

Exploring the Mu-nya people and their language

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0. Languages in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor

The mountainous region of the western part of Sichuan 四川 province in China is the eastern end of the Himalayan plateau, where the upper reaches of rivers such as the Golden Sand river (Jinsha jiang 金沙江 a.k.a. Yangtze), the Mekong (Lancang jiang 澜沧江), and the Salween (Nu jiang 怒江) run through the mountain ranges down to Southeast Asia. This area is called the Kham (*Khams* in Tibetan spelling using the Wylie System. All such transliterations in *Italics* henceforth) district in the Tibetan language, which includes Kanding 康定 town, located in the administrative division currently called Kandze (*dKar mdzes*) Tibetan autonomous prefecture (Ganzi Zangzu Zizhizhou 甘孜藏族自治州 in Chinese). Kangding, formerly known as Dajianlu 打箭爐 (*Dar rtse mdo*), is a town on the border of the Tibetan and Han-Chinese cultural areas. There is a famous beautiful mountain called Minya Konka (*Mi nyag gangs dkar*) in the south, about 100 miles from Kangding and measuring 7,556 meters (24,784 ft.) above sea level. An American mountaineering party succeeded in reaching the summit for the first time in 1932, but it has been a terrible mountain for Japanese parties; three parties have been lost there. In one of the tragedies, the Ichikawa mountaineering party was lost in 1982 and only one member of the party, MATSUDA Hiroya 松田 宏也, was miraculously saved.¹

The western Sichuan ethnic corridor (Chuanxi minzu zoulang 川西民族走廊 in Chinese) stretches from northern Yunnan 雲南 province to western Sichuan 四川, and all the way up to the southeast part of Qinghai 青海 and Gansu 甘肅 provinces. Kangding 康定 town is located at the center of this corridor, where the mountain ranges run in a north-south direction, and the rivers between them. There were some routes for trade and ethnic migration along these rivers, and different Tibeto-Burman languages developed in each valley. Although the scale is smaller, we can compare this complexity of languages to that of the Caucasian languages.

¹ See BURDSALL & EMMONS (1980) and MATSUDA (1983).

The languages in the area include, from the north, Baima 白馬, Qiang (Ch‘iang) 羌, rGyarong 嘉戎, Lavrung 拉塢戎, sTau 道孚, Guichong 貴瓊, nDrapa 扎壩, Choyu 卻域, Mu-nya 木雅, Ersu 爾蘇, Lyuzu 呂蘇, Namuyi 納木義, Shihing 史興, and Prinmi 普米. rGyarong and Qiang were studied earlier in history, but the other languages were not “discovered” until the 20th century. These languages are classified as the ‘Qiangic (read as [ch‘iangik]) branch’ of the Tibeto-Burman languages (except for the Pema language, which has been classified into the Tibetan branch, but is still under discussion).²

About 10,000 people who speak the Mu-nya language live around Minya Konga mountain, as a part of the Tibetan nationality. They call themselves Mu-nya wa; this name corresponds to the name of the ancient Tangut (Xi-xia or Hsi-hsia 西夏 in Chinese) people in the Tibetan and Chinese historical documents, so many scholars noted the relationship between them, and some scholars considered the Mu-nya people to be one of the descendants of the Tangut people. Mu-nya wa means ‘the people of Mu-nya’, and the name of Mt. Minya Konka means ‘the snow mountain of the Mu-nya’. Mu-nya or Minya (*Mi nyag*) are place names, and Konka (*gangs dkar*) is ‘white snow mountain’ in Tibetan. Though written as Muya 木雅 in Chinese characters phonetically, in this paper we call them the Mu-nya people and Mu-nya language, according to the way they call themselves.

1. The first trip to eastern Tibet

I first met the Mu-nya people during my initial trip to Kangding in May, 1988. I was studying Chinese and Tibetan linguistics at Zhongyang minzu xueyuan 中央民族學院 [The Central University for Nationalities] in Beijing, as a Japanese research student in China (1987-1989), and I was interested in the languages and cultures of eastern Tibet. During my stay in China, the eastern Tibetan district, including Kangding town, were not open to foreigners yet, so I needed to get travel permission from the local government. I asked a friend of mine, UCHIYAMA Masanori 內山政典, who was also a student from Japan studying at Sichuan University (Sichuan daxue 四川大學) in Chengdu 成都, to get the permission through the foreign office of the Southwest University for Nationalities (Xinan minzu xueyuan 西南民族學院). In May 1988, Masanori and I visited Kangding town under the direction of Mr. Norbu rGyal mtsan, who was a Tibetan teacher at the Southwest University for Nationalities. When we visited his sister’s home, they introduced us to a mid-

² For an overview, see SUN (1983) and DAI et. al. (1991). Also available two kinds of contrastive lexicon: TBL and ZMC.

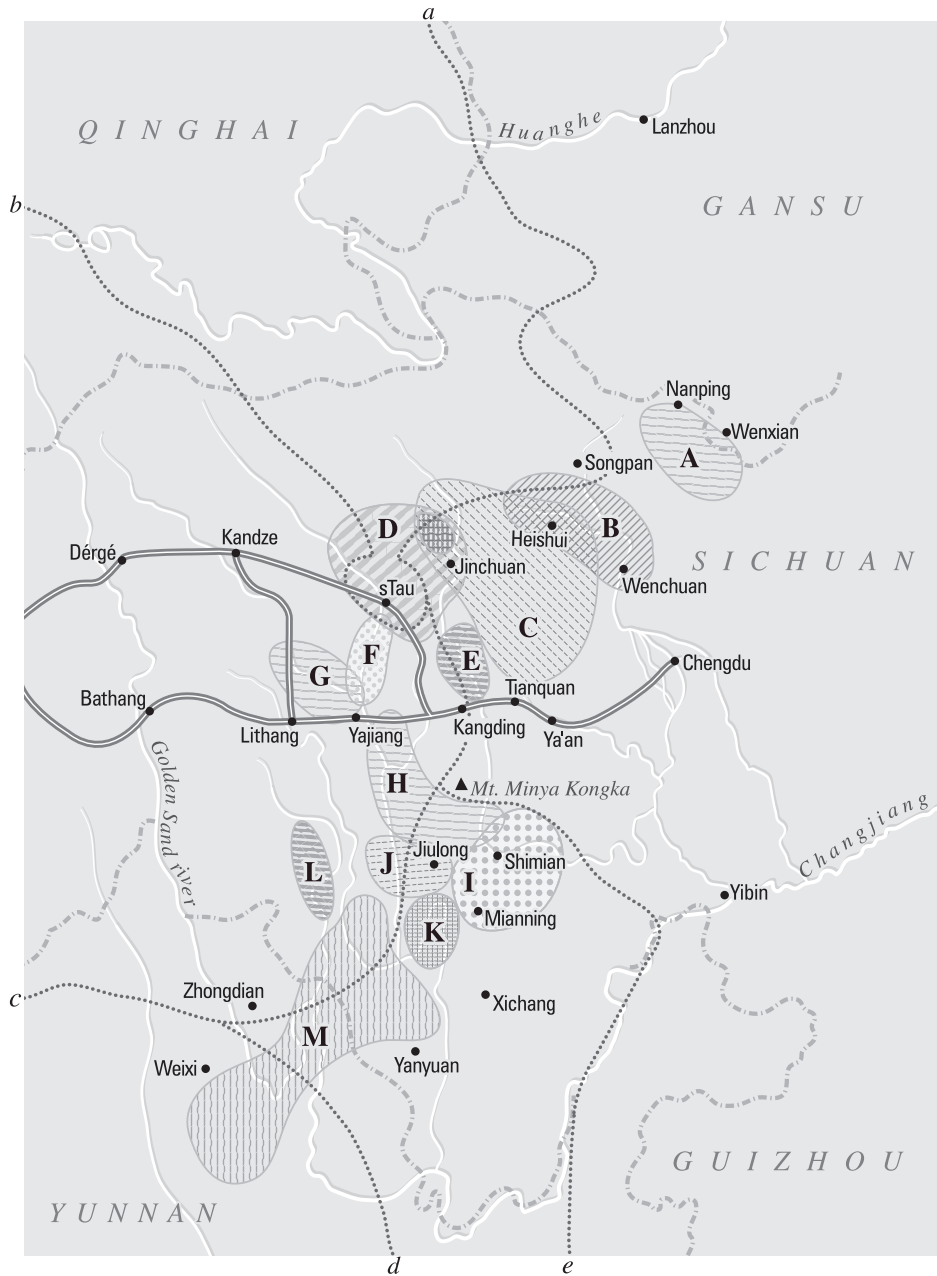
dle-aged man wearing traditional Tibetan clothing and a felt hat that looked like a ten gallon hat in American cowboy movies. They said he was a relative from a Mu-nya village. The meeting lasted only for a very brief time, but we asked him some questions, and we learned that the Mu-nya people lived around Mt. Minya Konka, which was not far from Kangding town, and their language was quite different from the Tibetan language. For example, ‘cup’ is /^ˈgayöö/ (*dgar yol*) in Tibetan, but they call it /_cho ˈzya/ in Mu-nya, ‘hat’ is /_zya ˈmo/ (*zhwa mo*) in Tibetan, but they call it /ˈta/, and so on.

At that time we were under a tight schedule restricted by the travel permit, and had to visit some historical facilities in Kangding and go to the Buddhist School at Tagong 塔公 (*Lha sgang*), which was about 60 miles away from Kangding. We were very sorry that we did not have enough time to interview the man from Mu-nya, and had to say good-bye to him. This short meeting left me a deep impression, which increased my interest in their language and culture, and inspired me to explore this unknown intellectual field. There are people who speak the Mu-nya language around Mt. Minya Konka, and they might be descendants of the Tangut. I thought I would like to visit their village to see their way of life, and listen to their living language.

When we had almost finished our schedule, we had an unexpected proposal from Mr. Norbu rGyal mtsan. He said he had arranged for us to trek to the Hailuoguo 海螺溝 glacier park, which had just opened up to foreign visitors. The glaciers there continue to flow below an altitude of about 3,000 m (9,800 ft.) at latitude 29 °N, making it famous as the lowest glacier in the world. The glaciers flow out of Mt. Minya Konka to the east, so we could trek to the east end of the glacier. It takes three days to make round-trip to see the glaciers, but there were three camping lodges on the trekking course. If we could reach to the glacier viewing platform above the 3rd camp, we might be able to see the peak of Mt. Minya Konka, weather permitting. This trekking course was the rescue route for MATSUDA Hiroya, who had nearly been lost on Mt. Minya Konka in 1982. We could not miss this great opportunity, so the next day we left from Luding 爐定 (which is famous for its iron chain bridge) by bus, and went to Moxi 磨西, the start point of the trekking course. From Moxi we hired a horse and groom to carry our luggage, and started the trek. I expected Mu-nya people to be living in that area, but no Tibetan style house or Mu-nya people were in sight. All the houses were in the Chinese style, and the inhabitants engaged in agriculture were Han-Chinese or Yi (Lolo) people. Although trekking to the east foot of Mt. Minya Konka and seeing the change of vegetation from an agricultural area through forest to a high mountain region was an enjoyable experience, I was disappointed because I did not get to meet any Mu-nya people there.

After I went back to Beijing, I started to collect materials concerning the Tangut

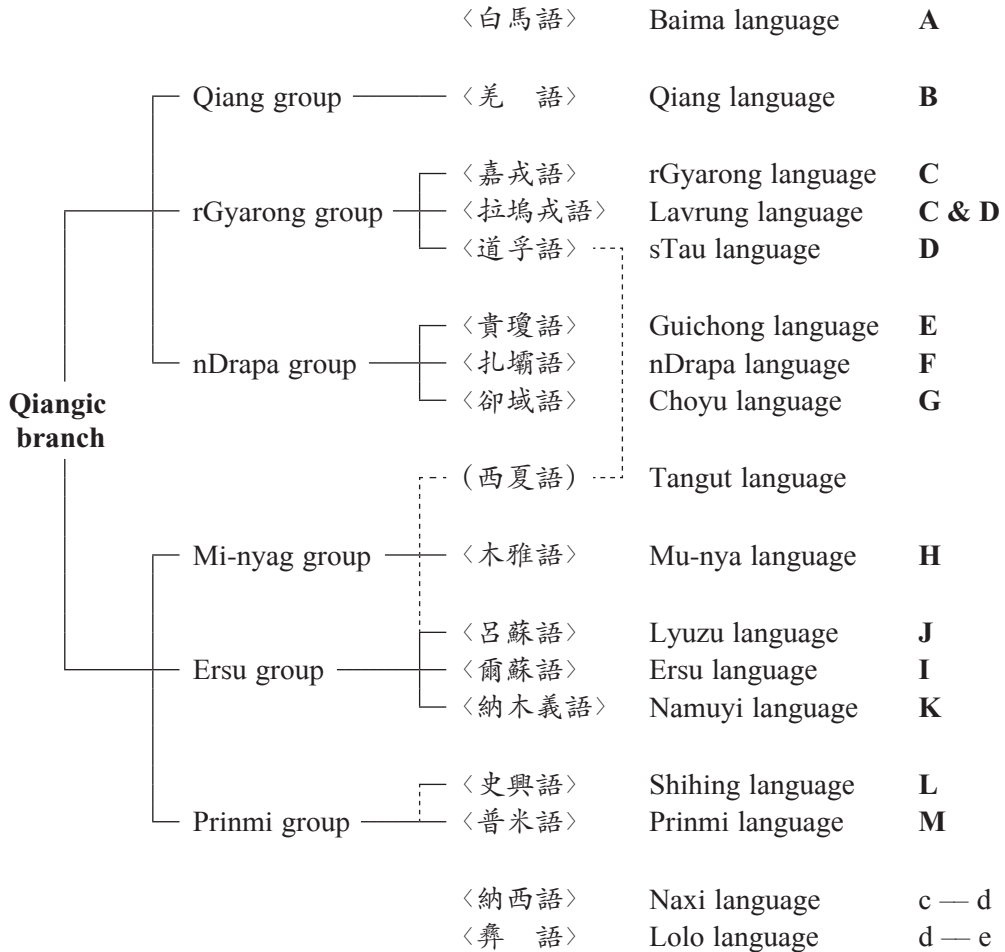
Tibeto-Burman Languages in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor



The Dominant Languages in Eastern Tibet

- a — b : Distribution area of the Tibetan Amdo dialect.
 b — c : Distribution area of the Tibetan Kham dialect.
 c — d : Distribution area of the Naxi language.
 d — e : Distribution area of the Yi (Lolo) language.

Tibeto-Burman Languages in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor



language and history, as well as linguistic, geographical, historical, and ethnological materials about the Mt. Minya Konka region. Just this year (1988) a famous Japanese novel called *Tonkou* 敦煌 (Dunhuang in Chinese) written by INOUE Yasushi 井上靖 was made into a movie, and the culture and history of Tangut began to become popular and well known in Japan.³

2. The history and culture of Tangut

Xi-xia (Hsi-hsia) 西夏 was the empire established by the Tangut people in the northwestern part of China during A.D. 1033-1227. According to historical studies, the Tangut people lived in the mountainous regions of present-day western Sichuan before founding their own country. Oppressed by Tibet (Tubo 吐蕃), the Tangut people moved to northwest China, through present-day Gansu 甘肅 province into the northern part of Shaanxi 陝西, and strengthened their military power. Before the end of the Tang 唐 dynasty, the surname LI 李 and the title “Xiazhou dingnanjun jiedushi 夏州定難軍節度使 [*The military governor of the suppressing army of Xiazhou]” were bestowed upon them by the Tang court. The now powerful Tangut had constant conflicts and reconciliations with Song 宋 dynasty, until Emperor LI Yuanhao 李元昊 finally declared independence in 1033 A.D., calling the new state Daxia 大夏 or “The great State of White and High” in Tangut language, which could translate into Chinese as Bai gao da [Xia] guo 白高大[夏]国, and setting the capital at Xingqingfu 興慶府, currently Yingchuan 銀川 in the Ningxia 寧夏 province. The Chinese called them Xi-xia 西夏, which means Xia country to the west (xi 西) of Song 宋. The Tangut declared war on Tibet and Uighur to expand their territory, and gained control over Liangzhou 涼州 (Wuwei 武威), Ganzhou 甘州 (Zhangye 張掖), Shazhou 沙洲 (Dunhuang 敦煌), conquered the Hexi 河西 (the westside of the Yellow River) corridor, and ruled the Silk Road. With the founding of the Da-xia Empire, the Tangut people industriously absorbed both Han-Chinese and Tibetan culture, and promulgated “Tufaling 禿髮令” [the government order of hair-shaving] and the newly established Tangut Characters. They were also enthusiastic about Buddhism, and we can still see the Buddhist tower in the Chengtian Temple 承天寺 in Yingchuan 銀川 city. But due to their refusal to cooperate with

³ See INOUE (1960) and its English translation (1997). This novel is a romantic adventure story in the true sense of the word, set in the little-known desert kingdom of Tangut in China's western-most frontier. Tun-huang gained fame in the early part of this century when some 20,000 Buddhist scrolls and manuscripts were discovered in the Thousand Buddha Caves (Qianfodong 千佛洞) there. The author has woven an intricate and enthralling tale around this priceless archaeological and cultural find, and how they came to be hidden there in the first place.

the Genghis Khan's Mongolian Empire for an expedition to Europe, the Da-xia Empire was attacked by the Mongolian army five times, and was eventually destroyed in 1227 A.D.⁴

The Tangut Characters were proclaimed for public use in 1036 A.D. According to the record of Xia country in the history of Song dynasty (Xiaguozhuan 夏國傳 in *Songshi* 宋史), Emperor Li Yuanhao 李元昊, the founder of the Da-xia state, had a retainer named Yu-qi (Yü-ch'i) 遇乞, who shut himself up all alone in an upper-story room, and over the course of several years devised the original shapes of the Tangut characters, which he then presented to Emperor Li Yuanhao. The Emperor had a hand in the revision of these original forms, and after some further improvements by a person named YELI Renrong 野利仁榮, the Tangut characters were ready for use. After the Da-xia dynasty was destroyed, the Tangut Characters were buried and forgotten in the desert of Central Asia.

However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a Russian officer named Kozlov with his expeditionary party found stocks of old documents under a Tibetan stupa at Khara-Khoto (Heishuicheng 黑水城) in Central Asia, including a lot of Tangut documents, and brought them to Russia.⁵ The discovery of these documents contributed greatly to the process of deciphering the Tangut script. The principal studies were made by NEVSKIJ, N. A., SOFRONOV, M. V., and KEPING, K. B. in Russia; HASHIMOTO Mantaro 橋本萬太郎, and NISHIDA Tatsuo 西田龍雄 in Japan; GONG Hwang-cherng 龔煌城 in Taiwan; and WANG Jingru 王靜如, SHI Jinbo 史金波, and LI Fanwen 李范文 in China. Recently the study of the Xi-xia language has entered a new phase of analyzing the structural aspects of the language based on the deciphered meanings and the pronunciation for each character.⁶ Meanwhile, fine photo copies of the Tangut documents, known as the 'KOZLOV collection' in Russia, were published in the series: *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian* 《俄藏黑水城文獻》 [Heishuicheng manuscripts collected in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.], by Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 [Shanghai Chinese classics publishing house.] 1997- (still being published in 2007). We will be able to know all the details of the Tangut documents

⁴ For an overview on history of the Tangut state, see DUNNELL (1994).

⁵ KOZLOV, Peter K., a Russian officer on a reconnaissance mission to the Sino-Mongolian frontier in 1908-1910, uncovered a library and numerous paintings and statues in the sand-buried ruins of Khara-Khoto, formerly the Tangut frontier outpost of Edzina, and conveyed its contents back to St. Petersburg.

⁶ A compact history of the research on Tangut language in Chinese, see LI Fanwen 李范文. *Xixiayu yanjiu huigu yu zhanwang*. 西夏語研究回顧與展望. [History and Prospects about the Reserch on Tangut Language.] in LI (ed.) (1983: 1-18)

in Russia in the near future through this series. And LI Fanwen 李 範文 published *The Xixia-Chinese dictionary* (Xia Han zidian. 夏漢字典) in 1997, the first comprehensive dictionary of the Tangut script. Thanks to this dictionary, we can now easily find the meaning and usage of the Tangut characters and have access to the latest developments in Tangut studies.

3. The lost characters in history

There remains some evidence that the Tangut characters were used for more than 200 years after the Daxia Empire was destroyed. A well known example is Juyongguan 居庸關, a famous sight-seeing spot of the Great Wall, near Badaling 八達嶺 in the suburbs of Beijing. It is the remains of a checkpoint used during Yuan 元 dynasty. Though only part of this 18 ft long marble tunnel base still exists, a stupa is assumed to have been on the base when this checkpoint was established in 1343. The east wall inside the tunnel is inscribed with *Fo ding zun sheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 [Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī: Dhāraṇī of the Victorious Diadem of Buddha], and the west side is inscribed with *Yiqie rulai xin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來心陀羅尼經 [Tathāgatahrdaya-dhāraṇī: Dhāraṇī of the Tathāgata's mind], which are both prayers for the safety of travelers and the happiness of the people. These prayers are written in six kinds of scripts in different languages, namely, the Laṅtsha script (the original text in Sanskrit written horizontally), Tibetan script (written horizontally), 'Phags-pa script (Mongolian written vertically), Uighur script (Uighur written vertically), Tangut script (written vertically), and Chinese characters (written vertically). These texts in 6 languages provided important keys to identify the pronunciation of Tangut characters, so this Juyongguan inscription is called the Rosetta Stone of East Asia.⁷

In 1962, a stone pillar called Xiangshengchuang 相勝幢 was excavated from Hanzhuang 韓庄, on the northern outskirts of Baoding 保定 county in Hebei 河北 Province. This octagonal stone pillar with a canopy and pedestal was inscribed with Buddhist inscriptions in Tangut characters, and therefore attracted considerable attention. According to reports, the text of the *Dharani Sutra*, followed by the Tangut names of over eighty donors, is engraved on the body. This pillar was made in the 15th year of Hongzhi 弘治 in the Ming 明 dynasty (1502 A.D.), and is the most recent example of the Tangut script known. This stone pillar shows up in the middle of the Ming Dynasty (early 16th century), although more than two and a half centuries had gone by since the disappearance of the Xixia state, not a few descendants of the

⁷ All the prayers written in six languages are reported in MURATA (ed.) (1957).

Tangut people still inhabited in Baoding and its vicinity.⁸

Where did the people who spoke the Tangut language go after their country was destroyed? The fact that their writing system is no longer in use and their history no longer recorded does not necessarily mean that the Tangut people and their language are extinct. Even though their writing system may not be in use, it is possible that their spoken language has been handed down. If it is still be spoken, is it not possible that we might be able to hear the “living Tangut language”? Do the descendants of the Tangut people really exist?

4. Descendants of the Tangut people?

The people who founded the Xi-xia 西夏 state are known as Tangut in Western and Japanese scholarship and Dangxiang Qiang 黨項羌 in Chinese. But they are called *Mi nyag* in Tibetan historical documents, and are also transcribed as Miyao 彌藥 (*mi yak/ in Middle Chinese pronunciation) or Minuo 彌諾 (*mi nâk/) in Chinese historical documents.

The fact that an ethnic group who calls themselves Mu-nya (*Mi-nyag*) still exists in the mountainous region in southwest China was first reported in 1874 by HODGSON, B. H., a missionary from England, who had traveled in that district. Another report was made by BABER, E. C., a English diplomat, who published a detailed report on the geography and ethnology of southwest China, and mentioned the language of Mi-nyag, listing basic words in the book.⁹ Based on these reports, some papers arguing that the Mu-nya people are descendants of the Tangut people were published. The representative paper is WANG (1933), but because all these papers lacked sufficient data on the Mu-nya language, the argument was not persuasive, and the demonstration was unsuccessful. The details of the structure of this spoken language were not revealed until in-depth fieldwork reports were written by Chinese linguists in the 1980s.

In 1980, LI Fanwen 李範文, a specialist in Tangut studies at Ningxia Academy of Social Sciences (Ningxia Shehuikexueyuan 寧夏社會科學院), made a field investigation of the western Sichuan ethnic corridor and published a controversial report on the Mu-nya people. He believed the Mu-nya people to be descendants of the Tangut people, who moved back south after the Xia state was destroyed, and

⁸ See ZHENG & WANG (1977) and SHI & BAI (1977).

⁹ See HODGSON (1853, 1874) and BABER (1882). But the words they collected under the name of Menia or Manyak were not of the Mu-nya language, but actually of the Lyuzu language which was also spoken in the Mu-nya district. For further information, see IKEDA (2007: forthcoming).

also, he claimed to have found another line of descendants who did not move north but stayed in their own district when the Tangut established their state. LI Fanwen considered the latter to be native Mi-nyag, who spoke the sTau language. This hypothesis of his was presented in *Xixia yimin diaochaji* 西夏遺民調查記 [*A report on the survey of the Tangut descendants.], in which he also introduced the other ethnic groups in the district.¹⁰

A few years later, SUN Hongkai 孫宏開, a specialist in Tibeto-Burman languages at Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Minzu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院民族研究所 [The Institute of Nationality Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], made an extensive survey of the Tibeto-Burman languages in southwest China, and reported on their distribution and social environment, as well as the basic features of pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar of each language. SUN (1983) thought the Tangut and Mu-nya languages shared only 30% of etymologically cognate words, and so argued that although their relationship was close, Mu-nya could not be a direct descendant of Tangut. It would not be possible that the people who speak the Mu-nya language today could be descendants of the Tangut who moved south after the Xia state was destroyed; they would rather be descendants of the Tangut-Qiang people who stayed in their home country and did not move north when the Tibetan (Tubo 吐蕃) came to rule the eastern Kham area.

Another important descriptive study was made by HUANG Bufan 黃布凡, a specialist in Tibeto-Burman languages at the Central University for Nationalities (Zhongyang Minzu Daxue 中央民族大學), with the support of a Mu-nya monk living in Beijing. Her report HUANG (1985), though concise, was very precise and reliable, unlike much other field research conducted in such a short time.

Thanks to these Chinese scholars' efforts to present scientific descriptions, a great deal of linguistic data were collected, and we now have valuable knowledge about the Mu-nya language. But I was puzzled by some problems I found with this new data. Both SUN and HUANG were reticent about the problem of the relationship between the Mu-nya language and the Tangut language, seeming to have no intention to go into a comparative study. So I tried to compare some basic words of the Tangut language in reconstructed form with their field data on the Mu-nya language, but to my surprise, correspondences were found in only a few words. And what added to my frustration was that even with these precise linguistic materials, I could not picture the lives of the Mu-nya people, or the way they used their language.

Almost 10 years later, a full-scale comparative study between Tangut and the other Tibeto-Burman languages appeared. Though these studies in LI (ed.) (1993)

¹⁰ This report is included in LI (1983: 190-278).

pointed out many elements of the Tangut language that are related to Tibeto-Burman languages, especially the languages belonging to the Qiangic branch, they were not trying to prove that the Mu-nya language had any direct relationship to the Tangut language. Although the comparative studies in this volume are all worth referring to, I feel that the comparisons with other TB languages are not very systematic or rigorous.

Another great endeavor in the comparative study of Xi-xia is LIN (1996a, b). LIN Yingchin 林英津 is a specialist in Tangut studies and linguistics at the Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica (Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Yuyanxue Yanjiusuo 中央研究院語言學研究所). LIN (1996a) focuses on the basic words of Mu-nya and Tangut and compares them directly. She used the 200 basic words in Matisoff (1978) for the study of Tibeto-Burman languages,¹¹ but regretfully, despite all her great effort, the word list did not show systematic correspondences between them. It does not look like there is a firm relationship between these two languages. However, this comparative study provides us with many helpful hints for understanding the development of each word.

During my stay in China (1987-1989), I had wanted to listen to the real sound of the language rather than to seeing it in phonetic symbols on paper, and wanted to witness their culture with my own eyes instead of trying to picture their way of life through these reports. But it was not easy for such dreams to come true. I went back to Japan in the late summer of 1989, the year in which the Tian'anmen Square Incident happened in Beijing. After returning to graduate school at the University of Tokyo, I shifted the focus of my research to the descriptive study of Chinese dialects, and three years later I began to teaching Chinese at Yamanashi Women's Junior College (Yamanashi kenritsu joshi tanki daigaku 山梨県立女子短期大学), a small college in Yamanashi Prefecture. It is located in Kofu 甲府 city, a famous basin in Japan, about two hours away from Tokyo by the rapid train. The city was surrounded by beautiful mountains, with the top of Mt. Fuji visible at the south, and the mountain range of the Japanese Alps in the north.¹² When I was at work on the campus, sometimes when I saw the mountain range covered with snow, I would

¹¹ I made "200 Basic words of the Mu-nya language" based on the Matisoff 200-word list and my own field data, attaching as appendix of this paper.

¹² The 'Japanese Alps' were named by William Gowland (1842-1922). He came to Japan from England as an engineer for the Imperial Mint Osaka (now the Mint Bureau) and was called the father of Japanese coins. During his stay in Japan, he climbed mountains and was attracted by the magnificence of the Shinano-Hida mountain range in central Japan. He provided information to British diplomat Ernest Satow (1843-1929) for his book, *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan*. Yokohama: Kelly & Co., 1881. and named the range the 'Japanese Alps'.

recall my wish to visit the Mu-nya village at the foot of Mt. Minya Konka someday. Several years passed by without much happening, but in the summer of 1995, an opportunity came.

5. My first field research

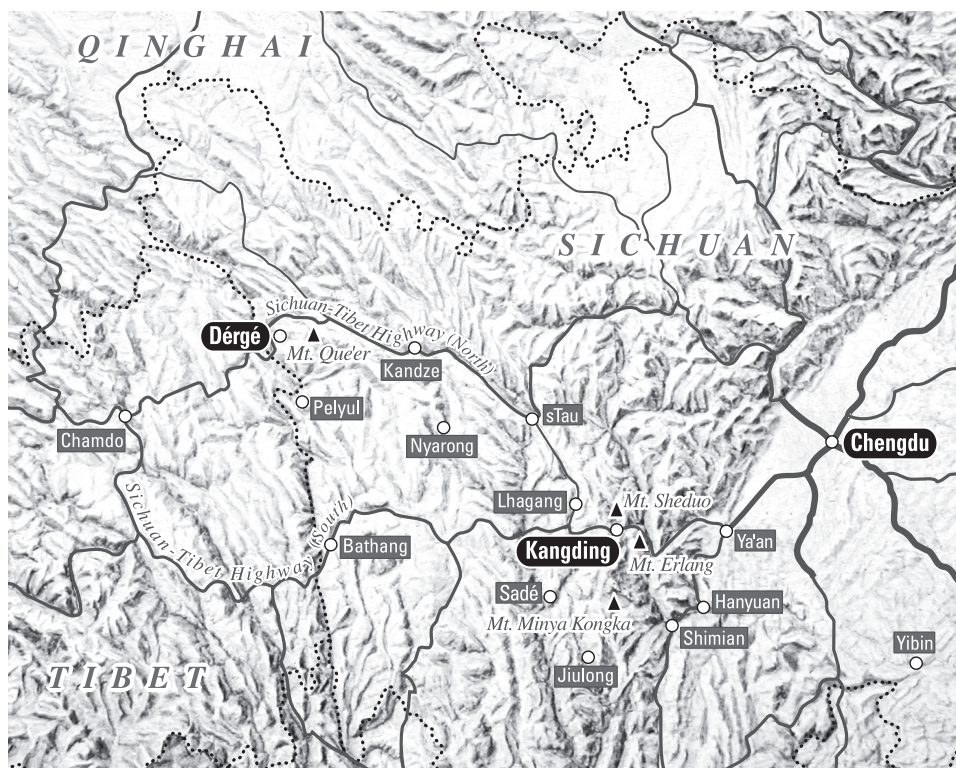
In the summer of 1995, my dream of investigating the Mu-nya language came true. I have a Chinese friend named ZHANG Xi 張曦, who belongs to the Qiang 羌 nationality. I have known him since 1987, when I was staying at the Central University for Nationalities. He was a teacher of Classical Chinese at the university then and in 1993 came to Japan to study the ethnology of the Qiang people at the graduate school of the University of Tokyo. He asked his friends who were working for the Sichuan Institute of Nationality Studies and Sichuan Ethnic Publishing house in Chengdu to look for a collaborator who speaks the Mu-nya language for my research. In the spring of 1995, we had great news that one of his Tibetan friends has Mu-nya relatives, and a man who lived in the Mu-nya village was willing to help my research. With a scholarship from The TOYOTA Foundation for this research plan, and ZHANG Xi's offer to help me all the way to Chengdu, the research project was all set.

Our research plan and schedule were as follows: First we asked the Mu-nya collaborator to come to Chengdu from his village before we left for the field, because we had to check the research schedule with him and ask for travel permission to enter his village after meeting him. After getting permission and starting the field trip with him, we would first stop at Kangding to do some basic research on their language, and collect vocabulary, in particular. We planned to stay at Kangding, for we knew there were hotels, whereas we did not know the road conditions from Kangding to Luba 六巴 (where the Mu-nya villages are) or the conditions in the Mu-nya village. (At that time we did not know if there was a guest house at Luba or not.) Anyway, we wanted to visit the Mu-nya village for at least several days with the collaborator's direction after the basic language research was done.

The Mu-nya district is very far from Japan. If you take a look at the map of Sichuan Province in China, Kangding town, southeast of Chengdu, is only one inch away, which is a merely 120 miles of direct distance. But when we actually went to the Mu-nya villages, it took about four hours' flight from Narita to Beijing, another three hours' flight from Beijing to Chengdu, and from Chengdu, a couple of days' drive. We drove on the highway in good condition from Chengdu to Ya'an 雅安, but from Ya'an on, we entered the mountain road, first passing a dangerous part

EXPLORING THE MU-NYA PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

Khams district : Eastern Tibet



Map design: Shibnaga & Associates

of Chuan-Zang gonglu 川藏公路 [*The Sichuan-Tibet highway] across Mt. Erlang (Erlangshan 二郎山), which measures 3,437 meters (11,268 ft.) above sea level. There was a long and steep mountain path, then still in incomplete condition, allowing one-way traffic only and switching directions by even or odd numbered days. To make the conditions even worse, this route was often closed temporarily for repairs whenever landslides happened on rainy days. Sometimes we spent a whole day just to pass Mt. Erlang, and, after staying at Luding 爐定 for the night, on the next day, arrived at Kangding town which is 366 km (227 miles) from Chengdu, at lat. 30°03' N and Long. 101°57' E, 2,560 m (8,394 ft.) above sea level. Starting from Kangding, we encountered the second hard pass of the Sichuan-Tibet highway — Sheduoshan 折多山 (*Dar mdo la*), which is 4,298 meters (14,092 ft.) above sea level. After crossing this peak, the landscape dramatically changes into the Tibetan world. Rivers run through a valley, and on the grassy plains spread along the rivers at the bottom of the valley, there are herds of yak and sheep eating grass halfway up the each side of the mountain. At Waze 瓦澤 (*Wa khral*), about 110 km (70 miles) away from Kangding, the Sichuan-Tibet highway splits into two, with one road going south. Taking that about 70 km (44 miles) further, we could reach Sadé 沙德 (*Sa bde*: meaning 'flat land') town and Luba 六巴 (*klu pa*: meaning 'place of deities') district at the foot of Mt. Minya Konka. Luba district is located at lat. 29°28' N and Long. 101°32' E, 3,520 m (11,540 ft.) above sea level. There are nine villages in Luba district, all of which are occupied by the Mn-nya people. Buses were said to be running from Kangding to Sadé, taking one whole day, and from Sadé to Luba it took yet another day by bus or horse.

The weather of the Sichuan province was very abnormal in the summer of 1995, with huge amounts of rainfall. The northwestern part of Sichuan (also the southeastern part of Tibet) usually has plenty of rain in summer, especially in July and August, the rainy season. But that year, the precipitation went far beyond the usual amount. When we arrived at Beijing, we learned from a friend of Zhang Xi in Chengdu that the Mu-nya collaborator had not arrived at Chengdu yet. We were anxious to hear this information because we had asked him to come to Chengdu and wait for us beforehand. After we arrived at Chengdu, we were shocked by news of a tragedy in Kangding town. The whole town at the bottom of the valley had been inundated by flooding of the rTse mdo river, which runs through Kangding town, killing dozens. All the mountain roads from Kangding to other districts were cut off at many places by landslides, with no prospects for recovery. We decided to move to the foreign guest house of Sichuan University to wait for the latest information because there was a fax machine there, making it a lot easier to communicate within China and to Japan.

We thought it would be really difficult for our collaborator to come over to Chengdu, and it would take too many days. In the situation, if we were to go to the Mu-nya village, it would no doubt take more than 10 days to get there, road conditions permitting. And, even then, there might be landslides on the way, so it would not be unlikely that we might have to spend several days on the way. The field trip was simply too risky and the best solution we came up with was to stay put, wait for the Mu-nya collaborator, and only do language investigation in Chengdu.

6. Collecting Mu-nya vocabulary

After waiting for more than 10 days, the collaborator finally arrived, and we were able to start investigation of the Mu-nya language. The collaborator was a 47-year-old man named Gatso (*bGa gtso*). A farmer living in Luba in Sadé county, he uses the Mu-nya language at home and in his village everyday, and can also speak Tibetan and Chinese. At that time I thought he absolutely met the qualifications for our research.

However, we encountered some problems when we started the investigation. The Tibetan language he spoke was the Kham (*Khams*) dialect, which is very different in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar from the Lhasa dialect, the most common Tibetan language, which I had learned. I was unable to catch the meaning of his spoken Tibetan, and similarly he could not understand what I was saying. Take ‘What is this?’ the most basic and important sentence for investigation of language, for example. This is said as /^ˈndi ^ˈkhare ^ˈrää?/ (this-what-be) in Lhasa, but in Kham dialect they say /^ˈndi ^ˈci ^ˈree?/. Not only was the interrogative pronoun quite different, the tone and intonation were also unfamiliar to me. We could not communicate with each other by spoken Tibetan without writing it down using traditional written Tibetan spelling. Furthermore, his spoken Chinese was not only a dialect, but one with a heavy local accent. The Sichuan dialect is known as a typical southwestern dialect of Mandarin Chinese, close to the Standard Chinese (Putonghua 普通話) in its basic structure, unlike other major dialects such as the Shanghai dialect or Cantonese which are very different from Mandarin. But even if you can speak standard Chinese, it is not easy to understand the Sichuan dialect if you are not familiar with its pronunciation and vocabulary. To make matters worse, most of the people who speak the Sichuan dialect consider their speech as more or less the same as standard Chinese, so they do not change their style of speech at all! So very few speakers of Sichuan dialect can accurately speak standard Chinese. (In contrast to the speakers of the Shanghai dialect or Cantonese who always switch their style of speech consciously, because the structures of the dialects are very dif-

ferent from standard Chinese.) At that time, I was already familiar with the tone of the Sichuan dialect spoken in Chengdu; however, his Chinese dialect with its heavy local accent was still difficult for me to grasp. That, combined with the fact that he could not read Chinese characters at all, resulted in our using the Sichuan dialect for oral communication and interviews, and written Tibetan for communication in reading and writing, however inconvenient it was.

One day, I wanted to know how to say the word for ‘store’ or ‘shop’ in the Mu-nya language, so I asked him using the Chinese word *shāngdiàn* 商店 with Sichuan accent, but my collaborator did not understand what I wanted to know, questioning me back with [*saa-tsz?*] 啥子? ‘what?’ in Sichuan dialect several times. I switched into Tibetan Lhasa dialect and asked again as /*tshoŋkaŋ*/, but he did not understand that either. So I wrote it down in Tibetan script, however, he said he did not know that word. I thought it was strange because this is a basic word. Finally I tried the definition of the word in standard Chinese as *mài shāngpǐn de jiā* 賣商品的家 ‘a house selling goods’ (a non-standard Chinese usage roughly translated from Tibetan *khang* ‘house’ in hope that Mr. Gatso would better understand.) and *mǎi dōngxī de dìfang* 買東西的地方 ‘a place to buy things’ as a last resort, but my attempt again resulted in complete failure. The reason why it caused more confusion was that the words for ‘buy’ and ‘sell’ are of the same pronunciation in Mandarin Chinese, only the tone is different. The word for ‘buy’ is *mǎi* 買, with the 3rd (low) tone, and the word for ‘sell’ is *mài* 賣, with the 4th (falling) tone in standard Chinese, but in his Sichuan dialect, the tones are marked in the contrary: ‘buy’ was in the falling tone whereas ‘sell’ was in the low tone! Once we got into such a confusing situation, the more I explained, the more confusion arose. Later, we went out for lunch, and I explained what I wanted to know again by pointing to some shops there. At last, the problem was solved. But Mr. Gatso was still in a bad mood, blaming me for using *shāngdiàn* 商店 instead of the “correct” word /*puu-tsz*/ 鋪子 and saying that it was wrong to say /*tshoŋkaŋ*/ in Tibetan, should be pronounced as /*tshokaŋ*/.

pùzi 鋪子 is an old term for *shāngdiàn* 商店 in standard Chinese, but I had not realized that it was still the most common word for ‘store’ or ‘shop’ in Sichuan dialect. The general term for ‘store’ or ‘shop’ in Mu-nya was /*tshokō*/ which is a loan word from Tibetan: I admit that Mr. Gatso was right that this word was pronounced as /*tsho*˥*kō*/ (*tshongkhang*) in Tibetan Kham dialect. Later on, I learned other expressions for different kinds of shops may be used not as a word but as a phrase such as /*˥nə* *˥qhu*-*˥tu* *˥rə* *˥khu* / {oil buy NMR space} ‘the place to buy oil’, and so on. Sometimes we spent many hours like this just to learn only one basic word.¹³

During our 40 days in Chengdu, we collected over 4,000 words and 500 sentences, producing a systematic volume of descriptive study of the Mu-nya language.

After finishing this first research, I started editing a volume of the Mu-nya vocabulary according to semantic fields with Chinese and English indexes. First I analyzed the phonology of the Mu-nya language based on my own field data. I found some problems during my phoneminization of the data, and realized the cause of discrepancy in the analysis of the rhymes between SUN and HUANG. So I wrote a paper on my findings and presented it at the 30th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Language and Linguistics held at Beijing Language and Culture University, August 24-28, 1997. It was not only a very exciting experience for me to discuss with SUN and HUANG at the session, but also a wonderful opportunity to clear up certain questions.¹⁴

Analyzing the morphology and syntax of Mu-nya is more difficult than its phonology, since it requires longer research time to resolve the many questions that arise while doing the descriptive analysis. The most inconvenient part for researchers of minority languages like Mu-nya is that we cannot ask questions by phone or through email, there being no personal or home telephones in the Mu-nya village (as of 1997). Though a telegram could be used in an emergency, it must be written in Chinese characters (which many Tibetans cannot read). Mail service is not reliable and postal matter takes some months to arrive in the mountain villages. In the future I hope to get acquainted with other Mu-nya collaborators living in cities such as Beijing or Shanghai.¹⁵

¹³ Later he told me that they have another compound word consisting of Mu-nya original morphemes: / ʔtsho ʔdzɛ ɾɛ ɾya ʔtɕe / {trade do NMR of house} 'a house to do trade'. The first morpheme / ʔtsho / might be borrowed from Tibetan *'tshong* 'to sell'.

¹⁴ See IKEDA (1998). In this paper I proved that the discrepancy in the analysis of the rhymes between SUN and HUANG was caused by treatment of loan words from Chinese and their different way of induction regarding phonemes.

¹⁵ After 1998 I got to know another Mu-nya collaborator living in Jiulong 九龍; fortunately his brother lived in Kangding 康定, allowing to do supplementary research on the morphology and syntax of the Mu-nya language in the summer of 1998 and 2000 at Kangding. In the winter of 2001, I did more supplementary research on syntax with two students from Mu-nya at the Southwest University for Nationalities in Chengdu.

7. Relationship to the Tangut language

During the course of my field study, I realized that the Mu-nya people identified themselves as belonging to the Tibetan race in all aspects, despite the differences in language. Their everyday economic activities, clothing, architecture, religion, and daily routines are all Tibetan style. Though they have no significant differences from other Tibetans living in the Kham district, the Mu-nya people are conscious of belonging to a subgroup of the Tibetan race. They live in a small area, and speak a language which is only used in the area. This kind of language used in restricted small areas, without a writing system, is called *dijiaohua* 地腳話 (地角話), ‘local speech’, in Chinese. It is only used for oral communication in their homes and villages. Chinese is still the official language, and Tibetan comes second, because both are used in education and have developed writing systems. So they consider the ‘local speech’ an informal tongue or a dialect of their ethnic language. Mr. Gatso seemed to wonder why a foreign scholar would come all the way from Japan to study in detail an informal language that was not worth all the attention in his opinion.

Mu-nya is a spoken language, and lacks a writing system. The Mu-nya people have no historical documents concerning their ancestors written in their own language. If we want to study historical records concerning Mu-nya, we have to gather fragmentary data from Tibetan and Chinese sources.¹⁶ The Mu-nya people seem to know nothing about Xi-xia (Hsi-hsia), or about scholarly speculation that they could be descendants of the Xi-xia, let alone the fact that they once had a writing system using Tangut characters.

It is very difficult to demonstrate whether the Mu-nya language is the descendant of the Tangut language or not. Not only are the cognate words between Tangut and Mu-nya insufficient to prove their relationship, but also there is the difficulty of determining what “corresponds” and finding possible cognates. SUN (1991: 3-4) pointed out that they share 36.1% of about 800 basic words, but this only suggests the possibility of Tangut and Mu-nya being cognate languages. A thorough investigation of the correspondences of these possible cognates based on modern field data on Mu-nya and philological studies of Tangut is needed, before discussing the problem of their relationship, if any exists. First let us try comparing some basic words. The Tangut words are reconstructed by GONG Hwang-cherng 龔 煌城, and the Mu-nya words are from my own field data.

¹⁶ As for *Minyag* in historical documents, see STEIN (1951, 1961). And we have another study on the relationship between Muya and Tangut by SHANGGUAN (1994).

Figure 1 Numerals and pronouns

	Tangut	Mu-nya	Written Tibetan
‘one’	*lew ¹	ˊta	<i>gcig</i>
‘two’	*njii ¹	ˊnuu	<i>gnyis</i>
‘three’	*so ¹	ˊso	<i>gsum</i>
‘four’	*ljii ¹	ˊruu	<i>bzhi</i>
‘five’	*ɲwə ²	ˊna	<i>lnga</i>
‘six’	*tshjiw ¹	ˊtey	<i>drug</i>
‘seven’	*śja ¹	ˊnuu	<i>bdun</i>
‘eight’	*ʔjar ¹	ˊɕa	<i>brgyad</i>
‘nine’	*gji ¹	ˊnguu	<i>dgu</i>
‘ten’	*ya ²	ˊfia ˊkø	<i>bcu</i>
‘I, me’	*ɲa ²	ˊɲuu	<i>nga</i>
‘you’	*nji ²	ˊna	<i>khyod</i>
‘he / she / it’	*thja ¹	ˊɐ_tsuu	<i>kho</i>

Notes: *Asterisks mark reconstructed word forms. Numbers on each Tangut word are indicating the tonal categories: ¹ represents Ping tone, and ² represents Shang tone. The Tangut reconstructions are slightly modified: we use a subscript bar to represent tense vowels instead of a subscript dot as in the original GONG system. The main reason for this modification is that all the field data on Qiangic languages from China use subscript bars to represent tense vowels. And marks before each syllable in Mu-nya represent ˊ high pitch accent and ˊ low pitch accent. For the pitch accent system in the Mu-nya language, see IKEDA (2003).

Judging only from this data, we may get the first impression that the two languages are closely related to each other, since these are all native words, not borrowings from Tibetan, although Tangut and Mu-nya were both under a strong influence from Tibetan culture. But the reconstructed Tangut words are based on documents which were written mainly in the 12-13th century, and Mu-nya is a modern spoken language. It is like comparing Middle English in Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales*, written between 1387 and 1400, with a dialect of modern spoken English. The time gap between Chaucer’s English and Modern English is about 600 years, whereas that of Tangut and Mu-nya is even longer, about 800 years. However, we can say that the nature of the comparisons are similar: both are comparisons between an old written language in documents hundreds of years old and a modern spoken language. It is therefore natural that there are many significant differences between these two languages despite generally regular correspondences. Figure 2 demonstrates some correspondences between Chaucer’s Middle English and Modern English.

Figure 2 Some examples of correspondences between Chaucer’s Middle English and Modern English

Chaucer	Modern English
certeyn	certain
chirche dore	church door
herde I nevere tellen	I never heard tell
housbondes	husbands
I ne sholde	I should not
myghte she	she might
nombre	number
sith	since
taughte he me	he taught me
y-nough	enough

The spelling and pronunciation of Chaucer’s Middle English are very different from Modern English, but it is not difficult to see the correspondences because the words are written alphabetically, not to mention the fact that we already know that Chaucer wrote in Middle English, which is directly related to Modern English. In contrast, the Tangut language is written in Tangut characters, which look like Chinese characters, with each syllable represented by one character, instead of in phonetically based alphabetic spelling. Thus, it is difficult to know the exact phonetic value of each character, although scholars have provided us with phonetic transcriptions. The structure of the Tangut language cannot be fully understood unless we know the correct pronunciation of the Tangut characters, and what kind of relationship this extinct language might have with any modern language is yet to be revealed. If we only search for a possible relationship with the modern Mu-nya language, we might not conclude that Tangut is an ancestor of modern Mu-nya, or that Mu-nya is the sole descendant of the Tangut language. Figure 3 shows some more data from other Qiangic languages.

We can see that these Qiangic languages are equally similar to Tangut, particularly with respect to the numerals and personal pronouns. In order to demonstrate the relationship between Tangut and Mu-nya, basic words such as body parts, numerals, terms for basic things which are thought to be hard to change or replaced should be examined. However, it is not easy to determine what is “basic”. The “basic” words of a culture may vary according to different ethnic backgrounds. For example numerals are important basic words in a comparative study of European languages, but in East Asia, numerals are typically widely-borrowed words.

Figure 3 Comparison with other Qiangic language

	Tangut	Prinmi	Mu-nya	sTau	rGyarong
‘one’	*lew ¹	ti ¹³	ˉtʌ	ro	kə tək
‘two’	*njɿ ¹	ni ¹³	ˉnuu	ɣnə	kə nes
‘three’	*so ¹	sɿu ¹³	ˉso	xsu	kə sam
‘four’	*ljɿr ¹	ʒe ⁵⁵	ˉru	ɣʒe	kə wdi
‘five’	*ɣwə ²	ɣuɑ ⁵⁵	ˉna	NGVE	kə mɣo
‘six’	*tʃhjiw ¹	tʃhæu ¹³	ˉtɕy	xtɕho	kə tʃok
‘seven’	*sja ¹	xiɛ ¹³	ˉnau	znɛ	kə ʃnəs
‘eight’	*ʔjar ¹	ʃue ¹³	ˉɕʌ	rjɛ	wə rjat
‘nine’	*gji ¹	zgiu ⁵⁵	ˉŋgu	ngə	kə ngu
‘ten’	*ɣa ²	qa ⁵⁵ stiɛ ⁵⁵	ˉfia ˉkø	zka	ʃtʃ
‘I, me’	*ɣa ²	ɛ ⁵⁵	ˉɣu	ɣa	ɣa
‘you’	*nji ²	nɛ ¹³	ˉna	nɪ	no
‘he / she’	*thja ¹	tə ⁵⁵ gə ⁵⁵	ˉɐ ˉtsu	thə	mə

Note: Numbers on each Prinmi word indicate the phonetic height of the tone: ¹³ represents low-rising tone, and ⁵⁵ represents high-level tone.

In Japanese, for instance, the words counting from ‘one’ *hitotsu* to ‘ten’ *toh* are original Japanese, but over ‘eleven’ (*juuikko*: corresponds to modern Chinese shíyīge 十一個) switch into borrowings from Chinese. Mu-nya numerals use their original words up to 20, but borrow words from Tibetan starting from 21.

Figure 4 Mu-nya numerals borrowed from Tibetan

	Mu-nya		Written Tibetan
‘eleven’	ˉfia ˉti		<i>bcu gcig</i>
‘twelve’	ˉfia ˉnuu		<i>bcu gnyis</i>
‘fifteen’	ˉfia ˉna		<i>bcu lnga</i>
‘nineteen’	ˉko ˉngu		<i>bcu dgu</i>
‘twenty’	ˉnu ˉka / ˉni ˉɕu	<	<i>nyi shu</i>
‘twenty one’	ˉni ˉɕu ˉtsa ˉtɕi	<	<i>nyi shu rtsa gcig</i>
‘twenty two’	ˉni ˉɕu ˉtsa ˉni	<	<i>nyi shu rtsa gnyis</i>
‘twenty five’	ˉni ˉɕu ˉtse ˉɣa	<	<i>nyi shu rtsa lnga</i>
‘twenty nine’	ˉni ˉɕu ˉtse ˉgu	<	<i>nyi shu rtsa dgu</i>
‘thirty’	ˉsu ˉqa / ˉsũ ˉtɕu	<	<i>sum bcu</i>

8. Aspects of correspondences of basic words

If we only pay attention to the cognate words representing good correspondences between Tangut and Mu-nya, they do exist, but are not very numerous.

Figure 5 Basic words in good correspondences

	Tangut	Mu-nya	Proto Tibeto-Burman
‘head’	*y ²	ṽḥḷ ḷø	*m-gaw ~ s-gaw ; *ʔu
‘eye’	*mej ¹	ṽmi	*myak ~ mik
‘ear’	*nju ¹	ṽḥuu	*g-na ~ r-na
‘sky’	*mø ¹	ṽmuu	*muw
‘year’	*kjiw ¹	ṽkwi	*s-nij
‘bird’	*džjow ¹ we ¹	ṽndze ṽwu	*bya ; *wa
‘dog’	*khjwi ¹	ṽkhuu	*kwi
‘wash’	*y ²	ṽnq {ṽḥq}	*kruw ; *m-s(y)il
‘laugh’	*rjiir ²	ṽni {ṽri}	*m-nwiy ; *rya-t
‘full’	*sø ¹	ṽtuu {ṽsu}	*bliq ; *dyam
‘bitter’	*kha ²	ṽtuu {ṽqha}	*ka
‘red’	*{njij ¹ } tsiwe ¹ tsiwe ¹	{ṽni} ṽni	*r-ni

Note: The stems of compound words with affixes are in { }. Proto Tibeto-Burman forms are from Benedict (1972) and Matisoff (2003).

In contrast, there are many words which do not show any correspondences between Tangut and Mu-nya. Some Tangut words are apparently related to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman language, but their Mu-nya counterparts somehow do not correspond, as figure 6 indicates.

Some Mu-nya words descending from PTB roots, such as ‘nose’, ‘house’, and ‘stand’, have developed in a very different fashion from their cognates in Tangut, while others might have been replaced by other words with a different origin. Regretfully, there is no way to distinguish which words are early borrowings from other languages and which are ‘originally’ in the lexicon except for the apparent recent loanwords from Tibetan or Chinese, like the numerals we have seen above. Meanwhile, there also are many words where it is not easy to determine whether they show regular correspondences or not. Figure 7 lists some of these words belonging to this “gray area”.

Figure 6 Basic Mu-nya words which show no correspondences with Tangut

	Tangut	Mu-nya	Proto Tibeto-Burman
‘hand’	*l _a ¹	ˉɣi	*lak
‘nose’	*njii ²	ˉsuu	*s-na
‘mouth’	*kjii ²	ˉɲw ˉtswu	*m-ka
‘star’	*gji ² gjij ¹	ˉndzi ˉβu	*s-kar
‘house’	*kjii ²	ˉtce	*kyim
‘sleep’	*ʔji ²	ˉkhi	*yip
‘sell’	*phja ¹ phji ²	ˉthy ˉjy	*par ; *ywar
‘stand’	*ʔja ¹	ˉtu {ˉru}	*g-ryap
‘white’	*phiow ¹	ˉtshø ˉtshø	*plu
‘heavy’	*ljii ¹	ˉɣu ˉɣu	*s-liy
‘horse’	*rji ¹	ˉɣwi	*m-raŋ ~ s-raŋ ~ s-raŋs

It is indeed not easy to explain why ‘sky’ shows a good correspondence (Figure 5), while ‘star’ does not (Figure 6), and ‘moon’ is in the gray area (Figure 7). And it is still premature to say that Tangut belongs to an established language family, such as the Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman, before solving the question of cognate/loan distinctions in each language. It is difficult to distinguish between cognates and loanwords in these languages, so we have to be careful not to exclude the possibility of old borrowings. For example, the words for ‘road’, [dzɛ³³lɛ⁵⁵] in Mu-nya and *tśja¹ in Tangut, have been considered to be cognate, but it is also possible that the Mu-nya [dzɛ³³lɛ⁵⁵] is an early borrowing from Tibetan *rgya lam* (large road).

Figure 7 Basic words with possible correspondences

	Tangut	Mu-nya	Proto Tibeto-Burman
‘hand’	*l _a ¹	{ˉrɛ}	*lak
‘foot’	*khji ¹	ˉɲge	*kriy
‘moon’	*lhji ¹	{ˉle} ˉnu	*s-la ~ g-la
‘tree’	*sji ¹	{ˉtshu} ˉlø	*siŋ
‘iron’	*śjow ¹	ˉce	*s(y)i ¹ r ; *syam
‘far’	*khwa ¹	{ˉqhwe} ˉrɛ	*dzya-l
‘eat’	*dzji ¹	ˉfia {ˉndzu}	*dza
‘ride’	*dzoo ²	ˉqhu {ˉndza}	*gi ; *dzyon
‘horse’	*{rji ¹ }	{ˉrɛ}	*m-raŋ ~ s-raŋ ~ s-raŋs

Note: The stems of compound words with affixes are in { }.

On the other hand, the words for ‘hand’, [ɣi⁵⁵] in Mu-nya and *lǎ¹ in Tangut, in figure 4 do not correspond with each other. But if we examine the word family of ‘hand’ in Mu-nya, we find compound words like ‘finger’ [rɛ³³nu⁵⁵], ‘fist’ [rɛ⁵⁵tshu³³kua³³lɔ³³], ‘nail’ [rɛ⁵⁵ndza³³], ‘bracelet’ [rɛ³³ku⁵⁵], all with the morpheme {rɛ³³} which indicates ‘hand’. Therefore this morpheme {rɛ³³} for ‘hand’ can be used for comparative study and is a possible cognate (See Figure 7).

Another interesting example which shows a parallel situation to ‘hand’ is the word for ‘horse’. If we examine the whole word family to which ‘horse’ belongs, we can see: the general term for ‘horse’ is [ɣui⁵⁵], which would require a special investigation to seek its origin and development, while the compound words such as ‘pony’ [rɛ³³ku⁵⁵], ‘stallion’ [rɛ³³ko⁵⁵], ‘mare’ [rɛ³³ma⁵⁵], and ‘horse dung’ [rɛ³³vu⁵⁵], all have the morpheme {rɛ³³} which indicates ‘horse’ in these compound words. Thus, as in the case of ‘hand’, we should use this morpheme {rɛ³³} for comparative study of the word ‘horse’.¹⁷

From our overview so far, we can see how hard it is to compare a written language known from documents dating to the 12th century with a modern spoken dialect. On the one hand, the reconstruction of the Tangut phonetic system has been developed by many scholars’ great efforts, but nevertheless we cannot say that the results have already been generally accepted. On the other hand, the field data on Mu-nya and other related languages are still insufficient, to say nothing of the data from dialects of these languages. It is hard to select the appropriate words to compare from synonyms or word families because of the lack of detailed descriptive data. Therefore we cannot discuss the phonological changes without feeling that we are groping in the dark based on the reconstructed phonetic system of Tangut, while the real sounds remain hidden by the Tangut characters and insufficient field data.

GONG Hwang-cherng’s excellent reconstruction system accounts for all the phonemic distinctions to be deduced from the rhyming dictionaries of Tangut such as *Tongyin* 《同音》, *Wenhai* 《文海》, etc. However, even though the reconstruction is

¹⁷ I found the parallelism between Tangut and Mu-nya in the word for ‘horse’: the initial consonants are identical, /r/ or an allophone of it. The general terms both have high vowel rhymes and morphs in compounds also both have low vowel rhymes. A sound change of the initial consonant had occurred before high vowel rhyme in the general term in Mu-nya. Therefore we can reconstruct an earlier stage of the Mu-nya general term for ‘horse’ as *rjwi. For further discussion see IKEDA (2004: 391-395).

	Tangut	Mu-nya
‘horse’		
General term	*rjiɽ ¹	ɽɣwi (< *rjwi)
Morph in compounds	*rjaɽ ¹	ɽɛ

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- * indicates a reconstructed sound form.

1	2	3	4
蠱	蜎	豫	扳
有	蜎	多	喃

so careful and scientific, it is still possible that the Tangut materials such as rhyming dictionaries might have included some artificial grouping of rhymes.¹⁸ As a result, the artificial treatment may have caused the reconstruction scheme to become overly complex; some word forms give us a strange impression, if we consider they reflect a real spoken language. Furthermore, the Tangut materials might have also included dialectal variants or borrowed words from different languages. Thus it is not easy to be sure of the real pronunciation of Tangut words.

Lexical and grammatical features must have changed dramatically over the course of hundreds of years. How can we find the relationship between a language known only from old documents and a modern spoken dialect? We should look for common features of phonology, morphology, and syntax, analyzing the systematic correspondences between them, in order to explain how many words have been altered or replaced through time. Recently, some scholars have pointed out similarities and correspondences between the grammatical structure of Tangut and the languages of Qiangic branch. I think we should continue with this research, which will certainly bear fruitful results in the near future.

9. Going on the second field trip

Though my first attempt to go to the Mu-nya village was unsuccessful due to the flood, I fortunately got a second opportunity to go on a field trip to Mu-nya village in the summer of 1998. A friend of mine named NAKANISHI Jun-ichi 中西 純一, a freelance journalist who writes on the ethnic foods and cultures of Asia, asked me to participate in a research project on the printing system of Dérge Parkang (*sDe dge par khang*, read as Dérge Parkan'), a traditional wood-block printing house of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. The project took place in Dérge (Dege 德格 in Chinese) town, which, like Kangding 康定, is located in the Kandzé (*dKar mzdes*) Tibetan autonomous prefecture, but in the most inner district near the Golden Sand river, the upper reaches of the Changjiang 長江 (a.k.a Yangtze) river system which divides the Tibetan Autonomous Region and Sichuan Province. The language spoken in Dérge town is representative of the Tibetan Kham dialect. He asked me to be a research collaborator and investigate basic features and influences of Kham dialect, how the language and culture developed from the publishing industry of Tibetan Buddhist Canon in Dérge town spread over the Kham area, and its role in education.

I suggested that we take this opportunity and do some field research in Mu-nya village, since the Mu-nya district is on the way from Kangding to Dérge, and

¹⁸ See NIE (1993).

has produced ‘The five Mu-nya scholars’, historical figures who contributed to the development of Tibetan Buddhism and local culture of the Kham area. What interested me most was the fact that there are a lot of borrowings from Tibetan Kham dialect into the Mu-nya language, so study of the spread of the Kham dialect is very important for the study of the development of the Mu-nya language. The idea was welcomed by Jun-ichi, who also advised me on how to get to the Mu-nya village, based on his own experience in 1988, when he participated in a trekking tour around Mt. Mu-nya Konka, and stayed in Luba, where their base camp was. He did not, however, know that the Tibetan people living there were Mu-nya then.

I asked Zhang Xi 張曦 to go with me again as assistant researcher. The Mu-nya language belongs to the Qiangic (read as Ch‘iangic) branch of Tibeto-Burman languages, for its typological features are closer to the Qiang language than to Tibetan. Qiang 羌 is one of the independant nationalities in China with its own tradition and culture, and it shares a common substratum of cultural elements with other ethnic groups in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor. For example, many of them built stone towers and worshiped white stones. I asked Zhang Xi to see whether the Mu-nya also shares this common substratum of cultural elements with Qiang.

On July 31th, 1998, we left Japan and went to Chengdu via Beijing, and on August 7th, began our field trip from Chengdu with a guide and a driver in an early model four-wheel drive Landcruiser made by TOYOTA. Jun-ichi made the arrangements through a travel agency¹⁹ specializing in mountain trekking in Chengdu and had them obtain our permission to visit Mt. Minia Konka under the guise of sight-seeing. The driver was an experienced middle-aged man familiar with the mountainous roads in Tibet; the guide, however, was a young freelancer who got us into displeasing troubles several times later in our trip, but we could not go on the field trip without a guide, for that was an official rule then. This rule was abolished in the following year, and almost all of the towns in Kandzé Tibetan autonomous prefecture were opened to foreign visitors, with no special entry permission needed.

When we got to Ya’an 雅安, on the way to Kangding, there was information on landslides so we decided not to cross Mt. Erlang, but to take a detour south instead. After staying at Hanyuan 漢源, we arrived at Kangding on the 8th of August. We stayed at Kangding for two days to recover from altitude sickness, and left for Sadé 沙德 (Shade in Standard Chinese, *Sa sde* in Tibetan) on the 10th. We drove on the comfortable asphalt-paved Sichuan-Tibet highway from Kangding, crossing the pass of Sheduoshan 折多山 (*Dar mdo la*) to Tagong 塔公 (*Lha sgang*). But from a turning point at Waze 瓦澤 (*Wa khral*), we entered unpaved mountain roads. Our

¹⁹ Global Expeditions Ltd. (Sichuan Huanqiu Jiaqi Lüyou Gongsì 四川環球假期旅遊公司)

Landcruiser bumped all the way as we drove along the road by Liku 立曲 (*Glung chu*) river. The car had been bouncing so hard for such a long time that sometimes we had to get out to take a rest, but I still felt dizzy and was unsteady on the ground. It took us almost half a day before we finally arrived at Sadé town.

Sadé was a really small country town for trading agricultural produce. There were only two big buildings, one was the town office, the other was an elementary school. Other small buildings were houses, stores, grocery stores, barns, and all were along the 500 ft. long main street of the town. Most of these houses imitated the Han-Chinese style of Sichuan, being made of wood with black tiles on the roof, but Tibetan style houses made of both stone and wood without roof tiles were also seen. Half of the people who came to this town were Han-Chinese, and the rest were Tibetan, some of them wearing Tibetan ethnic clothes. When I observed their spoken languages, I heard mainly Chinese Sichuan dialect and Tibetan Kham dialect, and sometimes the Mu-nya language could be heard, too. However, I was disappointed because very few traces of Tibetan culture prevailed in this small town, let alone the culture of Mu-nya itself. Based on my experiences of field work in other Tibetan villages in Sichuan province, I had imagined Sadé as a place with a rich Tibetan culture, but I realized at first glance that we would not get any important information on Mu-nya from this town. Since we could not observe the real lives of Mu-nya people in Sadé, we had to go further, using this town as a start point. The Luba district where Mr. Gatso lived was 20 miles away from here, so we could make a day trip there, and Jun-ichi told me that there was a small guest house in the village of Luba. But our driver would not go ahead, insisting that the driving distance would exceed the contract with the travel agency. I persuaded him by paying the difference later according to driving distance, but he was actually afraid of running out of gas and of the road conditions. On the way to Sadé from Kangding we passed some places where small landslides or floods had occurred.

We decided to go to Luba on the 12th. On that day it started raining early in the morning. I said to the guide and the driver that we should go as far as we could before deciding whether to continue or not. The barometer on my trekking watch²⁰ indicated that the air pressure was getting high, so chances were it would be clearing up soon. I informed the driver and the guide and urged them to depart in the light rain. The Lichu river was swollen and become a rushing torrent. The road to Luba ran alongside the Lichu river. We continued on the muddy road with thickly wooded cliffs on the right and rushing streams on the left. There were many puddles and holes on the road, making the car bounce up and down violently as we drove.

²⁰ 'PRO TREK' with thermometer, barometer and altimeter made by CASIO.

Slowly but steadily our old Landcruiser headed for the Mu-nya village. There were no signs of changes in the weather. Then all of a sudden the car stopped.

A rock fallen from the cliff was blocking the road. We could see the rushing torrent making a turn ahead, forming a big curve to the left. The road under the rock was covered by earth and sand from the landslide. There were ruts on the heaps of the earth and sand, showing a small landslide had happened first, and some cars went over the heaps before the rock fell on the ruts. It seemed possible to go over the heaps since they were not too high. But the big rock was blocking the right side, and the road was too narrow for us to go around it, so we had to move it away to proceed. We put on rain jackets, got off the car, and went to see if we could remove the rock. Fortunately the rock was not too big, and if we dug some of the earth and sand under the rock away, we would be able to move it, Zhang Xi and I said each other. But at that very moment, more earth and sand mixed with small stones and branches fell on us from the cliff. A second later, rocks from a size of a fist to large ones needing both arms to go around them, fell one after another on the road ahead. The rocks rolled down, bounced on the road and then into the rushing stream, creating high white splashes. It was really too dangerous to remove the rock. Even if it had succeeded, we would have been easy victims to the other rocks. We had to leave this dangerous place without a moment's delay. We ran back to the car and headed back, though we were only 12 miles away from the Mu-nya village. The sound of falling rain suddenly became louder in my ears.

10. Going back to Sadé town

Using his excellent driving skills, the driver carefully made a U-turn on the dangerous narrow road and we went back to Sadé. On the way back we found Tibetan farmers' houses, and decided to make a visit and do some interviews. A middle-aged farmer and his wife kindly invited us to their house and offered us butter tea, but to our regret they were reluctant to permit any photos. The structure of their house represents a typical Tibetan style in the Kham district. There was a yard in front of the house surrounded by a wooden wall plastered with mud. They dried dung on the wall to make fertilizer, and dried cereals on the ground to make feed; chickens and pigs also strolled around freely in the yard. The ground floor of their house was used as a barn, and we went up to the living room on the second floor by narrow wooden steps with handrails. Everything in their house, including furniture, tools, cloths and their daily life style, seemed to be in Tibetan style. I could not find any particular differences, except that they used the Mu-nya language for conversation within the family. (They talked to us in Chinese Sichuan dialect.)

We sat on the Tibetan sofa, and the wife and her mother served us butter tea. We introduced ourselves and asked some questions about their daily life, and how they bred their cattle, for we saw them driving cattle on the road just before visiting their house. They said that they drive their cattle every morning along the road for hours, and so on. Children were watching TV in the living room; all the TV programs were in Standard Chinese. Zhang Xi asked them if they could understand the Chinese language, but they said no, they were just enjoying the actions on the screen. The TV was brand new. I thought that although their parents could not understand Chinese very well, their children would be able to speak Chinese in the near future, since they would go on watching TV in Chinese everyday and would learn Chinese in elementary school.

After a while the farmer went out to do farm work with his teenaged son, while his mother in law and wife took care of us. Suddenly the mother asked if we had room to accomodate 2 more people in our car. They said that their baby had been sick and they wanted to drive to Sadé to see a doctor. We answered yes, if we sat closer. They begin to dress and prepare to go out and the wife took her baby and wrapped him in a new baby blanket. He was swaddled with many layers of cloths. The baby was under the age of one, when she changed his swaddling cloths we saw his navel was bloated like a small balloon. It was no doubt a rupture, and the situation was urgent. They said if they could go to Sadé, there would be a doctor to see. We stopped our visit and interview and decided to leave immediately. We thought the buses from Jiulong 九龍 to Kangding 康定 which pass Sadé 沙德 would not come for at least several days because of the landslides, and their home was about 10 miles from Sadé, so we asked them how they planned to get back. They smiled and answered casually that they could ask someone for a ride on a tractor.

The Chinese language that they spoke in the car was very similar to that of Mr. Gatso's, but they were not as fluent as he was. What we found strange was their word order of {Subject + Object + Verb}, which is unnatural to Chinese and might be an influence from Mu-nya or Tibetan.

We decided to return to Kangding as soon as possible, because we had to meet NAKANISHI Jun-ichi there and then leave for Dérge town to visit Dérge Parkang,²¹ which is three more days' drive from Kangding. I regretted not being able to visit the Mu-nya village in this second field trip either. However, I resumed my research with documents and records and sought the descendants of the Tangut language in my library. But I felt that the Mu-nya villages were really far away from my library

²¹ Introducing and reporting on the research project on printing system of Dérge Parkang (*sDe dge par khang*), see IKEDA et. al (2003).

in Tokyo, and I did not know when I could get another chance to go there again. All I could do was to proceed.

11. The range of Mu-nya

Mu-nya people live in Kangding 康定, Jiulong 九龍, Yajiang 雅江, and Shimian 石棉 counties in Kandzé (*dKar mdzes*) Tibetan autonomous prefecture (Ganzi Zangzu Zizhizhou 甘孜藏族自治州) of Sichuan 四川 province. In other words, they extend from west of Sheduoshan 折多山 (*Dar mdo la*) to east of Yalongjiang 雅礱江 (*Nyag chu*), and from south of Daofu county 道孚縣 (*rTa'u rdzong*) to north of Jiulong county 九龍縣 (*brGyad zil rdzong*), along the reaches of the Liku 立曲 (*Glung chu*) river which runs through there. According to statistical materials on the nationalities of China, it is said that the Tibetans who speak the Mu-nya language number about 10,000 people, but this is only an estimate.

Mt. Minia Konka divides the Mu-nya language into western and eastern dialects. The western dialect of Mu-nya is spoken in Tanggu 湯古 district of Jiulong 九龍 county, Sadé 沙德, Luba 六巴, Pusharong 普沙絨, Pengbuxi 朋布西 districts of Kangding 康定 county, and Zhusang 祝桑 district in Yajiang 雅江 county, which has been influenced by Tibetan Kham dialect. The eastern dialect of Mu-nya is spoken in the area from Wanba 灣壩 district and Hongba 洪壩 district in Jiulong county to Shimian 石棉 town, which has been influenced by Chinese Sichuan dialect. In the memories of the Mu-nya people, the Mu-nya language had been spoken in Yingguan 營官 area in Kangding, Bamei 八美 area in Daofu 道孚 county, and a part of Quke 曲喀 area in Yajiang county until decades ago, but now mainly Tibetan Kham dialect is used in these areas.²²

According to a field report by SUN (1983), the Mu-nya people living at the western and southeastern bases of Mt. Minia Konka have no contact with each other, and are not aware of the existence of people at the other base. Until now (2006), all field reports on the Mu-nya language have treated the dialect of the Luba district at the eastern base of Mt. Minia Konka, but we have no data on the eastern dialect of Mu-nya. As far as I know very few people speak the eastern dialect today and it is in danger of extinction.

The Luba district is a base point of a climbing route to Mt. Minia Konka, so not a few foreigners have visited Mu-nya villages, but as it is difficult to distinguish

²² The distribution of the Mu-nya language depends on the information in *Ganzi Zangzu zizhizhou Minzuzhi*. 《甘孜藏族自治州民族志》[**An Ethnography of Kandze (dKar mdzes) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture*.] (1994: 126-128).

the Mu-nya from other Kham Tibetans by their looks, no climber paid attention to either them or their language in relation to Tangut or Xi-xia (Hsi-hsia) in Chinese history. Although the Alpine Tour Co. in Japan organized a trekking tour for amateur trekkers in 1988 to see Mt. Minia Konka, the route was so hard and so many participants suffered from altitude sickness that they never organized a second tour. Jun-ichi took part in this tour as an organizer and visited the Mu-nya village. While he also had no knowledge of Mu-nya people, he took some pictures in the village and showed them to me later.

Was the Mu-nya district around Mt. Minia Konka the home country of the Mu-nya people before the ancient *Mi nyag* had established their kingdom? Or is it the refuge where the descendants of the ancient Tangut escaped from persecution after their kingdom had been destroyed? The Mu-nya people have no writing system for their oral language, so they have no recorded history. All they have are their own memories and oral traditions.

12. The oral tradition of Mu-nya

The Mu-nya people have some local legends concerning their early history. One legend goes as follows:

A long time ago there was a king called Se'u rgyal po (Xi-wu jia'erbu 西吴甲 爾布 in Chinese, *Se'u rgyal po* in Tibetan), who lived in northern China. Later this king was defeated in a battle during the age of civil wars, when local war lords competed with one another. He was routed and moved with the people under him to the place where the Mu-nya people live now, and called themselves Mu-nya. Now there remains the ruins of a castle near the lower reaches of Liqu river in the district where the Mu-nya people live. Local people call them Se'u rong (Xi-wu rong 西吴戎 in Chinese, *Se'u rong* in Tibetan), this was the center of the state of Se'u rgyal po.

In another tale it is said that a long time ago there was a place called Li yu 李 榆, in a country called Da-wu 大吴. They were destroyed by a Mongolian army and the king of the country along with survivors moved to the place where the Mu-nya people live now.

DENG (1954) is the famous study of these two legends. The author believed Se'u rgyal po to be the king of Xi-xia. The explanation was as follows: the jia'erbu 甲 爾布 is the Tibetan word *rgyal po*, it means 'king'. The old pronunciation of the Chinese character xia 夏 was similar to hu 虎, and the Kham pa people (a part of the Tibetan people who speak Kham dialect, live in the eastern Tibet region and are involved mainly in agricultural life) had written this sound using another Chinese character, wu 吴. Thus the Da-wu 大吴 actually could be identified with Da-xia 大

夏. Da-xia is their own country name for Tangut, the reason why they were called Xi-xia 西夏 from Song 宋 dynasty on was there were many countries named Xia 夏 in Chinese history. Xi-wu 西吳 could also be identified as a corruption of Xi-xia 西夏, actually indicating the same country even though the reading pronunciation of the characters are different. As a result, the Se'u rgyal po in their legends was actually a king of Xi-xia. There is no doubt that after the Mongolian army captured Xi-xia and thoroughly destroyed their state in 1227 A.D. and took over what is now Gansu 甘肅 and Qinghai 青海, which were territories of Xi-xia, the survivors of Xi-xia sought refuge to the district where the Mu-nya people live now. As for the second legend, there was a person named Tuobasigong 拓拔思恭 (the ancestor of the kings of Xi-xia) in the office of Pingxiabu 平夏部 during Tang 唐 dynasty. He performed meritorious deeds of valor in the subjugation of the Huangchao 黃巢 Revolt, and the Tang court bestowed the surname Li 李 upon him, (but this had been changed to ZHAO 趙 during Song 宋 dynasty), so Li yu 李榆 (this yu is the Tibetan word *yul* which means 'country, district') indicates the location of the territory of Li — that is, the Xi-xia country. After they had been destroyed by the Mongolian army, the survivors moved south to Kham district, and established a small country, still using Xi-xia as the country's name. So the local people called them Xi-wu.

13. Criticism of the hypotheses

DENG Shaoqin's hypothesis is very famous in Tangut studies, but it has problems. He links the Chinese character xia 夏 to wu 吳 through hu 虎, but we cannot say the pronunciation for these characters is similar, even if we consider historical and dialectal range. At first, this linking character hu 虎 was presented by arbitrary choice without documentary basis. According to this method, we could link any two characters with different pronunciations. Secondly, I admit the pronunciations of the characters wu 吳 and hu 虎 are very close to each other in the modern Sichuan dialect indeed (both being /vu/), but we can never say the characters xia 夏 and hu 虎 were very close to each other in 'old pronunciation' without specifying the period and the province. As for the ruins of a castle of Se'u rgyal po (Xi-wu jia'erbu 西吳甲爾布), there is another opinion that it is actually the ruins of an old temple.²³

For the second legend concerning Li yu 李榆 country, I think 'Li yu' is only a

²³ According to Li (1983): Xixia yimin diaochaji 西夏遺民調查記 [*A report on the survey of the Tangut descendants.], he heard from a saintly Tibetan monk the following: 'This local legend has not been recorded in historical documents. The so-called ruins of *Mu-nya rgyal po* (Muya jia'erbu 木雅甲爾布) are actually the ruins of an old big temple named *Gyati* (Raodi 饒蒂) temple, which

common word that means ‘a country named Li’. We have another historical example, a famous kingdom of Khotan in Central Asia that had been called Li yu (*Li yul*) during the Tang dynasty, so we cannot jump to the conclusion that this common word definitely indicates Tangut without other positive evidence.

None of the Mu-nya friends I met in my research knew about the legends quoted above. I asked Mr. Lyuza Trashi (*Blo bzang bKra shis*), an intellectual from Mu-nya, if they had any folklore or legends telling about the history of Mu-nya, but he also told me that their folklore was the same as Tibetan folk literature, and did not remember any legends peculiar to Mu-nya. The study of the oral literature of ethnic subgroups of the Tibetan nationalities is an unexplored field and should be investigated further.

According to the current results of the comparative study of Tibeto-Burman languages, many scholars agree that the Mu-nya language and other Qiangic languages are very close to each other in structure, and that the Tangut language might also belong to this language group.²⁴ But it is not easy to represent the correspondences of the words or grammatical structure between Mu-nya and Tangut distinctly, and we need further comparative investigation to prove if the Mu-nya language is a descendant of the Tangut language or not. Because the relevant linguistic study is not yet mature enough to resolve these problems, we have many hypotheses concerning the relationship between Tangut and Mu-nya based on Mu-nya legends, Tangut poems, and records in historical documents in Chinese and Tibetan.

As I mentioned in section 4, LI (1983) assumed that the district around Mt. Minia Konka was the home country of Mu-nya and believed that a great part of the ancient Mi-nyag people had moved north and established the Tangut State, then moved back south after the Xia state was destroyed. They were descendants of the Tangut people who spoke the Mu-nya language. He claimed that there is another line of descendants who did not move north but stayed in their own district when the Tangut established their state. He considered the latter native Mi-nyag, who spoke the sTau language.

However, SUN (1983: 163-164) found that the Tangut language and the Mu-nya language shared only 30% of etymologically cognate words, so although their relationship was close to each other, Mu-nya must not be a direct descendant of Tangut. It would not be possible that the people who speak the Mu-nya language are descen-

was established during the period of Ming dynasty (Mingzheng tusi 明正土司), originally belonging to *bKa' brgyud pa* (Baijiao 白教), later it changed into *dGe lugs pa's* (Huangjiao 黄教) temple.'

²⁴ See SUN (1991) and we will add new evidences in section 19 below.

dants of Tangut who moved south after the Xia state was destroyed. They would rather be descendants of Tangut-Qiang people who stayed in the home country and did not move north when the Tibetans (Tubo 吐蕃) ruled the eastern Kham area.

Today, even though their language is different from Tibetan, the ethnic identity of the Mu-nya involves belonging to the Tibetan nationality. It is easy to understand that this was the result of the blending of races caused after Tibet (Tubo 吐蕃) ruled the eastern Kham area. We may say that they did not want to be a completely independent ethnic group, thus risking the possibility of being attacked and destroyed. And by not becoming completely Tibetan, their language was preserved. I think they have lived for hundreds years under this sociolinguistical structure, but now they are controlled by the Chinese government policy for nationalities without regard for what they themselves think, and they are facing a crisis concerning mother tongue.

14. Ethnic identity and language

Language is an important condition determining ethnic identity, but it is not a decisive condition. Qiang 羌, Yi 彝, and Naxi 納西 are independent nationalities among the minority people who live in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor (Chuanxi minzu zoulang 川西民族走廊); almost all of the others belong to the Tibetan nationality regardless of their mother tongue. We can say that their religion, society, and culture are almost the same as Tibetan even though they have slight local variation.

But in China some groups of people applied for recognition as independent nationalities before the 1980s, with the difference of language as one of their main reasons. Among those living in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor, people who speak the Baima 白馬 language insisted on being an independent nationality in the 1970s. The Chinese government has organized an “ethnic identification project” or “nationality classification project” (Minzu shibie gongzuo 民族識別工作)²⁵ in response.

SUN Hongkai 孫宏開 was in charge of linguistic research for this project, and he has reported on the research process in detail.²⁶ However, in the “ethnic identification project” or “nationality classification project” in China, there are no firm

²⁵ An overview for the concept of “ethnic identification project”, see HUANG (ed.) (1995, Rev. 2005) and MOURI (1998) Chapter 3. Minzoku ha tsukurareru – Minzokushikibetsu to Chuukaminzokuron 民族は作られる – 民族識別と中華民族論 [*The artificial ethnicity – Ethnic identification and Ethnic Chinese.]

guidelines for ethnic identification. FEI Xiaotong 費孝通, a famous socioanthropologist who played a leading role in the “ethnic identification project”, reported the case of the Baima people in FEI (1980). Although he wrote a chapter called ‘Pingwu Zangren 平武藏人 [On Pingwu Tibetan]’, discussing the identification of the people who speak the Baima language, if you want to know whether Baima speakers are an independent nationality or the guidelines on decisive conditions for identification, you will be disappointed. In a series of articles on the subject of nationality, FEI Xiaotong attempted to follow the general criteria laid down by STALIN: common language, common territory, economic ties, and psychological factors. However, there are no clear guidelines for how these criteria are to be applied. We can only know the difficulties involved in deciding which factors would be decisive in any particular case.

The relationship between language and ethnicity is not simple. For example, we can not say a person who speaks Tibetan always belongs to the Tibetan nationality; on the contrary, all the people who belong to Tibetan nationality speak the Tibetan language. As for the Mu-nya people, they think they belong Tibetan nationality but speak another language. In other words, their system of agricultural production, customs of daily life, religion, and all aspects of their culture are basically the same as other Tibetans, except for their language. The reason why many languages were “found” in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor during 1980s is that the ethnic identity of the people who speak these languages is Tibetan and they consider speaking local languages as one of the small variations of Tibetan culture.

There exist some sub-groupings of Tibetan nationality according to living area and language, and sometimes it is necessary to distinguish them. The most common way to represent these ethnic sub-groups is by adding a district name or “self-calling name” before their nationality, as in Baima-Tibetan (Baima Zangzu 白馬藏族), rGyarong-Tibetan (Jiarong Zangzu 嘉戎藏族), Mu-nya-Tibetan (Muya Zangzu 木雅藏族), and so on.

The Chinese government “ethnic identification project” is very important work, and concerns the basis of nationalities policy in China. But the list of nationalities and the basis of nationalities policy has been established already, even though there remains the possibility of identifying unclassified ethnic groups. Now there are 55 nationalities on the official list in China, and the latest identified nationality added to the list was Jinuo (基諾) in 1979. Since then, no new nationalities have been

²⁶ See NISHIDA & SUN (1990: 43-56). Chapter 3. Baimaren de xiankuang 白馬人的現況 [*The present situation of the Baima people.] written by SUN Hongkai.

added to the list. We can say that the “ethnic identification project” has almost been completed at the government policy level. Once established, the problems of ethnic identification will move into another dimension, namely to the personal level. It is perhaps easy enough to identify someone’s nationality if a person has a parent who belongs to a specific nationality. That is to say, official identification of nationality depends only on one’s birth in that nationality. But I think this represents the establishment of a new ethnic identification system: the label of nationality can be handed down from parents to children, without necessarily including their ethnic tradition and cultures. Thus, we can say the “nationality” identification system has already moved into a new area: if you have the label of a nationality, you are identified as a person belonging to a minority race, even though you did not inherit any ethnic language, religion, or culture, conditions which usually form ethnic identity. We could imagine, as an extreme case – that you could abandon all these conditions apart from your nationality label as a personal choice. It is ironic that the Chinese government struggled to establish the concept of nationality by studying all aspects of ethnic conditions, but at the personal level, you can get labelled with a nationality without ethnic conditions. The answers to the question: ‘What is ethnicity?’ are very different at the political and personal levels.

15. Local speech, ethnic language and Chinese

Language use in the Tibetan cultural area in China is very complex. The main issue in language use among nationalities is the influence of the Chinese language. We have a good example of the Chinese influence in the Tibetan cultural area in Sichuan: *Zhongguo shaoshuminzu yuyan shiyong qingkuang* 《中國少數民族語言使用情況》 [*A sociolinguistic survey of the minority nationalities of China.*] (1994: 404).

Chinese is mainly used in communication among different nationalities, and is also used among Tibetans who speak different languages; whereas the Tibetan language is used mainly in communication among Tibetans who speak Tibetan. Bilingualism among Tibetans varies. Take Kangding county for example. Almost of all the Tibetan residents in Kangding town mainly use Chinese; Tibetan is only used in communication among older people. The majority of younger people already cannot understand Tibetan. Meanwhile, the situation in the suburbs of Kangding town is somewhat different. In Laoyulin (老榆林) village in Yulin (榆林) country in Lucheng (爐城) district, out of 233 residents in 44 households, 116 people (or 58%) can understand Chinese and 18 can understand a little. In

another example, in Dérégé county, except for in schools and among officers, ordinary people mainly use the Tibetan language. Generally speaking, most officers, students, and workers in factories can understand Chinese. Therefore, meetings, schools, and official communications use Chinese or Chinese and Tibetan both. Whereas in farm villages, nomadic areas, and at home, they use Tibetan chiefly.

(Translated by IKEDA)

In the summer of 1998, when I visited Kangding and Dérégé, I made some additional observations and analysis, as follows:

Kangding is a town at the east edge of Tibetan cultural area, which has been developed by trading tea and horses with China. Chinese and Tibetan have lived together in this town. It takes two days drive to Kangding from Chengdu, the capital city of Sichuan, but now Kangding has been developing as a typical local city in China, and the residents in the town are using Chinese (Sichuan dialect in oral communication), whether they are Tibetan or Chinese.

Dérégé is one of the local centers of Tibetan culture, and there is a famous wood-block printing house of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon named Dérégé Parkang (*sDe dge par khang* in Tibetan; Dege yinjingyuan 德格印經院 in Chinese) there. Dérégé is located near the border of Sichuan province and the Tibetan Autonomous Region. It takes about 6 days to drive there on the Sichuan-Tibet highway (Chuan-Zang gonglu 川藏公路) from Chengdu city. Few Chinese settlers had come to this town before the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, and the town is still rich with Tibetan cultural color. Dérégé has developed as a central town of Tibetan culture in Kham area, and Dérégé dialect, the representative dialect of Kham Tibetan, has spread as a lingua franca over Kham area, including westearn Sichuan and the northern part of Yunnan province. In the near future, trade between Tibet and China will grow, the sight-seeing industry will increase, and bilingualism will be popular in Dérégé as well as Kangding. However, Dérégé has its own strong ethnic tradition and Dérégé dialect is an influential standard language among Kham Tibetans, which supports their ethnic identity. Even though Chinese will become more popular in Dérégé, both languages will be used according to the situation and necessity for communication.

There are apparent differences between Kangding: Chinese [strong] > Tibetan [weak], and Dérégé: Tibetan [strong] > Chinese [weak]. They use only two languages, Tibetan and Chinese, both official languages with writing systems, so bilingualism forms a rather simple system. But the Mu-nya people use three languages: Mu-nya, their mother tongue, for local speech; Tibetan as an ethnic language; and Chinese as an official language, so their language ecology is very complex.

As we have seen above (section 0), small languages of the Qiangic branch are distributed like language islands along the western Sichuan ethnic corridor. Dijiāohuà 地腳話 (地角話) or ‘local speeches’ in Chinese, lack writing systems, and are only used for oral communication in homes and villages. Outside of the villages, Tibetan Kham dialect has been used as a lingua franca, but this recently has been replaced by Chinese Sichuan dialect. In Kangding town, which is only two days drive distance from Luba in Mu-nya district, Chinese is now the main language. Tibetan Kangding dialect will be disappear in the near future, despite once having had strong influence as a common language among Tibetans. Some Mu-nya people living in Kangding town are facing difficulties maintaining the Mu-nya language as their mother tongue. Children have to speak Chinese rather than Mu-nya, and other Tibetans living in Kangding town have also become Chinese speakers without exception.²⁷

The ranking of the languages used by Mu-nya people according to the importance of the sociolinguistic function is as follows:

Local speech (Mu-nya) > Ethnic language (Tibetan) > Official language (Chinese)

But sooner or later the value of Chinese will surpass that of any other language in its usefulness. Although dozens of ‘local speeches’ are spoken as mother tongues among Tibetans in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor, their ethnic identity is Tibetan, so they are politically guaranteed to have an education using their ethnic language, Tibetan. But children who are brought up using ‘local speech’ and Chinese dialect are not familiar with the Tibetan language. Thus an ironic situation is arising, in which Tibetan, the ethnic language, is actually the most useless and of no value to learn.

16. Blind spots of the bilingual education system

The government has been stressing the need for a bilingual education system in China to solve two big problems: diffusing standard Chinese language (Putonghua 普通話) and respecting ethnic (or local) culture. Many books focusing on the theory of bilingual education and reporting on its achievements have been published in

²⁷ This information is from my interview to Mr. Renzhen Wangjie 仁真旺傑 (*Rinchen dBang rgyal*) from Jiulong, the vice chief of the cultural department of Ganzi 甘孜 (*dKar mdzes*) prefecture and Mr. Lyuza Trashi 洛札西 (*Blo bzang bKra shis*) from Mu-nya at Kangding town in the summer of 1998.

China. This movement is based on the government policy that it is important to diffuse standard Chinese for the unification of the nation,²⁸ but at the same time it is also necessary to use dialects for convenience in local life or use ethnic languages which respect traditional ethnic culture.²⁹

However, if this ideology of bilingual education is applied to the lives of minority nationalities directly, one cannot avoid problems caused by the relationship between ethnicity and language. In the western Sichuan ethnic corridor, bilingual education has been conducted in Chinese and Tibetan, but it is quite doubtful whether the result will be fruitful for local people. We have two reports on language education in this area, which were written in the late 1980s, and while some improvements have occurred in the past 10 years, the structural problems still exist. Let us refer to the cases summarized from HUANG (1988).³⁰

There are four kinds of educational approaches in the Tibetan cultural area in Sichuan province, instituted according to the local language situation:

1. Teaching all subjects in Tibetan: 7 years (including a 1-year preparatory course before entering school)
2. Teaching all subjects in Chinese: 6 or 7 years (according to the educational regulations of the province)
3. Teaching mainly in Tibetan, plus an additional Chinese class: The goal in Tibetan should be the united standard level of five provinces (Qinghai 青海, Sichuan 四川, Gansu 甘肅, Yunnan 雲南 provinces and Tibetan Autonomous Region 西藏自治區). The Chinese class starts from the 2nd grade, and introduces Chinese characters from the 3rd grade. The goal in Chinese is that of the lower grade level in the mainland China: 6 years.
4. Teaching mainly in Chinese, plus an additional Tibetan class: According to the educational regulations of the province, an additional Tibetan class will be set up from the 2nd grade to study Dérge dialect. Written Tibetan is introduced in the 3rd grade. The goal in Tibetan is the lower grade level: 6 years.

²⁸ For an overview, see RAMSEY (1987) Chapter 1.

²⁹ On bilingual education in the Tibetan cultural area, see Kangding minzu shifan zhuanke xuexiao ketizu (1996) and YUAN (ed.) (2003).

³⁰ HUANG (1988) described these problems and situations in bilingual education in the Tibetan cultural area in detail.

The first approach is adopted in areas where Tibetan dialects are spoken. As the educational language corresponds to their mother tongue, the educational effect is basically good. However, because they use united teaching materials for five provinces, the contents and texts are not entirely suitable for local tradition and culture. As for the Tibetan language, there is another problem if the local dialect or Dérgé dialect standard in Kham area is used. So far (as of 1988) there is no middle school (6 years) which teach all subjects using the Tibetan language in Ganzi zhou 甘孜州 or Aba zhou 阿坝州, so children educated in elementary schools adopting this system cannot enter middle school (all the middle schools use Chinese language for most subjects). As a result, children lose the desire to learn, parents think it is no use to have them study, and children lose their chance for further education. Such situations happen very frequently in local districts far from school.³¹

The second approach is the educational program for local cities where Chinese is mainly spoken. The educational effect is very good for the pupils who speak Chinese as their mother tongue, but for pupils whose mother tongues are different languages, the effect is doubtful. Because even though they can speak Chinese as a second language, the level is not high, and what is more, the Chinese language they speak is a kind of “broken Chinese” with accents of their mother tongue in many cases. An effective approach to teaching Chinese language is not possible without a full consideration of actual social conditions.

The third approach is the educational system adopted in the districts where Tibetan dialects are spoken. The pupils have to study Chinese and Chinese characters in addition to written Tibetan, and they study all the subjects in Tibetan, creating a heavy burden for them. Moreover it is difficult to ensure the presence of talented teachers in the countryside. As a result the pupils only master Chinese up to the lower grade level, and it is impossible to enter middle school.

The fourth approach is the educational system adopted in almost of all the districts in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor where the “local speech” is the mother tongue. The pupils in this area must learn two languages: Chinese and Tibetan, and two kinds of writing systems, Chinese characters and Tibetan letters, which is difficult for them. This education system always requires transla-

³¹ The reasons why Tibetan is not used in middle school to teach all subjects are as follows: First, most of the teachers are Chinese people. Second, Tibetan teachers were trained in advanced education in Chinese language in the mainland China after 1950s. Except for those whose major was Tibetan language and literature, most of the other teachers can not read and write Tibetan well, so very few teachers can teach various subjects in Tibetan. In addition, not many textbooks in Tibetan are published, especially in the natural sciences.

tion by teachers in all subjects, but there are few teachers who have the ability to teach subjects in two or three languages. In most cases, the pupils do not master the Tibetan language and at best are only be able to pronounce the letters without understanding meaning after 4-5 years education. That is why the parents regard this curriculum as useless for the next stage of children's education or for finding a job. Because there is no Tibetan class in the middle school and all the subjects are taught only in Chinese, they even have to learn foreign languages using texts written in Chinese. (Summarized and translated by IKEDA)

17. Difficulty of studying their ethnic language

It is difficult to know how many children in the Tibetan cultural areas in Sichuan province have an opportunity to go to school. The main reason is we have little statistical data on nationalities in China. We can find fragmentary data on entering elementary school in Sadé 沙德, Yingguan 營官 and Tagong 塔公 districts in Kangding 康定 county from 1985. Sadé is a town in the Mu-nya speaking area; Yingguan and Tagong are adjoining districts where Mu-nya people live, too. The data is from the chapter of Kandze (*dKar mdzes*) Tibetan autonomous prefecture (Ganzi Zangzu Zizhizhou 甘孜藏族自治州) in *Zhongguo shaoshuminzu yuyan shiyong qingkuang* 《中國少數民族語言使用情況》[**A sociolinguistic survey of the minority nationalities of China.*] (1994: 405).

Figure 8 Capacity of elementary schools in Kangding county

District	The name of school	Capacity	Registered	Percentage
Sadé 沙德	Shengu elementary school 生古小學校	22	16	73%
Yingguan 營官	Xinduqiao elementary school 新都橋小學校	25	21	84%
Tagong 塔公	Tagong elementary school 塔公小學校	22	7	31.8%

We should note that the percentage of school attendance is not measured according to the population of children but to capacity of each school. We do not know the population of children, yet we can see very few children enter school. Ironically this low level of school attendance helps preserve their mother tongue. Children are brought up in their village, engaged in agriculture and restricted from

contact with other people from districts where other languages are spoken. As a result, they preserve their mother tongue very well without influences from other strong languages, such as Chinese or Tibetan.

We have other new data on the pupils and the elementary schools in the Mu-nya district. The source of this article (Yuan (ed.) 2003: 209-222) was an internal government report published in 1999.

Figure 9 Pupils (7-12 years old) in elementary schools in Kangding county

District	Number of pupils	Enrollment rate	Number of graduates
Sadé 沙德鄉	221	78.9%	16
Xinduqiao 新都橋鎮	374	94.4%	23
Tagong 塔公鄉	332	49.2%	11

The article mentions there are some village schools in Tagong district, so the number of pupils and enrollment rate both include them. Though there are no details about the data for Sadé and Xinduqiao in this report, I think the numbers include some village schools. In contrast, the number of graduates seems too small. This may be because the data was based on only one main school. That would explain why these numbers are very close to the numbers of the registered pupils in the old data in 1985 (Figure 8).

Tagong shows very low enrollment rate. This article accounts for the cause of this phenomenon as follows: Together with poverty, a traditional life style and a way of thinking that believes 'education is useless' still prevail among nomads, who do not settle but move with their animals according to seasons. And the article points out: With the improvement of bilingual education, the number of teachers has increased during the last 10 years. Nevertheless, the lack of talented teachers is still serious. This is because teaching work is so hard, with the difficulties of communication using different languages (Tibetan or Chinese) under poor teaching conditions, and the salary is not enough. So the shortage of teachers often causes disruption in educational management.³²

³² We have new comprehensive reports on language policy and Multilingualism in China. See ZHOU (ed.) (2003, 2004) and OKAMOTO (1999). All these works include observation of eastern Tibet

As we have seen above, a political ideology which includes popularizing common spoken Chinese and respecting ethnic culture drives the bilingual education system in the Tibetan cultural area, and leaves no room for consideration of “local speech”. The “local speech” is the mother tongue of people living in these areas, but there is no policy concerning the right to have education in their mother tongue. Another important element in using ethnic languages for bilingual education is the need for highly developed and standardized style and writing systems. It is necessary to use textbooks written in their language for education, but it is impossible to edit textbooks in a language without a standard style or writing system, let alone to train teachers to use that language for instruction.

Tibetan people created a writing system in the 7th century by imitating Indian letters. The language developed sophistication and adopted much vocabulary through the translation of Buddhism. Their orthography was established in the 8th century based on the written language of those days and has changed little since. Now the old spelling has left behind the development of the spoken language, and there are many differences between written Tibetan and spoken Tibetan in all aspects, including style, vocabulary, and grammar. No standard for spoken Tibetan has been established. Oral communication directly between the three big dialects, such as the central dialect (mainly spoken in the Tibet Autonomous Region), the Kham dialect (mainly spoken in Sichuan province) and the Amdo dialect (mainly spoken in Qinghai province) is difficult. In order to communicate across the differences between these dialects, it is necessary to use written Tibetan, which preserves the old style but corresponds to each dialect. However, the differences from the spoken language makes it difficult to learn and master written Tibetan, even for speakers of Tibetan. Figuratively speaking, it is as if you spoke modern English, but your written language was Chaucer’s middle English. You can imagine the difficulty. (See Figure 2. Some examples of correspondences between Chaucer’s Middle English and Modern English, in section 7.)³³

(Sichuan to Yunnan), but concerning ethnic language and Chinese language level only, lacking the view to the ‘local speech’ problem in education of nationalities.

³³ This does not mean that Tibetan is such an old language or so behind the times that it is difficult to adapt for modern society. On the contrary, Tibetan established a rich language space in the Tibetan Buddhist world, is a highly cultural language with a vocabulary as rich as Sanskrit and Classical Chinese. Tibetan language has the potential to adapt to modern technologies of science and new social concepts using this rich vocabulary stock flexibly. This ability is similar to the way word roots from classical Greek and Latin are used to create new words in English, or the function of classical Chinese word stock in Japanese to contribute to modernization by permitting the creation of new words in order to translate modern concepts and technology. Regrettably,

There is another big problem, which involves the content of the textbooks. The unified standard texts for Tibetan are translated from Chinese texts. Pupils can study Chinese history and literature, such as the famous Chinese poets Li Bai 李白 and Du Fu 杜甫, but they cannot learn their own history and the culture of the Tibetan nationality, such as *Srong brtsan sgam po*, the great king who established the Tibetan empire, or the famous epic of King Gesar from the unified standard texts, thus robbing them of their eagerness to learn.

18. What is illiteracy?

Mu-nya is an oral language and lacks a writing system. When the Mu-nya people need to communicate beyond immediate time and space, the educated use written Tibetan. Until recent years, ‘advanced education’ meant to enter a temple to be a monk and study Tibetan Buddhism. ‘Elementary education’, such as reading and writing, meant learning how to spell words in written Tibetan with the pronunciation of Kham dialect common among Mu-nya people. One of my Mu-nya collaborators, Mr. Lyuza (*Blo bzang bkra shis*), was an intellectual monk belonging to the former group, who could speak Tibetan fluently, and also could speak Chinese and read Chinese characters. Another collaborator, Mr. Gatso (*bGa gtso*), was a farmer belonging to latter group. He learned reading and writing from his father in his childhood. He also can speak Tibetan and Chinese Sichuan dialect fluently, but he can not read Chinese characters because he had never learned writing and reading in Chinese.

As we have seen above, Mu-nya children have to learn Chinese and Chinese characters in elementary school. In addition, they also have to learn Tibetan Kham dialect and written Tibetan according to the policy of the Chinese government. If they cannot read or write in these written languages, which are not their mother tongue, they will be counted as “illiterate” (wenmang 文盲), the percentage of which is one of basic indexes of local educational conditions and has a direct relation to the evaluation by the central government.

According to the data on Chinese nationalities, ‘an illiterate person’ is defined as one who cannot read Chinese characters or the letters of their nationality languages in ethnic districts in China. We refer to the document of the chapter of Kandze

Tibetan people in China tend to depend on translation or borrowing from Chinese words to create new words in Tibetan, since the rich Tibetan word stock has been traditionally restricted to Buddhism and education in temples, and has not been open to innovation from those of the more general education level.

(*dKar mdzes*) Tibetan autonomous prefecture (Ganzi Zangzu Zizhizhou 甘孜藏族自治州) in *Zhongguo shaoshuminzu yuyan shiyong qingkuang* 《中國少數民族語言使用情況》 (1994: 405), which explains as follows:

According to sampling research, among the minority villages, the percentage of illiterate people who cannot understand either written Tibetan or written Chinese is still very high. For example, there are 206 illiterate persons among 233 persons among 44 households at Laoyulin 老榆林 village in Yulin 榆林 district in Kangding 康定 county, the percentage of illiteracy being up to 88.4%.

However, I think this criterion for “illiteracy” has big problems. For example, a Chinese speaker who does not know how to write and read Chinese characters may be an “illiterate” person, but if a non-Chinese speaker whose mother tongue is another language does not know how to write and read Chinese, should they also be counted as “illiterate”?

Now we will focus on the ethnic languages. If there are some among the speakers of Tibetan Kham dialect who have never learned written Tibetan, they should be called “illiterate”, and we can discuss the problems of their “illiteracy”. But members of ethnic subgroups whose mother tongue is not Tibetan are automatically counted as “illiterate” also. It seems the Chinese term “illiterate” (*wenmang* 文盲) not only indicates persons who have never learned reading or writing, but also includes all the “uneducated” people in Chinese or in nationality languages.

If the local government proceeds with the ‘Drive illiteracy away’ policy (*saomang* 掃盲 in Chinese), according to a slogan created by the central government, without consideration of the language ecology and hierarchy in the ethnic districts, both diffusing standard Chinese language (*Putonghua* 普通話) and education in nationality languages will oppress “local speech”. Lacking a writing system, local languages cannot adapt to school education. Although “local speeches” are minor languages, they have their own history and culture which has been transmitted from generation to generation for thousands of years. The “proper” policies in China, such as bilingual education in natinality languages and the ‘Drive illiteracy away’ policy include risks that may help destroy the real minority languages.

19. New horizons

In the summer of 2004 I went on a trip to do fieldwork in Kandze (*dkar mdzes*) Tibetan autonomous prefecture again, and visited some Mu-nya villages as a member of the research project, “Linguistic Substratum in Tibet: Synchronic survey of undescribed Tibeto-Burman languages and reconstruction of Zhangzhung language”, directed by NAGANO Yasuhiko 長野 泰彦, professor at the National Museum of Ethnology Research Strategy Center.

I again hired a four-wheel drive car with a driver through the travel agency Global Expedition Co. Mr. Lin Xuebiao 林雪彪, the company executive, informed me that the road from Kangding 康定 to Jiulong 九龍 was in good condition now. He said we could get to Jiulong from Kangding in half a day, and arranged an excellent driver for me. His name was ZHANG Fajun 張發俊, and I remember he was surely the excellent driver who had once taken me and NAKANISHI Jun-ichi 中西 純一 to sTau (Daofu 道孚) for a field research in the summer of 2000.

On August 1st, 2004 we left Chengdu and started towards Kangding in the early morning. We got to Kangding in the evening and stayed there for 2 days to recover from altitude sickness, then left for Sadé and then to Jiulong on the 4th. My Mu-nya collaborator, Mr. Lyuza Trashi (*Blo bzang bKra shis*) was living in Jiulong town, so our itinerary planned was as follows: First we would go to Jiulong to pick up Mr. Lyuza and visit some Mu-nya villages on the way back to Kangding under his guidance. And we would stay at Kangding to research Mu-nya grammar for 2 weeks.

On August 4th, 2004 we left Kangding in the morning. We drove on the asphalt-paved Sichuan-Tibet highway from Kangding, crossing the pass over Sheduoshan 折多山 (*Dar mdo la*), past changing scenery, with grasslands stretching from mountain to mountain. At noon we arrived at Waze 瓦澤 (*Wa khral*), the junction with the road to Jiulong and Sichuan-Tibet highway north to Dérégé. We looked around the Mu-nya chorten, a big Tibetan-style stupa, and ZHANG Fajun supplied gas to his four-wheel drive car at a new filling station just in front of the stupa.

We entered the route to Jiulong from Waze, an asphalt-paved road extending to Jiulong along the Liqu 立曲 (*Glung chu*) river. We enjoyed a comfortable drive all the way to Jiulong town under the clear sky. When we tried to go to Mu-nya village in 1998, this route was almost unpaved; the car bounced the whole way, and the road was blocked from place to place by landslides. On the way to Sadé, we came across some beautiful old stone towers which were popular on the route north to rGyarong district from Kangding, and we stopped to take photos of them at Jiagenba 甲根壩 and Pengbuxi 朋布西.

We took lunch at a small restaurant in Sadé town at 2:00 p.m. We enjoyed local fish in hot soup, which were caught in the Liqu river. New small shops and restaurants in the modern Tibetan style, with beautiful window decorations, were open at the side of the causeway to Kangding. Young Tibetans were playing billiards in front of the small restaurant where we took lunch. And some other young Tibetans were riding motorbikes. We saw many four-wheel drive cars and motorbikes on the way to Jiulong. Their transportation seemed to have been developing as quickly as the road was paved. 10 years before their main means of transportation around here had been tractors and horses. The whole town was under reconstruction, old small stores and barns in the Chinese style had been destroyed, and the guesthouse where we had stayed in 1998 was closed and the building was no longer used. But the town office and the elementary school still remained. And there was a new white stupa in the Tibetan style at the entrance of the town. Some middle aged Tibetan women were walking around the stupa clockwise, praying to the Buddha.

We continued the comfortable drive along the road by the Liqu river. In the afternoon we passed by the landslide point where we had stopped and been unable to go ahead in 1998. We saw traces of landslides where earth and sand had covered over the road several times even after it was paved. Our car, leaving the Liqu river at the fork to Luba (Liuba 六巴), entered a climbing route to cross the pass. At 3:45 p.m. we went over the Jichoushan 雞丑山 (*bCu khrod la*) pass, measuring 4,200 meters (13,780 ft.) above sea level, which marks the border between Kangding county and Jiulong county. I had a headache caused by altitude sickness. But ZHANG Fajun was not suffering from altitude sickness at all and was in good spirits. Our car descended toward Jiulong town along the mountainous road, and my headache gradually got better. We passed some villages along the causeway and got to Jiulong town around 5:00 p.m., and checked into a comfortable new hotel.

The next day we met Mr. Lyuza and looked around Jiulong town. Almost all the buildings and houses were in Han-Chinese style, and very few people were wearing Tibetan clothes in the town. But Mr. Lyuza told us that many Tibetans were living there, and that besides Chinese and Tibetan, the Mu-nya, Lyuzu, Prinmi, and Yi (Lolo) languages were spoken in the town. Recently their best agricultural product is a kind of mushroom, which is called songrong 松茸 in Chinese, much of which is exported to Japan. It is favored as high-grade foodstuff in Japan, and is known as '*matsutake*' in Japanese. After dinner we visited Mr. Lyuza's home. He was a Tibetan monk, living by himself with a young Tibetan student's help. The student was named LI Katso, and his mother tongue was the Prinmi language, but he spoke the Mu-nya language fluently, too. He said he learned Mu-nya after he had come to Jiulong to study Buddhism under Mr. Lyuza's supervision.

EXPLORING THE MU-NYA PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE



Stone towers near Pengbuxi village on the side of the Liqu river.



A typical Tibetan house in Luba village in Kangding county.

The next morning we left Jiulong town with Mr. Lyuza and Li Katso. On the way to Kangding we visited Tanggu 湯古 (*Thang mgo*: meaning ‘flat head’) village and Luba 六巴 (*klu pa*: meaning ‘place of deities’) village. Tanggu village was located at the side of the causeway to Kangding, about 30 minute’s drive from Jiulong. Mr. Lyuza’s parents’ home was there, and his family lived there, too. I visited his family’s house and looked around the village for a short time. The structure of houses was Tibetan style, except for the roofs, which were in Han-Chinese style. The women were wearing traditional Tibetan clothes; in contrast, the men were not. As a result, it was difficult for me to distinguish them from Han-Chinese people or other peripheral nationalities. When I was taking photos, some children came to see the rare foreign guest. They were in their early teens, and some had baskets on their backs. They seemed to be coming back from their farmwork.

We said good-bye to the children and at 10:30 drove over the pass over Mt. Jichou, going down to the junction leading to Luba village. We entered an unpaved road along the Lichu river at 11:00 and drove about 20 minutes, when we got to the Luba county. A small Tibetan stupa and a cairn were at the entrance of the village. We looked around the village about for one hour. There were several big houses in the traditional Tibetan style. We asked people there to visit a new big Tibetan house which were still under construction. They said that they had gained so much money by selling the songrong mushroom that it enabled them to build such a big house. Interior decorations were magnificent, and we could observe the basic structure of modern Tibetan architecture. Some women in Tibetan clothes were taking care of their children, and young Tibetans were playing billiards here, too. We realized the name of the district had been changed to Gongga (Konka) district (Gonggashang xiang 貢嘎山鄉); Luba (Liuba 六巴) had been the old name. After doing a short interview and taking some photos, we left the Gongga district for Sadé, where we took lunch at 13:00. Although the road was under construction from Waze to Sheduoshan, we luckily arrived Kangding in the evening.

The Mu-nya people in the Luba village told me tourists had been coming to see Mt. Minya konka recently. The asphalt-paved, comfortable road will bring them new business chances. The village is located on the trekking route from the Gongga district to Mt. Minya konka, and this world-famous mountain will become a sight-seeing area just like the Hailuoguo 海螺溝 glacier park mentioned in section 1. However, the next issue for Mu-nya people must be the ‘economic development and preservation of the environment’. Some of my Mu-nya friends are concerned about this important issue and have organized an environmental preservation group. Anyway, I think the Mu-nya people will see a new horizon from Mt. Minya konka in the near future.

EXPLORING THE MU-NYA PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE



Mr. Lyuza Trashi with his family at Tanggu village in Jiulong county.



Mu-nya people whom we met at Tanggu village.

Incidentally we can see another new horizon in our comparative study of the Mu-nya language. By accumulating data on Tibeto-Burman languages in China, the comparative study of Tangut and Mu-nya has also entered a new stage. There has been a big unresolved issue: Does the Tangut language belong to the Qiangic branch? In order to answer this question, we set up a method for analysis as follows: First, we should look for definite features identifying the Qiangic language in our field data. And as the second step, all we need to do is to check if the Tangut language also shares these features.

I made a thorough investigation of their lexicon, and found 6 keywords able to identify the Qiangic language. The words are: kidney 腎, pus 膿, urine 尿, year 年, grind (a knife) 磨 (刀), and forget 忘記. Almost all the Qiangic languages share these words as cognates, but other branches of Tibeto-Burman do not necessarily do so, and at the same time these words do not correspond to written Tibetan which means these words were not borrowings from that influential language.

Figure 10 Keywords to identify Qiangic language

	kidney 腎	pus 膿	urine 尿	year 年	grind (a knife) 磨 (刀)	forget 忘記
WT	<i>mkhal ma</i>	<i>rnag</i>	<i>gcin</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>rdar</i>	<i>brjed</i>
Qiang 羌 (Maoxian)	ʃpəl	ʃpə sɑ	bɪ	pə	suə	da:ɪm
sTau 道孚 (Geshiza)	rvə le	spə	ɸɕa	ko	mtshi	lmə
Prinmi 普米 (Jiulong)	pu ¹¹ lǔ ⁵⁵	pu ⁵⁵	bě ³⁵	ko ⁵⁵	khu ¹¹ sy ⁵⁵	a ¹¹ mǎ ¹¹
Lyuzu 呂蘇	nbo ³³ ly ⁵³	pu ³⁵	nbaɪ ³⁵	dzu ⁵³ tʃu ³¹	tə ⁵³ su ⁵³	the ³³ me ⁵³
Mu-nya 木雅	pə ⁵⁵ le ⁵³	pɛ ⁵³	bi ³⁵	kwi ⁵³	no ³³ so ⁵⁵	the ⁵⁵ mu ⁵³
Tangut 西夏	*wər low Pearl 186	*pɛ TY 6B3	*bji TY 7A6	*kjiw TY 22B4	*sjwo TY 31A7	*mji TY 54A2
Lolo 彝	o ³³	ndzɪ ³³	zɪ ³³	khu ⁵⁵	tɕɪ ⁵⁵	ɑ ²¹ ʃu ⁵⁵
Kachin 景頗	sǎ ³¹ te ⁵⁵	mǎ ³³ tsui ³³	tʃit ³¹	ʃǎ ³¹ niŋ ³³	kǎ ³¹ ʒaŋ ³³	mǎ ³¹ lap ³¹
WB	kjək ⁴ kap ⁴	pran ²	shi ³	hnas ⁴	tθwe ³	me ¹

This figure shows Tangut also definitely shares these keywords, and they are very likely to be cognates. In my estimate we can recognize that Tangut also belongs to the Qiangic branch based on its lexicon. And when we were looking for the keywords to identify, we also found 6 other words, which only Mu-nya and Tangut share as cognates among the Qiangic languages. These 6 words are as follows:

Figure 11 Keywords only Mu-nya and Tangut share among Qiangic languages

	mortar 白	bird 鳥	butterfly 蝴蝶	full 滿	pointed 尖	yellow 黃
Mu-nya 木雅	tsø ³³ qhø ⁵⁵	ndze ³³ wu ⁵⁵	mbe ³³ mbə ⁵⁵	to ³³ sur ⁵⁵	ndze ³³ ndze ⁵⁵	nə ³³ nə ⁵⁵
Tangut 西夏 ‘碓碗’	*tswor khu Pearl 165	*džiwow we Pearl 172	*pja pju TY 17B3	*tjir sjir TY 32B2	*dzu tshjij TY 19A7	*nər tshjiw

Note: The Tangut word for ‘butterfly’ in *The Timely Pearl*: Tangut-Chinese Glossary, see section 8.

I reported the process of selecting these keywords and the results of the comparison in detail at the 2nd International Symposium on Tangut Studies held at Yinchuan 銀川, Ningxia 寧夏, August 16-19, 2005.

I think these correspondences between Mu-nya and Tangut can not be coincidence. However, they do not share too many apparent cognates, so that I do not think Mu-nya is a direct descendant language of Tangut. More likely, it is a related language, which means that the ancestor languages of Mu-nya and Tangut must have been very close to each other in their lexicon and structure; both of them might have been dialects derived from the same source.

20. Conclusion

The investigation of the variety of languages and cultures in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor will bring us new perspectives both in linguistics and ethnology. But recently a big wave of modernization has been steadily spreading into mountainous districts. The economic developments of society in China have brought affluence and convenience to ethnic districts, but on the other hand, they put minority languages at risk. These small languages are a valuable heritage for studying the variety and history of humankind, thus field research on these languages is a project of great urgency. At the same time, comprehensive sociolinguistic research to investigate the relationship of language and society in all aspects, including sociology, ecology, and geography, should begin as soon as possible, since social structures are rapidly changing.

However, this is an academic point of view. The most important project for the people who belong to the ethnic subgroups of the Tibetan nationality and live in the western Sichuan ethnic corridor is to learn and master the Chinese language. This is far more important than preserving their mother tongue, or studying the Tibetan language, because if they cannot speak and read Chinese, it will be a tremendous

deterrent to their economic success. Even if they cannot speak their “local speech”, or the nationality language, if they receive the status label of nationality from their parents, they can receive all the benefits for nationalities, such as birth control, entering college, etc. Furthermore, if they can master Chinese, they will have many opportunities to pursue higher education and raise their status in Chinese society. In addition, they can also study foreign languages through Chinese, which might be a key to open a window for worldwide opportunities.

Even so, we should extend a warning about such developing social conditions. If language is excluded as an element of ethnic identity, the local languages will weaken in those societies. As a result it is quite possible that a language could become extinct in only three generations. The speakers of minority languages should recognize that their mother tongues are their own great historical heritage and preserve them themselves: This is the only way to maintain their mother tongues and hand them down to the next generation. If not, they are always in danger of extinction, no matter how many speakers of the language exist today. As a linguist, I hope my small study will be able to contribute to maintaining these languages in the future.*

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200 Basic words of the Mu-nya language

Takumi IKEDA

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. 1978. *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman: the 'organic approach' to linguistic comparison*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues. Appendix I pp.284-296.

Abbreviations

- JAM James A. Matisoff
PLB Proto-Lolo-Burmese
STC Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. Contributing editor: James A. Matisoff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
TBL Huang Bufan 黄布凡 et al (eds.) 1992. [*A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon*.] *Zangmianyu yuyan cihui*. 《藏缅语族语言词汇》中央民族学院出版社
TSR Matisoff, James A. 1972. *The Loloish Tonal Split Revisited*. Berkeley.
WT: Written Tibetan in Wylie system
ZMC Bianxiezhu 编写组 1991. *Zangmianyu yuyin he cihui*. 《藏缅语语音和词汇》北京：中国社会科学出版社

Mu-nya Dialects

- (SG) Shenggu (生古) village.
(TG) Tanggu (汤古) village.
(TBL) Muju (木居) village in Luba (六巴) district in the Sadé (沙德) area.
(ZMC) Luba (六坝=六巴) district in the Sadé (沙德) area.

A. Bodyparts (N bp)001 **belly** (exterior) *pu·k (STC#358) [see above 1.141(b)]

fùbù 腹部 exterior ***

There is no distinction between the exterior and interior belly in the Mu-nya language.

dùzi 肚子 interior vu³³lø⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
 βə³³lø⁵³ (TBL#0096)
 vu³⁵lø⁵³ (ZMC#0260)

WT: *grod pa / grod khog / gsus pa*

wèi 胃 stomach tə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵lø⁵⁵ (SG)
 tu⁵⁵ku⁵⁵lø⁵⁵ (TG)
 tə⁵⁵kə⁵³lø³³ (TBL#0148)
 tu⁵³ku⁵³lø⁵³ (ZMC#0269)

WT: *pho ba*002 **blood** *s-hwi·y (STC#222)

xiě 血 sa⁵⁵ (SG)
 sa⁵³ (TG)
 sa⁵³ (TBL#0129)
 sa⁵³ (ZMC#0268)

WT: *khrag***pus** *m-blen (STC p.143), *s-na·y (GSTC#105)

nóng 脓〔膿〕 pʌ⁵⁵ (SG)
 pɛ̃⁵³ (TG)
 pə̃²⁴ (TBL#0159)
 pɛ̃³⁵ (ZMC#0286)

WT: *rnag*

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- 003 **bone** *rus (STC#006)
- gǔtou 骨头 [骨頭] tɕhe³³ru⁵⁵ (SG) tɕhe⁵⁵ru⁵³ (TG)
tɕhue⁵⁵rə⁵³ (TBL#0133)
WT: *rus pa*
- 004 **ear / hear** *g-na (STC#453)
- ěrduo 耳朵 nɯ⁵⁵ku⁵⁵sə⁵⁵lɔ⁵⁵ (SG)
nɛ⁵⁵va⁵³ (TG)
nɯ²⁴ (TBL#0081)
nɛ³⁵ (ZMC#0241)
WT: *ma*
- tīngjiàn 听见 [聽見] nda⁵⁵ra³³ {听见了 heard} (SG)
hear (thɔ̃³³) nda³⁵ra³³ {听见了 heard} (TG)
ndo⁵³ (TBL#1682)
WT: *go / tshor*
- tīng 听 [聽] khu³³se⁵⁵ŋa³³ (SG)
listen khe⁵³su⁵⁵na⁵⁵ (TG)
qhe³³se⁵⁵na³³ (TBL#1681)
su⁵⁵ŋa³³ (ZMC#0532)
WT: *nyan*
- 005 **egg** *twiy (STC#168)
- dàn 蛋 va³³va⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
vɛ³³va⁵³ (TBL#0450)
va³³va⁵⁵ (ZMC#0170)
WT: *sgo nga*
- 006 **eye** *mik ɰ *myak (STC#402)
- yǎnjīng 眼睛 mi⁵⁵ (SG) mi⁵³ (TG)
mi⁵³ (TBL#0079)
mi⁵³ (ZMC#0238)
WT: *mig*

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- 007 **fat / grease** *ryak (STC#204), *tsil (STC pp.16, 168, 173),
*sa·w (STC#272)

zhīfáng 脂肪 *** (SG)
tɕʰ⁵³ (TG)
tɕʰ⁵³ (TBL#0445 脂肪油)

WT: *tshil bu / zhag tshi*

- 008 **foot** *kriy (STC#038)

jiǎo 脚 † mɿ³³dʒi⁵⁵ (SG)
mɿ⁵⁵dʒi³³ (TG)
ŋɕʰ²⁴ (TBL#0103)
ŋɕʰ³⁵ (ZMC#0263)
† [mɿ³³dʒi⁵⁵] (SG) indicates the front part of foot or sole; [ŋɕʰ⁵⁵] (SG)
means ‘leg’, and often used to indicate one’s ‘foot’ as well.

WT: *rkang pa*

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

chángzi 肠子 [腸子] wɿ³³tɕʰa⁵⁵ (SG)
vu³³tɕʰa⁵⁵ (TG)
vɕ³³tɕʰa⁵⁵ (TBL#0149)
vu³³tɕʰa³⁵ (ZMC#0271)

WT: *rgyu ma*

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

tóufa 头发 [頭髮] ɕa⁵⁵mo⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
ɕɕ⁵³mo³³ (TBL#0075)
ɕɕ³⁵mo³³ (ZMC#0234)

WT: *skra*

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011 **hair** (body) *mul (STC#002), *tsam (STC#073) corresponds to Swadesh's 'feather'.

tímáo 体毛 [體毛] mo⁵⁵ (SG)
mo³⁵ (TG)
cf. zũ³³ndur⁵⁵ mo³⁵ {monkey + hair}: down, fluff (TG)
mo²⁴ (TBL#0266 毛)
mo³⁵ (ZMC#0172 兽毛)

WT: *spu*

yǔmáo 羽毛 ndze³³wu⁵⁵ mo³⁵ {bird + hair} (SG) (TG)
ndze⁵⁵fu⁵⁵ mo²⁴ (TBL#0299)
dze³⁵wu³⁵ mo³⁵ (ZMC#0173)

WT: *sgro*

012 **hand / arm** *lak (STC#086)

shǒu 手 ri⁵³ (SG) ri⁵⁵ (TG)
yi⁵³ (TBL#0107)
yi⁵⁵ (ZMC#0251)

WT: *lag pa*

gēbo 胳膊 *** (SG) ri⁵⁵ (TG)

They do not distinguish between 'hand' and 'arm' in Mu-nya.

cf. re⁵⁵dzi⁵³ {palm} (TG)

cf. la⁵⁵kə³³tshi⁵⁵le³⁵ {elbow} (TG)

† re⁵³kə³³tshi³³ (TBL#0105)

† This word indicates '(the inside of) elbow' in TG.

‡ va³⁵ (ZMC#0253)

‡ This must be a mistake.

WT: *lag ngar*

013 **head** *m-gaw ≠ *s-gaw (STC#490), *d-bu (STC p.117)

tóu 头 [頭] ka³³lɔ⁵⁵ (SG)
ka⁵⁵lɔ³³ (TG)
ke⁵³lɔ³³ (TBL#0074)
ke³⁵lɔ³³ (ZMC#0232)

WT: *mgo / dbu* (H)

- 014 **heart** *s-niŋ (STC#367)
- xīnzàng 心脏 [心臟] jɿ³³phur⁵⁵suw⁵⁵ɣø³⁵ (SG)
 jɿ⁵⁵phur³³suw³³ɣø³⁵ (TG)
 jɿ⁵³ (TBL#0144)
 jɿ⁵³phø⁵⁵suw⁵³ɣø³⁵ (ZMC#0272)
- WT: *snying*
- 015 **horn** *kruw (STC#037), *ruŋ (STC#085)
- jǐjiǎo 犄角 tʂhuw³³mbɐ³⁵ (SG)
 tʂhuw³³mbɐ⁵³ (TG)
 tʂhə⁵³ / tʂhə⁵³mbɐ⁵³ (TBL#0263)
 tʂhuw⁵⁵mbɐ⁵³ (ZMC#0176 角 (牛角))
- WT: *rwa co*
- 016 **liver** *m-sin (STC#234)
- gān 肝 zə⁵⁵ (SG)
 liver zuw⁵⁵ (TG)
 zə⁵³ (TBL#0145)
 zuw⁵³ (ZMC#0273)
- WT: *mchin pa*
- kidney** *m-kal ɹ *s-ga-l (STC#12)
- shèn 肾 [腎] pə⁵⁵lɛ⁵⁵ (SG)
 pɐ⁵⁵lɛ⁵⁵ (TG)
 pɐ⁵⁵lɛ⁵³ (TBL#0146)
 pɐ⁵³lɛ⁵³ (ZMC#0270)
- WT: *mkhal ma*
- 017 **mouth** *ak (STC#106), *m-ka (STC#468)
- zuǐ 嘴 ŋə³³tsø⁵⁵ (SG)
 ŋu³³tsø⁵³ (TG)
 ŋə³³tsø⁵³ (TBL#0084)
 ŋu³⁵tsø³⁵ (ZMC#0242)

200 BASIC WORDS OF THE MU-NYA LANGUAGE

- kǒu 口 ɲə³³tsə⁵⁵ khu⁵⁵ {mouth + inside} (SG) (TG)
WT: *kha*
- 018 **neck** *ke (STC#251), *liŋ (STC#096), *tuk (STC#392)
- bózi 脖子 ɬə⁵⁵tsa⁵⁵ (SG)
(jǐng 颈 [頸]) ɬə⁵⁵tsa⁵³ (TG)
 ɬə⁵⁵tsa⁵³ (TBL#0089)
 ɬu⁵⁵tsa⁵⁵ (ZMC#0248)
WT: *ske / mjing pa*
- 019 **nose** *s-na ~ *s-nar (STC#101)
- bízi 鼻子 su⁵⁵ (SG) su⁵³ (TG)
 sə⁵³ (TBL#0080)
 su⁵³ (ZMC#0240)
WT: *sna*
- 020 **skin / bark** *s-graw (STC#121), *kok (STC#342)
- pífū 皮肤 ru⁵⁵mba⁵⁵ (SG)
 ru⁵⁵mbə⁵³ (TG)
 rə³³mbə⁵³ (TBL#0120)
 zu³⁵mbə⁵³ (ZMC#0266)
- pí 皮 ex. tshu³³pho³⁵ ru⁵⁵mba⁵⁵ {tree + skin 树皮} (SG) (TG)
 † ko⁵⁵mə⁵³ < Tib. *ko dmar* (TBL#0265)
 † This must be a mistake, [kə⁵⁵mə⁵³] (TG) does not mean ‘skin/bark’,
 but means ‘leather’, which is a Tibetan borrowing.
WT: *pags pa ~ lpags pa*
- 021 **spit** *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 dzə³³mbə⁵⁵ (SG)
 dzə³³mbə⁵³ (TG)
 dzə³³mbə⁵³ (TBL#0156)
 zə³⁵mbə⁵³ (ZMC#0280)

- tuòmo 唾沫 dzə³³mbə⁵⁵ ro⁵⁵ (SG)
*** (TG)
WT: *kha chu*
- 022 **tail** *r-may (STC#282)
- wěiba 尾巴 mə⁵⁵ tu⁵⁵ku⁵⁵ru³⁵ (SG)
mu⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵ro⁵³ (TG)
mə²⁴ (TBL#0267)
mu³⁵ (ZMC#0177)
WT: *nga ma*
- 023 **tongue** *m-lay ⇌ *s-lay (STC#281)
- shétou 舌头 [舌頭] rɿ⁵⁵ (SG)
rɿ³⁵ (TG)
rɐ²⁴ (TBL#0139)
zɐ³⁵ (ZMC#0245)
WT: *lce*
- 024 **tooth** *s-wa (STC#437)
- yáchǐ 牙齿 [牙齒] xu⁵⁵ (SG)
xu³⁵ (TG)
xuə²⁴ (TBL#0137)
xu³⁵ (ZMC#0244)
WT: *so*
- 025 **wing** *s-ton; *(s/k-)l-w-ak [cf. ARM#12];
*(s/p-)lyap [cf. FLY#149] (JAM)
- chìbǎng 翅膀 vu⁵⁵pha³⁵ (SG)
(yì 翼) ndze³³pha⁵³ (TG)
βə³³phə⁵⁵ (TBL#0298)
vu³⁵phe⁵⁵ (ZMC#0171)
WT: *gshog pa*

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026 **nail / claw** *m-(t)sin (STC#074)

zhǐjia 指甲 ra³³ndza⁵⁵ (SG)
 ra³³ndza⁵³ (TG)
 ra³³ndza⁵⁵ (TBL#0113)
 za³⁵ndza⁵³ (ZMC#0256)

WT: *sen mo*

zhǎo 爪 ra³³ndza⁵⁵ (SG)
 ra³³ndza⁵³ (TG)
 u⁵⁵yi⁵⁵ŋge³⁵ {chicken leg(s)} (ZMC#0174)
 cf. de³³mə⁵⁵ < Tib. *sder mo* (TBL#0307 爪子 claw, talon)

WT: *sder mo*

026.1 **back** *s-gal (STC p.18), *s-nuŋ (STC#354)

bèi 背 gi³³tshi⁵⁵ (SG)
 pu³³da³⁵ (TG)
 ge³³pæ⁵³ < Tib. *sgal pa* (TBL#0091)

jǐbèi 脊背 tsho³³ra⁵⁵ {back bone} (SG)
 gi³³tshi⁵³ (TG)
 † khø³⁵dyi⁵³ (ZMC#0258)

† This must be a mistake, [khø³⁵dui⁵³] (TG) does not mean ‘back’, but means ‘the upper half of the body’.

WT: *sgal pa*

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

xīgài 膝盖 [膝盖] ŋu³³phu⁵⁵la⁵⁵ (SG)
 ŋu⁵⁵phə³³la³³ (TG)
 nuə²⁴phə⁵⁵la³³ (TBL#0101)

WT: *pus mo*

026.3 **leg** *(r-)kaŋ (STC pp.70, 142)

tuǐ 腿 ŋg⁵⁵ {=foot} (SG)
 ŋg³⁵ {=foot} (TG)
 la³³ɕa⁵³ < Tib. *brla sha* (TG)
 lɛ³³ɕɛ⁵³ < Tib. *brla sha* (ZMC#0264)

WT: *rkang pa*

dàtuǐ 大腿 lɛ³³ɕa⁵⁵ < Tib. *brla sha* (SG)
 thigh la³³ɕa⁵³ < Tib. *brla sha* (TG)
 lɛ³³ɕæ⁵³ < Tib. *brla sha* (TBL#0100)

WT: *brla*

xiǎotuǐ 小腿 mɿ³³ndu⁵⁵ vɿ³³lɔ⁵⁵ {腿肚子 calf} (SG)
 shin / calf mẽ³³ndu⁵⁵ {腿肚子 calf} (TG)
 ŋu³³do⁵⁵ {胫 [脛] shin} (TG)
 † ŋuə⁵⁵do⁵³ (TBL#0102 小腿 calf)
 † This word must be ‘shin’.

WT: *nywa*027 **finger / toe** *m-yuŋ (STC#355)

shǒuzhǐ 手指 rɿ³³nə⁵⁵ (SG)
 (rɿ⁵⁵) rɿ³³nu⁵⁵ {(hand)+finger} (TG)
 rɿ³³nə⁵³ (TBL#0109)
 zɔ³⁵nu⁵³ (ZMC#0255)

WT: *mdzub mo*

jiǎozhǐ 脚趾 mɿ³³nə⁵⁵ (SG)
 ŋg⁵⁵ rɿ³³nu⁵⁵ {foot finger} (TG)

WT: *rkang mdzub*028 **palm** *pwa or *b-wa (STC#418)

shǒuzhǎng 手掌 rɿ³³ŋu⁵⁵ (SG)
 rɛ³³dzi⁵⁵ (TG)

WT: *sbar mo / thar mo*

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- 029 **penis** *li ʰ *m-leɣ (STC#262)
- jība 鸡巴 [雞巴] kə⁵⁵ndə⁵⁵ / mba⁵⁵ (SG)
mba⁵⁵ (TG)
mba⁵³ (TBL#0116 男生生殖器)
WT: *pho mtshan*
- yīnjīng 阴茎 [陰莖] kə⁵⁵ndə⁵⁵ (SG)
mba⁵⁵ (TG)
WT: *mje*
- gāowán 睾丸 kə⁵⁵ndu⁵⁵ndzə³³pu⁵⁵ (SG)
kə⁵⁵lə⁵³ (TG)
kuə⁵⁵ndə³³rə³³lə⁵³ (TBL#0117)
WT: *rlig 'bras / rlig ril*
- 030 **vagina or breast / milk** *nuw (STC#419)
- yīndào 阴道 [陰道] tə⁵⁵mbə⁵⁵ (SG)
tu⁵⁵ (TG) / bə⁵⁵li⁵³ (for virgin's) (TG)
tə²⁴ (TBL#0118 女生生殖器)
WT: *mo mtshan / stu*
- rǔfáng 乳房 nə³³nə⁵⁵ (SG)
nu³³nu⁵⁵ (TG)
nə³³nə²⁴ (TBL#0094)
nu³³nə⁵³ (ZMC#0259)
WT: *nu ma*
- nǎizhī 奶汁 lə⁵⁵ (SG)
lə³⁵ (TG)
lə²⁴ (TBL#0095)
lə³⁵ (ZMC#0281)
WT: *'o ma*

- 031 **brain** *nuk (STC#483)
- nǎosuǐ 脑髓〔腦髓〕 ni³³mbə⁵⁵ (SG)
ni³⁵ / ni³³mbə⁵⁵ (TG)
ni²⁴ (TBL#0132)
WT: *klad pa*
- 032 **navel** *la:y, *s-tay (STC#299)
- dùqí 肚脐〔肚臍〕 vi⁵⁵tsha⁵⁵ (SG)
vi³³tsha⁵³ (TG)
βi³³tsha⁵³ (TBL#0097)
WT: *lte ba*
- 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 ʂə⁵⁵ (SG)
ʂu³⁵ (TG)
ʂə²⁴ (TBL#0151)
- fèn 粪〔糞〕 yu³³mbu⁵⁵ {manure} (TG)
yu³⁵mbu⁵³ (ZMC#0471)
WT: *skyag pa*
- cf. niú fèn 牛粪〔糞〕 tɕhe⁵⁵mbə⁵⁵ {cow dung} (SG)
tɕhẽ³³mbu⁵⁵ {cow dung} (TG)
tɕuæ²⁴ (TBL#0262 牛粪);
WT: *lci ba*
- cf. yáng fèn 羊粪〔糞〕 tshu³³tɕha⁵³ ʂu⁵⁵ {sheep dung} (TG)
xɐ³³di⁵⁵ (TG)
xɐ³³de⁵⁵ (TBL#0280 羊粪)
WT: *ra sdug*
- cf. zhū fèn 猪粪〔糞〕 vo³³ ʂu⁵⁵ ku⁵⁵li³³ {pig dung} (SG)
zɿ³⁵ ʂu⁵⁵ {pig dung} (TG)
*** (TBL#0288 猪粪)
WT: *phag phrug*

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- 034 **piss** *ts(y)i ɰ *ziy (STC#077)
- niào 尿 bi⁵⁵ (SG) bi³⁵ (TG)
bi²⁴ (TBL#0152)
bi³⁵ (ZMC#0283)
WT: *gcin pa*
- 035 **sweat** *ʔkrwiy² (PLB)
- hàn 汗 ji³³tɕu⁵⁵ {n.} (SG)
cf. ni³³tɕu⁵⁵ {v.} (SG)
tɕu³⁵ (TG)
tɕu²⁴ (TBL#0154)
† ni³³tɕu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0277) † This is a verb.
WT: *rngul nag*
- 036 **snot** *s-nap (STC#102)
- bítì 鼻涕 su³³mbə⁵⁵ (SG)
sə⁵⁵mbə⁵³ (TG)
sə⁵⁵mbə⁵³ (TBL#0157)
su⁵⁵mbe³⁵ (ZMC#0278)
WT: *snabs / sna stug / snabs rtug*
- 037 **vomit** *Npat (TSR#038), *on (STC#343)
- ǒutù 呕吐 [嘔吐] tu⁵⁵phΛ⁵⁵ (SG)
tu³⁵phə³³ (TG)
tu²⁴phə³³ (TBL#1535)
tu⁵⁵phə³³ (ZMC#0543)
WT: *skyug*
- 038 **marrow** *kliŋ (STC#126)
- gǔsuǐ 骨髓 qo³³lu⁵⁵ (SG)
kō⁵⁵ntshi⁵³ (TG)
WT: *rkang mar*

039 **breath / life** *sak (STC#485); *C-sak (TSR#123)

hūxī 呼吸 $\text{ɕu}^{33}\text{ka}^{55}$ (SG)
 $\text{ɕɛ}^{33}\text{ka}^{55}$ (TG)

WT: *'bying rngub / dbugs gtong len*

cf. $\text{mɛ}^{53}\text{mɛ}^{33}$ {wind} (TBL#0020 气)
 WT: *rlung / dbugs / phu*

shēngmìng 生命 so^{55} (SG)
 cf. qa^{55} {spirit/soul} (SG)
 so^{53} (TG)
 so^{53} {? < Tib. *srog*} (TBL#0163) /
 † qa^{24} (TBL#0163)
 † This word means ‘算命 divination’.

WT: *srog*

cf. shòumìng 寿命 [壽命] $\text{mə}^{33}\text{tshi}^{55}$ (SG)
 life span $\text{mi}^{33}\text{tshi}^{53}$ (TG)
 $\text{tshi}^{53} / \text{mə}^{33}\text{tshi}^{53}$ (TBL#0164 寿命 [壽命] life span)

WT: *tshe*

B. Pronouns / Kinship terms / nouns referring to humans (N hum)040 **person / human being** *r-mi(y) (STC pp.107, 119, 158)

rén 人 mur³³ni⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
 mǎ³³ni⁵⁵ (TBL#0167)
 mǐ³⁵ni³⁵ (ZMC#0289)

WT: *mi*041 **thou** *na(ŋ) (STC#407)

nǐ 你 na⁵⁵ (SG)
 na⁵³ (TG)
 nǎ⁵³ (TBL#0931)
 nē⁵³ (ZMC#0973)

WT: *khyod / khyed rang* (H) / *nyid* (H)042 **I** *ŋa (STC#406) ≠ *ŋay (STC#285)

wǒ 我 ŋu⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
 ŋǎ⁵³ (TBL#0928)
 ŋu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0969)

WT: *nga / bdag* (< inclusive?)043 **child / son** *za ≠ *tsa (STC#059)

háizi 孩子 pǎ³³tshi⁵⁵ (SG)
 pu³³tshi⁵³ / za³⁵ (TG)
 pǎ³³tshi⁵³ (TBL#0169 小孩儿)
 za³⁵ (ZMC#0295 儿童)

WT: *phru gu / byis pa*

érzi 儿子 [兒子] tɕe⁵⁵ (SG)
 tɕe³⁵ (TG)
 tɕue²⁴ (TBL#0220)
 tɕye³⁵ (ZMC#0339)

WT: *bu*

- 044 **grandchild (nephew)** *b-liy (STC#448)
- sūnzi 孙子 [孫子] tsha³³fiu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha bo* (SG)
 tshɛ³³fiu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha bo* (TG)
 tshɛ⁵⁵fiu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha bo* (TBL#0224)
 tshɛ³³wu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha bo* (ZMC#0345)
 WT: *tsha bo*
- sūnnǚ 孙女 [孫女] tsha³³mu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha mo* (SG)
 tshɛ³³mu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha mo* (TG)
 tshɛ⁵⁵mu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha mo* (TBL#0225)
 tshɛ³³mu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha mo* (ZMC#0346)
 WT: *tsha mo*
- zhízi 侄子 tsha³³fiu⁵⁵ < Tib. (SG) tshɛ³³fiu⁵⁵ < Tib. (TG)
 tshɛ⁵⁵fiu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha bo* (TBL#0234)
 tshɛ³³wu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha bo* (ZMC#0343)
 WT: *tsha bo*
- zhínǚ 侄女 tsha³³mu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha mo* (SG)
 tshɛ³³mu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha mo* (TG)
 tshɛ³³mu⁵⁵ < Tib. *tsha mo* (ZMC#0344)
 WT: *tsha mo*
- 045 **son-in-law** *ma·k (STC#234), *z-ma·k (TSR#153)
- nǚxu 女婿 pǎ⁵⁵thǎ⁵⁵ < Tib. *bu thang* (SG)
 puw³³thǎ⁵³ < Tib. *bu thang* (TG)
 pǎ³³thǎ⁵³ < Tib. *bu thang* (TBL#0223)
 puw⁵⁵nthǎ⁵⁵ < Tib. *bu thang* (ZMC#0342)
 WT: *mag pa / bu thang*
- 046 **name** *r-miŋ (STC#083)
- míngzi 名字 mi⁵⁵ (SG) mi⁵³ (TG)
 mi⁵³ (TBL#0687)
 mi⁵³ (ZMC#0517)
 WT: *ming*

C. Foodstuffs (N food)047 **peas, beans** *be (STC#253), *s-nok (TSR#140)

dòuzi 豆子 ndu³³xu⁵³ (SG) (TG)
 dɔ³³xə⁵³ (TBL#0430)
 ndu³³xu⁵³ (ZMC#0201)

WT: *sran ma*

huángdòu 黄豆 xɿ³³ndu⁵⁵ < Chn. huángdòu (SG)
 ndu³³xu⁵³ nɛ³³nɛ³³ {bean + yellow} (TG)
 kɿ⁵⁵ndu³³xu⁵³ {Han + bean} (TG)
 ɔ⁵⁵la⁵⁵ se³³mæ³³ {+ < Tib. *sran ma*} (TBL#0431)

WT: *sran ma ser po*

wāndòu 豌豆 ndu³³xu⁵⁵ (SG)
 ndu³³xu⁵³ (TG)
 dɔ³³xə⁵³ tʂhə³³ {bean + white} (TBL#0433)

WT: *sran ma*048 **poison [antifood]** *duk ɰ *tuk (STC#472)

dú 毒 tu⁵⁵ (SG)
 tu³⁵ (TG)
 tu²⁴ (TBL#0641)
 tu³⁵ (ZMC#0510)

WT: *dug*049 **mushroom / fungus** *g-muw (STC#455) ɰ *s-muw (JAM)

jùnzi 菌子 mi³³ntɕha⁵⁵ / kɔ⁵⁵mi⁵⁵ (SG)
 mi³³ntɕha⁵³ (TG)
 mi³³ntɕha⁵³ (ZMC#0219)

mógu 蘑菇 mi³³tɕha⁵³ [yellow] / kɔ³³mi⁵⁵ [white] (TBL#0437)

WT: *sha mo*

TAKUMI IKEDA

mù'ér 木耳 mǎ³³ge³⁵ nǎ³³dʒo³⁵ < Tib. *mi rgan rna co* (SG)
 mǎ³³ma⁵⁵ ɳi³³va⁵⁵ (TG)
 mǎ³³gø⁵⁵ nǎ³³dʒo³³ < Tib. *mi rgan rna co* (TBL#0438)
 WT: *mi rgan rna co*

050 **liquor** *yu(w) (STC#094)

jiǔ 酒 wɪ⁵⁵ / ʌ⁵⁵rʌ⁵⁵ (SG)
wɪ³⁵ / a³³ra⁵³ (TG)
wuɪ⁵³ {青稞酒} / æ⁵⁵ræ⁵³ {白酒} (TBL#0452)
wɪ⁵³ (ZMC#0402)
WT: *a rag / chang* {青稞酒}

051 **plantain / banana** *s-ŋak (STC#477)

xiāngjiāo 香蕉 *** (SG) *** (TG)
*** (TBL#0398)
WT: *shing tog ngang lag ma*

051.1 **medicine / juice** *tsiy (STC#065)

yào	药 [藥]	me ⁵⁵ < Tib. <i>smān</i> (SG)
		me ⁵³ < Tib. <i>smān</i> (TG)
		tsə ⁵³ (TBL#0456)
		me ⁵³ < Tib. <i>smān</i> (ZMC#0509)
WT: <i>smān</i>		

zhī 汁 ***

WT: *gsher khu / khu ba*

051.2 **rice** (in fields) *b-ras (STC pp.17, 123)

dào 稻 ndzɛ³³mbə̃⁵⁵ < Tib. 'bras (SG)
ndzɛ⁵⁵bu³³ < Tib. 'bras (TG)
*** (TBL#0408 稻草)
mi³³vu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0186 稻子)
WT: 'bras / 'bras sog

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051.3 **rice** (cooked) *haŋ² (PLB: Bradley 1975a, #281b)

mǐ 米 ndze³⁵ < Tib. 'bras (SG) (TG)
ndzue⁵³ < Tib. 'bras (TBL#0439)
ndze³⁵ < Tib. 'bras (ZMC#0390)

WT: 'bras

fàn 饭 [飯] ndze³⁵ < Tib. 'bras (SG)
ndzẽ⁵⁵ndzu³³ { < Tib. 'bras + } (TG)
ndzə⁵³ (TBL#0440)
ndzu⁵³ (ZMC#0392)

WT: 'bras zan

051.4 **wheat / barley**

dà mài 大麦 [大麥] su³³wa⁵⁵ < Tib. so ba (SG)
mũ⁵⁵ndzu³³ (TG)
su⁵⁵wæ³³ < Tib. so ba (TBL#0411)
su⁵⁵wɛ⁵⁵ < Tib. so ba (ZMC#0187)

WT: so ba

xiǎo mài 小麦 [小麥] ra⁵⁵ {wheat} / qo⁵⁵vΛ⁵⁵ {flour} (SG)
qe⁵⁵ / sa⁵³ (TG)
qø²⁴ (TBL#0410)
qø³⁵ (ZMC#0188)

WT: gro

qīng kē 青稞 ʂa³³ni⁵⁵ (SG) ʂa⁵⁵ (TG)
ʂa²⁴ (TBL#0412)
ʂa³⁵ (ZMC#0189)

WT: nas

qiáo mài 荞麦 [蕎麥] *** (SG: ignorant) su³³yu⁵⁵ (TG)
sə⁵⁵rə⁵³ (TBL#0413)
su⁵⁵ru⁵³ (ZMC#0191 苦荞)
nã³³ndzu⁵⁵ (TG)
nɛ³⁵ndzyu⁵³ (ZMC#0190 荞子 (甜荞))

WT: bra bo

D. Animal names or animal products (N anim)052 **meat / animal** *sya (STC#181)

ròu 肉 ndo⁵⁵ (SG)
 ndo⁵³ (TG)
 ndo⁵³ (TBL#0443)
 ndo⁵⁵ (ZMC#0399)

WT: *sha*

yěshòu 野兽〔野獸〕 ri³³ta⁵³ / tɕũ⁵⁵ndzi⁵⁵ < Tib. (see below) (TG)
 rə³³ta⁵³ / tɕə⁵⁵ndzi⁵⁵ < Tib. (see below) (TBL#0303)

WT: *ri dwags* [eat grass]; *gcan gzan* [eat meat]053 **bird** *bya (STC#177), *s-ŋak (TSR#141)

niǎo 鸟〔鳥〕 ndze³³wu⁵⁵ (SG)
 ndze³³fu⁵⁵ (TG)
 ndze⁵⁵fu³³ (TBL#0326)
 dze³⁵wu³³ (ZMC#0142)
 cf. wu⁵⁵zu³³ {small birds} (TG)

WT: *bya* / *bye'u*054 **dog** *kwiŋ (STC#159)

gǒu 狗 khu⁵⁵ (SG)
 khu⁵³ (TG)
 khuə⁵³ (TBL#0289)
 khuu⁵³ (ZMC#0119)

WT: *khyi*055 **fish** *ŋya (STC#189)

yú 鱼〔魚〕 ɣu⁵⁵ (SG)
 ɣu⁵³ (TG)
 ɣuə⁵³ (TBL#0351)
 ɣuu⁵³ (ZMC#0151)

WT: *nya*

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- 056 **louse** *s-rik (STC#439),
*sar ≠ *śar (STC pp.15, 53, 84, 147, 172, 189)
- shīzi 虱子 tshΛ³³mΛ⁵⁵ (SG) tshɐ⁵⁵mɐ⁵³ (TG)
tshɐ⁵⁵mɐ⁵³ (TBL#0356)
tshɐ⁵⁵mɐ⁵⁵ (ZMC#0162)
WT: *shig*
- tiàozao 跳蚤 rə³³tshi⁵⁵ (SG) ru³³tshi⁵³ (TG)
rə³³tshi⁵³ (TBL#0355)
zu³⁵tshi⁵³ (ZMC#0161)
WT: *lji ba*
- 057 **snake** *b-ru·l (STC#447)
- shé 蛇 ro⁵⁵ (SG) ro⁵³ (TG)
ro⁵³ (TBL#0347)
zo⁵³ (ZMC#0152)
WT: *sbrul*
- 058 **frog** *s-bal (STC#015, 021, 107)
- qīngwā 青蛙 ra⁵⁵mbə³⁵mba⁵⁵ (SG)
mbur³³mba⁵³ (TG)
mbə⁵³mba³³ (TBL#0349)
mbo³⁵mba³³ (ZMC#0150)
- háma 蛤蟆 They have no distinction between ‘frog’ and ‘toad’ in Mu-nya.
WT: *sbal ba*
- 059 **insect, bug, vermin** *buw (STC#027)
- chóngzi 虫 [蟲] mbə³³tɕa⁵⁵ (SG)
mbur⁵⁵tɕa⁵³ (TG)
mbə³³tɕa²⁴ (TBL#0353)
mbur⁵⁵tɕa⁵⁵ (ZMC#0169)
WT: *'bu*

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

fēng 蜂 mbə³³lə⁵⁵ (SG)
mbi⁵⁵lə⁵³ {bee (general term)} (TG)
mbu⁵⁵mbu³³tʂa⁵³ {honey + insect} (TG)
mbə³³lə⁵³ (TBL#0367 蜜蜂)
† bə³⁵lə⁵⁵ (ZMC#0153 蜜蜂)
† This might be a mistake for [*mbə³⁵lə⁵⁵].

WT: *sbrang bu; sbrang ma / sbrang nor bu* {蜜蜂}

húdié 蝴蝶
butterfly mbe³³mbə⁵⁵ (SG)
mbe³³mbə⁵³ (TG)
mbe³³mbə⁵³ (TBL#0370)
be⁵⁵mbu⁵³ (ZMC#0154)

WT: *phye ma leb*

qīngtíng 蜻蜓
dragonfly tɕũ⁵⁵ndzo⁵⁵mbə⁵⁵tʂa³⁵ (SG)
bu³³la⁵⁵mə³³mə⁵⁵ni⁵⁵ < Tib. *bla ma ma ni* (TG)
*** (TBL#0369)
*** (ZMC#0155)

WT: *bla ma ma ni*

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

gēzi 鸽子 [鸽子] ndzu³³wi⁵⁵ (SG)
gu⁵⁵ji⁵³ (TG)
gu⁵⁵ji⁵⁵ / ndzu⁵⁵ji⁵⁵ (TBL#0302)
ŋgu⁵³ji³³ (ZMC#0140)

WT: *phug ron / mug gu* (Kham) ’ang gu (dBus)

bānjiū 斑鸠 [斑鳩] *** (SG)
tɕu⁵⁵ŋu⁵³ (TG)
lə⁵³gə³³ (TBL#0342)

WT: *’jo lo*

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- 062 **monkey** *mruk (STC pp.43, 112), *woy (STC#314);
*m-yuk (PLB: JAM 1973e)
- hóuzi 猴子 zuu³³ndu⁵⁵ (SG)
zuu³³ndu⁵³ (TG)
zə⁵⁵ndə⁵³ (TBL#0308)
zuu³⁵ndu⁵³ (ZMC#0128)
WT: spre'u
- 063 **pig** *pwak (STC#043); *wak (PLB: TSR#168)
- zhū 猪 ʒi⁵⁵ (SG) cf. va³³bo⁵⁵ {male pig} (SG)
ʒi³⁵ (TG)
ʒy²⁴ / βe⁵³ (TBL#0284)
ʒyi³⁵ (ZMC#0115)
WT: phag pa
- 064 **fowl** *k-rak (STC pp.88, 107, 187-9)
- jī 鸡 [雞] u⁵⁵ʔi⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
u⁵⁵ʔi³³ (TBL#0293)
u⁵³ʔi³⁵ (ZMC#0135)
WT: bya (de)
- 065 **otter** *s-ram (STC#438)
- shuītǎ 水獭 [水獺] dzə⁵⁵ (SG)
dzə⁵⁵ (TG)
dzuə²⁴ (TBL#0317)
dzye³⁵ (ZMC#0133)
WT: sram
- 066 **horse** *s-raŋ Ꞥ *m-raŋ (STC#145)
- mǎ 马 [馬] ʔi⁵⁵ (SG) ʔui⁵³ (TG)
ʔui⁵³ (TBL#0268)
ʔui³⁵ (ZMC#0113)
WT: rta

067 **ant** *rwak (STC#199)

mǎyǐ 蚂蚁 [螞蟻] tɕa³³ŋi⁵⁵ {ant + red} (SG)
 tɕua³⁵ ~ tɕa³⁵ (TG)
 tɕua²⁴ (TBL#0365)
 tɕua³⁵ (ZMC#0157)

WT: *grog ma*068 **bear** *d-wam (STC#461)

xióng 熊 ru³³we⁵⁵ (SG)
 re³³we⁵³ / ru³³we⁵³ (TG)
 re³³we⁵⁵ (TBL#0311)

WT: *dom*068.1 **leech** *rpat

zhì 蛭 They only have the ‘water leech’ in Mu-nya (see below).

WT: *pad pa*068.2 **water leech** *m-li-t

mǎhuáng 蚂蟥 tɕu⁵⁵mbə⁵⁵ {water worm} (SG)
 (shuǐzhì 水蛭) kɐ⁵³ (TG)
 tsæ⁵⁵mbə⁵⁵ (TBL#0364)

WT: *srin ’bu pad pa*069 **rat / rodent** *k-r-wak (TSR#188); *bwiw (STC#173) ‘bamboo rat’,
 *b-yuw (STC#093) ‘rat, rabbit’

lǎoshǔ 老鼠 tshu⁵⁵qo⁵⁵ro⁵⁵ (SG)
 tshu³⁵ (TG)
 tshu²⁴ (TBL#0320)
 tshu³⁵ (ZMC#0134)

WT: *byi ba / tsi tsi*

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

- 070 **ashes** *pla (STC#137)
- chéntǔ 尘土〔塵土〕 phə⁵⁵re³⁵ (SG)
tsa⁵⁵ (TG)
*** (TBL#0045)
WT: *thal ba*
- huī 灰 mə⁵⁵tɕhu⁵⁵ / re⁵⁵ (SG)
re³⁵ [general term] / mo⁵⁵re³³ [for compost] (TG)
mo⁵⁵re³³ (TBL#0063 草木灰)
re³⁵ (ZMC#0472 草木灰)
WT: *go thal*
- 071 **cloud** *C-tim¹ (PLB: Bradley 1975a, #320-2)
- yúncái 云〔雲〕 ndə³³re³⁵ (SG)
ndu³³re⁵⁵ (TG)
ndə³³re⁵⁵ (TBL#0007)
ndu³³zɕ³⁵ (ZMC#0006)
WT: *sprin pa*
- 072 **earth** *r-ka (STC#097), *mliy (STC#152)
- dì 地 sa⁵⁵tɕha⁵⁵ < Tib. *sa cha* (SG)
sa⁵⁵tɕha⁵³ < Tib. *sa cha* (TG)
sæ⁵³ < Tib. *sa* (TBL#0022)
se⁵⁵tɕhe⁵³ < Tib. *sa cha* (ZMC#0017 (天地))
cf. zu⁵³ (ZMC#0028 旱地 WT: *zhing kha*)
WT: *sa / sa cha*
- tǔ 土 tsa⁵⁵ra⁵⁵ {dry earth} (TG)
tsa⁵³ (TG)
tsa⁵³ (TBL#0040)
tsa⁵³ (ZMC#0031)
WT: *sa*

ní 泥 nda³³mba⁵³ < Tib. 'dam pa / 'dam bag (SG) (TG)
 nda³³mba⁵³ < Tib. 'dam pa / 'dam bag (TBL#0046)
 ndo³⁵mba⁵⁵ < Tib. 'dam pa / 'dam bag (ZMC#0032)

WT: 'dam pa / 'dam bag

073 fire *bar ≈ *par (STC#220), *mey (STC#290)

huǒ 火 mǎ⁵⁵ (SG)
 mu⁵³ [the same sound as 'sky'] (TG)
 mǎ⁵³ (TBL#0018)
 mu⁵³ (ZMC#0045)

WT: me

074 flower *ba-r (STC#001)

huā 花 me³³to⁵⁵ < Tib. me tog (SG)
 me³³to⁵³ < Tib. me tog (TG)
 mi³³to⁵³ < Tib. me tog (TBL#0377)
 me³³to⁵³ < Tib. me tog (ZMC#0228)

WT: me tog

075 fruit *sey (STC#057)

shuǐguǒ 水果 *** (SG)
 fio³³ma⁵³ {small peach} (TG)
 tshu³³ma⁵³ {bigger peach} (TG)
 ɕĩ⁵⁵thō⁵³ {fruit} < Tib. shing tog (TG)
 mǎ⁵⁵ma³³ (TBL#0378)
 ɕĩ⁵⁵thō⁵³ < Tib. shing tog (ZMC#0213)

WT: shing tog / shing 'bras

guǒshí 果实 [果實] ndzɿ³³bu⁵⁵ < Tib. 'bras bu (SG)
 ndze³³bu⁵⁵ < Tib. 'bras bu (TG)

WT: 'bras bu

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- 076 **grass** *mrak (STC#149)
- cǎo 草 yu⁵⁵ (SG)
yu⁵³ (TG)
yu⁵³ (TBL#0436)
yu³⁵ (ZMC#0218)
WT: *rtswa*
- 077 **leaf** *la (STC#486), *lap (STC#321), *pak (STC#040)
- yèzi 叶子 [葉子] lo³³ma⁵⁵ < Tib. *lo ma* (SG)
dʒi³³ / lo³³ma⁵³ < Tib. *lo ma* (TG)
lo³³ma⁵⁵ < Tib. *lo ma* (TBL#0376)
lo³⁵ma⁵³ < Tib. *lo ma* (ZMC#0224)
WT: *lo ma*
- 078 **moon** *s-la ʌ *g-la (STC#144)
- yuèliang 月亮 le³³nə⁵⁵ (SG)
moon le³³nɯ³⁵ (TG)
le³³nə⁵³ (TBL#0004)
le³⁵nɯ³⁵ (ZMC#0003)
- yuè 月 li⁵⁵ (SG)
month li⁵³ (TG)
li⁵³ (TBL#0771)
dɛ⁵⁵wɛ⁵⁵ < Tib. *zla ba* (ZMC#0074)
WT: *zla ba*
- 079 **mountain** *kaŋ¹ (PLB: Bradley 1975a, #312)
- shān 山 mbo⁵⁵ (SG)
mbu⁵⁵ / mbo⁵⁵ (TG)
mbo⁵³ (TBL#0023)
mbo⁵⁵ (ZMC#0025)
WT: *ri ; la*

080 rain

*r-wa (STC#443)

- yǔ 雨 ¶ mǝ⁵⁵ nǎ³³ ndza⁵⁵ pi³³. {It rains.} (SG)
 u³³ tɕe⁵³ [n.] (TG)
 ¶ (u³³ tɕe⁵³ / mu⁵⁵) nɐ³³ qhɐ⁵⁵ pi³³. {It rains.} (TG)
 mǝ⁵⁵ qhɐ³³ [n.] {weather} (TBL#0010)
 † u³⁵ tɕe⁵⁵ tɕe⁵⁵ (ZMC#0008)
 † One of these [tɕe⁵⁵] must be a mistake. It is redundant.

WT: *char pa*

081 river / valley

*klu-ŋ (STC#127), *kor (#349)

- hé 河 tɕu⁵⁵ (SG)
 tɕu⁵⁵ / tɕu⁵⁵ mɐ³⁵ {river + big} (TG)
 tɕə⁵³ (TBL#0030)
 † tɕu⁵⁵ mɐ³⁵ (ZMC#0018) ‘big river’

WT: *chu bo / klung ma*

- hégu 河谷 lǝ³³ mba⁵⁵ {big valley} < Tib. *lung pa* (SG)
 rǝ³³ mbɐ⁵⁵ < Tib. *rong* (TG)
 cf. mba³³ qo⁵³ (TBL#0025 山谷 WT: *ri 'gag*)

WT: *lung pa / rong sa*

082 road

*lam (STC#087)

- lù 路 dʒa³³ lɐ⁵⁵ < Tib. *rgya lam* (SG) rɐ⁵⁵ (TG)
 dʒɐ³³ lɐ⁵³ < Tib. *rgya lam* (TBL#0038)
 dʒɐ³⁵ lɐ⁵³ < Tib. *rgya lam* (ZMC#0474)

WT: *lam*

083 root

*bul ≠ *pul (STC pp.166, 173), *r-sa (STC#442)

- gēn 根 qa³³ ndzɐ⁵⁵ (SG)
 tsɐ⁵⁵ wɐ⁵³ < Tib. *rtsa ba* {root of sth} (TG)
 qa³³ ndzɐ⁵⁵ {roots of plant} (TG)
 tsɐ⁵⁵ wɐ⁵³ < Tib. *rtsa ba* (TBL#0375)
 qa³³ ndzɐ⁵⁵ (ZMC#0222)

WT: *rtsa ba*

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- 084 **salt** *g-ryum (STC#245), *tsa (STC#214)
- yán 盐 [鹽] tshw⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
 tshə⁵³ (TBL#0061)
 tshw⁵³ (ZMC#0398)
 WT: *tshwa*
- 085 **sky** *muw (STC#488)
- tiān 天 mə⁵³ (SG)
 mu⁵³ [the same sound as ‘fire’] (TG)
 mə⁵³ (TBL#0001)
- (tiānkōng 天空) mə⁵³ ηw³³ ηw⁵⁵ {sky + blue} (SG)
 mu⁵⁵ ηgo⁵⁵ ~ mu⁵⁵ ngo⁵⁵ {sky + head} (TG)
 mu⁵⁵ ηgo³³ (ZMC#0001)
- WT: *gnam / nam mkha’*
- 086 **smoke** *kuw (STC#256)
- yān 烟 [煙] mǔ⁵⁵ khw⁵⁵ (SG)
 mǔ⁵⁵ khw⁵³ (TG)
 mu³³ khə⁵³ (TBL#0019)
 mǔ³⁵ khw⁵⁵ (ZMC#0046)
 WT: *du ba*
- 087 **star** *s-kar (STC#049)
- xīngxīng 星星 ka⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ < Tib. *skar ma* (SG)
 ndzɿ⁵⁵ ru⁵⁵ [individual] / ndzɿ⁵⁵ vu⁵⁵ [general] (TG)
 ndzɿ²⁴ βu³³ (TBL#0005)
 dzɿ⁵⁵ vu³³ (ZMC#0004)
 WT: *skar ma*

- 088 **stick** *da¹ (PLB cf. Lahu á-tà)
- gùnzi 棍子 də³³mbə⁵³ [general term] (SG)
 də³³ndzɯ⁵⁵ku⁵⁵li⁵⁵ {a stick to hit person} (SG)
 du⁵⁵mbu⁵³ (TG)
 də³³mbə⁵³ (TBL#0586)
 du³⁵mbu⁵³ (ZMC#0429)
 WT: *rgyug pa*
- 089 **stone** *brak (STC#134) ‘rock’, *r-luŋ (STC#088),
 *k-lok ≠ *k-loŋ (PLB: TSR#190)
- shítou 石头 [石頭] dzo³³ (SG) dzo⁵³ (TG)
 dzo⁵³ (TBL#0043)
 dzo⁵³ (ZMC#0042)
 WT: *rdo*
- yánshí 岩石 dzo³³ki⁵⁵kʌ³³ {stone + big} (SG)
 tʂɑ³⁵ (TG)
 tʂud²⁴ (TBL#0027)
 WT: *grag*
- 090 **sun / day** *nam (STC#048), *niy (STC#081), *tsyar (STC#187)
- tàiyáng 太阳 [太陽] nə³⁵ (SG)
 sun nɯ³⁵ (TG)
 nɛ²⁴ (TBL#0002)
 † mɯ³⁵ (ZMC#0002)
 † This must mistake [nɯ³⁵] (TG) ‘sun’ for [mɯ⁵⁵] (TG) ‘sky.’
 WT: *nyi ma*
- tiān 天 si⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
 (rì) 日 (tɛ³³) si⁵³ {(one) day} (TBL#0910)
 day si⁵⁵ (ZMC#0088)
 WT: *nyin / nyi ma*

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091 **tree / wood** *siŋ (STC#233); *sik (PLB: TSR#118)

shù 树 [樹] tshw³³pho⁵⁵ (SG)
tshw⁵⁵pho⁵⁵ (TG)
tshə³³pho²⁴ (TBL#0372)
tshw⁵⁵pho³⁵ (ZMC#0178)

WT: *shing* (*sdong*)

mùtou 木头 [木頭] do³³ma⁵⁵ {wood} (SG)
tshə⁵⁵rə⁵⁵ {firewood} (SG)
tshw⁵⁵gu³³li³³ {wood} (TG)
tshw⁵⁵rə⁵³ {brushwood} (TG)
do³³ma⁵⁵ {log} (TG)
tshə⁵⁵rə⁵³ (TBL#0511)
do³³ma⁵⁵ (ZMC#0469)

WT: *shing*

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

shuǐ 水 tɕw⁵⁵ (SG) tɕw⁵³ (TG)
tɕə⁵³ (TBL#0047)
tɕw⁵³ (ZMC#0010)

WT: *chu*

093 **wind** *g-liy (STC#454)

fēng 风 [風] mɛ⁵⁵mɛ³³ (SG) (TG)
mə⁵³mə³³ (TBL#0009)
mɛ⁵⁵mɛ³³ (ZMC#0007)

WT: *rlung* / *lhags pa*

094 **branch** *ka:k (STC#327), *kuŋ (STC#359)

shùzhī 树枝 [樹枝] ja⁵⁵ga⁵⁵ < Tib. *yal ga* (SG)
jɛ³³ga⁵⁵ < Tib. *yal ga* (TG)
jɛ³³gæ⁵³ < Tib. *yal ga* (TBL#0374)
jɛ⁵⁵ge⁵³ < Tib. *yal ga* (ZMC#0225)

WT: *yal ga*

- cf. shùgàn 树干 [樹幹] dō⁵⁵mbu⁵⁵ < Tib. *sdong po* (SG)
 trunk t̥so⁵⁵çi⁵⁵ (TG)
 do³³mbu⁵³ < Tib. *sdong po* (TBL#0373)
 WT: *sdong po*
- 095 **silver** *d-ŋul (STC pp.15, 173)
- yínzi 银子 [銀子] ŋu⁵⁵ (SG) ŋu⁵³ (TG)
 ŋu⁵³ (TBL#0052)
 ŋu⁵³ (ZMC#0036)
 WT: *dngul*
- jīnzi 金子 na⁵⁵ (SG) na⁵³ (TG)
 gold na⁵³ (TBL#0051)
 ŋa⁵³ (ZMC#0035)
 WT: *gser*
- 096 **bamboo** *g-pa (STC#044)
- zhúzi 竹子 ru⁵⁵ (SG)
 rũ³³ndzi⁵³ (TG)
 ru³³mbə⁵⁵t̥ɕø³³lø³³ {as material to make sth.} (TG)
 rə³³mbə⁵⁵t̥ɕø⁵³ (TBL#0389)
 zu³⁵mbu⁵³t̥ɕø⁵³ (ZMC#0183)
 WT: *smyug ma*
- 097 **shade / shadow** *g-rip ≠ *s-rip (STC p.113)
- yǐngzi 影子 ndza³³ru³⁵ (SG)
 ndza³³ru⁵³ (TG)
 dza³³rə⁵³ (TBL#0698)
 ndza³⁵ru³⁵ (ZMC#0520)
 WT: *grib ma*
- yīnyǐng 阴影 [陰影] *** (SG)
 ndza³³ru⁵³və³³ (TG)
 WT: *grib ma / grib nag / grib so*

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bèiyīnchù 背阴处 [背陰處] *** (SG)
ndza³³ru⁵³və³³ (TG)

WT: *nyi grib 'khel sa*

098 **joint** *tsik (STC#064)

(guān)jié (关)节 [(關)節]
*** (SG)
tsɐ³⁵ / tshi⁵³ (TG)
tshi⁵³ (TBL#0136 骨节)

WT: *rus tshigs / lhu tshigs*

099 **thorn (prick)** *tsow (STC#276)

cì 刺
tshw⁵⁵ (SG)
tshw⁵³ (TG)
tshu⁵³ (TBL#0391)
tshw⁵³ (ZMC#0230)

WT: *tsher ma*

100 **night** *ya (STC#417)

yèli 夜里 [夜裡]
xu⁵⁵ (SG) xu⁵³ (TG)
xu⁵³ (TBL#0752 晚上 WT: dgong dag)
xu⁵³ (TBL#0753)
xu⁵³ (ZMC#0105 晚上)

WT: *mtshan mo*

cf. bàngwǎn 傍晚 me³³je⁵⁵kha⁵⁵ {dusk} (SG)
(huánghūn 黄昏) mu³³je⁵³ {evening} (TG)

101 **iron** *si-r (STC#372), *syam (STC#228)

tiě 铁 [鐵]
ɕe⁵⁵ (SG) ɕe⁵³ (TG)
ɕe⁵³ (TBL#0054)
ɕe⁵³ (ZMC#0038)

WT: *lcags*

102 **field**

tiándì 田地 sa⁵⁵ zɯ³³ ma⁵⁵ {earth, field} (SG)
 rɯ⁵³ (TG)
 rə⁵³ (TBL#0041 地 (田 ~))

WT: *sa zhing*

102.1 **swidden** *hya¹ (PLB: Bradley 1975a, #414)

huǒtián 火田 rɯ⁵⁵ (SG)
 rɯ⁵³ (TG)

WT: *zhing kha*

102.2 **irrigated paddy field** *ɣdan³; *C-mi¹ (PLB: Bradley 1975a, #415)

shuǐtián 水田 tɕɯ³³ rɯ⁵⁵ (SG)
 tɕɯ⁵⁵ rɯ³³ (TG)
 tɕə⁵³ rə⁵³ (TBL#0042)
 tɕɯ⁵⁵ ʒi⁵⁵ < Tib. *chu zhing* (ZMC#0027)

WT: *chu zhing*

F. Artifacts and social organization (N art)103 **arrow** *m-da (STC pp.96, 111-112, 118), *b-la (STC#449)

jiàn 箭 nda⁵⁵ < Tib. *mda'* (SG)
 (shǐ 矢) zu³³t̚sha⁵³ (TG)
 zə³³t̚sha⁵³ (TBL#0637)
 zu³³nt̚shā⁵³ (ZMC#0428)

WT: *mda'*104 **needle** *kap (STC#052); *k-rap (PLB: TSR#191)

zhān 针 [針] kʌ⁵⁵ (SG)
 kɕ⁵³ (TG)
 kɕ⁵³ (TBL#0578)
 kɕ³⁵ (ZMC#0420)

WT: *khab*105 **house** *kim ɤ *kyim ɤ *kyum (STC#053)

fángzi 房子 tɕe⁵⁵ (SG)
 tɕe⁵³ (TG)
 tɕe⁵³ (TBL#0494)
 tɕe⁵³ (ZMC#0348 房屋)

WT: *khang pa*

jiā 家 tɕe³³khu⁵⁵ {house + inside} (SG)
 tɕe⁵⁵khu⁵³ {house + inside} (TG)
 tɕe⁵⁵khu⁵³ (ZMC#0349)

WT: *khyim / nang*106 **bow** *d-liy (STC#463)

gōng 弓 zu³³mʌ⁵⁵ (SG)
 zu³³mɐ⁵⁵ (TG)
 zə³³mɔ⁵³ (TBL#0636)
 zu³³mɐ⁵⁵ (ZMC#0427)

WT: *gzhu*

107 **boat** *m-liy (STC#474)

chuán 船 tɕʊ⁵⁵ < Tib. *gru* (SG)
 (zhōu 舟) tɕʊ³⁵ < Tib. *gru* (TG)
 tɕʊə²⁴ < Tib. *gru* (TBL#0602)
 tɕʊ³⁵ < Tib. *gru* (ZMC#0481)

WT: *gru*108 **mortar** *tsum (STC#075)

jiù 臼 dzø³³qhø⁵⁵ (SG)
 tsø³³qhø⁵³ (TG)
 tsø³³qhø²⁴ (TBL#0627)
 *** (ZMC#0436)

WT: *sgog gtun*

mò 磨 vu³³to⁵⁵ {stone mortar} (SG)
 rø³³tha³⁵ {mortar with handle} < Tib. *rang 'thag* (TG)
 tɕhu³³tha⁵³ {water mortar} < Tib. *chu 'thag* (TG)
 rø³³thæ⁵⁵ < Tib. *rang 'thag* (TBL#0631)
 rø³³the³⁵ < Tib. *rang 'thag* (ZMC#0434 †水磨)

† This word does not indicate 'water mortar' but indicates 'stone mortar (with handle)'.

WT: *chu 'khor / mchig / rang 'thag / chu 'thag*109 **village** *r-wa 𐄂 *g-wa (STC#444), *kak (PLB: TSR#022)

cūnzhuāng 村庄 [村莊] tɕø³³mba⁵⁵ (SG)
 tɕø³³mba³⁵ (TG)
 tɕø²⁴ (TBL#0066 村子)
 tɕø³³mba³⁵ (ZMC#0362 村寨)

WT: *grong tsho*

G. Spatial/directional (N spat)**110 left side** *bay (STC#047)

zuǒbiān 左边〔左邊〕 kə⁵⁵rɿ⁵⁵khu⁵⁵ (SG)
 kɛ⁵⁵rɛ⁵³ (TG)
 kɛ⁵⁵rɛ⁵³ (TBL#0710)
 kɛ³⁵zɛ³⁵ (ZMC#0053)

WT: *g-yon pa***111 right side** *g-ya ɰ *g-ra (STC#098)

yòubiān 右边〔右邊〕 mi⁵⁵rɿ³³khu⁵⁵ (SG)
 mi⁵⁵rɛ⁵³ (TG)
 mi⁵⁵rɛ⁵⁵ (TBL#0711)
 mi⁵⁵zɛ³⁵ (ZMC#0054)

WT: *g-yas pa***112 far (v.)** *dzya·l (STC#229), *wi² (PLB)

yuǎn 远〔遠〕 qhɑ³³rɿ⁵⁵ (SG)
 qhɛ³³rɛ⁵³ (TG)
 qhue⁵⁵rɛ⁵³ (TBL#0974) (ZMC#0817)

WT: *thag ring po***113 near (v.)** *ney (STC#291)

jìn 近 qɑ³³rɿ⁵⁵ (SG)
 qɛ⁵⁵rɛ⁵³ (TG)
 qɛ⁵⁵rɛ⁵³ (TBL#0975) (ZMC#0818)

WT: *thag nye po***114 year** *niŋ (STC#368)

nián 年 ki⁵⁵ (SG)
 kui⁵³ (TG)
 kui⁵³ (TBL#0777) (ZMC#0063)

WT: *lo*

H. Numerals and quantifiers (N num)115 **twenty / score** *(m)-kul (STC#397)

èrshí 二十 nə³³ka⁵⁵ (SG)
 nu³³ka⁵⁵ (TG)
 nə³³kuə⁵³ (TBL#0816)
 ni³⁵ɕu⁵³ < Tib. *nyi shu* (ZMC#0930)

WT: *nyi shu*116 **one** *it (STC pp.94, 162), *kat (p.94),
*t(y)ik ꞵ *(g-)tyik (STC pp.84, 94, 169, 189)

yī 一 tɿ⁵⁵ (†lɿ⁵³) (SG) † / lɿ / is a general measure word.
 tɿ⁵⁵ (TG)
 tɿ⁵³ / tɕi⁵³ < Tib. *gcig* (TBL#0797)
 tɿ³⁵ (ZMC#0911)

WT: *gcig*117 **seven** *s-nis (STC#005) [cf. TWO#120]

qī 七 nu⁵⁵ (lɿ⁵⁵) (SG)
 ni⁵⁵ (TG)
 nuə⁵³ / dɿ⁵³ < Tib. *bdun* (TBL#0803)
 nyi³⁵ (ZMC#0917)

WT: *bdun*118 **ten** *gip (STC#016)

shí 十 fiə³³kø⁵⁵ (lɿ³³) (SG)
 fiə³³kø⁵⁵ (TG)
 fiə³³kø⁵³ / tɕuə⁵³ < Tib. *bcu* (TBL#0806)
 fiɛ³⁵kø⁵⁵ (ZMC#0920)

WT: *bcu*

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- 119 **hundred** *r-gya (STC#164)
- bǎi 百 dza⁵⁵ th³³ mba⁵⁵ < Tib. *brgya tham pa* (SG)
dza⁵³ < Tib. *brgya* (TG)
ta⁵⁵ra⁵³ / dza⁵³ < Tib. *brgya* (TBL#0824)
dʒɛ⁵³ < Tib. *brgya* (ZMC#0939)
- *[ra⁵³] is not used as ‘hundred’ any more in Tanggu village. They cannot understand this word. They do not say ‘one hundred’ as *[ta³³dza⁵³] but say [tɕi⁵³dza⁵³] < Tib. *gcig brgya*, and ‘two hundred’ is not *[nur³³dza⁵³] but rather [ni³³dza⁵³] < Tib. *gnyis brgya*, and so on.
- WT: *brgya (tham pa)*
- 120 **two** *g-nis (STC#004)
- èr 二 *** [see below] (SG)
nu³⁵ [This morpheme is used only in compounds.] (TG)
nɔ⁵³ / ni⁵³ < Tib. *gnyis* (TBL#0798)
nu³⁵ (ZMC#0912)
- liǎng 两 [兩] tɕ³³ ndʒɛ⁵³ {one + pair} (SG)
tɕ³³ ndʒɛ⁵³ {one + pair} / tɕ³³ zɛ⁵⁵ (TG)
- WT: *gnyis*
- 121 **three** *g-sum (STC#409)
- sān 三 so⁵⁵ (lɔ⁵⁵) (SG)
so⁵⁵ (TG)
so⁵³ / sɔ⁵³ < Tib. *gsum* (TBL#0799)
so³⁵ (ZMC#0913)
- WT: *gsum*

- 122 **four** *b-liy (STC#410)
- sì 四 rɯ³³ (lɔ⁵⁵) (SG)
 rɯ⁵⁵ (TG)
 rɛ⁵³ / zɿ⁵³ < Tib. *bzhi* (TBL#0800)
 zɿ³⁵ (ZMC#0914)
 WT: *bzhi*
- 123 **five** *l-ŋa ʌ *b-ŋa (STC#078)
- wǔ 五 nɑ⁵⁵ (lɔ⁵⁵) (SG)
 nɑ⁵³ (TG)
 nɑ⁵³ / ŋæ⁵³ < Tib. *lnga* (TBL#0801)
 ŋɑ³⁵ (ZMC#0915)
 WT: *lnga*
- 124 **six** *d-ruk (STC#411); *C-krok (PLB: TSR#35)
- liù 六 tɕhy³³ (lɔ⁵⁵) (SG)
 tɕhi⁵⁵ (TG)
 tɕhua⁵³ / tɕu⁵³ { < Tib. } (TBL#0802)
 tɕhyi³⁵ (ZMC#0916)
 WT: *drug*
- 125 **eight** *b-r-gyat (TSR#163)
- bā 八 ɕɑ⁵⁵ (lɔ⁵⁵) (SG)
 ɕɐ⁵⁵ (TG)
 ɕue⁵³ / dzue⁵³ < Tib. *brgyad* (TBL#0804)
 ɕye⁵³ (ZMC#0918)
 WT: *brgyad*
- 126 **nine** *d-kuw (TSR#013)
- jiǔ 九 ŋgw⁵⁵ (lɔ⁵⁵) (SG)
 ŋgw⁵⁵ (TG)
 ŋguə⁵³ / gu⁵³ < Tib. *dgu* (TBL#0805)
 ŋguw³⁵ (ZMC#0919)
 WT: *dgu*

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127 (be) **many** (v.) *mra (TSR#148)

duō 多 ka³³ji⁵⁵ / dʒΛ³³dʒΛ⁵⁵ (SG)
 ka³³ji⁵³ (TG)
 kæ³³ji⁵³ (TBL#0987)
 kɛ³³ji⁵³ (ZMC#0819)

WT: *mang po*

cf. shǎo 少 ni³³ni⁵⁵ (SG)
 little, few ni⁵⁵ni⁵³ (TG)
 ni⁵⁵ni⁵³ (TBL#0988)
 ni³³ni⁵⁵ (ZMC#0820)

WT: *nyung ngu*

I. Verbs of utterance, body position of function (V body)

128 **be born** *braŋ (STC#135), *kruŋ (STC#382)chūshēng 出生 jĩ³³ndzu⁵³ (TG)WT: *skye ba* / *'khrungs pa* / *bltams pa*

shēng háizi 生孩子 (pə⁵⁵tshi⁵⁵) jĩ³³ndzy⁵⁵ (SG)
 jĩ³³ndzui³⁵ {ordering form} (TBL#1620)
 mu⁵⁵zu⁵⁵ {? 'with child'} (ZMC#0774)

WT: *(phu gu) skye*

xià dàn 下蛋 (va³³va³⁵) jĩ³³ndzy⁵⁵ (SG)
 (va³³va⁵⁵) fio³³lu⁵⁵ (SG)
 fio³³lǎ⁵³ (TG)
 fio³³lǎ⁵³ (TBL#1718)

WT: *(sgo nga) gtong*129 **sleep / lie down** *ip (STC#114), *mwiŋ (STC#196), *n(y)it (STC#236)

shuì 睡 khi⁵⁵ (SG) khi⁵³ (TG)
 khi⁵³ (TBL#1646)
 khi⁵³ (ZMC#0582)

tǎng 躺 tʂhe⁵⁵ne⁵⁵ (SG)
 the³³phə⁵⁵gu³³ {lie on one's side} (TG)
 ha³³ge⁵⁵ {lie on one's back} (TG)
 ha³³ge⁵⁵ (TBL#1661)

WT: *nyal*130 **weep** *krap (STC#116), *ŋuw (STC#076)

kū 哭 na⁵⁵nga⁵⁵ (SG)
 nǚ³³ngə⁵³ / tǚ⁵⁵ngə⁵³ (TG)
 tǚ⁵⁵ngə⁵³ (TBL#1485)
 ŋgə³⁵ (ZMC#0718)

WT: *ngu*

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- 131 **laugh** *m-nwi(y) (STC#191), *rya-t (STC#202)
- xiào 笑 ni³³ri⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
ni³³ri⁵⁵ (TBL#1735)
ni³⁵ri³⁵ (ZMC#0717)
- WT: *dgod*
- 132 **die** *siy (STC#232)
- sǐ 死 thΛ⁵⁵su⁵⁵ (SG)
thə³³su⁵³ (TG)
thə³³sə⁵³ (TBL#1651)
su⁵³ (ZMC#0780)
- WT: *shi*
- 133 **awaken** *m-sow (STC#295); *nuw² ⌘ *s-nuw² (PLB)
- xǐnglai 醒 *** (SG)
tu⁵⁵təu⁵³ (TG)
tə⁵⁵tə³³ (TBL#1739)
tu⁵⁵təu⁵³ (ZMC#0583)
- WT: *gnyid sad*
- 134 **cough** *su(w) (STC#423)
- késou 咳嗽 *** (SG)
tu⁵⁵tshu⁵⁵qo⁵³ (TG)
tə⁵⁵tshə⁵⁵qo⁵³ (TBL#1477)
- WT: *glo rgyag*
- 135 **stand** *g-ryap (STC#246)
- zhàn 站 tə³³re⁵⁵ (SG)
tu⁵⁵ru⁵⁵ (TG)
tə³³rə⁵³ (TBL#1784)
tu⁵⁵ru⁵⁵ (ZMC#0569)
- WT: *lang*

136 **sit*****tu·ŋ** (STC#361)

zuò

坐

mbi⁵⁵ / ʔø⁵⁵ mba³³ {sit down} (SG)
 mbi⁵³ / nẽ³³ ndzu⁵³ {sit down} (TG)
 mbi⁵³ (TBL#1819)
 mbi⁵³ (ZMC#0574)

WT: *sdod*

guì

跪

kneel

khi³³ ndzu⁵⁵ (SG)
 ŋu³³ phu⁵³ la³³ khi³³ ndzu³³ (TG)
 ŋuə³³ phə⁵³ la³³ khi³³ ndzu³³ (TBL#1360)
 khe³⁵ ndzu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0566)

WT: *pus mo 'dzugs*

J. Verbs of motion (V mot)**137 fall (from a height) *kla (STC#123)**

diào	掉	nɿ ³⁵ gɿ ⁵⁵ / nɿ ³³ zi ⁵⁵ (SG)
	drop	nɿ ³³ zi ⁵³ (TG)
		nɿ ³³ zi ⁵³ (TBL#1274)
		zi ⁵⁵ (ZMC#0764)

WT: *zag pa / lhung ba*

luò	落	(nə ⁵⁵) nu ³³ ɕw ⁵⁵ {(the sun) sets} (SG)
	set of the sun	(nə ⁵⁵) nu ³³ ɕw ⁵⁵ {(the sun) sets} (TG)
		nu ³³ ɕə ⁵³ (TBL#1512 落(太阳~))
		† nu ⁵⁵ zi ⁵³ (ZMC#0752 落下(太阳))

† This word means ‘drop’ (see above), cannot use for ‘(the sun) sets’.

WT: *nub / bzhud***138 climb, ascend *l-tak (STC pp.52, 110, 123), *syar ‘rise’ (STC#090, p.28)**

shàng	上	tu ³³ xw ⁵⁵ (SG)
		tu ³³ xw ⁵³ (TG)
		tə ⁵⁵ xə ³³ (TBL#1609 (～楼))
		tu ³³ xw ⁵³ (ZMC#0743 (山))

WT: *yar 'gro / 'dzeg pa*

shēng	升起 [升起]	(nə ⁵⁵) khu ³³ tsi ⁵⁵ {(the sun) rises} (SG) (TG)
		khə ³³ tsy ⁵⁵ (TBL#1623)
		khu ³³ tsyi ⁵³ (ZMC#0751)

WT: *shar*

pá	爬	tu ⁵⁵ xw ³³ (SG)
(děng)	登	tu ³³ ndzɿ ⁵⁵ (TG)
		¶ (nda ³⁵ le ⁵⁵) ... {climb the mountain} (TG)
		¶ (tshw ³³ pho ⁵⁵ le ³³) ... {climb up a tree} (TG)
		† (nda ²⁴) nɿ ³³ dzə ⁵³ (TBL#1538 (～山))
		† This means ‘(to) climb over a mountain’.
		tə ³³ ndzə ⁵³ (TBL#1539 (～树))

WT: *'dzeg pa*

- 139 **descend** *yu(w) (STC#289, p.101); *ʔ-yuk [above 1.121(5E)];
 *zak (TSR#121)
- xià 下 nɿ⁵⁵xu³³ (SG) nu³³xu⁵³ (TG)
 nɿ³³xə⁵³ (TBL#1716 (~楼))
 nu³³xu⁵³ (ZMC#0744 (山))
 WT: *mar 'gro / 'bab pa*
- jiàng 降 nɿ³³pɿ⁵⁵ (TG)
 † nɿ³³qɿ⁵³ (TBL#1418 降落)
 † This word means 'It rains / rain falls'.
 WT: *'bab pa*
- jiǎn 减 nɿ³³tɕhɿ⁵⁵ (SG)
 nɿ³³ɿi⁵⁵ (su³³) [vi.] / nɿ³³ɿi⁵⁵ (tɕhe³⁵) [vt.] (TG)
 nɿ³³pɿe⁵³ (TBL#1415)
 WT: *'phri*
- 140 **fly** *pur ≠ *pir (STC#398), *pyam (STC#093, p.29; #171, p.51),
 *pyaw 'fly, swim, float' (STC#176)
- fēi 飞 [飛] thɿ³³ndze³⁵ (SG) (TG)
 thɿ³³ndzue⁵⁵ (TBL#1318)
 ndzɿe³⁵ (ZMC#0782)
 WT: *'phur*
- piāo 飘 [飄] thɿ³³ndze³⁵ (TG)
 WT: *lding / hyang*
- fú 浮 tɿ⁵⁵tɕhu⁵⁵ (SG)
 ti³³ndzɿe³⁵ (ZMC#0758)
 WT: *gyeng*
- piāo 漂 khi⁵⁵ndzu⁵⁵ (SG)
 ti³³ndze⁵⁵ (TBL#1553 漂浮)
 WT: *lding / hyang*

200 BASIC WORDS OF THE MU-NYA LANGUAGE

141 **hide** *p(w)ak (STC#046); *wak ≠ *ʔ-wak (PLB: TSR#178)

duǒcáng 躲藏 khu⁵⁵vur⁵⁵ (SG)
qhɐ³³vɐ⁵⁵ / the³³vɐ⁵⁵ (TG)
qhɐ⁵⁵βə⁵³ (TBL#1295)

WT: *gab pa* / *yib pa*

cángnì 藏匿 qhɯ⁵⁵zu⁵⁵ (SG)
the³³zu⁵⁵ (TG)
qhɐ³³zə⁵³ (TBL#1169 藏(东西))

WT: *skung ba*

142 **run / flee** *plon (STC#140)

pǎo 跑 thɰ³³dzu⁵⁵ (SG)
thi³³dzu⁵³ (TG)
the⁵⁵tse⁵⁵ xə³³ {run + go} (TBL#1544)
thur⁵⁵tsue⁵³xu⁵³ {run + go} (ZMC#0573)

WT: *rgyug pa*

táozǒu 逃走 tɕhi⁵⁵xu⁵³ (SG)
tɕhi³³xu⁵³ (TG)
the³³the⁵³ (TBL#1663)
tɕhyi³³xu⁵³ (ZMC#0711)

WT: *'bros pa*

143 **emerge** *twak (STC p.17), *pro (STC#248)

chūxiàn 出现 [出現] ŋɯ³³mu⁵⁵ / ŋɯ³³bɰ⁵⁵ (SG)
fia³³bɐ⁵³ {emerged up} (TG)
ɣu³³bɐ⁵³ {emerged down} (TG)

WT: *thon pa* / *mngon pa*

K. Verb of emotion, cognition, perception (V psych)

- 144 **fear / frighten** *grok $\approx$ *krok (STC#473), *kri(y) (STC#416),
*b-ray (STC#450)

hàipà 害怕 thɑ⁵⁵qɑ⁵⁵ (SG)
thɑ⁵⁵qɑ⁵³ (TG)
thɑ⁵⁵qɑ⁵³ (TBL#1366)
qɑ⁵⁵ (ZMC#0730)

WT: *skrag pa / zhad pa*

- 145 **know** *m-kyen (STC#223), *syey (STC#182)

zhīdao 知道 khΛ⁵⁵ηΛ³³ {know} / khu³³kΛ⁵⁵ {understand} (SG)
xɐ⁵⁵kø³⁵ / khu⁵⁵kø³⁵ (TG)
khə³³kuø⁵³ (TBL#1798)
khu³³kuø⁵⁵ (ZMC#0722)

WT: *shes pa*

- 146 **ashamed** *kyeŋ (STC#162), *s-rak (STC#431), *g-yak (STC#452)

hàixiū 害羞 phu⁵⁵ɣi⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
phə⁵⁵ɣi³³ (TBL#1365)

WT: *ngo tsha*

- 147 **forget** *b-la-p (STC#335)

wàngjì 忘记 [忘記] thΛ³³mə⁵⁵ (SG)
the⁵⁵mu⁵³ (TG)
the⁵⁵mə⁵³ (TBL#1704)
mu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0726)

WT: *brjed pa*

- 148 **dream** *maŋ (STC#082); *s-mak ≠ *s-maŋ (PLB: TSR)
- mèng 梦 [夢] mə³³lɿ⁵⁵ nɿ³³mi⁵⁵ {dream < Tib. + see} (SG)
 mi³³lɿ⁵³ < Tib. *rmi lam* [n.] / nɿ³³mi⁵³ [v.] (TG)
 mə³³lɿ⁵³ < Tib. *rmi lam* [n.] (TBL#0699)
 nɿ⁵⁵mi⁵⁵ [v.] (ZMC#0519)
 WT: *rmi lam* / *gnyid lam*
- 149 **see** *mraŋ (STC#149)
- kànjiàn 看见 [看見] ¶ tɕ⁵⁵ra³³. {I have seen.} (SG)
 tɕ⁵³ ~ ta⁵³ (TG)
 ¶ ŋw⁵⁵tɕ³⁵ra³³. {I have seen it.} (TG)
 ¶ ɸ⁵⁵tsu³³ji³⁵ta³⁵ra³³. {He has seen it.} (TG)
 ta⁵³ {He has seen (it).} (TBL#1471)
 † tɕ⁵⁵rɔ⁵⁵ {I have seen (it).} (ZMC#0529)
 † [rɔ⁵⁵] is a particle marking the perfect.
 WT: *mthong*
- cf. kàn 看 khu³³tɕ⁵⁵ri³³ (SG)
 look at khu³³tɕ⁵⁵ru³³ (TG)
 WT: *lta*
- 150 **smell** *m-nam (STC#464)
- wénjiàn 闻见 [聞見] *** (SG)
 tu³³ne⁵³ (TG)
 khu⁵⁵nu⁵³ (ZMC#0548 闻)
 WT: *snom*
- cf. xiù 嗅 khu³³su⁵⁵na⁵³ (SG)
 sniff at khe³³su⁵⁵nɿ⁵³ (TG)
 khi³³sɔ⁵⁵næ³³ (TBL#1707 闻 (嗅))
 WT: *dri ma snum*

L. Stative verbs with human patients (V hum stat)

- 151 **thin** *ba (STC#025)
- báo 薄 ndzɯ³³ndzɯ⁵⁵ (SG)
 ndzɯ³³ndzɯ⁵³ (TG)
 ndzɯ⁵⁵ndzɯ⁵³ (TBL#0981)
 ndzɯ⁵⁵ndzɯ⁵³ (ZMC#0814)
- WT: *sra b po*
- 152 **old** *r-ga (STC#445)
- lǎo 老 nda⁵⁵nda³³ (SG)
 tha³³nda⁵³ (TG)
 the³³ndæ²⁴ (TBL#1493)
 the³³nde⁵⁵ (ZMC#0857 (人))
- WT: *rga ba / rgan pa*
- jiù 旧〔舊〕 n̄³³mba⁵⁵ < Tib. (SG)
 n̄⁵⁵mba⁵⁵ ~ n̄⁵⁵mba⁵⁵ < Tib. (TG)
 † the³³ndæ²⁴ (TBL#1051)
 † This word should be used for ‘old’ persons.
 n̄⁵⁵mbe⁵³ < Tib. (ZMC#0867 (衣服))
- WT: *rnying pa*
- 153 **alive** *kruŋ (STC#382), *s-rin Ʞ *s-raŋ (STC#404)
- huó 活 zu⁵⁵zu³³ (SG)
 zu⁵⁵zu³³ {living} / tu⁵⁵zu³³ {active} (TG)
 ¶ tu⁵⁵zu³³ra³³ {became alive} (TG)
 ¶ ŋgu⁵⁵zu³³ra³³ {have revived} (TG)
 zə⁵³zə³³ (TBL#1087 (～的) living [adj.];
 tə⁵⁵zə³³ (TBL#1396 (～了) become alive/active)
 zu³⁵zu³⁵ (ZMC#0781 (鱼))
- WT: *gson po*

200 BASIC WORDS OF THE MU-NYA LANGUAGE

- 154 **ill** *na (STC#080), *nyuŋ (STC#194)
- bìng 病 nɑ³³tsɑ̃⁵⁵ [n.] / tuw³³ŋe⁵⁵ [v.] (SG)
 tuw³³ŋe⁵³ (TG)
 tə³³ŋe²⁴ (TBL#1160)
 ŋe⁵⁵ (ZMC#0776)
 WT: *na*
- 155 **fat** *tsow (STC#277)
- féi 肥 ŋi³³ŋa⁵⁵ (SG)
 tshu³³tshu⁵⁵ / ŋi³³ŋe⁵³ (TG)
 ŋi³³ŋe⁵³ (TBL#1025 (猪~))
 ŋi³³ŋe⁵³ (ZMC#0850 (肉))
- pàng 胖 ɕa⁵⁵dʒa³³pa⁵⁵ < Tib. *sha rgyags pa* (SG)
 ɕa⁵⁵dʒe³³pa⁵⁵ < Tib. *sha rgyags pa* (TG)
 ruw³³tɕhu⁵⁵ (TG)
 (ɕæ⁵³) dʒe³³pa⁵³ < Tib. (*sha*) *rgyags pa* (TBL#1024)
 dʒa³³pa⁵⁵ < Tib. *rgyags pa* (ZMC#0849 (人))
 WT: *rgyags pa*
- 156 **itchy** *g-ya (STC#451), *m-sak (STC#465)
- yǎng 痒 khi³³ŋu⁵⁵ (SG)
 ŋgi³³ŋu⁵⁵ (TG)
 ŋgi³³ŋə⁵³ (TBL#1749)
 ŋgi³⁵ŋu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0900)
 WT: *za phrug*

M. Stative verbs with non-human patients (V inan stat)

157 **full** *bliŋ ≈ *pliŋ (STC#142), *dyam ≈ *tyam (STC#226)

mǎn 满 [滿] tō⁵⁵sur⁵⁵ (SG)
 to⁵⁵sur³³ (TG)
 to⁵⁵sə³³ / tə³³sə⁵³ (TBL#0984)
 to⁵⁵sur³³ (ZMC#0846)
 to⁵⁵sə³³ (TBL#1518 满 (~了) be full / filled up)

WT: *gang ba*

158 **long / tall** *duŋ (STC#020; #231, p.75), *low (STC#279),
 *s-riŋ (STC#433)

cháng 长 [長] ru³³ru⁵⁵ (SG)
 ru³³ru⁵³ (TG)
 (zu²⁴) rə³³rə⁵³ (TBL#0972)
 zu³³zu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0809)

WT: *ring po*

gāo 高 thə⁵⁵thə⁵⁵ (SG)
 thə³³thə⁵³ (TG)
 thə³³thə⁵³ (TBL#0968)
 thə³³thə³⁵ (ZMC#0802)

WT: *mtho(n) ba*

159 **sweet** *dz(y)im (STC#071), *twi(y) (STC#166)

tián 甜 mbə⁵⁵ tə³³ne⁵⁵ (SG)
 † bə⁵⁵ (tu³³ne⁵⁵) {sweet + smell} (TG)
 † [mbə⁵³] means '(to) rot', and [bə⁵⁵] means 'sweet' in Tanggu.
 mbə⁵³ tə³³ne⁵³ (TBL#1073)
 bə³⁵ (ZMC#0888)

WT: *mngar mo*

200 BASIC WORDS OF THE MU-NYA LANGUAGE

- 160 **cold** *grəŋ (STC#120), *kyam (STC#224)
- lěng 冷 tu³³ku⁵⁵ (SG)
 tu³³ku⁵⁵ (TG)
 † ndza³³ndza⁵⁵ (TBL#1063)
 † This word does not mean ‘cold’ but corresponds to ‘cool’.
 tu³⁵ku⁵⁵ (ZMC#0884)
 WT: *grang mo*
- liáng 凉快 [凉快] ndza³³ndza⁵⁵ (SG) (TG)
 ndza³³ndza⁵⁵ (TBL#1066)
 † khu⁵⁵tse⁵³ (ZMC#0886)
 † This word for ZMC#0886 is a mistake, which means ‘hot’.
 WT: *bsil po*
- 161 **bitter** *ka (STC#008)
- kǔ 苦 tɕ³³qha⁵⁵ (SG)
 tu³³qha⁵³ (TG)
 tɕ³³qha⁵³ (TBL#1074)
 qha³⁵ (ZMC#0889)
 WT: *kha po*
- 162 **sour** *kri(y) (STC#413), *s-kyur ≠ *su-r (STC#042)
- suān 酸 tu³³tɕu⁵⁵ (SG)
 tu³³tɕu⁵³ (TG)
 tɕ³³tɕu⁵³ (TBL#1072)
 tɕu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0887)
 WT: *skyur mo*
- 163 **red** *kyeŋ (STC#162), *r-ni (STC pp.46, 91), *tsyak (STC#184)
- hóng 红 [紅] ni⁵⁵ni⁵⁵ (SG)
 ni⁵⁵ni³³ (TG)
 ni⁵⁵ni³³ (TBL#1007)
 ni⁵⁵ni³³ (ZMC#0837)
 WT: *dmar po*

164 **heavy** *s-liy (STC#095)

zhòng 重
 ʏə³³ʏə⁵⁵ (SG)
 ɥu³³ɥu⁵⁵ (TG)
 ʏə³³ʏə⁵³ (TBL#1014)
 ɥu³³ɥu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0830)

WT: *ljid po*165 **warm** *lum (STC#381)

wēn 温
 lukewarm (water)
 tʂhi⁵⁵ su³³kha⁵⁵ (SG)
 ɕu³³ɕu⁵⁵ (TG)
 ¶ tɕu⁵⁵ ɕu³³ɕu⁵⁵ ti³³. {water is warm.} (TG)
 tɕe³³tɕe⁵³ (TBL#1064 (水~))

nuǎnhuo 暖和
 tʂy⁵⁵tʂy⁵⁵ (SG)
 ɕu³³ɕu⁵⁵ (TG)
 ¶ mu⁵⁵ ɕi³³ ɕu³³ɕu⁵⁵ ti³³. {weather is warm.} (TG)
 tʂy⁵⁵tʂy⁵³ (TBL#1065)
 † ndza³³ndza⁵³ (ZMC#0885)

† This word for ZMC#0885 is a mistake, which means 'cool'.

WT: *dro(n) po*166 **round** *z-lum (STC#143), *wal (STC#091)

yuán 圆 [圓]
 ʏə⁵⁵ʏə⁵⁵ {plane} / gə³³gə⁵⁵ {sphericity} (SG)
 ɛwe³³ɛwe⁵⁵ / ʏə⁵⁵ʏə⁵⁵ (TG)
 rə⁵³rə⁵⁵ (TBL#0990)
 ʏə⁵⁵ʏə⁵⁵ (ZMC#0807)

WT: *sgor sgor*167 **ripe / well-cooked** *s-min (STC#432)

shóu 熟
 tə³³mi⁵⁵ (SG)
 tu³³mi⁵⁵ {well-cooked / (fruits) ripe} (TG)
 tə³³mi⁵⁵ (TBL#1637 (饭~))
 mi⁵³ (ZMC#0869 (肉))

WT: *'tshod pa*

200 BASIC WORDS OF THE MU-NYA LANGUAGE

ripe † $\text{th}\bar{\text{e}}^{33}\text{tsh}\bar{\text{u}}^{55}$ {(fruits) ripe} (TG)
 † This word cannot use for ‘well-cooked’ (meat/rice).
 $\text{th}\bar{\text{a}}^{33}\text{tsh}\bar{\text{e}}^{55}$ (TBL#1638 (果子~))

WT: *smin pa*

168 **soft** (to touch) *now (STC#274)

$\text{ru}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ 软 [軟] $\text{vu}^{33}\text{vu}^{55}$ (SG) (TG)
 $\beta\bar{\text{e}}^{33}\beta\bar{\text{e}}^{53}$ (TBL#1035)
 $\text{vu}^{33}\text{vu}^{55}$ (ZMC#0832)

$\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}$ 嫩 $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}^{33}\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}^{55}$ (SG)
 $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}^{33}\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}^{55}$ (TG)
 $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}^{33}\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}^{53}$ (TBL#1057 (植物~))
 $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}^{33}\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}^{55}$ (ZMC#0859 (菜))

WT: *snyi ba / mnyen pa*

169 **white** *bok (STC p.181), * ηow (STC#296),
 * plu (pp.41, 46, 60-61, 89) [cf. SILVER#095]

$\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{i}$ 白 $\text{t}\bar{\text{sh}}\bar{\text{o}}^{55}\text{t}\bar{\text{sh}}\bar{\text{o}}^{55}$ (SG)
 $\text{t}\bar{\text{sh}}\bar{\text{o}}^{33}\text{t}\bar{\text{sh}}\bar{\text{o}}^{55}$ (TG)
 $\text{t}\bar{\text{sh}}\bar{\text{o}}^{53}\text{t}\bar{\text{sh}}\bar{\text{o}}^{33}$ (TBL#1006)
 $\text{t}\bar{\text{sh}}\bar{\text{o}}^{55}\text{t}\bar{\text{sh}}\bar{\text{o}}^{33}$ (ZMC#0840)

WT: *dkar po*

170 **black** * $\text{tya}\eta$ (STC#225); * $\text{sim} \bowtie \text{syim}$ (STC#380);
 *(s-)nak (STC pp.88, 102, 155; TSR#142)

$\text{h}\bar{\text{e}}\text{i}$ 黑 $\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}^{55}\text{th}\bar{\text{e}}^{33}\text{th}\bar{\text{e}}^{55}$ (SG)
 $\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}^{55}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}^{33} / \text{n}\bar{\text{i}}^{35}\text{qu}^{33}\text{qu}^{33}$ (TG)
 $\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}^{55}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}^{33}$ (TBL#1005)
 $\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}^{55}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}^{33}$ (ZMC#0841)

WT: *nag po*

- 171 **thick** *r-ta-t (STC#426), *tow (STC#319), *tu·k (STC#356)
- hòu 厚 ri⁵⁵ri⁵⁵ (SG)
 ri³³ri³⁵ (TG)
 yui³³yui⁵³ (TBL#0980)
 yui³³yui³⁵ (ZMC#0813)
 WT: *methug po*
- 172 **new** *sar (STC pp.147, 172, 189)
- xīn 新 sa⁵⁵pa⁵⁵ < Tib. *gsar pa* (SG)
 se³³pa⁵⁵ < Tib. *gsar pa* (TG)
 se⁵⁵pæ⁵³ (TBL#1050)
 se⁵⁵pe⁵⁵ (ZMC#0866)
 WT: *gsar pa*
- 173 **sharp** *s-ryam (STC pp.53, 171, 189), *tak (STC p.87; TSR#41)
- jiānrùi 尖锐 [尖锐] ndza³³ndza⁵⁵ {sharp} (SG)
 ha⁵⁵tshe³³ndzu⁵⁵ {point} (SG)
 ndze³³ndze⁵³ (TG)
 ndze³³ndze⁵³ (TBL#0992)
 ndze⁵⁵ndze⁵³ (ZMC#0806 (ㄴ))
 WT: *rno ba*
- 174 **lightweight** *r-ya·ŋ
- qīng 轻 [輕] yi³³yi⁵⁵ (SG)
 yi³³yi⁵³ (TG)
 yi⁵⁵yi⁵³ (TBL#1015)
 yi³⁵yi⁵⁵ (ZMC#0829)
 WT: *yang ba*

N. Action verbs with human agent (V hum act)

- 175 **eat** *am (STC#481), *dza (STC#066)
- | | | |
|------|-------|--|
| chī | 吃 [喫] | fɿ ⁵⁵ ndzu ⁵⁵ (SG) |
| (shí | 食) | fã ³³ ndzu ⁵³ (TG) |
| | | fæ ²⁴ ndzə ⁵³ (TBL#1198) |
| | | ndzu ³⁵ (ZMC#0533) |
- WT: *za ba*
- 176 **drink** *am (STC#481); *Ndaŋ¹ (PLB: TSR p.15)
- | | | |
|------|--------|--|
| hē | 喝 | fɿ ³³ tɕhu ⁵⁵ (SG) |
| (yǐn | 饮 [飲]) | fã ³³ tɕhu ⁵⁵ (TG) |
| | | fæ ³³ tɕhə ⁵³ (TBL#1370) |
| | | tɕhyu ⁵³ (ZMC#0534 (水)) |
- WT: *'thung ba*
- 177 **give** *biy (STC#427), *pek (STC pp.101, 149)
- | | | |
|-----|-------|---|
| gěi | 给 [給] | thɿ ³³ khe ⁵⁵ (SG) |
| | | tho ³³ tɕ ⁵³ / thɿ ³³ khe ⁵⁵ (TG) |
| | | tho ³³ tɕ ⁵³ (TBL#1345) |
- WT: *ster ba*
- 178 **tie** *du-t ⇌ *tu-t (STC#421), *kik (STC#484)
- | | | |
|------|-------|---|
| bǎng | 绑 [綁] | ɣu ³³ tɕi ⁵⁵ tɕɐ ⁵⁵ (TG) |
| | | ɣə ³³ tɕə ⁵³ tɕɐ ³³ (TBL#1141) |
| kǔn | 捆 [捆] | nɿ ³³ tɕu ³³ tɕɿ ⁵⁵ (SG) |
| | | ɣu ³³ tɕi ⁵⁵ tɕɐ ³³ (TG) |
| | | tɕi ⁵⁵ tɕɿ ³³ (ZMC#0664) |
- WT: *sdom pa*

TAKUMI IKEDA

xì	系〔繫〕	yí ⁵⁵ re ³³ (TG)
shuān	拴	khu ⁵⁵ wa ⁵⁵ (SG) khu ³³ wɛ ⁵³ (TG) khu ³³ wɛ ⁵³ (TBL#1645 (～牛)) WT: 'dogs pa
jié	结〔結〕	kho ³³ lɔ ⁵⁵ (SG) ti ⁵⁵ la ⁵⁵ qho ³³ le ⁵⁵ {knot + tie} (TG) WT: mdud pa
179	steal	*r-kuw (STC#033)
tōu	偷	khu ⁵⁵ ku ⁵⁵ (SG) ku ³³ khui ⁵⁵ vu ³⁵ (TG) kuə ²⁴ khə ⁵⁵ βə ³³ (TBL#1686) ku ⁵⁵ (ZMC#0715) WT: rku ba
180	lick	*m/s-lyak (STC#211)
tiǎn	舔	thi ⁵⁵ ndza ³³ la ⁵⁵ (SG) thi ³³ ndzɛ ⁵³ la ³⁵ (TG) thi ³³ ndzue ⁵³ læ ³³ (TBL#1674) thi ⁵³ ndzyɛ ⁵⁵ lɛ ³³ (ZMC#0537) WT: rdag pa

200 BASIC WORDS OF THE MU-NYA LANGUAGE

- 181 **bite** *gam (STC#491), *hap (STC#089),
*ku-k (STC#388), *wa (STC#424)
- yǎo 咬 ta⁵⁵va⁵⁵la³³ (SG)
khi³³ŋu⁵⁵ (TG)
khə⁵⁵βə⁵³ (TBL#1753)
† khu⁵⁵və⁵³ (ZMC#0535)
† This word means ‘snap’.
WT: *so rgyag pa*
- jiáo 嚼 nɿ³³tsu⁵⁵tsa³³ (SG)
nɿ³³tsu⁵⁵tse³³ (TG)
nɿ³³tsə⁵⁵tse³³ (TBL#1424)
nu³³tsu³³tsa⁵³ (ZMC#0536)
WT: *mur ba*
- kěn 啃 na³³qe⁵⁵la³³ (SG)
nɿ³³çi⁵⁵ndzə³⁵ (TG)
na³³qo⁵⁵la³³ (TBL#1481)
tu³³qə⁵⁵le³³ (ZMC#0539)
WT: *’brad pa*
- 182 **scratch / scrape** *hyak (STC#230); *krak ≠ *Nkrak (TSR#096);
*kret ≠ Nkret (TSR#097); *kut (STC#383), *pruk (STC#391)
- náo 挠 qhu³³tʂhu⁵⁵na³³ (SG)
qhu³³tʂhe⁵⁵nɿ³³ (TG)
qhə³³tʂhuə⁵⁵na³³ (TBL#1530 (～痒))
*** (ZMC#0555 (搔痒))
- zhuā 抓 nɿ³³tʂhi⁵⁵na³³ (TG)
qhə⁵⁵ʔua⁵³ (TBL#1805)
- sāo 搔 *** (see ZMC#0555 挠)
- WT: *’phur ba / ’brad pa / ’phrug pa*

183 **cook / boil** *klak (STC#124), *prut (STC#131), *pryo (STC#250)zhǔ 煮 khi⁵⁵tsu⁵⁵ (SG)

	qhe ⁵⁵ ka ⁵³	/	khi ³³ tsu ⁵³ (TG)
tɕu ⁵⁵ {water}			✓
ndo ⁵⁵ {meat}	✓		
ndzɕ ⁵⁵ {rice}	✓		✓

~ rice khi³³tsə⁵³ (TBL#1804)
 ~ meat, († water) qhe⁵⁵ka⁵³ (TBL#1804)
 † see above table.
 ~ rice khi³⁵tsu⁵³ (ZMC#0627 (饭))

WT: 'tshod pa

184 **grind** *krit (STC#119)

niǎn 碾 ndzɕ⁵⁵ nʌ³³thʌ⁵⁵ [v.] {grind rice with water} (SG)
 vu³³to⁵⁵ je³³ru⁵⁵ [n.] {grind stone} (SG)
 nɐ³³ɕu⁵⁵ (TG)

WT: bgru ba

dǎo 捣 [捣] *** (SG)
 nɐ³³ti⁵⁵ tɕa³³ (TG)
 nɐ³³ty³³ tɕæ³³ (TBL#1259 捣碎)

WT: rdzog pa

grind, sharpen (knife)

mó (dǎo) 磨 (刀) to⁵⁵so³³ (SG)
 (ru³³tɕe⁵⁵) no³³so⁵⁵ {[no³³-]: down} (TG)
 to⁵⁵so³³ (TBL#1526: whet (a knife))
 so³⁵ (ZMC#0640)

WT: rdar

200 BASIC WORDS OF THE MU-NYA LANGUAGE

- 185 **wash** *kruw (STC#117), *m-s(y)il (STC#492)
- xǐ 洗 (tse⁵⁵ŋgu⁵⁵) na³³ko⁵⁵ {(cloth)+ wash} (SG)
na³³ko⁵³ (TG)
na³³ko⁵³ (TBL#1713 (~ 衣))
~ clothes ko⁵⁵ (ZMC#0649 (衣服))
~ hands ko⁵⁵ (ZMC#0648 (手))
- WT: 'khrud ba
- 186 **dig** *klaw (STC#269), *r-ko-t (STC#420), *la-y (STC#288),
*tu (STC#258)
- wā 挖 fā³⁵qo⁵⁵ {virtical} (SG)
tu⁵⁵qo⁵⁵ {horizontal} (SG)
fā³³qo⁵³ {dig into from upper place} (TG)
ko⁵⁵qo⁵⁵ {horizontal direction; make a cave} (TG)
to⁵⁵qo⁵³ {dig down into} (TG)
fā³³qo⁵³ (TBL#1698)
kɛ⁵⁵qo⁵⁵ (ZMC#0597)
- jué 掘 tə⁵⁵qo⁵³ (TBL#1458)
They do not distinguish between using hand and tool.
- WT: 'dru ba / rko ba
- 187 **let go; set free; loosen** *g-lwat (STC#209)
- shìfàng 释放 [释放] tho³³lɛ⁵⁵ (SG)
tho³³lɛ⁵⁵ (TG)
tho⁵⁵lɛ⁵³ (TBL#1626)
- WT: sgrol ba / glod pa
- sōng 松 [鬆] χə³³χə⁵⁵ (SG)
fiā³³ndze⁵⁵ / fiā³³χɐ⁵⁵ (TG)
χə⁵⁵χə⁵³ (TBL#1041)
hɐ⁵⁵hɐ⁵⁵ (ZMC#0880 (绑))
- WT: glod pa / lhod pa

188 **extinguish** *mit (STC#374)

xīmiè 熄灭〔熄滅〕 *** (SG)
 nẽ³³mbi⁵⁵ {vi.} / ni³³phi⁵⁵ {vt.} (TG)
 ni³³phi⁵³ (TBL#1522 灭(火~))

WT: *shi ba / yal ba*

189 **blow** *s-mut (STC p.75)

chuī 吹 tu³³ɲu⁵⁵ (SG)
 tu³³ru⁵⁵ {blow upward} (TG)
 nu³³ru⁵⁵ {blow downward} (TG)
 tu³³rə⁵³ (TBL#1218 (～喇叭) WT: 'bud ba)
 ɕu⁵⁵ɲu⁵³ {blow (fire)} (TG)
 phu⁵⁵ (ZMC#0544 (火))
 ɕu⁵⁵ɲu⁵³ {blow (dust)} (TG)
 blow away (a speck of dust) phə⁵³tə³³tə⁵³ (TBL#1219 (～灰))
 phu⁵⁵tu³³tu⁵⁵ (TG)

WT: *phu rgyag pa*

guā 刮 tɛ³³mɛ⁵⁵ (SG)
 tɛ³³mɛ⁵⁵ (TG)
 ¶ mɛ³³mɛ⁵⁵ tɛ³³mɛ⁵⁵ pi³³. {The wind is blowing.} (TG)
 tɛ³³mɛ⁵³ (TBL#1353 (～风))
 tu⁵⁵mɛ⁵⁵ (ZMC#0753 (风))

WT: *lhags pa rgyag pa / rlung rgyag pa*

190 **buy** *b-rey (STC#293)

mǎi 买〔買〕 qhə³³tu⁵⁵ (SG)
 qhə³³tə⁵³ (TG)
 qhə³³tə⁵³ (TBL#1516)
 qhu³⁵tu⁵³ (ZMC#0616)

WT: *nyo ba*

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- 191 **sew** *d-rup (STC#456), *(ʔ-)-grup ≈ *ʔdrup;
*byar ≈ *pyar (STC#178)
- féng 缝 [縫] khu³³tɕʌ⁵⁵ (SG)
khu³³tɕɐ̃⁵⁵ (TG)
khə³³tɕɐ̃⁵³ (TBL#1324)
WT: 'tshem pa
- bǔ 补 [補] patch phe⁵⁵la⁵⁵ qho³³lə⁵⁵ (SG)
phe³³la⁵⁵ qho³³lu⁵⁵ (TG)
thə³³phe⁵³la³³tɕu⁵⁵ {make someone patch} (TG)
thə⁵⁵phe⁵³læ³³ (TBL#1161 (～衣))
phe³⁵le³³ (ZMC#0653 (衣服))
WT: glon pa / lhan pa rgyag pa
- 192 **kill** *g-sat (STC#058)
- shā 杀 [殺] nɿ³³sɿ⁵⁵ (SG)
nɐ̃³³sɐ̃⁵³ (TG)
nɐ̃³³sɐ̃⁵³ (TBL#1602)
sɐ̃⁵⁵ (ZMC#0633)
WT: gsod ba
- 193 **weave** *tak (STC#017)
- zhī 织 [織] ɦa³³ti⁵⁵ (SG)
ɦa³³ti⁵³ (TG)
ɦæ³³ti⁵³ (TBL#1799)
ɦɛ³⁵ti⁵³ (ZMC#0613 (布))
WT: 'thag pa

- 194 **rub** *nu·l (STC#365), *s(y)wiy (STC#180)
- cā 擦 nɛ³³sa⁵⁵ (SG)
 nɛ³³su⁵⁵se⁵⁵ (TG)
 † the⁵⁵sa⁵⁵ (TBL#1163 (～桌子))
 † This word means ‘clean up’.
- wipe nɛ³³tɕha⁵³ {erase} (SG)
 nɛ³³tɕhã⁵⁵ {erase} (TG)
 nɛ³⁵tɕha⁵³ (ZMC#0624)
 wipe away, erase nɛ³³tɕha⁵⁵ (TBL#1164 擦掉)
- WT: *phyi ba* / *phyi bdar* / *sub ba*
- 195 **squeeze** *nyap (STC#192), *tsyur (STC#188)
- jǐ 挤 [擠] nɛ³³tsu⁵⁵ (SG)
 nɛ³³tsi⁵³ (TG)
 nɛ³³tsui⁵⁵ (TBL#1405 (～奶))
 nɛ³³tsyi³⁵ (ZMC#0611 (奶))
- WT: *'jo ba*
- press (a tube of toothpaste) tɛ³³tɕɛ⁵³ (TG)
 tɛ³³tɕɛ²⁴ (TBL#1404 (～牙膏))
- WT: *'tshir ba*
- zhà 榨 *** (SG)
 nɛ³³tɕɛ⁵³ {downward} (TG)
 jɛ³³tɕɛ⁵³ {press, to spread (oil)} (TG)
 *** (TBL#1781 (～油))
- WT: *'tshir ba*

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196 **shoot** *ga-p (STC#219)

shè 射 (ndɛ⁵⁵) qho³³lɛ⁵⁵ {(arrow)+ shoot} (SG)
 (weapon) + qho³³lu⁵³ (TG)
 ¶ ndɛ⁵⁵ qho³³lu⁵³ {shoot an arrow} (TG)
 ¶ mĩ³³ndɛ⁵⁵ qho³³lu⁵³ {shoot a gun} (TG)
 † qho⁵⁵lɛ⁵³ (TBL#1611 (～箭))
 † qho⁵⁵lu⁵³ (ZMC#0688)

† Without an object, this word means ‘hit (someone)’.

WT: 'phen ba

197 **kick** *tek (PLB: TSR#14)

tĩ 踢 kɛ³³tso⁵⁵ (SG)
 tɔ̃⁵⁵tso³³ (TG)
 kɯ⁵⁵tso³³ {kick up} / fiŋ⁵⁵tso³³ {kick down} (TG)
 kɛ²⁴tso³³ (TBL#1667)
 kɯ³⁵tso⁵⁵ (ZMC#0565)

WT: rdog rgyag gzhu ba

198 **sell** *par (STC p.35), *ywar (STC pp.15, 51, 89)

mài 卖 [賣] thy⁵⁵jy⁵⁵ (SG)
 thi³³ju⁵³ (TG)
 thy⁵⁵jy⁵³ (TBL#1517)
 thy⁵⁵jy³⁵ (ZMC#0617)

WT: 'tshong ba

199 **put, place** *s-ta (STC#019)

fàngzhì 放置 ru³³tɕu⁵⁵ (SG)
 ru³³tɕi⁵⁵ (TG)
 rɛ³³tɕɛ⁵³ (TBL#1314)
 ru³⁵tɕyi⁵⁵ (ZMC#0660)

WT: 'jog pa

200 **drive / hunt** *rak ≈ Ngak (PLB: TSR#162)

qūgǎn 驱赶 [驅趕] tho⁵⁵tɕʌ⁵⁵ {drive up} (SG)
 no⁵⁵tɕʌ⁵⁵ {drive down} (SG)
 no³³tɕɐ⁵³ (TG)
 *** (TBL#1576 驱逐)
 no³⁵tɕɐ⁵³ (ZMC#0713 赶(走))

WT: 'ded pa / 'bud pa

dǎliè 打猎 [打獵] ŋga³³ra⁵⁵ (SG)
 ŋguɐ³³mi⁵⁵ {v.} (TG)
 ni³³ŋguæ⁵³ {v.} (TBL#1230)
 ŋguɐ³³rɐ⁵⁵ {n.} (ZMC#0686)

WT: rŋgon pa / khyi ra rgyag pa

200.1 **burn** *bar ≈ *par (STC#220), plon (STC#139), *tsow (STC#275),
 *kaŋ (STC#330), *duk ≈ *ʔduk (TSR#62), *put (TSR#8)

ránshāo 燃烧 [燃燒] (mǎ⁵⁵) tu³³ndy⁵⁵ {(fire) burn} (SG)
 (tshu⁵⁵ru⁵⁵) yu³³tshu⁵⁵ {(firewood) burn} (SG)
 tu³³ndi⁵³ {burn} (TG)
 tu³³tʃi⁵³ {fire} (TG)
 tǎ⁵⁵tʃy⁵³ (TBL#1269)

WT: 'bar ba

200.2 **cut** *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 nʌ⁵⁵tʃhi⁵⁵ (SG)
 nɐ³³tʃhi⁵³ (TG)
 nɐ³³tʃhi⁵³ (TBL#1574 (～菜))
 tʃhi⁵³ (ZMC#0634 (菜))

WT: gtub pa

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gē	割	thΛ⁵⁵kΛ⁵⁵ (TG) the³³kuε⁵³ (TG) the⁵⁵kuε⁵³ (TBL#1342 (～草)) nuw³³tʂhi⁵³ (ZMC#0601 (稻子))
WT: <i>rnga ba</i> / <i>'breg pa</i>		
cf. ¶ ndo ⁵⁵ nε ³³ tʂhi ⁵³ {cut meat to cook} (TG) ¶ ndo ⁵⁵ the ³³ kuε ⁵³ {cut meat into chunks/blocks} (TG) the ⁵⁵ kuε ⁵³ (TBL#1339 (～肉)) the ⁵⁵ kuε ⁵³ (TBL#1340 (～绳)) {vt.} (TG) nε ⁵⁵ tʂhuε ⁵³ (TBL#1341 割断) {vi.} (TG)		
WT: <i>gcod pa</i>		
jiǎn	剪	hΛ³³tʂΛ⁵⁵ / tu³³tʂΛ⁵⁵ (SG) hΛ³³tʂΛ⁵³ {free cutting with scissors} (TG) hΛ³³tʂε⁵³ {cut wool} (TG) tu³³tʂε⁵³ {cut along patterns} (TG) wool, hair hΛ³³tʂε⁵³ (TBL#1416) tə³³tʂuə²⁴ (TBL#1416)
WT: <i>'breg pa</i> / <i>'dra ba</i>		
kǎn	砍	thi⁵⁵ŋguw⁵⁵ / ni⁵⁵tʂΛ⁵⁵ (SG) kΛ³³tʂΛ⁵³ {horizontal} (TG) nΛ³³tʂΛ⁵³ {vertical} (TG) nΛ³³tʂΛ⁵³ (TBL#1467 (～树)) thu⁵⁵kuε⁵³ (ZMC#0602 (树)) nε³³tu⁵³tʂε³⁵ {chop bones} (TG) chop / hew nε³³ty⁵³tʂε³³ (TBL#1468 (～骨头))
WT: <i>gcod pa</i>		