Title
A Historical Study of the rGyarong Verb System

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Acknowledgment

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Jim’s broad perspective on Tibeto-Burman linguistics and his bold but careful way of building up hypotheses through the sessions fascinated me. What he was talking about was a kind of ‘new world’ for me, since I had started with Tibetan philology and had been working in the Oriental
Library as a Tibetologist. My first impression of him was proven correct in my graduate studies at Berkeley: he opened my eyes. His warm attitude towards both academic and personal matters not only enabled me to carry out my coursework and research smoothly but also made my family's life in the U.S. very comfortable.

Mr. Chang Kun was also a participant in the conference. His name is well known in Japan, where we have a long tradition of Tibetan studies, and his prudent discussion of Tibetan morphology at the session made a deep impression on the Japanese audiences. He seems to have different ideas on Tibeto-Burman linguistics from those of Dr. P.K. Benedict and Jim Matisoff, but he strongly suggested that I study under Jim. This advice finally led me to make up my mind to study at U.C. Berkeley. I feel grateful for his guidance and for his having kindly joined my committee. His careful scrutiny of my work on Tibetan and rGyarong was very helpful.

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 Purpose

This paper aims at describing the verb system of the lCog-rtse dialect of rGyarong and locating it properly in the historical framework of the Tibeto-Burman family.

rGyarong, spoken in the north-eastern part of Sichuan Province of China and usually classified in the Bodish branch, has attracted the attention of many scholars. Some of them have regarded this language as representing a similar taxonomic level to Written Tibetan because some lexical items of rGyarong are very close, even identical, to the WT orthography; others have tried to position this language as a link among Tibeto-Burman languages in general because of its characteristic morphological components. In both of these approaches, however, emphasis has been laid upon affiliating rGyarong with other languages on the basis of a limited range of lexical items or grammatical units, instead of drawing a whole picture of this exotic tongue. In other words, they ‘utilized’ rGyarong but did not try to understand it as it is. This kind of approach is so misleading that, in the classification of the T-B languages, rGyarong has long been placed in the Tibetan group simply because of a striking
similarity of some rGyarong words to WT, while non-Tibetan factors including a good number of verb roots and idiosyn- 
cratic morphological as well as morphosyntactic procedures 
have been ignored. My purpose in writing this dissertation is 
to counteract this tendency.

This work deals with verbs. Generally speaking, some 
groups of T-B languages do not include any distinctive 
markings which exclusively separate verbs from other catego-
ries of words. One might wonder, therefore, why I have 
chosen to devote most of my attention to verbs. I feel, 
however, that the branches of TB which do not display much 
overt verb morphology (e.g. Lolo-Burmese) are reflecting a 
long historical process of attrition and loss, which simply 
means they cannot offer direct testimony for older stages of 
T-B morphology. In other groups, however, we find several 
languages preserving older affixal systems and/or root forms 
either as vestiges or as concurrent but modified elements 
onto which newer systems are stratified. This sort of compli-
cation typically shows up with verbs.

So, if we should succeed, through proper scrutiny of 
their complications, in tracing the history of the most 
ancient verb-related morphological units (even though they

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may only be reflected sporadically or partially in the modern languages), this would seem to be a significant contribution to comparative TB studies in general. Our present emphasis on verbs does not mean that the author makes light of non-verbal matters. I intend to go on to discuss other aspects of rGyarong in my subsequent papers.

Nishida points out that we can recognize two strata in T-B verbs as far as morphological processes are concerned: one of these is directly comparable to Written Tibetan, and the other is a newer system, seen in Himalayish languages for instance, characterized by groups of affixes which originated from personal pronouns (Nishida 1957:21-22). According to this scheme, rGyarong reflects both strata. The prefixes preserved in Written Tibetan are found in rGyarong as lexicalized as well as independent units, and its pronominal elements provide a web of information on agent, patient, etc. Although it contains many new members, the richness of the rGyarong affixal system provides us with many hints and clues which help us not only to reconstruct the morphological structure of an older stage of this language group, but also to free ourselves from an excessive reliance upon Written Tibetan as a historical standard. It will become clear,
through comparison with rGyarong and some other languages, that WT verb morphology has undergone re-arrangements and re-interpretations at some historical stage\(^4\) and consequently is much more innovative than we had assumed.

In terms of root forms too, rGyarong shows a complexity which allows us to trace its genetic relationship with several different strata. (We cannot yet be sure whether this internal diversity means that the language has preserved forms from the PTB stage, or whether it is an artifact of our limiting the scope of our discussion to verbs.) This "multiphasic" character of rGyarong appears to be typical of what has happened to many Tibeto-Burman languages, and will be discussed in the context of historical linguistic methodology.

As for the classification of the T-B family, we shall refrain from entering into further detail here, since this paper provides many counter-examples to certain generally received opinions. We shall touch upon these matters again in the Conclusion.

This discussion consists of two major parts: description and comparison. The descriptive section is a detailed analysis of rGyarong VP's, where four prefixes and two suf-
fixes work to give us precise information concerning what the verb represents and/or connotes. This long string of affixes is so puzzling that no previous study has yet made any sense of it. Thanks to our informants’ deep understanding of the way their language works, however, we have been able to arrive at clear-cut segmentations and descriptive analyses, which enable us to establish a stable basis for historical comparison.

The comparative study will be undertaken on three levels: verb roots, morphological processes, and morphosyntax. In comparing verb roots, we shall follow the orthodox method of considering the initials and rhymes separately. Although, as mentioned before, the original flavor of rGyarong has apparently been modified by strata of outside influences, we will conclude that its basis is more deeply related to some languages of the northern Assam group of T-B than, as many scholars had believed, to WT.

Comparison of morphological processes gives us less direct evidence for genetic relationship than comparison of lexical items. Innovative morphological processes are considered to have been developed independently by particular languages or groups, and it seems risky to use them as the
main historical argument at this stage. However, if we extend our scope in the future to a typological survey of T-B as a whole (as Bauman did on pronominal phenomena), it will be very fruitful for comparative studies. It is also interesting to see, even in the newer morphological elements, similar phonological and morphophonemic phenomena to those which are assumed to have been characteristic of older stages of TB morphology.

In our morphosyntactic section, ergativity will be discussed. This particular phenomenon is closely related to both case-marking and the pronominal affix mechanism. Nobody knows what PTB syntax was like, mainly because of a lack of ample textual data, but this sort of syntactic analysis is valuable as a starting point for comparative TB syntax studies.

Our Comparative Glossary (5. Appendix) lists 425 verb roots from rGyarong and 37 related languages. Needless to say, not all of them can be used for comparison directly, but the list shows as many as possible for future use.
0.2 Sketch of rGyarong Geography and History

0.2.1 The People and their Distribution

The rGyarong speaking area is located at the north-western corner of Sichuan Province of China, just south-east of Kangze & Aba Tibetan Autonomous Regions. Ethno-geographically, many Tibeto-Burman peoples are located between the Tibetan and the Han culture areas, and rGyarong is at the northern tip of this border region. Their eastern neighbor is Ch’iang, whose ecological distribution partially overlaps with rGyarong. Actually Wassu, listed in the Glossary, is within the Ch’iang area, although von Rosthorn described some words of rGyarong there. Tibetans are living on the north-west of the rGyarong area; they also overlap with rGyarong. So, the crescent-shaped area, with Mahua as the northern edge and with Lifan as its southern tip, is occupied by Ch’iang, while an oval region to their west is predominantly inhabited by rGyarong. This distribution will be schematized in the map (next page).

The mapping of ethnic distribution in this area is fairly complicated, but this does not necessarily mean that the ethnic groups are all mixed up together. Their ecological distribution is a function of the altitude at which the
various groups live (=vertical ecological zonation); we find that Tibetans live at the highest elevation (over 3200m), followed by the rGyarong people who live between 2500m and 3400m. The next lower region (between 1200m and 2800m) is inhabited by Ch’iang, while Han people dwell below 1300m.

The exact population of the rGyarong has not been accurately determined, but my rough estimate, based on older geographic monographs and informants’ opinions, is ca. 80000. Lin (1982:1 & 1983:47) gives the figure of 150-160 thousand as the rGyarong population; it is suspected that this number includes other people who speak or understand rGyarong as a langue franca. Needless to say, if Lin’s figure is based on the national census, I am ready to revise my estimate upward.

As will be mentioned later, rGyarong has had a long cultural contact with Tibetans, and it has been their general tendency to be willing to identify themselves as Tibetan, rather than as an independent minority. This seems to be one of the reasons why rGyarong has not been recognized as one of the 56 official minorities by the Chinese government.

Before our informants left the rGyarong area, it was governed by their own King, and, according to their understanding, rGyarong belonged politically neither to Tibet nor
to China. They had their own common laws and administrative network. Administration was usually done through the 18 local magistrates. For instance, the following was the typical tax per family:

- wheat 30 ~ 100kg. once a year
- wheat & barley 30 ~ 100kg. once a year
- firewood 2 piles, each 3m high once every 3 years
- pork 10kg. once a year

Although the rGyarong area is on mountain slopes, the land is surprisingly fertile and they have good grassland clearings where yaks may graze. However, because the climate prevents crop rotation, these taxes were always a heavy burden for them. After the 'liberation', this kind of tax was abolished and a dramatic improvement in economic conditions was attempted, but we have no information about the results.

A great change is going on with their language too. They have been encouraged to move into new settlements where they naturally come into much more contact with Chinese people than before, and consequently their language has been strongly influenced by Chinese. The son of my informant, who met his father after 21 years absence in Kathmandu, spoke beautiful rGyarong, but he could not talk to his father easily since approximately half of the substantives in his father's speech had been replaced by Chinese. According to
him, women are more conservative in terms of Chinese loans. Similarly to what we may observe in the Himalayan region of Nepal, where 'de-Tibetanization' and rapid 'Hinduization' are going on, rGyarong also seems to be on the road to 'de-Tibetanization' and 'Sinicization'.

0.2.2 History

Unlike the Ch’iang, whose activities can be traced back to the Han Dynasty through Chinese historians’ descriptions, the name of rGyarong does not appear until recently in Chinese sources. Chinese documents listed, instead of rGyarong, 白蘭 (cf. vol.83, vol.97, vol.96, vol.101). This name was believed to refer to a Ch’iang kingdom but recent studies of Tibetan historical works from Tun-huang revealed it was in reality a rGyarong-oriented country which had been independent from dBu(Lhasa-centered Tibet) dynasty but later which came under its direct control.

The name of rGyarong appears in some manuscripts of the Middle Ages. For instance, Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad(14c.) says, "the inhabitants under the 18 royalties of rGyal-mo-rong are not Tibetans". Amdo chos-'byung, another historical
source, 7) describes the name of rGyarong, identifying it with the Chinese name Kin-ch’uan(金川), where all the rGyarong royal lineages are related to the sBra clan. This sBra has been identified with རྗིས་མ་ by Yamaguchi8) in the context of ancient Tibetan military systems. Amdo chos-’byung, locating the sBra’s franchise at Tsha-ko,9) continues, “there are three main lineages: mDo-bzher nag-po being called rGyal-nag(རྒྱལ་མ་དོ་བཞེར་ནག་པོ), Zhang-zhung sBra being called Zhang-gyal, and Tsha-rong being called Kho-’pham. From the last name, Tsha-kho(as place name) was formed. These clans are also said to be from Rab-brtan”. Tsha-rong, cited in the above text, is one of the powerful clans in Central Tibet, and it reminds us of rGyarong’s deep connection with the politics of U-Tshang in the 10th-14th centuries. Except for these references, rGyarong history is unknown until the middle of the last century, when some local geographical works mentioned the rGyarong area(e.g. རྒྱལ་མ་, རྒྱལ་མ་ བཅོད་པོ་). rGyarong is known as a stronghold of Bon. Bon is the native religion of Tibet and its origin is considered to be located in the western part of the country10). Recall the second clan mentioned above was from Zhang-zhung11)(Western Tibet). Some clans from there moved to the east with their
Bon religion and settled down in rGyarong country. For example, khyung po moved to Khams-stod,\textsuperscript{12}) where a big Bon monastery was established. Many historical works on Buddhism also state that rGyarong and Tsha-kho are the center of the Bon religion (e.g. Thu'u-bkwan hu-thug-thu:Grub mtha' shel gyi ge long\textsuperscript{13}) section of Bon f.6b).
0.3 Informants

The informants directly involved with this dissertation are Mr. Chamba Rabgyay and Mr. rGyarong Jam-bum.

It was in 1974 when I first heard the rGyarong language spoken. At that time, I was carrying out my field research in India on Tibetan dialects. Starting with Tibetan philology, I had felt the necessity of acquiring a good knowledge of colloquial Tibetan as well as of the dialects, where we find ample hints to fill in the gaps left by the traditional way of approaching the Tibetan language via dictionaries. After 2 months' stay in Dharmsala (Himachal Pradesh, India) where the 14th Dalai Lama resides, the locale of my research jumped southward. Tibetan refugees had rebuilt Sera Monastery at Bylakuppe, Karnataka, India, where the monks still kept the tradition of speaking their native dialects in their dormitories. So, this seemed to be the ideal place for my purposes. During my 7 months' stay there, I managed to collect data on such dialects as Golok, Minyak and Muli, which I had thought it impossible to study. But in the midst of this work, I was suddenly fascinated by the strange strings of sound and the peculiar structure of rGyarong.

In the last 3 months of my sojourn in Sera, I learnt
rGyarong under Mr. Chamba Rabgyay. He was born in lCog-rtse of rGyarong in 1928 and studied in a dGe-lugs-pa monastery there until he was 21 years old. He then left rGyarong for Lhasa in 1949 to enter Sera Monastery, where he was re-trained in dGe-lugs-pa doctrines. He used rGyarong in the dormitory and Central Tibetan as the standard language. Following the 14th Dalai Lama, he fled to India in 1960 and is now serving a young incarnate lama in Sera of India.

Mr. Chamba Rabgyay's patience and understanding of my linguistic task were so great that I not only succeeded in collecting 3000 words, but could also go on to describe sentence structure. My two previous papers were written on the basis of the material provided by this talented informant.

The more my studies progressed, the more questions arose. Fortunately, I was given a chance to live in Kathmandu in 1980-1981, as a member of the "Anthropological & Linguistic Survey of Gandaki Area" project. After the fieldwork in Jomsom region, I returned to Kathmandu and lay in wait for rGyarong people. Finally, I was able to meet Mr. rGyarong Jambum whose native tongue was exactly the same as Mr. Chamba Rabgyay's. The questions that had accumulated in my mind for
several years were clearly answered in rGyarong (sometimes in Tibetan) and more example sentences were added to my stock.

Mr. rGyarong Jambum was born in 1925 in lCog-rtse and was educated in the same monastery as Mr. Chamba Rabgyay. After the age of 12, he accompanied his relatives who were organizing caravans between rGyarong and Lhasa. After several caravans, he left rGyarong with his wife for Lhasa to begin his own business. His wife is also a native speaker of the lCog-rtse dialect of rGyarong. They were engaged in barter trade between Lhasa and Khams as well as rGyarong. Right after the Tibet commotion in 1959, they moved into India and have settled down in Clement Town, Uttar Pradesh, where they made their living by selling Tibetan carpets wholesale. In 1980, he alone came up to Kathmandu to meet his son whom he had left in rGyarong 21 years before. They united successfully, but had to wait for the Indian entrance visa of his son for a few months, during which he collaborated with me intensively. When the second phase of the project I was affiliated with was carried out in 1982, I tried to contact him several times, but in vain. Immediately before leaving Nepal in the end of 1982, I finally got some information about him; he had returned to rGyarong with his wife.
I owe a deep debt of gratitude to these collaborators, who enabled me to penetrate the mysteries of rGyarong structure.

Several other rGyarong monks in Sera were also generous enough to help me. The information I obtained from them has not been directly utilized in this work, but it was extremely significant for my understanding of rGyarong in general. One of these monks, Mr. Trha-ko, a native speaker of Tsha-kho (Tsa-kou-nao) dialect, passed away of acute pneumonia in 1980 in Mysore.

I feel grateful to them all and pray for the repose of Mr. Trha-ko's soul.
0.4 Review of Previous Works on rGyarong

0.4.1 B.H. Hodgson

This pioneering scholar collected voluminous lexical items from the native languages within the British India of his time. His main purpose in collecting these words was to establish that all the aboriginal tongues in his framework, including those of India, China, Burma, Tibet, Nepal and even Mongolia, were genetically related to each other although political and cultural biases made them look very different from each other.

He thought this large family was divisible into three: Tibetan, Chinese and "Tamulian". He called these 'stocks'(i.e. typologically based divisions), instead of 'group'(i.e. genetically based divisions). This idea of 'stock' seems to have naturally led him to emphasize similarity within each stock (at the cost of ignoring significant differences within each one).

However, his exhaustive survey of the tribes of Northern Tibet is still meaningful. In his 1853 paper, he writes on rGyarong in general, describing the political situation and etymology of the word "rGyarong". His description is useful for the information it provides on how rGyarong was governed.
in his time, but the etymology is wrong. Hodgson says, "The word Gyå, in the language of Tibet, is equivalent to that of Fan in the language of China; and, as rûng means, in the former tongue, proper or special, Gyårung signifies alien per excellence". Probably, he received this explanation from his Tibetan assistant who was presumably from Amdo or Khams; indeed, this folk-etymology is still believed by many Tibetans. However, the documents from Tun-huang mention rGYarong as being from rGYal-mo tsho-ba rong or rGYal-mo rong (Valley of the Queen) with precise genealogies and persons' names involved in rGYarong kingdom, and this historical evidence seems to be more persuasive.

He lists a limited number of rGYarong words as well as vocabulary from other northern-Tibet languages. The description is generally accurate, and it shows older forms (especially of case particles). As the first description of rGYarong, his contribution is highly valued.

It should also be noted that he was interested not only in vocabulary but also in syntax. He was aware of typological features such as pronominalization and syntactic order. In this sense, too, he may be considered as a pioneer. Bauman discusses pronominalization in detail (Bauman 1975:29-37).
this context, Hodgson expressed his opinion that rGyarong might be connected to the languages of Caucasus and Oce-ania (Hodgson 1972:69=rprt of the 1853 paper). According to one of his footnotes, this idea came from "the universal substitution of continuative gerunds and particles in lieu of conjunctions and of conjunctive(relative) pronouns". If he had known Japanese, a much wilder hypothesis would have been proposed. The author cannot accept his argument in this respect.

0.4.2 S.N. Wolfenden

After Hodgson, some more rGyarong materials were accumulated by Laufer (1914) and von Rosthorn (1897). It was Wolfenden who, on the basis of these data, tried to locate rGyarong properly. He set up a 'parenthetical' section in his Outlines (Wolfenden 1929:141-143), where he discusses the fact that rGyarong te- and ka- are related not only to Written Tibetan but also to Ao Naga and others. This writer, unlike some others, prudently stated, concerning Laufer's opinion, 'to regard this Tibetan dialect on the strength of its word forms as "one of the most archaic", needs, then, qualifications' (Outlines:141). As his conclusion, he seems to have succeeded in substantiating that the rGyarong prefixes go
back to WT, but, for instance, te- is a wide-spread morpheme either as a pronominal element or as substantival marker, and his argument about this is too sketchy. Since his main concern was morphological processes in Tibeto-Burman languages, those in rGyarong, if properly understood, should have been more powerful evidence for his own assertion.

His biggest contribution to an understanding of rGyarong's genetic position in Outlines is that he pointed out the correspondences of some root forms between rGyarong, Garo, Tipura and some Naga languages (Outlines:142). He might have considered this aspect of his work trivial, but, in the sense that he listed good sets of non-Tibetan cognates for the first time, he deserves a lot of credit.

Following Outlines, a monograph on rGyarong by the same scholar appeared in 1936. This article was based upon his own fieldwork in Darjeeling, India, carried out in 1931. After detailing the te and ka prefixes followed by glosses and textual data, he tries to make notes on tenses, causative constructions, conditional clauses, verb complexes and pronominal suffixes. Among these, the discussion of 'tense' is noteworthy. He lists *siat and *sas for KILL, in which the latter represents the perfect root. This -s is parallel to WT
-s(PFT) and it should be noted that this lexical item is a transitive verb, while, in our data, -s appears only with intransitives. This example of Wolfenden supports my statement that the -s in rGyarong used to be more productive at an older stage (cf. 1.5).

The rest of his paper is devoted to sound correspondences between rGyarong and WT, which does not seem to go beyond what previous scholars had figured out.

0.4.3 Wen Yu

Two articles on rGyarong by this Chinese scholar are based upon his own field research at Paslok, south-east of Tsha-kou-nao. We do not have a complete picture of this dialect, however, since he has not published any other papers on it.

His 1943 paper deals with the rGyarong directives. His intention was to give evidence that Proto-Tibeto-Burman possessed a directive infix in its verb system. Stimulated by Wolfenden’s Outlines, Wen Yu wanted to show concrete descendants of the PTB directives in rGyarong and Ch’iang. As we shall see below (2.2.21), both languages have developed a sophisticated system of direction markers, some of which are
related to demonstratives and others to verb roots, though none of their systems coincide exactly. But both rGyarong and Ch'iang which Wen Yu studied have four directives with very similar meanings. Comparing the two languages, he concludes that t- represents TOP, n- BOTTOM and d- BACK, adding that all of these came from demonstratives. Up to this point, I have no objection and appreciate his argument that rGyarong and Ch'iang are close in terms of directive prefixes.

He also suggested that the Siyin dialect of Chin has a similar system, but refrained from pursuing this further, stating that "their system is not so organic, nor their functions so clear" (Wen Yu 1943:18). Readers will see in 2.2.214 that the Siyin system is very "organic and clear".

Wen Yu's 1944 paper describes pronominal affixes. As the title of the paper shows, he discusses only 'personal endings' which are equivalent to the S2 suffixes in this paper. We do not know whether or not this dialect had the P3 components. Most of the paper is devoted to paradigms and, because of the confusion of different levels of terms such as subject, object, agent, nominative and so on, the resultant analyses are not so neat. But, with regard to the 2SG -u and -n suffixes in the transitive structure (cf. 1.4.3), he sug-
gested that this distinction is connected to that found in Ch'iang, which has two sets of pronouns for 2SG:ŋA or ng for nominative, and ky and y for oblique. It seems we need more research to decide whether the opposition of nominative and oblique is appropriate, but, it is true that their morphological shapes are close to rGyarong and, if he is correct, they will provide a good evidence for the close similarity in morphological processes in the two languages.

0.4.4 Kin P'eng (et al.)

Two monographs have been published by this scholar in 1949 and 1957/58 (with co-workers). The second one is more innovative in the manner of description and consequently easier to use. In particular, word formation, the pronominal affixing system and verbals are fully explained. This is a reliable sketch of rGyarong grammar.

However, we find some discrepancies between our data and his, especially with regard to phonological interpretation. The first serious point concerns tone. Kin P'eng states that there are four tones in the Suomo dialect (1957:146-149). I have never studied this particular dialect and cannot say anything decisive, but, even in the examples Kin P'eng listed, we do not find any tonal oppositions. It is true that
every rGyarong word has a rather fixed pitch pattern, but it by no means functions as a tonemic or pitch-accent distinction. Indeed, Kin P’eng does not show a single minimal pair (ibid.:147).

The second discrepancy concerns the accents of directives. As we shall see (below 1.1.4 and 1.2.2), the directives of rGyarong (ICog-rtse dialect) in VP’s have double roles: directive and perfect aspect marker. In the imperfect, therefore, the direction that the verb root names is usually not expressed by the directive which appears at the P2 position in our data. If there is an absolute necessity to specify the direction in the imperfect, the directive must be placed at a marked position (before P1). In Kin P’eng’s description, on the other hand, the directives of ‘past’ carry low ‘tone’ while those of ‘future’ have high tone (1958:100-101).

Although our dialect has a slightly different VP structure from the Suomo dialect, I would like to interpret King P’eng’s data as follows:

1) Now that it is clear from his own data that Suomo has no tonal contrast, this phenomenon in the directives is irrelevant to tonal matters.
2) The rGyarong affixes do not show any fixed pitch pattern, that is to say, they are unmarked.

3) The phonologically unmarked directives appear before the root to specify that it is in the perfective aspect.

4) When direction must be specified in the imperfect, directives get marked by a remarkably high pitch.

The meanings of directives are also partially separate from each other. But these differences may be due to geographical and/or social environments. The discrepancies in adverbial affixes (P4) between the two will be mentioned in the footnotes of 1.2.3.

0.4.5 Chang Kun & B.S. Chang

This couple is known as the authors of A Manual of Spoken Tibetan (1964) as well as numerous papers on Sino-Tibetan. However, Chang Kun’s starting point was rather Ch’iang and rGyarong; indeed, he carried out his fieldwork over there in the early 1940’s, when Wen Yu also investigated the two languages.

Chang Kun’s first paper on rGyarong was a monograph (1968), where he described the phonology of the Tzu-ta dialect on the basis of his field-notes.
Their second paper was published in 1975, where a comparative phonology was attempted. On the basis of all the materials available at the time of publication, they tried to establish a common Tibeto-rgyarong stage and trace the phonological changes down to Tibetan and rGyarong.

The first eight pages are devoted to reviews and evaluations of earlier works, through which we can infer their own philosophy and ideas. Citing Kin Peng's numerical breakdown (37% of Suomo words related to Tibetan, 3.6% to Chinese, 59.4% left unrelated), they say, "Words among this 59.4% may be labelled Gyarong as opposed to Tibetan simply because the changes which have led from Common Tibetan-Gyarong to Gyarong have not yet been discovered" (Chang & Chang 1975:396). So, the next step for me in order to search for the genetic relationship of rGyarong should naturally be to determine what language group is closer to the 59.4%. But, they "lay primary stress on Tibetan" (ibid.:396).

As Chang & Chang state, [Tibetan is] "obviously close" to Gyarong and "properly used, Tibetan is of the greatest value" (ibid.:396). The author completely agrees with them. However, my rough impression concerning the closeness of rGyarong to Tibetan is that the two languages share very
similar morphological processes, but, as far as verb roots are concerned, they are fairly far apart. When you find very close forms in the two languages, these items are either strongly suspect of being loans, or else turn out to be pervasive phonological shapes all through Tibeto-Burman (i.e. the most widespread TB roots, not confined to Tibetan-type languages).

Chang & Chang go on to demonstrate (pp. 339-473) their model of changes from Common Tibetan-Gyarong to Gyarong and Tibetan according to the categories of sounds. This part is extremely detailed but it is summarized in the charts attached to the main body of the paper. In the charts, they set up 7 to 12 hypothetical stages along which the phonological changes could be reasonably explained. It is true that these long strings of hypothetical forms may be valuable in tracing the history of particular words, but we fear that they sometimes obscure the structure of correspondences.

Some pairs seem to me inappropriate. Let me give just one example. They list WT sras and rGyarong tAtsI, tsa, tse etc. for SON (ibid.: 422). I believe that the WT cognate to the rGyarong forms is rather tsha 'u or tsha bo (NEPHEW). In narrative style, rGyarong still maintains a vestige of cross-
cousin marriage (which is currently obsolete), and in the actual kinship terms, the language does not distinguish SON from matrilineal NEPHEW.

Despite this criticism above, the findings of Chang & Chang with respect to regular vowel alternations in the Tibeto-Gyarong stock should be recognized as a considerable contribution. Their clear-cut analysis seems very fruitful for the reconstruction of the taxonomic level which is directly connectible to PTB.

I have quite recently learned from Chang Kun as one of my dissertation committee supervisors that he basically agrees with my argument about the historical position of rGyarong. It was his original idea when he wrote the monograph in 1968 that rGyarong might be related to Trung, Lepcha(Rong) or the Chin languages, because these share partially similar roots and affixing components including pronominal affixes and three of them have -rong(VALLEY) in common. The second reason seems less persuasive, but, as far as Trung is concerned, it may be a good target for comparison in terms of its affixing system. This matter will be further discussed in 2.2.213 and 2.2.3. Lepcha is rather to be connected to Mikir, as Bauman proposed (Bauman 1976). As we shall
see below (2.1.1), rGyarong shows sporadic correspondences with Tiddim Chin; in this sense, Chang Kun's original idea was to the point. Although I have been unable to find good evidence which substantiates a close relationship between Tiddim Chin and rGyarong, some other Chin languages may provide us with clues. When we consider the possible close genetic connection between rGyarong and Abor-Miri-Dafla (below 2.1.4), the Chin hypothesis of Chang Kun is attractive.

0.4.6 Qu Ai-Tang & Lin Xiang-Rong

The newest materials on rGyarong were circulated at the 15th Sino-Tibetan Conference (Peking) in 1982. These two scholars were the co-workers of Kin P'eng 1957/58, and their ideas and materials seem essentially identical with the former paper. However, their discussions have been much more detailed with ample examples and some newer results of their fieldwork.

Qu's paper on pronominal affixes summarizes the 1958 paper, adds his own data from other dialects, and tries to set up a model of historical changes in that affixal mechanism. His precise description and scrupulous paradigms are highly meaningful and will become a trustworthy starting point for the future pronominalization studies. As for the

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last part, however, I disagree with him in several respects. Most of the discrepancies come from the different analysis on the synchronic level; since his article is only a handout, i.e., he seems to be preparing a final product for publication, I shall refrain from entering into further detail here.

Lin's paper deals with word formation. He is a native speaker of rGyarong and this kind of survey by rGyarong people themselves is to be highly encouraged. The outline of this paper is basically the same as Kin P'eng's 1957/58 article, but the formative patterns are reinforced by abundant examples including Ganli dialect materials. Another new contribution concerns the adverbial affixes (cf.1.2.3); the meanings of _nh- and _mA- (cf.1.2.34), above all, have been clarified. Although his explanations sometimes differ from my own interpretations, he gives us many suggestive examples and clues with regard not only to the P4 affixes but also concerning _kA- as a VP signal.
0.5 Outline of Phonology

The following is an outline of the phonology of the ICog-rtse dialect of rGyarong.

0.5.1 Consonant phonemes are:

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<td>w</td>
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</table>

0.5.11 /sy/ and /zy/ are alveopalatal fricatives.

0.5.12 /?/ is glottal stop.

0.5.13 /tr/, /trh/ and /dr/ are retroflexives.

0.5.14 Note that all the voiced stops and affricates are usually prefixed, except for words which are suspected to be Tibetan loans.

0.5.15 In addition, there is a prenasal phoneme to the stops and affricates, N-, which assimilates and is rather syllabic. In this sense, this phoneme is contrastive to m- at the prefixing position which never assimilates. Historical interpretation will be shown in 2.2.16 & 17. Jinghpaw has the same...
listed in 0.5.1 can occur as Cj, except for N-, a prenasal phoneme, which appears only at (C). (G) stands for glide, which includes -r-, -l-, -w-, -y-. The following may appear at (Cj): -p, -t, -k, -?, -s, -m, -n, -ny, -ng, -l, -r, -w and -y.

0.5.5 Morphophonemics

0.5.5.1 The middle vowel of the causative marker sA- and the substantival marker tA- harmonize with that of the root. If the vowel is front/unrounded, /A/ goes to [E]; when followed by a [high, back, rounded] root vowel, it is realized as [U]; otherwise /A/ remains [Ø].

0.5.5.2 In natural utterance, the vowel of P2 and P3 generally gets devoiced. When P2 and P3 co-exist in a VP(cf. 1.1.1 for the VP structure), the vowel of P3 is devoiced while that of P2 remains.

e.g. ro-kA > rok
    re-wu > rew
    nA-wu > nAw (>nu)

0.5.5.3 The morphophonemic rules operating between the final consonant of the root(Cj) and pronominal affix(S2) are as follows:

1) When a nasal affix follows a bilabial Cj, it nasalizes the
Cf and disappears (except for 2PL affix).

e.g. top-ng > tom HIT + 1SG
skyip-ny > skyimny SUCK + 2PL

2) If the Cf is non-nasal, the S2 affix of 1SG and 1/2DL always survives while the Cf becomes zero.

e.g. mphat-ng > mphang VOMIT + 1SG
mÅs-ng > mÅng FORGET + 1SG
mphat-ch > mphach VOMIT + 1DL
mÅs-Nch > mÅNch FORGET + 2DL

3) In 2/3SG, the S2 affix is always dropped while Cf is left intact.

e.g. Nthun-w > Nthun SHOW + 3SG

4) The PL marker (S2) consistently survives, assimilating the Cf into its nearest resonant in terms of manner of articulation.

e.g. dit-ny > dinny GIVE + 2PL
yok-y > yowy LIFT + 2PL

0.5.54 When -s occurs at S1 position, the following happens:

1) Cf always disappears.

2) It co-exists with pronominal affix (S2). Since -s occurs only with 2nd and 3rd persons of intransitive 'process' verbs, there is no conflict with the 1st person affixes.
0.6 Abbreviations and Primary Sources

agt.      agent
bnf.      beneficiary
exc.      exclusive
goa.      goal
inc.      inclusive
ptt.      patient
A         adjective
AB        Abor-Miri Lorrain 1907
Adj.      adjective
Adv.      adverb
AO        Ao Clark 1893
AUX       auxiliary verb
AUX:E/EX  auxiliary verb of existence
AUX:NS    auxiliary verb of negative statement
AUX:S     auxiliary verb of statement
AUX:SE    auxiliary verb of explanatory statement
BA        Bawa Schwerli (undated)
BO        Bodo Burling 1959 & 1967
CAUS      causative
CH        Ch’iang
CH[Cl]    Chiutzu of Ch’iang Wen Yu 1950
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<td>Proto-Lolo-Burmese</td>
<td>Thurgood</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PTB</td>
<td>Proto-Tibeto-Burman</td>
<td>Benedict</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>sentence of question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>Garo</td>
<td>Burling</td>
<td>1961</td>
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<tr>
<td>RW</td>
<td>Rawang = NU[B]</td>
<td></td>
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<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
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<tr>
<td>STC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Benedict</td>
<td>1972</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Tibeto-Burman</td>
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<td>Tibeto-Burman</td>
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<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>Tiddim Chin</td>
<td>Henderson</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TR Trung
TR[L] Trung Lo 1945
TR[S] Trung Sun 1982
TSF tenseifier
TSR Matisoff 1972a

V verb
VP verb phrase
VPf verb phrase:final
VPnf verb phrase:non-final
VI intransitive verb
VT transitive verb
WLC Wallace L. Chafe
WT Written Tibetan all the dictionary forms
Notes to Introduction

1) e.g. Laufer 1914. He even considered rGyarong as representing a more 'archaic' stage than WT.

2) From Roerich (1931) until Benedict (1972), rGyarong has consistently been classified as a Bodish member.

3) All the more so in the Sino-Tibetan and Austro-Tai frameworks.

4) WT orthography is said to have been established by Thon mi sambhota, one of the ministers of Srong btsan sgam po, who, according to Tibetan legends, wrote grammars. Yamaguchi succeeded in proving that the existence of that person itself was a fiction, but, it is known that Tibetan letters were surely used in the 7th century (cf. Yamaguchi 1977). It is obvious that, for the organized import of Buddhism, they felt a need for their own letters and grammar (=spelling). For that purpose, someone was chosen to set up a reasonable system sometime before the 7th century. Although we do not know who it was, it is certain that he carefully observed Tibetan language and grammar and set up rules through his own interpretation.

5) includes adjectivals.

6) Das, S.Ch. 1887: A brief account of Tibet from Dsam-Ling
Gyeshe, JASS LVI, pt.1. & Vasil'ev, V. 1895: Geografija Tibet, perevod iz tibetskogo sogineniya Minczul Xutukti, St. Petersburg.


8) Yamaguchi 1972

9) Tsha kou nao


11) Nishida (1973:31ff) points out that Zhang-zhung in the Tun-huang documents and that of Bon-po are not identical.

12) Wolfenden (1936)’s Kham-to.

13) Shol ed.

14) This tradition has continued since the 18c.
1. DESCRIPTION

This chapter aims at describing the morphological and morphosyntactic processes in the verb phrases of the lCogrtse dialect of rGyarong(GC). All the sentences cited here are from the author's own elicitation unless otherwise noted.

1.1 consists of some general observations on such verb-related matters as the structure of sentences and verb phrases, voice, mode, and aspect. 1.2 through 1.6 are devoted to detailed descriptions of each constituent of the VP's. 1.7 deals with ergativity, a wide-spread morphosyntactic phenomenon among Tibeto-Burman languages.

1.1 General Observations

1.1.1 Verb Phrase

rGyarong sentences are either simple or compound. The former includes one VP which necessarily is VPfinal, while the latter has any number of VPnon-final's and a VPf. The non-final may theoretically be infinite in number, but no actual rGyarong sentence in our data has more than 2. The structure is illustrated schematically as

\[(NP) + (NP) + \cdots + (NP) + (NP) + (NP)\]

Non-final VP('s) and the final VP may be conjoined to each other with a particle and the VPf is frequently followed by an auxiliary verb.

The description of this paper mainly deals with simple
sentences and the morphological structure of \( VP_{final} \), which, indeed, is of puzzling complexity, so much so that the genetic affiliations of the language are somewhat controversial.

A \( VP_{final} \) has the following general structure and it constitutes a word:

\[
VP_f \rightarrow (ka)-(P1)-P2-(P3)-(P4)-ROOT-(S1)-S2.
\]

\( ka \) generally signals the beginning of a VP, being mandatory in \( VP_{n.f} \) while optional in \( VP_f \).

Among the other components preceding the root, \( P2 \) and \( P3 \) are mandatory while \( P1 \) and \( P4 \) are optional. \( S2 \) is a counterpart of \( P3 \), and consequently obligatory, while \( S1 \) is not.

All the prefixes are monosyllabic, having a CV structure respectively. \( S1 \) and \( S2 \) are shaped as -C and -CC. The structure of the root will later be discussed in a historical framework (cf. 0.5 & 2.2.1).

The concatenation order of the affixes is so regular that exchange of positions between them never occurs, with a single exception.

\( P1 \) consists of a morpheme \( ke- \), which, in combination with \( P2 \), indicates either future or past. According to the informants' concept, this prefix is the tense marker. However, it does not necessarily indicate the particular point of time but refers to the relatively remote stage. We therefore propose to call it the 'tensifier'. This name may sound humorous but it aptly describes the affix’s function.
P2 stands for the aspect marker or direction marker. There are two aspect markers, $\emptyset$ and nA, which indicate imperfect and perfect respectively. Thirteen direction markers appear at this position, showing the directionality implied by the verb. They are so productive that they can theoretically play their roles with any kind of verb. Some verbs, however, conventionally require particular prefix(es).

It should also be noted that direction markers occur in the perfect only and if one of them comes out, the perfect marker is omitted. So, this means that direction is not usually specified in the imperfect and direction markers perform double functions. If, out of sheer necessity, direction should be indicated in the imperfect, the direction marker is placed at a marked position—before P1. The combination among ka through P4 will be further discussed under 1.2.4.

P3 and S2 represent pronominal affixes. They specify agent, goal, beneficiary and their agreement if they appear in the shape of personal pronouns.

P4 is an adverbial affix, which specifies the 'manners'. Manners include causative, progressive, verbalizer, and some others.

S1 is -s, the derivative suffix to the root. This suffix appears only with 'process' verbs and marks at the same time that the verb is in perfect aspect.
1.1.2 Voice and Mode

Such a distinction as 'active' vs. 'passive' is basically foreign to rGyarong. In another words, any inflectional unit which reverses old and new information carriers does not occur in or with VP's. rGyarong seems to be primarily an ergative language and the reversal of information carriers is realized by the opposition of ergativity vs. topicalization. See 1.5 for discussion.

Mode differentiation is also alien to this language. The only thing to note will be 'imperative'. The neutral command requires the identical shape to the VPreal with the affixing pattern of 2SG, 2DL and 2PL in their perfect aspect. Polite interrogatives are shaped as ma-mA-ROOT-ny, in which mA is an adverbial affix at P4 position and -ny is the pronominal affix of 2PL.

1.1.3 Transitivity

It does not seem so meaningful to classify rGyarong verbs into intransitive and transitive groups, since this language has several productive ways to convert verbs from one class to another, which will be fully discussed after 1.2. In this paper, we conventionally use the symbols, VT and VI, since they are convenient when certain grammatical matters are discussed, or when our findings are compared with those of other scholars.
If the rGyarong verbals can be classified into two categories, it appears more persuasive to choose 'process' (Chafe's terminology\(^1\)) and 'non-process' as the taxonomic criteria. Morphologically, this dichotomy coincides with the distribution of kA- and ka- which signal the beginning of VP's. The ka- allomorph occurs with process verbs, and the kA- allomorph with non-process verbs.

1.1.4 Aspect

rGyarong has the basic configuration of 'aspect-prominent' language. P2 position is exclusively occupied by an aspect marker or direction marker which actually functions as an aspect signal.

Besides these, this dialect has developed the 'tensifier', ke-; this kind of component has not been described for any other Tibeto-Burman language to my knowledge. Taking the informants' word for it, the author regarded this as the tense marker at first. After checking the examples more carefully, however, it became clear that the affix does not always point out the particular time but rather works to make more remote the 'stage' of the action implied by the aspect marker. It is well-known that the perfective in English connotes presently relevant past; in contrast to this, ke-PFT in rGyarong signals a loose 'remote past' while ke-IPF indicates a 'remote future' stage.
This affix does not refer to the exact tense but belongs in the general categorical realm of 'time'. Taking these two features of ke- into consideration, we have labelled it as 'tensifier'.

1.1.5 VP_{non-final}

The form of the VP that occurs in what we call 'VP_{nf}' has been called the 'infinitive' by other scholars. According to them, ka- marks the infinitive of verbs which express actions that can be controlled by human will, while kA- marks those which are uncontrollable. However, these prefixes (which seem to belong to a single morpheme) do not always label 'infinitive' exclusively but may just signal VP's. One need not, therefore, set up the category of 'infinitive'.

As we mentioned under 1.1.1, VP_{f} has the following general structure: ka-P1-P2-P3-P4-ROOT-S1-S2. Among these components, VP_{nf} chooses only ka- and root, i.e., none of the optional components are realized. Instead of establishing 'infinitive', we have only to deduce the shape of VP_{nf} from that of VP_{f}. 

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1.2 Prefixes

1.2.1 Aspect Markers

1.2.1.1 0 and nA

Aspect markers appear at the P2 position, indicating either imperfect or perfect. Imperfect is marked by -0-, and perfect by -nA-. Some examples are shown below:

(1) nga ding ko.
    (dit-ng)
    1SG give-1SG AUX:S
    I am going to give (it).

(2) nga nA-ding ko.
    (nA-dit-ng)
    1SG PFT-give-1SG AUX:S
    I have given (it).

These sentences constitute of VPf’s only, and the 0/nA contrast is observed straightforwardly. Since objects are absent in these examples, object agreement need not be specified and consequently P3 appears as zero. The suffix -s does not occur at the S1 position because GIVE is transitive. -ko at the sentence final position is an auxiliary verb of neutral statement. For P3 and S2, see 1.4.

Another example from NP * VPf sentences:

(3) nga nga-mnyak ro ko.
    (ro)
    1SG (my)-eye wake AUX:S
    I will wake up.

(4) nga nga-mnyak nA-ros ko.
    (nA-ro-s)
    1SG (my)-eye PFT-wake-S1 AUX:S
    I have awakened/I am waking up.

Here again, the 0/nA contrast can be recognized at a
glance. Besides this contrast, sentence (4) has -s- at the S1, which also shows that the verb is the intransitive 'process' verb in the perfect aspect.

Although these two sentences look transitive in structure, that is to say, nga-mnyak (my eye) appears as though it were the object of ro, this is not the case. The root, ro, is intransitive. The fact is that nga(I) carries 'old information' while nga-mnyak presents 'new information'. So, the literal translation would be 'As for me, my eyes will be waking' for (3) and 'As for me, my eyes have been waking up' for (4).

Some more examples with pronominal affixes:

(5) nyi-gyo ta-rgyap tA-sarny mo ngos.

2PL(HON) marriage 2PL-aarry-2PL IRG AUX:S
Are you going to get married?

(6) nyi-gyo ta-rgyap nA-sarny mo ngos.

2PL(HON) marriage PFT-2PL-aarry-2PL IRG AUX:S
Have you got married?

In these sentences too, the aspect markers appear at the regular position. Since the pronominal affixes for 2SG are supposed to be -tA- at P3 and -ny at S2, the inner prefix stands at the P3 underlyingly. But, in the perfect, it becomes optional unless the object occurs to cause object agreement. See 1.4 for further discussion.

The perfect marker, -nA- may frequently be replaced by a direction marker, but the following verbs conventionally
1.2.12 Tensifier ke-

As was discussed already under 1.1.1 and 1.1.4, this affix 'tensifies' the aspect. Judging from its functions, this seems to be best described under the context of aspect, rather than in terms of other categories.

Compare the following sentences:

(7) nga pyang ko.
    (pya-ng)
    1SG take-1SG AUX:S
    I am going to to take (it).

(8) nga ke-pyang ko.
    (ke-pya-ng)
    1SG TSF-take-1SG AUX:S
    I will take (it).

(9) nga nA-pyang ko.
    (nA-pya-ng)
    1SG PFT-take-1SG AUX:S
    I have taken (it).

(10) nga ke-nA-pyang ko.
     (ke-nA-pya-ng)
     1SG TSF-PFT-take-1SG AUX:S
     I took (it)/I had taken (it).

Comparing (7) and (8), the P1-P2 sequence appears as 0-0 in (7) and ke-Ø in (8). Sentences (7) and (8) both imply
imperfect by contrast with (9). The only difference between (7) and (8) is that the action of -pyg-(TAKE) in (8) will occur in the more remote future while that in (7) may happen or finish in a few seconds.

Similarly, (9) means just perfect, while (10) implies that the action of TAKE occurred in the past and has nothing to do with the time of utterance.
1.2.2 Direction Markers

The P2 position is occupied either by an aspect marker or by a direction marker. In the imperfect, aspect is marked by zero, and no directives appear at this position; therefore, P2 is always blank in the imperfect. When the direction should be indicated in the imperfect, an adverb of time appears before VPf to show that the occurrence belongs to that aspect (cf. 1.2.22), or the direction marker has to be before P1 (cf. 1.2.23). In the perfect, on the other hand, a variety of affixes occur, specifying the aspect and the direction towards which the action of the verb turned or where the state expressed by the verb occurred.

As is mentioned in 1.2.1, -nÅ- primarily marks the perfect, but directives not only show direction but also function as the marker of the perfective aspect. And, if one of them appears, -nÅ- is excluded.

These directives are so productive that, although certain ones are favored by the meanings of individual verbs, action verbs can take any of the directives to specify the direction of action. Non-action verbs have a narrower choice, but, still they carry the potentiality to show with assistance of one of the directives where that ‘non-action’ happened. This rich variation of direction markers seems to give rGYarong verbs great flexibility of expression.

There is one more thing to note: each of the direction
markers has two forms, one of which implies that the utterance is based on 'direct' information by the speaker, while the other implies that the speaker's information is 'non-direct'. 'Direct' information has to be based either on the speaker's own experience and/or perception, or on the speaker's conception that the action or state is unfolding within his own 'speech circle', i.e., it is psychologically nearer to him. Tibetan has developed complex combinations of root plus auxiliary verbs to specify the speaker's psychological distance to the event, while in rGyarong the well-developed affixes serve a similar purpose. Some verbs with 'non-direct' markers can imply that the action is receding from the speaker. This seems to derive from the above-mentioned distinction.

It is also interesting that all the 'non-direct' markers have /-a/.

The chart on the next page shows the entire set of direction markers. The forms after slash in the chart are 'non-direct'.
Direction Markers

Vertical Contrast

UPHILL/UP

to/ta

no/na

UPSTREAM

ko/ka

DOWNHILL/DOWNSTREAM/DOWN

Horizontal Contrast

FRONT

ro/ra

re/ra

BEHIND

OTHERS

MOVEMENT OF GETTING BACK

GENERAL MOVEMENT

SEAT OF HONOR

ku/ka

ni/na

LOWER SEAT

yi

ne

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1.2.21 Uphill/Downhill Contrast

- to-/-ta- and -no/-na- indicate uphill and downhill movements respectively. Typical examples are:

(11) nga ta-Nbat to-phong ko.
     (to-phot-ng)
     1SG pass uphill-go over-1SG AUX:S
     I went up the pass.

(12) nga ta-Nbat no-phong ko.
     (no-phot-ng)
     1SG pass downhill-go over-1SG AUX:S
     I went down the pass.

The root, phot, carries a general meaning of CROSS or GO OVER, and, if prefixed by -to-, it implies an uphill action towards the top of the pass, while the -no- prefix signifies a downhill movement after having crossed the pass.

ASCEND and DESCEND have a similar formation:

(13) wu-yo-jis to-thaNch ko.
     (to-thal-Nch)
     3DL uphill-go-3DL AUX:S
     They two have ascended.

(14) wu-yo-jis no-thaNch ko.
     (no-thal-Nch)
     3DL downhill-go-3DL AUX:S
     They two have descended.

The two VP's above have a common root, thal, which originally means GO. GO, ASCEND and DESCEND share the identical root form in the perfect, and require -yi-, -to- and -no- respectively to be distinct from each other. In the imperfect, the roots themselves differ: che for GO, tho for ASCEND and gyu for DESCEND.

1.2.212 The uphill/downhill contrast shades naturally into
that of up/down in general. For instance, SPIT, with -to- and
-no-, shows a beautiful flexibility of meanings:

(15) nga mi-sythis no-psying ko.
    (no-psyit-ng)
    1SG saliva down-spit-1SG AUX:S
    I spat.

(16) nga mi-sythis to-psying ko.
    (to-psyit-ng)
    1SG saliva up-spit-1SG AUX:S
    I spat upward.

Usually, the action of SPIT goes downward and -no-
appears at the P2 position in the normal case. But, it can
also take -to- to specify that the action turns upward. If
you spit upward, your saliva necessarily comes back toward
your face, and this expression has acquired an idiomatic
meaning like 'The wheel has come full circle' or 'He who
spits at God gets his face wet.'

In the following sentences, the morphological contrast
is the same as those mentioned above, but the nuance seems
different:

(17) nga nga-Ngba to-khyeng ko.
    (to-khye-ng)
    1SG (ay-)step up-walk-1SG AUX:S
    I walked.

(18) nga nga-Ngba no-khyeng ko.
    (no-khye-ng)
    1SG (ay-)step down-walk-1SG AUX:S
    I walked (step by step).

The root khye(WALK) is accompanied by -to- as the
direction marker of the neutral statement; so, to-khye no
longer means 'to walk UPWARD' but just WALK. With -no-, on
the other hand, each step is paid more attention to.

Such verbs as SHOOT(lat), HANG(yok & rwak), HIDE(pkhi), PUT IT IN(rko) and CARRY(pkor) may be prefixed by either -to- or -no-, depending upon the direction of action.

1.2.213 Some verbs contain by nature the meaning of UPWARD and occur automatically with -to-. Sentences (19) through (22) are the examples of this category. Besides the verbs cited in the examples, such verbs as dzok(LICK), rwas(RAISE), te sbro ke lat(KICK) and akat ke lat(SHOUT) belong to this group.

(19) to-tA-rwasny mo ngo.
(to-tA-rwas-ny)
up-2PL-rise-2PL IRG AUX:S
Have you got up? Are you up?

(20) nyi-yo-nye to-kte ko.
(to-kte)
3SG(HON) up-big AUX:S
He has grown up.

(21) nyi-gyo to-mA-mphany lu.
(to-mA-mphat-ny)
2PL up-automatic act-vomit-2PL AUX:S
You have vomited.

(22) nga to-mA-skhim ko.
(to-mA-skhig-ng)
1SG up-automatic act-suck-1SG AUX:S
I have sucked it.

Some other verbs seem to contain the concept of ACCOM­PLISH, which may be analogically linked to UP. This is parallel to such English verbs as EAT UP, FINISH UP, FILL UP, and so on. They also require -to- in the P2 position. The examples are (23) through (25). e.g.(COLLECT, MAKE,BUILD), ssmn
are contained in this group.

(23) yi-gyo to-si-yowy ko.
    (to-si-vok-y)
  1PL up-end-1PL AUX:S
  We have finished.

(24) nga ta-chia-ga to-pang.
    (to-pa-ng)
  1SG house-one up-make-1SG
  I have built a house.

(25) xA to-tA-pkany.
    (to-tA-pke-ny)
  IRG up-2PL-full-2PL
  Have you(PL) eaten your fill?

1.2.214 The following verbs always take -to- although they
do not have any semantic relation to UP. The first five verbs
seem to be commonly related to emotional or irrational mat-
ters.

Ntsip(GET ANXIOUS), khes(GET ANGRY), ngu(CRY), rtsa(FEEL
PAINFUL), khye(GET DRUNK), raik(RUN), cak cak(CHEW), za(EAT),
wat(PUT ON), tahok(CULTIVATE), pg(DO, COOK, HIT, PUT AWAY),
tom(HIT), kor(HELP), pye(HOLD), ply(LIGHT), symo(STEAL),
ki(BUY), mot(DRINK), ltem(FOLD), akhet(PUT IT OUT), kle(RUB),
tun(OPEN), ato(SHOW), kyie(SPEAK), po(SPIN), let(STAB),
ser(SEEK), khou(CALL), ku(TIE), le(TIE).

1.2.215 The verbs mentioned here presuppose a downward
action and -no- occurs with them. The examples are:

(26) wu-yo no-mzyit ko.
    (no-mzyit)
  3SG down-fall AUX:S
  He has fallen.
(27) nyi-yo-nye lhasa-s no-nyis ko. 
3SG(HON) Lhasa-LOC down-live AUX:S 
He stayed in Lhasa.

(28) ka-dza no-kyu ko. 
grass down-grow AUX:S 
Grass has grown.

(29) tA-chi no-rkow ko. 
water down-pour-3SG AUX:S 
He poured water.

(30) nyi-gyo no-tA-stsuny mo ngos. 
2PL down-2PL-pound-2PL IRG AUX:S 
Have you(PL) pounded it?

(31) chi-gyo ke-du-gA no-tuwch ko. 
1DL(inc) hole-one down-dig-1DL AUX:S 
We have dug a hole.

(32) nga ka-Ndzor no-lang ko. 
1SG mortar down-hit-1SG AUX:S 
I have ground (it).

Comparing sentences (20) and (28) which both belong in the semantic field of GROWTH, we note that -to- appears in (20) and -no- in (28). The subject of the former is human while that of the latter is grass. We may speculate that, for rGyarong people, the growth of grass refers to that of the roots instead of the stem. It remains us of such English expressions as DRINK UP/DOWN and SIT UP/DOWN.

In this group are included ktor(THROW AWAY), ne(RE- 
TURN), nyi(SIT, REMAIN), pkep(COVER), pseit(DROP), rA chak-
(STEP), rse(LIE), set(KILL), the(PUT) and te rdi lat(SOW).
1.2.216 The following verbs usually require -no- though no semantic association with DOWNWARD can plausibly be found: chat(GET TIRED), kto mo(FEEL HUNGRY), khvos(LOSE), lat(SEND), mjel(MEET), nga(LOSE), Nboop(SWELL), Nglia kye(WALK), pa(BLOW), phon trho(USE), pke(WIN), plon(DECEIVE), pa-GET), ri(LAUGH), rne(LISTEN), skye(BE BORN), svi(DIE), sychit(GET WET), syvak(THIRSTY), to_rnga pa(DANCE), to the pa(READ), tat(TOUCH) and trop(SEW).

1.2.217 'Non-direct' information carriers are -ta- vs. -to- and -na- vs. -no-. Their grammatical behavior in sentences is identical to that of the direct information carriers.

(33) wu-yo no-chat ko.
    (no-chat)
    3SG down-get tired AUX:S
    He's gotten tired.

(34) wu-yo na-chat ko.
    (na-chat)
    3SG down-get tired AUX:S
    He seems to have gotten tired.

(33) implies that the speaker recognizes that person's fatigue through a direct contact with him, while in (34), the speaker notices the subject's tiredness either through his appearance or by hearsay.

The following sentences show a different contrast:

(35) wu-yo-jia-ki ka-Nbru no-sat ko.
    (no-sat-w)
    3DL-ERG yak(buffalo) down-kill-3DL AUX:S
    (direct)
    They two killed a yak (of the speaker).

(36) wu-yo-jia-ki ka-Nbru nu-sat ko.
They two killed a yak (of someone else).

-na- can show that the action recedes from the speaker either literally or psychologically. Sentence (35) may therefore reflect either the speaker’s direct perception of the agent’s having killed a yak, or the fact that the yak which was killed was the speaker’s property, in contrast with (36). (36) is based on hearsay, or under the presupposition that the yak has nothing to do with the speaker.

1.1.22 Upstream/Downstream Contrast

This contrast is realized by -ko/-ka- and -no/-na-. The latter is identical to the affix which represents DOWNHILL. Since -to-(UPHILL) and -no-(DOWNHILL) carry the general meaning of ‘up’ and ‘down’, -ko- is rather specifically used for the direction of UPSTREAM.

(37) ji-gyo tam-tam ko-ТА-ponч mo ngos.
2DL immediately upstream-2DL-come-2DL IRG AUX:S Are you two coming up at once?

In this sentence, the addressees are located downward along the river, and the speaker asks them to come up. Because the adverb(tam-tam) occurs before the VP, clarifying that the VP belongs to the imperfect aspect, -ko- can appear at the P2 position to specify the direction of the act in the imperfect.
-ko- may appear with any verb which implies a SHIFT IN POSITION. -no-(DOWNSTREAM) also occurs in the same way, but this prefix morphologically merges into DOWNHILL and comes out only in an artificial utterance when opposed to UPSTREAM.

1.2.221 On the analogy of UPSTREAM, -ko- seems to have developed into the semantic area of COILING UP or WRINGING UP. Three examples are shown below:

(38) nga ti-gi ko-wa-staheng ko.  
( ko-wa-staheng-ng)  
1SG hot water coiling up-CAUS-hot-1SG AUX:S  
I have boiled water.

(39) wu-yo-jis nga-nga-mki kaw-ptsirch ko.  
(ka-wu-ptsir-ch) AUX:S  
3DL *y-neck coiling up-3DL-wring-3DL  
They two wrung up my neck.

(40) chi-gyo tA-tak ka-pach ko.  
(ka-pa-ch) AUX:S  
1DL weaving coiling up-do-1DL  
We two have woven.

1.2.23 Front/Behind Contrast

ro-/ra- and re-/ra serve to mark this difference. The sentences (41) and (42) show a typical contrast:

(41) nga ke-ro-trhang ko.  
(ke-ro-trhak-ng)  
1SG TSF-front-puah-1SG AUX:S  
I pushed (it) forward.

(41a) nga ro-ke-trhang ko.  
(ro-ke-trhak-ng)  
1SG front-TSF-puah-1SG AUX:S  
I will push (it) forward.

(42) nga ke-re-trhang ko.  
(ke-re-trhak-ng)  
1SG TSF-behind-puah-1SG AUX:S  
I pushed (it) back.
(41a) is an example where P2 is located before P1 to show without any adverbs that the sentence is in the imperfect. As mentioned in 1.1.1, the direction is usually not expressed in the imperfect. Recall that the directives make a complementary distribution with the perfect aspect marker. However, they can appear in the imperfect if the direction should be specified in some reason. In this case, the directive is put before P1(ke-), and under this marked order, ke- leaves its role as tensifier, just blocking the ambiguity of aspects. The relationship of directives and aspect markers will be revisited in the next chapter, but, to my best knowledge, this kind of re-ordering of directives has not been yet described in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

The next examples present additional complications.

(43) wu-yo-nye nga-ngA-rpak rew-Ntheng ko.
(43) 3PL my-shoulder back-3PL-pull-lSG AUX:S
They have pulled my shoulder.

(44) wu-yo-nye nga-ngA-rpak row-Ntheng ko.
(44) 3PL my-shoulder front-3PL-pull-lSG AUX:S
They have pulled my shoulder.

In the sentence (44), the agents and the speaker are in a face-to-face position and the speaker’s shoulder was pulled towards the agents’ noses. In (43), on the other hand, the speaker is located behind the agents, and they stretched their hands to pull the speaker’s shoulder towards them.

Similarly, the location of agent, speaker and patient is
specified by the affix. For instance,

(45) sytA-ki wu-rni-tA re-dinny.
    (re-dit-ny)  
  this-of red-NMR back-give-2PL 
  Please give (me) that red one.

In this situation, the speaker is talking at a shop to the vendor, behind whom the merchandise is displayed, and the speaker asks him to take the red one behind him for the speaker. Note that, since the 'red one' which the speaker wants to buy is recognized as being included within the speech circle of the persons involved, syt\textsubscript{A}(THIS) must be used, although the English translation requires THAT. Also note that, though the VP has the 2PL affixes, it does not mean there were more than one vendor; rather this is a polite question-form.

Direction markers of horizontal level may be reduplicated to make the direction of movement clearer:

\begin{itemize}
  \item e.g. ke-ro-ro-trha-ng ko.
  \textit{(ke-ro-ro-trha-ng)}
  I pushed forward (cf. 41).
\end{itemize}

1.2.231 More examples with an extended semantic opposition:

(46) wu-yo-nye rok-thalny ko.
    (ro-kA\textsubscript{A}-thel-ny)
  3PL front-3PL-go-3PL AUX:S 
  They have proceeded.

(47) wu-yo-nye rek-thalny ko.
    (re-kA\textsubscript{A}-thel-ny)
  3PL behind-3PL-go-3PL AUX:S 
  They have retreated.

Besides the literal meaning of 'going ahead' and 'going
backward', the two sentences have other connotations: (46) also implies 'going towards the lord's palace(downtown)', while (47) can mean 'going towards the suburbs'.

re-, analogous to FROM BEHIND may mean FROM THE BOTTOM, depending upon the intrinsic meaning of the verb. Example:

(48) nga tA-chi ke-re-pyang ko.
(ke-re-pya-ng)
1SG water TSF-from the bottom-pull-1SG AUX:S
I dipped out water.

1.2.232 It seems that ro- and re- originated from verb roots. Some verbs suggesting upward or downward movement have ro(for GO UP) and re(for MOVE DOWN) as their canonical root-forms. Examples are:

(49) nga ao-sni ke-rong ko.
(ke-ro-ng)
1SG tomorrow TSF-go up-1SG AUX:S
I will go up tomorrow.

(50) wu-yo-nye bi-syer ke-nAk-rony ko.
(ke-nA-kA-rony)
3PL yesterday TSF-PFT-3PL-go up-3PL AUX:S
They went up yesterday.

(51) wu-yo re ngos.
(re)
3SG go down AUX:S
He is going to go down.

(52) wu-yo nA-re ngos.
(nA-re)
3SG PFT-go down AUX:S
He has gone downward.

Although other roots, che(IPF) and thel, are usually used in the colloquial language, ro and re may also appear. If you have ro or re as roots, direction markers are not needed but may be added. Thus:

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These three sentences are acceptable as variants of (49), (50) and (52) respectively. Because direction markers usually do not appear for IPF, sentence (51) has no variant in this sense. A similar phenomenon is observed for DIP OUT:

(53) nga tA-chi yi-rong ko.

(1SG water dip-1SG AUX:S)

I am going to dip out water.

(54) nga tA-chi nyi-rong ko.

(1SG water PFT-dip--1SG AUX:S)

I have dipped out water.

Normally pyM is used as the for DIP OUT(cf.48), but ro also occurs to mean MOVE UP WATER. -yi- before the root is originally a direction marker described under 1.2.252, but it can behave as a part of root of some particular verbs. This is one of them.

1.2.24 Seat of Honor/Lower Seat Contrast

The rGyarong people seem to be so sensitive to the strata of society as well as to family-membership that they not only have a particular place where their guest sits, but also specify the direction of action to and from the seat of honor. It will be occupied by the head of the household when

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they have no guest.

The seat of honor is usually located in the eastern part of the room. In the main room, there is a hearth in the middle and firewood is supposed to be put in from the westward. That seat is the host's seat (lower seat) and the opposite is the seat of honor. So, the guest's back is oriented to the east.

ku- and ni- function to mark this distinction; di- may freely substitute for ni- in this position. Similarly to what we saw in 1.2.23, the location of agent and patient is predictable through these prefixes.

(55) tA-zder ni-pyang ko.  
[ni-pya-ng]  
plate lower seat-pull-1SG AUX:S  
I pulled the plate (towards the lower seat=towards me).

(56) tA-zder ku-trhang ko.  
[ku-trhak-ng]  
plate seat of honor-push-1SG AUX:S  
I pushed the plate (towards the guest).

Similarly, when you have the combination of ku- and pya (PULL) or that of ni- and trhak (PUSH) in the VP, the agent is predicted to be the guest, in the normal situation.

If the agent is specified as 'I', i.e., if you have the following:

(55a) (tA-zder ni-trhak-ng ko),
(56a) (tA-zder ku-pya-ng ko),
then, (55a) implies that the speaker pushed the plate behind him and (56a) means that he stretched his hands back to seize
the plate and pulled it.

These two prefixes are very productive and they do not have any particular verbs which select them as conventional counterparts.

In the context of the ku/ni opposition, ro(FRONT) and re(BACK) described in the previous sub-section show particular directions. When you are sitting with your guest, your right hand is ro and your left is re.

1.2.25 Others
1.2.251 ne-

This marker indicates the movement of GET BACK. For example, the root of RETURN, ne-yo, is compounded by a prefix(ne-) and a root which originally implies GO HOME. That root is seldom used independently and ne- behaves as part of the root. To specify the direction of RETURN, therefore, some prefixes stand before the unitary root. Compare the following sentences; the English translation 'he has returned' will serve for all of them:

(57) wu-yo to-ne-ya-s ko.
   (to-ne-yo-s) 3SG up-getting back-return-PFT AUX:S
(58) wu-yo no-ne-ya-s ko.
   (no-ne-ya-s) 3SG down-getting back-return-PFT AUX:S
(59) wu-yo ne-ne-ya-s ko.
   (ne-ne-ya-s) 3SG back-back-return-PFT AUX:S
Let us suppose that these sentences are spoken in Kathmandu. Then, (57) will connote that the agent has gone back to his home in rGyarong, which is located at a higher place, while (58) means that he has already left Kathmandu, probably staying in his home in India, which is lower in terms of altitude. In sentence (59), on the other hand, the agent went somewhere and has already come back to Kathmandu. With ne-, the direction which can be indicated by the vertical and horizontal direction markers is neutralized.

Two examples with transitive verbs:

(60) nga ta-skyos ni-yong ko.
    (ni-yo-ng)
    1SG letter lower seat-rob-1SG AUX:S
    I stole the letter.

(61) nga ta-skyos ne-yong ko.
    (ne-yo-ng)
    1SG letter getting back-rob-1SG AUX:S
    I took back the letter.

Sentence (60) implies that the speaker stole the letter held towards him by his guest, but does not indicate the original possessor of the letter; in (61), on the other hand, it is clear that the letter was stolen by someone, from whose hand the speaker took it back. The original possessor/holder of the letter should have been the speaker. In order to state the reversion of the letter more explicitly, one may replace ta-skyos with nga-ngA-skyos(my letter).

1.2.252 yi-

This prefix shows a general movement. So, GO and COME,
for instance, require yi- unless a specific direction of
going and coming has to be indicated. Thus:

(62) *wu-yo yik-thal ngos.*
(yi-kA-thal)
3SG general movement-go AUX:S
He has gone.

(63) *ka-sytrhi yit-piNch mo ngos.*
(yi-kA-pi-Mch)
when general movement-come-2DL IRG AUX:S
When did you two come?

A similar, but a slightly extended, usage of yi- is
observed in an elegant expression for DIE. Compare the fol­
lowing two sentences:

(64) *no-syis ko.*
(no-syi-s)
down-die-PFT AUX:S
He/She died.

(65) *nyi-syis ko.*
(nA-yi-syi-s)
PFT-general movement-die-PFT AUX:S
He/She passed away.

As is shown in (64) (also see 2.216), DIE usually re­
quires no- for P2. But it can be replaced by the combination
of nA-yi-, where yi- behaves as part of unitary root(PFT),
yi-syi(PASS AWAY).

According to the informant, the direction marker in
question is ni- instead of nA-yi-. ni-, described at 1.2.24,
implies 'the lower seat' firstly and 'westward' secondly.
Now, in the Buddhist culture area, it is broadly believed
that a dead person travels to the west to reach Elysium. So,
'going to the west' alludes to death. However, it seems to me
that the informant's interpretation is a kind of folk-etymology, since in his natural utterance, a clear glide is heard between /n/ and /i/.

Compounded roots with yi- are found in transitive verbs too. As shown in sentences (53) and (54), DIP OUT takes yi- before ro(PULL). Contrary to DIE, yi-ro occurs also in IPF where yi- has lost the function of PFT marker; so, it should be regarded as a completely lexicalized root. FORGET and GATHER(VI & VT) illustrate the same phenomenon:

(66) nga yi-mAng ko.  
{yi-mAs-ng}  
1SG general movement-forget-1SG AUX:S  
I am going to forget.

(67) nga nAy-mAng ko.  
{mA-yi-mAs-ng}  
1SG PFT-general movement-forget-1SG AUX:S  
I have forgotten.

(68) te-rmi ta-key-dzu.  
{ta-kA-yi-dzu}  
man PFT-general movement-gather  
People have gathered

(69) nga te-rmi aey-dzung ko.  
{sA-yi-dzu-ng}  
1SG man CAUS-general movement-gather-1SG AUX:S  
I am going to gather people.

Comparing (68) with (69), yi-dzu is attested as a compound root because, in (69), sA-(CAUS) stands at P4.

This prefix seems to be cognate with a locative particle, although it is hard to tell which is older historically. There are two locatives in this language, -s and -y(i); the former implying shifting and the latter stability.

(70) nga lhasa-s kA-cheng ko.
I go to Lhasa.

Nowadays Tibetan books are being printed in India.

Another function of yi- is to link verbs to mean 'in order to':

I go to buy a book.
1.2.3 Adverbial Affixes

P₄ position is occupied by the adverbial affixes which specify the manners of verbs. These include progressive markers, causative markers, verbalizers, repetitive act markers, and some others. 'Adverbial affix' is the Wolfenden's terminology⁶) and does not seem very appropriate. The author would like to label this group as manner specifiers or modalizers, but the causative is too grammatical to be a manner and progressive is too aspectual to be a modal; so, the conventional name will be used here tentatively.

It is interesting that all the members under this section are initialed by either sibilant or resonant and that no stops appear.

1.2.3.1 Causative Markers

The *s- prefix is known to be a widespread morpheme in Tibeto-Burman, functioning to represent causativity or goal-oriented directionality. Some innovative languages lost the prefix a long time ago, retaining only the vestiges of it in other forms. In some others, however, it survives in orthography or still functions very productively. rGyarong not only preserves vestiges of the old *s- but also has some ways of converting verbs into causative ones by putting particular morphemes at the P₄ position, which contain both *s-oriented and *s-irrelevant affixes. In this section, only the produc-
tive devices at P4 will be discussed; as for the old vestiges, see 2.2.1 which deals with the structure of roots.

1.2.311 sA-

sA- is the most frequent component which converts verbs into causative ones. The vowel in the affix harmonizes with that in the root: if the root has a front/unrounded vowel, -A- goes to -e-; if the root has low/back/rounded vowel, it becomes -u-; otherwise -A- remains intact.

The following examples show the VI/VT contrast through sA-:

(73) bi-syer te-rmai ke-ta-key-dzu.

yesterday man TSF-PFT-3PL-general movement-gather
People gathered yesterday.

(73a) nga bi-syer te-rmai ke-to-sey-dzung ko.

1SG yesterday man TSF-PFT-CAUS-gather-1SG AUX:S
I assembled people yesterday.

(74) nyi-gyo nyi-anyak ro mA ngos.

2PL your-eye wake IRG AUX:S
Are you going to wake?(lit.:As for you, are your eyes going to wake?)

(74a) nga ta-pu wu-anyak nA-sA-rong ko.

1SG child (of-)eye PFT-CAUS-wake-1SG AUX:S
I wakened the child.

(75) sytA wu-trha wu-Nguy ta-dok ta-nge-kyo-lo no-to.

this tea of-in-LOC poison PFT-mix AUX:EX
Poison has been mixed in this tea.

(75a) sytA wu-aman ta-gi wu-Nguy tA-sA-kyo-low.

this of-drug water of-in-LOC PFT-CAUS-mix-2SG
Mix this drug in the water.
(76) sytA wu-te-si nA-gur-gur no-to.  
(ngA-gur-gur)  
this of-stick PFT-bend AUX:EX  
This stick has been curved.

(76a) nga ta-ta-si ke-sA-gur-gur ko.  
(ke-sA-gur-gur)  
1SG stick TSF-CAUS-bend AUX:S  
I will bend the stick.

(77) nga khyang ko.  
(khyA-ng)  
1SG drunk AUX:S  
I will get drunk.

(77a) wu-yo-ki te-rmi ta-sA-khyaw.  
(ta-sA-khyA-w)  
3SG-ERG man PFT-CAUS-drunk-3SG  
He made a man get drunk.

Sentences (73a) and (74a) show, in contrast to (73) and (74), the typical behavior of the causative marker. In (75), the perfect indicated by -ta- and an auxiliary verb of existence(no-to) at the sentence final represent the state that poison has been 'already mixed', which is reinforced by -nga- at the P4 position standing for MUTUALLY(see 1.2.32). In (75a), sA- is added before the root(kyo-lo) showing that the verb has been made transitive. Since P4 is occupied by sA-, nga- is dropped. In (76) and (76a), the root is gur-gur.

One more example for this group: su-kayot((sA-kayot)) means TEACH; this is structured as CAUS + kayot(LEARN). In contemporary rGyarong, the root form has been replaced by syeg(KNOW) and is no longer used independently.

Let us move on to the next group, where sA- converts transitive verbs to causative ones.
(78) nga nga-Nga ke-wang ko.
   (ke-wa-ng)
1SG my-cloth TSF-put on-1SG AUX:S
I will put on my clothes.

(78a) nga ta-pu wu-Nga ke-aA-wang ko.
   (ke-aA-wa-ng)
1SG child of-cloth TSF-CAUS-put on-1SG AUX:S
I will dress the child.

(78b) nga ta-pu wu-Nga nga-pya ke-aA-wang ko.
   (ke-aA-wa-ng)
1SG child of-cloth my-wife TSF-CAUS-put on-1SG AUX:S
I will make my wife dress the child.

(79) nga nga-Nga ke-nA-tang ko.
   (ke-nA-ta-ng)
1SG my-cloth TSF-PFT-take off-1SG AUX:S
I took off my clothes.

(79a) nga wu-Nga ke-nA-sA-tang ko.
   (ke-nA-sA-ta-ng)
1SG his-cloth TSF-PFT-CAUS-take off-1SG AUX:S
I undressed him.

(79b) nga wu-Nga nga-Ndri nA-sA-tang ko.
   (nA-sA-ta-ng)
1SG his-cloth my-servant PFT-CAUS-take off-1SG AUX:S
I made my servant undress him.

sA- also combines with the adjectivals. This formation is less productive than the former two. The only straightforward example is ka-sA-kte (GROW UP). kte (BIG) is converted to a transitive verb by adding sA-. ka-kte is usually used for GROW UP and the patient of of ka-sA-kte is limited to the particular animals which need special care.

In other instances, the formation is recognized only through historical analysis of idiomatic expressions and another dialects of rGYarong. For example, REPAIR is expressed as ke-sna-skik in its VPnf, where skik by itself has got
the meaning of FIX and sna lost what it originally implied. Historically speaking, however, sna can be segmented as *sA-na, where sA- is CAUS and na means GOOD. ka-le has been substituted for na, which no longer appears alone to mean GOOD, but it occurs in such compounds as ka-na-le(GLAD). It is highly probable, therefore, that *ka-sA-na used to be a normal formation and that the combination of sA- plus adjectival alone eventually gave way to compound verbs.

1.2.312 syA-

This affix serves not only to convert verbs into causatives but also to add the meaning of HELP.8) In another words, syA- implies that the patient is equal to the beneficiary even if the patient is not explicitly mentioned in the utterance.

(80) nga ke-rwas ko.
    (ke-rwas-ng)
1SG TSF-rise-1SG AUX:S
I will rise.

(81) nga wu-yo ke-sA-rwas ko.
    (ke-sA-rwas-ng)
1SG 3SG TSF-CAUS-rise-1SG AUX:S
I will raise him.

(81a) nga wu-yo ke-syA-rwas ko.
    (ke-syA-rwas-ng)
1SG 3SG TSF-CAUS-rise-1SG AUX:S
I will help him rise.

LEND can be expressed by putting syA- before BORROW.

(82) nga po-ngiy ke-nA-rngang ko.
    (ke-nA-rngang-ng)
1SG money TSF-PFT-borrow-1SG AUX:S
I borrowed money.

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Besides these, there are some verbs requiring syA- just as a causative marker. HIDE is pki, against which syA-pki is the transitivized form, HIDE(VT). Similarly, syA-chit(GET WET) and syA-lot(GET LOST) are the causativized adjectivals of *chit and *lot respectively. The asterisked forms are not found as independent adjectivals with the meaning of WET and LOST but are deduced through comparison with other dialects.

1.2.313 rA-

Among our data, there are three examples where rA-functions as a causative marker.\(^3\)

GET OUT is expressed as ka-ksyut against which ka-ra-ksyut means EXPEL. A similar contrast is observed between FEW and DECREASE; ka-chak vs. ka-rA-chak. These are rather straightforward examples of causativity.

Several words meaning DRY provide interesting illustrations of morphological processes. ram seems to constitute the nucleus of the group, and it means DRY. That morpheme stands for the intransitive root, while transitive roots are k-ram and p-ram. p-ram is a special root exclusively used for AIR-ING; otherwise, k-ram occurs. Up to this point, everything is normal. The intransitive and transitive forms are distinct from each other in terms of presence of prefixes, and so, no
additive component should be needed for that opposition.

Actually, however, kram and pram do not appear by themselves except in the imperative but are always combined with rA- (our data show a single example of wa-k-ram), so that rA-k-ram behaves as a unitary root.

Taking into consideration the fact that other dialects of rGyarong such as Tsha-kho have k-ram for the intransitive root,10) k-ram is recognized as the intransitive, so that some causative marker should be added to indicate transitiv­ity. There is no strong ground for the moment to decide which explanation is correct.

In this dialect, therefore, if a sentence like ‘to make someone dry something’ is needed, the VP is shaped as ka-rA-rA-k-ram, where the root is, on the underlying level, deco­rated by three causative converters.

1.2.314  wa-

The main function of this affix is to convert adjectivals and nouns into verbs. For example:

(84) nyi-gyo ti-gi ke-wa-stsheny mo ngos. 
    (ke-wa-stshe-ny) 
    2PL water TSF-CAUS-hot-2PL IRG AUX:S 
    Will you boil water?

(85) nga ta-wa-Nbi-yang ko. 
    (ta-wa-Nbi-yas-ng) 
    1SG up-CAUS-lImp(N)-1SG AUX:S 
    I have limped.

(86) wa-rgyap gya-rong na-che na-wa-rmow. 
    (na-wa-rmg-w) 
    his-wife rGyarong went PFT-CAUS-dream-3SG 
    He dreamt that his wife went to rGyarong.
(87) nga bi-syer wa-pu no-武-ndong ko.
1SG yesterday his-child PFT-CAUS-look-1SG AUX:S
I met his child yesterday.

(84) is a straightforward example, where wa- is prefixed to stshe(HOT) to give a meaning of MAKE HOT. In (85) and (86), wa- is put before a noun to verbalize it. DREAM(V) is expressed in two ways; rmo ke-pa(MAKE A DREAM) and ke-武-rao. rmo ke-武-rao(DREAM A DREAM) is also acceptable. This kind of 'cognate object' is not so popular in the colloquial language.

We-武 in sentence (87) is MEET; there is another word for this meaning, gge, which is a loan from the Tibetan self-humbling form for MEET. 武o seems to be cognate with gto(SEE), and the a-/r- opposition serves to distinguish intransitive from transitive. Now, being prefixed by wa-, 武 turns its meaning into LET someone LOOK, MEET.

1.2.32 Mutual Act Marker

When it occurs before the root, ngA- serves to show the act to be mutual. The following are typical examples:

(88) wu-yo ke-tom ko.
3SG TSF-hit-3SG AUX:S
He will hit it.

(88a) wu-yo-jis kew-ngA-top ko.
3DL TSF-3DL-mutual act-hit AUX:S
The tow of them will hit each other.

nga- in sentence (88) shows that the agents are going to
exchange blows; if nga- is absent, the agents may collaborate in hitting the third party.\textsuperscript{11}

In the following sentences, the verbs hold by nature the meaning of MUTUALLY.

\begin{itemize}
\item[(89)] chi-gyo ka-te kA-ngA-wa-rdoch mo ngo.
\hspace{1cm} (kA-ngA-wa-rdoch)
1DL where 1DL-mutual act-meet-1DL IRG AUX:S
\text{Where are we going to meet?}
\item[(90)] te-rai ku-skhya ke-kA-nge-dzuny no-ngos.
\hspace{1cm} (ke-kA-nge-yi-dzy-ny) AUX:EX
\text{Many people will gather.}
\item[(91)] tA-gi ta-ngA-kyo-lo ko.
\hspace{1cm} (ta-ngA-kyo-lo)
\text{Water has Mixed (with something like cooking oil).}
\end{itemize}

The affix in (89) through (91) is optional and does not make such a difference as is observed in (88) and (88a). As for the prefix and root of GATHER, see (68) and (69). Also refer to 1.2.314, (75) and (75a) for MEET and MIX.

VOMIT usually requires mA- (see 1.2.34), but it also appears with ngA-. The English translation for both sentences is 'I will vomit'.

\begin{itemize}
\item[(92)] nga ke-\text{mA}-mphyang ko.
\hspace{1cm} (ke-\text{mA}-mphyang-ng)
1SG TSF-automatic act-vomit-1SG AUX:S
\item[(92a)] nga ke-ngA-mphyang ko.
\hspace{1cm} (ke-ngA-mphyang-ng)
1SG TSF-mutual act-vomit-1SG AUX:S
\end{itemize}

(92) is rather a neutral statement while (92a) focusses on the contra-peristalsis of the gullet where the contents are mutually jostling on their way back up.
1.2.33 Repetitive Act Marker

Repetitive action is marked by ra-12 or na-13. Kin P’eng (1957/58) lists na- as a repetitive action marker followed by reduplicated roots, but, in our data, the root is never reduplicated.

(93) nga nA-ra-krong ko.
   (nA-ra-kro-ng)
   1SG PFT-repetitive act-scratch-1SG AUX:S
   I have scratched and scratched.

(94) wu-yo ke-ra-chak ko.
   (ke-ra-chak-w)
   3SG TSF-repetitive act-tread-3SG AUX:S
   He will tread.

(95) sytA wa-key ko-ho-ke mA-ma ra-skyony.
       (ra-skyo-ny)
   this than nice-ADV POLITE DEMAND repetitive act-write-2PL
   Would you please write more nicely than this?

There is an intrinsic repetitive meaning in SCRATCH and TREAD, and the two verbs usually require ra- at the P4. WRITE also needs the same affix if the root is skyo; since WRITE means WRITE A LETTER in most cases, ta-skyo ka-nga (MAKE A LETTER) is more frequently used. Thus:

(95a) sytA ta-skyo sytA wa-key ko-ho-ke mA-ma tA-pany.
        (tA-nga-ny)
   this letter this than nice-ADV 2PL-make-2PL
   POLITE DEMAND
   Would you please write this letter more nicely than this?

As for na-, the following example is typical:

(96) sytA wu-rai-yo ke-kA-na-riny ko.
       (ke-kA-na-ri-ny)
   this man-PL TSF-3PL-repetitive act-laugh-3PL AUX:S
   These guys will laugh.
1.2.34 Automatic/Uncontrollable Act Marker

Prefixing the root, mA- indicates that the act is automatic and uncontrollable. Consequently, most verbs which can appear with mA- are somewhat related to bodily activities. For example, VOMIT necessarily requires mA-, as shown in sentence (92). In the perfect, the direction marker is added. Thus:

(97) nga to-mA-mpang ko.
    (to-mA-mpat-ng) AUX:S
1SG up-automatic act-vomit-1SG I have vomited.

The automatic and uncontrollable act of vomiting has been further specified by to-(UP) in terms of direction. In its imperative, this contrast is clearly observed. The following are the imperatives for 2SG:

(98) to-mA-mpat!
(98a) to-mpat!

Since the imperative is identical to the perfect from, (98) has a neutral sense, where the addressee has nausea and the speaker tells him not to counteract his natural physiology. In (98a), on the other hand, mA- is lacking, which
implies that the addressee does not feel like vomiting but the speaker thinks the addressee had better vomit even if it is artificial.

Similarly, mA- occurs with MOVE and RECOVER. The former is ka-mA-lmO, which usually indicates a 'twitching' action of some particular parts of the body. lmO is seldom used by itself. The latter is ka-mA-na. Contrary to CURE, ka-mA-na (VPnf-CAUS-good:cf.1.2.311), ka-mA-na implies GET WELL NATURALLY. Sa- functions as a strong causative marker, while mA- serves to convert adjectivals into intransitive verbs with the meaning of AUTOMATICALLY/NATURALLY.

mA-rtsap(FEEL PAINFUL) has parallel characteristics to the two mentioned above. Mostly, mA- appears as part of a root.

(99) nga nga-NmAs nA-mA-rtsap ko.
(nA-mA-rtsap)
1SG my-wound PRO-uncontrollable act-painful AUX:S I feel painful(lit.:As for me, my wound is painful).

ARRIVE(ka-Ndu) with mA- shows a special manner. The root can stand by itself, but, if with mA-, it implies 'to arrive as a logical result'. Let us compare the following two:

(100) nga so-sni ke-Ndu-ng ko.
(100a) nga so-sni ke-mA-Ndu-ng ko.

(100) is neutral, stating that 'I will arrive tomorrow', while (100a) connotes that the agent is supposed to arrive tomorrow, i.e., the walking pace will automatically bring the agent to his destination tomorrow.
1.2.35 Objectivizer

sa- objectivizes the actions done by the agent who the speaker considers to be involved in his own speech circle. The actions to be objectivized are, therefore, fairly subjective things, such as LOVE, DREAM, HATE, etc.; as the result of this, the affixal combinations with sa- may look unnatural. Two examples will be shown below:

(101) nya rmo ke no sa pany.  
   (ke no sa pa ny)  
   your dream TSF-PFT-objectivizer-make-2PL  
   Please dream.

(102) nga wu mi ke no sa nA nga ngang ko.  
   (ke no sa nA nga ng)  
   1SG his daughter TSF-PFT-objectivizer-like-1SG AUX:S  
   I loved his daughter.

In both of the above, the sentences without sa- are fully grammatical. The difference is that, in those with this affix, the utterance is based on the attitude of speaker who tries to look at the agent’s action rather objectively or from a distance.

1.2.36 Progressive Marker

Progressive aspect is marked by nA- at the P4 position. This affix is identical to the perfect marker. Progressive is semantically discussed within the framework of imperfect, but, in this language, the morphological shape is exactly the same as the affix which marks perfect. There occurs little ambiguity because of the positions of their occurrence. How-

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ever, when we have no affix at P3 position, ambiguity does happen. For instance, we theoretically cannot predict whether (107) means ‘The wound has swollen’ or ‘The wound is swelling’ although the second one actually takes another expression. Let us observe the contrast with EAT:

(103)wu-gyo-nye nga-nyok wu-dza ko.

3PL my-grain 3PL-eat AUX:S
They are going to eat my grain.

(104)wu-gyo-nye nga-nyok wu-na-dza ko.

3PL my-grain 3PL-PR0-eat AUX:S
They are eating my grain.

(105)wu-gyo-nye nga-nyok tu-dza ko.

3PL my-grain PFT-3PL-eat AUX:S
They have eaten my grain.

(106)yi-nyo nyi-gyo nA-nyok no-nA-dzey ko.

1PL(exc.) 2PL your-grain PFT-PR5-eat-1PL AUX:S
We were eating your grain.

(104) and (106) illustrate the progressive with nA-. If you put ke- at PI position in (104), it would theoretically mean ‘They had been eating your grain’, but no sentences with both ke- and nA- in the perfect occur in our data.

This affix is so productive that all action verbs can take it at P4.

Stative verbs with nA- show clearly that the state has been realized. Thus:

(107)bi-syer ka-pri kA-ka-dza wa-sta sik-pa nA-Nbop.

yesterday snake VPNF-PFT-eat wound very PRO-swell
The bite-wound which a snake made has swollen terribly.
Compare the following sentences with FEEL ITCHY where ra?-gya is the root:

(108) nga ngA-skru ke-ra?-gya.
    (ke-ra?-gya)
    1SG my-body TSF-feel itchy
    I’ll feel itchy (lit.: As for me, my body will be itchy).

(108a) nga ngA-skru ra?-gya.
       (ra?-gya)
       1SG my-body feel itchy
       I am going to feel itchy.

(108b) nga ngA-skru nA-ra?-gya.
       (nA-ra?-gya)
       1SG my-body PRO-feel itchy
       I have been feeling itchy.

(108c) nga ngA-skru nA-nA-ra?-gya.
       (nA-nA-ra?-gya)
       1SG my-body PFT-PRO-feel itchy
       I was feeling itchy.

Here again, the combination of ke-nA(PFT)-nA(PRO) is not seen in our materials. FEEL PAINFUL has a similar set:

(109) nga ngA-NmAs ke-mA-rtsap ko.
       (ke-mA-rtsap)
       1SG my-wound TSF-feel painful AUX:S
       I will feel painful at the wound.

(109a) nga ngA-NmAs nA-mA-rtsap ko.
       (nA-mA-rtsap)
       1SG my-wound PRO-feel painful AUX:S
       I am feeling painful at the wound.

(109b) nga ngA-NmAs to-mA-rtsap ko.
       (to-mA-rtsap)
       1SG my-wound PFT-feel painful AUX:S
       I felt painful at the wound.

(109c) nga ngA-NmAs to-nA-mA-rtsap ko.
       (to-nA-mA-rtsap)
       1SG my-wound PFT-PRO-feel painful AUX:S
       I was feeling painful.

(109) implies that pain has not reached the speaker
while (109a) means that the speaker actually is feeling pain. In both (109b) and (109c), pain left him, but (109c) connotes the duration of pain.

1.2.37 Reflexive Marker

nA-, identical in shape to the progressive marker, marks reflexive action when it appears at P4. For instance, we have, against ke-top(HIT), ke-nA-top which means HIT ONE-SELF.\textsuperscript{16}

Derivative from this, nA- emphasizes intransitiveness. If nA- occurs with kA-Ngri(COLLAPSE), kA-nA-Ngri means 'to collapse by itself/from inside'. This example is from Kin P'eng et al. 1958:81. nA-, which seems to function similarly in our data, occurs in ke-nA-ngs(LIKE). nA-ngs behaves as a root and can take one of the adverbial affixes at P4 position. However, this nA- is analyzed as an adverbial affix and the exaggerated translation of the root would be 'to like or love from inside/irresistibly'.
1.2.4 Morphosyntax of prefixes

As illustrated under 1.1.1, a VPfinal has the following general structure: $ka-P1-P2-P3-ROOT-S1-S2$. Each component before the root (prefix, hereafter) has been detailed in 1.2.1 through 1.2.3 and pronominal affixes ($P3$ and $S2$), which seem to be categorically of a different attribute, will be described under 1.4. This long string of prefixes is primarily regular in terms of their juxtaposition order and it does not allow any exchange between their locations of occurrence, except for several examples. What does this regularity of ordering mean?

While the preceding sections were devoted to the description of particular constituents of VP's, this section is designed to make notes of the correlations among the prefixes from the morpho-syntactic and/or syntactico-semantic angles so that it may make the descriptions above more comprehensible.

1.2.4.1 Semantic function

As the first step to figure out what lies beneath such a regularity of the prefix ordering, let me review their functions.

$ka$ before the $P1$ just tells the beginning of $VP$ and nothing more. $P1$ is $ke$, which 'tensifies' the aspect. $P2$ is occupied either by aspect marker or by directive. The former
constitutes of Ø(imperfect) and nA(perfect), while the latter has thirteen variants which almost always appear in perfect only and it takes over nA. P3 is pronominal affix which specifies agent(and patient, goal or beneficiary as well as their agreement). Adverbial affix appears at P4, including causative marker, mutual act marker, automatic act marker, objectivizer, progressive marker and reflexive marker.

So, the following will schematize the functions of the prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>morphological component</th>
<th>function</th>
<th>semantic class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>ka signals VP</td>
<td>accompanist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n o</td>
<td>P1 tensifies aspect</td>
<td>aspectuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t r</td>
<td>P2 tells if it’s done OR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c e</td>
<td>P3 tells direction of act</td>
<td>locationals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i c</td>
<td>P4 tells manner of act</td>
<td>specifics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this chart, we can draw an interrelation between the syntactic order and semantic class of the prefixes: the closer to the root, the more specific; in another words, the more remote from the root, the more abstract or general. Semantic theories do not seem to have reached the stage where they accept the degree of ‘generalness’ or ‘abstractness’ (‘specificness’ or ‘concreteness’) as the criteria of semantic classification, and this sort of the correlationship
between syntactic and semantic properties of prefixing components observed in Tibeto-Burman languages (for example, rGyarong, Ao, Lahu, and Tibetan) may contribute to general semantics.

In 1.1.1, it was mentioned that the only exception against the prefix ordering rule is directive in imperfect, which is put at a marked position, that is, before P1, instead of at P2 (the normal position). This phenomenon could be interpreted as a 're-casting' of syntactico-semantic rule discussed in this section. Directive is semantically classified as 'locational', being concreter than 'aspectual'. If it is located before P1 (after ka), it is given a more abstract and a less specific meaning, and it gets 'marked' in that sense.

1.2.42 Layers of prefixation

Syntactico-semantic observation of prefixes ordering shown above raises another possibility of prefixation layers (at P1 and P2). According to the author's description, they are as is shown in 1.1.1. Thus:

ka- P1- P2- P3- P4- ROOT

ka- aspect [aspect marker] pronominal [adverbial] ROOT

tensifier [affix] affix

or
directive (PFT)
In the level of structural analysis based on the attributes of each member and on their distribution of occurrence, this is correct. But, in the level of semantic analysis based on the functional properties of meaning, the chart may accordingly be redressed as follows:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ka-</th>
<th>P1-</th>
<th>P2-</th>
<th>P3-</th>
<th>P4-</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aspectual</td>
<td>locational</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>manner</td>
<td>specific</td>
<td>ROOT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

It is unknown so far to what extent the latter analysis is effective in the historical framework. This respect will be sometimes revisited in the comparison part of this paper, and, for the moment, I shall confine myself to pointing out the two possibilities.

1.2.43 Morphemic status

P2 and P3 must be occupied by appropriate prefixes while the other members are optional. Each prefix carries a CV structure underlyingly, and as far as the phonological shape is concerned, it is solid and stable.

Looking into the strain among them, however, it is noticed that they are not equal in terms of 'status'. This unequalness is observed in every position. That at P3 will naturally be described under 1.4 and that at P4 is discussed under 1.2.44. In this section, therefore, the morphemic status of prefixes at the other positions will be screened.
ke, which signals the VP boundary at the head, is fragile in VPfinal while it has a good status in VPnon-final as a mandatory member. rGyarong root hates to go hatless, and, since P1 through P4 are neutralized in VPnon-final, ke necessarily gets obligatory. In VPfinal, on the other hand, it is just optional; it shows up with a high ratio when you have several NP's before VPfinal, but it still can be deleted. There is no correlation of occurrence with other prefix members.

The morphemes at P1 and P2 have some constraints of occurrence. P1(ke) is totally dependent on P2 because the only function of ke is to tensify the aspect. In another words, its status belongs to a sub-category of the aspect markers.

The aspect markers at P2, Ø for imperfect and nA for perfect, are musts in any VPfinal. nA becomes zero when one of the direction markers appears at P2 to indicate perfect and the direction of act or state. In this mechanism, imperfect is unmarked while perfect is marked by nA, which is further marked by directives, retiring itself.

This reminds us of the rules running under semantic function of prefixes; the more remote from the root the prefix is located, the more abstract or general the semantic function is. A very similar rule seems to be going on here again: the more remote from the root the prefix is, the less
stable the morphemic status is. This applies properly as far as ke, P1 and P2 are concerned.

1.2.44 Lexicalization of prefixes

In 1.2.2 through 1.2.37, we have sporadically seen some examples in which prefix behaves as a part of root. The prefix in that kind of situation may either be of independent status or become a part of root; in another words, they are in process of lexicalization. They will be re-checked en-bloc below(1.2.441).

Besides these in-process affairs, another lexicalization is also observed. The rGyarong verb has the following general syllable canon(cf. 0.5): (C)C(G)V(C), where the bracketed portion is not mandatory. From the synchronic viewpoint of description, this must be considered as a unit. From the historical standpoint, however, C at the head can be regarded as an already-lexicalized prefix. With that 'C', some interesting 're-prefixing's are going on and they seem to be a good background for the succeeding chapter. 1.2.442 will deal with them.

1.2.441 'In-process' lexicalization is observed in directives(P2) and manner specifiers(P4). The others do not cause any lexicalization. Among directives, yi and ne, which imply rather a general movement than specific horizontal or vertical directions, can be lexicalized. In manner specifiers, on
the other hand, all the members except for mutual act marker
and objectivizer may be lexicalized.

Let me examine yi first of all. Taking thel(GO) for
example, a typical contrast among yi, to and no as directives
at P2 is observed. Thus:

(32x) wu-yo-jis yi-tha-Nch ko.

\[\text{yi-thal-Nch}\]
\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{3DL general-go-3DL AUX:S movement} \\
\text{They two have gone.}
\end{array}\]

(32) wu-yo-jis 0-to-0-thal-0-Nch ko.
They two have ascended.

(33) wu-yo-jis 0-no-0-thal-0-Nch ko.
They two have descended.

This is the normal situation where directives occur at
P2 and leave P4 position blank so that any manner specifier
can stand there to specify a manner if necessary. Looking
into ro(DIP), syi(DIE), dzu(GATHER) and mAs (FORGET), on the
other hand, the situation is separate. For instance,

(87) nga te-ri mi 0-0-0-sA-yi-dzu-0-ng ko.
I am going to gather people.

(91) bi-syer te-ri mi ke-ta-kA-0-yi-dzu-0-0.
People gathered yesterday.

(85) nga 0-nA-0-0-yi-dzu-0-0.
I have forgotten.

(83) 0-nA-0-0-yi-syi-s-0 ko.
He has passed away.

(72) nga ta-chi 0-nA-0-0-yi-xe-0-ng ko.
I have dipped out water.

In these sentences, it is the single choice for us to
regard yi as a part of root because in (87), P4 position is

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occupied by CAUS, and 2) in others, another component occurs at P2. So, the VP of the sentence (71) nga tA-chi yi-ro-ng ko('I am going to dip out water') must be analyzed as (0-0-0-0-yi-ro-0-ng) instead of (0-yi-0-0-ro-0-ng).

Also for ne, we see the parallel phenomenon to this in sentences (75) through (77), where P2 is occupied by other directives and ne should be taken for a part of root.

The following discussion is with regard to manner specifiers (P4). All the affixes except for ngA and sa may become a part of root, i.e., they can stand between another P4 affix and root. We have already seen this phenomenon at (114a), where ne behaves as part of root, taking aA(CAUS) at P4. The following chart illustrates some contrasts similar to (114a):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P4</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>su(&lt;aA&gt;- kayot</td>
<td>to teach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aA</td>
<td>- au-kayot</td>
<td>to make someone teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mA</td>
<td>- lmo</td>
<td>to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sA</td>
<td>- mA-lmo</td>
<td>to remove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nA</td>
<td>- nga</td>
<td>to love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngA</td>
<td>- nA-nga</td>
<td>to love mutually</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All through the examples of this sort, the vowel of manner specifier as a part of root tends to get contracted phonetically.

1.2.442 rGyarong seems to have completed the lexicalization process long time ago which might be similar to that mentioned above. It may have experienced that kind of waves several times. We have no data which exactly tell what sort
of prefixes were lexicalized, but there are some roots which urge us to segment on the basis of contrastive pairs or from the analogy of the present process of lexicalization. All of them are related to causativity.

The most stable clue is represented by the VT/VI contrast, $a$- vs. $N$-. Let us see the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>VT</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to change</td>
<td>$a$-gyur</td>
<td>$N$-gyur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to turn around</td>
<td>$a$-kor</td>
<td>$N$-kor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to wind</td>
<td>$a$-kru</td>
<td>$N$-kru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$s$- in the VT group apparently signals causativity while $N$- intransitivity. This $s$- is cognate to PTB $*a$- and rGyarong $-sA$-. $N$- functions like WT $^*n$ on the comparison basis, and, if we dare to find out its cognate, $-nA$- as the reflexive marker seems the nearest.

There are many other verbs with $s$- at the head of root, but the three above are the only roots which have their VI counterparts with $N$-. Another contrast is $s$- vs. $\emptyset$ shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>VT</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to show</td>
<td>$a$-rong</td>
<td>$\emptyset$-rong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to lend</td>
<td>$a$-ki</td>
<td>$\emptyset$-ki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$s$- again represents causativity while the VI group is prefixed by zero. This opposition is also parallel to the present system of prefixation in this tongue.

We have $s$-kip(SUCK), $s$-kye(BE BORN), $s$-pak(BE THIRSTY) and $s$-dar(FEAR) as the $s$-prefixed verbs. However, this $s$-
motivation is related to human bodily or emotional matters and it is generally believed that the a- is cognate to FLESH. So, these have nothing to do with our discussion for the moment.

The contrast, r- vs. 0/m-, tells a similar distinction, but it is not exactly the VT/VI opposition.

to rise was : to get up r-was

to see m-to : to meet r-to

The r-prefixed verbs connotes more human will than 0/m-prefixed ones. Analogous to this, HANG and SLEEP are possibly segmented as r-wak and r-nyi respectively.

FALL and DROP have m-/p- opposition; m-zyit vs. p-syit.

Since, as I pointed out at 1.2.3, there is no stop-motivated prefixes in manner specifiers, p- cannot be explained by the present-day phenomena. It might have been an old vestige of causative marker.

DRY has two VT forms: p-ram and k-ram, where ram is identified to be an adjectival, DRY, as well as the VI. Again, p- and k- are unrelated to P4 infixes. They are possibly cognate to WT b- and g-, although the function is separate.

If k- is correctly attested as a prefix in the older stage, COME(IMP), FRY and LEARN will be hypothesized to be k-wen, k-sur and k-syot respectively.
1.3 Suffix -s

This suffix, which is the only possibility in the SI position, indexes 'perfect'. However, -s is much less productive than other affixes and occurs only with a limited number of verbs. Unlike WT where -s making the complementary distribution with -d is generally employed in the perfective roots, -s in rGyarong marks the perfect of intransitive verbs of 'process' in their second and third persons only.

(110)wu-yo hla-sa-s no-kA-skyes ko.  
(no-kA-skye-s)  
3SG Lhasa-LOC PFT-3SG-be born-PFT AUX:S  
He was born in Lhasa.

(111)wu-yo-nye gya-gar-s no-ksyis ko.  
(no-kA-syi-s)  
3PL India-LOC PFT-3PL-die-PFT AUX:S  
They died in India.

If the subject is 1SG in (11), the VPf appears as no-skye-ng. Similarly, if the subject in (111) were 1PL, the VPf would be nsp-syi-ŋ. As the readers notice, the pronominal affix at S2 is ranked higher in terms of morphological hierarchy than the suffix -s. Besides these two, kA-ne-ya(RETURN), kA-nyi(LIVE) and kA-pka(WIN) are suffixed by -s. It should be also noted that, although the imperative has an identical form to perfect, -s never occurs there.

kA-ro(WAKE:VI) shows a peculiarity: this is one of the irregular verbs and is affixed by only by P2 and -s. Contrary to the verbs mentioned in the previous paragraph, -s appears in the perfect for all the persons.
It seems to be probable, therefore, that -s used to occur to mark 'perfect' for all persons before rGyarong developed a web of pronominal affixes. Parallel to this, from the standpoint of internal reconstruction, we may posit an underlying -s in the S1 position of the perfect of all verbs. But there is no consistent morpho-phonemic rule which defines its appearance, and it appears only with particular verbs.

kA-kye, the perfect root of REACH, takes -s for the third persons in the perfect. This is the only transitive verb that can take -s. Here again, there is the possibility that -s used to be productive enough to appear with transitive verbs also.

The word for LETTER seems to preserve a slight vestige of this -s. ka-ra-skYo means WRITE, and ta-skYoe means 'letter'. We may analyze skYoe as consisting of skYo and the -s in question, and infer that skYo-s originally meant 'to be written' and, with ta which marks substance, turned its meaning to 'something written' or 'letter'.
1.4 Pronominal Affixes

Pronominalization is a wide-spread phenomenon among the Tibeto-Burman languages, in the sense that personal pronouns or their remnants are crucial participants in the verb phrase. The ways of participation differ greatly from language to language: Lolo-Burmese is really the extreme where pronominalization is completely lacking, while the other pole is represented by rGyarlung, Rawang, Lushai, Ch’iang and some Himalayan languages, in which pronominal components are indispensable constituents of VP’s. Other tongues are located somewhere between these poles; Tibetan, for instance, shows evidence for the pronoun systems of the older stage of T-B in general, but we do not find any pronouns or their vestiges which directly function in VP.

It should be noted, therefore, that the ‘pronominalization’ discussed in this paper specifies, in most cases, the morphological processes in the verb phrase which reflect the agent(s) and patient(s) as well as their agreement, instead of being used in a broad sense where pronominalization is defined as a deletion of lexical units in the context of new/old information.

1.4.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

Before the discussion of the pronominalization phenomenon in the VP’s, it seems convenient to introduce the inde-
1.42 Intransitive Verb Affixes

As mentioned in 1.1.1, pronominal affixes occur at the P3 and S2 positions, which makes a set. Let us first take
ARRIVE and DIE as examples:
ARRIVE

IPF root: Ndu

1SG nga ka-mA-Ndu-ng ko.
2SG nA-yo ta-mA-Ndu-n mo ngos?
3SG wu-yo kA-mA-Ndu ko.

1DL chi-gyo kA-mA-Ndu-ch ko.
2DL ji-gyo ta-mA-Ndu-Nch mo ngos?
3DL wu-yo-jis kA-mA-Ndu-Nch ko.

1PL yi-gyo kA-mA-Ndu-y ko.
2PL nyi-gyo ta-mA-Ndu-ny mo ngo?
3PL wu-yo-nye kA-mA-Ndu-ny ko.

N.B.: mA before the root is an adverbial affix described under 1.2.34. See sentence (100) also.

PFT root: pi

1SG nga yi-pi-ng ko.
2SG yi-mA-Ndu-n mo ngos?
yik-pi-n mo ngos?
3SG yi-pi ko.

1DL chi-gyo yi-pi-ch ko.
2DL yi-pi-Nch mo ngos?
3DL wu-yo-jis yi-pi-Nch ko.

1PL yi-gyo yik-pi-y ko.
2PL nyi-gyo yi-pi-ny mo ngos?
3PL wu-yo-nye yik-pi ko.

N.B.: yi is a P2 affix of general movement. yik found in the examples is (yi-kA).

DIE

IPF root: syi

1SG nga ke-kA-syi-ng ko.
2SG nA-yo ke-tA-syi-n mo ngos?
3SG wu-yo (kA-)syi ko.

1DL chi-gyo (kA-)syi-ch ko.
2DL ji-gyo ta-syi-Nch mo ngos?
3DL wu-yo-jis kA-syi ko.
1PL  yi-gyo kA-syi-y ko.
2PL  nyi-gyo ke-ta-syi-ny ko.
3PL  wu-yo-nye kA-syi ko.

PFT root: syi

1SG  nga nA-syi-ng ko.
2SG  nA-yo nyi-syi-s ko.  < VP={nA-yi-syi-s-n}
3SG  wu-yo nyi-syi-s ko.  < VP={nA-yi-syi-s}

1DL  chi-gyo nyi-syi-ch ko.  < VP={nA-yi-syi-ch}
2DL  ji-gyo nyi-syi-Nch ko.  < VP={nA-yi-syi-Nch}
3DL  wu-yo-jis nak-syi-s ko.  < VP={nA-kA-syi-s}
      nyi-syi-Nch ko  < VP={nA-yi-syi-s-Nch}

1PL  yi-gyo na-syi-y ko
2PL  nyi-gyo na-syi-ny ko.
3PL  wu-yo-nye nak-syi ko.  < VP={nA-kA-syi}  
      nok-syi-s ko  < VP={no-kA-syi-s}

From these materials, we may abstract the following set
of intransitive verb affixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P3</th>
<th>S2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1SG        | (kA-)      | -         | ng
| 1DL        | (kA-)      | -         | ch
| 1PL        | (kA-)      | -         | y
| 2SG        | tA-        | -         | n
| 2DL        | tA-        | -         | Nch
| 2PL        | tA-        | -         | ny
| 3SG        | (kA-)      | -         | Ø
| 3DL        | kA-        | -         | Ø or Nch
| 3PL        | kA-        | -         | Ø or ny

The affixes at S2 are recognized to be the remnants of
independent personal pronouns. Thus:

| 1SG       | -ng < nga |
| 1DL       | -ch < chi-gyo |
| 1PL       | -y < yo |
| 2SG       | -n < no |
| 2DL       | -Nch < ji-gyo |
| 2PL       | -ny < nyo |
As for the 3rd persons, S2 is marked by zero. The reason for this may be that นาม which motivates is originally the possessive form and it appears only as a transitive marker. From the analogy of 1st and 2nd person markings, น, instead of โน, may be internally reconstructed for the 3rd person suffix, but there is no positive support for this hypothesis as of now. In many other languages (e.g. American Indian languages), 3rd person is marked by zero: this would be a kind of economy and is recognized as a universal tendency (WLC and JAM).

P3 position is occupied by ก or ต. The bracketed ก is optional and occurs only with a limited number of verbs. The original meaning of these two affixes are still vague, but, as far as ต is concerned, it seems strongly probable that it is cognate to ิ. These affixes will be further discussed in 1.4.3 and 2.2.31. At this point, we can say that ก covers non-2nd while ต implies the 2nd person.

1.4.3 Transitive Verb Affixes

There are two ways of affixing in the transitive group:
1) if both the agent(s) and patient(s) (or goal or beneficiary) are or can be expressed by personal pronouns, some sets of affixes specify who acts on whom,
2) if the patient(s) (goal or beneficiary) is not a personal pronoun, other sets of affixes occur to indicate the agent(s)
only. So, these sets of 2) have the same formation as the intransitive verb affixes although their morphemes are partly separate.

1.4.31 Among the two ways of mentioned above, 1) is described here. For convenience of comparison, the same lexical items as Kin P'eng listed will be chosen: GIVE and SCOLD. All the sentences are in the imperfect, and the root of GIVE is \textit{wu} while that of SCOLD is \textit{na-sango} where \textit{na-} is an adverbial affix described under 1.2.33.

\textbf{GIVE}

\textit{sgt. bnf. sentence}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
2SG & 1SG & n\text{\-}yo nga k\text{\-}aw-wu-ng ko. & 2SG 1SG \text{\-}give-1SG AUX:S \\
 & & You are going to give (it to)\textit{me}. & \\
2DL & 1SG & ji-gyo nga k\text{\-}aw-wu-ng ko. & \\
2PL & 1SG & nyi-gyo nga k\text{\-}aw-wu-ng ko. & \\
2SG & 1DL & n\text{\-}yo chi-gyo k\text{\-}aw-wu-ch ko. & 2SG 1DL \text{\-}give-1DL AUX:S \\
 & & & You are going to give (it to)\textit{me}. \\
2DL & 1DL & ji-gyo chi-gyo k\text{\-}aw-wu-ch ko. & 2DL 1DL \text{\-}give-1DL AUX:S \\
2PL & 1DL & nyi-gyo chi-gyo k\text{\-}aw-wu-ch ko. & 2PL 1DL \text{\-}give-1DL AUX:S \\
2SG & 1PL & n\text{\-}yo yi-gyo k\text{\-}aw-wu-y ko & 2SG 1PL \text{\-}give-1PL AUX:S \\
2DL & 1PL & ji-gyo yi-gyo k\text{\-}aw-wu-y ko & 2DL 1PL \text{\-}give-1PL AUX:S \\
2PL & 1PL & nyi-gyo yi-gyo k\text{\-}aw-wu-y ko & 2PL 1PL \text{\-}give-1PL AUX:S \\
3SG & 1SG & wu-yo nga wu-wu-ng ko. & 3SG 1SG \text{\-}give-1SG AUX:S \\
3DL & 1SG & wu-yo-ji\text{\-}a nga wu-wu-ng ko. & 3DL 1SG \text{\-}give-1SG AUX:S \\
3PL & 1SG & wu-yo-nye nga wu-wu-ng ko. & 3PL 1SG \text{\-}give-1SG AUX:S \\
3SG & 1DL & wu-yo chi-gyo wu-wu-ch ko. & 3SG 1DL \text{\-}give-1DL AUX:S \\
3DL & 1DL & wu-yo-ji\text{\-}a chi-gyo wu-wu-ch ko. & 3DL 1DL \text{\-}give-1DL AUX:S \\
3PL & 1DL & wu-yo-nye chi-gyo wu-wu-ch ko. & 3PL 1DL \text{\-}give-1DL AUX:S \\
3SG & 1PL & wu-yo yi-gyo wu-wu-y ko. & 3SG 1PL \text{\-}give-1PL AUX:S \\
3DL & 1PL & wu-yo-ji\text{\-}a yi-gyo wu-wu-y ko. & 3DL 1PL \text{\-}give-1PL AUX:S \\
3PL & 1PL & wu-yo-nye yi-gyo wu-wu-y ko. & 3PL 1PL \text{\-}give-1PL AUX:S \\
\end{tabular}

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1SG  2SG  nga nA-yo ta-wu-n ko.
1DL  2SG  chi-gyo nA-yo ta-wu-n ko.
1PL  2SG  yi-gyo nA-yo ta-wu-n ko.

1SG  2DL  nga ji-gyo ta-wu-Nch ko.
1DL  2DL  chi-gyo ji-gyo ta-wu-Nch ko.
1PL  2DL  yi-gyo ji-gyo ta-wu-Nch ko.

1SG  2PL  nga nyi-gyo ta-wu-ny ko.
1DL  2PL  chi-gyo nyi-gyo ta-wu-ny ko.
1PL  2PL  yi-gyo nyi-gyo ta-wu-ny ko.

3SG  2SG  wu-yo nA-yo tAw-wu-n ko.
3DL  2SG  wu-yo-jis nA-yo tAw-wu-n ko.
3PL  2SG  wu-yo-nye nA-yo tAw-wu-n ko.

3SG  2DL  wu-yo ji-gyo tAw-wu-Nch ko.
3DL  2DL  wu-yo-jis ji-gyo tAw-wu-Nch ko.
3PL  2DL  wu-yo-nye ji-gyo tAw-wu-Nch ko.

3SG  2PL  wu-yo nyi-gyo tAw-wu-ny ko.
3DL  2PL  wu-yo-jis nyi-gyo tAw-wu-ny ko.
3PL  2PL  wu-yo-nye nyi-gyo tAw-wu-ny ko.

1SG  3SG  nga wu-yo wu-ng ko.
1SG  3DL  nga wu-yo-jis wu-ng ko.
1SG  3PL  nga wu-yo-nye wu-ng ko.

1DL  3SG  chi-gyo wu-yo wu-ch ko.
1DL  3PL  chi-gyo wu-yo-nye wu-ch ko.

1PL  3SG  yi-gyo wu-yo wu-y ko.
1PL  3DL  yi-gyo wu-yo-jis wu-y ko.
1PL  3PL  yi-gyo wu-yo-nye wu-y ko.

2SG  3SG  nA-yo wu-yo wu-y ko.
2SG  3PL  nA-yo wu-yo-nye wu-y ko.

2DL  3SG  ji-gyo wu-yo tA-wu-Nch ko.
2DL  3DL  ji-gyo wu-yo-jis tA-wu-Nch ko.
2DL  3PL  ji-gyo wu-yo-nye tA-wu-Nch ko.

2PL  3SG  nyi-gyo wu-yo tA-wu-ny ko.
2PL  3DL  nyi-gyo wu-yo-jis tA-wu-ny ko.
2PL  3PL  nyi-gyo wu-yo-nye tA-wu-ny ko.
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<th>Verb</th>
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**<SCOLD>**

**ppl. sentence**

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<td>You are going to scold me.</td>
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</table>

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1SG 2DL nga ji-gyo ta-na-sngo-Nch ko.
1DL 2DL chi-gyo-ki ji-gyo ta-na-sngo-Nch ko.
1PL 2DL yi-gyo-ki ji-gyo ta-na-sngo-Nch ko.

1SG 2PL nga nyi-gyo ta-na-sngo-ny ko.
1DL 2PL chi-gyo-ki nyi-gyo ta-na-sngo-ny ko.
1PL 2PL yi-gyo-ki nyi-gyo ta-na-sngo-ny ko.

3SG 2SG wu-yo-ki nA-yo tAw-na-sngo-n ko.
3DL 2SG wu-yo-jis-ki nA-yo tAw-na-sngo-n ko.
3PL 2SG wu-yo-nye-ki nA-yo tAw-na-sngo-n ko.

3SG 2DL wu-yo-ki ji-gyo tAw-na-sngo-Nch ko.
3DL 2DL wu-yo-jis-ki ji-gyo tAw-na-sngo-Nch ko.
3PL 2DL wu-yo-nye-ki ji-gyo tAw-na-sngo-Nch ko.

3SG 2PL wu-yo-ki nyi-gyo tAw-na-sngo-ny ko.
3DL 2PL wu-yo-jis-ki nyi-gyo tAw-na-sngo-ny ko.
3PL 2PL wu-yo-nye-ki nyi-gyo tAw-na-sngo-ny ko.

1SG 3SG nga wu-yo na-sngo-ng ko.
1SG 3DL nga wu-yo-jis na-sngo-ng ko.
1SG 3PL nga wu-yo-nye na-sngo-ng ko.

1DL 3SG chi-gyo-ki wu-yo na-sngo-ch ko.
1DL 3DL chi-gyo-ki wu-yo-jis na-sngo-ch ko.
1DL 3PL chi-gyo-ki wu-yo-nye na-sngo-ch ko.

1PL 3SG yi-gyo-ki wu-yo na-sngo-y ko.
1PL 3DL yi-gyo-ki wu-yo-jis na-sngo-y ko.
1PL 3PL yi-gyo-ki wu-yo-nye na-sngo-y ko.

2SG 3SG nA-yo-ki wu-yo tA-na-sngo-n ko.
2SG 3DL nA-yo-ki wu-yo-jis tA-na-sngo-n ko.
2SG 3PL nA-yo-ki wu-yo-nye tA-na-sngo-n ko.

2DL 3SG ji-gyo-ki wu-yo tA-na-sngo-Nch ko.
2DL 3DL ji-gyo-ki wu-yo-jis tA-na-sngo-Nch ko.
2DL 3PL ji-gyo-ki wu-yo-nye tA-na-sngo-Nch ko.

2PL 3SG nyi-gyo-ki wu-yo tA-na-sngo-ny ko.
2PL 3DL nyi-gyo-ki wu-yo-jis tA-na-sngo-ny ko.
2PL 3PL nyi-gyo-ki wu-yo-nye tA-na-sngo-ny ko.

3SG 3SG wu-yo-ki wu-yo na-sngo-w ko.
3SG 3DL wu-yo-ki wu-yo-jis na-sngo-w ko.
3SG 3PL wu-yo-ki wu-yo-nye na-sngo-w ko.
On the basis of these paradigms, the following chart of affixes may be inferred:

<chart 1>

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{agt.} & \text{1} & \text{2} & \text{3} \\
\text{ptt. bnf.} & & & \\
\text{goa.} & & & \\
1SG & kAw-ng & & wu-ng \\
1DL & kAw-ch & & wu-ch \\
1PL & ka-y & kAw-y & wu-y \\
2SG & ta-n & & tA-w-n \\
2DL & ta-Nch & & tA-w-Nch \\
2PL & ta-ny & & tA-w-ny \\
\end{array}
\]

<chart 2>

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{agt. 1SG 1DL 1PL 2SG 2DL 2PL 3SG 3DL 3PL} \\
\text{ptt.} & 0-ng & 0-ch & 0-y & tA-n & tA-Nch & tA-ny & 0-w & wu-0 & wu-0 \\
\end{array}
\]

1.4.311 In chart 1, the suffix at S2 position exclusively represents patient, beneficiary or goal. The portion before the hyphen (P3) seems to stand for agent, but it is not so neat as S2, except for 3rd>1st where wu straightforwardly implies 3rd agent.

In the 2nd patient series, the 2nd person is represented
by the combination of tA-n/Nch/ny in accordance with that number, and the morpheme of 1st or 3rd agent joins it at the P3 position. Thus, the 1st >2nd will be reinterpreted as *tA-kA---n/Nch/ny and the 3rd >2nd as *tA-wu---n/Nch/ny. *kA and *wu are hypothesized to specify the 1st and 3rd agent respectively. The 1st agent morpheme has been internally reconstructed on the grounds that ta- appears as [tAkn] before velar stop.

Therefore, the internal structure of these affixes will be tentatively analyzed as follows:

\[
P3 \quad \text{[[patient marker] } \ast \text{ [agent marker]} - \quad \text{[patient marker]}
\]

If this illustration is correct, the 3rd>1st agreement should be accordingly rewritten as *0-wu---ng/ch/y.

The 2nd >1st affixes show some complications. As is seen in chart 2 as well as the intransitive verb affixing chart(1.42), what signals 2nd person whether it is agent or patient is tA-n/Nch/ny. This combination constitutes again the basis of the 2nd>1st affixing. Here, however, the suffix is replaced by -ng, -ch and -y which point to a 1st patient, and kAw occurs at P3. kAw is from *kA-wu in which the behavior of -wu- seems queer since, as is discussed above, it is supposed to stand for 3rd person.

As for the 1st>1PL agreement, it seems to show the same structure as the 1st>2nd. kA may be interpreted, on the basis of parallelism with ıg(*tA-kA), as *kA-kA, each of which
represents 1st agent and 1st patient, while -y shows that 1PL patient. The 1st>1st and 2nd>2nd agreements seldom occur in natural utterances since the reflexive marker usually appears in this kind of environment and blocks agreement; the example shown in the list above is the only one in our data.

1.4.312 From the description up to this point, it has been made clear that the S2 position is occupied by the remnants of personal pronouns (which is parallel to the case in intransitive verbs). So, the phenomena observed at S2 are highly pronominal.

Then, what about the P3 position? It is true that the three morphemes which occur there specify persons, but not only is their behavior (especially that of wu) inconsistent, but they also do not carry anything reminiscent of personal pronouns. Do they really represent information regarding persons? Is it appropriate to deal with them in the framework of ‘person’? Now, this seems to be a proper point to reconsider their original meanings.

Looking for clues to solve this problem in other grammatical categories, we find ta and wu in the demonstratives. In this dialect of rGYarong, wu-tA means THAT and sy-tA THIS. These two words are distinguished in accordance with the speaker’s psychological distance from the object(s) addressed, not with the physical distance. As was shown in sentence (45), the merchandise which the speaker wants to
look at may be THAT in English translation, but, since the speaker utters the sentence under the presupposition that he will buy it with a high probability, i.e., it will belong to him in the very near future and consequently it is psychologically proximal to him, sy-tÀ must be used in this case. If the speaker had just wanted to have a look at it, wu-tÀ would have been employed.

The counterpart of sy-tÀ is wu-tÀ which points to a distal object or matter. 'Distal' may be correctly replaced by 'non-proximal'. tÀ, on the other hand, appears as te if it is independently used, specifying the object in the addressee's hand.

If the relationship among these three demonstratives could be projected to the 'person' category, te is analogous the 2nd person, sy-tÀ to the 1st and wu-tÀ is to the 2nd and 3rd. This distribution exactly corresponds to that in the P3 position. As far as tÀ and wu are concerned, therefore, it is quite likely that those two morphemes at P3 were originally demonstratives, which later expanded their function to person-marking at that particular location in VP's. Their person-marking distribution may be schematized as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
  & tÀ & wu \\
1 & - & - \\
2 & + & + \\
3 & - & + \\
\end{array}
\]

This distribution chart is incomplete; we need one more
parameter to complete this. Supposing that the components at P3 reflect demonstratives, gy would hypothetically fill in the blank. Actually, however, kÅ occurs there. What then is kÅ?

rGyarong has the phonological shape of kÅ as the VP signal (cf. 1.1.1) but this is not necessarily related to the kÅ in discussion. so, for the moment we can only hypothesize that kÅ is one of the 1st person markers. We have no way at this stage of telling whether it is a pronoun or not.

This hypothesis can be supported by the fact that some eastern Himalayish languages (to which rGyarong is somewhat related historically) carry #ka (Bauman’s tentative reconstruction: cf. Bauman 1975) as the 1st person pronoun. We have nga in rGyarong for the 1st person pronoun, which came from *nga, a generally accepted reconstruction in the proto-Tibeto-Burman tongues, velar stop, instead of velar nasal, serves as the 1st and 2nd person marker and it is considered to be separate from *nga. The author’s inference is, therefore, that rGyarong maintains both nga and kÅ and the latter appears only as the pronominal affix to mark the 1st person.

1.4.313 On the basis of the discussions above, the proto-forms of P3 and S2 components may be set up as follows:
All the phonological shapes listed in chart 1 are derivable straightforwardly from the proto-forms, but the 2nd/3rd>1st agreement seems to need a note. Since rGyarong originally carried the distinction only between the 1st and non-1st persons and *wu functions as the marker for the latter, both the 2nd>1st and 3rd>1st agreement used to have exactly the same components: which later split into *kA-wu---ng/ch/y and *0-wu---ng/ch/y to tell the 3rd person agent from the 2nd person agent after the concept of 3rd person was introduced into the system. In the 2nd person patient series, on the other hand, the 3rd>2nd agreement remained as the proto-forms used to be since the 2nd>2nd agreement never occurs except in very unnatural environments and, consequently, there is no necessity for a split.

1.4.314 Chart 2 shows the 3rd person patient agreement. This case is very simple, where the patient is totally unmarked.
1.4.32 If the patient (or goal or beneficiary) is not expressed by a personal pronoun, the affixing system appears as indicated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agt.</th>
<th>P3</th>
<th>S2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>-ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>-ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>tA-</td>
<td>-w(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DL</td>
<td>tA-</td>
<td>-Nch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>tA-</td>
<td>-ny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These components are identical (except 3rd agt.) to those of 3rd person patient agreement, except for 2SG. The reason why w(u) appears at S2 of 2SG agt. is unknown. This problem will be again discussed in 2.2.33.
1.5 Ergativity: a morphosyntax

Ergativity is one of the most controversial morphosyntactic topics in Tibeto-Burman linguistics. 'Ergative' is, as I understand it, one of the transitivity structures in which the transitive agent requires a (case) marker, while 'accusative' structure is one where the transitive patient is marked. The unmarked member is regarded as being in the 'absolutive' case, which is inserted at the object position in 'ergative' structure and at the subject position in 'accusative' one.

As Bauman pointed out (Bauman 1975:221-222), Tibeto-Burman has a variety of morphological types of ergativity and their ways of appearance vary from language to language. Hayu, on the one hand, represents an extreme in which ergative markers consistently occur and no accusative type is observed. In some languages, on the other hand, a high optionality of markers (ergative and accusative) is seen, such that you may have three possible choices:

1) either subject or object is marked,
2) both are marked, and
3) both are unmarked.

Chepang, Rawang and Kham will be counted as of this characteristics.

A very limited number of the T-B languages are consistently 'ergative' and many others belong to 'split-ergative'
type. This will be further sub-classified according to the degree of optionality and mixture of case markers.19)

rGyarong is classified in 'split-ergative' type, but, because of the poverty of syntactic or textual data, Bauman's argument on rGyarong is somewhat brief. The description here will be focussed on how 'split' and 'mixed' it is in terms of ergativity.

1.5.1 An intransitive agent does not require any marker. Let me cite some sentences which we have already done. For the full underlying forms and interlinear illustrations, see above.

(13) wu-yo-jis to-thal-Nch ko.
   3DL up-go-3DL AUX:S
   They two have descended.

(26) ka-dza no-kyu ko.
    grass down-grow AUX:S
    Grass has grown.

Then, what happens in the transitive group? As was shown in the examples of 1.4.31, the agent for SCOLD is marked by -ki while the patient is unmarked. So, -ki may be called, with a strong probability, the ergative marker. For example,

(112)nA-yo-ki chi-gyo kAw-na-sngo-ch ko.
   2SG-ERG 1DL 2>1-scold-1DL AUX:S
   You scold us.

The agents of SCOLD require the ergative marker but the 1SG agent stands alone. Thus:
In the instance of GIVE, on the other hand, no agent marking occurs; this is because what we have at the object position is not the patient but goal or beneficiary.

This behavior of -ki in (112) through (113a) will be summarized as follows:

a) it is certain that -ki is the ergative marker which marks transitive agent(s),

b) but, -ki appears only when patient co-exists,

c) and, the 1SG transitive agent never requires -ki, regardless of the co-existence of patient, goal or beneficiary.

In (112) through (113a), all the agents, patients and beneficiaries are personal pronouns; in order to investigate whether or not the summarized items are right, it seems necessary to check the combinations of parameters (pronouns and full nouns). Let us observe the following:
The man was loving the woman.

A man was loving the woman.

A man knew the language.

A man understood the language.

A man heard a woman.

He will lift this big stone.

He will lift this big stone.

They have built a house.

Norbu hit Dawa.

It is Norbu who hit Dawa.

Focussing on the appearance of -ki, we see that the marker always occurs with the agent in (114) through (122a) where the patient co-occurs. The morphemes which are found between the agent and the ergative marker have nothing to do with ergativity. They are signalling the end of NP; if the NP is definite, tA occurs and if it is indefinite, gA appears.
tA originates from te(IT, THAT) and gA comes from ka-rgi(ONE); as we have seen, the latter also appears as an NP ending signal if the number of ONE should be specified. These three signals consequently occur also with patient, goal or beneficiary.

The following instances show the behavior of -ki with different combinations of goal, beneficiary and patient:

(123)sytA wa-pu-tA-ki sytA wu-mi-pu wu-Nbe-y
this of-man-that-ERG this of -woman of-on-LOC

brdza ta-lat<(ta-lat-w) ko.
sword up-hit AUX:S

The man stabbed the woman(lit.:The man hit a sword on the woman).

(124)nA-yo ngA-Nbe-y tot-lat ko.
2SG my-on-LOC up-hit AUX:S
You hit me.

(125)wu-yo-ki nga tA-mnyod-gA nu-Nbi-ng<(nA-wu-Nbi-ng) ko.
3SG-ERG 1SG SUB-bread-one PFT-3>l-share-lSG AUX:S
He gave me a piece of bread.

The structure of these three sentences are:

(123)agt.-ERG + goa.-LOC + ptt.-Ø + ROOT.
(124)agt.-Ø + goa.-LOC + ROOT.
(125)agt.-ERG + bnf.-Ø + ptt.gA + ROOT.

The agent stands alone in (124) since the 1SG which looks like the patient should be regarded as the goal, being accompanied by a locative noun. In (123) and (125) in which patients co-exist, -ki occurs with the agents. So far as we have checked, rGyarong is strictly ergative except the 1SG transitive agent. But the following examples disprove it.
They have built a house.

We were eating that grain of yours.

He has shown the dog to me.

The patients are marked by -gA or -tA in these three sentences while the agents are unmarked. Does this mean that the two suffixes be interpreted as 'accusative' markers? Or, do they have another function?

As mentioned above, -gA is from kA-rgi(ONE) and -tA originates in te(IT). The main role of them both at the end of NP is to signal the closure of the particular NP; in that case, they do not call for any specific pitch. Although Rgyarong is neither a stress-accent language nor a pitch-accent language phonologically, each word has a somewhat fixed pitch pattern, and the two suffixes in question are neutral in those terms (i.e. totally dependent to the preceding syllable).

In the sentences (126) through (128), on the other hand, -gA and -tA have a remarkably high pitch like the 'step-up' tone. This fact leads us to hypothesize that the suffixes are rather 'topicalizers' than the patient-NP boundary signals and that, if the topicalizer occurs with patient(s), the ergative marker is dropped.
1.5.2 Summarizing the above discussions, we conclude:

a) rGyarong is primarily an 'ergative' language, where the agent is marked by -ki when the sentence has an overt patients(s).

b) The 1SG transitive agent is the only exception to this rule above; it never takes -ki.

c) If the patient is topicalized by either -gA or -tA accompanied by a high pitch, the ergative marker does not occur.

d) In the sense of b) and c), rGyarong will be defined as of a 'split-ergative' characteristics.

Bauman (Bauman 1975:249) regards rGyarong as of a split-ergative structure on the basis of Kin P'eng's monograph (Kin P'eng 1949:274-5), in which he states that rGyarong has both 'nominative' and 'accusative' markers. 'Nominative' is marked by -kA while 'accusative' takes -ko as the marker in the Tsa-kou-nao (GK) dialect of rGyarong. -kA seems to be the same morpheme as our -ki and this does not cause any problem. As for the 'accusative' marker in question, however, it becomes clear after a re-examination of the GK materials that the -ko is not exactly an 'accusative' marker. Kin P'eng lists the following five sentences as examples:

(129) t'i ko tApau.
    Que fais-tu?

(130) nyi sei ko tAzIE.
    Qui accusez-vous?
(131) nyi t'i ji ts'ong kg tApa\u0169.
Quel m\^etier allez-vous faire?

(132) nyi sei ko tA\u0169er.
Qui cherchez-vous?

(133) nya\u0103 t'\u00e9 tAched.
Que tenez-vous \a la main?

All the sentences are interrogatives and that -ko is always observed after the interrogatives. Under this kind of special syntactic environment, we cannot draw the conclusion that -ko is the 'accusative' marker. Rather than that, the probability is that -ko is cognate to our -gA, i.e., it is a topicalizer in GK dialect too and consequently occurs always with the interrogative as far as Kin P'eng's data are concerned.

I agree with Bauman that rGyarong belongs to the split-ergative category. But it is not because, as Bauman says, rGyarong has a 'mixed' system of ergative and accusative structures. Accusative structure is not found in this language. The only accusative-look-alike is the topic marker, GC -gA and possibly -ko in GK, which blocks the realization of the ergative marker that underlyingly exists. In this sense, rGyarong has split-ergative characteristics.

It is possible to infer that, in the future, -gA or -tA may lose its function as a topicalizer, letting the ergative marker appear; then, rGyarong would become a strictly accusative language. Under this inference, we might predict that the language is on the way from an ergative type to an accu-
sative one. Bauman's argument may be based on this kind of idea. It seems to me to be very risky, however, to adopt that inference in this stage.

The reason why the 1SG transitive agent does not require the ergative marker is still unknown. This is one of the problems we hope to solve in the near future. Refer to 2.2.5 where similar phenomenon in other languages is discussed.
Notes to Description


2) In the Suomo dialect of rGyarong(GM), to is RIGHT ABOVE and na RIGHT BELOW(cf. Kin P'eng 1958:102).


4) GM ro is UPHILL and ra DOWNHILL(towards the river)(cf. ibid.:102 & 98).

5) Kin P'eng does not list these as directives, but he describes ?aku and ?da as adverbs(Kin P'eng 1958:98). These adverbs indicate the same positions as our ku and ni/di specify, and these two sets seem to be cognate. He also states that the adverb ?aku means UPSTREAM too(ibid.:97).

6) e.g. Wolfenden 1929:2.


9) cf. Kin P'eng 1958:83. He lists ra- and re-: the former means FORCE SOMEONE TO DO, while the latter just verbalizes adjective. In our data, there is no distinction between ra- and re-.

10) Mr. Trha-ko’s information(cf.0.3).

11) GM requires reduplication of the root(Kin P’eng 1958:83).

   e.g. ka-top HIT : ka nga-top top HIT EACH OTHER

12) GM ra/rak implies repetitive act, but the nuance seems to be rather ONE BY ONE(Kin P’eng 1958:83).
e.g. ka-rzAk TRIM : ka ra-rzAk TRIM ONE BY ONE

13) GM na is identical to our na-, but the root should be reduplicated in the Suomo dialect (GM) (Kin P'eng 1958:82).

   e.g. ka-top HIT : ka na-top top HIT REPEATEDLY

14) GM also has a similar affix, sa-. According to Kin P'eng (1958:85), this affix objectivizes the 1st person agent's action only. In our materials, on the other hand, it occurs for all persons.


16) Kin P'eng lists the same example for GM.

17) cf. Matisoff 1969. Lahu verb concatenation represents exactly the same syntactico-semantic tendency as this, although their morphological processes are quite different.

18) Kin P'eng shows a very similar chart to our <chart 1> and <chart 2>. But, he interprets the component before the root as representing 'subject' only. I disagree with his analysis in this respect.

2. COMPARISON

This chapter aims at positioning rGyarong properly in the historical framework of Tibeto-Burman, through the comparison of verb roots and morphological as well as morphosyntactic processes in VP's. rGyarong has been regarded as a member of the Bodish group, mainly because of a striking similarity of some lexical items to WT. They are so similar, even identical, to WT as to have led scholars to classify this tongue under the Bodish group automatically. This assumption may indeed turn out to be right, but, for such crucial languages as rGyarong, Jinghpaw and Meithi where the verb structures of an older stage may have been partially observed by newer strata of affix systems, the behavior of the verb-phrase must also be carefully investigated for the purposes of sub-classification. This will enable us not only to locate this language more appropriately but also to obtain a new angle on the Tibeto-Burman family in general.

This chapter is divided into three sections. 2.1 is a comparison of verb roots, in which the correspondences of initials, initial clusters and rhymes with some target languages will be examined. 2.2 is a comparison of morphological processes and morphosyntax described in Chapter 1.
2.1 Comparison of Verb Roots

This section consists of four sub-sections: 2.1.1 is the correspondence list of initials, initial clusters and rhymes, in which lexical items will be checked one by one. This is a preparatory survey to get a general perspective on the parallelism of morphological shapes among the selected languages. All of them are prospective targets for detailed comparison, since they have somewhat similar morphological processes to rGyarong and higher prima facie possibility of historical relationship with the language. The list is fairly different from the Comparative Glossary (5. Appendix), in the sense that cognates have been sought regardless of semantic shift. For instance, therefore, WHITE in language A and BLUE in language B come together under the same item.

After obtaining a general idea, an attempt at setting up correspondence rules with some particular languages will be made in 2.1.2 through 2.1.4.

2.1.1 List of Correspondences

The following list is arranged according to the initial consonants and clusters (2.1.11 through 2.1.16) and rhymes (2.1.17 through 2.1.22) of lCog-rtse dialect of rGyarong (GC), unless otherwise noted. In each item, words are arranged according to the cognate groups. Abbreviations of languages names are listed under 0.6.
2.1.11 Stop Initials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(134) ARRIVE</th>
<th>PTB *byon</th>
<th>GC po(IPF)</th>
<th>GT pon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GS pon</td>
<td>GK kApu</td>
<td>GW p'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JG [M]byon</td>
<td>NW phiyang(PUT IN)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB puing</td>
<td>BO sop'ay</td>
<td>MK bon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT 'byung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

----

| PTB *pep   | GC pi(PFT) | GN p'ei |
| GS pis     | BO unpin   | MK pet  |
| DF [Y]guechito | [T]uchito | WT phebs |

----

| NU a\bla?= | JG [N]pr'u | LU phâk\ |
| NW vegu    | MK bar     |          |

There seem to exist two series of correspondences: one of which is apparently related to PTB *byon<>GC po), and the other of which is directly comparable with WT phebs<>GC pi). GT, GK, GM pung, GS pon, JG[M] byon, GW, AB and MK bon are cognates to the former. WT phebs is the honorific form of COME. NU and JG[N] have liquid glides: these do not always correspond with PTB *-y-.

(135) DO PTB *mow(cf.#282) | CH [TT,C,T]pu | LU bawl=

----

| WT byas | GC pa | GT pa | GH pi\ |
| GS pe  | GK piE | LU bei |

----

| DF [Y]reto | [T]nito |

PTB *mow is cognate to GC lmo(SHAKE,M0VE=#282). GK and GS have glide -y- followed by a front/unrounded/mid vowel and are directly connected to WT. In fact, WT byas is realized by [c'E:] in modern Lhasa Tibetan. In GC and GT, on the other hand, pa occurs. We have no parallel examples of loss of glide under this kind of environment.
(136) THIRSTY

GC aypak GT aypak GK apiag GS sh’pag
CH [TP]xpa= [MA]spi TR [S]bal
JG [N]pang ka’ra ‘Ay JG [Z]pang kara ai
NW pyas (DF [Y]hárr [T]hárr)
LK da-phí

The sibilant prefix in GC, GT, GK, GM and GS seems to be of body parts, which is derived from PTB *eya (FLESH). CH[MA] has the same prefix, and CH[TP] and JG[Z] have a glottal fricative for it. We do not find any cognate of the root, pek, in either PTB or WT.

(137) BREAK

PTB *be PLB *pyak
GC phot GT paw GS pa’ou NU hyi
TI bawh_chhán DF [Y]fitto [T]fétto
LP blo:k LA pelq, bál RO pë
BG bøy AB bét KO paai MK phlak
ID prokala

Comparing rGyarong dialects(GC,GT,GS), the underlying form of GC seems to be (phaw-t), in which -t is identified as parallel to PTB *-t.

(138) FLEE

PTB *plong
GC phos GS pon CH [TP]phu= [MA]phu
JG [H]prong [Z]phrawng LU phrong
TI -pai MK arplong WT bros
-----
MK pepet LK vaw ha

Contrary to JG and LU, no rGyarong dialect preserves any glide after the initial.

(139) TIE

GC phor NU hpan JG [M]phon
BO bân AB pon

(140) VOMIT

PLB[TSR] *C-pat’
GC mpat GM mp’ai JG [Z]mpat ai
CH [TT, J]phe [CI]pha NW bát
BG gobló AB bát KO phai ne
DF blê
Although STC does not reconstruct the PTB form for VOMIT and WT has an unrelated root, rGyarong, JG and CH have almost identical forms to each other. These are close to the PLB. The prefix *m- of GC and GT is a lexicalized prefix which represents an automatic act.

(141) SELL

| (141)SELL | PTB *par, *yar
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GC mpher</td>
<td>GT mpher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GW kamp’ar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[TT,T,C]po(BUY)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[J]bu55(BUY)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LP par(BUY)</td>
<td>DF prQ RO par</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LU pah_</td>
<td>WT phar(INTEREST)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cognates of SELL are found to mean BUY in some languages. WT has different forms for both SELL and BUY, but does keep phar under the meaning of INTEREST, which is the cognate to GC and so on. Bodo-Naga group may be conservative in terms of liquid glides (cf. BO and DF in this item as well as the previous one).

CH shows interesting contrasts: in [TT,C], SELL and BUY are distinguished by aspiration while, in [L], tone serves to distinguish them. This phenomenon implies the existence of some prefix in proto-Ch’iang: it might be *m-.

(142) SPILL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(142)SPILL</th>
<th>GC kay-bok NU a-up JG(Z) khaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LA bong</td>
<td>AB kæk-pæk DF kra-pæk MK buphak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT ’bebs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GC has a compounded root, kay + bok, of which the first
component can be deleted. The meaning of kay cannot be determined only from rGyarong data, but, comparing it to the AB form, which has exactly the same constituent structure, it is hypothesized to be related to WATER. DF also shows the same formation; if my argument is correct, kra must also mean WATER. As far as I have checked with DF materials, DF[i] has kek for the root WASH. JG has khaw, which may also be connected to kha(WATER).

(143) BURN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>TI</th>
<th>GT</th>
<th>LU</th>
<th>AO</th>
<th>MK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>b(w)ar</em></td>
<td>Nbar</td>
<td>/ha:l</td>
<td>lun</td>
<td>sib_</td>
<td>arong</td>
<td>phrin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FIRE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLB</td>
<td>NU</td>
<td>WT</td>
<td>LK</td>
<td>KO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>duk</em></td>
<td>hwarr</td>
<td>'bar</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>lounglak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GC is a loan from WT while GT has its cognates in the Chin group.

(144) SWELL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>JG(Z)</th>
<th>LU</th>
<th>WT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bwam</em></td>
<td>Nbyam</td>
<td>pum wa ai</td>
<td>pua</td>
<td>abom(VT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(145) FLY(V)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>AO</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>JG(Z)</th>
<th>AO</th>
<th>BO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pyam</em></td>
<td>Nbyam</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>yob</td>
<td>pyen</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>bir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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PTB *pyaw  WT 'phyo  KO bu
MK vai  LP vyal

GC Nbyam originated from PTB *p-^-b-yam (STC pp. 29 & 51).

(146) TALL
PTB *plow
GT Nbro  JG [H]gAlu  RO ro
MK pleng  LP a-blyan
LU hrâm

(147) FULL
PTB *pling  GC pyot  GS myod  NU bing
AB bing  MK pleng  LP a-blyan
PTB *tyam  TI /dim
LU abung

rGyarong words are tentatively classified as the
reflexes of PTB *pling, but the rhymes are quite far and
they may not be so.

(148) TAKE
LU pawm", pui=
WT blongs  JG [N]lâa, lâa  [Z]la  LU la-
LP lyo  AB phlok  LA lóng
DF plâpa  AO reprang
PLB *yu
WT phye(s)  GS pye  GC pya
GT pkyok

Several different roots are mixed up here, and our data
seem to be related to WT phye(s).

(149) WIPE
GC phyis  WT phyis
JG [Z]arut

GC may be a loan from WT. In Lhasa Tibetan, phy- goes to
alveopalatal affricate, while it remains as it is in GC.
(150) WHITE

GC pram GT prom GK prom, pram GS prom
LU huîng= LA raâng
GW prôn, phri RO pring MK prang
-----
CH [J,T,TT]phayi
-----
NU [K]xa:u TI -ka:ng
-----
NU [B]gong
-----
RO gip-bok

JG and LA are the reflexes from PTB *prang (DAWN), but
Rgyarong forms have bilabial at the final and it is not
certain whether they are cognate to JG/LA.

(151) TEAR

PTB *be (BREAK)
GC prea GT pria GS prea GZ prea
[TP]be:-, Re- NU [B]bing, xing
AO aben RO pé
MK phû
BO bla:, bây AB bên
-----
RO cit TI /bel NW tachya-ye, caphu-ye
AB she'r LA hri chhe'i

There are two series of correspondences: one group is
related to PTB *be, and the other is to WT hral or
phrul. The PTB form does not carry any glide and is the
direct original of TI, TR, AO and NW. The others seem
to be cognates to WT forms, though the rhymes are quite
various.

(152) SPREAD

PTB *bres GC prak JG [M]yAbrá [Z]shapra
AO prak HY bre LA phaq ID prõga
TI _pha? CH hpalû

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The first group shows good correspondences but it shows a discrepancy to PTB *bra(SCATTERED)*7) in terms of their final consonant. Considering JG bra?~brá, AO and LA, however, this PTB form may be revised as *brak.

In terms of the pr- cluster, that in GC is connected to NU, TR and JG. The PTB roots set up in STC are not related to any rGyarong forms.

GC and DF are the cognates and seem to be the reflexes of PTB. This shape has a meaning of SILVER commonly in Lolo-Burmese; for SILVER, rGyarong has an identical form to WT, and DF (as well as other Bodo-Naga’s) has **

**
(156) HIT/BEAT/KNOCK/POUND
PTB *dup \( ^9 \) GC tom GK tup GS tob
GH t'up-t'ung (NU [S]dung=) JG [M]dup\( ^\) [Z]adup
TI /tum (NW thun-e, da-ye) HY ty'up
(RO dok) AB dém (DF kedinto) MK dip, theng
WT brdungs

rGyarong forms are directly derivable from PTB *dup
while the NU, TR, NW, RO and DF forms seem to reflect
the same etymon as WT, which may reflect another PTB
root.

GH has two forms, each of which is related to PTB and WT
respectively.

(157) OPEN
GC tun GT tun NU [S]tan TR [S]tan\( ^\)
LU tho AB tax-lât MK kangthei
-----
WT phyes

There are two shapes to consider in GC, pya(cf.148) and
tun. Other rGyarong dialects than GC and GT have pya
only.

(158) RELEASE
GC tat JG [N]tât [Z]tât tat
AB tâṇg DF tôff-lya-to
-----
CH [TP]ce= [MA]tchi NW phyan
-----
WT bkrol

This GC form is related to JG, AB and DF. The AB
final -ng is suspected to be a pronominal suffix. ff in
DF often corresponds to stops(usually velar stop at the
initial and -t as well at the final.

(159) WEAVE
PTB *tak, *trak\( ^10 \)
GC thak JG [H]da? LU ta? AO atak
LP thok RO dak MK thak WT 'thag-pa
rGyarong shows a comparable shape with PTB *tay, NU, GW, MK the and DF. JG and CH appear to be related to each other. The prefix k- in rGyarong is not 'directive' (Wolfenden 1929:40-43) but the lexicalized k- which signals VP.

The GC form is cognate to NU, TR, BO, AO and WT. GS spang is a loan from WT spang(ABANDON).

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rGyarong is related to WT, though the rhymes do not coincide except for GZ. DF kā-to is very close to GC both in the prefixing component, kā-, and in the root.

NU and TI are direct reflexes of PTB *-rang>*-yang.

In the last group, SEE and EYE are identical.

(163) STRAIGHT

PTB *dung

AB a dong

RO tongtong

-----

GC sto

GT sto

GS sto

DF kattā

-----

JG [Z]ting

KO ting

MK keding¹³

-----

TI -tang

AO teindang

MK kedan

BO gAtAng

A direct cognate is not found in any languages; PTB *dung is a possibility, but the rhymes are quite far.

(164) COLD

PTB *glang¹⁴

-----

GC sytak

GT sytak

GH syte

GW stu

CH [L]tho

[TH,CL]tu

LA dayq

-----

GS n’dro

-----

GK dzuo

-----

JG [N]ka’šhùng

[n]AlAsı [Z]kaası

-----

NU t’yup, dyop

(165) FOLD

PTB *tap

WT ldeb, bltabs

GC ltep

JG [H]thap

NW la-thyā-ye

-----

AB tun

DF motume

Everywhere listed in the first group is clearly connected to each other, but the AB and DF forms seem to be
separate from them.

(166)GO
GC thal CH [W,L,T,TT,C,J]da KO tai
MK da WT thal
----
PTB *don WT 'don
----
BO tång

GC is identical to WT thal (GO BEYOND), which is an
alloform of WT thad"thas, the honorifics of GO.

(167)ASK
GC tho GS t'o AB tät, tau DF taco
to
KO tang

DF tao and AB tau are parallel to GC.

(168)PUT
PTB *ta WT sta
GC thal GT tha JG [Z]ta HY ta KO t'o
JG [N]tå
----
GS te
----
RO don
----
PLB *NtapH (PACK INTO) LP thap, thom KO t'ap
----
WT bstad JG [M]dåt

(169)GIVE
GC dit GS di wu'u
----
CH [TP] xda\ MK ta (LP tat)
----
DF bhi AB bi
----
DF ji NU zi

GC form is quite unique.

(170)AFRAID/FEAR
GC aydar GA neccâr GK ztar GM 3dar
GS zh'dar
----
RO duk
----
PLB *s-krok

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The reflexes of PTB *don are widely seen in many subgroups. GC is parallel to WT in its nasal prefix but they probably from different roots. LU and LA commonly have -l- as a glide.

GC rdo makes a contrast to *tdo (SEE: cf. 162).

These three seem to be unrelated genetically. NU looks like a loan from Siamese dip, and PTB form is related to UNRIPE.

rgyarong represents a much closer taxonomic level to PTB. GZ has a separate rhyme but this is a regular
correspondence between GC/GT and GZ. The other groups
are from different roots.

(175) PUSH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLB</td>
<td>+cak(JAM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>trhak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>chya e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>draa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>hrei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JG</td>
<td>(M) Athù khrá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH</td>
<td>[TP] aI\chi=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>\sa:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>tuol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LH cå?

PLB +cak(JAM)16

GC trhak NW chya e

RO draa

(LK hrei JG (M) Athù khrá)

CH [TP] aI\chi=

[MA] chu(SQUEEZE)

TI \sa:i

LA tuol

GC is related to PLB and NW. RO form is also regarded
as a cognate to GC if the long vowel is from *-k. CH
forms cognate to WT btair(PRESS).

(176) MELT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>dř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>dř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>dř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(JG</td>
<td>(N) a\byo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No appropriate counterpart elsewhere in T-B. JG(M) by-
may be comparable to GC dř-, but the correspondence is
not regular.

(177) BUY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PTB</td>
<td><em>a-kjy~</em>a-kAy(BORROW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLB</td>
<td>*kAy2(BORROW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>kím</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GK</td>
<td>kA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GZ</td>
<td>keu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GW</td>
<td>kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(LU</td>
<td>khar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLB</td>
<td>*wayl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GW</td>
<td>po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>ko si pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH</td>
<td>[T,TT,C] po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[L]</td>
<td>bu55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[J]</td>
<td>bo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The GC, GT and GK forms are straight cognates to PTB *a-
kjy~*a-kAy and PLB *kAy2(BORROW). GW kí is also cognate
to these. GZ is close rather to PTB *d-kew(K-N)(DIG OUT,
PICK=STC p.68), but the semantic relation is hard to
connect.

(178) HELP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>kor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>kor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>kor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>kôr_pui=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JG</td>
<td>(N) gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>kop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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No comparable shapes in PTB, PLB or WT. LU has a parallel form to rGyarong both in the initial and rhyme. NW has the same initial but the final consonant is too far.

(179) TIE  
PTB *kik  
WT 'khyig(BIND)  
GC ku  
NU syingkit  
JG [N]kyit  
[Z]gyit  
DF hf  
-----  
TR a6 hra4  
-----  
RO ka  
MK kok  
-----  
JG [M]gûm

GC has no direct cognate, but it seems a reflex from PTB form because the i/u alternation frequently occurs between the two and PTB -k may be regarded as a suffix(cf.2.1.3). PTB seems to be based on WT 'khyig, but BU kyac should be noted in terms of rhyme(cf. JG[N,Z] and NU), since WB -ac is a regular correspondence to WT -ig.17)

(180) LEND/BORROW  
PTB *s-kAy  
PLB *kyAy2  
GC ski  
WT bskyis

In GC, LEND is generated from BUY(possibly shifted from BORROW) by prefixing s-. In this sense, the counterparts for comparison are exactly the same as BUY(cf. 177).

(181) LIFT/CARRY  
PTB *ku(LIFT)  
HY ku-wo  
JG [M]gun  
([N] kûp)

-----  
GC pkor  
GS b'kor  
BO hor  
MK kanghor  
WT 'khôr

-----  
LU kheng=  
NW yen-e

GC is cognate to WT, BO and MK. BU khù and HY are related to PTB directly. JG forms show discrepancies of
rhymes but are possible reflexes from PTB.

(182) COVER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>GT</th>
<th>GH</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>kap5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kp</td>
<td>mpur</td>
<td>pkiap</td>
<td>PA5</td>
<td>kap5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BO</td>
<td>kAb/</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>AO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>kom</td>
<td>WT</td>
<td>bsgabs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(KO</td>
<td>kup</td>
<td>MK</td>
<td>kup</td>
<td>LU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LU khuh_ TI _xu?

(183) HIDE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>pki</th>
<th>JG</th>
<th>[Z]lakyim</th>
<th>[M]gyim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>JG's are only similar shapes to GC, but the finals do</td>
<td>not correspond. In (181) through (183), we have</td>
<td>prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>p- in common. This seems to be from PTB *b- (=acting</td>
<td>subject: cf. STC p.111).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(184) ROUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>skes</th>
<th>GT</th>
<th>rkus</th>
<th>JG</th>
<th>[M]gâkhrâ</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>skor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No good counterpart to compare with. If GT can be segmented as r-ku-s, the root seems to be comparable to JG[M].

(185) TURN AROUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>Nkor</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>'kor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(186) DIFFICULT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WT</th>
<th>khag</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>kha</th>
<th>GT</th>
<th>kha</th>
<th>GH</th>
<th>kîå</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>GM</td>
<td>k'å</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>kis</td>
<td>TI</td>
<td>hak_sat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LU heu, khirh LA hår MK badekhrim

rGyarong forms coincide with WT quite well except for the final -g, while TI keeps the final. In the second group, different finals occur, which seem to be from separate roots. The third group is a loan from Shan.18)

(187) FADE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>pkha</th>
<th>JG</th>
<th>[Z]kyip</th>
<th>ai</th>
<th>LU</th>
<th>chhawng=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>TI</td>
<td>/heu</td>
<td>KO</td>
<td>qui</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
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<td>_</td>
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<td>_</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PTB *ngrAw

GC is quite independent.
RO is a straight reflex from PTB while the second group is the suspect. Although the initials and finals coincide, the vowels are far.

Only TI has a similar shape to GC. As for the initials, GC kh- : TI h- seems one of the regular correspondences between the two; cf. 186 GC kha : TI =hak_sat.

The GC form is comparable to PTB, LB kwaw, BA, NU gaw, AB, DF and BU khau. GS and TI seem to be cognate to WT skad (VOICE) because of the vowel quality.

The GC and GT shapes are related to WT skor ~ sgor (ROUND) or 'kor (TURN AROUND: cf. 185), which are also cognate to MK.
rGyarong forms are cognate to WT. The others have velar as the initial but the rhymes are different. 19)

DF has a totally separate initial; however, DF fl- or ffl- corresponds with the GC velars quite neatly.

GC is related to all listed in the first group, most of whose meaning is KNOW instead of TEACH. WT is the honorifics of KNOW. JG and DF show more innovative shapes: they are affricated.
initialed lexical item is closely related to FOOT, although most of languages have separate forms for it from WALK. In this sense, PTB *krAy, JG [H]gong, LU ke_ and MK (all of these mean FOOT) should be added in the field of comparison.

(197) ACCOMPANY GC kyas GT kyas GS kyas
    ----
    JG [Z]khan sa ai WT skyet

(198) SUCK PTB *dzo:p WT 'jibs
    GC skyip GT scip GS s'kyib JG [N]ch'll

All of these show a neat correspondence. The prefix s- in rGyarong is the 'body part prefix'. WT, rGyarong and KO make a group in that they have a front vowel, while the others do another in that they have back. This -u- i- alternation is a well-established T-B variational pattern.

(199) HAPPY GC skyit GT skyit GH scyit CH [TP]sye-
    RO kuisi WT skyid
    ----
    JG [N]tyum

GC, GT and GH are almost identical to WT: probably a loan from it. CH[TP] shows a more innovative shape: the initial is de-velarized. GC sky- : CH sy- seems a regular correspondence(cf.201. GC skyo : CH[T]aja : CH[TT] syjAE).

(200) BORN PTB *dzuk(ERECT, PLANT)
    LA suAk TI /suak
    ----
    GC skye GT skyea GS skyis RO atchia
    LP gyek WT skyea

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GC, GT and GS coincide with WT while GK shows a different root, which is comparable with RO. Probably this is the native form and a new prefix s- overlapped on it. The former three may be loans from WT, including the suffix -s. The third group seems to be from various roots.

(201) WRITE

Initials of these forms correspond straightforwardly except for WT. GC sky- : CH sy- : RO s- can be set up as a rule(cf.199). GM has t'g for this meaning, and that form is originally BOOK.

(202) FAST

The rGyarong forms are probably loans from WT.

(203) TASTE

Five rGyarong forms, CH and JG are directly derivable from PTB *dzyim, although the final -m is missing except for JG. WT zhim may belong to this group. Bodo-Naga's seem to show a separate correspondence which may
reflect PTB *twiy.

Although rGyarong forms look to make contrast to TASTE, it would be safer to regard them as being from separate etyma. The first group are reflexes from PTB *twiy while the words of the second group are identical to TASTE (cf. 203).

The correspondences are divided into two groups: a group is directly related to WT rtsab (CHOP/COARSE) (<PTB *r-ta(y)ap) and the other is to WT hral (SPLIT). rGyarong forms are cognate to the first, and CH and LP hril are to the second. Those forms related to WT rtsab are the direct descendants from Sino-Tibetan root *tsap ~*tsup, which can be found in a loanword from Chinese into English: KETCHAP or CATSUP.
(206) DRUNK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>khya</th>
<th>JG [M]tyArû</th>
<th>nang</th>
<th>[Z]charu</th>
<th>nang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>zu-rui</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GT Nchok

PLB *yit

(207) DESCEND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>*yu</th>
<th>PLB *zak</th>
<th>WT rgyugs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>gyu(IMP)</td>
<td>GK ji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>[S]ji</td>
<td>[B] yit ahi</td>
<td>TI jakzûk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>LP yu</td>
<td>K0 yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JG</td>
<td>[Z]yu?</td>
<td>[JAM]?yö?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WT | bab | TR [S]pap=cû|

This root shows -i- ~ -u- alternation again. The TR form seems to be related with WT(FALL).

(208) SLIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>Ngyo</th>
<th>GS gyö</th>
<th>JG [M]gAzôt</th>
<th>AO</th>
<th>aju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>yot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AO is an appropriate counterpart to GC and GS. LP shows a comparable initial to rGyarong while its rhymes coincide with JG[M].

(209) CHANGE

| PTB | *lay |

GC Ngyur GT Ngyur

LP Ayuk DF g0g

The VT/VI distinction is realized by the a-:ʼ- contrast in rGyarong, which is very much like WT(cf.210).

(210) CHANGE(VT)

| GC  | agyur | GS baʼgyur | WT bagyur |

PTB *lay PLB *a-lay2

The GS form is apparently a loan from WT since this is against the syllable canon of verb root. GC may also be a loan, but it is hard to say since a-:N- opposition is still working(cf. 209)
This GC root seems to be related with WT. Also, GT kya chen is exactly identical to WT. GC may be comparable to WT rgyang (DISTANCE). GT rjon looks parallel to LP.

There are several different roots in this lexical item: rGyarong forms seem to be cognate to LP although the rhymes do not correspond (especially the final). It is difficult to determine whether the affricate in the second group is from PTB *khr-.

Although the final does not coincide, GC may be a reflex from PTB and cognate to BO and LU. GT krak may be cognate to WT skrag (FRIGHTENED), but the semantic tie is quite far.

Though the rhymes are different, these listed above seem
to be cognate to each other. WT ring and PTB *low are not related to these. GC can be segmented as *s-kren<»s-k-ren, where *k- verbalizes ren(LONG/TALL) and *s- signals the body-related matter. It is interesting that GT and GS have the different prefixing order: *k-s-.

(215) WIND(VT) GC akru GT tari GZ taip

(215) and (216) have a common root and are distinct from each other by prefixes which appeared in (209) and (210).

(216) WIND(VI) GC Nkru

(217) RUB GC kle GT kle CH [TP]dzye [MA]sayema
     NU [S]a\khrit= TR [S]a\krUt. JG [N]ka'tsat
     [M]Akhut, Arit [Z]arut LU zut= LP klit
     DF ne-khrå
 ----
WT 'phur, drud PTB *nu:1, *sywAy

GC, GT and LP are apparently cognates. NU, TR, JG and DF have velar initial with a different glide; GC and JG are usually conservative in keeping glide distinctions(cf.218). Looking at LP, however, it has kl- as initial and -it as rhyme. The former is related to rGyarong and the latter is to NU, TR and JG[M]. If LP functions as a link, the two groups are possibly connected.

(218) SCRATCH PTB *pruk, *hyak
     GC krok GT krok LP krôn (LA khowq
     JG [Z]askret [N] ma'chit LP hut)
 ----
JG [M]Akhræ

Although the initial consonants are separate, the root
forms of PTB and GC/GT seem to correspond. LP and LA are the direct cognates to GC and GT.

BEAT  
GC khran  l  PTB *krap

No corresponding root with GC.

2.1.12 Affricate Initials

BRING  
PTB *dzyon  WT bzhon  
NU zun  TR con=

---

GC tsam  GT co  GK tsam  CH [MA]sta  
[TT,C,J,MA,TP]tsa  TR dzOt=  LU chhawp

---

NW ha  CH [TP]xgy-

GC and GK are cognates to CH[TT,C,J,MA,TP]. Considering the discrepancy of rhymes of GC/GK and PTB, they may belong to different roots.

SPEAK  
PTB *s-brwang

---

GC kyis  GT thsīn  GK tāi  GS tsen


LU sīm

---


RO a-gen  NW ka  BO hān

---

WT la  LP li

Three semantic fields are connected to SPEAK. The first group is related to KNOW. GC, GT, GK, GS, NU[B], TR and BA belong to this. Historically the rGyarong forms are analysed as *t-sin; this root is common in those languages listed above. GC kyis(a) is parallel to WT mkhyen, the honorific of KNOW. The second is cognate to VOICE; JG, NW, RO and AB will be identified to be in this
The semantic field of the last group is just TALK/UTTER, which is represented by WT and LP.

(222) SMALL/YOUNG  PTB *ziy
  GC ktsey GT ktsey GK gtsAi GH tsaï
  GS g'tse'i CH [T]tswA [J,C]ptsU, pAtshi
  [TT]tswU, pAtshe JG [N]ka'chii
  [M]kAji [Z]ka'ji RO ontiti
  AB an-ji WT zi
  ----
  (WT chung LU chip_ LK cha-di)

The rGyarong roots show straightforward correspondence with CH, JG and AB.

(223) SQUEEZE  PTB *cur  WT btsir
  GC ptsir GT tai GS tai ri HY cur
  LU chilh_ (LP tsót)

Apparently WT, GC, GT, GS, LU and HY are cognate to each other, which seem the reflexes from PTB. LP is probably connected to LU though the rhymes are hard to be connected. GC has another form *ptsin. *ptsin means SQUEEZE by cord while *ptsir is SQUEEZE by hands. The different final consonants (possibly suffixes) serve to tell the instruments of the act.

(224) POUND  PTB *tsuw(CORK)  GC stau NU sū JG [Z]htu
  (JG [H]tsut)
  ----
  WT dzog GT tsok
  ----
  (PTB *krit GT sri(TIE))

GT is a direct cognate to WT and, the GC prefix s- is a newer phenomenon. The JG[H] may belong to the first group, but the final is hard to trace. BU tshui seems to be reflex from PTB *tsuw.
(225) JUMP

GC Ntsak  GZ metajak
GH met-t'ak  GH mteak  GS m'tsag
CH [T,TT,J]tshu  [C]tshu  [TP]tshu-
[M]tshu  LP tyuk
(NU [S]chat  JMsa:t  TR [S]a\cat=
JG [M]guss-ta|t GW tshu)

PTB *pyaw  WT 'phyo

WT 'chom  NU [B]jun

GC has two forms of JUMP; one of which is directly connected with WT 'chom, and the other of which is related to CH, JG, GW and LP(possibly NU and TR as well). The -t of JG/NU/TR forms in the first group cannot be traced; they may be from different root.

(226) ANXIOUS

GC Ntsip  GT Ntsep  WT tshabs

(227) TIE

PTB *tsik(JOINT)21  GC tshi?(<PG *tsik)
LP syi:k  WT tshigs

GT sri


JG [M]kyt  LP çet

There are four separate etyma in this item. The first one is GC and LP syi:k, which is comparable with PTB *tsik(JOINT). The second one is represented by CH, JG[M] and LP çet, which might be related to PTB *tu-t, but the correspondences, JG/CH affricate initial vs. PTB *ts-, are rather sporadic. For the other two, the origin is unknown.

(228) RISE

GC tsho  GT tso  GS tso  LU chho
NW tacha

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LU tho harh_ TI /thou AO atu MK thur
-----
PTB *syar, *l-tak, *dzuk PLB *m-tak

GC, GT and GS are direct cognates to LU chho\ and NW.
The GC tah- : LU chh- correspondence seems to be regular (also cf. 222 GC ts- : LU ch-).

(229) CULTIVATE GC tshok

(230) BEGIN GC ptshik WT gtsug
-----
GT rcen

(231) CREEP GC rtshu

(232) BOIL/HOT PTB *cow PLB *s-tsul WT btsos
GT tsul CH [TP]tshu- AO aso
NU [B]asu [S]su\ TR [S]a\su` RO so
JG [N]sha`t\u [A]syatu3 LU so=
-----
GC stshe GS stse
-----
NW da

As far as the initials are concerned, most examples can be connected to PTB. In rGyarong, the initial has been alveolarized while, in NU, TR, LU, RO, NW and JG, it was de-affricated in two ways. GC and GS hold a comparable initials to PTB, but the vowel does not correspond. The etymon of NW da is not clear.

(233) GATHER GC dzu GT Ndzom GH z\om LP jem
LP zum WT 'dzom
-----
MK cheri
-----
GS dAhkim
-----
NW ca-lha

The rGyarong shapes are compared with WT straightfor-
wardly; they are probably a loan from WT (cf. GC and GT above all). NW and MK may be related to each other but GS is unrelated to any others.

(234) LICK

PTB *m-lyak WT ljang (TONGUE)
GC dzok GT Ntsok LP lôk
-----
NW phe

Considering the fact that WT often develops affricates from palatalized *l- of PTB (e.g. HEAVY : PTB *liy~*lAy > WT ljid-brji), rGyarong forms here seem to be regarded as the same results of change. WT form is a honorific.

(235) CUT

WT btsogs GC rdzik GS ntsig CH [TP]chu = [MA]xci NU chu
-----
WT gcad JG [Z]chen
-----
PTB *cat LP tyót
-----
PTB *cwar NW twa-lha

The rGyarong forms match WT quite well except for the vowel, which may be regarded as -i-~u- alternation seen in general. CH[MA] is a direct cognate of GC. NW and LP which belong to separate roots seem to represent a much closer taxonomic level to PTB respectively, but the NW origin is not certain.

(236) CHEW

GC cak cak CH [TP]xca [MA]caqcaq dzA
LK cha WT cag cag byas
-----
AB jâm RO chobia

This lexical item seems to be a strongly onomatopoeia-oriented one and consequently may not be appropriate for comparison. However, it is still interesting that this
onomatopoeia appears only in the languages listed. In terms of word formation, WT and CHIMA show compounded forms (CHEWING + DO/EAT), while, in the others including GC, that onomatopoeia behaves as the root. AB and RO which seem to be cognate are from a separate root.

GC has a much closer shape to PTB, whose direct descendants are also observed in LU, MK, BO, AB and RO. The meaning of prefix r- is still unknown, but it seems to be closely related to re/ro/ra described under 1.2.23. In this sense, this r- may be the `directive' element analysed by Wolfenden. In Wolfenden's argument, WT and MK play important roles, but, as far as this particular lexical item is concerned, r- does not appear in either of them. WT and JG may possibly be cognate.

GS is comparable with CH, AO and GW. GC mcok is a unique shape; no comparable form in any languages.

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The words in the first group show a neat correspondence, except CH forms which have no final. The second group seems to be from PTB *ka~*kri(y)(BITTER) and the GT form is related with WT tshap po(HOT).

(240)STEP GC chak

(241)TIRED WT thang chad GC chat LU chau_

JG [N]tsaʔ [N]Atsaʔ?

WT, GC, and LU are cognates. JG and LP have ts- as their initial, but they seem to be unrelated. NU form is also unique.

(242)GO GC che(IP,IPF) GT chen GK chi

GH c’i GS ch’i HA cia

GW nac’en

WT phyin PTB *byon

(243)CLOSE GC chet GT chet GS ched NU [S]tahit

(WT gcod=LID)

PTB *tʰi:p RO cip

Only RO shows a directly comparable shape to PTB. The others coincide with PTB in their initials, but the final is fairly far. GC, GT and GS may be compared with WT gcod(LID).

(244)THIN GC kchem GT kchem GZ keṭahim GS g’ch’em

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We have two rGyarong roots for **KILL**: GC Ncha and sat(cf.#254). The latter is neutral while the former is used only for domesticated animals. The etymon for this marked **KILL** is not known yet. GC -a:GZ -e is a regular correspondence. PTB *s>Chin th- is a regular alternation(cf. STC:28).

There are two roots for **JUMP** in rGyarong, one of which has already seen at #225. GC Ncham is apparently connected to WT but it is not certain if it is directly from PTB *pyam(FLY).

We see again GC ch- : LU th-(cf. 239 and 246), but the rhymes do not correspond.
We have four etyems in this lexical item. The first group has no comparable form to PTB or WT.

(250) WET  PTB *a-ti-s  AO tayi
    GC sychit  GT sychi  GZ kestei  NW pyá
    ID chiyá  (KO diem)
    AO aja
    NW pyá

(251) TENDER  GC Njam  WT ’jam po
    GT Njor  GS n’byar  JG [Z]chya
    (LP a-ji)

GC is a loan from WT. GT and GS are comparable to JG.

(252) MEET  GC mjal  GT mjál  CH [MA]gzyá
    AO ajuru  WT mjal

GC is a loan from WT.

(253) GREEN  GC ljang ku  GT ljang ku  GZ bdzaaku
    GM l’dAng  GS l’jang  WT ljang ku

GC is a loan from WT.

2.1.13  Fricative Initials

(254) KILL  PTB *g-sát  WT gsad
    GC sat  GT sat  GK sIEd  GZ ajan  GH siat
    GS sed  NU [B,S]sat  TR [S]sat=  LP sót
    LU hnuk_chhat  NW syá  LK sai
    TI _that  LA that  LU ti_thi=  LK thih

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Every language shows a direct reflex of the PTB form. PTB *s- goes to dental in the Chin languages (cf. STC: 28).

GK and GH are noted in that they have a palatal element after the initial and it is common to LU.

(255) SEARCH  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>sar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU (B)shûp</td>
<td>TR sUâ=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JG (M)gâsâk</td>
<td>(Z)hâsâk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GK sIÉ</td>
<td>WT ‘tshel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GC is quite unique while GK seems to be cognate with WT.

The two other groups have fricative initials in common, but the rhymes do not correspond.

(256) FRY/ROAST  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>kaur</th>
<th>GT</th>
<th>karu</th>
<th>BO</th>
<th>sér</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CH [M]chu-chu</td>
<td>DF khrûg</td>
<td>WT aprâg</td>
<td>NU (B)hu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have two etyâs here. GC/GK and BO look a good set of cognates. GT karu is from *kauru<*karû: this kind of vowel insertion often occurs in this dialect.

(257) UNDERSTAND/HEAR  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>*sâm (SPIRIT)</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>bssâm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>ssâm</td>
<td>GA</td>
<td>sâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY</td>
<td>sâm (BREATH)</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>a-sâm (BREATH)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(258) EAT  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>*dza</th>
<th>PLB</th>
<th>*dza2</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>bzas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>za</td>
<td>GT</td>
<td>za</td>
<td>GW</td>
<td>zâí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH</td>
<td>(T,C,TT,J)thje</td>
<td>NU</td>
<td>(B)sat</td>
<td>HA</td>
<td>c’izo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>chaw,</td>
<td>zût</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>zo</td>
<td>BR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the rGyarong forms are the reflexes of PTB *dza. AO
form is a suspect because of the discrepancy of front vowel.

(259) ANGRY WT zer(SAY)

-----
GC zer GT zur GK zyl GS zer NU [B]za
-----
NW khâ

NU is the only cognate to rGyarong forms. WT seems comparable, but the semantic relationship is hard to explain. NW form may be reflex of PTB *m-ka(MOUTH).

(260) DIE PTB *siy

GC syi GT siya GK syI GH syI GS shis
GW sU LP syi TI -si: AO asA
RO si AB shi DF si MK thi LU thi

All the forms listed here are derivable from PTB *siy=*sAy. The MK and LU forms are initials by th-, which is a regular correspondence between PTB and Chin(cf.STC:28 & #254).

(261) KNOW PTB *syey

GC sye GT syiy GK syI GM syi GS shu
BA sin AO ashi NW si HY ses AB shu
WT shes
-----
LP t’ysk

Same tendency as (260). The etymon of the LP form is unknown.

(262) CLEAN GC syo GT syo GS sho

-----
GH ksår
-----
There are four etyma in this item. rGyarong forms are not comparable to any others. GH keṣr may be related to NEW(cf.#263).

(263)NEW PTB *sar GT sar GS g’sar NU [B]sarr
TR sal5 LU thar AB shur WT gsar
PLB *sik(TSR) GC syuk GZ kešek GH ke-syik
TI thak

There are two different roots:*g-)sar and *sik. GS and GT belong to the former and the other rGyarong forms to the latter. BU sac seems to join the second group.22)

(264)HAPPY GC syet CH [TP]syete- RO kusi
TR [S]dy0?= JG [M]tyum
GC skyit WT skyid

For HAPPY, GC holds two forms:skyit and syet(cf. 199). The former is compared with WT skyid directly while the latter is cognate to CH[T]. TR[S] and JG[M] seem to be connected to each other although their origin is not clear.

(265)DROP PTB *tuk AO tok LU thuk_
PTB *taw JG [N]mاثدو [N]mاثدو [Z]mاثtaw
GC psyit GT psyi CH [TT]dzi [J,C]hdzi
AB shut KO shep
KO phau CH [TP]phe-
LP tyal

rGyarong has direct cognates in CH, NU, LU, AB and KO.

We have -i-/-u- alternation here again. LU thuk_ and AO tok are direct cognates to PTB.

(266) QUIET PTB *syia(DARK)
GC ksyin GS g’shen JG [M]Asyis [Z]akasi
LU thim RO sim WT kha khu sim
----
LP fyang
----
BO ari

GC is cognate to WT, JG, LU and RO, which seem to origi­
nate from PTB *syia(DARK).

(267) TEACH GC ksyot GT kcit GK ksyud GS g’ch’ud
----
WT belab

(268) BEAUTIFUL GC mgor GH msar GZ stahyar NU [B]ahala
----
GT Nkhyer
----
GK phyEr GS n’py’er

We have three groups of cognates. The first one is related to NU, but there is no counterpart to compare with for other two.

(269) SAY GC zyu GK zyi, tsi CH [L]zjimi [T]zu
TI _ci? AO ahi CH [T]sUme JG [A]aAmA
(LU zai=)
----
GT tsin GS tsi(s) JG [N]taun [A]taun3
[M]ayi tsun BA sim
----
WT bshad GS b’ahad GH uaiet
----
NW khê

There are two different roots in rGyarong. The first one is rather related to JG and LU while the second one
to JG and BA. None of PTB forms are connected to them.

The third one is obviously a loan from WT. The NW form seems to be related to MOUTH(cf.#259).

(270) FALL GC m-zyit GZ zje CH [C]dzU [J]dz ge [C]tshu
JG [Z]chyet
PTB *kla (JG [N]khrät TI /klat)
AO tshuk

(271) YAWN GC hom, wo GT hom NU [B]ham JG [N]ka’khäm
[M]makham LU hâm, hu TI \ha:m BO hamiyay
KO hampu LP hóm WT ag atong, hu(BREATH)

2.1.14 Nasal Initials

(272) RIDE GC mu

(273) ANGRY GC mo KO mo-ng

(274) UNDERSTAND GC mis GT mas

rGyarong forms are quite independent. Although the JG and BO shapes are similar to GC/GT, JG myit is from *m-yit, which is comparable to WT yid(MIND)(p.c. of JAM):

BO seems to have the same formation.

(275) SWEET PTB *s-min(RIPE) GT myen JG(JAM)myin

(276) LOW GC mën GK d’män GH ng’män GS d’män
CH [T,T,T,J]be [C]be KO bhieh WT dma’-sman

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rGyarong forms are related to WT, CH and KO. GT’s etymon is not found yet.

(277)FORGET PTB *s-mit (EXTINGUISH) AB mit
NU [S]a\mat= ----
GC (yi-)mAs GT (yi-)mAs GK ko’i mir
GS mis CH [TP]x\mi= [MA]r\mA
JG [Z]n mi AO ama
(NW loma NU [B]a\mal TR [S]a\mlang)

The rGyarong forms are cognate to CH[TP](MA), JG and AO. They seem to reflect the PTB form in the first group, but the rhymes are hard to trace. CH x- and r- can be from PTB *s-.

(278)DRINK GC m\ot GT \ot GK mod GS mod GP k\om
GW komú JG [H]\mut
----
WT btungs NW twan
----
LU in= LA qin
----
JG [A]lu?l [N]\lú‘ [Z]\lu

JG mut is the only connectable form to rGyarong. LU and LA may be related to Sino-Tibetan root. PTB for this item is *Am, whose reflex is not found in our list.

(279)SLEEP PTB *(r-m\way23) WT rm\i (DREAM)
GC rm\a GT rm\a GK rm\iE GZ rm\je GS myed
GW rm\án AO am\u LA mo-ku
BO muru JG [Z]\sA\Am\wi

(280)DREAM PTB *(r-\m\ang PLB \mak WT rm\ang
GC rm\o GT rm\ong NU ip\-\m\ang JG [Z]\mu
LU hau„ \m\ang NW h\an AB \m\ang MK \m\ang
RO džu\-\m\ang

This PTB etymon is found in all the groups. NU is a compounded verb (SLEEP {<PTB *ip} + DREAM): this kind of
formation is widespread among the L-B group (e.g. BU ?ip-
mak, LH yi-mâ?:JAM).

(281) Ripe PTB *səm
GC səm GT səm GK səm GS səm NU səm
JG (N)əm (M)əm LU həm= AO təmən HY səm
LA həm BO gəmən AB səm MK səm RO səm
LP a·mən WT səm PTB *səm

Compare to #275 (SWEET).

(282) Shake PTB *məw GC su·nu GA su·nu JG [N]əshe·əu [Z]əshe·əu
BO səsəw RO səw

SHAKE and MOVE (283) are cognate to each other in the
listed languages. SHAKE is distinct from MOVE by the
prefix s-/sy- in GC and BO. JG [Z] is VT, and it is
prefixed by sha-.

(283) Move PTB *məw GC ləw NU Amu JG [Z]əshe·əu BO məw
RO mə

(284) Taste GC myən LP nyəŋ WT myəng

(285) Rest PTB *nə GC nə GT nə GS nə LH nə (ALIGHT)
JG [Z]əshit HY nə-so WT gəməs BU nə (PERCH)

GC is a straight cognate to BU, LH, WT and HY. GT, GS
and JG [Z] are related to each other.

(286) Black PTB *nək PLB *(s-)nək
GC nək GT nək GK nəg GM nək GS nəg
GH nək CH [W]nə (TT, C, J]ən NU (B)na, na?
AO nək GW kənək LP a·nək KO ənək
DF kənə WT nəg

(287) Smell PTB *m·nam
GC nəm GT nəm GH nəm
LU nəm= TI \nəm AO ənəm HY nəm GW əhe
LP nəm LA hən LA nəm BO ənəm AB nəm
NE nəm WT ənəm, ənəm
----
CH [TT]əshi [C]əhə
In rGyarong, *na seldom appears independently (also in LH, na (GOOD) occurs in compounds only24) while in CH, it occurs alone, meaning GOOD.

(289) LISTEN/EAR GC rna GT rna GK rna(EAR) GZ rna(EAR)  
   GP rni(EAR) GM rna(EAR) GS rna(EAR)  
   CH [TT] chny [C]tahori, naka(EAR) [J]cchyhy,  
   nama(EAR) NU hta, Ana(EAR)  
   JG [N] ng [M] ng AO tenarong(EAR) NW nen  
   LP nyan BO kana(EAR)  
   RO na-tâll(EAR) KO na(EAR) DF no(EAR)  
   NK no(EAR)

LISTEN is related to EAR in most T-B languages. In rGyarong, rna is the verb root while ta-rna means EAR.

(290) DEEP PTB *nak PLB *s-nak(BLACK:TSR #142), *nak~ *?nak  
   (DEEP:TSR #157)  
   GC rnak GT rnak GZ rnak  
   GM rnak NA (B) rna  
   TR zhy3na4 AB arnuk  
   LP nyung-bo

DEEP is related to BLACK (cf. 286). In rGyarong, nak is BLACK and r-nak is DEEP. AB has the same formation.

(291) RED PTB *r-ni  
   GC wu rni GT wu rni GK wurni  
   GH wûr-ni GS wu r’ni  
   GW ornî CH [TT]î hi [C] jî hi

RED is usually connected to GOLD in rGyarong.

(292) LIKE GC nga GT nga GM ndziy TI -nga:i WT rnga

(293) LOSE GC ngA PLB *ngal

(294) CRY PTB *nguw GC nguw GT ngsw CH [TP] ngA=  

(295) SCOLD GC ango

(296) BLUE PTB *s-ngow(WHITE) GC angon GT angon GH ngon  
   GM s’ngon LU hlui=ngö(WHITE), ngou(WHITE)  
   LP nôm AB no-ing LX ngyu(WHITE) WT angon
rGyarong forms may be a loan from WT. This phonological shape usually means WHITE in other TB languages.

(297) BORROW/LEND  PTB *r-nga  GC rnga  GT rnga
               GZ rngang  GS rnge  NU nga
               JG [H]nga  WT brnya

(298) FRY  PTB *r-ngaw  WT rngod
          GC rngo  JG [Z]ka ngaw  ai  KO nguo  MK karu

(299) SIT/STOP/WAIT/REMAIN  PTB *nyit(LEAN)  GC nyi
               GT nyi  GK nA  GA nje  GM nyi  GH nt
               GS nun, nis
               JG [Z]nga  LU ni  TI /nga:k  AO anen  NW di
               LP nuk  AB ngap  WT anyes(LEAN)

(300) SLEEP  PTB *nyit  GC rnyi  CH [T,TT,C,J]ne  [TP]ne
            (MA)nU  WT rnyi(SNARE), gnyid

   It is not certain whether WT rnyi(SNARE/TRAP) is a cognate to GC.

(301) DARK  GC rnyik  KO wangnyak
         -----
         LK hnao
         -----
         LP nyim
         -----
         WT rnyid(FADE)

(302) MANY  PTB *ma  GC anyas  GT ma  nga  GK mjas  GS ayes
           KO ma  BU mya  WT bra

   It is noteworthy that rGyarong has a closer shape to BU mya.

(303) BELIEVE  PTB *s-ning(HEART)  GC ni-syning  MK ning
             JG [H]ning  RO tAning  NU Aning(MIND)
             WT anying(HEART)

(304) MAD/ILL  PTB *s-nyung  WT anyung
               GC anyo  GT anyo  GS bs’nyo

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2.1.15 Liquids

(305) FIND/GET

PTB *r-ney
---
PLB *ra3 GC ra GT ra GS re
BU ra’ LH ãa WT rags
---
JG [2]khrup, khrum

(306) LAUGH

PTB *rya-t BU ray25)
GC ri GT ri GS ri
---
NU [B]it

(307) ERECT/RAISE

GC ro GS ro
---
JG [M]karât
---
AB da-rop DF gorâb
---
MK arongvang
---
PTB *klaw, *g-ryap(Stand)

The rGyarong forms seem to be cognate to JG, but the
final is lacking in rGyarong.

(308) DRY/WITHER

GC (p-“k-“)ram GT rom DF krom RO rama
---
PTB *raw WT ro(Corpse) JG [M]gârau
[Z]khraw BA ro LU em_ro= LP hrtyu
LK e-rô LA rodô BO paran AB e-reng

GC ram takes two prefixes, p- and k-, which serve to
differentiate the meanings. The latter can be found in
DF.

(309) HANG

GC rwak LU âwk\hlu_m
---
JG [M]braô NW yakhå

(310) GET UP

GC rwas GS rwas JG [Z]rawt [M]rôt
---
LU thoharh_ TI /thou AO atu LH tu
---
NW da
ASHAMED  PTB *s-rak  PLB *s-rak
GC srak  GT srak  NU [B]shara shi
MK therak  BU hrak

WT has no cognates to this item. The root of GC and GT shows the identical shape to PTB, LB, BU hrak and MK.

GOOD  PTB *lyak-s  GC la  GT la  NU [B]shala DF &l
----
LU tlei  LK e tlei
----
TI _hoi?  GS ho'u
----
GH udi

GC and GT la seem to be the reflex of PTB. NU[B] and DF are also from the same root.

HEAVY  PTB *(s-)lAy~s-li  GC li  GT li  GS li
LU harh_lo_, rit  DF &  KO yih_
WT ljid

WT develops affricates from the palatalized l- of PTB.

Cf.#233 & #234.

BLIND  GC lo  GT lu  GK lu  GM lo  AB lu
MK lok  WT long ba
----
WT zhar ba  CH [L]gca  [TT]cAE [J]hccyAE
----
GS d'mu
----
CH [C]thwa

HIT/BEAT/KNOCK/SHOOT  GC lat  GT lat  GS lat
JG [N]ka'yét  [Z]kayat (TI /va:t)
----
GK tup  GZ tap  TI /tum

The l-/y- alternation is frequently observed in the T-B languages.

SINK  PTB *lip  GS l'yo  LP hyóm  BO tobló
DF lám  JG [Z]lup
----

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There is no comparable form in PTB. TR len\ seems cogante to LP/AB, but the final is not velar.

2.1.16 Glide Initials

We have two etyaa for this lexical item. The correspondences are quite neat in each group, except for GS wyet: this -t cannot be traced.

GS wyet: this -t cannot be traced.

2.1.16 Glide Initials

We have two etyaa for this lexical item. The correspondences are quite neat in each group, except for GS wyet: this -t cannot be traced.
Roughly speaking, there are three etyma involved in this word. rGyarong forms are direct reflexes of PLB form, except GW, which is straightforwardly derivable from PTB.

(322) EASY PTB *lway JG [Z]lwè
-----
GC wut GT wut GS wid
-----
(JG [N]N yâk MK joi DF mòjûb)

(323) COME PTB *s-wa JG [N]wâa [A]wa1 NW wa
AO ao LK waw ha(GO)
-----
GC k-wan(IMP) GH kâ-pwi NW won(GO) DF q

(324) ITCHY PTB *g-ya GC ra? ya GT ra ya JG [N]ka’yas [Z]kaya [Z] kaya WT zab rag rayab

(325) LIGHT PTB *r-ya:ng GC yo GT yo GK jo JG [N]Atsang [Z]atsang LU eng, zâng TI /za:ng KO wang ngai
NK arjang RO rittëeng WT yang

(326) THICK GC yâk GT yâk GH yâk GS yeg WT yangs
(LK byu rô)
-----
AO temelema
-----
TI _sa?

(327) BEAR GC yim (WT dbyibs(APPEAR))

(328) LIFT/HANG GC yok GT yok JG [Z]Aphyang LP hyang
WT dpyang
-----
TI -xa:i
-----
NW lhon

(329) MIX PTB *ryaw
GC kyo1 GS kyo lo JG [N]gAyau [N]ka’yas [Z]ka’yas LP kyol AB yé
d-----
NW lwâkchya
2.1.17 Rhymes: -a(♂)27

cf.(135)  GC-a  GT-a  GK-iE  GH-iÅ  GS-e  
        NU-u  JG-u  WT-as

cf.(168)  GC-a  GT-a  JG[N]-å  HY-a  KO-a  
        PTB—a-

cf.(186)  GC-a  GT-a  GK-iå  GM-e  GS-is  
        TI-ak  WT-ag

cf.(194)  GC-a  DF-a

cf.(258)  GC-a  GT-a  GK-iE  GW-åå  GS-an  
        CH[T,T,T]-e  NU[B]-åå  JG[N]-åå  [M]-åå  
        [Z]-a  LU-aw  Ao-i  GP-a  WT-as  
        GP-a  HA-o  LP-o  BO-a  
        LB-a2  PTB—a-

cf.(246)  GC-a  GZ-e  CH[C]-u  [TP]-i-  [MA]-A  
        NU[S]-a  LU-i=  TI-at  LL-ih  LP-et  
        LA-at

cf.(312)  GC-a  GT-a  DF-åå  WT-ag  PTB—aks

cf.(305)  GC-a  GT-a  GS-e  WT-ag  BU-a’  
        LH-a  PLB—az3

cf.(279)  GC-a  GT-a  GK-iE  GZ-e  GS-ed  
        JG[Z]-A  AO-u  GW-åå  LA-o  BO-u  
        WT-i  PTB—aAy

cf.(285)  GC-a  GT-i  GS-e  JG[Z]-it  HY-a  
        LH-å  BU-å  PTB—a-

cf.(288)  GC-a  GZ-e  GK—a—e  GS-a  
        CH[T,T,T]-a  PLB—aak

cf.(148)  GC-a  GS-a  WT-e  

cf.(289)  GC-a  GT-a  GK-a  GZ-e  GP-i  
        GM-a  GS-e  CH[T,T]-A  [C]-i  [J]-y  
        NU-a  JG[N]-åå  [M]-ph’ng  AO-a  
        NW-en  LP-åå  BO-a  RO-a  RO-a  
        KO-a  DF-öå  MK-o

cf.(292)  GC-a  GT-a  TI-a:i  WT-am

cf.(297)  GC-a  GT-a  GZ-åå  GS-e  NU-a  
        JG[N]-åå  WT-a  PTB—a-
WT -abs PTB *-up
cf.(140) GC -at GM -t CH [TT,J] -e [C]-a
JG [Z]-at NW -a't BO -ô AB -ât
KO -ai DF -å LB -at
cf.(158) GC -at JG [N]-åt [Z]-at AB -ång DF -öff

cf.(254) GC -at GT -åt GK -IEd GZ -an GS -ad
NU [B,S]-at JG [N]-åt [M]-åt [A]-at1 [Z]-at LU -åt AO -et NW -â LP -ôt
LK -ai WT -ad PTB *-åt

cf.(241) GC -at LU -au_ WT -ad
cf.(315) GC -at GT -åt GH -up GS -åt JG [N]-åt
[Z]-at TI -å:t

cf.(321) GC -at GT -åt GK -ue GS -od TI -åt
TR -å= LU -åt LH -A/? PLB *-it

cf.(141) GC GT GW JG[Z] LP RO WT -ar PTB *-ar
cf.(159) GC -ar GT -ar CH [TT,C,J]-a [J]-o
[L]-u31 JG [H]-ar GW -år LP -år DF -u
RO -ar WT -ar PTB *-ar

cf.(143) GC -ar NU -arr LU -aI TI -a:l
WT -ar PTB/PLB *-ar
cf.(170) GC -ar GK -ar GA -ar GM -ar GS -ar
cf.(263) GT GS LU WT -ar NU -arr TTR -aI5

cf.(166) GC -al CH -a KO -ai MK -a WT -al

cf.(252) GC -al CH [MA]-A AO -u-ru WT -al

cf.(147) GC -am GT -am GS -om NU [B]-am JG [Z]-en
AO -im GH -am LP -åm RO -il BO -r
AB -ob KO -u MK -ai WT -o PTB *-aw

cf.(145) GC/LP -am GS -om AO -im AB -ob
PTB *-am

cf.(150) GC -am GT -om GK -am GS -om CH [L]-e
GZ -om GW -ôn LA -ång RO -ing MK -ang
PTB *-ang

cf.(257) GC -am GA -e JG [H]-en HY -am LP -ôm

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WT -am PTB -am

cf. (220) GC -am GT -o GK -am CH [TT, MA, C, J] -a
LU -awp_ WT -on PTB -on)

cf. (251) GC -am WT -am

BO -ð AB -ik DF -ðm MK -i PTB -ip

cf. (308) GC -am GT -om RO -a DF -om WT -o
PTB -aw

[M] -am [Z] -am LU -am= TI -am AO -am
HY -am GW -e LP -ðm LK -a LA -ðm
BO -am AB -am ME -am WT -am(s) PTB -am

cf. (253) GC -ang GT -ang GK -am GM -ang GS -ang
WT -ang

cf. (189) GC -as TI -E? LK -a

cf. (197) GC -as GT -as GS -as

cf. (310) GC -as GT -as GS -as JG [Z] -at
[M] -at

cf. (302) GC -as GK -as KO -ae WT -a PTB -a

cf. BOIL GC -aw

cf. DESTROY GC -ay

2.1.18 Rhymes: -i(?)

cf. (134) GC -i GM -øt GS -is DF -i BO -in
MK -st PTB -ep

cf. (176) GC -i GT -i GS -i

cf. (177) GC -i GT -im GK -A GW -i PTB -i-y

cf. (180) GC -i WT -is LB -Ay2 PTB -Ay

cf. (203) GC -i GH -i GZ -i CH [TT] -i [C] -U

cf. (260) GC -i GT -is GK -I GM -i GS -is

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cf.(303) GC-ing NU-ing JG-[H]-ing RO-ing
MK-ing WT-ing PTB-*ing

cf.(227) GC-*i? LP-*ik WT-*igs PTB-*ik

2.1.19 Rhymes: -u(Ø)

cf.(154) GC-*u DF-*u PTB-*u

cf.(171) GC-*u GH-*u JG-[M]-u [M]-um [Z]-u

 cf.(179) GC-*u NU-[B]-it JG-[N]-it [Z]-it [M]-um
TI-*i? LK-*i MK-*ok DF-*i
WT-*ig PTB-*ik

 cf.(207) GC-*u GK-*i NU-[B]-i [S]-i\ KO-*u
JG-[Z]-u TI-*uk AB-*i LP-*u
WT-*ugs PTB-*u

cf.(212) GC-*u GT-*o GS-*o
GW-*a LP-*ot WT-*ag

 cf.(269) GC-*u GK-*i CH-[L]-i [T,TT]-u [C]-A
NU-[B]-in JG-[M]-un [Z]-un3 BA-*im TI-*i?

 cf.(242) GC-*u NU-*u JG-[Z]-u [H]-ut PTB-*uw

cf.(233) GC-*u GT-*om GH-*om GS-*um LP-*um

 cf.(202) GC-*uk GH-*uk WT-*ogs

 cf.(263) GC-*uk GZ-*ek GH-*ik TI-*ak PLB-*ik

cf.(322) GC-*ut GT-*ut GS-*id

 cf.(157) GC-*un GT-*un NU-[S]-an TR-[S]-an\ LU-*o
AB-*am MK-*ei

 cf.(232) GT-*ul CH-*u- AO-*o NU-*u TR-*u`
JG-[N]-*u [A]-*u3 LU-*o= WT-*oa
PLB-*ul PTB-*ow

 cf.(192) GC-*ur GT-*or AB-*ir MK-*ur

cf.(209,210) GC-*ur GT-*ur GS-*ur WT-*ur

cf.(256) GC-*ur GT-*u(<*-ur) BO-*ér

 cf.(155) GC-*uw NU-*u JG-[N]-*u [M]-*Ø [Z]-u
AO-*u HY-*u LP-*u MK-*uk AB-*u
2.1.20  Rhymes: -e(Ø)

cf. (294)  GC -uw  GT -aw  CH [TP]-A=  NU [B]-u  
          [S]-U\  TR -U\  PTB *-uw


cf. (151)  GC -e  GT -i  GS -e  CH [L]-i  [TT,C,]-U
          NU [B]-ing  GZ -eng  AO -en  MK -u  BO -e:
          PTB *-e

cf. (160)  GC -e  GT -e  GS -i  GH -i  GM -iE
          GS -i  NU [B]-è  GW -ie  MK -e
          AB -e  WT -e  PTB *-sy

cf. (196)  GC -e  GT -et  GK -i  GS -i  LU -e_s=
          KO -em

cf. (200)  GC -e  GT -es  GS -is  LP -esk  RO -is
          WT -es

cf. (217)  GC -e  GT -e  CH [TP]-e  NU [S]-it=
          JG [N]-dt  [M]-it  (Z)-ut  LU -ot=  LP -it
          DF -A

cf. (261)  GC -e  GT -iy  GK -I  GM -i  GS -u
          GH -i  CH [TP]-I=  [MA]-y  NU [B]-i
          [S]-U\  TR [S1\U\  JG [N]-eng  [M]-e
          (Z)-è  BA -in  AO -i  NW -i  HY -es
          AB -u  WT -es  PTB *-sy

cf. (232)  GC -e  GS -e

cf. (242)  GC -e  GT -en  GK -i  GH -i  GS -i
          HA -ia  GW -en

cf. (248)  GC -e  GS -i

cf. (165)  GC -ep  JG [H]-ap  NW -a  WT -abs  PTB *-sp

cf. (243)  GC -et  GT -et  GS -ed  NU [S]-it  WT -od

cf. (264)  GC -et  CH -e-  RO -i

cf. (268)  GK -Er  GS -er

cf. (214)  GC -en  GT -i  GS -im  LU -âm  LP -ong
          WT -ing

cf. (245)  GC -en  GT -en  GS -en  CH [T,T,T,J]-o

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REP -en_ TI -em AO -u LK -u

cf. (276) GC -en GK -en GM -en KO -ieh
WT -a i

cf. (323) GC -en GH -i JG [N]- âa [A]-ai NW -on
RO -i DF -â LK -aw PTB *-a

cf. (275) GC -en GH -im

cf. (244) GC -en GT -en GZ -im GS -em

cf. (244) GC -en LP -ông WT -angs

cf. (184) GC -es GT -us

cf. (195) GC -es JG [N]-âeng [Z,M]-eng
DF -in RO -i AB -ên

cf. EMPTY GC -ew

cf. (222) GC -ey GT -ey GK -Ai GH -ai CH [T]-A
[J,C]-i [TT]-e JG [N]-i [N]-i [Z]-i
RO -i AB -i PTB *-iy

2.1.21 Rhymes: -o(U)

cf. (180) GC -o GT -u GH -o GK -ao GZ -ang
GS -o CH [TP]-ia- [MA]-i NW -u
TI -a:k MK -ek WT -ong

cf. (146) GT -o RO -o PTB *-ow

cf. (163) GC -o GT -o GS -o DF -â

cf. (167) GC -o GS -o DF -ao AB -au

cf. (172) GC -o GS -o LU -awng LA -êng
MK -ok WT -ug

cf. (201) GC -o GT -u GK -ung GS -o CH [T]-s
[TT]-AE [C]-e NW -o LP -u RO -e

cf. (208) GC -o GS -o JG [N]-êt AO -u LP -ot

cf. (262) GC -o GT -o GS -o

cf. (228) GC -o GT -o GS -o LU -ô L W -â

cf. (314) GC -o GT -u GK -u GM -o AB -u
cf. (317) GC -ot GS -eg JG [M]-ut

cf. (278) GC -ot GT -ot GK -od GS -od JG [M]-ut GW -ô

cf. (138) GC -oa GS -on CH [TP]-u= [MA]-u JG [M]-ong [Z]-awng LU -ong TI -ai WT -os PTB *-ong

cf. (181) GC GS BO MK WT -or

cf. (178) GC -or GT -or LU -ur

cf. (259) GC -or GT -ur GK -I NU [B]-a

cf. (268) GC -or GH -år GZ -ar NU -a

cf. (239) GC -or GT -ur GK -yr GM -or GH -ûr
GS -or CH [TT]-e [IC]-i LU -ôr AO -ur
GW -i LP -or LA -ûr WT -ur PTB *-ar


cf. (156) GC -om MK -ip

[MA]-A GT -As MK -ip JG [M]-am LU -am, -u TI -a:m BO -am KO -aam

2.1.22 Rhymes: -A(C)

cf. (293) GC -A PLB *-al

cf. (277) GC -As GT -As GK -iz GS -is CH [TP]-i= [MA]-A JG [Z]-i A0 -a
2.1.2 rGyarong and Written Tibetan

As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, rGyarong has been regarded as one of the Bodish (Tibetan) members which represents the older stage of the group (especially in terms of initial clusters), simply because the language shows a remarkable surface similarity to WT. It is true that the lexical items some scholars listed as examples correspond beautifully with WT, but their arguments are not necessarily based on the correspondence rules supported by thorough comparison. The author’s discussion in this paper is not thorough either; as far as the category of the verb is concerned, however, as many words as possible have been collected so that this may be a milestone towards a full-scale comparison in the future.

As readers have already noticed, there are many more discrepancies between GC and WT than exactly corresponding forms. In fact, we have only 94 lexical items (out of 425) which are identified as cognates, including some we strongly suspect to be loans. The following are the check list of the correspondences and a discussion of the possibility of setting up any rules.

2.1.21 Initials and Initial Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>ph-</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>phebs</td>
<td>COME</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>by-</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>byas</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking into bilabials, the initials seem to correspond inconsistently. Suppose GC p- : WT ph- is a correspondence (cf. COME), WT of DO is supposed to be phas; actually it is byas. Similarly, GC of WIPE should be phyis; it is recorded as phyis. Comparing WIPE with TAKE, the both have phy- in WT, but they split into two in GC although the WT forms have almost the same vowel environment(front). GC mphar has a newly developed prefix m-, and, if we compare the root only to WT, it is identical. Thus, the correspondences are quite various and scattered, and it is impossible to establish rules. One thing we could infer is that GC borrowed SELL and WIPE from WT.

Among prefixes, WT 't- regularly corresponds with GC N-.28) SWELL shows a discrepancy, but this is because the WT form was originally VT, having the same shape for VI, while GC form is primarily VI.
Comparing CARRY and TURN AROUND, the both WT’s are prefixed by ‘- and their initials are distinct, but the GC’s have the same initials and separate prefixes. Taking COVER into consideration, the WT has bsg- and it goes to pk- in GC. If the prefixed kh- and g- in WT correspond with GC k-, GC Nkor(TURN) should be a loan. The unprefixed kh- in WT straight corresponds with GC kh- while the prefixed k- in WT goes to GC kh-.

SUCK is noteworthy, where WT ‘j- corresponds with GC sky-, because the GC form seems to represent an older stage. If this correspondence is original, the GC shape of ACCOMPANY through WIDE are loans from WT.

In the velar series, we may have a possibility of set-
ting up rules: for example, WT ṭh- : GC ṭh-, WT prefixed ṭh- and prefixed g- : GC prefixed ṭ-, WT prefixed ṭh- : GC ṭh-, and so on. But, these do not work for the other stops.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pts-</td>
<td>bts-</td>
<td>ptsi</td>
<td>btsi</td>
<td>SQUEEZE</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stts-</td>
<td>dz-</td>
<td>atsu</td>
<td>dzog</td>
<td>POUND</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nts-</td>
<td>tsh-</td>
<td>Ntsip</td>
<td>tehaba</td>
<td>ANXIOUS</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptsh-</td>
<td>gts-</td>
<td>pthsik</td>
<td>gtsug</td>
<td>BEGIN</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stsh-</td>
<td>bts-</td>
<td>stshe</td>
<td>btsos</td>
<td>BOIL/HOT</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz-</td>
<td>'dz-</td>
<td>dzu</td>
<td>'dzom</td>
<td>GATHER</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have three prefixed WT ts-, which behave differently:

SQUEEZE may be a loan from WT to GC. ANXIOUS and GATHER show straightforward correspondences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c-</td>
<td>sky-</td>
<td>cor</td>
<td>skyur</td>
<td>SOUR</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-</td>
<td>c-</td>
<td>cak cak</td>
<td>cag cag byas</td>
<td>CHEW</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch-</td>
<td>ch-</td>
<td>chat</td>
<td>thang chad</td>
<td>TIRED</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nch-</td>
<td>'ch-</td>
<td>Ncham</td>
<td>'chom</td>
<td>JUMP</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj-</td>
<td>lj-</td>
<td>ljang ku</td>
<td>ljang ku</td>
<td>GREEN</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mj-</td>
<td>mj-</td>
<td>mjal</td>
<td>mjal</td>
<td>MEET</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nj-</td>
<td>'j-</td>
<td>Njam</td>
<td>'jam</td>
<td>TENDER</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the stops, this series shows straight coincidences except for SOUR. However, if those correspondences of Suck(WT ḋ- : GC sky-), SOUR(WT sky- : GC ḋ-) and HAPPY(WT sky- : GC ay-) are primary, all the other GC's than SOUR are identified as loans.
A discrepancy is found only in EAT, where the GC has z- as the initial while WT holds a voiced affricate. It is true that this kind of variation itself is found throughout T-B, but, in ANGRY for instance, WT z- corresponds with GC z- while it does not in EAT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>gs-</td>
<td>gsar(GT)</td>
<td>gsar</td>
<td>NEW</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>gs-</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>gsat</td>
<td>KILL</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms-</td>
<td>bs-</td>
<td>msaas</td>
<td>bsaas</td>
<td>UNDERSTAND</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-</td>
<td>dz-</td>
<td>za</td>
<td>dza</td>
<td>EAT</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-</td>
<td>z-</td>
<td>zer</td>
<td>zor</td>
<td>ANGRY</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DIE, KNOW, QUIET and SAY show coincidences of initials between WT and GC, while CLEAN and HAPPY have complications. In CLEAN, WT 'ts-' goes to GC sy-, and, in HAPPY, WT sky- goes to GC sy-. These two correspondences show that GC obtains the [+cont, +pall] features against WT 'ts-' and sky-. If this is good, the other items of GC are loans from WT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sy-</td>
<td>'ts-'</td>
<td>syo</td>
<td>'tsang</td>
<td>CLEAN</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy-</td>
<td>sh-</td>
<td>syi</td>
<td>shi</td>
<td>DIE</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy-</td>
<td>sh-</td>
<td>sye</td>
<td>she</td>
<td>KNOW</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy-</td>
<td>sky-</td>
<td>syet</td>
<td>skyid</td>
<td>HAPPY</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ksy-</td>
<td>bsh-</td>
<td>zyu</td>
<td>bshad</td>
<td>SAY</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zy-</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td>hom</td>
<td>hus</td>
<td>YAWN</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ben-</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>nem</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>SMELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rn-</td>
<td>rn-</td>
<td>rna</td>
<td>rna</td>
<td>LISTEN/EAR</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syn-</td>
<td>any-</td>
<td>syning</td>
<td>anying</td>
<td>BELIEVE</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as the nasals are concerned, GC and WT are almost identical, although prefix r- shows some inconsistency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ng-</td>
<td>ng-</td>
<td>ngA</td>
<td>ngal</td>
<td>CRY</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng-</td>
<td>rng-</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>rngAm</td>
<td>REJOICE</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ang-</td>
<td>ang-</td>
<td>angon</td>
<td>angon</td>
<td>BLUE</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rng-</td>
<td>brny-</td>
<td>rngs</td>
<td>brnya</td>
<td>BORROW</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-</td>
<td>sny-</td>
<td>nyi</td>
<td>anyes</td>
<td>SIT</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anyo-</td>
<td>any-</td>
<td>anyo</td>
<td>anyung</td>
<td>MAD</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.22 Rhymes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>ENG (see above for full shapes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>EAT, LISTEN, BORROW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ag</td>
<td>DIFFICULT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ags</td>
<td>FIND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>TAKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>DO, REST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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GC  WT  ENG
- a : -ad  PUT
- ak : -ag  WEAVE, CHEW, BLACK
- at : -ad  KILL, TIRED
- ar : -ar  SELL, BURN, NEW
- al : -al  MEET
- am : -am  JUMP
- am : -am(s)  UNDERSTAND, TENDER, SMELL
- ang : -ang  GREEN
- ang : -o  DREAM

- i : -i  DIE
- i : -es  SIT
- i : -ibs  COME
- ik : -ug  RUN
- ik : -id  DARK
- ip : -ibs  SUCK
- it : -id  HAPPY
- ir : -ir  SQUEEZE
- is : -is  WIPE
- im : -ibs  BEAR
- ing : -ing  BELIEVE
- in : -in  RIPE
- in : -im  QUIET

- u : -u  GIVE
- u : -on  MEET
- u : -ugs  DESCEND
- u : -og  POUND
- ur : -ur  CHANGE
- uw : -us  CRY

- e : -es  BORN, KNOW
- ep : -abs  FOLD
- et : -id  HAPPY
- er : -or  ANGRY

- o : -ong  BLIND
- o : -od  FRY
- o : -on  MAD
- o : -og  YAWN
- o : -ang  LIGHT
- op : -om  SWELL
- ot : -od  FLEE
- or : -or  THROW AWAY, TURN AROUND
- or : -ur  CARRY, SOUR

-A : -al  LOSE
2.1.23 Discussion

In the author’s opinion, it is next to impossible to connect GC and WT directly as far as their verb roots are concerned. As was mentioned in the comments above, their correspondences are so inconsistent that, if you apply some rules which were sporadically established and exclude the lexical items that violate the rules, we are left with only 49 items. All of these have directly comparable shapes to reconstructed PTB etyma; that is to say, they keep the forms of older stage of Tibeto-Burman in common. This discovery is meaningful in itself, but the attempt to set up a close genetic relationship between rGyarong and Tibetan was a total failure.

However, the two tongues also give us many hints as to the functions of TB prefixes. This topic will be discussed in 2.2.
2.1.3 rGyarong and Proto-Tibeto-Burman

As the second attempt to pinpoint the genetic position of rGyarong, PTB will be examined in this section. I once stated that proto-rGyarong was hypothesized to belong to a closer taxonomic level to proto-TB than WT and proto-Lolo-Burman (Nagano 1979a:59-62). In that paper, however, not many verbs were dealt with because of my lack of sufficiently rich data on rGyarong verbs. My later fieldwork supplied enough data to analyze the verb structure and to reconstruct proto-forms of rGyarong verbs. Because of the complicated prefix systems, some of the reconstructed shapes are still tentative. Even so, it seems to be meaningful to look for clues in proto-rGyarong so that we may have a more positive perspective on the historical location of the language. The theoretical grounds for the reconstruction are exactly the same as in the author’s paper mentioned above. Some nouns may be used to support hypotheses and to fill gaps.

### 2.1.3.1 Initials and Initial Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>ENG.</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*par</td>
<td>*m-par</td>
<td>SELL</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pu</td>
<td>*bya</td>
<td>TAKE</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*be</td>
<td>*bre</td>
<td>TEAR</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ba</td>
<td>*wa</td>
<td>THIN</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pruk</td>
<td>*k-rok</td>
<td>SCRATCH</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bra</td>
<td>*brak</td>
<td>SPREAD</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*plu</td>
<td>*blu</td>
<td>LIGHT</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*plong</td>
<td>*pos</td>
<td>FLEE</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bling</td>
<td>*byot</td>
<td>FULL</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pyam</td>
<td>*N-pyam</td>
<td>FLY</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*byon</td>
<td>*bo</td>
<td>COME</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following correspondences are induced from the data above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*p-</td>
<td>*p-</td>
<td>SELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*py-</td>
<td>*py-</td>
<td>FLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pl-</td>
<td>*bl-</td>
<td>LIGHT, DECEIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b-</td>
<td>*w-</td>
<td>THIN, PUT ON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*br-</td>
<td>*br-</td>
<td>SPREAD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*by-</td>
<td>*b-</td>
<td>COME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bl-</td>
<td>*by-</td>
<td>FULL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PG *p-, *br and *py- are identical to PTB, while the others show discrepancies. Although their phonological closeness is apparent, the conditions of split are still unclarified. PG *w- corresponds to TB *b-; for INSECT, however, PG has *bos and TB has *buw. TB *by- seems to have split into *by- and *b- in PG: we have TB/PG *bya for BIRD, and COME above. TB and PG *br- coincide to each other in the examples, but, we have TB *br- vs. PG *pr- in YAK(TB *brong: PG *prong).

TB *pl- always corresponds with PG *bl- in the author's data. In GC and TS, the bl- and phl- clusters never occur; consequently, the neutralized *PL may be reconstructed for it. In other scholars' materials, on the other hand, bl- is found, and it seems more prudent to set up PG *pl- and *bl- in this stage. ASH joins this correspondence: TB *pla and PG *lbe<ble. There is no parallel example of TB *bl- vs. PG *by-.

In TAKE, TB *p- corresponds with PG *by-. This corres-
Pondence seems to be closely related to the presence of -y-
glide, which is hard to trace.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ta</td>
<td>*ta</td>
<td>PUT</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tap</td>
<td>*l-dep</td>
<td>FOLD</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tak</td>
<td>*tak</td>
<td>WEAVE</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tan</td>
<td>*sy-Tak</td>
<td>COLD</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tay</td>
<td>*k-Te</td>
<td>BIG</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ti-*m-syil</td>
<td>*r-ci</td>
<td>WASH</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*m-ti-s</td>
<td>*sy-cit</td>
<td>WET</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*twiy</td>
<td>*sy-Ci</td>
<td>TASTE</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*twiy</td>
<td>*ci</td>
<td>SWEET</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*twAy</td>
<td>*wo</td>
<td>FLOAT</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*du</td>
<td>*duw</td>
<td>DIG</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dup</td>
<td>*dom</td>
<td>HIT</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dung</td>
<td>*a-do</td>
<td>STRAIGHT</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*don</td>
<td>*N-tu</td>
<td>ARRIVE</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dental series shows a neat correspondences. The following is induced:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*t-</td>
<td>*t-</td>
<td>PUT, WEAVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t-</td>
<td>*k-T-</td>
<td>BIG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t-</td>
<td>*sy-T-</td>
<td>COLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t-</td>
<td>*l-T-</td>
<td>FOLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t-</td>
<td>*c-</td>
<td>WET, WASH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tw-</td>
<td>*w-(CS)</td>
<td>FLOAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d-</td>
<td>*d-</td>
<td>HIT, DIG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The PG forms for BIG, COLD, and FOLD are prefixed by newly developed prefixes, whose origin will be investigated in 2.2. In WET and WASH, TB *t- corresponds with PG *c-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*kaw</td>
<td>*kow</td>
<td>CALL</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kik</td>
<td>*gu</td>
<td>TIE</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*s-kiy</td>
<td>*s-gi</td>
<td>BORROW</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ku</td>
<td>*p-Kor</td>
<td>CARRY</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ku:k</td>
<td>*kak</td>
<td>PEEL</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The velar group also shows rather straightforward correspondences. TIE has PG *g- against TB *k-, which seems to be the only discrepancy. The prefixed TB forms have PG *g- as their counterparts. The PG for FREEZE lost its -y- glide, which is parallel to COME(TB *byon : PG *bo). In CONCEAL, PG has not been reconstructed, but, GC has ko-wi corresponding to TB *kw-. PG *pKap(COVER) may not be cognate to TB *klup.

Compared BORN and RISE, RISE looks like a direct counterpart, but TB *dz- : PG *a-gy- is observed also in SUCK.
ponds to TB *c-*, while BIND has the identical initial to PTB.

We have PG *ky-* which corresponds to TB *c-*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*sam</td>
<td>*m-sam</td>
<td>UNDERSTAND</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*siy</td>
<td>*syi</td>
<td>DIE</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sik(PLB)</td>
<td>*syuk</td>
<td>NEW</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g-sat</td>
<td>*sat</td>
<td>KILL</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ziy</td>
<td>*k-dzey</td>
<td>YOUNG</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(*hu</td>
<td>*hom</td>
<td>YAWN</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are not many direct cognates either in verbs or in nouns. Prefix m- in PG is comparable to TB prefix *b- and WT b-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*(t)syang</td>
<td>*syo</td>
<td>CLEAN</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*syey</td>
<td>*aye</td>
<td>KNOW</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*syim</td>
<td>*k-syin</td>
<td>QUIET/DARK</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alveopalatal fricatives show a neat correspondence except for their finals. Also in nouns, TB *sya(FLESH) has PG *sya as the counterpart. In PG, only *m-zyit is reconstructed as *zy- initial (see 270).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>*mot</td>
<td>DRINK</td>
<td>278</td>
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<tr>
<td>*mow</td>
<td>*sy-mu</td>
<td>SHAKE</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mow</td>
<td>*l-mo</td>
<td>MOVE</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*r-mang</td>
<td>*r-mo</td>
<td>DREAM</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*r-mAy</td>
<td>*r-ma</td>
<td>SLEEP</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*s-min</td>
<td>*s-min</td>
<td>RIPE</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for the rhymes, all the words have directly comparable forms to each other. SHAKE and MOVE are allofms, which are distinguished by the prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>*nak</td>
<td>*nak</td>
<td>BLACK</td>
<td>286</td>
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<tr>
<td>*nak</td>
<td>*r-nak</td>
<td>DEEP</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*na</td>
<td>*na</td>
<td>REST</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Straight comparable forms to each other, except for two
prefixes. BLACK and DEEP are allomorphs of the same TB root and
rGyarong distinguishes the two by prefix r-. This prefix has
nothing to do with the repetitive act marker described under
1.2.33.

Although BORROW shows a discrepancy, PG has no cluster
of *ngy- at the initial. For BLUE, all the rGyarong dialects
have final -n instead of -w. The rGyarong forms may be a loan
from WT sngon.
2.1.32 Rhymes

<table>
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<tr>
<td>*r-yaw</td>
<td>*k-yol</td>
<td>MIX</td>
<td>329</td>
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<tr>
<td>*r-ya:ng</td>
<td>*yo</td>
<td>LIGHT</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g-ya</td>
<td>*ya</td>
<td>ITCHY</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

STC lists TB *ryaw for MIX: initial r- + glide. Comparing the listed languages in STC and No. 329 in my paper, however, it seems more appropriate to regard y- as the initial and r- as the prefix.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>PTB</th>
<th>PG</th>
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<td>-ip</td>
<td>*cip</td>
<td>*r-Cip</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>-u</td>
<td>*plu</td>
<td>*blu</td>
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<td>-uw</td>
<td>*du</td>
<td>*duw</td>
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<td>-op</td>
<td>*d-rup</td>
<td>*d-rop</td>
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<td>-om</td>
<td>*dup</td>
<td>*dom</td>
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<td>-ok</td>
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<td>*tso</td>
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<td>-o</td>
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<td>*s-nyo</td>
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<td>-ir</td>
<td>*cur</td>
<td>*PTSir</td>
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<td>-u</td>
<td>*tsuw</td>
<td>*a-TSu</td>
<td>POUND</td>
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<td>-e</td>
<td>*be</td>
<td>*bre</td>
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<td>*gye-s</td>
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<td>-ip</td>
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<td>*s-gyip</td>
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<td>-uw</td>
<td>*bos</td>
<td>*buw</td>
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<td>-o</td>
<td>*byon</td>
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<td>(-ow</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>*s-ngow</td>
<td>*s-ngon</td>
<td>BLUE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*cow</td>
<td>*s-TSe</td>
<td>BOIL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.33 Discussion

After checking the data, it may be agreed that PG has an akin system of initials and initial clusters to that of PTB. Although some of the examined items are remote and hard to compare directly, the two reconstructed systems and phonological shapes as a whole seems to be apparently related more
closely than was generally believed. In this respect, the tentative conclusion stated in my former paper is correct. Unlike what was suggested there, however, as far as the verbs are concerned, the bilabial series show entangled correspondences while the others, including fricative and affricate series (with regard to which my 1979a paper failed to find any direct PG counterparts of TB), show rather close forms to each other.

The rhymes of the two systems are still hard to connect directly. We do have good pairs to compare, but, we also see many others, which behave differently under the same environments.

The PG prefix system is identified as being of the same characteristics as those of PTB in terms both of the structure and of phonological shapes. Adding the prefixes reconstructed in this sub-section to those shown in Nagano 1979a, almost all the components seem to have been clarified. As we have seen in Chapter 1, rGyarong has created a newer prefix system before the root which constitutes a VP. In the process of lexicalization of those newly developed prefixes, some of the older prefixes must have been replaced while some others survived. Directly comparable components are, needless to say, found in the survivors, and, at the same time, we can observe phonological processes which, in spite of all changes, seem parallel to those which are posited for the
proto-language.

In my previous works as well as in the present discussion, I have been led to hypothesize that PG branched off from PTB much earlier than Shafer, Benedict and Hale have suggested. On the other hand, we have also seen that PG does show partial discrepancies with respect to PTB. They are not so conspicuous as those between WT and rGyarong, but that fact seems to imply that we must set up some intermediate stages between PG and PTB with the assistance of another languages genetically related to rGyarong so that the changes from TB to PG can be rationally explained. However, the concrete targets for this purpose are not so easily obtainable for us, since rGyarong has been long classified in the Tibetan group and nobody had any doubt of it. Our next step is, therefore, to search for them.
2.1.4 rGyarong and Abor-Miri-Dafila

It was once pointed out by the author that rGyarong seems to consist of two or three strata: the first stratum is related to Tibetan, the second to Chin and the third possibly to Bodo-Naga (Nagano 1979a:63). The first stratum was surveyed in 2.1.2, on the basis of which we were led to conclude that WT should not be directly connected to rGyarong except for some particular lexical items which carry common shapes all through rGyarong, WT and PTB. We should therefore logically seek for the prospective target languages for comparison among the Chin and Bodo-Naga groups, as well as some transitional languages such as Ch’iang and Jinghpaw. This is one of the reasons why those languages were featured in the comparison list (2.1.1).

Looking over the list, the author noticed the following points:

1) Chin languages, such as Tiddim, Lushai, Lakher and Bawm, show strikingly similar forms to rGyarong. But, these are rather sporadic, and just as in the case of WT, it is hard to establish regular correspondence rules between rGyarong and the Chin languages.

2) Ao, one of the Naga languages, which has comparable morphological processes to those in rGyarong, has similar characteristics to Chin in terms of its verb roots, although Ao has a slightly higher ratio of correspondences to rGyarong.
than do the Chin languages.

Jinghpaw and Ch’iang, which have various grammatical features found in different TB languages and are regarded as linking or intermediate sub-branches, cannot be considered to be especially closely related to rGYarong on the same grounds mentioned above.

3) Contrary to the Chin and Naga languages, Mirish, such as Abor, Miri and Dafla, supply us with many more cognates to rGYarong. Needless to say, some of their phonological shapes themselves are fairly far from GC or TS, but, it seems more likely that they can be shown to be closer than are the languages of the Barish or Kuki-Chin groups to rGYarong.

4) Also, Mikir, a divergent Kuki-Naga language according to Benedict, shows some regular correspondences to GC and TS which are sometimes common to Chin and sometimes to Naga languages. Considering the status of Mikir, this tendency is natural because the language can be regarded as a sort of link between the Chin and Naga languages.

On the basis of these observations, we will now examine in detail to what extent Abor, Miri and Dafla (AMD hereafter) as well as Mikir show correspondences to rGYarong. The main language we shall use for comparison is the Yano dialect dialect of Dafla. Lexical items on the following list are from this dialect unless otherwise noted. Some body part
terms will be cited when necessary to support our hypotheses and to fill in gaps.

2.1.41 Initials and Initial Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>AND</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>AND</th>
<th>ENG</th>
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<td>p-</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pato</td>
<td>DO</td>
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<tr>
<td>ph-</td>
<td>f-</td>
<td>phot</td>
<td>fitto</td>
<td>BREAK</td>
<td>137</td>
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<td>mph-</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>amhat</td>
<td>bato</td>
<td>VOMIT</td>
<td>140</td>
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<tr>
<td>b-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>ka yi-bok kāk-pāk(AB)</td>
<td>SPILL</td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nb-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>Nbop</td>
<td>pōm(AB)</td>
<td>SWELL</td>
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<td>py-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>pya</td>
<td>pu(AB)</td>
<td>TAKE</td>
<td>148</td>
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<td>pr-</td>
<td>p-r-</td>
<td>pre</td>
<td>per∂ato</td>
<td>TEAR</td>
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<td>pr-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>prak</td>
<td>pak</td>
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<tr>
<td>pr-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>prok</td>
<td>pak(AB)</td>
<td>TIE</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl-</td>
<td>p-l-</td>
<td>plu</td>
<td>pōlō</td>
<td>LIGHT</td>
<td>154</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>pli</td>
<td>épi</td>
<td>FOUR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GC p- corresponds with DF p- regularly. GC Nb- and py- as well correspond to p- in DF; behind this merger, some tone distinction seems to be working on the DF side, but, as far as the DF materials at hand are concerned, neither tone nor pitch is described. GC pr- and pl- have two-way correspondences; in TEAR and WHITE, they carry the DF counterparts of p-r- and p-l- respectively, while in SPREAD and FOUR, the glides are lost in DF. Abor(AB) shows the same tendency. The r-prefixed p- in GC has rb- in DF, which is considered as the direct correspondence because the b- of DF may have got voiced through the influence of the prefix.

GC ph- corresponds to f- in DF, while the nasal-prefixed ph- of GC corresponds to DF b- . DF f- also has GC

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kh- as its counterpart. SPILL is expressed by semantically parallel compounds in GC and AB; presumably, LID + LOC + SPILL, from which the English translation may be replaced by OVERFLOW.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>GC</th>
<th>AMD</th>
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<th>Cf.</th>
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<td>tuw</td>
<td>duto</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tomm</td>
<td>dém(AB)</td>
<td>HIT</td>
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<td>t-</td>
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<td>kâ-to</td>
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<td>d-</td>
<td>sto</td>
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<td>potengpa</td>
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<td>t-</td>
<td>rdo</td>
<td>chetok</td>
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</table>

The correspondence rules are working here rather regularly, unlike the bilabials: GC t- corresponds to d- in DF, and GC th- and the prefixed t-/d- correspond with DF t-. This correspondence pattern again reminds us of the tone distinction in DF, which is not accessible to us for the moment. In this kind of environment, however, it is possible to hypothesize the tone system of DF: for instance, supposing DF has a high/low pitch distinction, GC th- and the prefixed d- correspond to DF t- with tone 1, and the prefixed t- of GC to DF t- with tone 2. But, this inferred system is not necessarily valid in other series.
GC d- appears as the palatalized initial in DF. The rules above do not apply to GC at-. The meaning of the listed form of AMD is LINE instead of STRAIGHT. They are sure to be cognate to the GC shape, but it is still unknown whether the discrepancy is genuine or whether there is another form for the verbalized item (STRAIGHT).

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>k-</td>
<td>akas</td>
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<td>g-</td>
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<td>gyu</td>
<td>gi(DF, AB)</td>
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<td>Ngyo</td>
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<td>g-</td>
<td>Ngur</td>
<td>gůg(DF:H)</td>
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<td>g-</td>
<td>agyur</td>
<td>gůg(DF: H)</td>
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<td>(rgy-</td>
<td>k-y-</td>
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<td>koyana</td>
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<td>skr-</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>skru</td>
<td>dāri</td>
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<td>kr-</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td>krok</td>
<td>hakto</td>
<td>SCRATCH</td>
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</table>

Velar correspondences look more complicated than the
other stops, but the following seems to be tentatively valid as rules (capital P stands for 'prefixed', not neutralized p-):

<table>
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<td>h-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pk(y)-</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#kh-</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>f-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P)g(y)-</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#ky-</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>fly-/ch-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In WRITE, we have GC sky- : DF f- : AB k-. Comparing the three, DF form is found to be fairly remote from the others in terms of rhymes. GC and AB seem to be direct cognates and DF may have another origin.

GC #kr- corresponds to DF h- and AB j-. The way of innovation of AB reminds us of the fact that GC kr- is realized as [kRok] where R stands for voiceless flap r.

Alveolar affricate series show the following correspondences:

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The most doubtful set is found in BRING: GC tsam, DF[Y] sato, jåguinetò, dutchâto, DF[T] sato, jåguinetò, döchâto, AB la-shå. From the structure of correspondence, DF[T] döchâto is the most reasonable, however, the recognition of cognate is fragile here.

Alveo-palatal affricates have the following sets:

Besides the examples listed above, we have KILL(GC Ncha, DF jengmarato) and LOW/THIN(GC kchen, DF kotch). If these are
cognate, the chart should be revised.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>AMD</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>AMD</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ser</td>
<td>aroto</td>
<td>SEARCH</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>set(AO)</td>
<td>KILL</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>θ-</td>
<td>asa</td>
<td>um</td>
<td>THREE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sas-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>mamb</td>
<td>besa</td>
<td>HEAR</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>za</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>EAT</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>hom</td>
<td>gomsato</td>
<td>YAWN</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>syi</td>
<td>sito</td>
<td>DIE</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy-</td>
<td>sh-</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>sodin</td>
<td>FLESH</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psy-</td>
<td>sh-</td>
<td>psyit</td>
<td>shut(AO)</td>
<td>KNOW</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zy-</td>
<td>sh-</td>
<td>zyu</td>
<td>ashi(AO)</td>
<td>SAY</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mzy-</td>
<td>sh-</td>
<td>mzyit</td>
<td>shut(AO)</td>
<td>FALL</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The correspondences revealed in the fricatives are quite straightforward. As for the rhymes, the -i/-u- alternation is seen in several items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>AMD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(P)s-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P)sV-</td>
<td>sh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-</td>
<td>g-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only discrepancy is found at THREE, where GC s- has θ- as the counterpart in AMD(AB Hiri DF[T] um, DF[Y] am). Mikir carries a dental at the initial and almost all the Chin and Bodo-Garo languages show this correspondence.
The following rules seem to be induced:

```
  GC     AMD
  m-     m-
  rm-    ) m-
  sm-    n/____i
            n-
  rn-    ny-/____i
  ng-    ng-
  mng-   ø-
  sng-   n-
  rng-   rn-
      ny-    ny-
  any-   nyo
  rny-   n-/____[/+front]
```

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As we have seen in THREE(GC ram:AMD um), AMD ð- initial correspondence is again observed in FIVE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>AMD</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>AMD</th>
<th>ENG</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r-</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>gërëpto</td>
<td>RISE</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ram</td>
<td>ræmputo</td>
<td>DRY</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>alapa, ål</td>
<td>GOOD</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rl-</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>rlam</td>
<td>lâm</td>
<td>SINK</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e-lik(AB)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>k-wen</td>
<td>wa-to, å</td>
<td>GO</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bh-</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>bhito</td>
<td>GIVE</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>k-yol</td>
<td>yål(AB)</td>
<td>MIX</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>yak</td>
<td>lakpå</td>
<td>ARM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The y- series show variety of correspondences, among which GC y- : AMD l- is typical one also common to GC vs. WT. The DF form for GIVE(bhito) may be a direct reflex of PTB *pe.
2.1.42 Rhymes

-a(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>AMD</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>DO, UNTIE, EAT, GOOD, DREAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>DEEP, ARM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-ég</td>
<td>EYE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-é</td>
<td>GREASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-at</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>VOMIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>DRY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>THREE, SINK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>HEAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-al</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>GO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>-år</td>
<td>SEARCH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-i(a)

| -i  | -i  | FOUR, DIE, SNEEZE, WATER |
| -i  | -ie | MAN |
| -i  | -e  | SIT |
| -ip | -ef | ANXIUS |
| -ip | -ep | BIND |
| -it | -i  | GIVE |
| -it | -ut | DROP, FALL |
| -ik | -i  | CUT |
| -in | -in | RIPE |
| -ing | -ing | BELIEVE |
| -ir | -árr | SQUEEZE |
| -is | -i  | TWO |

-u(a)

| -u  | -å  | LIGHT |
| -u  | -i  | DESCEND |
| -ur | -örr | BEND |
| -uw | -u  | DIG |

-e(a)

| -e  | -e  | BIG |
| -e  | -è  | FART |
| -e  | -u  | KNOW |
| -e  | -ù  | TEN |
| -en | -a  | GO |
| -es | -e  | BORN |
| -ey | -i  | SMALL |

-o(a)

| -o  | -o  | SEE |
| -o  | -au~ao | ASK |
2.1.43 Discussion

My intention in considering AMD was to check whether it had a directly comparable status to rGyarong and to seek good counterparts for sub-classification purposes. After the trial of establishing correspondence rules between the two, the desired end for the moment seems to have been successfully achieved. As a conclusion, we can say that rGyarong belongs to the same taxonomic level as AMD(Dafla, above all) in the historical framework as far as verb roots are concerned.
2.1.5 Summary

This section was designed to search for clues to locate rGyarong properly in the historical framework of TB through verb roots. As the first step, Written Tibetan was checked: rGyarong has been regarded by most scholars as one of the Bodish languages, and, because of the remarkable similarity to WT, no doubt was cast on their supposed special relationship. I noticed during my first attempt to reconstruct proto-rGyarong that rGyarong has several strata to account for; my tentative PG reconstructions looked much closer to PTB than to WT, which aroused my suspicions as to the validity of the generally accepted view of rGyarong’s genetic position.

After checking the correspondences between WT and rGyarong, we were led to conclude as follows:

Phonological ‘similarity’ does exist between the two, but consistent correspondence rules are hard to establish. Some selected words show noticeable similarity, but they do not merely correspond to each other but are rather identical in the two languages; these should be regarded as loans (probably from WT to rGyarong), which constitute the secondary “Tibetanized” stratum of rGyarong.

The relationship between PTB and PG was examined as a second step. I think I have established that PG is closer to
the reconstructed PTB forms in STC than are the PLB forms reconstructed in Matisoff 1972a and Thurgood 1977. In particular, the prefixal system of PG looks much closer to that posited for PTB than to the prefixes reconstructed for PLB. Because of poor textual data and the difficulty of analysis of verb structure as a whole, the field of the rGyarong verb was almost untouched. After the author’s first attempt to reconstruct PG, he accumulated more data through his own fieldwork in India and Nepal, so that more verb roots could be reconstructed more accurately. A comparison of his results with the PTB forms set up in STC led us to the following conclusions:

PG does have a directly comparable level in the field of verbs too; however, partial discrepancies are found and these are not negligible. Therefore, it is not so appropriate to try to relate PG directly to PTB, and an effort to set up some intermediate stages is needed in order to arrive at a precise sub-classification of this area of Tibeto-Burman.

Accordingly, other languages which would enable us to set up intermediate stage(s) between PG and PTB and to sub-classify this language properly were sought among the Chin and Bodo-Naga languages, Jinghpaw and Ch’iang. As a result, Abor-Miri-Defla (especially, Defla) seems to show the most
regular correspondences to rGyarong. The others do show some comparable phonological shapes and grammatical characteristics, but the overall regularity of their correspondences to rGyarong do not seem to me to be as striking as those between AMD and rGyarong.

I have thus been led to deduce that the most fundamental stratum of rGyarong is deeply related to AMD, onto which a secondary stratum of WT was overlaid through their long history of contact, especially due to religious influences. It is totally wrong to say that rGyarong is basically a Tibetan-type language onto which other strata were superimposed.

Now that a special genetic relationship between rGyarong and AMD has been posited, our next step should be to reconstruct proto-rGyarong-AMD for the whole lexicon and to compare the results with PTB. This would make a significant contribution towards a more accurate and detailed subgrouping of TB as a whole. However, the author would like to refrain from doing so at this stage, since, first of all, the main purpose of the present work is to analyze the verb system of rGyarong, and secondly, as was mentioned in 2.1.41, the currently available descriptions of AMD are defective in that they do not pay attention to tones. Unless this defect is remedied, further comparisons might be misleading.
Although the Dafla area, or NEFA in general, is now politically sensitive, I should like to attempt my own fieldwork and solve the problems mentioned above in the near future.
2.2 Comparison of Morphological Processes

This section is designed to grope for the origins of the affixing components of rGyarong. These affixes have been described in 1.Description, where I segmented the constituents of the rGyarong VP and specified their meanings and functions. The next step in our exploration will be to look into the affixes which participate in the long strings of morphemes in rGyarong VP's and to try to figure out their original meanings. For this kind of survey, it may ultimately be required to check the components with equivalent functions all through the Tibeto-Burman family on the basis of a good understanding of the structure of particular languages, but this seems to be beyond the author's capability at the moment. The comparisons in this section (as well as in 2.3) are, therefore, limited mainly to selected languages which maintain the comparable morphological shapes as affixes.

Even among those languages, the affixing mechanisms are not exactly comparable across languages. Some have a similar structure with separate morphological shapes, some have similar affixes but different systematic relationships among them, and others carry comparable shapes with distinct meanings or functions. In this section, these three types are all taken into consideration, but our attention will be directed primarily at the last type of case. Morphological cognates are traced whether or not semantic shifts have
2.2.1 Inner Prefixes

As mentioned above, the rGyarong root has the following general structure: \((C)C_1(G)V(C_f)\). This syllable canon is completely valid on the descriptive level. Historically speaking, however, the \(C\) in syllable-initial position can be regarded either as the lexicalized result of the younger prefixes immediately before the root (i.e. P4) or the parallels to the PTB prefixes. The lexicalized results were discussed in 1.2.44, and the others will be examined here in connection with the PTB prefixes set up in STC. They are \(s\)-, \(sy\)-, \(r\)-, \(k\)-, \(p\)-, \(m\)-, \(l\)- and \(N\)-.

2.2.11 The rGyarong prefix \(s\)- has three meanings: directive, intensive and causative. They are almost identical to the PTB system proposed by STC. The causative function has already been discussed in Chapter 1, and this causative \(s\)- at this position may be properly interpreted as the vestige of an older stage instead of lexicalized one, since a newer stratum of \(s\)- is productive at P4 independently.

As examples of \(s\)- with the directive meaning, we have the following two:
The GC form for POUND seems derivable from PTB *tuk, perhaps representing a variant without suffixal *-k, but STC does not reconstruct *s- for it. Generally speaking, rGyarong does not preserve the old directive prefix well, because it developed a new and sophisticated direction marking system at the P2 position.

Examples of intensive *- include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-cur(GK)</td>
<td>*s-kyur</td>
<td>SOUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-rak</td>
<td>*s-rak</td>
<td>ASHAMED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-min</td>
<td>*s-min</td>
<td>RIPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-re(GS)</td>
<td>*s-ring</td>
<td>LONG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words show a good correspondence, both of root and of prefix. STC reconstructed *s-rak and *árak for ASHAMED. The second form is persuasive in the Sino-Tibetan framework, and, in this reconstruction, *ár- should be counted as the initial. The rGyarong form is comparable to the first one.

Besides these three, we have another *- which is connected to physiological or body-related matters, such as GC s-khip(SUCK) and s-kye(BE BORN). Although STC does not reconstruct *s- for these lexical items, this *- in rGyarong seems to be a direct daughter of the TB *s- ‘animal’ prefix, which, in turn, is realized as an ‘animate/body’ prefix in rGyarong.
The GC s- in BE BORN could be ‘directive’. The sy- prefix is a newly-developed derivation from s- or *s-(e.g. sy-pak THIRSTY, sy-dar FEAR).

### 2.2.12 Prefix r- is found in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r-ngo</td>
<td>*r-ngaw</td>
<td>FRY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-tehu</td>
<td></td>
<td>CREEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-chi</td>
<td></td>
<td>WASH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-do</td>
<td></td>
<td>MEET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-dzik</td>
<td></td>
<td>CUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-gik</td>
<td></td>
<td>RUN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-ko</td>
<td></td>
<td>POUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-ko</td>
<td></td>
<td>LIE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-so</td>
<td>*r-sang</td>
<td>DREAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-nyi</td>
<td></td>
<td>SLEEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-was</td>
<td></td>
<td>GET UP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-wak</td>
<td></td>
<td>HANG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-na</td>
<td>*r-na</td>
<td>LISTEN/EAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-ni</td>
<td>*r-ni</td>
<td>RED</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The r- prefix seems much more common in rGyarong than in TB as a whole. Mikir also makes more use of r- than the others (JAM). Wolfenden as well as Benedict define TB *r- as a general directive prefix. But, the examples above seem to contain both directive r- and non-directive r-. For instance, WASH and GET UP can be segmented as r-chi and r-was, where r- functions as the causative marker. MEET, SLEEP, HANG and LISTEN as well seem to belong to this group. r- in RED is unclear.³⁰) Needless to say, if we consider that ‘causatives’ and ‘intensives’ are both special cases of the directive meaning, Wolfenden’s argument is correct. But, what I pointed
out here is still not 'general' directive meaning. For prefix r-, see 1.2.442 and 2.2.215.

2.2.13 Prefixing component GC p- is observed in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-ka</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>FULL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-ka</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>WIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pkap</td>
<td>bsgabs(WT)</td>
<td>COVER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pkor</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>CARRY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psyit</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>THROW/SPIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pram</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>DRY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptshik</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>BEGIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptshir</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>SQUEEZE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pki</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>HIDE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of these has a directly comparable form so far reconstructed for PTB; only in COVER do we have a cognate in WT. Wolfenden suggests that PTB *b- represents 'acting subject' (Wolfenden 1929:33ff). This idea originates in the fact that some Bodo-Garo languages have b- as an independent 3rd person pronoun as well as prefix. In STC, on the other hand, Benedict claims that PTB *b- and *m-(as a pronominal element) are widely confused (STC: 111). If this is correct, rGyarong p- could be also compared with PTB *b-, since GM has mA as a 3rd person pronoun (cf. 1.4.1, Kin P'eng 1957: 77). The p- in pka (BECOME FULL) is a likely candidate.

However, it should also be noted that this p- functions as an explicit causative marker in some examples. A typical example has been shown in 1.2.213. GC has pram and kram for
DRY, and, with testimony of another dialect of rGyarong, the prefix p- is hypothesized to be a causative morpheme.31)

2.2.14 The following four have k-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k-ram</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>DRY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-wen</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>COME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-sur</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>FRY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-te</td>
<td>*stay</td>
<td>BIG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Benedict states (STC:113) that prefixed g-~k- as an adjectival (or verbal-noun) prefix is found in rGyarong, e.g. kesik(NEW). This k- in the example is kA- discussed before in this paper, which does not particularly mark adjectival but simply signals VP. Rather than that, we had better regard the k- in DRY (not adjectival) and BIG as 'intensive' and that in COME and FRY as 'directive'. Wolfenden interpreted WT g- as 'directive', and rGyarong k- seems to be parallel to this, although no cognate pair has been found.

2.2.15 We have the following with prefix a-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-zyit</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>FALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-jal</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>MEET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-phar32)</td>
<td>*par</td>
<td>SELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-sam</td>
<td>bsams(WT)</td>
<td>UNDERSTAND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-to</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>SEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-na</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>RECOVER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-phat</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>VOMIT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the examples, MEET and SELL seem to be loans from

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WT(\text{WT} a\text{j}a\text{WT} MEET, \text{WT} a\text{pha}r INTEREST: cf.#141 and #252 in 2.1.1) and they will be omitted from our discussion. The other lexical items than these two are all 'durative' or 'intransitive', which coincides to PTB *m-(STC:117). Wolfenden believes (Wolfenden 1929: 26-27) that WT a- as 'neuter' subject is opposed to b- and ' as 'acting' subject. This opposition is observed in not only WT but also TR: m\text{\text{An}a}m STINK vs. p\text{\text{An}a}m SMELL(cf.5.Appendix and STC:117ff). In rGyarong, however, such a beautiful pair has not yet been found. The only pair which we have figured out is m-ne(RECOVER) vs. s-ne kik(REPAIR). GC m\text{phat}(VOMIT) can be compared with JG(2) m\text{phat}, ai(cf.#140) or JG(JAM)\text{phat}, where a- or n- functions the same way as in GC.

2.2.16 rGyarong has prefix l- as shown in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lmo</td>
<td>*mow</td>
<td>MOVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ltep</td>
<td>*tap</td>
<td>FOLD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cf.WT lteb'ldeb'ldab)

Neither of these PTB forms is reconstructed with a prefix in STC and it is fairly hard to specify the meaning of l- from only two examples. As STC points out(STC: 109), JG has la- for PTB *r- in some words. If this phenomenon could be applied to rGyarong(no evidence so far), the l- may be regarded as a derivative of *r-, which functions as 'direc-
In this respect, NW le-thy&-ye(FOLD) is noteworthy.

GC le(NOVE) has an allofa ra, symo(SHAKE)(cf.#282 & 283 in 2.1.1). Both are apparently connected to PTB *mow and are distinguished to each other by the prefixes. Prefix sy- is, as stated above, derived from PTB *s-(causative); in this particular context, it may be possible to hypothesize that 1-marks intransitive. This assumption, however, does not work in FOLD. So, for the moment, it would be safer to define this prefix tentatively as directive.

2.2.17 Prenasal prefix N-33) is also observed in the following rGyarong words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GC</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nbop</td>
<td>sbom</td>
<td>SWELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ncha</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>KILL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nche</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>CHOOSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nde</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>FLOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ARRIVE34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nthen</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>PULL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntsip</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ANXIOUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nbar</td>
<td>'bar</td>
<td>BURN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ncham</td>
<td>'chom</td>
<td>JUMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In three examples where GC N- corresponds to WT ' -, the prefix seems to be directly related to PTB *a- of acting subject. The meaning of N- in the others is unclear. rGyarong has */?a/ for the prefix for kinship terms, which cannot be connected to them directly. STC states that 'TB *a- was the PTB 3rd pronoun corresponding to *nga(1st) and *nang(2nd),

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whereas in PTB times prefixed *m- had already become an old 3rd person pronominal element' (STC: 123). In rGyarong, however, the 3rd person *m- survived as mÅ or wy, and so N- is still hard to relate to STC's argument.
2.2.2 Outer Prefixes

Unlike the roots themselves and the prefixing components within the roots, those before the roots (i.e. P1 through P4) seem to be newly-developed products. The PTB root is considered to have had a general structure such as \((P)(P)C_i(G)V(:>C_f(s), while, for example, Lahu, as another extreme, has a CV + T(tone) structure; other Tibeto-Burman languages are located somewhere between the two in terms of root canon, developing their own compensations for the loss of any affixing components in PTB.

As we have seen in the previous section, rGyarong has a rather simple shape of root, but it has developed a variety of outer prefixes as the compensation. In this section, we will investigate the original meanings of these constituents through comparison.

2.2.21 Direction Markers

Most Tibeto-Burman languages have some methods to indicate the direction of action or state that the verb names. However, the ways of indicating such notions are quite various and scattered: some languages have directive affixes, some indicate the directionality by auxiliary verbs, and in some others, the order of verb concatenation specifies the direction. In this section, some languages with an affixal directive system will be examined. They are Written Tibetan,
Ch’iang, Trung, Ao, Lotha, Lushai, Laizo and Mikir. Among them, Ch’iang has the closest structure and morphological shapes and consequently is the basis of comparison.

2.2.211 Before looking for the cognates in other languages, let us summarize the rGyarong systems. In GC, there are four affixes in the horizontal level, three in the vertical level, and two for general purposes. The affixes in the horizontal level are **ro**(FRONT), **re**(BACK), **ku**(SEAT OF HONOR) and **ni**(LOWER SEAT), and those in the vertical level are **ko**(UPSTREAM), **to**(UPHILL) and **no**(DOWN). Downward movement is specified by **no**, both DOWNSTREAM and DOWNHILL. General purpose affixes include **yi**(GENERAL MOVEMENT) and **ne**(GETTING BACK). Among these affixes, the etymology of **ro**, **re** and **yi** has been clarified in 1.2.252 and 1.2.232. The others seem to be connected to adverbs. Corresponding adverbs of place or direction are **haku**(FRONT), **hani**(BACK), **hato**(UP) and **hane**(DOWN). Only **ko** is left unrelated; this may have split from **haku**.

In other dialects of rGyarong, the system is slightly different. The following list shows it:
The Paslok dialect of rGyarong (Wen Yu 1943:12) has four directives: tA(UP), na(DOWN), ko(FRONT) and dA(BACK), which represent the simplest directive system described so far. As shown in 1.2.212, GC to(UPHILL) and no(DOWNHILL) are used for a general UP/DOWN contrast in GC. The probability is that the Paslok system of UP/DOWN is older than GC and GC later developed newer differentiation in terms of STREAM and HILL. Paslok ko indicates FRONT and SEAT OF HONOR contrast while dA specifies BACK as well as LOWER SEAT. It can be assumed, therefore, that ko and dA(ku and ni/di in GC) were the FRONT/BACK markers in older stage of rGyarong, and, after GC’s adoption of ro and re which seem to originate in verbs, they were shifted into a more specific framework of social distinction.

The Suomo(GM) dialect of rGyarong (Kin P’eng et al. 1958:97-104) shows an intermediate stage between Paslok and GC. GM has identical components to Paslok and ro and rA have been added.
The following illustrates the differentiation of these morphological shapes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paslok</th>
<th>GM</th>
<th>GC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tA(UP)</td>
<td>to(UPHILL)</td>
<td>to(UPHILL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na(DOWN)</td>
<td>na(DOWNHILL)</td>
<td>no(DOWNSTREAM/DOWNHILL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko(FRONT)</td>
<td>ko(UPSTREAM)</td>
<td>ku(SEAT OF HONOR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dA(BACK)</td>
<td>di(DOWNSTREAM)</td>
<td>ni/di(LOWER SEAT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>re(BACK)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.212 Ch’iang is the only language that carries a directly comparable system of directives to rGyarong. Wen Yu (1943:13-14) lists the following as the prefixing components of the Li-ping(LI) and Lo-fu-chai(LF) dialects of Ch’iang.

- **LI**
  - UP: te
  - DOWN: hhen
  - OUT/FRONT: she
  - IN/BACK: ji
  - LEFT: dzii
  - RIGHT: de

- **LF**
  - UP: tU
  - DOWN: hha
  - OUT/FRONT: sii
  - IN/BACK: je

More detailed descriptions on the T’aop’ing(TP) and Mawo (MA) dialects of Ch’iang are presented by Sun Hongkai (Sun 1981a and 1981b). Prefixing directives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA(Dir.&lt;Adv.)&gt;</th>
<th>TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up</td>
<td>tA &lt; ti:q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down</td>
<td>a &lt; qAli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstream</td>
<td>nyu &lt; nyucha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downstream</td>
<td>sa &lt; khsyAcha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uphill</td>
<td>kuA &lt; kuAcha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downhill</td>
<td>thi&lt; thiucha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back</td>
<td>dzA(TOWARDS SPEAKER)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out</td>
<td>thA(AWAY)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sun 1981b:36) (Sun 1981a:113-115)
The UP/DOWN markers are of almost identical in four dialects while others show some complications. Among them, LI she and LF sii seem to be cognate to TP sI; LF dzii to TP zI, and LF de to TP da. The others are hard to trace.

Besides these forms listed, Luhua dialect of Ch’iang has y as a locative marker (Sun 1981a:37). For example,

\[\text{ti da qhsu.}\]
\[(\text{TA-y})\]
\[\text{Up-LOC PFT jump}\]
\[(\text{Someone}) \text{ jumped up.}\]

Wen Yu’s ji and je(IN/BACK) are regarded as being connected to this locative marker, y.

As Sun says (Sun 1981b:36), it is rather apparent that Ch’iang directives are derived from the adverbs of place as shown in the list above for MA.

Comparing these Ch’iang directives with those of rGyarong, we can point to the following four as the direct parallels:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{GC} & \text{MA} & \text{TP} & \text{LI} & \text{LF} \\
\text{Up(hill)} & \text{to} & \text{tA} & \text{tA} & \text{te} & \text{tu} \\
\text{Upstream} & \text{ko} & \text{kuA} & \text{te} & \text{de} & \text{(right)} \\
\text{Lower seat} & \text{mi/di} & \text{di} & \text{de} & \text{(right)} & \\
\text{General} & \text{yi} & \text{-y} & \text{ji} & \text{je} & \\
\end{array}
\]

2.2.213 Trung(TR) shows a partial parallelism to rGyarong and Ch’iang. From Sun’s description, we can pick up the following:
lung= UP(Sun 1982:117)
dza?= DOWN(ibid.:116)
ra' TOWARDS SPEAKER(ibid.:113)
di\ AWAY FROM SPEAKER(ibid.:115)

All these are postpositional, and in this point, they are grammatically separate from rGyarong or Ch’iang. However, the phonological shapes of them except for UP seem to be coincident with each other. TR dza?(DOWN) is cognate to CH[MA] dza(TOWARDS SPEAKER); TR ra'(TOWARDS SPEAKER) is GC ro(FRONT); TR di\(AWAY FROM SPEAKER) is to GC ni(di is a free variation for ni), GK di(DOWNSTREAM) and CH[MA]thiu(BACK). Mikir -lot-(DOWN)(Wolfenden 1929:167) or lut(ENTER)(Grüssner 1983) as well as Lushai(LU) l'o-(TOWARDS) may be related to TR lung(UP), but the genetic relationship of these to rGyarong seems to be less intimate.

Taruang, which seems to be closely related to Trung as well as to Ch’iang, has a slightly different system. According to a recent monograph, this language has the following:

-dza' uphill ~ upstream
-tiu= downhill ~ downstream
-bi' horizontal in general
-na= getting back

(Sun et al. 1980:208)

Sun lists -bong' besides these four, but it is doubtful that it is a directive(possibly AUX?). The UP/DOWN contrast is not so directly connected to Trung, but, as far as their morphological shapes are concerned, they have direct cognates in either Trung or Ch’iang. GETTING BACK na= is a comparable
form to GC ge.

2.2.214 The Bodo-Naga and Chin groups have complex sets of directive affixes as Wolfenden pointed out. We can pick up the following as morphological parallels to rGyarong (see 0.6 for primary sources).

Ao(AO) has the following six direction markers as postpositional affixes:

- ket  UP
- zak  DOWN
- ok   MOVEMENT IN GENERAL
- syi  OUT
- dak  AGAINST
- tsa  dative marker

Among these, -ket is a possible parallel to rGyarong ko(UP), and AO -dak is to CH(TP) da\(DOWN\), possibly to GC no/na(DOWN). AO -zak(DOWN) seems to be related to WT gzags(FALL), as well as to TR dza\(=\)(2.2.213), and the AO dative marker, -tse, to CH[MA]dza(TOWARDS SPEAKER). AO -sya (OUT) is cognate to CH[LI] she, [LF] sii and Lotha -ci-(OUT).

Besides l\=o- which seems to be related to TR lung\(=\)(UP), Lushai(LU) has ron-/ran-(TOWARDS). This affix implies rather a general movement than specific directions. Zahao(LSI) rak and MK -r-/ro-/ro will be considered as cognates to the LU form as well as to GC re and ro.

Zahao maintains two more comparable shapes with rGyarong: hon(UP) and h\=e (GENERAL). The former is apparently cog-
nate to GC ko(UP) and the latter is to GC yi. According to JAM’s personal communication, Lahu(LH) has e as the cognate to GC yi. LH e means AWAY, which originates in *ay which was once a full verb meaning GO: e.g. AT e(DIE + AWAY = PASS AWAY). Dafla also shows a comparable shape: -tA-(UP THERE) and -b|-(DOWN THERE)(Bor 1938:222). Bor defines these two as locative markers and does not show any further analysis. However, these seem to be analyzed as t-é and b-é respectively and é would be regarded as the locative marker, while t- and b- as directives. If this segmentation is correct, é will be identified as a cognate of GC yi-. In connection with this, Bor describes tēsa(MAN OF/FROM THE NORTH) and bēsa(MAN OF/FROM THE SOUTH)(Bor 1938:227). In these examples, the -é can be interpreted either as a locative or as a genitive, which is also parallel to GC.

Osburne shows, however, a different directive system for Zahao(=Laizo Chin:LA)(Osburne 1975: 164-170). She lists the following six as the directives:

- Horizontal: rā, vā, feq
- Vertical: rūngR, vūngR, hūngR

Osburne analyses that r- means TOWARDS SPEAKER while v- implies AWAY and, in combination with ā(HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT) and ōng(VERTICAL MOVEMENT), they can specify six different directions. She does not give any detailed view on feq and hūngR, but these are parallel to bē and hōn in LSI’s Zahao.
Following Osburne’s interpretation of this formative system, LA ʒ- and h- seem to belong to the same phoneme—probably /h/ which is realized by [f] before front vowels—, but the semantic field of the consonant in contrast with r- and v- is not clarified. The author guesses that h- is rather neutral and general in terms of the TOWARDS/AWAY concept. If one more guess is allowed, rā and vā seem to come from *req and *veq, although the origin of -q is unknown.

Siyin <i>hong”kong</i>(UP) is also identified as a cognate to LA ḥungr(UP) and GC ko(UPSTREAM).

2.2.215 Written Tibetan (WT) maintains a set of directives as prefixes. They are g-, d-, s-, r- and l-. Backed up by ample examples, Wolfenden defines the meanings of these prefixes as follows:

- **g-**  
  to, into, towards
- **d-**  
  (with contact) against, upon, to, into, over  
  (without contact) at, towards, out, forth, away
- **r-**  
  general direction into the condition or state named by the verb root itself, or  
  action to, towards, for, etc., an indirect object
- **s-**  
  together, or general direction
  (Wolfenden 1929:40-46)

Among these, the rGyarong cognates to WT s- and l- are found not as the prefixing components before the root (outer prefix) but as a part of the root (inner prefix).³⁷ We have only two examples for the directive s-: GC s-tsu(POUND) and s-khet (PUT OUT). This s- seems to be comparable to Wolfen-
den's 'general direction'. GC has ʟ- manoeuvre and ʟ- fold as roots with ʟ-. Wolfenden lists WT lteb-ldebc-ldeab (FOLD) as examples (ibid.: 45), and the GC form is a direct parallel to it. The meaning of rGyarong ʟ- is also defined as 'together' for this item. The other GC ʟ- may belong to 'general direction'.

Looking into ɡ-, d- and r-, the differentiation in their meaning is not so clear as far as Wolfenden's interpretation is concerned. Since ɡ- and d- are in complementary distribution, let us figure out what distinguishes r- from (g- d-), and vice versa. Judging from the examples listed by Wolfenden, we can agree that (g- d-) indicates a general 'approach' while r- connotes a more specific or concrete direction in terms of the interaction between the agent and the action the verb itself names. So, the next question would be how specific or concrete r- is.

The following is the list of selected lexical items from Wolfenden 1929: 43-44:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WT</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rgyugs</td>
<td>RUN, RUSH AGAINST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgyab</td>
<td>HIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgol</td>
<td>FIGHT AGAINST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rduq</td>
<td>STUMBLE OVER, DESTROY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdung</td>
<td>BEAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdeg</td>
<td>BEAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdeb</td>
<td>THROW DOWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rko</td>
<td>DIG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rnga</td>
<td>MOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rtol</td>
<td>PIERCE, BORE INTO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rmo ~ rmed</td>
<td>PLOUGH IN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rma</td>
<td>WOUND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rten</td>
<td>FACE TOWARDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rkam</td>
<td>LONG FOR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wolfenden divides these words into two groups: the first group above the blank line includes verbs 'with contact' and the second one verbs 'without contact'. It will be noticed, if we look for any common semantic feature that they share, that those verbs in the first group imply a direct, immediate and intense effect on the patient while those in the second group connote a strong subjectivity. In this respect, r- is distinct from (g-~d-) if we talk about these prefixes as directives within Wolfenden's framework.

However, the author has doubts about Wolfenden's argument itself which tries to treat all these r- examples as directives. Let us check the following pairs. The verbs in the left column are from Wolfenden's examples while the words in the right column are those to which I would like to call attention.

(1) trag STUMBLE OVER sdug AFFLICTION
(2) trag BEAT mdung SPEAR
(3) rgko DIG bsko APPOINT
(4) brtson STRIVE FOR brtson EFFORT
(5) rngam PANT FOR rngam EXCITEMENT
(6) rmed ~ rmo PLOUGH IN rmed CRUPPER

In (1), (2) and (3), each item is distinguished by prefix. Dictionaries do not list the forms without prefixes as separate entries, each pair seems to share the same root.
In (1), *dug means something like internal conflict, which becomes AFFLICTION with the bodypart prefix s- while STUMBLE OVER with r-. Similarly, mdung(SPEAR) turns to SPEAR SOMEONE > BEAT with r- in (2). The words in (3) are sharing *ko, which appears to connote a spatial point: the hypothetical root goes to APPOINT if it is with the general directive, s-, and to DIG, if with r-. *ko may be connected with kong(CON-CAVE) or khung(HOLE), although the finals remain unsolved.

In (4) through (6), the verbs on the left have the identical forms to the nouns on the right. If the verb forms were original, the nouns would be suffixed by -pa/-ba, but this is actually not the case. So, the verbs (4)~(6) must be derivations from the corresponding nouns. For instance, (6) CRUPPER > PUT CRUPPER to a yak > PLOUGH. Since these verbs have no additional markings to signal their verbhood, we are led to hypothesize that they already carry a sufficiently distinctive marker for verbs, which is r- in these cases.

A deducible meaning of r- from these examples is not 'directive' but 'verbalizer' or 'causative'. We know that some Tibetan verbs prefixed by '- in the intransitive require (g-"d-) or s- for the transitive and that a certain limited number of verbs take r- or l- in place of s-. The r- in question seems to be identifiable with the r- which appears for s-. Therefore, we should bear in mind that Tibetan prefixes may have the double functions of directive and
transitive converter.

Now, what about their relationship to rGyarong directives? Because of various kinds of vowel insertions in the rGyarong side, it is hard to trace it directly, but as far as the initial consonants are concerned, the following would be summarized as acceptable assumptions on the basis of the discussions above:

1) WT d- corresponds with GC to(UP/UPHILL).
2) WT g- corresponds with GC ko(UPSTREAM).
3) WT r- split into GC ro(FRONT) and re(BACK).
4) WT l- and s- are comparable with the lexicalized l- and s- in the GC roots.
5) GC no, ni and ne have no counterparts in WT.

2.2.216 As described above(1.2.1), aspect is marked by nA-(PFT) and Ø(IPF), and the perfect marker and directives are in complementary distribution, which means the GC directives have double functions. This sort of mechanism is observed elsewhere only in the Mawo dialect of Ch’iang(CHMA)). For instance, JUMP shows the following contrast:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF qhua</td>
<td>to jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST daqhsu</td>
<td>(Someone) jumped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST + DIRECTION tAqhsu</td>
<td>(Someone) jumped up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sun 1981b:38)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFT is marked by da- and, if the direction should be specified at the same time, an appropriate directive chosen from those listed under 2.2.212 takes the place of da-.
is exactly the same as GC. In other dialects of Ch’iang, however, directives and aspect marker co-occur in a VP. In the Luhua dialect, for example, a directive occurs first, followed by LOC, -i, and aspect marker, da. Thus,

\[ kui-da-qhsu. \]
\[ (kuA-i) \]
\[ uphill-LOC-PFT-jump \]
\[ (Someone) jumped up (towards the top of hill). \]

(Sun 1981b:37)

In this case, LOC marker -i, accompanies the directive kuA (UPHILL), which consequently is interpreted rather as a full noun than a directive particle.

The origin of GC nA has not been figured out yet. However, with the assistance of its parallelism to Ch’iang, we may speculate that the aspect marker and the directive of DOWN might be cognates. In Ch’iang, da appears both as the directive of DOWNSTREAM or AWAY and as the PFT marker. If this association of the two semantic fields in Ch’iang can be projected to rGyarong, GC nA was presumably a directive which represented DOWN. GC ng(DOWN), ni(LOWER SEAT) and ne(GETTING BACK) are initialed by the dental nasal: so, these three n-initialed directives are assumed to have originated in the same morpheme—probably nA—and differentiated later.

Hayu has a postpositional -ts as the PFT marker (Michailovsky 1982:Chap.3), but the marking system of aspect is not directly comparable and it is difficult to recognize it as the cognate to Ch’iang da or rGyarong nA (cf. the Ch’iang...
2.2.22 Adverbial Affixes

This sub-section deals with the adverbial affixes at the P4 position. As discussed in 1.2.4, some of them are lexicalized in accordance with the devoicing of their vowel, some behave as unitary roots, and others function as independent and productive units. The origin of these affixes will be pursued in the subsequent pages through all the types of their occurrences.

2.2.221 Causative Markers

rGyarong has four different causative markers at P4 position: §A-, syA-, rA- and wa-. Among those affixes, sA- is from PTB *s-, which is a widespread causative marker in Tibeto-Burman languages that we need not discuss anew here. The only thing to note about this would be that, even though not particularly closely related to rGyarong itself, some Tibeto-Burman languages have dental-initialed causative markers in place of the original *s-. For instance, Trung has both §U\ and tU\ (Sun 1982:101-102) and Rawang has da (Barnard 1934:14). Lotha Naga’s tok seems a cognate to them. This dental is apparently parallel to WT d-. In WT, the causative in the present form is characterized by either (g-"d") or s- ("r-"l").
rgyarong has developed a newer causative marker ґyA-, which specifically means HELP...DOING. Because of this limited range of application and the complementary distribution with ґA- in terms of function, it would be proper to regard ґyA- as a derivative from ґA-. This sort of differentiation is observed in rawang: rawang has da- and shA- as causative markers and they both can theoretically be used for any causative formations to the same extent (Bernard 1934:114), but, actually, shA- seems to show up with a higher ratio when beneficiary is expected in the sentence.

Some other languages such as jinghpaw and Ch’iang[MA] have the sibilant-initialed causative marker only: there is no s-initialed one. JG carries rA-, but this is an allomorph of ґyA- (Anonymous 1959:30). -zyI is the causative marker in Ch’iang[TP] (Sun 1981a:111).38)

rA- is the next topic to discuss. As the typical example of causative, we have ka-chak vs. ka-rA-chak (FEW vs. DECREASE) and ka-kram vs. ka-rA-kram (DRYadj. vs. DRYvb.). Judging from these formative processes, rA- as a causative marker in a narrow sense is a productive unit.

This rA- is a direct cognate to r- as a part of roots, such as r-wak (HANG), r-was (RAISE UP) and r-do (MEET), and consequently it is parallel to PTB *r- and WT r- too.

In Dimasa cited by Wolfenden (1929:116), -ґA- is a productive element to convert verbs to causative ones. For
example, EAT is converted to FEED by putting -rî: jî vs. jîrî. Although this is a postpositional, this could be a cognate to GC ra-.

The last causative marker is wa-, which mainly converts nouns and adjectives into verbs. I have not found any direct cognates, but, from its function, Dimasa pâ- can be identified as the closest cognate to GC. In Dimasa, we have a beautiful contrast, reing(DRYadj.) vs. pâ-reing(DRYvb.) (Wolffenden 1929:117). GC kram(DRYa.) vs. wa-kram(DRYvb) are exactly parallel to the Dimasa example above.

As was mentioned under 1.2.313, kram and pram represent an interesting formation. In the proto-rGyarong stage, *ram used to be the root of DRY(adj), and it seems to have become k-ram(VI) and p-ram(VT) in the Tsha-kho dialect of rGyarong (Trhako's information). In GC, on the other hand, both kram and pram remained as adjectives and are distinct from each other by virtue of the semantic domain they occupy. On the descriptive level, pram is semantically marked since it is exclusively used for airing of clothing and books.

To convert these two into verbs, GC needs mainly ra- but sometimes wa- as the causative markers before kram and pram.

Besides Dimasa cited above, Trung also has a good pair: pâ-nâm(SMELL) vs. mâ-nâm(STINK) (STC:117). The GH dialect of rGyarong shows mâ-nâm which corresponds with TR mâ-.
nam (SMELL); unfortunately, however, SMELL in GH is not recorded. Mikir pe-'pi-', Angami Naga pA-(JAM) and Empeo pe- are the causative markers and would be the cognates to GC wa-.

As far as the prefixing element in the root is concerned, p- is recognized as the counterpart of m-; e.g. payit DROP : mzyit FALL.

2.2.222 Automatic/Uncontrollable Act Marker

In GC, mA- serves to specify an automatic or uncontrollable act, and VOMIT, TWITCH and FEEL PAINFUL usually require mA- as a part of unitary roots. Parallel examples are observed in Jinghpaw and Ao.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>JG</th>
<th>AD</th>
<th>WT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SMELL</td>
<td>mA-nam</td>
<td>ma-nam</td>
<td>me-nem</td>
<td>mnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROW</td>
<td>ma-dem</td>
<td>ma-ni</td>
<td>me-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAUGH</td>
<td>ma-ni</td>
<td>ma-ni</td>
<td>me-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOFT</td>
<td>mA-no</td>
<td>ma-ni</td>
<td>me-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOMIT</td>
<td>mA-mphat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>manyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOVE</td>
<td>mA-lmo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEEL PAINFUL</td>
<td>mA-rtsap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of the correspondence of SOFT, these four languages are linked together in terms of the prefix. Wolfenden states that 'the Kachin verb forms in ma- which normally constitute a class of intransitives descriptive of unchanging conditions... naturally show the same tendency as the m-verbs of Tibetan'(Wolfenden 1929:76). These instances except for GROW seem to satisfy Wolfenden's definition. STC proposes 'intransitive, durative, reflexive' as the definition of PTB.
at hand, it is fairly hard to trace the history of this affix.

The origin of na- is also obscure. GM has the same morpheme which covers the following three meanings: 1) repetitive act, 2) PRETEND TO DO, and 3) USED TO. In all the cases, the root should be reduplicated (Kin P'eng et al. 1958: 82), while GC does not require it at all. If 3) of GM is the oldest meaning of this affix, it can be connected to the aspect marker, nA-. Taruang has -da' as the repetitive act marker (Sun 1980: 207). Taking into consideration the correspondence of GC n- : TR d- in their directives, this Taruang form seems to be cognate to GC.

2.2.225 Objectivizer

GC objectivizer sa- (cf. 1.2.35) as well as GM sa- (Kin P'eng et al. 1958: 83) with the identical function are closely related to WT s- and PTB *s-. Wolfenden states, 'In [WT] verbs of class (b) -s- may be regarded as definitely directive towards an indirect object which is external....Verbs descriptive of sentiment or feeling towards external objects or conditions naturally occur here' (Wolfenden 1929: 46). The verbs in our data and Kin P'eng's materials are those of emotion: although the roots themselves do not correspond in the examples listed by Wolfenden, the meaning of the prefix coincides perfectly. In STC, this meaning is named
\textsuperscript{m-} (STC:117), which seems more appropriate for the interpretation of GC \textsuperscript{m-}; FEEL PAINFUL is rather reflexive and MOVE is considered as being durative.

SMELL and VOMIT show an interesting re-prefixing. The \textsuperscript{mA-} and \textsuperscript{m-} of VOMIT can be regarded as belonging to the same prefix: \textsuperscript{mA-} is a newer stratum while \textsuperscript{m-} is older, which may be an vestige of older stage or a lexicalized prefix. SMELL has \textsuperscript{m-} as a part of root prefixed by \textsuperscript{mA-}, the progressive marker, which functions in this case to specify that the act of SMELL is rather stative or durative.

2.2.223 Mutual Act Marker

Mutual act is marked by \textsuperscript{nga-}. Kin P'eng describes it as expressed by \textsuperscript{nga} + reduplicated roots (Kin P'eng et al.: 1958:82-83). In GC, however, no reduplication occurs. There is no direct cognate in other languages to this at the moment. Trung has the mutual act marker, \textsuperscript{a\textbackslash}(Sun 1982:103), and this affix functions also as the repetitive act marker.

2.2.224 Repetitive Act Markers

GC has two repetitive act markers, \textsuperscript{ra-} and \textsuperscript{na-}. As for the origin of \textsuperscript{ra-}, we can consider three possibilities: 1)PTB *r- as a directive, 2)causative marker \textsuperscript{rA-}, and 3)another verb root. Looking into the sentence examples of 1.2.33, however, none of them are directly connected to the prospective cognates. Since no similar affix in other languages is
'intensive'.

2.2.226  Progressive/Reflexive Marker

These two meanings are expressed by nA-, which is identical to the perfect marker. As mentioned in 2.2.216, nA- is probably cognate with no-/na-/ni-(which share the meaning of DOWN) and, considering their complementary distribution with other direction markers, *nA- at the proto-rGyarong stage used to be the 'macro-DOWN' marker. After it split into five nasal-initialed forms---more detailed and sophisticated directives with marginal vowels were differentiated from it, nA- has become exclusively the aspect marker. Progressive and reflexive are a sort of aspect, and it does not seem so unnatural that nA- was adopted as the marker of them. The meaning of this affix before 'macro-DOWN' is still unknown.

Just as a model, it may be suspected that nA- has a pronominal origin. We have no positive and convincing evidence for the hypothesis, but one example from Dafla gives us a clue. Dafla as described by Hamilton has the following PFT markers (Hamilton 1900:26-27 & 33):

1) The general formation of PFT is ROOT * t * numma or ROOT * n * bå.
2) For the 1st person, it should be ROOT * t * numma. For example, kat-t-numma. 'I have seen'.
3) For the 2nd person, the suffixing component must be -n-na. This usually occur only in the interrogative sentences.
This -ng can be regarded as the cognate to GC nA- because of the identical function and initial consonant. Looking at the pronominal system of the both languages, we are led to speculate that the affixes are from the 2nd person pronoun. Similarly, the -b in 1) may possibly be connected to PTB *m-, which stands for the older 3rd person pronoun.

The speculation above seems to be supported by the Monpa data. Monpa has -na as a perfect marker. Thus:

jang shilong-gei u-na.
I Shillong-from come-PFT
I have come from Shillong. (Das Gupta 1968:40)

This suffix also means "habit and custom"(ibid.:40), which is parallel to the fact that GC nA- is both perfective and progressive. Now, the more interesting thing is that this language has the identical form for 2nd person pronoun. Das Gupta lists the following:

1SG  jang
1PL  ashi
2SG  nan
2PL  nashi
3SG  dan
3PL  dashi (Das Gupta 1968:26)

From this chart, 2SG pronoun is segmented as na-n and 2PL as na-shi; therefore, the na- may be identified as the 2nd person nucleus. If this argument is reasonable, Monpa gives us a clue for the origin of rGyarong aspect marker nA-.

A counter-interpretation to my idea mentioned above is
to regard this nA- as a reflex from PTB *na(COME TO REST, ALIGHT ON, DWELL; cf. STC#414) (>WT gnas pa, BU nā, LH nā etc.). The meaning of DWELL fits well with that of progressive. At the moment, however, we have no strong evidence to decide which is correct.
2.2.3 Pronominal Affixes

We will, in this sub-section, look into the pronominal affixes of rGyarong in the Tibeto-Burman framework. As for pronominalization in general in the T-B languages, Bauman's extensive work (1975) has given us a good perspective; so, we shall pay more attention to the particular phenomena in the rGyarong pronominal components.

Here, we do not deal with the 'inner prefixes' which can historically be regarded as having pronominal characteristics. See 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 for them.

2.2.31 Review of the rGyarong system

From the description under 1.4, we have found the following:

1) The paradigm of pronominal affixes for intransitive verbs is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P3</th>
<th></th>
<th>S2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(kA)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>(kA)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>(kA)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>tA</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DL</td>
<td>tA</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Nch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>tA</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(kA)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL</td>
<td>kA</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>kA</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) Transitive verbs require the following if the patient is not expressed by a personal pronoun:

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3) Transitive verbs which cause so-called "object agreement" where both agent and patient occur in the form of pronouns (or of full nouns which can be expressed by personal pronouns), show the following affixational pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P3</th>
<th>S2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>tA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DL</td>
<td>tA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>tA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL</td>
<td>wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>wu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3rd person patient agreement is identical to 2), except for the S2 affix of the 2ndSG agent.

2.2.311 It seems meaningful to try at this stage to rearrange these paradigms as the basis of historical analysis.

First of all, it should be noted that rGYarong has two strata of pronominal affixes. It is true that the affixes of
P3 and S2 behave and function as a set, but their historical
distribution is very clear-cut: P3 is occupied exclusively by
affixes which originate from demonstratives, while S2 is
filled by those with a pronominal origin.

The S2 affixes are straightforwardly derivable from the
independent personal pronouns which are comparable to the PTB
ones, and they may be regarded as strictly pronominal and
postpositional.

The second point is that the S2 affixes in 1st and 2nd
person(DL, PL) indicate number rather than person. Recall
that -Nch(2DL) and -ny(2PL) are generated from -ch (1DL) and
-y(1PL) by adding n- which signals 2nd person. Contrary to
this, 3rd person is usually marked by zero, which is very
natural and universal(personal communications of WLC and
JAM). Only when a VP is set in the causative, the S2 of 3SG
is occupied by -w, specifying the 3rd person agent. This -w
comes from wy, a demonstrative(not personal pronoun) for non-
1st person, and it also appears at the S2 of 2SG in paradigm
2).

Thirdly, we must take note of the structure of the
pronominal affixes. In 1.4.311, the structure of configura-
tion 3) was shown. The following illustrates the structure of
patterns 1) through 3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P3</th>
<th>S2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI 1) state/process</td>
<td>ptt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) action</td>
<td>agt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT 2)</td>
<td>agt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) ptt. + agt.</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We read this chart as follows:

a) There are two sets of affixing patterns (agt. - agt. and ptt. - ptt.).

b) The affixes at P3 and S2 have the same features (i.e., we do not have such a combination as ptt. - agt.).

c) On the basis of type 3), the combination of ptt. - ptt. may be assumed to be the basic stratum.

d) With intransitive action verbs, ptt. is switched to agt., since no patient is present. The same thing happens in type 2).

e) So-called subject-object agreement is realized by inserting the agt. marker into P3 of the basic stratum.

f) From the fact that S2 is predominantly occupied by the affixes of personal pronoun origin and from the insertion processes at P3 of type 3), S2 is inferred to represent the oldest pronominal phenomenon in rGyarong.

On the basis of the reinterpretation above, let us proceed to the comparison of this morphological process with that in other languages such as Jinghpaw, Rawang, Kiranti, Hayu and so on. Our sources are the same as those indicated in 0.6, unless otherwise noted below.
2.2.32 Intransitive Verb Affixes

2.2.321 1st person singular affixes

rGyarong preserves two different kinds of affixes: kA- for P3 position and -ng for S2, among which kA- is optional and usually occurs with non-process/stative verbs. -ng is always mandatory as the suffixing component regardless of its function (either agent or patient marker).

Most of the Tibeto-Burman pronominalizing languages carry either a velar stop or a velar nasal as the 1st person suffix and some have it as the prefix. In Chepang, Bahing, Hayu, Tiddim Chin, Rawang and Jinghpaw, for example, suffixal -ng(V) is found, while, in Kham, nga- is prefixed. A velar stop affix is found in Bunan -ki, Manchati -gu, Kanauri -bge (these three cited in Bauman 1975:197) and Lushai ka-. It may be hard to tell which of them represents the original status of 1SG, but, given the fact that Bunan, Manchati and Kanauri, which have velar stop affixes, have a velar nasal as their independent personal pronoun, Bauman set up -nga as the original pronominal marker of 1SG agreement (ibid.:197). The optionality of GC kA- according to the semantic domains of particular verbs seems to supply good support for his hypothesis. This characteristic as well as the GC distribution of kA- (prefix) and -ng (suffix) also substantiates that the -nga should be established as a suffix.
2.2.322 Dual Marker

The rGyarong duals in the 1st and 2nd persons are marked by -ch and -Nch respectively, where -ch exclusively signals the number of dual (not person). The 2DL marker is further analyzed as -N-ch; the -N- comes from the 2nd person pronoun. Bauman pointed out, "for dual and plural subjects agreement is generally for number only, and not person," citing rGyarong, Rawang and Bahing materials (Bauman 1975:194). It is true that, in Rawang and Bahing, the dual of 1DL and 2DL is marked by -syi or -si with nothing else. Hayu as well is considered to belong to this group: 1DL (inc.) -tshik and 2DL -tshik. As far as GC of rGyarong is concerned, however, his hypothesis does not seem to apply, since 2DL is signalled by the combination of 2nd person marker and dual marker although it is apparent that -N- is a later innovation.

2.2.323 Plural Marker

The rGyarong plurals in the 1st and 2nd persons are labelled by -y and -ny. Exactly parallel to the dual marker, -y marks the number of plural and -n- in 2PL signals the person. Unlike the dual marker, this plural marking is so pervasive that almost all the pronominalized languages in Tibeto-Burman carry the shapes of -y or -i as the plural suffix, again except for Kham (ge-). This plural as well as dual marking system usually applies to the 1st and 2nd person
only, but, in Hayu, -i appears in 3rd person too:

1PL(inc.) -ke < *ka-i~y
2PL -ne < *na-i~y
3PL -me < *ma-i~y
(Michailovsky 1982:110) (Nagano)

These morphemes seem to me to be derivable from the dissyllabic compounds asterisked on the right.

2.2.324 2nd Person Forms

The 2nd person in rGyarong is characterized by tA-n. As discussed in 1.4.312, the tA- originates from te, the demonstrative which specifies 'non-proximal' things, while -n is cognate to nA, the 2nd person pronoun. Since in rGyarong the S2 position is predominantly located by the affix whose origins are personal pronouns, tA- with a demonstrative origin always stands at P3. This syntactic constraint applies all through the rGyarong pronominal affixes.

Dual and plural markers simultaneously appear with person marking: -Nch(2DL) and -ny(2PL). Bauman sets up the following as the prototype intransitive verb agreement system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-syy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-syy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chart is based on the idea that person marking is realized in the singular while, in the dual and plural, only number marking occurs. But, looking into Bauman's own lists (ibid.:192-193), that idea is proved wrong. For instance,
Chepang shows the following affixational pattern (ibid.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Affix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>&lt; -ng-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL(inc.)</td>
<td>-tayhca</td>
<td>&lt; -tayh-ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL(exc.)</td>
<td>-ngca</td>
<td>&lt; -ng-ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(inc.)</td>
<td>-tayhi</td>
<td>&lt; -tayh-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(exc.)</td>
<td>-ngi</td>
<td>&lt; -ng-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>&lt; -te-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DL</td>
<td>-te- -ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-te- -y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems obvious that person markers co-exist with number markers. The rGyarong system shown above also indicates the co-occurrence of both markers. Therefore, I feel it is more appropriate to hypothesize, on the basis of the same data as Bauman used, that those pronominalized languages chose obligatory items from the following sets in accordance with the structure of the particular languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person marking</th>
<th>Number marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st *-ng(V)</td>
<td>1st *-n(V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd *-n(V)</td>
<td>SG *-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DL *-sy(V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL *-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next topic to discuss is tA. This morpheme, as exhaustively studied by Bauman, has a non-pronominal origin but now plays a crucial role in specifying the 2nd person category, either as an affix or as a part of an independent pronoun. However, not all the T-B pronominalized languages have #te (Bauman’s tentative reconstruction) as affix. Comparable affixing patterns to rGyarong are observed in Rawang, Limbu, Chepang and Tiddim Chin, among which Rawang is the closest. Thus:
Since the E at the sentence final is an auxiliary verb of statement, this has nothing to do with our present topic.

Let us compare the RW pattern with that of GC.

$$\text{RW}=\text{NU} t_{B3} \quad \text{GC}$$

$$\begin{align*}
\text{2SG} & \quad E \quad -\quad \emptyset \quad tA \quad -\quad n-\emptyset \\
\text{2DL} & \quad E \quad -\quad \text{shi} \quad tA \quad -\quad N-ch \\
\text{2PL} & \quad E \quad -\quad \text{ning} \quad tA \quad -\quad n-y
\end{align*}$$

Although RW last the dental stop, it seems acceptable to assume that E is cognate to e(r), a demonstrative, and originated from *dE because, in such compounds as dEni(TODAY) (Bernard 1934:8), the demonstrative with d, instead of er, occurs. The RW 2nd person is marked by the prefix E-(< #te) and the number is indicated by the suffixes of number only (with non-pronominal meaning), while, in GC, the set of affixes(tA---n) characterizes 2nd person and -\emptyset tells the singular. But these two systems are exactly parallel in that the #te-originated morphemes specify the person as the prefix and number markers appear as suffixes.

Chepang, cited in Bauman 1975:193, carries the same morphemes as RW, but it is different from the other two in that -te occurs as suffix(2SG) or infix(2DL, 2PL). In addition to this, Chepang has -te as suffix in its independent personal pronouns too.
In connection with Chepang te, Bauan criticized Caughley and Caughley 1970 where they claimed te to be a 2nd person pronoun. Bauan listed the following sentences which disproved their argument (Bauan 1975:204-205ff.):

1SG-poss. grain-te eat-will-3SG
You will eat my grain.

If that is what you say, ..... 

Bauan tried to prove by these examples that their interpretation left unexplained the occurrence of te on non-2nd person forms, and, as far as his statement is concerned, I completely agree with him. But this te contains more than that; let me point out that this te has nothing to do with pronominal matters. This morpheme functions as an NP boundary marker, which is exactly parallel to Tibetan te. Presumably the te in Chepang also originated from a demonstrative (IT or THAT), which seems have turned to an NP-marking particle through the loss of its own accent. If this guess is correct, the history of Chepang te is comparable to GC tA- which marks substantivals (vs. verbals signalled by kA-).

A language with an identical morphological pattern to Chepang and RW (as well as rGyarong), but with separate phonological shapes, is Limbu.
Although it is fairly hard to trace the history of kh-, the fact that there is regular substitution of kh- for the #te forms in other languages seems to allow us to speculate that the older shape descending from #te in Limbu was taken over, at some stage where a drastic syntactic change happened, by kh- which originally indicated 1st person.

Jinghpaw and Tiddim Chin have #te form as suffixes.

JG
2SG -nd
2PL (-myitd)

TI
-TE?
-_=u?_TE?

(Bauman 1975:193)  (Henderson 1965:109)

From the facts discussed above, the 2nd person forms may be historically interpreted as follows:
1) The oldest stratum of 2nd person form was *-n(V), and
2) the number markers (SG *-Ø, DL *-sy(V), PL *-y) were concurrent participants with *-n(V).
3) Along with the development of the #te element (from its demonstrative characteristics to pronominal function), it took over the original pronominal unit, *-N(V).

The results of these completed changes are typically observed in Chepang, Rawang and Limbu; rGyarong is located somewhere in the stage 3) since it still preserves *-n(V).
2.2.325  3rd Person Forms

The 3rd person in rGyarong is primarily marked by zero. Nothing appears at S2 position whether the sentence is singular or plural. In the Tibeto-Burman pronominalized languages, Rawang has the same system, in which there is no affix to mark the 3rd person. This tendency seems natural and economical since most utterances are in the 3rd person (JAM).

Some languages such as Hayu, Limbu and Jinghpaw show the following patterns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hayu</th>
<th>Limbu</th>
<th>person marking</th>
<th>number marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL</td>
<td>-tshik</td>
<td>-cii</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-me</td>
<td>me-</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jinghpaw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>person marking</th>
<th>number marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-må</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These three languages have -må as the 3rd person marker in the plural only. This morpheme is directly related to PTB *mA and rGyarong (SM) mA, the 3rd person pronoun. The reason why it occurs at 3PL only is unknown, but it may be assumed that:

1) at the PTB stage, *mA was the independent pronoun as well as the affix for marking 3rd person;
2) but in its latter function, it tended to disappear for reasons of communicative economy;
3) in some languages, it survived at a marked position (3PL).
Another matter we should discuss is the $k\alpha$- prefix in rGyarong. The prefix appears mainly in non-singular 3rd persons and is identical to the 1st person marker discussed under 2.2.321. This identity is really problematic. A possible explanation is that this morpheme has something to do with the $k$- element for 3rd person retained in the Tibetan group. Maybe so, but the author feels reluctant to think along those lines, since the overall picture of rGyarong pronominal morphology strongly suggests an affinity with #Nungiah (=JAM’s naming:1980b:55), East Himalayish and Chin and consequently it seems unnatural to take Tibetan evidence with respect to this particular slot only.

A second interpretation would be that, on the basis of the fact that the 1st and 3rd person pronominal affixes are partly merged among some Assam Hills languages (Bauzan 1975:162-164), the zero marking for 3rd person in rGyarong was later patched up by adding the $k\alpha$- prefix at P3 position (S2 is still zero). Because of the lack of ample syntactic data on other rGyarong dialects than GC, this interpretation still remains speculative, but this seems much more persuasive than the first explanation in the light of the whole structure of this language and the morphological parallelism to the languages mentioned above.

Such 'patching' processes are actually going on in contemporary rGyarong. Recall the paradigm in 1.4.2, where we
have -Nch and -ny bracketed at 3DL and 3PL. These two affixes are from 2DL and 2PL and are now becoming ensconced in the zero slots of 3rd persons. Although they contain -n-, the 2nd person element, they function just like the number markers for 3DL and 3PL. The morphemes for those slots are very unstable even with the same informants, and I could not determine any consistent rules for their occurrence.

2.2.33 Transitive Verb Affixes(1)

If the patient (or goal or beneficiary) is not expressed by a personal pronoun, the affixing system of GC appears as indicated below (cf. 1.4.32 and 2.2.31):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P3</th>
<th>S2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>-ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>-ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>tA-</td>
<td>-w(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DL</td>
<td>tA-</td>
<td>-Nch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>tA-</td>
<td>-ny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1st person affixes are almost identical to those for the intransitive pattern where optional kA- occurs at P3 if the verb represents non-process/statative meaning. Here, on the other hand, P3 is strictly zero; this seems to connote that this affixing pattern is original for 1st person series, and that kA- was added later to mark intransitive action. Although the morphemes are totally separate, Hayu described
by Hodgson (cf. Bauman 1975:302) lists marked affixes for active intransitive verbs, which may be from a similar notion of verb morphology.

The 2nd person pattern is also the same as the intransitive one, except for S2 of 2SG, where -w(u), instead of -n, occurs. As discussed under 1.4.312, wu is a pronominal element of demonstrative origin and covers the non-1st person domain. So, it may appear at S2 of 2DL and 2PL, but actually does not: this inconsistency is left unexplained.

In connection with this, it should be noted that the imperative requires this pattern. From this fact, the following may be inferred:

1) In most imperative utterances, the patient is presupposed by the speaker even if it doesn't appear in the actual sentences,

2) S2 position is occupied by the ptt. indicator in the agt.- ptt. agreement pattern (see below), and so, the occurrence of wu suggests that the imperative calls for patient agreement.

3) Because 2SG is of the highest frequency in imperatives, wu is realized at S2 of 2SG only.

4) However, this inference does not apply to the imperative of transitive action with 1st person patient.

A parallel example of the appearance of wu is observed in Jinghpaw.
Unlike rGyarong, Jinghpaw has -wu consistently in the imperative. JG -u is also found as the 3rd person causative agent marker, which is comparable to GC. Therefore, JG non-1st imperative affixes are acting as agent markers and JG has a neutralized agent for imperative. If this interpretation is correct, GC wu and JG y represent different systems and functions although they are apparently cognate to each other.

Wolfenden noticed this fact a long time ago and tried to trace this wu in the 2nd person series. He states that 'the usual 2nd person wu of this series seems to have originated from the 3rd person by confusion' (Wolfenden 1929:91). But, isn't it essential for us to propose a probable reason for that confusion?

The 3rd person affix is wu, and no number markers appear.

Primarily rGyarong 3rd person marking is zero, and no affix with a personal pronoun origin occurs. With intransitive verbs, ka- appears at P3 position; similarly for wu- with transitive verbs. ka- can be regarded as one of the two velar-initialed personal pronouns which are kept in Tibeto-Burman languages; nga is used both as an independent pronoun...
and as a pronominal affix, while the use of kÀ- is limited to the pronominal affixing only.

In the descriptive part of this paper, we hypothesized that this wú is from a distal demonstrative, aided by the contrast of sy-tÀ(THIS) vs. wú-tÀ(THAT). In other languages, however, wú is found as an independent personal pronoun or as an intransitive 3rd person affix. Chepang and Hayu cited by Bauman(1975:274 & 301) have the following as independent pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chepang</th>
<th>HY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>?o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL</td>
<td>?onis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>?olam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wu does not occur as an intransitive affix in either of them, but it does in their subject-object agreement systems. Limbu (ibid.:286) also has wú as an element of its compounded independent personal pronouns, where wú is realized as long vowel -uu- in post-consonantal position:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>khuunee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL</td>
<td>khuucii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>khuuncii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the examples discussed above, Jinghpaw holds wú for the future, future perfect, past and optative(ibid.:278), where wú becomes u after Ø.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fut./fut.per.</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>opt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-maru</td>
<td>-manu</td>
<td>-malu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, \textit{wu} is a widespread morpheme for the 3rd person pronominal affix in other languages. On the basis of the existence of the same consonant in demonstratives (e.g. JG \textit{wa THAT}), it is hypothesized that the morpheme is from a demonstrative, but, as Bauman claimed (ibid.:135), \textit{wu} (<#u) may be considered as the counterpart of #i, the inclusive marker. It is natural that the inc./exc. distinction was an extension of the basic dichotomy between THIS and THAT.

2.2.34 Transitive Verb Affixes(2)

If the patient (or goal or beneficiary) is or can be expressed by a personal pronoun, another affixing system works in rGyarong, with one exception: in the 3rd person patient series, where the patient is totally unmarked and we thus find the same pattern as with the transitive verb affixes (1) discussed above (2.2.33), the -w of 2SG is replaced by -n.

In the 1st and 2nd person patient series, the following pattern has been determined:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agt.</th>
<th>ptt.</th>
<th>forms</th>
<th>proto-forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>kÅW---ng</td>
<td>*kÅ-w---ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>wU ---ng</td>
<td>*kÅ-w---ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>kÅW---ch</td>
<td>*kÅ-w---ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>wU ---ch</td>
<td>*kÅ-w---ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>kÅ ---y</td>
<td>*kÅ-kÅ---y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>kÅW---y</td>
<td>*kÅ-w---y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wU ---y</td>
<td>*kÅ-w---y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>tÅ ---n</td>
<td>*tÅ-kÅ---n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>tÅW---n</td>
<td>*tÅ-w---n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The general structure of these affixes is P3[ptt.] * (agt.)---S2(ptt.), and, on the basis of this mechanism and parallel historical shift of the components, the asterisked forms in the right column were reconstructed in 1.4.313.

Bauman, supported by abundant data from various sub-groups, proposed the following proto-type transitive verb agreement system (singular only):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subject</th>
<th>object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bauman 1975:247)

This chart is agreeable as the fundamental pattern, from which each language deviated by developing its own innovations. Indeed, the rGyarong system of S2 is straightforwardly explained by this chart, and the number markers overlap with that. Therefore, the next question is, what language has a comparable system to rGyarong’s P3, where we find a combination of demonstrative-originated affixes specifying who does what to whom. To simplify the discussion, let us start by examining the singular agreement. We do not know of any language that has exactly the same system as rGyarong, so we must extend our search to systems in which the agent and
patient are syntactically arranged in a similar way to ṢGyā­rong.

Looking through the materials available to us, we find that Rawang and Limbu display somewhat related systems.

Bernard (1934:26) shows the following as the agreement paradigm for Rawang:

| 1>2   | Ø—-ng   |
| 1>3   | Ø—-ng u |
| 2>1   | E—-ng a |
| 2>3   | E—-u    |
| 3>1   | E—-ng   |
| 3>2   | E—-Ø    |
| 3>3   | Ø—-u    |

From this paradigm, we may be able to deduce that,

1) the 1st person affix is always -ng regardless of its syntactic function,
2) the non-1st person agent is E-, which appears as prefix,
2') when 3rd>3rd agreement occurs, the E- above is deleted to avoid confusion with the 2>3 agreement, and
3) the 3rd person patient is -u(3rd), while that of 2nd person is zero.

Roughly speaking, the general structure may be sketched as follows:

1st agent Ø—-ng-qtt.
otherwise agt.—-qtt.

Although the places of occurrence are different, the syntactic arrangements of agt. and qtt. are exactly parallel to ṢGyārong. The 1>2 agreement does not apply to this scheme, but our interpretation of the discrepancy is that the 2nd
The ptt. marker (Bauman's #te form or *-n) exists underlingly or is in the process of formation.

As mentioned above, [[[ptt.]] + [agt.]]-[[ptt.]] is the general structure of rGyarong agreement, where we have two patient markings, one preposed and one postposed to the verb root. Rawang, on the other hand, marks patient agreement only suffixally. The RW system is sufficient for its purpose and economical, while that of rGyarong is redundant. By comparison with the RW pattern, we infer that rGyarong had developed a RW-like system first, and the ptt. at P3 secondarily. When we recall the conservatism of the suffixing component of [ptt.], which derives from the independent personal pronouns, this inference does not seem to be off the mark.

Limbu, cited by Bauman 1975:245, has the following as 1st and 2nd object agreement units:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2&gt;1</td>
<td>kh-</td>
<td>-ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&gt;1</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>-aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&gt;2</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>-nee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&gt;2</td>
<td>kh-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 2>1 agreement shows the same system as rGyarong and RW, but the others are quite different. However, -aa and -nee are possibly further segmentable, and if this can be accomplished, the internal structure of these affixes will be clarified.
2.2.4 Suffix -s

röyarong perfective -s appears right after the root of intransitive verbs of 'process' in the 2nd and 3rd persons. It might once have been a more productive element, but now its occurrence is limited as discussed above (1.3). As an affix, it is connected to WT -s which is regularly employed with perfect roots.

Just as with some prefixes, this suffix may be incorporated into the root, so that it is no longer segmentable as a separate morpheme. Looking into the GC roots ending with -s, we have the following four:

- khas ANGRY
- mis HEAR, UNDERSTAND
- rwas RISE, GET UP
- kyis SPEAK

We note that all these verbs are intransitive, but, unlike the verbs we find with -s at SI position, not all of them are process verbs, nor perfective. STC lists examples of the 'middle voice' -s in East Himalayish and Nung (Benedict 1972:98), among which we find Bahing bisg (BELIEVE). GC mis (UNDERSTAND) seems to be cognate to the Bahing form.

An example of a morpheme which descends from PTB *-s that functions as a more or less productive unit is found in Jinghpaw. As Nishida claimed, JG has two suffixes to convert roots to verbal nouns. They are täy and täy, of which the latter is exclusively used for PFT and is further segmentable as s-äy (Nishida 1960:29). The role of s is obvious and the
morpheme is directly comparable to WT and GC -s.

2.2.5 Ergativity: a morphosyntax

In 1.5, we reached the following conclusions in regard of the ergativity in rGyarong:

1) rGyarong is primarily an ergative language, where the agent (except 1SG) is marked by -ki when the sentence has an overt patient.

2) If the patient is topicalized by either -gA or -tA accompanied by a high pitch, the ergative marker does not occur.

3) In the sense of the previous two items, rGyarong belongs to the split-ergative category. This language does not have a 'mixed' system of ergative and accusative structures; the latter is not observed at all.

These items were deduced mainly from the viewpoint of case-markings. As Bauman pointed out (1979:419), Tibeto-Burman ergativity is manifested on the levels of nominal case-marking and pronominal agreement systems. In this section, therefore, rGyarong ergativity will be historically re-examined on both the overt and covert levels.

2.2.5.1 Nominal Case-marking

The morphological shape of the GC ergative case marker is strongly reminiscent of WT kyi-s and Sherpa ki. Its double
functions of ERG and genitive are also common to the other two languages, and so, they may be cognates. Bauman states,

"we can be only somewhat less sure concerning the PTB case-marking system, since we have no full and detailed comparison of case markers in the daughter languages. Nevertheless, it can be shown that one form, tentatively reconstructible as *ka recurs as the ergative marker throughout many subgroups; cf. Vayu ha, Jyarong ka, Thulung ke and Sherpa ki. Kachin gaw and Burmese ke, whose functions extend to marking topics, should probably be included also. (Bauman 1979:429)

However, I feel it risky to admit these morphemes as cognates on the grounds that they function as the ergative markers now, because, firstly, they are divided into two groups, i.e., one with front/high vowel and the other with back/low vowel, and consequently, if Bauman reconstructs *ka on the basis of these examples, some evidence of their being cognates should be given first. Secondly, those with back/low vowel may be labelled as some other grammatical unit---probably topicalizer, as Bauman himself suggested. For the moment, therefore, our discussion will be limited to rGya­ rong (our GC data) and WT which give us ample examples for our purposes.

2.2.511 Split in Tibetan

Since Csoma de Körös’s grammar, based on his long field study in Tibet and aided by his deep understanding of Tibetan traditional grammar, was published in 1834, Tibetan has been recognized by European scholars as an exotic language where
no passive formation is found. It was not until quite re-
cently that this "exotic" language was re-defined as having
ergative characteristics in the context of case-marking
typology. Unfortunately, however, we have had no monograph-
length paper devoted to Tibetan ergativity, and so we present
a rough sketch of it below as a first step. All the examples
here are transcribed from natural utterances of Rev. Sonam
Gyamtso(former fellow at the Oriental Library, Tokyo; now
residing in Oakland, California).

The ergative case of Tibetan is marked by kyis which has
five allomorphs(Tibetan transcriptions hereafter are in the
orthography):

-kyis  -gyis/m,n,r,l
-gi /g,ng
-yis /'___
-s /vowel___
-kyis/otherwise

This particle consists of two morphemes, kyi and s. kyi
is identical to the genitive marker and s is cognate to a
locative marker su which is from PTB *sa(LAND>41>. Recall
that rGyarong also has -s, besides -y, as a 'ablative' marker
meaning FROM. Because of this meaning of -s, the ergative
marker can express reason, cause, method, instrument and
material.

The distribution of ergative and non-ergative NP's in
the following examples seems to show the functions of this
instrumental/ergative particle:
He is going to India.

Iron changes to gold.

A guru changed iron to gold.

A child turned a wheel.

Sentences (330) through (333) are regarded as typical examples. Our next step is, therefore, to check how consistent this marking is. To do so with efficiency, we classify verbs into the following eight categories, aided by Tsunoda 1982:4AB, and look for good evidences in each branch:

a) action
   a1) action + process, such as KILL
   a2) action + process, such as EAT
   a3) action, in which you also expect the patient’s action towards you, such as WAIT, LOOK FOR

b) knowledge

c) sense

d) emotion

e) possession, and

f) potentiality.

As the example of a1), let us compare the following two:
(334) kho-s stag-gcig-∅ gsad-pa-red.
   He killed a tiger.
(335) stag-∅ shi-pa-red.
   A tiger died.

This pair represents a parallel contrast to (331) vs. (332) and constitutes a typical case. The examples of a2) show a complication. Thus:

(336) nga-∅ rtsam-pa-∅ za-gi-yin.
   I am going to eat tsaapa(roast-flour).
(337) kho-s mog-mog-∅ za-gi-'dug.
   He is eating meet-pie.

With the same verb and the same transitive structure, the ergative marker occurs in (337) while it does not in (336). A possible reason for this would be that the ergative marker originally appeared after nga but precise differentiation of auxiliary verbs neutralized ergativity in the proximal persons(usually 1st and 2nd). This neutralization tends to occur in the colloquial language and, indeed, when the informant writes down, -s does appear.

In the (a3) group, regular occurrence of ERG is observed. Examples are:

(338) nga-s zhul-lta-ma gcig-∅ btsal-pa-yin.
   I looked for a maid.
(339) kho-s mo-∅ sgug-pa-red.
   He has waited for her.
The verbs of knowledge also require ERG. Thus:

(340) `di-0 nga-s shes-kyi-mi-`dug.
this-0 I-ERG know-IPF-NEG-AUX:E
I don’t know this.

`di in sentence-initial position may be the old information carrier (see above), but, according to the informant, the sentence with nga-s first and `di-0 second is fully grammatical and `di-r(this-LOC) is not acceptable. In natural Tibetan speech, it is rather rare that A-NP and O-NP co-exist in a sentence, and we have no good data for ha go pa(UNDERSTAND), brjes pa(FORGET) and dran pa(RECALL).

The verbs of (d)emotion seem to require ERG. Thus:

(341) kho-tsho-s par-0 lta-gi-yod.
they-ERG photo-0 look at-IPF-AUX:E
They are looking at a photo.

(342) nga-s mo-0 mthong byung.
I-ERG she-0 see AUX:PFT
I’ve seen her.

(343) nga-s kho-i dbyin-ji sgra-0 go-gi-mi-`dug.
I-ERG he-GEN English pronunciation-Ø hear-IPF-NEG-AUX:E
I don’t hear his English pronunciation.
(cannot follow)

(344) nga-s kho-r nyan-pa-yin.
I-ERG he-LOC listen to-PFT-AUX:S
I listened to him.

The last sentence has ERG and LOC, instead of absolutive.

Examples of (d)emotion are:
I don't like work like this.

I need money.

No ergative marker occurs in (d). With gzhes(FEAR), ERG may not take ERG either.

I have money(lit. There is money to me).

Verbs of potentiality require a slightly different structure.

I can go to Lhasa.

With this kind of meaning, A-NP always occurs with absolutive case and is combined with IPF root *thub. Therefore, this seems to be irrelevant to our present concern.

On the basis of these example sentences, the following scheme, illustrating the semantic split, may be deduced:

a1) ERG - ABS
a2) ERG - ABS (& ABS - ABS)
a3) ERG - ABS
b) ERG - ABS
c) ERG - ABS & ERG - LOC
d) ERG - LOC & LOC - ABS
(ERG - ABS)
e) LOC - ABS
f) ??

What can be assumed from this chart is that groups (a) and (b) contain verbs of a 'high ergativity' with verbs of
the other classes showing progressively 'lower ergativity'; i.e. 'highly transitive' verbs which refer to highly 'transitive actions' show more consistently ergative characteristics. This fact seems to be very parallel to a universal tendency that verbs towards (al) are capable to establish transitive structure more smoothly while those towards (f) are less potential to do so (cf. Dixon 1972).

Thus, the Tibetan case marking system is sensitive to the meaning of verbs, and the phenomenon of ergativity is of limited scope in the language.

2.2.512 Split in rGyarong

Now, what about our rGyarong data? As far as an ergative marker is concerned, GC shows a consistent appearance of -ki after a transitive agent (except for 1SG transitive agent which always occurs alone).

Bauman states, "Jyarong also has a peculiarity in its use of case markers which appears to be tied to the behavior of different verbs" (Bauman 1975:223). And he lists the SM examples from Kin P'eng 1958, where the ergative marker occurs with 'You scold me' while it doesn't in 'You give me'. But this discrepancy originates not from the differences in the semantics of verbs, but from whether or not an overt patient co-exists in the sentence. 'Me' in 'You give me' is not, as I understand it, the patient.

This high consistency of -ki (including its consistent
absence at 1SG agent) seems to be related to the well-developed pronominal affix system, which will be discussed under 2.2.52.

2.2.52 Pronominal Affixes and Ergativity

If we call the ergative case particle 'overt', the pronominal affixes incorporated into final VP's to specify agent and patient would be said to manifest ergativity. We have no evidence for the moment as to which was first.

We have deduced the following general structure for the rGYarong system of agt.-ptt. agreement:

\[
P_3 \quad S_2
\]

\[
[\text{[ptt.]}-[\text{agt.}]] \quad \text{---} \quad [\text{ptt.}]
\]

So, if the pronominal affixing reflects ergative marking, there should be a regular correspondence between the ergative marker and the agent component of P3.

On the basis of Kin P'eng's data, DeLancey argues that "the distribution of the inverse prefix u- and the ergative postposition kA is the same; both occur when and only when the more natural viewpoint is not starting-point" (DeLancey 1981:642-643). The sentences he cited are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{no-kA} & \quad \text{nga} \quad \text{kA-u-nasno-ng.} \\
\text{you-ERG I T-inv.-scold-1st} & \\
\text{You will scold me.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mA-kA} & \quad \text{nga} \quad \text{u-nasno-ng} \\
\text{he-ERG I inv.-scold-1st} & \\
\text{He will scold me.}
\end{align*}
\]
DeLancey's discussion is the first one that pointed out the co-occurrence of rGyarong wu and ERG marker. His proper segmentation of P3 prefixes leads him to a successful hypothesis. Looking into our data, the inverse prefix wu is observed in the following (cf. 1.4.31 & 1.4.313):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agt.</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>ptt.</th>
<th>proto-forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2/3</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*kA-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(*2/3)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>*tA-wu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3>3 agreement is not listed in 1.4.31, but other data of mine show that ERG marker and inverse prefix wu co-occur.

From these facts, we hypothesize that rGyarong ergativity is a non-1st person matter. The 1st person never takes -ki nor does the inverse prefix for the 1st person participate in any ergative structure. This might be related to Bauman's argument that PTB ergative was for 3rd person only.

2.2.53 Topicalization

2.2.531 Topicalizer -gA

rGyarong has two topicalizers, -gA and -tA with a re-
markably high pitch, showing complementary distribution with the ergative marker. They are, if without high pitch, the NP boundary signals. Kin P'eng(1949) lists some interrogative sentences (cf. (129)-(133)) in which the patients are marked by -ko and Bauman regards this as accusative marker (Bauman 1975:249). In reality, however, this -ko does not occur anywhere else in Kin P'eng's materials, which makes us suspect that it carries some other function than accusative marking. This particle is indeed cognate to GC -gA as a topicalizer and it appears to topicalize patient(s) in his interrogative sentences. Note that, in Kin P'eng's examples too, ergative marker does not co-exist with -ko.

This -gA seems to be cognate to the velar-initialed particle in other languages cited by Bauman 1979:429 (cf. top of 2.2.51), and cooccurs with certain case-markers. Jinghpaw has gaw which marks the agent and phê (also phe gaw) which marks the patient. Bauman defines gaw as an ergative marker (ibid.), but this should be reinterpreted as a topicalizer, because the sentences without gaw are fully grammatical in Hanson's data (e.g. Hanson 1896:25-27) as well as in Maran's explanation (Maran 1975:9), and it can be used either for agent or patient marking.

According to Bernard 1934:7, Rawang has mer for nomina-
tive and hka for accusative. However, mer is also found in ablative and instrumental contexts, and is frequently absent from nominative NP's. hka, on the other hand, occurs in dative and locative NP's too. So, mer may be re-defined as an ergative marker, which parallels Tibetan in that the ergative signal is connected to the instrumental, while hka cannot be considered simply as the accusative marker. Bernard's materials do not show any pairs of topicalized and non-topicalized examples (ibid.:39-62), and we have no way to determine the role of hka at this stage. But we may speculate that it originally functioned as a topicalizer.

2.2.532 Ergativity, Topicalization and Pronominalization

In connection with the relationship between ergativity and topicalization, we have an interesting claim by Plank. On the basis of a variety of types of languages, he states,

"the accusative construction originates from the basic topicalization of the agent role in transitive clauses, and the ergative construction from basic patient-topicalization" (Plank 1979:15).

This principle seems to be relatable to the rGyarong agr. - ptt. agreement system. Compare the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VT(1)</th>
<th>VT(2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>[agt.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf.2.2.33</td>
<td>cf.2.2.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In VT(1) where no agreement occurs, both affixes carry the meaning of agent, while in VT(2), -ki marks ergative agent (which is also marked by a following pronominal affix).
At the same time, two pronominal affixes which specify patient echo each other. Especially, the patient marking at S2 which originates from personal pronouns is regarded as highly marked in contrast to other paradigms (also cf. 2.2.311), since the postpositional component of pronominal settings is the most essential synchronically and diachronically. In this context, the patient in the VT(2) paradigm may be interpreted as a 'grammaticalized topic' (cf. ibid.).

This interpretation is not necessarily what Plank had in mind, since his idea seems to originate from the syntactic order of ergative structures. However, rGyarong's long strings of morphemes in the VP are a sort of epitome of its syntactic philosophy, and Plank's suggestion has stimulating implications for our field.
Notes to Comparison

1) cf. STC pp.15, 51 & 89. Benedict considers this root to be found only in K-N, but JAM now thinks that this is a widespread TB root.

2) Chinese 买卖 (BUY) and 卖(SELL) show a parallel contrast.

3) cf. STC #220. JG ?wan(FIRE) seems to be cognate to this group, although the final does not match.

4) cf. STC #172.

5) cf. STC pp.19 & 51. Also PTB *b-yam.

6) cf. STC p.181. This form is from PTB *bok(WHITE). Also related to Chinese b'ak.

7) cf. STC #132.

8) cf. STC #258.

9) cf. STC #399 & p.83.

10) cf. STC #17 & p.19.

11) STC #298.

12) cf. STC #146. STC cites TR mreng.

13) JAM thinks LH the may go with this group.

14) TSR reconstructs PLB *N-^-?krak(TSR #99), which does not seem to be related to rGyarong.

15) STC #456 & TSR #63.

16) TSR #33.

17) STC #484.

18) cf. Thai jàak(JAM).

20) cf. STC #346. Also Dimasa ren. WT zhen may be related to this group.

21) cf. STC #64. PLB *C-tsik (JAM).

22) TSR reconstructs PLB *C-sik or *V-sik. The BU form is also listed as a reflex from it (TSR #126).

23) Also *mwiy (STC #196).

24) LH na. LH dâ? is a direct reflex from PLB *ndak.

25) JAM believes that LH gi is cognate to this BU form.

26) Many Kuki-Chin languages have the same suffix as this.

27) Since the rhymes have actually been checked in the section of initials, the rhymes section below (2.1.17-22) may not be so revealing.

28) This is parallel to modern Tibetan (dialects).

29) It is possible to assume this *-k is a suffix, but the correspondence, GC -Ø:PTB *-k, is not necessarily regular.

30) JAM thinks this to be 'intensive'.

31) Several TB languages (e.g. Angami Naga) have a p-causative prefix; JAM believes this derives from *biy GIVE.

32) cf. STC p.35, where both PTB and rGyarong forms are listed.

33) As mentioned in 0.5, GC has two different nasal prefixes: m- and N-. N- is assimilated by the initial while m- is not at all. JG has a parallel set: N- and mA-. These two prefixes are comparable to those in GC in terms of both
their phonological shapes and their assimilation patterns.

Note that JG ma- is sometimes from PTB *b- (e.g. FOUR:PTB *b-liy, JG ma-li). Also cf. 2.2.222).

34) This GC seems to be connectible to JG do.

35) LH la?(ENTER) is cognate to the MK and LH forms (JAM).

36) See below (Osborne's examples).

37) Through this comparison, my distinction of two layers of prefixes (inner and outer) is proved to be appropriate. Historically, the inner prefixes are older or inherited from PTB while the outer ones are innovations within rGYarong.

38) Cognate to LH ci.

39) JG te- functions also as the plural marker:

   1PL anhte
   2PL nanhte
   3PL shante

40) LH also has an imperative particle (final unrestricted)

   6-?(JAM).

41) More precise discussion seems to be necessary to determine that the -s in kyi§ is cognate to a locative marker, -su. Nishida (1957:44-45) claims that the -su as well as WT suffix -s~d are originally related to WT as(LAND).

42) JAM's lecture note (Spring 1979). There is no glottal stop in Hanson 1896.
3. CONCLUSION

In Chapter 1, we undertook a detailed description of the structure of verb phrases, among which VPfinal was most carefully analyzed. As a result, we have found that rGyarong verb roots do not have long consonant clusters as some scholars had thought; but the VPfinal consists rather of the combination of a relatively simply-shaped root and well-developed affixes. This proper segmentation is a contribution to studies of T-B verb structure, but, since we paid a great deal of attention to the morphological analysis, our syntactic description may seem somewhat brief. Although the morphosyntax of prefixes and ergativity have already been discussed, the relationships between verbs and the case-marking system, as well as the copula, have been left unclarified. These aspects of the language will be described in separate papers.

In Chapter 2, a comparative study was attempted in order to locate rGyarong with the T-B framework. My intention was to counteract the previous tendency of many scholars who, despite the fact that the majority of rGyarong words are not directly relatable to Written Tibetan, have regarded this language as a member of the Bodish group, because of the striking similarity of a minor portion of rGyarong lexical items to WT. Through this comparison, it has been suggested that rGyarong may be closely related to Abor-Miri-Dafla in
terms of verb root shapes and to Written Tibetan and some other neighbors (especially Ch’iang) in terms of morphological processes.

In the first part of our comparison, three types of targets were considered: WT, PTB and Abor-Miri-Dafla. WT has long been considered the closest to rGyarong although the numerical breakdown of shared lexical items showed that WT is far less intimately converted to rGyarong than had been thought. The author tried to determine the correspondence rules between the two, but in vain. It has become clear that only a very limited number of verb roots show similar shapes, some of which coincide completely (which means they are probably loans) while the others correspond to each other inconsistently. In almost all items in the latter group, similar forms are reconstructible for PTB as a whole; that is to say, the forms are pervasive through most T-B languages, and cannot be used to demonstrate any special relationship between WT and rGyarong. We conclude, therefore, that WT and rGyarong are fairly distantly related.

Two previous papers by the author claimed that Proto-rGyarong should be located at an unexpectedly close taxonomic level to Proto-Tibeto-Burman, but they were rather sketchy and a more precise check-up was done in this section. It now seems certain that, although PG is much closer to PTB than to WT, some intermediate historical stage must be established
between PG and PTB.

What language then is closest to rGyarong? From the comparative list (2.1.1), 'Kamarupan' languages (JAM's general term to include Bodo-Garo, Kuki-Chin-Maga and Abor-Miri-Dafla) have been recognized as showing noticeable correspondences to rGyarong. Since those in the first two groups appear rather sporadic, the last group, Abor-Miri-Dafla, was examined. The results of the systematic comparison of the verb roots, partially supported by nouns, shows that regular correspondence rules can be set up between AMD and rGyarong. As for the rhymes, the correspondences are not quite as neat as the initials. This point should be checked in the near future with respect to nouns as well as verbs. However, it is now certain that rGyarong and AMD are quite closely related and that, considering their long history of political and religious contact with Tibetans since the 9th century (outline in the Introduction), the rGyarong stratum that is directly relatable to AMD is more basic or original, while that connected to WT represents a latter superstratum.

In the second part of our comparison, various morphological phenomena such as prefixes, suffixes, pronominalization and ergativity were compared. The inner prefixes, adverbial prefixes and suffixes of rGyarong have been proved to be related to WT as well as PTB both in their general structure and in their particular morphological shapes. Among the outer
prefixes, on the other hand, the rGyarong directives are partially parallel to WT but mainly to Ch’iang, Trung and Rawang. WT does not have any pronominal affixes, but rGyarong has developed a complicated system of pronominalization; its parallels are also seen in Trung, Rawang and Kham. A comparison of ergativity was also attempted and, as far as the manner of ‘split’ is concerned, rGyarong is found to be similar to Jinghpaw and Rawang in that the ergative marker and the topicalizer are interconnected. The directly comparable phonological shapes among these morphemes are, however, observed in many other languages.

Morphological processes of this kind (except for inner prefixes) can easily be borrowed or can be developed independently, and so, it seems difficult to regard them as powerful evidence for genetic relationship. In fact, AMD has few parallels of this sort to rGyarong.

On the basis of this evidence, let us think about the position of rGyarong in the sub-classification of T-B. As a starting point, the views of three scholars will be summarized below:

Shafer’s classification of rGyarong will be schematized as follows (Shafer 1966/67):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T-B</td>
<td>Bodic</td>
<td>Bodish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burmic</td>
<td>West Himalayish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baric</td>
<td>West-Central Himalayish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karenic</td>
<td>East Himalayish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bodish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taangla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rGyarong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gurung</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rGyarong is located in the Bodish section and given a branch under it. It does not seem to me appropriate to put Tsangla, rGyarong and Gurung on the same taxonomic level as Bodish. Especially, Tsangla does not belong here, as Nishida pointed out (Nishida 1968).

Benedict (1972) proposes seven principal nuclei for TB; Tibeto-Kanauri, Bahing-Vayu, Abor-Miri-Dafia, Kachinish, Burmese-Lolo, Bodo-Garo and Kuki-Naga: Tibeto-Kanauri is further divided into Bodish and Himalayish, and the latter is classified into Kanauri subgroup and Almora subgroup. rGyarong is located in Bodish. His view may be clarified by the schematic chart of S-T groups on the next page.

This chart looks strange since everything radiates from Kachin, and, despite his classification (STC:4-11) summarized above, rGyarong is placed in the chart as the neighbor of Burmese-Lolo. As far as Kachin and rGyarong are concerned, they do have certain important characteristics in common, though it is hard to say at this stage to what extent these simply reflect a common TB heritage, or to what extent they point to an especially close genetic relationship. The question mark after rGyarong is also meaningful.
Schematic chart of ST Groups
(STC:6)

Sino-Tibetan

Tibeto-Karen

Chinese

Tibeto-Burman

Karen

Tibeto-Kansuri

Lepcha

Bahing-Vayu

Newari

Abor-Miri-Dafla

Kachin

Gyarung(?)

Burmese-Lolo

Konyak

Luish

Taman

Kuki-Naga

Mikir

Meithei

Mru

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Nishida proposes another classification (Nishida 1978:232-244). It is essentially the same as that in his 1970 publication, but minor changes are found in this newest one. He divides the T-B languages into a Tibetan group, a Lolo-Burmese group, a Chin group and a Bodo-Naga group. The most remarkable point of his classification is that he introduces the concept of 'link language' besides the four groups above. 'Link languages' are defined as the genetically complex (or genetically stratified) and independent languages which cannot be classified into any groups. Kachin is, according to him, a typical link language, where its lexical items are close to Burmese (and partly to Bodo-Naga and/or Chin), its pronominal affixes are similar to a part of Bodo-Naga, and its verb-prefixes are relatable to WT. Other link languages are rGyarong, Meithei, Mikir and some others; some of whose nuclei are assigned to particular groups but transitional features are noticeably present. Instead of stuffing these languages into groups, he uses the notion of 'link' and tries to use the link languages organically (Benedict and Nishida agree in this attitude, although Benedict has never used the term 'link'). His attitude as reflected in this classification is so plausible that it seems to be the most reasonable and moderate one at the present stage of T-B studies. I follow his opinion in principle.

With regard to rGyarong, Nishida states, referring to
the Tibetan group,

"In this group, we have rGyarong and Ch’iang, which are considered to preserve the forms of an older stage; these two are expected to play a significant role in the reconstruction of the proto-forms of this group ........we can find some common phenomena between the two languages, but we find it hard to connect them directly and it is suspected that, besides the core stratum which is parallel to Tibetan, there is another one super-imposed on the nucleus. That stratum may possibly be related to the Bodo-Naga group" (Nishida 1978:233-234).

Nishida basically agrees with earlier scholars in that he locates rGyarong in the Tibetan group, considering the rGyarong core vocabulary to be most closely comparable to Tibetan, but his suggestion as to its Bodo-Naga relationship should be highly valued.

However, what we have claimed in this study is the reverse. We would like to modify Nishida’s statement as follows:

The rGyarong lexical core is directly comparable to Kamarupan (especially Abor-Miri-Dafila), but the language shows quite a parallelism to Tibetan in terms of morphological processes.

Our findings with regard to the genetic relationship of rGyarong will be diagrammed as follows (see N.B. on p.298a):

```
Tibetan (Chinese)
[1] 3 4
 rGyarong
Kamarupan (AMD above all) Ch’iang
```

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N.B.1: The numbers indicate the genetic closeness with regard to lexical core, while the square-bracketed numbers are that concerning morphological processes.

N.B.2: Arrow means influence or borrowing on the lexical level.

N.B.3: Chinese influence is quite recent.

N.B.4: This diagram is a schematization: the relationship of rÔyarong with the Chin languages and Jinghpaw, which is very probable but not discussed in this work, is not illustrated here.
We hope to have succeeded in establishing the core affiliations of rGyarong and re-locating the language properly. However, since only verbs were dealt with, we still have some blanks to fill in our correspondence rules. Comparison of nouns will be attempted in the near future, in hopes of reinforcing our hypothesis.

As languages to explore in our lexical comparisons, the Chin languages remain uninvestigated. The similarity of rGyarong to the Chin group has been suggested by Chang Kun and Yoshio Nishi (personal communication). It was tried in this paper too, but no regular and direct evidence has been brought into relief. Even so, it is almost certain, through sporadic or indirect echoes (cf. 2.1.1) between the two, that rGyarong has something to do with the Chin group and we must certainly go on to compare them systematically, probably with the assistance of some intermediate link.

In terms of morphological processes and syntactic structure, several languages have been left unstudied. Above all, Newari, Lushai and Mikir must be checked, although we refrained from including these languages in our study partly because of lack of good textual data, but mainly because of time constraints. They do seem to show some comparable features such as topicalization and ergativity. This also deserves future study.
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Abbreviations of journals are identical to Shafer 1957: 
Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan Languages, Wiesbaden. Newer abbreviations after Shafer are:

- LTBA: Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area
- NBP: Nagaland Bhasha Parishad
- OPWSTBL: Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics
- ST Conf: International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics
- TUFs: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1940</td>
<td><em>Dictionary of the Lushai Language.</em> Calcutta.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Yamaguchi, Z.


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5. APPENDIX: Comparative Glossary of Verb Roots

This appendix lists all the verb roots of the 1Cog-rtse and Taangla dialects of rGyarong that we have at hand. For the help of comparison in this work as well as for the future use, raw data of lexical items from 37 related languages are also presented. Note that this list is not that of cognates but just citation from primary sources according to the original authors’ translation. The list of cognates through my own interpretation has been shown in 2.1.1.

Remarks
1. See 0.6 for abbreviations and sources.
2. Phonological standardization has been done in the GC and GT dialects of rGyarong only. See 0.5 for the outline of the GC phonology.
3. Orthographic standardization has been done all through the languages. In principle, it follows Hyman 1975:240-241.
4. TB in the list stands for PTB(STC) and LB for PLB(TSR & Thurgood 1977).

<consonants>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
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<th>q</th>
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<td>d</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>g</td>
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<td>ts</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>dz</td>
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<td>ö</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ñy</td>
<td>ç</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>l,r</td>
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<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.1: Palatalizing features are transcribed by -y-.
N.B.2: Retroflexives are marked by -r-. A dot under d and s is just replaced by an underline for typing purpose (not by the -r-), since in some languages, it is hard to determine whether it represents retroflexive or palatal.
N.B.3: Aspiration is written as /h/ in principle.
<vowels>
 i  U  i  U  u
 I  
 e  ø  U  o
 E  OE  O
 AE  a  a

4. Tone notations are:
  low level  >  underline
  low rising >  slash
  high falling >  accent grave
  high level >  equal mark
  mid falling >  \n  convex(231) >  ^ sub-scribed

N.B.: Some data describing tones in number are left intact.
ACCOMPANY (cf. FOLLOW)

WT  skyel ba, zla bo byed pa
GC  kyas
GT  kyas
GS  ta kyas ke pe
NU  hti ra di
LP  co:l, cho:(-lung) no:ng, ro:k no:ng
JG  [M]is\a\n  [Z]rau sa ai
BO  sa.rb
AB  gi-muin, gi-lik
DF  a m\i:n
MK  alongdun, aridun, chelangpondam, kachelang, penda\n    raidun, dun

ACHIEVE

WT  a\thar skyel ba, 'grub pa
GS  ka pe
JG  [Z]ngut ai
RO  ma'n-
MK  pelong, kapetang

ACQUAINTED WITH

WT  ngo she\s
GC  ngo nga syin
GS  wa yo ko shu
NU  num\i\a\ng(N)
LP  y\A, wong, tsam, tse
JG  [M]tyen     [Z]khu ai
BO  sinay
KO  p\i:opu
MK  pachini

ADD

WT  anon pa, sre ba
GS  ko lad
NU  zat, dAhkim
LP  ka(m), co:p
JG  [M]gya\, set/, son, jat\  
    [Z]naw bang ai, kahhin ai, pawng ai
LU  belh_\khaw\, ka, fin\khaw\, telh_ 
NW  li-lh\A
LK  bai--chhah
LA  kbm
AO  bendenlo\k
RO  chandapani
KO  puo
MK  pangrum, peong, pangvui
AFRAID (cf. FEAR)

TB *b-ray, *krok, *kri(y), *sems khrel, *nyams nga
LB *s-krok
WT 'jigs skrag, gzhes, bsnyengs
CT up pan qa len cik
GC te ge gi syi kla, ka ay-dar, ka nA-mo
GA naccAr
GK zytAr
GM ka zydar
GS ki zh’der
NU hPAr
LP ro(m), phere
JG [N]khrīt ‘āy
[M]khrī pha, sin phrā
[Z]khrīt ai, chakhrit ai
LU a\ sa_seh...ngam=lo_, hlahh pui=
TI /la:u, \la:u
LA traiq
AO shisa bu lu, arentak, tašbu, tašrem
RO *duk(N), *ken-, keñ-
BO aannA’, kānay, gi
AB pe-sho, pet-sho, le-ro
KO nyim ne
DF [Y]chefi binfato [T]chefi bekhato
MK ingring, kaphere [G]kōp-jōp, pherē (=fear)
NW gyā-ye
[S]khyā-ye (=terrify), gyā-ye

ALIKE

WT ‘dra mdahungs, gcig pa
GS ki ka wy n’dra
NU hti-ra, hti-yung
LP ro/, nyo/m-la
JG [M]sum\ ra, gAdo/
LU ang_
AO kasa
RO epsan
BO gidAy
AB a-kam, le/ko, kidi-shu
KO lepu
MK chingbār(chit), ason, sonthot

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ALIVE

TB *åring
WT gson po, ma ’jig par
GT ka kyens
GS ki so so i’to, ki so so ki n’do
NU ngAt ahi, AngAt
LP zu, zu’m
JG [Z]khung ai
LU da*=m
TI -hing, \hin
AO taküa
RO tanga
AB tür
KD byin anglak ne
DF türdnu
MK reng(et), chethe, kedo

ANGRY

WT khong kro(N), apro thung, rlung lang po, tshig pa zas
GT wo ro ki zur
GC wa ro ta ka zor, khas, ka mo, nya ro
GH rô
GS ta ro ki zer
NU shansa za, nárim za
LP gong hre(N), khap-kyán mat, amlem nôk nón
JG [N]másín pót ’áy
[N]másín’ pot’, bun’
[Z]pawt ai
LK pa-thi ia(N), hi-ha
TI _hE?
AO sin adok, mit adok
RO kec nanga
BO karåw maråw(N), kåyråm dåyråm, rekång
AB eng-mo, jir-mo(N), lu-rik
KD mongshi(N), janpu
DF hâhå(N),ben tâm  [Y]håfako  [T]hakhato
MK ning kethi(N)
NW [S]kwâ-ye
ANSWER
WT lan rgyab pa
GT fa len to pa
GC wu lan na ka tho, lon ka-pa
GS k’a len ka pe, wu len ka pe
NU hka Ahtân
CH [TP]xgye-
[MA]huja
LP ring lyot, tham, ring tsôk-lûng li
JG [â]khro2
[Z]htan ai
LK pa-li
TI -dO:ng, \dO:nt
LA goûy
AO langzâ
RO aganchakani
AB lu-rik, lu-rik-shu
KO janpu
DF ben tân
MK thak, ningje [G]thâk, lâm ke-thâk

ANXIOUS(cf. AFRAID, FEAR)
WT seams khrel, nyems nga
GT sen ba ka-Mtsep
GC sama tsap, Mtsep
GS ki ni seams su
NU dâdik, myit
LP frâm-lat
JG [M]myit là
[Z]myit ru ai
LU tlia-phâang
AO yongya
BO mAdâm gudung, siléâw, ambâ
AB âng-o-nâm, âng-ki-nâm
KO môngshanhe
DF [Y]chefi binfato [IT]chefi bekhâto
MK kamatheduk, ningbi

ARREST
WT ‘dzin gzung byed pa
GS na ko pya
NU htâp
LP nûk, tsôk, kit, kyup, grop tsam
JG [Z]rim ai
LU man-
TI _bO?
AO apu, rakzâk
AB gâk
MK nep(beng)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word 1</th>
<th>Word 2</th>
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<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>la nga tsa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>(mA--)Ndu[IPF], pi[PFT]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH</td>
<td>mef'daf'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>po ki pis</td>
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<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>[B]hAl</td>
<td>[S]blâ=?</td>
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<td>thyan-e</td>
<td>[S]then-e</td>
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<td>CH</td>
<td>[IP]ti=</td>
<td>[MA]dan</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>thi, lat</td>
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<tr>
<td>JG</td>
<td>(N)tûu 'ay</td>
<td>[M]tyAdû, dû, dép</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[Z]du ai, tu ai</td>
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<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>bûn, chîm, deng=chhusak=, phâk,rawh_tling/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>tlung</td>
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<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>'ting, 'tun, -nang, \nan</td>
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<td>LA</td>
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<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>stong, alu</td>
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<td>sokbaani, sastro, *sok-</td>
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<td>BO</td>
<td>mânapay, âô, sopây, mânhâ'ÿ</td>
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<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>'puing</td>
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<tr>
<td>KO</td>
<td>ngoipu, ngoi ne</td>
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<tr>
<td>DF</td>
<td>Ò-ch</td>
<td>[Y]guechito [T]uchito</td>
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<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>le, pla, lut</td>
<td>[G]plâ</td>
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**ASCEND**

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<td>'dzag pa, bcibs, zhong pa, 'dzeg pa</td>
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<td>GT</td>
<td>cen, nu na pun, ku kye, de tao</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>tho[IPF], thal[PFT], che[IMP]</td>
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<td>to ki t'o</td>
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<td>JG</td>
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<tr>
<td>KO</td>
<td>ongpu</td>
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<td>tellû</td>
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<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>thur, athak, arlu, thurra dam</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ASLEEP

TB *myel(SLEEPY)
WT gnyid du
GT nyo di
GS ti myeg ki yu
NU ip der AI
LP mik-krap-bam-bo, gyUp, büt nom
JG [Z]yup nga ai
AB yup, ip, lâk-pit
MK mak kejang

ATTACK

WT btsan rgol byed pa, rub pa
GS ki ka la lad
LP gâ, gór, a-t’yak-ka lat, tsam
JG [Z]aa kasat ai
LU trhâwng=
LK thyu-hnao
AO aotak, rara, amak aotak
RO chaa, charapa
AB kit
KO mak, hah ne
MK khang, kom, vangham

AVOID

WT spong ba, bsal ba, gcod pa, ’dzem pa
GS ko ni byol
JG [Z]koi ai, yen ai
LK cha-hri
AO toktaU
KO angttuoh

AWAKE

TB *m-sow
LB *a-nAw2
WT gnyid sad pa
GT mnyo dru
GC mnyak ro
GS ti myeg ki ro
NU [S]a\ sat=, sa=
TR [S]a\ sat=
CH [TP]dzê\ xne\ [MA]khor
JG [A]su3 [M]/phrang, su
[Z]yup rawt ai, chasu ai
LU chawk tho
TI _hak, _ha?
BO airi
DF [Y]gûrûpto, haralto [T]gûrûpto, hurato
MK prang
NW [S]dan-e, than-e
BEAT (cf. KNOCK)

WT rdung, brabs
GC ka lat, khrang
GT ka lat
GK ka-tup
GZ tap, khrang
GH üt’up, ütung
GS nas ts’u’u, ko toh, kis tsag
NU asl, echa, hpup, hkan
LP buk
LU chawk_ phuan _, dêwi_, phu=, vé₁, vua _
TI /tum, /va:t
LA cûm, thoôy. cûm, velq
AO azûk
RO *dok-, katong tiktika, soota, daka
BO bû, p’û’y, bublé
AB pa, it, dém, shit
KO ep ne, shet ne, ùtiak ne, shiet ne, tui ne
DF yì, na, [Y]jengto [T]jîto
MK chok, theng, kloi [G]artôk-jôk, thêng, téng
NW cwâ-ye, chyâ-ye. dâ-ye, ihu-ye

BEAUTIFUL

TB *moy, *ta:p
WT mdzes po, snying rje po
GC ka asyor
GT ka Nkhyer
GZ kematshär
GK kep’yäër
GH ke-mayä:
GS ki n’py’er
NU shala
LP a-zuk, ryam-bo, sum, zar
JG [N]stôm ʼAy [Z]tahwai ai, htap ai
[M]gông tsôm, khik, tyol, Ataôm, Atyôi
LU mawi=
TI _hoi?
AO tepur taung
RO nitogipa
BO teré, dedère
AB kang-kan, kâ-yua, kâm-po
KO shimeï, ñåhi
MK me, kangjang, lon
BECOME

WT 'gyur ba
GH nā-nā-pai
GS ki n'gyur
NU shalē šhi
LP ngum, nōng, met, li, lyat
JG [M]grat [Z]tei ai, pyin ai (<Shan)
TI /suak
AO akūm
AB kang, ki
MK plang, cho, ap, prong

BEGIN (cf. START)

WT mgo gtsug pa, brtsams
GC ka pthik
GT ka rcen
GA s'g-ja
NU hpang
CH [TP]de-ye-
[MA]dawa
LP jeng
JG [N]phāng 'āy
[N]ayong
[Z]hpang ai
NW ten-e
AO tenzük
RO abachenga
BO zagey, akāyha pri:, rem:, zer, den:
AB âng
KO wang ne
DF lyyi
MK cheng
BELIEVE

WT dad pa, yid ches pa
GC ni synen
GT ka na Ndi
GS ti sus ki yu
NU hkas
LP t’ang-nga sak cing
JG [M]nit yuu ’ay
[A]kam
[M]syam
[2]kam ai
LU ring=
BA lung
TI -sa:, _sak
AO amang
RO be-be-rá
AB ero-pe muitat
DF tejji [Y]mung guato [T]mojuto
MK kroi, chekular

BEND

TB *koy
WT bkug pa, ’dud pa, btud pa
GC sa gir gur
GT sa gor gor
GS ko b’kug
NU nger, ángi
LP dur, áyot, krok, kuk, kom
[2]hting kum
TI /kuai, /ka:i
LA bóok
AO kolep, aku, kia, kirak
RO *be-, gonga, togiá, gongegipa
BO dáb, hor, pelem, bokong, gelem, dáb, do, halay, sogong
AB tum-pir, tum, gub-gir
KO kom, khuohlak ne, kok ne, kom
DF tükü, han-gá [Y]köögörr [T]pögorr
MK inghum, pekak, chenglok, kur, kek
[G]kék, kám, ingkáp, kûr, tông-jóy, pa-kà-ju
NW cu-ye

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<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>chen po, gaL che</td>
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<tr>
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<td>koktie, bra</td>
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<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>hte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>c’e, za-din-bam, zo:ng</td>
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<tr>
<td>JG</td>
<td>[N]ka’paa ‘ayy</td>
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<td>[M]n-ba, ning ba, ba, khyam, ding wak, Awon</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[Z]kaba ai, grau ai</td>
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<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>pa-hrao, phia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>poor, porq, tuur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>*dAr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BO</td>
<td>bima, bonggla, dama, geder, der, geher, dalam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>tulu, ulu, azong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KO</td>
<td>dyung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DF</td>
<td>ke, koi  [Y]ta-kte  [T]ta’to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>the, dong [G]thi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TB  | *kik, *ki: |
| WT  | bsdan, btags, bkyigs, bcings, bams |
| GZ  | kartip |
| GS  | n’ch’ingwa, kos ari |
| NU  | ke, hpam, zap |
| CH  | [W,TT,]Jtso  [C]tsodas |
| LP  | ryek, kum, grym, ku:ma, kop |
| JG  | [M]gyit  [Z]gyit ai, khang ai |
| TI  | _xi? |
| NW  | ci-ye  [S]ci-ye |
| LA  | treAm |
| AO  | alen, kAp, rak |
| AB  | yeng, bil, rak |
| KO  | ahun ne, ahin ne |
| DF  | le  [Y]léchepto  [T]léchipto |
| MK  | kok, per, rip, rak  [G]kôk, pèr, rak |

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BITER
TB *ka
LB *ka2
WT ro ska ba, khag tig, khag adig
GC ka cor
GT ka sar tshap
GH kū-sk’ā
GS du chor
GW kha
NU hka
TR k’ā1
CH [TT,C,J]qha
LP a-kri, t’am-kri, khi-bo
LU khah, khāā
TD akha
ME khā-ba
TI /xa:, /xa:k
AO taku
RO kagipa
BO gakā, kā
AB ko-shāñg, gas
KO kha
DF kāmbē [T]kacha
MK hodak, kebo, kethor, ho [G]wēy, hō, hō
NW pāu, pālu
BLACK

TB *nak, *syim, *tyang
LB *(a-)*nak
WT nag po, btsog pa
GC ka nak
GT ka nak
GL anag
GM sA nak
GH kA-nAkh
GS ki-nag
GW konAh
NU na
CH [ITT,C,J]nyi [WlnA
LP a-nOkh, a-tyang
LU thA
TI -voA
AO nsk, tanAkh
RO giseingipA, dAkh
BO gAaAm, sAmtey, sAm
AB ye-ka, yo-rang
KO UnyAkh
MK ik [G]ik

BLIND

WT zhar ba, long ba
GC ka lo
GT ga lu
GL lu
GM ke lo
GS did d'mu
GW stya
NU mA AmAm, mA AdA
[CI]htwe [J]hcglyAE
LP mik sap-bo
JG [N]miyi' M/ chen [M]niyi? kyA
[Z]miyi dA ei, miyi n mu ai
LU dAei, khAwh haiu lo_, mit_ dAm, pang
ME napAAng ba
LK mo-chAoo
AO nukt pAmk
RO kAAnA mAnAde
BO beta, nutAri
AB mi-glu
KO sAtkAmA
DF nyiI, nyichA
MK aAMeck-ane, mek-ejonAat, kasAloAek [G]aelOk

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BLOW

LB *(s-)*mut
WT phus
GC ka li ka pa, [L]p'ja
GW phu
NU [S]nâm bûng wa
TR [S]nâm bûng wang=
CH [TT,C]phA
[TP] xpo-
[MA] mużyucA
LP bu:hak
JG [N]pön'g 'ay
[M]Athít, ba gAlôp, ru, gAwüt, bung
[Z]wa ai, bong ai, ru ai
LU thâu, thâu
LA neêm, sêm
AO apu, apok
RO spoa
BO ai, supâw, srûb, nir, kâmâr
KO leilak ne, yoone
MK but [G]jâp, bût, wût

BLUE

TB *syim
WT sngon po
GC sngon po
GT sngon po, khyang dok
GH ngôn-po
GS s'ngon po
GW lân
NU mâshing
LP fûng, nôm
JG [N]'a' mút
[M]á-mút
[Z]tait atât
LU chuáp, dum pâw
LK a-no-pa, no
AO ântung sentsâl
RO tangsim
AB no-ing
KO umank
DF nej
MK lir, akeiu, luhum [G]pe-lâ, là
NW wacu

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BREATHE

TB *sak
WT dbugs kloé pa, dbugs btang
GC wa su ngo let
GT a sung si
GS til wus ko lad
NU sa ngei asi
LP páng
LU thaw_
TI -na:k
AO tango saahk
RO rangsita
BO hampay, pepay
AB nga
KO lùoše ne
DF sâ
MK chethe kevang, uha kache-en [G]chethè ke-wâng

BRING

TB *pro(k)
WT skyel ba, 'skhur ba
GC ka tsam
GX kâ-sce, katsam
GN sič'i nindrû
NU lu ra
CH [TP]xgy-
[HA]sta
LP bu di, long k'ya, bu hrông
JG [N]léawâs 'ày
[Al]sum2
[M]gûm-yol, lá-wâ, syAn1
[Z]la sa ai, la wa ai
LU chhawp_chhuâk
LA kêng, king
AO aben, bêna aru, benang
RO raona
BO lab, hán, podób
NW kâ, ha-ye [S]yen-e, ha-ye
AB long, bôm
KO pei ne, yûo ne
DF bâ, ëm [Y]soto, jâguinetó, Dutchâto
[TS]sato, jâguinetó, Đôchâto
MK van, chari, chepur, pereng [G]wân

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BUY

TB *b-rey, *d-kew(K-N)
LB *wayl
WT nyo ba
GC ka ki
GT ka kim
GZ keu
GK kána tāwu, kakā
GS ko si pe
GW ka ki, po55
NU [B]wán [K]shU
LP par
JG [N]ma’rīi ’åy
[M]jik lá
[Al]mälzyi3
[Z]mā ri sī
LU kaî.pah, lei, khar/
TI /lei
LA leey
AO ali
RO brea, *bre-
AB ré, nät
KO shaknang
DF rep
MK nam [G]nām
NW nyā-ye, think-e

CALCULATE

WT rtsis ba, brtsis
GC ka rtsis
GT ka rtsis
GS ti r’tsis ko lad
LP frong
JG [N]thii ’åy
[M]son, Atsä, Arū
[Z]hawñ ai, tak
AO sūktang, zūngdang tep
RO hisap kaa
AB kin-ki
KO Útngei ne
MK lakha

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### CALL

| TB  | *kaw *kaw₂₁, *kru₃₁₃SR |
| WT  | 'bod pa, bkug, bagraga, bzlos, bos |
| GC  | ka na khaw |
| GS  | ki ke |
| NU  | gaw, ging |
| LP  | lik, ma |
| LU  | au=, kow |
| BA  | khawh |
| LK  | aw |
| TI  | /sam, -ba:ng, =ki |
| LA  | koq |
| AO  | aja |
| NW  | saːt-e [S]saːt-e |
| RO  | okama |
| BO  | ling |
| AB  | gok, tom |
| KO  | nyik ne |
| DF  | gā [Y]gākto [T]gā'to |
| MK  | pu, kek, chington [G]ərn̂e, fr. hāng |

### CARRY

| TB  | *ba |
| WT  | 'khyer, bda’, akhyel, ‘khyog, bakyos |
| GT  | ka tsam |
| GC  | kar-ma na ka pa, ka pkor |
| GS  | ko tsam, ko b’kor |
| NU  | ri, lang |
| CH  | [T] ba [TT]bāÉ [C]bje |
| LP  | bu, ao, vol, syel |
| LU  | chhip kheng= |
| BA  | phurh |
| TI  | -pua, puak |
| LA  | zän |
| RO  | oal, ripea |
| NW  | lhyei, yen-e [S]bu-ye |
| BO  | bsæ, sāb, rage, run, hon, hor, sanggi, lapting |
| AB  | jong, bos, ju |
| KO  | yahet ne |
| DF  | bû, bê, bû |
| [Y]nächato, dutchato |
| [T]nächato, dûcháto |
| MK  | pon, bu, kanghor, chethon [G]pôn, inghór, tháp |
CATCH (cf. SEIZE)

WT  brabs, blangs
NU  htep
LP  tsam
JG  [N]rim 'ây
    [M]rim, gAwå, tyá?
    [Z]rim ai, khwi ai, kâp ai
LU  man=
LK  pa-ai
NW  jwe-ye
TJ  -man, _mat, _bô?
LA  kayq
AO  apu, aot
RO  rimâ
BO  sâb, hôm, mâzâm
AB  gâk, gap, ge, bât
KO  pho ne, om ne
DF  not tô, hurtô, pûrtu
MK  nep, beng, du, cho [G]nép

CHANGE

TB  *lay
LB  *a-lay2
WT  'gyur, brjes
GC  Ngyur, sgyur (VT)
GT  Ngyur
GZ  uzasyapret
GM  ka pocos, sprul pa
GS  ko bs'gyur
NU  htalê
    [S]phO?= 
TR  [S]a\ p0?= cU |
CH  [TP]pian/ tha-
    [MÁ]pian-xuacA
LP  lyak, âyuk, pat
JG  [N]kâ'lay 'ây
    [M]mâlai
    [Z]kalai ai
LU  châng, lât
TJ  _lai?
NW  hil-e  [S]lhe-ye, hil-e, chink-e, he-ye
LA  truul, trulq, thlêng
AQ  meken, temelenshi
RO  jita, dingtangata
BO  anzray, papîn, salay
AB  bêt
KO  jeilei ne
DF  kâ-g, gôg [Y]legrâto  [T]li'lyato
MK  kaprek  [G]kirlâ, che-lâr, pa-nglâr, lâr

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CHEW

WT  cag cag byes, bldad, mur
GC  tA-sam cak-cak
GT  cak cak
NU  yer
CH  (TP)xca-      (MA)caqcaq dzA
LP  ye, fóm, um, fyo:m fam
JG  (N)ka’wāa  ‘āy      [Z]māya  si
LU  thrial/
LK  chā  ei
RO  chobia
BO  sāw, zagli
AB  jām
KO  say  ne
DF  nyām      (Y)chēggōpto  [T]chēggōpto
MK  heje,  om     [G]pe-tēp
NW  nhe-ye

CHOOSE

LB  *sāyī
WT  bkrab,  ‘dems, gdam
GC  ka  Nche
GT  ka  prak
GS  ko  ni  n’ch’i
LU  phu_  thlu_,  thlang=
BA  a  thīm
LK  a-tly
AO  shiam
RO  seoka,  basea
KO  le  ne
MK  (G)ingway

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CIRCULAR
TB  *hwang, *wal
WT  agor agor
GC  po loa
GT  pal ral, hal hal
GS  ko ler ler
NU  ang hkang
LP  tü-r-klak, tü-r-ngum
JG  [N]ntóng ‘Áy
[NI]ng-wang, syÁta wang, ?ling ?ling, Átong,
boa boa, gám tong, gum-din, lûm, bát, bok
LU  bial=, vélìn=
LK  a-hló
LA  hlûm, cséng
AO  meket lung, telung lung
RO  dul, matchu kia
BO  meléka, bitÁ, lati luti, tumrá
KO  õkan, wankon, dûng
DF  dokÁr
MK  bonglongjir, komjir, komvei

CLEAN
TB  *syang
WT  gtsang, sang, sbyangs
GC  syo
GT  syo, wa kari
GH  kë-ksâr
GS  ki sho
NU  zâl, shim
TR  tsangl nel el
LP  dum-bo, a-sât, thât, thut
JG  [NI]sÁn sën ‘Áy
[MI]gu leng, gÁsyin, seng, Átsai
[MI]shakrin ai, kashin ai, krin ai, tsai ai
LU  faí, thiáng
LA  faÁy
AO  temerük, temeshi, cigo
RO  *tar-, rongtalgipa
BO  mÂzang, sakÁn sikÁn, kÁgÁ, zirtÁ/
AB  na-rén, kâm-po
KO  jao
DF  derrÁ [Y]unyana [T]kayin
MK  ingchap, ingthir [Glarkök, ingthéy, chàm, saphÁ
CLIMB (cf. ASCEND, RISE)

WT 'dzeg pa
GH scyö
GS to ki to, ta toa ki to
NU ngang
LP klun, prep, rem, hlan
JG [M]khroí
[Z]long ai
LU lâwn=
LK kia-hnao
TI _ka?
LA kašy
AO atu
RO waldo, gadoa
BO mambiÁy, uti, bagay, gakA
AB rèng, gê-shêng
KO ong ne
DF châ
MK eriu, krap, rikang [G]arlô, jir

CLOSE

TB *ci:p
WT ma' gzhug, kha gcod, 'dzum, btsums
GC chet
GT chet
GS ti ched
GH guci mendé
NU sit, la, agon
[S]tahít=
TR [S]á'píl=
LP sot, súp
[Z]la ai, mãsú ai
LU ci:p
LK khaw
TI /xa:k
LA khaár
RO *cip-, chipaha
BO mari, misib, hete
AB káp, pin, shup, shep
KO nguìh ne, kúp ne
DF [Y]chektuíto [T]chutuíto
MK inghap, dip, ingkir [G]dip, dúng, pa-úm, inghap
NW [S]iti-ye, dhin-e, gwa-ye
CLOUDY
TB *mung
WT aprin 'thiba
GZ tezjam
GS ki n'ti'b
NU rāmit al
LP tā-dyūr, mung
JG [M]lāmā kāaa, mū?, mung
LU duał, dur=, khaw= dur=
BO sāmhab
AB do-mum
MK niop, armi opbit [G]bir-bù

COLD
TB *kyam, *grang
WT cham pa
GC ka mi sytak
GT ka ma sytak
GK kāwe-juo
GH kā ma sytak
GH kā-mi-syte-ā
GS ti wa n'dra, de wa n'dro
GW tevanić, sytu
NU kit
CH [T,Ch]htu
[L] tho
LP hyang, t'yup, dyop
JG [N]ka'ahūng 'āy
[M]āsi
[Z]kāsi
LU khua=sk_
LA chē-kua, ngai khua
TI -xō-dam
LA dayq
AO mango
RO singipa, sinna
BO goga, guku, guau
AB shi-kir, an
KO hunghatin, wangshām, ūng
DF sikr, halyf
[Y]potongpa
[T]pūtūpa
MK kechung, ning kreng
[G]ingṣām, chūn
NW khwa-ye (=FREEZE)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLLECT</th>
<th>COME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LB *ras3</td>
<td>TB *byon, *a-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT phyogs sdu byed, ’du, ’thu, adud, bs dus, bsgrugs</td>
<td>LB *lal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GC wu-bu pe, ta ka zdu, na ka si du</td>
<td>WT ’ong, yong, ’byung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA ng-vde</td>
<td>GC po(IPF), pi(PFT), k-wen(IMP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT zdu</td>
<td>GT pon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS na ko pye, ki sa’i zu</td>
<td>GZ kayet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU hkyua hkwu, gum, hkim</td>
<td>GK kApu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JG [NJ]ma’không ’ây</td>
<td>GH p’éi, yê-ke-pung, ká-pwi, kayes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[M]gôm-khon, syû, sying-gon</td>
<td>GS ko pon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Z]lêkhawn ai, chêpsawng ai</td>
<td>GW ko pôn, lju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO jorsa, chimonga</td>
<td>NU di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BO pôn, putus, dezab, zutus, pên, zotay, tubray</td>
<td>[S]1ô?=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB lâng-kus, ur, do-kang, nu-pák</td>
<td>TR [S]1ô?=, a\blá?=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[C] lu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[TP] ly-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LP di, lat, t’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JG [NJ]wâ= ’ây, prûû ’ây</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[A]wa1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[M]dû, sa, byon</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Z]sa ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LU haw, thaw, thawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BA hawng kal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LW vy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NW wa-ye [S]jhâ-ye, wa-ye, ha-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AO aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RO *i-, *ré-, ongkata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BO bu:, unpin, pisay, sikâng, ongkâd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AB grâng, tok, giâbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KO ngai ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DF 0 [Y]guechito, wa-to [T]hâto, uchito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MK vang, bar, klang, vang-bon [G]wâng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COUNT (cf. CALCULATE)

GS rtau

COVER

TB *klup, *pun, *up
WT kha gtsod, gtma, 'thum, klub, khyab, bsgabs, btus
GC pkap, zprak
GT mpur
GH pkiag
NU daga, ga, wam
TR pásSkapš
LP kyöm, kap, tük, nop, püp, dap, zap
JG (Mlap, byáp, gáp, grup, dób, phrui
(Zichahpun ai, gšluš ai
LU hup_, khuh_
BA kāwā
TI _xu?, _se?
LA siín, sin
AO xùpbang, nambang
RO oindapa
BO pin, zāb, sāglAb, sati, zum, gAltAm
AB kom, rūm, po, i-kom, tāk-kom
KO kūp ne
DF kā-mām [Y]hōrrputo [T]psmto
MK dip, plhip, kup, op, pachap [G]arklik, kūp, tōp

CREEP

GC rtshu

CRY

TB *nguw
WT ngus, cho nga 'deb, bahums
GC ngl rū, nga kru, nguw
GT nga wu
GH tā-wā-wūng
GS ki ka kru
NU ngl [K]tāi [S]ngU'
TR rād ngA4 [S]ngU'
CH (TP)ngA=-, za- [MA]zùrù
LP grōng, hryōp, jīl
JG [N]khrāp 'āy, sha'kāa 'āy [A]khrāp1
[M]gruı, bru, syābām, khrāp [Z]krap ai
LU trap_, aw_, ngēk
LK chāh
TI -kap
NW kho-ye, hālā [S]hāl-e, khwa-ye
LA trap, taraq
AO ajebba
RO *grap-
BO dawraw, sensay, bebay, gisib, āng, SādAm
AB kāp
DF khrāb, nā, grā
MK cheru, kin [G]kin, che-rū
CULTIVATE

GC tshok
NU [S]a\rUng=, mra'
TR [S]a\rUng=, mra'
CH [TP]pha-tha- [MA]karBa
JG [Z]kauna k\lalw ai, yi k\lalw ai, yi chen ai, khu ai
DF [Y]katcho karo moto (=SOIL) [T]katch\u2019u kanya moto
MK arp\u2019u (TO HOE) [G]tiki (PLANT), h\u2019t (HOE)

CURE

WT gso, bcos
GC sman ka pe
GT wu go ta wa
GR k\AmE
GS ko shi m'ne
JG [M]lay\Amai [Z]ah\Amai ai
TI \d\Am
AO an\u2018btaa!
BO saga, zami

CUT

WT gtub, bcad, brngas, btsogs, breg, bzhogs, btubs
GC rdzik, ra Ntsik, na kyok
GT rtem, prat, pet
GA n\A-nts\Am-tu
GZ ka\Amok, kerantsik
GG kap'ad, kazyIk\A
GM ka prgt, k\A abrgt
GS ko ran tsig, ko p'og
NU \Ahtu, chu, b\Am, yap [S]a\xr\Aat=
TR [S]a\xr\Aat=
CH [TP]tshua=, ku=, chu=, qhe-, xtue- [MA]ku, xc\Am, qhAr-qhAr, sta, qhuar
LP kl\Op, ny\Op, ty\Op, fyet
JG [N]k\A-th\Am '\Aay
[M]kh\Amt, m\Amn, d\Aan, d\Ait, \Akrit, phy\Amt, g\Amd\Am
[Z]k\Amhtam ai, k\Amde ai, chen ai
LU \Aat, bung=, in_bun\_, m\Aet\, th\Ael
LK \A
TI /a:t, /sem, -bas\Am, /tan
LA me\Amt, ha\Amw, cat
AO alang, alep
RO denna, chika, rats, nengtaka, indin, aomoi\Am, resta
BO repi, reb, pokl\Am, danp\Amy, d\Am, s\Am, b\Amw
AB lot, p\Am, loi-y\Ae, p\Amk
NW tw\A-lj\A, p\Ab-e [S]dhen\Ab-e, ny\Ab-ye, t\Ab-ye, chin\Ab-e, ty\Ab-ye, thal\Ab-e, p\Ab-e
KO ag ne
DF p\Ab-m\Ab [Y]git, chit\Ab, gu\Ab\Achi [T]jitto, ya'chi
MK thu, chor, rot, ingtip

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DANCE
WT ger 'cham, zhabs bro rgyab, 'khrab
GC ta-rnga ka pa
GT ta-rka ka pa
GS ta rge ko pe
NU āzer lam
[SJkhruʾchām
TR [SJ syāp=prul=
LP lok
JG [NJkāʾʾāy, maʾnāwʾāy
[MJnaū
[Z]ka sī
LK la-pa
TI \\laːːm
LA zōn
AO tshungsang
RO chroka
BO māsa
AB māk-sho shong, nyom, pum, pāksho mo-nām
KO geolok ne
DF sā
MK kan, kachenang

DANGEROUS
WT nyen ka cen, ma rungs pa, rkyen ngan
GC nyen ka kak tey
GS tūs tāʾed kī gti
JG [Z]khrit na(N)
LU hlaugh_āwā
LK chī chhi
AO lendong
RO kengni
BO buli burā
KO wiangtuh ūmeang, wiangtuh(N)
DARK

| WT   | mun pa, smag rum, mdog nag  |
| GC   | rnak, rnyik  |
| GT   | nak  |
| GM   | mak t'A kp'Ar  |
| GS   | ki nag  |
| GW   | no  |
| NU   | nām der  |
| CH   | [TT,Cl]mu  |
| LP   | tyang, num-nyim, ma-ayil-lā  |
| JG   | [N]sin 'āy  |
| JI   | [M]?aang, wū-mut, a-sin  |
| LU   | duk _, khua=dur=  |
| LZ   | vyu, zo-ka chu, zo-hnao  |
| AO   | tamang  |
| RO   | salgi, andala  |
| BO   | dansāy, kāmai(N), kābla(N)  |
| AB   | ke-mo, ru-rup  |
| KO   | wangnyak  |
| DF   | kān  |
| MK   | ingting, bin-hing, ik [G]ingting  |
| NW   | thi-u-ye, khiu, bhulu  |

DEAD

| TB   | *(a-*)raw  |
| WT   | gshin po  |
| GH   | nā-kā-sya  |
| GS   | ti wom, ki shi(N)  |
| NU   | shi ami  |
| LP   | nak  |
| JG   | [N]Asi, tyAmang, tyAsi, Asi Ayāp  |
| LU   | t_lo_  |
| AO   | tasUr  |
| RO   | dam rakani(N), akal(N), sia(N)  |
| AB   | shi lēt  |
| BO   | gātAy  |
| KO   | li(DEATH)  |
| DF   | sfnūl  |
| MK   | thi, kle  |

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DECEIVE

WT balua
GC ka plon
GT Ngì
GS kò ni gho g’yogs
NU äya, ni
(S)klUp=, gu= jō?
TR len\, klUp=
CH (TP)phian=tha-
[MA]pian-xuacá
LP kùn-dyu mat, lük
JG [M]khálém, lem
(Z)másu ai
LU bum\, tih_der_
LK a dó-na(W)
TI /xÈ:m
AO schiok
RO togia, tola
BO togay, zakas
AB yât, yál-lik
KO lolak ne, lo ne
DF am
MK chomosoi, cherei
NW heek-e(TELL A LIE)

DEEP

TB *tu:k
LB *s-nak
WT gting ring po
GC rnak
GT rnak
GZ kérñak
GH kÀrnaks
GS u g’tu ki ring
NU râns
TR zhy3 na4
LP nyüng-bo
JG [M]N-sung, sùng
(Z)hsong ai
LU aw_thua
LK thu
LA thuûk
AO tarok
RO tus, tubegipa
BO domohok, gudû, togrung
AB arnuk, arsik
KO lu
DF arú
MK o-ring [GL]arnûk

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<td>TB *yu</td>
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<tr>
<td>WT pham kha sprod pa</td>
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<td>LB *zak</td>
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<tr>
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<td>WT bab pa</td>
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<td>BO pezen</td>
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<td>GT na kpi, na pi</td>
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<td>KO nau ne</td>
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<td>WT bshigs banubs, bcass</td>
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<td>GC ka kray</td>
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<td>GT na paw, sman co ka pa, cik ca</td>
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| DIE            | TB  | *sAy  |
|               | LB  | *syAyI |
|               | WT  | shi ba |
|               | GC  | ke syi |
|               | GT  | ke syi |
|               | GK  | ke ayI |
|               | GH  | kṣ-syi |
|               | GS  | di shis|
|               | GW  | su     |
|               | NU  | shi     |
|               | TR  | [S]syi`|
|               | CH  | [TT]Ge |
|               | LP  | syi, mak|
|               | JG  | [N]aii 'ay [A]ai3 |
|               |     | [M]ang sying tâu, si, sôn, men nrau |
|               |     | [Z]ai ai|
|               | LU  | awa_ lai= a_thi~, hnuk_chat, mànng, tlàw |
|               | LK  | mua    |
|               | TI  | -ai:   |
|               | AO  | a auditory |
|               | RO  | *ai-   |
|               | BO  | tAy    |
|               | AB  | shi    |
|               | KO  | li ne  |
|               | DF  | si     | [Y,T]sito |
|               | MK  | thì    | [G]dàm |
|               | NW  | si-ye  |

<p>| DIFFICULT      | LB  | *-ra2  |
|               | WT  | khag po|
|               | GC  | sa kha |
|               | GT  | sa kha |
|               | GM  | kā sa k‘α |
|               | GH  | kē-sōk-k’iṣ |
|               | GS  | na ni kis |
|               | NU  | rāza   |
|               | LP  | a-tsōk |
|               | LU  | hau tak_, hlo=har=, khirh_ |
|               | TI  | -trhak\sa: |
|               | LA  | hár    |
|               | AO  | tasak  |
|               | RO  | rakgips, auutgips |
|               | BO  | buli burá |
|               | AB  | a-dir  |
|               | KO  | shaooshi, wanpu |
|               | DF  | gah-Ohâ | [Y,T]afi |
|               | MK  | sungkrung, badokhri [G]bōy, sūng |</p>
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<td>JG</td>
<td>(M)thůu 'áy, ka'pók 'áy (Z)htu si (M)dei, khai bang tye?, krók, awun, dô?, krau</td>
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<td>cho/</td>
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<td>laẏ, layq</td>
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<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>atu, ato</td>
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<td>RO</td>
<td>choa</td>
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<td>BO</td>
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</table>

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| DIP OUT | WT | len, gcus |
|         | GC | ka ro, ka pya, ka na rko |
|         | GT | ka pkyas |
|         | NU | zin shi |
|         | LP | jem, myük |
|         | JG | (M)eyAlüp, byék kArót |
|         | (Z) | zádit ai |
|         | LU | thle=la_, chhiah_, hni=m= |
|         | AO | yanglu |
|         | RO | salopa, pul den |
|         | NW | du-lhé |
|         | AB | ni-jing, pica |
|         | DF | ábom |
|         | MK | kaparbip, nia |

| DIRTY | TB | *krAy, *ri(y) |
|       | WT | dzor po |
|       | GC | ma ka ayo |
|       | GT | ma ro wa kari |
|       | GM | kA blo |
|       | GS | ma ki sho |
|       | NU | mänia masim |
|       | TR | tsangl naí miel |
|       | LP | a-bop, po-gok-la, kyor |
|       | JG | (N)N/ säm sëng 'ày |
|       | (M) | Anô?, khAnû? |
|       | (Z)n | krin ai, n hsan ai |
|       | LU | berh_, uk_, ung= |
|       | LK | a-si-hny, pua |
|       | LA | bäl, bälq |
|       | AO | ar aket |
|       | RO | mitchimitchi, rongtalgi jagipa |
|       | BD | a-la budru, gendra, goota, karáb, zAlda, sAa |
|       | AB | koi-yang, a-kang |
|       | KO | nunu, nu pu |
|       | DF | kácht |
|       | MK | hijmaai, ningni, keter | [G]tér, hijim |

| DISCOVER(cf.FIND) | WT | brnyid pa |
|                  | GC | ko sa myek |
|                  | JG | (Z)khruz ai, xu ai, khrup ai |
|                  | LK | hão-tua |
|                  | AO | bushitèt |
DO

TB  *row
WT  byas pa
GC  ka pa
GT  ka pa
BK  kaE
GH  piµ
GS  ka pe, ko si pe, ko ni de
NU  wa
CH  [TT, T, Clpu
LP  mat, zuk, fat
JG  [M]tyen, di
[2]kâ law ai, di ai
LU  bei_, ti_, bawl=
BA  ti
LK  chhua
TI  \E:a, _sep
LA  tuaq
AO  aau, inyak
NW  yâ-ye  [S]lap-e, guL-e, dha-ye, yâ-ye, kin-e
RO  daks
AB  i, wo
KO  ling ne
DF  ma  [Y]bundeto  [T]ma
MK  klem, inghoi  [G]klêm

DOUBT

WT  the tshom skyes, dogs pa byas
GC  mium ka ngan, te tshom ta ka sa
GS  te t'som ki ze
LP  t'e-som
JG  [N]mâw 'ây
AO  mertenke, atitek, tatitaktsâ
RO  jaasani, ongja gitâ nika
AB  muing ke ahu mang
KO  mong yehumalak ne
MK  phere, aphon

DREAM

TB  *(r-)mang
GC  rao ka pa, ka wa rao
JG  [2]yup mung mang ai, mu ai
NW  man-e  [S]man-e, ahagsa(N)
LU  mümânah, hmu_
DF  [Y]hyema
[TT]man
MK  mâng hemân
DRINK

TB *Am
LB *m-dangl
WT btung, ‘thung
GC ka mot
GT ka mot
GK ka-mod
GP kôm
GN yint’en, cint’ën
GS ko mod
GW ko mú
NU a
LP t’ang, bap
JG [N]ld’ ‘ây
[A]lu?1
[2]lu ai
LU fáwp da_, in=, dut=
BA din
LA qin
AO mesep, tajemtsû, tajichi, ajem
RO *ring-
BO lAng
AB ting
NW twan-e [S]twan-e, pu-yê, ayâ-ye
DF tû
MK jun [G]jûn

DRUNKEN(GET-)

LB *yit
GC ka khya, ta nyi kyan dze
GT ku Nchok
JG [N]tyårû nang
[2]chàru nang ai, shàru nang ai
LU zu=rui-
BO pé
DF [Y]tengkumpa
[T]tukhumpa
MK [G]lingri, ingkrâng
DRY

TB *tan
WT skam pa, bakams, than ba
GC ka ram, ka kram, ka pram
GT ka rom
NU sung, hé, lam
LP krek-ka, hryu, són nón, ayin, ı:ı, ayur, jep
JG [N]gArau, jAkhun
[L]chakhraw ai, khraw ai
LU em_ro=
BA ro, char
LK a-ro pa-ta, da vei
TI /phou, -go:t, /kang
LA roow, phoow
AO akong, takong, asep
RO rama, ranata
BO paran
BU than-tha'n
AB pui, lo, e-reng
KO wan ne
DF laapit, torpi, krompi
[VI]ramputo
[TR]umputo
MK krengetang, ur, thep
[GI]lar, kren, tê, pe-thêp, pe-reng, reng

DRY (TO BE)

TB *(a-)raw
WT skam po
GC krom
GT krom
GS ki rom
NU sung
LP a-syin, gruk, kāk
JG [N]khrō' 'ây
[H]Asong, N-khr, khrōp, gAthá?, cu? ké
[L]chakhraw, akhraw
LU fû, hul/
LK a-ro pa-ta, da vei
TI /ham, -keu, /gam
LA moyq
AO akong
RO angipa
WW su-ye [S]hil-e, gan-e, awa-ye
BO garan, rán
AB or-ne, ke-reng-ne, bé-rak
KO de
DF krompi
MK kren
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<td>GS</td>
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**DYE**

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**EASY**

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### EAT

| TB  | *Am, *dza            |
| LB  | *dza2               |
| WT  | bzas, bza’          |
| GC  | ka za               |
| GT  | ka za               |
| GK  | ka-ZIE              |
| GP  | teza                |
| GW  | c’izyo              |
| GH  | zi tà, kō-kō-zā, zai |
| GS  | tà ni zan           |
| GW  | tazái, sák’i, thje  |
| NU  | ãm, sat             |
| TR  | na4 kai               |
| CH  | [TT,T,C,J]thje      |
| LP  | zo                   |
| JG  | [N]sháa ‘áy         |
|     | [M]ayá              |
|     | [Z]sha ai           |
| LU  | chau_ei=, kher=, pet_zût=, tlån_ |
| BA  | ei                   |
| LA  | ni                   |
| TI  | /nE:                 |
| AO  | achi                 |
| RO  | chaa                 |
| NW  | na-ye [S]na-ye, məl-e |
| BO  | zá, zazrám          |
| AB  | do                   |
| DF  | da [Y]doto, náto, dōsa(FOOD) [T]doto, nato, des’(FOOD) |
| MK  | cho [G]kintin, chō, che-mång, bôm, hék |

### EMPTY

| LB  | *gang2               |
| WT  | stong pa, bahanga   |
| GC  | ka aok               |
| GT  | stong, na rak sew    |
| GS  | a’tong me            |
| LP  | gun-nón-bo           |
| JG  | [M]Asom, khong, kyêt, mân |
|     | [Z]kā män ai        |
| LU  | heng=, râk, ruák, do_ral= |
| LA  | leung               |
| AO  | tazūng              |
| RO  | bangbang, mamungba gri |
| BO  | anzray, ledAw, dohóng, natnay(V) |
| AB  | ang-a-rang          |
| DF  | assār                |
| MK  | angse, akejoi [G]angsé, p-angse, p-a-we(V) |

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ENTER
TB  *hwang
WT nang la yong pa
GT a-no-y ka yi pi
GH tā-kā-yīā
BA lut
NW du-swa-ye
TI /lūt
LA luūt, luq
AO ai, sket
BO háb, sokón, sāpi
KO ongne
MK [G]lōt

FADE
TB  *ngraw (FADED)
GC ka pkha
GS ta no no
JG [N]byit, tyAmūt [Z]haua ai, kyip ai
LU chhaawng=, chuī=, chu=
TI /heu
RO jegala, bona, sīa, aikrepa
BO mAzri
KO qui ne
MK [G]che-kidū

FALL (cf. SPIT)
TB  *kla, *zak (B-L)
WT zar ba, brul
GC mzyit, psyit (VT)
GT ka ja
GZ zje
GM ka nga
GS ki l’tung, ki l’to
NU ēja, āṃga [K] tok
CH [C]?jU, tshu [J]?je
LP glo, hlat, yong
LU ti=, thlauh=, tiā
LK a-lo, hai, hlua
TI /pu:k, /kiat 1 ME ta-ba
AD alang, tsūK, ajudok, tok
RO gaska 1 NW dun-e [S]da-ye
BO gāla/y, sāri, torpA/y
AB  ong, o-lēt, shut
KO yei ne
DF hol, ma [Y]chefīato [T]chukhato
MK Klo, ruhup, jang [G] inglēm, klēy, klō, tūt

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<td>GC</td>
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<td>JG</td>
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<td>[N]num -tsan, sam sam, sūm tsan, gātik</td>
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<td>LU</td>
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<td>helo, hapasi</td>
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<td>GC</td>
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<td>GT</td>
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<td>GK</td>
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<td>GH</td>
<td>kā-nā-rjyuk</td>
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<td>GS</td>
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<td>bawbaw, sānsān</td>
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<td>nyeng, t’ōk</td>
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<td>[N]la’wān āy</td>
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<td>LU</td>
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<td>AO</td>
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<td>RO</td>
<td>tāraṅkā, gisik matsramgipa</td>
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<td>AB</td>
<td>an-nām</td>
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<td>KO</td>
<td>māmpu, nyesonyaipu</td>
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<td>DF</td>
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<td>MK</td>
<td>keprāp, serak</td>
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<td>[G]prāp, serong</td>
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<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>(S)cwā, cwā-ye</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
FAT

TB *tsow
WT rgyæg pa
GC rkam
GT tsu
NU su
LP syum-bo, syu, syu:t
JG [M]byû byû, bong [Z]hpum ai
LK thew
TI -tha:u
LA thaw
AO so, tesola
BO gubbung, lAdã, medla, saarda bArda
KO nût
DF pot
MK ingthu, leng, thu [G]lêng, selûng

FEW

WT nyung nyung
GC ka tai tsi, ka ne ne
GT ka ni nye, ka Ndzok
GZ ngamkhu
BG te n'dze
NU mû bim ê
JG [(N)ke'] chiî mii [(M)syañ [Z]hpe ai, n law ai
LK dita
LA mâl
RO bangja, komia, ontisa
MK jiso, onge, inger, penang

FIGHT

TB *ran, *(g-)ra:l
WT rgyab 'dre rgyab pa
GC tâ-la-lat ka pa
GT ka ango
GH tâ-ângô
GS d'mag me ko lad, ko tib tib, ki te s'ngo
NU ãsât
LP dyû
JG [(M)phyen gásât, gâ ló? [Z]kâsat ai, khat ai
LU in_hau=
LK cha-riria, sô-lyu, hryu-khao
TI -dou, /la:i
LA suî, toôw
AO rara bangsen
RO dakgrika, jegrika
NW lwâ-ye
BO dangâ(N), zenga(N), dakray, nanglay, komlay
AB mo-muin-shu
KO hok ne
DF moî-â-sû
MK kachechok, ron kachepi [G]che-dân
FIND
WT brnyid pa
GC ka ra
GT ka ra
GS ko re
NU yang
JG [Z]khrup ai, khrum ai
LU chhar=
LA hoöl
AO ratet
RO manna, amma
BO dihán, naygrí, gir
AB páŋ, mà-bék, pu
KO tow ne
DF kâ-pâ (Y)nâto [T]nâto
MK long, peklang, pho longrui

FINE
WT zhib po
GC ka manya
GT ka jip
LP dyap, kin, ryut, jôm
JG [M]mûn mûn, reng, à-sof
LU zai= ain=
RO motogipa, baranggipa, nikprotgipa
AB re-ig, ré-mík, muik
KO peilei ngipu
DF [T]yùt’koto (=BEAUTIFUL)
MK me(sen/ong), jengso

FINISH
TB *o:l
WT bsgrubs
GC ka ai yok
GT ka tar
GH aiô
GS ki yog, na yog
NU dâ-dang, dâ-bê
LP fat, lel, pan, hyêt, tek, tel
JG [N]ngût’ây [Z]shângut ai, shâme ai, châtûm ai
[M]syAboi, syângût, syâkré?, syâtsim
LU peih_., tling_tla_
TI /man, /zou, -xin, _xít
LA threq
AO renea, atea, ati
RO *mat-cot-
BO aaszri, lukáng
AB âm, in, ruk
DF moi-nyâ
MK tang, pikoi, ik, tik [G]kût, jôt, tâng, plêng

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FLEE
TB *plong
WT bod, bros
GC ka phos
GT ka khyos
GS ko ahī leg
NU āt ahī [S]āt=
TR [S]āt=
CH [TP]phu= [MA]phu
LP tor, tet
JG [Z]hprawng ai
LU phrung, tāng lōt
LK cho
TI -ta:i
AO ajen, szūbong
DF [Y]farto [T]kharrto
MK kat

FLOAT
TB *twAy
WT lding pa
GC ka sket
GS chu wo
NU [S]bOms=, rin=
TR [S]āng\ae p=, daṁ=, a\ tīn=
CH [TP]fu=tha-, sI\da- [MA]da\sA, sAly, sĀRā
JG [Z]waw ai
LK pa-pho
LA fēn
AO pungdak
BO zaw, sopo, gopong, sopong
MK [G]lingjōng, inglāng

FLOW
GC ka Nda
DF [Y]farrāto [T]farto
MK [G]dōng-kā-kā, wōy-wōy
NW [S]chwā-ye, nhya-ye

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### FLY

| TB  | *pir, *pyaw            |
| GC  | ka Nbyam              |
| GT  | ka gyem               |
| GH  | kû-kû-yam             |
| GS  | ki d’byom              |
| NU  | dâm                    |
| TR  | [S]bêr’                |
| LP  | lâm, fyot, vyal         |
| JG  | (M)gÂsyoî (Z)pyen ai |
| LA  | zâm, zuâng             |
| AO  | ayim, zâ                |
| RO  | bills                  |
| BO  | bir                    |
| AB  | ber, yob               |
| KO  | bu ne                  |
| DF  | gâ ([Y]jarto [T]jarto |
| MK  | ingjâr, ingvai         |
| NW  | bwa-ye                 |

### FOLD

| TB  | *tap                    |
| WT  | bltabs                 |
| GC  | ka ltep                |
| JG  | ([Z]kumba ai, thap(LAYER) |
| NW  | la-thyâ-ye             |
| DF  | [Y,T]motumto(SHUT)     |

### FOLLOW

| TB  | *(s-)nang               |
| WT  | rjes la phyin pa         |
| GT  | ka po pon               |
| GS  | yi m’k’ris po pon       |
| NU  | zân, yun                |
| LP  | ryak, t’il              |
| JG  | ([M]khâr, bôp dât, Anân |
|    | ([Z]khân ai, khan sa ai, khannang ai |
| LU  | zuï, bawh_zul           |
| BA  | zûl                     |
| AO  | anitek                 |
| RO  | jarika                 |
| AB  | lêdo lo gi-muîn         |
| DF  | illyâ                   |
| MK  | aphidun                 |
FRY
TB *r-ngaw
WT apraga
GC ka ksur, ke rngo
GT ka karu
GS ko was tso
NU hu
CH [MA]xnya-, [MA]chu-chu
LP u
JG (Z)kangaw ai
LU zén
LK cha-tei
TI -kang
LA klaw, reéw
AO asang
RO koe
BO ser
KO ngu ne
DF og, khrug
MK kar-nu [G]arnò, pa-tirim
NW [S]si-ye, syà-ye, hwà-ye, hiik-ye, kàl-e

FULL
TB *pling, *tysam
WT khang pa, bltama
GC u pyot, pka
GS ki myod
LP a-blyân, kryul
JG (N)phying 'áy, (Z)hring ai
[M]gum gum, phring, tyú? kong, Awòt
LU khat-
BA khat
LK bi
TI /dim
LA khat
AO sUnga, telong long, tenaridang, aben
RO gapgipa, ganggipa
BO abung, ronà roni, bung
AB bing, där, shì-tet
DF blùsår [Y]yerrtè [T]yerrtè
MK pleng teng, ardung [G]tèng-sèt, plèng
NW [S]jà-ye, than-e

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GET UP

WT  lang
GC  ka rwas
GT  ka rwas
GS  kir was
LP  luk
JG  [M]syAtsô
LU  thawk_
BA  thawk
NW  da-ye  [S]dan-e, than-e
TI  /kæŋking
AO  shishi
RO  chakata
BO  zokang
AB  da-rop/-rep
DF  gorâb  [Y]gorôpto  [T]gorôpto
MK  thur

GIVE

TB  *bAy
WT  sprad pa, gtong ba, btang, phog
GC  ka dit, ka wu
GT  ka wu
GS  di wu’u
NU  zi
[K]xaU
CH  [TP]xda\n[MA]gzyA, sypu
LP  byin, bo, tat
JG  [N]cô’ ’Ay
[A]co?i, sa1
[M]dû, lu, sâng, jô?, sYaGù
[Z]jâw, ya
BA  pék
LA  rûlq, sâm
AO  âgûtsû
RO  *ôn-, onna
BO  hû, hûr, usurgi
NW  bi-ye, dolap-ye
AB  bi, to-lik
KO  pâ ne
DF  ji  [Y]bhito  [T]jîto
MK  pi, hi, panong, tong, ta
### GOOD

| TB  | *may, *pra, *lyak-s |
| WT  | yag po               |
| GC  | ta la, ka la        |
| GT  | ta la, ka la        |
| GZ  | kasanje             |
| GK  | nasan ye            |
| GH  | kā-ūdž               |
| GS  | ki s' na, ki ho'u   |
| GW  | sa                   |
| NU  | shāla                |
| CH  | (T, J, TT) na        |
| [C] | ?gi                  |
| LP  | ryu-wung, a-ryus, yang |
| JG  | (M)ka'cāa 'āy, yang  |
|     | (M)khrāk, khrū?, ma'i, syōp, grāk, al sā?, al           |
|     | (Z)kāja, ma'i, al, grāk |
| LU  | trha_, thuang=, tleı |
| LK  | a tla                |
| TI  | \phas:_, _hoi?     |
| AO  | tajung               |
| RO  | *nam-, dingtangmancha |
| BO  | gaham, hāma, mārka, mazang, moday |
| AB  | a                  |
| KO  | mei                 |
| DF  | ël (Y)alepa          |
| MK  | me, sot (G)tini, pe-mê, me |
| NW  | (S)nín-e, ni-ye, māku(TASTY), bhii |

### GRASP

| WT  | 'jus pa         |
| GT  | tayak ka kāy, ka pkyak(TAKE) |
| GS  | na ko pye       |
| LP  | gyān, t'ep, pyup |
| JG  | (M)manāt, tyít, grā?, ayum |
| LU  | chei_l            |
| LK  | ao-hrac         |
| NW  | lāk-e            |
| AO  | ajspa aru        |
| RO  | rīm-             |
| AB  | gāg-gāp          |
| MK  | nep, chekip, chetum |
GREEN

TB *(s-)*ngow, *krung, *åring
WT ljang khu
GC ljang ku
GT ljang ku
GZ bjamku
GM ljang ser
GS l'jang ku
GW tunglä, xwe
NU mä-shing
TR mAl6
CH [TT, J]xwe
   [L]hwi
   [C]xu
LP a-fong
JG [N]’a’ tsit
   [M]1Ali
   LK a-hna-la-si
AO temak
RO tangsikagipa, tansikgipa
AB lê, ya-ing, i-teng
KO òhùng
DF sôyîn
MK lir, vei

GRIND(cf. POUND)

TB *krit
WT btags pa, ‘thog pa
GC ka-Ndzor ka lat, ka atsu
GT ka tsok
GS ko b’shi
NU jik, hal
LP ngok, ngrik, com
JG [M]dôm rin, Arîn
   [Z]rin ai
LK a-rôpa-ta, cha-ro
LA deéng
AO menungsa
RO wagam chikritkota, sua
AB ner-muik
KO aûasu ne
MK koi, chingkrit

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GROW UP
GC  ka kte, ka akyu
CH  [TP]tA\bzya- [MA]dabar
JG  [NI]tou 'ay
MK  [G]ch\än(THRIVE,INCREASE)

HANG
WT  bk\al pa
GC  ka yok, ka rwak
GT  na yong, na ka yok
NU  dachung, d\dzul, d\achi der s\æt
LP  hu, t'o, hyang, zo, zoi\m
JG  [NI]nuy 'ay
       [MI]Aphyang, jand\æ, j\æn, ay\æn, bra\h, Aby\h, da\h,
       pya\h, sy\hAy\h, Anoi
       [Z]noi ai, nw\æ ai
LU  awk\ hlum_
TI  -xa:i, -ba:ng
LA  ta\sr
NW  yak\h\-ye  [S]kh\-ye, g\-ye
AD  itak, sangz\u, soz\h
RO  ding\æa, wing\æa
BO  awlay, heleng, s\hAy, sen, heng, olm\æy, lomi
AB  tu(-sh\æng, -lik), p\æl
KO  j\out ne, gung ne
DF  p\æs\ær, pai-in  [Y]hakpato  [T]ha'p\öto
MK  jang\æ\øng, vek, kon\æ\juk, to\m
       [G]iche-w\ë\øk, j\æng-h\æ\øm, ling\æ\øng, w\ëk, h\æm

HAPPY
WT  skyid po, dga' po yod pa
GC  ka ni syet[IF], ka sa akyit, ka na nga nyo, ka
    na la
GT  ka sa akyit, ka na na nga
GH  k\-s\-a-sc\yt
GS  ko na nge
NU  [S]ga\m\', a\bra=
TR  [S]ga\m\', bra\m, jo?=
CH  [TP]na-, eye-, du\U-du\U-
    [MA]na, lu\U\U
JG  [NI]ka'\p\øu 'ay
       [M]byo, a\yt pyo, \øng, tyum  [Z]k\æ\bu ai, ng\awn ai
LU  lung=ni thei_tak_
LK  tha pha
AO  mo\a
RO  kusi ongbegis, *kusi(N), usi onga
BO  gor\øng, rong
KO  mongme
DF  [Y]sangl\ökna  [T]\Ulekn\a
MK  [G]iche-h\ök, røng-jir, røng-me
| HARD | WT     | khrag po |
|      | GC     | ka kru  |
|      | GT     | ka kro  |
|      | GS     | ki kro  |
|      | GW     | bkca    |
|      | NU     | rāza    |
|      | CH     | [TT]kuca, [C,J]hku |
|      | LP     | kōk, a-gröt, a-tyāp, a-t’el, a-lit |
|      | JG     | [N]cā’āy |
|      | [M]sāk, gin sā, jā?, grēng |
|      | [Z]ja a |
|      | LU     | a rim-=in=, rum= |
|      | TI     | _sak    |
|      | LA     | pa-me-ia-pa-ha |
|      | AO     | temerang |
|      | RO     | karakgipa, raka |
|      | AB     | tor, tol |
|      | KO     | laang, wan |
|      | DF     | åtтор |
|      | MK     | ingtang, boi |

| HAVE | TB     | =a-ri(EXIST) |
|      | GZ     | ndut    |
|      | GK     | kAndud  |
|      | GM     | ndo     |
|      | CH     | [TT,TT,C]ngaga |
|      | JG     | [Z]rong |
|      | [Z]ngag a, lu a, rawng a |
|      | LU     | awa_pui= |
|      | BA     | a nei   |
|      | LA     | neyq    |
|      | AO     | lir     |
|      | BO     | mā/n, nang |

| HEAR | GC     | ka mis, ka msaam |
|      | GA     | same    |
|      | TR     | [S]pUn= |
|      | NU     | [S]pUn= |
|      | JG     | [Z]na a, nang a |
|      | DF     | [Y]bina (=WORD) [T]bina (=WORD) |
|      | NW     | [S]tā-ye |
HEAVY
TB *(s-)lÁy
GC ka li
GT ka li
GS ki li
NU áli
[?]nák
LP a-lim, bryôn-nā
JG [M]li, mai dãng li
[?]li ai
LU harh_lo_, khôn, rit_, rih_
LA rit
AO tarét
RO jrígipa
BO deebra, gilir, ilir, letema, pilir
AD te-beg
KO yih
DF é
MK ardik [G]ardik, hôp
NW [S]igen-e

HELP
WT rogs pa byed pa
GC ka kor, ts ka kor
GT ka kor ka pa
GM ka-kor
GS ki kor ko pe
GW wa
NU dabang [S]a\r0?= TR a\r0?=, aU\nang=
CH (L)zygwa (T)hwa31 (TT)hôhwa
[TP]Rua\,cAu= tha- [C]gwa [MA]Ruar, cAutha
LP pón, tôp
JG [M]ka'rúm 'áy
[M]rúm, taú, gum
[A]kălzyum3
[?]garum ai
LU báwi, kûr_pui=
LA bôm
AO yari
NW kop-e [S]tap, sa-ye, bwal-e, hap-e, kup-e
RO dakchaka
BO hepa záb, dzáb, tesÁ
AB dum-ahu
KO jûm ne
DF 0-blûm
MK rap, van
HIDE(CONCEAL)

WT bskungs, brnogs
GC ka sys pki
JG [M]gyim, lAkán, mÁkoi, sylm dá, gòp
LU bi_bo=, bik bo=, thuk_ru_, zép\nLA röl, thup, thuq
AO meyim
RO donua
BO hepkmå, kÁrAb, ebré, erså/, hakmå, ser
KO lo ne
DF [Y]pasito [T]pasito
MK [G]pa-ngkép-jóy, pa-tù, bin(SHADE)
NW [S]sul-e, ta-ye, dha-e

HIGH

TB *m-rang, *m-to
WT utho
GC ka Nja
GT ka Nbro
GH kÁ-mô-ró
GS ki mo ro
NU hang
CH [T,TT,Jibu [C]bru
LP tÅ-ta-bo
JG [N]tsåö 'áy [Z]tsaw ai
LU hrÁn, zo=
BA sÁng
TI -sa:ng
AO talang, tuochi
RO chugipa
AB bo-dong, tipula, zÅW, pÅgÅW
KO dao
DF au-å
MK ingtui, kiding, athak

HIT(cf.BEAT,KNOCK)

WT brdungs, brdegs, bcags
GC ka tøm, ka lat[IMP]
NU [S]ldung=', rap=, sÅt= må?= TR [S]ldung=, a\b\u?=, rap=, a\sat=, a\kai'
CH [T]chì= [M]Ra
JG [N]ka'ýét 'áy [A]cal?1
[Z]khra ja
LU vua_, vaw_, vÅsk
BA vuak
NW dá-ye [S]thin-e, cwa-ye, dik-e, juk-e, muik-e
DF [Y]kedinto [T]kedinto
MK Àp [G]chåk, téng, ro, sÅp
HOLD

| WT | lag par 'khyer pa, bcangs, bzung |
| GC | we ya na ke pya, ke pya, ka sythát |
| GT | ta yak ka key |
| NU | [S]jα\U{k\U} |
| TR | [S]jα\t\U{tUp}=, ten |
| CH | [TP]phe=tha-, kuA=tsi\ |  
| JG | [M]phaitha, dáchi |
| LU | dāwa |
| AO | amet, an |
| RO | rimketa, rimtata, *rim- |
| KO | moonge tük ne |
| MK | [G\]dū |

HOT

| TB | *tsa |
| WT | tsha po |
| GC | kA stshe, ka sa syki |
| GT | ka sa lok |
| GM | kA stsiE |
| GH | kA-sá-lok |
| GS | di was tse |
| GW | tesālo |
| NU | ärkat shi, geng |
| LP | a-hrun |
| JG | [N\]cåa 'aY |
| LU | bū tüt, sa=, uāp |
| BA | sâ |
| TI | -sâ; -sak, -thak, -tha |
| AO | tatsük |
| RO | *ding-, dinggipa |
| BO | gudung, alu, rób rób, sandung |
| AB | gu, am-ké, pam-ki |
| KO | shiem |
| DF | og |
| MK | so, phangok, soluk  [G\]khör, sêt, sô |
| NW | [S\]kwā-ye |
HUNGRY
WT  lto gs
GC  kto ka mo
GT  ko mo
GK  kA mo
GS  ki mo
NU  hpA ri mer shi
[KL]d\U
LP  krit n\O m, hyer
JG  [N]kr\O 'AY
[M]kro si
[Z]khaw si ai
AO  aya
RO  okrigipa
BO  lug\AY
AB  ke-nong
KO  senyao
DF  k\A na
MK  ingchir, kangchir

HUNT
WT  ri dags rgyab pa
GC  ka lat(SHOOT,HIT)
GH  s\A r
CH  [T]ho
[TT,]joxoxo
[C]xos\U
JG  [M]g\O ng, sy\A n g\O p, mai khrau
[Z]khwi ai, shan sh\A jut ai
AO  arishi
RO  sikar(N)
BO  m\A yh\O r(N)
KO  meei kep ne

HURRY
WT  brel pa byss pa
GC  ka nga nak
GT  ska ca ka thu, ka nga na ka thu
GH  r\jyA k
GS  ko nag
NU  [S]p\U\re=syi'
TR  [S]p\U\rai=syi'
CH  [TP]su=p\a=
[MA]s\yipi
JG  [M]l\A wan, lau, sy\A yan, tyang, rau
[Z]shatin ai, chang ai
LK  se-cha-tli
MK  [G]t\O ng
ILL
TB *na, *s-nyung
WT na taha
GC ka te na
GT ta na
GK kānā guo
GM tawo
GH nā kē-nū gō
GS ki ni ko
NU za
[S]za`
TR [S]dza`
CH [TP]zye`
[MA]rj
LP a-jën, dēk-bo, sā-dyat, zum
JG [N]ma'chi 'āy
[N]ma'chi  'āy
[M]N-tyi, Mātyi?, Azi, Anā(N)
[Z]māchi ai
LU dam=lo_
LK pa-sa, tla-vei
TI -ne:, _nat
AO mejung, manem, shirangbe, sārep, asyī
RO ssa, sagipa
BO sāgina
AB ki
KO takpa
DF dalli kārda
MK hingno, keso, sodet, so
[G]marā, sō

INCREASE
WT phel, spel
GC ka pos gis ka myi nya
GS ko ra n'p'el
NU bāt, bār, bro, bung
LP ka:m, ka:l
JG [M]bren, māyat, Amō?, jāt
[Z]jāt ai, kaba wa ai
LU ti_pūn=
AO renlok, kām
BO pabang, usi paw
AB par, pon, té
KO cha
MK ding, thep, ong, kām
KICK

WT rdog 'tsir btang pa
GC ta-sbro ka lat
GT ta-sbro ka lat
NU hi mer dāhpèt, dācha
CH [L]chu [T]chi
LP gor, t'ya
JG [N]ahing tit 'āy
[M]khāt di, khim dī, sying dī
[Z]khindit ai, shingdit ai, lākhāt ai
LU chhīr, khengh
LA sīt
AO metau
RO gatinga
BO zā. zākar
NW pyengki
AB tu, lē-shut-shu
KO koo ne
DF tū
MK tur, cherdak [G]tūr

KILL

TB *g-sāt
WT gaad pa, baad, bkums
GC ka sat, ka Ncha
GT sat
GZ sjan, kanche
GK ka-sIEd
GH sīāt
GS ko sad
NU sāt, shāt [K]ka [S]sāt= sva'
TR [S]sat=, tōt=
CH [C]chu [J]tshu [T]cI- [M]cA
LP sōt, sok, cet
JG [N]sāt 'āy [A]sāt1
[M]sāt [Z]sāt ai
LU hñuk_chhat, tālh, ti_thī=, hlum_
LK thī saī, thīh
TI \gou, _that
LA that, thag
AO tepaet, kaset
NW syā [S]syā-ye
RO sōota(BEAT)
BO beltay
AB mo-kē
KO tui ne
DF men [Y]jengmarato [T]jumngauktō
MK ap, doihet, doipet, pethi [G]thā, pe-thī

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KIND
WT  drin chen po
GC  wu sku Ndrin
GS  u s’ku drin
NU  dâsha mer za ë
LP  sâ-tsû(N), sak-cin kyang-bo
JG  [Z]mâsan dum ai
LU  ngÎl nei_
BA  nei
RO  kasaani, namnikani, nama, namgipa
BO  onpáwra, bôsma bibd, zakay, ontár
AB  ai-ang, mui
KO  shepahi(N), yayangpu(N)
MK  ningkedo

KNIT
GC  ka skye
GT  ka skri
LP  tset
LU  phiar=
NW  go-ye
AO  mechi
BO  gunti
KO  hîno ne
MK  keroi

KNOCK(cf.BEAT/HIT)
JG  [M]bông khråk, Akôk, ding khrak
   [Z]kawk ai, kawk ai, kayat ai, adup ai, anu ai,
   htu ai
LU  bu\ rûk
TI  \'ki:u, _kiu?
NW  thun-e
   [S]thwâ-ye, penk-e(KIGC)
AO  akushi
RO  doktika
BO  taimuri
MK  [G]ardêng, pe-cheng
KNOW (cf. LEARN)

TB *m-kyen, *syey
WT shes pa
GC ka sye
GT ka nga syiy
GH ayi, ubsya
GS wu su le, nam sang, ko shu
NU sha

TR [S]aO=
CH [TP]aI=

LP t’yak, ẏo
JG (N)cèng ’áy
(L)chye ng, tyangh, tye ya, tyoi

LU hriə, thiaə
BA theih, thiaə
TI \thei, _thei?
NW ai-ye

HY ses
LA they, theyq
AO metet, aghi
RO uia, niani
BO sAlAng, po(N)
AB kin, kēn, jong, lāk
KO shing ne, manpu(N)
DF chen

MK thek, chinî

LATE

GC ka mu Nku
GT ?i nu ku
NU lang dim âjê
(K)lap
JG (Z)na aî, ćhe ng hpa ng khrat aî, aten shisai aî
LU a_tlaĩ, a_tlaĩ in=, chang_tlaĩ, khaw=tlaĩ
LK haw
AO menu
RO je-maν-o (LATER)
BO gabaw, baw
AB ngak, rup, a-deng
KO ahoun
DF hâsa
MK keder, kapeder, ki-ding

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LAUGH
TB *m-nwi(y), *rya-t
WT egad mo gal
GC kā (nā) ri
GT (ka na) ri
GS ki na ri
GW ja
NU it shi
[S]jet=
TR [S]ēt=cū\nCH [TT,C,MA]ja
[TP]ja-
LP t’yan
JG [N]mā’nī ’āy
[A]mā 1 ni3
[N]mānit, sūm sai
[Z]mānī ai
LU nui=
NW nhil-e
LK pa-hnei
AO mēnū, ajumetsū (LAUGH AT)
RO kadings, *ka-ding-
BO minigla, mini kār
AB yir, ngil
KO nye ne
DF nyir, [Y]nyerto [T]nyirrto
MK ingnek

LEARN
WT (b)sab pa
GC po skat ta tsin
NU šālap shi
[S]aū\ lap= syū\nTR [S]aū\ lap= syū\nCH [TP]ta\aI=
[MA]aI
LP hlap
JG [N]ahā’nīn lae ’āy
[A]yāl zyin2
[Z]ahārin la ei
LU sīn
NW se-ye [S]bwan-e
AO angs, angashi, angazūk
RO skie raani
BO rāng
AB ir-shu
KO manpu(N)
DF chen, besir-kā
[Y]kāchinto [T]kachinto
MK cherli, pechok

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LEFT

TB  =bway
WT  g’yon
GC  ka ku
GT  ka wu
GS  ka we
NU  égi lam, abang lam
LP  vi
JG  [N]pây
     [N]lapai     [Z]lëpai
LK  cha-vei
AO  tabelen
RO  *jak-a-si
AB  làk-kê
KO  yaknya
DF  álâ,lâtch
MK  arvi

LEND(cf.BORROW)

WT  g’yar ba
GC  ka aye rnga, ski[IMP], na ka rnga
NU  ruma, nga
LP  numa byi
JG  [N]shâp ‘ây      [A]khoi
     [Z]khoi ya ai, shap ya ai
LU  khoi, syâp ya, boi
AO  aputšù
BO  bur
AB  bi-pông
DF  nârâ-lâ jì
MK  perâm  [G]pe-râm
NW  tyâ(sâ)bi-ye

LICK

WT  bldags
GC  ka dzok, (ta) (N)dzo(n)
GT  (ka) (N)taok
NU  lè      [K]zi
LP  lôk
JG  [N]ma’tâ’ ’ây
NW  phe-ye
LA  liâk, liâk, liaq
AO  meña
RO  charoka
BO  sa lê
AB  yâk
KO  yai ne
DF  ya
MK  inglek

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<td>i(lot), thi, kli, dim [G]1, ti</td>
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| **LIFT** |   |
| GC  | ka yok(HANG) |
| NW  | lhon-e [S]lhwan-e, thin-e |
| LP  | tʌːn |
| AO  | azong |
| DF  | [Y]nāchato |
| TR  | [T]nachato |
| MK  | ingthum |
|    | [G]che-rūng, rūng |

<p>| <strong>LIGHT</strong> |   |
| GC  | ka plu |
| NU  | [S]pU\chU{=} |
| TR  | [S]pU\ci` |
| CH  | [TP]tʌˈA- |
|    | [Mʌ]zya |
| DF  | pālō |
|    | [Y]ponglu |
|    | [T]pulē |
| MK  | thɔːr, mɛ-ke-kłān |</p>
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<p>| LIKE |
| TB | *m-dzɑ |
| WT | dga' po yod pa |
| GC | ka na nga, sna |
| GT | ka na na nga |
| GK | karAsynangE |
| GM | ka-na ɲi |
| GS | ko s'ne zhaŋ ko pe, ko s'ne ko m'dzed |
| NU | shung shi |
| LP | mui, zāng, zoːng |
| JG | [N]rā' 'āy |
| | [M]sâm tsō?, sūm rā? {Z}ra ai, tsaawai, dawng ai |
| BA | duh |
| LK | kyu...pa-cha |
| NW | ya-ye |
| TI | /iːt, /iːt, -ngeːi, _dei? |
| AO | meim, temeim(N), agiŋU |
| RO | kasa, mikcha, *git-a- |
| BO | māṅzō, ŏn, hanza |
| AB | kanghon, jinso |
| KO | kung ne |
| DF | Ʉ |
| MK | [G]inghön |</p>
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LIVE
TB *krung, *áring
WT geon pa
GC n'é(s)
GM kAnyi
GH nenen, ná-ks-ndá
GS ko na ya'ou
WU [S]rOng'
TR [S]rOng'
LP zu, bas, ngn
JG [M]khrung, ná, gup
[L]khrung ai
LU nung/
BA nung
LA núng, nún
AO ali
RO donga
BO tá
AB tür, yé
KO ngoe ne, ñyin anglak ne
DF tür
MK reng

LONG
TB *tù:ng, *low, *a-ring
WT ring po
GT ka khye
GZ këskhrei
GK skriEn
GH ká-mó-ró
GS ki are
NU yang
[5]lai=, arang'
TR [5]lai=, arang'
CH [T,TT,C,J]e
LP a-hryan, aúl-lá
JG [N]thát 'áy
[M]galang, rën, ding loí
[Z]galu ai (cf. Dimmase lau)
LK sei
TI /sa:u, sa:u
LA saÅw
RO rogipa
BO lAw, bong bong, zångti
AB bo-dong, ai år, a dong
KO low
DF åssá
MK keding, dinglep
[5]jëng, ding

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LOOK
WT  itas, mthong, btaas(I)
GC  ka pya
GK  kasru
GS  ko na ro ro
NU  yang
CH  [T]ca
   [TT]tsa
   [J]tsAE, cAE
   [C]te
   [TP]ci
   [MÄ]kuAtiu
LP  ngak, syi
JG  [N]myi' mâu 'ây
   [M]mÄdä yu, Awoi
   [Z]yu ai
LU  bih-, ên chhuâk
BA  zauh
TI  /en, _et, /da:k, \da:k
AO  mazumale, reprang
RO  *ni-, amme
BO  ney
NW  swa-ye, thu-ye
AB  kâng, kâ-ta
KO  lei ne
DF  kâ
MK  lang, meng, ardik

LOOSE
WT  bkral pa(V)
GC  na ka wal dey
GT  ka la dey, kal da(V)
GS  ko b'krol
NU  hpyit, hpyin
LP  tyor tyor, hlyo hlyo
JG  [N]khÄran, ayáp, gin ran, phyÄm
   [Z]raw ai
LK  i-vei
AO  chila, sala(V)
RO  olgroka
BO  guräy, gurung, new, tray tray(ADV), lung
AO  e-rok, e-ngÂn
KO  juo
DF  püsâ0
MK  sevaikrak
NW  phen-e
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**LOST(GET-)**

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MAD
WT  amyob ba
GC  ka amyob
GT  ka amyob
GS  kibeyo, ki b'amyob
NU  sa-o
LP  a-jin
JG  [H]amana
    [Z]amana ai
LU  a baw raw
AO  yiar
RO  jera, kore, pagla
BO  lAliya, pagla, bAr
AB  shi-mat
KO  ngpa
DF  rurgrä
    [Y,T]rupa
MK  ingcham, padai

MAKE
WT  bzoa pa, bgyis, bcas, byas
GC  ka pa
GT  ka sok
GH  pang
GS  ko pe
NU  wa, shalë
LP  zuk, zo, fat, mat
JG  [Z]karaw ai, di ai
LU  bawl=, beng bël, siam=
LK  tu
NW  dayeke
AO  asû, yanglu, asâ
RO  *dak-
BO  soday
AB  mo, i, pui
MK  thip, soi, bu, pinchong, sik
    [G]klém, semár, sonsé
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MEMORIZE

WT ngan la zim pa, blo la nges pa
GC tÅ ru yo ka na
JG (N)sit lÖu ˚ áy

MIX

TB *ryaw
WT bsre, bsdebs, bsnos
GC ka sa kyo lo(VT), kÅ kyo lo(VI)
GT tem
GS ko sa kyo lo, ko kyo lo
NU ãsu
LP kyoI, t˚yu, p˚yo
JG (N)ka˚yåw ka˚yåa ˚ áy
(M)gåyau, sying-lau
(Z)kåyau ai
LU chawh_ pawlh_
NW lw˚kchyå-yåe
(S)kul-e, gwal-e, hin-e, chyå-ye, bu-ye, wål-e
LA cok
AO meyoktep
BO golay, pÅn
AB yël-shu
DF nêya, moya
(Y)moyo m˚chåto (T)moyo michåto
MK pangvui (G)layti, ingwåy, che-˚

MOVE

TB *mow
WT ‘gul kyog rgyab
GC kÅ mÅ lmo, ka ka symi mot
GT ka wa tse let
NU ângåt shi, shit
TR ngat5 shiAå
LP t˚y, nyang, ngang
JG (N)thôt ˚ áy
(M)låkhå, lêm lêm, bÅ thôt, Alêm, bÅ wå,s?-låp, Awåm, sit
(Z)shåmu ai, sit ai
LU ch˚ng_, ché buan=, ché pui=, del_chå
TI /ki:n, /ki:n, /ta“ng, _tat
LA caang, câng, kaÅa, thoÅn
AO aråkzÅ
RO jita, *rê-, dingdea, eka, ekåta
BO maw, låråy
AB e-ngÅn, be-leng, ngåt
KO keå ne, poo ne
MK terek, hijuk, pepet [G]klåm, lÅr, hijåk
NW [S]aan-e
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<td>a-pit, pǔng-bing-lā</td>
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<tr>
<td>(M)khyip 'āy</td>
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<tr>
<td>(M)tyūp tyūp, gyeng, gyip</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Z)chyiŋ ai</td>
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<tr>
<td>kum=</td>
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<tr>
<td>bua</td>
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<tr>
<td>mesŋ</td>
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<td>apchangket, apchona</td>
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<tr>
<td>geséb, gezzer, aéb</td>
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<tr>
<td>a-ŋik, bor-mé</td>
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<td>hūtpu, ti</td>
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<td>chibů, tānys</td>
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<td>bihek, chengran</td>
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<td>*ney</td>
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<tr>
<td>thag nye po</td>
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<tr>
<td>re ka wat</td>
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<tr>
<td>kekcin</td>
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<td>re wid</td>
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<td>yul</td>
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<tr>
<td>[TT]ʒje</td>
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<tr>
<td>[C]hza</td>
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<tr>
<td>a-t'ŋeng, num-t'ng, töl</td>
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<tr>
<td>[N]nti 'āy</td>
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<td>[M]ntʃi, ni</td>
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<td>[Z]ni ai</td>
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<tr>
<td>bi_chilh_, lām hnaŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>-kʰiŋ, /naːi, \naːi</td>
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<tr>
<td>naŋy</td>
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<td>anasa</td>
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<td>*se-panŋ, sambaŋ, se pangipa</td>
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<tr>
<td>zing</td>
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<tr>
<td>a-nin, mo-ngé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋo, phiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋuŋ-ə-lā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tebok, adung, along</td>
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NEW
TB *sar
WT gsar
GC ka syuk
GT sar
GZ kesyek
GH ke-syik
GS g'sar pe
NU ang sarr
TR ak5 sa15
LP ai, hlap, a-tsum
JG {M}ning nén {M}N-nan, ning nan {Z}ning nan
LU le='m, the= lam'=, thér
TD athat
WE ahal-be
TI -thak
LA thér, thar
AO asen, tasen
RO gital
BO dan, gadan
AB a-num a-ni, bûk, shûr
KO dla
DF nft
MK akebre

OLD
TB *(s-)raw. *r-ga
WT rnying pa
GC kæ mco, ka Nbi
GT ka rnyom, ka rpi
GK rko
GH kæ-woi, ta-mør, kæ-pû
GS ki rgan
GW ba
NU asa, [K]kan
CH [C,J]ba
LP a-ngo, grok, nyo, zôl, ru, hryup
JG {N}ting aâa {Z}ning sa, ting sa, {M}N-sâ, ding-sâ, lâgâ, âsâk, gâlû
LU hlun\_\_ un\_
LK pa-ro
TI -lu:i, -ta:k, \_ta:k, -xa:t, \_xa:t, \_-he:m
LA hlûm, tär
AO ajen, taen, tejen, tasa, kte
RO gitcham
BO bâray, gazan, bêtây
AB a-ku, in
KO Ùlang
DF kûchchû
MK saru, aben, hoko, a-ko [G]chin, barim
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<td>WT</td>
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<td>GK</td>
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<td>NU</td>
<td>āsa</td>
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<td>LP</td>
<td>ta-ngot, pa-nyôm, nûm-prum, rang-rit</td>
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<td>JG</td>
<td>[N] 'a'sák ka'pâa 'ây</td>
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<td>[M]gin-sâ, ding-la, sâ, Asâk kÂbâ</td>
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<td>[Z]tingla ai, kumgai ai</td>
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<td>LK</td>
<td>paw pi, pa-ro</td>
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<td>RO</td>
<td>bedepa, buchuma</td>
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<td>mui-jing, mi-ne</td>
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<td>wupa, wunyu</td>
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<tr>
<td>DF</td>
<td>nyekâm</td>
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<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>sar, aki, ako, aban, sarpi, bûrê</td>
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<td>*pu, *ka</td>
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<td>dbye, phyes</td>
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<td>GC</td>
<td>ka tun, ta ka pye</td>
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<td>GT</td>
<td>komtsa ka tun</td>
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<td>GW</td>
<td>guci c'ie</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[TP]xgie-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[MA]rga</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>fôt, ôk, gang, ga:r</td>
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<tr>
<td>JG</td>
<td>[H]ûf', sâm khân, dûgân</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[Z]hpaw ai</td>
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<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>hawng_, ang=, parh_, phên, tho, angg=</td>
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<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>-xa:k(A), \xa:k(A)</td>
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<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>qông</td>
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<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>satak, ala, lapok, sala, aka</td>
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<td>RO</td>
<td>oâ, bangbang(A), porongrong(A)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>blang, geng(VI), gew(VI), gêkeng, bisi, si</td>
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<td>shig-ya, tam-lât</td>
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<td>ep, ep ne</td>
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<td>ingpu, kangthei, phlok</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[S]kan-e, phen-e, ul-e, cûl-e</td>
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ORDER

WT  bka' btang pa
GS  ke'i ko g'nang, kib'ka na ka g'uang
NU  dásu, dázárr
LP  a-t'yen, byent'o
JG  [N]sha'ngün 'āy
     [Z]shāngu ai
LA  caq
AO  managaba, tatoñgi, mela(V)
RO  hukum onna, gé-et-
AB  rép-shing
KO  ngeokeang pha ne
DF  barO(N)
MK  hukum, pinkhat, phar

PAINFUL

TB  *na, *tse
GC  ka sa xtaap, ka zor
GT  de dzor, zur
GK  sytu, kA-zur
GS  tis a'kru
NU  za
     [S]za'
TR  [S]dza'
CH  [T,TT]zye
     [C]hje
     [TP]zye-
     [MA]rji
LP  a-dāk
JG  [A]mal?2
     [M]dāk kha?, Atsā?
     [Z]mākret máchi ai
AO  tanguba, tekang shi, angu(V)
RO  saa, sadika
AB  dig,ki
KO  takpu
DF  atch
MK  keso, keduk, sa
     [G]pe-so, krū

PAINT

TB  *(r-)tsā'y
WT  taison btang pa
GT  ?ar tai ka lat
GS  m'ta'on r'tae
NU  za
LP  ts'an
JG  [N]tia
     [Z]chya ai
MK  alir
PLAY
TB *r-ca:y
WT rtse, mo rtse pa, bkrol
GC tÀ Nbri ka pa
GT briy ka pa
GZ (na)rgjang
GK kenpre
GS ti n'pri'i
LP a-lyAm
JG [N]kinsáp 'ay
[Alcai3
[L]gAsöp, ayAngoi, ayAtysi, Abyoi, khot, Arai tysi
[Z]khaui pai, chyi ai
LU chañh, fám'
TI -mo:1, \m0:1
LA le, leq, tûm, tum/
AO assay, sayi, lemta
RO karr-, kala
AB so-mân
KO won ne, wûng ne
DF sà/min
MK chelem, jui [G]khérke-klém, pa-thù, lêm

POUND(GRIND)
GC ke stau
JG [Z]htu ai, dup ai
DF [Y]tûtu, chitto(=THRUST)
[T]khûtu, jitto(=THRUST)
MK [G]che-thang

POUR
TB *r-lu-w, *m-lu-w, *sywar
WT blug pa, ldug pa, bcugs
GC ke rko, ka lat
GT ka rku
GS na r'kod
NU htum, up
TR pÀ5 tom4
LP lâk, hyel, hak, nyôr, cho:r
JG [M]ré, jô, rû bang, rû kaô
TI /sung, \sun
LA suun, suun, thléet
AO zaok, zok
RO paks
BO hAsà, lokôb
AB pui, pur, yar, tong
KO yei ne
DF tâ
MK kip, thong, dung, thek, cole
[G]pa-tip, ingbé, kip, cho-lê

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PULL
TB *ton
WT then, btoqs, drange
GC ka Nthen, na ka ra syi
GT ka ra syi
GS ko ru ahu
NU shãl, dãzãn, hpãt
TR kãl
CH [TT]twe  [C]htwa  [J]htye
LP dot
JG [NJ]kâng ’ãy
[Altun3
[M]khying, bô, gang, Akhyìk, rûn, gãrôt, Apun
[Z]dun ai, gang ai, gãwaut ai, karawt ai
BA zek, nûk, thek, lik
TI \ka:i, _akai?, _sa:n, _sat
LA dîr, dirq, khaây
AO atsû, tokzôk
RO sala, sar
NW thun-e
BO bû, bûka, dihan, bokô
AB so, bu, king, shêng
DF pu, se
MK vung, sang, dat  [G]sân, wûng

PUSH
WT ’bi ’jag rgyab pa
GC ka trhak, na ka pya
GT pak cis ke lat
GA vã-rk’ãû
GS di dis sid
NU dahpat  [S]dar\nTR [S]nöl-, dûglo?-
CH [TPla\chi-  [M]alchu
LP nûk, nât, nun, hól, soîr
JG [NJ]ka’nong ’ãy
[M]nông, Ûthu khrá  [Z]kânawng ni
LU nãm
LK heïi
TI _sa:i, \sa:i
LA tuôl, tuûl, nãm, nâm, sôm
AO anung, nungten, sárea
RO jîta, jîtpaka, sîk-, draa, sikjita
BO nár, sëb
AB mîng, ig, yut
NW chya-e  [S]khwâ-ye, ghwâ-ye
KO sung ne
DF tû [Y]tungto  [T]tuto
MK doi, ingbei, sor  [G]lingbêy, dêy

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PUT

TB *ta
WT bzhag pa, bkram, bstad, btsud, bskyogs
GC ka tha, na ka tha
GT ka tha
GK t'A lat
GH rkut, rkO
GS ko te
NU dasin
LP dya, t'o, lot t'ap, tham
JG [N]ton ta 'ay
[N]dim, da, dat, ban, dik, ro?, syAdan, ton, da,
toi
(Z)tai ai, tawn ai, bang ai
LU dah, chih(PUT-ON)
LA thun
NW [S]sin-e, ta-ye
HY ta
AO ayu enok
RO don-, sik-(INSERT), dontonge(PUT-OFF)
BO dan, gobray, aA, karAb, pasAa, gamAar, za'b
AB le, me, ie-shi
DF ap, kA-g
MK bi, cheum, pindeng, sumpot
[Gl)che-bi, bi, raI

PUT IT AWAY
GC wu bu ka pa

PUT IT IN
GC ka rko

PUT IT OUT
GC ka akhet
RAIN

TB *r-MAw, *r-MAw(N)
WT char ba btang pa
GC tu-mu kA lat
GT de mu ka lat
GZ charna(N)
GK char nag(N)
GM tAmu(N)
GS ch'er nag
NU ser(N) [S]nâm'ze?
TR [S]nâm'dza?
CH [L]mArU [TT]mAzyi [C]mArI [TP]xje- [MA]mARe
LP so(N)
JG [N]me' rang thu 'ay
[2]mârang htu ai
[M]mAran(N)
LU rush_sûr=
LK sua(N), va a sua
AO taung lu aru
RO *wa-, mikha waa
BO ha, täy
AB pe-dong(N)
KO wai gei ne
DF dôdông, nyadang
MK arve(N) [G]lärwè jáng

RAISE

WT bteg, balangs, bagrengs
GC ka syu rwas
JG [Z]sharewt ai
NW tachâ-ye
MK jär-phör

RAW

WT rjem pa
GC kur nyi
GT kur di
NU azum
[K]?dip
LP a-zum
JG [M]grén
LU hël
LK hlia
AO tazû
AB lè, ya-ing
DF dinle
MK veisk
READ

WT  klog, bklags
GC  ta-tha ka pa, na ka lok
GT  ta na ku u long
GH  lök
GS  ko s’lag, ko zle
GW  tat’ánanatsu
LP  hlok, rok
JG  [NJ]låy kæ thi ’Ay  [Z]hti si, hpæt ai
LU  chhier=
BA  rèl
LA  sier
AO  azlång  [RO] *po-ra-i
BO  poray
KO  eülak ne
MK  teræ, phuri  [G]ka-chelång, porhi

RECALL

GC  su-so ka pa

RECEIVE

GC  ka nÀ sythit
GS  ko pye, no nang
NU  lu, ähtåp shi
LP  vyôn lyo
JG  [M]kålå, khåp kålå, syÅyôn
[Z]kålå la ai, lu ai
LU  dawng=  
LK  to
TI  _nga?
LA  ngaq
AO  agigûk, tagizûba(N)  [RO] *rim-
AB  pång
KO  ponpu
MK  long, deng, chak

RECOVER

WT  drag pa
GC  ka mÀ na
GT  wu go na
GS  wu go ti m’nas
NU  yang, ähtång shi
LP  lût sá
JG  [M]bren  [Z]pøi tu ai, khrup ai(FIND)
BO  hangløb
DF  âl duk
MK  methu, jorjì
RED
TB *kyeng, *r-ni, *tya-n, *cak
WT dmer po
GC ka wu rni
GT ka wu rni
KK kAwurni
GH kâ-wûr-nf
GS ki wu r’ni
GW ornì, nhÅ
NU zärr, mäse
TR puSsai4
CH [TT]hi [C,JIÅhi
LP e-hyir, lük-lök-lå
JG [N]’a’ khyèn
[M]Akhyeng, N-khye, a-?mang
[Z]cheng ai
LU hlui=sen=, tai_
TI _san
LA aën
AO temerem
BO gitchakgipe, pring-sengmitchi
AB líng
KO ûtak, takupu(N)
DF lauichi
MK ke-er, erdang [G]êr

REJOICE
GC ka ni syet(IPF), ka nga(PFT)

RELEASE
WT bkrol
GC ka tat
NU [S]lang'
TR [S]lang=
CH [TP]aye= [MA]chi
JG [N]tât ‘åy
[Z]tat tat ai
NW phyan-e [S]hyå
DF [Y]tëfflyato
[T/t]khyato
REMarry

WT sadad pa
GC ka nyi
GH nên
GS di ke nyis, ki ri, ki g’nas, lus pa
NU īl, ēchē
LP k’i, gyam, ngan, baa,
JG [M]āp
LU lum,
LK y
TI -tha:m
LA riak, riaz(STAY-OVER)
AO ata ali
RO bakkī, watchanggipa, bokanggpa
BO tang
AB dung
KO tuopa(N)
MK thoi, dokok, dothak
NW len-e

REPAIR
WT bzo bcos rgyab, gaos pa, balan pa
GC ka ans skik<ka sa nā skik
GT sman co ka pe(CURE)
GS zhe g’so ko pe
NU dāsip [S]zap=
TR [S]aUl lan=
CH [M]cinyi
LP pā-nap mat, lyōt zuk
JG [M]nyi
LU chei=bawl=
RO taris, namata
EO pahām
AB tén
KO shiep, lingeyi
DF ma-tīn
MK keroi, pidiovet, chedam
NW [S]lhwane
REST

TB *na
WT ngal bso byas pa, gnas pa
GC ke na, ke ne na
GT ke ni pa
GS ki ni ne
LP da, jā, gör
LU chāwl_
AO anisūngzūk
BO dāmōy
AB a-pē
KO toloimei
DF dā-n
MK sang, sere, pepho, ahin

RETURN

WT log yong pa
GC ka khyu wat, ka ne ya
GT ka ya yipi, ka ya yini
GD kachod
GN lōuyngā
GH mā-dā
GS ki ngk’or
NU lau, ahtang
TR [S]lō?=, bā?= 
CH [TT,C,J]ba
LP len cik, lōt byi, tso:k
JG [MJ]wās lā ‘āy
[Al]wāl, nthang3
[MI]lai, māngn, sum-thāng, syAbaI
[Z]wa ai
LU hawng
BA a kir
NW līhā-wan-e
TI _lE?, _cia?_cia?
LA kīr, tīng
AO meyip
RO pīr-, onpilla
BO paypin
AB bi-lāt, gi-lāt
KO leihyi ne
MK thon, wiophak
[GJ]che-rūy, che-wōy (=GO HOME)
RICH

WT  dzig po
GC  ka ma sye
GT  ke ma sye
GZ  tasyi
GM  kA ma syiE
GH  kA-mA-syi
GS  ti r'gyu, ki ma shi
NU  a-da, i-sit a-da
TR  mA5 kaMI
LP  ke-ka nyim-bo
JG  [M]lu sA, sUt lu
     [Z]haut hau ni
LU  chang tlung
LK  kho haw
TI  
LA  lian, len
AO  takar
RO  mane chagipa, rajani machong
BO  gabang
AB  mI-reM
KO  hakpa
DF  nyettB
MK  keri, keplang

RIDE

TB  *jon
WT  bzhon pa
GC  ka mu, ta na mu
GT  ka de syco
GS  ko na ni
GW  ganesco, tsa
NU  zun shi
     [S]syOn=
TR  jOt= syU\, syOn=
CH  [TT,C,J,MA]tAs
     [TP]tAs-
LP  t'ul
JG  [NJ]con 'Ay
     [MJ]ja\u, jo(VT)
     [Z]jawn ai
AO  asang
KO  ong ne
MK  ardon
### RIPE

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<td>men [G]ingchó, phư, mēn</td>
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### RISE

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<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>was, tsho(SUN-)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>ki was, ki tso</td>
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<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>bewng, hkong shi</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>hrong, ding, bol</td>
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<tr>
<td>JG</td>
<td>[N]ing, tung, jan pru, u, rūm, rōt, āt [Z]rawt ai</td>
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<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>thō herh_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>/thou, _thO?</td>
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<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>adok, atu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>chuani, chakatani</td>
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<tr>
<td>BO</td>
<td>gupung</td>
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<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>shang, da-rop, pu-lém</td>
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<tr>
<td>KO</td>
<td>ongpu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DF</td>
<td>gorāb, hūchā [Y]nāchato [T]nachato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>thur, arlu, arjap, arong vang</td>
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<td>NW</td>
<td>[S]lu-ye, than-e</td>
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| SAD        | WT       | sens skyo po               |
|           | GT       | ?a sem ku Ntuk, ka co       |
|           | NU       | mit sem                   |
|           | JG       | [N]yôn 'ay [Z]masin kǎji ai |
|           | TI       | _da?                      |
|           | AO       | ğashi                      |
|           | RO       | dük onggipä                |
|           | BO       | zingga, dâmay              |
|           | AB       | âng-o                      |
|           | KO       | mongmeang                  |
|           | MK       | ning keduk                 |

| SALTY     | WT       | tsha khu yod pa             |
|           | GT       | nya de thak                 |
|           | GW       | khã                        |
|           | NU       | šhëla hka ê                 |
|           | CH       | [TT,C,Jj]qha                |
|           | LP       | sór                        |
|           | JG       | [M]Asyuyum, jùm khá, syum   |
|           | LA       | qál                        |
|           | RO       | kari nanga, braña           |
|           | BO       | hób, báb                    |
|           | AB       | alo ti                     |
|           | MK       | ingti kedok                 |

| SAY       | WT       | bzial, bagos, zer pa        |
|           | GC       | zyu                        |
|           | GK       | ke-zyI, kā tsI              |
|           | GH       | ūsylät, tson                |
|           | GS       | ko tsis                    |
|           | NU       | shin, wa                   |
|           | LP       | li, dun, frong             |
|           | JG       | [N]kāa tašn 'ay [A]tašn3   |
|           |          | [M]khei, syAná, syl tsun [Z]sun ai, ngu ai |
|           | LU       | 'a hrilh_, zai=             |
|           | BA       | sim                        |
|           | LK       | bi chho                    |
|           | TI       | 
|           | LA       | tröng                      |
|           | AO       | ashi                       |
|           | NW       | dā-ye, kan-e               |
|           | RO       | *-na, agana, aganna        |
|           | BO       | bung                       |
|           | AB       | em, lu, po                 |
|           | KO       | ine, ilak ne               |
|           | DF       | ben [Y]binto [T]bēto        |
|           | MK       | pu, thak                   |

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**SCOLD**

| WT | bshad bshad btang pa, batings |
| GC | ka na sngo |
| NU | d’rer |
| JG | [NI]ke’cây ’ây [Z]dâru ai |
| LU | trhîm, an-khûm |
| LK | chho-rei |
| TI | /ta:i, \ta:i |
| LA | koök |
| AO | artsûl |
| RO | saia |
| BO | kâpântay, ray |
| AB | gé |
| KO | tilake ne |
| DF | jâb |
| MK | tøm, ington [G]tâm, honthë |

**SCRATCH**

| TB | *hysk, *kut, *pruk |
| WT | sba shad rgyab pa |
| GC | ka ra kRok, ka ba ksyok |
| GT | ka ra krok |
| GS | ta n’dzum ko lad |
| NU | mâhë, masa |
| LP | krôn, kór, hut, lya |
| JG | [N]as’chît ’ây [Z]mâchyt ai, makret ai |
| [N]Agréêt, Aphré, Aphri?, rât, mârêt, Akhraï |
| TI | /thai:, \thai:, -phusî, \phusî |
| LA | khewq |
| AO | anak |
| RO | *ku-ak-, kuake, seeta, meta |
| BO | ër, kay, hangkiyay |
| AB | ok, gâng, bat, ke-jok |
| DF | hâs, ho [Y,T]hako |
| MK | phuk, choprak, arke, kechorke |

**SEARCH**

| WT | ‘tshal pa |
| GC | sar |
| GT | ke ru |
| GK | Kâ-sIEl |
| NU | la, shôp |
| LP | dong |
| JG | [N]tâm ’ây [Z]tak ai, krawk ai, hâwk ai |
| [M]gAsôk, Asâl yu, brâm, gôn |
| AO | als |
| BO | bisray, naygri |
| AB | ta, ma, ma-gong |
| KO | yea ne |
| DF | [Y]soroto [T]sâroto |
| MK | ri(-et) |
### SEE

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<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>GT</td>
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<td>kāna ato, kana tso</td>
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<td>GZ</td>
<td>kamAtAa, kamenyo</td>
<td>nā-kā-me-t’o</td>
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<td>na sam to, ko ron, ko sa myeg</td>
<td>na saam tō, ko ron, ko sa myeg</td>
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<tr>
<td>GH</td>
<td>yang [K]zan</td>
<td>na-saam to, ko ron, ko sa myeg</td>
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<td>[TP]tsie- [MA]tsi</td>
<td>yin, yin, ngak, yin; *</td>
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<td>hau_, hauh_</td>
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<td>BA</td>
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<td>angu, sak, ai</td>
<td>angu, sak, ai</td>
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<tr>
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<td>*nik-</td>
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### SEIZE

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<td>ka pya</td>
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<td>ki, kīt</td>
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<td>ka mphalt</td>
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<td>mphalt</td>
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<td>mphalt</td>
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<td>kamp’ār, pol15</td>
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<td>LP</td>
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<td>ûl</td>
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<td>_zuk, _zuk</td>
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<td>zdār</td>
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<td>ayok, tayoker(SELLER)</td>
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<td>*par-, pala</td>
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<td>ko, ré</td>
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<td>yūo ne</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ka lat</td>
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<td>ring</td>
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<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>ko wa pre, ko lad</td>
<td>English translation: Go west, east, ring</td>
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<td>NU</td>
<td>dāzārr, shāri</td>
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<td>TR</td>
<td>(S)sO=</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>klong, sāl, tāl, krōm</td>
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<td>JG</td>
<td>[N]sha'ngūn 'Āy</td>
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<td>LU</td>
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<td>kūst</td>
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<td>AO</td>
<td>yok, shiok</td>
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<tr>
<td>RO</td>
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<td>BO</td>
<td>tām, tinhdr, tin</td>
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<td>AB</td>
<td>bi-lik, gi-mo</td>
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<td>KO</td>
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<tr>
<td>DF</td>
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<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>toi, pha, lo, teram</td>
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**SEPARATE**

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<th>Phrase</th>
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<tr>
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<td>GC</td>
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<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>na ki kro'u</td>
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<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>āwāl, dāban tāga i</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>kang t'o, ting, bryāt, phat, phoːt, phak, hyĀl hai</td>
<td>English translation: Separate Go west, east, ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JG</td>
<td>[N]ka'rān 'Āy</td>
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<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>être</td>
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<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>phā-ye</td>
<td>English translation: Separate Go west, east, ring</td>
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<td>TI</td>
<td>-hal, \hal, /dei, \dei</td>
<td>English translation: Separate Go west, east, ring</td>
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<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>balaka, pila, rasa, rashi, pakma, sadang</td>
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<tr>
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<td>gipen, dingtang, eketa, dingtangata</td>
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<td>BO</td>
<td>awdal, gubun, ran, zuda, bākār</td>
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<tr>
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<td>i pan-shu, mo-yāng</td>
<td>English translation: Separate Go west, east, ring</td>
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<td>KO</td>
<td>tempu, yoiyol</td>
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<td>DF</td>
<td>ū-pin-aūa</td>
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<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>paprek, bahak, kak, phat, hak</td>
<td>English translation: Separate Go west, east, ring</td>
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</table>

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### SEW

| TB  | *pyₐʳ, *drup |
| WT  | drubs |
| GC  | to-trop ka pa, ka trop |
| GT  | ka trup |
| GZ  | trep, tram |
| GK  | ka-cup |
| GH  | tup |
| GS  | ti trob kipe |
| NU  | hpa, dasë |
| TR  | [S]khrUp |
| CH  | [TT,T]zyi [C]rari |
| LP  | hrap |
| JG  | [M]chûy 'ây |
| AO  | aw |
| RO  | ska, koa |
| AB  | om, om káp |
| KO  | shùng ne |
| DF  | hoâb [Y,T]hamto |
| MK  | røi |
| NW  | [S]su-ye |

### SHAKE

| WT  | bkrug bkrug btang pa, banems, bskyams |
| GC  | na ka sa so lo do ngos, te ka symu |
| GT  | ka se te lek |
| GA  | mu-mu |
| GS  | ki ngdar, ki wa tsi led ko pe |
| NU  | ehp'rr, achang |
| LP  | kram, krîp, nysk, tyu, 'ayung |
| JG  | [N]she'móu 'ây |
| AO  | anokshi, hijir |
| RO  | moa |
| BO  | samaw, samo, zangkray, pásri, sitibrab |
| AB  | e-ngûn, beleng, e-puin |
| KO  | shuilak ne |
| DF  | hûdin, yâdin |
| MK  | klem, hijuk, herak [G]klém, lôr |
SHARP

TB  *s-ryam, s-thak
WT  rno po
GC  ka acok
GT  ka la, swa te la
GS  ki m’ts’ar
GW  tse
NU  dë, wè

[KLpan(V)

CH  [L]ce, [TT]sUce
LP  jëk, lët-bo
JG  [N]lëy ‘ëy
[MDìng grën, MÀgrë, MÀsà?, da, grà
[ZZ]tai ai

LU  bak-, fëk riáu
LK  hraí chhi, tia
TI  -hiam, \hiam, -ma:
AO  techira
RO  matsramips, sraa, kaa
BO  gÀbAW, gareb, hang, ãn
AB  rât, nâm-jong
KO  mëmpu, õok
DF  lâr
[YS]ukto [T]auto(=POINT [V])
MK  kare [G]rë
NW  [S]nwa-ye, ja-ye, jwa-ye(V)

SHOOT

TB  *ga:p
WT  me mda’ rgyas pa
GC  sya-mdu ka lat
GT  nyem can ka lat
GS  ko lad
NU  hwâp
[Slap=
TR  [Slap=
CH  [TP]qha- [MA]qur
LP  a-gi, a-nyak, a-jok, o:p, a-yo:p
JG  [MG]âp
[IZ]gap aí
LK  ka
TI  -zaːs, /zeːs, /kaːp, /kaːp
LA  kaâp, kaq
AO  aka
RO  go-
AB  âp, pât
DF  âb, â
MK  ap, bop
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<td><strong>GC</strong> skat ka lat, ta ri ase len</td>
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<td><strong>GM</strong> kA kcan</td>
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<td><strong>CH</strong> [TT]huzya</td>
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<td><strong>[C]gwi</strong></td>
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<td><strong>[J]gwAzya</strong></td>
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<td><strong>AO</strong> ayimten, asa</td>
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<td><strong>LK</strong> chyu, pa-chho</td>
<td><strong>RO</strong> inchron(N), grapa(N)</td>
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<td><strong>MK</strong> thihek, thibong, mo</td>
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SINK

TB *lip, *nit[]p
WT 'dim pa
GC ka riša
GT ka rnak
GS ki t’im, ki l’jo
NU hti hka āhtin
LP nyet ngan, hyōa
JG [M]gin lūt, ŉung
[2]htin ai, lup wa ai
LA pil
AO telungi ai, yismok
RO dubia
BO trab, tobló, zohōb, gārA/, dubAy(VT), dubi(VI), pārA/(VT)
AB jing-āong, jing ā-lik
DF lūm
[Y]pongāktō [T]puluto
MK inglim, jang, tili [G]ē

SIT

TB *pam, *du:ng
WT sdad
GC nyi
GT nyi
GK ka-nA
GM ka-nyi
GS na nun
NU rung, bim
[5]rŪng=
TR [5]rŪng’
CH [TP]dzo- [M]dzu
LP ngan
JG [N]tūng ‘āy
[M]dung, nit
[2]dung ai
LU trhu=, awp_, māwng hūng=, to=, trhut_rām
LA toow
AO amen
RO *a-sung-
BO zō, zogōb, zutam
AB dung
KO shot ne
DF dā
[Y]yepto(SLEEP), nyema [T]yepto, māna
MK ingni
NW di-ye, cwan-e
SLEEP

TB *yip, *r-/s-mwhy, *nyit
WT gnyid khu
GC ka rma, ka rnyi
GA jAy
GT nyo, ka rma
GZ karmje
GA jAv
GT nyo, ka raa
GZ karaje
GK kA-raiE
GH zô
GS ti myed ki Yu
GW Kormân, zyu, ne
NU ip
[S]jUp-
TR [S]jP-
CH [T,TT,C,JIne
LP mîk krap
JG [M]ydp 'ây
[A]jup2
(Z)yup ai
LU chang=pûl dûr_, mûhîl_
BA it
LK mO-ku(SLEEPY)
NW de-ye [S]den-e, then-e
LA qit
AO amu, mejang(tsû)
RO tusia, *tu-si-
BO mûrû, putû, undu
AB yup, ip
KO shi ne, shipu
DF yûb [Y]nyema, yepto [T]mâna, yepto
MK i, mekjang, ancho mekbur

SLIP

TB *ble
WT 'dríd dag shor
GC sa Ngoyo
GT de kur wa
GS ki sa gyo
NU âhkvat, âba ëdil
LP ayal mûk nong, yót, hüm
JG [M]gAzót, mAlô?, gûs-tsûn [Z]kâshâwî ai
LU pelh_, tleû
AO aju, ajudok
RO soltap, gasoltap, sriktsrik kata, gîmas
BO delem, dArAd, gô, sokô, gulûm(A)
AB yul-lâp-shu, lat-pë-shu
KO ëphûn, lieglak ne
DF geddena [Y]dolitto [T]dulû' guêto
MK chekoï, ingrei
SMOKE
TB *kAw
WT the mag 'then pa
GC ta khu na ka mot
GS te k'u
GW tak'ú tamen
NU sáli t, yang t, mā-er der, mā-er zing
LP tóm-ku t'áng
JG [M]syAmú
[Z]lu ai
LU khu_, ur=
LK khu
AO mokozú
RO wálku
BO sáb, dunq
AB ting, mikki-pe t'íng
KO vúnsiy
DF muk
MK mong

SNOW
GC ti-we ka lat

SOFT
TB *now, *pryo
WT 'bol po
GC ka mi no
GT ka mi nyam
GD kām jam
GM kā njām
GS ki n'jam
NU nu, hkin
LP yel-lá, nup-pá
JG [N]kyás 'áy
[M]?nám, Akyá, kyín, máńi, mányáp, tyányá, phúl
phúl, nù
[Z]kys ai
LU duáp, nèl_, nèm=
AO tanúk
RO noma
BO gurú/y, râyú, rúng, gurúng, larayla
AB ré-mák, tor-mang
KO nyai
DF nyenyá
MK kangdúk [G]lingdúk, jèm-jèm

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SOUR
TB *kri(y), *s-kywar, *swa'r
WT skyur po, rnon po
GC ka kor
GT ka kor
GK acüur
GM ka kor
GH kâ-nyûr
GS ki chôr
GW tawi
NU ma-sat [K]saam
CH [TT]ce [Clptsi
LP a-côr, rôk nôn, tao:r
LU thûr
LK i
LA thûr
AO tesen, sentur [RO mesenggîpas(N)
BO gâteay, kây
AB ku-nâm
DF khrûdkû, kâssû-dûkû [T]katcha
MK thôr, hanthôr

SOW
GC te-rpi ka lat
JG [Z]gat ai, n wa ai

SPEAK
TB *s-br(w)ang
WT la pa
GC ka kyis, u skat ta paw, ta jun
GT ta kî tain ko
GK katai, ka-rjo
GS ko b'âshad, s'kad ch'a, ti tsen
NU shin
LP li
JG [N]k̄a taûn 'ây [A]kal [Z]sun ai, shêga ai
[M]brût, gû gû, Aðrûp, su, syûga
LU bia_, biak, be_
BA sim
LK bi-chho
TI -pa:u, \pa:u
LA tròng
AD jas'abî [RO a-gan-, aganna
NW kâ. chê-ye, lê-ye
BO hân, raymay
AB lu, po, agom lu
DF ben [Y]bînto [T]beto
MK pu, nîngje [G]thân, nîngjé, pû
SPILL
WT  bshos pa
GC  na kay bok
GT  ta yen
NU  ǎ-up
LP  lung
JG  (Z)khaw ai
LA  bōng
AO  endok, shidok
AB  tong, kâk-pāk, to-mo
DF  krâ-pā-za, krâ-pā-jim
[Y]cheflato    [T]chukhato
MK  bu, buphāk, chikip  [G]ingbāk, kip, bà
NW  wā-ye

SPIN
WT  bkal
GC  ka po
NU  [S]nyU?=  
TR  [S]mi?=  
JG  (Z)chyai ai, kayin ai, kri ai, kaboi ai

SPIT(cf.DROP,FALL)
WT  phyi ma yug
GC  sy-this ka psyit
GT  ka psyi
NU  htt(N), htt htt shii
[S]laiF  
TR  [S]laiF  
CH  [TP]phe-
LP  lit, tyu:k, dyu:k, tyuk(N)
JG  [N]me' 'thō’ 'āy
[M]māthō
[Z]māhtaw ai, māhtwi ai
LU  chil= thuk, thōk, cil= chhāk
AO  metsūtok, aket toka
RO  stua
BO  muzu
AB  ko-ri ri, shuk-pāk
KO  eiphau(N), eiphau phau ne
DF  [Y]cheflato    [T]chukhato
MK  ingthok, chingok

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SPREAD OUT

TB  *ka, *ya:r
WT  bkram pa, brdal, btings
GC  to prak
GT  ka stet
GA  sA-sA
GM  ka rda
GH  krām
GS  ko dri
CH  hpālu
LP  so, klōm, ik, syom, ryōt, pōp
JG  [M]ayî ayAbrâ, gra, soi, gûm-khong
[Z]nep ai, shāpra ai, shaw wa ai
TI  _pha?, -za:k, \za:k
LA  phaq
AO  satok, prokshi
RO  bedals, gipats, *nong-
BO  baray, zen, pezen, singkaw, bir, râw, lam, saw
AB  lo, pu, tâm, tid, par
KO  shaa ne
DF  [Y]pakfato   [T]pakhato
MK  harlu, jaidak, te, chetang
NW  khīn-e, lā-ye

SQUEEZE

TB  *nyap, *cur
WT  btsir pa, brdzis
GC  ke ptsir, ke ptsin
GT  ki ka tsi
GS  ko tsi ri, ta wa sug
NU  sut
LP  pit, tsôte, ap, nun
LU  chih_
RO  sepchota
BO  séb
AB  yum, nyum
KO  phût ne
DF  nyunkhr
[Y]chengto, têrrchêrrto(=BEND)
[T]cheto, têrrchôrrto(=BEND)
MK  sor, thum

STAB

GC  brdza ka lat
JG  [Z]gālun ai
NW  hwakhan-e
STAND
WT  lang adad
GC  rwas
GT  te nu ur was
GS  kir yeb yi ki ni
GW  ri
NU  rip
CH  [TT]zyi
    [C]ri
    [J]bzyi
LP  ding hrông, hryAm
JG  [Z]ap ai
LU  buh_ding's
NW  dan-e
LA  ding, din, tuär, tuar, tông, tun
AO  noktak
BO  gosong, taktayı, posong, utikan
AB  dæk, da-rép, tu-keng
KO  yongnang
DF  dá
MK  arjap, sar, sakok

STAY(c.f.REMAIN)
WT  zhaq por adad
GC  ke nyin
GT  na nyi'm
GS  ko na ya'ou, ti ki nis
NU  ál
    [S]riOng'
TR  [S]riOng'
CH  [TP]zyI-, dzo-
    [MA]dzu
JG  [A]thong3
    [M]rafi
    [Z]nga ai, khring ai
BA  um, luah
TI  -ta:m, \ta:m
LA  riæk, riaq
RO  donga
NW  lyan-e, di-sa
BO  tá
AB  tyän
KO  leg ne
Mi  do thak, damthak  [G]dâm-thâk, do-kâng

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>rkus pa, brkus</td>
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<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>ka symo, tA-symo ka pa</td>
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<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>ka symo da</td>
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<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>ki sh'amo ko pe</td>
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<td>gwu, hkwu</td>
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<td>hku</td>
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<td>CH</td>
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<td>JG</td>
<td>[M]lagó</td>
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<td>ftr</td>
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<td>AO</td>
<td>aya, RO chua, ca-u-</td>
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<td>pi-ong, do-piong, ma-bom</td>
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<td>ka ra chak</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>KÀ-go:m, thonggo</td>
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<td>AO</td>
<td>kamera</td>
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<td>DF</td>
<td>[Y]jengto</td>
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<td>bzhag pa</td>
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<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>ka syi, ka sya pro, ka nyi</td>
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<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>ka syi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>ti ki zhis, ti ki nis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>reň, mar shi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>ngam, tsök, nük, tyän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>bang=, ti reh_, ding=</td>
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<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>kam</td>
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<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>*pleng, *dyam</td>
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<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>drong po</td>
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<td>GC</td>
<td>ka nga sto</td>
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<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>ka nga ato</td>
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<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>ko a’to</td>
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<td>NU</td>
<td>âra</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>a-nang, klyap môn, a-glen</td>
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<td>TI</td>
<td>-ma’i, /ma’i, -tang, /tang</td>
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<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>teindang</td>
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<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>sida, tongtong</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>BO</td>
<td>gätøng, gepøng, pÅzÀn, tÅngzÀn</td>
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<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>jon, dàn, pûn, o-màn</td>
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<tr>
<td>KO</td>
<td>ting, tingkhake</td>
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<tr>
<td>DF</td>
<td>kattå</td>
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<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>kekeng, hari, sik keden</td>
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<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>(S)hâ-ye</td>
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<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>wu ksayik kuk te</td>
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<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>?a ksyuk kuk ke</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>jûrr</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>tôm-bo, nyôr ra, krûm zông</td>
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<tr>
<td>JG</td>
<td>[M]khøang, lÀpyìn, mÀgraû, õ-gût, åtsâm rong, tang, bri, jà?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>awa=khøuh_, chak_, fei=, ru_, tûr_</td>
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<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>a-hua-sah-la</td>
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<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>\ci:k, -ta:k, /ta:k, /ha:t, _xa?</td>
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<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>tashi tait</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>bilakgipa, *rak-, *bir-ak-, bil(N), *bir(N)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BO</td>
<td>dunteru, kÀmata</td>
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<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>tor, e-ding</td>
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<tr>
<td>KO</td>
<td>won, wanpu</td>
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<tr>
<td>DF</td>
<td>ētor</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>jakong, ingtøng</td>
<td>[Gl]ingtøng, phëng</td>
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SUCK

TB *dz{p
WT 'jibs, bzhigs, nu-be, bzhigs
GC kâ mi skyp
GT ka mi scip
GS ko mi s’kyib
NU ser, sup
LP yup, hap, kryup, co:p, zup
LU hne_, hnu_te= hne_, dâut
TI tawp-hi
TA chep
LA fop=, fo:p, dawp
ME chup-pa
AO ssâ, mesep
RO *op-, opa
BO sâb, urlû
AB mâ, bu
KO jep ne, hüp ne
DF blû
MK nok kechu, tong, ingsip, chongsip, chongjup
NW [S]u-ye, i-ye, twan-e

SWEET

TB *dz(y)im, *twi(y)
WT zhim bo
GC ka men
GT ka myen
GZ kechi
GM kâ çç’i
GH kî-cî, kë-mîm
GS ki ch’i
GW zyje(DELICIOUS)
NU zu
CH [TT]chi [C]?ptshU, zyje(DELICIOUS) [JJ]hzyje
LP a-klyam
JG [N]mûu ‘ày [Z]dwi ai, mû ai
RO m’Îdâwî, dwi, A?num(DELICIOUS), sau(DELICIOUS)
LK thlô
LA _ngai?
AO tanang
RO chigipa, ansenggipa
BO metay, gâdây
AB ti-nâm, do-po(DELICIOUS), ti-po(DELICIOUS)
KO uwûng
DF tissar
MK kedok, dokjin, chomâ(DELICIOUS), mesen(DELICIOUS)
NW [S]câku, mâku
SWEET (vs. HOT)

WT nang mo
GC ka khyi
GT ka chisy
JG [N]töy 'ây
NW [S]câku

SWELL

GC Nbop
JG [Z]pum we ai
DF [Y]bêssoaëna  [T]bêssoânie
MK [G]kàng-pring, kàng-phrase, kàng-bôp, kàng-sin
NW [S]mân-e

SWIN

TB *pyaw
WT skyal rgyab
GT chu <N>zya ka pa
GS ti zhag ko pe
NU hti lang
LP fa
JG [M]phông yôt     [Z]hpunyawt ai
TI -bual, \bual
AO tzû awa  RO chio jros
BO dâwgâ, kanârî
AB ashi bâng
KO yiang yat ne
DF jâ
MK langvek, ardong  [G]wék

TAKE

TB *yu (B-L)
WT len pa, blôngs
GC ka pya
GT ka pkyok
GS ko pye
NU lu, lang shi, wa shi, htul, chwut  [K]?au
LP lyâ, le, lyo, râk
JG [M]lâe 'ây     [Z]la ai, shaw la ai
                [M]lâ, ayð?, jâ?, beu, ayu, òp sin
LU le, pawa=, kal_pui=
TI -sai, \sai(LOOK AFTER)
LA lôn, lôn(TAKE OVER), têl, têl(TAKE PART)
AO agi, jenok(TAKE SHELTER)
RO *râ-, *ha, raa, *rim-
BO lâ, no, lân(TAKE AWAY), bêng(TAKE CARE)
AB lâng, box, rot, puit, pâk, ying
KO yah ne
DF bôlôg, nêg, pêpa, nêlin
MK en, pon, thi, phri
NW [S]kê-ye, twa-ye

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TAKE OFF

WT pid, pis, ‘bud
GC ka ne ta, ka ta, ka le
GT nga dro
GN mādrū
GS ti we ko ti, ki we ko ti
GW katāi
NU [S]ie?= 
TR [S]ie?= 
CH [TP]kxu- [MA]thela
JG [NI]ló’ ‘āy [Z]shaw la ai
LU phawng_
MK [G]phri.

TALL

TB ‘low
WT ring po
GC ka skren
GT ke keri, ka Nbro
GN kā mā-ro
GH kā-mō-rō
GS wu s’gri ki srim
NU īhing
LP krul-lā, pūr-song, krong
JG [M]a-preng, gong dā, gōng tsā, rēn rēn
[Z]tsaw ai
LU hrām
AO telang IBO tengglā, lawga, lawgi
AB bo-dong, ai-ar, ‘ōt, mā-rom, ye-ri
DF anā [Y]au [T]a
MK kiding, chongding

TASTE

WT myangs
GC ka myeng
GS ko wa ri
NU htin
LP kōn, nyōng
JG [M]yim, phrām, oī oī, nām
[Z]chýam ai, chyim ai
LU tem=, hang=
LK a tō thō lei
LA tep, teq
AO mēnskāng TRO chatotani, toa(N), ‘to-
BO zanōy, sakāy, mīlA/w(A), taw(A), sāb(A)
AB tīng-ki, yāk-ki, an, tī-nām
KO jūp, jep ne, jūp ne
DF yā-kā [Y]tīpa, tīsār [T]tīpa
MK chōmat, asa lang, dok, kethu
NW [S]māku(A)
TEACH
WT (b)slab pa
GC ka suk ayot[IPF], kyes[PFT]
GT ge si rik cit
GK kasIkyud
GC ko ai rig ch’ud
NU shālup, shāngit
CH [TP]Ary= [MA]y=
LP hlap byi
JG [N]sha’řin ’āy
[M]Atyn, syārīn
[Z]sharir ya ai
LU thu=
AO sayu
RO *ski-, skia
NW lhā (S)sen-e, nwā-ye
BD dinti, phāAng
AB ir, lu-ir, ni-ton
KO nyo ne
DF besrū, tomsūr
[Y]kāchinto [T]kachinto
MK than

TEAR
WT gshag pa, phrul, dral
GC na ka pre
GA tyā-ra
GZ preng
GS ko pre
NU bing, ring
LP hra, hrik, fik, hlak
JG [N]thēn ’āy
[M]Aṣra?, a? myā, jē, Asyēp, khyē?, mAlōk
[Z]je ai
LU tai= thlēr
LK a-hri-pō-zia, hri chhei
TI /bal, \bal, -mal, \mal
LA thleāk
NW khu-ye, caphu-ye
AO aben, shima, shisa
RO *cit-, chita, ginna, kena
BO bisi, bū:, boao
AB bēt, shēr
KO daang ne, hiet ;ne
DF sūru, surmū
[Y]peru̯mato
MK ingsek, rak, phu, he-veng
TENDER
TB *now
WT 'jam po
GC ka Njam
GT ka Njor
GS ki ngbyar
LP a-jil, nūp
JG [Z]hwa ai
TI /ngE:i
BO narpina
AB bei-ęk
KO Gyoii
DF [Y]nyengma
MK nin'nyak

THICK
TB *r-tas, *dow, *tu:k
WT thu po
GC ke kam, ka yak
GT ki pen, ka yak
GH kē-ęk
GS ki yeg
NU htat
CH [TT,TT]pzye
[L]pe
LP a-tang, a-bak
JG [N]htat 'áy
[M]á thät, daū, ding
[Z]htat ai
LU bit _, chhah _, hraw _, pik_
LK byu rō
TI _sa?
LA saq
AO temelem
RO milgips, ritche'ips
BO dagla, gubāng, motonga, raza
AB bi-sām, té-bi
DF [Y,Tlau
MK karthat, arthat
[G]selūng, ingtēng, arthāt-klōng
THIRSTY
WT kha skom
GC ka sypak
GT ka sypak
GK kasyapiag
GM ka sypak
GS ki sh’pag
NU hti ral
[S]ran’
TR [S]baI=
CH [TP]xes=[
[MA]syypi
LP ung ngot(N)
JG [N]pång ka’ra ‘åy
[Z]hpang kára ai
LK da-phi
AO tzûra
RO ranna(N)
BO sâgey, dah(N)
AB ti-ling
KO yiangiepu
DF hûr
[Y]hârr [T]hôrr
MK lang ke-it [G]ling’it

THROW
WT g’yug pa, phangs, bor, btab
GC ne ka psyi, ka ktor, ka psyit
GT ka psyi, ka rku
GS ko r’pu ko lad, te yag mo ti ti
NU dâgyang, ari
[S]chat=, thûr’
TR [S]cat=, tûr=
CH [TT]ji  [J,Ch]ji
[TP]chi-
[MA]qhur
LP rak, kryók, tyal, pok
JG [N]ka’påy ‘åy
[M]gông, syAtot, têng, ráp, Asyap Alåp
[Z]kâbai ai
LU deng=, theh_luth, våwa, paih_
TI _te?, /pai, _pai?
LA deêng, deen, saây
AO endok, ondaktaa
NW kaaçe
RO galle, goa, *gar-, *go-
BO sîker, sitir, garhor, garsAa, upray
AB yop, ge, ku, shut, pák
KO shep ne, vin ne
DF kô-pa, hur-på, hûlû
MK var, pedat, tiplok, ervak, jok, kip, pechon

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THROW AWAY

TB *gar
WT 'dor ba
GC ktor, ka la\nGT rku
GS ko spang
NU gärrr, när
LP cóm, dyân, dyân nyón
JG [M]rép
   [Z]ka bai kau ai
LU paih
TI \pa:i, _pai?
BO newasy
AB me-pâk
DF [Y]hürrto, dâflato
   [T]hürrto, dêkha\nMK o(det), tekang [G]wár(-chôr)
ID le piambaga
NW [S]wa-ye, ba-ye, cuik-e

TIE(cf.BAND, BIND, BUNCH)

TB *tu-t, *kik
WT bsdam, bsums, bsdams, 'khyig
GC ka sa phor, ka-ku ka la\, ka tshi, ka ka prok
GT ka ari, ko ka prok
GS ta wa sa\rnGW tso
NU hpân, mâông, syingkit
TR a6hra4
CH [TT,]J\tsodo\n   [C]tsode\nLP zóp, çet, syi:k, syi:r
JG [N]kyi\'t Ay
   [M]Aroi, syAjiıp, gran, mâtut, gyît khang, güm
   phon, sying tyô?
   [Z]gyi\'t ai, khang ai, shâ\jup ai
LU trâ\wn=, thlung=\nLK tsa/khi
TI _xi?\nLA tre\em\nAO a\enn, mesA\nRO *ka-, kaani, budu
BO zú, âon, sorkon, kasA, bA/n
AB pak, pon, ngot
KO shûn, shîn ne
DF hj
   [Y]rengto, yeck\engto, tsi?
   [T]re\to, yi\'cheto [G]che-pân, pân-lôk
MK kok, thit, martun
NW [S]ci-ye, khup-e
TIGHT
WT  dam po
GT  ksok
GS  tam tam
NU  mā sang, mā du
TR  tsAn4
LP  zak, plin
JG  [M]tyāt
   [Z]ghyat ai
TI  /ga:k, \ga:k(V)
AO  takang
RO  kringṣipa, salkringa(V)
BO  parā(V), sepra(V), kasin(V), gel gel(AD), lēr
     lēr(AD)
AB  pu-git
DF  puzzin-deba
MK  pring  [G]sik

TIRED(BORED)
TB  *ba1, *(s-)ngung
WT  thang chad pa
GC  ka chat, ?tan na ki cat, na me sa ka
GT  sa kha, ?u skun ka li
GZ  ægeng
GK  kārtug
GS  ti ko ti ki wus, to ko pis, po ki pis
NU  ber, ma jurr
LP  ts'a, ka-gel-la
JG  [N]tsā' 'āy, pūu 'āy
    [M]syAbā, ātsā?, jin, khī, bā si
   [Z]ba ai
LU  hńe, chau_, zāl
LK  ri thei
TI  _ba?
LA  bāng
AO  tani, alak
RO  nenga
BO  halay hapay, harĀw birĀw, mēng, rĀyMān, rewlay
AB  a-pē, ba-gor, dēp, ēm
KO  lan ne, lag ne, læng
DF  nyelin
    [Y]afl [T]ēkh'
MK  lak, angtur, æelet, boikhi, aynī  [G]dūk-wāy
NW  [S]nel-e(V), tyānu

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TOUCH
WT 'chang pa
GC ta ka la trok, ka tat, ta-rpi ka tat
GT ka tsok
GH rîk
GS ko ner do
NU htu al, ahter
LP a-ká kya kya mat
JG [N]khrâa 'ây
[J]âjôt, Asyôt, Athôk
[Z]âhtawk ai, ãhtu ai
LU khawih
LA daây, toq
AO kongshi
RO dangtapa
BO dang, nang, suhây, panang
AB i-ki, gâk-ki
KO jon ne
DF katti
MK kisu, ot, pho  [G]che-méy, pheréy

TURN AROUND
GC skor ka wa, skor ka pa
LP nyâr
DF [Y]lêkâpto  [T]likâpto
MK henar [G]larting-wôy, tewar

UGLY
WT nyes po
GC ka na la
GT ka na nga
GS wa yo ma ki ngpy'ir
NU ma shâla, mà lê
JG [Z]n tsawa ai, n htap ai
LU hmel chhia
AO tepur majung
RO nidikâpa, goka, nigoji-jâgâpa
AB kâng-gé, kâng-ken mûng
KO shîmeang
DF kâp-mâ
MK langno  [G]che-chêk-rô, bâk-tâk-rây, rô
<table>
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<tr>
<th>UNDERSTAND</th>
<th>USE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>bkrol</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[S]kha?= sa\</td>
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<td>[M]jai ai</td>
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<td>NW</td>
<td>[S]chel-e, wâ-ye, khel-e</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
VOMIT

TB *s/-s-tu:k, *s-du:k, *on
WT bskyugs, skyug
GC ka mÀ mphaT
GT ka skyuk
GZ esculak(N)
GM tÀ mpraT
GS ki kyug
NU du

TR [S]dû?H
LP môt, hlung
JG [N]mà'thàn 'åy
[M]ñothon
[Z]mhpat ai
AO sakteû
RO wakala
BO goblô
AB båt
KO phai ne
DF blâ

[Y,TT]bato
MK chingok, ningyang
NW [S]lhwâ-ye

WAIT

WT sgug, bgugs
GC ka yon[I,PF, PFT], ka ny{i[IMP]
GT na na yon
GA nje
GH nâ-nî
GS ko na ya'ou
NU nar shri

LP t'âm, sâ-ngang, râng
JG [N]lâa 'åy
[M]khrîng, là, raî?, âââ
[Z]khrîng ai, nga ai

LK ha
TI /ngæ:k
LA hngââk
AO ata
AB me, yang
KO tan ne
MK inghông, do, keru
NW lan-e, pi-ye

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WAKEN

GC  ka eñ ro
MK  [G]mæk prâng(=WAKE UP)

WALK

WT  goa pa rgyab, bcag
GC  ngla ka kye
GT  wo la ka skyet
GK  sak’ri, khaa-k’ruo
GS  ka ch’i, ko wi ki ch’i
NU  di, agun shi, ase [K]pa:i
TR  aã kãi shiA4
LP  sung-mut ayök, lóm
JG  [N]lâm khòm ‘ây
      [N]khom
      [Z]sa aï, khawn aï
LU  vâk\, kal=, ke_a=kal=(N)
LK  cha rei, khi-kha(N)
TI  /va:k/, /kai:n
AO  senzû, jaja
RO  reani, roamani, eching-gisi, toa, *ro-
BO  tabay, dâydén
AB  a-lê lok gi gong
KO  kem ne
DF  grâdam
      [Y]lecho(FOOT)
      [T]all’lôch’
MK  puri, dañ, dong
NW  [S]wan-e, nyási ju-ye, ju-ye, hul-e

WANT

WT  rkim
GZ  rje
GS  ki re
NU  shung, mëyû
LP  gat, ban
JG  [Z]ra aï, tsaw aï
LU  châk, tum=, duh_
TI  _dei?, /nuûm, _nop
AO  agintû
BO  nanggAw
AB  muing, kâ-bo, ‘la-gi
DF  mui, nu, tá, lâk, kâ
MK  nang, hang, lang, aavedet
Wear

TB *wat
GC ka wa
MK 1

Weave

TB *tak, *trak
WT 'thag pa
GC tā-tak ka pa, ka tak
JG [Z]da ai, da?
LU ta:
LP thok
AO stak
IRO dak
DF [Y]chendo [T]chubto
MK thek

Weep

TB *krap, ngAw
GS ki ka kru
WA za
NU ngU
CH [L]bri [C]hze
LP präm mat, hryóp, syót
JG [Z]khrep ai
AO ajeb
NW kwo-ye
AB mik-shi len
KO shap ne
MK chiru

Wet

TB *hus, m-ti-s
WT rlon pa
GC ka sychit
GT ka syci
GZ kegci
GK kămărlan
GS ki ni r'lan
NU sha
LP a-syël, syur, jóa
JG [N]mättii 'ay [Z]madi ai, nyap aĩ
[˥]syAke, phyā phyā, syl?, mĀdit
LU huh_
LK pa-cho
LA ciin
AO aja, tayi
IRO chosiasta, chosigips, chijingips
NW pyā-ye
AB ju-nām
KO diem, dem ne
DF jujā [Y]jējēpa [T]jujēpa
MK cham(vok)
WHITE

TB  *s-ngow  [J,T,TT]phrsyi
WT  dkar po
GC  ka pram
GT  ka prom
GZ  keprom
GH  kAproa, pram
GS  ki prom
GW  koprM, phri
NU  mong
[L]xa:u
CH  [L]phre
JP  a-dum, a-t’uk
JC  (N)’a’ phrông
[MI]phró, N/ phró, mAphró
[Z]hpraw ai
LU  hlui= ngo=
LK  ngyu
TI  -ka:ng, \ka:n
LA  raangi
AO  temesüng
RO  gipok, *gip-bok, tenga, chinga
AB  kâm-po, ya-shing
KD  hieng, thieng
DF  apin, pullu
[MI]ponglu  [T]pulé
MK  keiok, lokphlan  [G]lök
NW  [S]tuyula, tu-ila

WIDE

WT  rgya chen po
GC  ka rgyam
GT  kya chen po, ka rjon
GZ  kerjon
GS  ki lom, ti nyi ki g’ti
GW  tec’i, la
NU  gwa, gang
CH  [T]lje  [J]le
JP  a-vyör, a-yong, jól, pak
JC  (N)tâm ‘áy
[MI]wòng, dám, gòng dám, kháloi, lám, Awông
[Z]tam ai
LU  hlai=
TI  \læ:n, _lat, /zai, \zai
LA  kaaw, dawq
AO  teasdem, pak
BO  geher, gewnang, gezen, hér, zalang
AB  bor-tâg, a-pe, a-tâk
DF  tât  [Y]lakhe(na)  [T]koi, koyana
MK  pak, kethe, popakham  [G]arpán

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**WRONG**

- GK: kāhuac-ai
- GS: ko ch’as
- NU: angkhuing māi
- LP: a-jāng
- JG: (Z)n teng ai, shut ai
- LU: a\ ni lo_, dik lo_, ni_ lo_ lo_
- LK: a na na, su vei
- AO: tai
- RO: guallani, kaketgijani
- AB: bēng mang, pē mang
- KO: yetieng
- DF: ka-tā-mā-na
- MK: kahingno

**YAWN**

- WT: ag stong, a strong, bsgyings
- GC: wo
- GT: ta hom
- NU: ham
- LP: hōm
- JG: (N)ka’khém ’āy(V) [Z]mākhem ai
- LU: hān_
- TI: hā:m, _hap(V)
- RO: ajama, kuanga
- BO: hamiyay
- AB: kot-kā
- KO: hampu, hām ne(V)
- MK: kohe, ingko

**YOUNG(cf.SMALL)**

- GC: ka ktsey
- GT: ka ktsey
- GK: kāgtsei
- GH: tē-taǐā
- GS: wa bī ki g’tse’i
- NU: dāhpat saṃ ē
- LP: kup, a-jon, a-rok
- JG: (N)’e’ sāk ka’chṭi ’āy [Z]kēji ai [M]khālung, Asāk kājī, Asāk ram, ging lung
- LU: sēn_, tiang val=
- LK: a-mā-chy, pa-nyu, pao-ly-pa
- AO: lanū, tanur, techanu
- RO: *dam-be-, dambe
- BO: sa-, duy, zāhlaw
- AB: ya-mē, ahūr
- KO: ūjoiha, hōshiha
- MK: akebi, aso, mi

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