘one’	tɤ ²¹	tɪ ²¹	thi ⁵⁵	tac	PTB *tyak ɤ *g-t(y)ik, PLB *ʔ-dik ^L
‘to pick up’	gɔ ³³	[ju ³³ ma ³³]	ko ⁴²	kɔk	PTB *s-g-ruk, PLB *k-ruk ^H
‘to go out’	dɔ ³³	dɔ ³³	to ³³	thwak	PTB *s-twak, PLB *ʔ-twak ^H
‘to sew’	gu ²¹	gu ²¹	kju ⁵⁵	khyup	PTB *d/g-rup, PL *gyup ^L
‘shoulder’	ba ²¹ pu ³³	ba ²¹ phu ³³	pa ³³ phu ⁵⁵	[pa-khum:]	PL *bak ^L
‘elbow’	la ²¹ tsu ²¹ 23	la ²¹ tsu ²¹	la ⁵⁵ tshə ⁵⁵	taŋ-tɔŋ:-chac	PL *C-dzik ^L

The corresponding rule [1] in Table 15 is attested by the words for ‘spirit’ and ‘to kill’ in Table 14. Rule [2] is exemplified by the words for ‘leaf,’ ‘black,’ and ‘pig.’ As Hansson (1997 [1992]) found in an investigation of the rime correspondence in Thailand Akeu and Lolo-Burmese,²⁴ Menglun Akeu also shows very complicated correspondences, some

²³ At present, corresponding sets with Menglun Akeu /ɰ/ are extremely rare.

²⁴ Hansson (1997 [1992]: 472–473) also presented multiple correspondences for a single reconstructed rime for the checked syllable, which differ from the ones in this paper.

Table 15 Stable corresponding rules for creaky vowels in Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese

No.	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PL
[1]	-e/-ɛ	-e/-ɛ	-e/-ɛ	-at/ -ac	*-at
[2]	-a	-a	-a	-ak	*-ak

Table 16 Examples of complicated correspondences between PLB and Menglun Akeu

PLB	*-it	*-at	*-ut		*up	*-ik	*-ak		*-uk	*-wak
MA	-i	-e	-ɛ	-y	-ø	-a	-ɔ	-ɿ	-u	-ɯ

of which are exemplified in Table 16.

In the Loloish languages, the creaky vowels usually occur due to the apocope of stops in the Proto-Loloish stage, which should be a kind of compensation (Dai 1990, Matisoff 2003, among others). For example, Menglun Akeu /-e/ has obtained creaky phonation due to the loss of the stop *-t from the Proto-Loloish *-at, which is seen in the words for ‘spirit’ and ‘to kill’ in Table 14.

There are, however, some exceptions in the development of creaky vowels in Menglun Akeu. For instance, the words for ‘to give’ /bi²¹/ and ‘tall’ /da²¹mø³³/ correspond to Proto-Loloish *bɛy² and *ʔ-mraŋ³, respectively, both of which have no stop endings.²⁵

The word for ‘to give’ in Menglun Akeu is an idiosyncratic case that shares the creakiness quality with Akha dialects, though the other Loloish languages show no traces of the stop coda at the proto-language stage. Hansson (1997 [1992]) analyzed this word as a reflex of Proto-Lolo-Burmese *bek, a reconstructed form with a stop ending. Matisoff (2003) reconstructed *bɛy-k for its PTB form,²⁶ the ending of which can be seen as related to the creakiness of this word in Menglun Akeu and Akha Buli.

On the other hand, the Proto-Loloish word for ‘tall’ is not reconstructed with a stop ending, though it has a *ʔ-prefix, which may have caused the creakiness in the modern Loloish languages.²⁷

²⁵ The word for ‘salt’ in Menglun Akeu is /tsa²¹dx²¹/, the first syllable of which corresponds to PL *(t)sa². This case requires further and finer analysis.

²⁶ It is arguable that this Proto-Tibeto-Burman form is also reconstructed from Kuki-Chin languages (STEDT database [beta]).

²⁷ Interestingly, there are some loanwords with creaky vowels such as /tʰ³³li³³/ ‘peanuts,’ /ma³³mi³³/ ‘jackfruits,’ etc., that have no creaky phonation in the donor language (tʰoo²din¹ 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜫𑜀𑜫 ‘peanuts,’ maak²mi⁶ 𑜇𑜨𑜫𑜀𑜫 ‘durian, jackfruit’; Tai Lue; Hanna 2012).

3.3 Tone

Though the tonality of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman language has been the subject of many discussions (Benedict 1972, Benedict 1973, Matisoff 1973, Dai 1991, Matisoff 2003, among others), the proto-languages seen at the Proto-Lolo-Burmese and Proto-Loloish stages can be recognized as tonal languages (Matisoff 1972, Bradley 1979, Matisoff 2003, among others). The tone group has two types, namely “unchecked” and “checked,” which are based on the syllable structure at the Proto-Lolo-Burmese stage. “Unchecked” tone can occur at the open syllable and the closed syllable with nasal endings, and “checked” tone at the closed syllable with stop endings. This section describes the tonal correspondences between Menglun Akeu and other Lolo-Burmese languages based on these categories. Note that the tone of Proto-Lolo-Burmese and Proto-Loloish is marked in the same manner.

3.3.1 Unchecked tone

It is widely noted that there are three unchecked tones observed at the Proto-Lolo-Burmese and Proto-Loloish stages, Tones 1, 2 and 3, which are based on their correspondence with Written Burmese Tone 1 (Level), Tone 2 (Heavy), and Tone 3 (Creaky) [Tonal descriptions follow Okell (1969)]. Each corresponding set is exemplified in Tables 17, 18, and 19, respectively.

3.3.1.1 Tone 1

Table 17 shows the Tone 1 corresponding set. The words for ‘iron,’ ‘1SG,’ ‘ten,’ ‘to do,’ ‘to take,’ and ‘to cry’ are monosyllabic; this collection of words can be recognized as the basic corresponding group with PLB/ PL Tone 1. The tone of Menglun Akeu in this group is /55/, corresponding to Akha Buli /55/ (or /33/), Youle Jino /42/ (/55/ or /33/ in some cases), and Written Burmese Tone 1.

This basically holds true for the disyllabic words with the prefix /a-/ or other elements, as can be seen in the following columns. The Menglun Akeu words for ‘sweet,’ ‘green,’ ‘thick,’ ‘bear (animal),’ ‘foot,’ ‘red,’ ‘white,’ and ‘name’ are all /a-/ prefixed forms, the roots of which are placed at the second syllable with /55/, showing more complex correspondences than the monosyllabic pattern. The roots of these words in Menglun Akeu basically correspond to those in Akha Buli /55/ (or /33/), but they correspond to those in Youle Jino /55/ that undergo the synchronic tonal alternation characteristic of this language (Hayashi 2009b).

The words for ‘water,’ ‘nose,’ ‘long,’ and ‘to look for’ in Menglun Akeu are also disyllabic, and the corresponding elements are located at the first syllable, the tones of which are realized as /55/ as well. The other Lolo-Burmese languages in the Table 17 show complicated patterns partly because there are examples that include the synchronic tonal alternation.²⁸

²⁸ Youle Jino makes /33/ correspond to Menglun Akeu /55/ here in the case of the words for ‘water’ and ‘nose.’ In Youle Jino, the /33-55/ tonal combination of the disyllabic words is found frequently, and its stress pattern is usually iambic (Hayashi 2009a).

Table 17 Tonal correspondence between Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese for the Tone 1 group

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘iron’	xɛ ⁵⁵	ɕoŋ ⁵⁵	ʃɛ ⁴²	saṃ	PL *xam ¹
‘1SG’	ŋa ⁵⁵	ŋa ⁵⁵	ŋɔ ⁴²	ngaa	PL *C-ŋa ¹
‘ten’	tsɿ ⁵⁵	tshɛ ⁵⁵	tshɿ ⁴²	chay	PLB *tsay ¹
‘to do’	n ⁵⁵	m ⁵⁵	m ³³	[lup]	PL *ʔum ¹
‘to take’	y ⁵⁵	ju ³³ ‘to have’	ju ⁴² ‘to buy’	yuu	PLB *yu ¹
‘to cry’	ny ⁵⁵	ŋo ³³	[me ³³]	ngo	PL *ŋo ¹
‘sweet’	a ²¹ tsi ⁵⁵	ɔ ³³ tɕho ⁵⁵	a ³³ tʃhi ⁵⁵	khyo	PLB *kyəw ¹
‘green’	a ²¹ ny ⁵⁵	ɔ ³³ nɔ ⁵⁵	a ³³ ŋu ⁵⁵	ño	PL *ʔ-ŋo ¹
‘thick’	a ²¹ tu ⁵⁵	ɔ ³³ thu ⁵⁵	a ³³ thu ⁵⁵	thuu	PL *tu ¹
‘bear (animal)’	a ²¹ o ⁵⁵	xa ²¹ xm ⁵⁵	a ³³ o ⁵⁵	wam	PLB *d-wam ^{1/2}
‘foot’	a ²¹ ki ⁵⁵	a ²¹ khu ⁵⁵ [‘leg’]	ʃɔ ⁵⁵ khi ⁵⁵	khrei	PL *kre ¹
‘red’	a ²¹ ny ⁵⁵	ɔ ³³ ne ³³	a ³³ ny ⁵⁵	nii, a-nii	PLB *ʔ-ni ¹
‘white’	a ²¹ pu ⁵⁵	ɔ ³³ bə ³³	a ³³ phru ⁵⁵	phruu	PLB *plu ¹
‘name’	a ²¹ mi ⁵⁵	tshɔ ³³ mjɿ ³³	a ³³ me ⁵⁵	mañ	PLB *ʔ-miŋ ^{1/3}
‘water’	u ⁵⁵ tsu ²¹	ɿ ³³ tɕu ²¹	ji ³³ tʃho ⁵⁵	rei	PLB *rəy ¹
‘nose’	na ⁵⁵ bɔ ²¹	na ³³ bɿɿ ²¹	nɔ ³³ to ⁵⁵	hnaa-khɔŋ:	PL *s-na ¹
‘long’	xɿ ⁵⁵ ma ³³	[ɔ ³³ mɿɿ ⁵⁵]	ɔ ⁵⁵ ʃu ⁵⁵	hrañ	PL *s/m-riŋ ¹
‘to look for’	xa ⁵⁵ pɔ ³³	[tɕha ⁵⁵ tɕhɔ ³³]	ʃɔ ⁴²	hra	PL *x-ra ¹
‘to die’	si ³³	ɕi ³³	ʃi ⁴²	sei	PTB *ts(y)i(y) ɤ *tsyay PLB *tsay ¹
‘to enter’	o ³³	u ⁵⁵	o ⁴²	wang	PL *waŋ ¹
‘to come’	la ³³	la ⁵⁵	lɔ ⁴²	laa	PL *la ¹
‘to fly’	bɛ ³³	[ɿ ³³]	prɛ ⁴²	pyam	PLB *byam ¹
‘to rain’	ɔ ³³	je ⁵⁵	xo ⁴²	ywaa	PL *r-ywa/we ¹

The words for ‘to die,’ ‘to enter,’ ‘to fly,’ ‘to come,’ and ‘to rain,’ all of which have /33/, are also monosyllabic. The tone in this group of Menglun Akeu words generally corresponds to Youle Jino /42/ and Written Burmese Tone 1 as seen in the case of ‘iron,’ but this may have changed due to factors not yet discovered.

3.3.1.2 Tone 2

Table 18 illustrates the Tone 2 corresponding sets. Contrary to the Tone 1 group, the Tone 2 group shows a clear and stable correspondence between Menglun Akeu and other Lolo-Burmese languages: Menglun Akeu /21/: Akha Buli /21/: Youle Jino /55/: Written Burmese Tone 2. In other tonal correspondence, some Loloish languages such as Youle

Table 18 Tonal correspondence between Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese for the Tone 2 group

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘to wash’	le ²¹ tsi ²¹	le ²¹ tshi ²¹	tshi ⁵⁵	chei:	PTB *krəw-t, PLB *tsəy ²
‘to walk’	jo ²¹	[tɕhɣŋ ³³]	zo ⁵⁵	swaa:	PL *m-ju/or ²
‘to eat’	dza ²¹	dza ²¹	tsɔ ⁵⁵	caa:	PLB *dʒa ²
‘to steal’	kjy ²¹	xø ²¹	khju ⁵⁵	kho:	PLB *kəw ²
‘to hear’	gja ²¹	ga ²¹ ma ³³	kjo ⁵⁵	kraa:	PLB *gla ²
‘to give’	bi ²¹	bi ²¹	pi ⁵⁵	pei:	PLB *bəy ²
‘expensive’	a ²¹ pø ²¹	jo ³³ phø ²¹	phu ⁵⁵	a-pho: [‘price’]	PLB *pəw ² [‘price’]
‘heavy’	a ²¹ li ²¹	[jo ³³ khɔŋ ³³]	a ⁵⁵ li ⁵⁵	lei:	PL *C-li ²
‘horse’	mø ²¹ pa ²¹	mɣŋ ²¹	mjo ⁵⁵	mrang:	PLB *mraŋ ²
‘fire’	mi ²¹ dza ²¹	mi ²¹ dza ²¹	mi ⁵⁵	mii:	PLB *s/?-mey ²
‘five’	ŋa ²¹	ŋa ²¹	ŋɔ ⁵⁵	ngaa:	PLB *ŋa ²
‘nine’	gji ²¹	ɣø ²¹	kju ⁵⁵	ko:	PLB *gəw ²
‘bitter’	a ²¹ ka ²¹	(xa ²¹)	a ⁵⁵ khø ⁵⁵	khaa:	PL *ka ²
‘salt’	tsa ²¹ dɣ ²¹	tsha ²¹ dɣ ²¹	tshə ⁵⁵ khə ⁴²	chaa:	PL *(t)sa ²
‘tail’	dɔ ²¹ mi ²¹	dɔ ²¹ mi ²¹	tə ⁵⁵ mi ⁵⁵	a-mrii:	PL *ʔ-mri ²
‘frog’	pa ²¹ ja ²¹	xa ²¹ pha ²¹	phɔ ⁵⁵ the ⁵⁵	phaa:	PLB *ʔ-ba ²
‘bee’	bə ²¹	ɣa ²¹ bja ²¹ bja ²¹ ma ³³	pja ⁵⁵ jə ⁵⁵	pyaa:	PLB *bya ²
‘fruit’	a ²¹ xɣ ²¹	a ⁵⁵ ɕi ²¹	a ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	a-sii:	PL *si ²
‘dog’	ku ²¹	ɔ ²¹ khui ²¹	khui ³³ ni ⁵⁵	khwei:	PLB *kʷəy ²
‘tiger’	dza ²¹ la ²¹	xa ²¹ la ²¹	lɔ ⁵⁵ mu ⁴⁴	kya:	PTB *k-la, PLB *(k)-la ²
‘three’	xɛ ³³	sm ⁵⁵	sø ⁵⁵	sum:	PTB *g-sum, PLB sum ²

Jino have complex correspondences due to their tone alternation systems, as seen in Table 17, but the Tone 2 corresponding set is fairly clear for both monosyllabic and disyllabic words.

There are several examples in Menglun Akeu that violate this corresponding rule. The word for ‘three’ in Menglun Akeu has /33/. The reason for this is not certain.

3.3.1.3 Tone 3

The Tone 3 group has relatively fewer examples in the Lolo-Burmese languages, but as can be seen in Table 19, the tonal correspondence between Menglun Akeu and its related languages is fairly stable: Menglun Akeu /33/: Akha Buli /33/: Youle Jino /44/ (or /55/, /42/): Written Burmese Tone 3.

The tonal correspondence of unchecked syllables in Menglun Akeu and other Lolo-Burmese languages is generally summarized as shown in Table 20. It is important to note

Table 19 Tonal correspondence between Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese for the Tone 3 group

gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
‘to fall’	ga ³³ ka ³³	ga ³³ kha ³³	krɔ ⁴⁴	kya	PL *(sə)-gla ³
‘full’	bɣ ³³	bjɣ ³³ la ⁵⁵	a ⁵⁵ pru ⁴⁴	prañ.	PLB *ʔ-bliŋ ³
‘moon’	ba ³³ la ³³	ba ³³ la ³³	pu ⁵⁵ ɔ ⁴⁴	la	PLB *s/ʔ-la ³
‘to open’	lɔ ³³ pɔ ³³	phɣ ³³	phɔ ⁵⁵	phwang.	PLB *pwaŋ ³
‘day’	n ³³	nɣ ³³	ŋ ⁴⁴	nei.	PL *(ʔ)ne ³
‘tall’	da ²¹ mɔ ³³	[jɣ ³³ gɔ ⁵⁵]	la ⁵⁵ ŋɔ ⁴²	mrang.	PLB *ʔ-mraŋ ³

Table 20 Tonal correspondence of unchecked syllables in Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese

Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PLB/ PL
55	55	42	1	*1
21	21	55	2	*2
33	33	44	3	*3

that Menglun Akeu seems to have the same tone value as Akha Buli in Laos, while it has different tone values from those of Youle Jino despite that the speech areas of Menglun Akeu and Youle Jino are geographically quite close to each other.

3.3.2 Checked tone

The checked syllable consists of the stop endings, which relates to the tonal development of the Asian languages. Matisoff (1972) examined Lolo-Burmese checked syllables and found that they have two types of tones, namely the HIGH group and the LOW group, which Bradley (1979) reconstructed as Tone *H and *L in the proto-language. In the modern Lolo-Burmese languages, the lower tone values generally correspond to Proto-Tone *L and the higher tone values to Proto-Tone *H, as Matisoff (1972) noted.

The following table summarizes the correspondence between checked tone in Menglun Akeu and that in Lolo-Burmese languages.

Table 21 clearly illustrates that the tonal correspondence between Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese in checked syllables is fairly stable. As for the Proto-Tone *L, Menglun Akeu and Akha Buli both correspond as /21/, whereas Youle Jino is /55/. On the other hand, for the Proto-Tone *H, Menglun Akeu and Akha Buli both correspond as /33/,²⁹ while Youle Jino is /42/ (and as /33/ or /44/ occasionally).

There are, of course, some exceptional cases in Table 21. The tone of the word for ‘back’

²⁹ The Akha Buli words for ‘to sweep’ and ‘fear’ correspond as /21/, which violates the rule.

Table 21 Tonal correspondence between checked syllables in Menglun Akeu and those in Lolo-Burmese

	gloss	Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PTB/ PLB/ PL
[L]	‘to kill’	xɛ ²¹	sɛ ²¹	sɛ ⁵⁵	sat	PL *C-sat ^L
	‘to sew’	ɡu ²¹	ɡu ²¹	kju ⁵⁵	khyup	PTB *d/g-rup, PL *gyup ^L
	‘pig’	wɑ ²¹	ɑ ²¹ ɣɑ ²¹	va ⁵⁵	wak	PTB *p ^w ak, PLB *wak ^L
	‘to sleep’	i ²¹ tɛ ²¹	ju ²¹ xa ³³	ji ⁵⁵	ip	PL *yip ^L
	‘two’	n ²¹	nɛ ²¹	ŋ ⁵⁵	hnac	PL *s-ni(k) ^{2/L}
	‘six’	kɔ ²¹	kɔ ²¹	khjɔ ⁵⁵	khɾɔk	PL *C-krok ^L
	‘eight’	ɛ ²¹	ɛɛ ²¹	xɛ ⁵⁵	hrac	PTB *b-r-gyat ⋈ *(b-)g-ryat, PLB *ʔ-rit ^L
	‘deep’	a ²¹ nɑ ²¹	jɾ ³³ nɑ ²¹	a ³³ ŋɑ ⁵⁵	nak	PTB *s-nak, PLB *ʔ-nak ^L
	‘new’	a ²¹ si ²¹	jɔ ³³ ɕu ²¹	a ³³ ʃi ⁵⁵	sac	PTB *g-sik, PL *C-ʃik ^L
	‘leaf’	a ²¹ pɑ ²¹	a ⁵⁵ pɑ ²¹	a ³³ pha ⁵⁵	phak	PTB *r-pak, PL *C-pak ^L
	‘goat’	tsi ²¹ mɛ ³³	tɕi ²¹ mɛ ²¹	tɕhi ⁵⁵ pre ⁴⁴	chit	PL *k-cit ^L
	‘hand’	ɑ ²¹ la ²¹	ɑ ²¹ la ²¹	la ⁵⁵ pu ⁴⁴	lak	PL *lak ^L
	‘back’	xɔ ²¹ nɔ ³³	na ⁵⁵ xɾɿ ³³	a ⁵⁵ ŋo ⁴²	nɔk	PTB *s-nuŋ ⋈ *s-nuk, PLB *ʔ-nuk ^L
[H]	‘chicken’	ja ³³ tsi ³³	ɣɑ ³³ tɕi ³³	ja ⁴²	krak	PL *k-rak ^H
	‘pick up’	ɡo ³³	o ³³	ko ⁴²	kɔk	PLB *k-ruk ^H
	‘sharp’	a ²¹ tɑ ³³	jɾ ³³ tɑ ³³	tha ⁴²	thak	PL *tak ^H
	‘to shoot’	bɿ ³³	bɿ ³³	pə ³³	pac	PTB *m-puk, PLB *m-pök
	‘to sweep’	ja ³³	ja ²¹	ja ⁴²	[hlaŋ:]	PTB *p(y)wak
	‘bean’	a ²¹ bɛ ³³	a ⁵⁵ bɛ ³³	no ³³ pjə ⁴⁴	pay	PTB *be, PL *ʔ-bay ² /at ^H
	‘black’	a ²¹ nɑ ³³	jɔ ³³ nɑ ³³	a ³³ na ^{55 30}	nak	PTB *s-nak, PLB *s-nak ^H
	‘fear’	ɡɿ ³³ si ⁵⁵	ɡu ²¹ nɑ ²¹	khø ⁴⁴	krɔk	PL *(sə)-grok ^H
	‘eye’	mɛ ⁵⁵ nɿ ⁵⁵	mja ³³ nɿ ³³	mja ³³ tsi ⁴⁴	myak-ci	PL *(C)-myak ^H

corresponds to Proto-Lolo-Burmese Tone *L, which violates the rule above, MA: AB: YJ = 33: 55: 42. This is partially similar to the set for Tone *H.

In Menglun Akeu, the creaky vowels generally correspond to the checked syllables in Lolo-Burmese, as is attested in most words in Table 21. There are, however, some exceptional cases, such as the words for ‘to sleep’ /i²¹tɛ²¹/, ‘two’ /n²¹/, and ‘eye’ /mɛ⁵⁵nɿ⁵⁵/, all of which have no creaky vowels. These examples need more extensive analyses.³¹

³⁰ The word for ‘black’ in Youle Jino has /55/ tone in its root, but its tone alternates to /42/ in the negative form: /ma³³-na⁴²/ (NEG-black) ‘not black.’ For Youle Jino adjective tonal alternation, see Hayashi (2009a).

³¹ The words for ‘to sleep’ /i²¹tɛ²¹/ and ‘two’ /n²¹/ both retain the tonal correspondence even though their rimes have no creaky vowels, while the tone of the word for ‘eye’ /mɛ⁵⁵nɿ⁵⁵/ is higher than expected.

Table 22 Tonal correspondence of checked syllables in Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese

Akeu	Akha Buli	Youle Jino	WB	PLB/ PL
21	21	55	---	*L
33	33	42	---	*H

Table 23 Tonal development in Menglun Akeu and Akha Buli

PL Unchecked Tone		Menglun Akeu & Akha Buli		PL Checked Tone
*1	>	55	---	---
*2	>	21	<	*L
*3	>	33	<	*H

Table 22 summarizes the tonal correspondence of checked syllables in Menglun Akeu and Lolo-Burmese, which shows Menglun Akeu and Akha Buli has the same path in the development of checked tones.³²

Table 23 merged Table 20 and Table 22 into one. As a result of analyses of Menglun Akeu tonal development, the general rule of correspondence and merging process follow the Akha tonal reflex system presented by Bradley (1977), which leads us to think that in terms of tonal development Menglun Akeu has a conservative feature of Southern Loloish.

4. Conclusion

This paper explored the phonological development of Menglun Akeu, a lesser-known Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Sipsongpanna (Xishuangbanna), Yunnan Province, China. Though there are many problems to be solved through future analysis, I have elucidated the basic correspondences between Menglun Akeu and the neighboring Lolo-Burmese languages. Velar stops, fricatives, and some rimes in Menglun Akeu have rather complicated correspondences, whereas the other onset, rime, and tonal correspondences are quite clear, especially in Menglun Akeu and Akha Buli.

The relative chronology of the changes that occurred in the evolution from Proto-Loloish to Menglun Akeu and the historical development regarding borrowing from Akha dialects and some neighboring languages (Tai Lue and Yunnan Mandarin Chinese) have not, at this point, been well investigated and should be analyzed using comprehensive data in the near future.

³² From a synchronic viewpoint, Menglun Akeu and Akha Buli show very few examples of tone sandhi, whereas Youle Jino shows many (Hayashi 2009a).

Abbreviations

AB	Akha Buli	PLB	Proto-Lolo-Burmese
LTSR	Matisoff (1972)	PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
MA	Menglun Akeu	YJ	Youle Jino
PL	Proto-Loloish	WB	Written Burmese

Data Sources

Akha Buli: the author's fieldnotes; Menglun Akeu: the author's fieldnotes; Proto-Loloish: Bradley (1979); Proto-Lolo-Burmese: STEDT Database [beta], Matisoff (2003); Proto-Tibeto-Burman: STEDT Database [beta], Matisoff (2003); Tai Lue: Hanna (2012); Youle Jino: the author's fieldnotes, Hayashi (2009a, b); Written Burmese: Harada and Ohno (1979), Ohno (2000)

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Lamei, another dialect of Lamo (mDzogong, TAR) ——Vocabulary and sentence structure——*

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Summary

This article primarily explores the vocabulary and sentence structure of Lamei, a dialect spoken in Zhonglinka Township, mDzogong County, Chamdo Municipality, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China. Lamei is one of the two principal dialects of Lamo, a recently recognised non-Tibetic Tibeto-Burman language. The article contains approximately 500 lexical entries and 166 sentence examples with glossing, as well as preliminary findings and remarks presented in the material. The data of Lamei provided in the article were collected in the summer of 2019 at the local site. We had collaborators, from Ruoba and Wamei, respectively. Slight differences in the pronunciation have been observed between the two speeches. However, they do not affect mutual intelligibility. Section 1 briefly reviews the non-Tibetic Tibeto-Burman languages in the southeastern area of TAR, and specifies the Lamei-speaking area. Section 2 provides the sound system of Lamei, divided into syllable structure, consonantism, vocalism, and suprasegmentals. Section 3 introduces essential findings of phonological and morpho-syntactic features of Lamei; it includes four features: sound correspondence of native forms between Lamei and Lamo focusing on a rhyme and uvular initials; sound correspondence of Written Tibetan forms focusing on several initial sounds; copulative and existential verbs; and verb suffixes. Section 4 and Section 5 are vocabulary and sentence examples, respectively. The vocabulary consists of English meaning, Lamei form, and notes specifying a potential origin when a given lexical item is a loanword.

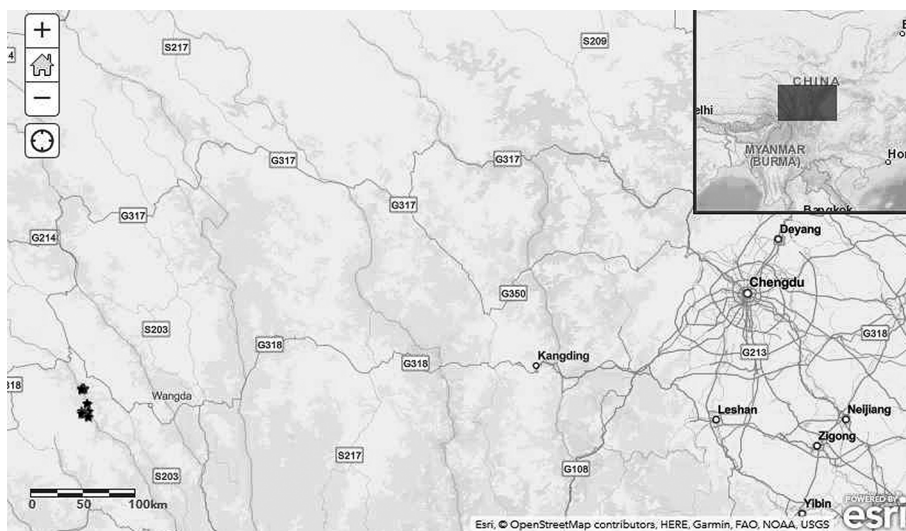
Key words: Chamdo, non-Tibetic Tibeto-Burman language, Lamo, word list, basic construction

关键词：昌都、非藏语支藏缅语、拉莱语、词汇表、基本结构

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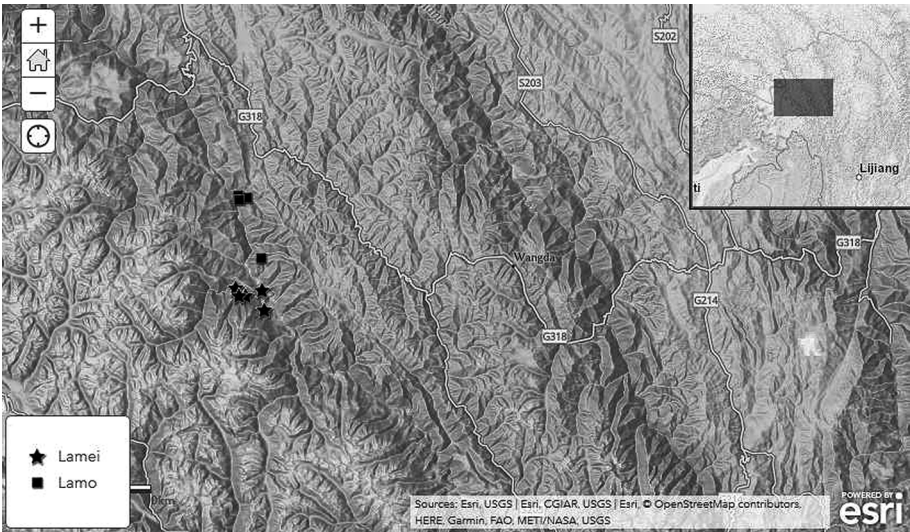
1. Introduction

This article examines the vocabulary and sentence structure of the Lamei dialect of Lamo, a recently recognised Tibeto-Burman language, spoken in mDzogong [mDzo sgang] County, Chamdo [Chab mdo] Municipality, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. Suzuki and Tashi Nyima (2016) were the first to report the existence of non-Tibetic languages in Chamdo, and Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (2019) officially published an article regarding four newly recognised Tibeto-Burman languages in Chamdo and Dzayul [rDza yul], including Lamo, Larong sMar, Drag-yab sMar, and gSerkhu. Other works have been published as well: Zhao (2018, 2019) describes Larong sMar, and dKon-mchog rGyal-mtshan (2018) describes Drag-yab sMar. Suzuki and Tashi Nyima (2018) examine a phonological, lexical comparison among Lamo (Kyilwa dialect), Larong sMar (Tangre Chaya and Phagpa dialects), and Drag-yab sMar (Razi dialect). Suzuki et al. (2018) provide a word list of Lamo (Kewa dialect), Larong sMar (Phagpa dialect), and Drag-yab sMar (Razi dialect); Suzuki et al. (2021) present a word list of Drag-yab sMar (mBengo dialect); in addition, Suzuki and Tashi Nyima (this volume) present a detailed description of the Lamo evidential system.



Map 1 Lamo-speaking area in the eastern Tibetsphere

Lamo has between 6500 and 7000 speakers. It principally has two dialects: Lamo and Lamei. The former is spoken in lDongpa [lDong pa] Township, and the latter in Zhonglinka Township (see Maps 1 and 2), in which only five hamlets are inhabited by Lamei speakers, namely, Shizika, Luoba, Ruoba, Wadui, and Wamei (see Map 3). Both are spoken in the area along the rGyal-mo rNgul-chu River (Nujiang) in mDzogong County. According to



Map 2 Location of Lamo and Lamei



Map 3 Lamei-speaking hamlets and recorded varieties (Wamei and Ruoba)

the speakers, Lamo and Lamei are the mutually intelligible varieties. Lexical data of Lamo have been published in Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (2019), as well as Suzuki et al. (2018); however, any materials of Lamei have not been published so far.

Lamo is described as one of three ‘special dialects’ in *Changdu Diquzhi* (2005: 819). Roche and Suzuki (2018) list up minority languages spoken in the Chinese Tibetosphere; however, they do not mention any non-Tibetic languages in Chamdo Municipality. Suzuki and Tashi Nyima (2016) firstly recognise this language as a non-Tibetic variety, but they mistakenly name it ‘Bo, which is an exonym by the surrounding native speakers of Khams Tibetan. Lamo is the name used by its native speakers. Following this report, Lamo (lDongpa Lamo) has been selected as a target language of the China’s national project named *Zhongguo yuyan ziyuan baohu gongcheng* ‘China’s Language Resource Protection Project’; the recording work of words, sentences, and stories of Lamo has been completed by Chinese scholars. The results are to be archived and put online for the public. On the contrary, to the best of our knowledge, Lamei has not been described so far.

The data of Lamei provided in the present article were collected and recorded by the second two authors in the summer of 2019 at the local site. We had collaborators, from Ruoba and Wamei, respectively. Slight differences in the pronunciation have been observed between the two speeches. However, they do not affect mutual intelligibility.

A brief sound system of Lamei, as well as preliminary findings of its linguistic features, are described in Sections 2 and 3, respectively. Since the article aims to provide language materials of Lamei, the description is as simple as possible. A vocabulary (Section 4) contains approximately 500 entries, each of which consists of English meaning, Lamei form, and notes. The order of the lexical items is principally according to the word list provided by Nagano and Prins (2013), as well as Suzuki et al. (2018). Sentence examples (Section 5), containing 166 utterances, include morpheme-by-morpheme glossing with a full English translation. These examples are selected from Ikeda (2008), as well as Nagano and Prins (2013), all of whom refer to Ma’s (1987) 200 sentence examples. Due to the restricted quantity of the collected data, our analysis remains preliminary. Romanisation of the Tibetan script follows the style of de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956).

2. Sound system of Lamei

This section consists of four parts: syllable structure, consonantism, vocalism, and suprasegmentals. The method for displaying the syllable structure follows Suzuki (2005). The description of segmental sounds follows the framework by Zhu (2010, 2015) as well as Suzuki (2016), including IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) symbols and additional indispensable phonetic symbols employed in Chinese linguistics. The analysis of suprasegmental sounds follows Kitamura (1977), with a necessary expansion.

The description is restricted in the data that we were able to obtain. A full phonological

analysis is left for future studies.

Syllable structure

The maximum syllable structure of Lamei is summarised as ^CCGV, where ^C is a preinitial, C is a main initial, G is a glide, and V is a nucleus, that is, a vowel. CV is a minimum, indispensable unit of a syllable. We also find coalescence of syllables. Lamei exhibits coalescence of syllables, especially within a single tone-bearing unit (TBU). For example, the ACP.Q suffix /-la sa/ as a surface form is analysed /-le sə-ʔa/ ‘-ACP-Q’.

Consonantism

Table 1 represents a list of initial simplex sounds.

Table 1 List of consonants

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
plosive	aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	t̪ ^h			k ^h	q ^h	
	non-aspirated	p	t	t̪			k	q	ʔ
	voiced	b	d	d̪			g	ɣ	
affricate	aspirated		ts ^h		tɕ ^h				
	non-aspirated		ts		tɕ				
	voiced		dz		dʒ				
fricative	voiceless		s		ɕ		x	χ	h
	voiced		z		ʒ			ʁ	ɦ
nasal	voiced	m	n				ɲ	ŋ	
	voiceless	m̥	n̥				ɲ̥		
liquid	voiced		l	r					
	voiceless		l̥						
semi-vowel	voiced	w				j			

N.B. A: bilabial; B: denti-alveolar; C: retroflex; D: prepalatal; E: palatal; F: velar; G: uvular; H: glottal

Preinitial is occupied by either a nasal (prenasalisation) or a glottal fricative (preaspiration).

Vocalism

Vowels have 12 tongue positions and are divided into three types: plain, nasalised, and creaky, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 List of vowels

plain	i	e	ɛ	a	ɑ	ɔ	o	u	ʊ	ʉ	ə	ɵ
nasalised	ĩ	ẽ	ɛ̃		ã	õ	õ	ũ				
creaky		ɛ̰	ɛ̰	ɑ̰	ɑ̰	ɔ̰		ṵ			ə̰	

We observe a ‘vowel harmony’-like phenomenon for specific words. For instance, the vowel quality of a negative prefix depends on a verb stem’s vowel, as demonstrated in (10) and (60) (see Section 5).

Suprasegmentals

There is two-way pitch distinction at a word-initial position: high (˥) and low (˩). The TBU is a phonological word (a root plus affixes), up to the first two syllables. Tones are not distinctive over syllables from the third syllable of a word, as well a phonological word, being realised as low level. An apostrophe (ˈ) appearing between first and second syllables denotes that the second syllable is out of the TBU and thus atonal. See Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2019) for a similar description on suprasegmentals of Lhagang Choyu.

3. Findings and remarks

Among the limited number of words and sentences, we have discovered some remarkable features regarding differences between Lamei and Lamo (Kewa dialect). We summarise below the following three features: native lexical forms, written Tibetan (WrT) sound correspondence, and copulative and existential verbs. Finally, we present a summary of Lamei verb suffixes arranged with TAM (tense-aspect-modality) and evidentiality.

3.1 Sound correspondence of native forms

The most remarkable sound correspondence between Lamei and Lamo is presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Rhyme correspondence /wi/-/ʉ/

meaning	Lamei	Lamo
dog	˥k ^h wi	˥k ^h ʉ
tooth	˩xwi	˩xʉ

From these examples, we find a sound correspondence between /wi/ and /ʉ/. The form of ‘dog’ in Lamei suggests that it is derived from a proto-form with a /w/-glide, as attested in Lolo-Burmese, and not a /j/-glide, as attested in Tibetic. Although Lamei has a /ʉ/-vowel, this sound is related to Tibetic loans.

Sound correspondences of uvular initials are mostly regular, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Uvular correspondence

meaning	Lamei	Lamo
round	ṽqo qo	ṽqo qo
bad	ʔa qe	ʔa qa
hard	ṽkaʼ ^N Ga	ṽkaʼ ^N Ga
how	ṽχaʼ wa sə	ṽχa
ten	ṽba	ʼba
five	ṽnwə	ṽnwə̃
milk	ṽqʰwə	ʼχə

Except for the word ‘milk’, the initial sound is identical to both the varieties. The existence of uvulars seems to be stable in the non-Tibetic languages in Chamdo (see also Suzuki and Tashi Nyima 2018).

There are word forms unique to Lamei, for example, /ṽʔoʼ re/ ‘pig’ and /ṽʔi/ ‘gate’. We cannot find their cognates in Tibetic as well as Qiangic languages.

3.2 Sound correspondence of Written Tibetan forms

We present two sound correspondences of the WrT, the *ny* initial and *sh/zh* initials, in Table 5.

Table 5 Sound correspondences of WrT *ny*

WrT	Lamei	Lamo
<i>nya</i> ‘fish’	ʼnɛ	ʼnɛ
<i>rnying pa</i> ‘old’	ṽ ^{fi} juʼ ^{fi} bɛ	ṽ ^{fi} nɛʼ pɛ

The WrT *ny* initial does not correspond to a prepalatal nasal in Lamei, but to an alveolar or velar nasal. This sound correspondence is restricted by its phonological system lacking prepalatal nasals (see Section 2). Hence, it is unlikely that Lamei borrowed the word form for ‘fish’ from a dialect which lacks prepalatal nasal consonants, such as sMarkhams (Suzuki 2018, Suzuki et al. forthcoming) and Sangdam (Suzuki 2012). The sound correspondence of WrT *ny* with the velar nasal is attested in Balti (Sprigg 2002).

Table 6 Sound correspondences of WrT *sh/zh* and *Py*-series

WrT	Lamei	Lamo
<i>shugs</i> ‘power’	ṽcu	ṽxu
<i>bshad</i> ‘talk’	ṽḥce	ṽḥcə
<i>phyed ka</i> ‘half’	ṽce k ^h e	ṽce k ^h e
<i>byed</i> ‘do’ (light verb)	ṽci	ṽci

The WrT *sh/zh* initials mostly correspond to prepalatal fricatives, with an exception of *shugs* ‘power’ in Lamo. Lamo’s basic sound correspondence to WrT *sh/zh* are, in fact, ‘palato-velar’ fricatives (e.g. [x, ɕ̞x] for /x/), as attested in Southern Route Khams including the dialects of mDzogong, sMarkhams, and mBathang (see Tournadre and Suzuki 2021 for the dialectal classification). The variation of sounds corresponding to WrT *sh/zh* is displayed in Suzuki et al. (2019). This phenomenon further suggests that the Tibetan superstratum varies in Lamei and Lamo.

The WrT *Py*-series (forms including *py*, *phy*, and *by*) correspond to prepalatal fricatives; the sound correspondences of WrT *sh/zh* and *Py*-series are thus identical in Lamei. Many dialects of Khams Tibetan display the sound correspondence between WrT *Py*-series and prepalatal fricatives; however, we should note that different sound correspondence patterns are found in several dialects spoken along the rGyal-mo rNgul-chu River, for example, the Tshawarong dialect exhibiting a correspondence between the WrT *Py*-series and denti-alveolar affricates.

3.3 Copulative and existential verbs

Copulative and existential verbs of Lamei exhibit different stems according to the evidential category. See also Suzuki and Tashi Nyima’s (this volume) detailed description of copulative and existential verbs of Lamo.

We compare Lamei’s related verb stems with Lamo’s in Table 7.

Table 7 Copulative and existential verb stems

meaning	Lamei	Lamo
CPV.E	ṽjo	ṽjo
CPV	ṽt ^h e	ṽtɕ ^h u
EXV.E	ṽk ^h o	ṽk ^h o
EXV.SEN	ṽṽa	ṽṽe

The stem difference in both the varieties exists in evidential categories. Two stems are identical, while the other two vary, although they are similar in the phonetic aspect; from our data, we cannot verify that each pair is a cognate.

An EXV form consists of the EXV.E stem + another syllable: Lamei is /ʔkʰoʔ ɕi/, and Lamo is /ʔkʰo tɕʰu/. Lamo's morphology corresponds to WrT *yod red* (EXV.E stem + CPV stem). Lamei's suffix is common to the form of PROG/STA (see Section 3.4). Based on the present data, Lamei's CPV.SEN form does not appear.

The EXV.SEN forms might be cognates; however, this yet has to be confirmed. It is noteworthy that the EXV.SEN form in Lamei seems to be close to that in Larong sMar (Dongba dialect): /ŋa¹³/ (Zhao 2019: 51–54), although the voicing and suprasegmental features are different.

Lamei has a negative stem for the copulative egophoric verb (CPV.E.NEG): /me/. The existence of the negative stem differs from Lamo, which always uses a negative prefix.

3.4 Verb suffixes

Verb suffixes of Lamei, based on our restricted data, can be arranged with TAM and evidentiality as presentet in Table 8:

Table 8 TAM evidential system of verb suffixes of Lamei

TAM \ evidentiality	egophoric	statemental	sensory
nonperfect (NPFT)	-tɕu sə ŋo	-tɕu ɕi	-tɕu sə
accomplished (ACP)	-le sə ŋo	-la ɕi	-le sə
perfect (PFT)		-pə tʰe / -nə	
aorist (AOR)	-wə zə ŋo	DIR-V-sə	-wə sə
stative (STA)	-ɕi	-ɕi	-sə
progressive (PROG)	-ɕi	-ɕi	
future (FUT)		-re / -pə ŋgo	

The division of TAM is preliminary, induced from the limited examples in Section 5, and it awaits rigorous investigation. At present, we confirm an evidential-marking system with at least three categories: egophoric, statemental (or factual), and sensory. This category classification is identical to the copulative and existential verbs. The sensory forms contain a syllable /-sə/; however, the same syllable appearing with a directional prefix (DIR) does not function as sensory, but as a part of aorist statemental (AOR). So is the form 'DIR-V-le sə', that is analysed as accomplished statemental (ACP).

Other than the forms in the list, there is a suffix: /-ta/, primarily functioning as 'perfect cislocative' (PFT.CIS). The category 'cislocative' describes an action or a status coming towards the speaker. It is noteworthy that this function corresponds to WrT *byung* (PFT.CIS) attested in Lhasa Tibetan, as well as many Khams Tibetan varieties.

A short description on the suffixes of Lamo is provided in Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (2019: 68–69), exhibiting different forms and categories from Lamei; however, they do

not display a whole picture of the TAM-evidential category in Lamo, and hence we do not compare them. See also Suzuki and Tashi Nyima (this volume) for a more detailed description on the evidential system in Lamo.

4. Vocabulary

The order of the entries is arranged by semantic fields, principally ordered as Body Parts, Clothing, Food, Housing, Utensils, Tools, Persons, Society, Nature, Various adjectives, Direction, Time, Numbers, Pronouns, and others. However, in the following word list, we do not separate data into different sections based on these classifications, but just consecutively arrange them in order. Additional words appearing in Section 5 are attached at the end of the list.

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
head	ʼwa	
forehead	ʼtʰa pɛ	WrT <i>thad pa</i> .
eye	ʼmɯ	
eyebrow	ʼmɯ ʰpu	The second syllable WrT <i>spu</i> .
tear	ʼmɯ tɕʰə	The second syllable WrT <i>chu</i> .
blind	ʼko tsa	
nose	ni	
ear	ʰna tɕo	WrT <i>rna cog</i> .
deaf	ʼja ko	
mouth	ʼɕe	
lip	ʰtɕʰə to	WrT <i>mchu to</i> .
tongue	lɛ	
mute	ʰdzo po	
tooth	ʼxwi	
saliva	ʰdzu ra	
breath	ʼʔu	WrT <i>dbugs</i> .
voice	ʰkɛ	WrT <i>skad</i> .
cough	ʰtsɛ	
sneeze	ʼʔaʼ tɕʰə	
yawn	ʼʔu ʰdzi	
chin	ʼma ni	WrT <i>ma ne</i> .
face	ʼwa ji	
cheek	ʰqɛ mbe	WrT <i>'gram pa</i> .
moustache	ʰkʰə ʰpu	WrT <i>kha spu</i> .
neck	ʼka tsɛ	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
throat	ṽṽ tʰo	
shoulder	ṽṽ a pɛ	WrT <i>phrag pa</i> .
elbow	ʽtʷ ʰdzo	The first syllable WrT <i>gru</i> .
hand	ʽlɑ	
breast	ʽtã ka	The first syllable WrT <i>brang</i> .
heart	ṽṽ nɔ	
belly	ṽṽ du	
liver	ṽṽ pʰo kɛ	
navel	ṽṽ tɔ ji	
back	ṽṽ gʷ pɛ	WrT <i>sgal pa</i> .
waist	ṽṽ tɕɔ ʷgo	WrT <i>dpyi 'go</i> .
	/ ṽṽ kɛ	WrT <i>rked</i> .
knee	ṽṽ po mo	WrT <i>pus mo</i> .
leg	ṽṽ sɔ ti	
foot	ṽṽ sɔ ti	Same as 'leg'.
cripple	ṽṽ dʒa la	
body	ʽzu po	WrT <i>gzugs po</i> .
hair	ṽṽ pu	WrT <i>spu</i> .
skin	ṽṽ mo	
pus	ṽṽ pa	
sweat	ʽtse pɛ	
dirt	ʽtɔ mɛ	WrT <i>dri ma</i> .
blood	ṽṽ sɑ	
bone	ṽṽ tɕɔ ri	
muscle	ṽṽ tɕʰi	Same as 'meat'.
power	ṽṽ ɕu	WrT <i>shugs</i> .
look	ṽṽ tu	
smell	ṽṽ nu	WrT <i>snom</i> .
listen	ṽṽ du	
laugh	ṽṽ ge	WrT <i>dgod</i> .
weep	ʽqwɔ	
shout	ṽṽ wu ʰdo	
clothes	ṽṽ ko zɔ	WrT <i>gos zan</i> .
wear	ṽṽ gwi	
	/ ṽṽ gi	
put off	ṽṽ pu	
animal skin	ṽṽ dʒa ma	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
needle	ʼḡa	
thread	⁻ʰtəo	
sew	ʼrwə	
food	⁻ʰto	WrT <i>lto</i> .
flour	ʼtə tsa	
meat	⁻ḡtəʰi	
fruit	⁻çi ᵑdo	WrT <i>shing tog</i> .
seed	ʼsɛ	WrT <i>son</i> .
egg	ʳḡwɛ	WrT <i>sgong</i> .
salt	⁻tsʰo	
fat	ʼtsɛ	
milk	⁻qʰwə	
water	⁻təə	
boil	ʳḡzu	
be ripe	⁻mɛ' da	WrT <i>smin</i> .
eat	⁻ᵑdzə	
lick	⁻ḡda	WrT <i>ldag</i> .
chew	⁻ḡtəʰə	
drink	ᵑtʰi	
suck	ᵑdzu	
vomit	ᵑpʰi	
spit saliva	ᵑdzə ro ʼtəʰə	
be hungry	⁻ḡdu ʼzɛ	
be thirsty	⁻çɛ ʼro / ⁻çɛ pɛ ʼna	
tasty	⁻kə' lə nə	
sweet	⁻kə' ŋa	
spicy	⁻çɛ' na	
bitter	⁻qʰo' tɕu	
sour	⁻ʰku' tɕu	
house	⁻təo	
build a house	⁻təo ʳḡzu	
gate	⁻ʔi	
wall	ʼçə	
window	⁻ᵑda ka	
roof	⁻təo ḡkʰe tɕe	
fire	⁻mu	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
smoke	ʼte	WrT <i>dud</i> .
dust	ˉse	
die out	ʼtɛ	
burn	ˉruu ^h pa	
sit	ʼt ^h o	
sleep	ʳfi ^h gu	
dream	ˉfi ^h mə lā	WrT <i>rmi lam</i> .
stand up	ˉtə tɛ	
open	ˉci	WrT <i>phye</i> .
live	ʼwo	
earthen tray	ˉt ^h ə / ʼtsɛ lā	
knife	ˀndzə ^h tse	
blade	ʼxwi	Same as 'tooth'.
ash	ʼtə ma	
wipe	ˉce	WrT <i>'phyid</i> .
rope	ˉtɕu	
rod	ʼpɛ ^{fi} gɛ	
give birth	ˉm ^h bə	
grow up	ˉtə ʳfi ^h di	
be alive	ˉsə ^m bu	WrT <i>gson po</i> .
fat	ʳfi ^h dʒa	WrT <i>rgyags</i> .
slim	ˀts ^h e ⁿ ts ^h e	
tired	ʼze fia	
disease	ʼnɛ	
wound	ˉfi ^h mo ʳfi ^h zu	
hurt	ʼza	
itchy	ʼqa	
scratch	ˉt ^h u	WrT <i>'phrug</i> .
medicine	ˉmɛ	WrT <i>sman</i> .
see a doctor	ˉmɛ ^m bɛ ʼtu' tɕ ^h i	
kill	ˉh ^h sa	
die	ʼse	
deity	ˉlɛ	WrT <i>lha</i> .
fight	ˀndzə mō	
quarrel	ˉk ^h a ^h tse ʳfi ^h dʒə	WrT <i>kha rtsod rgyags</i> .
flee	ʳh ^h tse	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
chase	^m p ^h o	
arrow	ⁿ dε	WrT <i>mda'</i> .
gun	ʼmə ⁿ dε	WrT <i>me mda'</i> .
person	ˉma	
male	ˉzē	
female	ˉm̥i	
child	ˉno no	
young	ʼro tse	
father	ˉʔa ba	
mother	ˉʔa ma	
son	ˉno no	
daughter	ˉm̥i	
sibling	ˉʔa ja ʔa bə	
elder sister	ˉʔa ja	
husband	ʼʔo ⁿ dzu	
wife	ʼʔo ⁿ dzu	
village	ˉts ^h ū	Chn <i>cun</i> .
fire a gun	ʼmə ⁿ dε ʼci	WrT <i>me mda' byed</i> .
	/ ʼmə ⁿ dε ˉl̥ε	The first two syllables WrT <i>me mda'</i> .
steal	ˉ ^h kə ʼwu	
work	ʼtɕo fiu	
take a rest	ʼmε ^h su ʼci	WrT <i>mal gso byed</i> .
peel skin	ⁿ dʒa ma ʼma	
go	ˉxo	
	/ ⁿ t ^h ə	
	/ ^{fi} ga	
come	^h tə	
go out	ˉɕə' la ˉwu	The first two syllables WrT <i>phyi la</i> .
enter	ʼnə ŋa ˉlu	The first syllable WrT <i>nang</i> .
turn	ˉtɕ ^h ə' kə ʼtu	
stop	ʼwɔ kə la	
walk	^ŋ ga' pə tɕ ^h ə	
run	ʼtsɛ	
fast	ʼnə ma	
slow	ʼkε le	WrT <i>ga le</i> .
crawl	ˉtə ⁿ dʒe	
road	ˉtɕa	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
bridge	ʼza ^m bɛ	WrT <i>zam pa</i> .
wheel	ʼmo ʈa ^ʰ k ^h u lu	WrT <i>mo Ta 'khor lo</i> .
ship	ʼtu ze	WrT <i>gru gzings</i> .
language	⁻ ^h ke	WrT <i>skad</i> .
make a speech	⁻ʔa la ⁻ ^h ɕe	The third syllable WrT <i>bshad</i> .
talk	⁻ ^h ɕe	WrT <i>bshad</i> .
ask	ʼti	WrT <i>dri</i> .
call	ʼre	
name	⁻mi	
amuse oneself	⁻ʔa ⁿ dzu ^u ʼwə	
sing a song	⁻ ^{fi} zi ⁱ ʼle	WrT <i>gzhas len</i> .
dance	ʼzi ⁱ ⁻ ^h tɕ ^h o	WrT <i>zhabs 'cham</i> .
meet	ʼt ^h ɕe	WrT <i>'phrad</i> .
encounter	ʼt ^h ɕe	WrT <i>'phrad</i> .
wait	⁻ ^{fi} gu	WrT <i>sgug</i> .
beat	⁻ ^l ɛ	
bite	ʼqa	
fetch	⁻lu	
get	ʼji lu	
catch	⁻ ⁿ ts ^h e	
release	ʼwu lɛ	
throw	ʼji ⁿ dzo	
touch	⁻ ⁿ t ^h u	
wipe	⁻ɕu	WrT <i>'phyid</i> .
shake	⁻ ^{fi} jə	WrT <i>g.yug</i> .
push	⁻ ^m p ^h i	
carry on the back	⁻ ^h ko	
kick	⁻ ^{fi} do la ʼci	WrT <i>rdog la byed</i> .
step	⁻ ^{fi} do	
hide	⁻ ^{fi} zɛ	
look for	⁻ɕu	
find	⁻ko te	
show	⁻tu ti	
leave	⁻tɕa	
do	ʼwə	
break	ʼmə ⁿ dza ⁿ ʼfi ⁱ zo	
repair	⁻ ^{fi} zo	WrT <i>bzo</i> .

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
split	ʔe ^h su ʔtɕu	
bend	ʔgwa ^ɟ go	
break	ʔgo ^ʔ la	
wash	ʔwɔ	
fasten	ʔi ^ʔ qɔ	
untie	ʔwu ^ʔ lɛ / ʔji ^ʔ lɛ	
wear (a hat)	ʔge	
swell	ʔi ^ʔ dza	
stick	ʔpi	
cut	ʔtə	
mix	ʔtə lu	
carve	ʔqo	
dig	ʔtu ^ʔ qɔ	
move	ʔgi	WrT 'gul.
go upstairs	ʔk ^h e ^ʔ tɕ ^h e	
go downstairs	ʔle tse	
fall	ʔno ^ʔ xwa / ʔxwa ^ʔ le	
inflow	ʔi ^ʔ dɛ	
dry	ʔru ro	
consider	ʔsa nə ʔi ^ʔ lɛ	The first syllable WrT <i>bsam</i> .
know	ʔha ʔko	WrT <i>ha go</i> .
forget	ʔi ^ʔ no	
teach	ʔze	
fear	ʔi ^ʔ lɛ	
love	ʔi ^ʔ gɛ	WrT <i>dga'</i> .
glad	ʔi ^ʔ gɛ	WrT <i>dga'</i> .
get angry	ʔts ^h ə ^ʔ hpe ʔze	WrT <i>tshig pa za</i> .
mind	ʔnə gɛ	
sky	ʔmu / ʔmu ^ʔ gu	
cloud	ʔti ^ʔ mbi	WrT <i>sprin pa</i> .
fog	ʔti	WrT <i>sprin</i> .
rain	ʔmu	
thunder	ʔi ^ʔ qu	WrT 'brug.
lightning	ʔi ^ʔ la ɕi	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
rainbow	⁻ⁿ dʒɛ	WrT 'ja'.
snow	ʼwi	
ice	ʼtɕ ^h a ro	WrT <i>chab rom</i> .
freeze	ʼtɕ ^h a ro ^{ʰi} bja	The first two syllables WrT <i>chab rom</i> .
melt	ʼtɕ ^h a ^{ʰi} da	
sun	⁻ ne	
moon	⁻ le	
star	^{-h} ke mɛ	WrT <i>skar ma</i> .
light	ʼwe ^h ci	
shadow	ʼtə mɛ	WrT <i>grib ma</i> .
clear	^{-h} ka ^h sɛ	WrT <i>dkar gsal</i> .
dark	⁻ tə nɛ	
wind	⁻ mɛ	
wind blows	⁻ mɛ ʼci	
hot	^{-ʰi} du	
cold	^ʰ dʒa	
warm	ʼto	WrT <i>dro</i> .
mountain	ʼrə	WrT <i>ri</i> .
valley	⁻ q ^h u	
mountain cave	ʼta qu	WrT <i>brag khung</i> .
forest	^{ʰi} dʒɛ ne	WrT <i>rgya nags</i> .
plain	^{-h} po	WrT <i>spang</i> .
lake	⁻ⁿ ts ^h o	WrT <i>mtsho</i> .
river	⁻ tɕə	Same as 'water'.
bubble	^{-ʰi} bɛ	WrT <i>lbu</i> .
sink	⁻ⁿ də	
float	ʼlə ^h qo	
flow	⁻ nə ^m bo	
shore	^{-h} tse k ^h ɛ	
wave	^{-ʰi} bɛ ^{ʰi} ŋa	The first syllable WrT <i>rba</i> .
stone	^{-ʰi} do ^{ʰi} gu	The first syllable WrT <i>rdo</i> .
sand	ʼce mɛ	WrT <i>bye ma</i> .
soil	⁻ⁿ dʒɔ	
grass	^{-h} tse	WrT <i>rtswa</i> .
tree	⁻ ci p ^h u	WrT <i>shing phung</i> .
bark	⁻ ci p ^h u ^{ʰi} dʒa' ma	
stalk	^{-h} tse	Same as 'grass'.

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
twig	ʼla ma	
leaf	ᵐdza ma	
flower	ʼmə to	WrT <i>me tog</i> .
root	ᵐdɛ	
apple	ᵐgu ɕi	
grow	ᵐdi	
wither	ʼlo la / ʼro tʰa	
animal	ᵐso tɕə	WrT <i>srog chags</i> .
bird	ʼwo ze	
fish	ʼne	WrT <i>nya</i> .
bug	ᵐbuw lo	The first syllable WrT <i>'bu</i> .
dog	ᵐkʰwi	
pig	ᵐʔo' re	
ant	ʼto mɛ	WrT <i>grog ma</i> .
mosquito	ᵐbaʰtɕa ᵐbuw	
fly	ᵐtɕa' jə	
flea	ᵐdzɛ	
louse	ᵐɕu	
snake	ʼtʰa	
horn	ʼra tɕu	WrT <i>rwa co</i> .
tail	ᵐɲɛ' mɛ	WrT <i>mga ma</i> .
peck	ʼwo zə ʼɕe	
wing	ʼɕa pɛ	WrT <i>gshog pa</i> .
bird nest	ʼwo zi ᵐtsʰɔ	The third syllable WrT <i>tshang</i> .
fly	ᵐpʰu	WrT <i>'phur</i> .
swim	ᵐdzɛ	
round	ᵐqo qo	
sharp	ᵐko' ᵐdzɔ	
blunt	ʼxwi ʼmə ŋa	
cave	ᵐkʰu	WrT <i>khug</i> .
straight	ᵐtʰɛ ɣɛ	
big	ᵐdi	
small	ʼʔa tsi	
long	ᵐdzə ro	
short	ᵐtʰu ᵐtʰu	WrT <i>thung thung</i> .
thick	ᵐtʰu po	WrT <i>methug po</i> .

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
thin	ʔa wɔ	
colour	ʔs ^h ɛ tɛ	The first syllable WrT <i>tshos</i> .
red	ˈfi ma' ne ne	The first syllable WrT <i>dmar</i> .
blue	ˈŋo' ɕu ɕu	The first syllable WrT <i>sngon</i> .
yellow	ˈse se	WrT <i>ser ser</i> .
green	ˈŋo ŋo	WrT <i>sngon sngon</i> .
white	ˈtə' ɿt ^h a	
black	ˈtə ne	
sound	ˈhke	WrT <i>skad</i> .
smelling	ʔə mɛ	WrT <i>dri ma</i> .
strong	ˈɕu ʔwə	The first syllable WrT <i>shugs</i> .
weak	ˈɕu ˈfi da	The first syllable WrT <i>shugs</i> .
correct	ʔwo me	
good	ʔa mo	
bad	ʔa qɛ	
delicate	ˈn dʒa mbo	WrT <i>'jam po</i> .
rough	ˈh tsu po	WrT <i>rtsub po</i> .
old	ˈfi ŋu' fi bɛ	WrT <i>rmying pa</i> .
new	ˈh se' bɛ	WrT <i>gsar pa</i> .
beautiful	ˈka' tɕe	
clean	ˈh tso mɛ	WrT <i>btsog pa</i> .
dirty	ʔa qɛ	Same as 'bad'
hard	ˈka' n ga	
soft	ˈka' na	
frontward	ˈŋo so	The first syllable WrT <i>sngon</i> .
backward	ˈna ŋa	
middle	ʔpa la / ˈh tɕe k ^h a	WrT <i>bar la</i> . WrT <i>dkyil kha</i> .
upward	ˈk ^h ə' tɕə	
downward	ʔwa ra	
inside	ˈno ŋa	The first syllable WrT <i>nang</i> .
outside	ˈɕə' la	WrT <i>phyi la</i> .
right side	ʔt ^h a pa	
left side	ˈtə' p ^h a	
far	ˈfi dʒə rɔ̃ / ˈt ^h a ʔr mbo	WrT <i>rgyang ring</i> . WrT <i>thag ring po</i> .
high	ʔa tso	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
	/ ʔə ^{fi} di	
low	ʔa tsi	
profound	ʔ ^h tsə me	
shallow	ʔa tso ʔja	
wide	ʔa tso	
narrow	ʔa tsi	
together	ʔ ^{fi} naʔ ^m bo	WrT <i>mnyam po</i> .
	/ ʔ ^{fi} naʔ ^m bo	WrT <i>mnyam po</i> .
full	ʔ ^h sa ra	
empty	ʔ ^h ta ^m bɛ	WrT <i>stong pa</i> .
morning	ʔ ^h ba ^{fi} lə	
noon	ʔ ^h ni ɕe	
daytime	ʔ ^h na na	
evening	ʔ ^h ts ^h ɛʔ ^m na	The first syllable WrT <i>mtshan</i> .
night	ʔ ^h ts ^h ɛʔ ^m na	The first syllable WrT <i>mtshan</i> .
early	ʔ ^h wə ^{fi} lə	
	/ ʔ ^h ka na	
late	ʔ ^h tɕ ^h əʔ ^m da	The first syllable WrT <i>phyi</i> .
now	ʔa k ^h a	
earlier	ʔa ^m bo	
later	ʔ ^h p ^h ə ʔi	
always	ʔ ^h na ko ʔ ^h əʔ ^m na	
today	ʔ ^h pə si	
yesterday	ʔ ^h ji si	
tomorrow	ʔ ^h se si	
day after tomorrow	ʔ ^h wa si	
everyday	ʔ ^h na ko ʔ ^h əʔ ^m na	
day	ʔ ^h ze me	
year	ʔ ^h lo	WrT <i>lo</i> .
number	ʔa ŋgi	WrT <i>ang ki</i> .
one	ʔ ^h də	
two	ʔ ^h na	
three	ʔ ^h ɕɕ̃	
four	ʔ ^h le	
five	ʔ ^h nwə	
six	ʔ ^h tɕ ^h u	
seven	ʔ ^h ni	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
eight	^{-fi} dza	
nine	^{-ŋ} go	
ten	⁻ ba	
twenty	ʼnə ɕu	WrT <i>nyi shu</i> .
thirty	⁻ suw ⁿ dzu	WrT <i>sum cu</i> .
hundred	^{-fi} dzi	WrT <i>brgya</i> .
thousand	^{-h} tō ʼdə	The first syllable WrT <i>stong</i> .
	/ ^{-h} to ʼdə	The first syllable WrT <i>stong</i> .
ten thousand	^{-tʰ} ə ʼdə	The first syllable WrT <i>khri</i> .
time	tʰe mɛ	WrT <i>thengs ma</i> .
all	tʰa tɕʰe	WrT <i>thams cad</i> .
half	ʼɕe kʰe	WrT <i>phyed ka</i> .
heavy	⁻ keʼ de	
light	ʼzi zi	
many	ʼʔa wa	
few	ʼtɕi ^h kɛ	
I	⁻ ŋa	
my (1SG.GEN)	⁻ ŋo	
we (INCL)	ʼji nə kʰa	
we (EXCL)	⁻ ʔa nə kʰa	
you (2SG)	⁻ ne	
your (2SG.GEN)	⁻ no	
you (2PL)	⁻ nə nə kʰa	
he/she/it (3SG)	⁻ ma	
they	⁻ ma nə kʰa	
self	⁻ ŋa	
this	⁻ ʔə	
that	⁻ kə	
here	⁻ ʔa rə	
there	⁻ keʼ rə	
who	⁻ sə	
what	⁻ ɣa	
which	⁻ ʔaʼ wə	
how	⁻ ɣaʼ wa sə	
where	ʼʔa rə	
when	ʼna	
how many	ʼfiə ^{fi} də	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
a little	/ ʰχa ^{hi} də ʰtɕi ^{hi} kɛ / ʰtsə kɛ	
not yet	ʰk ^{hi} ə sə ʰne	
just	ˉne ʰk ^{hi} a	
and	ʰp ^{hi} e	
be (CPV.E)	ʰŋo	
be (CPV)	ʰt ^{hi} e	
not be (CPV.E.NEG)	ʰmɛ	
be (EXV.E)	ʰk ^{hi} o	
be (EXV)	ʰk ^{hi} o' ɕi	
be (EXV.SEN)	ˉŋa	
not be (EXV.E.NEG)	ʰmɔ	
very	ˉzə tɕe	
however	ʰma ^{hi} tse	WrT <i>ma tshad.</i>
can	ˉɕi	
same	ˉtɕi pɛ	WrT <i>gcig pa.</i>
different	ʰi zɛ mɛ	WrT <i>gzhan ma.</i>
for the purpose	ʰte ⁿ da	
book	ˉdɛ	WrT <i>deb.</i>
pen	ʰdʒi t ^{hi} ə	WrT <i>'bri thur.</i>
ink	ˉŋa ts ^{hi} a	WrT <i>snag tsha.</i>
school	ˉlɛ tɕe	WrT <i>slob grwa.</i>
student	ʰtu pɛ / ˉlɛ tu	WrT <i>phrug pa.</i> WrT <i>slob phrug.</i>
dictionary	ʰts ^{hi} ə dʒɛ	Chn <i>cidian</i>
classroom	ˉla k ^{hi} ɔ	WrT <i>slob khang.</i>
teacher	ʰi gɛ / ʰi gɛ ^{hi} gɛ	WrT <i>rgan.</i> WrT <i>dge rgan.</i>
question	ˉh tsi	
say	ʰzə ⁿ dʒɛ	
want	ˉh dʒɛ	
talk	ˉh ts ^{hi} ɛ	
class	ˉlo ts ^{hi} ɛ	WrT <i>slob tshan.</i>
learn	ˉh zɔ	WrT <i>sbyang.</i>
have a meeting	ʰts ^{hi} ɔ ⁿ də	WrT <i>tshogs 'du.</i>
homeland	ʰp ^{hi} e ji	WrT <i>pha yul.</i>

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
Tibetan	ʼpe	WrT <i>bod</i> .
Han Chinese	ʼfi dzɛ	WrT <i>rgya</i> .
fine	ʼwa	
life	ⁿtsʰɔ	WrT <i>'tsho ba</i> .
write	ʼri	
script	ʼji ke	WrT <i>yi ge</i> .
Tibetan script	ʼpe ji	WrT <i>bod yig</i> .
affair	ʼtɕu	
afternoon	ʼma na	
time	ⁿtɕʰə tsʰe	WrT <i>chu tshod</i> .
a while ago	ⁿmɛ kʰa	
remain	ⁿfi zɑ	WrT <i>bzhag</i> .
buy	ⁿtʰɛ	
be named	ʼje	
thing	ⁿtɕa' la	WrT <i>ca lag</i> .
borrow	ʼɲɛ	
pass	ʼɲga	
give	ⁿkʰɑ	
help	ⁿdzɔ	
be over	ʼtɕe	
meal	ⁿdzə lə	
see	ⁿko	
matter	ʼtɛ ⁿda	WrT <i>don dag</i> .
remember	ʼtɛ	WrT <i>dran</i> .
experience	ⁿde	
spoken Tibetan	ʼpe ʰkɛ	WrT <i>bod skad</i> .
excellent	ʼja po	WrT <i>yag po</i> .
town	ⁿtʰō	WrT <i>khrom</i> .
arrive	ⁿfi zə	
climb	ⁿtu	
get up	ʼɲe	
wake up	ⁿtɿ	
day break	ⁿfi na ʰsɛ	WrT <i>gnam gsal</i> .
it rains	ⁿmu ⁿtsu	
over there	ⁿtʰe' rə	
also	ⁿfiV	V corresponds to a precedent vowel.
or	ⁿka	

Meaning	Lamei	N.B.
may	ṽti	
alone	ṽk ^h ε ⁿ di	
again	ʼta ra	
still	ʼta	
(not) yet	ʼʔa rō	

5. Sentence structure

All the sentence examples have been obtained by elicitation. Most examples are presented as a pair of a question and an answer.

- (1) ṽʔə ṽχa ʼt^he
 this what CPV
 ‘What is this?’
- (2) ṽʔə ṽdε ʼt^he
 this book CPV
 ‘This is a book.’
- (3) ṽʔə ṽsə-wo ṽdε ʼt^he
 this who-GEN book CPV
 ‘Whose book is this?’
- (4) ṽʔə ṽŋo ṽdε ʼt^he
 this 1SG.GEN book CPV
 ‘This is my book.’
- (5) ṽʔə ṽṽḁi t^hə ṽsə-wo ʼt^he
 this pen who-GEN CPV
 ‘Whose is this pen?’
- (6) ṽŋo ʼt^he
 1SG.GEN CPV
 ‘(It) is mine.’

- (7) ʔə ʔna tsʰa ʔno ʔʰe-ji
 this ink 2SG.GEN CPV-Q
 ‘Is this ink yours?’
- (8) ʔʰe ʔjo ʔʰe
 CPV 1SG.GEN CPV
 ‘Yes. (It) is mine.’
- (9) ʔə ʔma-fia ʔdi tʰə ʔʰe-ji
 this 3SG-GEN pen CPV-Q
 ‘Is this his pen?’
- (10) ʔme-tʰe ʔə ʔma-fia ʔdi tʰə ʔme-tʰe
 NEG-CPV this 3SG-GEN pen NEG-CPV
 ‘No. This is not his.’
- (11) ʔne ʔsə ʔjo
 2SG who CPV.E
 ‘Who are you?’
- (12) ʔja ʔʰta ci ʔjo
 2SG PSN CPV.E
 ‘I am Trashi.’
- (13) ʔma ʔsə ʔʰe
 3SG who CPV
 ‘Who is he?’
- (14) ʔma ʔjo ʔle tɛ ʔtu pɛ ʔʰe
 3SG 1SG.GEN school student CPV
 ‘He is my school student.’
- (15) ʔne ʔfi ge fi ge ʔjo-ʔə ji
 2SG teacher CPV.E-Q
 ‘Are you a teacher?’

- (16) 'me-t^he 'ŋa 'fi ge fi ge 'me
 NEG-CPV 1SG teacher NEG.CPV.E
 'No. I am not a teacher.'
- (17) 'ma-fia 'le tu 't^he-ji
 3SG-also student CPV-Q
 'Is he also a student?'
- (18) 't^he 'ma 't^he
 CPV 1SG.GEN CPV
 'Yes. He is (also a student).'
- (19) 'pə si 'ca me 'ca-wə 'sə 't^he
 today sweep-NML who CPV
 'Who is the person who sweeps today?'
- (20) 'ŋa 't^he
 1SG CPV
 '(It) is me.'
- (21) 'no 'p^he ji 'ʔa rə 't^he
 2SG.GEN homeland where CPV
 'Where is your homeland?'
- (22) 'ŋo 'p^he ji 'ndzo fi go 't^he
 1SG.GEN homeland PLN CPV
 'My hometown is mDzogong.'
- (23) 'ma 'ndzo fi go ma 't^he-ji
 3SG person from mDzogong CPV-Q
 'Is he a person from mDzogong?'
- (24) 'me-t^he 'ma 'mā k^hā ma 't^he
 NEG-CPV 3SG person from sMarkhams CPV
 'No. He is a person from sMarkhams.'

- (25) ʔə no no sə-wo tʰe
 this child who-GEN CPV
 ‘Whose is this child?’
- (26) ʰlo ʰzə tʰo-wu tʰe
 PSN house-GEN CPV
 ‘(He) is of Lozong’s family.’
- (27) ma lo ʰfia ʰdə tʰe
 3SG year how many CPV
 ‘How old is he?’
- (28) lo ʰa tʰe
 year ten CPV
 ‘(He) is ten years old.’
- (29) ne pe ʰjo-ka ʰdzɛ ʰjo
 2SG Tibetan CPV.E-or Han CPV.E
 ‘Are you Tibetan or Han Chinese?’
- (30) ʰja pe ʰjo
 1SG Tibetan CPV.E
 ‘I am Tibetan.’
- (31) pə si tʰe pe ʰʂa ʰdə tʰe
 today day how many CPV
 ‘What is the date today?’
- (32) pə si ʰda ʰja be tʰe ʰdə tʰe
 today May the first day CPV
 ‘It is the first of May today.’
- (33) pə si ʰɕi tɕʰi ʰfia ʰdə tʰe
 today week how many CPV
 ‘What day of the week is it today?’

- (34) $\bar{p}\bar{o}$ si $\bar{c}\bar{i}$ t $\bar{c}^h$ i 'wu t $\bar{h}e$
 today Friday CPV
 'It is Friday today.'
- (35) 'ʔa k $\bar{h}$ a $\bar{t}\bar{c}^h\bar{o}$ ts $\bar{h}e$ 'fi $\bar{a}$ $\bar{f}\bar{i}$ d $\bar{o}$ t $\bar{h}e$
 now time how many CPV
 'What time is it now?'
- (36) 'ʔa k $\bar{h}$ a 'm $\bar{a}$ na $\bar{t}\bar{c}^h\bar{o}$ ts $\bar{h}e$ 'fi $\bar{z}\bar{o}$ b $\bar{e}$ t $\bar{h}e$
 now afternoon four o'clock CPV
 'It is four o'clock p.m. now.'
- (37) $\bar{?}\bar{o}$ $\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{i}$ t $\bar{h}\bar{o}$ $\bar{h}\bar{s}\bar{e}$ ' b $\bar{e}$ t $\bar{h}e$ -ji
 this pen new CPV-Q
 'Is this pen new?'
- (38) $\bar{h}\bar{s}\bar{e}$ ' b $\bar{e}$ t $\bar{h}e$
 new CPV
 '(It) is new.'
- (39) $\bar{n}\bar{o}$ $\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{i}$ t $\bar{h}\bar{o}$ -fi $\bar{o}$ $\bar{h}\bar{s}\bar{e}$ ' b $\bar{e}$ t $\bar{h}e$ -ji
 2SG pen-also new CPV-Q
 'Is your pen also new?'
- (40) $\bar{n}\bar{g}\bar{o}$ $\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{i}$ t $\bar{h}\bar{o}$ -fi $\bar{o}$ $\bar{h}\bar{s}\bar{e}$ ' b $\bar{e}$ t $\bar{h}e$
 this pen-also new CPV-Q
 'My pen is also new.'
- (41) $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ $\bar{?}\bar{a}$ -wa
 2SG Q-fine
 'Are you fine?'
- (42) $\bar{n}\bar{g}\bar{a}$ 'ʔa mo 'ŋo
 1SG good CPV
 'I am good.'

- (43) $\text{ʰtʰa} \text{ci}$ ʔa mo ʔo-fia
 1SG good CPV.E-Q
 ‘Is Trashi good?’
- (44) ʔo-na-ta ʔtsʰo ʔa mɛ ʔa
 house-LOC-TOP life how EXV.SEN
 ‘How is the life in the house?’
- (45) ʔtsʰo ʔa mo ʔa
 living good EXV.SEN
 ‘The life is good.’
- (46) ʔe ʔa mɛ ʔi-kə-nə ʔa-ci-ji
 1SG.ERG like this write-NML-TOP fine-STA-Q
 ‘Is what I write like this fine?’
- (47) ʔe ʔi-tʰo ʔa-ci-ji
 1SG.ERG write-NML fine-STA-Q
 ‘Is the way I write fine?’
- (48) ʔa-ci
 fine-STA
 ‘(It) is fine.’
- (49) ʔə ʔi ke ʔa mo ʔnə-ri-si
 this script good DIR-write-AOR.Q
 ‘Were these scripts written well?’
- (50) ʔa mo ʔə tɕe ʔnə-ri-sə
 good very DIR-write-AOR
 ‘(They) were written very well.’
- (51) ne $\text{ʔdzə}^{\text{h}}\text{tse}$ kʰo-ji
 2SG knife EXV.E-Q
 ‘Do you have a knife?’

- (52) ʔa ʔdzə^htse ʔdə kʰo
 1SG knife one EXV.E
 ‘I have one knife.’
- (53) ʔne-lə ʔpe ji ʔde ʔχa^{fi}də kʰo
 2SG-DAT Tibetan book how many EXV.E
 ‘How many Tibetan books do you have?’
- (54) ʔma-lə ʔtsʰə djē ʔχa^{fi}də kʰo’ ɕi
 3SG-DAT dictionary how many EXV
 ‘How many dictionaries does he have?’
- (55) ʔma-lə ʔtsʰə djē ʔdə ʔdzi^{fi}də kʰo’ ɕi
 3SG-DAT dictionary one only EXV
 ‘He has only one dictionary.’
- (56) ʔne ʔtɕo-na ʔma ʔfia^{fi}də kʰo’ ɕi
 2SG house-LOC person how many EXV
 ‘How many persons does your family have?’
- (57) ʔŋo ʔtɕo-na ʔma ʔtɕʰu kʰo’ ɕi
 1SG.GEN house-LOC person six EXV
 ‘My family has six persons.’
- (58) ʔma-fia ʔtɕo-na ʔma ʔfia^{fi}də kʰo’ ɕi
 3SG-GEN house-LOC person how many EXV
 ‘How many persons does his family have?’
- (59) ʔne ʔpə si ʔtɕu ʔχa kʰo
 2SG today affair what EXV.E
 ‘What affairs do you have today?’
- (60) ʔa ʔtɕu ʔχa ʔmo-kʰo
 1SG thing what NEG-EXV.E
 ‘I do not have any affairs.’

- (61) ʔne ʔa kʰa ʔtɕu ʔχa ʔkʰo-ji
 2SG now thing what EXV.E-Q
 ‘Do you have something to do now?’
- (62) ʔŋa ʔa kʰa ʔko zə ʔwɔ-re
 1SG now clothes wash-FUT
 ‘I need wash clothes now.’
- (63) ʔʰta ɕi ʔmɛ kʰa ʔa rə ʔŋa
 PSN a while ago where EXV.SEN
 ‘Where was Trashi a while ago?’
- (64) ʔʰta ɕi ʔmɛ kʰa ʔla kʰɔ-na ʔŋa
 PSN a while ago classroom-LOC EXV.SEN
 ‘Trashi was in the classroom a while ago.’
- (65) ʔla kʰɔ-na ʔta ra ʔma ʔfi zɛ mə ʔsə ʔŋa
 classroom-LOC again person other who EXV.SEN
 ‘Are there anyone who is in the classroom other than (you)?’
- (66) ʔfi dʷa ʰtsə ʔkə ʔi dʒa ʔχa ʔta ʔfi zɔ-sə
 platform upside what still remain-STA.SEN
 ‘What remains on the teacher’s platform?’
- (67) ʔkeʔ rə ʔma-kə ʔχa ʔwə-ɕi
 there person-ERG what do-PROG
 ‘What are the persons over there doing?’
- (68) ʔma ʔtʰa tɕe ʔde ʔtʰɛ-ɕi
 person all book buy-PROG
 ‘All the persons are buying books.’
- (69) ʔne ʔmi ʔχa ʔje-ɕi
 2SG name what call-STA
 ‘What is your name?’

- (70) ʾŋo ʾmi ʾtsʰə ri ʾje-çi
 1SG.GEN name PSN call-STA

‘My name is Tshering.’

- (71) ʾma-lə ʾmi ʾχa ʾje-çi
 3SG-LOC name what call-STA

‘What is his name?’

- (72) ʾma-lə ʾmi ʾtə ʾlqu ʾje-çi
 3SG-LOC name PSN call-STA

‘His name is Dongrub.’

- (73) ʾne ʾʔa rə ʾxo-tçu sə ŋo
 2SG where go-NPFT.E

‘Where are you going?’

- (74) ʾŋa ʾtʰeʾ rə ʾxo-ŋo
 1SG over there go-NPFT.E

‘I am going over there.’

- (75) ʾne ʾχa ʾwə-tçu sə ŋo
 2SG what do-NPFT.E

‘What are you going to do?’

- (76) ʾŋa ʾdɛ ʾŋɛ-tçu sə ŋo
 2SG book borrow-NPFT.E

‘I am going to borrow a book.’

- (77) ʾma ʾʔa rə ʾŋga-pə tʰe
 3SG where go-PFT

‘Where did he go?’

- (78) ʾma ʾtʰõ-na ʾŋga-pə tʰe
 3SG town-LOC go-PFT

‘He went to the town.’

- (79) ma χa wə-çi
 3SG what do-PROG
 ‘What is he doing?’
- (80) ma tɕa’ la ^ŋtʰɛ-fia ^ŋga-nə
 3SG thing buy-NML go-PFT
 ‘He goes to buy things.’
- (81) ji nə na ^ŋga-çi wɔ-çi-ji
 1PL two go-PROG fine-STA-Q
 ‘Is it fine that we two go together?’
- (82) ja ja ji nə na ^ŋga-çi
 INTJ 1PL two go-PROG
 ‘Sure, we two go together.’
- (83) ma ^{fi}ge tsʰə’ rə ^{fi}ga-pə tʰe-ji
 3SG teacher there go-PFT-Q
 ‘Did he go to the place of the teacher?’
- (84) ^{fi}ga-pə tʰe
 go-PFT
 ‘(He) went (there).’
- (85) ne ʔa rə hə
 3SG where come
 ‘From where do you come?’
- (86) ŋa m̃ kʰũ nə-^htə-le sə
 1SG PLN DIR-come-ACP
 ‘I come from sMarkhams.’
- (87) ma ʔa rə re-çi
 3SG where come-STA
 ‘From where does he come?’

- (88) ʔma ʔtʰɑ́ ʔᵐdu-mə ʔre-çi
 3SG PLN-ABL come-STA
 ‘He comes from Chamdo.’
- (89) ʔne ʔna ʔtʰo-wə zə ŋo
 3SG when go-AOR.E
 ‘When did you go?’
- (90) ʔŋa ʔji si ʔtʰo-wə zə ŋo
 3SG yesterday go-AOR.E
 ‘I went yesterday.’
- (91) ʔne nə ʔna ʔwu-^htə-la sa
 2PL two DIR-come-ACP.Q
 ‘Did you two come together?’
- (92) ʔme-tʰe ʔŋa ʔkʰɛ ᵐdi ʰtə-le sə ŋo
 NEG-CPV 1SG alone come-ACP.E
 ‘No, I came alone.’
- (93) ʔne ʔʔa rə ʔre-tʰɑ ʔze me ʔʃa^{fi}də ʔʔa-ŋga-nə
 2SG here come-after day how many DIR-pass-PFT
 ‘How many days have passed since you came here?’
- (94) ʔŋa ʔre ʔze me ʔʔa wɑ ʔŋga-nə
 1SG come day many pass-PFT
 ‘Many days have passed since I came.’
- (95) ʔne ʔ^{fi}na^ʔ mbo ʔre-gə ʔma ʔʃa^{fi}də ʔkʰo^ʔ çi
 2SG together come-NML person how many EXV
 ‘How many persons who had come together with you were there?’
- (96) ʔma ʔnwə ʔtʰu-də ʔkʰo^ʔ çi
 person five six-around EXV
 ‘There were five or six persons.’

- (97) ʔne ʔtɕʰaʔⁿdu-lə ʔlə-xo-tɕu sa
 2SG PLN-LOC DIR-go-NPFT.Q
 ‘Are you going to Chamdo?’
- (98) ʔŋa ʔxo-tɕu sə mɛ
 1SG go-NPFT.NEG.E
 ‘I am not going (there).’
- (99) ʔne ʔtɛ̃ ji ʔtu-fiə ʔxo-re ʔna-ⁿdzɛ-ji
 2SG film look-NML go-NML DIR-want-Q
 ‘Do you want to go to watch a film?’
- (100) ʔfĩ
 INTJ
 ‘Yes.’
- (101) ʔma ʔjə ni kʰa-wə ʔle tɛ-na ʔre-tɕu ɕi-ji
 3SG 1PL.INCL-GEN school-LOC come-NPFT-Q
 ‘Is he coming to our school?’
- (102) ʔma ʔre-tɕu ɕi
 3SG come-NPFT
 ‘He is coming.’
- (103) ʔne ʔχa ʔwə-tɕu sə
 2SG what do-NPFT.SEN
 ‘What are you going to do?’
- (104) ʔŋa ʔko zə ʔwɔ-tɕu sə
 1SG clothes wash-NPFT.SEN
 ‘I am going to wash clothes.’
- (105) ʔma nə kʰa ʔχa ʔwə-ɕi
 3PL what do-PROG
 ‘What are they doing?’

- (106) ʔma nə kʰa ʔpe ʒi ʔtʃʰõ-çi
 3PL Tibetan dance dance-PROG
 ‘They are dancing a Tibetan dance.’
- (107) ʔma nə kʰa ʔne-lə ʔχa ʔkʰa-nə ta
 3PL 2SG-DAT what give-PFT.CIS
 ‘What did they give you?’
- (108) ʔma nə kʰa ʔŋa-lə ʔde ʔdə ʔkʰa-nə ta
 3PL 1SG-DAT book one give-PFT.CIS
 ‘They gave me a book.’
- (109) ʔfiŋe-ji ʔsə-lə ʔʔa la ʔhçe-çi
 teacher-ERG who-DAT make a speech-PROG
 ‘To whom is the teacher talking?’
- (110) ʔma ʔfiʔo fiʔo-lə ʔʔa la ʔhçe-çi
 3SG PSN-DAT make a speech-PROG
 ‘He is talking to Lozong.’
- (111) ʔne ʔŋa ʔndzo ʔdə ne ʔwə-da ʔwa-çi-ji
 2SG 1SG help a little do-NML fine-STA-Q
 ‘Is it fine that you help me a little?’
- (112) ʔŋe ʔne ʔndzo ʔwə
 1SG.ERG 2SG help do
 ‘I will (definitely) help you.’
- (113) ʔne-lə ʔndzo ʔχa ʔwə ʔti-re
 2SG-DAT help what do may-FUT
 ‘What do (I) help you?’
- (114) ʔŋa-lə ʔʔə ʔhʔsi ʔdə ʔze ʔndʒe
 1SG-DAT this question a little explain want
 ‘Please explain this question a little to me.’

- (115) ʔe ʔa la ʔe-lə ʔtsʰe ʔdə ʔze ʔwa-nə-ji
 1SG.ERG again 2SG-DAT time one explain fine-PFT-Q

‘Is it fine that I explain (it) to you once more?’

- (116) ʔja ja ʔa la ʔdə ʔce ʔdzɛ
 INTJ again a little tell want

‘Yes, please tell (me it) again briefly.’

- (117) ʔnə nə kʰa ʔa kʰə-na ʔχa ʔwə-tɕu sə ŋo
 2PL classroom-LOC what do-NPFT.E

‘What are you going to do in the classroom?’

- (118) ʔa nə kʰa ʔo tsʰe-de ʔtsʰo ʔdə-çi
 1PL.EXCL class-COM have a meeting-PROG

‘We are having classes and a meeting.’

- (119) ʔna ʔse-la sə-ji
 sky clear-ACP.SEN-Q

‘Has day broken?’

- (120) ʔna ʔse-la sə
 sky clear-ACP.SEN

‘Day has broken.’

- (121) ʔo tsʰe ʔce ʔda-tʰo-ji
 class end DIR-complete-Q

‘Were the classes over?’

- (122) ʔa rō ʔce-nə mɔ
 yet end-PFT.NEG

‘They have not been over yet.’

- (123) ʔne ʔwa ji ʔnə-wɔ-sa
 2SG face DIR-wash-AOR.Q

‘Have you washed the face?’

- (124) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མུ་ལྔ་ལ་བཤམ་གྱི་འདུག་པོ།
 1SG DIR-wash-AOR
 ‘I have washed (the face).’
- (125) ཁོ་ཚོ་ཀླ་མ་ལ་འཇུག་གི་ཡིན་པོ།
 3PL meal eat-ACP-Q
 ‘Have they finished eating meal?’
- (126) ཁོ་ཚོ་ཀླ་མ་ལ་འཇུག་གི།
 eat-ACP
 ‘They have finished eating (meal).’
- (127) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མུ་ལྔ་ལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཀླ་མ་ལ་འཇུག་གི་ཡིན་པོ།
 2SG PSN see-PFT.CIS.Q
 ‘Have you seen Trashi?’
- (128) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མུ་ལྔ་ལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཀླ་མ་ལ་འཇུག་གི་ཡིན་པོ།
 INTJ NEG-PFT
 ‘No, I have not.’
- (129) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མུ་ལྔ་ལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཀླ་མ་ལ་འཇུག་གི་ཡིན་པོ།
 that matter-TOP 2SG remember-PFT.SEN-Q
 ‘Do you still remember that thing?’
- (130) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མུ་ལྔ་ལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཀླ་མ་ལ་འཇུག་གི་ཡིན་པོ།
 1SG just remember-PFT.CIS
 ‘I have just remembered (it).’
- (131) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མུ་ལྔ་ལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཀླ་མ་ལ་འཇུག་གི་ཡིན་པོ།
 2SG Literary Tibetan learn experience-Q
 ‘Have you ever learnt Literary Tibetan?’
- (132) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མུ་ལྔ་ལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཀླ་མ་ལ་འཇུག་གི་ཡིན་པོ།
 1SG Literary Tibetan learn NEG-experience
 ‘I have never learnt Literary Tibetan.’

- (133) ʔma ʔpe ji ʔfiʒõ ʔnde-ji
 3SG Literary Tibetan learn experience-Q

‘Have you ever learnt Literary Tibetan?’

- (134) ʔja ʔpe ji ʔfiʒõ ʔnde-çi
 3SG Literary Tibetan learn experience-STA

‘He has ever learnt Literary Tibetan.’

- (135) ʔne ʔpe hke ʔçi-nə-ji
 2SG Tibetan know-PFT-Q

‘Do you know Tibetan?’

- (136) ʔja ʔtsə ke ʔgi ʔdə ʔma htsə ʔmə-çi
 1SG a little phrase one except NEG-know

‘I just know a few phrases.’

- (137) ʔma ʔpe ji ʔja po ʔkʰo ʔçi
 3SG Literary Tibetan excellent EXV

‘As for him, (the competence of) Literary Tibetan is excellent.’

- (138) ʔne ʔla mo ʔko-te ji
 2SG PSN see-PFT.CIS-Q

‘Have you seen Lhamo?’

- (139) ʔja ʔma ʔme-tʰe
 2SG 3SG NEG-PFT

‘I have not (seen) her.’

- (140) ʔne ʔʔa kʰa ʔtʰõ-na ʔxo-ra
 2SG now town-LOC go-FUT.Q

‘Do you go to the town now?’

- (141) ʔja ʔʔa kʰa ʔxo-me
 1SG now go-NPFT.NEG

‘I do not go now.’

- (142) ^{-h}ʈa ɕi ⁻ma nə k^hɑ ʔa rə ʷga-pə t^he
 PSN 3PL where go-PFT

‘Where did Trashi and they go?’

- (143) ⁻ma nə k^hɑ ⁻ʔa ʱdzɯ ʼwə ʷga-pə t^he
 3PL amuse oneself go-PFT

‘They went to amuse themselves.’

- (144) ʔa k^ha ⁻ma nə k^hɑ ⁻kɛ’ tɛ ⁻ʰzə-wə sə-na ⁻ha ʼmə-ko-sə
 now 3PL there arrive-AOR.SEN-CMPL know NEG-STEM-STA.SEN

‘I wonder if they arrived there at the present.’

- (145) ʔa k^ha ⁻ʰzə-ʱt^hɑ ko ko
 now arrive-INFR

‘I believe that (they) already arrived.’

- (146) ⁻nə nə k^hɑ ⁻ɕə’ la ⁻ʔa ʱdzɯ ʼwə ⁻xə-wə sa
 2PL outside amuse oneself go-AOR.SEN.Q

‘Did you go outside to amuse yourselves?’

- (147) t^he ⁻ʔa nə k^hɑ ʼrə-k^hə ɕi ⁻ʔa ʱdzɯ ʼwə ⁻tu-wə sə ŋo
 CPV 1PL.EXCL mountain-upward amuse oneself climb-AOR.E

‘Yes, we climbed upwards to the mountain to amuse ourselves.’

- (148) ⁻nə nə k^hɑ ⁻xə-wə re-ta ⁻t^hɑ ʼrĩ m^hbo-sə-ji
 2PL go-NML-TOP far-STA.SEN-Q

‘Is the place where you go far?’

- (149) ʔə hō ⁻tə ⁻t^hɑ ʼrĩ m^hbo-ha ʼmə-ŋa
 INTJ that far-even NEG-EXV.SEN

‘No, that is even not far.’

- (150) ⁻nə nə k^hɑ ⁻pə si ⁻ŋa-la ʼna ʼtə-ŋe-sə-fio
 2PL today morning-LOC when DIR-get up-AOR-PART

‘When did you get up this morning?’

- (151) ʔtɕʰə tsʰe ʔtu pɛ ʔxə-tʃ
 six o'clock DIR-awaken
 '(We) got up at six o'clock.'
- (152) ʔne ʔtɕʰə tsʰe ʔχa ʰdə-kə tɕə ʔla kʰɔ-na ʔhətə-le sə
 2SG time how many-around classroom-LOC come-ACP.SEN
 'Around what time did you come to the classroom?'
- (153) ʔtɕʰə tsʰe ʔʰdzɛ ʰbɛ ʔhətə-le sə
 eight o'clock come-ACP.SEN
 '(I) came at eight o'clock.'
- (154) ʔpə si ʔci' la-jə ʔʔa ʰdzɯ ʔwə ʔxo-ma ʔʔa wɔ ʔŋa-ji
 today outside-? amuse oneself-NML go-NML many EXV.SEN-Q
 'Are there many persons who amuse themselves outside today?'
- (155) ʔma ʔʔa wɔ ʔzə tɕe ʔŋa
 person many very EXV.SEN
 'There are so many persons.'
- (156) ʔpə si ʔke tɕʰo ʔfia-ŋa-ta-ji
 today for fun DIR-feel-AOR.CIS-Q
 'Have (you) enjoyed today?'
- (157) ʔke tɕʰo ʔfia-ŋa-ta
 for fun DIR-feel-AOR.STA
 '(I) have enjoyed.'
- (158) ʔnə nə kʰa ʔze fia-nə ta-ji
 2PL tired-PFT.CIS-Q
 'Are you tired?'
- (159) ʔze fia-nə mə ta
 tired-PFT.CIS.NEG
 '(We) are not tired.'

- (160) ʼrə-k^hə t̤e ʼmu ʼtsu-wə ŋə-ji
 mountain-upper rain fall-AOR.SEN-Q
 ‘Did it rain on the upper side of the mountain?’
- (161) ʼmu ʼfi da ʼtsu-nə m̄
 rain at all fall-AOR.NEG
 ‘It did not rain at all.’
- (162) ʼse si-ta ʼkeʼ rə ʼma ʼxo-wu ʼk^hoʼ ʼci-ji
 tomorrow-also there person go-NML EXV-Q
 ‘Are there persons who will go there tomorrow too?’
- (163) ʼje lu ʼma ʼkaʼ fia ʼxo-wu ʼje zə ʼŋa-si
 hear person there go-NML some EXV.SEN-HS
 ‘I hear that there will be persons going there.’
- (164) ʼse si ʼmu ʼtsu-wə ʼci ga
 tomorrow rain fall-INFR.Q
 ‘Can it rain tomorrow?’
- (165) ʼse si-ta ʼmu ʼtsu ʼmə-ti
 tomorrow-TOP rain fall NEG-may
 ‘Tomorrow it might not rain.’
- (166) ʼba^h lə ʼkaʼ na ʼŋga-pə^h go-na ʼt̤e^hə ts^he ʼfi d̤ze^h fi b̄e ʼpə zə
 morning there go-FUT-CONJ eight o’clock possible
 ʼfi zə-m̄p^hu-ʼci
 arrive-can-STA
 ‘If we go there in the morning, we can possibly arrive (there) at eight o’clock.’

Abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary	AOR	aorist
1	1st person	Chn	Chinese
2	2nd person	CIS	cislocative
3	3rd person	CMPL	complementiser
ACP	accomplished	COM	comitative

CONJ	conjunction word	NML	nominaliser
CPV	copulative verb	NPFT	nonperfect
DAT	dative	PFT	perfect
DIR	directional prefix	PL	plural
E	egophoric	PLN	place name
ERG	ergative	PROG	progressive
EXCL	exclusive	PSN	person name
EXV	existential verb	Q	question marker
GEN	genitive	SEN	sensory
HS	hearsay	SG	singular
INCL	inclusive	STA	stative
INFR	inferential	STEM	verb stem
INTJ	interjection	TOP	topic marker
LOC	locative	WrT	Written Tibetan
NEG	negative		

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An Introduction to Khengkha: A Language of Central Bhutan*

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Summary

The Kheng Language (also known as Khengkha in Bhutan) is one of the major languages in Central Bhutan, belonging to the East Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman languages. The main languages spoken in Bhutan are Dzongkha in the western, Bumthap in the central, and Tsangla (a.k.a. Sharchop) in the eastern areas. Dzongkha is the national language of Bhutan, and it is spoken as the mother tongue around Thimphu, the nation's capital. It is classified as a southern dialect of Tibetan. Tsangla in eastern Bhutan is also distributed in Arunachal Pradesh in India and *metog rdzong* in South Tibet, China, spoken by Mon people. Bumthap, in Central Bhutan, has the Mangdep and Kurtöp dialects beside Khengkha, but they have not been studied in detail yet except for Kurtöp. Khenkha is considered a major dialect of Bumthap and it is obvious that the appearance of the language is influenced by Dzongkha, however, they also preserve old constituents, such as the numeral system, that date back to before the formation of written Tibetan. As there is a lack in sufficient data for a historical study on Khengkha, this paper aims to provide a basic vocabulary and grammatical sketch based on the Matisoff 200 Word List, which was designed for the historical study of Tibeto-Burman languages. This list includes written Tibetan and reconstructed Proto-Tibeto-Burman words equated to English items. Through field research, I recorded language data of Dzongkha, Bumthap, and Tsangla. By cross-referencing and comparing Khengkha words to the data collected, we may be able to see and indicate which words are preserving old forms, corresponding to written Tibetan, or borrowing from Dzongkha or surrounding languages. I hope this introductory work containing the word list will contribute to the investigation of the historical development of Khengkha and further field research.

Key words: Bhutan, East-Bodic, Tibeto-Burman, Matisoff 200 Word List, old constituent

关键词：不丹国、喜马拉雅语东支、藏缅语、核心词、古貌遗留

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Table 1 A word list of Dzongkha, Bumthap, and Khengkha

	Dzongkha	Bumthap	Khengkha
I	/nga/ [ŋa ²³]	/ngat/ [ŋat ^{r23}]	/nga/ [ŋa ²¹]
person	/ˈmi/ [mi ⁴⁴]	/ˈmi/ [ʔmi ⁴³]	/mi/ [mi ²¹]
child	/ˈalu/ [ʔa ⁴⁴ lu ⁴⁴]	/o nga/ [ʔo ⁴⁴ ŋa ²²]	/o lo/ [ʔo ⁴⁴ lo ²²]
hand/arm	/lap/ [lap ²³]	/yak/ [jɿk ⁴⁴]	/ya/ [jɿ ⁴²]
foot/leg	/kam/ [kam ⁴³]	/tawa/ [tʰa ²² wa ⁴⁴]	/dok pa/ [dok ²² pa ²²]
one [1]	/ci/ [tʰci ⁴⁴]	/thek/ [t ^h ek ^{r44}]	/thek/ [t ^h eʔ ⁴³]
two [2]	/ˈni/ [ni ⁴⁴]	/zon/ [zon ²³]	/zong/ [zon ²¹]
three [3]	/sum/ [sum ⁴⁴]	/sum/ [sum ⁴³]	/sum/ [sum ⁴³]
the sun	/ˈnim/ [nim ⁴⁴]	/ˈni/ [ʔniʔ ⁴⁴]	/nä/ [nɛ ²¹]
the moon	/dau/ [dau ²³]	/ladang/ [la ⁴⁴ dʌ ²²]	/ˈacu lala/ [ʔa ⁴⁴ tʰu ⁴³ la ²² la ²²]
snow	/khau/ [k ^h au ²³]	/ka/ [kaʔ ⁴⁴]	/ka/ [kaʔ ⁴²]
who	/gamo/ [ga ²³ mo ²³]	/ˈe/ [ɛ ⁴⁴]	/ai/ [ai ⁴²]
eat	/za-ni/ [za ²³ ni ²²]	/zö-zang/ [zø ²⁴ -zʌ ²²]	/zö-gem/ [zø ²³ -gem ²¹]
laugh	/ga-ni/ [ga ²³ ni ²²]	/ga-zang/ [ga ²⁴ -zʌ ²²]	/ga-gem/ [ga ²³ -gem ²¹]

* Coda stops /-p, -t, -k/ in Bumthap could be released.

/-p/ → [-p^r ~ -p^h]; /-t/ → [-t^r ~ -t^h]; /-k/ → [-k^r ~ -k^h]

* The word for “moon” in Bumthap consists of /la/ ‘moon’ and /dang/ ‘light’; this word indicates both ‘the moon’ and ‘moonlight’.

2. Phonology

The common phonological features observed over the sub-dialects of Khengkha consist of a five main vowel system, pitch accent systems, a restricted set of final consonants, and a restricted set of consonant clusters in initials. It is still premature to describe the phonological system and features in detail; this report can only provide first-hand data and a preliminary analysis. The Khengkha phonological system has not been established yet, therefore, I tried to use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to record and describe the phonetic appearance in detail. I think it will be better than using the provisional phonemic system in the Roman Alphabet, which would be an unstable scheme inductively made of restricted data.

2.1 Consonants

Onset consonants in Khengkha can be divided into three series: plain, aspirated, and voiced. In wordinitial position, aspirated consonants are less common than those plain or voiced. The full inventory of Khengkha consonants that surface as initials of main syllables can be seen below.

Table 2 Khengkha Consonants

Stops			Affricates		
Plain	p-	t-	k-	ts-	tʃ- ~ tʃ̥-
Aspirated	p ^h -	t ^h -	k ^h -	ts ^h -	tʃ ^h - ~ tʃ ^h ̥-
Voiced	b-	d-	g-	dz-	dʒ- ~ dʒ̥-
Nasals	m-	n-	ŋ-		(ɲ-)
			Fricatives		
Voiceless			s-	ʃ- ~ ʃ̥-	h-
Voiced			z-	ʒ- ~ ʒ̥-	
Approximant					
	w-	l-	ɹ- ~ r-	j-	ʔ-

2.2 Vowels

Khengkha has only one low vowel /a/, which is distinctive from high vowels such as /i/, /u/, /e/, and /o/, contrastively. They construct a 5-vowel system similar to written Tibetan. The low vowel /a/ appears slightly back as [ɑ] or [ʌ] and sometimes [a] in diphthongs or with codas. However, so far, I am not sure these varieties in phonetic realization arise due to an areal feature, personal tendency, or caused by any other phonetic environment. Until we grasp the principal factor for the variety of timbre, the phonetic description should be adopted. Furthermore, sometimes, the central rounded vowel [ø] appears, however, it may not be an independent vowel phoneme in Khengkha, since it is encountered in borrowed or common words from Dzongkha.

Table 3 Khengkha Vowels

i		u	i → [i] ~ [ɪ]
e	(ø)	o	e → [e] ~ [ɛ]
	a		a → [a] ~ [ʌ] ~ [ɑ]

2.3 Diphthongs and Codas

Only one type of diphthongs, [ai], can be found in Khengkha. Coda consonants consist of a small subset of the initial consonants above, which are very restricted, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 The Diphthongs and Codas

Diphthong	ai						
Coda	-p	-t	-k	-ʔ	-r	(-l)	(-s)
	-m	-n	-ŋ				

3. Dialects

van Driem (2001: 908–911) considered Khengkha a dialect of Bumthap. While it is true that they share not a few common features and possibly cognate words, the Bhutanese people who speak both Bumthap and Khengkha generally recognize these as two different languages. This report focuses on the description of the Khengkha language, referring to the dialectal variation among its subdialects.

I collected Khengkha-related data from three different districts: Trongsa city, Trong village (about 40 km away from Zhemgang city), and Wamling village (on the bank of Bumthang Chhu in eastern Zhemgang Dzong). Among these three areas, the dialectal differences are not so obvious. Nevertheless, I am clearly aware of the dialectal variation in their pronoun system. Language-related data with a [Trs] note indicate expressions used in the Trongsa dialect, while the [Wml] note indicates expressions used in the Wamling dialect.

Table 5 Personal Pronouns in Nominative

1 sg.	I	1 pl.	we
	ŋa ²¹ [Trs/Wml]		ŋe ²² la ⁴² [Trs/Wml]
			ŋe ²¹ = ga ^{am22} ho ⁴⁴ [Trs]
			ŋe ²¹ = ga ^{am22} bo ²² [Wml]
2 sg.	you	2 pl.	you
	we ²¹ ~ we ^{ʔ21} ~ we ^{t21} [Trs/Wml]		we ^{ʔ23} = ga ^{am22} ho ²² [Trs]
	wi ⁴⁴ tɕi ⁴² [Trs/Wml]		we ^{ʔ23} = ga ^{am22} bo ²² [Wml]
3 sg.	s/he	3 pl.	they
	gon ²¹ [Trs/Wml]		gon ²¹ = ga ^{am22} ho ²² [Trs]
	bo ²² ‘he’ [Trs]		gon ²¹ = ga ^{am22} bo ²² [Wml]
	bo ²² me ⁴² ‘she’ [Trs]		

Table 6 Personal Pronouns in Genitive

1 sg.	my $\eta\alpha^{21} = \text{hai}^{44} \sim \eta\text{ai}^{22} = \text{hai}^{42}$ [Trs] $\eta\alpha^{21} = \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}^{44}$ [Wml]		
2 sg.	your $\text{we}\eta^{21}\text{t}\epsilon\text{i}^{44} = \text{hai}^{44}$ [Trs] $\text{we}\eta^{21}\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{44} = \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}^{44}$ [Wml]	2 pl.	your $\text{we}\eta^{23}\text{gam}^{22}\text{ho}^{44} = \text{hai}^{22}$ [Trs] $\text{n}\text{in}^{21}\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{44} = \text{hai}^{22}$ [Trs] $\text{n}\text{in}^{21}\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{44} = \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}^{44}$ [Wml]
3 sg.	his/her $\text{gon}^{21} = \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}^{44}$ [Wml] $\text{bo}^{23} = \text{hai}^{22}$ ‘his’ [Trs] $\text{bo}^{22}\text{m}\epsilon^{44} = \text{hai}^{22}$ ‘her’ [Trs]	3 pl.	their $\text{gon}^{21}\text{gam}^{22}\text{bo}^{22} = \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}^{44}$ [Wml] $\text{bo}^{23}\text{gam}^{22}\text{ho}^{44} = \text{hai}^{22}$ m [Trs] $\text{bo}^{22}\text{m}\epsilon^{44}\text{gam}^{22}\text{ho}^{44} = \text{hai}^{22}$ fm [Trs]

The variations [= $\text{gam}^{22}\text{ho}^{44}$] (Trs) vs. [= $\text{gam}^{22}\text{bo}^{22}$] (Wml), and [= hai^{22}] (Trs) vs. [= $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}^{22}$] (Wml) are obvious in the pronoun system. It must have caused [b-] > [h-] in pl. suffix; [kh-] > [h-] in genitive suffix in Trongsa dialect.

Table 7 Demonstratives

Proximal			
sg.	this $\text{o}\eta^{44}\text{kai}^{44}$ [Trs/Wml]	pl.	these $\text{o}\eta^{44}\text{kai}^{44} = \text{gam}^{22}\text{bo}^{22}$ [Wml] $\text{o}\eta^{44}\text{kai}^{44} = \text{gam}^{22}\text{ho}^{44}$ [Trs]
Distal			
sg.	that $\alpha^{21}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{44}\text{kai}^{44}$ [Wml] $\text{u}^{22}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{44}$ [~ ti^{44}] hai^{22} [Trs]	pl.	those $\alpha^{21}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{44}\text{kai}^{44} = \text{gam}^{22}\text{bo}^{22}$ [Wml] $\text{u}^{22}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{44}$ [~ ti^{44}] $\text{hai}^{22} = \text{gam}^{22}\text{ho}^{44}$ [Trs]

Table 8 Demonstratives in the Attributive

Proximal			
sg.	this + n. $\text{o}\eta^{44}\text{kai}^{44} + [\text{n.}]$ [Trs/Wml]	pl.	these + n. $\text{o}\eta^{44}\text{kai}^{44} + [\text{n.}] = \text{gam}^{22}\text{bo}^{22}$ [Wml]
Distal			
sg.	that + n. $\alpha^{21}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{44}\text{kai}^{44} + [\text{n.}]$ [Wml] $\text{u}^{22}\text{ti}^{44} + [\text{n.}]$ [Trs]	pl.	those + n. $\alpha^{21}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{44}\text{kai}^{44} + [\text{n.}] = \text{gam}^{22}\text{bo}^{22}$ [Wml] $\text{u}^{22}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{44} + [\text{n.}] = \text{gam}^{22}\text{ho}^{44}$ [Trs] $\text{u}^{22}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}^{42} + [\text{n.}] = \text{gam}^{22}\text{ho}^{44}$ [Trs]

The example below demonstrates an attributive construction of demonstratives. When the demonstratives combine with a noun to specify something, the suffix /hai/ attached in distal demonstratives is deleted in the Trongsa dialect.

this flower
oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ mē²²to⁴² [Trs]

these flowers
oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ mē²²to⁴² gAm²²ho²² [Trs]

that flower
u²²ti⁴⁴ mē²²to⁴² [Trs]

those flowers
u²²t^hi [~ti]⁴⁴ mē²²to⁴² gAm²²ho⁴⁴ [Trs]

4. Preservation of Old Constituents

The East Bodish languages, which comprise the Dakpa and Bumthap groups, are considered more conservative in some respects than Old Tibetan (represented in the written Tibetan). Let us examine some core words to identify the Tibetan language pointed out by Nishi (1986), comparing it with Written Tibetan and Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

Table 9 Tibetan Core Words and Khengkha

English	WrT	Dzongkha	Khengkha	PTB
you	<i>kyhod</i>	/che ~ cho/	[wɛ ²¹ ~ wɛt ⁴⁴]	*na(ŋ) [STC#407]
blood	<i>khrag</i>	/trha/	[ka ⁴²]	*s-hwiy [STC#222]
hair	<i>skra</i>	/ca/	[kra ⁴²]	*s-kra [STC#115]
foot	<i>rkang pa</i>	/ka(ng)m/	[ta ⁴⁴ wa ⁴⁴ ; dok ²² pa ²²]	*kriy [STC#038]
water	<i>chu</i>	/chu/	[k ^h wɛ ⁴³]	*twiy [STC#168], *m-tsril [STC p.30]
seven	<i>bdun</i>	/dün/	[ɲi ⁴³ ~ ɲit ⁴⁴]	*s-nis [STC#005]
horse	<i>rta</i>	/ta/	[ta ⁴⁴]	*s-raŋ ~ *m-raŋ [STC#145]

All the Dzongkha words correspond to WrT, making it no doubt that Dzongkha belongs to Tibetan dialects. The ‘hair’ in Dzongkha /ca/ can be spelled out as *skya* in Tibetan script; a reasonable sound change as /ca/ < *kya < *skya < *skra* (WrT) might be traced. However, it is difficult to explain if the Khengkha words are derived from Dzongkha or WrT except for ‘blood’ and ‘horse’. The Khengkha words for ‘you’, ‘blood’, ‘foot’, and ‘water’ do not correspond to WrT nor PTB. The last word, ‘horse’ may be a borrowing from Dzongkha as it is a social/cultural word in Bhutan (see 6.1 Nouns).

It is noteworthy that the numeral ‘seven’ in Khengkha is very close to PTB; it may preserve the archaic form, older than WrT. Now, let us see the Dzongkha basic numerals before examining those of Khengkha.

Table 10 Dzongkha Basic Numerals

Number	1	2	3	4	5
WrT	<i>gcig</i>	<i>gnyis</i>	<i>gsum</i>	<i>bzhi</i>	<i>lnga</i>
Dzongkha	/ci/	/’nyi/	/sum/	/zhi/	/’nga/
Number	6	7	8	9	10
WrT	<i>drug</i>	<i>bdun</i>	<i>brgyad</i>	<i>dgu</i>	<i>bcu tham pa</i>
Dzongkha	/dru/	/dün/	/gää/	/gu/	/cutam/

It is obvious that Dzongkha numerals well-orderly correspond to written Tibetan. Furthermore, we should pay attention to ‘seven’ /dün/ (< WrT. *bdun*) in Dzongkha, which is one of the core words in Tibetan.

The Khenkha basic numerals are quite different from Dzongkha. Khengkha cannot be considered a dialect of Dzongkha, nor does it belong to Tibetan dialects.

Table 11 Khengkha Basic Numerals

Number	1	2	3	4	5
WrT	<i>gcig</i>	<i>gnyis</i>	<i>gsum</i>	<i>bzhi</i>	<i>lnga</i>
Khengkha	[t ^h eʔ ⁴³]	[zoŋ ²¹]	[sum ⁴³]	[ble ²²]	[ja: ²³ ŋ ²²]
PTB	*t(y)ik	*g-nis	*g-sum	*b-liy	*l-ŋa ~ *b- ŋa
Number	6	7	8	9	10
WrT	<i>drug</i>	<i>bdun</i>	<i>brgyad</i>	<i>dgu</i>	<i>bcu tham pa</i>
Khengkha	[groʔ ²¹]	[ŋiʔ ⁴³]	[dʒat ²²]	[do ²² go ²¹]	[tɕ ^h e ⁴³]
PTB	*d-ruk	*s-nis	*b-ryat	*d-kuw	*gip

*Khengkha data in this table is recorded in Trongsa pronunciation.

The Khengkha numeral ‘two’ [zoŋ²¹] might be derived from PTB *zruŋ ‘pair’ (cognate to Chinese 雙). Khengkha appears to be an archaic language in which features older than WrT are preserved in numerals.

5. Numerals

As Mazaudon (1985) reported, the Dzongkha numeral system is compounded of a decimal and vigesimal system, and in addition to them, another numeral series is used for dates: 21 to 30. The Khengkha numeral system is a single vigesimal system, rather simple compared to Dzongkha's. In addition, the Dzongkha vigesimal system is somewhat difficult to understand as it grammatically uses 'half' and 'quarter' to calculate through division and subtraction, such as /khe pche da sum/ 'one half less than three (-score)' for 50 in Dzongkha, while Khengkha grammatically uses only multiplication and addition to calculate, such as [k^hai⁴⁴zɔŋ²² = ne⁴⁴ tɕ^he²²] 'two-score and ten'.

All the numerals in this chapter were provided by a language consultant who speaks the Trongsa dialect, and the pronunciation recorded here is based on her idiolect.

5.1 Cardinal Numbers: 0 to 30

No.	Dzongkha	Written Tibetan	Khengkha
0	/lekor/	< <i>klad kor</i>	le ⁴⁴ kor ⁴³ < Dzk
1	/ci/	< <i>gcig</i>	t ^h eɽ ⁴³
2	/nyi/	< <i>gnyis</i>	zɔŋ ²¹
3	/sum/	< <i>gsum</i>	sum ⁴³
4	/zhi/	< <i>bzhi</i>	ble ²²
5	/nga/	< <i>lnga</i>	ja: ²³ ŋa ²²
6	/dru/	< <i>drug</i>	groɽ ²¹
7	/dün/	< <i>bdun</i>	niɽ ⁴³
8	/gää/	< <i>brgyad</i>	dʒat ²²
9	/gu/	< <i>dgu</i>	do ²² go ²¹
10	/cutham/	< <i>bcu tham pa</i>	tɕ ^h e ⁴³
11	/cuci/	< <i>bcu gcig</i>	tɕ ^h o ⁴⁴ re ²¹
12	/cu-nyi/	< <i>bcu gnyis</i>	tɕ ^h o ⁴⁴ zɔŋ ²¹
13	/cusum/	< <i>bcu gsum</i>	tɕ ^h o ⁴⁴ sum ⁴³
14	/cuzhi/	< <i>bcu bzhi</i>	tɕ ^h e ⁴⁴ ble ⁴²

15	/ce'nga/	< <i>bcu lga</i>	tɕ ^h ai ⁴⁴ ɲ ⁴⁴
16	/cudru/	< <i>bcu drug</i>	tɕ ^h e ⁴⁴ groʔ ⁴²
17	/cupdün/	< <i>bcu bdun</i>	tɕ ^h er ⁴⁴ ɲiʔ ⁴²
18	/copgää/	< <i>bcu brgyad</i>	tɕ ^h er ⁴⁴ dzɿ ⁴⁴
19	/cugu/	< <i>bcu dgu</i>	tɕ ^h e ⁴⁴ do ²² go ⁴⁴
20	/nyishu/	< <i>nyi shu (tham pa)</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ t ^h eʔ ⁴³ 20 (×) 1
21	/(nyishu) tsaci/	< <i>nyi shu tsa gcig</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² =ne ²² t ^h eʔ ⁴⁴ [ne ~ ni] 'plus/and'
22	/(nyishu) tsa-nyi/	< <i>nyi shu tsa gnyis</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² =ne ²² zoŋ ²¹
23	/(nyishu) tsasum/	< <i>nyi shu tsa gsum</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² =ne ²² sum ⁴³
24	/(nyishu) tsazhi/	< <i>nyi shu tsa bzhi</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² =ne ²² ble ⁴²
25	/(nyishu) tsa-nga/	< <i>nyi shu tsa lnga</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² =ne ²² jɿ ²² ɲ ⁴⁴
26	/(nyishu) tsadru/	< <i>nyi shu tsa drug</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² =ne ²² groʔ ⁴²
27	/(nyishu) tsadün/	< <i>nyi shu tsa bdun</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² =ne ²² ɲiʔ ⁴²
28	/(nyishu) tsagää/	< <i>nyi shu tsa brgyad</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² =ne ²² dzɿ ⁴⁴
29	/(nyishu) tsagu/	< <i>nyi shu tsa dgu</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² =ne ²² do ²² go ⁴⁴
30	/sumcu/	< <i>gsum bcu (tham pa)</i>	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ t ^h eʔ ²² =ne ²² tɕ ^h e ⁴⁴ 20 (×) 1 plus/and 10

5.2 Numeral System: 20 to 30

The Dzongkha numeral system uses two series for counting: the decimal system and vigesimal system over 20; Khengkha only uses the vigesimal system.

The first line for every numeral from 20 to 30 shows the Dzongkha numeral system: decimal system, date, and vigesimal system contrastively in phonemic description with / /, and on the second lines, the corresponding Khengkha expressions are recorded in phonetic notation without / /.

	decimal system	date	vigesimal system	
20	/nyishu/	= /nyishu/	/khe ci/ [khe = 20]	Dzongkha
		k ^h ai ⁴⁴ t ^h eʔ ⁴³ ; k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ⁴³	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ t ^h eʔ ⁴³	Khengkha
21	/(nyishu) tsa-ci/	/nyerci/	/khe ci da ci/ (=20+1)	
		ɲer ²² t ^h eʔ ⁴⁴	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² = ne ²² t ^h eʔ ⁴⁴	
22	/(nyishu) tsa-nyi/	/nyernyi/	/khe ci (da) 'nyi/	
		ɲer ²² zoŋ ²¹	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² = ne ²² zoŋ ²¹	
23	/(nyishu) tsa-sum/	/nyersum/	/khe ci (da) sum/	
		ɲer ²² sum ⁴⁴	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² = ne ²² sum ⁴⁴	
24	/(nyishu) tsa-zhi/	/nyerzhi/	/khe ci (da) zhi/	
		ɲer ²² ble ⁴⁴	ɲer ²² ble ⁴² k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² = ne ²² ble ⁴²	
25	/(nyishu) tsa-nga/	/nyer-nga/	/khe ci (da) 'nga/	
		ɲer ²² jʌ ²² ŋʌ ⁴⁴	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² = jʌ ²² ŋʌ ⁴⁴	
26	/(nyishu) tsa-dru/	/nyerdru/	/khe ci (da) dru/	
		ɲer ²² groʔ ⁴⁴	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² = groʔ ⁴²	
27	/(nyishu) tsa-dün/	/nyerdün/	/khe ci (da) dün/	
		ɲer ²² ɲiʔ ⁴⁴	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² = ɲiʔ ⁴⁴	
28	/(nyishu) tsa-gää/	/nyergää/	/khe ci (da) gää/	
		ɲer ²² dʒʌt ⁴⁴	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² = dʒʌt ⁴⁴	
29	/(nyishu) tsa-gu/	/nyergu/	/khe ci (da) gu/	
		ɲer ²² do ²² go ⁴⁴	k ^h ai ⁴⁴ de ²² = do ²² go ⁴⁴	

30	/sumcu/	=	/sumcu/	/khe pche da 'nyi/ one half less than two(-score)
			$n\Lambda m^{22} g\Delta\eta^{42}$	$k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44}$ one score and ten

5.3 Numeral System: over 30

	decimal system	vigesimal system
31	/(sumcu) so-ci/	/khe ci da cuci/ (=20×1+11) $k^h ar^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} re^{21}$
32	/(sumcu) so-nyi/	/khe ci (da) cu-nyi/ (=20×1+12) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} zo\eta^{22}$
33	/(sumcu) so-sum/	/khe ci (da) cusum/ (=20×1+13) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} sum^{42}$
34	/(sumcu) so-zhi/	/khe ci (da) cuzhi/ (=20×1+14) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44} ble^{42}$
35	/(sumcu) so-nga/	/khe ko da 'nyi/ one fourth less than two(-score) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h ai^{44} \eta\Lambda^{42}$ one score and fifteen
36	/(sumcu) so-dru/	/khe ci (da) cudru/ (=20×1+16) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44} gro\eta^{42}$
37	/(sumcu) so-dün/	/khe ci (da) cupdün/ (=20×1+17) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h er^{44} \eta i\eta^{42}$
38	/(sumcu) so-gää/	/khe ci (da) copgää/ (=20×1+18) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h er^{44} dz\Delta t^{22}$

39	/ (sumcu) so-gu/	/khe ci (da) cugu/ (=20×1+19)	$k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44} do^{22} go^{22}$
40	/zhipcu/	/khe 'nyi/ (20×2)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{22}$
41	/ (zhipcu) zhe-ci/	/khe 'nyi da ci/ (=20×2+1)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{44} t^h e\gamma^{22}$
42	/ (zhipcu) zhe-nyi/	/khe 'nyi da 'nyi/ (=20×2+2)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} zo\eta^{21}$
43	/ (zhipcu) zhe-sum/	/khe 'nyi da sum/ (=20×2+3)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} sum^{44}$
44	/ (zhipcu) zhe-zhi/	/khe 'nyi da zhi/ (=20×2+4)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} ble^{21}$
45	/ (zhipcu) zhe-nga/	/khe 'nyi da 'nga/ (=20×2+5)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} j\Lambda^{22} \eta\Lambda^{44}$
46	/ (zhipcu) zhe-dru/	/khe 'nyi da dru/ (=20×2+6)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} gro\gamma^{44}$
47	/ (zhipcu) zhe-dün/	/khe 'nyi da dün/ (=20×2+7)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} \eta i\gamma^{42}$
48	/ (zhipcu) zhe-gää/	/khe 'nyi da gää/ (=20×2+8)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} d\phi at^{22}$
49	/ (zhipcu) zhe-gu/	/khe 'nyi da gu/ (=20×2+9)	$k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} do^{22} go^{44}$

- 50 /'ngapcu/ /khe pche da sum/
one half less than three(-score)
 $k^h ai^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h e^{22} (=20 \times 2 + 10)$
two score and ten
- 51 /('ngapcu) nga-ci/ /khe 'nyi da cuci/ (=20×2+11)
 $k^h ar^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h o^{44} re^{21}$
- 52 /('ngapcu) nga-nyii/ /khe 'nyi da cu-nyi/ (=20×2+12)
 $k^h ar^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h o^{44} zɔŋ^{22}$
- 53 /('ngapcu) nga-sum/ /khe 'nyi da cusum/ (=20×2+13)
 $k^h ar^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h o^{44} sum^{42}$
- 54 /('ngapcu) nga-zhi/ /khe 'nyi da cuzhi/ (=20×2+14)
 $k^h ar^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h e^{44} ble^{42}$
- 55 /('ngapcu) nga-nga/ /khe ko da sum/
one fourth less than three(-score)
 $k^h ar^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h ai^{44} \eta \Delta^{42}$
two score and fifteen (=20×2+15)
- 56 /('ngapcu) nga-dru/ /khe 'nyi da cudru/ (=20×2+16)
 $k^h ar^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h e^{44} groʔ^{42}$
- 57 /('ngapcu) nga-dün/ /khe 'nyi da cupdün/ (=20×2+17)
 $k^h ar^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h er^{44} \eta iʔ^{42}$
- 58 /('ngapcu) nga-gää/ /khe 'nyi da cupgää/ (=20×2+18)
 $k^h ar^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h er^{44} dʒ \Delta t^{22}$
- 59 /('ngapcu) nga-gu/ /khe 'nyi da cugu/ (=20×2+19)
 $k^h ar^{44} zɔŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^h e^{44} do^{22} go^{44}$

60	/drukcu/	/khe sum/ (=20×3) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴²
61	/(drukcu) re-ci/	/khe sum da ci/ (=20×3+1) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴² = ne ²² t ^h eʔ ⁴⁴
62	/(drukcu) re-nyii/	/khe sum da 'nyi/ (=20×3+2) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴⁴ = ne ²² zoŋ ²²
63	/(drukcu) re-sum/	/khe sum da sum/ (=20×3+3) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴⁴ = ne ²² sum ⁴⁴
64	/(drukcu) re-zhi/	/khe sum da zhi/ (=20×3+4) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴⁴ = ne ²² ble ⁴²
65	/(drukcu) re-nga/	/khe sum da 'nga/ (=20×3+5) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴⁴ = ne ²² jΛ ²² ŋΛ ²²
66	/(drukcu) re-dru/	/khe sum da dru/ (=20×3+6) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴⁴ = ne ²² groʔ ⁴⁴
67	/(drukcu) re-dün/	/khe sum da dün/ (=20×3+7) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴⁴ = ne ²² ɲiʔ ⁴⁴
68	/(drukcu) re-gää/	/khe sum da gää/ (=20×3+8) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴⁴ = ne ²² dʒΛt ²²
69	/(drukcu) re-gu/	/khe 'nyi da gu/ (=20×3+9) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ sum ⁴⁴ = ne ²² do ²² go ²²

- 70 /düncu/ /khe pche da zhi/
half less than four(-score)
 $k^h ai^{44} sum^{42} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44}$
three-score and ten (=20×3+10)
- 71 /(düncu) dön-ci/ /khe sum da cuci/ (=20×3+11)
 $k^h ai^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} re^{21}$
- 72 /(düncu) dön 'nyii/ /khe sum da cu-nyi/ (=20×3+12)
 $k^h ai^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} zoŋ^{22}$
- 73 /(düncu) dön sum/ /khe sum da cusum/ (=20×3+13)
 $k^h ai^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} sum^{44}$
- 74 /(düncu) dön zhi/ /khe sum da cuzhi/ (=20×3+14)
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} ble^{42}$
- 75 /(düncu) dön 'nga/ /khe ko da zhi/
one fourth less than four(-score)
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h ai^{44} \eta\Lambda^{42}$
three-score and fifteen (=20×3+15)
- 76 /(düncu) dön dru/ /khe sum da cudru/ (=20×3+16)
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44} groʔ^{42}$
- 77 /(düncu) dön dün/ /khe sum da cupdün/ (=20×3+17)
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h er^{44} \eta iʔ^{42}$
- 78 /(düncu) dön gää/ /khe sum da cupgää/ (=20×3+18)
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h er^{44} d\phi\Lambda t^{22}$
- 79 /(düncu) dön gu/ /khe sum da cugu/ (=20×3+19)
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44} do^{22} go^{44}$

80	/gäpcu/	/khe zhi/ (=20×4) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ⁴²
81	/(gäpcu) jaa ci/	/khe zhi da ci/ (=20×4+1) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ⁴² = ne ²² t ^h eɽ ⁴⁴
82	/(gäpcu) jaa 'nyii/	/khe zhi da 'nyi/ (=20×4+2) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ⁴² = ne ²² zoŋ ²²
83	/(gäpcu) jaa sum/	/khe zhi da sum/ (=20×4+3) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ⁴² = ne ²² sum ⁴⁴
84	/(gäpcu) jaa zhi/	/khe zhi da zhi/ (=20×4+4) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ⁴² = ne ²² ble ²²
85	/(gäpcu) jaa 'nga/	/khe zhi da 'nga/ (=20×4+5) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ²² = ne ²² j ^Λ 22ŋ ^Λ 22
86	/(gäpcu) jaa druu/	/khe zhi da dru/ (=20×4+6) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ²² = ne ²² groɽ ⁴⁴
87	/(gäpcu) jaa dün/	/khe zhi da dün/ (=20×4+7) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ²² = ne ²² ɲiɽ ⁴²
88	/(gäpcu) jaa gää/	/khe zhi da gää/ (=20×4+8) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ²² = ne ²² dz ^Λ t ²²
89	/(gäpcu) jaa gu/	/khe zhi da gu/ (=20×4+9) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ ble ²² = ne ²² do ²² go ²²

- 90 /gupcu/ /khe pche da 'nga/
half less than five(-score)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}e^{42}$
four-score and ten (=20×4+10)
- 91 /(gupcu) goci/ /khe zhi da cuci/ (=20×4+11)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}o^{22}re^{21}$
- 92 /(gupcu) go 'nyii/ /khe zhi da cu'nyi/ (=20×4+12)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}o^{44} zoŋ^{22}$
- 93 /(gupcu) go sum/ /khe zhi da cusum/ (=20×4+13)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}o^{44} sum^{42}$
- 94 /(gupcu) go zhi/ /khe zhi da cuzhi/ (=20×4+14)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}o^{44} ble^{42}$
- 95 /(gupcu) go 'nga/ /khe ko da 'nga/
one fourth less than five(-score)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}ai^{44} \eta\Delta^{42}$
four-score and fifteen (=20×4+15)
- 96 /(gupcu) go druu/ /khe zhi da cudru/ (=20×4+16)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}e^{44} groʔ^{42}$
- 97 /(gupcu) go dün/ /khe zhi da cupdün/ (=20×4+17)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}er^{44} \eta iʔ^{42}$
- 98 /(gupcu) go gää/ /khe zhi da cupgää/ (=20×4+18)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}er^{44} dʒ\Delta t^{22}$
- 99 /(gupcu) go gu/ /khe zhi da cugu/ (=20×4+19)
 $k^{h}ai^{44} ble^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^{h}e^{44} do^{22}go^{22}$

100	/jatham(pa)/; /cikja/	/khe 'nga/ (=20×5) k ^h ai ⁴⁴ j ²² η ³³
200	/nyija/	/khe cutham/ (=20×10) k ^h ai ²⁴ t ^h e ⁴²
300	/sumja/	/khe ce'nga/ (=20×15) k ^h ai ²² t ^h e ²² η ⁴²
400	/zhipja/	/nyishu ci/ (=400×1) ŋi ²² ɕu ⁴⁴ t ^h ek ²²
500	/ngapja/	/nyishu ci da khä'nga/ (=400×1+20×5) twentyscore and five(-score) ŋi ²² ɕu ⁴⁴ t ^h ek ²² =ne ²² j ²² η ⁴²
600	/drukja/	/nyishu pche da 'nyi/ half less than fortyscore ŋi ²² ɕu ⁴⁴ t ^h ek ²² =ne ⁴² k ^h ai ²⁴ t ^h e ⁴²
700	/dünja/	/nyishu ko da 'nyi/ fourth less than fortyscore ŋi ²² ɕu ⁴⁴ t ^h ek ²² =ne ⁴² k ^h ai ²⁴ t ^h e ⁴⁴ η ⁴²
800	/gäpkja/	/nyishu 'nyi/ (=400×2) fortyscore ŋi ²² ɕu ⁴⁴ zon ²¹
900	/gupja/	/nyishu 'nyi da khe 'nga/ (=400×2+20×5) ŋi ²² ɕu ⁴⁴ zon ⁴⁴ =ne ²² k ^h ai ²⁴ j ²² η ⁴⁴
1000	/tongthra ci/ /ciktong/	/nyishu pche da sum/ (=400×2.5) half less than three twentyscore ŋi ²² ɕu ⁴⁴ zon ⁴⁴ =ne ²² k ^h ai ²⁴ t ^h e ⁴⁴

6. Fundamental Words for Daily Life

This section presents the collected fundamental words in Khengkha, used for daily life. Khengkha has many words in common with Dzongkha, however, it is difficult to distinguish which are borrowings or cognates. Among all these words, generally speaking, cultural/social words of nouns such as ‘teacher’, ‘student’, ‘hospital’, and ‘shop’ are possible borrowings from Dzongkha. Furthermore, direction words, such as [l^ho⁴²] ‘south’ and [(b) dʒaŋ²¹] ‘north’ must be borrowings since their initial consonants are outside the list of Khengkha initials. Apart from those from daily life, I also collected 200 basic words based on the Matisoff 200-word list for comparative study, which are attached at the end of this report.

6.1 Nouns

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
father/dad	/ 'apa / ; / yap / [H]	ʔΛ ⁴⁴ pΛ ²²
husband	/ 'map / ; / phoja /	(ŋai ²⁴) p ^h o ⁴⁴ dʒΛ ²²
male	/ pho / ; / phogee / ; / phoja /	p ^h o ²² dʒΛ ⁴⁴ ; bo ²⁴
mother/mom	/ 'ama / ; / yum / [H]	ʔΛ ⁴⁴ mΛ ²²
wife	/ 'amtsu / ; / 'nem / ; / 'netsha /	(ŋai ²⁴) mo ⁴⁴ dʒΛ ²²
female	/ 'amtsu /	mo ²² dʒΛ ⁴⁴ ; bo ²² mɛ ⁴²
	[bo ²² mɛ ⁴²] is not only used as a reference term, but also used as an address term to call a (young) lady. And the other address term [mɛ ⁴⁴ m ²²] is used to call a not young lady.	
child	/ 'alu /	ʔo ⁴⁴ lo ²²
son	/ bu / ; / sä / [H]	bo ⁴⁴ sa ²²
daughter	/ bum / ; / seem / [H]	bo ²² mɛ ⁴²
teacher	/ 'lopön /	lo ⁴⁴ pön ⁴²
	[lo ⁴⁴ pön ⁴²] is also used as an address term to call a male person.	
student	/ 'lopthru /	lop ⁴⁴ tʂ ^h u ⁴² ~ lop ⁴⁴ tʂu ⁴²
	There is no khengkha word for ‘student’, so they use the loan word from Dzongkha.	
monk	/ gelong /	ge ²² lon ⁴²
nun	/ 'ani(m) /	a ²² mi ⁴⁴ mo ²²

friend	/ charo / ; / totsha(ng) /	tʃʰΛ ²² ro ⁴²
farmer	/ minap /	mi ²² nΛ ²² pʰo ⁴²
merchant	/ tshongpön /	tsʰoŋ ⁴⁴ pøn ⁴²
Bhutanese	/ drup /	dzuk ²² pΛ ⁴³
Indian	/ jagar /	ɟʒΛ ²² kʰΛ ⁴² pΛ ²²
Tibetan	/ böp /	bø ²³ pΛ ⁴⁴
temple	/ lhakhang /	lΛ ⁴⁴ kʰΛŋ ⁴⁴
hospital	/ 'mämkhang /	mẽ ⁴⁴ kʰΛŋ ⁴⁴
school	/ 'lopdra /	lop ⁴⁴ dzΛ ⁴² < Dzk
shop	/ tshongkhang /	tsʰoŋ ⁴⁴ kʰΛŋ ⁴⁴
tea house	/ jakhang /	tʃʰΛŋ ⁴⁴ kʰΛŋ ⁴⁴ 'bar'
There is no 'tea house' in the central Bhutan.		
house	/ chim /	mai ⁴²
river	/ chu /	kʰwi ⁴⁴ li ⁴⁴ gaŋ ²¹
juncture	/ chuzom /	kʰwe ⁴⁴ zom ²² sΛ ⁴²
bridge	/ zam /	zΛm ²¹
road	/ lam /	jam ²¹
mountain	/ (gang) ri /	pʰu ⁴⁴ / poŋ ⁴²
mountain pass	/ la /	jΛ ²¹
market/town	/ throm /	tʃʰom ⁴²
village	/ 'üü /	kroŋ ⁴²
yesterday	/ khatsha /	daŋ ²⁴ la ²¹
today	/ dari /	da ²¹ sum ⁴³
tomorrow	/ naapa /	jam ²¹ ba ⁴⁴
now	/ dato /	dai ²¹ na ⁴³ ~ dΛ ²² ji ⁴⁴ nΛŋ ²²
morning	/ dropa /	ŋa ⁴⁴ zi ²¹

noon	/ nyin-gung /	nɛn ²² tɕ ^h Λ ⁴²
night	/ numo / ; / zha(k) /	su ⁴⁴ la ²²
breakfast	/ drop(a)-ja /	ŋa ²² zi ²² to ⁴²
lunch	/ nyimä-to / ; / seu / [H]	nɛn ²² tɕ ^h Λ ⁴⁴ to ⁴⁴
dinner	/ pchiru-to / ; / tsho / [H]	su ⁴⁴ la ²² to ⁴⁴
directions	/ sacho /	tɕ ^h o ⁴⁴
east	/ shaa /	ɕaɪ ⁴⁴
west	/ nup /	nup ⁴⁴
south	/ lho /	l ^h o ⁴²
north	/ jang /	(b)dʒaŋ ²¹
right	/ 'yă /	ʔe ⁴⁴ pa ²² ; ɕa ⁴⁴ sa ⁴⁴
left	/ 'yön /	ʔem ⁴⁴ pa ²² ; jum ⁴⁴ pa ²²

6.2 Adjectives

The morphology of Khengkha adjectives is still not obvious. The table below shows the recorded “basic form” given by language consultants. We need further investigation and grammatical analyses.

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
delicious	/ zhim-to(k)to /	ŋar ⁴⁴ -ta ²¹
hot	/ kha tsharu /	k ^h a ⁴⁴ ts ^h a ⁴⁴ -ta ⁴⁴
many	/ lesha /	tɕ ^h a ⁴⁴ tɕ ^h a ²¹
few	/ 'atsi(tsi) /	nɯŋ ⁴⁴ wa ²¹ ; k ^h Λm ⁴⁴ tɕ ^h
big	/ boom /	dʒik ²¹ pa ⁴⁴ -la ²¹
small	/ chung-gu /	tɕ ^h iŋ ²⁴¹ ku ⁴⁴ -la ²¹
cheap	/ kä-toto /	goŋ ²¹ nɯŋ ²¹ wa ⁴⁴ -la ⁴⁴
expensive	/ gong boom /	(goŋ ²¹) dʒik ²¹ pa ⁴⁴ -la ⁴⁴
hot	/ tshatom /	ts ^h a ⁴⁴ -ta ²¹

cold	/ si-trhötrhö /	k ^h it ⁴⁴ -ta ²¹
good	/ leshom /	ka ⁴⁴ tɕan ²¹
bad	/ jang ning /	meɽ ²² ba ⁴² (thing, situation) ka ⁴⁴ tɕan ⁴² mu ²² se ⁴² (person)
itchy	/ ya(w)u / ; / ya-ni /	dza ²¹ -ta ²¹
painful/unwell	/ naome /	na ²¹ -ta ²¹

6.3 Verbs

The morphology of Khengkha verbs is not obvious either. The following table only presents the indefinite (= imperfect) form with verb suffixes [-gem²¹] or [-dem²¹]. These two types of suffixes form definite combinations with verb stems. The grammatical difference between them cannot be expounded yet.

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
go	/ jo-ni / ; / jön-ni / [H]	gai ²⁴ -dem ²¹
come	/ wong-ni / ; / jön-ni / [H]	ra ²² -gem ²¹
eat	/ za-ni ; zhe-ni / [H]	ze ²³ -gem ²¹
drink	/ thung-ni / ; / zhe-ni / [H]	t ^h oŋ ⁴⁴ -gem ²¹
look at	/ ta-ni / ; / zi-ni / [H]	ta ⁴⁴ -gem ²¹
see	/ thong-ni /	blaŋ ²² -ta ⁴²
show	/ tön-ni /	tɕ ^h o ⁴⁴ ŋɛ ⁴⁴ -men ⁴²
listen to	/ go-ni / ; / nyän-ni / [H]	na ⁴⁴ t ^h u ²² -dem ²¹
hear	/ go-ni /	kat ⁴⁴ go ²² -gem ²¹
let hear	/ da tshön-ni /	nen ⁴⁴ lai ⁴²
speak	/ kha 'lap-ni / ; / sung-ni / [H] ; / zhu-ni / [M]	lap ⁴⁴ tɕ ⁴⁴ -men ⁴²
stand	/ long-ni / ; / zheng-ni / [H]	jaŋ ²⁴ -gem ²¹
sit	/ dö(p)-ni / ; / zhu-ni / [H]	ni ²⁴ -gem ²¹
sick	/ na-ni / ; / nyung-ni / [H]	na ²⁴ -gem ²¹

give	/ jin-ni / ; / trö-ni / ; / 'nang-ni / [H]	bi ²⁴ -gem ²¹
wait	/ ba-ni / ; / 'nam-ni / [H]	tɕ ^h ʌr ⁴⁴ -gem ²¹
know	/ she-ni / ; / 'khen-ni / [H]	k ^h ʌŋ ⁴⁴ -gem ²¹
do	/ be-ni / ; / dzä-ni / [H]	bu ²⁴ -gem ²¹
hand, carry	/ trö-ni / ; / 'nang-ni / [H]	bi ²⁴ -gem ²¹

7. Construction of the Noun Phrase

The basic construction of the noun phrase and the word order modifying it is as follows:

‘these three red flowers’

[d.pn] → [noun] ← [adj] + num (/ pl. sfx)

oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ mē²¹to⁴² dʒin²¹t^hi [~ti]⁴⁴la⁴⁴ sum⁴³ (/ gam²²bo²²)[†]
 this flower red 3 (/ pl.)

† It is impossible to use a plural suffix and a numeral together; one of them should be selected.

- (1) Those two girls wearing blue shirts are *bkra shis*’s sisters.

u²²t^hi[~ti]⁴⁴ = (h)ai⁴⁴ bo²²mē⁴⁴←[k^hen⁴⁴dʒʌ²² ɲøn²²ti⁴⁴-lʌ²²
 DP:dist =GEN girl shirt blue

gin²²] = k^hʌn⁴⁴ zoŋ²¹ tʂʌ⁴⁴ʃi⁴⁴ = ki²² no²²met⁴⁴ wen²¹.
 wear =NMLR 2 *bkra shis* =GEN sister AUX:stmt

8. Interrogative Pronouns/Adverbs

An interrogative sentence with interrogative pronouns/adverbs is the same as an affirmative sentence regarding word order. By inserting interrogatives into their position, the answer words will appear. The particle [jo²¹] will be added appear at the end of the sentence to express a wh-question. (cf. The interrogative particle [jʌ²¹] is used for yes/no questions contrastively.)

The following contain the Tibetan writing assigned for Khengkha as a trial, which is not an official orthography but merely a proposal designed under the suggestion of language

consultants. The aim for spelling each sentence using the Tibetan Script is to suggest an approach for further phonological study and for creating a writing system of Khengkha.

who ai⁴² / ʔΛ⁴⁴

(2) Who is she?

gon²¹ ai⁴² jo²¹ ?
3 sg. who MOD:irg

གོན་ཨི་ཡོ།

oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ bo⁴² ʔΛ⁴⁴ jo²¹ ?
DP: prox person who MOD:irg

ཨོ་ཀའི་བོ་ཨ་ཡོ།

whose a²¹tɕi⁴⁴k^hai⁴⁴

(3) Whose house is this?

oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ mai⁴⁴ a²¹tɕi⁴⁴k^hai⁴⁴ jo²¹ ?
DP: prox house whose MOD:irg

ཨོ་ཀའི་མའི་ཨ་ཅི་འི་ཡོ།

what dzai²¹ / dzΛ²⁴

(4) What is this?

oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ dzai²⁴ jo²¹ ?
DP: prox what MOD:irg

ཨོ་ཀའི་ཇའི་ཡོ།

where $\text{ao}^{21} / \text{ʔau}^{44}$

(5) Where do you go?

we^{24} ao^{21} gai^{24} -dem²¹ ?
2 sg. where go -SFX:indfnt

ཐང་ཨོ་གཤི་དེས།

why $\text{dzai}^{24}\text{bu}^{21}\text{zi}^{22}$

(6) Why did you come here?

we^{24} $\text{dzai}^{24}\text{bu}^{21}\text{zi}^{22}$ $\text{he}^{44}\text{na}^{21}$ ra^{24} sa^{21} ?
2 sg. why here come MOD:pft

ཐང་ཨོ་བྱ་ཟེ་ཉེ་ན་ར་ས།

how $\text{a}^{44}\text{to}^{21}$

(7) How do you go? [to ask means]

we^{24} $\text{a}^{44}\text{to}^{21}$ gai^{24} -dem²¹ ?
2 sg. how go -SFX:indfnt

ཐང་ཨོ་རྟ་གཤི་དེས།

(8) How do you feel Bhutan? [to ask for impressions from visitor]

$\text{dzuk}^{22}\text{ji}^{21}$ $\text{a}^{44}\text{to}^{21}$ nak^{22} se^{44} ?
Bhutan how feel MOD:pft

འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ཨོ་རྟ་ནག་ས།

how much ak⁴⁴pa⁴⁴

- (9) How much is this?

oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ ak⁴⁴pa⁴⁴ jo²¹ ?
Prox: sg. how much MOD:pft

ཨོ་ཀའི་ཨུག་པ་ཡོ།

- (10) How much is 1 kg of tomatoes? [to ask for a unit price]

lam ⁴⁴ ben ⁴⁴ da ²¹	kɛ ⁴⁴ dʒi ²¹	t ^h ɛ ⁴² =na ²¹	ak ⁴⁴ pa ⁴⁴	jo ²¹ ?
tomato	k g	one = par	how much	PCL:irg

སྒྲུལ་བཞུ་ད་གེ་ཇི་ཐེག་ན་ཨུག་པ་ཡོ།

when $\text{qr}^{44}\text{wq}^{21}$

- (11) When does he come?

gon²¹ ar⁴⁴wa⁴⁴ ra²⁴ jo²¹ ?
3 sg. when come MOD:irg

གོན་མཆོག་ལ་ཕྱག་འཇུག་པོ།

9. Sentences for Daily Conversation

This chapter exemplifies collected basic sentences and expressions in Khengkha used in daily life. Khengkha has many expressions in common with Dzongkha; they are possibly borrowed from Dzongkha, see, for example, (12) ‘Hello’ and (15) ‘Thank you’. Each daily expression is given in English, Dzongkha in phonemic transcription with Tibetan orthography, and Khengkha in the phonetic description. The examples also submit Tibetan spelling for the Khengkha sentence as a trial, hoping it will be a basis to create an adequate writing system for the latter.

- (12) Hello!

Dzk / kuzu zangpo (-laa) !/

སྐྱ་གཞུགས་བཟང་པོ་(ལགས)།

Khk ku⁴⁴zu²¹ zɿŋ²¹po^{·44} (lɿ²¹)
body [H]. good MOD[H]

སྐྱེ་གཟུགས་བཟང་པོ་(ལགས)།

(13) Welcome!

Dzk / jönpa lekso (yö)./

འབྱེན་པ་ལགས་སྟོ

Khk kΛ⁴⁴dz̥i⁴⁴tɕ^he⁴³ (lΛ²¹)
 gratitude MOD[H]

བཀའ་བྱིན་ཆེ་ (ལགས།)

(14) I am so glad to see you.

Dzk /(chö da) pche de 'name-same sem ga-i./

ཁྱོད་དང་འབྲེད་དེ་གནས་མེད་ས་མེད་དགའ་ཡི།

Khk weʔ²⁴ = ne²¹ dom⁴⁴ = ze²⁴
 2 sg. =with see = CONJ

མེད་ནི་དོན་ཟེ་གནས་མེད་ས་མེད་སེམས་དགའ་ས།

nΛ²¹me⁴⁴sΛ²¹me⁴⁴ sem⁴⁴ ga²⁴ sΛ²¹
 very happy MOD:pft

(15) Thank you (very much).

Dzk /('name-same) kadrinche (-laa)./

གནས་མེད་ས་མེད་) བཀའ་བྱིན་ཆེ་(ལགས།)

Khk kΛ⁴⁴dz̥in⁴⁴tɕ^he⁴³ (lΛ²¹)
 gratitude MOD[H]

བཀའ་བྱིན་ཆེ་(ལགས།)

(16) What is your name?

Dzk /(chö-gi) ming gaci-mo?/

ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་མིང་ག་ཅི་སྟོ

Khk weʔ²⁴tɕi⁴⁴ min²¹ dʒΛ²⁴ jo²¹
 2 sg.: atrb name what MOD:irg

མིང་ཅི་མིང་རྒྱ་ཡོ།

(17) May I have your name? [H]

Dzk /na-gi tshän laa?/ [H]

ན་གྱི་ཆོན་ལགས།

Khk we²⁴tɕi⁴⁴ ts^hen⁴¹ dʒΛ²⁴ jo²¹. [H]
 2 sg.: atrb name [H] what MOD:irg

མིང་ཅི་ཆོན་རྒྱ་ཡོ།

- (18) My name is Tandin.

Dzk /nyi-gi ming Tandin 'ing (-laa)./ ངདི་གི་མིང་བཟླན་འདུན་ཨིན་(ལགས།)

Khk ηai^{21} $mi\eta^{21}$ $t^h\Lambda n^{44} di^{44}$ wen^{21} . ངདི་མིང་བཟླན་འདུན་མེན།
 1 sg.: atrb name *bstan 'dun* AUX:stmt

- (19) How are you?

Dzk /chö gade-be yö?/ ཚྱོད་ག་དེ་ཐེ་ཡོད།

Khk $k\Lambda^{44} t\zeta en^{44}$ $\zeta uk^{44} se^{21} n\Lambda^{21}$ $j\Lambda^{21} ?$ ཀ་ཅེན་ཤུག་སེ་ན་ཡ།
 good living happy [H] MOD:irg

$k\Lambda^{44} t\zeta en^{44}$ $n\Lambda^{12}$ $j\Lambda^{21} ?$ ཀ་ཅེན་ན་ཡ།
 good happy MOD:irg

- (20) I am fine.

Dzk /le(k)shom-be yö./ ལེགས་ཤོམ་ཐེ་ཡོད།
 /lek zhim yö (laa)./ ལེགས་ཞིམ་ཡོད་(ལགས།)

Khk $\eta\Lambda^{12}$ $k\Lambda^{44} t\zeta en^{42}$ $r\Lambda^{24}$ $n\Lambda^{21}$. ང་ཀ་ཅེན་རག་ན།
 1 sg. good come AUX:exst

- (21) Where are you [H] from?

Dzk /na gade-le mo?/ ན་ག་དེ་ལེ་མྱོ།

Khk we^{24} ($t\zeta^h u\eta^{44} j\theta^{42}$) $? \Lambda^{44} = \eta i^{44 \dagger}$ $j\theta^{21} ?$ མེད་ཐུང་ཡུལ་ཨ་དེ་ཡོ།
 2 sg. home land where=ABL AUX:irg

- (22) I am from Japan.

Dzk /nga Japan-le 'ing (laa)./ ང་ཇ་པན་ལས་ཨིན་(ལགས།)

Khk $\eta\Lambda^{12} dz\Lambda^{21} p\Lambda^{44} = ni^{21}$ wen^{21} . ང་ཇ་པན་ནི་མེན།
 1 sg. Japan =ABL AUX

[†] [$? \Lambda^{44} = \eta i^{44}$] might be a sound change of the phrase: *[$ao^{21} = ni^{21}$] ‘where =from’.

(23) Yes. / No.

Dzk /'ing (-laa). / meng (-laa)./

མིང་(ལགས།) / མེན་(ལགས།)

Khk wen²¹(lɿ²¹) / min²¹(lɿ²¹)
AUX:afm [H] AUX:neg [H]

མེན་(ལགས།) / མིན་(ལགས།)

Dzk /'im-bä. / mem-bä./

མིན་བས། / མེན་བས།

Khk wen¹²(dzɿ⁴²) / min¹²(dzɿ⁴²)
AUX:afm [F] AUX:neg [F]

མེན་(གཤགས།) / མིན་(གཤགས།)

(24) There is. / There is not.

Dzk /duu (-laa). / mindu (-laa)./

འདུག་(ལགས།) / མིན་འདུག་(ལགས།)

Khk nɿk²²(se:⁴²) / mu²¹(se:⁴²)
Vb:afm [H] Vb:neg [H]

ནག་(སེ།) / ཟུང་(སེ།)

(25) I have. / I do not have.

Dzk /yö (-laa). / mee (-laa)./

ཡོད་(ལགས།) / མེད་(ལགས།)

Khk (ɿɿ²⁴ = nɿ²¹) nɿ²¹. / mut⁴⁴
1 sg. =DAT have lack

(ང་ན་) ནག་ / ཟུང།

(26) I understood.

Dzk /ha go-i./

ཏ་གོ་ཡི།

Khk hɿ⁴⁴ ko⁴⁴ -sɿ⁴².
understand -SFX:pft

ཏ་གོ་ས།

(27) I do not understand.

Dzk /ha mi-gö./

ཏ་མི་གོ་ས།

Khk hɿ⁴⁴ mɿ²²- go²¹.
under- NEG -stand

ཏ་མ་གོ།

(28) Please say it again.

Dzk /daru tshaa ci 'lap 'nang./

ད་རུང་ཚར་གཅིག་སྒྲུབ་གནང་།

Khk du²²ruŋ²⁴ lɔp²² -lai⁴².
again speak -SFX:imper

དུ་རུང་སྒྲུབ་ལའི།

(29) O.K. / All right.

Dzk /tup (pe)./

བརྟུབ་པས།

Khk pɔ²² -tɕ⁴².
right -SFX

བ་ཏ།

(30) O.K. / Yes. / All right.

Dzk /las (-laa)./

ལགས་སོ་(ལགས)།

Khk lɔs⁴² lɔ⁴⁴. [H] < Dzk

ལགས་སོ་ལགས།

(31) No problem.

Dzk /khä me./

ཁྱད་མེད།

Khk kɔ⁴⁴ŋel⁴² mut⁴⁴.
problem lack

ཀ་དེལ་སྤྱད།

(32) See you again.

Dzk /las (-laa). / lokte jää-ge (laa)./

ལགས་སོ་(ལགས)། འོག་སྟེ་མཇུག་གེ་(ལགས)།

Khk lɔs⁴² lɔ⁴⁴. [H] jɔŋ²⁴pe⁴² dom²¹.
again see

ལགས་སོ་ལགས། ཡང་བེགས་དོན།

(33) Where are you going?

Dzk /(chö) gade jo(w)u mo?/

(ཁྱད་)ག་དེ་འགྱུ་མ་མོ།

Khk weɽ²⁴ ʔlu⁴² gai⁴² tʰɔŋ⁴² jo²¹ ?
2 sg. where go over MOD:irg

མེད་ཨོ་གའི་གཞི་ཐང་ཡོ།

- (34) I'm going to Bumthang.

Dzk /(nga) Bumthang-lu jo(w)u 'ing./ (ང་)བུམ་ཐང་ལུ་འཁྱེད་ཡིན།

Khk $\eta\Lambda^{24}$ bum²²t^hΛ⁴² = ηo^{24} gai²⁴-de⁴²me²⁴ wen²¹. ང་བུམ་ཐང་དོག་དེ་མེ་ཐེན།
1 sg. Bumthang =ALT go -SFX:indfnt AUX

- (35) I want to go to Bumthang.

Dzk /(nga) Bumthang-lu jo go 'no-i./ (ང་)བུམ་ཐང་ལུ་འཁྱེད་གོ་མོ་ཡི།

Khk $\eta\Lambda^{24}$ bum²²t^hΛ⁴² = ηo^{24} gai²⁴-do⁴² $\eta\Lambda m^{22}$ pa²². ང་བུམ་ཐང་དོག་དོ་ཉམ་བ།
1 sg. Bumthang =ALT go-SFX:indfnt think MOD

- (36) Where is a rest room?

Dzk /chapsang gate yö-ga?/ ཆབ་གསང་ག་ཏེ་ཡོད་ག།

Khk $s\Lambda\eta^{44}$ t^hu⁴² $\eta\Lambda u^{44}$ lo⁴⁴ko⁴⁴ jo²¹ ? གསང་རྒྱུང་ཨའོ་ཁྱོ་གོ་ཡོ།
restroom where locate MOD:irg

Dzk /chapsang gate mo?/ ཆབ་གསང་ག་ཏེ་མོ།

Khk $t\epsilon^h\Lambda p^{44}$ sΛ⁴⁴ $\eta\Lambda u^{44}$ lo⁴⁴ko⁴⁴ jo²¹ ? ཆབ་གསང་ཨའོ་ཁྱོ་གོ་ཡོ།
restroom [H] where locate MOD:irg

- (37) Let's go.

Dzk /(da) jo-ge./ (ད་) འཁྱེད།

Khk dΛ²² gai²⁴-de²¹. དང་གའི་དེ།
together go-SFX:indfnt

- (38) Come here.

Dzk /na sho./ ན་ཤོགས།

Khk he^{44} nΛ²² $\epsilon^h\Lambda^{44}$ ji²¹. ཉེ་ན་ཤག་ཡི།
here come MOD

- (39) How old are you?

Dzk /ʎ(chö) lo gadem ci mo?/

(ཁྱེད་ལོ་ག་དམ་ཅིག་སྟོ)

Khk weʔ²⁴ niŋ²² ʎΛk⁴⁴ pΛ⁴⁴ jo²¹ ?
 2 sg. age how many MOD:irg

མེ་ནིང་ཨག་པ་ཡོ

- (40) I'm 20 years old.

Dzk /ʎ(nga) lo kheci 'ing./

(ང་ལོ་ཁལ་གཅིག་ཨིན།)

Khk ŋΛ²⁴ niŋ²² k^hai²⁴de⁴⁴ wen²¹.
 1 sg. age twenty AUX

མེ་ནིང་ཁའི་དེ་མེན།

- (41) Congratulations!

Dzk /trashi delek!/

བརྒྱ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས།

Khk tʂΛ⁴⁴ci⁴⁴de²¹lek²² nΛin⁴⁴ gΛ²² -sΛ²¹.
 congratulations heart happy -SFX:pft

བརྒྱ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་ལྷོན་དགའ་ས།

- (42) What is this?

Dzk /'ani gaci mo?/

ཨ་ནི་ག་ཅི་སྟོ

Khk oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ dzΛ²⁴ jo²¹ ?
 DP: prox what MOD:irg

ཨོ་ཀའི་རྩ་ཡོ

- (43) This is a
- momo*
- (dumpling).

Dzk /'ani momo 'ing./

ཨ་ནི་མོ་མོ་ཨིན།

Khk oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ mo²²mo⁴⁴ wen²¹(dzΛ²²) ?
 DP: prox dumpling AUX: [F]

ཨོ་ཀའི་མོ་མོ་མེན་(ག)

- (44) How much is this?

Dzk /('ani) gong gadem ci mo?/ (ཨ་ནི་)གོང་ག་དམ་ཅིག་མོ།

Khk oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ ʌk⁴⁴pʌ⁴⁴ jo²¹ ? ཨོ་ཀའི་ཨྣག་པ་ཡོ།
DP: prox how much AUX

- (45) 30 ngultrum for 1 plate.

Dzk /tha le 1 [ci] lu tiru sumcu 'ing./ ཐལ་ལེ་1 [ཅི] ལུ་ཏིརུ་སུམ་ཅུ་ཀྱིན།

Khk tʰʌ⁴⁴li⁴⁴ tʰek⁴⁴ = nʌ²² [kʰai²⁴de²² = ne²² tɕʰe⁴⁴ [/sum⁴⁴tɕu⁴⁴] wen²¹.
plate one =DAT twenty =and half (10) three ten AUX
ཐལ་ལེ་ཐེག་ན་[ལའི་དེ་ནེ་ཕྱེད་] [/སུམ་ཅུ་] མེན།

- (46) Do you have some butter tea?

Dzk /suuja yö ga?/ སུ་ཇུ་ཡོ་ག།

Khk su:⁴⁴dʒʌ⁴⁴ nʌ²⁴ jʌ²¹ ? སུ་ཇུ་ན་ཡ།
butter tea have MOD:irg

- (47) (One more) beer, please.

Dzk /(daru) biyaa ci, zhu ge (-laa)./ (ད་རུང་)བི་ཡམ་གཅིག་(ཁྱ་གོ་)(ལགས)།

Khk do²²ron²⁴ bia²⁴ tʰek⁴⁴ wai²⁴ nʌ²⁴. ཛོ་རོང་བི་ཡམ་ཐེག་མའི་ན།
more beer one give have

- (48) Is this yours?

Dzk /'ani chö-gi 'ing na?/ ཨ་ནི་ཚྱོད་གྱི་ཀྱིན་ན།

Khk oʔ⁴⁴kai²⁴ we²²tɕi⁴⁴ = hai²⁴ wen²⁴ jʌ²¹ ? ཨོ་ཀའི་མེ་ཅི་ཏའི་མེན་ཡ།
DP: prox you=GEN AUX MOD:irg

(49) I am thirsty.

Dzk /nga kha kom ce./

ང་ཁ་ཕྱོག་ཅིག

Khk ŋΛ²⁴ k^hΛ⁴⁴ kΛm⁴⁴ -pΛ²¹.
1 sg. mouth dry -SFX

ང་ཁ་སྒྱུ་ད།

(50) I am (very) hungry.

Dzk /nga ('name-same) tou ke-ci./

ང་(གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་)ལྟོ་ཕ་བཀྱེས་ཅིག

Khk ŋΛ²⁴ brΛ⁴⁴ nΛ²² -sΛ²².
1 sg. hungry have -SFX

ང་ཁ་བ་ན་ལ།

(51) I have had enough.

Dzk /phou drangsi (-laa)/

ཕོ་ཕ་འགྲངས་སེ་(ལགས།)

Khk ŋΛ²⁴ dzo²² mΛ⁴² ŋrΛŋ²⁴ -pΛ⁴².
1 sg. belly full -SFX

ང་ལྟུ་མ་ངང་ད།

(52) It's delicious.

Dzk /('name-same) zhim be./

(གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་)ཞིམ་བཤ།

Khk (dek²² pΛ⁴⁴ tɕΛ²² ŋΛ⁴²) ŋΛr²⁴ -tΛ⁴².
very delicious -SFX

(དེག་པ་ཅ་ང་)ངར་ཏ།

(53) Please take (eat/drink) it.

Dzk /zhe (-laa)/

བཞེས་(ལགས།)

Khk soi⁴⁴ -lɛ²² (lΛ²¹).
take -SFX:imper [H]

སོའི་ལའི་(ལགས།)

- (54) No, thank you.

Dzk /mi zhu (-la)./

མི་ལྟ་(ལགས།)

Khk lɿŋ²⁴ -pɿ⁴².
enough -SFX

ལང་བ།

- (55) I do not feel well.

Dzk /zu de-toto me(ng)./

གཟུགས་བདེ་ཏོག་ཏོ་མི(ང་)།

Khk ŋɿ²⁴ zu²⁴ mɿ²² -de²¹.
1 sg. body NEG -good

ང་གཟུགས་མ་བདེ།

- (56) I have a stomachache.

Dzk /(nga) phou na-de-'ing./

(ང་)ཕོ་སྤ་ན་དེ་ཡིན།

/(nga) phou na(wu)-mä./

(ང་)ཕོ་སྤ་ན་སྤ་མཁ།

Khk ŋɿ²⁴ dʒo²² mɿ⁴² nɿ²⁴ -ze²¹.
1 sg. belly sick -SFX:pft

ང་ལྷུ་མ་ན་ཟེག

10. Noun Predicate Sentences

The auxiliary verb for statements [wen²¹], which works as a copula, connects two substantives. The negative counterpart is [min²¹], and the interrogative particle [ja²¹] will be affixed to the end of the sentence when needed. All the example sentences in chapters 10 to 13 were provided by a language consultant who speaks the Wamling dialect, and the pronunciation recorded here is based on his idiolect. The spelling in Tibetan script was also offered by him. The notation in Tibetan script does not reflect the grammatical alternation nor cognates of Tibetan/Dzongkha; it only spells out the actual pronunciation of Khengkha, one by one.

- (57) Are you a Bhutanese?

weɽ²¹ dzuk²²pa²² wen²³ ja²¹ ?
 2 sg. Bhutanese AUX:afm IRG

མེད་འབྲུག་པ་མེན་ཡ།

- (58) I am a Bhutanese.

ŋa²³ dzuk²²pa²² wen²¹.
 1 sg. Bhutanese AUX:afm

ང་འབྲུག་པ་མེན།

- (59) I am not a Bhutanese.

ŋa²³ dzuk²²pa²² min²¹.
 1 sg. Bhutanese AUX:neg

ང་འབྲུག་པ་མིན།

- (60) Is he a Bhutanese?

gon²¹ dzuk²²pa²² wen²³ ja²¹ ?
 3 sg. Bhutanese AUX:afm IRG

གོན་འབྲུག་པ་མེན་ཡ།

- (61) No, he is not a Bhutanese, but a Japanese.

min²¹. gon²¹ dzuk²²pa²² min²¹, dza²²pa²²nis²¹ wen²¹.
 No. 3 sg. Bhutanese AUX:neg Japanese AUX:afm

མིན། གོན་འབྲུག་པ་མིན། རྒྱ་ཤར་ནིས་མེན།

No, he is from Japan.

min²¹. gon²¹ dza²²pan²¹ = ni²¹ wen²¹.
 No. 3 sg. Japan =ABL AUX:afm

མིན། གོན་རྒྱ་ཤར་ནི་མེན།

- (62) Where are you from?

weɿ²¹ ʔa⁴⁴ŋi⁴⁴ jo²¹ ?
 2 sg. where from MOD:irg

མེད་ཨ་ནི་ཡོ།

- (63) I am from Wamling.

ŋa²³ wam²³liŋ⁴¹ = ni²² wen²¹.
 1 sg. Wamling =ABL AUX:afm

ང་ལྷམ་ལིང་ནི་མེན།

11. Existential Sentences

The auxiliary verb for existence [na²¹] and its negative counterpart [mut²¹] are used in existential or locational sentences. Further, the interrogative particle [ja²¹], or [jo²¹] for wh-questions, will be affixed to the end of the sentence.

- (64) There is a notebook on that table.

ʔa⁴⁴t^hu²⁴ tɕok⁴⁴sen⁴² = gi²² nam²²do⁴⁴ dʒi²⁴ɕep²² na²¹.
 there table =GEN surface notebook AUX:exst

ཨ་ཐུ་ཅེན་ཤེང་གི་ནམ་དོ་བྱིས་དེབ་ན།

- (65) Here are three notebooks on the table.

he⁴⁴na²² tɕok⁴⁴sen⁴² = gi²² nam²²do⁴⁴ dʒi²⁴ɕep²² sum⁴³ na²¹.
 here table =GEN surface notebook three AUX:exst

ཧེ་ན་ཅེན་ཤེང་གི་ནམ་དོ་བྱིས་དེབ་གསུམ་ན།

- (66) I have two daughters.

ŋa²⁴ = na²² ʔo⁴⁴lo²²bo²²me⁴³ zon²⁴ na²¹.
 1 sg. =DAT child girl two AUX:have/exst

ང་ན་ཨོ་ལོ་བོ་མེ་ཐོན་ན།

- (67) I have no sons.

ŋa²⁴ = na²² ʔo⁴⁴lo²²bo²³ mut²¹.
 1 sg. =DAT child boy AUX: not have/lack

ང་ན་ཨོ་ལོ་བོ་བླད།

- (68) S/he has three sons.

gon²¹ = na²² ʔo⁴⁴lo²²bo²³ sum⁴⁴ na²¹.
 3 sg. =DAT child boy three AUX: have/exst

གོན་ན་ཨོ་ལོ་བོ་གསུམ་ན།

- (69) How many children do you have?

weʔ²¹ = na²² ʔo⁴⁴lo²² ʔak⁴⁴pa²¹ na²² jo²¹ ?
 2 sg. =DAT child how many AUX: have MOD:irg

ཐེད་ན་ཨོ་ལོ་ཨཀ་པ་ན་ཡོ།

12. Adjective Predicate Sentences

Interestingly, the auxiliary verb set for statements [wen²¹] and its negative [min²¹], as well as the one to express existence [na²¹] and its negative [mut²¹] are both used in adjective predicate sentences. Their distribution and function are as follows: the former set represents a statement for the “inner” circle of speech, and the latter set represents a statement for the “outer” circle of speech, similar to /yin/ and /ree/ in the Tibetan Lhasa dialect. The “inner” statements often refer to the 1st and 2nd person subjects, and the “outer” statements often refer to the 3rd person subjects. The interrogative particle [ja²¹], or [jo²¹] for wh-questions, will appear at the end of the sentence.

(70) Is s/he young?

gon²¹ zon²³ma³¹ na²² ja³³ ?
3 sg. young AUX:exst IRG

གོན་གཞན་མ་ན་ཡ།

‘outer’ statement

gon²¹ zon²³ma³¹ wen²¹ ja³³ ?
3 sg. young AUX:stm IRG

གོན་གཞན་མ་ཤེན་ཡ།

‘inner’ statement

(71) No. S/he is old.

min²¹. gon²¹ get²² pu⁴⁴ wen²¹.
No. 3 sg. old AUX:stmt

མིན། གོན་གྲང་ཕ་ཤེན།

(72) I am old.

ŋa²³ get²² pu⁴⁴ wen²¹.
1 sg. old AUX:stmt

ང་གྲང་ཕ་ཤེན།

(73) You are younger than him.

weɿ²¹ gon²¹ = ni⁴⁴jaŋ²¹ zon²³ma³¹ na²¹. ‘outer’ statement
2.sg 3 sg. = than young AUX:exst

ཤེད་གོན་ནི་ཡང་གཞན་མ་ན།

*It is impossible to replace [na²¹] from the “outer” statement with *[wen²¹] representing an “inner” statement in this sentence.

- (74) S/he is tall.

gon²¹ k^han⁴⁴ba²²-la²² na²¹.
 3.sg tall-SFX AUX:exst

གོན་ཁང་བ་ལ་ན།

- (75) S/he is pretty.

gon²¹ mop²²zan⁴² na²¹.
 3.sg pretty AUX:exst

གོན་མོབ་བཟང་ན།

- (76) This book is red.

oɽ⁴⁴kai⁴² ki⁴⁴tɛp⁴⁴ dʒin²⁴ti⁴⁴-la²² wen²¹.
 prx:sg. book red-SFX AUX:stmt

ཨ་ཀའི་ཀི་ཏབ་བྱིན་ཏི་ལ་ལེན།

- (77) This notebook is blue.

oɽ⁴⁴kai⁴² dʒi²⁴tɛp²² nʌn⁴⁴te²²-la²² wen²¹.
 prx:sg. notebook red-SFX AUX:stmt

ཨ་ཀའི་བྲིས་ཐེབ་བྱིན་ཏི་ལ་ལེན།

- (78) This dumpling tastes good.

oɽ⁴⁴k^hai⁴² mo²²mo²² ka⁴⁴tɕan²¹ na²¹.
 prx:sg. dumpling tasty AUX:exst

ཨ་ཀའི་མོ་མོ་ཀ་ཅན་ན།

- (79) Which do you like,
- sinchang*
- ,
- bangchang*
- , or
- araq*
- ?

weɽ²¹ sin⁴⁴tɕ^han⁴⁴, ban²⁴tɕ^han⁴⁴, ʔa⁴⁴ra²¹=ni⁴⁴ dʒai²¹ ga¹² jo²¹ ?
 2 sg. *sinchang* *bangchnag* *araq* =ABL what like MOD:irg

མེན་སིང་ཆང་བང་ཆང་ཨ་རག་ནི་ཇའི་དགའ་ཡོ།

13. Verb Predicate Sentences

A Khengkha verb is not conjugated for the person or number of the subject or other actants. The basic verb predicate structure is Vstem-SFX (AUX)(MOD), in which the suffix represents aspects such as imperfect (including present/future tense), perfect (related to past tense), progressive, and imperative. The verb suffixes are expressed with hyphen and brackets, such as ‘-[aspect]’, in the gloss for each sentence, and ‘SFX’ is omitted, that is, -SFX:imperative → -[imper] henceforth. These verb suffixes have morphological alternates, however, the grammatical background causing the alternation is not obvious yet as there is not enough data to discuss upon. Here, we can only point out the possible alternations, needing further research on Khengkha grammar to expound these phenomena.

- (80) Close the door!

ko ⁴²	dam ²⁴	-lai ²¹ .	ཀོ་དང་མ་ལའི།
door	close	-[imper]	

- (81) Open the door!

ko ⁴²	p ^{hi} · ⁴²	-lai ²¹ .	ཀོ་ཐེ་ལའི།
door	open	-[imper]	

The imperative is formed by adding the suffix [-lai²¹] to the verb stem.

- (82) Now the door is open.

da ⁴⁴ ni ²⁴	ko ⁴²	p ^{hi} · ⁴⁴	-sa ²¹ .	ད་ནི་ཀོ་ཐེ་ས།	
now	door	open	-[pft]		
da ⁴⁴ ni ²⁴	ko ⁴²	p ^{hi} · ⁴⁴	-zi ²³	na ²¹ .	ད་ནི་ཀོ་ཐེ་བེ་ན།
now	door	open	-[pft]	AUX:exst	

The most general suffix expressing the perfect aspect is [-sa²¹], and [-zi²³] must be an alternative to it, which appears before the auxiliary verb for “outer” statements [na²¹]. It might be a gerund of the suffix [-sa²¹] to express state, as AUX [na²¹] is mainly used after adjectives (see Chapter 12).

Another noteworthy grammatical phenomenon is that the subject is a bare noun without a case-marker in these intransitive verb predicate sentences in (82).

- (83) Who opened the door?

ko ⁴²	ʔa ⁴⁴ tɕi ⁴²	p ^{hi} . ²²	-sa ⁴⁴	jo ²¹ ?	ཀོ་ཨ་ཅི་སྐ་སྟེ།
door	who	open	[-pft]	MOD:irg	

- (84) I opened the door.

ko ⁴⁴	ŋa ²⁴ =ji ²²	p ^{hi} . ⁴⁴	-sa ²¹ .	ཀོ་ངའི་ཐེ་སྟེ།
door	1 sg. =ERG	open	[-pft]	

ŋa ²⁴ =ji ²²	ko ⁴⁴	p ^{hi} . ⁴⁴	-sa ²¹ .	ངའི་ཀོ་ཐེ་སྟེ།
1 sg. =ERG	door	open	[-pft]	

- (85) The wind opened [the door].

luŋ ⁴² =gi ²²	(ko ⁴⁴)	p ^{hi} . ⁴⁴	-sa ²¹ .	ལུང་གི་ཀོ་ཐེ་སྟེ།
wind =ERG	door	open	[-pft]	

The subjects in transitive verb predicate sentences are marked with case particles [= ji²²], compared to intransitive verb predicate sentences (82), concluding that Khengkha is an ergative-type language. The ERG particle [= ji²²] appears with an open syllable subject, and the altered form [= gi²²] appears instead after a closed syllable subject with coda.

- (86) I will open the door.

ko ⁴⁴	ŋa ²⁴ =ji ²²	p ^{hi} . ⁴⁴	-ge ²¹ .	ཀོ་ངའི་ཐེ་གེ།
door	1 sg. =ERG	open	[-impft]	

- (87) The water is boiled.

k ^h we ⁴⁴	ts ^h a ⁴⁴	-zu ²⁴	-mu ²¹ .	ཁྱིམ་ཚ་བུ་སྟེ།
water	hot	[-pft]	AUX(?)	

The suffix [-ge²¹] is a general marker of the imperfect and expresses a volitional future. While the indefinite suffix [-gem²¹] must be a derivative of the former, I doubt [-zu²⁴] being another gerund-indicating suffix [-sa²¹] to express a state before the auxiliary verb. See (82) above. However, we are not yet sure of the meaning and function of AUX(?) [mu²¹].

- (88) Who boiled the water?

k^hwe⁴⁴ ts^han⁴² ʔa⁴⁴tɕi⁴² t^hek⁴⁴ -pa²² jo²¹ ? ཁྱེད་ཚོ་ཨ་ཅི་ཐུག་དག་ཡོད།
 water ← heated who boil -[pft] MOD:irg

- (89) I boiled the water.

k^hwe⁴⁴ ts^han⁴² ŋa²⁴=ji²² t^hek⁴⁴ -pa²². ཁྱེད་ཚོ་ང་འི་ཐུག་དག།
 water ← heated 1 sg. =ERG boil -[pft]

k^hwe⁴⁴ ts^han⁴² ŋa²⁴=ji²² t^hek⁴⁴ -pam⁴² wen²¹. ཁྱེད་ཚོ་ང་འི་ཐུག་དག་པམ་ཐེན།
 water ← heated 1 sg. =ERG boil -[pft] AUX

The other general suffix [-pa²²] also expresses the perfect aspect, however, it is difficult to grammatically explain the distribution and difference between suffixes [-sa²¹] and [-pa²²], since there is not enough data to compare them. The suffix [-pam⁴²] appears preceding the position of the auxiliary verb for “inner” statements [wen²¹], and it must be a derivation from suffix [-pa²²]. I think this is a phenomenon parallel with that of suffixes [-ge²¹] and [-gem²¹] seen above in (86) and will be presented in (91) below.

- (90) Who [is going to] boil the water?

k^hwe⁴⁴ ts^han⁴² ʔa⁴⁴tɕi⁴² t^hek⁴⁴ -ke⁴⁴me²² jo²¹ ? ཁྱེད་ཚོ་ཨ་ཅི་ཐུག་གེ་མེན།
 water ← heated who boil -[impft] MOD:irg

- (91) I (will) boil the water.

k^hwe⁴⁴ ts^han⁴² ŋa²⁴=ji²² t^hek⁴⁴ -ke²². ཁྱེད་ཚོ་ང་འི་ཐུག་གོ།
 water ← heated 1 sg. =ERG boil -[impft]

k^hwe⁴⁴ ts^han⁴² ŋa²⁴=ji²² t^hek⁴⁴ -kem⁴² wen²¹. ཁྱེད་ཚོ་ང་འི་ཐུག་གེ་མེན།
 water ← heated 1 sg. =ERG boil -[impft] AUX

The perfect suffix [-ke²²] must be an allophone of [-ge²¹] seen in (86) above. The initial appears to be a voiceless [k-] as it is assimilated to the coda of the verb stem [t^hek⁴⁴]. The suffix [-kem⁴²] must be a derivation from suffix [-ke²²], which appears in the preceding position of the auxiliary verb for “inner” statements [wen²¹]. Here, a parallel derivation phenomenon between the suffix [-ge²¹] and [-gem²¹] can also be seen.

(92) I came from Thimphu yesterday.

ŋa²⁴ daŋ⁴⁴la²² t^him⁴⁴p^hu⁴⁴ = ni²¹ ra²⁴ -sa²¹. ང་དང་ལ་ཐིམ་ཕུ་ནི་ར་ས།
 1 sg. yesterday Thimphu =ABL come -[pft]

(93) I went to Bumthang.

ŋa²⁴ bum²⁴t^haŋ²¹ = na²¹ gai²⁴ -pa²¹. ང་བུམ་ཐང་ན་གཤི་པ།
 1 sg. Bumthang =ALT go -[pft]

Comparing (92) and (93), we see that the perfect suffixes are different, [ra²⁴ -sa²¹] ‘(have) come’ and [gai²⁴ -pa²¹] ‘(have) gone’, both expressing the perfect aspect, but opposite directions. This might be a hint to unravel the difference between them.

(94) I (will) go to Bumthang tomorrow.

ŋa²⁴ bum²⁴t^haŋ²¹ = na²¹ jam⁴⁴pa²² gai²⁴ -dem²¹ (wen²¹).
 1 sg. Bumthang =ALT tomorrow go -[imdfnt] AUX:stmt

ང་བུམ་ཐང་ན་ཡམ་པ་གཤི་དེམ་(མེན)།

The suffix [-dem²¹] is another general marker of the imperfect aspect and it expresses a volitional future, however, it is difficult to explain the distribution and difference between [-gem²¹] and [-dem²¹]. Our language consultant explained that these two kinds of suffixes take definite combinations with the verb stems. The grammatical difference between them cannot be expounded yet; it can only be pointed out that, so far, it does not concern ergative or transitive/intransitive aspects. See the Section 6.3 verbs. The suffix [-dem²¹] may appear in the preceding position of the auxiliary verb for “inner” statements [wen²¹]. I think this suffix also supports the hypothesis that verb suffixes add a final nasal consonant [-m] when they precede the auxiliary verb.

(95) Did you eat rice?

to⁴⁴ zu²⁴ -sa⁴⁴ ja²¹ ? ཇོ་བུ་ས་ཡ།
 rice eat -[pft] MOD:irg

- (96) I ate much rice.

ŋa²⁴ to⁴⁴ tɕ^ha⁴⁴ tɕ^ha²² zu²⁴ -sa²¹.
 1 sg. rice much eat -[pft]

ང་ལྟོ་ཆ་ཆ་བྱ་སྟེ།

- (97) I am eating rice now.

ŋa²⁴ to⁴⁴ dai²⁴na²² zu²⁴ -ta²¹.
 1 sg. rice now eat -[prog]

ང་ལྟོ་དེ་ན་བྱ་སྟེ།

The suffix [-ta²¹] expresses the progressive aspect. The tense is indicated by adverbs or nouns concerning time. See sentence (100).

- (98) I (will) eat tomorrow.

ŋa²⁴ to⁴⁴ jam²²pa⁴⁴ zu²⁴ -gem²¹.
 1 sg. rice tomorrow eat -[impft]

ང་ལྟོ་ཡན་པ་བྱ་གེས།

- (99) I wrote letters.

ŋa²⁴ = ji⁴⁴ ji:²²gu⁴⁴ dzi²⁴ -sa²¹.
 1 sg. =ERG letters write -[pft]

ང་འི་ཡི་གུ་བྲི་སྟེ།

- (100) I am writing letters now.

ŋa²⁴ ji:²²gu⁴⁴ dai²⁴na²² dzi²⁴ -ta²¹.
 1 sg. letters now write -[prog]

ང་འི་ཡི་གུ་དེ་ན་བྲི་སྟེ།

In sentences in the progressive aspect, the subject does not take any ERG markers, even though the predicate includes a transitive verb (and an object). See sentences (97) and (100).

- (101) I will write (letters).

ŋa²⁴ = ji²² ji:²²gu⁴⁴ dzi²⁴ -gem²¹.
 1 sg. =ERG letters write -[impft]

ང་འི་ཡི་གུ་བྲི་གེས།

- (102) Do you drink
- araq*
- ?

weɿ²¹ ʔa⁴⁴ra⁴² t^hoŋ⁴⁴ ja²¹ ?
 2 sg. araq drink IRG

མེད་ཨ་རག་མཐོང་ཡ།

(103) I drink *araq*.

$\eta a^{24}(=ji^{22})$	$\eta a^{44}ra^{42}$	$t^h o\eta^{42}$.	ངའི་ཨ་རག་མཐོང་།
1 sg. (=ERG)	araq	drink	

It is possible to add the verb suffix [-gem²¹] after the verb [$t^h o\eta^{42}$], however, it is impossible to add the auxiliary verb for “inner” statements [wen²¹] without any verb suffix to the final position of this sentence. The verb suffix [-ge²¹] or [-gem²¹] is similar to the Tibetan verb suffix /-ki/, which appears in the preceding position of the auxiliary verb /yin/ or /ree/ in the imperfect aspect, which means they may have common functions or origins.

(104) I do not drink *araq*.

$\eta a^{24}(=ji^{22})$	$\eta a^{44}ra^{42}$	me ²² - $t^h o\eta^{42}$.	ངའི་ཨ་རག་མེ་མཐོང་།
1 sg. (=ERG)	araq	NEG- drink	

The NEG + Vstem construction without either a verb suffix or auxiliary verb expresses negation in the imperfect or a volitional future.

If the subject takes ERG marker [=ji²²] in this sentence, it means “I do not drink alcohol” or “I am a nondrinker.”

14. Conclusion

This article was proposed as a preliminary report on the Khengkha language, including phonological, lexical, and grammatical sketches based on the current available data, which were collected through my field research. Although I recorded the pronunciation of Khengkha in detail, I only had three Khengkha consultants from three different areas, therefore it was premature to inductively analyze the phonological structure of each dialect, due to a lack of enough data. That is why it is not easy to distinguish which phonological features belong to personal idiolect or areal dialect, needing more reliable descriptive data on Khengkha dialects.

I hope this report will be a first step in the descriptive study on the Khengkha language. A deeper analysis should be made regarding all aspects of phonological, lexical, and grammatical studies, through field research. By improving the descriptive study on Khengkha, we can set about the next task of comparing studies on East Bodish languages with their relatives in Sino-Tibetan languages.

Abbreviation

1	1st Person	irg	interrogative
2	2nd Person	IRG	Interrogative AUX
3	3rd Person	MOD	Modal Particle
ABL	Ablative	neg	negative
afm	affirmative	NEG	Negative PFX
ALT	Allative	pft	perfect
AUX	Auxiliary verb	PFX	Prefix
CONJ	Conjunctive	pl.	plural
DAT	Dative	prog	progressive
ERG	Ergative	prox	proximal DP
dist	distal DP	PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
DP	Demonstrative Pronoun	SFX	Suffix
Dzk	Dzongkha	sg.	singular
GEN	Genitive	stmt	statement
exst	existence	WrT	Written Tibetan
imper	imperative	[F]	Friendly
impft	imperfect	[H]	Honorable
indfnt	indefinite	[M]	Modest

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Basic Vocabulary of Khengkha
with English-Chinese Index
Ver. 6 (2021/02/28)

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based on the
[CALMSEA] or **The Matisoff 200-word list**
arranged by semantic categories and correlated with some reconstructed roots in STC, TSR, etc.

James A. Matisoff. *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman: the ‘organic approach’ to linguistic comparison*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues. 1978. Appendix I Culturally Appropriate Lexicostatistical Model for SouthEast Asia. pp.284-296.

Abbreviations

(Dzk)	Dzongkha		
(Bmp)	Bumthap		
(Khk)	Khengkha	Zmg: Zhemgang [Trn: Trong / Wml: Wamling]	Trs: Trongsa
(Scp)	Sharchop		
JAM	James A. Matisoff		
PLB	Proto-Lolo-Burmese		
STC	Benedict, Paul K. 1972. <i>Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus</i> . Contributing editor: James A. Matisoff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.		
SWD	Swadesh, Morris. 1955. Towards Greater Accuracy in Lexicostatistic Dating. <i>International Journal of American Linguistics</i> . 21, 121–137.		
TBL	Huang Bufan 黄布凡 et al (eds.) 1992. [A <i>Tibeto-Burman Lexicon</i> .] <i>Zangmianyu yuyan cihui</i> . 《藏缅语族语言词汇》北京: 中央民族学院出版社.		
TSR	Matisoff, James A. 1972. <i>The Loloish Tonal Split Revisited</i> . Berkeley.		
WrT	Written Tibetan in Wylie system		
ZMC	Bianxiezu 编写组 1991. <i>Zangmianyu yuyan he cihui</i> . 《藏缅语语音和词汇》北京: 中国社会科学出版社.		

A. Bodyparts (N bp)

- 001 **belly** (exterior) (SWD#085)
- *puˈk (STC#358) [see above 1.141(b)]
- fùbù 腹部 WrT *grod pa* / *grod khog*
exterior
- pho²² / **pho** / ཤོ་ (Dzk)
pʰo⁴⁴lɿ⁴² (Scp)
- dùzi 肚子 WrT *grod pa* / *grod khog* / *gsus pa* (TBL#0096)
interior (ZMC#0260)
- dzu²²ma⁴³naŋ²²hɿ⁴⁴ / **juma nang thi** / རྒྱུ་མ་ནང་ཐི་ (Dzk)
dzu²²ma⁴³naŋ²²ʃep²² (Bmt)
dzo²²ma⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Trn], Zmg[Wml])
lo²²ʏo⁴³nɿ²²tʰi²² (Scp)
- wèi 胃 WrT *pho ba* (TBL#0148) (ZMC#0269)
stomach
- pho⁴⁴ / **pho** / ཤོ་ (Dzk)
dzu⁴⁴ma²² < རྒྱུ་མ་ (Bmt)
dzo²²ma⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
pho⁴⁴lɿ⁴² (Scp)
- 002 **blood** (SWD#064)
- *s-hwiy (STC#222)
- xiě 血 WrT *khrag* (TBL#0129) (ZMC#0268)
- tʰa⁴⁴ ~ ⁴² / **trha** / རྩ་ (Dzk)
kak²² (Bmt)
ka⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn], Zmg[Wml])
ji²³¹ (Scp)

nóng 脓〔膿〕 WrT ***rnag*** (TBL#0159) (ZMC#0286)
pus

na⁴² / 'na / Ⴕၵၢ (Dzk)
 nak²² (Bmt)
 na⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn], Zmg[Wml])
 ni⁴² (Scp)

003 **bone** (SWD#065)

*rus (STC#006)

gǔtóu 骨头 [骨頭] WrT *rus pa* (TBL#0133)

ru²²to⁴⁴ / **ruto** / ʁ̥ʉ̥ (Dzk)
 roʔ⁴⁴pa²² (Bmt) [r-] trill
 ro⁴⁴sa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 ros⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 k^hʌŋ⁴² (Scp)

004 ear / hear (SWD#073: ear) (SWD#102: hear)

*g-na (STC#453)

ěrduo 耳朵 WrT *rna* (TBL#0081) (ZMC#0241)
ear

na⁴⁴mtɕo⁴² / ' **namco** / ནམ་རྩོག་ (Dzk)
na²² (Bmt)
na²²ba²²li²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
nɿ²² ; nɿ²²pɿ²²li²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) ;
nɿ⁴² (Scp)

tīng 听 [聽] WrT *nyan* (TBL#1681) (ZMC#0532)

listen

ɲɛn⁴⁴-ni²² / 'nyän-ni / ɲäŋ⁴⁴ (Dzk)

ɲɛn⁴⁴ -zɔŋ²² (Bmt)

nai²²t^hu⁴⁴-gɛm²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ɲɛn⁴⁴ -dim²² [infinitive] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ɲɛn⁴⁴ -lai²² [imperative] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ɲɛn⁴⁴ -tɕɿ⁴² [present] (Scp)

ɲɛn⁴⁴ -pɿ⁴² [past/perfect] (Scp)

ɲɛn⁴⁴ -tɕo⁴² [imperative] (Scp)

tīngjiàn 听见 [聽見] WrT *go / tshor* (TBL#1682)

hear

go²²-ni⁴² / go-ni / ɲäŋ⁴⁴ (Dzk)

ko⁴⁴ -zɔŋ²² (Bmt)

kos⁴⁴ -pɿ²¹ ~ kos⁴⁴ -pe²¹? [pft/IRG] ~ ko⁴⁴ -tɿ²¹ [impft] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

kat⁴⁴ go²²-gɛm²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ɲäŋ⁴⁴ ɲäŋ⁴⁴

005 egg (SWD#067)

*twiy (STC#168)

dàn 蛋 WrT *sgo nga* (TBL#0450) (ZMC#0170)

gon²²do²² / gongdo / ɲäŋ⁴⁴ (Dzk)

k^hau⁴⁴dɛ²² (Bmt) < [k^hau⁴⁴] hen + [dɛ²²] egg

k^hai⁴⁴tɛ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

k^hai⁴⁴tɛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

k^hɿ²²gɿ⁴⁴ tɛ²² < [k^hɿ²²gɿ⁴⁴] hen + [tɛ²²] egg (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

go²²t^hɿ²¹ (Scp)

006 **eye** (SWD#074)

*mik ʰ ~ *myak (STC#402)

yǎnjīng 眼睛 WrT *mig* (TBL#0079) (ZMC#0238)

mi(k)⁴⁴to⁴² / 'mikto / མིག་ཏོ་ (Dzk)

mik²² ~ mik²² (Bmt) *Final stops: -p/-t/-k in Bhumthap are released.

me⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

miŋ²¹ (Scp)

007 **fat / grease** (SWD#066)

*ryak (STC#204), *tsil (STC pp.16, 168, 173), *sa'w (STC#272)

zhīfáng 脂肪 WrT *tshil bu / zhag tshi* (cf. TBL#0445 脂肪油)

ts^hi⁴⁴lu⁴⁴ / tshilu / ཆེན་ལུ་ (Dzk)

kot⁴⁴ (Bmt)

kot⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

kot⁴⁴; kwat⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ts^ho⁴⁴to²² (Scp)

008 **foot** (SWD#080)

*kriy (STC#038)

jiǎo 脚 WrT *rkang pa* (TBL#0103) (ZMC#0263)

kam⁴⁴ ~ kam⁴² / ka(ng)m / ཀམ་ (Dzk)

kam⁴⁴ naŋ²² ts^he⁴² / kan na(ng) tshe / ཀམ་ལྷ་ཅེ་ (Dzk)

ta⁴⁴wa⁴⁴ lem⁴³ (Bmt) < [ta⁴⁴wa⁴⁴] 'leg' + [lem⁴³] 'the arch of a foot'

ta⁴⁴wa⁴⁴; dok²²pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) the same word as 'leg'

bi²² 'foot'; bi²²(t^hiŋ²¹) 'leg' (Scp)

009 **guts** (SWD#086)

*pik (STC#035) [see above 1.141(b)]

chángzi 肠子 [腸子] WrT *rgyu ma* (TBL#0149) (ZMC#0271)

dzu²²ma⁴⁴ / **juma** / ཇུ་མ་ (Dzk)

dzu²²ma⁴⁴naŋ²²ʃɛp²² (Bmt)

dzo⁴²ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; dzo²²ma⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

naŋ²²tʰi²² (Scp) See ‘belly’.

010 **hair** (head) (SWD#071)

*s-kra (STC#115); *ney (STC#292); *tsam (STC#073)

tóufa 头发 [頭髮] WrT *skra* (TBL#0075) (ZMC#0234)

tɕa⁴³ / **ca** / ཇཱ་ (Dzk)

kra⁴³ (Bmt)

kra⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

ts^hem⁴² (Scp)

011 **hair** (body) (SWD#070) feather

*mul (STC#002), *tsam (STC#073)
corresponds to Swadesh’s ‘feather’.

tǐmáo 体毛 [體毛] WrT *spu* (TBL#0266 毛) (ZMC#0172 兽毛)
body hair

pu⁴³ / **pu** / ཇུ་ (Dzk)

po⁴³ (Bmt)

po⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

pu⁴² (Scp)

yǔmáo 羽毛 WrT *sgro* (TBL#0299) (ZMC#0173)
feather

ʃo:⁴⁴dzop²² / **sho:dro** / རྩོམ་ལྗོངས་ (Dzk)

ʃok~p⁴⁴pɑ⁴³ (Bmt)

dzop²² (Bmt) a piece of feather

dzop²² ‘feather’ ; po⁴² ‘down’ = ‘body hair’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

dzop²² (Scp)

012 **hand / arm** (SWD#083)

*lak (STC#086)

shǒu 手 WrT *lag pa* (TBL#0107) (ZMC#0251)
hand

lap⁴⁴ / **lap** / ལཔ་ (Dzk)

jek⁴⁴ (Bmt)

ja⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) the same word as ‘arm’

jek⁴⁴ ; ja⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) the same word as ‘arm’

tʃ^ha⁴² (H) (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) the same word as ‘arm’

gΛ²²dΛm²¹ (Scp) the same word as ‘arm’

gēbo 胳膊 WrT *lag ngar* (TBL#0105) (ZMC#0253)
arm

lap⁴⁴ / **lap** / ལཔ་ ; t^ho⁴² / **tho** / ཐོ་ (Dzk)

jek⁴⁴ ; t^ho⁴² (Bmt)

ja⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) the same word as ‘hand’

tʃ^ha⁴² (H) (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) the same word as ‘hand’

jek⁴⁴ ; ja⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) the same word as ‘hand’

gΛ²²dΛm²¹ (Scp) the same word as ‘hand’

- 013 **head** (SWD#072)
- *m-gaw 𐄂 *s-gaw (STC#490), *d-bu (STC p.117)
- tóu 头 [頭] WrT *ngo / dbu* (H) (TBL#0074) (ZMC#0232)
- ngu²²to⁴³ / **guto** / གཏུ་ཏོ་ (Dzk)
- ŋu⁴³ / **'u** / ཏུ་ (H) (Dzk)
- gu²²joŋ⁴⁴ (Bmt) Bt. has no H form.
- gu²²juŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- ŋu⁴² (H) (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- ɕʌ²².ɪʌŋ⁴² (Scp)
-
- 014 **heart** (SWD#090)
- *s-niŋ (STC#367)
- xīnzàng 心脏 [心臟] WrT *snying* (TBL#0144) (ZMC#0272)
- du²²hiŋ⁴⁴ / **dönhing** / དོན་ཉིང་ (Dzk)
- niŋ⁴⁴(kɕ²²) (Bmt)
- niŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- tʰiŋ⁴⁴lom⁴² (Scp)
-
- 015 **horn** (SWD#068)
- *kruw (STC#037), *ruŋ (STC#085)
- jǐjiǎo 犄角 WrT *rwa co* (TBL#0263) (ZMC#0176 角 (牛角))
- rou⁴³ / **row** / རལ་ (Dzk)
- ro²² (Bmt)
- ra⁴⁴wa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- ro²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- wʌ²².ioŋ²¹ (Scp)

- 016 **liver** (SWD#091)
- *m-sin (STC#234)
- gān 肝 WrT *mchin pa* (TBL#0145) (ZMC#0273)
- tɕ^hiŋ⁴⁴pa²² / **chinpa** / མི་ཆེན་པ་ (Dzk)
- k^he⁴⁴do⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- tɕ^hiŋ⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- t^hiŋ⁴⁴pʌ²² (Scp)
-
- 017 **mouth** (SWD#076)
- *ak (STC#106), *m-ka (STC#468)
- zuǐ 嘴 WrT *kha* (TBL#0084) (ZMC#0242)
- k^ha⁴⁴ / **kha** / ཁ་ (Dzk)
- k^ha⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- k^ha⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- no²²waŋ²¹ (Scp)
- kǒu 口
- k^ha⁴⁴ dzɔŋ⁴³ / **kha jang** / ཁ་བརྩུང་ (Dzk)
- to open mouth ~ opening mouth
- p^hi⁴¹ (Bmt)
- (k^ha⁴⁴) p^hi⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ‘the mouth is open’
- (k^ha⁴⁴) p^hi²² zi²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) ‘the mouth is open’
- no²²waŋ²² t^hi⁴² (Scp) ‘to open the mouth’ VP
-
- 018 **neck** (SWD#087)
- *ke (STC#251), *liŋ (STC#096), *tuk (STC#392)
- bózi 脖子 WrT *ske / mjing pa* (TBL#0089) (ZMC#0248)
- tɕ⁴⁴ko⁴⁴ / **tako** / ལྟ་ཁྱེད་ (Dzk)
- tak⁴⁴pa⁴³ (Bmt)
- tak⁴⁴pa⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; tak⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ŋaŋ²²dʌ²² riŋ²¹ (Scp)

yānhóu 咽喉
throat (exterior)

kəm⁴⁴ ~ kem⁴⁴ / **köm** / རྩུ་མ་ (Dzk)

ɲot⁴⁴pa²² (Bmt)

not⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

not⁴⁴pa²² ~ ɲot⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

toŋ⁴⁴toŋ²² (Scp)

019 **nose** (SWD#075)

*s-na ~ *s-nar (STC#101)

bízi 鼻子 WrT **sna** (TBL#0080) (ZMC#0240)

lɑ⁴⁴pa²² / **lhapa** / ལ་པ་ (Dzk)

na⁴⁴p^hɑŋ²² ~ na⁴⁴fɑŋ²² (Bmt)

na²²toŋ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

na⁴⁴p^hΛŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

nΛ²²wuŋ⁴² (Scp)

020 **skin / bark** (SWD#062: skin) (SWD#058: bark)

*s-graw (STC#121), *kok (STC#342)

pífū 皮肤 WrT **pags pa ~ lpags pa** (TBL#0120) (ZMC#0266)
(TBL#0265 皮 skin [animal])

po⁴⁴ko⁴⁴ / **pako** / པ་ཀོ་ (Dzk)

pak⁴⁴pa⁴⁴ (Bmt)

pak⁴⁴pa⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; pak⁴⁴pΛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

moŋ²⁴nən²² (Scp)

021 **spit** (SWD#096) [v.]

*m-ts(y)il (STC#231), *twiy (STC#168),
 *m-tuk ≠ *s-tu·k ≠ *s-du·k (STC pp.58, 75, 126, 132, 146)

kǒushuǐ 口水 WrT *kha chu* (TBL#0156) (ZMC#0280)
 slobber

k^hα⁴⁴tʃ^hu⁴⁴ / **khachu** / ཁ་ཅུ་ (Dzk) small baby's
 k^hα⁴⁴tʃ^hu⁴⁴ (Bmt) small baby's
 k^hα⁴⁴tʃ^hu⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) small baby's
 t^hop²²tɿŋ⁴² (Scp)

tuòmo 唾沫
 spit
 ts^hi⁴⁴ma⁴⁴ / **tshima** / ཅིམ་མ་ (Dzk)
 t^hep⁴⁴ (Bmt)
 t^hep⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
 t^hop²²tɿŋ⁴² (Scp)

022 **tail** (SWD#069)

*r-may (STC#282)

wěiba 尾巴 WrT *nga ma* (TBL#0267) (ZMC#0177)

dzu²²ma⁴⁴ / **juma** / ཇུམ་མ་ (Dzk)
 The pronunciation is the same as 'guts'.
 mi⁴⁴p^haŋ²² ~ mi⁴⁴faŋ²² (Bmt)
 ɲi⁴⁴ta²²liŋ²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 ɲi⁴⁴ta²²liŋ²¹ ~ ɲi⁴⁴ti²²liŋ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 ɕɿm²²pi^{·42} (Scp)

- 023 **tongue** (SWD#078)
- *m-lay 𐄂 *s-lay (STC#281)
- shétou 舌头 [舌頭] WrT *Ice* (TBL#0139) (ZMC#0245)
- tɕe⁴² / **ce** / ཅེ (Dzk)
- li⁴³ (Bmt)
- li⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- le⁴² (Scp)
-
- 024 **tooth** (SWD#077)
- *s-wa (STC#437)
- yáchǐ 牙齿 [牙齒] WrT *so* (TBL#0137) (ZMC#0244)
- so⁴³ / **so** / ཤོ (Dzk)
- kwa⁴³ (Bmt)
- kwa⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- doŋ²² kwa²² ‘front tooth’, zur²³ kwa²² ‘cuspid’,
- p^huk⁴⁴ kwa²² ‘molar’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ɕʌɿ⁴² (Scp)
-
- 025 **wing** (SWD#084)
- *s-tonj; *(s/k-)l-w-ak [cf.ARM #12]; *(s/p-)lyap [cf. FLY #149] (JAM)
- chibǎng 翅膀 WrT *gshog pa* (TBL#0298) (ZMC#0171)
- ʃo:⁴⁴ tɕu⁴⁴ / **sho:dro** / ཤོ་དྲོ (Dzk)
- ʃok⁴⁴ pɑ⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- ʃok⁴⁴ pɑ⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ʃok⁴⁴ pɑ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ʃok⁴⁴ pɑ²² (Scp)

- 026 **nail / claw** (SWD#079)
- *m-(t)sin (STC#074)
- zhǐjia 指甲 WrT *sen mo* (TBL#0113) (ZMC#0256)
- si⁴⁴mu⁴⁴ / **simu** / ཤེན་མོ་ (Dzk)
- si⁴⁴ma²² (Bmt)
- si⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ~ ts^hi⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- tsi⁴²naŋ⁴² (Scp)
- zhǎo 爪 WrT *sder mo* (ZMC#0174)
- (cf. TBL#0307 zhuǎzi 爪子 claw, talon)
- diu⁴⁴za²² / **diuzha** / ཇུ་མ་ (Dzk)
- sim⁴⁴brat⁴⁴zaŋ⁴² (Bmt)
- ts^hi⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) = ‘nail’
- tsi⁴²naŋ⁴² (Scp)
- 026.1 **back** (SWD#088)
- *s-gal (STC p.18), *s-nuŋ (STC#354)
- bèi 背 WrT *sgal pa* (TBL#0091)
- ge²²to⁴⁴ / **gäto** / གེ་ཏོ་ ;
- kep⁴⁴ / **ge:p** / གེཔ་ (Dzk)
- ke⁴² (Bmt)
- mi⁴⁴sa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- kai⁴² ; kep⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ts^hiŋ⁴⁴ (Scp)
- jǐbèi 脊背 (ZMC#0258)
- ts^hiŋ⁴⁴k^hŋ⁴² (Scp) ‘back bone’
- kep⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) ‘back’ = ‘back bone’

yāo 腰 WrT *rked pa* (TBL#0098)(ZMC#0261)

kep⁴⁴ / **kep** / རྩེད་པ་ (Dzk) lower back

f₁a²²bu²² (Dzk) waist part

kep⁴⁴pa²² (Bmt) lower back

no particular word for ‘lower back’ in Khengkha

ɕʌ⁴⁴tɕi⁴⁴na²² (Scp)

026.2 knee (SWD#082)

*du (STC p.21), *(m-)kuk (STC pp.120, 159, 182); *put (STC#007)

xīgài 膝盖 [膝蓋] WrT *pus mo* (TBL#0101)

pu⁴⁴mo⁴⁴ / **pumo** / ཕུ་མོ་ (Dzk)

puŋ⁴⁴muŋ²² ; piŋ⁴⁴ma²² [old word] (Bmt)

pu⁴⁴mo⁴⁴ ~ pũ⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

pus⁴⁴maŋ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

toŋ⁴⁴ziŋ²¹ (Scp)

026.3 leg (SWD#081)

*(r-)kaŋ (STC pp.70, 142)

tuǐ 腿 WrT *rkang pa* (ZMC#0264)

ka⁴³ / **ka(ng)m** / ཀ་མ་ (Dzk)

kwi⁴⁴ (Bmt)

ta⁴⁴wa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) = ‘foot’

bi²²tiŋ⁴² (Scp)

dàtuǐ 大腿 WrT *brla* (TBL#0100)

thigh

le⁴⁴do⁴⁴ / **ledu** / ལེ་དོ་ (Dzk)

ta⁴⁴wa²² (Bmt)

biŋ⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

lum²³¹ (Scp)

xiǎotǔ 小腿 WrT *nywa* (TBL#0102)
shin/calf

$dzim^{22}t^{h}a^{44}$ / **jimtha** / འཇམ་ཐ་ (Dzk)
 $dzim^{22}t^{h}a^{44}$ (Bmt) = (Dzk) = (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 $ta^{44}wa^{22}$; $biŋ^{44}pa^{22}ni^{22}$ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 $bi^{22}p^{h}o^{22}l\Lambda\eta^{21}$ ‘foot’ + ‘belly’ (Scp)

027 finger / toe

*m-yuŋ (STC#355)

shǒuzhǐ 手指 WrT *mdzub mo* (TBL#0109) (ZMC#0255)

$dzu^{22}mo^{44}$ / **dzum(o)** / མཛུམ་པོ་ (Dzk)
 $pri^{44}maŋ^{22}$ (Bmt)
 $bru^{44}maŋ^{22}$ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 $pru^{44}m\Lambda\eta^{22}$ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 $g\Lambda^{22}d\Lambda\eta^{44}bru^{24}m\Lambda^{22}$ ‘hand’ + ‘digit’ (Scp)

jiǎozhǐ 脚趾 WrT *rkang mdzub*

$kam^{44}dzu^{22}mo^{44}$ / **ka(ng)m dzum(o)** / ཀ་མ་མཛུམ་པོ་ (Dzk)
 $ta^{44}wa^{44}pri^{44}maŋ^{22}$ (Bmt)
 $dok^{22}pa^{44}=ji^{22}bru^{44}maŋ^{22}$ ‘foot’s digit’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 $dok^{22}p\Lambda^{44}pru^{44}m\Lambda\eta^{22}$ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 $bi^{24}bru^{22}m\Lambda^{22}$ ‘toe’ + ‘digit’ (Scp)

028 palm

*pwa or *b-wa (STC#418)

shǒuzhǎng 手掌 WrT *sbar mo / thar mo*

$lak^{22}t^{h}i^{44}$ / **lakthi** / ལཀ་ཐི་ (Dzk)
 $jek^{44}naŋ^{22}t\Lambda^{44}$ (Bmt)
 $ja^{21}=ji^{22}be\text{.}^{22}$ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 $j\Lambda k^{44}n\Lambda\eta^{22}$ ‘hand’ + ‘inside’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 $g\Lambda^{22}d\Lambda\eta^{44}n\Lambda\eta^{22}$ ‘hand’ + ‘inside’ (Scp)

029 **penis**

*li ʰæ *m-leɣ (STC#262)

jība 鸡巴 [雞巴] WrT *pho mtshan* (cf. TBL#0116 男生殖器)p^ho⁴⁴tɕ^hen⁴² / **photshän** / ཤོམ་ཅན་ (Dzk)p^ho⁴⁴tɕ^hen⁴² (Bmt)p^ho⁴⁴ts^hen⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])loŋ²¹ ‘penis’ (Scp)yīnjīng 阴茎 [陰莖] WrT *mje*tɕe⁴⁴ / **je** / འཇེ་ (Dzk)tɕu⁴⁴tɕu²² (Bmt)tɕu⁴⁴tɕu⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) for childpo⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) for adulttɕu⁴⁴tɕu⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) for child & adult no distinctionloŋ²¹ ‘penis’ for adult (Scp)tɕu⁴⁴tɕu²² ‘penis’ for child (Scp)gāowán 睾丸 WrT *rliḡ ’bras* / *rliḡ ril* (TBL#0117)li⁴⁴to²² / **lhipdo** / ལྷིཏོ་ (Dzk)ɕik⁴⁴pa²² (Bmt)ɕik⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])k^hoŋ²²(p^hʌ⁴⁴ts^hʌ⁴⁴) (Scp)030 **vagina or breast / milk**

(SWD#089: breast)

*nuw (STC#419)

yīndào 阴道 [陰道] WrT *mo mtshan* / *stu* (cf. TBL#0118 女生殖器)tu⁴² / **tu** / ཐུ་ (Dzk)pe:⁴⁴pe²² (Bmt)pe⁴⁴pe⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; pe⁴⁴pe²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])tu⁴⁴ (Scp)

mo⁴⁴tɕ^hen⁴² / **motshän** / མོ་མཚན་ (Dzk)

mo⁴⁴tɕ^hen⁴² (Bmt)

mo⁴⁴ts^hen⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

rǔfāng 乳房 WrT **nu ma** (TBL#0094) (ZMC#0259)
breast

ʔom⁴⁴ / **ʔom** / ཨོམ་ the same as ‘milk’ (Dzk)

tɕu⁴² the same as ‘milk’ (Bmt)

dzu²¹ the same as ‘milk’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

nu⁴² (Scp)

nǎizhī 奶汁 WrT **ʔo ma** (TBL#0095) (ZMC#0281)
milk

ʔom⁴⁴ / **ʔom** / ཨོམ་ the same as ‘breast’ (Dzk)

tɕu⁴² the same as ‘breast’ (Bmt)

dzu²¹ the same as ‘breast’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

nu⁴² (Scp)

031 brain

*nuk (STC#483)

nǎosuǐ 脑髓 [腦髓] WrT **klad pa** (TBL#0132)

lep⁴⁴ / **ʔlep** / ལེཔ་ (Dzk)

klad~p⁴⁴pa⁴⁴ (Bmt)

lop⁴⁴pa²²; k^hlap⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

klad~p⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ɲok⁴⁴tʌŋ²² (Scp)

032 **navel**

*la·y, *s-tay (STC#299)

dùqí 肚脐 [肚臍] WrT *lte ba* (TBL#0097)

tiu⁴² / **tiu** / རྩུ་ (Dzk)

ti:⁴⁴wit²² ~ ti:⁴⁴wis²² (Bmt)

ti⁴⁴wa²²li²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ti⁴⁴pi⁴⁴li²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

p^hu⁴⁴tɕ^hi²² (Scp)

033 **shit**

*kliy (STC#125), *n(y)ik (STC#235), *s-baŋ (STC p.21),
*r-kyak ≠ *s-kyak (STC pp.26, 146), *e·k (STC pp.26, 146)

shǐ 屎 WrT *skyag pa* (TBL#0151) (ZMC#0741 糞)

ʔa⁴⁴wa⁴⁴ / **'awa** / ཨ་འ (Dzk)

tɕok⁴⁴ (Bmt)

tɕoʔ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

k^hi⁴² (Scp)

niú fèn 牛粪 [糞] WrT *lci ba* (TBL#0262 牛粪)

cow dung

nu⁴⁴=ki⁴⁴ ʔa²²wa²² / **no:=ki 'awa** / རྩུ་ཀྱི་ཨ་འ (Dzk)

/ **no:** / 'cow=treasure'

nor⁴⁴(=ki²²) tɕok⁴⁴ (Bmt)

ba²²=ji⁴⁴ tɕoʔ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; nor⁴⁴ tɕoʔ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

wΛ⁴⁴ k^hi²² (Scp)

yáng fèn 羊粪 [糞] WrT *ra sdug* (TBL#0280 羊粪)

sheep dung

lu⁴⁴=ki⁴⁴ ʔa²²wa²² / **lu=ki 'awa** / རྩུ་ཀྱི་ཨ་འ (Dzk)

jok²²=ki⁴⁴ tɕok²² (Bmt)

luʔ⁴⁴=ji²¹ tɕoʔ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ;

luʔ⁴⁴=gi²² tɕoʔ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ɕi⁴⁴ɕΛ⁴⁴ k^hi²² (Scp)

zhū fèn 猪粪 [猪粪] WrT *phag phrug* (TBL#0288 猪粪)
pig dung

p^hap⁴⁴ = ki⁴⁴ ʔa²²wa²² / **phap=ki 'awa** / ཕག་པུ་ཁྱེ་ཨ་བ་ (Dzk)

p^hak⁴⁴ = ki²² tɕok²² (Bmt)

p^haɿ⁴⁴ = ji²¹ tɕoɿ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ;

p^haɿ⁴⁴ (= gi²²) tɕoɿ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

p^hΛk⁴⁴p^hΛ²² k^hi²² (Scp)

034 piss

*ts(y)i ɰ *ziy (STC#077)

niào 尿 WrT *gcin pa* (TBL#0152) (ZMC#0283)

tɕ^hu⁴⁴ / **chu** / ཅུ་ (Dzk)

siŋ⁴⁴ma²² (Bmt)

zeŋ⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; zen⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

tɕ^he⁴⁴raŋ²¹ (Scp)

035 sweat

*ʔkrwiy² (PLB)

hàn 汗 WrT *rngul nag* (TBL#0154) (ZMC#0277)

ts^hep⁴⁴ / **tshep** / ཅེཔ་ (Dzk)

ts^hap⁴⁴pa²² (Bmt)

ts^hap⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

ɕup⁴⁴taŋ²¹ (Scp)

036 snot

*s-nap (STC#102)

bíti 鼻涕 WrT *snabs / sna stug / snabs rtug*
(TBL#0157) (ZMC#0278)

lap⁴⁴ / **lhap** / ལ་པ་ (Dzk)

nap²² (Bmt)

nap²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; nap⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ji²⁴naŋ²¹ (Scp)

- 037 **vomit** (SWD#097)
- *Npat (TSR#038), *on (STC#343)
- öütü 嘔吐 [嘔吐] WrT *skyug* (TBL#1535) (ZMC#0543)
- k^ha⁴⁴li⁴⁴tçu⁴³ / **kha=li cu-ni** / ཁ་ལམ་བུ་ལྷན་ནི་ (Dzk)
- tçu⁴⁴ (sam²²) (Bmt)
- tçu⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; tçu⁴⁴p^Λ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- pros⁴⁴p^Λ²² [adj] (Scp)
- 038 **marrow**
- *kliŋ (STC#126)
- gǔsuǐ 骨髓 WrT *rkang mar*
- kaŋ⁴² / **kang** / ཀང་ (Dzk)
- kaŋ⁴² (Bmt)
- kaŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- kaŋ⁴² (Scp)
- 039 **breath / life** (SWD#099: breathe)
- *sak (STC#485); *C-sak (TSR#123)
- hūxī 呼吸 (cf. TBL#0020 气 WrT rlung / dbugs / phu)
- buŋ⁴² / **bung** / བུང་ (Dzk)
- buk⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- buŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; buk⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ɕoŋ⁴² (Scp)
- shēngmíng 生命 WrT *srog* (TBL#0163)
- so⁴² / **so** / སོ་ (Dzk)
- sok²² (Bmt)
- sok⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- so⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) without final stop
- ts^he⁴² (Scp)

B. Pronouns / Kinship terms / nouns referring to humans (N hum)

040 **person / human being** (SWD#038)

*r-mi(y) (STC pp.107, 119, 158)

rén 人 WrT **mi** (TBL#0167) (ZMC#0289)

mi⁴⁴ / 'mi / 𑖓𑖞 (Dzk)

mi⁴⁴ (Bmt)

mi²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; mi²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

soŋ⁴⁴yo²¹ (Scp)

040.1 tā 他 (SWD#003)
he WrT **kho / khong** (TBL#0934) (ZMC#0976)

k^ho⁴³ / **kho** / 𑖓𑖞 (Dzk)

k^hit⁴⁴ ~ gon²² (Bmt)

gon²³¹ 's/he' ; p^ho⁴⁴dza²² 'he' (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

p^ho⁴⁴dza²⁴(wet⁴⁴) 'he' (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) wet⁴⁴ means 'that'

bo²² 'he' (Khk: Trs)

ro²³kλ²¹ (Scp)

她

she

mo⁴³ / **mo** / 𑖓𑖞 (Dzk)

k^hit⁴⁴ ~ gon²² (Bmt)

gon²³¹ ; mo⁴⁴dza²² 'she' (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

bo²²mε⁴⁴(wet⁴⁴) 'he' (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) wet⁴⁴ means 'that'

bo²²mε⁴² 'she' (Khk: Trs)

ro²³kλ²¹ (Scp)

- 040.2 **tāmen** 他/她们 [們] (SWD#006)
 they WrT *kho tsho* (TBL#0936) (ZMC#0978)
- $k^h oŋ^{42}$ / **khong** / ཁོང་ (Dzk)
 $ko^{22} ŋi^{44}$ $ga^{22} mbo^{22}$ (Bmt)
 $gon^{231} = gǎ^{22} mbo^{22}$ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 $gon^{22} d\Lambda^{44} = g\tilde{\Lambda}^{22} mbo^{22}$ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) = $g\tilde{\Lambda}^{22} mbo^{22}$ pl. SFX
 $bo^{23} = g\Lambda m^{22} ho^{44}$ 他们 ‘3pl.ml’ (Khk: Trs)
 $bo^{22} me^{42} = g\Lambda m^{22} ho^{44}$ 她们 ‘3pl.fml’ (Khk: Trs)
 $rok^{23} te^{21}$ (Scp)
- 041 **thou** (SWD#002)
- $*na(\eta)$ (STC#407)
- nǐ 你 WrT *khyod* / *khyed rang* (H) / *nyid* (H)
 you (sg.) (TBL#0931) (ZMC#0973)
-] $t\epsilon^h e^{44}$ / **che** / ཅེ་ ~ $t\epsilon^h \emptyset^{44}$ / **chö** / ཅོ་ (Dzk)
 $naŋ^{43}$ / **na** / (H) (Dzk)
 wet^{44} (Bmt)
 $ts^h o^{43}$ (H) (Bmt)
 $w\epsilon^{231}$ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 wet^{44} (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 $n\Lambda n^{21}$ (Scp)
- 041.1 **nǐmen** 你们 [們] (SWD#005)
 you (pl.) WrT *khyod tsho* / *khyed rang tso* (H)
 (TBL#0933) (ZMC#0975)
- $t\epsilon^h \emptyset^{44} t\epsilon e^{44}$ / **chöce** / ཅོ་ཅེ་ (Dzk)
 $t\epsilon^h \emptyset^{44} t\epsilon^h a^{44} t\epsilon^h ap^{44}$ / **chöchachap** / ཅོ་ཅེ་ཅམ་ཅཔ་ (Dzk)
 $na^{44} bu^{43}$ / **na:bu** / ནཱ་བུ་ (H) (Dzk)
 $win^{44} ga^{22} mbo^{22}$ (Bmt)
 $w\epsilon^{231} gǎ^{22} bo^{22}$ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 $win^{44} = g\tilde{\Lambda}^{22} mbo^{22}$; $wet^{44} = g\tilde{\Lambda}^{22} mbo^{22}$ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 $w\epsilon^{231} = g\Lambda m^{22} bo^{22}$ (Khk: Trs)
 $nai^{24} ten^{22}$ (Scp)

042 I

(SWD#001)

*ŋa (STC#406) ≠ *ŋay (STC#285)

wǒ 我 WrT **nga** / **bdag** (< inclusive?) (TBL#0928) (ZMC#0969)ŋa⁴⁴ / **nga** / ཇ (Dzk)ŋat⁴⁴ (Bmt)ŋa²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ŋa²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])dʒaŋ²¹ (Scp)

042.1 wǒmen 我们 [們]

(SWD#004)

we (pl.)

WrT **nga tsho** / **nga rang tsho** (inclusive)
(TBL#0930) (ZMC#0971)ŋa²²tʃe⁴⁴ / **ngace** / ཇ་ཅེ (Dzk)nɛl⁴⁴ = ga²²mbo²² (Bmt)ŋe²³¹ = gɿ²²mbo²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])ŋɪt²² ~ ŋet²² = gɿ²²mbo²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ŋe²³¹ = ga²²m²²ho⁴⁴ (Khk: Trs)ŋe²²la⁴² = ga²²m²²ho⁴⁴ [inclusive] (Khk: Trs)ai²⁴ten²² (Scp)

043 child / son

(SWD#039)

*za ≠ *tsa (STC#059)

háizi 孩子 WrT **phru gu** / **byis pa**

(TBL#0169 小孩儿) (ZMC#0295 儿童)

ʔa⁴⁴lu⁴⁴ / **'alu** / ཨ་ལུ (Dzk)ʔo⁴⁴ŋa²² (Bmt)ʔo⁴⁴lo²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])wa²²tsa²¹ (Scp)

érzi 儿子 [兒子]

WrT **bu**

(TBL#0220) (ZMC#0339)

son

bu²² / **bu** / འུ (Dzk)bo⁴⁴tsa⁴⁴ (Bmt)bo⁴⁴sa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])za²¹ (Scp)

nǚ'ér 女儿 [兒] WrT *bu mo* (TBL#0222) (ZMC#0340)
daughter

bum⁴³ / **bum** / བུམ་ (Dzk)

bu:⁴⁴mit²² (Bmt)

bo⁴⁴mɛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

zΛ²²min²¹ (Scp)

044 grandchild (nephew)

*b-liy (STC#448)

sūnzi 孙子 [孫子] WrT *tsha bo* (TBL#0224) (ZMC#0345)

ts^hau⁴³ / **tshau** / རྒྱལ་ (Dzk)

ts^hau⁴³ (Bmt)

ts^hau⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; di²²bo²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ts^ho⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

sūnnǚ 孙女 [孫女] WrT *tsha mo* (TBL#0225) (ZMC#0346)

ts^ham⁴⁴ / **tsham** / རྒྱལ་ (Dzk)

ts^ha⁴⁴met⁴⁴ (Bmt)

ts^hau⁴⁴mɛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ts^hΛ⁴⁴met²² ; di²²mɛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ts^ho⁴⁴min²¹ (Scp)

zhízi 侄子 WrT *tsha bo* (TBL#0234) (ZMC#0343)

ts^hau⁴³ / **tshau** / རྒྱལ་ (Dzk)

ts^hau⁴³ (Bmt)

ts^hau⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) = ‘grandson’

ts^ho⁴² (Scp)

zhínǚ 侄女 WrT *tsha mo* (ZMC#0344)

ts^ham⁴⁴ / **tsham** / རྒྱལ་ (Dzk)

ts^ha⁴⁴met⁴⁴ (Bmt)

ts^hau⁴⁴mɛ²² = ‘granddaughter’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ;

ts^hΛ⁴⁴met²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ts^ho⁴⁴min²¹ (Scp)

045 **son-in-law**

*ma·k (STC#234), *z-ma·k (TSR#153)

nǚxu 女婿 WrT *mag pa / bu thang* (TBL#0223) (ZMC#0342)

bum²²=ki⁴⁴ map²² / **bum=ki map** / བུ་མོ་གྱི་ཚུལ་སྐྱོད་ dauter's husband (Dzk)

bu²²met⁴⁴=ki²² mak²²pa²² dauter's husband (Bmt)

bo²²me:⁴² p^ho⁴⁴dza²² dauter's husband (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ma^k44p^Λ22 (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ma^k44p^Λ22 (Scp) cf. tɕ^hi⁴⁴min²¹ 'daughter-in-law' (Scp)

046 **name** (SWD#207)

*r-miŋ (STC#083)

míngzi 名字 WrT *míng* (TBL#0687) (ZMC#0517)

miŋ²² / **míng** / མིང་ (Dzk)

miŋ²² (Bmt)

miŋ²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; miŋ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

miŋ²¹ (Scp)

C. Foodstuffs (N food)

047 **pease, beans**

*be (STC#253), *s-nok (TSR#140)

dòuzi 豆子 WrT *sran ma* (TBL#0430) (ZMC#0201)

sem⁴⁴tʃum⁴³ / **semcum** / སེམ་ཅུམ་ (Dzk)

ʃe:⁴⁴pen⁴⁴ (Bmt)

gaŋ²²ga²²li⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) generic name

ʃe:⁴⁴pen²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ʔo⁴⁴re²² (Scp)

huángdòu 黄豆 WrT *sran ma ser po* (TBL#0431)
soy bean

ʃaw⁴⁴li²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

bre²²tɕaŋ⁴⁴ma²² (Scp)

wāndòu 豌豆 WrT *sran ma* (TBL#0433)
pea

bø:⁴⁴sem²² / **bö:sem** / བོ་སེམ་ ? (Dzk)

na²²met⁴⁴=ki²² mak²²pa²² (Bmt)

ne²²met²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ʔo⁴⁴re⁴² k^hi:⁴⁴k^hi:²² ‘bean ← round’ (Scp)

048 **poison [antifood]**

*duk ≠ *tuk (STC#472)

dú 毒 WrT *dug* (TBL#0641) (ZMC#0510)

du⁴⁴ / **du** / དུ་ (Dzk)

dok⁴⁴ (Bmt)

do²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; dok²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

duk²² (Scp)

049 mushroom / fungus

*g-muw (STC#455) ✕ *s-muw (JAM)

mógu 蘑菇 WrT *sha mo* (TBL#0437) (ZMC#0219 菌子)ʃa⁴⁴mo⁴⁴ / **shamu** / ཤམུ་ (Dzk)ʃa⁴⁴mo⁴⁴ (Bmt)ʃa⁴⁴mo⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; (ʃa⁴⁴) mu⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])bʌ²²muŋ²¹ (Scp)mùér 木耳 WrT *mi rgan rna co* (TBL#0438)ham⁴⁴pu⁴³ / **hampu** / ཧམ་པུ་ (Dzk)bdʒi²²li⁴⁴nam²²tɕu⁴⁴ / **bzhili namcu** / འབྲུ་ལི་ནམ་བུ་ (Dzk)

lit. cat's ear : 'black mashroom'

ʔut⁴⁴pɑ²² (Bmt)put⁴⁴pɑ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])nar²²ɕi²²li⁴² ; ɲai⁴⁴nek²²mu⁴² lit. 'rat ear mushroom' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])hum⁴⁴pʌ²² (Scp)

050 liquor

*yu(w) (STC#094)

jiǔ 酒 WrT *a rag / chang* (青稞酒) (TBL#0452) (ZMC#0402)
winetɕ^hɑŋ⁴⁴ / **chang** / ཇམ་ (Dzk)tɕ^hur⁴⁴ma²² (Bmt)tɕ^hur⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ɕor⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])juɾ⁴³ (Scp)

liquor

ʔa⁴⁴ra⁴² / **'ara** / ཨ་ར་ (Dzk)ʔa⁴⁴ra⁴² (Bmt)a⁴⁴ra²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ʔa⁴⁴ra⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ʔa⁴⁴ra⁴² (Scp)

051 **plantain / banana**

*s-ŋak (STC#477)

xiīngjiāo 香蕉 WrT *shing tog ngang lag ma*ŋa⁴⁴la⁴³ / **ngala** / ངལ་ལག་ (Dzk)ŋa⁴⁴la⁴³ (Bmt)tɕai⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])len⁴⁴seɿ²² (Scp)051.1 **medicine / juice**

*tsiy (STC#065)

yào 药〔藥〕 WrT *sman* (TBL#0456) (ZMC#0509)mɛn⁴² / **'män** / མྲན་ (Dzk)man⁴² (Bmt)man⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])mʌn⁴² (Khk: Scp)zhī 汁 WrT *gsher khu / khu ba*mɛn⁴⁴tɕ^hu⁴⁴ / **'mänchu** / མྲན་ཁུ་ 'medicine water (including mineral water)';mɛn⁴⁴k^hwa⁴³ / **'mäkhwa** / མྲན་ཁུ་བ་ 'medicine juice' (Dzk)man⁴⁴tɕ^hu⁴² 'medicine water (including mineral water)' (Bmt)man⁴⁴k^hwɛ⁴³ 'medicine juice' (Bmt)man⁴²tɕ^hu⁴² 'medicine juice' (Khk: Zmg[Wml])dʒʌ²²me⁴² = ʏʌ²² mʌn⁴² 'medicine to drink' (Scp)051.2 **rice** (in fields)

*b-ras (STC pp.17, 123)

dào 稻 WrT *'bras / 'bras sog* (TBL#0408 稻草) (ZMC#0186 稻子)bdʒa²² / **bja:** / བྲ་ (Dzk)ji⁴⁴ba²² (Bmt)ji⁴⁴bʌ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])bʌ⁴⁴rʌ²² (Scp)

051.3 **rice** (cooked)*haŋ² (PLB:Bradley 1975a, #281b)mǐ 米 WŕT **'bras** (TBL#0439) (ZMC#0390)tɕ^hum⁴⁴ / **chum** / རྩུམ་ (Dzk)tɕ^huŋ²² (Bmt)tɕ^huŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])k^hu⁴² (Scp)fàn 饭 [飯] WŕT **'bras zan** (TBL#0440) (ZMC#0392)to⁴² / **to** / ཐོ་ (Dzk)sa²²ma⁴⁴ (Bmt)to⁴² 'boiled rice' (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ;zΛ²²ma⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])to⁴⁴ (Scp)051.4 **wheat / barley**dà mài 大麦 [大麥] WŕT **so ba** (TBL#0411) (ZMC#0187)
barleynɛ⁴⁴ / **nä:** / ནེ་ ~ / **na:** / ནཱ་ (Dzk)naɪ⁴⁴ (Bmt)naɪ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; naɪ⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])fe⁴⁴muŋ²² (Scp)xiǎomài 小麦 [小麥] WŕT **gro** (TBL#0410) (ZMC#0188)
wheatka:⁴⁴ / **ka:** / ཀ་ (Dzk)kaɪ⁴³ (Bmt)kaɪ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])boŋ²³¹ (Scp)

qīngkē 青稞 WrT *nas* (TBL#0412) (ZMC#0189)
highland barley

kɑr⁴³ = ‘barley’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

qiáomài 荞麦 [蕎麥] WrT *bra bo*
sweet buckwheat (TBL#0413) (ZMC#0190 荞子 (甜荞))

bdʒɑ²²re²³¹ / **bjare** / བྱ་རེ་ (Dzk)

dʒɑ⁴⁴lɛ²² (Bmt)

tɕʌ⁴⁴re²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

k^hʌ⁴⁴lʌ²² (Scp)

(bitter) buckwheat (cf. ZMC#0191 苦荞)

bdʒo²²ptɕ^he⁴⁴ / **bjopche** / བྱ་པཅེ་ (Dzk)

braŋ⁴⁴ma²² (Bmt)

braŋ⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

k^hʌ⁴⁴lʌ²² k^hʌ²²lu⁴⁴ ‘buckwheat ← bitter’ (Scp)

D. Animal names or animal products (N anim)052 **meat / animal** (SWD#063: meat) (SWD#044: animal)

*sya (STC#181)

ròu 肉 WrT *sha* (TBL#0443) (ZMC#0399)
 meat

ʃa⁴⁴ / **sha** / ʃ (Dzk)ʃa⁴⁴ (Bmt)ʃa⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

cf. p^ha⁴⁴=ji²² ʃa⁴⁴ ‘pork’
 pig=GEN meat

cf. ba²²=ji²² ʃa⁴⁴ ‘beef’
 cattle=GEN meat

ɕa⁴⁴ (Scp)

dòngwù 动物 [動物] WrT *srog chags*
 animal

sem⁴⁴tɕe⁴⁴ / **semcë** / ʃeɣɣaʃɣɣa (Dzk)sem⁴⁴tɕan⁴³ (Bmt)sem⁴⁴tɕen⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])sem⁴⁴tɕen⁴² (Scp)

yěshòu 野兽 [野獸] WrT *ri dwags* (eat grass);
 wild animal *gcan gzan* (eat meat) (TBL#0303)

ri²²k^ha⁴⁴=ki⁴⁴ sem⁴⁴tɕe⁴⁴ / **rikha=ki semcä** / ʃeɣɣaʃɣɣa (Dzk)ri⁴⁴na²²=ki²² sem⁴⁴tɕan⁴³ ‘wild animals’ (Bmt)roŋ²⁴ nã²²=ŋoi²² sem⁴⁴tɕen⁴³ ‘wild animals’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

forest inside =GEN animal

ri²²ni⁴² sem⁴⁴tɕen⁴² ‘wild animals’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])bo²²raŋ⁴⁴=ga²² sem⁴⁴tɕen⁴² ‘animal in the forest’ (Scp)

shēngchù 牲畜 WrT *phyugs zog* (TBL#0253)
domestic animal

naŋ²²=ki⁴⁴ sem⁴⁴tɕe⁴⁴ / **nang=ki semcä** / ནང་གི་སེམས་ཅན་ (Dzk)

naŋ²²na⁴⁴=ki⁴⁴ sem⁴⁴tɕan⁴³ ‘livestock’ (Bmt)

mai⁴² nã²²=ŋoi²² sem⁴⁴tɕen⁴³ ‘domestic animals’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

home inside =GEN animal

sem⁴⁴tɕen²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) no distinction between general ‘animals’

p^hai⁴⁴=gΛ²²sem⁴⁴tɕen⁴² ‘animal in the house’ (Scp)

053 **bird** (SWD#046)

*bya (STC#177), *s-ŋak (TSR#141)

niǎo 鸟 [鳥] WrT *bya / bye'u* (TBL#0326) (ZMC#0142)

bdza²² ~ tɕa⁴⁴ / **bja** / ཡ (Dzk)†

† Younger people pronounce this word without pre-stop labial like [tɕa⁴⁴] /**ca**/ instead of [btɕa²²] /**bja**/.

tɕi⁴⁴tɕu⁴³ / **cicu** / ཉི་ཕུ་ ‘a flock of birds’ (Dzk)

tɕau⁴⁴ja⁴³ (Bmt)

bdza²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; dʒΛ²¹ ~ dʒɐ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

k^hΛ⁴² (Scp)

054 **dog** (SWD#047)

*kwiɣ (STC#159)

gǒu 狗 WrT *khyi* (TBL#0289) (ZMC#0119)

ro²²tɕ^hi⁴⁴ / **rochi** / རོ་ཁྱི་ (Dzk)

k^hwi⁴⁴ (Bmt)

k^hwi⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

k^hu⁴² (Scp)

- 055 **fish** (SWD#045)
- *ɲya (STC#189)
- yú 鱼 [魚] WrT *nya* (TBL#0351) (ZMC#0151)
- ɲa²² / **nya** / ɲ̥ (Dzk)
- ɲa²² (Bmt)
- ɲa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- ɲʌ²³¹ (Scp)
-
- 056 **louse** (SWD#048)
- *s-rik (STC#439), *sar ʌ *śar (STC pp.15, 53, 84, 147, 172, 189)
- shīzi 虱子 WrT *shig* (TBL#0356) (ZMC#0162)
- ʃi⁴⁴ / **shi** / ʃiŋ (Dzk)
- se:k⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- seʔ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; se:k⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ʃeŋ⁴² (Scp)
-
- tiàozao 跳蚤 WrT *lji ba* (TBL#0355) (ZMC#0161)
- flea
- ki⁴⁴ʃi⁴³ / **kishi** / ʃiʃiŋ (Dzk)
- li⁴⁴wa²² (Bmt)
- li⁴⁴wa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- nep⁴⁴tʌŋ²² (Scp)
-
- 057 **snake** (SWD#049)
- *b-ru·l (STC#447)
- shé 蛇 WrT *sbrul* (TBL#0347) (ZMC#0152)
- pY:⁴⁴ ~ pjø⁴⁴ / **pü:** / ʃu (Dzk)
- po⁴³ (Bmt)
- po⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- ru²²ɲi²⁴nʌn²² (Scp)

058 **frog**

*s-bal (STC#015, 021, 107)

qīngwā 青蛙 WrT *sbal ba* (TBL#0349) (ZMC#0150)bɛp⁴⁴ / **bäp** / བྲེཔ་ (Dzk)be²²pa⁴² (Bmt)bai²²pa⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; bai²²pa⁴⁴la²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])tɕuk⁴⁴tɕuk⁴⁴pa²² (Scp)háma 蛤蟆
toadbai²²pa⁴⁴la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])bai²²pa⁴⁴la²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) no distinction between ‘frog’ and ‘toad’ta⁴⁴ta⁴⁴pa²² (Scp)059 **insect, bug, vermin**

(SWD#050: worm)

*buw (STC#027)

chóngzi 虫 [蟲] WrT *'bu* (TBL#0353) (ZMC#0169)sem⁴⁴tɕe⁴³tɕ^huŋ⁴⁴ku⁴⁴ / **semce chungku** / ཤེམ་ཅེ་ཅུང་ཀུ་ (Dzk)lit. animal small ; bup²² / **bup** / བུཔ་ (Dzk)sem⁴⁴tɕan⁴³tɕiŋ⁴⁴ku⁴⁴la²²; ʃoŋ²² ‘worm’ (Bmt)dʒoŋ²³¹ ‘worm’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])tɕo⁴³=ji²² dʒoŋ²³¹ ‘maggot’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

dung=GEN worm

ʒoŋ²¹ general term for ‘worm, bug, insect’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])gen²²ba²²li⁴⁴ ‘worm’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn]UW)keŋ⁴⁴ma⁴⁴li⁴⁴ ‘worm’ (Khk: Trs)bu²³¹ ; jin²³bu²³¹ ‘worm’ (Scp)

060 **bee**

*bya² (PLB); *kwa·y (STC#157), *was (STC#017),
 *taŋ (STC#494)[cf.BIRD#053]

fēng 蜂 WrT *sbrang bu* ; 蜜蜂 *sbrang ma / sbrang nor bu*
 (TBL#0367 蜜蜂) (ZMC#0153 蜜蜂)

sip⁴⁴tɕa:m²² / **sipja:m** / སིཔ་བྱངས་ (Dzk)

si:⁴⁴braŋ²² (Bmt)

sip⁴⁴braŋ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ɲe²²raŋ²²ma⁴⁴ ‘honeybee’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

mi⁴⁴zu²²ma²² (Scp)

húdié 蝴蝶 WrT *phye ma leb* (TBL#0370) (ZMC#0154)

tɕ^hem⁴⁴la²² / **pchemla** / རྩེམ་ལ་ (Dzk)

pi⁴⁴pi⁴⁴liŋ²² (Bmt)

pẽ⁴⁴pa²²li²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

pi⁴⁴pi⁴⁴liŋ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

p^hen⁴⁴p^hen²²ma²² (Scp)

qīngtíng 蜻蜓 WrT *bla ma ma ni* (TBL#0369) (ZMC#0155)

nam⁴⁴dzu⁴⁴bup²² / **namdru bup** / གནམ་བྱ་འབྲུབ་ (Dzk)

(b)dza²²ts^ho⁴⁴ gjem²² / **jatsho gäm** / རྩེ་ཚོ་བྱ་ལོ་ † (Dzk)

† This spelling in Tibetan Script is doubtful.

dzuk²²diŋ²² ‘dragon+fly’ (Bmt)

k^hwe⁴⁴li²⁴ŋa⁴⁴dzaŋ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

061 **dove**

*m-kruw (STC#118), *kuy ‘pigeon’ (STC#495)

gēzi 鸽子 [鸽子] WrT *phug ron / mug gu* (Khams) / *'ang gu* (dBus)
 (TBL#0302) (ZMC#0140)

p^hu⁴⁴dzu²² / **phudru** / ཕུ་བྱ་ (Dzk)

p^hu⁴⁴du⁴³ (Bmt)

p^hu⁴⁴dzu²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

p^hu⁴⁴dzu⁴⁴ ~ p^hu⁴⁴tɕu⁴⁴ (Scp)

bānjiū 斑鳩 [斑鳩] WrT *ʃo lo* (TBL#0342)
The same as dove/pigeon.

062 monkey

*mruk (STC pp.43, 112), *woy (STC#314); *m-yuk (PLB:JAM 1973e)

hóuzi 猴子 WrT *spre'u* (TBL#0308) (ZMC#0128)

tɕa⁴³ / pɕa / ཨྲ (Dzk)

pra⁴³ (Bmt)

pra⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

zΛ²²lΛ⁴⁴(dΛ²²zΛ²²) 'monkey (small)' (Scp)

(zΛ²²lΛ⁴⁴) ɕer⁴⁴tɕuŋ⁴² 'Golden Langul' (Scp)

063 pig

*pwak (STC#043); *wak (PLB:TSR#168)

zhū 猪 WrT *phag pa* (TBL#0284) (ZMC#0115)

p^hap⁴⁴ / phap / ཕྲམ (Dzk)

p^hak⁴⁴ (Bmt)

p^ha^ʔ⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

p^hΛk⁴⁴p^hΛ⁴⁴ (Scp)

064 fowl

*k-rak (STC pp.88, 107, 187-9)

jī 鸡 [雞] WrT *bya (de)* (TBL#0293) (ZMC#0135)

bdza²²pe⁴³ / bjape / བྱམ་པེ་ 'cock' (Dzk)

bdzam⁴³ / bjam / བྱམ་པེ་ 'hen' (Dzk)

k^hα⁴⁴ri⁴³ 'cock' (Bmt) k^hα⁴⁴wa⁴⁴ 'hen' (Bmt)

k^hα⁴⁴ri⁴⁴ 'cock' (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) k^hα⁴⁴wa⁴⁴ 'hen' (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

k^hΛ⁴⁴ri²² 'cock' (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) k^hΛ⁴⁴gΛ²² 'hen' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

go²²lΛ⁴⁴p^ho⁴⁴ 'cock' (Scp) go²²lΛ²²mo²² 'hen' (Scp)

065 **otter**

*s-ram (STC#438)

shuǐtǎ 水獭 [水獭] WrT *sram* (TBL#0317) (ZMC#0133)sam⁴³ / **sam** / སམ་ (Dzk)sam⁴³ (Bmt)sam⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])sΛm⁴² (Scp)066 **horse**

*s-raŋ ꞵ *m-raŋ (STC#145)

mǎ 马 [馬] WrT *rta* (TBL#0268) (ZMC#0113)ta⁴³~ta^{fi} 43 / **ta** / ཏ་ (Dzk)tʃ^{hi}ip⁴⁴ta⁴⁴ / **chipta** / ཇིཔ་ཏ་ (H) (Dzk)ta⁴³ ~ ta^{fi} 43 ; tʃ^{hi}ip⁴⁴ta⁴⁴ (H) (Bmt)ta⁴⁴ ; tʃ^{hi}ip⁴⁴ta⁴⁴ (H) (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])kur⁴⁴tΛ⁴³ (Scp)067 **ant**

*rwak (STC#199)

mǎyǐ 蚂蚁 [螞蟻] WrT *grog ma* (TBL#0365) (ZMC#0157)dzo:²²mo⁴⁴ / **jo:mo** / ཇོ་མོ་ (Dzk)bruk⁴⁴tu:⁴⁴ (Bmt)ka²²lik⁴⁴pa²²ji²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])bruk⁴⁴tu⁴⁴lΛ⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])k^hΛŋ⁴⁴dʒi⁴⁴lΛ²² (Scp)

068 **bear**

*d-wam (STC#461)

xióng 熊 WrT **dom** (TBL#0311)dom²² / **dom** / ལྷོལ་ (Dzk)wom²² (Bmt)wam²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; wam²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ʔom⁴⁴ཕྱལ་ (Scp)068.1 **leech**

*rpat (STC#045)

mǎhuáng 蚂蟥 [蚂蟥] WrT **pad pa** (TBL#0364)pep⁴⁴ / **pep** / ཕེཔ་ (Dzk)pat⁴⁴ ; pat⁴⁴pa⁴³ (Bmt)pat⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])pʌt⁴⁴pʌ⁴² (Scp)068.2 **water leech**

*(m-)li:t (STC#396)

shuǐzhì 水蛭 WrT **srin 'bu pad pa**tʃʰu⁴⁴pep²² / **chupep** / རྩུ་ཕེཔ་ (Dzk)tʃʰu⁴⁴pat²² ; kʰwe⁴⁴ (naŋ²² = ki²²) pat²² (Bmt)pat⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) the same as 'leech'ri²⁴ pʌt⁴⁴pʌ²² 'water + leech' (Scp)

069 **rat / rodent**

*k-r-wak (TSR#188); *bwiγ (STC#173) ‘bamboo rat’,
 *b-yuw (STC#093) ‘rat, rabbit’

lǎoshǔ 老鼠 WrT *byi ba / tsi tsi* (TBL#0320) (ZMC#0134)

tʃi:⁴⁴tsi:⁴³ / **bjitsi** / འཇིག་ཅི་ (Dzk)

ni:⁴⁴wa²² (Bmt)

ṇap⁴⁴pai⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; ṇak⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

p^hi:⁴⁴tɕ^hur⁴⁴pʌ²² (Scp)

(bo²²raŋ²⁴) p^hi:⁴⁴tɕ^hur⁴⁴pʌ²² (‘forest = wild’) (Scp)

tsit⁴⁴pu²² ‘rat in forest’ (Scp)

(十二属相) the twelve zodiac signs in Chinese astrology

bdziu²² / **bjiu** / འཇིག་ཕུ་ (Dzk)

bdzi²²wa⁴⁴ / **bjiwa** / འཇིག་བ་ (Dzk)

tʃi:⁴⁴wa:⁴³ (Bmt)

dzi²³wa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

dzi²²wa⁴⁴ (Scp) < Dzk

E. Natural objects or phenomena; the inanimate landscape; vegetable and mineral kingdoms (N nat)

070 ashes

*pla (STC#137)

(SWD#168)

chéntǔ 尘土 [塵土] WrT *thal ba* (TBL#0045)
dust

t^heu⁴³ / **theu** / ཐེའུ་ (Dzk)

tsu⁴⁴ma²² ; graŋ⁴⁴pa²² (Bmt)

t^hε⁴⁴wa⁴⁴ ; be:⁴⁴lap²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

t^heu⁴² ; suŋ⁴⁴ma⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

p^hur⁴⁴ts^hi⁴² (Scp)

huī 灰 WrT *go thal* (TBL#0063 草木灰) (ZMC#0472 草木灰)

go²²t^hε⁴³ / **gothä** / གོ་ཐེ་ (Dzk)

t^hap⁴⁴tʃε⁴⁴ (Bmt)

bai²²sa³³(jam²¹) (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

t^hΛp⁴⁴tε^hΛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

t^hu⁴⁴lu²² (Scp)

méiyānzi 煤烟子 WrT *sre nag ; nag dreg*
soot

mi⁴⁴ro²² / **'miro** / མི་རོ་ 'coal' (Dzk)

kwai⁴³ (Bmt)

bai²⁴sa²² ; koi⁴⁴kar⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

kwai⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

mu²²jul²¹ (Scp)

- 071 **cloud** (SWD#160)
- *C-tim¹ (PLB:Bradley 1975a, #320-2)
- yúncai 云 [雲] WrT *sprin pa* (TBL#0007) (ZMC#0006)
- sa⁴⁴mu⁴⁴ / **samu** / ས་མུ་ ; tsin⁴⁴ / **trin** / མྱིན [old word] (Dzk)
- sar⁴⁴tʃɛ⁴³ (Bmt)
- muk⁴⁴pɑ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) = ‘fog; mist’
- sɛr⁴⁴tʃɑ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- muk⁴⁴pɑ²² (Scp)
-
- 072 **earth** (SWD#159)
- *r-ka (STC#097), *mliy (STC#152)
- dì 地 WrT *sa* (TBL#0022) (ZMC#0017 (天地))
(cf. ZMC#0028 (旱地) WrT zhing kha)
- sa⁴⁴ / **sa** / ས་ (Dzk)
- sa⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- sa⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- sɑ⁴⁴ (Scp)
-
- tǔ 土 WrT *sa* (TBL#0040) (ZMC#0031)
- sa⁴⁴ / **sa** / ས་ (Dzk)
- sa⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- sa⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- sɑ⁴⁴ ‘earth = soil’ (Scp)
-
- ní 泥 WrT *'dam pa / 'dam bag* (TBL#0046) (ZMC#0032)
mud
- dam⁴⁴(ba⁴⁴) / **dam(ba)** / འདྲམ་(བ་) (Dzk)
- dam⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- dam²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; dam²¹saŋ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- ʔin⁴⁴tsɑŋ⁴² (Scp)

073 **fire**

*bar ʁ *par (STC#220), *mey (STC#290) (SWD#167)

huǒ 火 WrT **me** (TBL#0018) (ZMC#0045)

mi²² ~ me²² / **me** / ʁ (Dzk)

ga⁴⁴ mi⁴⁴ (Bmt)

ga²² mi⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

mi²¹ (Scp)

074 **flower**

(SWD#059)

*ba·r (STC#001)

huā 花 WrT **me tog** (TBL#0377) (ZMC#0228)

me⁴⁴ to⁴⁴ / **meto** / ʁ (Dzk)

mẽ⁴⁴ ndo²² (Bmt)

mẽ⁴⁴ to²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; mẽ²² to⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

me⁴⁴ to⁴² (Scp)

075 **fruit**

(SWD#054)

*sey (STC#057)

shuǐguǒ 水果 WrT **shing tog / shing 'bras** (TBL#0378) (ZMC#0213)

ʃiŋ⁴⁴ dzɛ²² / **shingdrä** / ʃiŋ (Dzk)

ʃiŋ⁴⁴ dzɛ²² (Bmt)

ʃiŋ⁴⁴ dzɛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

se⁴⁴ kʌ²² rʌ²² (Scp)

guǒshí 果实 [果實] WrT **'bras bu**

do²² ma⁴⁴ / **doma** / ʃiŋ (Dzk)

sɛt⁴⁴ 'fruits on a tree' (Bmt)

sat⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

zʌs²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

se⁴⁴ pʰuk²² pʌ²² 'immature fruit on tree' (Scp)

se⁴⁴ min²² pʌ²² 'ripen fruit' (Scp)

- 076 **grass** (SWD#060)
- *mrak (STC#149)
- cǎo 草 WrT *rtswa* (TBL#0436) (ZMC#0218)
- tsa^{fi44} / **tsa** / མྱ་ (Dzk)
- ti⁴⁴wa²² (Bmt)
- ti⁴⁴wa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- ŋʌn⁴² (Scp)
-
- 077 **leaf** (SWD#056)
- *la (STC#486), *lap (STC#321), *pak (STC#040)
- yèzi 叶子 [葉子] WrT *lo ma* (TBL#0376) (ZMC#0224)
- da²²ma⁴⁴ / **dama** / འདྲེ་མ་ (Dzk)
- lam⁴⁴ba²² (Bmt)
- nam⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- lam⁴⁴ba²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- (ɕin⁴⁴) ɕʌ⁴⁴pa²² ('tree') (Scp)
-
- 078 **moon** (SWD#148)
- *s-la ≠ *g-la (STC#144)
- yuèliang 月亮 WrT *zla ba* (TBL#0004) (ZMC#0003)
- moon
- dau²² / **dau** / འཇུ་ (Dzk)
- la⁴⁴daŋ²² = 'moon light' This word indicates the moon at night. (Bmt)
- ʔe⁴⁴tɕo⁴³la²²la⁴⁴ 'the moon at daytime' (Bmt)
- ʔe⁴⁴tɕu⁴³la²²la⁴⁴ 'the moon' (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- ʔʌ²²tɕo⁴⁴ʌ²²ʌ²² ; ʌ⁴³ 'the moon' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ʌ²²ni⁴⁴ ŋʌm⁴² 'the moon' = 'moon light' (Scp)

yuè 月 WrT *zla ba* (TBL#0771) (ZMC#0074)
month

dau²⁴ / **dau** / ལྷཱུ་ (Dzk)

dau²⁴ (Bmt)

la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

la⁴³ ‘(one) month’ ; dΛw²¹ name for every ‘month’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

dΛ²²wΛ⁴⁴ (Scp)

079 **mountain** (SWD#171)

*kaŋ¹ (PLB:Bradley 1975a, #312)

shān 山 WrT *ri ; la* (TBL#0023) (ZMC#0025)

ri^{fi} 42 / **ri** / རི་ ; la⁴⁴ / **la** / ལ་ (Dzk)

ri^{fi} 42 ; la⁴⁴ (Bmt)

p^hu⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ri²² ‘peaks’ ; la⁴⁴ ‘mountain/pass’ ; jΛ²¹ ‘ridge?’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

p^hu⁴² ; lΛ²³¹ (Scp)

xuěshān 雪山 WrT *gang ri*

gaŋ²²ri^{fi} 44 / **gangri** / གང་རི་ (Dzk)

gaŋ²²ri^{fi} 44 (Bmt)

lΛ⁴⁴ † (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

† the same as ‘mountain’, they have no particular words for ‘snow mt.’

p^hu⁴² ; lΛ²³¹ (Scp)

080 **rain** (SWD#151)

*r-wa (STC#443)

yǔ 雨 WrT *char pa* (TBL#0010) (ZMC#0008)

tʃ^hɑ:p⁴⁴ / **cha:p** / ཇཨ་པ་ (Dzk)

jθ²⁴ (Bmt)

jθ²³¹ ~ jY²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

jθ²¹ ; we²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ŋΛm²²su⁴³ (Scp)

- 081 **river / valley** (SWD#152)
- *klu·ŋ (STC#127), *kor (#349)
- hé 河 WrT *chu bo / klung ma* (TBL#0030) (ZMC#0018)
- tʃʰu⁴⁴ / **chu** / རྩུ་ (Dzk)
- tʃʰu⁴⁴ ; kʰwe⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- kʰwi⁴⁴li⁴⁴gaŋ²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- kʰwe⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ri²³¹ ‘river’ = ‘water’ (Scp)
- shānjiàn 山澗
mountain stream
- (gaŋ²²) tʃʰu⁴⁴ / (**gang**) **chu** / (Dzk)
- kʰwe⁴² = ‘river’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ri²³¹ = ‘river’ (Scp)
- hégu 河谷 WrT *lung pa / rong sa* (cf. TBL#0025 山谷 WrT *ri 'gag*)
- lum²² / **lum** / ལུང་པ་ (Dzk)
- lum²²ma⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- lum²²ma⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- luŋ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- la²³ ‘small mountain with pass’ (Scp)
- 082 **road** (SWD#170)
- *lam (STC#087)
- lù 路 WrT *lam* (TBL#0038) (ZMC#0474)
- lam²² / **lam** / ལམ་ (Dzk)
- jam²² (Bmt)
- jam²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- jaŋ²¹ ; ga²²ri⁴⁴jaŋ²¹ ‘roadway’ < car + road (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- laŋ²³¹ (Scp)

- 083 **root** (SWD#057)
- *bul $\bowtie$ *pul (STC pp.166, 173), *r-sa (STC#442)
- gēn 根 WrT *rtsa ba* (TBL#0375) (ZMC#0222)
- ra²²to⁴⁴ / **rato** / ར་རྟོ (Dzk)
- ra²²do⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- ra²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- tsa⁴⁴ (Scp)
-
- 084 **salt** (SWD#155)
- *g-ryum (STC#245), *tsa (STC#214)
- yán 盐 [鹽] WrT *tshwa* (TBL#0061) (ZMC#0398)
- ts^ha⁶⁴³ / **tsha** / མ་ (Dzk)
- ts^ha⁶⁴³ (Bmt)
- ts^ha⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- ʔin⁴⁴tɕ^hʌ⁴² (Scp)
-
- 085 **sky** (SWD#162)
- *muw (STC#488)
- tiān 天 WrT *gnam / nam mkha'* (TBL#0001) (ZMC#0001)
- nam⁴³ / 'nam / གནམ་ ; nam²²k^ha⁴³ / **namkha** / གནམ་ཁ་ (Dzk)
- nam²² ; nam²²k^ha⁴³ (Bmt)
- nem²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- naɪm⁴⁴t^hoŋ⁴² (Scp)
-
- 086 **smoke** (SWD#166)
- *kuw (STC#256)
- yān 烟 [煙] WrT *du ba* (TBL#0019) (ZMC#0046)
- du(p)²²ba⁴⁴ / **duba** / དུ་བ་ (Dzk)
- da²²wa⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- du²²wa⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; di²²wa⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- mu⁴⁴fu⁴² (Scp)

- 087 **star** (SWD#149)
 *s-kar (STC#049)
 xīngxīng 星星 WrT *skar ma* (TBL#0005) (ZMC#0004)
 ka:m⁴⁴ / **ka:m** / ཀམ་ (Dzk)
 kar⁴⁴ma²² (Bmt)
 kar⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
 kΛr⁴⁴mΛ⁴⁴ (Scp)
- 088 **stick** (SWD#053)
 *da¹ (PLB cf. Lahu á-tà)
 gùnzǐ 棍子 WrT *rgyug pa* (TBL#0586) (ZMC#0429)
 k^hau⁴³ / **khau** / ཁའུ་ (Dzk)
 p^hik⁴⁴paŋ⁴² ‘small stick’ (Bmt)
 cf. do:⁴⁴maŋ²² ‘a cane; a (walking) stick’ (Bmt)
 (ser⁴²) to:⁴⁴maŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) (ser⁴²) means ‘tree’
 do²²k^hΛŋ⁴² ~ to⁴⁴k^hΛŋ⁴² (Scp)
- 089 **stone** (SWD#156)
 *brak (STC#134) ‘rock’, *r-luŋ (STC#088), *k-lok ≠ *k-lon (PLB:TSR#190)
 shítóu 石头 [石頭] WrT *rdο* (TBL#0043) (ZMC#0042)
 do^{fi} 22 / **do** / ཏོ་ (Dzk)
 gor²² (Bmt)
 gor²²to⁴²la²² ‘gravel’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 gor²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 luŋ²³¹ (Scp)
- yánshí 岩石 WrT *grag* (TBL#0027)
 rock
 do²²bom²² / **dobom** / ཏོ་བོམ་ (Dzk)
 maŋ⁴⁴di²² (Bmt)
 gor²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
 luŋ²⁴ kΛ⁴⁴tΛŋ²² ‘stone’←‘big’ (Scp)

090 **sun / day** (SWD#147: sun) (SWD#178: day)

*nam (STC#048), *niy (STC#081), *tsyar (STC#187)

tài yáng 太阳 [太陽] WrT **nyi ma** (TBL#0002) (ZMC#0002)
sunɲim²² / **nyim** / ཉིམ་ (Dzk)ɲi⁴³ (Bmt)nɛ²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ɲi⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ɲi²²ma⁴⁴ (Scp)tiān 天 WrT **nyin / nyi ma** (TBL#0910) (ZMC#0088)
dayɲim²² / **nyim** / ཉིན་མོ་ ‘afternoon’ (Dzk)ɲɛn²² (Bmt)nɛ²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; nɛn⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])rì 日
datets^hɛ⁴⁴ / **tshe** / ཇེ་ (Dzk)ts^hɛ⁴⁴ (Bmt)ts^hɛ⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])ts^hɛ⁴⁴ (Scp) use / bi²²naŋ²¹ / ‘night’ for counting days.

daytime

ɽɛ⁴⁴tɕo⁴²la²²la⁴⁴ (Bmt)nẽ⁴⁴tɕa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])naɸ⁴⁴k^hΛ²² (Scp)091 **tree / wood** (SWD#051)

*siŋ (STC#233); *sik (PLB:TSR#118)

shù 树 [樹] WrT **shing (sdong)** cf. 094 trunk
(TBL#0372) (ZMC#0178)ʃiŋ⁴³ / **shing** / ཤིང་ (Dzk)seŋ⁴³ (Bmt)seŋ⁴³ ~ seŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) the same as ‘wood’ɕiŋ⁴⁴ (Scp)

mùtou 木头 [木頭] WrT **shing** (TBL#0511) (ZMC#0469)

ʃiŋ⁴⁴dum²² / **shingdum** / ཤིང་ཐུམ་ (Dzk)

seŋ⁴⁴dom²² (Bmt)

seŋ⁴³ ~ seŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) the same as ‘tree’

ɕiŋ⁴⁴tʰʌŋ²³¹ (Scp)

092 **water** (SWD#150)

*twiy (STC#168), *m-tsril (STC p.30)

shuǐ 水 WrT **chu** (TBL#0047) (ZMC#0010)

tʃʰu⁴⁴ / **chu** / ཇུ་ (Dzk)

kʰwɛ⁴³ (Bmt)

kʰwɛ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

ri²³¹ (Scp)

093 **wind** (SWD#163)

*g-liy (STC#454)

fēng 风 [風] WrT **rlung / lhags pa** (TBL#0009) (ZMC#0007)

luŋ⁴⁴ / **’lung** / ལུང་ ; lǔ⁴³ma⁴⁴ / **’lu(ng)m** / ལུང་མ་ (Dzk)

ʃo:²⁴loŋ²² (Bmt)

luŋ⁴³ ~ loŋ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

ri²⁴di²² (Scp)

094 **branch**

*ka:k (STC#327), *ku:ŋ (STC#359)

shùzhī 树枝 [樹枝] WrT **yal ga** (TBL#0374) (ZMC#0225)
branch

ze²²lak⁴⁴ / **zhelak** / (Dzk)

ʃa²²la⁴⁴ (Bmt)

dom²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) the same as ‘trunk’

ɕʌ²²lʌ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ɕiŋ⁴⁴ dʌ²²kʌ²² (Scp)

shùgàn 树干 [樹幹] WrT *sdong po* (TBL#0373)
trunk

dum²² / **dum** / དུམ་ (Dzk)

dom²² (Bmt)

dom²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) the same as ‘branch’

dum²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ɕiŋ⁴⁴ mɿ²² pɿ²² (Scp)

095 silver

*d-ŋul (STC pp.15, 173)

yínzi 银子 [銀子] WrT *ɳgul* (TBL#0052) (ZMC#0036)
silver

ŋø:⁴⁴ / **’ŋül** / རྒྱུ་ (Dzk)

ŋø:²² (Bmt)

ŋø:²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ŋoi²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ŋø:²³¹ (Scp)

jīnzi 金子 WrT *gser* (TBL#0051) (ZMC#0035)
gold

se:⁴⁴ / **ser** / གཤེར་ (Dzk)

ser⁴³ (Bmt)

ser⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

ser⁴² (Scp)

096 bamboo

*g-pa (STC#044)

zhúzi 竹子 WrT *smyug ma* (TBL#0389) (ZMC#0183)

ba²² / **ba** / བ་ (Dzk)

mek⁴⁴ tse²² (Bmt)

ts^ha⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

pɿk⁴⁴ ɕiŋ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

so⁴⁴ (Scp)

pɿk⁴⁴ ɕiŋ⁴² a kind of typical bamboo (Scp)

bamboo strip

ts^ha⁴³ / **tsha**: / 𑄧𑄭𑄭 (Dzk)ts^har⁴³ (Bmt)ts^ha⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) cf. 𑄧𑄭⁴² ‘bamboo sheath’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])se⁴² (Scp)097 **shade / shadow**

*g-rip 𑄧 *s-rip (STC p.113)

yǐngzi 影子 WrT ***grib ma*** (TBL#0698) (ZMC#0520)
shadowgi²²ma⁴⁴ / **gima** / 𑄧𑄭𑄭𑄭 (Dzk)grep²² (Bmt)dzau²²ri²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])p^has⁴⁴ ; grep²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])nɿs⁴² (Scp)yīnyǐng 阴影 [陰影] WrT ***grib ma / grib nag / grib so***
shadegi²²ma⁴⁴ / **gima** / 𑄧𑄭𑄭𑄭 (Dzk)sik⁴³ (Bmt)grep²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; p^has⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml],)joŋ²³¹ (Scp)bèiyīnchù 背阴处 [背陰處] WrT ***nyi grib 'khel sa***
shady spotgi²²ma⁴⁴na²² / **gimana** / 𑄧𑄭𑄭𑄭𑄭𑄭 (Dzk)sik⁴⁴na²² (Bmt)grep²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

098 **joint**

*tsik (STC#064)

(guān)jié (关)节 [(關)節] WrT *rus tshigs / lhu tshigs*

(cf. TBL#0136 骨节)

ts^hi⁴⁴ / **tshi** / རྩལ་མ་ (Dzk)ts^hik⁴⁴ ; ts^hi⁴⁴to⁴⁴ (Bmt)ts^hik⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])cf. tek⁴⁴ ‘bamboo joint’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])tsi^ʔ⁴² (Scp)099 **thorn (prick)**

*tsow (STC#276)

cì 刺 WrT *tsher ma*

(TBL#0391) (ZMC#0230)

tsã⁴⁴ / **tsang** / རྩལ་མ་ (Dzk)tsaŋ⁴³ (Bmt)ts^her⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; tsaŋ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])zu²³¹ (Scp)100 **night**

(SWD#177)

*ya (STC#417)

yèli 夜里 [夜裡]
night timeWrT *mtshan mo* (TBL#0753) (ZMC#0105 晚上)nu²²mo⁴⁴ / **numo** / ལྷན་མོ་ ; ʔa²² / **zha(k)** / རྩལ་མ་ (Dzk)ʔak²² (Bmt)bi²²naŋ²¹ (Scp)la⁴⁴daŋ²² ‘moonlight’ (Bmt)je²²ri⁴⁴ (Scp)

evening

(cf. TBL#0752 晚上 WrT *dgong dag*)tɕ^hi⁴⁴ru⁴⁴ / **pchiru** / རྩལ་མ་ (Dzk)su⁴⁴la⁴⁴ (Bmt)su⁴⁴la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ‘evening ~ night’je²²ri⁴⁴ tɕam⁴⁴k^hΛ⁴² (Scp)

101 **iron**

*si˧r (STC#372), *syam (STC#228)

tiě 铁 [鐵] WrT *lcags* (TBL#0054) (ZMC#0038)tʃa^{fi44} ~ tʃa^{ɿ44} / **cak** / རྩམ་ (Dzk)lak⁴⁴ (Bmt)tʃa^{ɿ43} (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; la^{ɿ43} (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])pe^{l42} (Scp)102 **field**

*low [STC#K-N]

tiándì 田地 WrT *sa zhing* (TBL#0041 地 (田 ~))ɰiŋ²² / **zhing** / ཞིང་ (Dzk)leŋ²² (Bmt) cf. liŋ²² ‘large area’ (Bmt)ɰe⁴⁴liŋ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ;ɰa⁴⁴riŋ⁴² ; liŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])ɰa²²riŋ²³¹ (Scp)102.1 **swidden***hya¹ (PLB:Bradley 1975a, #414)huǒtián 火田 WrT *zhing kha*kam^{44.ɰ~43} / **kamzhing** / མཁའ་ཞིང་ (Dzk)kam^{44.ɰ~43} (Bmt)kam^{44.ɰ~22} (Khk: Zmg[Wml])kam^{44.ɰ~43} (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ɰa²²riŋ²⁴ saŋ²³mu⁴² ‘field’ + ‘dry’ (Scp)

102.2 irrigated paddy field

*ʔdan³; *C-mi¹ (PLB:Bradley 1975a, #415)

shuǐtián 水田 WrT *chu zhing* (TBL#0042) (ZMC#0027)

tʃ^hu⁴⁴z̥i²² / **chuzhing** / རྩུ་ཞིང་ (Dzk)

ʔe⁴⁴liŋ²² (Bmt)

tʃ^hu⁴⁴z̥i²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

tɕ^hu⁴⁴z̥iŋ⁴² ; ʔ²²riŋ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ʔ²²riŋ²⁴ (Scp)

F. Artifacts and social organization (N art)

103 arrow

*m-da (STC pp.96, 111-112, 118), *b-la (STC#449)

jiàn 箭 WrT *mda'* (TBL#0637) (ZMC#0428)

da^f 22 / **da** / དཱ (Dzk)

me⁴⁴wa²² (Bmt)

mja²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ṇa²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

mi²³¹ (Scp)

104 needle

*kap (STC#052); *k-rap (PLB:TSR#191)

zhān 针 [針] WrT *khab* (TBL#0578) (ZMC#0420)

k^hap⁴⁴ / **khap** / ཁཎ (Dzk)

k^hap⁴⁴ (Bmt)

k^hap⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

k^hap⁴⁴ (Scp)

105 house

*kim 𑖅 *kyim 𑖅 *kyum (STC#053)

fángzi 房子 WrT *khang pa* (TBL#0494) (ZMC#0348 房屋)

t^him⁴⁴ / **chim** / ཅིམ་ ; ʒim²²t^hũ⁴⁴ / **zhimchung** / ཅིམ་ཅུང་ (H) (Dzk)

me⁴³ ; ʒim²²t^huŋ⁴³ (H) (Bmt)

mai⁴³ ; ʒim²²t^huŋ⁴³ (H) (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

mai²¹ ; ʒim²²t^hũ⁴³ (H) (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

p^hai⁴² ; ʒim²²t^huŋ⁴³ (H) (Scp)

jiā 家 WrT *khyim* / *nang* (ZMC#0349)

tʃʰim⁴⁴nǎ²² / **chimnang** / ཁྱིམ་ནང་ (Dzk)

me:⁴⁴naŋ²² (Bmt)

mai⁴³; ʒim²²tʃʰuŋ⁴³ (H) (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) the same as ‘house’

mai²¹; ʒim²²tɕʰũŋ⁴³ (H) (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) the same as ‘house’

pʰai⁴²; ʒim²²tɕuŋ⁴³ (H) (Scp)

106 **bow**

*d-liy (STC#463)

gōng 弓 WrT *gzhu* (TBL#0636) (ZMC#0427)

ʒu²² / **zhu** / ཇུ་ (Dzk)

ʒu²² (Bmt)

li²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

li²²mai⁴²; ʒu²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

li²³¹ (Scp)

107 **boat**

*m-liy (STC#474)

chuán 船 WrT *gru* (TBL#0602) (ZMC#0481)

dzu²² / **dru** / ཇུ་ (Dzk)

dzu²² (Bmt)

dzu²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

dzu²³¹ (Scp)

108 **mortar**

*tsum (STC#075)

jiù 臼 WrT *sgog gtun* (TBL#0627) (ZMC#0436)tsiŋ⁴⁴ku⁴³ / **tsiku** / ཅིག་ཀུ་ (Dzk)ts^hom⁴⁴ (Bmt)tok⁴⁴ts^hε²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])ts^hom⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])tok⁴⁴ts^hi²² (Scp)mò 磨 WrT *mchig* (TBL#0631)by hand ran²⁴t^ha²² / **rangtha** / རག་ལྷག་ (Dzk)quern ma:²²t^hε⁴³ (Bmt)ran²⁴t^han²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])mai⁴⁴t^hi⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])rΛŋ²²t^hΛŋ⁴² (Scp)shuǐmò 水磨 by water power WrT *chu 'khor* (ZMC#0434 水磨)tʃ^hu⁴⁴ra²² / **chura** / རྩུ་རག་ (Dzk)tʃ^hu⁴⁴t^hi⁴⁴ (Bmt)ran²⁴t^han²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])tɕ^hu⁴⁴t^hi⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])tɕ^hu⁴⁴t^hΛ⁴⁴ (Scp) cf. tʃ^hi⁴⁴ 'machine mortar' (Scp)109 **village**

*r-wa ≠ *g-wa (STC#444), *kak (PLB:TSR#022)

cūnzhuāng 村庄 [村莊] WrT *grong tsho* (TBL#0066 村子) (ZMC#0362 村寨)jø:⁴³ / 'ü: / གཡུ་ (Dzk)gron⁴² (Bmt)gron⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])duŋ²³¹ (Scp)

G. Spatial/directional (N spat)

- 110 **leftside** (SWD#200)
- *bay (STC#047)
- zuǒbiān 左边 [左邊] WrT *g-yon pa* (TBL#0710) (ZMC#0053)
- jøm⁴³ / 'yǒm / གཡོན་པ་ (Dzk)
- jum⁴⁴pa⁴³ (Bmt)
- ʔem⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- jem⁴⁴pΛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- jon²⁴pΛ²² (Scp)
-
- 111 **rightside** (SWD#199)
- *g-ya ✕ *g-ra (STC#098)
- yòubiān 右边 [右邊] WrT *g-yas pa* (TBL#0711) (ZMC#0054)
- jœp⁴⁴ / 'yǎ / གཡས་པ་ (Dzk)
- jup⁴⁴pa⁴³ (Bmt)
- e⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- je⁴⁴pΛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- jin²⁴pΛ²² (Scp)
-
- 112 **far (v.)** (SWD#198)
- *dzyaːl (STC#229), *wiɣ² (PLB)
- yuǎn 远 [遠] WrT *thag ring po* (TBL#0974) (ZMC#0817)
- tʰɑː⁴⁴ri²² / **tha-ri(ng)m** / ཐག་རིང་ (Dzk)
- tʰɑː⁴⁴riŋ²²ɕiŋ²² (Bmt)
- tʰɑː²²riŋ²⁴sa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- ɐ²²tʰuː⁴⁴tʰu²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- tʰΛ⁴⁴ riŋ²²bu²² ~ tʰΛ⁴⁴ riŋ²²mu²² (Scp)

- 113 **near** (v.) (SWD#197)
- *ney (STC#291)
- jìn 近 WrT *thag nye po* (TBL#0975) (ZMC#0818)
- tsɑ²²wa⁴⁴ / **tsawa** / ཚྱ་བ་ (Dzk)
- bo²²lo²²k^ha(r)⁴⁴ / **bolokhar** / བོ་ལོ་ཀ་ར་ (Dzk)
- t^hɑ⁴⁴ma²² / **thama** / ཐ་མ་ (Dzk)
- t^hɑ⁴⁴ma²² (Bmt)
- tj^hɑ⁴⁴do²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- t^hΛ⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- re²²kΛ⁴⁴ (Scp)
-
- 114 **year** (SWD#179)
- *niŋ (STC#368)
- nián 年 WrT *lo* (TBL#0777) (ZMC#0063)
- lo²² / **lo** / ལོ་ (Dzk)
- niŋ⁴³ (Bmt)
- niŋ²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; niŋ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- niŋ²³¹ (Scp)

H. Numerals and quantifiers (N num)

115 twenty / score

*(m)-kul (STC#397)

èrshí 二十 WrT *nyi shu* (TBL#0816) (ZMC#0930)

ɲi²²ʃu⁴⁴ / **nyishu** / ཉི་ཤུ་ (Dzk) ; k^he⁴⁴tɕi⁴³ / **khe ci** / ཁེ་གཅིག་ (Dzk)

ɲi²²ʃu⁴⁴; k^hai³⁴tek²² (Bmt)

k^hai⁴⁴de²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])

k^he⁴³ (Scp)

116 one (SWD#022)

*it (STC pp.94, 162), *kat (p.94),

*t(y)ik ʌ *(g-)tyik (STC pp.84, 94, 169, 189)

yī 一 WrT *gcig* (TBL#0797) (ZMC#0911)

tɕi⁴⁴ / **ci** / གཅིག་ for ordinal (Dzk) ;

gɑŋ²² / **gang** / གང་ for measure or counting points† (Dzk)

† 1 & 2 are different from ordinal when measuring or counting points as follows:

གང་	ཉི	གསུམ་	བཞི་	ལྔ་	དྲུག་	...
gang	do	sum	zhi	'nga	dru	...

t^hek⁴⁴ for ordinal (Bmt)

bren²² for measure (Bmt)

t^heŋ⁴³ for ordinal/measure (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; t^hek⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

t^hur⁴² (Scp)

117 seven

*s-nis (STC#005)[cf. TWO #120]

qī 七 WrT *bdun* (TBL#0803) (ZMC#0917)

dɣn²² / **dün** / བདུན་ (Dzk)

ɲit⁴⁴ (Bmt)

ɲiŋ⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ɲit⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

zum²³ (Scp)

118 **ten**

*gip (STC#016)

shí 十 WrT *bcu* (TBL#0806) (ZMC#0920)tɕu⁴⁴t^ham⁴⁴ / **cutham** / འུ་མ་ for ordinal (Dzk)tɕu⁴⁴ / **cu** / for measure and counting points (Dzk)tɕ^he⁴³ (Bmt)tɕ^he⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])se⁴⁴ (Scp)119 **hundred**

*r-gya (STC#164)

bǎi 百 WrT *brgya* (TBL#0824) (ZMC#0939)dʒe²²tɕi⁴⁴ / **jaci** / འུ་ཁྱེ་ཁྱེ་ (Dzk)tɕi⁴⁴dʒe⁴⁴ / **cikja** / འུ་ཁྱེ་ཁྱེ་ (Dzk)k^he⁴⁴ja²²ŋa²² (Bmt) 20 × 5k^hai⁴⁴ja²²ŋa³³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) 20 × 5k^hai⁴⁴ja²²ŋa²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) 20 × 5k^he²²ŋa⁴⁴ (Scp) 20 × 5cf. 25 k^he⁴⁴t^hur⁴⁴t^hΛŋ²²ŋa⁴⁴ 20 × 1 + 5 (Scp)120 **two**

(SWD#023)

*g-nis (STC#004)

èr 二 WrT *gnyis* (TBL#0798) (ZMC#0912)ŋi⁴⁴ / **'nyi** / འུ་ཁྱེ་ (Dzk)ʒon²⁴ (Bmt)zon²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])ŋik⁴⁴ts^hiŋ²² (Scp)

liǎng 两 [兩] (ZMC#0966)

do²² / **do** / འུ་ for measure or counting points† (Dzk)gwa²² (Bmt) for measure

- 121 **three** (SWD#024)
- *g-sum (STC#409)
- sān 三 WrT *gsum* (TBL#0799) (ZMC#0913)
- sum⁴³ / **sum** / གསུམ་ (Dzk)
- sum⁴³ (Bmt)
- sum⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- sΛm⁴³ (Scp)
-
- 122 **four** (SWD#025)
- *b-liy (STC#410)
- sì 四 WrT *bzhi* (TBL#0800) (ZMC#0914)
- zì²³ / **zhi** / བཞི་ (Dzk)
- ble²² (Bmt)
- ble²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])
- p^hji⁴³ (Scp)
-
- 123 **five** (SWD#026)
- *l-ŋa ≠ *b-ŋa (STC#078)
- wǔ 五 WrT *lnga* (TBL#0801) (ZMC#0915)
- ŋɑ⁴⁴ / **nga** / ལྷ་ (Dzk)
- ja:²³ŋɑ²² (Bmt)
- ja:²³ŋɑ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- jΛ:²²ŋΛ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ŋΛ⁴⁴ (Scp)

124 **six**

*d-ruk (STC#411); *C-krok (PLB:TSR#35)

liù 六 WrT *drug* (TBL#0802) (ZMC#0916)dzu²³ / **dru** / ལྷུ་ (Dzk)grok²² (Bmt)gro[?]231 (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; grok²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])k^huŋ⁴³ (Scp)125 **eight**

*b-r-gyat (TSR#163)

bā 八 WrT *brgyad* (TBL#0804) (ZMC#0918)ge:²³ / **gä:** / གེ་ (Dzk)dzat²² (Bmt)dzat²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])jen²³¹ (Scp)126 **nine**

*d-kuw (TSR#013)

jiǔ 九 WrT *dgu* (TBL#0805) (ZMC#0919)gu⁶²² / **gu** / གུ་ (Dzk)do²²go⁴⁴ (Bmt)do²²go²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn])gu²³ (Scp)

127 (be) **many** (v.)

(SWD#018)

*mra (TSR#148)

duō

多

WrT *mang po*

(TBL#0987) (ZMC#0819)

le:²²ʃa⁴⁴ / **lesha** / ལེ་ཤ། (Dzk)tɕɤk²²ts^he⁴⁴ (Bmt)tɕ^ha⁴⁴tɕ^ha²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])cf. k^hɐm⁴⁴dɛ²³¹ ‘few’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])tɕɤk²²ts^he⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])mΛŋ²²pu⁴²; ɕΛ²²mΛ⁴² ‘lots’ (Scp)cf. se²²pΛ⁴⁴ ‘too much’ (Scp)

I. Verbs of utterance, body position of function (V body)

128 be born

*braŋ (STC#135), *kruŋ (STC#382)

chūshēng 出生 WrT *skye ba* / *'khrungs pa* / *bltams pa*

(bou²²tʃu⁴⁴) ts^ha⁴⁴-ni²² / (**baucu**) **tsha-ni** / (བུ་བྱུང་) གཙང་ནི་ (Dzk)
'(a calf) is born'

(bou²²ja⁴⁴) braŋ⁴⁴-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

(bu²²ja⁴⁴) brɿŋ⁴⁴-pɿ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

(wɿ⁴⁴ dɿ²²ʒa⁴⁴) p^hek⁴⁴-pɿ²² (Scp)

(calf ← small) open

shēng háizi 生孩子 WrT (*phu gu*) *skye* (TBL#1620) (ZMC#0774)

(ʔa⁴⁴lu⁴⁴) kje⁴⁴-ni⁴⁴ / **kye-ni** / སྐྱེ་ནི་ (Dzk)

(a child) is born

(ʔo⁴⁴ŋa⁴⁴) ke⁴⁴-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

(ʔo⁴⁴lo⁴⁴) ke⁴⁴-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

(ʔo⁴⁴lo⁴⁴) ke⁴⁴-gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

(wok²²ts^hɿ⁴⁴) k(j)e⁴⁴-wɿ²² (Scp)

xià dàn 下蛋 WrT (*sgo nga*) *gtong* (TBL#1718)

(goŋ²²do⁴⁴) bi²²-ni²² / **gongdo bi-ni** / གོང་དོ་བི་ནི་ (Dzk)

'(an egg) is laid'

(tɛ⁴³) ts^hu⁴⁴-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

(k^hai²²t^hɛ⁴⁴) blaŋ²³¹-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

(k^hai⁴⁴t^hɛ⁴⁴) su⁴⁴-nɿ²²[past] /-gi²²nɿ²²[future] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

(go²²t^hɿ⁴²) p^hek⁴⁴-pɿ²² (Scp)

- 129 **sleep / lie down** (SWD#107: sleep) (SWD#123: lie)
- *ip (STC#114), *mwiy (STC#196), *n(y)it (STC#236)
- shuì 睡
- nɛ²²-ni²² / **nye-ni** / ཉམ་ནི་ (Dzk)
 (tɛ⁴³) dot²²-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)
 do²²tem⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Zmg[Trn]) ; do²²de⁴⁴mi²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 ji²⁴p^he⁴² ‘I sleep’ (Scp)
 jip⁴⁴tɕ^ho⁴² ‘s/he sleeps’ (Scp)
- kùn 睏
- (TBL#1646) (ZMC#0582)
- mɛ²² kom²²dɿ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 mi²²nɿ²⁴ ʔo⁴⁴fɿ²² ‘I am sleepy’ (Scp)
 mi²²nɿ²⁴ wu⁴⁴nɿ⁴² ‘s/he is sleepy’ (Scp)
- tǎng 躺 WrT *nyal* (TBL#1661)
- hẽ⁴⁴-ni²² / **hen-ni** / ཉེང་ནི་ (Dzk)
 nɛn⁴⁴le²² (Bmt)
 nɛn⁴⁴-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)
 nɛ²²zi⁴⁴ ni²²-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 nɛn⁴⁴-dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 t^hɿ²⁴mɛ⁴² ‘I lay down’ (Scp)
 t^hɿ²⁴ɕo⁴² ‘lay down!’ imperative (Scp)
- 130 **weep**
- *krap (STC#116), *ŋuw (STC#076)
- kū 哭 WrT *ngu* (TBL#1485) (ZMC#0718)
- ŋu⁴⁴-ni²² / **ngu-ni** / ལྷུ་ནི་ (Dzk)
 ŋo²²-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)
 ŋo²³-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ŋo²³-gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 ge²²p^he⁴² ~ ge²²fɛ⁴² ‘I cry’ (Scp)

131 **laugh**

*m-nwi(y) (STC#191), *rya-t (STC#202) (SWD#100)

xiào 笑 WrT *dgod* (TBL#1735) (ZMC#0717)ga²²-ni²² / **ga-ni** / བགའ་ནི་ (Dzk)ga²²-zaŋ²² to laugh (Bmt)ga²² ta⁴⁴ laughing (Bmt)ga²³-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; ga²³-gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ŋa²²be⁴² (Scp)132 **die**

(SWD#109)

*siy (STC#232)

sǐ 死 WrT *shi* (TBL#1651) (ZMC#0780)ʃi⁴⁴-ni²² / **shi-ni** / ཤི་ནི་ (Dzk)ʃet⁴⁴-zaŋ²² to die (Bmt)ʃet⁴⁴ na⁴⁴ died (Bmt)se⁴²-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; se⁴⁴-gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])çi⁴⁴le²² (Scp)133 **awaken***m-sow (STC#295); *nuw² 𐄂 *s-nuw² (PLB)qǐlai 起来 WrT *lang ba*

get up

loŋ²²-ni²² / **long-ni** / ལོང་ནི་ (Dzk)jaŋ²³-zaŋ²² (Bmt)jaŋ²⁴-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ; jaŋ⁴⁴-gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])tʰiŋ⁴⁴co⁴² (Scp)

xǐng 醒 WrT *gnid sad* (TBL#1739) (ZMC#0583)
awaken

ni:⁴⁴ts^hu²²-ni²² / **ni: tshu:-ni** / གཉིད་ཚོར་ནི་ (Dzk)

mek⁴⁴sat⁴⁴-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

mi²² ts^haŋ⁴⁴ pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) ;

me²² saŋ⁴⁴-gim²²/-ḡim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

mi²²naŋ²⁴ts^ho²²ʕo⁴⁴ (Scp)

gΛ²²wi²⁴ (Scp)

wu²²ʕo⁴² (Scp)

(Scp: these verbs sometimes mean ‘get up’)

134 cough

*su(w) (STC#423)

késou 咳嗽 WrT *glo rgyag* (TBL#1477)

lo⁴⁴k^ho⁴⁴-ni²² / **’lo kho-ni** / ལྷོ་འཁོག་ནི་ (Dzk)

bei²⁴-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

lo⁴⁴ bai²⁴-da²² (Bmt) < borrowed from Dzk

bai²⁴ -ta⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

[v]-gem²³¹ (I do) ; [v]-ta⁴² (the 3rd person do) (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

bai²⁴ -ḡim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

[v]-ḡim²² [impfct] ; [v]-tΛ⁴² [progressive] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ts^huŋ⁴⁴ p^huŋ⁴⁴mΛ²² lit. ‘lung full’ (Scp)

cf. fèi 肺 WrT *glo ba* (TBL#0143) (ZMC#0274)
lung

low⁴³ / **’lo** / ལྷོ་ལ་ (Dzk)

lod⁴³ (Bmt)

lo⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ts^huŋ⁴⁴ (Scp)

135 **stand**

(SWD#125)

*g-ryap (STC#246)

zhàn 站 WrT *lang* (TBL#1784) (ZMC#0569)loŋ²²-ni²² / **long-ni** / ལོང་ཉི་ standing (Dzk)loŋ²² / **long** / to stand (Dzk)ʒeŋ²² / **zheng** / (H) to stand (Dzk)jaŋ²²-ʒaŋ²² standing (Bmt)jaŋ²² tzi²² stand ; jaŋ²² ŋe²² to stand (Bmt)jaŋ²⁴-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml]) the same as 'get up'jaŋ²⁴-gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) the same as 'get up'tʰiŋ⁴⁴ʕo⁴² (Scp) the same as 'get up'wu²²ʕo⁴² (Scp) the same as 'get up'ʒeŋ²²tʕo⁴⁴ (H) (Scp)136 **sit**

(SWD#124)

*tu-ŋ (STC#361)

zuò 坐 WrT *sdod* (TBL#1819) (ZMC#0574)dø²⁴(-ni²²) / **dö-ni** / ཐོ་ཉི་ sit(-ting) (Dzk)zu²³-ni²² / **zhu-ni** / འུ་ཉི་ (H) (Dzk)(sq⁴⁴ = lu⁴⁴) ni⁴⁴le²² sit down (on the ground) (Bmt)ni²⁴-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])ni²⁴-gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) cf. kir⁴⁴kum²² 'squat down'laŋ²⁴ʕo⁴² (Scp)tʕ^hoi⁴² (Scp) ʒuk⁴⁴tʕo²² (H) (Scp)guì 跪 WrT *pus mo 'dzugs* (TBL#1360) (ZMC#0566)pu²²mo⁴³ tsuk⁴⁴ be²² dø²³ -ni²² / **pumo tsuk be dö-ni** /

ཕུ་མོ་ཐུག་བེ་དེ་ཉི་ (Dzk)

kuk⁴⁴tsi²² (Bmt)pus⁴⁴maŋ⁴⁴ di²²zi⁴⁴ ni²⁴-gim²² [/-lai²²] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

knee support sit [please]

toŋ⁴⁴ziŋ⁴⁴ te's⁴⁴ni⁴⁴ [laŋ²⁴ʕo⁴² / tʕ^hoi⁴²] (Scp)

knee pui/keep/leave sit

J. Verbs of motion (V mot)

137 **fall** (from a height)

(SWD#127)

*kla (STC#123)

diào 掉 WrT *zag pa / lhung ba* (TBL#1274) (ZMC#0764)

bi²³ -ni²² / **bi-ni** / བྱོན་ནི་ (Dzk)

deɿ²³ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

ʒak²³ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

dɿr²² -dim²¹ ; brɿ⁴⁴ ɳi²² gai²² -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

jit⁴⁴ k^he²² wɿ⁴² (Scp)

luò 落 WrT *nub / bzhud* (TBL#1512 (太阳) 落) (ZMC#0752 (太阳) 落下)
the sun sets

ɳim²³ zi²³ -ni²² / **nyim zi-ni** / རྩིམ་ཟི་ནི་ (Dzk)

ɳi:²³ nop²² -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

(ne²⁴) nop⁴⁴ -ta²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

(ɳi⁴⁴) zwi²² -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

(ŋɿ⁴⁴) nu²² p^hɿ⁴⁴ ~ nu²² fɿ⁴² ‘(the sun) enters’ (Scp)

138 **climb, ascend**

*l-tak (STC pp.52, 110, 123), *syar ‘rise’ (STC#090, p.28)

shàng 上 WrT *yar ’gro / ’dzeg pa* (TBL#1609 (～楼))
(ZMC#0743 (～山))

tse⁴⁴ -ni²² / **dze-ni** / འཛོལ་ནི་ (Dzk)

k^hlaŋ⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

k^haŋ⁴² -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

k^hlɿ⁴⁴ -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

goŋ²⁴ me²² (Scp)

shēng 升起 [昇起] WrT *shar* (TBL#1623) (ZMC#0751)
the sun rises

n̄im²³ ʃa⁴⁴ -ni²² / **nyim sha-ni** / ཉིམ་ཤ་ནི་ (Dzk)

n̄i:²³ ʃek²² -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

(ne²⁴) dʒoŋ²³ -ta²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

(n̄i⁴⁴) ɕik⁴⁴ -tʌ²² [progressive + pst] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

(ŋʌm⁴⁴) k^he²² wʌ⁴⁴ ‘(the sun) sets’ (Scp)

pá 爬 WrT *’dzeg pa* (TBL#1538 ~ 山)

ja²³(=ta²²) ze²³ -ni²² / **ya:(=ta) ze-ni** / ཡར་(ཏི) འཛེག་ནི་ (Dzk)
upward (=PCL)

(hak⁴⁴so⁴⁴) k^hlaŋ⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

upward

(la²⁴=na²²) k^haŋ⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

mt. pass =ACC

k^hlʌŋ⁴⁴ -gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

gʌ²²(=tʌ⁴²) goŋ²⁴ me²² ‘upland (=to) climb’ (Scp)

p^hu⁴⁴ t^huŋ⁴⁴ gʌ²² goŋ²⁴ me²² ‘lit. mountain upland climb’ (Scp)

139 descend

*yu(W) (STC#289, p.101); *ʔ-yuk [above 1.121(5E)]; *zak (TSR#121)

xià 下 WrT *mar ’gro* / *’bab pa* (TBL#1716 ~ 楼)
(ZMC#0744 ~ 山)

ma²³(=ta²²) bap²² -ni²² / **ma:(=ta) bap -ni** / མར་(ཏི) འབབ་ནི་ (Dzk)
down (=PCL:to)

(jo²³to²²) bap²² -ʒaŋ²² ‘(downwards) descend’ (Bmt)

bap²² -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

bʌp²² -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

bʌ²² p^he⁴⁴ (Scp)

jiàng 降 WrT *’bab pa* (TBL#1418 降落)

dar²² -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

bʌp²² -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

(doŋ²²t^hʌn⁴⁴) bʌ²² p^he⁴⁴ ‘(downwards) descend’ (Scp)

jiǎn 減 WrT *'phri* (TBL#1415)
decrease

bap²² -ni²² / **ma:(=ta) bap -ni** / (Dzk)

bap²²na²² (Bmt)

bap²² -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

p^hAp²² -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

bΛ²²p^he⁴⁴ the same word as 'descend' (Scp)

140 fly (SWD#120: fly) (SWD#143: float)

*pur ≠ *pir (STC#398),

*pyam (STC#093, p.29; #171, p.51), *pyaw 'fly, swim, float' (STC#176)

fēi 飞 [飛] WrT *'phur* (TBL#1318) (ZMC#0782)

p^hur⁴⁴ -ni²² / **phur -ni** / རལུར་ནི་ (Dzk)

liŋ²²-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

p^hur⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

p^hur⁴⁴ -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

p^hur⁴⁴ pe⁴² (Scp)

piāo 飘 [飄] WrT *lding / hyang*

ptɕ^hɑ⁴⁴ -ni²² / **pcha-ni** / ཕྱག་ནི་ (Dzk)

tʃ^hak⁴⁴tsi⁴⁴ (Bmt)

p^hik⁴⁴tsi²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

tɕ^hΛk⁴⁴pΛ²² (= lΛ²²) (= ing) (Scp)

fú 浮 WrT *gyeng* (ZMC#0758)

piāo 漂 WrT *lding / hyang* (TBL#1553 漂浮)

141 **hide**

*p(w)ak (STC#046) ; *wak ≠ *ʔ-wak (PLB:TSR#178)

duǒcáng 躲藏 WrT *gab pa / yib pa* (TBL#1295)jip⁴⁴ -ni²² / 'yip-ni / དམིབ་ནི་ (Dzk)jim⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)jip⁴⁴ -dem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])jim⁴⁴ -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])gu²² me⁴² (Scp)cángni 藏匿 WrT *skung ba* (TBL#1169 藏 (东西))jip⁴⁴ ʒa²² -ni²² / 'yip zha-ni / དམིབ་བཞག་ནི་ (Dzk)ba²³ (ʒa²²) -ni²² / ba (zha) -ni / འབག་(བཞག་) ནི་ (Dzk)jim⁴⁴ tsi⁴⁴ blek²² -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)jip⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])lom⁴² -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])gum²² ʕo⁴² ; gum²² t^hai⁴² (Scp)142 **run / flee**

*ploŋ (STC#140)

pǎo 跑 WrT *rgyug pa* (TBL#1544) (ZMC#0573)dzu²³ -ni²² / ju -ni / འགྲུག་ནི་ (Dzk)tɕuk⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)dzu²³ ge²² (Bmt)dzuk²³ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])dzuk²² -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])cf. dzuk²² -lai²¹ 'run, please' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])dzuk²² -p^he⁴² (Scp)táozǒu 逃走 WrT *'bros pa* (TBL#1663) (ZMC#0711)dzo²³ -ni²² / jo -ni / འཕྱོག་ནི་ (Dzk)ʒak²² tsi⁴⁴ 'run away' (Bmt)dzuk²² -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) the same as 'run'dzuk²² -tɕo⁴² 's/he escapes' (Scp)

143 **emerge**

*twak (STC p.17), *pro (STC#248)

chūxiàn 出现 [出現] WrT *thon pa / mngon pa*

t^høn⁴⁴-ni²² / **thön-ni** / འཕྱོད་ཅི་ (Dzk)

dzɔŋ²²tse⁴⁴ (Bmt)

dzɔŋ²²-dzi²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

[-dzi²²] is a PCL which means ‘have happened/done to V and ~’

dzɔŋ²²-gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ɕo²² wɛ⁴² ‘s/he escapes’ (Scp)

K. Verb of emotion, cognition, perception (V psych)**144 fear / frighten**

(SWD#106)

*grok ʁ *krok (STC#473), *kri(y) (STC#416), *b-ray (STC#450)

hàipà 害怕 WrT *skrag pa* / *zhad pa* (TBL#1366) (ZMC#0730)dzɔ²³ -ni²² / **dro-ni** / འོ་ཁྱི་ (Dzk)dek²² -ʒaŋ²² [vi] ‘frightening’ (Bmt)dek²² ta²² [vt] ‘to frighten sb.’ (Bmt)dek²² -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])deŋ²² -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])joŋ²² k^he²² wΛ⁴² ‘fear’ (Scp)joŋ²⁴ tsuŋ²² ma²² ‘frighten sb’ (Scp)**145 know**

(SWD#103)

*m-kyen (STC#223), *syey (STC#182)

zhīdao 知道 WrT *shes pa* (TBL#1798) (ZMC#0722)ʦe⁴⁴ -ni²² / **she-ni** / ཤེས་ཁྱི་ (Dzk)k^hen⁴⁴ -ni²² / **khen-ni** / ཤེས་ཁྱི་ (H) (Dzk)k^han⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² [vi] (Bmt)k^han⁴⁴ ga²² [vt] ‘to know sth.’ (Bmt)k^haŋ⁴⁴ pa⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])brΛŋ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])se⁴⁴ wΛ⁴² ‘fear’ (Scp)

146 **ashamed**

*kyeŋ (STC#162), *s-rak (STC#431), *g-yak (STC#452)

hàixiū 害羞 WrT *ngo tsha* (TBL#1365)

ŋo²³ ts^hɑ⁴⁴ -ni²² / *ngo tsha -ni* / རྟོ་ཚ་ཉི་ (Dzk)

ŋo²³ ts^hɑ⁴⁴ tsi⁴⁴ (Bmt)

ŋo²³ ts^hɑ⁴⁴ ta⁴⁴ ‘feeling shy’ (Bmt)

ŋo²³ ts^hɑ⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² ‘ashame’ (Bmt)

ɳaŋ²⁴ -pa⁴³ [pft] / ɳaŋ²⁴ -gem²³¹ [impf] (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ɳaŋ²² -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ni²² naŋ²⁴ k^hu⁴⁴ wΛ²² (Scp)

147 **forget**

*b-la·p (STC#335)

wàngjì 忘记 [忘記] WrT *brjed pa* (TBL#1704) (ZMC#0726)

bdʒe²³ -ni²² / *bje-ni* / བཞེད་ཉི་ (Dzk)

ʒit²² na⁴⁴ (Bmt)

jit²² na⁴⁴ dʒi²⁴ tem⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ʕit²² -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

jit⁴⁴ k^hΛ²² ŋΛ⁴⁴ pΛ²² (Scp)

148 **dream**

*maŋ (STC#082); *s-mak ʷ *s-maŋ (PLB:TSR)

mèng 梦 [夢] WrT *rmi lam* / *gnyid lam* (TBL#0699) (ZMC#0519)

ɳi⁴⁴ lam²² / *nyilam* / ལྟིལ་ལམ་ (Dzk)

mi⁴⁴ maŋ²² (Bmt)

mi⁴⁴ maŋ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

mi²² maŋ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

moŋ²⁴ ʕi⁴² (Scp)

149 **see** (SWD#101)

*mraŋ (STC#149)

kànjiàn 看见 [看見] WrT *nthong* (TBL#1471) (ZMC#0529)

tʰo⁴⁴ -ni²² / **thong-ni** / མཐོང་ནི (Dzk)

tʰuŋ⁴⁴ da^{fi22} [pft] (Bmt)

tʰuŋ⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

blaŋ²² -ta²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

tʰuŋ⁴⁴ -gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

go⁴⁴ tɕʰo²² ‘(you) look at!’ imperative (Scp)

tʰoŋ⁴⁴ la-m²²? ‘Did you see it?’ {-m}:IRG (Scp)

150 **smell** (SWD#105)

*m-nam (STC#464)

wénjiàn 闻见 [聞見] WrT *snom* (TBL#1707 闻 (噢))
(ZMC#0548 闻)

dzim²³ / **drim** / ལྷིམ་ (Dzk)

bri^{fi} 232 (Bmt)

bri²³ nam²² -ta⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

bri²² nam²² -ta⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) ‘It is smelling of sth.’

ɕe⁴⁴ ri⁴² (Scp)

xiù 嗅

dzim²³ nam²³ -ni²² / **drimnam-ni** / ལྷིམ་མཐོང་ནི (Dzk)

bri^{fi} 23 nam²³ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

bri^{fi} 23 nam²² da^{fi} 22 ‘smelling’ [pft.] (Bmt)

bri²³ nam²² -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

bri²² ɕuɿ²² -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ɕer⁴⁴ nam²² -la⁴² ‘I am smelling’ (Scp)

ɕer⁴⁴ nam²² -la⁴² ? ‘Do you smell it?’ {-m}:IRG (Scp)

L. Stative verbs with human patients (V hum stat)

- 151 **thin** (SWD#035)
- *ba (STC#025)
- báo 薄 WrT *srab po* (TBL#0981) (ZMC#0814)
- sap⁴⁴ tɕ^hø⁴⁴ tɕ^hø⁴⁴ / **sap-thröthrö** / སྤུའ་ཐྱྱོའ་ཐྱྱོའ་ (Dzk)
- sap⁴⁴ ɕo³³ ɕo⁴³ / **sap-shosho** / སྤུའ་ཤོལ་ཤོལ་ (Dzk)
- sap⁴⁴ tɕ^hø⁴⁴ tɕ^hø⁴⁴ ; ɲap⁴⁴ tɕa²² la⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- ɲrep⁴⁴ tɕi⁴⁴ la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- ɲap²² tɕi⁴⁴ la²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- bɿ²² lu⁴² (Scp)
-
- 152 **old** (SWD#184)
- *r-ga (STC#445)
- lǎo 老 WrT *rga ba / rgan pa* (TBL#1493) (ZMC#0857 人 ~)
- ge(p)²² / **ge(p)** / གེཔ་ (Dzk)
- gat²² bo²² (Bmt)
- gɛt²² pu⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- gɿ²² pu⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- gɿ²⁴ bɿ²² (Scp)
-
- cf. niánqīng 年青 WrT *(lo) gzhon pa* (TBL#1059) (ZMC#0858)
- young
- zim²³¹ / **zhim** / གཞིན་མ་ (Dzk)
- zon²³ ma³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- ɕon²² ma⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- žen²⁴ ma²² (Scp)
- jɿ²⁴ laŋ⁴² ‘younger age’ (Scp)

jiù 旧 [舊] WrT *nying pa* (TBL#1051) (ZMC#0867 ~ 衣服)

ɲim⁴⁴ / 'nyim / ཉིང་མ་ (Dzk)

maŋ²²ba²² (Bmt)

maŋ²²ba²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

maŋ²²ba⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

maŋ²⁴ma⁴² (Scp)

153 **alive** (SWD#108) to live

*kruŋ (STC#382), *s-riŋ ✕ *s-raŋ (STC#404)

huó 活 WrT *gson po* (TBL#1087 (～的) living (adj.);
(TBL#1396 (～了) become alive/active)
(ZMC#0781 (鱼))

jɣn²³ne⁴²pa²² / yünnä: pa / ཡུན་གནས་པ་ (Dzk)

sin⁴⁴po²² / sin po / གསོན་པོ་ (Dzk) '(human being) alive'

ɲi⁴⁴-zaŋ²² (Bmt)

ɲi⁴⁴-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ɲi⁴⁴-gim²² ~ ɲim²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ma²²ci⁴⁴wa²² (Scp)

154 **ill**

*na (STC#080), *nyuŋ (STC#194)

bìng 病 WrT *na* (TBL#1160) (ZMC#0776)

na²³-ni²² / na-ni / ཉན་ནི་ (Dzk)

ɲuŋ⁴⁴-ni²² / nyung-ni / འཇུངས་ནི་ (H) (Dzk)

ma²²deu⁴² / ma deu / མ་དེུ་ (Dzk)

na²³-zaŋ²² (Bmt)

ɲuŋ⁴⁴-tsi⁴⁴ (H) (Bmt)

na²⁴-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

na⁴⁴-gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ma²⁴ba⁴² (Scp)

155 **fat**

*tsow (STC#277)

féi 肥 WrT *rgyags pa* (TBL#1025 猪~) (ZMC#0850 肉)dzak²²pa²²la⁴⁴ / **jakpala** / རྩྭ་པ་ལ་ (Dzk)dzak²²pa²²la²²; dzak²²po⁴⁴ (Bmt)dzak²²pa²²la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])dzak²²pa⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])dzak²²pa⁴⁴la²² (Scp)

pàng 胖 (TBL#1024) (ZMC#0849 人)

156 **itchy**

*g-ya (STC#451), *m-sak (STC#465)

yǎng 痒 WrT *za phrug* (TBL#1749) (ZMC#0900)ja⁴⁴-ni²² / **'ya-ni** / གཡ་ཉི་ (Dzk)ja⁴⁴mur²²mur²² / **'ya murmur** / གཡ་མུར་མུར་ (Dzk)dza²²-tsi⁴⁴; dza²²-ta⁴⁴ [adj?] 'itchying' (Bmt)dza²²-ta⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])dza²²-gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])za²²na⁴² (Scp)

M. Stative verbs with non-human patients (V inan stat)157 **full**

(SWD#182)

*bliŋ ✕ *pliŋ (STC#142), *dyam ✕ *tyam (STC#226)

mǎn 满 [滿] WrT *gang* (TBL#1518 满 (~ 了) be full / filled up)gaŋ⁴⁴ -ni²² / **gang-ni** / གང་ནི [v.] (Dzk)naŋ²² -tsi⁴⁴ [v.] (Bmt)naŋ²² -dem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])naŋ⁴⁴ -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])p^huŋ⁴⁴ m^Λ⁴⁴ (Scp)[adj.] WrT *gang ba* (TBL#0984) (ZMC#0846)tem⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ / **temte** / ཐེམ་ཏེ་ [adj] (Dzk)tem⁴⁴ tem⁴³ [adj.] (Bmt)tem⁴⁴ tem⁴² [adj.] ; bleŋ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])tem⁴⁴ te⁴² (Scp)158 **long / tall**

(SWD#028)

*duŋ (STC#020; #231, p.75), *low (STC#279), *s-riŋ (STC#433)

cháng 长 [長] WrT *ring po* (TBL#0972) (ZMC#0809)rem⁴⁴ / **ri:m** / རིམ་མོ་ (Dzk)riŋ²³ ziŋ²² (Bmt)kaŋ⁴⁴ ba²² la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])kaŋ⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ (-la²²) (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) = 'tall'riŋ²⁴ bu²² (Scp)

gāo 高 WrT *mtʰo(n) ba* (TBL#0968) (ZMC#0802)
high

rem⁴⁴ / **ri:m** / རིང་མོ་ (Dzk)

riŋ²³ʒiŋ²² (Bmt)

† Ms. Sonam said she has no distinction between ‘long’ and ‘tall’.

kaŋ⁴⁴ba²²la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

kʌŋ⁴⁴bʌ⁴⁴ (-lʌ²²) (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) = ‘long’

riŋ²²bu⁴⁴ (Scp)

ʃʌŋ²⁴ riŋ²²bu⁴⁴ ‘(human) tall’ (Scp)

159 **sweet**

*dz(y)im (STC#071), *twi(y) (STC#166)

tián 甜 WrT *mngar mo* (TBL#1073) (ZMC#0888)

ŋa:m⁴³ / **nga:m** / མང་མོ་ (Dzk)

ŋok²²dom²³dom⁴³ (Bmt)

ŋok²²ta⁴³ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ŋʌm⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ʒim²⁴bu⁴² (Scp)

160 **cold**

*gran (STC#120), *kyam (STC#224) (SWD#181)

lěng 冷 WrT *grang mo* (TBL#1063) (ZMC#0884)
cold

dʒã²³-ni²² / **jang-ni** / རྩང་ནི་ (Dzk)

k^høm⁴⁴ / **khöm** / རྩོད་མོ་ ‘cold (weather)’ (Dzk)

k^hY⁴⁴ si⁴⁴si⁴⁴ / **khü-sisi** / རྩོད་སྟེ་སྟེ་ ‘very cold (weather)’ (Dzk)

k^hit⁴⁴ta²² ‘cold (sth.)’ ; ŋak²²pa²² (weather) (Bmt)

k^hit⁴⁴ta²² ‘cold (sth.)’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

ŋʌk²²pʌ²¹ ‘cold (sth.)’ ; k^hi⁴⁴ gim²² (weather) (Bmt)

k^hur⁴⁴bu⁴² (-lʌ⁴⁴) (weather) (Scp)

tɕ^hʌŋ⁴⁴pu⁴² (stuff) (Scp)

liáng 凉快 [凉快] WrT *bsil po* (TBL#1066) (ZMC#0886)
cool

si⁴⁴ tō²²to²² / **si-to(ng)to** / བསིལ་ཏོ་ཏོ་ (Dzk)

sik⁴⁴ toŋ²²to⁴⁴ (Bmt)

k^hit⁴⁴ta²² ‘cool (weather)’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

si²² tōŋ⁴⁴toŋ²² ‘cool (weather)’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

tɕ^hΛŋ⁴⁴pu⁴² (Scp)

161 **bitter**

*ka (STC#008)

kǔ 苦 WrT *kha po* (TBL#1074) (ZMC#0889)

k^hak⁴⁴te²²te⁴⁴ / **khak-tete** / ཁག་ཏེ་ཏེ་ (Dzk)

k^hak⁴⁴ta²² (Bmt)

k^hak⁴⁴ta²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

k^hΛk⁴⁴ta²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

k^hΛ⁴⁴lu⁴² (Scp)

162 **sour**

*kri(y) (STC#413), *s-kyur ≠ *su·r (STC#042)

suān 酸 WrT *skyur mo* (TBL#1072) (ZMC#0887)

tɕup⁴⁴ / **cup** / ཚུཕ་ (Dzk)

tɕ^huŋ⁴⁴ma²² (Bmt)

tɕ^huŋ⁴²ta²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

tɕ^huŋ⁴⁴pΛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

tɕur⁴⁴pu⁴² (Scp)

- 163 **red** (SWD#172)
- *kyeŋ (STC#162), *r-ni (STC pp.46, 91), *tsyak (STC#184)
- hóng 紅 [紅] WrT *dm̐ar po* (TBL#1007) (ZMC#0837)
- m̐a:p⁴⁴ / 'ma:p / རྩམ་པོ་ (Dzk)
- ʒiŋ²³di⁴³ (Bmt)
- dʒin²⁴ti⁴⁴la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- çiŋ²²di²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- tsʌ⁴⁴lu⁴² (Scp)
- 164 **heavy** (SWD#031)
- *s-liy (STC#095)
- zhòng 重 WrT *l̥j̥id po* (TBL#1014) (ZMC#0830)
- dʒi²³ / j̥i / ཇི་ (Dzk)
- dʒi²³t̥ɕ̥⁴⁴ / j̥ic̥än / ཇི་ཅན་ (Dzk)
- t̥ɕut⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- dʒit²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- dʒut²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- t̥ɕit⁴⁴pu²² (Scp)
- 165 **warm** (SWD#180)
- *lum (STC#381)
- wēn 溫 WrT *dro(n) po* (TBL#1064 水 ~)
- ts^hɑ⁴⁴ d̐e:²³¹ .ɛn²⁴tok⁴⁴to⁴² / tshad̐ö: räntokto / རྩ་ཤོད་རྩའ་ཐོག་ཏོ་ (Dzk)
- (tʰu⁴⁴) dʒam²²dʒem⁴² / chu dramdrem / རྩ་ཤོད་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ 'hot water' [n] (Dzk)
- (k^hwe⁴⁴) dam²³dom²² (Bmt)
- ts^hɑ⁴⁴ to⁴⁴to⁴⁴ (water) (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- ts^het⁴⁴ pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- ts^hʌn⁴⁴ bʌ²² (water) (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- cf. krot⁴⁴ 'heat' (sth./water) (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- gom²²pu⁴² (Scp) ri²⁴ ts^hʌ⁴⁴lo²² 'hot water' (Scp)
- ri²⁴ dzʌm²²dʒem⁴² 'warm water' (Scp)

nuǎnhuo 暖和 WrT *dro(n) po* (TBL#1065) (ZMC#0885)

dzo²³ to(k)⁴⁴to⁴² / **drö-to(k)to** / འྲོ་ཏོ་ཏོ་ (Dzk)

ts^ha⁴⁴ to⁴⁴to⁴⁴ / **tsha-to(k)to** / ཅ་ཏོ་ཏོ་ (Dzk)

gru²³ dom⁴⁴dom²² (Bmt)

gru²³ to⁴⁴ma²² (Bmt)

ts^het⁴⁴ pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

krot⁴⁴ 'heat' (sth./water) (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ts^hΛ⁴⁴ to²²to²² 'warm ~ hot' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

dza²²ma²²dzom⁴² 'warm and comfortable' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

gom²²pu⁴² (Scp)

166 **round** (SWD#190)

*z-lum (STC#143), *wal (STC#091)

yuán 圓 [圓] WrT *sgor sgor* (TBL#0990) (ZMC#0807)

gor²³go(r)²³ / **gorgo(r)** / གོ་རོ་ (2D, on a plane) (Dzk)

gon²³to⁴⁴ la²²la²² / **gongto lala** / གོང་ཏོ་ལ་ལ་

(3D, like a solid ball in baby talk) (Dzk)

t^hi⁴⁴ ger²²ger²² (2D, on a plane) (Bmt)

tu⁴⁴lum⁴⁴ ri²³ri²² (Bmt)

t^hε⁴² gor²²gor²² (2D & 3D) (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

t^hi²² gir⁴⁴ger⁴² (2D) (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

k^hir²²k^hir⁴² (2D & 3D) (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

gok²²toŋ⁴² (3D) (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

k^hir⁴⁴k^hir⁴² (Scp)

167 **ripe / well-cooked**

*s-min (STC#432)

shóu 熟 WrT **'tshod pa** (TBL#1637 饭 ~) (ZMC#0869 肉 ~)ts^{ho}44ts^{ho}p44 / **tshotshop** / མོ་མོ་ཤ་ཤ་ 'ripe' [impft] (Dzk)ts^{ho}44nu43 / **tshonu** / མོ་མོ་ལྷ་ 'ripped' [pft] (Dzk)ts^hut44na44 (Bmt)ts^hu44zu24mu22 (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

su44na22 'cooked' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

t^hu44wa22 (Scp)WrT **smin pa** (TBL#1638 果子 ~)ts^{ho}44-ni22 / **tsho-ni** / མོ་མོ་ནི་ 'ripe' [v] (Dzk)

men44na43 (Bmt)

ts^hu44zu24mu22 (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

men44na22 'ripped' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

min24pa22 '(fruit) ripe' (Scp)

168 **soft (to touch)**

*now (STC#274)

ruǎn 软 [軟] WrT **sn̥yi ba / mnyen pa** (TBL#1035) (ZMC#0832)dzam22 t^hu44t^hu44 / **jamchuchu** / འཇམ་ཆུ་ཆུ་ (Dzk)

† The pronunciation is different from Dzongkha spelling in the Tibetan script.

dzam22 t^hu44t^hu44 (Bmt)dzam22 t^hu44na42 (Khk: Zmg[Wml])dzam22 t^ɕhu44t^ɕhu44 (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

dzam22pu44 (Scp)

nèn 嫩 (TBL#1057 植物 ~) (ZMC#0859 菜 ~)

- 169 **white** (SWD#175)
- *bok (STC p.181), *ŋow (STC#296),
*plu (pp.41, 46, 60-61, 89)[cf. SILVER #095]
- bái 白 WrT *dkar po* (TBL#1006) (ZMC#0840)
- ka:p⁴⁴ / **ka:p** / ཀཤམ་པ་ (Dzk)
k^har⁴⁴ɕi⁴³ (Bmt)
k^her⁴⁴ti⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
k^har⁴⁴ti⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
bɿ²²liŋ⁴⁴mu⁴² (Scp)
- 170 **black** (SWD#176)
- *tyaŋ (STC#225); *(s-)nak (STC pp.88, 102, 155; TSR#142);
*sim ≠ syim (STC#380)
- hēi 黑 WrT *nag po* (TBL#1005) (ZMC#0841)
- nap⁴⁴ / **nap** / གནག་པོ་ (Dzk)
nɿ²³ɕe²² (Bmt)
nɿ⁴²te²²la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
nɿ²²ti²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
tɕ^hɿ⁴⁴lu⁴² (Scp)
- 171 **thick** (SWD#030)
- *r-ta-t (STC#426), *tow (STC#319), *tu·k (STC#356)
- hòu 厚 WrT *nthug po* (TBL#0980) (ZMC#0813)
- tu⁴⁴pa⁴⁴pa⁴³ / **tu:papa** / ཐུག་པ་པ་ (Dzk)
to⁴⁴la²² (Bmt)
tok⁴⁴tɕi²²la²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
tok⁴⁴tɕ^hen²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
t^het⁴⁴pu²² (Scp)

- 172 **new** (SWD#183)
- *sar (STC pp.147, 172, 189)
- xīn 新 WrT *gsar pa* (TBL#1050) (ZMC#0866)
- sa:p⁴⁴ / **sa:p** / གསེའུ་ (Dzk)
- sar⁴⁴pa⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- sar⁴⁴pa²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- sar⁴⁴pa⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- sinj⁴⁴ma⁴² (Scp)
-
- 173 **sharp** (SWD#191)
- *s-ryam (STC pp.53, 171, 189), *tak (STC p.87; TSR#41)
- jiānrui 尖锐 [尖锐] WrT *rno ba* (TBL#0992) (ZMC#0806 刀~)
- ŋø⁴⁴ k^he²²k^he⁴⁴ / **n(g)ö:-khekhe** / རྩོལ་ཁེག་ཁེ (Dzk)
- nɣ⁴³ (Bmt)
- jaŋ²⁴tɕan⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- nɛ²² (tɕup⁴⁴tɕup²²) (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ts^he⁴⁴p^hu²² ~ ts^he⁴⁴fu²² (Scp)
-
- 174 **lightweight**
- *r-ya·ŋ (STC#328)
- qīng 轻 [輕] WrT *yang ba* (TBL#1015) (ZMC#0829)
- jaŋ²³ tɕ^hø⁴⁴tɕ^hø⁴⁴ / **yang-thröthrö** / ཡང་ཐྷོ་ཐྷོ་ (Dzk)
- jaŋ²² som⁴⁴som²² (Bmt)
- cf. dʒi²² k^ho²²k^ho⁴⁴ ‘heavy’ (Bmt)
- jaŋ²⁴su⁴⁴ma²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- jɿŋ²⁴su⁴⁴ma²² ; jɿŋ²²tɕ^he⁴⁴tɕ^he⁴⁴ ; jɿŋ²²sum⁴⁴sum²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- jɿŋ⁴⁴pu⁴² (Scp)

N. Action verbs with human agent (V hum act)175 **eat**

(SWD#093)

*am (STC#481), *dza (STC#066)

chī 吃 [喫] WrT *za ba* (TBL#1198) (ZMC#0533)za²³-ni²² / **za-ni** / ཟ་ནི་ (Dzk)ʒø²³-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)zø²³-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])zu²²-gim²² ; tɕap⁴⁴-dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])søi⁴⁴-la²² [H] ‘Would you have (sth.)?’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])zai⁴² (Scp)ʒe²² [H] (Scp)176 **drink**

(SWD#092)

*am (STC#481); *Ndaŋ¹ (PLB:TSR p.15)hē 喝 WrT *ʿhung ba* (TBL#1370) (ZMC#0534 ~水)tʰuŋ⁴⁴-ni²² / **thung-ni** / འཇུང་ནི་ (Dzk)tʰoŋ⁴³-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)tʰoŋ⁴⁴-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])tʰoŋ⁴⁴-gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])søi⁴⁴-la²² [H] ‘Would you have (sth. to drink)?’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])dʒam²⁴ (-ɕo⁴²) (imperative) (Scp)dʒam²⁴ (-me⁴²) ‘(I) drink’ (Scp)ʒe²² [H] (Scp)

177 **give**

(SWD#128)

*biy (STC#427), *pek (STC pp.101, 149)

gěi

给 [給] WrT *ster ba*

(TBL#1345)

bdzin²²-ni²² / **bjin-ni** / འཛིན་ནི་ (Dzk)naŋ⁴⁴-ni²² / **'nang-ni** / གནང་ནི་ (H) (Dzk)be²²-zaŋ²² (Bmt)naŋ⁴⁴-zaŋ²² (H) (Bmt)bi²⁴-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])bi⁴⁴-gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])p^hui⁴⁴-gim²² [H] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])bi²² (Scp)naŋ²²-ɕo⁴² [H] (Scp)178 **tie**

(SWD#137)

*du-t 𐄂 *tu-t (STC#421), *kik (STC#484)

bǎng

绑 [綁] WrT *sdom pa*

(TBL#1141) (ZMC#0664 捆)

dam²³-ni²² / **dam-ni** / བསྐྱེད་ནི་ (Dzk)dam²³-zaŋ²²/-tsi⁴⁴ (Bmt)dam²³-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])dΛm²³-dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])dΛm²²-pe⁴² (Scp)dΛm²² (-tɕ^ho⁴²) (imperative) (Scp)

jì

系 [繫] 打结; 扣

t^hoɽ⁴⁴-dim²² 'joint' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])tɕ^hi⁴⁴-le²² (Scp)

shuān

拴 WrT *'dogs pa*

(TBL#1645 ~ 牛)

ta⁴⁴-ni²² / **ta:-ni** / ལྷག་ནི་ (Dzk)gue²³-tse⁴⁴ (Bmt)tɕ^hi⁴⁴-le²² (Scp)

jié 结 [結] WrT *mdud pa*

dY²²fi⁴⁴ / **dü-fi** / འདྲེ་ཕི་ (Dzk)

dup²²pa⁴⁴ ‘knot’ (Bmt)

dup⁴⁴pa²² dam²³ -gem²³¹ ‘to make a knot’ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

knot tie

tu⁴⁴-le²² (Scp)

tu⁴⁴-ji²² (imperative) (Scp)

tu⁴⁴-nΛŋ²² (3rd person) (Scp)

tɕ^hik⁴⁴nΛŋ²² ‘knot’ [n] (Scp)

tɕ^hik⁴⁴nΛŋ²² tɕo⁴⁴tɕo²² ‘make a knot’ (Scp)

179 **steal**

*r-kuw (STC#033)

tōu 偷 WrT *rku ba* (TBL#1686) (ZMC#0715)

au⁴⁴ku⁴⁴-ni²² / **’auku-ni** / འུ་ཀུ་ནི་ (Dzk)

zu²³ / zu²³bu⁴⁴-zaŋ²² (Bmt)

kut⁴⁴ma²² bu²² -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

zu²³ / zu²²bu²¹-dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

dzo²⁴wΛn⁴² (Scp) cf. dzo²⁴wΛn⁴²pa²² [n.] ‘thief’

180 **lick**

*m/s-lyak (STC#211)

tiǎn 舔 WrT *rdag pa* (TBL#1674) (ZMC#0537)

tee⁴⁴da²²-ni²² / **ce da-ni** / རྩེ་བཅལ་ནི་ (Dzk)

priŋ⁴⁴-zaŋ²² (Bmt)

p^hriŋ⁴² -dem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

p^hriŋ⁴² -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ben²⁴me⁴² (-ɕo⁴²) (imperative) (Scp)

ben²⁴me⁴² (-lΛ⁴²) ‘sb already has licked’ (Scp)

- 181 **bite** (SWD#094)
- *gam (STC#491), *hap (STC#089), *ku·k (STC#388), *wa (STC#424)
- yǎo 咬 WrT *so rgyag pa* (TBL#1753) (ZMC#0535)
- so⁴⁴ tap⁴⁴-ni²² / **so tap-ni** / ཚོ་བཏབ་ནི་ (Dzk)
- ts^{hek}⁴⁴-žan²² (Bmt)
- ts^{heŋ}⁴⁴-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- ts^{heŋ}⁴⁴-gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ŋΛ²⁴ (-me⁴²) ‘(I) bite’ (Scp)
- ŋΛm²⁴ (-ɕo⁴²) (imperative) (Scp)
- ŋΛm²⁴ (-lΛ⁴²) ‘sb already has bitten’ (Scp)
- jiáo 嚼 WrT *mur ba* (TBL#1424) (ZMC#0536)
- chew
- mu⁴⁴-ni²² / **’mu-ni** / མུ་ནི་† (Dzk)
- † The Tibetan spelling is different from ‘gnaw’, but the pronunciation is the same.
- mur²³-žan²² (Bmt)
- zu²³-gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- mur²³-tim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- † There is no distinction between the verb suffix / -dim / and / -tim/, which are determined by the fixed combination with verb stem.
- ŋΛm²⁴ (-lΛ⁴²) ‘sb already has chewed’, the same word as ‘bite’ (Scp)
- kěn 啃 WrT *’brad pa* (TBL#1481) (ZMC#0539)
- gnaw (a bone)
- mu⁴⁴-ni²² / **’mu-ni** / མུ་ནི་† (Dzk)
- † The Tibetan spelling is different from ‘chew’, but the pronunciation is the same.
- p^{hok}⁴⁴tse⁴⁴ (Bmt)
- (ro⁴⁴sa²²) ŋu·⁴⁴zi²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- mur²³-tim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ŋΛ²² (-me⁴²) ‘(I) gnaw’ impft (Scp)

182 **scratch / scrape**

(SWD#117)

*hyak (STC#230); *krak $\bowtie$ *Nkrak (TSR#096);
 *kret $\bowtie$ Nkret (TSR#097); *kut (STC#383), *pruk (STC#391)

náo 挠 WrT *'phur ba / 'brad pa / 'phrug pa*
 (TBL#1530 ~痒) (ZMC#0555 搔痒)

tʂe:⁴⁴ -ni²² / **tre:-ni** / ཐྲེ་ནི་ (Dzk)

brat²³ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

mrat⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

mrat⁴⁴ -lai²¹ [imperative] (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

brat⁴⁴ -tim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

tʂʌk⁴⁴ pe⁴⁴ (Scp)

zhuā 抓 (TBL#1805)

si:⁴⁴ mu⁴³ ʒa:²³ -ni²² / **si:mu zha:-ni** / བེ་མུ་མཛ་ནི་ (Dzk)

brat²³ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)

brat⁴⁴ -tim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

tʂʌk⁴⁴ pe⁴⁴ (Scp)

183 **cook / boil**

*klak (STC#124), *prut (STC#131), *pryo (STC#250)

zhǔ 煮 WrT *'tshod pa* (TBL#1804) (ZMC#0627 ~饭)

cook

tso⁴⁴ -ni²² / **tso-ni** / བཙོ་ནི་ 'cook' (Dzk)

tsʰok⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² 'cook' (Bmt)

tsʰo⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ 'cook' (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

tsʰok⁴⁴ -gim²² 'cook' ((Khk: Zmg[Trn])

zoŋ²⁴ -me²²; tʂʰot⁴⁴ -pe²² / -tʂo⁴² / -la⁴² 'cook' (Scp)

boil

kə⁴⁴ -ni²² / **kö-ni** / བཙོ་ལ་ནི་ 'boil (the water)' (Dzk)

kə⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² 'boil (the water)' (Bmt)

kʰwe⁴⁴ tsʰaŋ⁴⁴ tʰɛ⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ 'boil (the water)' (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

water hot boil

(kʰwe⁴⁴ tsʰaŋ⁴⁴) ku⁴⁴ -dim²² 'boil (the water)' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

water hot boil

dur²² -be²² 'boil' (Scp)

184 **grind**

*krit (STC#119)

niǎn

碾

WrT *bgru ba*

grind

tʰɑ:⁴⁴ -ni²² / **tha:-ni** / འགྲུ་ནི་ (Dzk)tʰuk⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)tʰuk⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])tʰu⁴⁴ -gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ju²⁴ -me⁴²; tʰuŋ⁴⁴ -me⁴² (Scp)

dǎo

捣 [捣]

WrT *rdzog pa*

(TBL#1259 捣碎)

crush

dun²³ -ni²² / **dun-ni** / ལུང་ནི་ (Dzk)tok⁴⁴ -tse²² (Bmt)tok⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])tok⁴⁴ -gim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ju²⁴ -me⁴²; tʰuŋ⁴⁴ -me⁴² (Scp)185 **wash**

(SWD#132)

*kruw (STC#117), *m-s(y)il (STC#492)

xǐ

洗

WrT *'khrud ba*

(TBL#1713 ~衣) (ZMC#0649 ~衣服)

(cf. ZMC#0648 ~手)

(tʰu⁴⁴) tʰu⁴⁴ -ni²² / **(chu) chu-ni** / (ཆུ་) འཁྲུ་ནི་ (Dzk)(kʰwe⁴⁴) kʰro⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)(ja⁴²) kʰro⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ 'wash (the hands)' (Khk: Zmg[Wml])(ja⁴²) kʰro⁴⁴ -gim²¹ 'wash (the hands)' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])zik⁴⁴ -pe²² (impft) / -pɿ²² (pft) / -tɕo²² / -lɿ²² (Scp)

- 186 **dig** (SWD#118)
- *klaw (STC#269), *r-ko-t (STC#420), *la-y (STC#288), *tu (STC#258)
- wā 挖 WrT *'dru ba / rko ba* (TBL#1698) (ZMC#0597)
scoop out
- ko⁴⁴ -ni²² / **ko-ni** / ཁོ་ནི་ (Dzk)
ku⁴⁴ -zaŋ²² (Bmt)
ku⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
ku⁴⁴ -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
bɿk²²be⁴² (Scp)
- jué 掘 (TBL#1458)
excavate
- 187 **let go; set free; loosen**
- *g-lwat (STC#209)
- shìfàng 释放 [釋放] WrT *sgrol ba / glod pa* (TBL#1626)
- taŋ⁴⁴ -ni²² / **tang-ni** / ཏང་ནི་ (Dzk)
pre⁴⁴ -zaŋ²² (Bmt)
pret⁴⁴ -dem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
pret⁴⁴ -tim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
t^hup⁴⁴t^hai⁴²; di²²le⁴⁴bi⁴⁴ 'set free' (Scp)
- sōng 松 [鬆] WrT *glod pa / lhod pa* (TBL#1041) (ZMC#0880 绑)
- l^hø.⁴⁴ (taŋ⁴⁴) -ni²² / **lhö: (tang) -ni** / ལྷོ་(གཏང་)་ནི་ (Dzk)
jaŋ²³ tok⁴⁴tok²² (Bmt)
dʒam²⁴tō⁴⁴ŋa⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
dʒam²²toŋ⁴⁴ŋa²² 'loosen / feel soft' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
t^hAr⁴⁴-ɕo⁴² (Scp)

188 **extinguish**

*mit (STC#374)

xīmiè 熄灭 [熄滅] WrT *shi ba / yal ba* (TBL#1522 (火) 灭)se⁴⁴-ni²² / **se-ni** / གསེན་ནི་ (Dzk)sut⁴⁴-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)sut⁴⁴-dem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])sut⁴⁴-dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ʕe⁴² (Scp)189 **blow**

(SWD#098)

*s-mut (STC p.75)

chuī 吹 WrT *phu rgyag pa*
 (TBL#1218 ~喇叭 WrT *'bud ba*) (ZMC#0544 ~火)
 (cf. TBL#1219 ~灰) blow away (a speck of dust)

p^hu⁴⁴-ni²² / **phu-ni** / རཕུ་ནི་ (Dzk)put⁴⁴-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)but⁴⁴-dem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])but²²-dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])k^hai⁴²; mu⁴⁴-ji⁴²/-le²² 'I do'/-nɿ⁴² 'someone do' (Scp)

guā 刮 WrT *lhags pa rgyag pa / rlung rgyag pa*
 (TBL#1353 ~风) (ZMC#0753 ~风)

p^hu⁴⁴-ni²² / **phu-ni** / རཕུ་ནི་ (Dzk)put⁴⁴-ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)(loŋ⁴²) but⁴⁴-tɿ²¹ [pft] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])p^hu⁴⁴-lɿ⁴² (Scp)

190 **buy**

*b-rey (STC#293)

mǎi 买 [買] WrT *nyo ba* (TBL#1516) (ZMC#0616)ɲø²³ ~ ɲY²³ -ni²² / **nyo-ni** / ཉོ་ནི་ (Dzk)ɲø²³ ~ ɲY²³ -ȝaŋ²² (Bmt)ɲu²³ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])ɲu²³ -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ɲo⁴⁴ -le²² 'I/you do' / -nʌ⁴² 'someone do' (Scp)191 **sew**

(SWD#138)

*d-rup (STC#456), *(ʔ-)grup ≠ *ʔdrup; *byar ≠ *pyar (STC#178)

féng 缝 [縫] WrT *'tshem pa* (TBL#1324)
sewtsem⁴⁴ -ni²² / **tsem-ni** / བསྐྱེད་ནི་ (Dzk)tsem⁴⁴ -ȝaŋ²² (Bmt)tsem⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])sem⁴⁴ -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ts^hok⁴⁴ pe⁴⁴ (Scp)bǔ 补 [補] WrT *glon pa / lhan pa rgyag pa*
patch (TBL#1161 ~衣) (ZMC#0653 ~衣服)tshem⁴⁴ dzap²² -ni²² / **tshem jap-ni** / མེས་རྒྱུ་བཞི་ (Dzk)tʂa⁴³ men²⁴ tʂ^huk⁴⁴ -ȝaŋ²² (Bmt)tsem⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])tɕ^hʌ⁴⁴ me²² tʂ^huk⁴⁴ -gim²² 'patch' (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ts^hok⁴⁴ pe⁴⁴ (Scp)

- 192 **kill** (SWD#110)
- *g-sat (STC#058)
- shā 杀 [殺] WrT *gsod ba* (TBL#1602) (ZMC#0633)
- se⁴⁴ -ni²² / **se-ni** / གསེད་ནི་ (Dzk)
- sut⁴⁴ -žan²² (Bmt)
- sut⁴⁴ -dem²³¹† (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- † It is impossible to change into / -gem²³¹/ in this word.
- sut⁴⁴ -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- ce⁴⁴-le⁴² ‘I/you do’ /-nΛ⁴² ‘someone do’ (Scp)
-
- 193 **weave**
- *tak (STC#017)
- zhī 织 [織] WrT *’thag pa* (TBL#1799) (ZMC#0613 ~布)
- (tʰɑ⁴³) tʰɑ⁴⁴ -ni²² / **(tha:)**† **tha-ni** / (ཐག་ས་) འཐག་ནི་ (Dzk)
- † ཐག་ས་ / **tha:** / ‘cloth’
- (tʰɑk⁴⁴) tʰuk⁴⁴ -žan²² (Bmt)
- tʰuk⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- tʰuk⁴⁴ -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- nΛ²²me⁴² (Scp)
-
- 194 **rub** (SWD#131)
- *nu·l (STC#365), *s(y)wiy (STC#180)
- cā 擦 WrT *phyi ba / phyi bdar / sub ba*
- (TBL#1163 ~桌子) (ZMC#0624)
- (cf. TBL#1164 擦掉 wipe away, erase)
- tʃʰɑ⁴⁴ -ni²² / **cha:-ni** / འཕྲུག་ནི་ ‘clean up’ (Dzk)
- pʰu⁴⁴ -ni²² / **phu:-ni** / འཕུར་ནི་ ‘rub’ (Dzk)
- pʰik⁴⁴ -žan²² (Bmt)
- pʰik⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- pʰik⁴⁴ -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
- rut⁴⁴pe²² (Scp)

195 **squeeze** (SWD#130)

*nyap (STC#192), *tsyur (STC#188)

jǐ 挤 [擠] WrT **'jo ba** (TBL#1405 ~奶) (ZMC#0611 ~奶)
(cf. TBL#1404 ~牙膏)

tsi.⁴⁴ -ni²² / **tsi:-ni** / ཅི་ཁྱི་ (Dzk)tʰan²⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)tʰan⁴² -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])ser⁴⁴ -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn]) † cf. / tʰan⁴⁴ -gim²¹ / 'to pull'dzu²²le⁴⁴; ten⁴⁴-ne⁴²/-tʰo⁴²/-la⁴² 'pack' (Scp)

zhà 榨 WrT **'tshir ba** (TBL#1781 ~油)

tsi.⁴⁴ -ni²² / **tsi:-ni** / ཅི་ཁྱི་ (Dzk)grum²⁴ -tsi⁴² (Bmt)tʰan⁴² -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])ser⁴⁴ -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])nu²⁴† tʰu²²-le²² 'milk [v]' (Scp) † / nu²⁴ / 'milk [n]'196 **shoot**

*ga·p (STC#219)

shè 射 WrT **'phen ba** (TBL#1611 ~箭) (ZMC#0688)

(da²⁴) tʰap⁴⁴ -ni²² / **(da) cap-ni** / (ཐམ་ཁྱི་) རྒྱུ་ཁྱི་ (Dzk)tʰuŋ⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²²; tʰu⁴⁴ŋe⁴³ 'shoot' (Bmt)tʰuŋ⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])tʰuŋ⁴⁴ -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ga²²-pʰe⁴⁴~ -fe⁴⁴, ga²²-tʰo⁴⁴ imperative /-la⁴⁴ 3rd person has done (Scp)

197 **kick**

*tek (PLB:TSR#14)

tī 踢 WrT *rdog rgyag gzhu ba* (TBL#1667) (ZMC#0565)dɔk⁴⁴t^he⁴² dzap²² -ni²² / **dokthe jap-ni** / དོག་ཐེ་གཏུབ་ནི་ (Dzk)tok⁴⁴pe⁴² (Bmt)dok⁴⁴pe⁴⁴t^huŋ⁴² -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])dok⁴⁴p^Λ⁴⁴t^huŋ⁴² -gim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])bis²²t^hi⁴⁴ p^hi⁴² (Scp) /bis²²t^hi⁴⁴/ ‘by foot’ + /p^hi⁴²/ ‘kick’198 **sell**

*par (STC p.35), *ywar (STC pp.15, 51, 89)

mài 卖 [賣] WrT *’tshong ba* (TBL#1517) (ZMC#0617)tsɔŋ⁴⁴ -ni²² / **tsong-ni** / བཞོང་ནི་ (Dzk)mɣ²⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)mui⁴² -dem²³¹† (Khk: Zmg[Wml])†It is impossible to change into / -gem²³¹/ in this word.mui⁴² -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])tsɔŋ⁴⁴-me⁴² I do / -ʕo⁴⁴ imperative /-l^Λ²² 3rd person has done (Scp)199 **put, place**

*s-ta (STC#019)

fàngzhì 放置 WrT *’jog pa* (TBL#1314) (ZMC#0660)ʒa²³ -ni²² / **zha-ni** / བཞག་ནི་ (Dzk)brek²⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)brek⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])blek⁴⁴ -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])t^hai⁴² ‘put it on’ (Scp)tsuk⁴⁴-pe⁴² I do / -tʕo⁴⁴ imperative /-l^Λ²² 3rd person has done (Scp)

200 **drive / hunt**

(SWD#112)

*rak ʌ Ngak (PLB:TSR#162)

qūgǎn 驱赶 [驅趕] WrT *'ded pa / 'bud pa*
drive (TBL#1576 驱逐) (ZMC#0713 赶(走))

da²³ -ni²² / **da-ni** / འདྲེན་ (Dzk)don²³ -tsi²² (Bmt)gro²⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)ba²² dui⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])gro⁴⁴ -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])k^hon⁴⁴ -me⁴² I do / -ʕo⁴⁴ imperative / -la²² 3rd person has done (Scp)

dǎliè 打猎 [打獵] WrT *rngon pa / khyi ra rgyag pa*
hunt (TBL#1230) (ZMC#0686)

(ʃa⁴⁴) da²³ -ni²² / (**sha**) **da-ni** / (ʕ) འདྲེན་ (Dzk) ʃa⁴⁴ 'meat'(ʃa⁴⁴) gro²⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)(ʃa⁴⁴) krot⁴⁴ to²² [n.] (Khk: Zmg[Wml])(ʃa⁴⁴) krot⁴⁴ to²² gai²⁴ -dem²³¹ [v.] 'go to hunt' (Khk: Zmg[Wml])(ʕa⁴⁴) gro⁴⁴ -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])ʕa⁴⁴ k^hon⁴⁴ -me⁴² (Scp)200.1 **burn**

(SWD#169)

*bar ʌ *par (STC#220), plonɿ (STC#139), *tsow (STC#275),

*ka·ŋ (STC#330), *duk ʌ *ʔduk (TSR#62), *put (TSR#8)

ránshāo 燃烧 [燃燒] WrT *'bar ba* (TBL#1269)

ts^hi:⁴⁴ -ni²² / **tsi:-ni** / འཚོག་ (Dzk)ts^hik⁴⁴ na⁴⁴ (Bmt)dom²⁴ dzu²² mu²² [vi] (Khk: Zmg[Wml])tu⁴⁴ te²² me²² ~ tu⁴⁴ tem²² [vt] (Khk: Zmg[Wml])g^Λ²² mi⁴⁴ bur⁴⁴ -t^Λ²² 'burning' [vi] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

fire burn AUX

jum⁴⁴ -dim²² 'burn sth.' [vt] (Khk: Zmg[Trn])g^Λ²¹ mi⁴² ts^hi⁴⁴ ki⁴⁴ min²³¹ (Khk: Trs)

fire burn AUX

mi²⁴ bΛr⁴⁴-lΛ⁴² ‘fire is burning’ (Scp)
 (mi²⁴/ɕΛ⁴⁴) ‘fire / meat’ gok⁴⁴-pe⁴² / -tɕo⁴⁴ /-lΛ²² ‘burn sth. on fire’
 -pe⁴² I do / -tɕo⁴⁴ imperative /-lΛ²² 3rd person has done (Scp)

200.2 cut

(SWD#114)

*da·n (STC#22), *lep (STC#351), *mrak (STC#147),
 *ra-t (STC#458), *ri·t (STC#371), *tsywar (STC#240),
 *kut (STC#383), *tsyat (STC#185), *tuk (STC#387);
 *Ntök ≍ *ʔtök (TSR#101), *ʔtwap ≍ *C-dwap (TSR#69)

qiē 切 WrT *gtub pa* (TBL#1574 ～菜) (ZMC#0634 ～菜)
 cut

to⁴⁴ -ni²² / to(k)-ni / ʈɕʰiŋʰi (Dzk)
 tup⁴⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)
 tup⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 tup⁴⁴ -dim²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 tup⁴⁴ti⁴⁴ -min²³¹ (Khk: Trs)
 tok⁴⁴-pe⁴² I do / -tɕo⁴⁴ imperative /-lΛ²² 3rd person has done (Scp)

qiē piàn 切片
 slice
 dzɔ⁴⁴ -ni²² / dra-ni / ʈɕʰiŋʰi (Dzk)
 dzɔ²³ -gim²² ; lip⁴⁴ -tim²² ‘slice meat’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 tɕʰak⁴⁴-pe⁴² I do / -tɕo⁴⁴ imperative /-lΛ²² 3rd person has done (Scp)

gē 割 WrT *rnga ba* / 'breg pa
 chop (TBL#1342 ～草) (ZMC#0601 ～稻子)

dzam²³ -ni²² / dzam-ni / ʈɕʰiŋʰi (Dzk)
 ŋa²⁴ -ʒaŋ²² (Bmt)
 prek⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
 prek⁴⁴ -gim²¹ ‘=reap’ ; tup⁴⁴ -dim²² (Khk: Zmg[Trn])
 zΛ²²-me⁴⁴ I do / zΛm²²-ɕo⁴² imperative /zΛm²²-lΛ⁴⁴ s/he has done (Scp)

WrT *gcod pa*
 (cf. TBL#1339 ～肉 ; TBL#1340 ～绳 ; TBL#1341 割断)

jiǎn 剪 WrT *'breg pa / 'dra ba* (TBL#1416)
cut with scissors; trim

the same as qiē 切 ‘cut’

kǎn 砍 WrT *gcod pa*
chop (TBL#1467 ～树) (ZMC#0602 ～树)
(cf. TBL#1468 ～骨头)

(jɪŋ⁴⁴) ka⁴⁴ -ni²² / (**shing**) ka-ni / (ཤིང་) བླག་ནི་ (Dzk)

tʃ^hir⁴⁴ -zaŋ²² (Bmt)

tup⁴⁴ -gem²³¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])

tup⁴⁴ -dim²² ; tɕ^hir⁴⁴ -dim²² ‘split firewood’ (Khk: Zmg[Trn])

ɕiŋ⁴⁴ tok⁴⁴ -pe⁴² ‘cut down’ (Scp)

■ Appendix: Other basic words in the SWD# list excluded from CalmSea (JAM200)

SWD#007	this	→ GRM: demonstratives
zhège	这个 [這個]	WrT <i>'di</i> (TBL#0942) (ZMC#0981)
	oɿ ⁴⁴ kai ⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Trs)	
SWD#008	that	→ GRM: demonstratives
nàge	那个 [那個]	WrT <i>de</i> (TBL#0948) (ZMC#0983)
	Λ ²¹ t ^h u ⁴⁴ kai ⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])	
	u ²² t ^h i ⁴⁴ hai ⁴⁴ ~ u ²² ti ⁴⁴ hai ⁴⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Trs)	
SWD#009	here	→ GRM: demonstratives
zhèli	这里 [這裡]	WrT <i>'dir</i> (TBL#0944) (ZMC#0982)
	he ⁴⁴ nΛ ²¹ ; ɿo ²¹ he ⁴⁴ nΛ ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Trs)	
SWD#010	there	→ GRM: demonstratives
nàli	那里 [那裡]	WrT <i>(sa) der</i> (TBL#0950) (ZMC#0984)
	ɿΛ ⁴⁴ t ^h u ²¹ ; ɿu ²¹ t ^h e ⁴⁴ nΛ ²¹ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Trs)	
SWD#011	who	→ GRM: interrogatives
shéi	谁 [誰]	WrT <i>su</i> (TBL#0953) (ZMC#0985)
	ɿΛ ⁴⁴ (Khk: Trs) ; ai ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])	
SWD#012	what	→ GRM: interrogatives
shénme	什么 [甚麼]	WrT <i>ga re; ci</i> (TBL#0954) (ZMC#0986)
	dʒΛ ²⁴ (Khk: Trs) ; dʒai ²⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml], Trs)	

SWD#020	few	→ GRM: adjectives
shǎo	少	WrT <i>nyung nyung</i> (TBL#0988) (ZMC#0820)
		k ^h Λm ²⁴ te ⁴² (Khk: Trs)
SWD#021	other	
qítā	其他	WrT <i>gzhan pa</i> (TBL#0960) (ZMC#****)
biéde	别的	
		so ⁴⁴ so ⁴⁴ gΛm ²⁴ ho ⁴⁴ (Khk: Trs)
SWD#027	big	→ GRM: adjectives
dà	大	WrT <i>chen po</i> (TBL#0964) (ZMC#0800)
		do ²⁴ mΛ ⁴⁴ lΛ ²¹ (Khk: Trs)
SWD#029	wide	
kuān	宽 [寬]	WrT <i>rgya che</i> (TBL#0976) (ZMC#0815)
		mΛŋ ²⁴ wΛ ⁴² (Khk: Trs)
SWD#032	small	
xiǎo	小	WrT <i>chung chung</i> (TBL#0965) (ZMC#0801)
		tɕiŋ ²⁴ ku ⁴⁴ lΛ ²¹ (Khk: Trs)
SWD#033	short	
duǎn	短	WrT <i>thung thung</i> (TBL#0973) (ZMC#0810)
		t ^h iŋ ⁴⁴ ku ²¹ lΛ ⁴⁴ (Khk: Trs)
SWD#034	narrow	
zhǎi	窄	WrT <i>dog po</i> (TBL#0977) (ZMC#0816)
		t ^h iŋ ⁴⁴ ku ²¹ lΛ ⁴⁴ (Khk: Trs)

- SWD#036 **woman** → GRM: nouns
 nǚrén 女人 WrT *mo* (TBL#0174) (ZMC#0291)
 mo²²dʒΛ⁴⁴ ; bo²²mɛ⁴² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- SWD#037 **man** → GRM: nouns
 nánrén 男人 WrT *pho* (TBL#0173) (ZMC#0290)
 p^ho²²dʒΛ⁴⁴ ; bo²⁴ (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- SWD#040 **wife** → GRM: nouns
 qīzi 妻子 WrT *skye dman* (TBL#0248) (ZMC#0338)
 (ŋai²⁴) mo⁴⁴dʒΛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- SWD#041 **husband** → GRM: nouns
 zhàngfu 丈夫 WrT *khyo ga* (TBL#0247) (ZMC#0337)
 (ŋai²⁴) p^ho⁴⁴dʒΛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- SWD#042 **mother** → GRM: nouns
 mǔqīn 母亲〔母親〕 WrT *a ma* (TBL#0219) (ZMC#0320)
 māma 妈妈〔媽媽〕
 ʔΛ⁴⁴mΛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- SWD#043 **father** → GRM: nouns
 fùqīn 父亲〔父親〕
 bàba 爸爸 WrT *pha* (TBL#0218) (ZMC#0319)
 ʔΛ⁴⁴pΛ²² (Khk: Zmg[Wml])
- SWD#052 **forest** → GRM: nouns
 sēnlín 森林 WrT *shing nag* (TBL#0050) (ZMC#****)
 ro²⁴ji²¹ (Khk: Trs)

- SWD#055 **seed**
- zhǒngzi 种子〔種子〕 WrT *son* (TBL#0405) (ZMC#0220)
- son⁴² (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#061 **rope**
- shéngzi 绳子〔繩子〕 WrT *thag pa* (TBL#0619) (ZMC#0422)
- t^hΛk⁴⁴pΛ⁴⁴ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#095 **to suck**
- xī 吸 WrT *'jibs pa* (TBL#1711) (ZMC#****)
- shǔn 吮 (TBL#1648) (ZMC#****)
- dzip²²-tim⁴² ; t^hΛn⁴⁴de⁴⁴me²³¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#099 **to breathe** (CS#039)
- hūxī 呼吸 WrT *dbugs btang* (TBL#****) (ZMC#****)
- buk⁴⁴ɕu⁴²-gim²³¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#104 **to think**
- xiǎng 想 WrT *bsam pa* (TBL#1726) (ZMC#0727)
- nok⁴⁴sΛm⁴² t^hu⁴⁴-gim²³¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#111 **to fight**
- dǎjià 打架 WrT *'thab pa; 'dzing ba* (TBL#1234) (ZMC#0709)
- dǎzhàn 打仗 (TBL#1233) (ZMC#****)
- t^hΛp⁴⁴-dem²³¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#113 **to hit**
- dǎ 打 WrT *zhus pa* (TBL#1228) (ZMC#0710)
- po⁴⁴-gim²³¹ (Khk: Trs)

SWD#115 to split

píkāi 劈开 WrT *'phral ba* (TBL#1552) (ZMC#0604)
fēnkāi 分开 (TBL#1322) (ZMC#0703)

p^hri⁴⁴de⁴⁴ -min²³¹ ~ -men²³¹ (Khk: Trs)

SWD#116 to stab

cì 刺 WrT *btsug pa* (TBL#****) (ZMC#****)

sop⁴⁴te⁴⁴ -men²³¹ (Khk: Trs)

SWD#119 to swim

yóuyóǒng 游泳 WrT *skyal rgyab pa* (TBL#1763) (ZMC#****)

tɕai⁴⁴ t^hu⁴⁴ ɲe²⁴ -men²³¹ (Khk: Trs)

SWD#121 to walk

zǒu 走 WrT *bom pa rgyab pa* (TBL#1815) (ZMC#0572)

jΛm²¹ go²¹ ge⁴⁴ -men²³¹ (Khk: Trs)

SWD#122 to come

lái 来 [來] WrT *yong pa* (TBL#1491) (ZMC#0737)
$$\text{r}\Lambda^{24}\text{ge}^{44}\text{-men}^{231} \text{ (Khk: Trs)}$$
SWD#126 to **turn** [vi]

zhuǎn 转〔轉〕 WrT *'khor pa* (TBL#1808) (ZMC#****)

gir⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ -men²³¹ (Khk: Trs)

SWD#129 to hold

ná 拿 WrT (*lag par*) '*khyer pa; bkyag pa*
(TBL#1528) (ZMC#0549)

tɕ^hʌr⁴⁴ tɛ⁴⁴ -men²³¹ (Khk: Trs)

- | | | |
|---------|---|--|
| SWD#133 | to wipe | |
| cā | 擦 | WrT <i>'phyid pa; sub pa</i> (TBL#1163) (ZMC#0624) |
| | p ^h i ⁴⁴ ki ⁴⁴ -men ²³¹ | (Khk: Trs) |
| SWD#134 | to pull | |
| lā | 拉 | WrT <i>then pa</i> (TBL#1487) (ZMC#0562) |
| | t ^h Λj ⁴⁴ de ⁴⁴ men ²³¹ | (Khk: Trs) |
| SWD#135 | to push | |
| tuī | 推 | WrT <i>'bi 'jag rgyab pa</i> (TBL#1689) (ZMC#0563) |
| | p ^h ui ⁴⁴ de ⁴⁴ -men ²³¹ | (Khk: Trs) |
| SWD#136 | to throw | |
| rēng | 扔 | WrT <i>g-yug pa; dbyugs pa</i>
(TBL#1591) (ZMC#0558) |
| | tɕΛ ⁴⁴ ŋe ⁴⁴ -men ²³¹ | (Khk: Trs) |
| SWD#139 | to count | |
| shǔ | 数 [數] | WrT <i>grangs ka rgyab; rtsis</i>
(TBL#1640) (ZMC#0618) |
| | grΛŋ ²⁴ k ^h Λ ⁴⁴ t ^h u ⁴⁴ ŋe ⁴⁴ -men ²³¹ | (Khk: Trs) |
| | counting do SFX AUX | |
| SWD#140 | to say | |
| shuō | 说 [說] | WrT <i>zer pa; la pa</i> (TBL#1649) (ZMC#0545) |
| | lɒp ⁴⁴ te ⁴⁴ -men ²³¹ | (Khk: Trs) |
| SWD#141 | to sing | |
| chàng | 唱 | WrT <i>gzhas btang pa</i> (TBL#1184) (ZMC#0683) |
| | mΛ ²² ni ⁴⁴ t ^h Λj ⁴⁴ de ⁴⁴ -men ²³¹ | (Khk: Trs) |
| | song | |

- SWD#142 to **play**
- wán 玩 WrT *rtsed pa* (TBL#1703) (ZMC#0680)
- ple⁴⁴ ɲe⁴⁴ -men²³¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#144 to **flow**
- liú 流 WrT *rgyug pa* (TBL#1502) (ZMC#0756)
- ??? (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#145 to **freeze**
- dòng(jié) 冻 (结) 〔凍結〕 WrT *'khyags rgyab pa* (TBL#1440) (ZMC#****)
- jié bīng 结冰 〔結冰〕
- k^hi⁴⁴ki⁴⁴ -men²³¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#146 to **swell**
- péngzhàng 膨胀 〔膨脹〕 WrT *skrang pa* (TBL#1549) (ZMC#****)
- zi²¹ɲi⁴⁴ -min²³¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#153 **lake**
- hú 湖 WrT *mtsho* (TBL#0031) (ZMC#0020)
- ts^ho⁴³ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#154 **sea**
- hǎi 海 WrT *rgya mtsho* (TBL#0032) (ZMC#0019)
- dʒΛm²¹ts^ho⁴³ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#157 **sand**
- shā 沙 WrT *bye ma* (TBL#0044) (ZMC#0043)
- sΛ⁴³ (Khk: Trs)

SWD#158	dust			
chén	尘 [塵]	WrT	<i>thal la</i>	(TBL#0045) (ZMC#****)
	be ²¹ lɿp ⁴⁴	(Khk: Trs)		
SWD#161	fog			
wù	雾 [霧]	WrT	<i>rmug(s) pa</i>	(TBL#0016) (ZMC#0012)
	muk ²¹ pɿ ⁴⁴	(Khk: Trs)		
SWD#164	snow			
xuě	雪	WrT	<i>gangs</i>	(TBL#0012) (ZMC#0009)
	k ^h ɿ ⁴⁴	(Khk: Trs)		
SWD#165	ice			
bīng	冰	WrT	<i>'khyags pa</i>	(TBL#0017) (ZMC#0011)
	k ^h e ⁴⁴	(Khk: Trs)		
SWD#173	green			
lǜ	绿 [綠]	WrT	<i>ljang khu</i>	(TBL#1009) (ZMC#0842)
	ŋun ²⁴ ti ⁴⁴ lɿ ²¹	(Khk: Trs)		
SWD#174	yellow			
huáng	黄 [黃]	WrT	<i>ser po</i>	(TBL#1008) (ZMC#0838)
	ser ⁴⁴ ti ⁴⁴ lɿ ²¹	(Khk: Trs)		
SWD#185	good			
hǎo	好	WrT	<i>yag po</i>	(TBL#1052) (ZMC#0860)
	gɿ ²¹ tɕen ⁴⁴ nɿ ²¹	(Khk: Trs)		

- SWD#186 **bad**
- huài 坏 [壞] WrT *'dug cag* (TBL#1053) (ZMC#0861)
- dʒʌ²¹ ni⁴⁴ lʌ²¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#187 **rotten**
- fǔ 腐
- làn 烂 [爛] WrT *rus pa* (TBL#1330) (ZMC#0792)
- rui²⁴ wʌ⁴⁴ lʌ²¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#188 **dirty**
- zāng 脏 [髒] WrT *dzor po* (TBL#****) (ZMC#0854)
- k^hʌm⁴⁴ lok²¹ pʌ⁴⁴ dʒʌ²⁴ ŋʌ²¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#189 **straight**
- zhí 直 WrT *'drong po* (TBL#1003) (ZMC#0821)
- tʂ^hʌŋ²⁴ ze⁴² (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#192 **dull (as a knife)**
- dùn 钝 [鈍] WrT *rtul po* (TBL#1021) (ZMC#0000)
- me²¹ tɕ^hʌt⁴³ ; tɕ^hʌt⁴⁴ k^hʌn⁴² (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#193 **smooth**
- huá 滑 [滑] WrT *'jam po* (TBL#1037) (ZMC#0882)
- dʒʌm²⁴ tɕ^huk⁴⁴ tɕ^hu²¹ (Khk: Trs)
- SWD#194 **wet**
- shī 湿 [濕] WrT *rlon pa* (TBL#1029) (ZMC#0865)
- ɕir²⁴ bʌn⁴⁴ lʌ⁴² (Khk: Trs)

SWD#206

becauseyīnwèi 因为〔因為〕 WrT *tsang* (TBL#****) (ZMC#****)dʒʌ²⁴bu²¹zi²²bu²¹nen²³¹ (Khk: Trs)

Index by Swadesh List with Japanese Translation

SWD No.	English	中文	ひらがな	漢字	CalmSea No.
SWD#001	I	我	わたし	【私】	CS#042
SWD#002	you	你	きみ / あなた	【君 / *貴方】	CS#041 (thou)
SWD#003	he	他	かれ	【彼】	*CS#040.1
SWD#004	we	我们	わたしたち	【私たち】	*CS#042.1
SWD#005	you	你们	きみたち	【君たち】	*CS#041.1
SWD#006	they	他们	かれら	【彼ら】	*CS#040.2
SWD#007	this	这个	これ / この [+名]	【*此れ】	
SWD#008	that	那个	あれ / あの [+名]	【彼】	
SWD#009	here	这里	ここ	【*此处】	
SWD#010	there	那里	そこ	【*其処】	
SWD#011	who	谁	だれ	【誰】	
SWD#012	what	什么	なに	【何】	
SWD#013	where	哪里	どこ	【*何処】	
SWD#014	when	什么时候	いつ	【*何時】	
SWD#015	how	怎么	どう	【*如何】	
SWD#016	not	不	ない		
SWD#017	all	都 / 全部 / 一共	すべて	【全て】	
SWD#018	many	多	おおい	【多い】	CS#127
SWD#019	some	一些 / 几个	いくらか	【*幾らか】	
SWD#020	few	少	すこし	【少し】	
SWD#021	other	其他 / 别的	ほか	【他】	
SWD#022	one	一	いち / ひと (つ)	【一】	CS#116
SWD#023	two	二	に / ふた (つ)	【二】	CS#120
SWD#024	three	三	さん / み (つつ)	【三】	CS#121
SWD#025	four	四	し / よ (つつ)	【四】	CS#122
SWD#026	five	五	ご / いつ (つ)	【五】	CS#123
SWD#027	big	大	おおきい	【大きい】	
SWD#028	long	长	ながい	【長い】	CS#158 (long / tall)
SWD#029	wide	宽	ひろい	【広い】	
SWD#030	thick	厚	あつい	【厚い】	CS#171
SWD#031	heavy	重	おもい	【重い】	CS#164
SWD#032	small	小	ちいさい	【小さい】	
SWD#033	short	短	みじかい	【短い】	
SWD#034	narrow	窄	せまい	【狭い】	

SWD#035	thin	薄	ほそい	【細い】	CS#151
SWD#036	woman	女人	おんな	【女】	
SWD#037	man	男人	おとこ	【男】	
SWD#038	human	人	ひと	【人】	CS#040 (person / human being)
SWD#039	child	孩子	こ	【子】	CS#043 (child / son)
SWD#040	wife	妻子	つま	【妻】	
SWD#041	husband	丈夫	おっと	【夫】	
SWD#042	mother	母亲 / 妈妈	はは / おかあさん	【母】	
SWD#043	father	父亲 / 爸爸	ちち / おとうさん	【父】	
SWD#044	animal	动物	いきもの	【生き物】	CS#052 (meat / animal)
SWD#045	fish	鱼	さかな	【魚】	CS#055
SWD#046	bird	鸟	とり	【鳥】	CS#053
SWD#047	dog	狗	いぬ	【犬】	CS#054
SWD#048	louse	虱子	しらみ	【虱】	CS#056
SWD#049	snake	蛇	へび	【蛇】	CS#057
SWD#050	worm	蚯蚓 / 虫子	みみず / ようちゅう	【蚯蚓 / 幼虫】	CS#059* (insect, bug, vermin)
SWD#051	tree	树	き	【木】	CS#091 (tree / wood)
SWD#052	forest	森林	もり	【森】	
SWD#053	stick	棍子	ぼう	【棒】	CS#088
SWD#054	fruit	果实 / 水果	み / くだもの	【実 / 果物】	CS#075
SWD#055	seed	种子	たね	【種】	
SWD#056	leaf	叶子	は	【葉】	CS#077
SWD#057	root	根	ね	【根】	CS#083
SWD#058	bark	树皮	こはだ	【木皮】	CS#020 (skin / bark)
SWD#059	flower	花	はな	【花】	CS#074
SWD#060	grass	草	くさ	【草】	CS#076
SWD#061	rope	绳子	なわ	【縄】	
SWD#062	skin	皮	かわ	【皮】	CS#020 (skin / bark)
SWD#063	meat	肉	しし	【肉】	CS#052 (meat / animal)
SWD#064	blood	血	ち	【血】	CS#002
SWD#065	bone	骨头	ほね	【骨】	CS#003
SWD#066	fat	脂肪	あぶら	【脂】	CS#007 (fat / grease)
SWD#067	egg	蛋	たまご	【卵】	CS#005
SWD#068	horn	犄角	つの	【角】	CS#015
SWD#069	tail	尾巴	しっぽ	【尻尾】	CS#022
SWD#070	feather	羽毛	はね	【羽】	CS#011 (= hair [body])
SWD#071	hair	头发	かみ	【髪】	CS#010

SWD#072	head	頭	あたま	【頭】	CS#013
SWD#073	ear	耳朵	みみ	【耳】	CS#004 ()
SWD#074	eye	眼睛	め	【目】	CS#006
SWD#075	nose	鼻子	はな	【鼻】	CS#019
SWD#076	mouth	嘴巴	くち	【口】	CS#017
SWD#077	tooth	牙齿	は	【歯】	CS#024
SWD#078	tongue	舌头	した	【舌】	CS#023
SWD#079	finger nail	指甲	つめ	【爪】	CS#026 (nail / claw)
SWD#080	foot	脚	あし	【足】	CS#008
SWD#081	leg	腿	もも / すね / あし	【脚】	*CS#026.3
SWD#082	knee	膝盖	ひざ	【膝】	*CS#026.2
SWD#083	hand	手	て	【手】	CS#012 (hand / arm)
SWD#084	wing	翅膀	つばさ	【翼】	CS#025
SWD#085	belly	肚子	はら	【腹】	CS#001
SWD#086	guts	肠子	はらわた	【腸】	CS#009
SWD#087	neck	脖子	くび	【首】	CS#018
SWD#088	back	背	せ	【背】	*CS#026.1
SWD#089	breast	乳房	ちち	【乳】	CS#030 (vagina or breast/milk)
SWD#090	heart	心脏	しんぞう / こころ	【心臓 / 心】	CS#014
SWD#091	liver	肝	きも	【肝】	CS#016
SWD#092	to drink	喝	のむ	【飲む】	CS#176
SWD#093	to eat	吃	たべる	【食べる】	CS#175
SWD#094	to bite	咬 / 啃	かむ	【噛む】	CS#181
SWD#095	to suck	吸 / 啜	すう	【吸う】	
SWD#096	to spit	吐 (口水)	(つばを) はく	【吐く】	CS#021 (n.)
SWD#097	to vomit	吐	はく	【吐く】	CS#037
SWD#098	to blow	吹	ふく	【吹く】	CS#189
SWD#099	to breathe	呼吸	いきする	【息する】	CS#039 (breath / life)
SWD#100	to laugh	笑	わらう	【笑う】	CS#131
SWD#101	to see	看	みる	【見る】	CS#149
SWD#102	to hear	听	きく	【聞く】	CS#004 (ear / hear)
SWD#103	to know	知道	しる	【知る】	CS#145
SWD#104	to think	想	おもう	【思う】	
SWD#105	to smell	闻	かぐ	【嗅ぐ】	CS#150
SWD#106	to fear	怕	おそれる	【恐れる】	CS#144 (fear / frighten)
SWD#107	to sleep	睡	ねる	【寝る】	CS#129 (sleep / lie down)
SWD#108	to live	活	いきる	【生きる】	CS#153 (alive)
SWD#109	to die	死	しぬ	【死ぬ】	CS#132

SWD#110	to kill	杀	ころす	【殺す】	CS#192
SWD#111	to fight	打架 / 打仗	たたかう	【戦う】	
SWD#112	to hunt	打猎	かる	【狩る】	CS#200 (drive / hunt)
SWD#113	to hit	打	うつ / あてる	【打つ / 当てる】	
SWD#114	to cut	切 / 割	きる	【切る】	*CS#200.2
SWD#115	to split	劈开 / 分开	わる / わける	【割る / 分ける】	
SWD#116	to stab	刺	さす	【刺す】	
SWD#117	to scratch	挠	かく	【掻く】	CS#182 (scratch / scrape)
SWD#118	to dig	挖	ほる	【掘る】	CS#186
SWD#119	to swim	游泳	およぐ	【泳ぐ】	
SWD#120	to fly	飞	とぶ	【飛ぶ】	CS#140
SWD#121	to walk	走	あるく	【歩く】	
SWD#122	to come	来	くる	【来る】	
SWD#123	to lie (as in a bed)	躺	ねる / よこたわる	【寝る / 横たわる】	CS#129 (sleep / lie down)
SWD#124	to sit	坐	すわる	【座る】	CS#136
SWD#125	to stand	站	たつ	【立つ】	CS#135
SWD#126	to turn[vi]	转	まわる	【回る】	
SWD#127	to fall	掉 / 落	おちる	【落ちる】	CS#137 (fall [from high])
SWD#128	to give	给	あたえる / あげる	【与える / 上げる】	CS#177
SWD#129	to hold	拿	もつ	【持つ】	
SWD#130	to squeeze	挤	しぼる	【絞る】	CS#195
SWD#131	to rub	擦	こする	【擦る】	CS#194
SWD#132	to wash	洗	あらう	【洗う】	CS#185
SWD#133	to wipe	擦掉	ふく	【拭く】	
SWD#134	to pull	拉	ひく	【引く】	
SWD#135	to push	推	おす	【押す】	
SWD#136	to throw	扔	なげる	【投げる】	
SWD#137	to tie	绑 / 拴 / 结	むすぶ	【結ぶ】	CS#178
SWD#138	to sew	缝	ぬう	【縫う】	CS#191
SWD#139	to count	数	かぞえる	【数える】	
SWD#140	to say	说	いう	【言う】	
SWD#141	to sing	唱	うたう	【歌う】	
SWD#142	to play	玩	あそぶ	【遊ぶ】	
SWD#143	to float	浮	うく	【浮く】	*CS#140 (=fly)
SWD#144	to flow	流	ながれる	【流れる】	
SWD#145	to freeze	冻结 / 结冰	こおる	【凍る】	
SWD#146	to swell	膨胀	ふくらむ	【膨らむ】	

SWD#147	sun	太陽	ひ	【日】	CS#090 (sun / day)
SWD#148	moon	月亮	つき	【月】	CS#078
SWD#149	star	星星	ほし	【星】	CS#087
SWD#150	water	水	みず	【水】	CS#092
SWD#151	rain	雨	あめ	【雨】	CS#080
SWD#152	river	河	かわ	【川】	CS#081
SWD#153	lake	湖	みずうみ	【湖】	
SWD#154	sea	海	うみ	【海】	
SWD#155	salt	盐	しお	【塩】	CS#084
SWD#156	stone	石头	いし	【石】	CS#089
SWD#157	sand	沙子	すな	【砂】	
SWD#158	dust	尘	ちり	【塵】	
SWD#159	earth	土 / 地	つち	【土】	CS#072
SWD#160	cloud	云彩	くも	【雲】	CS#071
SWD#161	fog	雾	ぎり	【霧】	
SWD#162	sky	天空	そら	【空】	CS#085
SWD#163	wind	风	かぜ	【風】	CS#093
SWD#164	snow	雪	ゆき	【雪】	
SWD#165	ice	冰	こおり	【氷】	
SWD#166	smoke	烟	けむり	【煙】	CS#086
SWD#167	fire	火	ひ	【火】	CS#073
SWD#168	ash	灰	はい	【灰】	CS#070
SWD#169	to burn	燃烧	もえる	【燃える】	*CS#200.1
SWD#170	road	路	みち	【道】	CS#082
SWD#171	mountain	山	やま	【山】	CS#079
SWD#172	red	红	あか	【赤】	CS#163
SWD#173	green	绿	みどり	【緑】	
SWD#174	yellow	黄	きいろ	【黄色】	
SWD#175	white	白	しろ	【白】	CS#169
SWD#176	black	黑	くろ	【黒】	CS#170
SWD#177	night	夜里	よる	【夜】	CS#100
SWD#178	day	(白) 天	ひ	【日】	CS#090 (sun / day)
SWD#179	year	年	とし	【年】	CS#114
SWD#180	warm	暖和	あたたかい	【暖かい】	CS#165
SWD#181	cold	冷	さむい	【寒い】	CS#160
SWD#182	full	满	みちた	【満ちた】	CS#157
SWD#183	new	新	あたらしい	【新しい】	CS#172
SWD#184	old	旧	ふるい	【古い】	CS#152

SWD#185	good	好	いい	【良い】	
SWD#186	bad	坏	わるい	【悪い】	
SWD#187	rotten	腐 / 烂	くさった	【腐った】	
SWD#188	dirty	脏	きたない	【汚い】	
SWD#189	straight	直	まっすぐ	【真っ直ぐ】	
SWD#190	round	圓	まるい	【丸い】	CS#166
SWD#191	sharp	尖	するどい	【鋭い】	CS#173
	(as a knife)				
SWD#192	dull	鈍	にぶい	【鈍い】	
	(as a knife)				
SWD#193	smooth	滑	なめらか	【滑らか】	
SWD#194	wet	湿	ぬれた	【濡れた】	
SWD#195	dry	干	かわいた	【乾いた】	
SWD#196	correct	对 / 正确	ただし	【正しい】	
SWD#197	near	近	ちかい	【近い】	CS#113
SWD#198	far	远	とおい	【遠い】	CS#112
SWD#199	right	右	みぎ	【右】	CS#111 (right side)
SWD#200	left	左	ひだり	【左】	CS#110 (left side)
SWD#201	at	在	で	{場所} で [動詞]	
SWD#202	in	里	で	{中} で / に [動詞]	
SWD#203	with	和 / 与	と	{ひと} と (ともに) [動詞]	
SWD#204	and	跟 / 和	と	{もの} と {もの}	
SWD#205	if	若 / 如果	もし		
SWD#206	because	因为	だから		
SWD#207	name	名字	なまえ	【名前】	CS#046

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Negative markers in Qiangic languages*

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Summary

The study examines plain negative markers in Qiangic languages (Tibeto-Burman, spoken in Southwest China) from the geolinguistic and comparative linguistic viewpoints with special attention to tense/aspect distinctions. Qiangic languages typically use verbal prefixes or proclitics to mark the negative. Such plain negative markers are classified into four types, namely, [A] MA type, [B] MI type, [C] MV type, and [D] non-M type. Moreover, Type A has three subtypes, namely, A1 (a form maintained from the proto-language), A2 (a secondary formation from two morphemes, such as the negative and irrealis markers), and A3 (Tibetan loans). The perfective/past negative markers demonstrate the following geographical distributions: Subtype A1 is found sporadically, whereas Subtype A3 is limited to the region with a significant Tibetan influence; Type B is widely found and also located in peripheral areas; Type C has a sporadic but relatively wide distribution, and; Type D is limited. This study tentatively concludes their relative chronology as $A1 > B > C > A3$ and D because subtype A1 is the oldest from a logical viewpoint. Moreover, the imperfective/non-past negative markers demonstrate the following geographical distributions: Subtype A1 is found in the northernmost peripheral region, whereas Subtype A2 has a considerably wide distribution, including peripheral areas; Type B is concentrated in the central region; Type C exhibits a sporadic distribution, and Type D is limited. Consequently, their relative chronology is tentatively concluded as $A1 > A2 > B > C > D$.

Key words: Qiangic, negative, prefix, language contact, geolinguistics

关键词：羌语群、否定、前缀、语言接触、地理语言学

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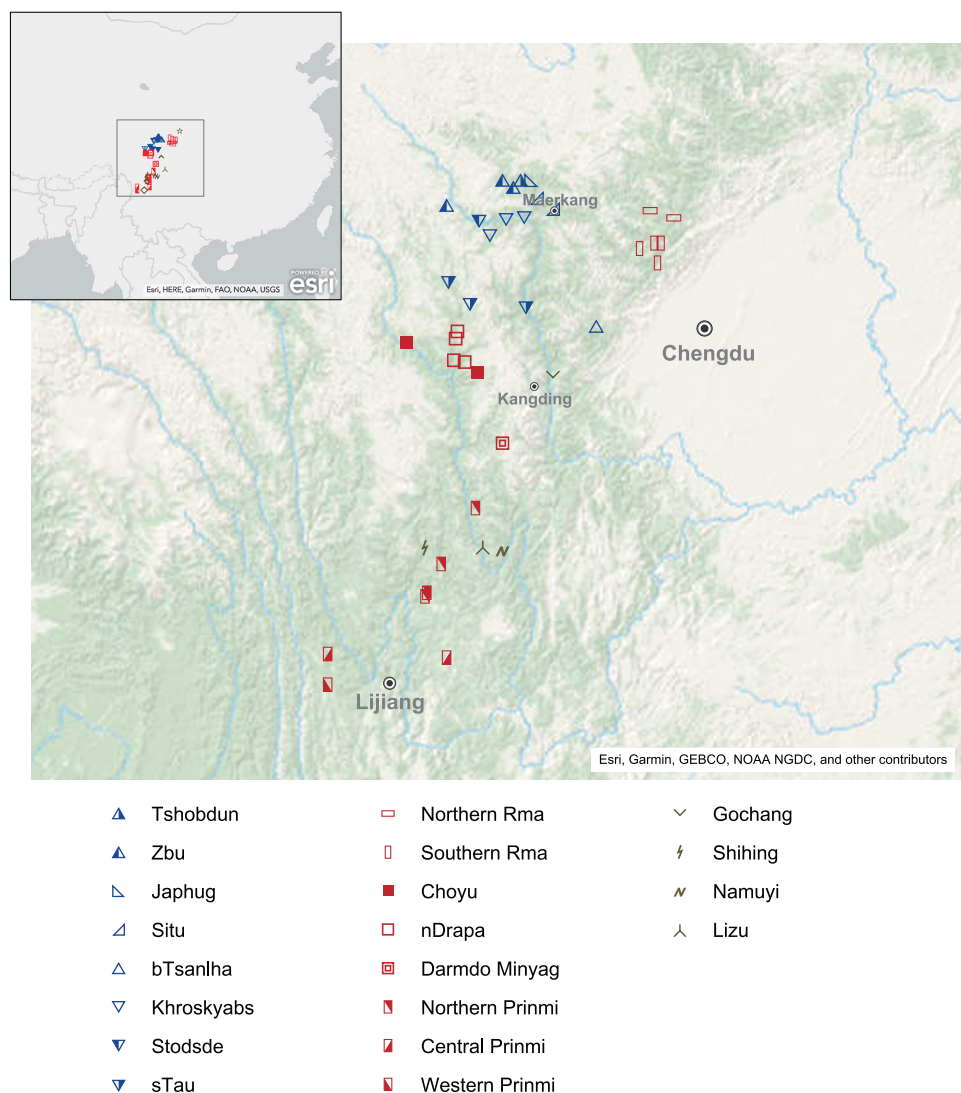


Figure 1 Qiangic languages

1. Introduction

The Qiangic languages, which are spoken in Southwest China (Figure 1), belong to the Tibeto-Burman subfamily of the Sino-Tibetan language family and include more than a dozen mutually unintelligible languages. These languages share certain typological characteristics, such as verbal prefixes. Although the genealogical details of these languages remain under discussion (Sun 1982, 1983, 2001, 2016, Nishida 1987, Matisoff 2003, 2015,

Jacques and Michaud 2011, Chirkova 2012, among others. See also Shirai 2020), this study terms these the Qiangic group. Figure 1 distinguishes three subgroups of the Qiangic group: triangles indicate the rGyalrongic (or Northern) subgroup, boxes indicate the Central, and lines indicate the Southern (or Ersu and Naic, which are excluded from Qiangic in Jacques and Michaud 2011: Appendix p. 6).

Qiangic languages typically use verbal prefixes or proclitics to mark the negative, with many distinguishing the prohibitive or deontic¹ ('NEG.DE') from a plain negative; for example, *ma^L=k^hu^R* {NEG=want} 'don't want (any)' and *tja^L=dzaw^H* {NEG.DE=eat.2sg} 'don't (you) eat / Don't eat!' in Prinmi (Ding 2014: 204–208). This study focuses on the plain negative marker forms in the languages shown in Figure 1, analyzes their geographical distributions, and discusses their historical developments.

The distinct negative markers used for the different tenses/aspects shared by most of the Qiangic languages are also examined. The circles (Y) marked on Figure 2 indicate that the language/dialect spoken at these spots distinguishes two or more tense/aspect negative markers and the square (N) indicates that the language/dialect does not have this type of distinction.

This study used primary fieldnote data and secondary data from previous studies, with the language data sources being as follows: Sun (2017) for Kakhoris Tshobdun; Nagano and Prins (2013) for Ribu/Geletuo Zbu and Puxi Stodsde; Gong (2018) for rGyaltsu Zbu; Jacques (2008) for Ganmuniao Japhug; Prins (2017) for Jiaomuzu Situ; Nagano (2018) for Bhola Situ; Yin (2007) for Yelong Khroskyabs; Lai (2017) for Wobzi Khroskyabs; B. Huang (2007) for Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs; Jacques et al. (2017) for Kongse sTau; Duoerji (1998) for Geshizha sTau; Huang (2009) for Gexi sTau, Zhatuo nDrapa, Darmdo Minyag, Shihing, Lizu, and Namuyi; Liu (1998) for Mawo Northern Rma; LaPolla with Huang (2003) for Ronghong Rma; Evans (2001) for Longxi/Mianchi Southern Rma; Sun (1981) for Taoping Southern Rma; C. Huang (2007) for Puxi Southern Rma; Gong (2007) for Waduo nDrapa; Wang (1991) for Youlaxi Choyu; Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2018) for Lhagang Choyu; Lu (2001) for Sanyanglong/Taoba/Tuoqi Northern Prinmi, Ludian Central Prinmi, and Qinghua Western Prinmi; Daudey (2014) for Wadu Northern Prinmi, Ding (2014) for Xinyingpan Central Prinmi; Jiang (2015) for Qianxi Gochang; and my fieldnotes for Yoci bTsanlha and Mätro/Nyato nDrapa.

¹ Ding (2014: 206) describes the 'deontic' negation in Xinyingpan Prinmi as follows: "The central meaning of *tja* is to convey one's desire and/or expectation as differing from others in an interpersonal communication context where two parties do not agree. Such circumstances typically prompt the occurrence of *tja* in a negated imperative sentence. Nonetheless, its usage is not confined to expressing negation in the imperative." The prefix *tha-* in nDrapa (my fieldnotes) shows a similar behaviors as Prinmi *tja*.

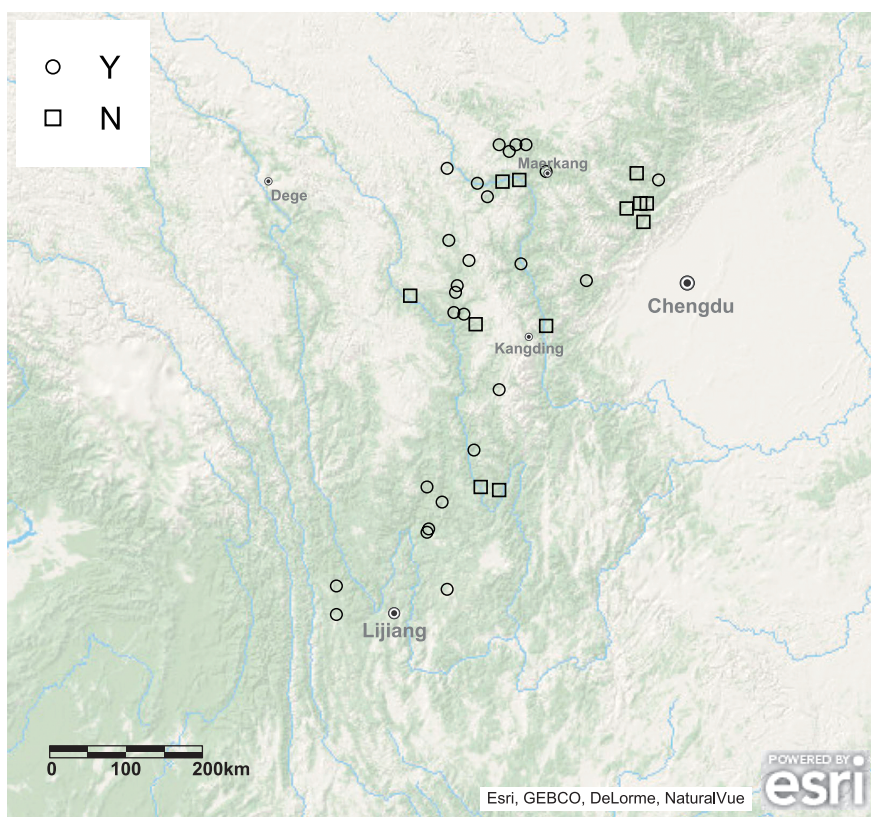


Figure 2 Negative marker tense/aspect distinction

2. Classification of the forms

The Qiangic plain negative markers are classified into the following four types:

- [A] MA type, which consists of an initial *m*- and a low vowel.
- [B] MI type, which consists of an initial *m*- and a front vowel.
- [C] MV type, which also has an initial *m*- but the vowel is neither low nor front (ə, ɤ, etc.). Typically, the vowel is variable and has an assimilation with the verb stem vowel.
- [D] non-M type, which does not have an initial *m*-.

Examples of each type are given in the following. Language/dialect names with each of the given type are given in the parentheses. The tense/aspect functions of the negative markers are indicated in brackets <>. If the form used is irrelevant to the tense/aspect, it is

indicated as <either>. If the form distinguishes the tense/aspect under certain conditions, such as a finite clause, but otherwise is generally used, ‘/default’² follows the tense/aspect distinction.

- [A] MA type
 /ma-/ (Geletuo Zbu <IPFV>, Situ <NPST>, Mawo Northern Rma <IPFV>, nDrapa <IPFV>, Puxi sTodsde <PFV>, sTau <PFV>, bTsanlha <PFV>, Yelong Khroskyabs <either>, and Choyu <either>)
 /ma-/ (Wobzi Khroskyabs <PST>, Wadu Northern Prinmi <IPFV/default>, Xinyinpan Central Prinmi <IPFV/default>, and Qinghua Western Prinmi <IPFV>)
 /mæ-/ (Tshobdun <IPFV>, rGyaltsu Zbu <NPST>, and Darmdo Minyag <PFV>)
 /ma-/ (Taoba/Tuoqi Northern Prinmi <IPFV> and Ludian Central Prinmi <IPFV>)
 /mæ-/ (Wobzi Khroskyabs <PST>, Lizu <either>, and Namuyi <either>)
- [B] MI type
 /mi-/ (sTau <IPFV>, Shihing <PRS>, Mawo Northern Rma <PFV>, Prinmi <PFV>, Yelong Khroskyabs <either>, and Southern Rma <either>)
 /me-/ (Puxi sTodsde <PFV>, Central Prinmi <PFV>, Southern Rma <either>, and Shihing <IPFV>)
 /mæ-/ (bTsanlha <IPFV>, Geshizha sTau <PFV>, and Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs <either>)
- [C] MV type
 /mæ-/ (Tshobdun <PFV>, rGyaltsu Zbu <PST/default>, nDrapa <PFV/default>, Puxi sTodsde <IPFV>, Wobzi Khroskyabs <IPFV/default>, Ronghong Northern Rma <either>, and Gochang <either>)
 /mɿ-/ (Japhug <NPST>)
 /mu-/ (Japhug <PST/default>)
 /mō-/ (Shihing <FUT>)
 /mu-/ (Shihing <PFV>)
- [D] non-M type
 /mjə-/ (Geletuo Zbu <PFV/default>)
 /ja-, ji-/ (Bhola Situ <PST>)
 /ji-/ (Jiaomuzu Situ <PST>)
 /mtə-, mətə-/ (Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs <FUT>)
 /ŋə-/ (Darmdo Minyag <IPFV>)

² This type is termed ‘general’ in Ding (2014) and Daudey (2014).

Table 1 Forms and tense/aspect negative marker distinctions

	A	B	C	D
Prinmi	IPFV/default	PFV	—	—
nDrapa	IPFV	—	PFV/default	—
Situ	NPST	—	—	PST
sTau, etc.	PFV	IPFV	—	—
sTodsde	PFV ₁	PFV ₂	IPFV	—
Darmdo Minyag	PFV	—	—	IPFV
Southern Rma, etc.	—	either	—	—
Yelong Khroskyabs	either ₁	either ₂	either ₃	—
Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs	—	either	—	IPFV

These examples show that the tense/aspect form distinctions vary in the Qiangic languages. Table 1 shows the form-function set variations, with the subscribed numbers indicating that it has a distinction other than a tense/aspect distinction.

The situations illustrated in Table 1 indicate that the Qiangic languages that have tense/aspect distinctions typically use Type A, the MA type, for one of their tense/aspect forms, with some languages, such as Situ and nDrapa, using Type A as the non-past or imperfective form, and other, such as sTau and Darmdo Minyak, using Type A as the past or perfective form. However, other languages, including most varieties of Rma, Khroskyabs, and Choyu, do not have any tense/aspect distinctions for their negative markers.

3. Previous studies

Some previous studies examining the historical development of the Qiangic languages include sound changes. From a comparative linguistic perspective, the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) negative form is reconstructed as *ma (Matisoff 2015: 1113). Moreover, the vowel *a in the proto language changed into a high front vowel in many Qiangic languages, through a change that was called ‘brightening’ in Matisoff (2004). For example, Tangut, an extinct Qiangic language from the 11th–14th centuries, had negation morphemes such as *mih* (平11), *meh* (上33), and *mi* (平30) (Nishida 1989: 416, the Chinese Characters and numbers in the parentheses indicate the tones), all which had ‘brightened’ vowels.

However, recent studies (Matisoff 2019) proved that brightening had not occurred in some Qiangic languages, including most rGyalrongish varieties (Tshobdun, Zbu, Japhug, Situ, and bTshanlha of the languages in Figure 1). Chirkova (2012) also claimed that there were no common phonological innovations in the Qiangic languages; therefore, it is necessary

to be careful when analyzing the relative time depth of Type A and the other types.

Because negative markers are typically prefixes, another expected change is reduction, which is when the vowel is reduced to indicate an assimilation with the stem vowel. For example, Evans (2004) reconstructed *mV with an unspecified vowel for the negative Proto-Northern Rma prefix, which is a Type C in the classification used in this paper, and reconstructed *mi in Proto-Southern Rma, which is a Type B in the classification.

This paper is also based on geolinguistics (or linguistic geography), which is another method of historical linguistics (Sibata 1969: 11). Several studies have previously been conducted by the present author (Shirai 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2019, 2020) focused on certain lexical items and morphemes in the Qiangic languages; however, as far as is known, there has not yet been a geolinguistic study conducted on the negative morphemes in the Qiangic languages.

4. Discussion

4.1 Hypotheses on Type A

As mentioned, it is expected that the history of Type A was complicated. In the following, three hypotheses on its etymon are proposed, which are tentatively termed Type A subtypes that fit each hypothesis: A1, A2, and A3.

- i. The vowel *a in the proto language is maintained, which indicates that no brightening occurred. (A1)
- ii. It originally consisted of two morphemes; for example, a compound of the negative and an irrealis marker. (A2)
- iii. It was borrowed from Tibetan. In Classical Tibetan, *ma* marks a perfective negative, *mi* marks an imperfective negative, and the vowel *i* corresponds to a mid-unrounded vowel in the modern dialects spoken in this area. (A3)

In the next section, each hypothesis is discussed, from which it is concluded that these three origins are all possible and that there are three Type A subtypes.

4.2 Geolinguistic Analysis

4.2.1 Past or perfective negative markers

Figure 3 shows the geographical distributions for the past or perfective negative markers, in which the triangles indicate Type A, the pins indicate Type B, the rectangles indicate Type C, and the arrows indicate Type D. The overlapping gray square indicates that the dialect does not distinguish a tense or aspect negative marker (see also Figure 2). This map tells us the following tendencies:

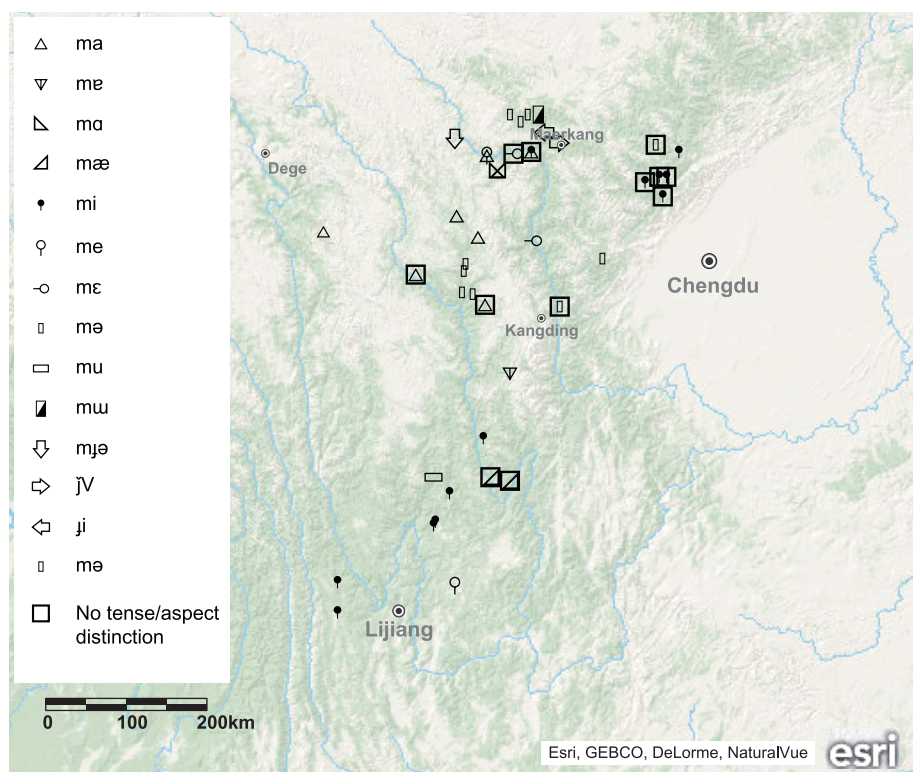


Figure 3 Negative past or perfective markers

- i. Type A has a relatively concentrated distribution in the western and central region. The triangles without a gray square, which indicate the dialect with tense/aspect distinctions and the use of Type A for the perfective or the past, are concentrated along the northern route between Dege (Derge) and Kangding (Dartsendo).
- ii. Type B is widely found and is also in peripheral areas.
- iii. Type C has a sporadic but relatively wide distribution.
- iv. Type D is limited.

Two Type A patterns were found: those with and those without tense/aspect distinctions. The Type A without tense/aspect distinctions were found in Kyroskyabs, sTodsde, Choyu, Lizu, and Namuyi. Although this geographical distribution is somewhat sporadic, it is natural to classify the MA-type negative markers in these languages as Type A1, that is, the form inherited from PTB *ma (the first hypothesis in Section 4.1). Therefore, from a logical viewpoint, this type is the oldest.

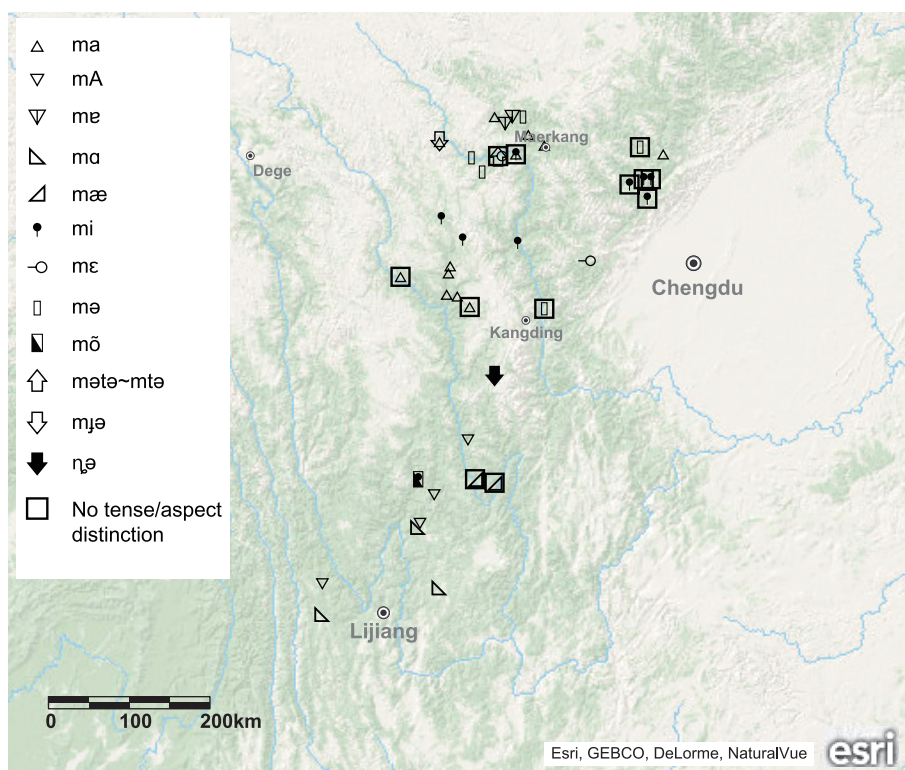


Figure 4 Negative non-past or imperfective markers

The distribution of the Type A that has tense/aspect distinction (the triangles without a gray square) is similar to the region that has a significant Tibetan influence that extends to the basic vocabulary (Shirai 2018a). As Tibetan also uses *ma* for perfective negation, the third hypothesis (Type A3) could be applied to this type: therefore, it is highly possible that the perfective negative marker was borrowed from Tibetan.

The geographical distribution suggests that Type B is relatively old, Type C is newer than B, and Types A3 and D are relatively new.³ It also appears that Type C logically developed from Type B through reduction; therefore, the relative chronology is surmised to be A1 > B > C > A3, D.

4.2.2 Non-past and imperfective negative markers

Figure 4 illustrates the geographical distributions of the non-past or imperfective negative marker forms, in which the general markings are the same as in Figure 3: the triangles

³ Nagano (2018: 51) points out that *ja-* and *ji-*, Type D past negative markers in Situ, are new innovation.

indicate Type A, the pins indicate Type B, the rectangles indicate Type C, the arrows indicate Type D, and the overlapped gray squares indicate no tense/aspect distinctions. This map shows the following tendencies:

- i. The Type A distribution is considerably wide, including peripheral areas.
- ii. Type B is concentrated in the central region.
- iii. Type C is found sporadically.
- iv. Type D is limited.

In the following, the Type A non-past or imperfective etyma is examined. For example, Situ is a rGyalrongish language that has not undergone a brightening vowel change (Matisoff 2019) and does not have a Type B or C, but does have Types A and D. Therefore, the first hypothesis (Section 4.1) can be applied to this language, that is, the Type A in this language was maintained from the proto language (A1). The same hypothesis can be applied to Tshobdun and Zbu, both of which belong to a rGyalrongish subgroup. As these languages are found in the northernmost peripheral region, they fit the center-versus-periphery theory (Yanagida 1930) that states that peripheral varieties tend to maintain old forms.

However, Type A is also widely found in languages that have exhibited a brightening vowel change, which means that hypotheses (i) and (iii) in Section 4.1 are unable to explain these forms. Therefore, a further hypothesis is proposed: ‘(ii) it originally consisted of two morphemes.’

nDrapa is an example that uses Type A for the imperfective but also exhibits brightening. Further, Type C is the default negative prefix in this language, that is, the Type C use is irrelevant to the tense/aspect in the subordinate or interrogative clauses even though it is used for the perfective negative in the declarative main clause. See nDrapa examples (1)–(3). In (1), a Type C negative marker (*mi-* ‘NEG₁’) is attached to the imperfective auxiliary (*tɿ* ‘IPFV’) inside a nominalization. However, in (2), the imperfective auxiliary has a Type A negative marker (*ma-* ‘NEG₂’) in the main predicate. In (3), the perfective auxiliary (w-a ‘PFV-FAC.PFV’) has a Type C negative marker.

- (1) *somuŋi3* *ko3* *zama3* *tsi3* *mi-tɿ-pi1* *ŋa=rA3* *phe3* *rɛ3*.
 tomorrow here meal eat NEG₁-IPFV-NMLZ 1SG=GEN father COP₄

‘The person who will not have meal here tomorrow is my father.’

- (2) *higehge3* *tɕuu2* *tsheri=ta1* *ɕettɕul* *ma-t-ɛ*.
 teacher now PN=MAL be.angry NEG₂-IPFV-FAC.IPFV

‘The teacher is not angry at Tseri now.’

- (3) *koro3* *khəmbel* *kə-mmei3* *mi-w-a1*.
 this peach INW-get.ripe NEG₁-PFV-FAC.PFV

‘This peach is not ripe enough.’ (Lit. This peach has not got ripe.)

Therefore, it could be expected that Type A was secondary and was formed to mark the imperfective negative in the main clause in this language. The possible origin of the open vowel is an irrealis prefix *a-*, which is found in Japhug (Jacques 2008: 295). While this prefix is not productive in nDrapa, it is found in the prohibitive directional prefix form; e.g., *ko-tsu2* {INW-eat} ‘Eat (it)!’ vs. *ka-tsu2* {INW.PROH-eat} ‘Don’t eat (it)!’. Therefore, it is logical to hypothesize that in this language, Type A was a secondary formation from the negative and irrealis markers. This same hypothesis could also be applied to Mawo Northern Rma and the Prinmi dialects; however, in contrast to nDrapa, Type A is a default negative marker in the Prinmi dialects (Ding 2014, Daudey 2014). This Type A subtype, which was formed through a merger of two morphemes, is A2 (Section 4.1).

From a geographical viewpoint, A2 is widely distributed from the northeastern periphery to the southwestern end, which suggests that it is relatively old even though it is a secondary development. A possible hypothesis is that this type was formed before the brightening was completed, that is, before Type B was formed, which blocked the change.

Languages with the Type B exclusive non-past/imperfective (the pins without a gray square) are concentrated along the northern route between Dege and Kangding, which suggests they borrowed the imperfective Tibetan negative marker *mi*.

Therefore, this study tentatively concludes that the negative Type A1 morpheme is the oldest and then changed into a Type B or C through brightening and/or reduction, and that Type A2 was formed through a merger of two morphemes. The geographical distributions suggest that A2 could be older than Type B. Type D developed later in fewer dialects such as Geletuo Zbu and Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs, which use Type D for the imperfective. It is therefore logical to hypothesize that Type D was formed to distinguish the tenses or aspects in these languages. Consequently, the provisional relative time depth is A1 > A2 > B > C > D.

5. Conclusion

This study examined the Qiangic language plain negative markers, with particular attention being paid to the tense/aspect distinctions. It was concluded that there are three Type A, MA-type subtypes: (i) a form maintained from the proto language; (ii) the merger of two morphemes; and (iii) Tibetan loans. The relative chronology of the types was examined and it was tentatively concluded that for the perfective/past negative markers, (i) A1 > B > C > A3, D, and for imperfective/non-past negative markers, (ii) A1 > A2 > B > C > D.

The situations examined in this paper suggest that the tense/aspect distinction has been

crucial in the Qiangic languages from an early development stage, even though it has been difficult to ascertain the distinguishable forms in the proto language. Most language varieties appear to have developed a distinction through mergers (Type A2), borrowing (Type A3), or even by using another morpheme (Type D) as shown in Figure 2, which shows which languages have different negative markers for different tenses/aspects: ‘Y’ means that the dialect had such a distinction while ‘N’ means that it did not. While the Type Y spots are distributed across the whole area, Type N are only found sporadically, which suggests that Type Y is an older type than Type N.

Abbreviations

1	first person	NMLZ	nominalizer
COP	copula	NPST	non-past
DE	deontic	PFV	perfective
FAC	factual	PN	proper name
FUT	future	PROH	prohibitive
GEN	genitive	PRS	present
INW	inward directional prefix	PST	past
IPFV	imperfective	PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
MAL	malefactive	SG	singular
NEG	negative		

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Evidential system of copulative and existential verbs in Lamo*

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Summary

This article describes the evidential system of Lamo (Kyilwa dialect), focusing on the copulative and existential verbs and referring to the model of the evidential system of Tibetic languages. Lamo is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in LDongpa and Zhonglinka Townships in mDzogong County, Chamdo Municipality, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. The article examines the evidential system of Lamo by employing the questionnaire designed for Tibetic languages. Some striking features are the following: The same framework on evidentiality functions in both copulative and existential verbs; different independent stems are used according to evidential categories; animacy for existential verbs is not distinctive; inferential evidentials distinguish sensory inferential from logical inferential in the morphological aspect; and egophoric verb stems are principally used in inferentials. The results demonstrate that the system of core evidentials (egophoric, statemental, sensory) is highly similar to the framework, as well as the morphology of Tibetic languages in Khams, especially Lhagang Tibetan. The morphological strategy of sensory and logical inferentials is partially common to Tibetic languages, but Lamo has its unique evolution which does not correspond to Tibetic. The article concludes that Lamo's the evidential framework corresponds to that of Tibetic languages of which inferential categories have been on a developing stage.

Key words: Chamdo, mDzogong County, non-Tibetic Tibeto-Burman language, evidential, borrowing

关键词：昌都、左贡县、非藏语支藏缅语、示证、借用

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1. Introduction

1.1 Lamo

Lamo is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in IDongpa and Zhonglinka Townships in mDzogong County, Chamdo Municipality, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. A preliminary picture of this language is provided by Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (2019), which includes lexical, phonetic, morphological, and syntactic features, as well as a short narrative. In this description, we find the evidential system in Lamo close to that in Tibetic languages. Based on preliminary analyses (Suzuki and Tashi Nyima 2018; Tashi Nyima and Suzuki 2019; Sonam Wangmo et al. 2019), Lamo does not belong to Tibetic but is closer to Qiangic (yet awaiting rigorous verification). However, Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (2019) report that Lamo evidential system exhibits a similarity to Tibetic languages. From this perspective, the emergence of the Tibetic-like evidential system in Lamo should be carefully investigated.

A descriptive study on Lamo benefits Tibeto-Burman historical linguistics since Lamo is expected to be a language which maintains non-Tibetic features. However, we have noticed that the evidential system of Lamo is close to Tibetic languages, in particular, copulative and existential verbs, that display a stem difference following the evidential category. This article thus concentrates on a detailed description of copulative and existential verbs in Lamo, referring to studies on evidential system of Tibetic languages from Khams.

The target language is the Kyilwa dialect of Lamo. The source is the second author, a native speaker of Lamo. The article presents a description of copulative and existential sentences principally based on the observations of the elicitations. The sound system of Lamo is summarised in Appendix 1.

1.2 Research question

Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (2019) present a brief, fundamental description on copulative and existential verbs of Lamo. They claim that the core evidential system of Lamo resembles Tibetic languages not only in the use of independent verb stems, but also in the tripartite category: egophoric–statemental–sensory. Due to our constant focus on Tibetic languages, they have functioned as an axis of our discussion. Zhao (2019) presents an introduction to Larong sMar, a sister language of Lamo, but the framework of his analysis of copulative and existential verbs is entirely different from ours.

We find a non-coincidental similarity in verb morphology between Lamo and Tibetic regarding evidentiality; the use of independent stems for copulative and existential verbs in Lamo and Written Tibetan (henceforth, WrT; romanisation of the Tibetan script follows the style of de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956) is based on evidentials as in Table 1.

Table 1 Copulative and existential verb stems

meaning	Lamo	WrT
CPV.E	ʼŋo	<i>yin</i>
CPV	ʼtɕ ^h u	<i>red</i>
EXV.E	ʼk ^h o	<i>yod</i>
EXV.SEN	ṇe	<i>snang</i>

The copulative verb stems only distinguish egophoric from statemental, whereas the existential verb stems only distinguish egophoric from sensory. The existential statemental form (EXV) consists of the stems of EXV.E and CPV (i.e. /ʼk^ho tɕ^hu/) that are in parallel to Tibetan word formation *yod red* (i.e. EXV.E + CPV), as seen in Table 1, whereas the copulative sensory form (CPV.SEN) has not been described.

However, the description by Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (2019) does not follow more recent studies on the evidentiality of Tibetic languages, such as Oisel (2017). Hence, the present research question is to describe the evidential system of Lamo by referring to a more elaborated evidential system of Tibetic languages to examine to which extent Lamo's system is similar to that of Tibetic.

To conduct this research, we should follow the identical framework to all the target languages to be examined. We, therefore, employ a questionnaire of Tournadre et al. (2018), designed for examining the evidential category of Tibetic languages (see Section 3.1 for the specific content). By using this questionnaire, we take the elicitation method for data collection. The original questionnaire contains sentences with specific language use contexts that we employ for elicitation purpose.

2. Evidential system of Tibetic languages

2.1 Theoretical background

There are numerous ways to analyse the evidential system of Tibetic languages. Each chapter by Gawne and Hill (2017) reflects the various approaches to the evidentiality. Our understanding of the evidentiality of Tibetic languages follows Tournadre's (2017) analysis and the practice by Oisel (2017), which demonstrate a single system of evidentiality to any subcategories of verbs.

We follow the definition of 'evidentiality' by Tournadre and LaPolla (2014): 'the representation of source and access to information according to the speaker's perspective and strategy'. We consider that Aikhenvald's (2004) focus on the 'source of information' as a definition of evidentiality is insufficient for the study on the Tibetic evidential marking as a whole grammatical encoding system.

Oisel (2017) demonstrates Lhasa Tibetan evidentiality as a single 'system'. His recapitu-

lative tabular (2017: 125–128) include five main evidentials: egophoric, sensorial, factual, inferential, and mnemonic. Additionally, various epistemic values such as sure, real, strong probability, and weak probability are considered. His description only deals with the ‘access’ type of evidentiality; the ‘hearsay’ evidential, including ‘reportative’ and ‘quotative’, is not discussed since they do not appear in the same syntactic slot as other evidential forms (Tournadre 2017: 104), which are all related to access to information.

Tournadre et al. (2018) provide a questionnaire specialised for an investigation of the evidential system of Tibetan languages. This questionnaire partially differs from the scheme provided by Oisel (2017). The questionnaire divides the evidentials into five: *egophoric*, *factual*, *sensory*, *sensory inferential*, and *logical inferential*, whereas Oisel (2017) provides five categories such as *egophoric*, *factual*, *sensorial*, *inferential*, and *mnemonic*. The latter does not make two inferentials divided, but it adds another category.

Our research results are also obtained by employing the questionnaire by Tournadre et al. (2018). We examine five principal evidential categories of the ‘access’ type: *egophoric*, *statemental*, *sensory*, *sensory inferential*, and *logical inferential*. The fundamental function of each evidential category is as follows:

Egophoric ‘access to personal knowledge’

Statemental ‘a common fact without indicating source and access to information’

Sensory ‘sensory access through any of the five senses’

Sensory inferential an inference ‘based on the information through the sensory access’

Logical inferential an inference ‘based on the speaker’s knowledge’

Note that we use the term *statemental* instead of *factual* for the same category.

2.2 Two Khams Tibetan cases as reference points

At the moment, there are no reports on the evidential system of surrounding Khams Tibetan varieties (Southern Route group) based on Tournadre and LaPolla’s (2014) and Oisel (2017). Thus, we consult other varieties of Khams Tibetan; we refer to the evidential system copulative and existential verbs of two Khams Tibetan, Lhagang and Choswateng, based on the first author’s research. Although both are spoken in remote regions of the Lamo-speaking area (see Appendix 2), they are the varieties on which detailed research has already been conducted, following the model by Oisel (2017).

We first collected data of Khams Tibetan varieties’ evidential system. Then we provisionally conclude that the evidentials in the Southern Route group (cf. Suzuki 2018b) are similar to Lhagang Tibetan of Minyag Rabgang (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2018) as a system (not morphology); another reference point is Choswateng Tibetan of rGyalthang (Suzuki 2014) spoken the southeastern corner of the Tibetosphere.

2.2.1 Lhagang Tibetan

Lhagang Tibetan belongs to Minyag Rabgang Khams (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2017), spoken in Lhagang Town, Dartsendo Municipality, Kandze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. The description of the evidential system of Lhagang Tibetan is provided in Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2018). Table 2 displays the affirmative forms of copulative and existential verbs.

Table 2 Copulative and existential verb forms (affirmative) of Lhagang Tibetan

verb type	egophoric	statemental	sensory	sensory inferential	logical inferential
copulative	ʃji:	ʃreʔ		ʃji:-s ^h a reʔ ʃji:- ^{fi} dzui reʔ	ʃji:-lə reʔ
existential	ʃjoʔ	ʃjoʔ-reʔ	ʃji:-tu	ʃjoʔ-s ^h a reʔ ʃjoʔ- ^{fi} dzui reʔ	ʃjoʔ-lə reʔ

Lhagang Tibetan's whole evidential system is close to that demonstrated in the questionnaire by Tournadre et al. (2018), as well as Lhasa (Oisel 2017). We observe following features:

1. The sensory copulative form is missing (the statemental form is used instead).
2. Derivational epistemic variation is not rich.
3. The suffix of the logical inferential evidential is identical to the statemental nonperfect suffix.

2.2.2 Choswateng Tibetan

Choswateng Tibetan belongs to the rGyalthag group of Sems-kyi-nyila Khams (Suzuki 2014, 2018a), spoken in Yangthag Township, Shangri-La Municipality, Dechen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China. The description of the evidential system of Choswateng Tibetan is provided in Suzuki and Lozong Lhamo (2021). Table 3 displays the affirmative forms of copulative and existential verbs.

Table 3 Copulative and existential verb forms (affirmative) of Choswateng Tibetan

verb type	egophoric	statemental	visual sensory	nonvisual sensory	inferential
copulative	ʼzẽ	ʼreʼ	ʰzẽ-ṇõ	ʼcaʼ	ʰzẽ-loʼ
	jĩ	ʼʔa ^m bo		ʰzẽ-caʼ	ʰzẽ-pa ʔa
					ʰzẽ- ⁿ doʼ
					ʼʔa jĩ ze: ṇõ
					ʰzẽ- ^ṇ da ʔa ṇõ
existential nonanimate					ʰzẽ-ʔa jĩ sũj
					ʰzẽ-ʔa ⁿ doʼ sũj
	ʰjuʼ	ʰjuʼ-reʼ	ṇõ	ṇõ	ʰjuʼ-loʼ
					ʰjuʼ- ⁿ doʼ
					ʰjuʼ- ^ṇ da ʔa ṇõ
existential animate					ʰjuʼ-ʔa jĩ sũj
					ʰjuʼ-ʔa ⁿ doʼ sũj
	ʰdoʼ	ʰdoʼ-reʼ	(V-ṇõ)	(V-ṇõ)	ʰdoʼ-loʼ
	ʰdoʼ- ^h tci				ʰdoʼ- ⁿ doʼ
					ʰdoʼ- ^ṇ da ʔa ṇõ
					ʰdoʼ-ʔa jĩ sũj
					ʰdoʼ-ʔa ⁿ doʼ sũj

Choswateng Tibetan's whole evidential system resembles neither Lhagang nor Lhasa. Principal features are as follows:

1. The sensory evidential is further divided into visual sensory and nonvisual sensory (auditory, tactile, taste, olfactory) evidentials.
2. The sensory inferential and the logical inferentials are not morphologically distinguished and merged into one system. The derivational epistemic variation is rich.
3. Animacy affects the existential verb stem. The sensory evidentials (both visual and nonvisual) of animate existential verbs are expressed with a lexical verb + a visual sensory suffix.
4. Choswateng Tibetan has a mnemonic evidential category; however, Table 3 omits it because it does not play an essential role in this article.

3. Description of the Lamo evidential system

We describe two verb categories, copulative and existential, separately. Each description consists of summary tabular, morphological analysis, and usage. The summary tabular (Tables 4 and 5) is a result of the elicitation based on the questionnaire; three forms, affirmative, negative, and affirmative interrogative (an interrogative form for a yes/no question; henceforth interrogative) are provided according to evidentials. The morphological analysis is principally an explication of how we analyse each word form in the tabular. The usage is a selection of example sentences.

3.1 Copulative verbs

Summary

Table 4 Copulative verb system of Lamo

verb type	egophoric	statemental	sensory	sensory inferential	logical inferential
affirmative	ʼŋo	ʼtɕ ^h ʉ	ʼŋo-tə ʼla' sə	ʼla'-k ^h o-tə ʼŋo-tə ʼŋo-zə-ŋo-tə	ʼŋo-tə
negative	ʼmə-ŋui	ʼme-tɕ ^h ʉ	ʼla ʼma-sə	ʼla ʼma-sə ʼla ʼmo-k ^h o-tə	ʼŋo-zə ʼmə-ŋui-tə ʼŋo-zə ʼmə-tə
interrogative	ʼʔa-ŋo ʼŋo ʼza	ʼʔɛ-tɕ ^h ʉ ʼtɕ ^h ʉ ʼza	ʼŋo-tə ʼze ʼtɕ ^h ʉ ʼga	—	—

Morphology

Three independent verbs are attested: /ʼŋo/, /ʼtɕ^hʉ/, and /ʼla' sə/. Thus, we give a single gloss for each as in (1):

- (1) a ʼŋo
CPV.E
- b ʼtɕ^hʉ
CPV
- c ʼla' sə
CPV.SEN

However, when /ʼŋo/ is followed by suffixes or appears as a part of suffixes, its gloss is not CPV.E, but CPV.

Negative forms are made by adding a negative prefix /mV-/ to the verb stem. The vowel

quality depends on that of verb stems; however, we have been unable to write out its rules. Note that the egophoric copulative /'ŋo/ changes its vowel to /ɯ/ when it occurs with the negative prefix.

The syllable /la/ is used as a part of the sensory inferential forms. However, since the negative precedes the second syllable of /'la' sə/, we analyse this word form as a disyllabic word, and thus its glossing is like (2):

- (2) 'la 'ma-sə
 CPV.SEN NEG-STEM

We find two ways to construct interrogatives: adding an interrogative prefix /ʔV-/ or suffixes /za/, /zɛ/, and /ga/. The suffixes always have an independent tonal pattern; hence, we temporarily describe them as independent words, glossed as Q, not -Q, as in (3) and (4):

- (3) a 'ʔa-ŋo
 Q-CPV.E
 b 'ʔɛ-tɕ^hɯ
 Q-CPV
- (4) a 'tɕ^hɯ 'za
 CPV Q
 b 'tɕ^hɯ 'ga
 CPV Q

The affirmative sensory copulative form /'ŋo tə/ is likely to be analysed as '/'ŋo/+suffix'. However, this case requires us to explain the function of the suffix /-tə/ as sensory. At present, we interpret the word form as a single word glossed as CPV.SEN. We also mention /-tə/ as a sensory suffix (SEN) as a working hypothesis only when necessary. This interpretation benefits the analysis of sensory inferential forms. The form /'ŋo tə/ as CPV.SEN has no negative counterpart.

Affirmative inferential forms, both sensory and logical, can use /'ŋo tə/ as CPV.SEN; however, negative counterparts differ from sensory forms. The sensory inferential category has three forms, whereas the logical inferential category has only one form that is the same as the sensory copulative. We thus cannot determine a gloss for /'ŋo tə/; we use either CPV.SEN, CPV.SNINFR, or CPV.LGINFR. Analysing the inferential forms, we can recognise the following elements:

- (5) a $\text{ʔla } k^h\text{o } t\text{ə}$
CPV.SNINFR
- b $\dagger\text{ʔla-}k^h\text{o-}t\text{ə}$
CPV.SEN-EXV-SEN

- (6) a $\text{ʔjo } z\text{ə } \eta\text{o } t\text{ə}$
CPV.SNINFR
- b $\dagger\text{ʔjo-}z\text{ə-}\eta\text{o } t\text{ə}$
CPV-NML-CPV.SEN
- c $\dagger\text{ʔjo-}z\text{ə-}\eta\text{o-}t\text{ə}$
CPV-NML-CPV-SEN

Here we use $\dagger$ for a hypothetical analytic description. The analytic descriptions in (5b), (6b), and (6c) might be useful only to consider the history of the construction of inferential forms. Nevertheless, from the morphological viewpoint, the use of sensory forms, including the / ηo /-stem, is noteworthy; rather, it is ‘marked’ that the statemental form / $\text{ʔt}^h\text{ə}$ / never appears in an inferential sense. The / ηo /-stem is likely to be connected with the sensory form, not the egophoric form.

Negative inferential forms undergo a different morphological process from the sensory counterparts. Except for one negative inferential form / $\text{ʔla } \text{ʔma-sə}$ /, the hypothetical analytic forms are described below (7), (8), and (9):

- (7) a $\text{ʔla } \text{ʔmo-}k^h\text{o } t\text{ə}$
CPV.SNINFR NEG-STEM
- b $\dagger\text{ʔla-}\text{ʔmo-}k^h\text{o-}t\text{ə}$
CPV.SEN-NEG-EXV-SEN

- (8) a $\text{ʔjo } z\text{ə } \text{ʔmə-}\eta\text{ui } t\text{ə}$
CPV.LGINFR NEG-STEM
- b $\dagger\text{ʔjo-}z\text{ə-}\text{ʔmə-}\eta\text{ui-}t\text{ə}$
CPV-NML-NEG-CPV-SEN

- (9) a ʼŋo zə ʼmə tə
 CPV.LGINFR.NEG
- b †ʼŋo zə ʼmə-tə
 CPV.LGINFR NEG-STEM
- c †ʼŋo-zə-ʼmə-tə
 CPV-NML-NEG-SEN

Looking at the morphological analysis in (9b) and (9c), we find an extraordinary case, that is, the negative prefix is directly attached to the hypothetical sensory suffix; a prefix must precede a verb stem. Moreover, we cannot find any specific reason to consider /-tə/ as a verb stem. Therefore, the analysis seems wrong. We would understand the form (9a) as a contracted form of (8a), and we thus cannot analyse a negative prefix like (9b).

Usage

Egophoric

- (10) nə po ri ʼa-ŋo
 2SG Tibetan Q-CPV.E
 ‘Are you Tibetan?’
- (11) ŋa po ri ŋo
 1SG Tibetan CPV.E
 ‘I am Tibetan.’
- (12) ŋa po ri mə-ŋu
 1SG Tibetan NEG-CPV.E
 ‘I am not Tibetan.’

Sentence (10) reflects the anticipation rule of the egophoric evidential (Tournadre and LaPolla 2014:244). Egophoric is often used with the first person, especially when it is a single argument. A genitive relationship of the first person does not reflect the egophoric evidential, but is often connected with the statemental evidential as in (13):

- (13) ʼa fiə ŋa no tɕʰu
 this 1.GEN son CPV
 ‘This is my son.’

Statemental

- (14) ʔnə ʔpo ri ʔtɕʰu
 2SG Tibetan CPV

‘You are Tibetan.’

- (15) ʔkə ʔpo ri ʔtɕʰu
 3SG Tibetan CPV

‘He is Tibetan.’

- (16) ʔkə ʔpo ri ʔme-tɕʰu
 3SG Tibetan NEG-CPV

‘He is not Tibetan.’

- (17) ʔkə ʔpo ri ʔʔɛ-tɕʰu
 3SG Tibetan Q-CPV

‘Is he Tibetan?’

- (18) ʔʔa fiə ʔfi gi wɔ ʔʔɛ-tɕʰu
 this grape-made wine Q-CPV

‘Is this red wine?’

Interrogative forms of the statemental evidential request an addressee to reply based on the addressee’s knowledge. For example, Sentence (18) contains the speaker’s assumption that the addressee knows an answer (yes/no or true/false) without testing the red liquid by any senses.

Sensory

- (19) ʔʔa fiə ʔtɕi ʔʔɛ-tɕʰu
 this water Q-CPV

‘Is this water?’

- (20) ʔʔa fiə ʔwɔ ʔŋo tə-fia
 this alcoholic drink CPV.SEN-SFP

‘(Having drunk it, I am quite sure that) this is alcohol.’

The sensory evidential reflects that an utterance is based on the sensory-accessed information. Sentence (19) is a question with a statemental evidential, and Sentence (20) is the answer to Sentence (19). Sentence (20) is marked with the sensory evidential. The background of this utterance is that the speaker of Sentence (20) confirmed whether the given liquid was water or not; as a result, the speaker made known that the liquid was not water but alcohol. The sentence final particle (SFP) in Sentence (20) implies the speaker's sensory confirmation.

- (21) ʔa fiə ˈtɕi ˈla ˈma-sə
 this water CPV.SEN NEG-STEM

‘(Having drunk it, I am quite sure that) this is not water.’

- (22) ʔa fiə ˈŋa ˈno ˈlaʼ sə
 this 1.GEN son CPV.SEN

‘(Having looked at a child in the photo, I am quite sure that) this is my son.’

- (23) ˈkə ˈfi geʼ fi gi ˈŋo tə
 3SG teacher CPV.SEN

A. ‘(Having visually observed him, I am quite sure that) he is a teacher.’

B. ‘(According to his appearance,) he may be a teacher.’

C. ‘(According to my knowledge,) he must be a teacher.’

Sentence (23) can be interpreted in three ways. Although the morphological feature of the copulative verb is identical, reading A is intended when the gloss is CPV.SEN. In the case of reading B, the gloss should be CPV.SNINFR, whilst in the case of reading C, it should be CPV.LGINFR.

- (24) ˈkə ˈfi geʼ fi gi ˈŋo ˈzɛ
 3SG teacher CPV.SEN Q

‘(According to his appearance,) is he a teacher?’

- (25) ʔa fiə ˈŋa ˈno ˈtɕʰɪ ˈga
 this 1.GEN son CPV Q

‘(Looking at a child in an old photo) Is this my son?’

Sentences (24) and (25) are typical interrogative forms of the sensory evidential. The gloss of the verb in (24) is connected to SEN, whereas that in (25) is not; this depends on

the relationship of the verb stem with the sensory evidential.

Sensory inferential

- (26) a ʔkə ʔŋo mɛ ʔfi ge' fi gi ʔŋo tə
 3SG definitely teacher CPV.SNINFR

‘(According to his appearance,) he must be a teacher.’

- b ʔkə ʔŋo mɛ ʔfi ge' fi gi ʔla ʔma-sə
 3SG definitely teacher CPV.SNINFR NEG-STEM

‘(According to his appearance,) he must not be a teacher.’

- (27) a ʔʔa fiə ʔŋo mɛ ʔtɕi ʔŋo tə
 this definitely water CPV.SNINFR

‘(According to its appearance,) this must be water.’

- b ʔʔa fiə ʔŋo mɛ ʔtɕi ʔŋo zə ŋo tə
 this definitely water CPV.SNINFR

‘(According to its appearance,) this must be water.’

Sentences (26) and (27a) can also be interpreted as an utterance with the sensory evidential if the background of the utterance allows, whereas Sentence (27b) only provides a reading of the sensory inferential access to information.

Logical inferential

- (28) ʔʔa fiə ʔŋo mɛ ʔtɕi ʔŋo tə
 this definitely water CPV.LGINFR

‘(According to my knowledge) this must be water.’

- (29) ʔkə ʔʔa kʰə ʔŋo mɛ ʔxi mbe ʔŋo zə ʔmə-ŋui tə
 3SG now definitely farmer CPV.LGINFR NEG-STEM

‘(According to my knowledge,) he must not be a farmer now.’

- (30) ʔkə ʔŋo mɛ ʔŋa ʔno ʔŋo zə ʔmə tə
 3SG definitely 1.GEN son CPV.LGINFR.NEG

‘(According to my knowledge,) he must not be my son.’

Sentence (28) can also be interpreted as an utterance with the sensory or sensory inferential evidentials if the background of the utterance allows.

3.2 Existential verbs

Summary

Table 5 Existential verb system of Lamo

verb type	egophoric	statemental	sensory	sensory inferential	logical inferential
affirmative	ʔk ^h o	ʔk ^h o tɕ ^h u	ːne	ʔk ^h o-zə-ŋo-tə	ʔk ^h o-ji ʔk ^h o-tə-fia
negative	ˈmo-k ^h o	ʔk ^h o ˈme-tɕ ^h u	ˈmə-ne	ʔk ^h o-zə ˈmə-ŋu-tə	ʔk ^h o-ji ˈmo-k ^h o-tə-fia
interrogative	ʔk ^h o ˈfia ʔk ^h o ˈza	ʔk ^h o tɕ ^h u ˈga ʔk ^h o tɕ ^h u ˈfia	ːne ˈfia	—	—

Morphology

Two independent verbs are attested: /ʔk^ho/ and /ːne/. We give a single gloss for each as follows:

- (31) a ʔk^ho
EXV.E
- b ːne
EXV.SEN

However, when /ʔk^ho/ is followed by suffixes or appears as a part of suffixes, its gloss is not EXV.E, but EXV.

Negative forms are made by adding a negative prefix /mV-/ to the verb stem. Unlike copulative verbs, the vowel quality of the existential verbs does not change with the negative prefix.

The affirmative statemental evidential is given a single gloss as in (32a); however, its construction can be analysed as a compound of ‘EXV.E + CPV’ as (32b):

- (32) a ʔk^ho tɕ^hu
EXV
- b †ʔk^ho-tɕ^hu
EXV.E-CPV

The interrogative forms formed by adding a suffix. No interrogative prefixes appear. We

observe three suffixes /fia/, /za/, and /ga/, but we have not found any semantic differences between them. Although we call them ‘suffixes’, they always have an independent tonal pattern; hence, we temporarily describe them as independent words, glossed as Q, not -Q, as in (33):

- (33) a ʔ^ho ʔ^hfi
 EXV.E Q
- b ʔ^ho ʔ^hza
 EXV.E Q
- c ʔ^ho tɕ^hɰ ʔ^hga
 EXV Q
- d ʔ^ho tɕ^hɰ ʔ^hfi
 EXV Q
- e ʔ^hne ʔ^hfi
 EXV.SEN Q

All the inferential forms are derived from the egophoric stem /ʔ^ho/. However, this stem is not connected to the egophoric evidential from the viewpoint of the evidential category. Both the sensory and logical inferentials have only one form for each. We give each a single synthetic gloss as EXV.SNINFR, or EXV.LGINFR; however, we provide potential analytic descriptions as in (34) and (35):

- (34) a ʔ^ho zə ɲo tə
 EXV.SNINFR
- b †ʔ^ho-zə-ɲo tə
 EXV-NML-CPV.SEN
- c †ʔ^ho-zə-ɲo-tə
 EXV-NML-CPV-SEN
- (35) a ʔ^ho ji k^ho tə fia
 EXV.LGINFR
- b †ʔ^ho-ji-k^ho-tə-fia
 EXV-NML-EXV-SEN-SFP

It is worth noting that the sensory inferential existential form contains the sensory copulative form, whereas the logical inferential existential form contains the egophoric exis-

tential stem with the ‘hypothetical’ sensory suffix. Additionally, the nominaliser part at the second syllable differs in each: /zə/ for the sensory inferential and /ji/ for the logical inferential. The latter is common to the genitive (GEN) marker; however, since the case marker does not directly follow a verb stem, /ji/ should be interpreted as a nominaliser.

A negative prefix is *inserted* to form negative inferentials as in (36) and (37):

- (36) a ʔ^ho zə ʼmə-ŋu tə
 EXV.SNINFR NEG-STEM
- b †ʔ^ho-zə-ʼmə-ŋu tə
 EXV-NML-NEG-CPV.SEN
- c †ʔ^ho-zə-ʼmə-ŋu-tə
 EXV-NML-NEG-CPV-SEN
- (37) a ʔ^ho ji ʼmo-k^ho tə fia
 EXV.LGINFR NEG-STEM
- b †ʔ^ho-ji-ʼmo-k^ho-tə-fia
 EXV-NML-NEG-EXV-SEN-SFP

The vowel quality of the negative prefix is common for the verb stems /ʔo/ and /ʔ^ho/.

Usage

Existential verbs function to express not only ‘existence’, but also ‘possession’ as well as ‘location’. Examples below are arranged with each evidential.

Egophoric

- (38) ʼŋa ʔə re ʔ^ho
 1SG here EXV.E
- ‘I am here.’
- (39) ʼŋa ʔtə na ʼmo-k^ho
 1SG home NEG-EXV.E
- ‘I am not home.’

- (40) ʼŋa-lə ʼp^ho fiu ʼdə k^ho
 1SG-DAT pig one EXV.E

‘I have a pig.’

- (41) ʼŋa-lə ʼtɕi ʼtsə tsə ʼmo-k^ho
 1.SG-DAT water boiled EXV.E

‘I do not have boiled water.’

Sentences (38)–(41) are ordinary as utterances in the egophoric evidential. Existential verbs also apply the anticipation rule on the use of the egophoric evidential, as in (42) and (43):

- (42) ʼnə-lə ʼta jĩ ʼqə rɛ k^ho ʼza
 2.SG-DAT money many EXV.E Q

‘Do you have much money?’

- (43) ʼŋa-lə ʼta jĩ ʼqə rɛ k^ho
 1.SG-DAT money many EXV.E

‘I have much money.’

Besides, unlike the copulative verb, the egophoric evidential appears in the genitive relationship of the first person in case of the existential verb, as in (44)–(46):

- (44) ʼŋa ʼno ʼtɕə na k^ho
 1.SG.GEN son home EXV.E

‘My son is home.’

- (45) ʼŋa ʼno ʼtɕə na ʼmo-k^ho
 1.SG.GEN son home NEG-EXV.E

‘My son is not home.’

- (46) ʼna ʼno ʼtɕə-na k^ho ʼfia
 2.SG.GEN son house-LOC EXV.E Q

‘Is your son in the house?’

Statemental

- (47) $\bar{f}i$ gā-kə ʼnə-lə ʼq̥i t^hu ʼk^ho ṭɕ^hu
 box-GEN inside-LOC pen EXV

‘There are pens in the box.’

- (48) $\bar{f}i$ gā-kə ʼnə-lə ʼq̥i t^hu ʼk^ho ʼme-ṭɕ^hu
 box-GEN inside-LOC pen EXV NEG-STEM

‘There are no pens in the box.’

- (49) ʼt^he re ʼq̥l̥ɔ ṭɕ^hi ʼk^ho ṭɕ^hu ʼga
 over there yak meat EXV Q

‘Is there yak meat over there?’

- (50) ʼmə ʼkə-lə ʼta jĩ ʼk^ho ṭɕ^hu ʼfia
 person that-DAT money EXV Q

‘Does that person have money?’

- (51) ʼkəʼ nə-lə ʼno no ʼk^ho ʼme-ṭɕ^hu
 3.PL-DAT child EXV NEG-STEM

‘They do not have any children.’

Interrogative forms of the statemental evidential request an addressee to reply based on the addressee’s knowledge. For example, Sentence (49) contains the speaker’s assumption that the addressee knows an answer (yes/no or true/false).

Sensory

- (52) ʼkə r̥e ʼp^ho fiu ʼdə ʼne
 there pig one EXV.SEN

‘There is a pig.’

- (53) ʼkə-lə ʼp^ho fiu ʼdə ʼne
 3SG-DAT pig one EXV.SEN

‘He has a pig.’

- (54) ʔkə rɛ ʔp^ho fiu ʔdə ʔmə-ŋe
 there pig one NEG-EXV.SEN

‘There is no pig.’

Sentences (52)–(54) are uttered under a background where the speaker accessed information using any of the senses. Sentences (52) and (53) are utterances based on the speaker’s visual perception. Sentence (53) is an utterance based on the speaker’s auditory perception of the oinking sound, or olfactory perception of the smell peculiar to the pig.

- (55) ʔta rə ʔtɕɛ ʔne
 still tea EXV.SEN

‘There is still tea (left).’

- (56) ʔtɕɛ ʔmə-ŋe
 tea NEG-EXV.SEN

‘There is not tea.’

Sentences (55) and (56) are utterances based on the speaker’s nonvisual perception. The speaker accessed to information by lifting the pot and feeling its weight (tactile) or shaking the pot to see if there is a sound inside (auditory).

- (57) ʔfiə ʔŋa-lə ʔta jĩ ʔne
 INTJ 1.SG-DAT money EXV.SEN

‘Oh, I have money!’

- (58) ʔna ʔno ʔlo^{fi}dɛ ʔnɔ-lə ʔne ʔfia
 2.SG.GEN son school inside-LOC EXV.SEN Q

‘Is your son in the school?’

Sentence (57) reflects the speaker’s surprise that he found some money in the pocket accidentally. This semantic situation is called mirative; however, this is simply marked by the sensory evidential. Sentence (58), contrary to Sentence (46), uses the sensory existential verb. The speaker assumes that the addressee does not use egophoric in the answer.

Sensory inferential

- (59) $\bar{k}\bar{o}'$ $n\bar{o}$ - $l\bar{o}$ $\bar{n}o$ no $k^h o$ $z\bar{o}$ ηo $t\bar{o}$ fia
 3.PL-DAT child EXV.SNINFR

‘(According to their action,) they must have a child.’

- (60) $\acute{t}\bar{o}$ $n\bar{e}$ $\bar{t}\bar{c}\bar{e}$ na $\bar{n}o$ no $k^h o$ $z\bar{o}$ $\acute{m}\bar{o}$ - ηui $t\bar{o}$ - fia
 then home child EXV.SNINFR NEG-STEM-SFP

‘Then, (according to the situation,) there must not be children at home.’

Sentences (59) and (60) have only one reading, unlike sensory inferential copulative forms (cf. Sentence 26).

Logical inferential

- (61) $\bar{k}\bar{o}'$ $n\bar{o}$ - $l\bar{o}$ $\bar{n}o$ no $k^h o$ ji $k^h o$ $t\bar{o}$ fia
 3.PL-DAT child EXV.LGINFR

‘(According to my knowledge,) they must have a child.’

- (62) $\bar{?}\bar{o}$ $r\bar{e}$ $\acute{t}\bar{c}\bar{e}$ $k^h o$ ji $\acute{m}o$ - $k^h o$ $t\bar{o}$ fia
 here tea EXV.LGINFR NEG-STEM

‘(According to the calculation of the bottle size,) here must not be tea (left).’

Sentences (61) and (62) have only one reading, unlike logical inferential copulative forms (cf. Sentence 28).

4. Discussion

Based on the description in Sections 3.1 and 3.2, we conclude that the research using the questionnaire of Tournadre et al. (2018) brought fruitful results to examine the evidential system of Lamo. As the tabular summary (Tables 4 and 5) shows, it is evident that the copulative and existential verbs of Lamo exhibit a more systematical similarity to Lha-gang Tibetan than Choswateng Tibetan. Let us summarise the similarities and differences between Lamo and two Tibetic languages:

- The same framework on evidentiality functions in both copulative and existential verbs.
- Different independent stems are used according to evidential categories (see also

Table 1).

- Animacy for existential verbs is not distinctive (same as Lhagang; differing from Choswateng).
- The statemental existential verb /^ho tɕ^hu/ corresponds to Tibetanic *yod red*.
- Inferential evidentials distinguish sensory inferential from logical inferential in the morphological aspect.
- Egophoric verb stems are principally used in inferentials.
- No statemental verb stems appear in inferentials.
- The number of inferential forms is small in Lamo. It varies even in Tibetanic languages, as shown in Lhagang and Choswateng as well as Lhasa.
- The core evidential categories in Lamo are tripartite: egophoric, statemental, and sensory.

These results, however, trigger another issue. Lamo is considered a language belonging to the Qiangic branch (Tashi Nyima and Suzuki 2019), but Qiangic languages, even spoken in the Tibetosphere, generally do not seem to possess any systematic but complicated framework of evidentiality. Of course, different definitions regarding the term *evidentiality* exist; some refer to Aikhenvald's (2004) *classical* definition, some adapt Tournadre and LaPolla's (2014) *expanded* definition. However, if a given language had a complicated evidential system, this reality would be reflected in various ways in descriptive grammars. For example, Nagano (2018: 89) describes a Situ rGyalrong grammar, in which the evidential marking denotes 'directly experienced' as a verb prefix. One exception is Japhug described by Jacques (2019), who successfully elucidated the tripartite evidential system. However, contrary to Lamo, Japhug's evidential marking system principally appears as verb prefixes, and thus only the framework of evidentiality is similar to Tibetanic languages. In his previous grammar description of Japhug, Jacques (2008) does not apply the tripartite evidential model for the verb morphology. Hence, we assume that the difference of approach to evidentiality can change the grammatical framework, and we should be prudent to consider that Qiangic languages do not possess a similar evidential system to Tibetanic languages.

There are other similarities of the Lamo evidential system to that of Tibetanic languages. One example is 'mirativity' expressed by using the sensory evidential as in (57). Scholars have debated whether mirativity of Lhasa Tibetan is an independent grammatical category (DeLancey 1997 vs Hill 2012). In Tournadre and Suzuki's (2021) understanding, mirativity is one of the semantic functions of the sensory evidential in Tibetanic languages. It is noticeable that the mirative function is also assigned to the sensory evidential in Lamo.

Additionally, Jacques (2019) also describes the mirative function by the sensory evidential marking in Japhug.

Based on multiple morphological, semantic, and systematic similarities between Lamo and Tibetic languages mentioned above, we consider more probable that the evidential system in Lamo was acquired through language contact with Tibetic. In other words, Lamo has not inherited any systematic evidential framework, although it has potentially had specific manners to mark evidentials. In this regard, we should note that ancient Tibetic languages have not developed systematic evidentiality either. Lamo also has had an opportunity to develop its evidential system. If we consider Lamo as a Qiangic or rGyalrongic language, it should have possessed a person-verb agreement system instead of the Tibetic-like evidential marking strategy. Unfortunately, Lamo has already lost the agreement system completely. We suggest that the loss of the agreement system was triggered by the acquisition of the Tibetic evidential system. It is suggested that Lamo acquired the Tibetic evidential system in an earlier stage after Tibetic languages have developed the evidential system, but we have no evidence to confirm when and how this happen.

We should pay attention to Lamo's morphological evolution of inferential forms after it acquired the Tibetic evidential framework. Both Lamo and Tibetic languages have analytic forms (see Tables 2–5). Lamo's morphological analysis presented in (5)–(9) and (34)–(37) is not parallel to Tibetic languages. Compare a morphological analysis of inferential copulative verbs in Lhagang Tibetan and Choswateng Tibetan below:

(63) Lhagang Tibetan: sensory inferential copulative

- a ʹji: s^ha re?
CPV.SNINFR
- b ʹji:-s^ha re?
CPV-SNINFR
- c †ʹji:-s^ha-re?
CPV-NML-CPV

(64) Lhagang Tibetan: sensory inferential copulative

- a ʹji: ^fdzɯ re?
CPV.SNINFR
- b †ʹji:-^fdzɯ re?
CPV-FUT

(65) Lhagang Tibetan: logical inferential copulative

a ʼji: lə re?
CPV.LGINFR

b †ʼji:-lə re?
CPV-NPFT

(66) Choswateng Tibetan: inferential copulative

a ʰzẽ lo?
CPV.INFR

b ʰzẽ-lo?
CPV-INFR

(67) Choswateng Tibetan: inferential copulative

a ʰzẽ pa ʔa
CPV.INFR

b ʰzẽ-pa ʔa
CPV-INFR

c †ʰzẽ-pa-ʔa
CPV-INFR-SFP

(68) Choswateng Tibetan: inferential copulative

a ʔa jĩ ʒe: ɳõ
CPV.INFR

b †ʔa-jĩ-ʒe:-ɳõ
Q-CPV,E-ʔ-EXV.VSEN

(69) Choswateng Tibetan: inferential copulative

a ʰzẽ ʳda ʔa ɳõ
CPV.INFR

b †ʰzẽ-ʳda-ʔa-ɳõ
CPV-be similar-Q-EXV.VSEN

(70) Choswateng Tibetan: inferential copulative

a $\hat{z}\tilde{e} \text{ } ?a \text{ } j\tilde{i} \text{ } s\tilde{u}j$

CPV.INFR

b $\dagger\hat{z}\tilde{e}-?a-j\tilde{i}-s\tilde{u}j$

CPV-Q-PFT.E-doubt

The morphological analysis in the two Tibetic languages does not match that of Lamo's inferential forms. Thus, as far as the inferential forms are concerned, the morphological process in Lamo does not follow Tibetic. Instead, Lamo applies a morphological way of construction that employs the egophoric forms. It is also possible that every Tibetic variety has elaborated the inferential forms independently. To sum up, development of inferentials could be a later morphosyntactic process where a language has a core evidential system. The morphological analysis in the two Tibetic languages does not match that of Lamo's inferential forms. Thus, as far as the inferential forms are concerned, the morphological process in Lamo does not follow Tibetic. Instead, Lamo applies a morphological way of construction that employs the egophoric forms. It is also possible that every Tibetic variety has elaborated the inferential forms independently. To sum up, development of inferentials could be a later morphosyntactic process where a language has a core evidential system.

For the phenomenon of borrowing the Tibetic evidential system in another language, the case of Selibu (Zhou and Suzuki 2020, forthcoming) might be considered. Selibu is a mixed language consisting of Yunnanese (Yunnan dialect of Mandarin, Sinitic) as a basis, and local Khams Tibetan (Alangu dialect) as its superstratum. Selibu has already acquired the Tibetic evidential system (sexpartite; egophoric/statemental/visual sensory/nonvisual sensory/sensory inferential/logical inferential) in which an ongoing incorporation of Yunnanese words emerges. This case demonstrates that borrowing a whole evidential framework is highly potential.

5. Conclusion

This article examined the evidential system of the copulative and existential verbs of Lamo by employing the questionnaire designed for Tibetic languages. The results demonstrate that the system of core evidentials (egophoric, statemental, sensory) is highly similar to the framework, as well as the morphology of Tibetic languages in Khams, especially Lhagang Tibetan. The morphological strategy of sensory and logical inferentials is partially common to Tibetic languages, but Lamo has its unique evolution which does not correspond to Tibetic.

The article concludes that Lamo acquired the evidential framework from Tibetic lan-

guages through language contact when the inferential categories of the Tibetic languages have been on a developing stage.

Appendix 1: Sound system of Lamo (Kyilwa dialect)

The description of segmental sounds follows the framework by Zhu (2010, 2015) as well as Suzuki (2016), including IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) symbols and additional indispensable phonetic symbols employed in Chinese linguistics. The analysis of suprasegmental sounds follows Kitamura (1977), with a necessary expansion.

Syllable structure

The method for displaying the syllable structure follows Suzuki (2005).

The maximum syllable structure of Lamei is summarised as ^CCGV, where ^C is a preinitial, C is a main initial, G is a glide, and V is a nucleus, that is, a vowel. CV is a minimum, indispensable unit of a syllable.

Consonantism

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
plosive	aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	t̪ ^h			k ^h	q ^h	
	non-aspirated	p	t	t̪			k	q	ʔ
	voiced	b	d	d̪			g	ɣ	
affricate	aspirated		ts ^h		tɕ ^h				
	non-aspirated		ts		tɕ				
	voiced		dz		dʒ				
fricative	voiceless		s	ʂ	ɕ	x [ç̞x]	ɣ	h	
	voiced		z		ʐ	ɣ [j̞ɣ]	ʁ	ɦ	
nasal	voiced	m	n		ɳ		ŋ	ɴ	
	voiceless	m̥	n̥		ɳ̥		ŋ̥		
liquid	voiced		l	r					
	voiceless		l̥						
semi-vowel	voiced	w				j			

N.B. A: bilabial; B: denti-alveolar; C: retroflex; D: prepalatal; E: palatal; F: velar; G: uvular; H: glottal

Preinitial is occupied by either a nasal (prenasalisation) or a glottal fricative (preaspiration).

Vocalism

plain	i	e	ɛ	a	ɑ	ɔ	o	u	ɯ	ʉ	ə	ɵ	ɤ	ɤ̃
nasalised	ĩ	ẽ	ɛ̃		ã	õ	õ	ũ			ə̃	ɵ̃		
creaky		ɛ̤	ɛ̤	a̤	ɑ̤	ɔ̤	o̤	ṳ	ɯ̤	ʉ̤	ə̤	ɵ̤	ɤ̤	
nasalised creaky					ã̤	õ̤								

12 tongue positions, divided into four types: plain, nasalised, creaky, and nasalised creaky.

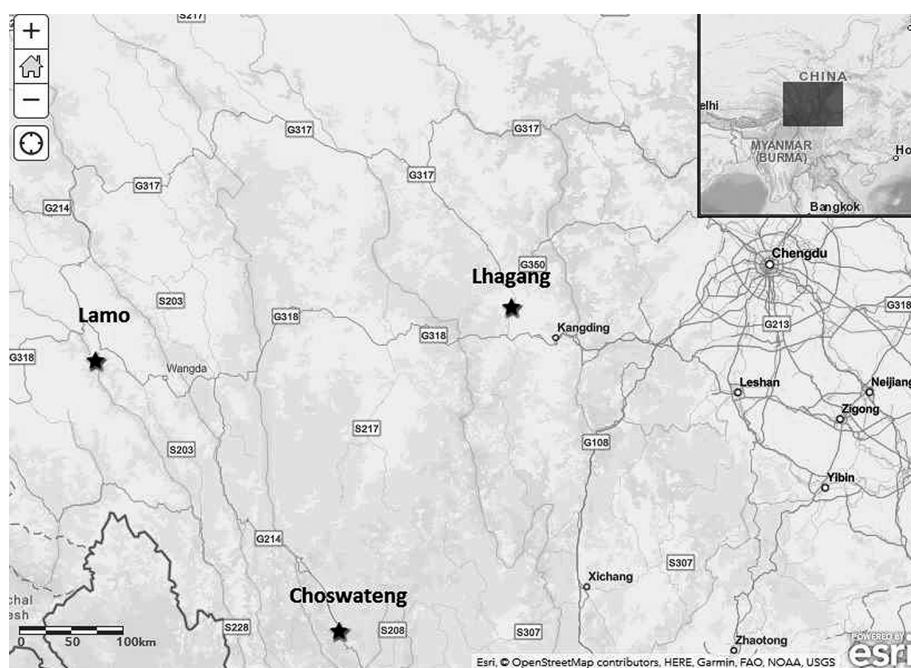
Suprasegmentals

There is two-way pitch distinction at a word-initial position: high (˥) and low (˩). Both falling and non-falling tones are acceptable.

The TBU is a phonological word (a root plus affixes), up to the first two syllables.

An apostrophe (ˈ) appearing between first and second syllables denotes that the second syllable is out of the TBU and thus atonal. Tones are not distinctive over syllables from the third syllable of a word, as well a phonological word, being realised as low level.

Appendix 2: Location of the principal languages mentioned in the article



Abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary	INTJ	interjection
†	hypothetical analysis	LGINFR	logical inferential
1	1st person	LOC	locative
2	2nd person	NEG	negative
3	3rd person	NML	nominaliser
DAT	dative	PL	plural
E	egophoric	Q	question marker
ERG	ergative	SEN	sensory
EXV	existential verb	SG	singular
FUT	intentional future	SNINFR	sensory inferential
GEN	genitive	STEM	verb stem
INFR	inferential	VSEN	visual sensory

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Applicative in rGyalrong

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Summary

This paper outlines applicative and/or applicative-like syntactic phenomena in the Bola dialect of rGyalrong. rGyalrong is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the northwestern part of Sichuan, China. This language has long attracted the attention of scholars because of the striking similarity of its lexical items to Written Tibetan. Some scholars have regarded rGyalrong as representing a substratum of Old Tibetan. It is true that the rGyalrong area and people have historically and culturally close relationships with Tibet. However, Wolfenden and consequent researchers have revealed linguistically that the language has no direct genetic relation with Tibetan, but shares a common origin with the Qiangic languages. On the other hand, rGyalrong shares certain characteristics with several subgroups of the Tibeto-Burman family and is thus considered one of the link languages that connect languages that share close genetic relations. In this sense, further research on its typological features is indispensable.

The applicative is a linguistic form that, if it appears, increases the number of arguments within the sentences by one. In most cases, when a verb becomes applicative through the addition of the applicative affix, an extra argument (usually benefactive, recipient, or goal) occurs according to Peterson (2007) and Polinsky (2005). In previous monographs on rGyalrong, this affix was regarded as a simple manner-specifier, but it has recently been redefined as an applicative marker by Jacques (2013) and Prins (2011). In this paper, I investigate whether rGyalrong has an applicative construction and, if so, attempt to describe how it functions in this dialect.

关键词：藏缅语、嘉戎语、适用体、羌语支、动词组

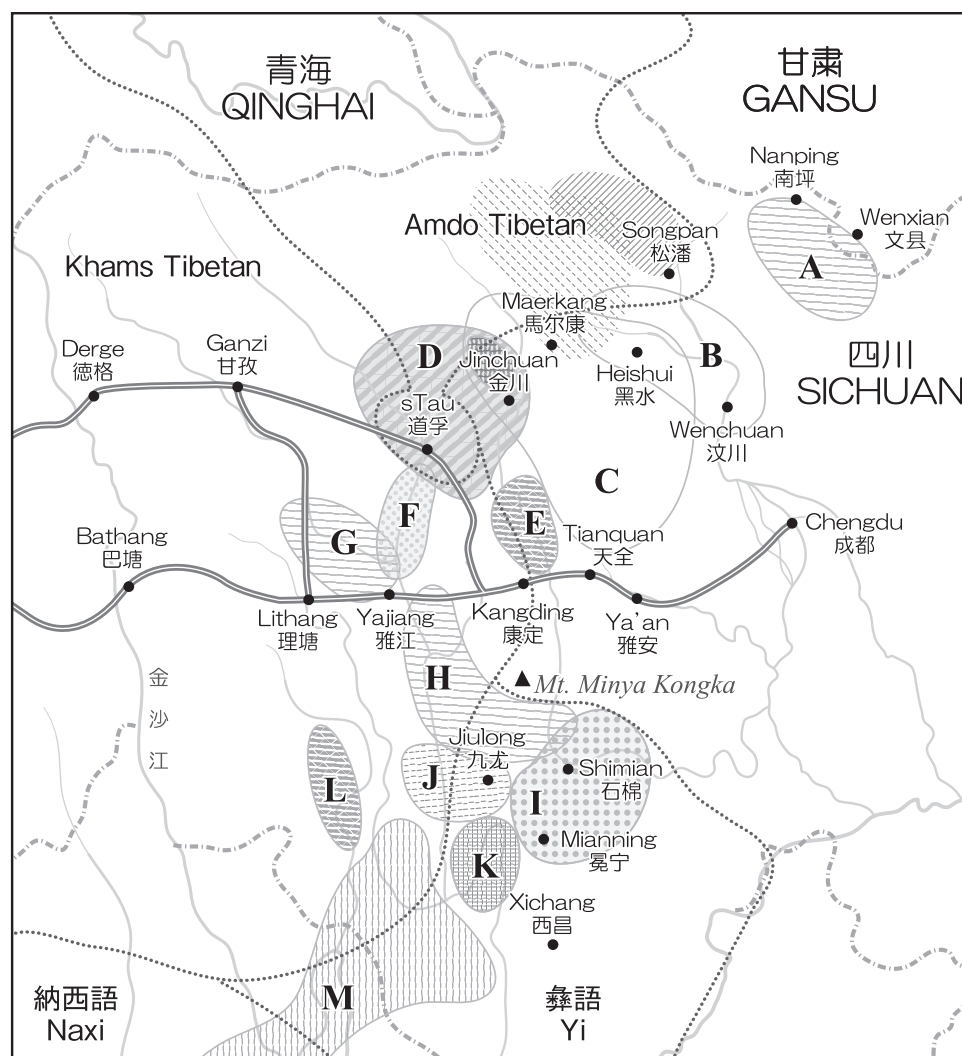
Key words: Tibeto-Burman, rGyalrong, applicative, Qiang, verb phrase

1. Introduction

rGyalrong is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language spoken in the northwestern part of Sichuan Province, China. Refer to Map 1 for the distribution of the TB and TB-related languages in northwestern Sichuan and to Map 2 for the rGyalrong's dialects and rGyalrongic languages. This language has long attracted the attention of scholars. Some of them regarded rGyalrong as representing a similar taxonomic level to Written Tibetan (WT) because some lexical items of rGyalrong are very close, even identical, to the WT orthography; others have tried to position this language as a link among TB languages in general because of its characteristic morphological components. In fact, it shares some characteristics with several subgroups of the TB family and thus is considered to be one of link languages that connect languages that have genetic relations among them. While existing link languages are diverse in type, many of them still retain their archaic forms at different levels, and their descriptions are thought to be indispensable for the reconstruction of Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

The rGyalrong area has had close connections with Tibet, both historically and culturally. Especially, this area is known for its religious importance, as it served as a major shelter for Bon followers and produced many great Tibetan Buddhist scholars. Mainly for this reason, the rGyalrong people borrowed many WT words and those lexical shapes along with Tibetan affixes were incorporated into the rGyalrong language. That is why the rGyalrong language was once considered to represent an ancient form of Tibetan. However, Wolfenden (1929, 1936) and consequent studies denied any direct genetic relation between Tibetan and rGyalrong based on the analysis of a larger inventory of lexical items collected, while discovering the fact that rGyalrong retains lexical forms and morphosyntactic mechanisms as old as those of Proto-TB, and that a number of its grammatical characteristics, such as its sophisticated personal affix system and their agreement can be thought to have been invented in later times. Also, the theory that rGyalrong shares a common origin with the Qiangic languages, not with Tibetan, is now widely accepted. These studies rely on two methods—comparison of basic vocabularies and analysis of verb structures in terms of morphosyntax. The former is a generally used method in historical linguistic studies while the latter is unique to rGyalrong studies, which helps us to recognize the developmental role of a number of affixes and precisely identify the grammatical meanings of rGyalrong verb phrases. In rGyalrong, highly complex, yet well-structured syntactic rules are working, and these rules in turn provide important clues in the study of the Proto-TB syntax. That is why many of the preceding rGyalrong studies have focused on the analysis of verb structure.

In the rGyalrong verb phrase, many affixes are quite active and productive. Although the pronominal affixes and their agreement were proved to be a later development, many others still remain unexamined. Among those, I would like to describe 'applicative' of rGyalrong in this small paper as the first trial to check whether or not it is archaic.

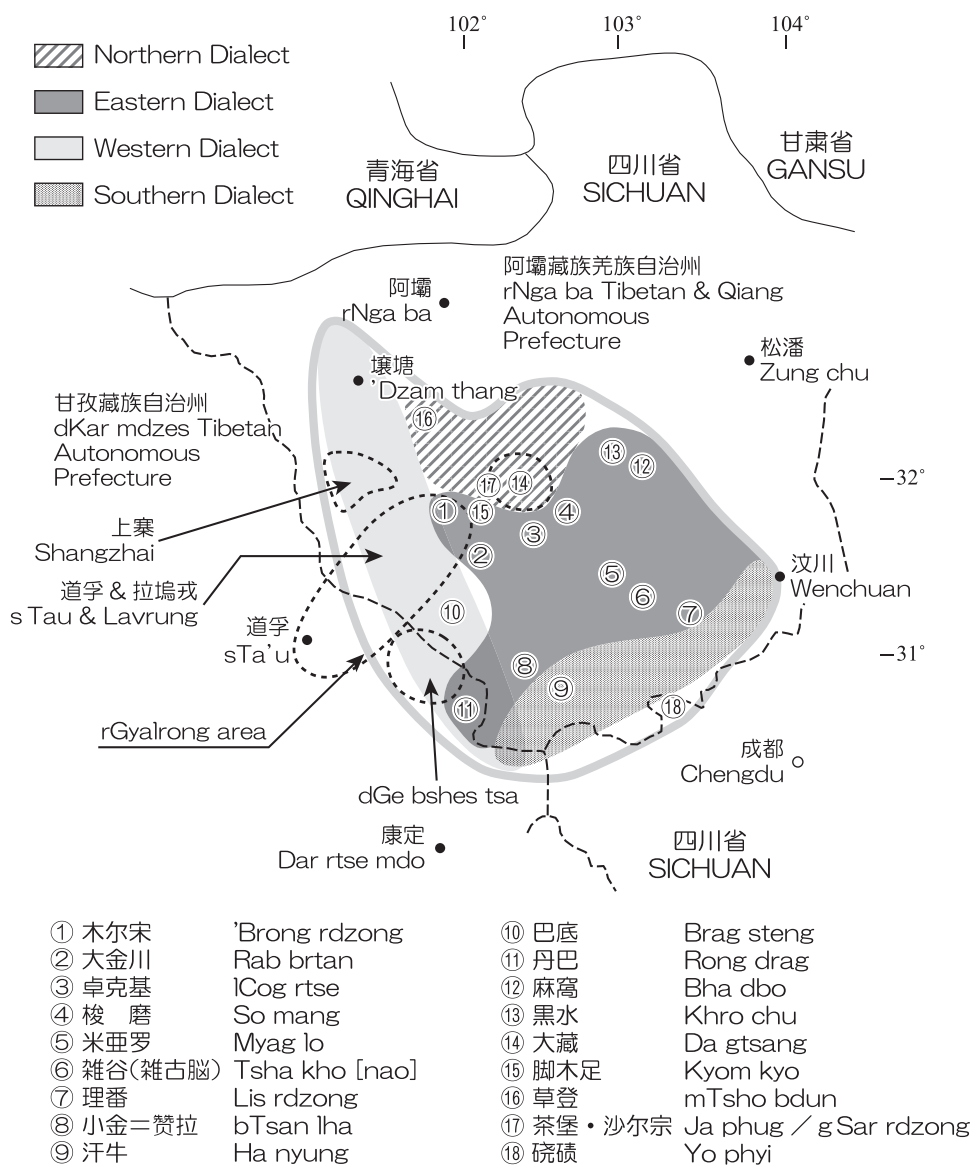


A	白馬語	Baima language	G	卻域語	Queyu language
B	羌語	Qiang language	H	木雅語	Muya language
C	嘉戎語	rGyalrong language	I	爾蘇語	Ersu language
D	道孚語	sTa'u language	J	呂蘇語	Lyuzu language
C & D	拉塢戎語	Lavrung language	K	納木義語	Namuyi language
E	貴瓊語	Guichong language	L	史興語	Shihing language
F	扎壩語	nDrapa language	M	普米語	Prinmi language

The broken line stands for language boundary.

Map 1 Languages in northwestern Sichuan (based upon Nishida 1993, Ikeda 2007 and Shirai 2009)

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Map 2 Distribution of the rGyalrong dialects and rGyalrongic languages © Yasuhiko Nagano 2018

2. Outline of Phonology

2.1 Syllable structure

The syllable canon of the rGyalrong Bhola dialect can be generalized as (C1)Ci(G)V(Cf) (C2), where the parenthesized portions are optional. C1 can be occupied by p-, t-, k-, r-,

l-, s-, š-, m- or n-. All the consonants shown in the next section except fi, can stand at Ci. V stands for vowel and G is glide which includes -r-, -l-, -w- and -y-. The following may appear at (Cf): -p-, -t-, -k-, -ʔ-, -č-, -s-, -fi-, -m-, -n-, -ñ-, -l-, -r-, -w and -y. C2 is -s or pronominal suffix S1, including n, ñ, ñ̃, č, w, y.

2.2 Consonants

Consonant phonemes are the following:

p ph b	t th d	ʈ ʈh ɖ	k kh g	ʔ
	ts tsh dz	č čh ǰ	c ch j	
	s z	š ž		h fi
m	n		ñ	ñ̃
	r			
w	l		y	

2.3 Vowels

Vowels are: /a, i, u, e, o, ə, ɐ/. Tones are not distinctive.

3. General Structure of the rGyalrong Verb Phrase

rGyalrong sentences are either simple or compound. Simple sentences have one verb complex that is necessarily the final one, while compound sentences have any number of non-final verb complexes and a final one. The structure is illustrated schematically as:

[(NP) + VP_{non-final}]ⁿ(particle)[(NP) + VP_{final}] (AUX) (n = 0, 1 or 2)

VP_{non-final} is infinitive, where ka- prefixes action verbs while kə- appears with stative verbs.

A VP_{final} has the following general structure and it constitutes a word:

VP_{final} → P1-P2-P3-P4-P5-ROOT-(s)-S1

P1 is the mood marker, which represents the speaker's attitude and judgment towards the state and/or the other party.

P2 is the tense/aspect marker, which specifies the past/non-past distinction and various aspects of motion that verbs express. For the sake of past/non-past distinction, directive markers play important roles. Directive markers are descriptively tense markers, but historically they seem to have been aspect markers.

P3 is the evidential marker, which indicates the information's directness/indirectness and mirativity of utterance.

P4, pairing up with S1, represents pronominal affix. P4 and S1 specify agreement.

P5 is the voice marker as well as adverbial affixes of manners, indicating causative, repetitive, reciprocal, applicative and some others.

A morpheme -s is a single derivative suffix to the root. It may appear between the root and S1 only with ‘process’ verbs. It also marks that the verb is in perfective.

The shape of verb root is single. Lin (2000) and Prins (2011) claim that past/non-past contrast is expressed by different root forms (different vowels or existence of ?), but my present informant says that the roots of past and of non-past are identical. Lin’s observation (1993) seems to be the same as mine.

4. Applicative marker na-

4.1 Typical cases

Among the P5 prefixes, “applicative” has drawn attention of scholars from the viewpoint of linguistic typology. If this affix appears at the P5 slot, it increases the number of arguments within the sentences by one. This affix was formerly regarded as a simple manner-specifier, but it has been interpreted as an applicative marker since Jacques’ intervention (2013, 2016). Generally, when a verb becomes an applicative verb through the addition of the applicative affix, an extra argument, which is called an *applied object*, appears. In Herero of Bantu, for instance, the following contrast is seen:

- (1) omunéné wá-rand-a ozombanda.
 parent SM/PAST-buy-F clothes

‘The parents bought clothes.’ (Yoneda 2009: 7)

- (1a) omunéné wá-rand-ér-é ovánátje ozombanda.
 parent SM/PAST-buy-AP-F children clothes

‘The parents bought clothes for the children.’ (Yoneda 2009: 7)

The appearance of applicative affix -ér- parallels the increase of benefactive argument. This phenomenon is widely observed in Bantu and Maya-Aztec languages, in which increased arguments are mostly either benefactive or goal arguments. Polinsky also claims that generally, ‘Applicative formation results in adding arguments other than agent and theme, and may thus be constrained by the general hierarchy of semantic roles: agent > theme (patient) > goal (recipient, benefactive) > location > other’ (Polinsky 2005: 443).

The rGyalrong examples parallel to these general usages are,

- (2) wuǰo w-ənǰi? w-əčhes suwe ta-na-šmo.
 3s 3s:GEN-friend 3s:GEN-for barley PST-APP-steal

‘(I hear that) He stole barley for his friends.’

- (3) *ña to-mərtsap.*
1s PST-feel pain

‘I felt pain.’

- (4) *ña ñ-ən-məs to-na-mərtsap.*
1s 1s:GEN-wound PST-APP-feel pain

‘I felt pain at the wound.’

In (2), a benefactive argument ‘for his friends’ and **-na-** are simultaneously present. By comparing (3) and (4), it can be understood that, if the location of pain is indicated, **-na-** appears. The following are examples.

- (5) *wuʃo ya-pho.*
3s PST-flee

‘He fled.’

- (6) *wuʃo ʃimgu kə-na-pho ya-čhe.*
3s house INF-APP-flee PST-go

‘He fled to (detoured) the house.’

‘House’ in (6) is not a theme but distal goal or location. *kə-na-pyor* may be used in place of *kə-na-pho*.

4.2 Benefactive or goal or theme?

In rGyalrong, the argument that increases is not necessarily benefactive or goal. Contrary to Polinsky’s claim, the theme increases or is presupposed. In this sense, rGyalrong’s applicative is not a typical case in linguistic typology. Jacques (2013, 2016) regards this phenomenon more broadly, stating that this affix turns an intransitive verb to a transitive one and it brings out the patient. Thus,

- (7) *ña nəzdañ {nə-zdar-ñ}.*
1s EVI-fear-1s

‘I fear.’

- (7a) *ña khuñ nənazdañ {nə-na-zdar-ñ}.*
1s tiger EVI-APP-fear-1s

‘I fear a tiger.’

- (7b) *n̩a* *wuʃo* *nənazdaŋ* {*nə-na-zdar-ŋ*}.
 1s 3s EVI-APP-fear-1s

‘I fear him.’

The ‘tiger’ and ‘him’ are specified as the causes of ‘to fear’ and **-na-** appears in VP at the same time. The infinitive of the verb and **-na-** behave similarly. For instance,

- (7c) *n̩a* *wuʃo* *kə-nəya* *nənazdaŋ* {*nə-na-zdar-ŋ*}.
 1s 3s INF-return EVI-APP-fear-1s

‘I fear him returning.’

In the following examples, **-na-** appears even though the *applied object* is absent:

- (8) *ka-šmo=tə* *ma-hao* *n̩os*.
 INF-steal=DEF NEG-good LKV

‘Stealing is not good.’

- (8a) *tərmi* *n̩i-lakčhə* *ka-na-šmo=tə* *ma-hao* *n̩os*.
 man 3p(HON):GEN-object INF-APP-steal=DEF NEG-good LKV

‘It is not good to steal other person’s object.’

- (8b) *ka-na-šmo=tə* *ma-hao* *n̩os*.
 INF-APP-steal=DEF NEG-good LKV

‘It is not good to steal (object).’

The example (8a) shows its object and **-na-** is used. This is parallel to (7) through (7c). However, (8b) is also acceptable for native speakers. This is because while the notion that ‘stealing is bad’ is a generality, **-na-** can be present without an applied object if some concrete target to be stolen is present within the speaker’s mind.

- (9) *kəšmo=kə* *n̩ə-poŋyi* *sta* *to-šmo-w*.
 thief=ERG 1s:GEN-money container PST-steal-3

‘A thief stole my purse.’

- (9a) *n̩ə-poŋyi* *sta* *tunašmoŋ* {*to-wu-na-šmo-ŋ*}.
 1s:GEN-money container PST-INV-APP-steal-1s

‘(Someone) stole my purse.’ = ‘I had my purse stolen.’

- (9b) tənḍi khos tunašmoṅ {to-wu-**na**-šmo-ṅ}.
- leather case PST-INV-APP-steal-1s

‘(Someone) stole my leather case.’ = ‘I had my leather case stolen.’

The translations for (9a) and (9b) can be constructed to be suffering passive, but the sentences are not of passive construction. In (9b), the possessor of the leather case is not specified, but, we can guess it is the first person singular because of the S1 suffix.

4.3 Irregular examples

The following is rather an irregular example. *saksə* is a noun that means ‘lunch’ and we can make a VP ‘to take lunch’ by adding a directive marker. Thus,

- (10) yi-**na**-saksə ru.
- DIR-APP-lunch SFP

‘Let’s take lunch/go to lunch.’

We cannot find the *applied object* ‘lunch’ in (10), but because it is presupposed in the speaker’s mind, **-na-** is used. Incidentally, ‘afternoon’ is **saksənkhū**, which consists of **saksə** ‘lunch’ + **nkhu** ‘after.’

When we presuppose ‘food’ as the *applied object*, its theme frequently disappears.

- (11) wuḷo təmñok ka-ndza wu-sem no-we.
- 3s bread INF-eat 3s:GEN-mind PST-come

‘He wanted to take bread.’

- (12) wuḷo šimomo kə-**na**-ndza ta-səyok.
- 3s now INF-APP-eat PST-finish

‘He just finished eating.’

In (11), the theme ‘bread’ is stated, while in (12), no applied object is expressed, but the existence of **-na-** implies that either breakfast, lunch or dinner is presupposed. Similar examples are:

- (13) kə-**na**-ndza w-əke=y, təyak ka-šci.
- INF-APP-eat 3s:GEN-before=LOC hand IMP-wash

‘Wash your hands before eating.’

- (14) *kə-na-ndza ma-tso-ñ.*
 INF-APP-eat NEG-have time to do-1s

‘I have no time to eat.’

4.4 Lexicalized **-na-**

In addition to these, the following are examples of lexicalized **-na-**.

- (15) *ña čorbo to-nazon {to-nazok-ñ}.*
 1s plate PST-lick-1s

‘I licked the plate.’

- (16) *khəna təndza to-nazok.*
 dog food PST-lick

‘The dog licked the food.’

There is no form ***ka-zok**, which lacks **-na-**.

- (17) *wuʃo gyagar-ne nə-naya-s.*
 3s India=ABL PST-return-PFV

‘He returned from India.’

- (18) *ña borso ripin naya-ñ.*
 1s next year Japan return-1s

‘I shall be returning to Japan.’

- (19) *ña wuʃo kə-naya nayo-ñ.*
 1s 3s INF-return wait-1s

‘I will wait for his return.’

We have no grammatical shape ***kə-ya** for ‘to return’ nor ***ka-yo** for ‘to wait.’ Similarly, there is no form such as ***ka-slot** nor ***ka-momi** for ‘to get lost, to be at a loss’ respectively.

- (20) *ña təla nənaslon {nə-naslot-ñ}.*
 1s road PST-lose-1s

‘I got lost.’

- (21) *ña* *nə-namomi-ñ.*
 1s PST-be at a loss-1s

‘I got lost.’

Another example of the lexicalized **-na-** would be **ka-na-mčara** ‘to read’.

From these examples, it could be said that rGyalrong has an applicative construction, but it is not typologically typical in the manner that Polinsky and Peterson assert. Rather than that, rGyalrong’s applicative can be considered to be functioning in VP as a signal that implies the existence of a theme argument as well as benefactive and goal arguments.

5. Some Speculation—by way of tentative conclusion

We have understood that the rGyalrong’s applicative belongs to either the ‘stimulus’ or ‘comitative’ type Peterson (2007) says. As Jacques clearly claims for Japhug rGyalrong, “The applicative is a valency-increasing derivation by means of which an oblique argument or adjunct is promoted to the O role, while the S of the original verb becomes the A of the applicative verb” (2013: 1–2). It means that the applicative marker derives a transitive verb from an intransitive one, where a P argument appears anew.

We have no concrete evidence that any nasal prefix to a verb had a function to causativize an intransitive verb to a transitive verb in the older syntax, while Matisoff directs his attention to the function of the Daai nasal prefix (2003: 119). Although he does not say that the Daai phenomenon can be traced back to PTB, I believe it deserves a further consideration, along with a wider comparison with other voice markers, such as the antipassive and the estimative (Jacques’ *tropative*) markers observed in more rGyalrong-Qiangic languages. The findings may be closely connected to the PTB morphosyntax.

Abbreviations

1	first person	{ }	underlying form
2	second person	ABL	ablative
3	third person	ABT	absolute tense
d	dual	ADVR	adverbializer
ex	existence	ALA	agentless action
neg	negative	APP	applicative
p	plural	ATT	attenuant
s	single	AUX	auxiliary verb
v	verb	CAUS	causative
<	originated from the right	COND	conditional
>	action going from the left to right	CONJ	conjunction

CONJP	conjunctive particle	NIF	new information
DEF	definite	NOM	nominalizer
DIF	direct information	Non1	non-first person
DIR	directive/direction marker	NonV	non-volitional
ERG	ergative	OPT	optative
EST	estimative	P	prefix
EVI	evidential	PFV	perfective
FOC	focus marker	PROG	progressive
GEN	genitive	PROH	prohibitive
HON	honorifics	PST	past tense
IDEF	indefinite	Q	question
IMP	imperative	S	suffix
IMPS	impersonal	SFP	sentence-final particle
INF	infinitive	ST	Sino-Tibetan
INS	instrumental	TB	Tibeto-Burman
INV	inverse	VP	verb phrase
IRR	irrealis	WT	Written Tibetan
LKV	linking verb	-	morpheme boundary
LOC	locative	=	constituent boundary one degree higher than “-”
NEG	negative/negation		

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History of the Tibetan Language

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Summary

This paper surveys the historical development of the Tibetan language. This language has two different styles, literary and colloquial, the former of which is documented from the 7th century AD. The founder of the Tibetan Empire *Srong tsen sgam po* hastened to establish the official language and its orthography. Old Literary Tibetan gradually gained literature in many genres, such as annals, law, contracts, and divination. Old Literary Tibetan was used as a lingua franca by neighboring non-native speakers (*Han* and *Khotanese*, for instance) by the 9th century AD.

Literary Tibetan has developed both in orthography and syntax. The complex syllable structure was simplified in colloquial Tibetan, which is reflexed in orthographic change. In syntax, the auxiliary verb *yin* newly emerged and came to function to reflect the speaker's judgment. Literary Tibetan grew more stable by introducing the linguistic change of the colloquial style that occurred in Central Tibet since the 12th century AD, when Old Literary Tibetan was re-established as Classical Tibetan.

In colloquial Tibetan, the simplification of syllable structure caused tonogenesis probably around the 10th century AD, and the distinction between *myi* and *mi* was lost. At the same time, the morphological structure of the colloquial language has changed from synthetic to analytic. After the 11th century, the loss of consonantal codas (*-d*, *-n*, *-l*, *-s*) caused vowel changes in the Lhasa dialect. In Early Modern Colloquial Tibetan, the auxiliary verb *red* was introduced from the *Amdo* dialect and diffused into Central Tibet. This type of linguistic change induced the influence of the Early Modern Literary style.

On the whole, there are many common features attested from the Old Tibetan to Modern Tibetan dialects, which are quite distinct from other Himalayan languages, and after the Old Tibetan Empire was established, the Tibetan language rapidly diffused over the entire Tibetan territory with the Tibetan Empire's abrupt extension, after which the Tibetan dialects evolved. This is what I call the "Big Bang hypothesis."

Key words: Old Literary Tibetan, Old Colloquial Tibetan, Classical Tibetan, Modern Dialects, Big Bang hypothesis

キーワード：古チベット文語，古チベット口語，古典チベット語，現代諸方言，ビッグバン仮説

1. Introduction — What is Tibetan?

“Tibetan” refers to the language of Tibet, but more specifically it usually refers to the spoken (colloquial) and written (literary) languages of Central Tibet. However, the spoken language has a diverse variety of dialects distributed over a vast area, and there are numerous variations in the written language from the 7th century to the present day. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, these dialects can be said to possess a unified Tibetan identity. Establishing the identity of Tibetan can be traced back to the foundation of Tibet in the 7th century.

The founder of Tibet, *Srong brtsan sgam po* (*Khri srong rtsan*), developed a national regime at an astounding speed after founding the country, and his first task was the establishment of an official language (spoken and written). The spoken language of the royal family was used as the official spoken language of the nation, and the written language was established using characters newly created for that purpose. With the expansion of the nation, the spoken and written languages spread throughout the Tibetan Plateau, laying the foundation for Tibetan. The earliest spoken and written languages in this period are collectively referred to as “Old Tibetan.” When making a particular distinction between the written and spoken languages, the terms “Old Literary Tibetan” and “Old Colloquial Tibetan” are used.

Thereafter, the spoken language developed independently in each region and formed the various modern-day dialects. In contrast, the literary language, demonstrating gradual changes compared to changes in the spoken language, continued to the present day with its old forms well preserved. Since it facilitates communication between various dialects, it plays a central role in maintaining a sense of unity in the Tibetan language.

Thus, “Tibetan” can be described as a collective term for diverse spoken dialects distributed over a vast area eight times the size of Japan and a prominent literary language in Asia from the 7th century to the present day.

2. The Formation and Development of Old Literary Tibetan

2.1 The Establishment of Written Characters, Orthography, and Written Forms

The Tibetan script was created based on the Indic Gupta script used in Nepal and Northern India. It is a phonetic script consisting of thirty basic consonant characters and four vowel symbols. While Tibetan characters essentially retained the characteristics of Indic characters, such as the layout of the character tables, it was estimated that Tibetan characters were officially established in the 630s and 640s after some improvements were made, such as the creation of new characters and three-tiered character notations for expressing complex syllables. Ten years later, in 650, yearly events of national importance began to be recorded in the *Old Tibetan Annals* (the Annals), and in 655, a legal code was formulated. Thus, it can be said that Tibetan-language documents were first produced at the beginning of 650.

After the establishment of the script and orthographic rules, the next important task was setting written forms that differed according to the genre of the text and the fixed expressions used in each, for example, for annals, legal codes, contracts, letters, divination, and inscriptions. To illustrate this, in the Annals, each year was expressed in a fixed format such as “the year falling in (i.e., the year that is) (*par lo gchig*) ... the year of the tiger (*stagi lo la bab ste*).” Other texts such as contracts, letters, divination, and inscriptions each have a characteristic form. Recent studies have shown that the existence of such a clear written form is characteristic of Tibetan texts (Takeuchi 2012). As will be described later, Tibetan-language texts came to be used by many ethnic groups in the Tibetan Empire’s territory along the Silk Road, including the Han Chinese, Khotanese, Uyghurs, and Sumpas. Presumably, the existence of prescribed written forms was a key aspect of non-Tibetan peoples’ assimilation of Tibetan-language texts.

Some believed that the Tibetan script was created to transcribe Buddhist scriptures, but in fact it was primarily created to achieve national unification and administrative documentation. Thus, as the Tibetan territory expanded, its official language spread throughout its territories. Buddhism is thought to be first introduced during the reign of King *Srong brtsan sgam po*, and Tibetan Buddhist scriptures would have been produced thereafter (*Śālistamba-sūtra*, for instance, cf. Takeuchi 1997–1998 (OTM): texts 680–693). In fact, many Tibetan Buddhist texts were produced in the latter half of the 8th century, when Buddhism became the state religion. Subsequently, a large-scale project for translating and transcribing Buddhist sutras was carried out, and Buddhist scriptures became the main body of Tibetan-language documents.

2.2 The Diffusion of Old Literary Tibetan — From the Official Language of the Tibetan Empire to an International Lingua Franca

As Tibet rapidly expanded its territory and gained control over the entire Tibetan Plateau, Literary Tibetan spread from Qinghai in the east to Ngari in the west. Moreover, peoples such as the Zhangzhung, Sumpa, and Azha (Tuyuhun) who did not originally speak Tibetan as a mother tongue came to use Literary Tibetan as an official language.

Tibet further expanded into Central Asia, and for half a century, it governed the Southern Silk Road to the west from the Wakhan Corridor (Northeast Afghanistan) to Baluchistan (Northeast Pakistan), to the north and east, from Kashgar, Khotan to Dunhuang. During this time, it became clear that various non-Tibetan peoples, such as the Han Chinese residents of Dunhuang and the Iranian-descended Khotans, also learned and used Literary Tibetan.

For example, Tibetan Buddhist scriptures produced in large quantities in Dunhuang were derived from Han Chinese sutra copyists, who produced many other documents besides Buddhist scriptures, such as letters, contract documents, and graffiti (Takeuchi 2013). We also know that Khotan officials, whose native tongue was an Iranian language, wrote contracts and many other documents in Tibetan (Takeuchi 1995: 169–174).

Thus, Literary Tibetan, established as the official language of Tibet, came to be widely used by many ethnic groups who did not speak Tibetan as a native language. As a result, Literary Tibetan took on a universal character and transitioned into being an international lingua franca suitable for intercultural communication. This gave rise to a situation in which Literary Tibetan continued to be used from Central Asia to Mongolia even after the end of the Tibetan Empire, mainly by non-Tibetan Buddhists.

The Tibetan Empire collapsed in 842, and Tibet's rule over Central Asia ceased around 850. It was impossible that Literary Tibetan texts would continue to be used in Central Asia, where there were no more Tibetans. However, Hungarian scholar Uray (1981) identified the fact that letters written in Tibetan were exchanged between the Han administration (the Guiyi Circuit) in Dunhuang, the Uyghur state established in Ganzhou, and the Kingdom of Khotan, a country that was independent from Tibet. Countries that spoke different languages—Chinese, Uyghur, and Khotan—used Tibetan as a lingua franca, as it was the language that they had all learned. It also became apparent that, thereafter, an unexpected situation arose in which Literary Tibetan documents were used not only as diplomatic documents, but also in various other fields, such as letters and litigation documents used by the Hans and Khotans. Moreover, during the same period, Tibetan Buddhism flourished in Central Asia, and many Tibetan Buddhist texts were produced. Tibetan was the international lingua franca in Central Asia in the 10th century (Takeuchi 2002, 2012).

Thus, Old Literary Tibetan, which was established in the 7th century, was used continually for five centuries, changing its shape and character gradually. Over this long period, Old Literary Tibetan can be divided into the following three phases:

- (1) **Early Old Tibetan** Mid-7th century to late 8th century
The formative period of Old Literary Tibetan. Documents during this period were transmitted to the present day only in the form of copied manuscripts, such as the Annals.
- (2) **Middle Old Tibetan** Late 8th century to early 9th century
The period of diffusion of Old Literary Tibetan. At the zenith of the Tibetan Empire, Literary Tibetan was widely used throughout its territories. Many paper documents and wooden tablets during this period were excavated in Central Asia, which was controlled by Tibet, and stone inscriptions survived in the Tibetan heartlands.
- (3) **Late Old Tibetan** Late 9th century to 11th century
The international lingua franca of Central Asia after the collapse of the Empire. It was used as a lingua franca by non-Tibetan peoples, such as the Hans, Khotans, and Uighurs, and became popular as the sacred language of Tibetan Buddhism. It has features in terms of the written form and style that are referred to as the Post Imperial Style.

3. The Development and Diffusion of Old Colloquial Tibetan

3.1 The Establishment and Diffusion of an Official Language

The core peoples of Tibet when it was first founded were *spu rgyal*, who migrated from Yarlung to Central Tibet, the *rkong po*, who were the royal family and their relatives, the *myang po*, and the *dvags po*, those from southeast regions. It is believed that the official language of the state was based on the spoken language of these peoples. With the rapid expansion of the nation, people who spoke the official language as a native language or a second language spread throughout the Tibetan Plateau, conquering and absorbing people who spoke various other languages in the process. Peoples who fall under this category include the Zhangzhungs in the west, who spoke a Tibeto-Burman language, and, to the east and north, the Sumpa and Nampa, who spoke languages similar to the Tibeto-Burman language, the Turkic Bailan (白蘭), and the Mongolic Azha (Tuyuhun 吐谷渾). It is thought that they were incorporated into Tibet's military regime and were assimilated into the cultural mainstream. They continued to retain their languages to some extent, but they were eventually assimilated into the Tibetan culture. This process may have influenced Tibetan as a substrate language. The wide variety of dialects that persist to this day, particularly in the West Kham region where Tibetan or Tibeto-Burman languages were spoken, may be due to the influence of substrate languages sharing a common ancestry. Meanwhile, in areas where there were no Tibetic languages, such as Baluchistan, Amdo, and East Kham, the linguistic forms of Old Tibetan are still well preserved.

3.2 Sound Forms of Early Old Colloquial Tibetan (7th Century)

The spellings of words in Old Literary Tibetan established in the 7th century were based on the pronunciation of the spoken language. Thus, pronunciation can be estimated as follows from a comparison between the spelling forms of Old Tibetan and the various dialects preserving the old forms described above.

Syllable structure $C_1C_2C_iRVC_3C_4$ (Example: *bsgrubs* 'completed')

Before the initial consonant C_i , the enclitic consonants C_1 , C_2 , and C_i may be followed by an intervening sound R (optional).

C_1 : *b-*
 C_2 : *r-, l-, s-, g-, d-, b-, m-, ' [h-]*
 R: *-r-, -y-*

There are spellings with the medial sound *-l-* in them (*kl-, gl-, bl-, rl-, sl-, zl-*), but *l* should be considered the initial consonant preceded by an enclitic consonant. This will

be explained later using the example of ‘moon’. The medial sound *-w-* (*wa zur*) was also present in the spelling and was used in the transliteration of sounds from foreign languages (e.g., *kwa cu* for Chinese Guazhou 瓜州), but it was not present in the spoken Tibetan language.

Initial consonant C₁

Stops and Affricates: In the Tibetan alphabet, we can observe a triadic contrast of voiceless/unaspirated, voiceless/aspirated, and voiced for the following sound groups: *k, kh, g; c, ch, j; t, th, d; p, ph, b; ts, tsh, dz*. Since the unaspirated/aspirated contrast can be regarded as a complementary distribution, it is probable that they made a binary opposition in its phonological level. A voiceless glottal stop [ʔ] stands alone.

Fricatives:	<i>s-</i> , <i>z-</i> , <i>sh</i> [ɕ], <i>zh</i> [ʑ], <i>h</i> , ' [ɦ]
Nasals:	<i>ng</i> [ŋ], <i>ny</i> [ɲ], <i>n</i> , <i>m</i>
Liquids:	<i>l</i> , <i>lh</i> , <i>r</i>
Semi-vowels:	<i>y</i> [j], <i>w</i>

The liquid *lh* is represented by a compound letter, but, in Old Colloquial Tibetan, it is regarded as a single phoneme. It is a voiceless alveolar lateral fricative. The 9th century phonemic transcription suggests that it may have had a rather stronger voicing (e.g., *lha* = 他, *lho* = 土; cf. Li Fang-kuei 1979).

Vowels

Vowels are *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*.

We have a mirrored or backward letter for *i*. According to this fact, we may be able to hypothesize the existence of a central unrounded *i*. However, our observation of the Old Tibetan texts after the 8th century demonstrate that it is hard to consider that the mirrored or backward letter for *i* stood for another sound than *i*.

Final Consonants

C ₃ :	<i>g, d, b, s, l, r, m, n, ng</i> [ŋ]
C ₄ :	<i>s, d</i>

As mentioned above, Old Colloquial Tibetan seems to have had a complicated syllable structure. Its pronunciation mostly corresponds to the orthographical shape with some exceptions. Let us examine *l* and *lh* as an example.

The word ‘moon’ is spelled as *zla* and pronounced [ta, da, nda, ldza] depending upon dialects. This fact reflects particular sound changes in Tibetan. In the proto-Tibeto-Burman,

the form *s-la is reconstructed (STC #144, Benedict 1972: 42), while, in the modern Burmese, rGyalrong, and Nung, we have [la], [la], [sala], respectively. Moreover, in Old Tibetan texts, ‘moon’ was *sla*. The prefix *s-* was assimilated by the voiced *l-* that follows it, becoming *z-*. If the prefix *s-* is followed by a voiceless *lh*, it is not voiced. For example, if *lhan* ‘patch’ is prefixed by *s-* (causative), it becomes *s-lhan* > *slan* ‘to stick on’.

Let us go back to the relationship between pronunciation and orthography. In terms of orthography, in the word *zla* ‘moon’, the root consonant letter is *z* and *l* suffixes it. However, in terms of pronunciation in the colloquial language, *l* is the initial consonant *C*₁ and *z* is *C*₂. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, the consonant that occupies the *C*₂ slot should be *s-*; *z-* was a voiced *s-*. In Old Tibetan texts, we have both *sla* and *zla*, which testify the sound change *sla* > *zla*.

When the alveolar lateral fricatives, voiceless *lh-* and voiced *l-*, are prefixed by *g-*, *d-*, and *s-*, the *s-* before the voiced *l* is voiced and the *g-* and *d-* before the voiceless *lh-* are devoiced.

<i>s-l</i> > <i>zl</i>	<i>g-l</i> > <i>gl</i>	<i>d-l</i> > <i>dl</i>
<i>s-lh</i> > <i>sl</i>	<i>g-lh</i> > <i>kl</i>	<i>d-lh</i> > <i>tl</i>

Furthermore, a metathesis occurred; the *dl* and *tl* became *ld* (*dl* > *ld*) and *lt* (*tl* > *lt*), respectively.

<i>d-log</i>	> <i>dlog</i>	> <i>ldog</i>	‘to return’
<i>d-lhung</i>	> <i>tlung</i>	> <i>ltung</i>	‘to drop’

The ‘moon’ discussed above reached the present-day shape after further changes in, for example, *zla* > *dzla* > *dla* > *lda* > *da*.

Thus, there seems to be some discrepancy between Old Colloquial Tibetan and the written forms, but its pronunciation fundamentally corresponded to the orthographical shape.

3.3 Changes in Pronunciation (7th to 10th Centuries)

The sound forms of the spoken language in the 7th century, when Old Literary Tibetan was established, can be assumed as described above. Later, the literary language stabilized, spread throughout the Tibetan Empire, and continued to be used. However, materials with corresponding sounds in other languages, such as Khotan and Chinese, indicate that the spoken language had already changed in the later period of the Empire in the 9th century.

(1) Simplification of the Syllable Structure

Enclitic consonants (*b-*, *d-*, *g-*, *r-*, *m-*) preceding the initial consonant were no longer pronounced at the beginning of the word except for *s-*. For example, the name of the Khotan official Sudārjām, who appears in Tibetan-language contract documents, is expressed variously as *sar-zhong*, *bsar-gzhong*, and *ksar-gzhong* in Tibetan scripts (Takeuchi 1995: 272). It seems that the deliberate addition of *b-* and *g-*, which were no longer pronounced at that time, may have made the Khotan name seem more Tibetan. In the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription, written in Tibetan and Chinese, Tibetan names are transcribed in Chinese characters.

In this case, the enclitic *s-* is transcribed with the Chinese character 悉 — for example, *stag* (悉諾), and *snam* (悉南). Conversely, we can see that the enclitic *r-* such as *rma* (摩) and *rgan* (幹) had no transcribed equivalent in Chinese characters, thus indicating that it was already not pronounced (Li 1979: 235–237).

(2) The Devoicing of Initial Voiced Consonants

In Early Old Tibetan, as mentioned earlier, the initial consonants were stops, affricates, and fricatives, with opposing pairs of unvoiced/voiced sounds. However, as the voiced sounds gradually became unvoiced, the unvoiced/voiced pairing was replaced by a pitch difference of high/low pitch.

(3) The Development of Tones

This way, the unvoiced/voiced pairs were replaced by a difference in terms of the high/low, and enclitic consonants were no longer pronounced, thereby leading to a difference in pitch as a pairing of high tone/low tone.

<i>rta</i>	>	ta	‘horse’	<i>mtha’</i>	>	tha	‘edge’	(High)
<i>mda’</i>	>	ta	‘arrow’	<i>da</i>	>	tha	‘now’	(Low)

In the case of initial nasal sounds, liquid sounds, and semivowels, it is believed that the disappearance of the enclitic consonant directly led to the development of tones.

<i>lnga</i>	>	nga	‘five’	<i>sna</i>	>	na	‘nose’	<i>bla</i>	>	la	‘up’	<i>gyu</i>	>	yu	‘turquoise’
<i>nga</i>	>	nga	‘I’	<i>na</i>	>	na	‘illness’	<i>la</i>	>	la	‘pass’	<i>yug</i>	>	yu	‘stuff’

The development of tones in Tibetan is presumed to have taken place around the 10th century, based on materials with corresponding sounds in Chinese (Takata 1988: 82).

(4) Changes in Initial *m-/my-*

In the 7th-century spoken language, it appears that there were two series of non-palatal and palatal sounds with the initial consonant *m* plus a vowel.

Non-palatal	<i>m-</i> :	<i>mi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mo</i>
Palatal	<i>my-</i> :	<i>myi</i>	<i>mye</i>	<i>mya</i>	<i>myu</i>	<i>myo</i>

However, the distinction between *mi* and *myi* was already unclear, with the majority of cases written *myi*. Regarding the distinction between *me* and *mye*, *me* was used in *men-tog* (flower) and *men-tri* (silk), while in other cases, it was written as *mye*. This distinction gradually disappeared, and *myi* and *mye* were unified with *mi* and *me*, respectively.

However, *mya*, *myu*, and *myo* were pronounced as the palatalized [ɲa], [ɲu], and [ɲo] and were distinguished from the non-palatal sounds [ma], [mu], and [mo].

These phonological changes occurred in the official spoken language, especially in Central Tibet, but the opposite change occurred in the Amdo dialect in the northeast. *myi* and *mye* became the palatal sounds [ɲi] and [ɲe]. The enclitic consonants changed but they were preserved, and tones did not develop.

For example, the Old Literary Tibetan form for ‘eye’ is *dmyig*, and it is believed that the spoken language was pronounced almost the same way. However, as mentioned earlier, the enclitic consonant *d-* was no longer pronounced in the 9th century, and the form *myig* also appears in the Old Tibetan literature. Furthermore, as a result of the change *myi* > *mi*, the literary form of *mig* developed, which was established as the form of Classical Tibetan as described in the next section. In the Modern Tibetan central dialect, it is pronounced [mik] (high tone; -k is an unreleased stop). Meanwhile, in the Amdo dialect of Qinghai, it is pronounced [ᶱɲɿx]. *myi* changed to [ɲɿ], and the enclitic consonant *d-* was retained as [ᶱ].

These phonological differences suggest that in the latter half of the 9th century, the dialects of Central Tibet, the official language (standard language) based thereon, and the Amdo dialect had already diverged from one another.

3.4 Changes in Morphology and Syntax (7th to 10th centuries)

The basic sentence structure of the 7th century colloquial and literary Old Tibetan consists of multiple nouns (or noun phrases) and a predicate comprised of either a noun (N), an adjective (A), or a verb (V), followed by a sentence final marker *-o* (*rdzogs tshig*).

Stage 1 S → (N)+(N) + Pred (N/A/V) + -'o (a sentence final marker)

- (1) *mo di' ci la btab kyang bzang rab 'o/*. [IOL Tib J 738: lv line 39]

‘This divination, for whatever it is cast, (the result is) very good.’

- (2) *zu tse glo ba nye 'o*. [P.t. 1287: line 199]

‘Zu-tse is a man of faithfulness.’

- (3) *slan cad gyang nye zho dang myed par smon to*. (M.Tagh.b.i.0096)

‘Hereafter as well, [we] wish you to be free from illness.’

In this structure, it was difficult to add any negative marker (*ma/myi*). To solve the problem, an auxiliary verb *yin* was introduced to support the negative marker *ma*.

Stage 2 Introduction of the auxiliary verb *yin*

with negation: *ma yin*

- (4) *bde ba'i skabs/ sdug bsngal ba'i gnas skabs/ sdug bsgal yang ma yin bde ba yang ma yin ba'i gnas skabs/* [P.t. 1261: line 70]

‘the state of happiness, the state of misery, the state of neither misery nor happiness’

In this example, the auxiliary verb *yin* is used only when it is in the negative form. *yin* further began to have an effect on emphasizing the speaker's will or judgment as shown in the following examples.

speaker's will

- (5) *sman snga ma skur ba / yin no /* (BTT: 1.2)

‘[I] will send [you] medicine immediately.’

- (6) *gdod 'jug par gsol ba yin no /* (P.t. 1287: 212)

‘[I] am requesting to be put [into the bag] for the first time’ thus [Myi-chen] said.’

Furthermore, the syllable structure was simplified as a result of the sound changes described in the previous section. This affected verbs with complex syllable structures. As illustrated by *gsad* ‘to kill (imperfect)’ and *bsad* ‘killed (perfect)’, the difference in temporal phase was indicated by the enclitic consonants *g-* and *b-*. However, the disappearance of the enclitic consonants made them indistinguishable. To make up for this, a verb was suffixed with the particle *pa* to form a noun phrase, thus deriving the more analytic form of *V + pa yin* with the auxiliary verb *yin*.

Stage 3 Verb + *pa yin*

(7) *nga rang gyis bris pa yin*. [IOL Tib J 773: line 2]

‘(I) myself wrote (it).’

Phonetic changes in the spoken language, namely, the simplification of the syllable structure, triggered changes in the morphological and syntactic structure from a synthetic structure to an analytic structure over the course of 200 years. This gradually influenced the literary form, resulting in a shift from Old Literary Tibetan to Classical Tibetan.

4. The Establishment of Classical Literary Tibetan (11th to 14th Centuries)

As we have seen, in the first half of the 7th century when Old Literary Tibetan was established, the spoken and written languages matched. However, both spoken and written languages spread throughout the Tibetan Empire, such that 200 years later in the second half of the 9th century, regional differences (dialects) emerged in the spoken language. In particular, the spoken language in Central Tibet underwent major changes, as described in Section 3. Meanwhile, in the first half of the 9th century, reforms were introduced, such as a revision of spellings in the literary language and a revision of the language used for the translation of Buddhist scriptures. However, this did not have the expected effect, and the result was that the gap between the written and spoken languages widened.

In the late 9th and 10th centuries, the only extant Old Tibetan documents were those written by non-Tibetans such as the Han Chinese, Khotans, and Uighurs. It is assumed that Colloquial Tibetan was not their native language but a second language. The Old Tibetan literature in the 10th century includes vocabulary and expressions that seem to be influenced by Chinese and Khotanese, but it essentially follows the Literary Tibetan of the Imperial Period. The turning point in the written language was in the 12th century.

In the Tibetan heartland, which was divided after the collapse of the Empire, a new movement to revive Buddhism emerged at the beginning of the 11th century in Kham in Eastern Tibet and Ngari in Western Tibet. Particularly in Western Tibet, which was

geographically close to India, new sutra translations and missionaries flourished with the arrival of high priests such as Atiśa from India. In this Buddhist revival movement, new orthography was established to correct the spelling variations found in Old Literary Tibetan, especially in the translation of Buddhist texts, and to adapt to changes in the spoken language in Central and Western Tibet. This led to the establishment of Classical Literary Tibetan.

The major revisions made in orthography in the transition from Old Literary Tibetan to Classical Tibetan were as follows:

- (1) Determining aspirated and unaspirated sounds
- (2) *myi* > *mi*; *mye* > *me* (cf. Section 3.3)
- (3) Disappearance of the reverse *i* symbol (*gi gu*)
- (4) Disappearance of re-addition suffix (*da drag*), e.g., *gyrud* > *gyur*, *phyind* > *phyin*
The re-addition suffix (*da drag*), which indicates a verb's perfect form, ceased to be pronounced in the 9th century and disappeared from the spelling. However, thereafter when the final sentence *-o* was used, a trace of *da drag* remained in the form of *to* (*gyurd-o* > *gyur to*).
- (5) *sts-* > *s-*: *stsel* > *sel*; *lastsogste* > *la sogs te*
- (6) Thorough separation of syllables: *lastsogste* > *la sogs te*

However, these reforms were not put into practice simultaneously, but they gradually spread from the 12th to the 14th centuries. The actual process of the transition from Old Literary Tibetan to Classical Tibetan was substantiated by recently discovered documents such as the Tabo Monastery documents found in Western Tibet (Scherrer-Schaub and Steinkellner eds. 1999), the Pu Ri manuscripts (Xizang Daxue Zangwen Guji Yanjiusuo eds. 2018), the Book of Kadam in Central Tibet (Kano 2021), the Khara-Khoto documents in the northeast (Takeuchi and Iuchi 2016), and the documents of the northern grottoes of Mogaoku, Dunhuang (Peng, Wang, and Dunhuang Yanjiuyuan eds. 2004). These are a valuable group of manuscripts that can verify the transitions in the written form before woodcut printed books became mainstream in the 15th century, and further research into these documents should be fruitful. Since the 15th century, woodcut printed books became mainstream, and Classical Tibetan became more established and more widespread.

5. Changes in the Spoken and Written Languages (11th Century Onwards)

5.1 Changes in Vowels and Final Consonants

In Section 3.3, we mentioned that the syllable structure $C_1C_2CiRVC_3C_4$ of Old Colloquial Tibetan changed, the enclitic consonants C_1C_2 disappeared, the initial consonant Ci became

unvoiced, and the high and low tones developed instead of this. These phonetic changes occurred in the Central Tibetan colloquial language in the 9th and 10th centuries. We also mentioned that, at that time, there was already a difference in pronunciation between Central Tibet and Amdo in the northeast; that is, a dialectical difference emerged. After the establishment of Classical Tibetan, the spelling was fixed to reflect the changes in the spoken language of Central Tibet, and changes in the spoken language were not further reflected in the written language until the early modern period. For this reason, changes in the spoken language from the 12th century to the present day cannot be easily determined from the literary form.

Materials with corresponding sounds that capture the pronunciations used in the past include the *Pentaglot Dictionary* (*Wuti Qing Wenjian* 五體清文鑑) and *Tibetan-Chinese Vocabulary* (*Hsi-Fan-Kuan I-yu* 西番館譯語). The former, written in the late 18th century, transcribed Tibetan pronunciations into Manchu characters. It is worth noting that while this recording of Tibetan in the phonetic Manchu script is valuable, observation of its notation reveals that it is likely a transcription of the sound of reading by a Mongolian Buddhist monk rather than a specific dialect such as the Amdo dialect. The *Tibetan-Chinese Vocabulary* was written during the reign of the Ming and Qing dynasties and existed in multiple forms. Transcriptions of the East Tibetan dialects into Chinese characters in the 17th and 18th centuries are valuable linguistic materials, and research is already advancing in this regard. With more estimation of the sounds of Chinese characters and detailed description of modern related dialects, the value of these materials increases (Nishida 1970, Suzuki 2009, Matsukawa and Miyake 2015).

Apart from this, if we compare modern dialects with literary forms, we can estimate the changes that occurred during that time. We will now describe changes in the vowel *V* and the final consonants *C*₃ *C*₄, which comprise the latter half of the syllable *C*₁*C*₂*C*₁*RVC*₃*C*₄. The simplification of the syllable extended to the latter half of the syllable. *C*₄ was the first to disappear, and *C*₃ was only partially pronounced. Instead, a vowel before an alveolar sound (*-n*, *-d*, *-s*, *-l*) was transformed into a front (long) vowel.

$V > \ddot{V} (\ddot{V}) / \text{_____ } n, d, s, l$

<i>bdun</i> > tün	‘seven’	<i>skad</i> > kää	‘language’
<i>chos</i> > chöö	‘dharma’	<i>bal</i> > phää	‘wool’

As a result, in the Central Tibetan dialect, the vowels ä [ɛ], ö [ø], and ü [y] were added to *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*, resulting in eight vowels. The disappearance of the final consonants *C*₃ and *C*₄ further resulted in a tonal difference in terms of flat/falling in addition to high/low. This is a phonetic change characteristic of Central Tibet, especially the Lhasa dialect. An analysis of the Lhasa dialect suggests that the number of vowels is 12 and that they are in

vowel harmony (Chang and Chang 1968). This is the most significant example of a change in the forms of Old Tibetan.

In dialects where the original syllable structure was relatively well preserved, the number of vowels did not greatly change. In the Amdo dialect of the northeast, *i* and *e* fused with the central vowel [ɤ]. As a result of a chain shift in which *e* and *o* moved to the place where *i* and *u* were originally articulated, a system of six vowels [i, e, a, o, u, ɤ] now exists. The western Balti dialect retains the original five-vowel system.

5.2 Changes in Word Form and Vocabulary

Although the pronunciation of words changed greatly as described in the previous section, the spellings of words essentially maintained their original written form. Changes in the vocabulary may be attributed to an increase in loanwords. Tibetan originally tended to favor translation over loanwords. Although a huge amount of translations of Buddhist scriptures was carried out after the Old Tibetan era, many Buddhist terms were replaced by translated words comprised of combinations of Tibetan vocabulary, with limited use of loanwords from pure Sanskrit. This is remarkable in comparison with the percentage of words borrowed from Pali in Thai and Burmese, for example.

With the establishment of what is referred to as the “Lama-Patron” relationship between Tibet and Mongolia in the 13th century, many Buddhist terms flowed from Tibetan, which was predominantly religious in nature, into Mongolian. In contrast, words which were borrowed from Mongolian, which was predominantly secular, into Tibetan included titles such as *tar han* (Mongol: *darqan*), *hu thog thu* (Mongol: *xutuɣtu*), and *no mon han* (Mongol: *nom-un-qan*), as well as secular vocabulary such as *thob-ci* ‘button.’ The word for ‘doctor’ is an interesting case. Despite the existence of the word *smān pa* in traditional Tibetan vocabulary, it coexisted with the Mongolian loanword *am ci*, and the latter came to be used as an honorific. This reflects the relationship between Tibet and Mongolia at that time (Norbu and Takeuchi 1991: 383–386). Thereafter, since Tibet was under the Chinese control, loanwords from Chinese and English increased.

Apart from words with the above lexical content, words with grammatical functions were also newly formulated, and the structure of sentences changed.

5.3 Syntactic Change and Formation of the Modern Written Tibetan

I have discussed the introduction of an auxiliary verb *yin* and the development of the predicate shape verb + *pa yin*. The tendency of change in the predicate from its integral structure to an analytic structure was further accelerated by the introduction of a new auxiliary verb *red*. We can demonstrate the following four schematic stages of change in predicates:

- Stage 1** Early Old Tibetan (colloquial/literary)
 -o copula + sentence final particle

Stage 2 Middle Old Tibetan (colloquial/literary)

-o	copula + sentence final particle
<i>yin-o</i>	the speaker's intent

Stage 3 Late Old Tibetan (colloquial/literary)

-o	copula + out of the speaker's intent
<i>yin</i>	copula + within the speaker's intent

After this stage, *red*, being an innovative change in the Amdo colloquial dialect, appeared and spread to Central Tibet.

Stage 4 Modern Central Tibetan (colloquial/literary)

<i>red</i>	copula + out of the speaker's intent	
<i>yin</i>	copula + within the speaker's intent	(Hoshi 2021)

A new auxiliary verb *red* spread from the Amdo dialect to Central Tibetan, but it was not so popular among the western and southern Tibetans. Because it became common in the Lhasa Tibetan, it influenced the modern literary Tibetan.

That new auxiliary verb was applied to the predicate shape, verb root + *pa yin*, resulting in a new formula, verb root + *pa red*.

The particle *pa* nominalizes the perfective root of the verb, meaning past/perfect as a whole, while the genitive particle *kyi* nominalizes the imperfective root of the verb, resulting in new formulae, verb root + *kyi yin* and verb root + *kyi red*. The framework of the analytic predicate forms representing tense and aspect was established, being adopted to the modern literary Tibetan.

Present/Future	Past	
V (imperfective) + <i>kyi yin</i>	V (perfective) + <i>pa yin</i>	within the speaker's intent
V (imperfective) + <i>kyi red</i>	V (perfective) + <i>pa red</i>	out of the speaker's intent

After the 15th century, some forms originating from Amdo were imported into Central Tibetan as well as the literary Tibetan, for instance, the interrogative particle *ʼe* (Hoshi 2012, 2021). The distinction between *ʼa chung* (small *a*) and *ʼa chen* (big *a*) originated in Amdo. *ʼa* and *ʼa* primarily represented different sounds, [ʰa] and [ʔa], respectively, and were distinguished in the Modern Central dialect, but the initial consonants became zero in the Amdo dialect. In order to avoid cohesion, Amdo coined the new terms.

6. Changes in Characters and Script

Tibetan characters, with their long tradition, come in a variety of scripts and typefaces. In Tibet, traditionally, they are roughly divided into *uchen* ‘headed’ (*dbu can*) and *ume* ‘headless’ (*dbu med*) characters. The *u* ‘head’ (*dbu*) refers to the top line of the characters, that is, the horizontal line at the head. This is characteristic of Indic scripts, in which it has seen full expression in the Nagari script, which connects words with horizontal bars. Headed characters are characters in a square style that start with a horizontal line at the head and are written with clear brushstrokes. Documents from the first half of the 7th century, when the Tibetan script was founded, no longer exist. However, manuscripts transcribing works from the earlier period and steles from the 8th century are all written in headed characters. In addition to inscriptions and Buddhist texts, official documents such as notifications and legal documents were also written in a neat, square script (i.e., headed characters).

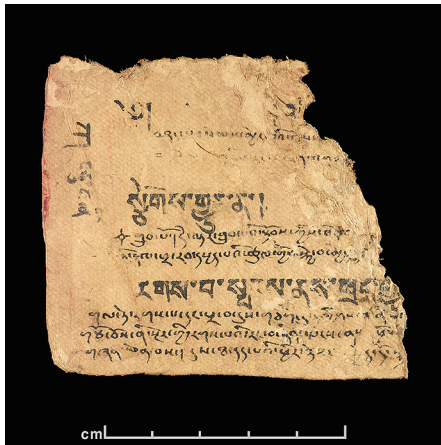
However, some private documents, such as personal correspondence, and paper documents, such as marginalia, have slightly broken from the standard style and written characters as a single stroke. In documents in the post-Imperial period as well, distinctive scripts that could be called ‘semi-square scripts’ became widely used in Central Asia. This is what I refer to as the ‘Post-Imperial Style’.

In the Buddhist scriptures of the late 9th and 10th centuries, the main text is in a square script, but observations and notes written in the spaces between lines and in margins are written in scribbled characters without heads (headless characters). This tendency is notable in the subsequent 12th to 15th century Buddhist texts excavated in Khara-Khoto. The *ume* ‘headless’ (*dbu med*) characters were likely established at this time (see Figure 1).

Headless characters gradually evolved from their initial scribbles and became stylized, which also developed into calligraphy. As a result, various script styles were developed, but the typical scripts were the *peik* ‘semi-cursive script’ (*dpe yig*) and the *chuyig* ‘cursive script’ (*khyug yig*) (see Figure 2). The semi-cursive script is used in handwriting and woodcut printing and has a wide range of uses, including administrative documents, edicts, and almanacs. More decorative scripts include variations such as the vertical *bamik* (*bam yig*) and the somewhat square-shaped *drutza* (*bru tsha*). The cursive script is a flowing and elegant script that is often used in letters. It is interesting to note that the various scripts that were created were at least as many as Japanese *kana*.

Although the semi-cursive and cursive scripts were used for woodblock prints, post-woodcut modern printing extensively used the square style. The oldest print-like text in the Tibetan script was a *dharani* incantation called *Fashen sheli ji* (法身舍利偈) excavated from Central Asia, which was made with a stamp pressed down on the paper. Printing began with the appearance of woodblock prints in the 15th century, and sutra printing temples (sutra printers) were established in various places between the 17th and 18th centuries. The complete Buddhist canon was printed over time, and, as a result, print-

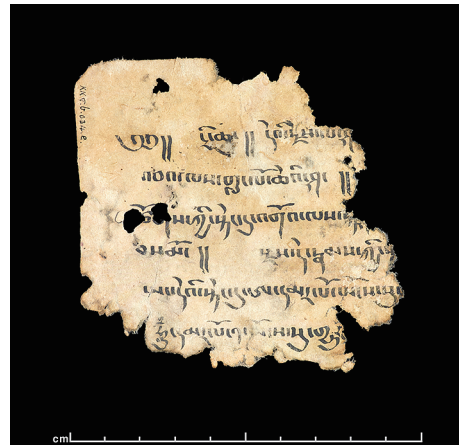
Fragments of Buddhist text from Khara-Khoto



K.K.V.b.033.j (IOL Tib M279)

Main text is written in *dbu can* 'headed characters', but notations are written in *dbu med* 'headless characters'.

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K.K.V.b.034.e (IOL Tib M824)

A fragment of Tantra. Main text is written in *dbu med* 'headless characters'.

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Figure 1 Style Change in the Tibetan Script (*dbu can* to *dbu med*)

1. *dbu can*
2. *'bru tsha*
3. *'bam yig*
4. *'khyug yig*

Figure 2 Variety of styles in the Tibetan Script

ing flourished (Onoda 2021). However, with the introduction of letterpress printing in the mid-20th century, modern books began to be printed, and this further transitioned into computer editing and printing.

In the 1980s, the current author, working with Yoshiro Imaeda and Steve Hartwell, a former Apple programmer, developed Apple's Tibetan language system. The system was first developed with the assistance of the government of Bhutan and with the support of Otani University, and it was approved by Apple. Furthermore, in Windows, Tibetan characters and keyboards have been available since Windows Vista, and the fonts have also become part of Unicode. As a result, Tibetan language and characters can be used online, creating a free-use environment for Apple, Windows, and smartphones. It is now possible to have online chats and launch websites in Tibetan in the same way as English and Japanese. Thus, a favorable environment is provided for Tibetan children to continue using the Tibetan language. Children of nomadic peoples are already enjoying surfing the Internet in Tibetan, using their iPhones while riding horseback.

7. Pre-Tibetan and the Historical Classification of Tibetan

I divided the history of the Tibetan language from the 7th century to the present day as follows:

Literary

Old Literary Tibetan	7th to 11th centuries
Classical Tibetan	12th to 17th centuries
Modern Literary Tibetan	18th to 21st centuries

Colloquial

Old Colloquial Tibetan
Middle Colloquial Tibetan
Modern Colloquial Tibetan

The above classification is only a guide. In particular, changes in the spoken language are difficult to classify because of the significant dialectical differences and lack of written records. Thus, it is not possible to indicate the century.

Additionally, a spoken language would naturally have existed even before Old Tibetan. However, since there are no written records of this, its form has been reconstructed in comparison with various Himalayan languages (Monpa, Bumthang, Tamang, etc.), which are thought to have diverged before the formation of Old Tibetan, its origins being traced back further to the Tibeto-Burman languages and ultimately the Sino-Tibetan languages (Ikeda 2021).

However, Tibetan dialects share a number of characteristics, from Old Tibetan to the modern dialects, which give the Tibetan language an overall distinct character compared to the other Himalayan languages. As I have stated above, I believe that the reason for this is that, with the rapid expansion of the state after the establishment of Old Tibetan, the Tibetan language spread equally rapidly, and this gave rise to the emergence of dialects, in other words, a “Big Bang” hypothesis. This paper describes the history of Tibetan based on this hypothesis.

8. Conclusion — A Summary of the Historical Changes in Tibetan

The transition from Old Colloquial Tibetan to the modern dialects follows a path from “synthetic to analytic.” The complexity of the syllable structure was simplified, and tones developed instead. Verbs for which the distinction of the temporal phase by word form became unclear as a result of this simplification were converted into noun phrases with particles (*pa* ‘thing’; *kyi* ‘of’), and subsequently an analytic syntactic form with auxiliary verbs (*yin* and *red*) was developed. Nouns (and noun phrases) that precede predicates are consistently structured with case markers in the form of final consonants or particles (e.g., *nga* → *ngar* ‘to me’; *khong* → *khong la* ‘to him’). However, since in this example the final consonant is no longer pronounced, there is an ongoing shift toward analytic expressions (e.g., *ngar* → *nga la* ‘to me’). These changes most radically took place in Central Tibet, the political and cultural center of Tibet, especially in the Lhasa dialect.

The literary language was re-established as Classical Tibetan, incorporating the changes in the spoken language that had occurred in Central Tibet after Old Literary Tibetan had been used for five centuries. Thereafter, the original spellings were maintained despite changes in the spoken language. As a result, there is a large gap between spelling and pronunciation, which learners of Tibetan continue to struggle with till now. However, considering its connection with a long and rich literary tradition and how it facilitates communication between dialects, unifying the spelling into a standard spoken language, for example, based on the Lhasa dialect, would be a profound upheaval. In the case of Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan, there has been an ongoing struggle to reformulate the spelling to match the spoken language in order to give it the identity of a national language.

We do not know how Tibetan will change in the future, but with the production of modern literary works and films and the use of the Tibetan language and characters on the Internet and smartphones, it is highly likely that both the spoken and written languages will live on as a language supporting Tibetans and the Tibetan culture.

As mentioned in Section 3, the Tibetan language has long gained universality by permeating into and being continually used by non-Tibetan peoples. Today, devotees of Tibetan Buddhism are spreading throughout Europe and the United States, and they, together with

younger generations of researchers of the Tibetan language and culture, have become freely able to use Tibetan. Here lies the potential for the dawn of a new era in Tibetan language and culture.

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A Grammatical Manual for the Kinnauri Language (Pangi Dialect)*

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Summary

This study provides a brief description of the grammar of Kinnauri—a member of the West Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman languages.

Kinnauri is important in that it shares linguistic features with languages that do not historically belong to the same subgroups. NISHIDA Tatsuo referred to this type of language as a “link language” (繋聯言語).

Although Kinnauri has been considered as an important language, it has not been described comprehensively.

Sharma (1988) conducted a detailed study of Kinnauri grammar. Unfortunately, its analysis was not so satisfactory, particularly in terms of phonology and morphosyntax. Although we find several errors in his phonological interpretation, which leads to an incomplete morphological analysis, his adequate analysis of example sentences that follows makes up for those infelicities.

This study outlines the grammar of Kinnauri (Pangi dialect). The phonological system is introduced first, followed by a detailed explanation of morphological and syntactic features, particularly the morphological analysis of nouns and verbs. Finally, the structures of sentences are demonstrated.

Key words: Kinnauri, Pangi dialect, West-Himalayish, Tibet-Burman, descriptive grammar

キーワード：キナウル語，パンギ方言，西ヒマラヤ諸語，チベット・ビルマ語派，記述文法

*I would like to thank my Kinnauri friend, Ravinder Singh Negi and his family for patiently teaching me Kinnauri and for taking care of me for many years. Finally, this work is supported by some grants-in-aid. I could not have continued to study Kinnauri without these grants.

1. Introduction

Kinnauri is spoken in District Kinnaur of Himachal Pradesh, India, along with Manchad, Kanashi, and the Almora (or Kumaon) group, and belongs to the West Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. It is one of the tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh, India. Kinnauri has also been called: Kanauri, Kanor, Koonawur, Kunawar, etc. Kinnauri speakers call themselves /kinōriŋ/.

District Kinnaur includes the Satluj River and its branches. Its administrative center is Recong Peo /piō/, which is situated some hundred meters above Satluj River. Although Recong Peo is away from the national highway (NH5), it is a terminal of interstate and local buses, and the biggest town in this area.¹

Kinnauri is distributed along the Satluj River and its branches, and can be divided into three major dialects—lower, central, and upper—along the Sutlej River. It does not seem to have a ‘standard dialect’, but the dialect (the central dialect) spoken around Recong Peo is relatively well-understood anywhere in Kinnaur because Recong Peo is the contemporary administrative center. Upper Kinnauri has many borrowed words from Tibetan.

Kinnauri has been considered as a pronominalized language (cf. Benedict 1972, Hale 1982, Nishi 1993). ‘Pronominalized’ means that a verb takes a marker indicating the per-

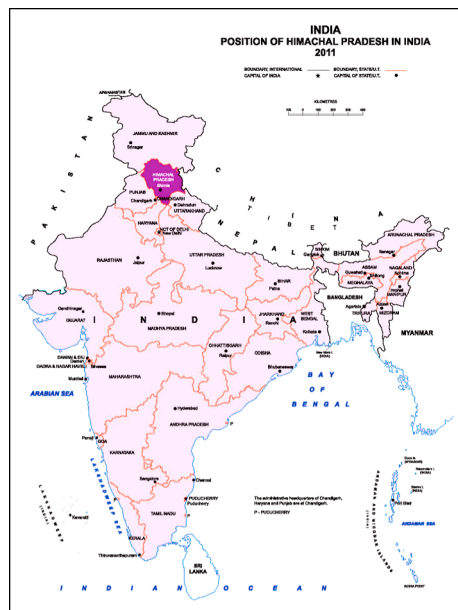


Figure 1 India



Figure 2 Himachar Pradesh and District Kinnaur

¹The maps are from <https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/maps/atlas/02part1.pdf>, accessed on Nov. 14, 2020.

son of a subject and/or an object. In this point, pronominalization is the same as a person marking on a verb.

Although Benedict (1972: 5) insists on Tibeto-Kanauri, Kinnauri has some words very similar to Tibeto-Burman languages in Assam, as Konow (1905: 119) points out. Some correspondent words between Kinnauri and certain Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India may indicate that there exists a relationship between them. Thurgood (2003) suggests that the West Himalayish languages belong to the Rung branch. This suggests that Kinnauri came from the east, along the Himalayan range.

It is obvious that Kinnauri is related to the West Himalayish languages based on the similarities of their vocabularies, whereas the history of Kinnauri is ambiguous because Kinnauri and other West Himalayish languages have no script.

Some papers on Kinnauri were written at the beginning of this century, such as Bailey (1909), Konow (1905), and so on, and in the 1980s, Sharma's book (Sharma 1988), which includes many mistakes,² was published in India. A good summary for those papers and the book is Nishi (1993), and the phonemic system is shown in Ju ed. (1996: 154–157), where the phonemic system is summarized briefly compared with the complex system in Bailey (1909).

Saxena's dissertation (Saxena 1992) treats the verbal inflection in Tibeto-Kinnauri. Saxena (1992) depends on Sharma for the phonological description. The author of this paper does not follow Saxena's system; the dialect of her main consultant seems to be different from the dialect which this author has researched.

Many villages are isolated, situated some hundred meters above the Satluj River. The population of District Kinnaur is 84,121,³ but this figure includes the speakers of other languages. The table of 'C-16 Population By Mother Tongue',⁴ indicates that the number of mother tongue speakers of Kinnauri in Kinnaur is 60,605. The difference between the population of Kinnaur and the speakers of Kinnauri includes mainly the Hindi speakers. A small number of speakers are also found in neighboring districts such as Kullu and Shimla, and all over India.⁵

This paper aims to provide a brief description of the grammar of Kinnauri. Kinnauri is a language belonging to the West Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Although Kinnauri has been considered as an important language, it is not well known

²Data from some dialects of Kinnauri are included (Sharma 1988: vi–vii), and the differences between these dialects have not been clarified.

³According to the census of 2011, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India. <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/240-kinnaur.html>, accessed on Nov. 14, 2020.

⁴<https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/C-16/DDW-C16-STMT-MDDS-0200.XLSX>, accessed on Nov. 14, 2020.

⁵According to the table of <https://censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/Language-2011/Part-B.pdf> (accessed on Nov. 14, 2020), the total number of Kinnauri speakers in India is 83,561, and Eberhard, Simons and Fenning eds. (2020: 133) says that this is the number of L1 speakers of Kinnauri and that there are 15,000 L2 speakers.

and has not been described comprehensively. This study outlines the grammar of Kinnauri (Pangi dialect). First, the phonological system is introduced. Second, morphological and syntactic features, especially the morphological analysis of nouns and verbs, are explained in detail. Finally, the structures of sentences are described.

2. Phonology

2.1 Consonants

Kinnauri has the following consonants.

/p, p^h, b, t, t^h, d, ɬ, ɬ^h, ɖ, ɖ^h, ɟ, ɟ^h, ʃ, k, k^h, g; m, n, ñ, ñ^h; ts, ts^h, dz; s, š, h; r, l; w, y/

p	t	ɬ	ɟ	k
p ^h	t ^h	ɬ ^h	ɟ ^h	k ^h
b	d	ɖ	ʃ	g
ts				
ts ^h				
z				
m	n	ñ	ñ ^h	
	s	š		h
	r, l			
w		y		

2.2 Vowels

The vowels are contrastive in length.

- Kinnauri has six oral vowels: each of them has a short and long form.

/a, i, u, e, o, ɨ; ā, ī, ū, ē, ō, ȳ/

	front	middle	back
high	i	ɨ	u
middle	e		o
low		a	

- Three nasal vowels are used.

kōyā ‘dove’ (cf. *koyañ* ‘a kind of a fly’)
 pāē ‘two days after tomorrow’
 ȳ ‘yes’

Pronunciation of the vowels tend to be long at the end of a word, where, therefore, the length of a vowel is not clear phonologically.

2.3 Tones

Kinnauri has some pitches or stresses, but as can be seen below, there are only a few words that have pitch contrasts (tones are not accurate):

<i>tūm-</i> [Ṽ] ‘squeeze’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘swell’
<i>rañ</i> [Ṽ] ‘horse’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘hill area’
<i>šaṇ</i> [Ṽ] ‘small stone’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘throat’
<i>mē</i> [Ṽ] ‘fire’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘yesterday’
<i>zañim</i> [Ṽ] ‘show’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘sink’

The next sentences have the same verb *hači-* with a suffix, although the suffix differs in tone.

In (1a), [haṽtʃo:Ṽ] is not grammatical because it shows future. In (1b), [ha+tʃo:ṽ] is not grammatically correct because it indicates present.

- (1) a. *ju čʰaṇ tēg* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hač.ō} \\ \text{become.PR} \end{array} \right.$ [ha+tʃo:ṽ]/*[haṽtʃo:Ṽ]
 this child big
 ‘This child is getting bigger.’
- b. *ju čʰaṇ hedmyā tēg hač.ō* [haṽtʃo:Ṽ]/*[ha+tʃo:ṽ]
 this child next_year big become.FUT
 ‘This child will be bigger next year.’

These examples show that Kinnauri has tone contrast in some cases.

Kinnauri words are pronounced with a conventional pitch pattern. As for tones, more research is necessary.

2.4 Sounds Relating to Borrowed Words

Kinnauri borrows many words from other languages, especially from Hindi. Some of these words have sounds that are not native to Kinnauri.

For example, *ṛ* in *gāṛī* ‘car’ from Hindi, and *æ* in *bænk* ‘bank’ from English.

2.5 Some Morpho-phonological Rules

Some of Kinnauri morpho-phonological rules are demonstrated briefly:

1. Fricatives and affricates followed by the gerund suffix *-ts*, object marker *-č* and the middle voice suffix *-š* are assimilated with these suffixes.

(a) *-s+ts* → *-tts*

(b) *-č+ts* → *-tts*

- (c) $-š+ts \rightarrow -tts$
 (d) $-s+č \rightarrow -čč$
 (e) $-s+š \rightarrow -šš$
2. $S \rightarrow S_1S_2$ (When reduplicated, the preceding syllable of the reduplicated syllables, S_1 , is weakened.)
3. $V[-high]+u$ (genitive) $\rightarrow V[-high]+o$
4. $V \rightarrow [+long] / _ \#$

The linking verb *-i* is inserted between the final consonant of a stem and the beginning consonant of a suffix or between the suffixes. Further, another factor relating to a syllable should be considered.

2.6 Syllable structures

The syllable structures of Kinnauri can be summarized as follows:

V	:	<i>ū</i>	‘flower’
VC	:	<i>em</i>	‘delicious’
VCC	:	<i>ušk</i>	‘old’
CV	:	<i>pī</i>	‘four’
CVC	:	<i>bod</i>	‘skin’
CVCC	:	<i>surk</i>	‘sour’
CCV	:	<i>spū</i>	‘hair (body)’
CCVC	:	<i>skar</i>	‘star’
CCCVC	:	<i>strapšim</i>	‘to climb’

3. Nouns

3.1 Simple Nouns

Nouns in Kinnauri are both monosyllabic and polysyllabic.

- (2) *bal* ‘head’ *hoñ* ‘worm, insect’
 krā ‘hair’ *gud* ‘arm’
 kanan ‘ear’ *tunan* ‘lip’
 ḍeyan ‘body’ *bōnin* ‘window’

There is no honorific form for nouns.

Many nouns are borrowed from Hindi, English and some other languages.

3.2 Plural

A plural form is formed with the suffixes *-ā* and *-gā*. *-ā* is used for a noun that ends in a consonant, and *-gā* is used for a noun that ends in a vowel.

- (3) *bal* *balā* ‘heads’
 mī *mīgā* ‘people’
 kaglī *kagligā* ‘papers’

Some nouns take the suffix *-ē* for plural.

- (4) *kitāb* *kitābē* ‘books’
 glās *glāsē* ‘glasses, cups’
 sunduk *sundukē* ‘boxes’

Nouns ending with *-as* drop *-s* and the final vowel *-a* is lengthened:

- (5) *sapas* *sapā* ‘snakes’
 damas *damā* ‘bulls’

A plural suffix is not necessary to express plurality. For instance, if the noun is accompanied by plural words, such as *bodī* ‘many,’ then a plural suffix will be unnecessary.

4. Numerals

The Kinnauri numeral system is a vigesimal system, which is based on the decimal system. Numerals upper the hundreds digit are counted decimally.

0	ziro or šunnya				
1	id	21	nizao id	41	niš nizao id
2	niš	22	nizao niš	50	niš nizao sae
3	šum	23	nizao šum	51	niš nizao sihid
4	p̄	24	nizao p̄	60	šum niza
5	ñā	25	nizao ñā	61	šum nizao id
6	ṭug	26	nizao ṭug	70	šum nizao sae
7	stiš	27	nizao stiš	71	šum nizao sihid
8	rae	28	nizao rae	80	p̄i niza
9	sguī	29	nizao sgui	81	p̄i nizao id
10	sae	30	nizao sae	90	p̄i nizao sae
11	sihid	31	nizao sihid	91	p̄i nizao sihid
12	soniš	32	nizao soniš	100	ñā niza = (id) rā
13	sōrum	33	nizao sōrum	101	rao/*rās id
14	sap̄	34	nizao sap̄	110	rao sae
15	sōña	35	nizao sōña	321	šum rao/rās nizao id
16	sōrug	36	nizao sōrug	1,000	hanzār
17	sastiš	37	nizao sastiš	1,001	id hanzār̄is id
18	sarae	38	nizao sarae	10,000	sae hanzār
19	sosgui	39	nizao sasgui	100,000	id lāk
20	niza	40	niš niza	10,000,000	id krōḍ

(6) *id mī* ‘one man’, *niš bōḥañ* ‘two trees’, *sae bošan* ‘ten years’

It is not necessary to mark nouns with a plural marker if accompanied with numerals.

(7) a. *soniš krōḍ šum lāk niš niza.o ñā hanzār̄is ṭug*
 twelve ten_million three ten_thousand forty.GEN five thousand.INS six

ra.o šum niza.o sarae
 hundred.GEN sixty.GEN eighteen
 ‘120,345,678’

b. *id hanzār̄.u p̄*
 one thousand.GEN four
 ‘four banknotes of one thousand rupies’

c. *ju kitāb niš hanzār̄.u (dū)*
 this book two thousand.GEN COP
 ‘This book costs two thousand rupies.’

- No ordinal number. No counter.

- times: *id pol^hañ* ‘one time’
- Kinnauri numerals are replaced by Hindi numerals. Many of the younger generations do not know the original Kinnauri numerals.

5. Pronouns

Kinnauri pronouns:

- have dual forms in all persons,
- have honorific forms in second and third persons,
(For the third person, honorific forms are same as plural forms. Plural forms refer to non-honorific plural and honorific singular and plural.)
- are different between distant and proximal in the third person,
ju ‘this’ vs. *nu* ‘that’, *do* ‘that’
- and, are different between visible and invisible in the third person.
nu ‘that (visible)’ vs. *do* ‘that (invisible)’

	nominative	instrumental	dative	genitive	comitative	ablative
1sg.	<i>gɪ</i>	<i>gɪs</i>	<i>añũ</i>	<i>añ</i>	<i>añ rañ</i>	<i>añ dɪñč</i>
2sg.(nh)	<i>ka</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>kanũ</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan rañ</i>	<i>kan dɪñč</i>
2sg.(h)	<i>ki</i>	<i>kis</i>	<i>kinũ</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>kin rañ</i>	<i>kin dɪñč</i>
3sg.(prx)	<i>ju</i>	<i>jus</i>	<i>ɟupɪñ</i>	<i>ɟũ</i>	<i>ɟũ rañ</i>	<i>ɟũ dɪñč</i>
3sg.(h)	<i>jugõ</i>	<i>jugõs</i>	<i>jugonũ</i>	<i>jugonũ</i>	<i>jugõ rañ</i>	<i>jugon dɪñč</i>
(dst)	<i>nu</i>	<i>nus</i>	<i>nupɪñ</i>	<i>nũ</i>	<i>nũ rañ</i>	<i>nũ dɪñč</i>
(h)	<i>nugõ</i>	<i>nugõs</i>	<i>nugonũ</i>	<i>nugonũ</i>	<i>nugõ rañ</i>	<i>nugon dɪñč</i>
	<i>do</i>	<i>dos</i>	<i>dopɪñ</i>	<i>dõ</i>	<i>dõ rañ</i>	<i>dõ dɪñč</i>
(h)	<i>dogõ</i>	<i>dogõs</i>	<i>dogonũ</i>	<i>dogonũ</i>	<i>dogõ rañ</i>	<i>dogon dɪñč</i>
1du.(ex.)	<i>nišɪ</i>	<i>nišɪs</i>	<i>nišũ</i>	<i>nišũ</i>	<i>nišɪ rañ</i>	<i>nišũ dɪñč</i>
1du.(in.)	<i>kišaɳ</i>	<i>kišaɳɪs</i>	<i>kišaɳũ</i>	<i>kišaɳũ</i>	<i>kišaɳ rañ</i>	<i>kišaɳ dɪñč, kišaɳu dɪñč</i>
2du.(nh)	<i>kaniš</i>	<i>kanišɪs</i>	<i>kanišũ</i>	<i>kanišũ</i>	<i>kaniš rañ</i>	<i>kaniš dɪñč</i>
2du.(h)	<i>kišɪ</i>	<i>kišɪs</i>	<i>kišũ</i>	<i>kišũ</i>	<i>kišɪ rañ</i>	<i>kišũ dɪñč</i>
3du.(prx)	<i>juniš</i>	<i>junišɪs</i>	<i>junišũ</i>	<i>junišũ</i>	<i>juniš rañ</i>	<i>juniš dɪñč, junišu dɪñč</i>
3du.(h)	<i>jugsuɳ</i>	<i>jugsuɳɪs</i>	<i>jugsuɳũ</i>	<i>jugsuɳũ</i>	<i>jugsuɳ rañ</i>	<i>jugsuɳu dɪñč</i>
(dst)	<i>nuniš</i>	<i>nunišɪs</i>	<i>nunišũ</i>	<i>nunišũ</i>	<i>nuniš rañ</i>	<i>nuniš dɪñč, nunišu dɪñč</i>
(h)	<i>nugsuɳ</i>	<i>nugsuɳɪs</i>	<i>nugsuɳũ</i>	<i>nugsuɳũ</i>	<i>nugsuɳ rañ</i>	<i>nugsuɳu dɪñč</i>
	<i>doniš</i>	<i>donišɪs</i>	<i>donišũ</i>	<i>donišũ</i>	<i>doniš rañ</i>	<i>doniš dɪñč, donišu dɪñč</i>
(h)	<i>dogsuɳ</i>	<i>dogsuɳɪs</i>	<i>dogsuɳũ</i>	<i>dogsuɳũ</i>	<i>dogsuɳ rañ</i>	<i>dogsuɳu dɪñč</i>
1pl.(ex.)	<i>niñā</i>	<i>niñās</i>	<i>niñanũ</i>	<i>niñanũ</i>	<i>niñā rañ</i>	<i>niñan dɪñč</i>
1pl.(in.)	<i>kišaɳā</i>	<i>kišaɳās</i>	<i>kišaɳanũ</i>	<i>kišaɳanũ</i>	<i>kišaɳā rañ</i>	<i>kišaɳan dɪñč</i>
2pl.(nh)	<i>kanegā</i>	<i>kanegās</i>	<i>kaneganũ</i>	<i>kaneganũ</i>	<i>kanegā rañ</i>	<i>kanegan dɪñč</i>
2pl.(h)	<i>kinā</i>	<i>kinās</i>	<i>kinanũ</i>	<i>kinanũ</i>	<i>kinā rañ</i>	<i>kinan dɪñč</i>
3pl.(prx)	<i>jugõ</i>	<i>jugõs</i>	<i>jugonũ</i>	<i>jugonũ</i>	<i>jugõ rañ</i>	<i>jugon dɪñč</i>
(dst)	<i>nugõ</i>	<i>nugõs</i>	<i>nugonũ</i>	<i>nugonũ</i>	<i>nugõ rañ</i>	<i>nugon dɪñč</i>
	<i>dogõ</i>	<i>dogõs</i>	<i>dogonũ</i>	<i>dogonũ</i>	<i>dogõ rañ</i>	<i>dogon dɪñč</i>
who.sg.	<i>had</i>	<i>haes</i>	<i>hatũ</i>	<i>hatu</i>	<i>hat rañ</i>	<i>hat dɪñč</i>
who.pl.	<i>hatē</i>	<i>hatēs</i>	<i>hatenũ</i>	<i>hatenu</i>	<i>hatē rañ</i>	<i>haten dɪñč</i>
what	<i>tʰid</i>					

6. Question Words

Kinnauri question words: *had* ‘who’, *tʰid* ‘which’, *hadʹseyā* ‘which’, *ham* ‘where’, *teraɳ* ‘when’, *hala* ‘how’ (adverb), *hales* ‘how’ (adjective), *tetā*, *tetagu*, and *tetrā*⁶ ‘how many/much.’

In terms of the inflections of *had* ‘who’, see the Table in section 5.

- (8) *komra.o komõ (nu) mĩ had dũ*
 room.GEN inside that person who COP

‘Who is the person inside the room?’

- (9) *ju pitaɳ.õ tʰid tubtub dũ*
 this door.LOC what stick:PF COP

⁶The difference between these three words are not clear.

‘What stuck here on the door?’

- (10) *had'seyā kitāb zog.i.m gyā.to.ñ*
 which book buy.LV.INF want.FUT.2SG:S:PR

‘Which book do you need to buy?’

- (11) *orč^hē k^hiśūrīn ham dū*
 please toilet where COP

‘Excuse me, but where is a toilet?’

- (12) *ki ĵīñ terañ bī.ñ*
 2SG:NOM here when come.2SG:S

‘When did you come here?’

- (13) a. *tetā mī.gā bīd.ā*
 how_many person.PL come.PT

‘How many people came?’

- b. *ju līṭ.a tetā rupyā.ō*
 this egg.PL how_much rupy.GEN

‘How much are these eggs?’

7. Adjectives

Kinnauri has more than twenty adjectives.

Adjectives do not have any agreement with nouns.

Adjectives can be inflected on plurality but need not inflect in agreement with the plurality of nouns.

Adjectives do not inflect in the comparative and superlative constructions.

7.1 Usage of Adjectives

Adjectives are placed in front of a noun when it modifies the noun.

- (14) a. *lamas bergā* ‘long stick’
 long stick

- b. *tēg kim* ‘big house’
 big house

- c. *zīgits čimē* ‘small girl’
 small girl

The adjective can take a plural marker if the noun which it modifies is plural.

- (15) a. *ṭalk.ē rote.gā zā.m.ū bārī mīškol dū*
 hard.PL chapati.PL eat.INF.EIS very_much difficult COP

‘It is very difficult to eat hard chapatis.’

- b. *ju kaglig.ā rok.ē dū*
 this paper.PL black.PL COP

‘These papers are black.’

- (16) *kinā lisk.e.nō t^ha.bī.č*
 2PRN:PL:NOM cold.PL.LOC PROH.go.2S

‘Don’t go to the cold places.’

Kinnauri adjectives are not of a verb type; therefore, an adjective should co-occur with a copula in a predicative construction.⁷

- (17) a. *darma.o kanañ.ā bārī tēg/tēg.ē dū, wanšū kanañ.ā zigits/zigits.ā*
 PSN.GEN ear.PL very big/big.PL COP PSN:GEN ear.PL small/small.PL
dū
 COP

‘Darma’s ears are very big, and Wanshu’s ears are small.’

- (18) *gī lamas (to.k)*
 1PRN:NOM tall COP.1S:SG

‘I am tall.’

In the case where a subject is first person inclusive, however, a copula cannot occur unless the tense is past.

- (19) *kišaṇ č^hañ.ā (*to.č/*dū.č)*
 1:PRN:INCL:DU child.PL COP.1PL:S/COP.1PL:S

‘We (incl.) are boys.’

- (20) a. *kišaṇ dam to.ke.šē/*to.ke.č*
 1:PRN:INCL:DU good COP.PT.INCL/COP.PT.1PL:S

‘We (incl.) were well.’

- b. *kišaṇ lamas/lamā ma.e.ke.šē*
 1:PRN:INCL:DU long/long:PL NEG.COP.PT.INCL

‘We (incl.) were not tall.’

⁷A copula does not occur in some cases. Even if a copula does not occur, the adjective does not inflect according to person and number of the subject, and tense.

If the sentence that includes the first person inclusive subject is negated, the verb *nīm* is used instead of a copula.

- (20) *kišaṇ sukul.ō hu.ši.d.tseyā č^haṇ.ā ma.nī*
 1:PRN:INCL:DU school.LOC teach.MDL.LC.ATTR child.PL NEG.exist
 ‘We (incl.) aren’t students.’

7.2 Comparative

The standard of the comparative is expressed by a postposition *kā*. The noun in front of this postposition is in nominative, but the pronoun is in genitive. The adjective is not inflected.

The next sentence shows a comparative sentence. The adjective in (21) is not an inflected form.

- (21) a. *nu kēmīrā aṇ kēmīrā kā dē tēg dū*
 that camera 1SG:GEN camera than PTCL big COP
 ‘That camera is much bigger than my camera.’
 b. *ki aṇ kā zwān to.ñ*
 2PRN:SG:NOM 1SG:GEN than young COP.2S
 ‘You are younger than I.’

- (22) *aid.ē dori.ga.nu kā ju tug.seyā šarē dū*
 other.PL carpet.PL.GEN than this six.ATTR beautiful COP
 ‘Those six carpets are better than others.’

7.3 Superlative

Kinnauri has no special superlative form of an adjective. The superlative meaning is expressed by adding *zainū* ‘most’.

- (23) *nu.s nu zaṇ.a.nu komō.č zainū tēg zaṇ t^hōd*
 that.INS that gold.PL.GEN inside.ABL most big gold take:3S
 ‘He took the biggest amongst the gold.’

- (24) a. *kīnōriṇ kinnā kēlāš zainū tēg ḍokaṇ dū*
 PLN <mountain’s_name> most big mountain COP
 ‘Kinner Kailash is the highest mountain in Kinnaur.’

- b. *gī duñya.u den zainū hasal tsalyad.tseyā gāḍī tsalyā.m*
 1PRN:SG:NOM world.GEN on most fast drive.ATTR car drive.INF
 gyā.to.k
 want.FUT.1S

‘I want to drive the fastest car in the world.’

8. Adverbs

Kinnauri has some adverbs.

- (25) a. *torō gi bārī hasal yanč.e.k*
 today 1PRN:SG:NOM very_much early wake_up.PT.1SG:S

‘I woke very early in the morning.’

- b. *mēsañ tōšī.r.i.ñ*
 slowly stay.REQ.LV.2SG:S

‘Please stay slowly’ (→ ‘good-bye’ to a person staying.)

Some adverbs are consisted by attaching the suffixes *-s* or *-is* to a word, such as *mēsañs*, *tetañis*.

9. Verbs

The Kinnauri verb inflection is very complex.

First, we divide the verb forms into two groups.

- finite forms: with a tense marker and a subject marker
- nonfinite forms: infinitive, perfect, imperfect, gerund, remote past

(26) verb phrase structure

NEG	V _{stem}	MDL PSN _o	INF	COND OBLG NMLZ	QM
			PF IMPF GRD RPT		
			TNS UNC CNTF	PSN _s	
PROH			REQ		

(27)		affirmative	negative
finite	declarative	V.TNS.PSN	ma.V(TNS).PSN
	imperative	V(.2S)	t ^h a.V(.2S)
	request	V.r.i.2S	t ^h a.V.r.i.2S
	recommendation	V.1S.QM	t ^h a.V.1S.QM
	permit	V.r.i.1S.QM	t ^h a.V.r.i.1S.QM
	encouragement	V.tē	ma.V.tē
non-finite	perfect participle	V:RDP (COP)	ma.V:RDP (COP)
	imperfect participle	V.ō (COP)	ma.V.ō (COP)
	gerund	V.ts (COP)	ma.V.ts (COP)
	infinitive	V.m	ma.V.m

(V means Vstem on this table.)

9.1 Verb Stem

The stem of a verb is not used by itself; it is necessary for it to take a certain suffix. The stem form can be used as an impolite imperative form, but this should be considered as a stem with an imperative suffix (no marker in this case).

Kinnauri verb stems are classified into four types:

1. vowel stem

A stem ending in a vowel:

- (28) a. čē- ‘write’
b. čī- ‘wash’

A vowel stem sometimes ends in *-d* when it does not take tense and/or person suffixes. However, the function of this ending *-d* is not clear.

2. consonant stem

A stem ending in a consonant except *-d*:

- (29) a. t^his- ‘hit’
b. rig- ‘get broken’

3. D-stem

A stem ending in *-d*:

- (30) a. twad- ‘take out’
b. bid- ‘come (to SAL)’

4. (pseudo-)middle stem

A stem with a middle voice suffix:

(31) middle voice stems:⁸

- a. *šogši-* ‘ride on’
- b. *sūši-* ‘wash oneself’
- c. *tubči-* ‘be stuck’

(32) pseudo-middle stems:

- a. *č^hukši-* ‘meet’⁹
- b. *yōči-* ‘play’

9.2 Person Suffixes

9.2.1 Subject and Object Person Suffixes

The verb inflection of person and number in the Pangli dialect of Kinnauri is summarized as follows:

	1	2		3	
sg.	(-k)	hon. (-ñ)	non-hon. (-n)	hon. (-š)	ordinary (-∅)
du. pl.	excl. (-č)	(–č)			
	incl.				

In the singular form, all three persons are differentiated. In the plural form, the first person and the second person are the same and different from the third person. The inclusive form of the first person has a different form too. There is no difference between the third person singular and plural, but there is a difference between the third person honorific and ordinary. Dual and plural are differentiated in a pronoun but have no distinction in verb inflection. The second person dual-plural form -č can be used for a non-honorific subject, in which case, the degree of deference is a little higher than in the case of using -n.

9.2.2 Object Suffixes

There are two kinds of suffixes that are inserted in the object slot, namely the object person suffix and the middle voice suffix.

There is only -či for the object person suffix. In the case of the double object construction, this marker indicates the dative noun. There is no suffix for a third person object.

The middle voice suffixes are -ši and -či. One of the middle voice suffixes is the same form as the object suffix.

⁸For the middle voice suffixes see sections 9.2.2, 12.3.

⁹The verb stems *č^huk-* or *č^hug-* and *yō-* do not exist.

- (33) *riṅkū.s rī kišaṅ.ū toṅ.č.ē*
 PSN.INS yesterday 1PRN:PL:INCL.DAT hit.1-2O.PT

‘Rinku hit us (incl.) twice the day before yesterday.’

In regards to the middle voice, see section 12.3.

9.3 Copula/Existential

Kinnauri has two copulas: *dū-*, *tō-*.

The meaning of each copula is identification and existence.

Basically, *dū-* is used for the second or third persons, and *tō-* is used for events relating to the first person.

	past	present	past	present	future
1sg			<i>tokek</i>	<i>tok</i>	<i>nītok</i>
1plExcl			<i>tokeč</i>	<i>toč</i>	<i>nītoč</i>
1plIncl			<i>tokešē</i>		<i>nītē/nīšō</i>
2sgHon	<i>dueñ</i>	<i>dūñ</i>	<i>tokeñ</i>	<i>toñ</i>	<i>nītoñ</i>
2sgNHon	<i>duen</i>	<i>dūn</i>	<i>token</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>nīton</i>
2plHon	<i>dueč</i>	<i>dūč</i>	<i>tokeč</i>	<i>toč</i>	<i>nītoč</i>
2plNHon	<i>duen</i>	<i>dūn</i>	<i>token</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>nīton</i>
3Hon	<i>dueš</i>	<i>dūš</i>	<i>tokeš</i>	<i>toš</i>	<i>nītoš</i>
3NHon	<i>duē</i>	<i>dū</i>	<i>tokē</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>nītō</i>

Copulas have no future tense forms, but the verb *nīm* is used as a future of copulas. The verb *nīm* is a general verb in that it has the infinitive form, while the copulas are different from a general verb because they do not have infinitive forms.

There is no present tense form for inclusive subjects.

The following example demonstrates identification.

- (34) a. *ki sae bošaṅ omī lamas to.ke.ñ.a*
 2SG:PRN:NOM ten year before long COP.PT.2SG:S.QM

‘Were you tall ten years ago?’

Possession is expressed by the copulas, and the possessor is in a genitive case with *dīñ*.

- (35) a. *añ dīñ lañ tō/*dū*
 1SG:GEN place cow COP/COP

‘I have a cow.’

- b. *konyas.u dīñ lañ dū*
 friend.GEN place cow COP

‘The friend has a cow.’

In case of inalienable possession, the possessor is in a genitive case without *din*.

- (36) a. *añ* (id) *šakpō* *tō*
 1SG:GEN one brother-in-law COP
 ‘I have a brother-in-law.’
- b. *riñkū* *id* *čimē* *tod.ts*
 PSN:GEN one daughter exist.GRD
 ‘Rinku has a daughter.’

9.4 Tense Slot

Finite forms consists of a verb stem, with a tense slot suffix and a subject person suffix. A tense-slot suffix includes tense markers, the uncertainty marker, the counterfactual marker, and the imperative markers.

9.4.1 Tense

Kinnauri has three tenses: future, present and past. The suffix pertaining to each of them is shown in the following list:

- (37) Future: -to-, -o-
 Present: -udu-
 Past: -a-, -e-

The future tense suffixes are -to and -o. -to is used when an object marker is not used, and -o is used when an object marker is used. As for the object markers, see section 9.2.2.

The stem vowel of a D-stem verb is long to compensate for the loss of the stem-final consonant -d when the D-stem verb takes a future tense suffix.

- (38) a. *bīd-* ‘come’ → *bītō* ‘He will come.’
 b. *šed-* ‘send’ → *šētō* ‘He will send.’

The present suffix is -udu, which may be separated as -u and -du. This analysis has no evidence, therefore we take the form -udu as the present tense suffix. In the case of a D-stem verb, the first vowel -u of the suffix is lost, and the alveolar stops become voiceless, pronounced [-ttu-].

- (39) a. *bīd-* ‘come’ → *bīdtū* ‘He coming.’
 b. *šed-* ‘send’ → *šedtū* ‘He is sending.’

The past tense suffix -e is used with a (pseudo-)middle stem verb, and -a with a consonant stem verb. After a vowel stem verb, no suffix is used, and a subject person suffix is attached directly to the verb stem.

As for a D-stem verb, (i) the suffix *-a* is attached to the stem, the same as a consonant stem verb, or (ii) the final consonant *-d* of a stem is lost, and the stem vowel is lengthened to compensate.

(40) a. *bid-* ‘come’ → (i) *bidak* or (ii) *bīk* ‘I came.’

b. *šed-* ‘send’ → (i) *šedañ* or (ii) *šēñ* ‘You sent.’

Pattern (ii) does not occur in case of third person ordinary subject, that is, no person marking on a verb.

9.4.2 Uncertainty

The suffixes, *-tso* and *-gyo*, express uncertainty.

(41) a. *gī.s* *tsal.ō* *ki* *tetañs* *piō*
1PRN:SG:INS think.IMPF 2PRN:SG:S:HON when PLN

be.o.ñ/bī.gyo.ñ
go.PT.2SG:S/go.UNC.2SG:S:HON

‘I wonder when you went to Peo.’

b. *añ* *bak^hor.ē* *rañ.ō* *šō* *bībī* *ma.e.ts.*
1PRN:SG:GEN goat.PL mountain.LOC lost go:PF NEG.COP.GRD

gī *do.gō* *ham* *bī.gyō* *ma.nē.k*
1PRN:SG:NOM that.PL where go.UNC NEG.know.1SG:S

‘My goats were lost in the mountain. I do not know where they are.’

c. *riñkū/riñkū.s* *mē* *had* *mī* *rañ* *č^hukšī.gyō.yī* *añū*
PSN/PSN:INS yesterday who person with meet.UNC.UNF 1PRN:SG:DAT

dō *nāmañ* *ma.rīñ*
that:GEN name NEG.tell:1-2O

‘Rinku does not tell me the name of the person whom he met yesterday.’

(42) a. *gī.s* *rabindar.ū* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} t^h is.tso.k.a \\ \text{hit.UNC.1:SG:S:QM} \\ t^h is.ts \\ \text{hit.GRD} \end{array} \right.$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nī.to.k.a \\ \text{exist.FUT.1SG:S:QM} \end{array} \right.$
1PRN:SG:INS PSN:DAT

‘I wonder if I would hit Ravinder.’

b. *nū* *dīñ* *rupyā* *nī.d.tsō*
that:GEN place money exist.LC.UNC

‘He may have money.’

9.4.3 Counterfactual

In Kinnauri, the counterfactual meaning is expressed by the suffix *-tsa*, which is put in the tense slot.

As for the usage of this suffix, see section 13.3.2.

9.4.4 Imperative

The imperative form consists of a verb infinitive and the second person subject suffix. Without the second person subject suffixes, that is, a verb stem, it means an impolite imperative.

The verb with the suffix *-r* and the second person subject suffixes implies a polite request.

- (43) a. *tī ēsā k^hwači.m še.ñ*
 water well be_boiled.INF send.2SG:S

‘Boil the water well.’

- b. *tī skwa.ñ/skwad*
 water boil.2SG:S/boil

‘Boil the water!’

9.5 Non-finite Forms

Non-finite verbs in Kinnauri can be outlined as in the following table:

infinitive	simple	<i>-m</i>	irrealis
	extended	<i>-mū, -mā, -mig</i>	
participle	imperfect	<i>-ō</i>	realis
	perfect	reduplication, <i>-s</i>	
gerund		<i>-ts, -d</i>	
remote past		<i>-šid</i>	

9.5.1 Infinitive: Simple and Extended

A simple infinitive form of a verb consists of a verb stem and the suffix *-m*; the infinitive suffix is attached directly to a verb stem if the stem ends in a vowel or attached with *-i* inserted if the stem ends in a consonant.

- (44) a. Vowel stems: *zā-* ‘eat’ → *zām*
 b. Consonant stems: *zog-* ‘buy’ → *zogim*
 c. D-stems: *bid-* ‘come’ → (*bid-m* →) *bīn*
 d. (Pseudo-)middle stems: *boši-* ‘forget’ → *bošim*

The simple infinitive form is used in a causative construction.

- (45) a. *mē* *gī.s* *nu.pīñ* *piō* *bī.m* *šē.k*
 yesterday 1PRN:SG.INS that.DAT PLN go.INF send.1SG:S
 ‘I let him go to Peo yesterday.’
- b. *kin* *dek^hras.ū* *ju* *sunduk* *tsukyā.m/*tsukyā.m.ū*
 2PRN:SG:GEN husband.DAT this box move.INF/move.INF.EIS
t^ha.šē.r.i.ñ
 PROH.send.REQ.LV.2SG:S
 ‘Don’t let your husband move this box.’

The simple infinitive form expresses purposive:

- (46) a. *do.gō* *šīñ.i.m* *deyarō* *kamañ* *lan.udū*
 that.PL finish.LV.INF everyday job do.PR
 ‘They are working to survive.’
- b. *ju* *bōt^hañ* *č^hul.i.m* *ma.škod.ō,* *nu* *bōt^hañ* *č^hul.i.m*
 this tree cut.LV.INF NEG.be_difficult.IMPF that tree cut.LV.INF
škod.ō
 be_easy.IMPF
 ‘This tree is difficult to cut; that tree is easy to cut.’

Extended infinitives consist of a simple infinitive and an extension suffix. Kinnauri has three extension suffixes: *-ū*, *-g*, and *-ā*.

- (47) a. *-ū*: to create a type of a nominal clause, meaning ‘to want to do’ and so forth. We call this the *u*-infinitive.
- b. *-ā*: to create a conditional clause. We refer to it as the *a*-infinitive here.
- c. *-g*: to create a sort of a nominal clause, meaning ‘ought to do’. Here it is referred to as a *g*-infinitive.¹⁰

-ū expresses a purposive meaning:

- (48) a. *do* *mač^has* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tsum.i.m \\ \text{catch.LV.INF} \\ tsum.m.ū \\ \text{catch.INF.EIS} \end{array} \right.$ $\left. \begin{array}{l} (tañes) \\ \text{for} \end{array} \right\}$ *garañ.ō* *be.ō*
 that:NOM fish river.LOC go.PT
 ‘He went to catch a fish in the river.’

¹⁰This suffix usually takes a linking vowel *-i* after the infinitive suffix *-m*.

- b. *boā.s aṇū id kītāb rabindar.ū ran.n.ū/*ran.i.m*
 father.INS 1PRN:SG:DAT one book PSN.DAT give:3O.INF.EIS/give:3O.LV.INF
ker.a.š
 give:1-2O.PT.3S:HON

‘Father gave me a book to give it to Ravinder.’

-ū also indicates desiderative.

- (49) a. *gī kā paš.m.ū to.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM walnut break.INF.EIS COP.1SG:S

‘I want to break a walnut.’

- b. *nu pyā.ts yab.m.ū¹¹ dū*
 that bird.DIM fly.INF.EIS COP

‘That bird wants to fly.’

-ā is used for conditional scenarios. Cf. section 13.3.

- (50) a. *ki aṇ kim.ō bīn.n.ā gī dam tsal.to.k*
 2PRN:SG:NOM 1PRN:SG:GEN house.LOC come:INF.EIS 1PRN:SG:NOM good think.FUT.1SG:S

‘I will be happy if you come to my home.’

- b. *ki.s aṇū toṇ.čī.m.ā gī bō.to.k*
 2PRN:SG:INS 1PRN:SG:DAT hit.1-2O.INF.EIS 1PRN:SG:NOM go.FUT.1SG:S

‘If you hit me, I will go away.’

-g shows an obligatory sense.

- (51) a. *ībrañ.šoṇ kin č^had kamañ.ō ma.bīn.n.ā do.pīñ*
 if 2PRN:SG:GEN son-in-law work NEG.come.INF.EIS that.DAT

rupyā { *ma.ran.n.i.g*
 money { NEG.give:3O.LV.EIS
 ma.ran.n.i.g.seyā
 NEG.give:3O.LV.EIS.ATTR

‘If your son-in-law does not come to work, we will not pay him.’

- b. *hina.ō nasom piō bī.m.i.g.seyā (dū)*
 PSN.DAT tomorrow PLN go.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR COP

‘Heena has to go to Peo tomorrow.’

- c. *aṇ šel zā.m.i.g tō/*0*
 1PRN:SG:GEN medicine eat.INF.LV.EIS COP

‘I need to take the medicine.’

¹¹ -b is assimilated to the infinitive suffix, and *yabmū* is pronounced [jammu:].

9.5.2 Participles: Imperfect and Perfect

Imperfect participles are formed with a verb stem plus the suffix *-ō*, and mean continuous action or state, or

- (52) a. *ham bi.ō*
 where go:PF
 ‘Where are you going?’

Perfect participles are formed by the reduplication or being suffixed by *-s*. The suffix *-s* is attached to a (pseudo-)middle stem, and the other stems are reduplicated.

- (53) a. *ham bībī*
 where go:PF
 ‘Where did you go?’

There are a few three-syllable verbs. In the case of three-syllable verbs, the last syllable is reduplicated.

- (54) *gi pitañ toktokyakyā bi.to.k*
 IPRN:SG.NOM door knock:PF go.FUT.1SG:S
 ‘I knock on the door and go into the room.’

9.5.3 Gerund

Gerunds consist of a verb stem with a suffix *-ts* or a (pseudo-)middle stem with the suffix *-d*.

- (55) a. *mēz.u den bārī banyā tod.ts, t^hidnat^hid šō bī.ts*
 table.GEN above many thing exist.GRD anything lost go.GRD

‘There are many things on the desk, anything will be lost.’

- b. *ramēš.is deyarō kā pašpaš zā.ts*
 PSN.INS everyday walnut break:PF eat.GRD

‘Ramesh breaks and eats some walnuts everyday.’

- (56) a. *gi jāpān.ō tōšī.d*
 IPRN:SG.NOM PLN.LOC live.GRD

‘I live in Japan.’

- b. *ādarš rañ binōd an niš.ū komō tsit^hi.gā šed.ts/še.ši.d*
 PSN COM PSN self two.GEN inside letter.PL send.GRD/send.MDL.GRD

‘Adarsh and Vinod are sending letters to each other.’

9.5.4 Remote Past

-*šid* expresses a remote past.

- (57) *añ omī piō bī.šid tō*
 1SG:GEN before PLN go.RPT COP:3S

‘I went to Peo before.’

- (58) *gi.s añ zwani.ō ju tēg rim.ō kamañ lan.šid*
 1PRN:SG.INS 1PRN:GEN young.LOC this big field.LOC job do.RPT

‘I worked on this big field in my younger days.’

- (59) *añ amā.s omī bārī č^hañ.ā tā.šid*
 1PRN:SG:GEN mother.INS before many child.PL bear.RPT

‘My mother bore many children many years ago.’

In the next example, -*šid* is attached to a pseudo-middle stem.

- (60) *añ zwani.ō wāl strapši.šid tō*
 1PRN:GEN youth.LOC very_much climb.RPT COP

‘When I was young, I climbed up (a tree) very well.’

- (61) *do.gō toñ.š.ō toñ.š.ō an.ega.ī sa.ši.šid*
 that.PL hit.MDL.IMPF hit.MDL.IMPF self.PL.EMPH kill.MDL.RPT

‘They fought and killed each other.’

-*šid* also shows experience. Note that the semantic subject of the sentence is in genitive.

- (62) *ki.n gasā čī.šid tō.a*
 2PRN:GEN clothes wash.RPT COP.QM

‘Have you washed clothes?’

- (63) *añ tuñ.šid tō*
 2PRN:GEN drink.RPT COP

‘I have drunk.’

9.6 Negative Particles

There are two negative particles in Kinnauri: *ma-* and *t^ha-*. These particles are attached to a verb as a prefix. *ma-* is used to construct a negative sentence, and *t^ha-* is used to express the prohibitive meaning with an imperative form of a verb.

9.6.1 Simple Negative

The finite verb which the negative particle *ma-* is attached to is neutralized in tense, that is, it takes the form like ‘*ma*-Vstem-subject person suffix’ without tense suffixes.

- (64) a. *mē id bos solok.ō.č gorgor, gaṭō.dā mī.gā šīšī*
 yesterday one bus road.LOC.ABL fall:PF a_few person.PL die:PF

(*ma.e.ts*), *añ konyas ma.šīd*
 NEG.COP.GRD 1PRN:S:GEN friend NEG.die

‘Yesterday, there was a bus accident, and some people died, but my friend was alive.’

- b. *gī.s bārī k^haū zā.k, doklī añ peṭañ*
 1PRN:SG.ERG very_much food eat.1SG:S but 1PRN:SG:GEN belly

ma.biñ.ā
 NEG.be_full.PT

‘I ate so much, but I am not full.’

The following examples are neutralized in tense:¹²

- (65) a. *gī nasom sukul.ō ma.bī.k/*ma.bi.to.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM tomorrow school.LOC NEG.go.1SG:S/NEG.go.FUT.1SG:S

‘I will not go to school tomorrow.’

- b. *gī.s mē tsal.a.k, ki torō piō ma.bī.ñ,*
 1PRN:INS yesterday think.PT.1SG:S 2PRN:NOM today PLN NEG.go.2SG:S
ki be.o.ñ
 2PRN:NOM go.PT.2SG:S

‘Yesterday, I thought that you would not go to Peo today, but you went.’

9.6.2 Prohibitive

The following sentences indicates prohibitive:

- (66) a. *lis.k.ō t^ha.yōči.č*
 be_cold.NMLZ.LOC PROH.play.2PL:S

‘Don’t play in the cold.’

- b. *kin dek^hras.ū ju sunduk tsukyā.m t^ha.šē.r.i.ñ*
 2PRN:SG:GEN hasband.DAT this box move.INF PROH.send.REQ.LV.2SG:S

‘Don’t let your husband move this box.’

9.7 Transitive-Intransitive Alternation

Kinnauri has a transitive-intransitive alternation, similar to other Tibeto-Burman languages.

¹²In the past and present tense, a verb can take the negative prefix. In addition, the future tense appears to now be allowed, in comparison to before.

transitive	intransitive	meaning of Vt
(1)		
<i>spyug-</i>	<i>byug-</i>	‘put out (the fire)’
<i>spyañ-</i>	<i>byañ-</i>	‘terrify’
<i>skwad-</i>	<i>k^hwači-</i>	‘boil’
<i>skrab-</i>	<i>krab-</i>	‘make sb cry’
<i>stuñ-</i>	<i>tuñ-</i>	‘let sb drink’ vs. ‘drink’
(2)		
<i>k^hel-</i>	<i>gel-</i>	‘break, split, cleave’
<i>k^hoñ-</i>	<i>goñ-</i>	‘bend’
<i>p^har-</i>	<i>bar-</i>	‘tear’
<i>p^hral-</i>	<i>bral-</i>	‘fell down’
<i>p^hī-</i>	<i>bī-</i>	‘bring st out of the d.c.’ ¹³
<i>p^hrus-</i>	<i>brus-</i>	‘break (wall, house)’
<i>p^hog-</i>	<i>bog-</i>	‘spill’
<i>ṭ^hor-</i>	<i>ḍor-</i>	‘untie, unlace’
(3)		
<i>čog-</i>	<i>ǰog-</i>	‘drop’ (both are vi)
<i>čod-</i>	<i>ǰod-</i>	‘light (up), switch on’
<i>tus-</i>	<i>dus-</i>	‘make warm’
<i>twañ-</i>	<i>dwañ-</i>	‘open’
<i>twad-</i>	<i>dwad-</i>	‘take out’
<i>par-</i>	<i>bar-</i>	‘set on fire’
<i>paš-</i>	<i>baš-</i>	‘crush’
<i>pad-</i>	<i>bad-</i>	‘cook, boil’
<i>pog-</i>	<i>bog-</i>	‘burn’
<i>prā-</i>	<i>brā-</i>	‘spread’ (intr.: ‘flow over’)
<i>ṭad-</i>	<i>ḍad-</i>	‘dismantle’
<i>tser-</i>	<i>zer-</i>	‘tear’
<i>pid-</i>	<i>bid-</i>	‘bring’ vs. ‘come’ ¹⁴
(3’)		
<i>ṭig-</i>	<i>rig-</i>	‘break’
<i>ṭag-</i>	<i>rag-</i>	‘make wet’
(4)		
<i>guryā-</i>	<i>guryāši-</i>	‘close’
<i>ṭ^his-</i>	<i>ṭ^hisši-</i>	‘hurt sb’
<i>pog-</i>	<i>pogši-</i>	‘burn’ (intr.: ‘get burnt’)
<i>šuryā-</i>	<i>šuryāši-</i>	‘turn’

<i>sūm-</i>	<i>sūšim-</i>	‘wash’ (intr.: ‘wash oneself’)
<i>hud-</i>	<i>huši-</i>	‘teach’ (intr.: ‘study’)
(5)		
<i>han-</i>	<i>hači-</i>	‘be possible’ vs. ‘become’
<i>lan-</i>	<i>lanči-</i>	‘do’ (intr.: ‘wear’)
<i>leg-</i>	<i>legči-</i>	‘burn st’
<i>tub-</i>	<i>tubči-</i>	‘stick’

10. Noun Suffixes

10.1 Case Markers

Kinnauri case markers:

1. Nominative: (no marker)
2. Instrumental: *-is*, *-s*
3. Dative: *-piñ*, *-ū*
4. Locative: *-ō*, *-ē*
5. Ablative: *-č*
6. Genitive: *-u*¹⁵

10.1.1 Nominative

Nominative is used as the subject of an intransitive sentence and the object of a transitive sentence.

- (67) a. subject of intransitive

zigits *č^hañ.ā* *gušryā.š.ō* *yun.ō* *dū*
 little child.PL crawl.MDL.IMPF walk.IMPF COP:3S

‘Little babies are crawling.’

rak *ǰog.udū.a* *k^hyā.ñ*
 liquor drop.PR:3S.QM look.2S

‘Please see whether liquor is dropping or not.’

¹³‘d. c.’ means ‘deictic center’, that is, the verb indicates the move of something out of the deictic center. The intransitive verb means ‘to go’.

¹⁴*pid-* has two meanings: ‘to bring’ and ‘to arrive’, and has no deictic interpretation.

¹⁵*-i* seems to occur as a genitive marker when accompanied by *din*, which expresses the possessor in the possessive construction. Cf. (35b).

b. object of transitive (secondary object)

añ *boā.s* *gōl.ō* *i.polṭañ* *an.e.nu* *krā* *tsog.ts*
 1:PRN:SG:GEN father.INS month.LOC one.time self.PL:GEN hair cut.GRD

‘My father has his hair cut every month.’

10.1.2 Instrumental

The instrumental case is used for an instrument and the subject of a transitive sentence; hence, Kinnauri has an ergative pattern.

(68) a. subject of transitive (ergative)

mē *nīñā.s* *do.piñ* *toñ.a.č*
 yesterday 1PRN:PL:EXCL.INS that.DAT hit.PT.1-2:PL:S

‘We hit him yesterday.’

b. instrument

gi.s *ju* *pen.is/*pen* *čē.to.k*
 1PRN:SG.INS this pen.INS/pen:NOM write.FUT.1SG:S

‘I will write with this pen.’

c. passage

añ *konyas* *ju* *solok.is* *bos.ō* *rāmpur* *be.o.š*
 1PRN:SG:GEN friend this road.INS bus.LOC PLN go.PT.3S:HON

‘My friend went to Rampur along this road by bus.’

10.1.3 Dative

A dative expresses the recipient of a ditransitive construction. In Kinnauri, the dative noun is used as a primary object.

(69) a. indirect object (primary object)

ādarš.is *hinā.piñ* *tsiṭ^hī* *šē.š*
 PSN.INS PSN.DAT letter:NOM 3S:HON

‘Adarsh sent a letter to Heena.’

b. direct object

gi.s *romī* *hinā.piñ* *ma.sa.k*
 1PRN:SG.INS the_day_after_tomorrow PSN.DAT NEG.kill.1S

‘I will not kill Heena the day after tomorrow.’

c. dative subject

añū ĵu ū ganam em b̥id.tū
 1PRN:SG:DAT this flower:NOM smell good come.PR:3S

‘This flower smells sweet to me.’

darma.ō tiskar de.udū
 PSN.DAT thirsty feel.PR:3S

‘Darma feels thirsty.’

10.1.4 Locative

The locative case defines the location of a space. The difference between -*ō* and -*ē* is not clear.¹⁶

(70) a. *ādarš m̥int^hañ.ē dēn (dū) b̥izār.ō k^hyā.udū*
 PSN roof.LOC standing COP bazaar.LOC look.PR:3S

‘Adarsh stands on the terraced roof and is looking down to the bazaar.’

b. *ki.n kim.ō mē šed.tseyā mī rampūr tsumtsum*
 2PRN:SG:GEN house.DAT yesterday send.ATTR person PLN catch:PF

‘The man who burned your house down was caught at Rampur.’

The locative case also indicates the direction of movement.

(71) a. *orč^hē añ banṭ^hā (ki) piō bi.ñ*
 please 1PRN:SG:GEN instead 2PRN:SG:NOM PLN go.2S:SG

‘Please go to Peo instead of me.’

The locative case expresses the location of time, as well.

(72) *hinā rañ gī yum.tseyā gōl.ō deyarō č^hukš.e.č*
 PSN COM 1PRN:SG:NOM preceding month.LOC everyday meet.PT.1-2S:PL

‘Heena and I met every day last month.’

The name of a place is not found in the locative case:

(73) a. *do.niš piō beō*
 that.two PLN gōPT

‘The two of them went to Peo.’

b. *paēč piō ma.bībī rampūr bi.tē*
 let’s_go PLN NEG.go:PF PLN go.HORT

‘Let’s go to Rampur, but not to Peo.’

¹⁶-*ē* seems to express some type of a spread of a surface.

The name of a place that is not well known in Kinnaur can take the locative marker:

- (74) a. *jāpān.ō bī.m.ū to.k*
 PLN.LOC go.INF.EIS COP.1SG:S
 ‘I want to go to Japan.’
- b. *gī jāpān.ō tōšī.d*
 1PRN:SG:NOM PLN.LOC live.GRD
 ‘I live in Japan.’

10.1.5 Ablative

The ablative case expresses the source of movement.

A starting point in regards to location:

- (75) a. *añ k^hakañ.ō.č lalt^hañ ma.nāšī.s dwad.ā*
 1PRN:SG:GEN mouth.LOC.ABL saliva NEG.stop.PF come_out.PT
 ‘The saliva came out of my mouth, and did not stop.’
- b. *gī bārat.ō.č/*bārat.č bī.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM PLN.LOC.ABL/PLN.ABL come.1SG:S
 ‘I came from India.’

A starting point in time:

- (76) a. *pradīp me.k.č ŋupī pī deyār omī rampūr be.ō*
 PSN yesterday.NMLZ.ABL after four day before PLN go.PT
 ‘Pradeep left for Rampur three days before yesterday.’
- b. *añ dīñ ju rēdiō bārī omi.k.č tō*
 1PRN:SG:GEN place this radio very_much before.NMLZ.ABL exist
 ‘I have this radio from many years ago.’

10.1.6 Genitive

The genitive case expresses possession (alienable or inalienable) and a genitive subject.

1. Possession

- (77) a. *nu č^hañ.a.nu pērañ.ā ham bībī*
 that child.PL.GEN parents.PL where gōPF
 ‘Where have the parents of those children gone?’
- b. *ju dēšañ.ō añ (id) ra.o niza.o stiš*
 this village.LOC 1PRN:SG:GEN one hundred.GEN twenty.GEN seven

pērañ.ā tō/nī.ts/tōši.d
 relative.PL COP/exist.GRD/live.GRD
 ‘I have 127 relatives in this village.’

2. Alienability

(78) a. *añ č^hañ.ā tod.ts*
 1PRN:SG:GEN child.PL exist.GRD
 ‘I have children.’

cf. *šālū dīñ kītāb.ē dū.a*
 PSN place book.PL exist.QM
 ‘Does Shalu have books?’

3. Price

(79) *ju kitāb niš hanzār.u (dū)*
 this book two thousand.GEN COP
 ‘This book costs two thousand rupies.’

4. Genitive subject

A genitive noun can be a semantic subject, in which case the main verb appears to be nominalized.

(80a) indicates that the semantic subject of the verb *t^hasšid* should be in the genitive case.

(80) a. *añ/*añū/*gī t^has.ši.d tō*
 1PRN:S:GEN/1PRN:SG:DAT/1PRN:SG:NOM hear.MDL.GRD COP
tibet.ō id koṭ^hī me.ō legči.s
 PLN.LOC one temple fire.LOC catch_fire.PF

‘I heard that one of the temples was burned in a fire in Tibet.’

cf. *gī t^has.a.k tibet.ō id koṭ^hī me.ō legči.s*
 1PRN:SG:NOM hear.PT.1SG:S PLN.LOC one temple fire.LOC catch_fire.PF

‘I heard that one of the temples was burned in a fire in Tibet.’

(81) a. *mē mīnt^hañ.ē.č pom peg.tseyā mī.ū añ*
 yesterday roof.LOC.ABL snow remove.ATTR person.DAT 1PRN:S:GEN
rupyā ran.n.i.g.seyā tō
 money give.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR COP

‘I need to pay some money to the man who removed the snow from the roof.’

- b. *kin pañē bī.šid dū.ñ.a*
 2PRN:SG:GEN PLN go.RPT COP.2SG:S.QM
 ‘Have you been to Pangī?’

10.2 Comitative

*rañ*¹⁷ expresses ‘and’ and ‘with’. The noun preceding *rañ* is in the nominative case, but the pronoun is in the genitive case.

The following sentence is an example for the meaning ‘and’:

- (82) a. *ṭašī.s aṇ rañ mayā.pīñ rām.ū ḵu rupyā raṇ.i.m*
 PSN.INS 1PRN:SG:GEN COM PSN.DAT PSN.DAT this money give:3O
še.č.e.š
 send.1-2O.PT.3S:HON
 ‘Tashi let Maya and me give Ram this money.’
- b. *ṭašī rañ rabindar zāga.u tañes dāš.ē*
 PSN COM PSN land.GEN for dispute.PT
 ‘Tashi and Ravinder disputed their rights to the land.’

rañ in the next sentences means ‘with’.

- (83) a. *kin rañ hu.š.ō hu.š.ō kāniñ.a.k*
 2PRN:SG:GEN with teach.MDL.IMPF teach.MDL.IMPF be_fed_up.PT.1SG:S
 ‘I got fed up with studying with you.’
- b. *hunā t^ha.bī.r.i.ñ, nipī kin boā rañ ekē*
 now PROH.go.REQ.LV.2SG:S later 2PRN:SG:GEN father com together
bī.r.i.ñ
 go.REQ.LV.2SG:S
 ‘Don’t go now, rather go with your father later.’

rañ can demonstrate an argument which plays a causee role. In the following sentence (84a), *aṇ* with *rañ* indicates the person who ‘brought a book to you’.

- (84) a. *ṭašī.s aṇ rañ kitāb kinū ker.a.š*
 PSN.INS 1PRN:SG:GEN COM book 2PRN:SG:DAT give:1-2O.PT.3S:HON
 ‘Tashi sent me to give you a book.’
- b. *ṭašī.s aṇū rabindar rañ aṇ kitāb šešē*
 PSN.INS 1PRN:SG:DAT PSN COM 1PRN:SG:GEN book send:PF

¹⁷ *rañ*, which actually is not a case marker in Kinnauri, is introduced here as a marker that is a constituent of a noun phrase.

du.e.š

COP.PT.3S:HON

‘Tashi sent me my book via Ravinder’

In (84b), Ravinder is the causal link. Tashi let Ravinder bring a book to me.

10.3 Benefactive

The benefactive case is expressed by the particle *tañes*. The noun and the pronoun preceding *tañes* are in the genitive case.

- (85) a. *gi* *k^haū* *tañes* *ǰyā.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM food:GEN for cry.1S

‘I cried for food.’

- b. *añ* *borē.s* *añ* *tañes* *piplī* *twatwā*
 1PRN:SG:GEN elder_sister_in_law 1PRN:SG:GEN for chili take_out:PF

ker.a.š

give.PT.3S:HON

‘The wife of my elder brother took chili out of (the pot) for me.’

tañes can be used with a verb in the infinitive form, with an extended infinitive marker *-ū*, meaning ‘for doing something’.

- (86) a. *šīñ.m.ū* *tañes* *košṭañ* *lan.n.i.g.seyā*
 be_alive.INF.EIS for difficulty do.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR

‘Work hard to stay alive.’

- b. *do* *mač^has* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tsum.i.m \\ \text{catch.LV.INF} \\ tsum.m.ū \\ \text{catch.INF.EIS} \end{array} \right. (tañes) \left. \right\}$ *garañ.ō* *be.ō*
 that:NOM fish catch.INF.EIS for river.LOC go.PT

‘He went to catch a fish in the river.’

10.4 Emphatic

-tā expresses an emphatic meaning.

- (87) a. *hatū.ta* *komō* *bīn* *še.č*
 INTRR:DAT.EMPH inside come:INF send.1-2PL:S

‘Let someone come in.’

- b. *konyas.ū.tā* *kīṭāb* *atē.s* *ran.a.š,* *nu.pīñ.tā*
 friend.DAT.EMPH book elder_brother.INS give:3O:HON that.DAT.EMPH

gĩ.s *ran.a.k*
 1PRN:SG:INS give:3O.PT.1S

‘Brother gave a book to the friend, and I gave a book to him.’

-ī also expresses an emphatic meaning.

(88) a. *añ* *kaglī* *čē.m.i.g.seya.ī* *tō*
 1PRN:SG:GEN paper write.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR.EMPH COP

‘I must write a paper.’

b. *mešā* *k^hāū* *gĩ.s.ī* *zuryā.k*
 last_evening food 1PRN:SG:INS.EMPH prepare.1S

‘I made food by myself last night.’

10.5 Comparative

See section 7.2.

10.6 Nominalizer

The following suffixes seem to nominalize verbs, adjectives, or adverbs, but we cannot describe their usage in detail.

cf. genitive subject in section 10.1.6

- -tseyā nominalizes a verb. -seyā when attached to a noun, alters a noun’s meaning to ‘something relating to a thing expressed by the noun.’

(89) *kīn* *kīm* *tsalyā.d.tseyā* *had*
 2PRN:SG:GEN house manage.LC.NMLZ who

‘Who is the one managing your house.’

(90) *šāneṭañ.seyā* *tī*
 ice.ATTR water

‘water with ice’

(91) *rabindar* *nāmañ.seyā* *mī* *añ* *konyas* (*dū*)
 PSN name.ATTR person 1PRN:SG:GEN friend COP

‘The person named Ravinder is my friend.’

- -k is attached to adjectives and adverbs. An adjective or an adverb with -k can take a case marker.

(92) *gĩ* *lis.k.īs* *to.k*
 1PRN:SG cold.NMLZ.INS COP.1S:SG

‘It is cold to me.’

- *-ts* and *-d* are the gerund suffixes, and seem to be used as nominalizers, see example (80a), in which the semantic subject is in the genitive case.

10.7 Modal Marker

yɪ is used at the end of a sentence and expresses a nuance such as unconfident. The author has not found another modal marker, but that does not mean that Kinnauri has no other modal markers.

- (93) *rɪŋkū mē had mī raŋ ʧʰukʃi.gjō.yɪ aŋū dō nāmaŋ*
 PSN yesterday who person wiht meet.UNC.UNF 1PRN:SG:DAT that:GEN name
ma.rɪŋ
 NEG.say.1-2O

‘Rinku does not tell me the name of the person whom he met yesterday.’

11. Noun Phrase

A noun phrase is as follows:

- (94) Det + Num + Adj + Noun

In a Kinnauri noun phrase, a noun is put at the end of the phrase, and the modifying elements precede the noun.

The noun is inflected according to its role in a sentence, and other elements of the noun phrase are not declined, although an adjective can take a plural form if the noun modified by the adjective has a plural meaning. See section 7.

12. Simple Sentence

- (95) NP (+ NP) + Verb

A Kinnauri sentence consists of one or more than one NP and one verb. The verb occurs at the end of a sentence. Kinnauri sentences take an ergative pattern: the subject of an intransitive sentence and the object of a transitive sentence assume the nominative case, and the subject of a transitive sentence takes the instrumental case. Simultaneously, Kinnauri has a primary and secondary objects pattern: the primary object takes the nominative case, and the secondary object assumes the dative case.

12.1 Intransitive Sentence

The subject of an intransitive sentence is in the nominative case. Even if the subject is emphasized, the instrumental form is not used.

- (96) a. *gi/*gi.s* *sukul.ō* *be.o.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM/1PRN:SG.INS school.LOC go.PT.1S

‘I went to school.’

- b. *nu* *č^hañ* *dū/*tō*
 that boy COP

‘He is a boy.’

A copula is not always necessary.

- (97) *satlūj* *bārī* *lamas* *somordañ*
 PLN very long river

‘Sutlej is a very long river.’

12.2 Transitive Sentence

The subject of a transitive verb assumes an instrumental case, and the object nominative case, thus, a transitive sentence takes an ergative construction.

- (98) a. *riñkū.s/*riñkū* *mē* *č^hukši.d.tseyā* *mī* *pañē.č* *bībī*
 PSN.INS/PSN:NOM yesterday meet.LC.ATTR person PLN.ABL go:PF
ma.e.ts
 NEG.exist.GRD

‘The man who Rinku met yesterday already left Pangī.’

- b. *gi.s* *k^haū* *lanlan* *tā.to.k,* *ki* *zā.r.i.ñ*
 1PRN:SG.INS food.NOM do:PF put.FUT.1S 1PRN:SG:NOM eat.REQ.LV.2S

‘I will make food (for you), so eat it.’

In a ditransitive construction, Kinnauri has a primary–secondary contrast of objects.¹⁸

- (99) a. *añ* *č^hañ.is* *pādēšas.u* *kuy.ū* *k^haū* *ran.tseyā*
 1PRN:SG:GEN child.INS neighbor.GEN dog.DAT food:NOM give.ATTR

‘My son will give food to the neighbor’s dog.’

- b. *riñkū.s* *nu.piñ* *tsi^htī* *šed.ā*
 PSN.INS that.DAT letter.NOM send.PT

‘Rinku sent a letter to him.’

In Kinnauri, a nominative subject can occur with a transitive sentence, and thus, split the ergative construction. The first and third person subjects can be in the nominative case.

¹⁸Cf. section 10.1.3

- (100) *gi/*gi.s* *rañ.ū* *piniñ* *ran.udu.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM/1PRN:SG.INS horse.DAT hay give:3O.PR.1S
 ‘I am giving hay to a horse.’
- (101) *nu duk^handār/duk^handār.is* *sae bošaṅ omī t^hid lan.ō du.ē*
 that shopkeeper:NOM/shopkeeper.INS ten year before what do.IMPF COP.PT
 ‘What was that shopkeeper doing ten years ago?’

12.3 Middle Voice

Kinnauri has the middle voice suffixes: *-ši* and *-či*. Cf. section 9.2.2. In this section, we show the usage of the middle voice.

The middle voice markers indicate four types of meaning: reflexive, reciprocal, intransitivization, collective.

12.3.1 Reflexive

When the transitive verb takes a middle voice marker, it means that the action expressed by the verb is performed to the actor himself/herself.

- (102) a. *šālū.s* *an.u* *stō sū.š.ē*
 PSN.INS self.GEN face wash.MDL.PT
 ‘Shalu washed her own face.’
- b. *gi* *nasom* *hasal sar.š.o.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM tomorrow_morning early awaken.MDL.FUT.1S
 ‘I will wake up early in the tomorrow morning.’

12.3.2 Reciprocal

When the transitive verb takes a middle voice marker, it means that the action expressed by the verb is performed to each other.

- (103) a. *bārat pākistān rañ toñ.š.ō du.ē*
 India Pakistan with hit.MDL COP.PT:3S
 ‘India fought with Pakistan.’
- b. *do.gō an.niš.u komō tus.š.ō du.ē*
 that.PL self.two.GEN inside make_warm.MDL.IMPF COP.PT:3S
 ‘They warmed up each other.’
- (104) a. *kišaṅ teraṅ ma.batyā.ši.šē, ki wāl dam batañ.seyā*
 1PRN:DU:INCL anytime NEG.talk.MDL.PT 2PRN:NOM very good story.ATTR
mī to.ñ
 person COP.2S

‘We two (incl.) have never talked to each other, but your story is very interesting.’

- b. *kišī mē toñ.š.e.č*
 2PRN:DU:NOM yesterday hit.MDL.PT.1-2S:PL

‘You fought each other yesterday.’

12.3.3 Intransitivization

When the transitive verb takes a middle voice marker, it becomes an intransitive verb.

- (105) a. *mē añ gud leg.či.s tō*
 yesterday 1PRN:SG:GEN arm burn.MDL.PF COP

‘My hand got burnt yesterday.’

- b. *ju gasā bodī rok hači.s, dok (ju) ma.čī.š.udū*
 this clothes very_much dirty become.PF then this NEG.wash.MDL.PR:3S

‘These clothes have become so dirty, that it is hard to clean.’

- c. *ju pen marī dū, dok ju ma.čē.š.udū*
 this pen bad COP then this NEG.write.MDL.PR:3S

‘This pen is not good, (you) cannot write with this pen.’

12.3.4 Collective Plural

When an intransitive verb takes a middle voice suffix, it indicates the plurality of the subject.

- (106) a. *kišaň.a.nu č^haň.ā p^hor.u den gušryā.š.udū/*gušryad.tū*
 1PRN:INCL.PL.GEN child.PL floor.GEN on crawl.MDL.PR/crawl.PR

‘Our babies are crawling on the floor.’

- b. *kišaň.ā bārī wa.š.ē*
 1PRN:INCL.PL very_much laugh.MDL.PT

‘We (incl.) laughed so much.’

13. Complex Sentence

13.1 Time

The conjunction ‘when’ is expressed in two ways: *Vstem-ēraň*, *Vinf-ū bēraň*. The difference between the two expressions is not clear.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Vinf-ū bēraň* seems to be used in the case of some length of the behavior expressed by the verb, so the meaning may be near ‘while’.

- (107) a. *somī* *gi* ***sar.š.erañ*** *kim.ū* *bārañ* *añārañ*
 morning 1PRN:SG:NOM awaken.MDL.CONJ house.GEN ouside dark
du.ē
 COP.PT:3S

‘When I awoke this morning, it was dark outside the house.’

- b. *ki* *ḡāpān.ō.č* ***bīn.n.ū*** ***bērañ*** *om.ō* *ki.s*
 2SG:PRN:NOM PLN.LOC.ABL come.INF.EIS time path.LOC 2SG:PRN.INS
t^hid tañ.a.ñ
 what see.PT.2SG:S

‘When you came from Japan, what did you see along the way?’

‘before’ and ‘after’

- (108) a. *niñā* *nasom* *piō* *bī.m.i.g* *kā* *oms* *tsoi.k.ī*
 1PRN:PL tomorrow_morning PLN go.INF.LV.EIS than before all.NMLZ.EMPH
lañ.ši.d.tseyā *to.č*
 wait.MDL.LC.ATTR COP.1-2S:PL

‘Before we go to Peo tomorrow, we will wait for each other.’

- b. *añ* *boā* *ma.dagči.m.ū* *nupī* *ju* *kim.ā* *rim.ā* *rañ*
 1PRN:SG:GEN father NEG.live.INF.EIS after this house.PL field.PL and
pērañ.ā *tsoī* *añ* *gud.ō* *bīd.ts*
 family.PL all 1PRN:SG:GEN hand.LOC come.GRD

‘After my father dies, I will take care of these houses, fields and families.’

- (109) *niñā* *nasom* *piō* *bī.m.i.g* *kā* *oms* *tsoi.k.ī*
 1PRN:PL:NOM tomorrow PLN go.INF.LV.EIS than before all.NMLZ.EMPH
lañ.ši.d.tseyā *to.č*
 wait.MDL.LC.ATTR COP.1PL:S

‘Before we go to Peo tomorrow, we will wait for each other.’

‘till, until’

- (110) a. *gi* *pī.stañ.ō* *šoñ* *č^hañ.ā.s* *k^haū* *zāzā* *šunšun*
 1PRN:SG:NOM arrive.till.LOC around child.PL.INS food eat:PF finish:PF
nī.tō
 exist.FUT

‘Before I reach there, the children will have finished eating their food.’

13.2 Reason

There is no subordinate conjunction for reason like ‘because’. Usually, two sentences are put adjacent to each other, and the relationship between them is supposed as reason.

If one wants to express a reason in Kinnauri, *ṭʰūlonnā* is used at the beginning of the sentence. *ṭʰūlonnā* means literally ‘if saying why’. This phrase is used as an answer to a question of reason.

- (111) *ū nalnāl dū, ṭʰūlonnā aṇ bayā.s tī ma.šēšē.*
 flower wilt:PF COP because 1PRN:GEN younger_brother water NEG.send:PF
do.s ū nal.i.m šēšē
 that.INS flower wilt.LV.INF send:PF

‘Because my brother did not water it, the flower wilted. He wilted the flower.’

- (112) *aṇū ṭʰi.tsī jamaṇ ma.bīd.tū, ṭʰūlonnā gī*
 1PRN:SG:DAT anything taste NEG.come.FUT because 1PRN:SG:NOM
toṭō to.k
 be_sick.PF COP.1S

‘Because I am sick, everything tastes like nothing to me.’

13.3 Conditional

Kinnauri has two types of conditionals: simple and counterfactual. Simple conditionals are formed with a verb infinitive taking an extension suffix *-ā*, and counterfactual conditionals with a verb stem taking a suffix *-tsa* in the tense slot. Simple conditionals are tense free, whereas counterfactual conditionals have *-tsa* as a tense suffix, and assume a subject person suffix.

13.3.1 Simple

The simple conditional sentence means condition.

- (113) a. *ki hunā piō ma.bī.m.ā ki.n bantʰā*
 2PRN:SG:NOM now PLN NEG.go.INF.COND 2PRN:SG:GEN instead
aṇū bī.m.i.g hač.ō
 1PRN:SG:DAT go.INF.LV.EIS become.IMPF

‘If you do not go to Peo now, I need to go for you.’

- b. *koštaṇ lan.n.ā tsoī mī šīṇ.ts*
 trouble do.INF.COND all person be_alive.GRD

‘If we work hard, we all will be alive.’

13.3.2 Counterfactual

As seen in section 9.4.3, the counterfactual suffix is put in the tense slot.

- (114) a. *gī čʰaṇ nī.d.tsa.k.tā/nī.m.ā, gī*
 1PRN:SG:NOM child be.LC.CNTF.1S.COND/be.INF.COND 1PRN:SG:NOM

sukul.ō *bī.d.tsa.k/*bi.to.k*
 school.LOC go.LC.CNTF.1S

‘If I were a boy, I could go to school.’

b. *ki* *hunā piō* *ma.bī.d.tsa.ñ.tā* *ki.n* *banṭ^hā*
 2PRN:SG:NOM now PLN NEG.go.LC.CNTF.2S.COND 2PRN:SG:GEN instead

añū *bī.m.i.g* *hači.d.tsā*
 1PRN:SG:DAT go.INF.LV.EIS become.LC.CNTF

‘If you could not go to Peo now, I would have to go for you.’

(115) a. *ki.s* *añū* *mē* *bārī* *toñ.či.d.tsa.ñ.tā*
 2PRN:SG:INS 1PRN:SG:DAT yesterday much hit.1-2O.LC.CNTF.2S.COND

gī *hunā* *aspatal.ō* *nī.d.tsa.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM now hospital.LOC be.LC.CNTF.1S

‘If you had hit me very hard yesterday, I would be in a hospital now.’

b. *gī.s* *añ* *zwani.ō* *bārī* *rupyā* *kīmyā.d.tsa.k.tā*
 1PRN:SG:INS 1PRN:SG:GEN youth.LOC much money earn.LC.CNTF.1S.COND

ki *hunā* *t^hi.d.lī* *zog.tsa.ñ*
 2PRN:SG:NOM now what.even buy.CNTF.2S

‘If I had earned money when I was young, you could buy anything now.’

In the next sentence, the conditional clause has the simple conditional, and the main clause has the counterfactual.

(116) a. *ībrañšoñ* *hunā* *boā* *kim.ō* *nī.m.ā* *añ* *rañ* *ñar*
 if now father house.LOC be.INF.COND 1PRN:SG:GEN with anger

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{tañ.to.š} \\ \text{see.FUT.3S:HON} \end{array} \right\}$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{tañ.tsa.š} \\ \text{see.CNTF.3S:HON} \end{array} \right\}$

‘If Father were at home now, he would get angry with me.’

b. *ju* *añ* *nī.m.ā,* *gī.s* *ju.pīñ/ju* *hat.u.ī*
 this 1PRN:SG:GEN be.INF.COND 1PRN:SG:INS this.DAT/this:NOM who.DAT.EMPH

ma.ran.tsa.k
 NEG.give:3O.CNTF.1S

‘If this were mine, I would never give it to anyone.’

13.3.3 Concessive

A concessive clause is made with the particle *-lī*, whether simple or counterfactual.

- (117) a. *kīnōriñ hales dēšañ.ō bī.m.ā.lī om.u den id*
 PLN how village.LOC go.INF.COND.even path.GEN on one
kañkīnī.ts tod.ts
 village_gate.DIM exist.GRD
 ‘Whichever village you go to in Kinnaur, there is a gate on the way into any of the villages.’

- b. *ṭaši.u duk^han.ō t^hid zog.m.ā.lī molañ tob nī.ts dū*
 PSN.GEN shop.LOC what buy.INF.COND.even price fit exist.GRD COP
 ‘Regardless of what you buy in Tashi’s shop, the cost is average (= not so expensive, not so cheap).’

- (118) *ki piō ma.bī.m.ā.lī ki.n gyā.m.i.g.seyā*
 2PRN:SG:NOM PLN NEG.go.INF.COND 2PRN:SG:GEN want.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR
banyā hiyīñ poryad.ts
 thing:PL here obtain.GRD
 ‘Even if you do not go to Peo, your necessary things are available here.’

- (119) *gi dō.mya.k.šon huš.ō* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nī.m.ā.lī \\ \text{exist.INF.COND.even} \\ nī.d.tsa.k.tā.lī \\ \text{exist.LC.CNTF.1SG:S.EMPH.even} \end{array} \right\}$
 1PRN:SG:NOM that.date.NMLZ.around study.IMPF
gi añ pērañ.a.n diñ.č k^hortsā
 1PRN:SG:NOM 1PRN:SG:GEN family.PL.GEN place.ABL expenditure
ma.un.tsa.k
 NEG.take.CNTF.1SG:S
 ‘Even if I were a student at that time, I would not depend on my parents.’

- (120) *gi piō (*nasom)* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} bībī.lī, \\ \text{go:PF.even} \\ *bī.m.ā.lī, \\ \text{go.INF.COND.even} \end{array} \right\}$ *gi*
 1PRN:SG:NOM PLN tomorrow
skan ma.zog.i.k
 vegetable NEG.buy.LV.1SG:S
 ‘Even if I went to Peo, I did not buy vegetables.’

13.4 Purposive

The extended infinitive suffix *-ū* with *tañes* can express the purposive situation:

- (121) *gi.s kītāb.ē ma.zer.m.ū tañes gattā šešē tō*
 1PRN:SG:INS book.PL NEG.be_torn.INF.EIS for cardboard send:PF COP
 ‘I put carton paper on the books in order for them not to be torn.’

14. Modification

14.1 Adjective + Noun

As for a noun phrase with adjectives, see section 7.

14.2 Relative Construction

Kinnauri has three ways to modify a noun with a verb. First, a verb with a suffix, *-tseyā* or *-seyā*, is put before a noun.

In (122), the modifying verb takes an extended infinitive and the suffix *-seyā*.

- (122) a. *nē.m.i.g.seyā* *batañ*
 know.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR story
 ‘easy language to understand’
- b. *gi.s* *kin.ū* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kē.m.i.g.seyā \\ \text{give:1-2O.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR} \\ *kē.m.i.g \\ \text{give:1-2O.INF.LV.EIS} \end{array} \right\}$ *tōp^hā*
 1PRN:SG.INS 2PRN:SG.DAT present
- jāpān.ō* *dakč.ē*
 PLN leave.PT
- ‘I left a present in Japan which I need to give you.’

In some cases, an infinitive verb with the suffix *-g* without *-seyā* can be used to modify a noun.

- (123) *ki.n* *konyas.is* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pañ.m.i.g.seyā \\ \text{build.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR} \\ pañ.m.i.g \\ \text{build.INF.LV.EIS} \end{array} \right\}$ *kim* *ham* *dū*
 2PRN:SG.GEN friend.INS house where exist
- ‘Where is the house which your friend is building?’

-tseyā is attached directly to a verb or with *-d*²⁰ between a verb and *-tseyā*.

- (124) *mē* *piō* *ma.bī.d.tseyā* *č^hañ* *nasom* *sañglā* *bi.tō*
 yesterday PLN NEG.go.LC.ATTR boy next_morning PLN go.FUT
- ‘The boy who did not go to Peo yesterday will go to Sangla tomorrow.’

The modifying verb in the above sentence is prefixed by the negative particle.

The modifying verb can take a middle voice suffix. (125a) shows that the modified noun is an object noun in the embedded sentence. In (125b), the modifying verb is a pseudo-middle. (125c) has a noun in plural modified by a verb with a middle suffix, which can express a collective plural.

²⁰The function of this ending *-d* is not clear, although the vowel stem verb assumes *-d* and takes *-tseyā* after it.

- (125) a. *pradīp.i.s mēz.u den tā.šid.tseyā/tā.m.i.g.seyā kitāb wāl*
 PSN.INS table.GEN above put.RPT.ATTR/put.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR book very
dam dū
 good COP
 ‘The book Pradeep put on the desk is very interesting.’
- b. *riṅkū.s mē č^hukšī.d.tseyā mi.u nāmaṅ aṅū ma.rīṅ*
 PSN.INS yesterday meet.LC.ATTR person.GEN name 1PRN:SG:DAT NEG.say
 ‘Rinku does not tell me the name of the person whom he met yesterday.’
- c. *gī.s sorgan.ō yab.ši.d.tseyā pyā.ga.nō.č id pyā sad.a.k*
 1PRN:SG.INS river.LOC fly.MDL.LC.ATTR bird.PL.LOC.ABL one bird kill.PT.1SG:S
 ‘I shot one of the birds flying in the sky.’

A verb in perfect or gerund form (without *-tseyā*) can be used to modify a noun but not always.

- (126) *nu špon.u ma.ts^hu.ši.d/ma.ts^hu.ši.d.tseyā tasma.u den t^hamči.s,*
 that shoe.GEN NEG.tie.MDL.GRD/NEG.tie.MDL.GRD.ATTR lace.GEN on step_on
do gor.ā
 that fall_down.PT
 ‘He stepped on the untied shoelace and fell down.’

Modifying with a correlative clause. Kinnauri has two types of correlative clauses. The first one consists of a finite verb with a suffix *-a* in the modifying clause and a demonstrative referring to the noun of the modifying clause.

- (127) *ki yōč.udu.ñ.a nu hat.u gindū dū*
 2PRN:SG:NOM play.PR.2SGS.QM that who.GEN ball COP
 ‘Whose is the ball which you are playing with?’

The precedent noun can remain in a relative clause, for example (128a).

- (128) a. *ki.s tsī^hī čē.ñ.a do pen dam dū.a*
 2SG:PRN.INS letter write.2SG:S.QM that pen good COP.QM
 ‘Is the pen that you used to write a letter good?’
- b. *ki.s tsī^hī čē.ši.d.tseyā pen dam dū.a*
 2SG:PRN.INS letter write.MDL.LC.ATTR pen good COP.QM
 ‘Is the pen that you used to write a letter good?’
- (129) *ju gī.s čē.k.a do kitāb dū*
 this 1PRN:SG.INS write.1SG:S.QM that book COP
 ‘This is a book which I wrote.’

The second type of the correlative clause uses a concessive pronoun.

hatyañā in (130) is a concessive pronoun for a correlative clause.

- (130) a. *hatyañā zainū yums b̄t̄.tō hodō bos.ō b̄r.i.ñ*
 whichever best back come.FUT that bus.LOC go.REQ.LV.2SG:S

‘Get on the bus which comes last.’

- b. *ju yums hatyañā bos b̄t̄.tō hodō b̄r.i.ñ*
 this back whichever bus come.FUT there go.REQ.LV.2SG:S

‘Get on one of the buses which come later.’

(131) presents examples of a correlative clause, although such clauses are not a common style of attribution in Kinnauri.

- (131) a. *nu hodo.ī ts^hetsas dū, hatyañā.piñ gī bennañ lan.ts*
 that that.EMPH lady COP whoever.DAT 1PRN:SG:NOM love do.GRD

‘She is a lady who I love.’

- b. *niñā.s hamyañā garañ lañyā.č, hiđiñ.č niñā*
 1PRN:PL:INS wherever river cross.1-2PL:S there.ABL 1PRN:PL:NOM

dēšañ.ō.stañ yun.ō be.o.č
 village.LOC.till walk.IMPF go.PT.1-2SG:S

‘We walked from the place where we crossed the river.’

In (131a), *hatyañā* is used with a dative marker, and in (131b), *hamyañā* is an adverb.

The next examples in (132) and (133), respectively, are in relation to paraphrasing.

- (132) a. *gī.s tag piš.ši.d.tseyā/piš.ši.d rim.ā hoḷḷō.s*
 1SG:PRN:INS barley plant.MDL.LC.ATTR/plant.MDL.GRD field.PL flood.INS

p^hīp^hī ma.e.ts
 take_away:PF NEG.COP.GRD

‘The field where I planted barley was carried away by a flood.’

- b. *hamyañā gī.s tag piš.a.k, do rim.ā hoḷḷō.s*
 wherever 1SG:PRN:INS barley plant.PT.1S:SG that field.PL flood.INS

pegpeg ma.e.ts
 throw_away:PF NEG.COP.GRD

‘The field where I planted barley was carried away by a flood.’

- (133) a. *añ kim.u* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nērañ.seyā \\ neighbor.ATTR \\ nērañ nī.d.tseyā \\ neighbor exist.LC.ATTR \end{array} \right\}$ *rim.ō*
 1SG:PRN:GEN house.GEN $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} neighbor \\ exist.LC.ATTR \end{array} \right\}$ field.LOC

bārī tēg runiñ dū
 very_much big rock COP

‘There is a big stone in the field which is near my house.’

- b. *añ kim.u nērañ dū.a/*dū, do rim.ō bārī*
 1SG:PRN:GEN house.GEN neighbor COP.QM/COP that field.LOC very_much

tēg runiñ dū
 big rock COP

‘There is a big stone in the field which is near my house.’

- c. **hamyañā añ kim.u nērañ dū/dū.a, do rim.ō*
 wherever 1SG:PRN:GEN house.GEN neighbor COP/COP.QM that field

bārī tēg runiñ dū
 very_much big rock COP

‘(There is a big stone in the field which is near my house.)’

- (134) *gi.s tag piš.a.k.a/*piš.a.k, do rim.ā holdō.s*
 1SG:PRN.INS barley plant.PT.1SG:S.QM/plant.PT.1SG:S that field.PL flood.INS

p^hīp^hī ma.e.ts
 take_away:PF NEG.COP.GRD

‘The field where I planted barley was carried away by a flood.’

Abbreviations

1	1st person	LC	linking consonant
1-2	1st and/or 2nd person	LOC	locative
2	2nd person	LV	linking vowel
3	3rd person	MDL	middle voice
ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ATTR	attributive	NMLZ	nominalizer
CNTF	counterfactual	NOM	nominative
COM	Comitative	O	object
COND	conditional	OBLG	obligation
CONJ	conjunctive	PF	perfect
COP	copular verb	PL	plural
DAT	dative	PLN	place name
DIM	diminutive	PR	present
DST	distal pronoun	PRN	pronoun
DU	dual	PROH	prohibitive
EIS	extended infinitive suffix	PRX	proximal pronoun
EMPH	emphatic	PSN	personal name
EXCL	exclusive	PT	past
FUT	future	PTCL	particle
GEN	genitive	QM	question marker
GRD	gerund	RDP	reduplication
HON	honorific	REQ	request
HORT	hortative	RPT	remote past
IMPF	imperfect	S	subject
INCL	inclusive	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	TNS	tense marker
INS	instrumental	UNC	uncertainty
INTRR	interrogative	UNF	unconfident

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