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A Historical Study of the rGyarong Verb System

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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.

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Y.N.
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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;[1] 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[2] simply because of a striking

similarity of some rGyarong words to WT, while non-Tibetan factors including a good number of verb roots and idiosyncratic 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 categories of words[3]. 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 complication 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

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 "multi-phasic" 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 anylyses, 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 morpho-syntax. 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[5] 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

<Map of the rGyarong Area>

1. Chos kia
2. Rab brtan
3. lCog rtse
4. Suo mo
5. Tzu ta
6. Tsa ku nao
7. Li fan
8. Wassu
9. bTsan lha
10. Hanniu
11. Pa ti
12. baTan pa

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 lingua 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. 隋書 vol.83, 周書 vol.97, 北史 vol.96, 魏書 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.)[6] 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 白蘭 by Yamaguchi[8] 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(=rGyal-mo-rong mDo-bzher nag-po), 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.西川通志,松潘廳志).

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 country[10]. Recall the second clan mentioned above was from Zhang-zhung[11](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,[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 me long[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.[14] 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 Gyá, in the language of Tibet, is equivalent to that of Fan in the language of China; and, as rúng means, in the former tongue, proper or special, Gyárúng signifies alien par 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 rGya-rong as being from rGyal-mo tsha-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). In

this context, Hodgson expressed his opinion that rGyarong might be connected to the languages of Caucasus and Oceania(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 ke 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:nA or no for nominative, and ku and u 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(lCog-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 tʌtsɪ̈, tsa, -tse etc. for SON(ibid.:422). I believe that the WT cognate to the rGyarong forms is rather tsha ʻu 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 -<u>rong</u>(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

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 nə- and mÂ-(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 kÂ- as a VP signal.

0.5 Outline of Phonology

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

0.5.1 Consonant phonemes are:

p	t	tr	k	?
ph	th	thr	kh	
b	d	dr	g	
	ts	c		
	tsh	ch		
	dz	j		
	s	sy		h
	z	zy		
m	n	ny	ng	
	l r			
w		y		

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 C_i, 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 (C_f): -p, -t, -k, -?, -s, -m, -n, -ny, -ng, -l, -r, -w and -y.

0.5.5 Morphophonemics

0.5.51 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 [ə].

0.5.52 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)

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

1)When a nasal affix follows a bilabial C_f, it nasalizes the

C_f and disappears(except for 2PL affix).

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

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

e.g. mphat-ng	>	mphang	VOMIT + 1SG
mAs-ng	>	mAng	FORGET + 1SG
mphat-ch	>	mphach	VOMIT + 1DL
mAs-Nch	>	mANch	FORGET + 2DL

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

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

4)The PL marker(S2) consistently survives, assimilating the C_f 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)C_f 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	Bawm	Schwerli(undated)
BO	Bodo	Burling 1959 & 1967
CAUS	causative	
CH	Ch'iang	
CH[C]	Chiutzu of Ch'iang	Wen Yu 1950

CH[J]	Jota-chai of Ch'iang	Wen Yu 1945
CH[L]	Lopu-chai of Ch'iang	Wen Yu 1943b
CH[MA]	Mawu of Ch'iang	Sun 1981ab
CH[T]	T'ao-p'ing of Ch'iang	Sun 1962
CH[TP]	T'ao-p'ing of Ch'iang	Sun 1981ab
CH[TT]	Tseng-t'ou of Ch'iang	Chang Kun 1967
CH[W]	Wassu of Ch'iang	Wen Yu 1943a
DF	Dafla	Hamilton 1900
DF[H]	Dafla	Hamilton 1900
DF[T]	Tagen of Dafla	Bor 1938
DF[Y]	Yano of Dafla	Bor 1938
DL	dual	
GA	Ganli of rGyarong	Lin 1982/83
GC	lCog-rtse of rGyarong	Nagano
GH	Kham-to of rGyarong	Wolfenden 1936
GK	Tsa-kou-nao of rGyarong	Kin P'eng 1949
GM	Suo-mo of rGyarong	Kin P'eng 1957/58
GN	Hanniu of rGyarong	Rosthorn 1897
GP	Pati of rGyarong	Rosthorn 1897
GS	Chos-kia of rGyarong	Edgar 1932
GT	Tsangla of rGyarong	Nagano
GW	Wassu of rGyarong	Rosthorn 1897

GZ	Tzu-ta of rGyarong	Chang Kun 1968
HON	honorifics	
INF	infinitive	
IPF	imperfect	
IRG	interrogative	
JAM	James A. Matisoff	
JG	Jinghpaw=Kachin	
JG[A]	Jinghpaw	Anonymous 1959
JG[H]	Jinghpaw	Hanson 1896
JG[M]	Jinghpaw	Maran 1974
JG[N]	Jinghpaw	Nishida 1960
JG[Z]	Jinghpaw	Hertz 1935
KO	Konyak	Anonymous(undated)
LF	Lo-fu-chai of Ch'iang (=Lo-pu-chai	Wen Yu 1943c Wen Yu 1943b)
LH	Lahu	Matisoff 1973
LI	Li-ping of Ch'iang	Wen Yu 1943c
LK	Lakher	R.A. Lorrain 1951
LOC	locative	
LP	Lepcha	Mainwaring 1876
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India	Grierson 1909
LU	Lushai	Lorrain 1940
ME	Meithei	Thoudam 1979

MK	Mikir	Walker 1925
MK[G]	Mikir	Grüsaner 1982
N	noun	
NP	noun phrase	
NU	Nung	
NU[B]	Nung	Barnard 1934
NU[S]	Nung	Sun 1982
NW	Newari	Malla 1981
NW[S]	Newari	Sresthacharya 1981
PFT	perfect	
PL	plural	
PLB	Proto-Lolo-Burmese	Thurgood 1977
PRO	progressive	
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman	Benedict 1972
Q	sentence of question	
RO	Garo	Burling 1961
RW	Rawang = NU[B]	
SG	singular	
STC		Benedict 1972
TB	Tibeto-Burman	
T-B	Tibeto-Burman	
TI	Tiddim Chin	Henderson 1965

TR	Trung	
TR[L]	Trung	Lo 1945
TR[S]	Trung	Sun 1982
TSF	tensifier	
TSR		Matisoff 1972a
V	verb	
VP	verb phrase	
VP_f	verb phrase:final	
VP_{nf}	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, JASB LVI, pt.1. & Vasil'ev, V. 1895: Geografiya Tibeta, perevod iz tibetskogo sochineniya Minczul Xutukti, St. Petersburg.

7)Hermanns, P. 1946-49:Schöpfungs- und Abstammungsmythen der Tibeter, Anthropos XLI275-298 & XLIV 817-847.

8)Yamaguchi 1972

9)=Tsha kou nao

10)cf. Stein, R.-A. 1962: La Civilisation Tibétaine chapt.4, Paris.

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 lCog-rtse 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 VP_{final}, while the latter has any number of $VP_{non\text{-}final}$'s and a VP_f. 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

$[(NP) + VP_{non\text{-}final}]^n + [(NP) + VP_{final}]$.

Non-final VP('s) and the final VP may be conjoined to each other with a particle and the VP_f 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:

$$VP_f \longrightarrow (ka)\text{-}(P1)\text{-}P2\text{-}P3\text{-}(P4)\text{-}ROOT\text{-}(S1)\text{-}S2.$$

ka generally signals the beginning of a VP, being mandatory in VP_{nf} 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, Ø 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 ks 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 VP_{final} 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 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.

1.2 Prefixes

1.2.1 Aspect Markers

1.2.11 Ø and nA

Aspect markers appear at the P2 position, indicating either imperfect or perfect. Imperfect is marked by -Ø-, 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 VP_f's only, and the Ø/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 + VP_f 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 Ø/nA contrast can be recognized at s

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, ngə-mnysk(my eye) appears as though it were the object of rə, this is not the case. The root, rə, is intransitive. The fact is that ngə(I) carries 'old information' while ngə-mnysk 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.
(tA-sar-ny)
2PL(HON) marriage 2PL-marry-2PL IRG AUX:S
Are you going to get married?

(6) nyi-gyo ta-rgyap nA-sarny mo ngos.
(nA-tA-sar-ny)
2PL(HON) marriage PFT-2PL-marry-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

require -nA-: khyop(CUT), khak(PEEL), ki(BORROW), krok-(SCRATCH), krot(CUT), kya(UNTIE), lon ka pa(ANSWER), mchi lat(BITE), mzyit(FALL), phot(BREAK), phyis(WIPE), psyit (DROP), pya(TAKE), (wa)-rmo(DREAM), rnga(BORROW), sa gur gur(BEND), sat(KILL), skyo(WRITE), sna skik(REPAIR), ta(TAKE OFF), yo(ROB),

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 Ø-Ø 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 -pvs-(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 VP_f 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, -nA- 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, -nA- 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

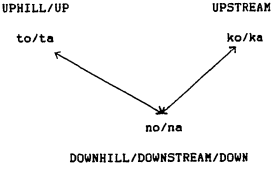
markers has two forms, one of which implies that the utterance is based on 'direct' information by the speaker, while the other implies that the speaker's information is 'non-direct'. 'Direct' information has to be based either on the speaker's own experience and/or perception, or on the speaker's conception 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/.

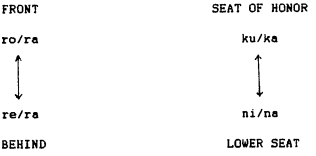
The chart on the next page shows the entire set of direction markers. The forms after slash in the chart are 'non-direct'.

Direction Markers

Vertical Contrast



Horizontal Contrast



Others	MOVEMENT OF GETTING BACK	ne
	GENERAL MOVEMENT	yi

1.2.21 Uphill/Downhill Contrast

1.2.211 -to-/-ta- and -no-/-na- indicate uphill and downhill movements respectively.[2] 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-aythis no-paying ko.
(no-payit-ng)
1SG saliva down-spit-1SG AUX:S
I spat.

(16) nga mi-aythis to-paying ko.
(to-payit-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-Ngla to-khyeng ko.
(to-khye-ng)
1SG (my-)step up-walk-1SG AUX:S
I walked.

(18) nga nga-Ngla no-khyeng ko.
(no-khye-ng)
1SG (my-)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(pki), 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 ka lat(KICK) and skat ka 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-skhip-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). pa(COLLECT, MAKE,BUILD), amen

pə(CURE), kə si yok(FINISH), pram(DRY) and pkə(BECOME FULL) are contained in this group.

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

(24) nga tA-chim-gA to-pang.
(to-pə-ng)
1SG house-one up-make-1SG
I have built a house.

(25) mA to-tA-pkany.
(to-tA-pkə-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 matters.

Ntsip(GET ANXIOUS), khəs(GET ANGRY), ngu(CRY), rtsəp(FEEL PAINFUL), khyə(GET DRUNK), rgik(RUN), cək cək(CHEW), zə(EAT), wət(PUT ON), tshok(CULTIVATE), pə(DO, COOK, HIT, PUT AWAY), tom(HIT), kor(HELP), pyə(HOLD), plu(LIGHT), symo(STEAL), ki(BUY), mot(DRINK), ltep(FOLD), skhet(PUT IT OUT), klə(RUB), tun(OPEN), sro(SHOW), kyiə(SPEAK), po(SPIN), lət(STAB), sar(SEEK), khow(CALL), ku(TIE), lə(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.
(no-nyis)
3SG(HON) Lhasa-LOC down-live AUX:S
He stayed in Lhasa.

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

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

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

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

(32) nga ka-Ndzor no-lang ko.
(no-let-ng)
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(RETURN), nyi(SIT, REMAIN), pkep(COVER), payit(DROP), re chak-(STEP), rma(LIE), sat(KILL), the(PUT) and te rpi let(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), khyoe(LOSE), let(SEND), majel(MEET), ngA(LOSE), Nbop(SWELL), Ngle kye(WALK), pa(BLOW), phan trho(USE), pka(WIN), plon(DECEIVE), psyit(THROW), ra(-GET), ri(LAUGH), rna(LISTEN), skye(BE BORN), syi(DIE), sychit(GET WET), sypak(THIRSTY), ta rnga pa(DANCE), ta tha 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-jis-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-jis-ki kA-Nbru nu-sat ko.

		(na-wu-sat-w)
3DL-ERG	yak	down-3DL-kill-3DL AUX:S
		(non-direct)

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-.[3] 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-tA-poNch	mo ngos.
		(ko-tA-po-Nch)	
	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-stsheng ko.
(ko-wa-stshe-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 my-neck coiling up-3DL-wring-3DL
They two wrung up my neck.

(40) chi-gyo tA-tak ka-pach ko.
(ka-pa-ch)
1DL weaving coiling up-do-1DL AUX:S
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-push-1SG AUX:S
I pushed (it) forward.

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

(42) nga ke-re-trhang ko.
(ke-re-trhak-ng)
1SG TSF-behind-push-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 (re-wu-Nthen-ng)	ko.
	3PL	my-shoulder	back-3PL-pull-1SG	AUX:S
	They have pulled my shoulder.			
(44)	wu-yo-nye	nga-ngA-rpak	row-Ntheng (ro-wu-Nthen-ng)	ko.
	3PL	my-shoulder	front-3PL-pull-1SG	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, sytA(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:

e.g. ke-ro-ro-trha-ng ko.
(ke-ro-ro-trhak-ng)
I pushed forward(cf.41).

1.2.231 More examples with an extended semantic opposition:

(46) wu-yo-nye rok-thalny ko.
(ro-kA-thal-ny)
3PL front-3PL-go-3PL AUX:S
They have proceeded.

(47) wu-yo-nye rek-thalny ko.
(re-kA-thal-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-pyą-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-ani 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-ro-ny)
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:

(49a) nga so-sni ke-ro-<u>ro</u>-ng ko.

(50a) wu-yo-nye bi-syer ke-rok-<u>ro</u>-ny ko.

(52a) wu-yo re-<u>re</u>-ngos.

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.
(yi-<u>ro</u>-ng)
1SG water dip-1SG AUX:S
I am going to dip out water.

(54) nga tA-chi nyi-rong ko.
(nA-yi-<u>ro</u>-ng)
1SG water PFT-dip--1SG AUX:S
I have dipped out water.

Normally <u>pya</u> is used as the for DIP OUT(cf.48), but <u>ro</u> 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

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.[5] 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-pyə-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-trhək-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 pyə(PULL) or that of ni- and trhək(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-trhək-ng ko),

(56a) (tA-zder ku-pyə-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-ya, 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-yas ko.
(to-ne-ya-s)
3SG up-getting back-return-PFT AUX:S

(58) wu-yo no-ne-yas ko.
(no-ne-ya-s)
3SG down-getting back-return-PFT AUX:S

(59) wu-yo ne-ne-yas 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-Nch)
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 following 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 requires 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.
(nA-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 sey-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.

(kA-che-ng)
1SG Lhasa-LOC 1SG-go-1SG AUX:S
I go to Lhasa.

(71) bi-ani-ao pot-pa wu-tha gya-gar-yi par wu-nA-lat.
(wu-nA-lat)
yesterday-tomorrow-day India-LOC 3PL-PRO-hit
Tibetan book photo
Nowadays Tibetan books are being printed in India.

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

(72) nga ta-tha kA-ki-y (kA-)cheng ko.
(kA-che-ng)
1SG book buying-LOC (1SG-)go-1SG AUX:S
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 terminology[6] 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.

1.2.31 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.[7] 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-rmi ke-ta-key-dzu.
(ke-ta-kA-yi-dzu)
yesterday man TSF-PFT-3PL-general movement-gather
People gathered yesterday.

(73a)nga bi-syer te-rmi ke-to-sey-dzung ko.
(ke-to-sA-yi-dzu-ng)
1SG yesterday man TSF-PFT-CAUS-gather-1SG AUX:S
I assembled people yesterday.

(74) nyi-gyo nyi-mnyak ro mA ngos.
(ro)
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-mnyak nA-sA-rong ko.
(nA-sA-ro-ng)
1SG child (of-)eye PFT-CAUS-wake-1SG AUX:S
I wakened the child.

(75) sytA wu-trha wu-Nguy ta-dok ta-nga-kyo-lo no-to.
(wu-Ngu-y) (ta-nga-kyo-lo)
this tea of-in-LOC poison PFT-mix AUX:EX
Poison has been mixed in this tea.

(75a)sytA wu-sman tA-gi wu-Nguy tA-sA-kyo-low.
(wu-Ngu-y) (tA-sA-kyo-lo-w)
this of-drug water of-in-LOC PFT-CAUS-mix-2SG
Mix this drug in the water.

(76) aytA wu-ta-si nA-gur-gur no-to.
(nA-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.
(khyo-ng)
1SG drunk AUX:S
I will get drunk.

(77a)wu-yo-ki te-rmi ta-sA-khyaw.
(ta-sA-khyo-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-ksyot((sA-ksyot)) means TEACH; this is structured as CAUS + ksyot(LEARN). In contemporary rGyarong, the root form has been replaced by sye(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-sA-wang ko.
(ke-sA-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-sA-wang ko.
(ke-sA-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 ka-sna-skik in its VP_{nf}, 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-la has been substituted for na, which no longer appears alone to mean GOOD, but it occurs in such compounds as ka-na-la(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-rnga-ng)
1SG money TSF-PFT-borrow-1SG AUX:S
I borrowed money.

(83) nga po-ngiy ke-ni-syA-rngang ko.
(ke-ni-syA-rnga-ng)
1SG money TSF-lower seat-CAUS-borrow-1SG AUX:S
I lent money.

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.[9]

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 AIRING; 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-sA-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-rmo-w)
his-wife rGyarong went PFT-CAUS-dream-3SG
He dreamt that his wife went to rGyarong.

(87) nga bi-syer wa-pu no-wa-rdong ko.
(no-wa-rdo-ng)
1SG yesterday his-child PFT-CAUS-look-1SG AUX:S
I met his child yeaterday.

(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 ka-pa(MAKE A DREAM) and ka-wa-rmo. rmo ka-wa-rmo(DREAM A DREAM) is also acceptable. This kind of 'cognate object' is not so popular in the colloquial language.

Wa-rdo in sentence (87) is MEET; there is another word for this meaning, mjal, which is a loan from the Tibetan self-humbling form for MEET. rdo seems to be cognate with mto(SEE), and the m-/r- opposition serves to distinguish intransitive from transitive. Now, being prefixed by wa-, rdo 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.
(ke-top-w)
3SG TSF-hit-3SG AUX:S
He will hit it.

(88a)wu-yo-jis kew-ngA-top ko.
(ke-wu-ngA-top)
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.[11]

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

(89) chi-gyo ka-te kA-ngA-wa-rdoch mo ngo.
(kA-ngA-wa-rdo-ch)
1DL where 1DL-mutual act-meet-1DL IRG AUX:S
Where are we going to meet?

(90) te-rmi ku-mkhya ke-kA-nge-dzuny no-ngos.
(ke-ka-ngA-yi-dzu-ny) AUX:EX
man many TSF-3PL-mutual act-gather-3PL
Many people will gather.

(91) tA-gi ta-ngA-kyo-lo ko.
(ta-ngA-kyo-lo)
water up-mutual act-mix AUX:S
Water has mixed (with something like cooking oil).

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'.

(92) nga ke-mA-mphang ko.
(ke-mA-mphat-ng)
1SG TSF-automatic act-vomit-1SG AUX:S

(92a)nga ke-ngA-mphang ko.
(ke-ngA-mphat-ng)
1SG TSF-mutual act-vomit-1SG AUX:S

(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-skyos ka-pa(MAKE A LETTER) is more frequently used. Thus:

(95a)sytA ta-skyos sytA wa-key ko-ho-ke mA-ma tA-pany.
(tA-pa-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-rmi-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.

(96a)nga sytA wu-rmi-yo ke-sA-na-ring ko.
(ke-sA-na-ri-ng) AUX:S
1SG this man-PL TSF-CAUS-repetitive act-laugh-1SG
I will make these guys laugh.

Since laughing implies a repetitive act, na- sometimes behaves as a part of the root when another adverbial affix is needed. Sentence (96a) is an example of this.

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-mphang ko.
(to-mA-mphat-ng)
1SG up-automatic act-vomit-1SG AUX:S
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-mphat!

(98a)to-mphat!

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 kə-mÁ-lmo, which usually indicates a 'twitching' action of some particular parts of the body. lmo is seldom used by itself. The latter is kə-mÁ-nə. Contrary to CURE, kə-sÁ-nə(VP$_{nf}$-CAUS-good:cf.1.2.311), kə-mÁ-nə 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.

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

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

ARRIVE(kÁ-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) ŋgə sə-ni kə-Ndu-ŋ ko.

(100a)ŋgə sə-ni kə-mA-Ndu-ŋ 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.[14] 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-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,[15] 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-

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-mnyok wu-dza ko.
(wu-dzə)
3PL my-grain 3PL-eat AUX:S
They are going to eat my grain.

(104)wu-gyo-nye nga-mnyok wu-na-dza ko.
(wu-nA-dzə)
3PL my-grain 3PL-PRO-eat AUX:S
They are eating my grain.

(105)wu-gyo-nye nga-mnyok tu-dza ko.
(to-wu-dzə)
3PL my-grain PFT-3PL-eat AUX:S
They have eaten my grain.

(106)yi-nyo nyi-gyo nA-mnyok no-nA-dzey ko.
(no-nA-dzə-y)
1PL(exc.) 2PL your-grain PFT-PRO-eat-1PL AUX:S
We were eating your grain.

(104) and (106) illustrate the progressive with nA-. If you put kə- at P1 position in (104), it would theoretically mean 'They had been eating your grain', but no sentences with both kə- 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.
(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-akru 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-akru ra?-gya.
(ra?-gya)
1SG my-body feel itchy
I am going to feel itchy.

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

(108c)nga ngA-akru 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-rtaap ko.
(ke-mA-rtaap)
1SG my-wound TSF-feel painful AUX:S
I will feel painful at the wound.

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

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

(109c)nga ngA-NmAs to-nA-mA-rtaap ko.
(to-nA-mA-rtaap)
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 kə-top(HIT), kə-nA-top which means HIT ONESELF.[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 kə-nA-ngə(LIKE). nA-ngə 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-P4-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.

1.2.41 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 nÁ(perfect), while the latter has thirteen variants which almost always appear in perfect only and it takes over nÁ. 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.

	morphological component	function	semantic class
syntactic order	ka	signals VP	accompanist
	P1	tensifies aspect	aspectuals
	P2	tells if it's done OR tells direction of act	locationals
	P3	tells who to whom	pronominals
	P4	tells manner of act	specifics

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.[17] 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.

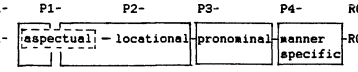
In 1.1.1, it was mentioned that the only exception against the prefix ordering rule is directive in imperfect, which is put at a marked position, that is, before P1, instead of at P2(the normal position). This phenomenon could be interpreted as a 're-casting' of syntactico-semantic rule discussed in 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 tensifier	— [aspect marker / or / directive (PFT)]	pronominal affix	— adverbial affix	-ROOT

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 many accordingly be redressed as follows:



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 $VP_{non-final}$ as a mandatory member. rGyarong root hates to go hatless, and, since P1 through P4 are neutralized in $VP_{non-final}$, ke necessarily gets obligatory. In VP_{final}, on the other hand, it is just optional; it shows up with a high ratio when you have several NP's before VP_{final}, 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 VP_{final}. 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 ka, 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 thal(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.
(yi-thal-Nch)
3DL general-go-3DL AUX:S
movement
They two have gone.

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

(33) wu-yo-jis Ø-no-Ø-Ø-thal-Ø-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-rmi Ø-Ø-Ø-aA-yi-dzu-Ø-ng ko.
I am going to gather people.

(91) bi-syer te-rmi ke-ta-kA-Ø-yi-dzu-Ø-Ø.
People gathered yesterday.

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

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

(72) nga tA-chi Ø-nA-Ø-Ø-yi-ro-Ø-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 1)in (87), P4 position is

occupied by CAUS, and 2)in others, another componenta occur at P2. So, the VP of the sentence (71) ngə 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 sə 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 nə behaves as part of root, taking sA(CAUS) at P4. The following chart illustrates some contrasts similar to (114a):

P4	ROOT	ENG
su((*sA)-	ksyot	to teach
sA	- su-ksyot	to make someone teach
mA	- lmo	to move
sA	- mA-lmo	to remove
nA	- ngə	to love
ngA	- nA-ngə	to love mutually

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, s- vs. N-. Let us see the following:

ENG	VT		VI
to change	s-gyur	:	N-gyur
to turn around	s-kor	:	N-kor
to wind	s-kru	:	N-kru

s- in the VT group apparently signals causativity while N- intransitivity. This s- is cognate to PTB *s- and rGyarong -sA-. N- functions like WT ' 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. Ø shown below:

to show	s-rong	:	to see	Ø-rong
to lend	s-ki	:	to borrow	Ø-ki

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-khip(SUCK), s-kye(BE BORN), sy-pak(BE THIRSTY) and sy-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 s- is cognate to FLESH. So, these have nothing to do with our discussion for the moment.

The contrast, r- vs. ∅/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 ∅/m-prefixed ones. Analogous to this, HANG and SLEEP are possibly segmented as r-wek 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-aur and k-syot respectively.

1.3 Suffix -s

This suffix, which is the only possibility in the S1 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 VP_f appears as no-skye-ng. similarly, if the subject in (111) were 1PL, the VP_f would be nap-syi-y. 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.

kÂ-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. kə-rə-skyo means WRITE, and tə-skyos means 'letter'. We may analyze skyos as consisting of skyo and the -s in question, and infer that skyo-s originally meant 'to be written' and, with tə 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 rGyarong, Rawang, Lushai, Ch'iang and some Himalayish 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-

pendent personal pronouns. They are as follows:

	SG	DL	PL
1	nga	chi-gyo yi-Njo(exc.)	yi-gyo yi-nyo(exc.) *yo
2	na-gyo nA-yo(HON)	ji-gyo	nyi-gyo *nyo
3	wu-yo nyi-yo-nye(HON) *mA	wu-yo-jis	wu-gyo-nye wu-yo-nye nyi-yo-nye

The asterisked forms are not in current use by my informants, but are recognized as forms which their elders used to say. In some other dialects, these forms are still in common used. As for the Suomo dialect, Kin P'eng lists these as the standard forms. For reference his chart is cited below. The forms after the slashes are possessive.

	SG	DL	PL
1	nga/ngA	njo/njA	ngAnyiE(exc.)/yi yo(inc.)/yi
2	no/nA	ngenjə/njə	nyo/nyi
3	mA/wA	mAnjə/njə	mAniE/nyi

(Kin P'eng et al. 1957:77)

A historical interpretation of these forms will be offered in 2.2.3.

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-syo kA-mA-Ndu-ch ko.
2DL ji-gyo tA-mA-Ndu-Nch mo ngos?
3DL wu-yo-jis kA-ms-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 ngo?
yik-pi-n mo ngo?
3SG yi-pi ko.

1DL chi-gyo yi-pi-ch ko.
2DL yi-pi-Nch mo ngos?
3DL wu-yo-jis yik-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 ngo?
3SG wu-yo (kA-)syi ko.

1DL chi-gyo (kA-)syi-ch ko.
2DL ji-gyo ta-syi-Nch mo ngo?
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:

	P3		S2
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 wu which motivates is originally the possessive form and it appears only as a transitive marker. From the analogy of 1st and 2nd person markings, *-m, instead of Ø, 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 kA- or tA-. The bracketed kA- 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 ta- is concerned, it seems strongly probable that is is cognate to IT. These affixes will be further discussed in 1.4.3 and 2.2.31. At this point, we can say that kA- covers non-2nd while tA- 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 wu while that of SCOLD is na-sngo where na- is an adverbial affix described under 1.2.33.

<GIVE>

agt.	bnf.	sentence
2SG	1SG	nA-yo nga kAw-wu-ng ko.
		2SG 1SG 2-give-1SG AUX:S
		You are going to give (it to)me.
2DL	1SG	ji-gyo nga kAw-wu-ng ko.
2PL	1SG	nyi-gyo nga kAw-wu-ng ko.
2SG	1DL	nA-yo chi-gyo kAw-wu-ch ko.
2DL	1DL	ji-gyo chi-gyo kAw-wu-ch ko.
2PL	1DL	nyi-gyo chi-gyo kAw-wu-ch ko.
2SG	1PL	nA-yo yi-gyo kAw-wu-y ko
2DL	1PL	ji-gyo yi-gyo kAw-wu-y ko
2PL	1PL	nyi-gyoyi-gyo kAw-wu-y ko
3SG	1SG	wu-yo nga wu-wu-ng ko.
3DL	1SG	wu-yo-jia nga wu-wu-ng ko.
3PL	1SG	wu-yo-nye nga wu-wu-ng ko.
3SG	1DL	wu-yo chi-gyo wu-wu-ch ko.
3DL	1DL	wu-yo-jia chi-gyo wu-wu-ch ko.
3PL	1DL	wu-yo-nye chi-gyo wu-wu-ch ko.
3SG	1PL	wu-yo yi-gyo wu-wu-y ko.
3DL	1PL	wu-yo-jia yi-gyo wu-wu-y ko.
3PL	1PL	wu-yo-nye yi-gyo wu-wu-y ko.

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 3DL chi-gyo wu-yo-jis 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 3DL nA-yo wu-yo-jis 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.

```
3SG  3SG  wu-yo wu-yo wu-w ko.
3SG  3DL  wu-yo wu-yo-jis wu-w ko.
3SG  3PL  wu-yo wu-yo-nye wu-w ko.

3DL  3SG  wu-yo-jis wu-yo wu-wu ko.
3DL  3DL  wu-yo-jis wu-yo-jis wu-wu ko.
3DL  3PL  wu-yo-jis wu-yo-nye wu-wu ko.

3PL  3SG  wu-yo-nye wu-yo wu-wu ko.
3PL  3DL  wu-yo-nye wu-yo-jis wu-wu ko.
3PL  3PL  wu-yo-nye wu-yo-nye wu-wu ko.

1SG  1PL  nga yi-gyo ka-wu-y ko.


<SCOLD>

agt. ptt. sentence

2SG  1SG  nA-yo-ki nga kAw-na-ngo-ng  ko.
          2SG-ERG  1SG 2-scold-1SG     AUX:S
          You are going to scold me.
2DL  1SG  ji-gyo-ki nga kAw-na-ngo-ng ko.
2PL  1SG  nyi-gyo-ki  nga kAw-na-ngo-ng ko.

2SG  1DL  nA-yo-ki chi-gyo kAw-na-ngo-ch ko.
2DL  1DL  ji-gyo-ki chi-gyo kAw-na-ngo-ch ko.
2PL  1DL  nyi-gyo-ki chi-gyo kAw-na-ngo-ch ko.

2SG  1PL  nA-yo-ki yi-gyo kAw-na-ngo-y ko.
2DL  1PL  ji-gyo-ki yi-gyo kAw-na-ngo-y ko.
2PL  1PL  nyi-gyo-ki yi-gyo kAw-na-ngo-y ko.

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

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

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

1SG  2SG  nga nA-yo ta-na-ngo-n ko.
1DL  2SG  chi-gyo-ki nA-yo ta-na-ngo-n ko.
1PL  2SG  yi-gyo-ki nA-yo ta-na-ngo-n ko.
```

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.

3DL 3SG wu-yo-jis-ki wu-yo wu-na-sngo ko.
3DL 3DL wu-yo-jis-ki wu-yo-jis wu-na-sngo ko.
3DL 3PL wu-yo-jis-ki wu-yo-nye wu-na-sngo ko.

3PL 3SG wu-yo-nye-ki wu-yo wu-na-sngo ko.
3PL 3DL wu-yo-nye-ki wu-yo-jis wu-na-sngo ko.
3PL 3PL wu-yo-nye-ki wu-yo-nye wu-na-sngo ko.

On the basis of these paradigms, the following chart of affixes may be inferred:

<chart 1>

agt. / ptt. bnf. goa.	1	2	3
1SG		kAw-ng	wu-ng
1DL		kAw-ch	wu-ch
1PL	ka-y	kAw-y	wu-y
2SG	ta-n		tAw-n
2DL	ta-Nch		tAw-Nch
2PL	ta-ny		tAw-ny

<chart 2>

agt. / ptt.	1SG	1DL	1PL	2SG	2DL	2PL	3SG	3DL	3PL
3	Ø-ng	Ø-ch	Ø-y	tA-n	tA-Nch	tA-ny	Ø-w	wu-Ø	wu-Ø

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 [tAk$^{\Omega}$] before velar stop.

Therefore, the internal structure of these affixes will be tentatively analyzed as follows[18]:

P3 S2
[[patient marker] + [agent marker]] - [patient marker]

If this illustration is correct, the 3rd>1st agreement should be accordingly rewritten as *Ø-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. kə may be interpreted, on the basis of parallelism with tə(<*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-tA must be used in this case. If the speaker had just wanted to have a look at it, wu-tA would have been employed.

The counterpart of sy-tA is wu-tA which points to a distal object or matter. 'Distal' may be correctly replaced by 'non-proximal'. tA, 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-tA to the 1st and wu-tA is to the 2nd and 3rd. This distribution exactly corresponds to that in the P3 position. As far as tA 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:

	tA	wu
1	-	-
2	+	+
3	-	+

This distribution chart is incomplete; we need one more

parameter to complete this. Supposing that the components at P3 reflect demonstratives, sy would hypothetically fill in the blank. Actually, however, kA occurs there. What then is kA?

rGyarong has the phonological shape of kA as the VP signal(cf.1.1.1) but this is not necessarily related to the kA in discussion. so, for the moment we can only hypothesize that kA 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 kA 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:

agt.	ptt.	proto-forms		
		P3		S2
1	2SG	*tA-kA	---	n
1	2DL	*tA-kA	---	Nch
1	2PL	*tA-kA	---	ny
2/3	1SG	*kA-wu	---	ng
2/3	1DL	*kA-wu	---	ch
2/3	1PL	*kA-wu	---	y
(*2/)3	2SG	*tA-wu	---	n
(*2/)3	2DL	*tA-wu	---	Nch
(*2/)3	2PL	*tA-wu	---	ny
1	1PL	*kA-kA	---	y

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 *Ø-wu---ng/ch/y to tell the 3rd person agent from the 2nd person agent after the concept of 3rd person wass 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:

agt.	P3	S2
1SG	Ø-	-ng
1DL	Ø-	-ch
1PL	Ø-	-y
2SG	tA-	-w(u)
2DL	tA-	-Nch
2PL	tA-	-ny
3SG	Ø-	-w
3DL	wu-	-Ø
3PL	wu-	-Ø

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.

(28) 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-ne-angO-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:

(113)nga wu-yo ta-nə-angə-n ko.
1SG 2SG 1>2-scold-2 AUX:S
I scold him.

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.

(112a)nA-yo chi-gyo kAw-wu-ch ko.
2SG 1DL 2>1-give-1DL AUX:S
You give (it to) us.

(113a)nga wu-yo wu-ng ko.
1SG 3SG give-1SG AUX:S
I give (it to) him.

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:

(114)sytA wu-rmi-tA-ki tA-chim-gA nA-pəyit ko.
this of-man-that-ERG SUB-house-one PFT-possess AUX:S
This man has possessed a house.

(115)sytA wu-rmi-tA-ki sytA wu-dzat na-nA-ssyor.
this of-man-that-ERG this of-woman PFT-PRO-love
The man was loving the woman.

(116)tA-rmi-gA-ki sytA wu-mi-tA na-nA-ssyor.
SUB-man-one-ERG this of-woman-that PFT-PRO-love
A man was loving the woman.

(117)te-rmi kA-rgi-tA-ki tA-ryo na-syu-w.
SUB-man one-that-ERG SUB-language PFT-know-3SG
One man knew the language.

(118)te-rmi kA-rgi-ki tA-ryo na-ssam.
SUB-man one-ERG SUB-language PFT-understand
A man understood the language.

(119)te-rmi kA-rgi-tA-ki te-mi wu-skat-gA na-mis.
SUB-man one-that-ERG SUB-woman of-voice-one PFT-hear
A man heard a woman.

(120)sytA gye-luk ka-kte-tA wu-yo-ki ke-yok.
this stone big-that 3SG-ERG TSF-lift
He will lift this big stone(lit.:As for this big stone,
he will lift it).

(121)wu-yo-nye tA-chim-gA to-wu-pa.
3PL SUB-house-one up-3PL-make.
They have built a house.

(122)nor-bu-ki da-wa ta-top.
Norbu-ERG Dawa up-hit
Norbu hit Dawa.

(122a)da-wa nor-bu-ki ta-top.
Dawa Norbu-ERG up-hit
It is Norbu who hit Dawa(lit.:As for Dawa, Norbu hit
him).

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)aytA wa-pu-tA-ki aytA 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>1-share-1SG 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.

(126)wu-yo-nye tA-chim-gA tu-pa(<(to-wu-pa) ko. cf.(121)
3PL SUB-house-one up-3PL-make AUX:S
They have built a house.

(127)yi-nyo nyi-gyo nA-mnyok-tA to-nA-dzə-y mə?
1PL 2PL of-grain-that up-PRO-eat-1PL AUX:NS
We were eating that grain of yours.

(128)wu-yo kA-na-gA nga-ngA-Nbre nA-Nthun<(nA-Nthun-w).
3SG dog-one 1SG-of-towards PFT-show-3SG
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 tə(IT). The main role of them both at he 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 ko tApau.
Quel métier allez-vous faire?

(132)nyi sei ko tAsIEr.
Qui cherchez-vous?

(133)nyaja t'i ko tAched.
Que tenez-vous à 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

1)Chafe 1974:8.17 & 9.6.

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

3)GM ko means TOWARDS THE HEAD OF RIVER while nA the reverse direction(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 ʔəku and ʔdA 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 ʔəku means UPSTREAM too(ibid.:97).

6)e.g. Wolfenden 1929:2.

7)cf. Kin P'eng 1958:83-84.

8)cf. Kin P'eng 1958:83.

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

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 rə/rək 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, aa-. 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.

15)e.g. Comrie 1976:Aspect. Cambridge. pp.32-40.

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.

19)cf. Bauman 1975:243-252.

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 Meithei 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

(134)ARRIVE	PTB *byon	GC po(IPF)	GT pon
	GS pon	GK kApu	GW pún
	JG [M]byon	NW phiyang(PUT IN)	
	AB puing	BO sopây	MK bon
	WT 'byung		

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

	NU a\bla?=	JG [N]prùu	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 piâ
	GS pe	GK piE	LU bei	

	DF [Y]reto	[T]nito		

PTB *mow is cognate to GC lmo(SHAKE,MOVE=#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 sypak GT sypak GK spiag GS sh'pag
CH [TP]xpa= [MA]spi TR [S]bal
JG [N]páng ka'ra 'áy JG [Z]hpang kara ai
NW pyas (DF [Y]hárr [T]hórr)
LK da-phi

The sibilant prefix in GC, GT, GK, GM and GS seems to be of body parts, which is derived from PTB *sya (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, pak, in either PTB or WT.

(137)BREAK PTB *be PLB *pyak
GC phot GT paw GS pa'ou NU hpyi
TR [S]be?= JG [M]bya? LU bawh_bo=
TI bawh_chhán DF [Y]fitto [T]fétto
LP blo:k LA pelq, bál RO pë
BO báy 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 [M]phrong [Z]hprawng 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]phón
BO bAn AB pon

(140)VOMIT PLB[TSR] *C-pat^{L}
GC mphat GM mp'at JG [Z]mhpat ai
CH [TT,J]phe [C]pha NW bát
BO gobló AB bát KO phai ne
DF blá

WT bskyugs

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 PTB *par, *ywar[1)]
GC mphar GT mphar JG [Z]par(BUY)
GW kamp'ar
CH [TT,C,J]pha [L]bu31
[TT,T,C]po(BUY) [J]bo(BUY)
[L]bu55(BUY)
LP par(BUY) DF prû RO par
LU pah_ WT phar(INTEREST)

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.[2)] This phenomenon implies the existence of some prefix in proto-Ch'iang: it might be *m-.

(142)SPILL GC kay-bok NU a-up JG[Z] khaw
LA bûng AB kâk-pâk DF kra-pâ MK buphak
WT 'bebs

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[Y] has kak for the root WASH. JG has khaw, which may also be connected to khe(WATER).

(143)BURN PTB *b(w)ar(FIRE)[3] PLB *duk
GC Nbar NU hwarr LU haal
TI /ha:l WT 'bar

GT lun LK u KO lounglak

LU alh_

JG [Z]nat [M]jù

AO arong

LP fan

MK phrin

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

(144)SWELL PTB *bwam[4] LU puam
GC Nbop JG[Z] pum wa ai WT sbom(VT)

(145)FLY(V) PTB *pyam[5]
GC Nbyam GS d'byom JG [Z]pyen ai
AO ayim GH kukuyam LP lâm
AB yob

GT gyem

PTB *pir TR [S]ber\ RO billa
BO bir AB ber

```
                ----
                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 *low
                GT Nbro    JG [H]gÂlu      RO ro
                ----
                LU hrâm

(147)FULL       PTB *pling      GC pyot   GS myod   NU bing
                JG [N]phying    [Z]hpring [M]phring LK bi
                AB bîng      MK pleng     LP a-blyan
                ----
                PTB *tyam       TI /dim
                ----
                BO  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       PTB *pu    NU [B]hpu JG [A]phong1   [Z]hpaw
                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
GZ prom CH [L]phre [C]phri [J,T,TT]phri
JG [N]phrông [M]Aphró [Z]hpaw
LU hlui=ngo= LA raáng
GW prón, phri RO pring MK prang

CH [J,T,TT]phayi

NU [K]xa:u TI -ka:ng

NU [B]mong

RO gip-bok[6])

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 pre GT pri GS pre GZ preng
CH [L]phri, phrU [TT]phaU [C]phrU [MA]Re
[TP]bze-, Re- NU [B]bing, ring
[S]breng NU [S]be?= JG [M]Amrá?
AO aben RO pé
MK phu
BO bla:, bây AB bén

WT hral, phrul CH [L]phrU [TT]phaU
[C]phrU [MA]Re JG [M]phrim, Asyép
RO cit TI /bal NW tachya-ye, caphu-ye
AB she'r LA hri chhei

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 seems to be cognates to WT forms, though the rhymes are quite various.

(152)SPREAD PTB *bra GC prak JG [M]syAbrá [Z]shapra
AO prok HY bra LA phaq ID prôga
TI _pha? CH hpalu

WT bkram GH kram

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.

(153)TIE GC prok GT prok TR a6 hra4 AB pak

BO bA/n AB pon NU hpan

WT bsdams PTB *kik, *tu:t

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.

(154)LIGHT PTB *plu(WHITE) GC plu DF pûllû

CH [TP]tsuA- [MA]zA TR [S]pÜ\cı\
NU [S]pU\tchU?=

PTB *hwa-t

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 rup.

(155)DIG PTB *du[8] PLB *m-du2
GC tuw GH tuk LP du NU du AO atu
JG [N]thûu [M]dó? [Z]htu HY du MK tuk AB du
AB du

WT brkos

Common shape is observed all through the languages except for WT.

(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 tyUp
(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 tam-lât MK kangthei

WT phyes

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

(158)RELEASE GC tat JG [N]tât [Z]tat tat
AB tâng DF tŏff-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

(160)BIG PTB *tay[11])
GC te GT kte GM ktiE
GS g'ti GH kt'i MK the, dong
GW ktíe NU [B]htè
(AO tulu LA tuúm BO dér) AB bot-te

WT chen GS chen GZ ci

PTB *ma JG [N]ka'pâa [M]bà

PLB *k-ri2 JG [Z]grau

CH [W,L]bra [J,TS]bza

BO dér

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.

(161)THROW AWAY GC ktor NU [S]thOr\ TR [S]tOr=
LP tyal, dyán JG [M]syAtot LU theh_lût
TI _thE? AO endok LA deéng BO sitír
MK pedat WT 'dor

PTB *gar

GS spang

GT rku

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

(162)SEE GC mto GH me-t'o GK mAtao
GZ metang GS mto JG [M]mAdà
TI /da:k NW thu
DF kà-to WT mthong

CH [TP]taia- [MA]tsi LP syi, syim

AO sak, so NW swa

PTB *m-rang, *m-yang[12] NU yang JG [N]myí yùu
[M]myi? yu

JG[Z]mu [A]mu1 LU hmuh_ BA muh TI _mu? RO nik
BO nú

rGyarong is related to WT, though the rhymes do not coincide except for GZ. DF kâ-to is very close to GC both in the prefixing component, kâ-, and in the root. NU and TI are direct reflexes of PTB *m-rang~*m-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 kattâ

JG [Z]ting KO ting MK keding[13]

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 *glang[14]

GC sytak GT sytak GH syte GW stu
CH [L]tho [T,C]htu LA dayq

GS n'dro

GK dzuo

JG [N]ka'ahûng [A]Asi [Z]kasi

NU t'yup, dyop

(165)FOLD PTB *tap WT ldeb, bltabs
GC ltep JG [H]thap(LAYER) NW la-thyâ-ye

AB tun(SHUT) DF motumto(SHUT)

Everything 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 tâng

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

(167)ASK GC tho GS t'o AB tât, tau DF taoto

KO tang

DF tao and AB tau are parallel to GC.

(168)PUT PTB *ta WT sta
GC tha GT tha JG [Z]ta HY ta KO t'o
JG [N]tá

GS te

JG [N]tôn [M]tòn [Z]tawn LA thûn
RO don

PLB *Ntap^{H}(PACK INTO) LP thap, thom KO t'ap

WT batad JG [M]dât

(169)GIVE GC dit GS di wu'u

CH [TP] xda\ MK ta (LP tat)

DF bhi AB bi

DF jɨ NU zi

GC form is quite unique.

(170)AFRAID/FEAR GC aydar GA nsccâr GK ztar GM ǯdar
GS zh'dar

RO duk

PLB *s-krok

(171)ARRIVE/GO GC Ndu GH nê-tû JG [N]tû [A]tul
[M] tyÀdû, du [Z]du, tu

LU tlung LA thlêng

CH [TP]ti= LP t'i/

PTB *don, *ton WT 'don CH [MA]dan
NW thyan ye
(AO atong TI /tung)

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

(172)MEET GC rdo GS rdo LU tawng=
LA tông MK chetok WT thug, mthong(SEE)

JG [Z]kadut

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

(173)RAW GT rdi

NU [K]?dip

PTB *dzim, *s-rang

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

(174)SEW PTB *drup PLB *?drup[15] WT 'drub
GC trop GT trup GK cup GZ tep LP hrap
GS trob NU [S]khrUp TR [S]krUp

CH [TT,T]zi

JG [N]chûy [M]tyui [Z]chwi

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 PLB *cak(JAM)[16] GC trhak NW chya e
LH cá? RO draa
(LK hrei JG [M]Athû khrá)

CH [TP]sI\chi= [MA]chu(SQUEEZE)

TI \sa:i

LA tuûl

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 btsir(PRESS).

(176)MELT GC dri GT dri GS dri (JG [M]syAbyo)

No appropriate counterpart elsewhere in T-B. JG[M] bymay be comparable to GC dr-, but the correspondence is not regular.

(177)BUY PTB *s-kiy~*s-kAy(BORROW) PLB *kyAy2(BORROW)
GC ki GT kim GK kA GZ keu GW ki
(LU khar)

PLB *way1 GW po GS ko si pe CH [T,TT,C]po
[L] bu55 [J] bo

The GC, GT and GK forms are straight cognates to PTB *s-kiy~*s-kAy and PLB *kyAy2(BORROW). GW ki 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 GC kor GT kor GM kor LU kûr_pui=

JG [M]gum NW kop

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 TI xi?
JG [N]kyit [Z]gyit LK tsA/khi
DF hi

TR a6 hra4

RO ka MK kok

JG [M]gùm

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 'khor

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 GC pkap GT mpur GH pkiap TR pA5 kap5
BO kAb/ LP kap AO kubang
JG [M]gàp AB kom WT bsgabs
(KO kŭp MK kup LU hup_)

LU khuh_ TI _xu?

(183)HIDE GC pki | JG [Z]lakyim [M]gyím

JG's are only similar shapes to GC, but the finals do not correspond. In (181) through (183), we have prefix p- in common. This seems to be from PTB *b-(=acting subject:cf. STC p.111).

(184)ROUND GC skes GT rkus JG [M]gùkhrâ WT skor
PTB *s-lum, *wal

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 GC Nkor WT 'kor

(186)DIFFICULT WT khag GC kha GT kha GH kiâ
GM k'a̲ GS kis TI hak_sat

LU hau, khirh LA hâr MK badekhrim

JG [N]yâk [M]Ayâk [Z]yak

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 GC pkha JG [Z]kyip ai LU chhawng=
TI /heu KO qui ne PTB *ngrAw

GC is quite independent.

(188)PEEL PTB *ku:k RO kik

GC khak (JG [M]khùt LK kat)

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

(189)ANGRY GC khas TI _hE? LK hi-ha

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.

(190)CALL PTB *kaw PLB *kwawl, kru(TSR) WT bkug
GC khow NU gaw, ging BA khawh
JG [N]sha'kâa [M]syÂgá [Z]shaga
LU au=, kow

WT skad GS ke TI =ki

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.

(191)PUT IT OUT GC skhet

(192)BEND PTB *koy TI \kuai (NW kwa)

GC gur gur GT gor gor GS b'kug
MK kur AB gub-gír

JG [M]díng-gúp [Z]hting kum AB gub-gír

LP kuk KO kok (AO aku)

The GC and GT shapes are related to WT skor ~ sgor (ROUND) or 'kor(TURN AROUND:cf.185), which are also cognate to MK.

(193)RUN PTB *plong(FLEE)

WT rgyug GC rgik GH rjyuk GS r'gyug

CH [TP]kA-, gu^ [MA]kA JG [N]kát
[M]gát [Z]pa kat RO kat

JG [A]khom3

NU [B]a-gyer

TR [S]a\gUi=

rGyarong forms are cognate to WT. The others have velar as the initial but the rhymes are different.[19]

(194)UNTIE GC kya DF tö-flyato

NU [S]kha?=aa\ TR [S]ka?=

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

(195)TEACH PTB *m-kyen(KONW) WT mkhyen
GC kyes JG [N]cèng [Z,M]chyeng RO ski
AB kén DF kächinto

LP t'yak

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.

(196)WALK PTB *krAy(FOOT) GK sak'ri GC kye
GS ch'i GT skyet LU ke_a=
KO kem

JG [N]khòm [M]khom [Z]khawn

(WT rkang MK [W]keng TI /ka:n
LK khi-kha)

The GC form is directly comparable with KO. This velar-

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 skyel

(198)SUCK PTB *dzo:p WT 'jibs
GC skyip GT scip GS s'kyib JG [N]chû'
[M]tyùp [Z]chyup LP co:p LA fop KO jep

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 kusi WT skyid
JG [M]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]sja : CH[TT] syjAE).

(200)BORN PTB *dzuk(ERECT,PLANT)
LA suâk TI /suak
GC skye GT skyes GS skyis RO atchis
LP gyek WT skyes

```
          ----
          CH [NA]xu JG [Z]khrat    LU chhQl_tang=
          LP klyak
```

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    GC skyo   GT skyu   GK scyung GS skyo
              CH [T]sja [TT]syjAE [C]se     NW co     RO se
              LP tsu
              ----
              WT bris
```

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'e for this meaning, and that form is originally BOOK.

```
(202)FAST     GC rkyuk  GH rjyuk  WT sgyogs
```

The rGyarong forms are probably loans from WT.

```
(203)TASTE    PTB *dzyim     WT zhim
              GC  sykyi  GH ci      GZ tshi   GM cc'i
              GS  ch'i   CH [TT]chi   [C]?ptshU  LU tem
              JG  [Z]chyim    [M]tyim         LA tep
              KO  jep
              ----
              (PTB *twiy      LK  thlô            RO to)
```

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.

(204)SWEET PTB *twiy GC khyi GT chi
JG [M]dwi [Z]dwi RO chigipa
AB tï-nâm DF tïsaar

GS ch'i GZ tshi GH ci GM ccï

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

(205)BREAK/CUT PTB *r-ts(y)ap, *r-kyap WT rtsab
GC khyop GT cup GM ccop GS ky'eb
JG [M]Akhyép TI _tap AO cakrep
NW tachyâ BO pegreb

PTB *cat LP č'ut

WT hral CH [TP]Re- [MA]Re LP hril

WT gegs NU [B]gyi LU chik

WT bzhag LP cak

NU [S]khu\ TR [S]ku\

The correspondences are divided into two groups: a group is directly related to WT rtsab(CHOP/COARSE)(<PTB * r-ts(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 GC khya JG [M]tyÁrû nang [Z]charu nang
LU zu=rui_

GT Nchok

PLB *yit

(207)DESCEND PTB *yu PLB *zak WT rgyugs
GC gyu(IMP) GK ji
NU [S]ji\ [B] yit shi TI jakzÜk
AB gi LP yu KO yu
JG [Z]yu? [JAM]?yû?

WT bab TR [S]pap=cU\

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

(208)SLIP GC Ngyo GS gyo JG [M]gÁzót AO aju
LP yot

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 áyuk DF gûg

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

(210)CHANGE(VT) GC sgyur GS bs'gyur WT bsgyur

PTB *lay PLB *s-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 s-:N- opposition is still working(cf. 209)

(211)WIDE GT rjon LP a-yong
GC rgyam GT kya chen WT rgya chen po

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.

(212)HARD GC kru GT kro GS kro
LP a-grót WT khrag

CH [TT]kuca JG [M]já? [N]cá
[Z]ja GW hkca

CH [J]hku [C,J]hku

NU [B]raza LU rum=

TI _aak

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-.

(213)ROUGH PTB *gram GC kren JG [M]grén
LU chè hraw_ BO ográ

GT krak GS r'god

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.

(214)TALL PTB *ren(EQUAL/LINE)[20] GC skren GT ksri
GS ki srim JG [JAM]dingren MK ren
LU hràm LP krong

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 skru GT teri GZ tsip

(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]syama
NU [S]a\khrit= TR [S]a\krUt JG [N]ka'tsût
[M]Akhût, Arit [Z]arut LU zûT= LP klit
DF ne-khrâ

WT 'phur, drud PTB *nu:l, *aywAy

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, *hysk
GC krok GT krok LP krôn (LA khewq
JG [Z]makret [N] ma'chit LP hut)

JG [M]Akhrai

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.

(219)BEAT GC khran | PTB *krap

No corresponding root with GC.

2.1.12 Affricate Initials

(220)BRING PTB *dzyon WT bzhon
JG [N]sôn [Z]jawn [M]jôn
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.

(221)SPEAK PTB *s-brwang

GC kyis GT thsin GK tsI GS tsen
NU [B]shin TR [L]zjimi [T]zU
LU aim

JG [A]ka1 [N]kâa [M]gà gà [Z]shaga
RO s-gan NW ka BO hAn

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 kyi(s) 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

group. 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 tsai
GS g'tse'i CH [T]tgwA [J,C]ptgU, pAtghi
[TT]tgwU, pAtghe JG [N]ka'chfi
[M]kAji [Z]kaji 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 btair
GC ptair GT tai GS tai ri HY cur
LU chilh_ (LP tsôt)

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 atsu NU aU JG [Z]htu
(JG [H]taut)

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 metsɔk
GH me-ts'ak GM mtsɔk GS m'tsag
CH [T,TT,J]tshu [C]?tshu [TP]tshu-
[MA]qhsu LP tyuk
(NU [S]chat [K]sa:t TR [S]a\cat=
JG [M]gùm-tsòt 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

CH [TT,J]tso [C]tsodɔ JG [M]tyó?

JG [N]kyit LP čet

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 čet, 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

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 tsh- : 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-tsu1 WT btsos
GT stsul CH [TP]tshu- AO aso
NU [B]asu [S]su\ TR [S]a\su` RO so
JG [N]sha'tǔu [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 zôim 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 ljags(TONGUE)
GC dzok GT Ntsok LP lók

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 GZ ntsik GK zyIkA
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 langauges listed. In terms of word formation, WT and CH[MA] 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.

(237)BIND PTB *cip(SHUT)
GC rcip LU cip LP sup AB shep RO cip
BO sib (MK dip)

WT bcinga

JG [M]pyik

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.

(238)SHARP GS m'taar GW tae CH [L]taje [TT]aUce
AO techira

PTB *s-ryam TI -hiam LK hrai LU hriam

GC mcok

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

(239)SOUR PTB *skyur, *su:r(JAM)
GC cor GT cur GK styr GM cor

GH cyûr GS chor (CH [C]ptsi [TT]ce)
LU thûr AO sentur LP cor LA thuûr

JG [N]khrii [M,Z]khri GW tswi LP a-krim, khi

GT tshap

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 tsha po(HOT).

(240)STEP GC chak

(241)TIRED WT thang chad GC chat LU chau_

JG [N]tsû [M]Atsû?

LP ts'a

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(IMP,IPF) GT chen GK chi
GH c'î GS ch'i HA cia
GW nac'en

WT phyin PTB *byon

(243)CLOSE GC chet GT chet GS ched NU [S]tshit
(WT gcod=LID)

PTB *tâi: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 GŽ ketshim GS g'ch'em

JG [M]krit

(245)SHORT GC kchen GT kchen GS g'chen CH [TT,T,J]tjo
LU chên_ TI \sam AO tatau LK chyu

(246)KILL GC Ncha GZ ntshje CH [C]tshu [TP]cI-
[MA]cA NU [S]ca\ LU ti_thi= TI _that
LK thih LP cet LA that

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).

(247)JUMP [PTB *pyam(JAM)]
GC Ncham GT cham WT 'chom

CH [MA]qhau [B]juh LP tyuk

CH[S]tchat TR [S]a\tchat

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).

(248)CHOOSE GC Nche GS n'ch'i

LU thlu_

BA a thim AO shim

We see again GC ch- : LU th-(cf. 239 and 246), but the rhymes do not correspond.

(249)WASH GC rchi GT rchi GK rci GS rchu NU [S]tchi?=
TR [S]tci?= LH chi

PTB *krAw CH [TP]xuA=la [MA]xla

CH [T]hwAla [C]xwÂ la [TT]xola [J]xo
(LU thuah_)

PTB *m-syal GH cà NU [B]zal TR [S]dzyal= LU su_

JG [N]khrût [Z]khrut [M]khrût LP zut
WT 'khrud
(PTB *syil JG [M]syi?)

We have four etyma in this lexical item. The first group has no comparable form to PTB or WT.

(250)WET PTB *m-ti-s AO tayi

GC sychit GT sychi GZ kestsi NW pyâ
JG [N]ma'tii [Z]madi [M]mAdit LA ciin
ID chiyâ (KO diem)

AO aja

NW pyâ

(251)TENDER GC Njam WT 'jam po

GT Njor GS n'byar JG [Z]chya
(LP a-jil)

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

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

GC is a loan from WT.

(253)GREEN GC ljang ku GT ljang ku GZ bdzamku
GM ldzAng GS l'jang WT ljang ku

CH [L]hwi [C]xu [TT,J]xwe

GC is a loan from WT.

2.1.13 Fricative Initials

(254)KILL PTB *g-sât WT gsad
GC sat GT sat GK sIEd GZ sjan GH siat
GS sad NU [B,S]sat TR [S]sat= LP sót
JG [N]sât [M]sât [Z]sat [A]sat1 AO set
LU hnuk_chhat NW syâ LK sai
TI _that LA that LU ti_thi= LK thih

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 GC sar

NU [B]shùp TR sUm=

JG [M]gAsòk [Z]hsæwk

GK sIEl WT 'tshal

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 GC ksur GT ksru BO sèr

CH [MA]chu-chu DF khrOg WT sprags
NU [B]hu

We have two etyms here. GC/GK and BO look a good set of cognates. GT ksru is from *ksuru<*ksur:this kind of vowel insertion often occurs in this dialect.

(257)UNDERSTAND/HEAR PTB *sam(SPIRIT) WT bsam
GC msam GA sme JG [H]nsen(VOICE)
HY sam(BREATH) LP a-sóm(BREATH)

(258)EAT PTB *dza PLB *dza2 WT bzas
GC za GT za GW zâi GS zan GP za
CH [T,C,TT,J]thje NU [B]sæt HA c'izo
JG [N]shóa [M]syá [Z]sha AO achi
LU chaw_, zût LP zo BR zá

PTB *sam BA ei

TR nas kai4 NW na TI /nE:

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 zor GT zur GK zyI 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 syis GK syI GH syi GS shis
CH [TT]ge [C]sa [TP]sye= [MA]ci NU [B]shi
[S]ci\ TR [S]ci\ JG [N]sii [Z,M]si [A]si3
GW sU LP syi TI -si: AO asA
RO si AB shi DF sî MK thi LU thi

All the forms listed here are derivable from PTB *siy~*sAy. The MK and LU forms are initiales 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 msyi GS shu
GH sî CH [TP]sI=, sy=
[MA]qhsa,sy NU [B]shi, sha [S]cU\, sO= TR [S]sO=, cU\
TR [S]sO=, cU\ JG [M]tye [N]cêng [Z]chyê
BA sin AO sshi NW si HY ses AB shu
WT shes

LP t'yak

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

(262)CLEAN GC syo GT syo GS sho

GH ksâr

PTB *(t)syang JG [N]sâŋ sèŋ [M]seng
[Z] kashin LU thiang WT 'tsang
(NU [B]shim)

LP a-sât

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

(263)NEW PTB *sar GT sar GS g'sar NU [B]sarr
TR sal5 LU thar AB shûr WT gaar

PLB *sik(TSR) GC syuk GZ kesek 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]sye- RO kusi

TR [S]dzyO?= 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[TP]. 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]mâthòo [M]mAthô [Z]mahtaw

GC psyit GT psyi CH [TT]dzi [J,C]hdzi
[TP]chi- NU [B]shi [S]tcat- TR [S]tcat=
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 *syim(DARK)
GC ksyin GS g'shen JG [M]Asyia [Z]akasi
LU thim RO sim WT kha khu sim

LP fyang

BO sri

GC is cognate to WT, JG, LU and RO, which seem to originate from PTB *syim(DARK).

(267)TEACH GC ksyot GT kcit GK ksyud GS g'ch'ud

WT bslab

(268)BEAUTIFUL GC msyor GH msar GZ mtshjar NU [B]shala

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 sshi CH [TT]sUme JG [A]sAmA
(LU zai=)

GT tsin GS tsi(s) JG [N]tsUn [A]tsun3
[M]syi tsun BA sim

WT bshad GS b'shad GH usiat

NW khâ

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]?dʒU [J]?dʒe [C]tshu
JG [Z]chyet

PTB *kla (JG [N]khrât TI /kiat)

AO tsŭk

(271)YAWN GC hom, wo GT hom NU [B]ham JG [N]ka'khâm
[M]makham LU hâm_, hu TI \ha:m BO hamiyay
KO haampu LP hôm WT ag stong, hus(BREATH)

2.1.14 Nasal Initials

(272)RIDE GC mu

(273)ANGRY GC mo KO mo-ng

LP mat

(274)UNDERSTAND GC mis GT mas

JG [M]myit dèp BO miti

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

GC mem GH mim

JG [N]mùu [Z]mu

(276)LOW GC men GK dman GM ngman GS d'man
CH [T,TT,J]be [C]ba KO bhieh WT dma'~sman

PTB *nyam LU hniam LA niâm NU [B]anem
JG [N]ngyèm [M]byep [M,Z]nem

GT mnga

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 miz
GS mis CH [TP]xmi= [MA]rmA
JG [Z]n mi AO ama
(NW loma NU [B]amal 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 mot GT mot GK mod GS mod GP kóm
GW komú JG [H]mut

WT btungs NW twan

LU in= LA qin

JG [A]lu?1 [N]lú' [Z]lu

JG mut is the only connectible 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-mwAy[23] WT rmi(DREAM)
GC rma GT rma GK rmiE GZ rmje GS myed
GW rmán AO amu LA mo-ku
BO muru JG [Z]áAmAwi

(280)DREAM PTB *(r-)mang PLB *mak WT rmang
GC rmo GT rmong NU ip-mang JG [Z]mu
LU hmu_, mang NW hman AB mang MK mang
RO dżu-mang

This PTB etymon is found in all the groups. NU is a compounded verb(SLEEP[<PTB *ip] + DREAM):this kind of

formation is wide-spread among the L-B group(e.g.BU ?ip-mak, LH yɨ-mâ?:JAM).

(281)RIPE PTB *smin
GC smin GT smin GK smi GS s'min NU min
JG [N]min [M]myin LU hmin= AO tamen HY min
LA hmin BO gAmAn AB min MK men RO min
LP a-man WT smin PTB *s-min

Compare to #275(SWEET).

(282)SHAKE PTB *mow GC symu GA mu-mu JG [N]sha'múu
[Z]shamawl BO samaw RO moa

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 *mow GC lmo NU Amu JG [Z]shamu BO maw
RO mo

(284)TASTE GC myeng LP nyóng WT myangs

(285)REST PTB *na GC na GT ni GS ne LH nâ(ALIGHT)
JG [Z]shanit HY na-so WT gnas BU nâ(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 *nak PLB *(s-)nak
GC nak GT nak GK anag GM nak GS nag
GH nak CH [W]nA [TT,C,J]ñi NU [B]na, na?
AO nak GW konák LP a-nók KO Unyak
DF kaena WT nag

(287)SMELL PTB *m-nam
GC nam GT nam GH nom
NU [B]hpanam JG [N]ma'nám [M]mAnam [Z]manam
LU nam= TI \nam AO anem HY nam GW mhe
LP nóm LK hna LA nám BO manam AB nam
ME nam WT banama, mnam

CH [TT]mhi [C]mhje

(288)GOOD/LIKE (PLB *ndak(JAM))
GC ana GZ anje GK ayna, anye
GS a'ne, a'na CH [T,TT,J]na

In rGyarong, *na seldom appears independently(also in LH, na(GOOD) occurs in compounds only[24]) while, in CH, it occurs alone, meaning GOOD.

(289)LISTEN/EAR GC rna GT rna GK rna(EAR) GZ rnje(EAR)
GP rni(EAR) GM rna(EAR) GS rna(EAR)
CH [TT]chny [C]tshoñhi, nAka(EAR) [J]cchyñy,
nAna(EAR) NU hta, Ana(EAR) JG [N]nâng [M]nâng
AO tenarong(EAR) NW nen LP nyan BO kana(EAR)
RO na-tâil(EAR) KO na(EAR) DF nom(EAR)
MK 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 rnaks NU [B]rana
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-nî GS wu r'ni
GW orni CH [TT]ñi [C,J]ñhi

RED is usually connected to GOLD in rGyarong.

(292)LIKE GC nga GT nga GM ndzyi TI -nga:i WT rngam

(293)LOSE GC ngA PLB *ngal

(294)CRY PTB *nguw GC nguw GT ngaw CH [TP]ngA=
NU [B]ngU [S]ngU\ TR [S]ngU\

(295)SCOLD GC ango

(296)BLUE PTB *s-ngow(WHITE) GC angon GT angon GH ngon
GM s'ngon LU hlui=ngo=(WHITE), ngou(WHITE)
LP nóm AB no-ing LK 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-ngya 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 ngŭo MK karnu

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

(300)SLEEP PTB *nyit GC rnyi CH [T,TT,C,J]ne [TP]ne
[MA]nŭ 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 *mra GC mnyas GT ma nga GK mjas GS myes
KO mae 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 snying(HEART)

(304)MAD/ILL PTB *s-nyung WT snyung
GC snyo GT snyo GS bs'nyo
JG [M]mAna [Z]mana, nyung AO majung

2.1.15 Liquids

(305)FIND/GET PTB *r-ney

PLB *ra3 GC ra GT ra GS re
BU ra' LH ǧa WT rags

JG [Z]khrup, khrum

(306)LAUGH PTB *rya-t BU ray[25)]
GC ri GT ri GS ri

NU [B]it

(307)ERECT/RAISE GC ro GS ro

JG [M]kArôt

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]gArau
[Z]khraw BA ro LU em_ro= LP hryu
LK e-rô LA roôw 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\hlum_

JG [M]braû NW yakhâ

(310)GET UP GC rwam GS rwas JG [Z]rawt [M]rôt

LU thoharh_ TI /thou AO atu LH tu

NW da

(311)ASHAMED PTB *s-rak PLB *srak
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.

(312)GOOD PTB *lyak-s GC la GT la NU [B]shala DF âl

LU tlei LK a tlai

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.

(313)HEAVY PTB *(s-)lAy~*s-li GC li GT li GS li
NU [B]ali JG [M,Z]li AO taret[26]
LU harh_lo_, rit DF â KO yih_
WT ljid

WT develops affricates from the palatalized l- of PTB. Cf.#233 & #234.

(314)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

(315)HIT/BEAT/KNOCK/SHOOT GC lat GT lat GS lat
JG [N]ka'yêt [Z]kayat (TI /va:t)

GK tup GZ tap TI /tum

The l-/y- alternation is frequently observed in the T-B languages.

(316)SINK PTB *lip GS l'yo LP hyôm BO tobló
DF lûm JG [Z]lup

JG [M]lût

AB â-lik MK tili

(317)LOST GC sylot GS sh'leg JG [M]khAlût

(318)DECEIVE GC plon KO lo

NU [S]klUp= TR [S]klUp= JG [M]lem

TI /xE:m

LP luk AB lik (TR [S] len\)

There is no comparable form in PTB. TR len\ seems cognate to LP/AB, but the final is not velar.

2.1.16 Glide Initials

(319)THIN PTB *ba WT ba-spu(LITTLE HAIR)
GC wa GT wa NU [B]ba RO bá BO bá
JG [N]pâa [M]Aphâ [Z]hpa LU pan= TI /pa:
AB bo-ro

GW bu GS we (GS wyet) AB bo-ro AO tapu
KO pee CH [L]bre [C,T,TT,J]bri [TT,C,J]bU

We have two etyma for this lexical item. The correspondences are quite neat in each group, except for GS wyet: this -t cannot be traced.

(320)GIVE PTB *bAy, pe GC wu GT wu GS wu
AB bi DF jî NW bi RO ón

PTB *b- : GC w- is observed in 319 and 321 too.

(321)PUT ON/CLOTHES PTB *kwan GW wán TR [S]gwa=
RO gan CH [TT,C]gwA [TP]guA-
NU [B]gwa [S]gwa\ JG [Z]khon WT gon

PLB *wit~*wik(TSR #181) GC wat GT wat
GK wue GS wod LU bât
TI _bat LH vA\?

PTB *pun JG [N]phûn [Z]hpun
LU bun AO aben LP bu MK Abu

CH [TT]tɕwU

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 yàk MK joi DF mɔ̀jûb)

(323)COME PTB *s-wa JG [N]wâa [A]wai NW wa
AO ao LK vaw ha(GO)
GC k-wen(IMP) GH kâ-pwi NW won(GO) DF û

(324)ITCHY PTB *g-ya GC ra? ya GT ra ya JG [N]ka'yaa [Z]kaya
[Z] kaya WT zab rag rgyab

(325)LIGHT PTB *r-ya:ng GC yo GT yo GK jo JG [M]Atsang
[Z]tsang LU eng, zâng TI /za:ng KO wang ngai
MK arjang RO rittséng WT yang

(326)THICK GC yak GT yak GH yak GS yeg WT yangs
(LK byu rô)
AO temelem
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 kyol GS kyo lo JG [M]gÂyau [N]ka'yâw
[Z]kayaw LP kyol AB yél
NW lwâkchyâ

2.1.17 Rhymes: -a(Ø)[27]

cf.(135) GC -a GT -a GK -iE GH -iâ GS -e
NU -u JG -u WT -as

cf.(168) GC -a GT -a JG [N]á HY -a KO -a
PTB *-a

cf.(186) GC -a GT -a GK -iâ GM -e GS -is
TI -ak WT -ag

cf.(194) GC -a DF -a

cf.(258) GC -a GT -a GK -IE GW -ái GS -an
CH [T,C,TT,J]-e NU [B]-at JG [N]-áa [M]-á
[Z]-a LU -aw_ AO -i GP -a WT -as
GP -a HA -o LP -o BO -á
LB -a2 PTB *-a

cf.(246) GC -a GZ -e CH [C]-u [TP]-i- [MA]-A
NU [S]-a\ LU -i= TI -at LK -ih LP -et
LA -at

cf.(312) GC -a GT -a DF -âl WT -ag PTB *-aks

cf.(305) GC -a GT -a GS -e WT -ags BU -a'
LH -a PLB -*a3

cf.(279) GC -a GT -a GK -iE GZ -e GS -ed
JG [Z]-A AO -u GW -ân LA -o BO -u
WT -i PTB *-Ay

cf.(285) GC -a GT -i GS -e JG [Z]-it HY -a
LH -â BU -â PTB *-a

cf.(288) GC -a GZ -e GK -a~-e GS -a
CH [TT,T,J]-a PLB *-ak

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 [TT]-A [C]-i [J]-y
NU -a JG [N]-âng [M]-ph`ng AO -a
NW -en LP -an BO -a RO -a RO -a
KO -a DF -om MK -o

cf.(292) GC -a GT -a TI -a:i WT -am

cf.(297) GC -a GT -a GZ -ang GS -e NU -a
JG [H]-a WT -a PTB *-a

cf.(319) GC -a GT -a GH -et NU [B]-a
JG [N]-âa [A]-a [M]-â LU -an= TI -a:
RO -á BO -â WT -a PTB *-a

cf.(324) GC -a GT -a JG [N]-aa [Z]-a WT -ab
PTB *-a

cf.(136) GC -ak GT -ak GK -iag GS -ag
CH [TP]-a=[M]-i TR -al JG [N]-âng
[Z] -ang NW -as DF [Y]-árr [T]-örr
LK -i

cf.(170) GC -ak GK -am CH -a-lu JG [M]-á [Z]-a
TI -a? AO -ok HY -a LA -aq LP -óp
AB -u ID -o~ WT -am PTB *-a

cf.(177) GC -ak JG [M]-a? LU -a? AO -ak LP -ok
MK -ak RO -ak WT -ag PTB *-ak

cf.(182) GC -ak GT -ak GK -uo GM -ak GH -e
GS -o CH [L]-o [T,C]-u NU -op GW -u
WT -an PTB *-an

cf.(193) GC -ak CH [TP]-i= [MA]-u JG [M]-á
TI -a:i NW -a LK -ei LA -uûl RO -aa

cf.(188) GC -ak JG [M]-ût KO -at LK -at

cf.(311) GC -ak GT -ak NU [B]-a MK -ak LB -ak
PTB *-ak

cf.(225) GC -ak GZ -ak GM -ak GS -ag CH -u

cf.(236) GC -ak CH [TP]-a [MA]-aq LK -a

cf.(309) GC -ak LU -âwk

cf.(286) GC -ak GT -ak GK -ag GM -ak GH -ak
GS -ag CH [W]-a [TT,C,J]-i NU [B]-a?
AO -ak GW -âk LP -ók KO -ak DF -a
WT -ag LB -ak PTB *-ak

cf.(290) GC -ak GT -ak GZ -ak GM -aks NU [B]-a
TR -a4 AB -uk LP -ung LB -ak PTB *-ak

cf.(326) GC -ak GT -ak GH -ak GS -eg WT -ang

cf.(182) GC -ap GM -iap TR -ap5 JG [M]-âp AO -ub
BO -A/b LP -ap AB -om KO -Up MK -up

WT -abs PTB *-up

cf.(140) GC -at GM - t CH [TT,J] -e [C]-a
JG [Z]-at NW -a^t BO -ó AB -át
KO -ai DF -â LB -at

cf.(158) GC -at JG [N]-át [Z]-at AB -áng DF -ðff

cf.(254) GC -at GT -at GK -IEd GZ -an GS -ad
NU [B,S]-at JG [N]-át [M]-át [A]-at1
[Z]-at LU -at AO -et NW -a LP -ót
LK -ai WT -ad PTB *-át

cf.(241) GC -at LU -au_ WT -ad

cf.(315) GC -at GT -at GH -up GS -at JG [N]-ét
[Z]-at TI -a:t

cf.(321) GC -at GT -at GK -ue GS -od TI -at
TR -a= LU -át 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 -ár LP -ar DF -u
RO -ar WT -ar PTB *-ar

cf.(143) GC -ar NU -arr LU -aal 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 -al5

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 -em GS -om NU [B]-am JG [Z]-en
AO -im GH -am LP -ám 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 -ón LA -aáng RO -ing MK -ang
PTB *-ang

cf.(257) GC -am GA -e JG [H]-en HY -am LP -óm

	WT -am	PTB *-am			
cf.(220)	GC -am	GT -o	GK -am	CH [TT,MA,C,J]-a	
	(TR On=	JG [N]-ôn	[Z]-awn	[M]-ôn	
	LU -awp_	WT -on	PTB *-on)		
cf.(251)	GC -am	WT -am			
cf.(316)	GC -am	GS -o	JG [N]-át	[Z]-up	LP -óm
	BO -ó	AB -ik	DF -ûm	MK -i	PTB *-ip
cf.(308)	GC -am	GT -om	RO -a	DF -om	WT -o
	PTB *aw				
cf.(287)	GC -am	GT -am	GH -om	NU [B]-am	JG [N]-ám
	[M]-am	[Z]-am	LU -am=	TI -am	AO -em
	HY -am	GW -e	LP -óm	LK -a	LA -ám
	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]-awt	
	[M]-ót				
cf.(302)	GC -as	GK -es	KO -ae	WT -a	PTB *-a
cf.BOIL	GC -aw				
cf.DESTROY	GC -ay				

2.1.18 Rhymes: -i(C)

cf.(134)	GC -i	GM -êt	GS -is	DF -i	BO -in
	MK -et	PTB *-ep			
cf.(176)	GC -i	GT -i	GS -i		
cf.(177)	GC -i	GT -im	GK -A	GW -i	PTB *-iy
cf.(180)	GC -i	WT -is	LB -Ay2	PTB *-Ay	
cf.(203)	GC -i	GH -i	GZ -i	CH [TT]-i	[C]-U
	JG [Z]-im	[M]-im	LU -em	LA -ep	KO -ep
cf.(260)	GC -i	GT -is	GK -I	GM -i	GS -is

CH [TT]-e [TP]-e= [C]-a [MA]-i NU [B]-i
[S]-e\ TR -i\ JG [N]-ii [Z,M]-i [A]-i3
LU -i TI -i: AO -A GW -U LP -i
RO -i AB -i DF -ɨ MK -i LB -Ayl
PTB *-iy

cf.(237) GC -ip GS -ing CH [W,TT,J,C]-o NU [B]-ə
JG [M]-ɨt [Z]-it TI -i? NW -i
LU -ip BO -ib LP -up AB -ep RO -ip
PTB *-ip

cf.(226) GC -ip GT -ip WT -abs

cf.(198) GC -ip GT -ip GS -ib JG [M]-ɑ' [M]-ɑp
[Z]-up LP -o;p LA -op KO -ep WT -ibs
PTB *-o:p

cf.(264) GC -it WT -id

cf.(199) GC GT GH -it CH -e- RO -i WT -id

cf.(169) GC -it GS -i

cf.(193) GC -ik GH -uk GS -ug WT -ug

cf.(235) GC -ik GZ -ik GK -Ik GS -ig CH [TP]-U=
[MA]-i NU -u WT -ogs

cf.(301) GC -ik KO -ak

cf.(223) GC -ir GT -i GS -i-r LU -ilh_ HY -ur
WT -ir PTB *-ur

cf.(149) GC -is WT -is

cf.(221) GC -is GT -in GK -I GS -en NU [B]-in
TR [L]-i [T]-U LU -im

cf.(274) GC -is GT -as JG [M]-ɨt BO -it

cf.(327) GC -im WT -ibs

cf.(266) GC -in GS -en JG [M]-im [Z]-i LU -im
RO -im WT -im PTB *-im

cf.(281) GC -in GT -in GK -i GS -in NU -in
JG [N]-in [M]-in LU -in= AO -en HY -in
LA -in BO -An AB -in MK -en LP -an
WT -in PTB *-in

cf.(303) GC -ing NU -ing JG [H]-ing RO -ing
MK -ing WT -ing PTB *-ing

cf.(227) GC -i? LP -i:k WT -igɛ PTB *-ik

2.1.19 Rhymes: -u(C)

cf.(154) GC -u DF -u PTB *-u

cf.(171) GC -u GM -u JG [N]-ûu [M]-û [Z]-u

cf.(179) GC -u NU [B]-it JG [N]-ít [Z]-it [M]-ûm
TI -i? LK -i MK -ok DF -í
WT -ig PTB *-ik

cf.(207) GC -u GK -i NU [B]-i [S]-i\ KO -u
JG [Z]-u TI -ûk AB -i LP -u
WT -ugɛ PTB *-u

cf.(212) GC -u GT -o GS -o
GW -a LP -ót 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.(224) GC -u NU -û JG [Z]-u [H]-ut PTB *-uw

cf.(233) GC -u GT -om GH -ôim GS -um LP -um

cf.(202) GC -uk GH -uk WT -ogɛ

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]-ûu [A]-u3 LU -o= WT -oɛ
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 -ər

cf.(155) GC -uw NU -u JG [N]-ûu [M]-ó? [Z]-u
AO -u HY -u LP -u MK -uk AB -u

LB -u2 PTB *-u

cf.(294) GC -uw GT -aw CH [TP]-A= NU [B]-U
[S]-U\ TR -U\ PTB *-uw

2.1.20 Rhymes: -e(C)

cf.(151) GC -e GT -i GS -e CH [L]-i [TT,C,]-U
NU [B]-ing GZ -eng AO -en MK -u BO -a:
PTB *-e

cf.(160) GC -e GT -e GS -i GH -i GM -iE
GS -i NU [B]-ê GW -ie MK -e
AB -e WT -e PTB *-ay

cf.(196) GC -e GT -et GK -i GS -i LU -e_a=
KO -ea

cf.(200) GC -e GT -ea GS -ia LP -ek RO -ia
WT -ea

cf.(217) GC -e GT -e CH [TP]-e NU [S]-it=
JG [N]-ût [M]-it [Z]-ut LU -ût= LP -it
DF -â

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 [S]U\ JG [N]-eng [M]-e
[Z]-ê BA -in AO -i NW -i HY -ea
AB -u WT -ea PTB *-ey

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 [M]-ap NW -â WT -aba PTB *-ap

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,TT,J]-o

	LU -ên_	TI -am	AO -ũ	LK -u	
cf.(276)	GC -en	GK -an	GM -an	KO -ieh	
	WT -a'				
cf.(323)	GC -en	GH -ɨ	JG [N]-ãa	[A]-ai	NW -on
	RO -i	DF -ũ	LK -aw	PTB *-a	
cf.(275)	GC -em	GH -im			
cf.(244)	GC -em	GT -em	GZ -im	GS -em	
cf.(284)	GC -eng	LP -óng	WT -angs		
cf.(184)	GC -es	GT -us			
cf.(195)	GC -es	JG [N]-ẽng	[Z,M]-eng		
	DF -in	RO -i	AB -ẽn		
cf.EMPTY	GC -ew				
cf.(222)	GC -ey	GT -ey	GK -Ai	GH -ai	CH [T]-A
	[J,C]-i	[TT]-e	JG [M]-i	[N]-ɨi	[Z]-i
	RO -i	AB -i	PTB *-iy		
2.1.21	Rhymes: -o(Ø)				
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 -ã	
cf.(167)	GC -o	GS -o	DF -ao	AB -au	
cf.(172)	GC -o	GS -o	LU -awng=	LA -óng	
	MK -ok	WT -ug			
cf.(201)	GC -o	GT -u	GK -ung	GS -o	CH [T]-ɛ
	[TT]-AE	[C]-e	NW -o	LP -u	RO -e
cf.(208)	GC -o	GS -o	JG [M]-ót	AO -u	LP -ot
cf.(262)	GC -o	GT -o	GS -o		
cf.(228)	GC -o	GT -o	GS -o	LU -o\	NW -ã
cf.(314)	GC -o	GT -u	GK -u	GM -o	AB -u

MK -ok WT -ong

cf.(307) GC -o GS -o

cf.(273) GC -o KO -ong

cf.(280) GC -o GT -ong NU -ang JG [Z]-u LU -ang
NW -an AB -ang MK -ang RO -ang WT -ang
PTB *-ang

cf.(283) GC -o GA -u NU -u JG [Z]-u BO -aw
RO -o PTB *-ow

cf.(304) GC -o GT -o GS -o JG [Z]-ung
AO -ung WT -ung PTB *-ung

cf.(325) GC -o GT -o GK -o LU -eng KO -ang
MK -ang WT -ang PTB *-a:ng

cf.(142) GC -ok JG [Z]-aw LA -Ung AB -âk
DF -â MK -ak

cf.(153) GC -ok GT -ok AB -ak TR -a4

cf.(234) GC -ok GT -ok LP -ók WT -agɛ PTB *-ak

cf.(238) GC -ok AO -i GW -e LK -ai PTB *-ak

cf.(328) GC -ok GT -ok JG [Z]-ang LP -ang
PTB *-an

cf.(144) GC -op JG [Z] -um WT -om PTB *-am

cf.(174) GC -op GT -up GK -up GZ -ep GS -ob
NU [S]-Up TR [S]-Up LP -ap PTB *-up

cf.(205) GC -op GT -up GM -op GS -eb JG [M]-ép
TI -ap AO -ep NW -â BO -eb WT -ab
PTB *-ap

cf.(155) GC -ot GT -aw GS -a'ou NU -i TR [S]-e?=
JG [M]á? LU awh_ DF -it LP -o:k LA -elq,
-âl RO -é BO -áy AB -ét KO -aai
MK -ak ID -ok LB -ak PTB *-e

cf.(147) GC -ot GS -od NU -ing JG [N]-ing
[Z,M]-ing LP -an LK -i AB -ing MK -eng
PTB *-ing

cf.(267) GC -ot GT -it GK -ud GS -ud

cf.(317) GC -ot GS -eg JG [M]-ût

cf.(278) GC -ot GT -ot GK -od GS -od JG [M]-ut
GW -ú

cf.(138) GC -os GS -on CH [TP]-u= [MA]-u
JG [H]-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 -ár GZ -ar NU -a

cf.(239) GC -or GT -ur GK -yr GM -or GH -úr
GS -or CH [TT]-e [C]-i LU -úr AO -ur
GW -i LP -or LA -uûr WT -ur PTB *-ar

cf.(329) GC -ol GS -o-lo JG [M,Z]-au [N]-áw
LP -ol AB -él PTB *-aw

cf.(156) GC -om GK -up GS -ob GH -úp JG [M]-up\
[Z]-up TI -um HY -úp GH -úp AB -ém
MK -ip WT -ungs PTB *-up

cf.(271) GC -om GT -om NU -am JG [N]-ám [M]-am
LU -ám_, -u TI -a:m BO -am KO -aam
LP -óm WT -us

cf.(318) GC -on KO -o

cf.(296) GC -on GT -on GH -on GM -on LU -o=~-ou
LP -om AB -o LK -u WT -on PTB *-ow

cf.(190) GC -ow NU -aw BA -awh JG [N]-áa [M]-á
[Z]-a LU -au=, -ow PLB *-awl, -u
PTB *-aw

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 AO -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

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
p-	:	ph-	pi	phebs	COME	134
p-	:	by-	pa	byas	DO	135

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
ph-	:	b-	phot	bod	FLEE	137
mph-	:	ph-	mphar	phar	SELL/INTEREST	141
Nb-	:	'b-	Nbar	'bar	BURN	143
Nb-	:	mb-	Nbop	mbom	SWELL	144
Nby-	:	'phy	Nbyam	'phyo	FLY	145
py-	:	phy-	pya	phyes	TAKE/OPEN	148
phy-	:	phy-	phyis	phyis	WIPE	149

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 pyis; 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 mpher 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 '- 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.

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
t'-	:	'th-	thak	'thag	WEAVE	159
kt-	:	'd-	ktor	'dor	THROW AWAY	179
mt-	:	mth-	mto	mthong	SEE	180

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
lt-	:	blt-	ltep	bltabs	FOLD	165
th-	:	bst-	tha	bstad	PUT	168
Nd-	:	'd-	Ndu	'don	ARRIVE	171
rd-	:	th-	rdo	thug	MEET	172

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
pk-	:	'kh-	pkor	'khur	CARRY	181
pk-	:	bsg-	pkap	bsgabs	COVER	182
Nk-	:	'k-	Nkor	'kor	TURN AROUND	185
kh-	:	kh-	kha	khag	DIFFICULT	186
kh-	:	bk-	khow	bkug	CALL	190
rg-	:	rgy-	rgik	rgyug	RUN	193
ky-	:	sky-	kyas	skyel	ACCOMPANY	197
sky-	:	'j -	skyip	'jibs	SUCK	198
sky-	:	sky-	skyit	skyid	HAPPY	199
sky-	:	sky-	skye	skyes	BORN	200
gy-	:	rgy-	gyu	rgyuga	DESCEND	207
Ngy-	:	'gy-	Ngyur	'gyur	CHANGE	209
sgy-	:	bsgy-	sgyur	bsgyur	CHANGE	210
rgy-	:	rgy-	rgyam	rgya	WIDE	211
kr-	:	khr-	kru	khrag	HARD	212

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 Økh- : GC Økh-, WT prefixed kh- and prefixed g- : GC prefixed k-, WT prefixed k- : GC Økh-, and so on. But, these do not work for the other stops.

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
pts-	:	bts-	ptsir	btsir	SQUEEZE	223
sts-	:	dz-	stsu	dzog	POUND	224
Nts-	:	tsh-	Ntsip	tshabs	ANXIOUS	226
ptsh-	:	gts-	pthsik	gtsug	BEGIN	230
stsh-	:	bts-	stshe	btsos	BOIL/HOT	232
dz-	:	'dz-	dzu	'dzom	GATHER	233

We have three prefixed WT ts-, which behave differently: SQUEEZE may be a loan from WT to GC. ANXIOUS and GATHER show straightforward correspondences.

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
c-	:	sky-	cor	skyur	SOUR	239
c-	:	c-	cak cak	cag cag byas	CHEW	236
ch-	:	ch-	chat	thang chad	TIRED	241
Nch-	:	'ch-	Nchas	'chom	JUMP	247
lj-	:	lj-	ljang ku	ljang ku	GREEN	253
mj-	:	mj-	mjal	mjal	MEET	252
Nj-	:	'j-	Njam	'jam	TENDER	251

Unlike the stops, this series shows straight coincidences except for SOUR. However, if those correspondences of SUCK(WT 'j- : GC sky-), SOUR(WT sky- : GC c-) and HAPPY(WT sky- : GC sy-) are primary, all the other GC's than SOUR are identified as loans.

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
s-	:	gs-	sar(GT)	gsar	NEW	263
s-	:	gs-	sat	gsat	KILL	254
ss-	:	bs-	ssam	bsam	UNDERSTAND	257
z-	:	dz-	za	dza	EAT	258
z-	:	z-	zer	zor	ANGRY	259

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.

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
sy-	:	'ts-	syo	'tsang	CLEAN	262
sy-	:	sh-	syi	shi	DIE	260
sy-	:	sh-	sye	shes	KNOW	261
sy-	:	sky-	syet	skyid	HAPPY	264
ksy-	:	s-	ksyin	sim	QUIET	266
zy-	:	bsh-	zyu	bshad	SAY	269
h-	:	h-	hom	hus	YAWN	271

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, +pal] features against WT 'ts- and sky-. If this is good, the other items of GC are loans from WT.

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
rm-	:	rm-	rma	rmi	SLEEP	279
rm-	:	rm-	rmang	rmo	DREAM	280
sm-	:	sm-	smin	smin	RIPE	281

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
n-	:	n-	nak	nag	BLACK	286
n-	:	gn-	na	gnas	REST	285

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
n-	:	bsn-~an-	nam	bsnam~ anam	SMELL	287
rn-	:	rn-	rna	rna	LISTEN/EAR	288
syn-	:	sny-	syning	snying	BELIEVE	303

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
ng-	:	ng-	nguw	ngus	CRY	294
ng-	:	ng-	ngA	ngal	LOSE	293
ng-	:	rng-	nga	rngam	REJOICE	292
sng-	:	sng-	sngon	sngon	BLUE	296
rng-	:	brny-	rnga	brnya	BORROW	297
rng-	:	rng-	rngo	rngod	FRY	298

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
ny-	:	sny-	nyi	snyes	SIT	299
sny-	:	sny-	snyo	snyung~ snyon	MAD	304

As far as the nasals are concerned, GC and WT are almost identical, although prefix r- shows some inconsistency.

GC		WT	GC	WT	ENG	Cf.
r-	:	r-	ra	rags	FIND/GET	305
l-	:	l-	lo	long ba	BLIND	314
w-	:	b-	wa	ba-spu	THIN	319
w-	:	Ø-	wo	ag stong	YAWN	271
y-	:	dby-	yim	dbyibs	BEAR/APPEAR	327
y-	:	dpy-	yok	dpyang	HANG/LIFT	328
y-	:	y-	yo	yang	LIGHT	325
y-	:	y-	yak	yangs	THICK	326

2.1.22 Rhymes

GC		WT	ENG(see above for full shapes)
-a	:	-a	EAT, LISTEN, BORROW
-a	:	-ag	DIFFICULT
-a	:	-ags	FIND
-a	:	-e	TAKE
-a	:	-as	DO, REST

GC		WT	ENG
-a	:	-ad	PUT
-ak	:	-ag	WEAVE, CHEW, BLACK
-at	:	-ad	KILL, TIRED
-ar	:	-ar	SELL, BURN, NEW
-al	:	-al	MEET
-am	:	-om	JUMP
-am	:	-am(s)	UNDERSTAND, TENDER, SMELL
-ang	:	-ang	GREEN
-ang	:	-o	DREAM
-i	:	-i	DIE
-i	:	-es	SIT
-i	:	-ebs	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	:	-ag	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-Burmese(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.

2.1.31 Initials and Initial Clusters

PTB	PG	ENG.	Cf.
*par	*m-par	SELL	141
*pu	*bya	TAKE	148
*be	*bre	TEAR	151
*ba	*wa	THIN	319
*pruk	*k-rok	SCRATCH	218
*bra	*brak	SPREAD	152
*plu	*blu	LIGHT	154
*plong	*pos	FLEE	138
*bling	*byot	FULL	147
*pyam	*N-pyam	FLY	145
*byon	*bo	COME	134

The following correspondences are induced from the data above:

PTB	PG	ENG
*p-	*p-	SELL
*py-	*py-	FLY
*pl-	*bl-	LIGHT, DECEIVE
*b-	*w-	THIN, PUT ON
*br-	*br-	SPREAD
*by-	*b-	COME
*bl-	*by-	FULL

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.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*ta	*ta	PUT	168
*tap	*l-dep	FOLD	165
*tak	*tak	WEAVE	159
*tan	*sy-Tak	COLD	182
*tay	*k-Te	BIG	160
*ti~*m-syil	*r-ci	WASH	249
*m-ti-s	*sy-cit	WET	250
*twiy	*sy-Ci	TASTE	203
*twiy	*ci	SWEET	204
*twAy	*wo	FLOAT	
*du	*duw	DIG	155
*dup	*dom	HIT	156
*dung	*s-do	STRAIGHT	163
*don	*N-tu	ARRIVE	171

The dental series shows a neat correspondences. The following is induced:

PTB	PG	ENG
*t-	*t-	PUT, WEAVE
*t-	*k-T-	BIG
*t-	*sy-T-	COLD
*t-	*l-T-	FOLD
*t-	*c-	WET, WASH
*tw-	*w-(CS)	FLOAT
*d-	*d-	HIT, DIG

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-.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*kaw	*kow	CALL	190
*kik	*gu	TIE	179
*s-kiy	*s-gi	BORROW	180
*ku	*p-Kor	CARRY	181
*ku:k	*kak	PEEL	185

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*s-kiy	*gi	BUY	177
*krap	*kram	BEAT	219
*klup	*p-Kap	COVER	182
*kway	ko-wi	CONCEAL	
*kyam	*r-Kam	FREEZE	
*m-kyen	*gye-s	KNOW	195
*gram	*gren	ROUGH	213

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.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*tsik	*s-TSi?	TIE	227
*tsuw	*s-TSu	POUND	224
*twiy	*sy-Ci	TASTE	203
*twiy	*ci	SWEET	204
*dza	*za	EAT	258
*dzuk	*tso	RISE	228
*dzuk	*s-gye	BORN	200
*dzo:p	*s-gyip	SUCK	198

Comparing BORN and RISE, RISE looks like a direct counterpart, but TB *dz- : PG *s-gy- is observed also in SUCK.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
(*cat	*r-tsik	CUT	235)
*cip	*r-Cip	BIND	237
*cur	*p-TSir	SQUEEZE	223
*cow	*s-TSe	BOIL	232
*dzyon	*dzam	BRING	220

In SQUEEZE, BOIL and CUT, PG *ts- without glide corres-

ponds to TB *c-, while BIND has the identical initial to PTB. We have PG *ky- which corresponds to TB *c-.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*sam	*m-sam	UNDERSTAND	257
*siy	*syi	DIE	260
*sik(PLB)	*syuk	NEW	263
*g-sat	*sat	KILL	254
*ziy	*k-dzey	YOUNG	222
(*hu	*hom	YAWN	271)

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-.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*(t)syang	*syo	CLEAN	262
*syey	*sye	KNOW	261
*syim	*k-syin	QUIET/DARK	266

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).

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*mut	*mot	DRINK	278
*mow	*sy-mu	SHAKE	282
*mow	*l-mo	MOVE	283
*r-mang	*r-mo	DREAM	280
*r-mway	*r-ma	SLEEP	279
*s-min	*s-min	RIPE	281

Except for the rhymes, all the words have directly comparable forms to each other. SHAKE and MOVE are allofams, which are distinguished by the prefixes.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*nak	*nak	BLACK	286
*nak	*r-nak	DEEP	290
*na	*na	REST	285

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*r-na	*r-na	LISTEN/EAR	289
*r-ni	*wu-r-ni	RED	291
*s-ning	*sy-ning	BELIEVE	303
*m-nam	*nam	SMELL	287

Straight comparable forms to each other, except for two prefixes. BLACK and DEEP are allofams 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.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*nguw	*nguw	CRY	294
*r-ngaw	*r-ngo	FRY	298
*r-ngya	*r-nga	BORROW	297
*s-ngow	*s-ngon	BLUE/WHITE	296

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 angon.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
(*nyam	*men~*m-nga	LOW	276)
*s-nyung	*s-nyo	MAD	304

PG *men of LOW seems to be closer to WT dma' or sman.

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
(*raw	*p-~k-ram	DRY/WITHER	308)
*s-rak	*s-rak	ASHAMED	311
*g-ryap	*ro	DIP/STAND	307
*d-rup	*d-rop	SEW	174

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*lip	*r-lam	SINK	316
*s-lAy	*li	HEAVY	313

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*wa	*wa	WEAR	
*wit(PLB)	*wat	PUT ON	321

PTB	PG	ENG	Cf.
*yu	*K-yu	DESCEND	207
*r-yaw	*k-yol	MIX	329
*r-ya:ng	*yo	LIGHT	325
*g-ya	*ya	ITCHY	324

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.

2.1.32 Rhymes

PTB		PG	PTB	PG	ENG
-a	:	-a	*g-ya	*ya	ITCHY
			*r-na	*r-na	LISTEN
			*r-ngya	*r-nga	BORROW
			*dza	*za	EAT
			*ta	*ta	PUT
			*ba	*wa	THIN
			*bya	*bya	BIRD
-a	:	-ak	*bra	*brak	SPREAD
-ak	:	-ak	*s-rak	*s-rak	ASHAMED
			*tak	*tak	WEAVE
-at	:	-at	*bwat	*bat	FLOWER
			*g-sat	*sat	KILL
-ap	:	-am	*krap	*kram	BEAT
-ap	:	-ep	*tap	*l-Tep	FOLD
-am	:	-am	*m-nam	*nam	SMELL
			*kyam	*r-Kam	FREEZE
-am	:	-en	*gram	*gren	ROUGH
(-ang	:	-am	*prang	*bram	WHITE/DAWN)
-ang	:	-o	*r-mang	*r-mo	DREAM
-a:ng	:	-o	*r-ya:ng	*yo	LIGHT
-ar	:	-ar	*par	*m-par	SELL
-aw	:	-ol	*r-yaw	*k-yol	MIX
-aw	:	-o	*r-ngaw	*r-ngo	FRY
-aw	:	-ow	*kaw	*kow	CALL
-ay	:	-e	*tay	*kTe	BIG
-ay	:	-i	*kway	*ko-wi	CONCEAL
-i	:	-i	*r-ni	*r-ni	RED
-ik	:	-i	*taik	*a-TSi	TIE

PTB		PG	PTB	PG	ENG
-ik	:	-u	*kik	*gu	TIE
-ip	:	-ip	*cip	*r-Cip	BIND
-in	:	-in	*s-min	*s-min	RIPE
-iy	:	-i	*twiy	*ci	SWEET
			*s-kiy	*s-gi	BORROW
-u	:	-u	*plu	*blu	LIGHT
-u	:	-uw	*du	*duw	DIG
-up	:	-op	*d-rup	*d-rop	SEW
-up	:	-om	*dup	*dom	HIT
-uk	:	-ok	*pruk	*k-rok	SCRATCH
-uk	:	-o	*dzuk	*tso	RISE
-ung	:	-o	*dung	*s-do	STRAIGHT
			*s-nyung	*s-nyo	MAD
-ur	:	-ir	*cur	*PTSir	SQUEEZE
-uw	:	-u	*tsuw	*s-TSu	POUND
-e	:	-e	*be	*bre	TEAR
-en	:	-e-s	*m-kyen	*gye-s	KNOW
-o:p	:	-ip	*dzo:p	*s-gyip	SUCK
(-os	:	-uw	*bos	*buw	INSECT)
-on	:	-o	*byon	*do	COME
(-on	:	-am	*dzyon	*dzam	BRING)
-ong	:	-ong	*brong	*prong	YAK
-ong	:	-on	*plong	*plon	DECEIVE
-ow	:	-on	*s-ngow	*s-ngon	BLUE
(-ow	:	-e	*cow	*s-TSe	BOIL)
-Ay	:	-a	*r-mwAy	*r-ma	SLEEP
(-Ay	:	-o	*twAy	*wo	FLOAT)
-Ay	:	-i	*s-lAy	*li	HEAVY

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-Dafla

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

GC		AMD	GC	AMD	ENG	Cf.
p-	:	p-	pa	pato	DO	135
			pero	pèto	FART	
ph-	:	f-	phot	fitto	BREAK	137
mph-	:	b-	mphat	bato	VOMIT	140
b-	:	p-	ka yi-bok	kâk-pâk(AB)	SPILL	142
Nb-	:	p-	Nbop	pom(AB)	SWELL	144
py-	:	p-	pya	pu(AB)	TAKE	148
pr-	:	p-r-	pre	perɔ̃mato	TEAR	151
pr-	:	p-	prak	pak	SPREAD	152
				prok(AO)		
pr-	:	p-	prok	pak(AB)	TIE	153
pl-	:	p-l-	plu	pûllû	LIGHT	154
pl-	:	p-	pli	êpi	FOUR	

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

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.

GC		AMD	GC	AMD	ENG	Cf.
t-	:	d-	tuw	duto	DIG	155
			tom	dèm(AB)	HIT	156
kt-	:	kt-	kte	kte	BIG	160
mt-	:	t-	mto	kā-to thek(MK)	SEE	162
st-	:	d-	sto	ado-ng(AB)	STRAIGHT	163
syt-	:	t-	sytak	potengpa	COLD	164
th-	:	t-	thal	to(AB) da(MK)	GO	166
			tha	tāk(AB)	PUT	
			tho	taoto tau(MK)	ASK	167
			thak	atak(MK)	WEAVE	159
d-	:	j-	dit	jito	GIVE	169
Nd-	:	t-	Ndu	tok(AB) atong(AO)	ARRIVE	171
rd-	:	t-	rdo	chetok	MEET	172

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 st-. 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).

GC		AMD	GC	AMD	END	Cf.
k-	:	h-	ku	hɨ kok(MK)	TIE	153
sk-	:	k-	skes	kungké gi-e(AB)	DETOUR	185
Nk-	:	k-	Nkor	ketkur(AB)	TURN	185
kh-	:	f-	khak	fafato	PEEL	188
			khas	hâfakto	ANGRY	189
kh-	:	g-	khow	gâkto gok(AB)	CALL	190
			kha	gam	MOUTH	
g-	:	g-	gur	kõnggɵrr gir(AB) kur(MK)	BEND	192
rg-	:	kh-	rgi	akhin	ONE	
ky-	:	fly-	kya	tõflyato	UNTIE	194
ky-	:	ch-	kye	lecho	WALK	196
			kyes	kâchinto	TEACH	195
sky-	:	g-	skyes	ge(AB)	BORN	200
sky-	:	f-	skyo	fitto kot(AB)	WRITE	201
(rky-	:	k-	rkyuk	kok-kap	FAST	202)
syky-	:	t-	sykyi	tipa tɨ-nãm(AB)	TASTE	203
gy-	:	g-	gyu	gi(DF,AB)	DESCEND	207
Ngy-	:	j-	Ngyo	aju(AO)	SLIP	208
Ngy-	:	g-	Ngyur	gũg(DF:H)	CHANGE	209
sgy-	:	g-	sgyur	gũg(DF:H)	CHANGE	210
(rgy-	:	k-y-	rgyam	koyana	WIDE	211)
skr-	:	r-	skru	dãri	WIND	215
kr-	:	h-	krok	hakto ké-jok(AB)	SCRATCH	218

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-):

GC		AMD
#k-	:	h-
Pk(y)-	:	k-
#kh-	:	f-
(P)g(y)-	:	g-
#ky-	:	fly-/ch-

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 y-. 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.

GC		AMD	GC	AMD	ENG	Cf.
ts-	:	tch-	tsam	dutachâto la-shê	BRING	220
(ts-	:	ch-	tsiw	lêchin	MARROW)	
kts-	:	j-	ktsey	ejido an-ji(AB)	SMALL	222
pts-	:	ch-	ptsir	têrrchêrrto	SQUEEZE	223
			ptsin	chengto	BEND	223
sts-	:	ch-	stsu	chitto	POUND	224
Nts-	:	ch-	Ntsip	chefi binfato	ANXIOUS	226
tsh-	:	ch-	tsho	nâchato	RISE	228
tsh-	:	tch-	tshok	katcho karo moto	SOIL	229
(dz-	:	tch-	dzu	kâtch'	GATHER /NEAR	233)
rdz-	:	ch-	rdzik	yâ'chi	CUT/KNIFE	235

Alveolar affricate series show the following correspondences:

GC		AMD
(P)ts- Pdz-	:	ch-
#tsh- #dz-	:	tch-

The most doubtful set is found in BRING: GC tsam, DF[Y] sato, jâguineto, dutchâto, DF[T] sato, jâguineto, dŏchâto, AB la-shâ. From the structure of correspondence, DF[T] dŏchâto is the most reasonable, however, the recognition of cognate is fragile here.

GC		AMD	GC	AMD	ENG	Cf.
c-	:	ch-	sy-ce cak cak	ilidchŭ chĕggŏpto	TEN CHEW	236
rc-	:	ch-	rcip	(lĕepto) shep(AB)	BIND	237
mc-	:	s-	mcok	sukto	SHARP	238
ch-	:	j-	chi	kajito	SNEEZE	
Nch-	:	sh-	Nche	shim(AO)	CHOOSE	248
rch-	:	sh-	rchi	ishi a-shi(AB)	WASH/WATER	249
j-	:	j-	jak	dèjèjèngre	GREASE	
lj-	:	j-	ljang	jèvé	GREEN	253
mj-	:	j-	mjal	ajuru(AO)	MEET	252

Alveo-palatal affricates have the following sets:

GC		AMD
#c-	:	ch-
#ch- (P)j-	:	j-
Pc- Pch-	:	sh-/s-

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.

GC		AMD	GC	AMD	ENG	Cf.
s-	:	s-	sar	sâroto	SEARCH	255
s-	:	s-	sat	set(AO)	KILL	254
s-	:	Ø-	sam	um	THREE	
ms-	:	s-	msam	besa	HEAR	257
z-	:	d-	za	da do(AB)	EAT	258
h-	:	g-	hom	gomsato	YAWN	271
sy-	:	s-	syi	sito shi(AB)	DIE	260
			sya	sodin	FLESH	
sy-	:	sh-	sye	shu(AB) sshi(AO)	KNOW	261
psy-	:	sh-	psyit	shut(AB)	DROP	265
zy-	:	sh-	zyu	sshi(AO)	SAY	269
mzy-	:	sh-	mzyit	shut(AB) tsUk(AO)	FALL	270

The correspondences revealed in the fricatives are quite straightforward. As for the rhymes, the -i-~-u- alternation is seen in several items.

GC		AMD
(P)s-	:	s-
(P)sy-	:	sh-
		s-/____-i
h-	:	g-

Only discrepancy is found at THREE, where GC s- has Ø- as the counterpart in AMD(AB Miri 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.

GC		AMD	GC	AMD	ENG	Cf.
ɯ-	:	ɯ-	ɯo	mömö	HAIR	
			mÄs	måto	FORGET	277
			(ɯon	gammapa	DUMB)	
rɯ-	:	ɯ-	rɯa	nyema, mâna mang(AB)	DREAM	280
rɯ-	:	n-	rɯi	nie	MAN	
sɯ-	:	ɯ-	sɯin	minpa	RIPE	281
n-	:	n-	nak	kanapa	BLACK	286
			nam	nampa nam(AB)	SMELL	287
			nA-yo	no-lu	YOU	
rn-	:	rn-	rnak	arnak(AB)	DEEP	290
n-	:	ny-	nis	anyi	TWO	
ng-	:	ng-	nga	ngo	I	
sng-	:	n-	sngon	ney	BLUE	296
(rng-	:	rn-	rngo	karnu(MK)	FRY	298)
ɯng-	:	ng-	ɯngo	ang	FIVE	
ny-	:	ny-	nyi	nyema	SIT/SLEEP	300
syn-	:	n-	ni-syning	ning(MK)	BELIEVE	303
ɯny-	:	ny-	ɯnyak	nyek	EYE	
rny-	:	n-	ɯo rnye	nem'	BEARD	

The following rules seem to be induced:

GC		AMD
ɯ-		
rɯ-	)	ɯ-
sɯ-		
rɯ		n/___i
n-	:	n-
		ny-/___i
rn-	:	rn-
ng-	:	ng-
ɯng-	:	Ø-
sng-	:	n-
rng-	:	rn-
ny-	:	nY-
ɯny-		
rny-	:	n-/___V[+front]
sny-		

As we have seen in THREE(GC sam:AMD um), AMD Ø- initial correspondence is again observed in FIVE.

GC		AMD	GC	AMD	ENG	Cf.
r-	:	r-	ro	görröpto da-rop(AB)	RISE	307
			ram	ramputo	DRY	308
l-	:	l-	la	alapa, âl	GOOD	312
rl-	:	l-	rlam	lûm a-lik(AB) (ponglökto)	SINK	316
w-	:	w-	k-wen	wa-to, û	GO	323
(w-	:	bh-	wu	bhito	GIVE	320)
y-	:	y-	k-yol	yêl(AB)	MIX	329
y-	:	l-	yak	lakpê	ARM	

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(ℓ)

GC		AMD	ENG
-a	:	-a	DO, UNTIE, EAT, GOOD, DREAM
-a	:	-o	I
-ak	:	-ak	DEEP, ARM
-ak	:	-ęg	EYE
-ak	:	-ę	GREASE
-ak	:	-a	BLACK
-at	:	-at	VOMIT
-am	:	-am	DRY
-am	:	-um	THREE, SINK
-am	:	-a	HEAR
-al	:	-o	GO
-ar	:	-ər	SEARCH

-i(ℓ)

-i	:	-i	FOUR, DIE, SNEEZE, WATER
-i	:	-ie	MAN
-i	:	-e	SIT
-ip	:	-ef	ANXIOUS
-ip	:	-ep	BIND
-it	:	-i	GIVE
-it	:	-ut	DROP, FALL
-ik	:	-i	CUT
-in	:	-in	RIPE
-ing	:	-ing	BELIEVE
-ir	:	-ərr	SQUEEZE
-is	:	-i	TWO

-u(ℓ)

-u	:	-ų	LIGHT
-u	:	-i	DESCEND
-ur	:	-ŏrr	BEND
-uw	:	-u	DIG

-e(ℓ)

-e	:	-e	BIG
-e	:	-ę	FART
-e	:	-u	KNOW
-e	:	-ų	TEN
-en	:	-a	GO
-es	:	-e	BORN
-ey	:	-i	SMALL

-o(ℓ)

-o	:	-o	SEE
-o	:	-au~ao	ASK

-o	:	-ŏ	HAIR
-o	:	-ŏp	RISE
-ok	:	-o	CULTIVATE/SOIL
-ok	:	-ăk	SPILL
-ok	:	-ək	TIE
-ok	:	-uk	SHARP
-op	:	-om	SWELL
-om	:	-om	YAWN
-ol	:	-él	MIX

-A(ℓ)

-A	:	-o	YOU
-Aə	:	-ă	FORGET

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 subclassify this language properly were sought among the Chin and Bodo-Naga languages, Jinghpaw and Ch'iang. As a result, Abor-Miri-Dafla(especially, Dafla) 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

occurred.

2.2.1 Inner Prefixes

As mentioned above, the rGyarong root has the following general structure: (C)C_i(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:

GC	PTB	ENG
s-tsu	*tuk[29]	POUND
s-khet	---	PUT OUT

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 s- include:

GC	PTB	ENG
s-cur(GK)	*s-kyur	SOUR
s-rak	*s-rak	ASHAMED
s-min	*s-min	RIPE
s-re(GS)	*s-ring	LONG

These words show a good correspondence, both of root and of prefix. STC reconstructed *s-rak and *śrak for ASHAMED. The second form is persuasive in the Sino-Tibetan framework, and, in this reconstruction, *śr- should be counted as the initial. The rGyarong form is comparable to the first one.

Besides these three, we have another s- 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 s- 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:

GC	PTB	ENG
r-ngo	*r-ngaw	FRY
r-tshu		CREEP
r-chi		WASH
r-do		MEET
r-dzik		CUT
r-gik		RUN
r-ko		POUR
r-man		LIE
r-mo	*r-mang	DREAM
r-nyi		SLEEP
r-was		GET UP
r-wak		HANG
r-na	*r-na	LISTEN/EAR
r-ni	*r-ni	RED

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:

GC	PTB	ENG
p-ka	--	FULL
p-ka	--	WIN
pkap	bsgabs(WT)	COVER
pkor	--	CARRY
psyit	--	THROW/SPIT
pram	--	DRY
ptshik	--	BEGIN
ptshir	--	SQUEEZE
pki	--	HIDE

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 pks(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-:

GC	PTB	ENG
k-ram	---	DRY
k-wen	---	COME
k-sur	---	FRY
k-te	*tay	BIG

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 m-:

GC	PTB	ENG
m-zyit	--	FALL
m-jal	--	MEET
m-phar[32]	*par	SELL
m-sam	bsams(WT)	UNDERSTAND
m-to	--	SEE
m-na	--	RECOVER
m-phat	--	VOMIT

Among the examples, MEET and SELL seem to be loans from

WT(WT mjal MEET, WT mphar 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 m- as 'neuter' subject is opposed to b- and '- as 'acting' subject. This opposition is observed in not only WT but also TR:mAnam STINK vs. pAnam 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 mphet(VOMIT) can be compared with JG[Z] mhpat ai(cf.#140) or JG[JAM]ɲphɐ̀t, where m- or ɲ- functions the same way as in GC.

2.2.16 rGyarong has prefix l- as shown in the following examples:

GC	PTB	ENG
lmo	*mow	MOVE
ltep	*tap	FOLD

(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-

tive'. In this respect, NW la-thyê-ye(FOLD) is noteworthy.

GC lmo(MOVE) has an allofam, 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 l- 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:

GC	WT	ENG
Nbop	sbom	SWELL
Ncha	--	KILL
Nche	--	CHOOSE
Nda	--	FLOW
Ndu	--	ARRIVE[34]
Nthen	then	PULL
Ntsip	--	ANXIOUS
Nbar	'bar	BURN
Ncham	'chom	JUMP

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 *s- was the PTB 3rd pronoun corresponding to *nga(1st) and *nang(2nd),

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 mA or wu, 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_1(G)V(:)C_f(s), while, for example, Lahu, as another extreme, has a CV + T(toneme) 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 me 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 hana (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:

	GC Dir.<Adv.	Paslok	GM Dir.<Adv.
Upstream	ko	tA	ko < ?aku
Downstream	no	na	di < ?adA
Uphill	to < hato	tA	to < ?ata
Downhill	no < hana	na	na < ?ana
Front	ro	ko	ro < ?ato
Back	re	dA	rA < ?arA
Seat of honor	ku < haku	ko	
Lower seat	ni < hani	dA	
Getting back	ne		
General	yi		

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:

Paslok	GM	GC
tA(UP)	to(UPHILL)	to(UPHILL) ko(UPSTREAM)
na(DOWN)	na(DOWNHILL)	no(DOWNSTREAM/ DOWNHILL)
ko(FRONT)	ko(UPSTREAM) ro(FRONT)	ku(SEAT OF HONOR) ro(FRONT)
dA(BACK)	di(DOWNSTREAM) rA(BACK)	ni/di(LOWER SEAT) re(BACK)

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	LF
UP	te	tU
DOWN	hhen	hha
OUT/FRONT	she	sii
IN/BACK	ji	je
LEFT		dzii
RIGHT		de

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:

	MA(Dir.<Adv.)	TP
Up	tA < ti:q	tA\
Down	a < qAli	Ar\
Upstream	nyu < nyucha	u=
Downstream	sA < khayAcha	sI\
Uphill	kuA < kuAcha	zI\
Downhill	thiu< thiucha	da\
Back	dzA(TOWARDS SPEAKER)	xgA\
Out	tha(AWAY)	xa\
	(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 ɕhe and LF ɕii seem to be cognate to TP ɕI\; LF dzii to TP zI\, and LF de to TP dɐ\. 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,

ti da qhɐu.
(tA-y)
Up-LOC PFT jump
(Someone) 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 rGya-rong, we can point to the following four as the direct parallels:

	GC	MA	TP	LI	LF
Up(hill)	to	tA	tA\	te	tU
Upstream	ko	kuA			
Lower seat	ni/di				de (right)
General	yi	-y		ji	je

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 dzə?(DOWN) is cognate to CH[MA] dzə(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)(Grüsner 1983) as well as Lushai(LU) lə-(TOWARDS)[35] 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 ne.

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 gzegs(FALL), as well as to TR dza?=(2.2.213), and the AO dative marker, -tsa, to CH[MA]dzA(TOWARDS SPEAKER). AO -syi (OUT) is cognate to CH[LI] she, [LF] sii and Lotha -ci-(OUT).

Besides lo- 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/-re 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 he (GENERAL). The former is apparently cog-

nate to GC ko(UP)[36] 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 way which was once a full verb meaning GO: e.g. á± e(DIE + AWAY=PASS AWAY). Dafla also shows a comparable shape: -tê-(UP THERE) and -bê-(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-ê and b-ê respectively and ê would be regarded as the locative marker, while -t- and -b- as directives. If this segmentation is correct, è- will be identified as a cognate of GC yi-. In connection with this, Bor describes tèsa(MAN OF/FROM THE NORTH) and bèsa(MAN OF/FROM THE SOUTH)(Bor 1938:227). In these examples, the -ê- 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	rá, vá, feq
Vertical	rûng$_R$, vûng$_R$, hûng$_R$

Osburne analyses that r- means TOWARDS SPEAKER while v- implies AWAY and, in combination with á(HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT) and ûng(VERTICAL MOVEMENT), they can specify six different directions. She does not give any detailed view on feq and hûng$_R$, but these are parallel to hê and hon in LSI's Zahao.

Following Osburne's interpretation of this formative system, LA f- 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, rä and vä seem to come from *req and *veq, although the origin of -q is unknown.

Siyin hong~kong(UP) is also identified as a cognate to LA hŭngR(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-
d-) to, into, towards
r- (with contact) against, upon, to, into, over
(without contact) at, towards, out, forth, away
s- general direction into the condition or state named by the verb root itself,
or
action to, towards, for, etc., an indirect object
l- 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 l-mo(MOVE) and l-tep(FOLD) as roots with l-. Wolfenden lists WT lteb~ldeb~ldab(FOLD) as examples(ibid.:45), and the GC form is a direct parallel to it. The meaning of rGyarong l- is also defined as 'together' for this item. The other GC l- may belong to 'general direction'.

Looking into g-, d- and r-, the differentiation in their meaning is not so clear as far as Wolfenden's interpretation is concerned. Since g- 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:

WT	rgyugs	RUN, RUSH AGAINST
	rgyab	HIT
	rgol	FIGHT AGAINST
	rdug	STUMBLE OVER, DESTROY
	rdung	BEAT
	rdeg	BEAT
	rdeb	THROW DOWN
	rko	DIG
	rnga	MOW
	rtol	PIERCE, BORE INTO
	rmo ~ rmed	PLOUGH IN
	rma	WOUND
	rten	FACE TOWARDS
	rkam	LONG FOR

rngam	PANT FOR
rngab	CRAVE
rngon	CHASE AFTER
brtson	STRIVE FOR
rmed ~ smed	ADDRESS AN INQUIRY TO
rkyong	STRETCH, PUT FORTH
rdol	BREAK FORTH

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)	rdug	STUMBLE OVER	sdug	AFFLICTION
(2)	rdung	BEAT	sdung	SPEAR
(3)	rko	DIG	bako	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(CONCAVE) 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(CH[MA]). For instance, JUMP shows the following contrast:

INF	qhəu	to jump
PAST	daqhəu	(Someone) jumped.
PAST + DIRECTION	tAqhəu	(Someone) jumped up. (Sun 1981b:38)

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-. This

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, dɐ. Thus,

kui-da-qhau.
(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 kuÂ(UPHILL), which consequently is interpreted rather as a full noun than a directive particle.

The origin of GC nÂ 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, dÂ 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 nÂ was presumably a directive which represented DOWN. GC nɔ(DOWN), ni(LOWER SEAT) and nɐ(GETTING BACK) are initialed by the dental nasal: so, these three n-initialed directives are assumed to have originated in the same morpheme---probably *nÂ--- and differentiated later.

Hayu has a postpositional -tɐ 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 dɐ or rGyarong nÂ(cf.the Ch'iang

example listed above).

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: sA-, syA-, rA- and ws-. 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 sU\ 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 syÂ-, which specifically means HELP...DOING. Because of this limited range of application and the complementary distribution with sÂ- in terms of function, it would be proper to regard syÂ- as a derivative from sÂ-. This sort of differentiation is observed in Rawang: Rawang has dø- and shø- as causative markers and they both can theoretically be used for any causative formations to the same extent(Bernard 1934:114), but, actually, shø- 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 jÂ-, but this is an allomorph of syÂ(Anonymous 1959:30). -zyI is the causative marker in Ch'iang[TP](Sun 1981a:111).[38]

rÂ- is the next topic to discuss. As the typical example of causative, we have ka-chak vs. ka-rÂ-chak(FEW vs. DECREASE) and ka-kram vs. ka-rÂ-kram(DRYadj. vs. DRYvb.). Judging from these formative processes, rÂ- as a causative marker in a narrow sense is a productive unit.

This rÂ- 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), -rÎ- is a productive element to convert verbs to causative ones. For

example, EAT is converted to FEED by putting -rĭ: jĭ vs. jĭrĭ. Although this is a postpositional, this could be a cognate to GC rÂ-.

The last causative marker is wə-, 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, rəing(DRYadj.) vs. pÂ-rəing(DRYvb.)(Wolfenden 1929:117). GC krəm(DRYa.) vs. wə-krəm(DRYvb) are exactly parallel to the Dimasa example above.

As was mentioned under 1.2.313, krəm and prəm represent an interesting formation. In the proto-rGyarong stage, *rəm used to be the root of DRY(adj), and it seems to have become k-rəm(VI) and p-rəm(VT) in the Tsha-kho dialect of rGyarong(Mr. Trhako's information). In GC, on the other hand, both krəm and prəm remained as adjectives and are distinct from each other by virtue of the semantic domain they occupy. On the descriptive level, prəm is semantically marked since it is exclusively used for airing of clothing and books.

To convert these two into verbs, GC needs mainly rÂ- but sometimes wə- as the causative markers before krəm and prəm.

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 mi-nom 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. psyit 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.

	GC	JG	AO	WT
SMELL	nA-mnam	ma-nam	me-nem	mnam
GROW		ma-dem		
LAUGH		ma-ni	me-na	
SOFT	mA-no	ma-ni		mnyen
VOMIT	mA-mphat			
MOVE	mA-lmo			
FEEL PAINFUL	mA-rtsap			

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 nə- 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, nâ-. Taruang has -də' 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 sə-(cf.1.2.35) as well as GM sə-(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

*m-(STC:117), which seems more appropriate for the interpretation of GC m-; FEEL PAINFUL is rather reflexive and MOVE is considered as being durative.

SMELL and VOMIT show an interesting re-prefixing. The mÂ- and m- of VOMIT can be regarded as belonging to the same prefix: mÂ- is a newer stratum while m- is older, which may be an vestige of older stage or a lexicalized prefix. SMELL has m- as a part of root prefixed by nÂ-, 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 ngÂ-. Kin P'eng describes it as expressed by ngə + 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, ə\(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, rə- and nə-. As for the origin of rə-, we can consider three possibilities: 1)PTB *r- as a directive, 2)causative marker rÂ-, 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 nÂ-, which is identical to the perfect marker. As mentioned in 2.2.216, nÂ- is probably cognate with no-/na-/ni-(which share the meaning of DOWN) and, considering their complementary distribution with other direction markers, *nÂ- 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, nÂ- has become exclusively the aspect marker. Progressive and reflexive are a sort of aspect, and it does not seem so unnatural that nÂ- 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 nÂ- 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 + bâ.

2)For the 1st person, it should be ROOT + t + numma. For example, kât-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 -na 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 -bā 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 nâ, LH nâ 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:

	P3		S2
1SG	(kA)	---	ng
1DL	(kA)	---	ch
1PL	(kA)	---	y
2SG	tA	---	n
2DL	tA	---	Nch
2PL	tA	---	ny
3SG	(kA)	---	ø
3DL	kA	---	ø
3PL	kA	---	ø

2)Transitive verbs require the following if the patient is not expressed by a personal pronoun:

agt.	P3		S2
1SG	ø	---	ng
1DL	ø	---	ch
1PL	ø	---	y
2SG	tA	---	w(u)
2DL	tA	---	Nch
2PL	tA	---	ny
3SG	ø	---	w
3DL	wu	---	ø
3PL	wu	---	ø

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:

agt.	ptt.	Proto-forms P3		S2
1	2SG	*tA-kA	---	n
1	2DL	*tA-kA	---	Nch
1	2PL	*tA-kA	---	ny
2/3	1SG	*ka-wu	---	ng
2/3	1DL	*ka-wu	---	ch
2/3	1PL	*ka-wu	---	y
(*2/)3	2SG	*tA-wu	---	n
(*2/)3	2DL	*tA-wu	---	Nch
(*2/)3	2PL	*tA-wu	---	ny
1	1PL	*kA-kA	---	y

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 wu, 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 configuration 3) was shown. The following illustrates the structure of patterns 1) through 3):

			P3		S2
VI 1)	state/process		ptt.	---	ptt.
1)	action		agt.	---	agt.
VT 2)			agt.	---	agt.
3)		ptt. +	agt.	---	ptt.

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 -ŏge(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 substantiate 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 disyllabic 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:

	SG	DL	PL
1st	-nga	-syi	-i
2nd	-na	-syi	-i (Bauman 1975:195)

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.):

1SG	-ng	<	-ng-Ø
1DL(inc.)	-tayhca	<	-tayh-ca
1DL(exc.)	-ngca	<	-ng-ca
1PL(inc.)	-tayhi	<	-tayh-i
1PL(exc.)	-ngi	<	-ng-i
2SG	-te	<	-te-Ø
2DL	-te- -ja		
2PL	-te- -y		

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:

person marking		number marking	
1st	*-ng(V)	SG	*-Ø
2nd	*-n(V)	DL	*-sy(V)
		PL	*-y

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:

2SG	na E di E.	You go.
2DL	na ni E di shi E.	You two go.
2PL	na ning E di ning E.	You(PL) go.

(Bernard 1934:19-20)

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.

	RW(=NU[B])	GC
2SG	E --- Ø	tA --- n-Ø
2DL	E --- shi	tA --- N-ch
2PL	E --- ning	tA --- n-y

Although RW lost 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 -Ø 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.

	independent pronoun	affixes	
2SG	na:ngte	-te	
2DL	ningjite	-te- -ja	
2PL	ningte	-te- -y	(ibid.)

In connection with Chepang te, Bauman criticized Caughley and Caughley 1970 where they claimed te to be a 2nd person pronoun. Bauman listed the following sentences which disproved their argument(Bauman 1975:204-205ff.):

Chepang nga:ko ?a:y:ri-?a:mh-te je?-ca-u.
1SG-poss. grain-te eat-will-3SG
You will eat my grain.

Chepang ?ow-te na:ng da:yh-ya: .....
3SG-te 2SG say-IRG
If that is what you say, ...

Bauman 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.

	independent pronoun	affixes	
2SG	khenee	kh --- ∅	
2DL	khencii	kh --- cii	
2PL	khenii	kh --- nii	(ibid.)

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	TI
2SG	-nd	-_tE?
2PL	(-myitd)	-=u?_tE?
	(Bauman 1975:193)	(Henderson 1965:109)

JG has the combination of -n(<*nA) and -d(<#te) while TI has #te form only.[39]

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 *-∅, 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:

	Hayu	Limbu	person marking	number marking
3SG	-Ø	-Ø	no	no
3DL	-tshik	-cii	no	yes
3PL	-me	mee-	yes	yes

	Jinghpaw		
3SG	-Ø	no	no
3PL	-ma	yes	no

(HY:Michailovsky 1982:110, JG:Bauman 1975:279)

These three languages have -mV 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 kA- 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 #Nungish(=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(Bauman 1975:162-164), the zero marking for 3rd person in rGyarong was later patched up by adding the kA- 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):

agt.	P3	S2
1SG	Ø-	-ng
1DL	Ø-	-ch
1PL	Ø-	-y
2SG	tA-	-w(u)
2DL	tA-	-Nch
2PL	tA-	-ny
3SG	Ø	-w
3DL	wu-	-Ø
3PL	wu-	-Ø

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/stative 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.

agt.	causative	imperative
2SG	-n	-u
2PL	-myit	-mu
3SG	-u	-u
3PL	-mu	-mu

(Bauman 1975:279)

Unlike rGyarong, Jinghpaw has -wu consistently in the imperative.[40] 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 u 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; ngə is used both as an independent pronoun

and as a pronominal affix, while the use of kA- is limited to the pronominal affixing only.

In the descriptive part of this paper, we hypothesized that this wu is from a distal demonstrative, aided by the contrast of sy-tA(THIS) vs. wu-tA(THAT). In other languages, however, wu 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:

	Chepang	HY
3SG	?o	wathi
3DL	?onis	wathi nakpu
3PL	?olam	wathi khata

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 wu as an element of its compounded independent personal pronouns, where wu is realized as long vowel -uu- in post-consonantal position:

3SG	khuunee
3DL	khuucii
3PL	khuuncii

Besides the examples discussed above, Jinghpaw holds wu for the future, future perfect, past and optative(ibid.:270), where wu becomes u after C.

	fut./fut.per.	past	opt.
3SG	-ru	-nu	-lu
3PL	-maru	-manu	-malu

Thus, 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 wa THAT), it is hypothesized that the morpheme is from a demonstrative, but, as Bauman claimed(ibid.:135), 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:

agt.	ptt.	forms		proto-forms
2	1SG	kAw---ng	<	*kA-wu---ng
3	1SG	wu ---ng	<	*kA-wu---ng
2	1DL	kAw---ch	<	*kA-wu---ch
3	1DL	wu ---ch	<	*kA-wu---ch
1	1PL	ka ---y	<	*kA-kA---y
2	1PL	kAw---y	<	*kA-wu---y
3	1PL	wu ---y	<	*kA-wu---y
1	2SG	ta ---n	<	*tA-kA---n
3	2SG	tAw---n	<	*tA-wu---n

agt.	ptt.	forms		proto-forms
1	2DL	ta ---Nch	<	*tA-wu---Nch
3	2DL	tAw---Nch	<	*tA-wu---Nch
1	2PL	ta ---ny	<	*tA-wu---ny
3	2PL	tAw---ny	<	*tA-wu---ny

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 subgroups, proposed the following proto-type transitive verb agreement system(singular only):

subject	object		
	1	2	3
1		-na	-nga
2	-nga		-na
3	-nga	-na	-u

(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 rGyarong.

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-ptt.
otherwise       agt.---ptt.
```

Although the places of occurrence are different, the syntactic arrangements of agt. and ptt. are exactly parallel to rGyarong. The 1>2 agreement does not apply to this scheme, but our interpretation of the discrepancy is that the 2nd

ptt. marker(Bauman's #te form or *-n) exists underlyingly 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:

2>1	kh-	-ng
3>1	ø-	-aa
1>2	ø-	-nee
3>2	kh-	-ø

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

rGyarong 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 S1 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 biso(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 'ay and say, of which the latter is exclusively used for PFT and is further segmentable as s-ay(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.

2.2.51 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 hg, Jyarong kâ, Thulung kə and Sherpa ki. Kachin gaw and Burmese kə, 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 recently 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:

(330)khong-Ø rgya-gar-du 'gro.
he-Ø India-LOC go
He is going to India.

(331)lcags-Ø gser-du 'gyur.
iron-Ø gold-LOC change(VI)
Iron changes to gold.

(332)slab-dpon-gyis lcags-Ø gser-du bsgyur.
guru-ERG iron-Ø gold-LOC change(PFT:VT)
A guru changed iron to gold.

(333)phrugs-gu-s 'khor-lo-Ø bskor.
child-ERG wheel-Ø turn(PFT:VT)
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-Ø gsad-pa-red.
he-ERG tiger-one-Ø kill-PFT-AUX:S
He killed a tiger.

(335)stag-Ø shi-pa-red.
tiger-Ø die-PFT-AUX:S
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-Ø rtsam-pa-Ø za-gi-yin.
I-Ø roast flour-Ø eat-IPF-AUX:S
I am going to eat tsampa(roast-flour).

(337)kho-s mog-mog-Ø za-gi-'dug.
he-ERG meat pie-Ø eat-IPF-AUX:SE
He is eating meat-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 zhal-lta-ma gcig-Ø btsal-pa-yin.
I-ERG maid one-Ø look for-PFT-AUX:S
I looked for a maid.

(339)kho-s mo-Ø sgug-pa-red.
he-ERG she-Ø wait for-PFT-AUX:S
He has waited for her.

The verbs of knowledge also require ERG. Thus:

(340)'di-Ø nga-s shes-kyi-mi-'dug.
this-Ø 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-Ø 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 c)sense seem to require ERG. Thus:

(341)kho-tsho-s par-Ø lta-gi-yod.
they-ERG photo-Ø look at-IPF-AUX:E
They are looking at a photo.

(342)nga-s mo-Ø mthong byung.
I-ERG she-Ø see AUX:PFT
I've seen her.

(343)nga-s kho'i dbyin-ji sgra-Ø 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:

(345)nga-Ø las-ka 'di-'dras-la dga'-po-med.
I-Ø work this-like-LOC fond of-NEG
I don't like work like this.

(346)nga-r dngul-Ø dgos.
I-LOC money-Ø necessary/want
I need money.

No ergative marker occurs in (d). With gzhes(FEAR), ERG may appear depending upon idiolects. The verb of possession does not take ERG either.

(347)nga-r dngul-Ø yod.
I-LOC money-Ø AUX:E
I have money(lit. There is money to me).

Verbs of potentiality require a slightly different structure.

(348)nga-Ø lha-sa-r 'gro thub-gyi-red.
I-Ø Lhasa-LOC go can-IPF-AUX:S
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 (a1) 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:

```
        P3                          S2
[[ptt.]-[agt.]]      ---        [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 kâ 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:

```
no-kâ     nga  kâ-u-nasno-ng.
you-ERG   I    T-inv.-scold-1st
You will scold me.

mâ-kâ     nga  u-nasno-ng
he-ERG    I    inv.-scold-1st
He will scold me.
```

nga no tA-a-nasno-n
I you T-A-scold-2nd
I will scold you.

ŋA-kA no tA-u-nasno-n
he-ERG you T-inv.-scold-2nd
He will scold you. (ibid.)

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):

agt.	ERG	ptt.	proto-forms
2/3	yes	1	*kA-wu
(*2/)3	yes	2	*tA-wu

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 -gÂ 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 -gÂ 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?[42](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 hkə for accusative. However, ər is also found in ablative and instrumental contexts, and is frequently absent from nominative NP's. hkə, on the other hand, occurs in dative and locative NP's too. So, ər may be re-defined as an ergative marker, which parallels Tibetan in that the ergative signal is connected to the instrumental, while hkə 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 hkə 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 agt.-ptt. agreement system. Compare the following:

	ERG	P3		S2	
VT(1)	yes	[agt.]	---	[agt.]	cf.2.2.33
VT(2)	yes	[ptt.]-[agt.]	---	[ptt.]	cf.2.2.34

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 mǎi\/ì(BUY) and mài(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 mrang.

13)JAM thinks LH thê may go with this group.

14)TSR reconstructs PLB *N-ˆ*?-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 jâak(JAM).

19)cf. Matisoff 1983; *gat>LH qâ-qhê?(DANCE).

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-aik or *V-aik. 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 ǧɨ 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 dù.

35)LH lò?(ENTER) is cognate to the MK and LH forms(JAM).

36)See below(Osburne'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 cɨ.

39)JG te- functions also as the plural marker:

1PL anhte
2PL nanhte
3PL shante

40)LH also has an imperative particle(final unrestricted) ò-?(JAM).

41)More precise discussion seems to be necessary to determine that the -s in kyis 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 sa(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 VP_{final} 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 VP_{final} 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(JAH's general term to include Bodo-Garo, Kuki-Chin-Naga 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 (outlined 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):

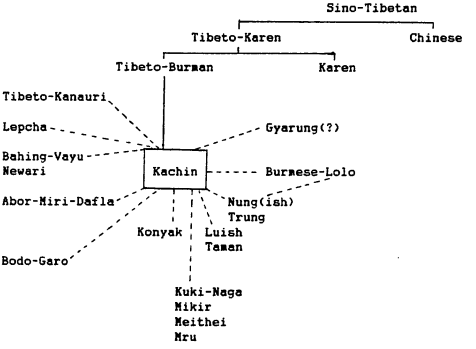
	Division	Section	Branch
T-B	Bodic	Bodish	Bodish
	Burmic	West Himalayish	Tsangla
	Baric	West-Central Himalayish	rGyarong
	Karenic	East Himalayish	Gurung

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-Dafla, 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)



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,

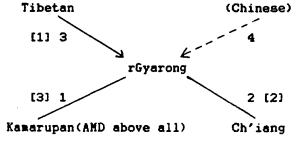
> "In this group, we have rGyarong and Ch'iang, which are considered to preserve the forms of an older stage; these two are expected to play a significant role in the reconstruction of the proto-forms of this group .....we can find some common phenomena between the two languages, but we find it hard to connect them directly and it is suspected that, besides the core stratum which is parallel to Tibetan, there is another one superimposed 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-Dafla), 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):



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 rGyarong 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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5. APPENDIX: Comparative Glossary of Verb Roots

This appendix lists all the verb roots of the lCog-rtse and Tsangla 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>

p		t		k	q		ʔ
b		d	J	g	G		
		ʦ	c				
		dz	j				
ɸ	f	s	sy	ç	x	X	h
β	v	z	zy		ɣ	R	H
m		n	ny	ng			
		l,r					
w			y	w			

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	Ü	ɨ	U	u
I				
e	ó		U	o
		A		
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	>	\
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]sa\
[Z]rau sa ai
BO sA/rb
AB gi-muin, gi-lik
DF Q mîn
MK alongdun, aridun, chelangpondam, kachelang, pendam raidun, dun

ACHIEVE
WT mthar skyel ba, 'grub pa
GS ka pe
JG [Z]ngut ai
RO ma'n-
MK pelong, kapetang

ACQUAINTED WITH
WT ngo shes
GT ngo nga syin
GC ngo na syin
GS wa yo ko shu
NU numnang(N)
LP yA, wong, tsam, tse
JG [M]tyen [Z]khu ai
BO sinay
KO pUopu
MK pachini

ADD
WT snon 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_-khawm\, km, fin\khawm\, telh_
NW li-lhâ
LK bai--chhah
LA kôm
AO bendenlok
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
GT	up pan ga len cik
GC	ta ge gi ayi kla, ka ay-dar, ka nA-mo
GA	nscçAr
GK	zytar
GM	ka zydar
GS	ki zh'dar
NU	hpAre\
LP	ro(m), phere
JG	[N]khrit 'ây
	[M]khrî pha, sin phrà
	[Z]khrit ai, chakhrit ai
LU	a\ sa_seh_...ngam=lo_, hlaûh pui=
TI	/la:u, \la:u
LA	traiq
AO	shisa bu lu, arentak, tsÜbu, tsArem
RO	*duk(N), *ken-, kena-
BO	sannA', kAnay, gi
AB	pe-sho, pet-sho, le-ro
KO	nyim ne
DF	[V]chefi binfato [T]chefi bekhato
MK	ingring, kaphere [G]kóp-jòp, pheré(=fear)
NW	gyâ-ye
	[S]khyâ-ye(=terrify), gyâ-ye

ALIKE

WT	'dra mtshungs, gcig pa
GS	ki ka wu n'dra
NU	hti-ra, hti-yung
LP	ro/, nyo/m-la
JG	[M]sum\ ra, gAdo/
LU	ang_
AO	kasa
RO	apsan
BO	gidAy
AB	a-kam, le/ko, kidi-shu
KO	lepu
MK	chingbar(chit), ason, sonthot

ALIVE

TB *áring
WT gson po, ma 'jig par
GT ka kyans
GS ki so so i'to, ki so so ki n'do
NU ngÀt shi, AngÀt
LP zu, zu:m
JG [Z]khrung ai
LU dam=
TI -hing, \hin
AO takÜm
RO tanga
AB tÛr
KO Üyin anglak ne
DF tûrdnÜ
MK reng(et), chethe, kedo

ANGRY

WT khong kro(N), spro 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 shÀna za, nÀrim za
LP gong hre(N), khap-kyán mat, amlem nók nón
JG [N]mÁsîn pôt 'áy
[M]mÁsin\ pot\, bun\
[Z]pawt ai
LK pa-thi ia(N), hi-ha
TI _hE?
AO ain adok, mit adok
RO kao nanga
BO karáw marâw(N), kÁyrÁm dÁyrÁm, rekéng
AB ang-mo, jir-mo(N), lu-rik
KO mongshi(N), janpu
DF hâhâ(N),ben tâm [V]hâfakto [T]hakhato
MK ning kethi(N)
NW [S]kwâ-ye

ANSWER
WT lan rgyab pa
GT ?a len to pa
GC wu lan na ka tho, lon ka-pa
GS k'a len ka pe, wu lan ka pe
NU hka AhtAn
CH [TP]xgye-
[MA]huja
LP ring lyot, thaṁ, ring taók-lŭng li
JG [A]khro2
[Z]htan ai
LK pa-li
TI -dO:ng, \dO:n
LA goôy
AO langzŭ
RO aganchakani
AB lu-rik, lu-rik-shu
KO janpu
DF ben tâṁ
MK thak, ningje [G]thàk, lâṁ ke-thàk

ANXIOUS(cf. AFRAID, FEAR)
WT sems khrel, nyams nga
GT sen ba ka-Ntsep
GC sam tsap, Ntsip
GS ki ni sems su
NU dAdik, myit
LP frám-lat
JG [M]myit là
[Z]myit ru ai
LU thla=phâang
AO yongya
BO mAdÂm gudung, silÂw, ambà
AB âng-o-nâm, âng-ki-nâm
KO mongshange
DF [Y]chefi binfato [T]chefi bekhato
MK kamathaduk, ningbi

ARREST
WT 'dzin gzung byed pa
GS na ko pye
NU htÂp
LP nŭk, taók, kit, kyup, grop tsam
JG [Z]rim ai
LU man=
TI _bO?
AO apu, rakzŭk
AB gâk
MK nep(beng)

ARRIVE

WT	sleb pa 'byor ba
GT	le nga tsa
GC	(mA-)Ndu[IPF], pi[PFT]
GH	me[-da["
GS	po ki pia
NU	[B]hAl
	[S]blǎ?=
TR	[S]e\blǎ?=
NW	thyan-e [S]then-e
CH	[TP]ti=
	[MA]dan
LP	thí, lat
JG	[N]tûu 'ây
	[A]tuí
	[M]tyAdû, dù, dèp
	[Z]du ai, tu ai
LU	bân, chîm, deng=chhusak=, phâk\,rawh_
	tling/
BA	tlung
TI	'ting, 'tun, -nang, \nan
LA	thlêng, măn
AO	atong, alu
RO	sokbaani, aastro, *sok-
BO	mÂnpay, só, sopáy, mÂnhÂ'y
AB	puing
KO	ngoipu, ngoi ne
DF	Û-ch [Y]guechito [T]uchito
MK	le, pla, lut [G]plà

ASCEND

TB	*l-tak
LB	*m-tak
WT	'dzag pa, bciba, zhong pa, 'dzeg pa
GT	cen, nu na pun, ku kye, de tao
GC	tho[IPF], thal[PFT], che[IMP]
	Ndzin, na cak, ku Ndu na kye
GS	to ki t'o
NU	ngang
LP	hrông, kan
JG	[Z]long ai
LU	chhô
AB	shâng
KO	ongpu
DF	tellû
MK	thur, athak, arlu, thurra dam

ASHAMED

TB *g-yak, *kyeng, *syrak
LB *s-rak
WT ŋgo tsha can
GC ka na arak
GT ka na arak, ka nA yan
GS ki wu ti wam
NU shAra shi
LP a-mlem, glo, uk
JG [Z]kaya ai
AO ak
BO lazi
AB a-nying
DF [Y]hanyung [T]henyeng
MK therak

ASK

TB *r-yu(w)
LB *s-na1-nAy3
WT 'dris ba, zhu ba, song ba, ga sher
GC na ka po, ka tho
GT ka tsom
GS ko t'o, to'u zhu, ki re
NU rit
TR khri2
CH [TP]ja\ ja\
[MA]ja
LP vyAt, ul, jAt
JG [N]phyii 'ay
[M]phyi/, san/
[Z]hsan ai, hpi ai
LU chhiar_, râwn, zâwt
TI \ngE:n, _ngEt, -kan
LA suût, fial
AO asŭngdang, bushitep, za-en
RO bia, *sing, *bi, singa
BO sA'ng, tin, bi, pAsaw
AB ko, ko-shu, tât, tau, tung
KO tong ne, yu ne, nyik ne
DF ko tach, hag [Y]taoto [T]takhta
MK arju, hang, chehang, cherju [G]arju
NW [S]nen-e, phwan-e, mha-ye

ASLEEP

TB	*myel(SLEEPY)
WT	gnyid du
GT	nyo di
GS	ti myeg ki yu
NU	ip der Al
LP	mik-krap-bam-bo, gyUp, bUt nóm
JG	[Z]yup nga ai
AB	yup, ip, lâk-pit
MK	mek kejang

ATTACK

WT	btsan rgol byed pa, rub pa
GS	ki ka la lad
LP	gA, gór, a-t'yak-ka lat, tsam
JG	[Z]aa kasat ai
LU	trhâwng=
LK	thyu-hnao
AO	amtak, rara, amak sotak
RO	chaa, chadrapa
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	toktaŭ
KO	angttuoh

AWAKE

TB	*m-sow
LB	*s-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]dza^ xne\ [MA]khur
JG	[A]su3 [M]/phrang, su [Z]yup rawt ai, chasu ai
LU	chawk tho
TI	_hak, _ha?
BO	airi
DF	[Y]görröpto, haralto [T]görröpto, hurato
MK	prang
NW	[S]dan-e, than-e

BAD

WT	'dug, sdug
GC	ma ki la
GT	duk, ngen
GK	kâ-zIur
GH	kĕ-sñû
GS	mi ki a'na, ki ngan
NU	ma shala, ma lè
LP	jan, a-nók, a-gat
JG	[N]N ka'càa 'ây [M]N/-khruî, N\-mat [Z]N kaja ai, n mai ai, n grai ai, n grak ai n khru ai, n shawp ai
LU	trhe_lo_, beng=-tle_-lo_, chhiâ, ru_re_
TI	\hoi?\lou
AO	tamajung, ja, za
RO	namgijagipa
BO	hama, gizra
AB	ai mang, ai-ma-ne
KO	Ümeang, khupu
DF	âl-mâ
MK	hingno, juno, langno [G]me, hingno

BARK

NU	zau
JG	[M]phring, phrû? [Z]wau ai
LA	bów
AO	asang
RO	singa
BO	sA'ng
KO	hŭw ne

BEAR(fruit)

GC	ka yim
NW	[S]se-ye
MK	[G]pa-the

BEAT(cf. KNOCK)

TB	*dup, *dip, *tup, *krap, *cuk
WT	rdung, brabs
GC	ka lat, khrang
GT	ka lat
GK	ka-tup
GZ	tap, khrang
GH	ŭt'up, ŭtung
GS	nas ts'u'u, ko tob, kis tsag
NU	sat, acha, hpup, hkan
LP	buk
JG	[M]bû?, jan dùp [Z]kayat ai, adup ai
LU	chawk_ phuan_, dâwl_, phu=, vêl_, vua_
TI	/tum, /va:t
LA	cûm, thoôy. côm, velq
AO	azŭk
RO	*dok-, katong tiktika, soota, daka
BO	bú, pá'y, bublé
AB	pa, it, dêm, shit
KO	ep ne, shet ne, ŭtlak ne, shiet ne, tui ne
DF	jî, ma, [Y]jengto [T]jito
MK	chok, theng, kloi [G]artôk-jôk, thèng, téng
NW	cwâ-ye, chyâ-ye. dâ-ye, lhu-ye

BEAUTIFUL

TB	*moy, *ta:p
WT	mdzes po, snying rje po
GC	ka msyor
GT	ka Nkhyer
GZ	kemtshjar
GK	kenp'yEr
GH	ke-msyâ?
GS	ki n'py'er
NU	shala
LP	a-zuk, ryam-bo, sum, zar
JG	[N]atôm 'ây [Z]tshwm ai, htap ai [M]gông tsôm, khik, tyoi, Atsôm, Atyôi
LU	mawi=
TI	_hoi?
AO	tepur tajung
RO	nitogipa
BO	teré, dedére
AB	kang-kan, kâ-yum, kâm-po
KO	shimei, ŭshi
MK	me, kangjang, lon

BECOME

WT	'gyur ba
GH	nĕ-nĕ-pai
GS	ki n'gyur
NU	shalè ahi
LP	ngum, nóng, mat, li, lyat
JG	[M]grât [Z]tai ai, pyin ai(<Shan)
TI	/auak
AO	akŭm
AB	kang, ki
MK	plang, cho, ap, prong

BEG

WT	along rgyab pa
GT	ka kta
GM	kA mçiE
GS	k'o t'o
NU	ur, rit
LP	án
JG	[H]án [Z]hpi ai [M]phyi
AO	'e, mepishi
RO	bi-am, bia, biamma
BO	tAn
AB	lăk-ko
DF	kogâ, kogrâ
MK	chohang

BEGIN(cf. START)

WT	mgo gtsug pa, brtsams
GC	ka ptshik
GT	ka rcen
GA	s'a̲-ja̲
NU	hpang
CH	[TP]da^ye- [MA]dawa
LP	jeng
JG	[N]pháng 'ây [M]syong [Z]hpang ai
NW	ten-e
AO	tenzŭk
RO	abachenga
BO	zagay, akáyhA pri:, rem:, zer, den:
AB	ăng
KO	wang ne
DF	lyi
MK	cheng

BELIEVE

WT dad pa, yid ches pa
GC ni synen
GT ka na Ndi
GS ti sus ki yu
NU hkam
LP t'âng-nga sak cing
JG [N]mit yûu 'ày
[A]kaml
[M]sýàm
[Z]kam ai
LU ring=
BA lung
TI -sa:, _sak
AO amang
RO be-be-rá
AB aro-pe muitat
DF tejjî [Y]aung gumto [T]aogumto
MK kroi, chekular

BEND

TB *koy
WT bkug pa, 'dud pa, btud pa
GC aa gur gur
GT aa gor gor
GS ko b'kug
NU nger, ângi
LP dur, áyot, krok, kuk, kom
JG [M]gô? di, rón, ding-gûp, sing-gyî?
[Z]hting kum
TI \kuai, /ka:i
LA bôok
AO kolap, aku, kia, kirak
RO *bem-, gonga, togiani, gonggegipa
BO dâb, hor, pelem, bokong, gelem, dAb,do, halay, sogong
AB tum-pir, tum, gub-gir
KO kom, khuohlak ne, kok ne, kom
DF tûrkû, hen-gâ [Y]kônggôrr [T]pôgorr
MK inghum, pekek, chenglok, kur, kek
[G]kék, kûm, ingkûp, kûr, tông-jôy, pa-kû-ju
NW cu-ye

BIG

TB *ma, *tay
LB *k-ri2
WT chen po, gal che
GC ka kte
GT ka kte
GZ tetǎi
GK rcom
GM kA ktiE
GH kǎ-kt'i
GS wa chen, ki g'ti
GW koktie, bra
NU htè
CH [W,L]bra [TT,J] bzya [C] bre
LP č'e, za-din-bam, zo:ng
JG [N]ka'pâa 'ây
[M]ñ-bà, nìng bà, bà, khyàm, ding wák, Awòn
[Z]kaba ai, grau ai
LU liar_, hlei=, hram-, vàng
LK pa-hrao, phia
LA poŏr, porq, tuûm
AO tulu, ulu, azong
RO *dâr-
BO bimâ, bonggla, dama, geder, dêr, geher, dalam
AB bot-te, bodi, kiddi, aid-di
KO dyung
DF ke, koi [Y]ta-kte [T]ta'to
MK the, dong [G]thè

BIND

TB *kik, *ki:l
WT bsdam, btags, bkyigs, bcings, bsums
GZ kartǎip
GS n'ch'ingwa, koa sri
NU kè, hpǎn, zǎp
CH [W,TT,J]tso
[C]tsoôaa
LP ryek, kum, gryóm, ku:m, kop
JG [M]gyìt
[Z]gyit ai, khang ai
TI _xi?
NW ci-ye [S]ci-ye
LA treém
AO alen, kAp, rak
AB yêng, bil, râk
KO ahŭn ne, ahin ne
DF le [Y]léchepto [T]lechipto
MK kok, per, rip, rak [G]kòk, pér, rák

BITE

TB *wa
LB *C-kwap
WT so rgyab pa, rmug pa
GC mchi ka lat
GT ka zo
GS kam chig ko lad
NU [B]hkè, ru
[S]grăt(H), nya(H)
TR [S]ngap(H), mjO(H)
CH [TP]xbe- [MA]dzidzi
LP tsuk, ran
JG [N]ka'wáa 'ây [A]ka1 wa2
[M]mŏp, gÁwá [Z]guwa ai
LU bak_, chu_, chuk_, kher=
LA keêw
AO angu, mechi
RO *cik-, denna, rata, indin, somoiko, nengtaka
BO ór, okár, ód, orsi AB ké, rék, kât, jâ
DF che [Y]chéggŏpto [T]chégŏpto
MK kor, kangthok, chek [G]kór, archù

BITTER

TB *ka
LB *ka2
WT ro ska ba, khag tig, khag sdig
GC ka cor
GT ka mar tshap
GH kĕ-sk'a̤
GS du chor
GW kha
NU hka
TR k'a1
CH [TT,C,J]qha
LP a-krim, t'am-kri, khi-bo
JG [N]khâa 'ây [M]khá, Ákhâ [Z]kha ai
LU khah, khâa
TD akha
ME khá-ba
TI /xa:, /xa:k
AO taku
RO kagipa
BO gaká, ká
AB ko-shâng, gam
KO khah
DF kâmbê [T]katcha
MK hodak, kebo, kethor, ho [G]wēy, hò, hō
NW pâu, pâlu

BLACK

TB	*nak, *syim, *tyang
LB	*(a-)nak
WT	nag po, btsog pa
GC	ka nak
GT	ka nak
GK	snag
GM	mA nak
GH	kă-năk
GS	ki-nag
GW	konǎk
NU	na
CH	[TT,C,J]nyi [W]nA
LP	a-nók, a-tyang
JG	[N]'a' chàng [M]Amà?, mAtyang [Z]chang ai
LU	thù
TI	-vom
AO	nak, tanak
RO	giseingipa, dak
BO	gÂsÂm, sÂmtsy, sÂm
AB	ya-ka, yo-rang
KO	ŭnyak
DF	kâyâ [Y]keana, kanapa [T]keana, kanopa
MK	ik [G]ĭk

BLIND

WT	zhar ba, long ba
GC	ka lo
GT	ga lu
GK	lu
GM	ka lo
GS	did d'mu
GW	stya
NU	mè ămam, mè ăde
CH	[L]gca [TT]cAE [C]htwa [J]hccyAE
LP	mik sap-bo
JG	[N]myi' N/ chen [M]nyî? kyò [Z]myi di ai, myi n mu ai
LU	dêl, khăw hmu_lo_, mit_ dum, pang
ME	nápang ba
LK	mo-chao
AO	nŭk pŏk
RO	kana mande
BO	beta, nutâri
AB	mig-lu
KO	mŭkpom
DF	nyîl, nyîchâ
MK	amek-ave, mek-ejonnat, kaselok [G]aelók

BLOW

LB	*(s-)mut
WT	phus
GC	ka li kA pa, [L]p'ja
GW	phu
NU	[S]nằm‘ bŭ̀ng‘ wa‘
TR	[S]nằm‘ bŭ̀ng‘ wang=
CH	[TT,C]phA
	[TP] xpo-
	[MA] muzyucA
LP	bu:hak
JG	[N]pùng ’ây
	[M]Athìt, bá gÂlòp, ru, gÂwùt, bung
	[Z]wa ai, bong ai, ru ai
LU	thằw, thẦot
LA	seẽm, sẽm
AO	apu, apok
RO	spoa
BO	aí, supâw, srúb, nir, kÂmÂr
KO	leilak ne, yoone
MK	but [G]jâp, bùt, wût

BLUE

TB	*syim
WT	angon po
GC	angon po
GT	angon po, khyang dok
GH	ngŏn-pô
GS	a’ngon po
GW	lÂn
NU	mằshing
LP	fing, nóm
JG	[N]’a’ mût
	[M]á-mût
	[Z]tsit atsit
LU	chuâp, dum= pâw
LK	a-no-pa, no
AO	anŭng sentsŭ
RO	tangaim
AB	no-ing
KO	ŭmank
DF	nej
MK	lir, akelu, luhum [G]pe-lù, lû
NW	wacu

BOIL

TB *pryo, *cow
LB *s-tsul
WT skrangs, khel, skol, bskol
GC ka skaw, wa-stshe
GT di stsul
GZ tang
GS ti chu ko was tse
NU [B]hti hta hkit, ăsu
[S]su`, a`, kOm`
[K]pje:n
TR [S]O`, dU\ glu?=, kOm`, s` su`
CH [TP]xqə-, ce-, tshu-
[MA]syqu, lU̲
LP cut, ká, ngot, so:m
JG [N]sha'tùu 'ày
[Z]shăpyaw ai, shăprut ai, kăpru ai [A]syătu3
LU buh_pawk_, chhuang=so=, ti-so=
AO amet, molu, meta, aso
RO rita
BO sóng, ru, pagay
NW da-ye [S]sya-ye, su-ye, man-e, dâ-ye
AB u-shâng, u-sha-mo
KO dŭm, shiem ne, phai ne
DF ma, hû, chir
MK arklok, keup, ketun su [G]arklôk, tùn

BORN

TB *krung
WT skyes
GC skye
GT skyes
GK kA-sti
GS na ki skyis
NU angsel găl
CH [TP]dA- [MA]xu
LP gyek, klyak
JG [N]sha'ngây 'ày [Z]chngai sa, khrat sa
LU chhûl_tang=, piang=
BA suak, ring
TI /suak
LA suâk, suak
AO aso, sotaŭ
RO atchia/japang
BO din(N)
AB o
KO pohpu
DF sû [Y]kaoguèto [T]koguèto
MK mahang thek [G]mahâng ke-thèk
NW [S]bu-ye

BORROW

TB *kroy, *r-ngya, *s-kAy
LB *kyAy2
WT g-yar ba, bskyis
GC ka rnga, ka ki
GT ka rnga
GZ rngang
GS kor nge
NU rum
CH [TP]da^ nyi-, zI^ nyi- [MA]nguAsa
LP nyó lyă, num lyo
JG [N]khôy 'ày [A]syapl
[M]khoi là, syàp(LEND) [Z]shap la ai, khoi la ai
LA saáng
AO apu !RO rachaka, gro
BO sAlaw
AB nâr
DF nâd che [Y]narrto [T]chenamto
MK ram, rongpon, choram
NW [S]tyâ-ye, ne-ye

BREAK

TB *cat, *be
WT gegs bar, khrims hral, bshags
GC ka phot, ka khyop, ka khrot
GT ka cup, ka pak, ka pri
GK kA ŧeb
GM ka cç'op
GS ko ky'eb
NU rè, dè, gyi, li [K]kat, la
[S]khu`, breng=, dat=, thOt=, glU?=
TR [S]ku\, be?=, a\ tOt=, dat=, sU\gla?=
CH [TP]bzye-, ɟi-, Re- [MA]gA^{r}, Re
LP gyal, gram, zat, cak, blo:k, hril, hra, hryAl,
hryut, ri:t, ĉ'ut
JG [N]kàng tli 'ây
[M]Agròp, dò?, brép, Asyèp, phrim,
Akhyép, ɟAgà?
[Z]daw ai, ga ai
LU bawh_chhân, chûkeh_, thliàk, chik
TI /za:n, \tam
NW thal-e, tachyâ-ye [S]thal-e, thul-e, dal-e, cu-ye
AO aben, pakshi, lemdang raksa, aket, pila,
cakrep, asa
RO *bé-, pea, *pé-, bea
BO sepây, pegreb, bây, sin, sugrub, sakaw
AB bén, dir
KO paai ne, meang
DF modûb, âlmU tar
[Y]fitto, tengtepto, pacheto
[T]fétto, tUtapto, pachito
MK phlak, phuk, rop, beng, chephri, rai, rat, ingsek

BREATHE

TB	*sak
WT	dbugs klod pa, dbugs btang
GC	wa su ngo let
GT	a sung si
GS	til wus ko lad
NU	sa ngan shi
LP	páng
JG	[M]sâ? [Z]nsa sa ai, nsa shaw ai
LU	thaw_
TI	-na:k
AO	tango sashi
RO	rangsite
BO	hampay, pepay
AB	nga
KO	lŭohe ne
DF	sâ
MK	chethe kevang, uha kache-en [G]chethè ke-wàng

BRING

TB	*pro(k)
WT	skyel ba, 'skhur ba
GC	ka tsam
GK	kA-sce, katsam
GN	šič'i nindrû
NU	lu ra
CH	[TP]xgy-
	[MA]sta
LP	bu di, long k'ya, bu hróng
JG	[N]lâawâa 'ây
	[A]sum2
	[M]gŭm-yol, lâ-wâ, syÂnl
	[Z]la sa ai, la wa ai
LU	chhawp_chhuâk
LA	kéng, king
AO	aben, bena aru, benang
RO	raona
BO	lab, hán, podób
NW	kâ, ha-ye [S]yen-e, ha-ye
AB	long, bom
KO	pei ne, yŭo ne
DF	bâ, ŭm [Y]saoto, jŭguineto, dutchâto
	[T]saoto, jâguineto, dŏchâto
MK	van, chari, chepur, pereng [G]wàn

BROOM
WT phyags pa
GK kap'ia
CH [TT]ayAEmAE [C]swama [J]syema
JG [Z] tingyè(N)

BUILD
WT bcos, brtsiga
GC ka pa
GT ka pa
NU wa, chum wa
JG [N]ka'lô 'ày
[M]gàp, go, tyá,tà, khung rì ai
[Z]kălaw ai, kap ai, sharawt ai
LU dîn
BA dirh
TI /lam
LA ceq
AO yanglu, asŭ, szŭng, noktak
RO rika
BO ka, tún, kazi, tilÂw
AB mo, ging
DF ma
MK kim, rang, bu, selam [G]kim

BURN
LB •duk
WT 'bar
GC Nbar
GT lun
NU hwărr, ăhkat
CH [TT]tawU [C] ptsU
LP mi dyak, dyop, fan
JG [M]grung, jû, gÂbá, jAkhát
[Z]nat ai, khru ai
LU alh_, em_ût, haăl, ût\
LK u
TI -ka:ng, /ha:l
LA noŏk, qûr, kăng
AO arong
RO chingbrapa, kama
NW cyâi [S]kwa-ye, pâ-ye, chu-ye, u-ye, cyâ-ye
BO paara
AB uk, rom, gu-mo, dor
KO lounglak
DF [Y]mero [T]moye(=FLAME)
MK me kecho, me phrin [G]ingbóp, thâng

BUY

TB	*b-rey, *d-kew(K-N)
LB	*way1
WT	nyo ba
GC	ka ki
GT	ka kim
GZ	keu
GK	kAna tAwu, kakA
GS	ko si pe
GW	ka ki, po55
NU	[B]wăn [K]shU
CH	[L]bu55 [TT,T,C]po [J]bo
LP	par
JG	[N]ma'rɨi 'ây
	[M]jɨk lá
	[A]máizyi3
	[Z]mă ri ai
LU	kal_pah_, lei, khar/
TI	/lei
LA	leêy
AO	ali
RO	brea, *bre-
AB	ré, nât
KO	ahaknang
DF	rep
MK	nam [G]nám
NW	nyâ-ye, think-e

CALCULATE

WT	rtsis ba, brtsis
GC	ka rtsis
GT	ka rtsis
GS	ti r'tsis ko lad
LP	frong
JG	[N]thíi 'ây
	[M]son, Atsâ, Arû
	[Z]hsawn ai, tak
AO	aŭktang, zŭngdang tep
RO	hisap kaa
AB	kin-ki
KO	ütngai ne
MK	lakha

CALL

TB *kaw
LB *kwaw1, *kru[TSR]
WT 'bod pa, bkug, bsgraga, bzlog, bos
GC ka na khow
GS ki ke
NU gaw, ging
LP lik, ma
JG [N]sha'kâa 'ây
[M]kyêk, syâgâ, bôk bôk, ging-lâ
[Z]shága ai
LU au=, kow
BA khawh
LK aw
TI /sam, -ba:ng, =ki
LA koq
AO aja
NW sa:t-e [S]saat-e
RO okama
BO ling
AB gok, tom
KO nyik ne
DF gâ [Y]gâkto [T]gâ'to
MK pu, keku, chington [G]arnè, îr. hâng

CARRY

TB *ba
WT 'khyer, bda', skhyel, 'khyog, bskyos
GT ka tsam
GC kar-ma na ka pa, ka pkor
GS ko tsam, ko b'kor
NU ri, lang
CH [T] ba [TT]bAE [C]bje
LP bu, so, vôl, syel
JG [N]lâasâ 'ây, kùn 'ây, phây 'ây, kúp 'ây
[M]gun phai, bang, sam, phyé, bâ
[Z]gun ai, ba ai, hpai ai, shingtan ai, hphyê ai
LU chhip kheng=
BA phurh
TI -pua, puak
LA zôn
RO oal, ripea
NW lhyei, yen-e [S]bu-ye
BO bam, sâb, raga, run, hon, hor, sanggi, lapting
AB jong, bom, ju
KO yahtei ne
DF bû, bâ, bŭ
[Y]nâchato, dutchato
[T]nachato, dôchâto
MK pon, bu, kanghor, chethon [G]pòn, inghór, thâp

CATCH(cf. SEIZE)

WT	brabs, blangs
NU	htap
LP	tsam
JG	[N]rím 'áy
	[M]rím, gáwá, tyá?
	[Z]rim ai, khwi ai, kap ai
LU	man=
LK	pa-ai
NW	jwa-ye
TI	-man, _mat, _bO?
LA	kayq
AO	apu, aot
RO	rimma
BO	sáb, hóm, mÁzÁm
AB	gák, gap, ge, bât
KO	pho ne, om ne
DF	nottû, hûrtû, pûrtu
MK	nep, beng, du, cho [G]nép

CHANGE

TB	*lay
LB	*a-lay2
WT	'gyur, brjea
GC	Ngyur, sgyur(VT)
GT	Ngyur
GZ	uzyasypret
GM	ka pcoa, sprul pa
GS	ko bs'gyur
NU	htalè
	[S]phO?=
TR	[S]a\ pO?= cU \
CH	[TP]pian/ tha-
	[MA]pian-xuacA
LP	lyak, áyuk, pat
JG	[N]ka'láy 'áy
	[M]mÁlai
	[Z]kalai ai
LU	chăng, lât\
TI	_lai?
NW	hil-e [S]lhe-ye, hil-e, chink-e, he-ye
LA	truul, trulq, thlêng
AO	meken, temelenshi
RO	jita, dingtangata
BO	anzray, papín, salay
AB	bât
KO	jeilei ne
DF	kâ-g, gûg [Y]legrato [T]li'lyato
MK	kaprek [G]kirlá, che-lâr, pa-nglâr, lâr

CHEW

WT	cag cag byas, bldad, mur
GC	tA-sam cak-cak
GT	cak cak
NU	yer
CH	[TP]xca- [MA]caqcaq dzA
LP	ye, fŏm, um, fyo:m fam
JG	[N]ka'wáa 'áy [Z]mǎya ai
LU	trhial/
LK	cha ei
RO	chobia
BO	sâw, zagli
AB	jâm
KO	say ne
DF	nyâm [Y]chêggŏpto [T]chêgŏpto
MK	heje, om [G]pe-tèp
NW	nhe-ye

CHOOSE

LB	*sAyl
WT	bkrab, 'dems, gdam
GC	ka Nche
GT	ka prak
GS	ko ni n'ch'i
JG	[M]dî? daá, lAtá lâ, sàn [Z]lata la ai
LU	phu_ thlu_, thlang=
BA	a thîm
LK	a-tly
AO	shim
RO	seoka, basea
KO	le ne
MK	[G]ingwáy

CIRCULAR

TB *hwang, *wal
WT sgor sgor
GC po los
GT pal ral, hal hal
GS ko ler ler
NU ang hkang
CH [T,J]hgy [TT] gwA [C] hgu
LP tŭr-klak, tŭr-ngum
JG [N]tóng 'áy
[M]sing-wang, syAta wang, ?ling ?ling, Atong, bom bom, gàm tong, gum-din, lùm, bât, bok
LU bial=, vèlin=
LK a-hlô
LA hluûm, ceéng
AO meket lung, telung lung
RO dul, matchu kia
BO meléka, bitA, lati luti, tumprá
KO ŭkan, wankon, dŭng
DF dokâr
MK bonglongjir, komjir, komvei

CLEAN

TB *syang
WT gtsang, sang, sbyangs
GC syo
GT syo, wa ksri
GH kă-kaâr
GS ki sho
NU zăl, shim
TR tsangl nal el
LP dum-bo, a-sât, thât, thut
JG [N]sân sèn 'áy
[M]gu leng, gAsyin, seng, Atsai
[Z]shakrin ai, kashin ai, krin ai, tsai ai
LU faĬ, thiang
LA faây
AO temerŭk, temeshi, cigo
RO *tar-, rongtalgipa
BO mAzang, sakAn sikAn, kAgA, zirtA/
AB na-réng, kâm-po
KO jao
DF derrŭ [Y]lunyana [T]kayin
MK ingchap, ingthir [G]arkŏk, ingthéy, chàm, saphá

CLEAR

LB *say2, *m-ba3
WT gsal po
GH kĕ-sykra
GS ki g'sal
NU sən, chi
LP a-sát, a-sám, kă-glyo-lă, jil-lă
JG [M]khrâ?, Awân, sân séng, ding gong
[Z]hsan ai
LU pê, thiang=
BA thiang
TI _ha?
LA vaq
AO tejangja
RO *tar-, rongtalgipa
BO gAtAng, dang, sarang, zrang zrang
AB be-rok, la or, deng, do-réng
KO jaoshi
MK chething, klar, arjudak, chondak
[G]khelân, bông, sey-dâk

CLEVER

WT spyang po
GT ka sykrak
GZ ngakayar
GS ki wi sh'pe
NU myit ăda, hpaji ăda
TR guot6
LP kum yâm bo
JG [M]Alêt, gât
[Z]hpaji ai, nyan ai, myit su ai
LU beng= var=
AO tesangra
RO sengani, uniani
AB jong, jing
KO teipa
MK kare, kathek [G]rê-sêr

CLIMB(cf.ASCEND, RISE)
WT 'dzeg pa
GH scyô
GS to ki to, ta tos ki to
NU ngang
LP klun, prep, rem, hlan
JG [M]khroí
[Z]long ai
LU lâwn=
LK kia-hnao
TI _ka?
LA kaây
AO atu
RO maldoa, gadoa
BO mamblÁy, uti, bagay, gakÁ
AB rêng, gê-shêng
KO ong ne
DF châ
MK arlu, krap, rikang [G]arlû, jir

CLOSE
TB *ci:p
WT mtha' gzhug, kha gcod, 'dzum, btsums
GC chet
GT chet
GS ti ched
GN guci mendé
NU sit, la, agam
[S]tshît=
TR [S]a\pît=
LP sot, sŭp
JG [M]di, syApyík, lâ?, myî? di
[Z]la ai, másu' ai
LU ci:p
LK khaw
TI /xa:k
LA khaâr
RO *cip-, chipaha
BO mari, misíb, hete
AB kâp, pin, shup, shep
KO nguih ne, kŭp ne
DF [Y]chektumto [T]chutumto
MK inghap, dip, ingkir [G]dip, dùng, pa-úm, inghâp
NW [S]ti-ye, dhin-e, gwa-ye

CLOUDY

TB	*mwng
WT	sprin 'thiba
GZ	tazjam
GS	ki n'ti'b
NU	rămit al
LP	tă-dyŭr, mung
JG	[M]lÂmù kÂsa, mù?, mung
LU	dusi, dur=, khaw= dur=
BO	sAmhab
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	kAwa-juo
GM	kA mA sytak
GH	kă-mî-syte-ă
GS	ti wa n'dra, da wa n'dro
GW	tevanió, sytu
NU	kit
CH	[T,C]htu [L] tho
LP	hyang, t'yup, dyop
JG	[N]ka'shùng 'ây [M]Asi [Z]kăsi
LU	khue=ak_
LA	cha-kua, ngai khua
TI	-xŏ-dam
LA	dayq
AO	manga
RO	singipa, sinna
BO	goga, guku, gusu
AB	shi-kir, an
KO	hunghatin, wangsham, ŭng
DF	sikr, halyî [Y]potongpa [T]pŭtŭpa
MK	kechung, ning kreng [G]ingsăm, chùng
NW	khwa-ye(=FREEZE)

COLLECT
LB *ra3
WT phyogs sdu byed, 'du, 'thu, sdud, bsdus, bsgrugs
GC wu-bu pa, ta ka zdu, na ka si du
GA ng-vde
GT zdu
GS na ko pye, ki sa'i zu
NU hkuya hkwa, gum, hkim
JG [N]ma'không 'ây
[M]gûm-khon, syù, sying-gon
[Z]lăkhawn ai, chăpawng ai
RO joraa, chimonga
BO pón, putum, dazab, zutum, pên, zotay, tubray
AB lâng-kum, ur, do-kang, nu-pâk
MK pangrum, kebui, hum [G]pa-ngrùm, pinlâng, bùy, rèk

COME
TB *byon, *s-wa
LB *la1
WT 'ong, yong, 'byung
GC po(IPF), pi(PFT), k-wen(IMP)
GT pon
GZ ksyet
GK kApu
GH p'êi, yê-ke-pung, kâ-pwî, ksyes
GS ko pon
GW ko pŭn, lju
NU di
[S]lŎ?=
TR [S]lŎ?=, a\blă?=
CH [TT,T,J,MA]ly
[C] lu
[TP] ly-
LP di, lat, t'i
JG [N]wâa 'ây, prùu 'ây
[A]wa1
[M]dû, sa, byon
[Z]sa ai
LU hăw, thaw, thăwk
BA hawng kal
LK vy
NW wa-ye [S]jhâ-ye, wa-ye, ha-ye
AO aru
RO *i-, *rê-, ongkata
BO bu:, unpin, pisay, sikáng, ongkád
AB grâng, tok, giâbo
KO ngai ne
DF û [Y]guechito, wa-to [T]hàto, uchito
MK vang, bar, klang, vang-bon [G]wâng

COMPARE
WT bsdur, 'gran, sgrun
GT kaw sdi
GS was kyang, s'kyi r'tsi ko
LP dyup, a-lyok mat
LU bûk_tàwn, khai_khîn
LA thrîm
AO entep
RO tosusaa
AB mui shut-shu, mui yi shu

CONCEAL(HIDE)
TB *bip, *yip, *kway
WT gsang, sbas, bcabs, gsangs
GC ayÁ pkyi
GT ko wi syi ta
GS ko wi shi te
NU ma, ma shi
LP ma t'o, myuk
JG [Z]măkoi ai
LU zâp\
MK chepatu

CONQUER
WT gzhan sde 'joms
GS ki rgyal
NU dang
LP gye, a-p̀am
JG [Z]dang ai
BA neh
AB măp, kum-ya
MK ka pe hai

CONSIDER(cf.THINK)
WT bsam mno gtong
GS som m'no ti lad
NU mit dădăm shi
LP cin mat, sak-cing, sak-lo
JG [M]gÁri, tau yu, gùm-yu, sùm-rù, ó-lô, sÁgòn
[Z]myit yu ai, chăsan ai
LU dawn=
AO bilemdang, shisa
AB muing-ki, mui-ta
MK matha

CONTINUE

WT	zhug gu skyal
GC	mu Nkhu
GT	?a mta na rkyung
LP	ngam, bam, syok
LK	ly-ma
NW	cwan-e
AO	maneni(ADV)
RO	*-eng-(MARKER OF CONTINUOUS ACTION)
BO	kÂlA(ADV)
MK	ver, bom, jutje

COOK

LB	*s-gyak
WT	'tshod, btsos
GC	tA-Ndza ka pa
GS	ti ze ki pe
LP	myăn lă ngo
JG	[N]khût 'ây
	[M]syât syAdu [Z]shadu ai
LU	chhûm_hnun=
BA	suang
TI	/huan
AO	meta, sorochiok
RO	*sóng, songa
NW	kwa-lhâ, chunâ
AB	keng, nu-mo
KO	yang ne
MK	tun [G]tún

COUGH

TB	*su(w)
WT	glo
GC	?u rtshos
GT	rtshos(N)
GM	tA rts'os wo
GS	kr'i
NU	ăhkul, ăhurr [S]să?= bOt=
TR	[S]a\cUp=
LP	hlyeng
JG	[N]ca'khrûu 'ây [Z]chăkhru ai
TI	\bu:k(N)
LA	khuq
AO	aket
RO	gusua
BO	guzu
AB	shăg-rê
KO	kaipu
DF	assû
MK	aii, chingkhak, pethep [G]pa-aii

COUNT(cf.CALCULATE)
GS rtau
COVER
TB *klup, *pun, *up
WT kha gtsod, gtum, 'thum, klub, khysb, bsgabs, btums
GC pkap, zprak
GT mpur
GH pkĭăp
NU dăga, ga, wam
TR pA5kap5
LP kyóm, kap, tŭk, nop, pŭp, dap, zap
JG [M]ăp, byăp, găp, grúp, dòk, phrui
[Z]chahpun ai, gălup ai
LU hup_, khuh_
BA kâwm
TI _xu?, _se?
LA siĭn, sin
AO kŭpbang, nambang
RO pindapa
BO pin, zAb, saglAb, sati, zum, gAlAm
AB kom, rûm, po, i-kom, tâk-kom
KO kŭp ne
DF kâ-mûm [Y]hŏrrputo [T]pamto
MK dip, phlup, kup, op, pachap [G]arklĭk, kùp, tòp

CREEP
GC rtshu
CRY
TB *nguw
WT ngus, cho nga 'deb, bshums
GC ngu ri, nga kru, nguw
GT nga wu
GH tâ-wâ-wŭng
GS ki ka kru
NU ngŭ [K]ta:i [S]ngU`
TR ra4 ngA4 [S]ngU`
CH [TP]ngA=, za- [MA]zŰrŰ
LP gróng, hryóp, jil
JG [N]khráp 'ây, aha'kâa 'ây [A]khrapi
[M]Agru, bru, syAbâm, khrâp [Z]krap ai
LU trap_, aw_,ngèk
LK chah
TI -kap
NW kho-ye, hâlâ [S]hâl-e, khwa-ye
LA trap, traq
AO ajebba
RO *grap-
BO dawraw, sensay, bebay, gisib, áng, sAdAm
AB kâp
DF khrâb, nå, grå
MK cheru, kin [G]kin, che-rú

CULTIVATE
GC tshok
NU [S]a\rUng=, mra`
TR [S]rUng=, mra`
CH [TP]pha-tha- [MA]karBa
JG [Z]khauna kălaw ai, yi kălaw ai, yi chen ai,khu ai
DF [Y]katcho karo moto(=SOIL) [T]katchŭ kanya moto
MK arpùk(TO HOE) [G]tiki(PLANT), hùt(HOE)

CURE
WT gso, bcos
GC sman ka pa
GT wu go ta wa
GK kÂmiE
GS ko shi m'ne
JG [M]syÂmai [Z]shămai ai
TI \dam
AO anŭbtsŭ
BO saga, zami

CUT
TB *da:n, *kut, *mrak, *ra-t, *ri:t, *tâat, *tâwar, *tuk
WT gtub, bcad, brngas, btsogs, breg, bzhogs,btubs
GC rdzik, ra Ntsik, na kyok
GT rtem, prat, pet
GA nA-ntsAn-tu
GZ kagok, karantsik
GK kap'ad, kazyIkA
GM ka prgt, kA mbrat
GS ko ran tsig, ko p'og
NU ăhtu, chu, bè, yap [S]a\xrăt=
TR [S]a\xrat=
CH [TP]tshua=, ku=, chu=, qhe-, xtue-
[MA]khu, xci, qhÂr-qhÂr, ata, qhuar
LP klôp, nyôp, tyôt, fyet
JG [N]ka'thâm 'ây
[M]khŭt, môn, dân, dŭt, Âkrît, phyât, gÂdò
[Z]kăhtam ai, kădwe ai, chen ai
LU ât, bung=, in_bun_, mêt\, thêl
LK â
TI /a:t, /sem, -ba:n, /tan
LA meêt, haâw, cât
AO alang, alep
RO denna, chika, rata, nengtaka, indin, somoiko, reata
BO repi, reb, poklâ, danpây, dâ, só, bAw
AB lot, pê, loi-yé, pâk
NW twâ-ljâ, pâl-e [S]dhen-e, nyâ-ye, tâ-ye, chin-
e, tyâ-ye, thal-e, pâl-e
KO ag ne
DF pâ-mâ [Y]git, chitto, guèchi [T]jitto, yâ'chi
MK thu, chor, rot, ingtip

DANCE

WT	ger 'cham, zhabs bro rgyab, 'khrab
GC	ta-rnga ka pa
GT	ta-rka ka pa
GS	ta rge ko pe
NU	ăzer lam
	[S]khru'chăm
TR	[S]syăp=prul=
LP	lok
JG	[N]ká' 'ây, ma'nâw 'ây
	[M]naû
	[Z]ka ai
LK	la-pa
TI	\la:m
LA	zôn
AO	taŭngsang
RO	chroka
BO	masa
AB	mâk-sho shong, nyom, pom, pâksho mo-nâm
KO	gaolok ne
DF	sâ
MK	kan, kachenang

DANGEROUS

WT	nyen ka can, ma rungs pa, rkyen ngan
GC	nyen ka kak tey
GS	tus ts'ed ki gti
JG	[Z]khrit na(N)
LU	hlauh_ăwm
LK	chi chhi
AO	lendong
RO	kengni
BO	buli burá
KO	wiangtuh Umeang, wiangtuh(N)

DARK

TB *mu:ng, *ngrÂw, *r-mu:k, *rim, *syim, *tyang
WT mun pa, smag rum, mdog nag
GC rnak, rnyik
GT nak
GM mÂ nak t'A kp'Ar
GS ki nag
GW mo
NU nă̆m der
CH [TT,C]mu
[J] mumu
LP tyang, num-nyim, ma-myil-lă̆
JG [N]sin 'ây
[M]?mang, wú-mut, a-sin
[Z]hsin ai
LU duk_, khua=dur=
LK vyu, zo-ka chu, zo-hnao
AO tamang
RO salgi, andala
BO danAy, kAmsi(N), kAmbla(N)
AB ke-mo, ru-rup
KO wangnyak
DF kân
MK ingting, bin-hing, ik [G]ingting
NW thiu-ye, khiu, bhulu

DEAD

TB *(s-)raw
WT gshin po
GH nă̱-kă̱-eyă̱s
GS ti wom, ki shi(N)
NU shi ami
LP mak
JG [M]Asi, tyAmang, tyAsi, Asi Ayûp
[Z]si sa
LU t_lo_
AO tasÜr
RO dam rakani(N), akal(N), sia(N)
AB shi lêt
BO gAtAy
KO li(DEATH)
DF sidnÜ
MK thi, kle

DECEIVE

WT	balua
GC	ka plon
GT	Ngi
GS	ko ni gho g'yogs
NU	ǎya, ni [S]klUp=, gu= jǑ?=
TR	len', klUp=
CH	[TP]phian=tha- [MA]pian-xuacA
LP	kün-dyu mat, lŭk
JG	[M]khÄlém, lem [Z]mǎsu ai
LU	bum_, tih_der_
LK	a dó-na(N)
TI	/xE:m
AO	achiok
RO	togia, tola
BO	togay, zakma
AB	yât, yâl-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	kerňak
GM	kÄrnaka
GS	u g'tu ki ring
NU	rǎna
TR	zhy3 na4
LP	nyŭng-bo
JG	[M]N-sung, sùng [Z]hsong ai
LU	aw_thum
LK	thu
LA	thuûk
AO	tarok
RO	tua, tubegipa
BO	domohok, gudú, togróng
AB	arnuk, arsik
KO	lu
DF	arú
MK	o-ring [G]arnûk

DEFEAT

TB *bam
WT pham kha sprod pa
GT na ka khyos
GS ki r'gyal
BO pezen
KO nau ne

DESCEND

TB *yu
LB *zak
WT bab pa
GC gyu(IPF), thal(PFT), che(IMP), Nbap
GT na kpi, na pi
GA nə̲-acçA
GK ka-ji
GS na ki bab
NU yit shi, shong shi
[S]jO=le\ji`
TR [S]pă̲p=syU\, syom`
CH [TP]xa\kA-
[MA]khuA-nyykA
LP yu, yut
JG [Z]yu ai
LU chhuk_
LA trûm
AO alu, jakzük
RO ongonnani
AB oi, tok
KO yupu
DF ɨpa [Y]guè loto, gitto [T]guèto
MK hir, sun

DESTROY

LB *pyak
WT bshigs bsnubs, bcams
GC ka kray
GT na paw, sman co ka pa, cik ca
GS ki me'i na pa'ou, ki me'i ko pe
NU hpyi
LP tyŭp, ngrom
JG [M]bru, sAzà, syÀbyá? [Z]run ai
LU bawh_bo=, chên_chhia_
NW ciriphê-ye
LA bâl, balq
RO rusia, nisia
BO dÀykalam, hób, peleng
AB bén, ât, â-pak
KO meang ne
MK virdet, pivir

DIE

TB *sAy
LB *syAy1
WT shi ba
GC ka syi
GT ka syi
GK ka syI
GH kă-syi
GS di shis
GW sU
NU shi [S]syi'
TR [S]syi'
CH [TT]se [C]sa [TP]sye= [MA]syi
LP syi, mak
JG [N]sii 'ây [A]si3
[M]mang sying tâu, si, sôn, man nrau
[Z]si ai
LU awm_ lai= a_thi=, hnuk_chat, mâng, tlâw
LK mua
TI -si:
AO asü
RO *si-
BO tAy
AB shi
KO li ne
DF si [Y,T]sito
MK thi [G]dâm
NW si-ye

DIFFICULT

LB *s-ra2
WT khag po
GC sa kha
GT sa kha
GM kA sa k'a
GH kĕ-săk-kIa
GS na ni kis
NU răza
LP a-tsók
JG [N]yâk 'ây [M]rû?, Ayâk [Z]yak ai
LU hau tak_, hlo=har=, khirh_
TI -trhak\sa:
LA hár
AO tasak
RO rakgipa, suutgipa
BO buli burá
AB a-dir
KO shaoshi, wanpu
DF ûsh-ûhâ [Y,T]afi
MK sungkrung, badekhrim [G]bóy, sùng

DIG

TB	*tu, *du
LB	*m-du2
WT	brkos
GC	tuw
LP	du
JG	[N]thûu 'ày, ka'pók 'ày [Z]htu ai
	[M]dai, khai bang tye?, krók, awun, dó?, krau
LU	cho/
LA	laǎy, layq
AO	atu, ato
RO	choa
BO	záw, bur
KO	ahau ne
DF	[Y]duto [T]duto
MK	tuk

DIG UP

TB	*la:y, *du, *klaw, *r-ko-t
WT	brus pa
GC	ka po ka tu
GT	ka rwa
GH	skŏr
GS	ko tu
NU	ku, hkaw
CH	[TP]qhA\la= [MA]phiphi
LP	du, byol
AB	ngo, gûr, ko
DF	obodû
MK	tuk, rok [G]timûr

DIP OUT
WT len, gcua
GC ka ro, ka pya, ka na rko
GT ka pkyas
NU zin shí
LP jam, myŭk
JG [N]syÀlùp, byék kÀrôt
[Z]mădit ai
LU thla=la_, chhiah_, hnim=
AO yanglu
RO salopa, pul den
NW du-lhâ
AB ní-jing, piom
DF ôbom
MK kaparbip, nim

DIRTY
TB *krÀy, *ri(y)
WT dzor po
GC ma ka syo
GT ma ro wa ksri
GM kÀ blo
GS ma ki sho
NU mănim masim
TR tsangi nai mie1
LP a-bop, po-gok-la, kyor
JG [N]N/ sâm sêng 'ây
[M]Anô?, khÂnû?
[Z]n krin ai, n hsan ai
LU berh_, uk_, ung=
LK a-ai-hny, pua
LA bâl, bâlq
AO ar aket
RO mitchimitchi, rongtalgi jagipa
BO ala budru, gendra, gomta, karâb, zÂlda, sÂm
AB koi-yang, a-kang
KO nunu, nupu
DF kâtch
MK hijmmai, ningni, ketor [G]tèr, hijím

DISCOVER(cf.FIND)
WT brnyid pa
GC ko sa myek
JG [Z]khrum ai, mu ai, khrup ai
LK hmó-tua
AO bushitet

DO

TB	*mow
WT	byas pa
GC	ka pa
GT	ka pa
GK	kApiE
GH	pɪ̈ä
GS	ka pe, ko si pe, ko ni de
NU	wa
CH	[TT,T,C]pu
LP	mat, zuk, fat
JG	[M]tyen, di [Z]ká law ai, di ai
LU	bei_, ti_, bawl=
BA	ti
LK	chhua
TI	\sE:m, _sep
LA	tuaq
AO	asü, inyak
NW	yâ-ye [S]lap-e, gul-e, dha-ye, yâ-ye, kin-e
RO	daka
AB	i, mo
KO	ling ne
DF	ma [Y]bundeto [T]ma
MK	klem, inghoi [G]kléa

DOUBT

WT	the tshom akyes, dogs pa byas
GC	msum ka ngan, te tshom ta ka sa
GS	te t'som ki ze
LP	t'e-som
JG	[N]máw 'ày
AO	erentak, atitak, tatitaktaü
RO	jajaani, ongja gita nika
AB	muing ke ahu mang
KO	mong yehumlak ne
MK	phere, aphon

DREAM

TB	*(r-)mang
GC	rmo ka pa, ka wa rmo
JG	[Z]yup mang mang ai, mu ai
NW	mhan-e [S]mhan-e, mhagsa(N)
LU	mümängah, hmu_
DF	[Y]hyema [T]mâna
MK	mäng hemân

DRINK

TB	*Am
LB	*m-dang1
WT	btung, 'thung
GC	ka mot
GT	ka mot
GK	ka-mod
GP	kòm
GN	yint'en, cint'ěn
GS	ko mod
GW	ko mɑ̌
NU	a
LP	t'ang, bap
JG	[N]lɑ́' 'ây
	[A]lu?1
	[Z]lu ai
LU	fâwp da_, in=, dut=
BA	din
LA	qin
AO	mesep, tajemtsŭ, tajichi, ajem
RO	*ring-
BO	lAng
AB	ting
NW	twan-e [S]twan-e, pu-ye, syâ-ye
DF	tŭ
MK	jun [G]jùn

DRUNKEN(GET-)

LB	*yit
GC	ka khya, ta nyi kyan dze
GT	ku Nchok
JG	[M]tyÁrû nang
	[Z]chěru nang ai, shěru nang ai
LU	zu=rui_
BO	pè
DF	[Y]tengkumpa
	[T]tukhumpa
MK	[G]ingri, ingkrâng

DRY

TB *tan
WT skam pa, bakama, than ba
GC ka ram, ka kram, ka pram
GT ka rom
NU sung, hè, lam
LP krek-ka, hryu, són nón, syin, i:l, ayur, jep
JG [M]gÁrau, jÁkhùn
[Z]chákhraw ai, khraw ai
LU em_ro=
BA ro, châr
LK a-rô pa-ta, da vei
TI /phou, -gO:t, /kang
LA roów, phoów
AO akong, takong, asep
RO rama, ranata
BO paran
BU thán-thán
AB pui, lo, e-reng
KO wan ne
DF lăppi, torpi, krompi
[Y]ramputo
[T]rumputo
MK krengdang, ur, thep
[G]ùr, krèng, tè, pe-thèp, pe-réng, réng

DRY(TO BE)

TB *(a-)raw
WT skam po
GC krom
GT krom
GS ki rom
NU sung
LP a-syin, gruk, kăk
JG [N]khró' 'áy
[H]Asòng, N-khrî, khròp, gÁthâ?, cú? kè
[Z]chakhraw, akhraw
LU fû, hul/
LK a-rô pa-ta, da vei
TI /ham, -keu, /gam
LA moyq
AO akong
RO angipa
NW su-ye [S]hil-e, gan-e, awa-ye
BO garan, rán
AB or-ne, ke-reng-ne, bé-rak
KO Ule
DF krompi
MK kreng

DYE

GC	tA-ptshot ka lat
GT	tsho ka lat
GS	ts'ed
NU	dăsit, za
	[S]cha'
TR	[S]cO=
CH	[TP]sl-
	[MA]sU
LP	tsó, sying
JG	[N]côo 'ây
	[M]tyó
LK	a-mao...bao
AO	sUremer(DYER)
RO	rong-onna, bara-rong simgipa
BO	morong, korong(N)
AB	îng, î-jik
DF	nyen lû, khrû-lû
MK	nim, acham ketun

EASY

TB	•lway
WT	las lha po
GC	ku wut
GT	ku wut
GS	ti pe ki wid
GW	ze
NU	ma răza
CH	[C](h-)za
	[J]hzje
LP	kyang, jóm
JG	[N]N yák 'ây
	[M]Aloî, Amai Akhai
	[Z]lwê ai
LU	awl=, sam=
TI	\ma:n
LA	qól
AO	temela
RO	altua, altugipa
KO	nyai, nyaishame
DF	môjûb
MK	joi, sungse
NW	chi-e

EAT

TB *Am, *dza
LB *dza2
WT bzas, bza'
GC ka za
GT ka za
GK ka-zIE
GP teza
GN c'ízyo
GH zïạ̈, kô-kö̤-zâ, zai
GS ta ni zan
GW tazâi, sák'i, thje
NU ăm, sat
TR na4 kai4
CH [TT,T,C,J]thje
LP zo
JG [N]sháa 'ây
[M]syá
[Z]sha ai
LU chaw_ei=, kher=, pet_zût=, tlân_
BA ei
LA ni
TI /nE:
AO achi
RO chaa
NW na-ye [S]na-ye, mhâl-e
BO zá, zazrám
AB do
DF da [Y]doto, nâto, dosa(FOOD) [T]doto, nato, des'(FOOD)
MK cho [G]kintín, chô, che-náng, bôm, hèk

EMPTY

LB *gang2
WT stong pa, bshangs
GC ka sok
GT stong, na rak sew
GS s'tong me
LP gun-nón-bo
JG [M]Asom, khong, kyèt, mân
[Z]kă man ai
LU heng=, râm, ruàk, do_ral=
LK pa-rua
LA loông
AO tazüng
RO bangbang, mamungba gri
BO anzray, ledAw, dohóng, natnay(V)
AB ang-a-rang
DF assâr
MK angse, akejoi [G]angsé, p-angsé, p-a-we(V)

ENTER
TB *hwang
WT nang la yong pa
GT a-no-y ka yi pi
GH tă-kă-yĭās
JG [N]shâng wâa 'ây [M]syâng, syôn [Z]shang ai
BA lut
NW du-swa-ye
TI /lu:t
LA luût, luq
AO ai, aket |RO *nap-
BO háb, sokón, sapi
KO ongne
MK [G]lût

FADE
TB *ngrAw(FADED)
GC ka pkha
GS ta no no
JG [M]bylt, tyAmût [Z]hsum ai, kyip ai
LU chhawng=, chuai_, chu=
TI /heu
RO ɟegala, bona, sia, sikrepa
BO mAzri
KO qui ne
MK [G]che-kidû

FALL(cf. SPIT)
TB *kla, *zak(B-L)
WT zar ba, brul
GC mzyit, psyit(VT)
GT ka ɟa
GZ zɟe
GM ka nnga
GS ki l'tung, ki l'to
NU ăɟa, ănga [K]tok
CH [C]?ɟU, tshu [J]?ɟe
LP glo, hlat, yong
JG [N]khrât 'ây [A]thu?l [Z]khrat ai, chyet ai
[M]gin-dong, gyûm, raû, nûm-shu, phrâ, tât, rû
LU ṭil_, thlauh_, tlâa
LK a-lo, hai, hlua
TI /pu:k, /kiat |ME ta-ba
AO alang, tsük, aɟudok, tok
RO gaaka |NW dun-e [S]da-ye
BO gAlA/y, sAri, torpA/y
AB ong, o-lét, shut
KO yei ne
DF hol, ma [Y]cheflato [T]chukhato
MK klo, ruhup, ɟang [G]inglêm, klèy, kló, tût

FAR

TB *ja:l
WT thag ring po
GC ka khye
GT ka khye
GZ kekchi
GS re k'yi
NU ărum, ălè
LP a-rûm, grong
JG [N]tsàn ´áy
[M]nùm -tsan, sam sam, sùm tsan, gÂtik
[Z]san ai
LU hla= tak_
LK hla
TI /vang
LA hlâat
AO talang, teyira
RO *cér-
BO gazan, zán
AB mo-téng, mo-do
KO jay
DF âda
MK helo, haparai [G]helό

FAST

WT mgyogs po
GC ka nga nak, na ka rkyuk
GT ka nga nak
GK tEsyanya
GH kâ-nâ-rjyuk
GS ko neg
NU bawbaw, sănsăn
TR aó pral
CH [TT]dudwa
[C]bdAbda
LP nyeng, t'ók
JG [N]la'wàn ´áy
[Z]lùwan ai
LU viăk trha_
AO lula
RO taraka, gisik matsramgipa
AB an-nâm
KO mŭmpu, nyaonyaipu
DF harin
[Y]farrto
[T]kharrto
MK keprap, serak [G]pràp, serong
NW [S]cwâ, cwâ-ye

FAT

TB *tsow
WT rgyag pa
GC rkam
GT tau
NU su
LP syum-bo, syu, syu:t
JG [M]byû byû, bong [Z]hpum ai
LK thaw
TI -tha:u
LA thaáw
AO so, tesola |GA *mir-a-
BO gubbung, lÁdÁ, medla, sÁarda bÁrda
KO nût |AB jing, ging
DF pot
MK ingthu, leng, thu [G]lèng, selûng

FEW

WT nyung nyung
GC ka tai tsi, ka ne ne
GT ka mi nye, ka Ndzok
GZ ngamkhu |GK tensa
GS te n'dze
NU má bim é
JG [N]ka' chîi mîi [M]syañ [Z]hpa 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 tÁ-la-lat ka pa
GT ka ango
GH tă-angŏ
GS d'mag me ko lad, ko tib tib, ki ta s'ngo
NU ăsăt
LP dyû
JG [M]phyen gÁsát, gà lô? [Z]kăsat ai, khat ai
LU in_hau=
LK cha-ria, sô-lyu, hryu-khao
TI -dou, /la:i
LA suêl, toów
AO rara bangsen RO dakgrika, jegrika
NW lwâ-ye
BO danga(N), zenga(N), dakray, nanglay, komlay
AB mo-muin-shu
KO hok ne
DF moi-â-sû
MK kachechok, ron kachepi [G]che-dán

FIND
WT brnyid pa
GC ka ra
GT ka ra
GS ko re
NU yang
JG [Z]khrup ai, khrum ai
LU chhar=
LA hoôl
AO ratet
RO manna, amma
BO dihún, naygri, gir
AB pâng, mâ-bék, pu
KO tow ne
DF kâ-pâ [Y]nâto [T]nato
MK long, peklang, pho longrui

FINE
WT zhib po
GC ka mnya
GT ka jip
LP dyap, kin, ryut, jóm
JG [M]mún mún, reng, á-sof
LU zai= ain=
RO motogipa, baranggipa, nikprotgipa
AB re-ig, ré-mik, muik
KO peilei ngipu
DF [T]yût'koto(=BEAUTIFUL)
MK me(sen/ong), jengso

FINISH
TB *o:l
WT bsgrubs
GC ka si yok
GT ka tar
GH sÌô
GS ki yog, na yog
NU dă-dang, dă-bè
LP fat, lel, pan, hyât, tek, tel
JG [N]ngût 'ày [Z]shăngut ai, shăma ai, chătum ai
[M]syÁboi, syÁngût, syÁkrê?, syÁtsim
LU peih_, tling_tla_
TI /man, /zou, -xin, _xit
LA threq
AO renem, atem, ati
RO *mat-cot-
BO aazri, lukâng
AB âm, in, ruk
DF moi-nyâ
MK tang, pikoi, ik, tik [G]kût, jût, tâng, plêng

FLEE

TB	*plong
WT	bod, bros
GC	ka phos
GT	ka khyos
GS	ko shi leg
NU	ăt shi [S]at=
TR	[S]at=
CH	[TP]phu= [MA]phu
LP	tor, tet
JG	[Z]hprawng ai
LU	phrong, táng lòt
LK	cho
TI	-ta:i
AO	ajen, azübong
DF	[Y]farto [T]kharrto
MK	kat

FLOAT

TB	*twAy
WT	lding pa
GC	ka sket
GS	chu wo
NU	[S]bOm=, rin=
TR	[S]ang\aep=, dam=, a\ tĭn=
CH	[TP]fu=tha-, sl\da^ [MA]dala, sAly, sARa
JG	[Z]waw ai
LK	pa-pho
LA	fên
AO	pungdak
BO	zaw, sopo, gopong, sopong
MK	[G]ingjông, inglàng

FLOW

GC	ka Nda
DF	[Y]farrâto [T]farto
MK	[G]dòng-ká-ká, wòy-wòy
NW	[S]chwâ-ye, nhyâ-ye

FLY

TB	*pir, *pyaw
GC	ka Nbyam
GT	ka gyem
GH	kû-kû-yam
GS	ki d'byom
NU	dăm [S]zĕr`
TR	[S]bĕr`
CH	[TT,T]je, [J] je, [TP]jA^ [MA]gzi
LP	lám, fyot, vyal
JG	[M]gÁsyoí [Z]pyen ai
LA	zám, zuáng
AO	ayim, zA
RO	billa
BO	bir
AB	ber, yob
KO	bu ne
DF	gă [Y]jarto [T]jarto
MK	ingjar, ingvai
NW	bwa-ye

FOLD

TB	*tap
WT	bltabs
GC	ka ltep
JG	[Z]kumba ai, thap(LAYER)
NW	la-thyá-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	zăn, yun
LP	ryak, t'il
JG	[M]khán, bòp dât, Anán [Z]khan ai, khan sa ai, khannang ai
LU	zui, bawh_zui
BA	zûl
AO	anitak
RO	jarika
AB	lédo lo gi-muin
DF	illyâ
MK	aphidun

FORGET

TB	*b-la:p
WT	brjes pa
GC	ka yi mAs
GT	ka yi mis
GK	tramiz kApiE
GS	ko'i mis
NU	ămal
	[S]a'mat=
TR	[S]a'mlang=
CH	[TP]xmi= [MA]rmA
LP	hryu
JG	[N]ma'lâp 'ày [A]măi lapl
	[M]mÂlâp
	[Z]mălap ai, n tum ai, n shai ai, n mi ai
TI	/mang _ngil?
NW	loma-ye
LA	hngilq
AO	ama
RO	*gu-ar-
BO	baw, bawgar
AB	mit-pan
KO	pien ne
DF	mû-pâ-mâ [Y]mungpâmâto [T]me'pâmâto
MK	tengne [G]tengnè, bhûl, mâng-hu

FORGIVE

WT	dgongs pa btang
GC	nya ro ne ayi
GT	wo ro ku zur de kyer
GS	s'nyinig r'je ko ro
JG	[M]Apyét rò?
	[Z]cham aa ai
LA	zoóy
MK	[G]diá

FREEZE

TB	*kyam
GC	ta-rkam kA pa
GT	ta rpen na pa
LA	thi

FRY

TB	*r-ngaw
WT	spragş
GC	ka ksur, ke rngo
GT	ka ksru
GS	ko waa tso
NU	hu
CH	[MA]xnya-, [MA]chu-chu
LP	u
JG	[Z]kǎngaw ai
LU	zèn
LK	cha-tei
TI	-kang
LA	kíaw, reéw
AO	asang
RO	joa
BO	aér
KO	ngŭo ne
DF	og, khrûg
MK	karnu [G]arnô, pa-tirim
NW	[S]ai-ye, syâ-ye, hwâ-ye, hiik-ye, kâl-e

FULL

TB	*pling, *tyam
WT	khang pa, bltams
GC	u pyot, pka
GS	ki myod
LP	a-blyăn, kryul
JG	[N]phying 'ây, [Z]hpring ai [M]gum gum, phring, tyú? kóng, Awót
LU	khat_
BA	khat
LK	bi
TI	/dim
LA	khat
AO	sünga, telong long, tenaridang, aben
RO	gapgipa, ganggipa
BO	abung, roná roni, bung
AB	bîng, dâr, shí-tet
DF	blŭsâr [Y]yerrtè [T]yerrtè
MK	pleng teng, ardung [G]tèng-sét, plêng
NW	[S]jâ-ye, than-e

GATHER

WT	'ngu 'dzom byed pa, sku ba
GC	dzu, sAy dzu(VT)
GT	ka Ndzom
GH	zóIm
GS	ki n'dzum
NU	dAhkim, dăgun, ri, răt, rip
LP	kUk, gyom, bóm, zum, t'yU, jam, rát, hrúp, pangrum, rim
JG	[N]rôt 'ây [Z]hpawng ai, chăhpawng ai [M]ding\-gon\, gin\-bom, phon\, de, sying\-ro?/
LU	bâwr_
NW	ča-lhă
LA	pûng
AO	sentep, arem
RO	tomeni, chimonga
AB	gi-dum shu, lâng-kum
KO	jem ne, phong ne
DF	okûm [T]kâtch'(=NEAR)
MK	(che)pangrum, mei do, cheri, rim, pinlang

GET

TB	*(r-)ney
WT	rags pa, blangs
GC	ka ra
GT	ka ra
GH	pcIǯ°
GS	ko t'ob, narong
NU	lun [S]zi`
TR	[S]bi=
CH	[TP]tsa-, syAu=tha- [MA]tsU̲, dzAzy
LP	t'op, ngun
JG	[Z]lu ai
LU	chuang=
TI	_nga?
AO	angu
BO	mA/n
AB	pâng, kâ, pu
DF	kâ-pâ-ga [Y]nâto [T]nato
MK	long
NW	[S]da-ye(HAVE)

GET UP

WT	lang
GC	ka rwas
GT	ka rwas
GS	kir was
LP	luk
JG	[M]syÁtsô
LU	thawk_
BA	thawk
NW	da-ye [S]dan-e, than-e
TI	/ka:ng
AO	shishi
RO	chakata
BO	zokâng
AB	da-rop/-rep
DF	gorâb [Y]grŏpto [T]gorŏpto
MK	thur

GIVE

TB	*bÁy
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\
	[MA]gzyÁ, aypu
LP	byin, bo, tat
JG	[N]cô' 'áy
	[A]co?i, sai
	[M]dû, lu, sáng, jô?, syÁgù
	[Z]jaw, ya
BA	pêk
LA	rülq, sám
AO	agütsü
RO	*ón-, onna
BO	hÁ, hór, usurgi
NW	bi-ye, dolap-ye
AB	bi, to-lik
KO	pha ne
DF	jî [Y]bhito [T]jito
MK	pi, hi, panong, tong, ta

GO

TB	*byon
WT	phyin pa, 'gro, rgyugs, 'don, byon
GC	che[IPF] thal[PFT] yi che[IMP], ro, re
GT	yang[PFT], chyen[IPF]
GK	kA-chi, ji
GN	gombocicie, mesún
GH	yě-kī-yǎng, kē-c'ī, yī-kī-yê, kǫ̈-yī
GS	ka ch'i, po pon
GW	nac'ěn
NU	di, law [K]xo, pai
CH	[TT,T,C,J,W,L]da [TT,C,J,MA]kA [TP]kA~
LP	nóng, pla, záng, kor, yón
JG	[N]khòm 'ày [A]sa3 [H,Z]sa ai
LU	fǎng chhuàk, hrin=, vàk\
BA	va kal, suak
LK	vaw ha
TI	-pai
NW	won-e [S]chwa-ye, wan-e, hul-e
AO	ao
RO	*rê-, resoa
BO	táng, háng[IMP.], tu[IMP.], tangkár, tangtán
AB	gi, en, lên
KO	tai ne
DF	ûn-kû
MK	dam, cheklo, pepet, da [G]dàm, khí, plà

GO OVER

GC	ka tho, ka phot
NU	ngang`
TR	ngang=
CH	[TP]tA\kA- [MA]tARa
MK	[G]pár(PASS,CROSS)

GOOD

TB	*may, *pra, *lyak-s
WT	yag po
GC	ta la, ka la
GT	ta la, ka la
GZ	keanje
GK	nasaanye
GH	kâ-ŭdî
GS	ki s'na, ki ho'u
GW	sa
NU	shăla
	[K]?dAi
CH	[T,J,TT] na
	[TT]se, na
	[C]?ai
LP	ryu-wŭng, a-ryum, yang
JG	[N]ka'cáa 'ây, yang
	[M]khrâk, khrû?, mai, syóp, grâk, aî sá?, aì
	[Z]kăja, mai, ai, grak
LU	trha_, thuang=, tlei
LK	a tlai
TI	\pha:, _hoi?
AO	tajung
RO	*nam-, dingtangmancha
BO	gaham, hamna, marka, mazang, moday
AB	ai
KO	mei
DF	âl [Y]alepa [T]alapa
MK	me, sot [G]tini, pe-mê, me
NW	[S]nin-e, ni-ye, măku(TASTY), bhii

GRASP

WT	'jus pa
GT	tayak ka kay, ka pkyak(TAKE)
GS	na ko pye
LP	gyân, t'ep, pyup
JG	[M]mAnât, tyít, grâ?, syum
LU	chelh__
LK	ao-hrac
NW	lâk-e
AO	ajepa aru
RO	rim-
AB	gâg-gâp
MK	nep, chekip, chetum

GREEN

TB	*(s-)ngow, *krung, *śring
WT	ljang khu
GC	ljang ku
GT	ljang ku
GZ	bjaŋku
GM	ljang sgr
GS	l'jang ku
GW	tunglû, xwe
NU	mă-shing
TR	mAlô
CH	[TT,J]xwe
	[L]hwi
	[C]xu
LP	a-fong
JG	[N]'a' tsit
	[M]lAli
LK	a-hna-la-si
AO	temak
RO	tangsikagipa, tansikgipa
AB	lê, ya-ing, i-teng
KO	ŭhŭng
DF	sŭyin
MK	lir, vei

GRIND(cf. POUND)

TB	*krit
WT	btags pa, 'thog pa
GC	ka-Ndzor ka lat, ka stau
GT	ka tsok
GS	ko b'shi
NU	jik, hal
LP	ngok, ngrik, com
JG	[M]dŭm rin, Arin
	[Z]rin ai
LK	a-rôpa-ta, cha-ro
LA	deéng
AO	menungsa
RO	wagam chikritkota, sua
AB	ner-muik
KO	sŭmsu ne
MK	koi, chingkrit

GROW UP

GC ka kte, ka skyu
CH [TP]tA\bzya- [MA]dabar
JG [N]tùu 'ây
[Z]kǎba wa ai, tu ai
MK [G]chán(THRIVE,INCREASE)

HANG

WT bkal pa
GC ka yok, ka rwak
GT na yong, na ka yok
NU dǎchung, dǎzul, dǎchi der sǎt
LP hu, t'o, hyang, zo, zo:m
JG [N]nùy 'ây
[M]Aphyang, jandâ, jên, myèn, braù, Abyâ, daú, phyaù, syÂyâ, Anoi
[Z]noi ai, nwè ai
LU ǎwk\ hlum_
TI -xa:i, -ba:ng
LA taár
NW yakhâ-ye [S]khâ-ye, gâ-ye
AO itak, sangzŬ, sozÂ
RO dingdea, wingwanga
BO awlay, heleng, sÂy, sen, heng, olmay, lomi
AB tu(-shâng, -lik), pél
KO jout ne, gung ne
DF pâsaâr, pai-in [Y]hakpato [T]ha'pŏto
MK jangleng, vek, kongjuk, tom
[G]che-wék, jáng-hâm, lingláng, wék, hóm

HAPPY

WT skyid po, dga' po yod pa
GC ka ni syet[IPF], ka sa skyit, ka na nga nyo, ka na la
GT ka sa skyit, ka na na nga
GH kă-să-scyĬt
GS ko na nge
NU [S]gam', a\bra=
TR [S]gam', bra=, jO?=
CH [TP]na-, sye-, duÁ-dua^ [MA]na, lŭlŭ
JG [N]ka'pùu 'ây
[M]byo, myìt pyo, òng, tyum [Z]kabu ai, ngawn ai
LU lung=ni thei_tak_
LK tha pha
AO moa
RO kusi ongbegipa, *kusi(N), usi onga
BO gorông, rong
KO mongmei
DF [Y]manglŏkna [T]mŭlekna
MK [G]che-hók, róng-jír, rèng-me

HARD

WT	khrag po
GC	ka kru
GT	ka kro
GS	ki kro
GW	hkca
NU	răza
CH	[TT]kuca [C,J]hku
LP	kók, a-grót, a-tyăp, a-t'el, a-lit
JG	[N]cê' 'ây [M]sák, gin sá, jà?, grèng [Z]ja ai
LU	a_rim=in=, rum=
TI	_sak
LA	pa-mei-pa-ha
AO	temerang
RO	karakgipa, raka
AB	tor, tol
KO	laang, wan
DF	âttor
MK	ingtang, boi

HAVE

TB	*s-ri(EXIST)
GZ	ndut
GK	kAndud
GM	ndo
CH	[T,TT,C]nga
JG	[M]rong [Z]nga ai, lu ai, rawng ai
LU	awm_pui=
BA	a nei
LA	neyq
AO	lir
BO	mÂ/n, nang

HEAR

GC	ka mis, ka msam
GA	ame
TR	[S]pU\nam=
NU	[S]pU\năm=
JG	[Z]na ai, nang ai
DF	[Y]binsa(=WORD) [T]besa(=WORD)
NW	[S]tă-ye

HEAVY

TB *(a-)lAy
GC ka li
GT ka li
GS ki li
NU ăli
[K]nak
LP a-lím, bryón-nă
JG [M]li, mał dàng li
[Z]li ai
LU harh_lo_, khîn, rit_, rih_
LA rit
AO taret
RO ɟrigipa
BO dambra, gilir, ilir, letema, pilir
AB te-beg
KO yih
DF ê
MK ardik [G]ardík, hùp
NW [S]gen-e

HELP

WT roga pa byed pa
GC ka kor, ta ka kor
GT ka kor ka pa
GM ka-kor
GS ki kor ko pe
GW wa
NU dabang [S]a\rO?=
TR a\rO?=, sU\nang=
CH [L]zyg̱wa [T]h̲wa31 [TT]h̲oh̲wa
[TP]Rua\,cAu= tha- [C]g̱wa [MA]Ruar, cAutha
LP pón, tôp
JG [N]ka'rùm 'ây
[M]rúm, taù, gum
[A]kălzyum3
[Z]gărum ai
LU bâwi, 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, tesA
AB dum-shu
KO jŭan ne
DF û-blûm
MK rap, van

HIDE(CONCEAL)

WT	bskungs, brnogs
GC	ka sya pki
JG	[M]gyim, lAkAn, mAkoi, syim dâ, gòp
	[Z]gawp ai, lâkyim ai, mâkoi ai
LU	bi_bo=, bîk bo=, thuk_ru_, zêp\
LA	rôl, thup, thuq
AO	meyim
RO	donua
BO	hepkmâ, kArAb, ebrê, ersA/, hakmâ, ser
KO	lo ne
DF	[Y]pasito [T]pésito
MK	[G]pa-ngkèp-jòy, pa-tù, bín(SHADE)
NW	[S]sul-e, ta-ye, dha-e

HIGH

TB	*m-rang, *m-to
WT	mtho
GC	ka Nja
GT	ka Nbro
GH	kǎ-mô-rô
GS	ki mo ro
NU	hang
CH	[T,TT,J]bu [C]bru
LP	tă-ta-bo
JG	[N]tsôo 'ày [Z]tsaw ai
LU	hrâm, zo=
BA	sâng
TI	-sa:ng
AO	talang, tuochi
RO	chugipa
AB	bo-dong, tipula, zAw, pAgAw
KO	dao
DF	au-ǎ
MK	ingtui, kiding, athak

HIT(cf.BEAT,KNOCK)

WT	brdungs, brdegs, bcags
GC	ka tom, ka lat[IMP]
NU	[S]dung`, rap=, sât= mǎ?=
TR	[S]dung=, a\bU?=, rap=, a\sat=, a\kai`
CH	[TP]chi= [MA]Ra
JG	[N]ka'yêt 'ày
	[A]ca?1
	[Z]khra ia
LU	vua_, vaw_, vûak
BA	vuak
NW	dâ-ye [S]thin-e, cwa-ye, dik-e, juk-e, muik-e
DF	[Y]kedinto [T]kedinto
MK	âp [G]chòk, téng, ro, sâp

HOLD

WT leg par 'khyer pa, bcangs, bzung
GC wa ya na ka pya, ka pya, ka sythÂt
GT ta yak ka kay
NU [S]ɑU\kU'
TR [S]ɑU\tUp=, ten=
CH [TP]phe=tha-, kuÁ=tai\
[MA]phaitha, dÂchi
JG [A]ma'nát 'ày
[M]gòn, syang, syum, syip, Aphúm, rong
[Z]shum ai
LU dàwm
AO amet, am
RO rimketa, rimtata, *rim-
KO moonge tŭk ne
MK [G]dū

HOT

TB *tsa
WT tsha po
GC kÂ stshe, ka sa syki
GT ka sa lok
GM kÂ stsiE
GH kâ-sâ-lok
GS di was tse
GW tesâlo
NU ăhkat shi, geng
[K]?djÂt
LP a-hrun
JG [N]cáa 'ày
[M]dó?gá?, jandá?,
[Z]kăhtet ai, ja ai
LU bù tùt, aa=, uàp
BA sâ
TI -sa:, -sak, -thak, -tha?
AO tatsŭk
RO *ding-, dinggipa
BO gudung, alu, rôb rôb, sandung
AB gu, am-ké, pâm-ki
KO shiem
DF og
MK so, phangok, soluk [G]khôr, sèt, sò
NW [S]kwâ-ye

HUNGRY

WT	ltogs
GC	kto ka mo
GT	ko mo
GK	kA mo
GS	ki mo
NU	hpări mer shi
	[K]djU
LP	krit nóm, hyer
JG	[N]krŏ' 'ây
	[M]kro si
	[Z]khaw si ai
AO	aya
RO	okrigipa
BO	lugÂy
AB	ke-nong
KO	senyao
DF	kâna
MK	ingchir, kangchir

HUNT

WT	ri dags rgyab pa
GC	ka lat(SHOOT,HIT)
GH	sĭăr
CH	[T]ho
	[TT,J]xoxo
	[C]xosU
JG	[M]gòng, syàn gàp, mai khrau
	[Z]khwi ai, shan shăjut ai
AO	arishi
RO	sikar(N)
BO	mÂyhúr(N)
KO	meei kep ne

HURRY

WT	brel pa byas pa
GC	ka nga nak
GT	ska ca ka thu, ka nga na ka thu
GH	rjyăk
GS	ko nag
NU	[S]pU\re=syi`
TR	[S]pU\rai=syi`
CH	[TP]su=pa=
	[MA]syipi
JG	[M]lAwan, lau, syAyan, tyang, rau
	[Z]shatin ai, chang ai
LK	a-cha-tli
MK	[G]tŏ̄ng

ILL

TB	*na, *s-nyung
WT	na taha
GC	ka te na
GT	ta na
GK	kÂnÂ guo
GM	tawo
GH	nâ kĕ-nû gô
GS	ki ni ko
NU	za
	[S]za`
TR	[S]dza`
CH	[TP]zye^
	[MÂ]rji
LP	a-jĕn, dăk-bo, sÂ-dyat, zum
JG	[N]ma'chi 'ây
	[Â]mal cị?2
	[M]N-tyi, mÂtyi?, Âzi, Ânâ(N)
	[Z]măchi ai
LU	dam=lo_
LK	pa-sa, tla-vei
TI	-na:, _nat
AO	majung, manem, shirangba, sÂrep, asyi
RO	asa, sagipa
BO	mÂginа
AB	ki
KO	takpa
DF	dalli kârda
MK	hingno, keso, sodet, so
	[G]marâ, sô

INCREASE

WT	phel, spel
GC	ka pos gis ka myi nya
GS	ko ra n'p'el
NU	bát, bĕr, bro, bung
LP	ka:m, ka:l
JG	[M]bran, mÂyât, Âmô?, jât
	[Z]jat ai, kaba wa ai
LU	ti_pûn=
AO	renlok, kAm
BO	pabang, usí paw
AB	par, pon, té
KO	cha
MK	ding, thep, ong, kam

ITCHY

TB *g-ya, *kut, *m-sak
WT zab rag rgyab pa
GC ra? gya
GA RrjAǧ
GT ka ra ya
GS pag ai
NU chăkul, haw [S]pU\ sa?=
TR pu5 sa4 [S]pU\ să?=
CH [TP]dzI\'za^, dza\ [MA]dzǧi
LP jak
JG [N]ka'yaa 'ay [Z]kaya ai
[M]mArù?, mAtyìt(N), Aso Asá(A)
LU lǔng phǔr thak_
TI _thak(V), _tha?(V)
AO anakra(N)
RO kakita
BO kayzeng(V), man(V)
AB tai-ot(N), ǎg(A)
KO mupu(N)
DF etch ăhă
[Y]afa'paku [T]akha paku
MK phuk, sotera, aderi, ingthak, sojai [G]phúk(V)

JUMP

WT 'chom pa
GC cham na ka pa, ta ka Ntsak
GT chams na (ka) pa
GZ mecak
GM ka mtsak
GH mĕ-ts'ăk
GS ki m'tsag
GW tshu
NU jun, jut [K]aa:t [S]chat=
TR a6 glai1 shiA4 [S]a\glăi=, a\cat=
CH [L]ao [T,TT,J]tshu [C]?tshu [TP]tshu- [MA]qhau
LP tyŭk, hŭp
JG [M]gùm jót, syìng tót, gùm-thòn, gùm-lót, gùm-tsót
[Z]shingtaut ai
LU tek=
TI \ka:n
LA doŏp, lân
AO apung, pungzŭ
RO bil chroka, gopanapa
BO zampring, lampiyay, barklây
AB pok, shum
KO kao ne, yean ne
DF pă, jŭ
[Y]jabdato, jarto [T]jubăto, jarto
MK chon, pakadak, sun

KICK

WT rdog 'tair btang pa
GC ta-sbro ka lat
GT ta-sbro ka lat
NU hi mer dăhpat, dăcha
CH [L]chu [TT]chi
LP gor, t'ya
JG [N]shing tit 'ây
[M]khât di, khîm dit, sying dit
[Z]khindit ai, shingdit ai, lăkhat ai
LU chhir, kheng=
LA siit
AO metaŭ
RO gatinga
BO zA. zAkar
NW pyengki
AB tu, lê-shut-shu
KO koo ne
DF tû
MK tur, cherdak [G]tûr

KILL

TB *g-sât
WT gsad pa, bsad, bkums
GC ka sat, ka Ncha
GT sat
GZ sjan, kanche
GK ka-sIEd
GH sĭă̆t
GS ko sad
NU săt, shăt [K]ka [S]săt= sya`
TR [S]sat=, tOt=
CH [C]chu [J]tshu [TP]cI- [MA]cA
LP sót, sok, cet
JG [N]sât 'ây [A]sat1
[M]sât [Z]sat ai
LU hnuk_chhat, tmlh_, ti_thi=, hlum_
LK thi sai, thih
TI \gou, _that
LA that, thaq
AO tepaet, kaset
NW syâ [S]syâ-ye
RO soota(BEAT)
BO beltay
AB mo-ké
KO tui ne
DF men [Y]jengmarato [T]jümüngaukto
MK ap, doihet, doipet, pethi [G]thû, pe-thi

KIND

WT drin chen po
GC wu sku Ndrin
GS u s'ku drin
NU dǎsha mer za è
LP aă-tsŭ(N), sak-cin kyang-bo
JG [Z]mǎsan dum ai
LU ngǐl nei_
BA nei
RO kasaani, namnikani, nama, namgipa
BO onpáwra, bÁrma bibú, zakay, ontÁr
AB ai-ang, mui
KO shepshi(N), yayiangpu(N)
MK ningkedo

KNIT

GC ka skye
GT ka skrí
LP tset
LU phiar=
NW go-ye
AO mechi
BO gunti
KO hŭo ne
MK keroi

KNOCK(cf.BEAT/HIT)

JG [M]bùng khrák, ákòk, díng khrak
[Z]ákawk ai, kewk ai, kayat ai, adup ai, anu ai,
htu ai
LU bu\ rûk
TI \ki:u, _kiu?
NW thun-e
[S]thwă-ye, penk-e(KIGC)
AO akushi
RO doktika
BO talamuri
MK [G]ardèng, pe-cheng

KNOW(cf.LEARN)

TB	*m-kyen, *syey
WT	shes pa
GC	ka sye
GT	ka nga syiy
GK	ka-syI
GM	ka nA msyi, ka nA mpsyi
GH	syĭ, ŭsya
GS	wu su le, nam sang, ko shu
NU	sha
	[S]sO=
TR	[S]sO=
CH	[TP]sI=
	[MO]qhaa
LP	t'yak, yă
JG	[N]cêng 'ây
	[M]chyeng, tyângh, tye ya, tyoi
	[Z]chyê ai, chyeng ai, choi ay
LU	hriă, thiăm
BA	theih, thiam
TI	\thei, _thei?
NW	si-ye [S]bwan-e, sa-ye
HY	ses
LA	they, theyq
AO	metet, ashi
RO	uia, niani
BO	sAlAng, po(N)
AB	kin, kên, jong, lâk
KO	shing ne, manpu(N)
DF	chen
	[Y]kâchinto [T]kachinto
MK	thek, chini

LATE

GC	ka mu Nku
GT	?i nu ku
NU	lang dim ăjè
	[K]lap
JG	[Z]na ai, ăching hpang khrat ai, aten shălai ai
LU	a_tlaĭ, a_tlaĭ in=, chang_tlaĭ, khaw=tlaĭ
LK	haw
AO	menu
RO	ja-man-o(LATER)
BO	gabaw, baw
AB	ngak, rup, a-deng
KO	shoun
DF	hâsaâ
MK	keder,kapeder, ki-ding
	[G]dêr, lèn

LAUGH

TB	*m-nwi(y), *rya-t
WT	agad mo gal
GC	kA (nA) ri
GT	(ka na) ri
GS	ki na ri
GW	ja
NU	it shi
	[S]jet=
TR	[S]ĕt=cU\
CH	[TT,C,MA]ja
	[TP]jə-
LP	t'yan
JG	[N]ma'nii 'ây
	[A]mă1 ni3
	[M]mÂnit, sùm sai
	[Z]mănı ai
LU	nui=
NW	nhil-e
LK	pa-hnei
AO	menU, ajumetsU(LAUGH AT)
RO	kadinga, *ka-ding-
BO	minigla, mini kár
AB	yir, ngil
KO	nye ne
DF	nyîr, [Y]nyerto [T]nyirrto
MK	ingnek

LEARN

WT	(b)slab pa
GC	po sket ta tsin
NU	shălap shi
	[S]sU\ lap= syU\
TR	[S]sU\ lăp= syU\
CH	[TP]tA\sI=
	[MA]sI
LP	hlap
JG	[N]sha'rin laa 'ây [A]syăl zyin2
	[Z]shărin la ai
LU	sin
NW	sa-ye [S]bwan-e
AO	anga, angashi, angazUk
RO	skie raani
BO	rAng
AB	ir-shu
KO	manpu(N)
DF	chen, besir-kå
	[Y]kåchinto [T]kachinto
MK	cherli, pechok

LEFT

TB	=bway
WT	g'yon
GC	ka ku
GT	ka wu
GS	ka we
NU	ǎgi lam, abang lam
LP	vím
JG	[N]pày
	[M]lapai [Z]lǎpai
LK	cha-vei
AO	tabelen
RO	*jak-a-si
AB	lǎk-kê
KO	yaknya
DF	ălâ,lâtch
MK	arvi

LEND(cf.BORROW)

WT	g'yar ba
GC	ka aye rnga, aki[IMP], na ka rnga
NU	rum, nga
LP	num byi
JG	[N]shâp 'ày [A]khoil
	[Z]khoi ya ai, shap ya ai
LU	khoi, syâp ya, boi
AO	aputsü
BO	bur
AB	bi-pông
DF	nârt-lâ jî
MK	peram [G]pe-râm
NW	tyâ(sâ)bi-ye

LICK

WT	bldags
GC	ka dzok, (ta) (N)dzo(n)
GT	(ka) (N)tsok
NU	lè [K]zi
LP	lók
JG	[N]ma'tá' 'ày
	[M]tâ? [Z]mǎta ai
NW	phe-ye
LA	liǎk, liǎk, liaq
AO	mena
RO	charoka
BO	sa lá
AB	yǎk
KO	yai ne
DF	ya
MK	inglek

LIE

WT	nyal
GC	rma, nyin, (ka) rman, rma(y)
GT	ka rma
NU	zin, hul shii
LP	da, dyam
JG	[M]tyông, to, dùm phyông, Anò?
LU	bawk-khup-, bawk-pêr-, mu
LK	hai
TI	/zuau, \zuau
LA	/per, per
AO	tayu
RO	*tu-, tra
BO	gAlAy
AB	ket, dong
KO	lemn ne
DF	gepla kâ
MK	i(lot), thi, kli, dim [G]i, ti

LIFT

GC	ka yok(HANG)
NW	lhon-e [S]lhwan-e, thin-e
LP	tsu:n
AO	azong
DF	[Y]nâchato
	[T]nachato
MK	ingthum
	[G]che-rūng, rùng

LIGHT

GC	ka plu
NU	[S]pU\chŬ?=
TR	[S]pU\ci`
CH	[TP]tsuA-
	[MA]zya
DF	pûllû
	[Y]ponglu
	[T]pulê
MK	thòr, mē-ke-klān

LIGHT(vs.HEAVY)

TB	*r-ya:ng
WT	yang po
GC	ka yo
GT	ka yo
GK	kA-jo
NU	ănang
CH	[C,TT]džĪ [J]ǰy
LP	kyáng-bo
JG	[M]léng, Atsang, sòp, tsa [Z]tsang ai
LU	eng, zāng
TI	/za:ng
LA	vaāng, zaāng
AO	tsŭklok
RO	tenggipa, chinggipa
BO	pesléng, rezeng
AB	e-shāng
KO	wangngai
DF	hojjub
MK	arjang

LIKE

TB	*m-dza
WT	dga' po yod pa
GC	ka na nga, sna
GT	ka na na nga
GK	karAsynangE
GM	ka-na nji
GS	ko s'ne zhag ko pe, ko s'ne ko m'dzed
NU	shung shi
LP	mui, zāng, zo:ng
JG	[N]rá' 'áy [M]sâm tsó?, sùm rá? [Z]ra ai, tsawai, dawng ai
BA	duh
LK	kyu...pa-cha
NW	ya-ye
TI	/i:t, \i:t, -nga:i, _dei?
AO	meim, temeim(N), aginŭ
RO	kasaa, mikchaa, *git-a-
BO	mAnzó, ón, hamza
AB	kanghon, jinso
KO	kung ne
DF	āl [Y,T]unyato
MK	gat, son, sonthot [G]inghôn

LIMP
GC wa Nbiyas
MK tekòk

LISTEN
WT nyan, go, mnyan(I)
GC ka rna
GT rna
GK kA-mAs
GW sunhA
NU hta
CH [TT]chny
[C]tshonhi
[J]cçhyñy
LP t'yo, nyan, a-nyor gi
JG [N]nâng 'ây
[M]nàng
[Z]mătat ai
LU bènga= râwn gah_, beng= chh=, ngai== thla_
TI /za:, /za:k
LA ngaây
NW nen-e
AO anga
RO *kin-a-, knaa, knatima
BO kama' la', onay, kana
AB tât
KO jaine
DF [Y]nyerung(=EAR) [T]nyeru(=EAR)
MK arju

LITTLE
GC ka ktsey
GT ka ktsey
GM kA-ktsi
GH ĭsy-pös
GS ki mi ni
GW kokcie
NU sam
LP cum-bo, t'yak, kŭp
JG [N]ka'chîi 'ây
[M]syAté?
[Z]kăjī ai
LK bua
AO tera, tila
RO banggipa, ontisa, komia
BO mén mén, glem, do, esse
AB a-mé, an-jo, a-shut-ko
KO ajengha, ûjoi, yeong shuie
DF mîchû
MK bihek, asap, onge

LIVE

TB *krung, *śring
WT gson pa
GC nyi(s)
GM kAnyi
GH nanen, nâ-ka̤-ndû
GS ko na ya'ou
NU [S]rOng`
TR [S]rOng`
LP zu, bam, ngan
JG [M]khrung, nù, gùp
[Z]khrung ai
LU nung/
BA nung
LA nûng, nǔn
AO ali
RO donga
BO tá
AB tûr, yé
KO ngoh ne, ûyin anglak ne
DF tûr
MK reng

LONG

TB *tu:ng, *low, *s-ring
WT ring po
GT ka khye
GZ kesykhrei
GK skriEn
GH kă-mô-rô
GS ki sre
NU yang
[S]lai=, mrang`
TR [S]a\ lai=, mrang`
CH [T,TT,C,J]ɟe
LP a-hryăn, sŭl-lă
JG [N]thát 'ày
[M]gAlang, rèn, ding loi
[Z]gălu ai (cf.Dimmasa lau)
LK sei
TI /sa:u, \sa:u
LA saâw
RO rogipa
BO láw, bong bong, zAngti
AB bo-dong, ai âr, a dong
KO low
DF âssă̊
MK keding, dinglep [G]ɟèng, ding

LOOK

WT ltas, mthong, bltas(I)
GC ka pya
GK kasru
GS ko na ro ro
NU yang
CH [T]ca
[TT]tsa
[J]tsAE, cAE
[C]tae
[TP]cI
[MA]kuAtiu
LP ngak, syi
JG [N]myí' mûu 'ây
[M]mÂdà yu, Awoi
[Z]yu ai
LU bih-, èn chhuâk
BA zauh
TI /en, _et, /da:k, \da:k
AO mazÜmalem, reprang
RO *ni-, amma
BO nay
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 [M]khÂran, syáp, gin ran, phyèm
[Z]raw ai
LK i-vei
AO chila, sala(V)
RO olgroka
BO gurÂy, gurung, new, tray tray(ADV), lung
AO e-rok, e-ngûn
KO juo
DF pûssû
MK sevaikrak
NW phen-e

LOSE

TB *ma-t
WT brleg pa
GC na ka rlak, ka khyos, ngA
GT yey psyit, mni khyos
GK lap'id
GS ko p'ud, ko sh'leg, kyong ki s'tsog
NU shamang, ămang [S]a\glai=, chat=
TR [S]a\măng=
CH [TP]ja\ [MA]daRuAr
LP fat, flek
JG [M]khAlùt, syAmàt, syung, súm, gòm
[Z]shámat ai, sum ai
LU chan=, tibo=
BA sung
TI \za:ng, _zat
LA thlaáw
AO endok, sama, tesama(N)
RO gimaa, bona, sia
BO kama
AB yong-mo, nyong-mo
KO ang ne, lomoh(N), mahpu(N)
DF nyim
MK ingbo, vir [G]pa-ngbò

LOST(GET-)

WT stor
GC ka sylot

LOW

TB *nyam
WT dma' po
GC ka men
GT ka manga
GK kAdman
GM kA ngman
GS ki d'man
NU ănem
CH [T,TT,J]be [C]ba
LP a-č'un, hol-lă
JG [N]ngyêm 'ây
[M]byèp, lAyang, nem, dom [Z]nem ai
LU hniăm
LK cho-kua
LA niăm, niăm
AO tekŭbok
RO onbatgipa, komibatgipa, mikoa
AB é-téd, ji-kong
KO bhieh
DF kotch [Y]auma [T]oma
MK ingdei, rem, -hop

MAD

WT	smyon ba
GC	ka snyo
GT	ka snyo
GS	kibs'nyo, ki b'smyo
NU	ma-ā
LP	a-jin
JG	[H]mÂna
	[Z]mâna ai
LU	â bǎw rǎw
AO	yiar
RO	jara, kore, pagla
BO	lÂliya, pagla, bÂr
AB	shi-mât
KO	ngapa
DF	rûgrâ
	[Y,T]rupa
MK	ingcham, padai

MAKE

WT	bzos pa, bgyis, bcas, byas
GC	ka pa
GT	ka sok
GH	pâng
GS	ko pe
NU	wa, shǎlè
LP	zuk, zo, fat, mat
JG	[Z]kâraw ai, di ai
LU	bawl=, beng= bél, siam=
LK	tu
NW	dayeke
AO	asü, yanglu, asÂ
RO	*dak-
BO	soday
AB	mo, i, pui
MK	thip, soi, bu, pinchong, sik
	[G]klém, semár, sonsé

MANY

TB	*mra
WT	mang po
GC	ka mi(myi) nga, wa mnyas
GT	ka ma nga
GZ	dzaspje
GK	mÂnad, wamjas
GM	kÂ ngk'an
GS	wa myes, wa myas
NU	bim
LP	gyap, a-jǔ
JG	[N]lǒ'lǒ'
	[M]dò? wà, gà dÀgà?, lan làk, sòng sòng
	[Z]law ai
LU	à sâwm_ à za_, hnèm, rip_
LK	zi
TI	/tam /pi:, /tam, \tam
LA	tâm, tăm
AO	aika
RO	*báng-
BO	ensÂ anlâ, babÂng
AB	bo-jé, alum mang, a-ràm-pe
KO	mae
DF	egå
MK	o, ong, akeongpi, menang

MARRY

WT	chang sa rgyab pa, 'khungs sa skyon pa
	mna' ma len pa
GC	ta rgyap ka sar
TR	sŭm=
JG	[Z]khŭnran ai, shălai ai
LU	umpî
MK	[G]ingri, che-èn, che-pa-chòr, sō pa-ngdòn

MEET

TB	*ngra
WT	thug pa
GC	ka rdo, ka mjal
GT	thun
GH	nâ-kâ-nâ-tû
GS	ko na rdo
NU	âhkim, âhtaw
	[S]aO=
TR	[S]aO=
CH	[TP]ngue-
	[MA]gzyA
LP	t'ŭt, tsüm
JG	[N]khrúm 'ây
	[M]khrúm, syÁlo, bòp lá
	[Z]khrum ai, kadut ai
LU	in_tawng=
LA	tóng, tŏn
AO	ajuru
RO	*mer-, *grong-
BO	lágA hóm, megónkeb
AB	rik
DF	û-rû-sû
	[Y,T]gueterrato
MK	pho, chetok, chetong, ingthum
NW	[S]cwan-e, mun-e

MELT

WT	bzhus
GC	kÁ Di
GT	ka ri, ka Di
GS	ki dri
NU	zer
LP	jŭ, syŭ
JG	[M]syÁbyo, syÁbyong, syÁtun, syÁkyâ, byo
	[Z]shabyu ai(VT), byu wa ai(VI)
LU	sawr=
AO	yimse
BO	goli, logay, awti, pomi
AB	jit
KO	chu ne
DF	jî
	[Y]dölla moto
	[T]dolla moto
MK	ingjir [G]ingjîr, pa-lang
NW	[S]nâ-ye, kâl-e

MEMORIZE

WT ngan la zim pa, blo la ngea pa
GC tA ru yo ka na
JG [N]mit lôu 'ây

MIX

TB *ryaw
WT bsre, bsdebs, bsnos
GC ka sa kyo lo(VT), kA kyo lo(VI)
GT tem
GS ko sa kyo lo, ko kyo lo
NU ăsu
LP kyol, t'yu, p'yo
JG [N]ka'yâw ka'yâa 'ây
[M]gÂyau, sying-lau
[Z]kăyau ai
LU chawh_ pawlh_
NW lwâkchyâ-ye
[S]kul-e, gwal-e, hin-e, chyâ-ye, bu-ye, wâl-e
LA cok
AO meyoktep
BO golay, pÂn
AB yél-shu
DF nêya, moya
[Y]moyo mŏchâto [T]moyo michato
MK pangvui [G]laytí, ingwûy, che-jú

MOVE

TB *mow
WT 'gul kyog rgyab
GC kÂ mA lmo, ka ka symi mot
GT ka wa tse let
NU ângăt shi, shit
TR ngat5 shiÂ4
LP tyŭ, nyang, ngang
JG [N]thôt 'ây
[M]lÂkhâ, lèm lèm, bû thòt, Alèm, bú wâ,a?-lêp, Awâm, sit
[Z]shămu ai, sit ai
LU chăng_, chè buan=, chêt pui=, del_chĕ
TI /ki:n, \ki:n, \ta"ng, _tat
LA caang, căng, kaăm, thoŏn
AO arakzŭ
RO jita, *ré-, dingdea, eka, ekata
BO maw, lârÂy
AB e-ngûn, be-leng, ngét
KO kem ne, poo ne
MK terek, hijuk, pepet [G]klèm, lôr, hijûk
NW [S]aan-e

NARROW

WT	dog po
GC	ko rban
GT	kok pa kor, ka ktsey
GZ	kecar
GS	ki kor
NU	ăsip
LP	a-pit, pŭng-bing-lă
JG	[N]khyip 'ây
	[M]tyúp tyúp, gyeng, gyip
	[Z]chyin ai
LU	kum=
LK	bua
AO	meaŭ
RO	apchangket, apchona
BO	geséb ,gezzer, séb
AB	a-jik, bor-mé
KO	hŭtpu, ti
DF	chíbû, tânya
MK	bihek, chengran

NEAR

TB	*ney
WT	thag nye po
GC	u re ka wat
GT	re ka wat
GZ	kekcin
GS	re wid
NU	yul
CH	[TT]žje
	[C]hza
LP	a-t'yeng, num-t'eng, t'ol
JG	[N]nîi 'ây
	[M]Anî, nî
	[Z]ni ai
LU	bi_chilh_, lăm hnaĭ
TI	-kiang, /na:i, \na:i
LA	naây
AO	anasa
RO	*se-pang, sambao, sepanggipa
BO	zing
AB	a-nin, mo-ngé
KO	ŭo, phin
DF	ăgûm-â-lâ
MK	tebok, adung, along

NEW

TB	*sar
WT	gsar
GC	ka syuk
GT	sar
GZ	kesyek
GH	ke-syik
GS	g'sar pe
NU	ang sarr
TR	aK5 sal5
LP	al, hlap, a-tsum
JG	[N]ning nân [M]N-nan, ning nan [Z]ning nan
LU	lam=, tha= lâm=, thâr
TD	athat
ME	ahal-ba
TI	-thak
LA	thâr, thar
AO	asen, tasen
RO	gital
BO	dan, gadan
AB	a-num a-ni, bûk, shûr
KO	Ula
DF	nît
MK	akemi

OLD

TB	*(s-)raw. *r-ga
WT	rnying pa
GC	kạ mco, ka Nbi
GT	ka rnyom, ka rpi
GK	rko
GH	kâ-woi, ta-môr, kâ-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 sâa [Z]ningsa ai, tingsa ai [M]N-sâ, ding-sâ, lâgâ, Asâk, gâlû
LU	hlun_, un_
LK	pa-ro
TI	-lu:i, -ta:k, \ta:k, -xa:t, \xa:t, -ha:m
LA	hlûn, tár
AO	ajen, tain, tejen, tasa, ktem
RO	gitcham
BO	baray, gazam, bataý
AB	a-ku, in
KO	Ulang
DF	kûchchû
MK	saru, aban, hoko, a-ko [G]chin, barim

OLD(AGED)

WT	s/rgad po
GT	ka mthen
GK	rgapo
GM	kA-mco
GW	awú
NU	ăsa
LP	ta-ngot, pa-nyóm, nŭm-prum, rang-rit
JG	[N]'a'sák ka'pâa 'ây [M]gin-sâ, ding-la, sâ, Âsâk kÂbâ [Z]tingla ai, kumgai ai
LK	paw pi, pa-ro
RO	bedepa, buchuma
AB	mui-jing, mi-ne
KO	wupa, wunyu
DF	nyekâm
MK	sar, aki, ako, aban, sarpi, búrâ

OPEN

TB	*pu, *ka
WT	dbye, phyes
GC	ka tun, ta ka pye
GT	komtsa ka tun
GN	guci c'ie
GS	ko py'e
GW	zyji
NU	hpu, yan [S]tan`
TR	[S]tan`
CH	[L]zyge [TT]ge [C]hji [TP]xqie^ [MA]rga
LP	fót, ók, gang, ga:r
JG	[M]Ô?, sùm khân, dâgân [Z]hpaw ai [A]phongi
LU	hawng_, ang=, parh_, phĕn, tho, angg=
TI	-xa:k(A), \xa:k(A)
LA	qóng
AO	satak, ala, lapok, sala, aka
RO	oa, bangbang(A), porongrong(A)
BD	blang, geng(VI), gew(VI), gekeng, bisi, si
AB	shig-ya, tam-lât
KO	ep, ep ne
DF	mako
MK	ingpu, kangthei, phlok [G]êk, jây-dâk
NW	[S]kan-e, phen-e, ul-e, câl-e

ORDER

WT	bka' btang pa
GS	ke'i ko g'nang, kib'ka na ka g'uang
NU	dăsu, dăzărr
LP	a-t'yen, byent'o
JG	[N]sha'ngûn 'ây
	[Z]shăngu ai
LA	caq
AO	managaba, tatongi, mela(V)
RO	hukum onna, gé-et-
AB	rép-shing
KO	ngaokeang pha ne
DF	barû(N)
MK	hukum, pinkhat, phar

PAINFUL

TB	*na, *tsa
GC	ka ma rtsap, ka zor
GT	de dzor, zur
GK	aytu, kâ-zur
GS	tis s'kru
NU	za
	[S]za'
TR	[S]dza'
CH	[T,TT]zye
	[C]hje
	[TP]zye^
	[MA]rji
LP	a-dăk
JG	[A]malci?2
	[M]dûk khâ?, Atsâ?
	[Z]măkret măchi ai
AO	tanguba, tekang ahi, angu(V)
RO	saa, sadika
AB	dig,ki
KO	takpu
DF	atch
MK	keso, keduk, sa [G]pe-sô, krû

PAINT

TB	*(r-)tsây
WT	tshon btang pa
GT	?ar tsi ka lat
GS	m'ts'on r'tse
NU	za
LP	ts'ân
JG	[M]tya
	[Z]chya ai
MK	alir

PEEL

GC ka khak
GT bre ?u Ndei ka se ta
NU ang-sè, sil
[K]le
LP lí, pǎ-sók
JG [M]khùt, sèp, gó
[Z]sep ai
LU vèl
LA thoq
RO okea, aiksika
BO zrid, baklay, lèb, zír
AB a-shik lot-pak, shér
KO katlak ne, kat ne
DF okr, krepâ
[Y]fafato [T]pkhakhato
MK rot, hek, ti chongsek
[G]ingphrûn, ingaír, tí

PLANT

TB *dzu[:]k
GC ta rpi ka lat
GT ta rpu ka lat
GK ka-rji
GW phya
NU [K]?dam
CH [L]phya
[C]pche
[J]phyAE
JG [M]khaí(V), khaí rám(N)
[Z]khai ai, ting ai
LU kûng\
LA tuq, phuûn, cíng, cĭn
AO atem
RO ge-
BO pipáng, puli
KO pebhau

PLAY

TB *r-ca:y
WT rtsed mo rtsed pa, bkrol
GC tA Nbri ka pa
GT briy ka pa
GZ (na)rgjang
GK kenpre
GS ti n'bri'i
LP a-lyÁm
JG [N]kínaúp 'ây
[A]cai3
[M]gAsóp, ayÁngoi, ayÁtyai, Abyoi, khot, Araí tyai
[Z]kahsu pai, chyai ai
LU chaih_, fam=
TI -mo:l, \mO:l
LA lek, leq, tûm, tum/
AO asaya, sayi, lemta
RO kar-, kala
AB so-mân
KO won ne, wûng ne
DF sâ-min
MK chelem, jui [G]khérke-klém, pa-thû, lêm

POUND(GRIND)

GC ka stsu
JG [Z]htu ai, dup ai
DF [Y]fûto, chitto(=THRUST)
[T]khûto, jitto(=THRUST)
MK [G]che-thâng

POUR

TB *r-lu-w, *m-lu-w, *sywar
WT blug pa, ldug pa, bcugs
GC ka rko, ka lat
GT ka rkut
GS na r'kod
NU htum, up
TR pA5 tom4
LP lĕk, hyel, hsk, nyór, cho:r
JG [M]rú, jó, rú bang, rú kaú
TI /sung, \sun
LA suûn,suun, thleêt
AO zÂok, zok
RO paka
BO hÂsÁ, lokób
AB pui, pur, yar, tong
KO yei ne
DF tâ
MK kip, thong, dung, thek, cole
[G]pa-típ, ingbé, kip, cho-lè

PULL

TB	*ton
WT	then, btogs, drangs
GC	ka Nthen, na ka ra syi
GT	ka ra syi
GS	ko ru shu
NU	shăl, dázăn, hpăt
TR	kÂl
CH	[TT]twe [C]htwa [J]htye
LP	dot
JG	[N]kàng ’ày [A]tun3 [M]khyìng, bó, gang, Ákhyìk, rùn, gÀròt, Ápun [Z]dun ai, gang ai, gawawt ai, karawt ai
BA	zek, nûk, thek, lîk
TI	\ka:i, _kai?, -sa:n, _sat
LA	diÎr, dirq, khaáy
AO	atsŭ, tokzÀk
RO	sala, sar
NW	thun-e
BO	bÂ, bÁka, dihún, bokó
AB	so, bu, kîng, shéng
DF	pu, se
MK	vung, sang, dat [G]sàn, wùng

PUSH

WT	’bi ’jag rgyab pa
GC	ka trhak, na ka pya
GT	pak cis ka lat
GA	vÂ-rk’aŬ
GS	di dis sid
NU	dahpat [S]dar\
TR	[S]nOl-, dU\glO?-
CH	[TP]sI\chi- [MA]chu
LP	nák, nát, nun, hôl, so:r
JG	[N]ka’nóng ’ày [M]nóng, Áthù khrá [Z]kănawng ni
LU	năm
LK	hrei
TI	-sa:i, \sa:i
LA	tuÛl, tuŭl, năm, năm, sôm
AO	anung, nungten, sÁrem
RO	jita, jitpaka, sik-, draa, sikjita
BO	nár, séb
AB	níng, ig, yut
NW	chya-e [S]khwâ-ye, ghwâ-ye
KO	sung ne
DF	tû [Y]tungto [T]tuto
MK	doi, ingbei, sor [G]ingbêy, dòy

PUT

TB	*ta
WT	bzhag pa, bkram, bstad, btsud, bskyogs
GC	ka tha, na ka tha
GT	ka tha
GK	tA lat
GH	rkŭt, rkŏ
GS	ko te
NU	dăain
LP	dya, t'o, lòt t'ap, tham
JG	[N]tôn tá 'ây
	[M]dim, dn, dàt, bàn,dík, rô?, syÁdún, tòn, dá,
	toi [Z]tā ai, tawn ai, bang ai
LU	dah_, chih(PUT-ON)
LA	thûn
NW	[S]sin-e, ta-ye
HY	ta
AO	ayu enok
RO	don-, sik-(INSERT), dontonga(PUT-OFF)
BO	dán, gobray, sÁ, kÁrÁb, pÁsÁm, gÁmÁr, zÁ'b
AB	le, mé, le-shi
DF	âp, kă-g
MK	bi, cheum, pindeng, sumpot
	[G]che-bí, bí, raí

PUT IT AWAY

GC	wu bu ka pa

PUT IT IN

GC	ka rko

PUT IT OUT

GC	ka skhet

PUT ON

TB *buw, *kwa-n, *pun
WT gon, gyon, mchod
GC ka wat
GT ka wat
GK ka wue
GS ta wod, ti we ta wod
GW kawán, gwu
NU gwa, sărim rim
[S]mŌ?=, gwa', gŎ?=, gui=
TR [S]mŌ?=, gwa=, gŌ=
CH [TT,C]gwÁ [TT]tsywU [C]ptsyU
[TP]guÁ- ta- [MA]guÁ ta
LP bŭ
JG [N]phûn 'ây
[M]Á?ni, bû, dân, phyém, tyóp
[Z]hpun ai
LU bât, bih_, ha_, hreng=, in_bân_
BA a fenh
LK a-sia
TI _sil?, _bat
LA dăn, dân ,hrûk, hruq, khaăy, khâyq, veêng, veĕn,
khap, kharq, qorq
AO aben
RO ganna
BO zám, dala
AB ge
NW ti-ye [S]phi-ye, pun-e, si-ye, ti-ye, pu-ye
KO olak ne
DF kă
[Y]koto
MK chingthang, pum, sek, pindeng
[G]î-lók, pe pe-i, pindéng

QUIET

TB *ngoy, *syim(DARK)
GC ka ksyin
GT ka ksyen
GS wu k'e ki mi ni, ki g'shen
LP tŭr-fyang
JG [M]Asyim, Asim, Atsin [Z]akăsi
LU thim
LA daăy, dayq
AO ajem, ola madokdaktsŭ, tekara
RO sim
BO ari
AB ning, ngi
MK asot, dojoi
[G]thêt, klîp, kûk

RAIN

TB	*r-mAw, *r-wa(N)
WT	char ba btang pa
GC	tu-mu kA lat
GT	da mu ka lat
GZ	charna(N)
GK	char nag(N)
GM	tAmu(N)
GS	ch'ar nag
NU	ser(N) [S]năm'za?=
TR	[S]năm'dza?=
CH	[L]mArU [TT]mAEzyi [C]mAri [TP]xja- [MA]mARe
LP	so(N)
JG	[N]ma' ràng thû 'ày [Z]mărang htu ai [M]mArang(N)
LU	ruah_sûr=
LK	sua(N), va a sua
AO	taũng lu aru
RO	*wa-, mikha waa
BO	ha, táy
AB	pe-dong(N)
KO	wai gei ne
DF	dódóng, nyadang
MK	arve(N) [G]arwè jáng

RAISE

WT	bteg, balanga, bagrenga
GC	ka syu rwas
JG	[Z]sharawt ai
NW	tachâ-ye
MK	jár-phòr

RAW

WT	rjem pa
GC	kur nyi
GT	kur di
NU	azum [K]?dip
LP	a-zum
JG	[M]grèn
LU	hěl
LK	hlia
AO	tazũ
AB	lè, ya-ing
DF	dinle
MK	veiak

READ
WT klog, bklags
GC ta-tha ka pa, na ka lok
GT ta na ku u long
GH lŏk
GS ko s'lag, ko zle
GW tat'ánanatsu
NU [S]dOn\
TR [S]dOn^{H}, ʒŎʔ^{H} syU\
CH [TP]xdy- [MA]zdU̲
LP hlok, rok
JG [N]lâỳ kâa thíi 'ây [Z]hti ai, hpat ai
LU chhiar=
BA rêl
LA sïar
AO azŭng !RO *po-ra-i
BO poray
KO eilak ne
MK teram, phuri [G]ka-chelâng, porhí

RECALL
GC au-ao ka pa

RECEIVE
GC ka nA sythit
GS ko pye, no nang
NU lu, ăhtăp shi
LP vyón lyo
JG [M]khAlûm, khàp khAlûm, syAsyón
[Z]khap la ai, lu ai
LU dawng=
LK to
TI _nga?
LA ngaq
AO agigŭk, tagizŭba(N) !RO *rim-
AB pâng
KO ponpu
MK long, deng, chak

RECOVER
WT drag pa
GC ka mA na
GT wu go ma
GS wu go ti m'nas
NU yang, ăhtang shi
LP lót sá
JG [M]bran [Z]pai tu ai, khrup ai(FIND)
BO hanglób
DF âl duk
MK methu, jorji

RED

TB	*kyeng, *r-ni, *tya-n, *cak
WT	dmar po
GC	ka wu rni
GT	ka wu rni
GK	kAwurni
GH	kâ-wûr-nî
GS	ki wu r'ni
GW	orní, nhA
NU	zárr, mášè
TR	pu5sai4
CH	[TT]ñi [C,J]ñhi
LP	a-hyir, lŭk-lók-lă
JG	[N]'a' khyèn [M]Akhyeng, N-khye, a-?mang [Z]cheng ai
LU	hlui=sen=, tâi_
TI	_san
LA	sén
AO	temerem
RO	gitchakgipa, pring-sengmitchi
BO	zá, tAygA/(=BLOOD)
AB	líng
KO	ŭtak, takupu(N)
DF	lauichî [T]ge-nya'
MK	ke-er, erdang [G]èr

REJOICE

GC	ka ni syet(IPF), ka nga(PFT)

RELEASE

WT	bkrol
GC	ka tat
NU	[S]lang`
TR	[S]lang=
CH	[TP]sye= [MA]chi
JG	[N]tát 'ây [Z]tat tat ai
NW	phyan-e [S]hyâu
DF	[Y]tŏfflyato [T]tŏkhyato

REMAIN

WT sdad pa
GC ka nyi
GH nĕn
GS di ke nyis, ki ri, ki g'nas, lus pa
NU ăl, ăchè
LP k'i, gyam, ngan, bam,
JG [M]âp
[Z]nga ai(STAY), ngam ai(LEFT) LU lum_,
nî lêng, nî lêng piâp, cham=bang=
LK y
TI -tha:m
LA riâk, riaq(STAY-OVER)
AO ata ali
RO bakki, watchanggipa, bokamgipa
BO tang
AB dung
KO tuopa(N)
MK thoi, dokok, dothak
NW len-e

REPAIR

WT bzo bcos rgyab, gsos pa, balan pa
GC ka sna skik<*ka sA nA skik
GT sman co ka pe(CURE)
GS zhe g'so ko pe
NU dăsip [S]zap=
TR [S]aU\lan=
CH [MA]cinyi
LP pă-nap mat, lyót zuk
JG [M]nyi
[Z]kram ai, sa ngaw ai, aye ai[Shan]
LU chei=bawl=
RO taria, namata
EO paham
AB tên
KO shiep, lingeyi
DF ma-tîn
MK keroi, pidiovet, chedam
NW [S]lhwan-e

REST

TB	*na
WT	ngal bso byas pa, gnas pa
GC	ka na, ka ne na
GT	ka ni pa
GS	ki ni ne
LP	da, jă, gór
JG	[M]sá? [Z]hsa ai, yup ai, shănit ai(LEAN)
LU	châwl_
AO	anisüngzük
BO	dAmAy
AB	a-pé
KO	toloimei
DF	då-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
GK	kachod
GN	loyünyá
GH	mọ̆-dộ
GS	ki ngk'or
NU	law, ahtang
·	[S]lŏ?=, blă?=
TR	[S]lŏ?=, a\ blă?=
CH	[TT,C,J]ba
LP	len cik, lót byi, tso:k
JG	[N]wâa lá 'ày
	[A]wal, nlthang3
	[M]lai, sAngn, sum-tháng, syAbai
	[Z]wa ai
LU	hawng
BA	a kîr
NW	lihẫ-wan-e
TI	_lE?, _cia?_cia?
LA	kiîr, tlûng
AO	meyip
RO	pir-, onpilla
BO	paypin
AB	bi-lât, gi-lât
KO	leihyi ne
MK	thon, viophak
	[G]che-rùy, che-wôy(=GO HOME)

RICH

WT	dzig po
GC	ka ma sye
GT	ka ma sye
GZ	tasyi
GM	kA ma syiE
GH	kă-mâ-syî
GS	ti r'gyu, ki ma shi
NU	ăda, i-sit ăda
TR	mA5 kamî
LP	ka-ka nyim-bo
JG	[M]lù sú, sùt lù
	[Z]hsut hsu ni
LU	chăng tlŭng
LK	khô haw
TI	\ha:u, _hau?
LA	liăn, lên
AO	takar
RO	mane chagipa, rajani machong
BO	gabang
AB	mi-rém
KO	hakpa
DF	nyettŭ
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 ahi
	[S]syOn=
TR	jÖt= syU\, syOn=
CH	[TT,C,J,MA]tsa
	[TP]tsa-
LP	t'ul
JG	[N]côn 'ày
	[M]jaû, jò(VT)
	[Z]jawñ ai
AO	asang
KO	ong ne
MK	ardon

RIPE

TB *s-min
WT smin
GC smin
GT smin
GK smi
GH nă-krap
GS ki s'min
LP a-krum, a-pyak, a-măn
JG [N]min 'ây
[M]myin, syàm
LU char=sâ, hmin=, tâi_
TI -ga:u, \ga:u
LA dûm, hmin
AO tamen, tashi,
RO minna, *min-
ME mul-ba, amul-ba
BO gâmân
AB min
KO yim, nyiem
DF nyingna
[Y]minpa
[T]mindo
MK men
[G]ingchó, phù, mèn

RISE

TB *syar
GC was, tsho(SUN-)
GS ki was, ki tso
NU bawng, hkong shi
LP hróng, ding, bol
JG [M]ing, tung, jan pru, u, rûm, rôt, ât
[Z]rawt ai
LU thŏ harh_
TI /thou, _thO?
AO adok, atu
RO chuani, chakatani
BO gupung
AB shâng, da-rop, pu-lêm
KO ongpu
DF gorâb, hûtchâ
[Y]nâchato [T]nachato
MK thur, arlu, arjap, arong vang
NW [S]lu-ye, than-e

ROB
WT phrogs
GC ka yo
JG [Z]hpya ai

ROTTEN
WT rus pa, rul
GC na ka chi
GT dnyer
LP hryup, ayon, sa̍-byót, sop, a-but
AB yang, ra, in(WORN-OUT)
DF yanna
MK thuvok [G]pe-mō

ROUGH
TB *gram
WT gyong po
GC ksyi kren
GT ksyi krak
GS ki sam sag, kla klo, ki r'god
NU ma̍ ra
LP pŭr-nat, -aót, -tot-la̍, brop
JG [M]khAlik khAlók, mAzèp, sying jú, ting grèn, Apùt
Apát, gin bong, Anàt, Akron
[Z]n ra ai, lăja ai
LU buan=, buk_, bùm boh_, chê hraw_, ră̍m, thĕ̍r
LK phawh
AO memedema\
RO tesepra
BO berka berki, rAdi, regéw, zAr, ográ ogri
AB ji-kong gí-tung, lu-yi lu-shang
KO leb
DF hû
MK kindeng, phroi-phrok

ROUND
WT mtha' skor du, nyen kor du
GC u shes ku, u yu khyoy
GT ?a rkus
GS pyog b'zhi n'ch'ams br'gyad
JG [M]grup\grup\, gu\khra\
AO meketa, ajaklen
RO duulgipa, plakchin
AB gong, bil-go, gi-go
KO khongkŭmpu
DF [Y]kungkē yungé bo
[T]kugŏrrméga
MK komjir, bithe bitha
[G]bông-lông

RUB

WT 'phur pa, drud
GC ka kle
NU ăzip shi, ser
[S]a\khrit=
TR [S]a\ngUt=, a\krUt=
CH [TP]je-
[MA]syama
LP krip, klit, ngok, ne
JG [N]ka'taût 'ây
[M]gaaût, Akhût, Anût, Ajót, sôt, ding grêt, Arit
[Z]arut ai, găn̆un ai
LU nuai=, zût=
LK cha nô, a-si
LA nuáy, nŭay
AO menokshi
RO *ip-bak-, ipaka, nata, nate, gala
BO hu, kán
AB not, ner, yon, yit
KO shid ne
DF ne-khrâ
[Y]mèguèto [T]mêto
MK hi, koi, ven, vit, henot

RUN

TB *plong
WT rgyug pa
GC rgik, na ka rkyuk
GT ka nga nak(FAST)
GA rtsa-jAk
GS ki na r'gyug
NU dăhtŭrr shi, ă-gyer
[S]a\gŬi=, dO'
TR tol5 sbiA4
[S]a\gŬi=, dO'
CH [TP]kA-, gu^gu- [MA]kA
LP dang, hlyan, tet, tor, plyón
JG [N]kât 'ây
[A]khom3
[M]gât, nêp bô?, phrong, brung, phyi?
[Z]katai, păkat ai, hprawng ai
LU ding, tlăn
TI -ta:i, \ta:i
LA tlaăn
RO *kat-, kata, gimaa
AB duk, bit, eng, nyol
KO phet ne, phettai ne
DF [Y]farrto [T]kharrto
MK arplong, ik [G]arplông, kât-klîp
NW [S]bwâ-ye, li-ye

SAD

WT	sems skyo po
GT	?a sem ku Ntuk, ka co
NU	mit sam
JG	[N]yòn ’ày [Z]masin kăji ai
TI	_da?
AO	jashi
RO	duk onggipa
BO	zingga, dAmAy
AB	ăng-o
KO	mongmeang
MK	ning keduk

SALTY

WT	tsha khu yod pa
GT	nya de thak
GW	khạ
NU	shăla ĥka ê
CH	[TT,C,J]qha
LP	sór
JG	[M]Asyum, jùm khâ, syum
LA	qál
RO	kari nanga, brama
BO	hób, báb
AB	alo ti
MK	ingti kedok

SAY

WT	bzlas, bsgos, zer pa
GC	zyu
GK	ka-zyI, kA tsI
GH	ŭsyĭạt, tson
GS	ko tsis
NU	shin, wa
LP	lí, dun, frông
JG	[N]kâa tsûn ’ày [A]tsyn3 [M]khai, syAnâ, syi tsun [Z]sun ai, ngu ai
LU	\a hrilh_, zai=
BA	sim
LK	bi chho
TI	\ci:, _ci?
LA	trông
AO	ashi
NW	dhâ-ye, kan-e
RO	*-na, sgana, aganna
BO	bung
AB	em, lu, po
KO	ine, ilak ne
DF	ben [Y]binto [T]béto
MK	pu, thak

SCOLD

WT	bshad bshad btang pa, bstings
GC	ka na sngo
NU	d'rer
JG	[N]ka'cây 'ày [Z]dăru ai
LU	trhim, an-khùm
LK	chho-rei
TI	/ta:i, \ta:i
LA	koôk
AO	artaū
RO	saia
BO	kApAntay, ray
AB	gé
KO	tilake ne
DF	jăb
MK	tam, ington [G]tăm, honthé

SCRATCH

TB	*hyak, *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	măhé, masa
LP	krôn, kôr, hut, lya
JG	[N]ma'chît 'ày [Z]măchyit ai, makret ai [M]Agrét, Aphré, Aphrí?, rát, mArèt, Akhrai
TI	/tha:i, \tha:i, -phuai, \phuai
LA	khewq
AO	anak RO *ku-ak-, kuaka, seeta, mata
BO	ér, kay, hangkiyay
AB	ok, găng, bat, ke-jok
DF	hăs, ho [Y,T]hakto
MK	phuk, choprak, arke, kechorke

SEARCH

WT	'tshal pa
GC	sar
GT	ka ru
GK	kA-sIE1
NU	la, shùp
LP	dong
JG	[N]tăm 'ày [Z]tam ai, krawk ai, hsawk ai [M]gAsók, Asai yu, brám, gón
AO	ala !RO ama
BO	bisray, naygri
AB	ta, ma, ma-gong
KO	yem ne
DF	[Y]sorato [T]sâroto
MK	ri(-et)

SEE

TB *mrang
GC kÂ mto, na tso
GT ka na tsu
GZ metang
GK kamÂtÂo, kanamnyo
GH nâ-kâ-me-t'o
GS na sam to, ko ron, ko sa myeg
NU yang [K]zan
CH [TP]tsia- [MA]tsi
LP syi, hyón, ngak, syi;m
JG [N]myi' yùu 'ây [A]mu1
[M]lApin, myi? yu, myi? mù, syAlo [Z]mu ai
LU hmu_, hmuh_
BA muh
TI \mu:, _mu?
NW so-ye [S]awa-ye, khan-e, ken-e
AO angu, sak, si
RO *nik-
BO nú
AB kâng, kâ-pâ
KO how ne, ngi ne
DF kâ [Y]kâ-to [T]ka-to
MK lang, thek, char

SEIZE

GC ka pya
LP ki, ki:t
AO aki
MK chekip [G]ót-dòng
NW [S]jwan-e

SELL

TB *par, *ywar
WT btsongs pa
GC ka mphar
GT ka mphar
GW kamp'ár, po15
NU nÃm [K]ka:i
CH [L]bu 31 [TT,C,J]pha
LP ŭl
JG [N]tut 'ây [M]dût, jìk ya [Z]dut ai
NW miyâ [S]cu-ye, chu-ye, mi-ye
TI _zuak, \zuak
LA zúar
AO ayok, tayoker(SELLER)
RO *par-, pala
AB ko, ré
KO yŭo ne
DF prû [Y]pokto [T]puto
MK jor

SEND

WT btang pa, brdzangs
GC ka lat
GT ka lat
GZ syang
GH rĭng
GS ko wa pre, ko lad
NU dăzărr, shări
[S]sa`
TR [S]sO=
LP klong, săl, tăl, krŏm
JG [N]sha'ngùn 'ây
[A]sai
[M]syÀgún, syÀbón(-AWAY), syÀbai(-BAGC)
[Z]htet ai, hsa ai, shagun ai, shabawn tat ai
LU kal-tir=, chah_
TI /xa:k, \xa:k
LA kûat
AO yok, shiok
RO watata, watatsoa
NW co-ye
BO tÀm, tinhôr, tin
AB bi-lik, gi-mo
KO son ne
DF ben-lû, ji-lû
MK toi, pha, lo, teram

SEPARATE

WT 'phral ba, bral
GT ka pet
GS na ki kro'u
NU ăwăl,dăban tăga i
LP kang t'o, ting, bryât, phat, pho:t, phak, hyÀl hal
JG [N]ka'rán 'ây
[A]kai zyan2
[M]bùng khai, ging khâ?, jÀkhâ?, ran , râ?
[Z]kăran ai, je ai, chăkha ai
BA then
NW phâ-ye
TI -hal, \hal, /dei, \dei
AO balaka, pila, rasa, rashi, pakma, sadang
RO gipen, dingtang, ekata, dingtangata
BO awdal, gubun, ran , zuda. bÀkÀr
AB i pan-shu, mo-yâng
KO tempu, yoiyoi
DF ŭ-pîn-sûm
Mk paprek, bahak, kak, phat, hak [G]kŏy, mit

SEW

TB *pyâr, *drup
WT drubs
GC to-trop ka ps, ka trop
GT ka trup
GZ trep, tram
GK ka-cup
GH tup
GS ti trob kipe
NU hpa, dasè
[S]khrUp
TR [S]krUp=
CH [TT,T]zyi [C]rari
LP hrap
JG [M]chùy 'ây
[M]tyAwi, tyui
[Z]chwi ai
AO aw
RO aka, koa
AB om, om kâp
KO shŭng ne
DF homb [Y,T]hamto
MK roi
NW [S]su-ye

SHAKE

WT bkrug bkrug btang pa, bsnems, bskyams
GC na ke śa so lo do ngos, ta ka aymu
GT ka sa te lək
GA mu-mu
GS ki ngdər, ki wa tsi led ko pe
NU shp'rr, achang
LP kram, krôp, nyak, tyu, 'ayung
JG [N]sha'múu 'ây
[M]mÂngàt, Ânôn Aayûn, phaî zî?, Ânôn Anân, aphu syÂrun
[Z]shamawl ai, ashun ai
LU sâwi
LK cha-chhao, tho
AO anokahi, hijir
RO moa
BO samaw, samo, zangkray, pÂsri, sitibrab
AB e-ngûn, beleng, e-puin
KO shuilak ne
DF hŭdin, yâdin
MK klem, hijuk, herak [G]klém, lór

SHARP

TB *s-ryam, ɔthak
WT rno po
GC ka mcok
GT ka la, swa ta la
GS ki m'ts'ar
GW tse
NU dè, wè
[K]pan(V)
CH [L]ce [TT]sUce
LP jăk, lăt-bo
JG [N]tây 'ây
[M]dìng grèn, mAgrà, mAsà?, daí, grà
[Z]tai ai
LU bak-, fĺk riaŭ
LK hrai chhi, tia
TI -hiam, \hiam, -ma:
AO techira
RO matsramgipa, srama, kaa
BO gAbAw, garab, hang, ún
AB rât, nâm-jong
KO mŭmpu, ŭok
DF lâr
[Y]sukto [T]suto(=POINT [V])
MK kare [G]rè
NW [S]nwa-ye, ja-ye, jwa-ye(V)

SHOOT

TB *ga:p
WT me mda' rgyab pa
GC syamdu ka lat
GT nyem can ka lat
GS ko lad
NU hwăp
[S]ap=
TR [S]ap=
CH [TP]qha- [MA]qhur
LP a-gi, a-nyak, a-jok, o:p, a-yo:p
JG [M]gàp
[Z]gap ai
LK ka
TI -za:m, \za:m, /ka:p, \ka:p
LA kaâp, kaq
AO aka
RO go-
AB âp, pât
DF âb, â
MK ap, bop

SHORT

WT thung thung
GC ka kchen, ?khyen
GT ka kchen
GM kA kcAn
GS ki g'chen
NU git, htut
CH [T,TT,J]tjo
LP ngal, ten, tul
JG [N]ka'tûu 'ây
[M]Atót, gót, lAbót, dók, gAdùn, tom, tu
[Z]kǎdun ai
LU bě̌ln, biag-, chên_, chhing=, chlung=, pi=, zǐng
LK chyu, pa-chho
TI \saa, _sap(SHORT OF)
LA toôy
AO tatsü
RO alabok, dodibok, kandekgipa
BO bawnang, dubí, gusung, sungdûng, satiya, tempra
AB an-deng, pu-tu
KO shuoh
DF ottû, kotch(LOW)
[Y]jenggung [T]jügü
MK thihek, thibong, mo

SHOUT

WT skad rgyab
GC skat ka lat, ta ri sna len
GT ska ka lat
NU gaw
CH [TT]h̲uzya
[C]ǧwi
[J]ǧwAzya
LP pro hut
JG iA]ngun2, aya1kạ2
[M]tyɨ, gArû, gîn-tân
[Z]shǎtau ai
AO ayimten, asa
RO inchroa(N), grapa(N)
BO dobdopay, hosí
AB ku, jéng
KO wün
DF nâ
MK kabohong, kaserlang [G]pe-èr, hâng

SHOW

WT stan pa
GC ka sro, na tso
GT dstet
GK kat'A
GS ko shu t'id
NU dăhtăn
LP nyăt
JG [N]tân 'ây
[M]mAtûn, brèng, byà?, tyAdàn, dân, mAdûn
[Z]dan ai, tan ai
LU hmuh_tir=
BA muh tir, zauhtir
LK pa-mo-sa
TI _lak, _la?
NW kene
AO sayu
RO mesoka
BO dAykinti
AB kâ mo, léng-kan, ko-in
KO damasa, how ne
DF kà-kîn, kâ-tŭm
MK peklang, pethek, kelan

SING

WT gzhas btang pa
GC kA bzyi ka pa, ka pje na ka pa
GT ka rgyas ka pa
GS ka l'de, ta tsu'u ri'i
NU langhong hong, măsham
[S]gŬ?=, tsang\kO=
TR [S]măn=ju=wa\`
CH [T,TT,C]jo [J]hjo
[TP]zyo^ [MA]zyarmacA
LP văm, mat, lik
JG [A]tan2
[M]mÂngol, syAngon, tyûn
[Z]măkhawn ai, măjan jan ai, njun jun ai, shing ngawn ai
LU sa_
BA sak
TI \sa:, _sak
AO ken aten
RO ringa, agana
BO mokó, razáb
AB de-lo mo, ne-ném lu
KO lak ne
DF ben
MK lun

SINK

TB *lip, *ni[:]p
WT ʻdim pa
GC ka rlam
GT ka rnak
GS ki t'im, ki l'jo
NU hti hka ăhtin
LP nyet ngan, hyóm
JG [M]gìn lût, tûng
[Z]htin ai, lup wa ai
LA pil
AO telungi ai, yimok
RO dubia
BO trÁb, toblό, zohόb, gÁrA/, dubAy(VT), dubi(VI), pÁrA/(VT)
AB jing-âng, jing â-lik
DF lûm
[Y]pongl5kto [T]puluto
MK inglim, jang, tili [G]è

SIT

TB *pam, *du:ng
WT adad
GC nyi
GT nyi
GK ka-nA
GM ka-nyi
GS na nun
NU rung, bim
[S]rOng=
TR [S]rOng`
CH [TP]dzo- [MA]dzu
LP ngan
JG [N]tùng ʻây
[M]dung, nit
[Z]dung ai
LU trhu=, awp_, mâwng hûng=, to=, trhut_rèm
LA toów
AO amen
RO *a-song-
BO zό, zogrόb, zutum
AB dung
KO shot ne
DF då
[Y]yepto(SLEEP), nyema [T]yepto, mâna
MK ingni
NW di-ye, cwan-e

SLEEP

TB	*yip, *r-/s-mwAy, *nyit
WT	gnyid khu
GC	ka rma, ka rnyi
GA	jA̱y
GT	nyo, ka rma
GZ	karmje
GK	kA-rmiE
GH	zô
GS	ti myed ki yu
GW	kormán, zyu, ne
NU	ip [S]jUp=
TR	[S]Ip=
CH	[T,TT,C,J]ne [L]je [T]maje [TT]mAEje [TP]ne= [MA]nU̱
LP	mik krap
JG	[N]yúp 'ây [A]jup2 [Z]yup ai
LU	chang=puI dûr_, mùhil_
BA	it
LK	mo-ku(SLEEPY)
NW	de-ye [S]den-e, then-e
LA	qit
AO	amu, mejang(tsŭ)
RO	tusia, *tu-ai-
BO	murú, putú, 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	'drid dag shor
GC	sa Ngyo
GT	da kur wa
GS	ki sa gyo
NU	âhkvat, âba ădil
LP	syâl mŭk nong, yót, hŭm
JG	[M]gAzót, mAlú?, gùm-tsùn [Z]kăshăwt ai
LU	pelh_, tleù
AO	aju, ajudok
RO	soltapa, gasoltapa, sriksrik kata, gimmaa
BO	delem, dArAd, gó, sokó, gulum(A)
AB	yul-lâp-shu, lat-pé-shu
KO	ŭphŭn, lieglak ne
DF	geddana [Y]dolitto [T]duli' guêto
MK	chekoi, ingrei

SMALL

TB *zAy
WT chung chung
GC ka ktsey
GT ka ktsey
GK kÁgtsei
GH kă-tsai
GS ku tse'i
NU săm
CH [T]cwA [TT]cwU, pAche [C]pcU, pAtchi [J]pcU, pAche
LP cum-bo, kŭp, tan-bo, tyăk-bo
JG [M]N-ji, kyí, mÁji, nùm-ji, ták, ték, Aloí [Z]kaji ai
LU bû chip_, dăw rawm=
LK cha-di
TI /nE:u, \nE:u
AO tenem nem
RO ontiti, chona, ontisa, dongja, *con-
BO bangáy, dikûra, ka , milA/w, sá, undÁy, tirgá
AB a-mé, an-jo, an-ji, a-shut-ko
KO ajengha, djoiha
DF ainyÜ [Y]inchungna, ajengpa [T]inchuna, ejido
MK ao, bihek, akebi, binei

SMELL

TB *m-nam, *sung
WT snum, snom, bsnams, bsnums
GC nam nam
GT ka na mnem, wu ri ka na mnem
GK NÁ-cI miE
GH mĭ··nŏm
GS wu ri(N)
GW mhe
NU hpănam
CH [TT]mhi [C]mhje
LP nóm, nyóm
JG [N]ma'nâm 'ây [Z]mănam ai [M]mÁnam, Aphu, sing, sÁjàp, sÁmà?
LU hnim_, nam=
ME nam ba
LK pa-hna
TI -nam, \nam, _nap
LA nám, năm
AO menem, anem
RO chona, senga, *sim-ir-, gangsika
BO káb, manam, mÁdÁm, brang, manampru(N), mAdAmpru(N)
AB ariPH'-nam, năm-nying, năm-po
KO pee(N), pee ne
DF năng-kâ [Y]nampa [T]namto
MK ingnim, nemso(N), ingnim at

SMOKE

TB *kâw
WT tha mag 'then pa
GC ta khu na ka mot
GS ta k'u
GW tak'ú tamen
NU mălit ă, yang ă, mă-er der, mă-er zing
LP tóm-ku t'áng
JG [M]syÂmú
[Z]lu ai
LU khu_, ur=
LK khu
AO mokozŭ
RO walku
BO sÂb, dunga
AB ting, mikki-pe ting
KO vŭnsiy
DF muk
MK mong

SNOW

GC ti-wa ka lat

SOFT

TB *now, *pryo
WT 'bol po
GC ka mi no
GT ka mi nyam
GK kÂm jam
GM kÂ njam
GS ki n'jam
NU nu, hkin
LP yel-lă, nup-pă
JG [N]kyâa 'ây
[M]?nàm, Âkyâ, kyìn, mÂnì, mÂnyàp, tyÂnyâ, phuì
phuì, nú
[Z]kya ai
LU duàp, nêl_, nêm=
AO tanŭk
RO noma
BO gurÂ/y, rÂydû, rûng, gurûng, larayla
AB ré-mâk, tor-mang
KO nyai
DF nyenyâ
MK kangduk [G]ingdùk, jèm-jèm

SOUR

TB *kri(y), *s-kywar, *swa'r
WT skyur po, rnon po
GC ka cor
GT ka cur
GK scûr
GM kA cor
GH kă-cyûr
GS ki chor
GW tswi
NU ma-sât [K]saa
CH [TT]ce [C]ptsi
LP a-cor, rók nón, tso:r
JG [N]khrii 'áy [M]khri [Z]khri ai
LU thǔr
LK i
LA thuûr
AO tasen, sentur |RO mesenggipa(N)
BO gAkAy, kAy
AB ku-năn
DF khrûdkû, kûssû-dûkû [T]katcha
MK thor, hanthor

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 ki tsin ko
GK katsĭ, ka-rjo
GS ko b'shad, s'kad ch'a, ti tsen
NU shin
CH [L]zjimi [T]zU [TT]sUme [C]zAmA (ALL N)
LP lí
JG [N]kăa tsûn 'áy [A]ka1 [Z]sun ai, shăga ai
[M]brát, gà gà, Abróp, su, syAga
LU bia_, biâk, be_
BA sim
LK bi-chho
TI -pa:u, \pa:u
LA trông
AO jambi |RO *a-gan-, aganna
NW kā. dhē-ye, lhē-ye
BO hAn, raymay
AB lu, po, agom lu
DF ben [Y]binto [T]beto
MK pu, ningje [G]thân, ningjé, pù

SPILL

WT bshos pa
GC na kay bok
GT ta yen
NU ă-up
LP lung
JG [Z]khaw ai
LA bûng
AO endok, shidok
AB tong, kâk-pâk, to-mo
DF krå-pâ-ma, krå-pâ-jim
[Y]cheflato [T]chukhato
MK bu, buphak, chikip [G]ingbâk, kip, bú
NW wâ-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 htil(N), htil htil shii
[S]lai^{F}
TR [S]lai^{F}
CH [TP]phe- [MA]ra
LP lit, tyu:k, dyu:k, tyuk(N)
JG [N]ma'thòo 'ây
[M]mâthó
[Z]mâhtaw ai, mâhtwi ai
LU chil= thuk_, thûk, cil= chhâk
AO metsütok, aket toka
RO stua
BO muzu
AB ko-ri ri, shuk-pâk
KO eiphau(N), eiphau phau ne
DF [Y]cheflato [T]chukhato
MK ingthok, chingok

SPREAD OUT

TB	*ka, *ya:r
WT	bkram pa, brdal, btings
GC	to prak
GT	ka stet
GA	sâ-sâ
GM	ka rda
GH	krăm
GS	ko dri
CH	hpălu
LP	so, klôm, ik, syom, ryót, pôp
JG	[M]syi syÀbrâ, gra, soi, gùm-khong
	[Z]nep ai, shăpra ai, shaw wa ai
TI	_pha?, -za:k, \za:k
LA	phaq
AO	satok, prokshi
RO	badala, gipata, *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	khin-e, lâ-ye

SQUEEZE

TB	*nyap, *cur
WT	btsir pa, brdzis
GC	ka ptsir, ka ptsin
GT	ki ka tsi
GS	ko tsi ri, ta wa sag
NU	sut
LP	pit, tsót, ap, nun
LU	chilh_
RO	sepchota
BO	séb
AB	yum, nyum
KO	phŭt ne
DF	nyunkhr
	[Y]chengto, tèrrchèrrto(=BEND)
	[T]cheto, tŏrrchŏrrto(=BEND)
MK	sor, thum

STAB

GC	brdza ka lat
JG	[Z]gălun ai
NW	hwakhan-e

STAND

WT	lang sdad
GC	rwas
GT	te nu ur was
GS	kir yeb yi ki ni
GW	ri
NU	rip
CH	[TT]zyi
	[C]ri
	[J]ẖzyi
LP	ding hróng, hryÂm
JG	[Z]sap ai
LU	buh_ ding=
NW	dan-e
LA	ding, din, tuár, tuar, tûng, tun
AO	noktak
BO	gosong, taktây, posong, utikan
AB	dâk, da-rép, tu-keng
KO	yongnang
DF	dâ
MK	arjap, sar, sakok

STAY(cf.REMAIN)

WT	zhag por sdad
GC	ka nyin
GT	na nyim
GS	ko na ya'ou, ti ki nis
NU	ăl
	[S]rOng`
TR	[S]rOng`
CH	[TP]zyI-, dzo-
	[MA]dzu
JG	[A]thong3
	[M]rai
	[Z]nga ai, khring ai
BA	um, luah
TI	-ta:m, \ta:m
LA	riâk, riaq
RO	donga
NW	lyan-e, di-sa
BO	tá
AB	tyăn
KO	lag ne
MK	do thak, damthak [G]dàm-thâk, do-kàng

STEAL

TB *r-kÂw
WT rkus pa, brkus
GC ka symo, tÂ-symo ka pa
GT ka symo da
GS ki sh'mo ko pe
GW gwu, hkwu
NU hkŭ [S]kU=
TR khÂ1 [S]khU`
CH [L]ayku [C]hku [TT,C,J]qu [T]hkÂ
[TT]kÂ
[TP]xkÂ= [MÂ]aykuÂ
LP tŭk-mo mat
JG [M]lagú [Z]lagu ai
BA ffr
TI /gu:k _sak
LA fifr
AO auya RO chaua, ca-u-
AB pi-ong, do-piong, ma-bom
KO kuh ne
DF detchchå
MK inghu

STEP

GC ka ra chak
LP kÂ-go:m, thonggom
AO kamera
DF [Y]jengto [T]jito
MK kam

STOP

WT bzhag pa
GC ka syi, ka sya pro, ka nyi
GT ka syi
GS ti ki zhia, ti ki nia
NU ranä, nar shi
LP ngam, tsók, nŭk, tyăn
JG [N]tsáp 'ây [M]ding-da?, syÂdâng, ban
[Z]khring ai, nga ai, chăkhring ai(VT) [A]khring1
LU bang=, ti reh_, ding=
LK by-kha, hia, tlei
TI -tO:p, \tO:p, /pa:ng, \pa:ng
LA baáng, dôn, khâm AO anen
RO dontonga
NW lu-lhâ, di-ye [S]thâp-e, thâ-ye, di-ye, pan-e
BO taptá, akáy kAlA/y, tá, hagá, ro[IMP]
AB dung, mê, dâk, té-ngap, tum
KO lag ne
MK dokok, khang, o, pejut, ham

STRAIGHT

TB	*pleng, *dyam
WT	drong po
GC	ka nga sto
GT	ka nga sto
GS	ko s'to
NU	ăra
LP	a-nang, klyap nón, a-glen
JG	[N]ma'lâng 'ây
	[M]a-preng, ding-den, ding-yong, gìn-yan, dùm- pyang
	[Z]mălang ai, ting ai, preng ai, ang ai
TI	-ma:m, \ma:m, -tang, \tan
AO	teindang
RO	aida, tongtong
BO	gÂtÂng, gepeng, pÂzÂn, tÂngzÂn
AB	jon, dân, pûn, o-măn
KO	ting, tingkhake
DF	kattă
	[Y,T]dinda
MK	kekeng, hari, sik kedan
NW	[S]lhă-ye

STRONG

GC	wu ksyik kuk te
GT	?a ksyuk kuk ke
NU	jŭrr
LP	tóm-bo, nyŏr ra, krŭm zóng
JG	[M]khang, lÂpyìn, mÂgraù, ù-gût, Ât:sàm rong, tang, brí, jâ?
	[Z]n-gun ja ai, ngang ai
LU	awm=khauh_, chak_, fei=, ru_, tûr_
LK	a-hua-sah-la
TI	\ci:k, -ta:k, \ta:k, /ha:t, _xau?
AO	tashi tait
RO	bilakgipa, *rak-, *bir-ak-, bil(N), *bir(N)
BO	duntaru, kÂmta
AB	tor, e-ding
KO	won, wanpu
DF	ăttor
MK	jakong, ingtang [G]ingtâng, phèng

SUCK

TB *dzo:p
WT ʻjibs, bzhibs, nu-ba, bzhibs
GC ka mi skyip
GT ka mi scip
GS ko mi sʻkyib
NU ser, sup
LP yup, hap, kryup, co:p, zup
JG [N]chúʻ ʻày [M]tayú? rúm, tyùp
[Z]chu ai, chyup ai
LU hne_, hnu_te= hne_, dùut
TI tawp-hi
TA chep
LA fop=, fŏp, dawp
ME chup-pa
AO asA, mesep RO *op-, opa
BO sÁb, urlú
AB mû, bu
KO jep ne, hŭp 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 mem
GT ka myen
GZ kechi
GM kA cçʻi
GH kǭ-cĭ, kĕ-mĭm
GS ki chʻi
GW zyje(DELICIOUS)
NU zu
CH [TT]chi [C]?ptshU, zyje(DELICIOUS) [J]h̲zyje
LP a-klyam
JG [N]mùu ʻày [Z]dwi ai, mu ai
[M]dAwi, dwi, A?num(DELICIOUS), sau(DELICIOUS)
LK thlô
TI _ngai?
LA thlúm, thóo(DELICIOUS)
AO tanang
RO chigipa, ansenggipa
BO metay, gÁdÂy
AB tî-nâm, do-po(DELICIOUS), ti-po(DELICIOUS)
KO uwŭng
DF tîssar
MK kedok, dokjin, chomat(DELICIOUS), mesen(DELICIOUS)
NW [S]cāku, mâku

SWEET(vs.HOT)
WT mngar mo
GC ka khyi
GT ka chisy
JG [N]tûy 'ây
NW [S]cêku

SWELL
GC Nbop
JG [Z]pum wa ai
DF [Y]bössomâna [T]bössmânie
MK [G]kàng-pring, kàng-phê, kàng-bùp, kàng-sin
NW [S]man-e

SWIM
TB *pyaw
WT skyal rgyab
GT chu (N)zya ka pa
GS ti zhag ko pe
NU hti lang
LP fa
JG [M]phùng yòt [Z]hpunyawt ai
TI -bual, \bual
AO tzü awa RO chio jroa
BO dâwgâ, kansri
AB ashi bâng
KO yiang yat ne
DF jâ
MK langvek, ardong [G]wèk

TAKE
TB *yu (B-L)
WT len pa, blongs
GC ka pya
GT ka pkyok
GS ko pye
NU lu, lang shi, wa shi, htul, chwut [K]?au
LP lyă, le, lyo, ră̆k
JG [N]lâa 'ây [Z]la ai, shaw la ai
[M]lâ, syò?, jâ?, bau, syu, ùp sin
LU la_, pawm=, kal_pui=
TI -sai, \sai(LOOK AFTER)
LA lông, lŏn(TAKE OVER), tèl, tĕl(TAKE PART)
AO agi, jenok(TAKE SHELTER)
RO *rá-, *ha, raa, *rim-
BO lâ, no, lâng(TAKE AWAY), bêng(TAKE CARE)
AB lâng, bom, rot, puit, pâk, ying
KO yah ne
DF bûlûg, nâg, plâpa, nâlin
MK en, pon, thi, phri
NW [S]kâ-ye, twa-ye

TAKE OFF

WT	pid, pis, 'bud
GC	ka ne ta, ka ta, ka le
GT	nga dro
GN	mödrú
GS	ti we ko ti, ki we ko ti
GW	katái
NU	[S]le?=
TR	[S]le?=
CH	[TP]xu- [MA]thala
JG	[N]lió' 'ây [Z]shaw la ai
LU	phawng_
MK	[G]phri.

TALL

TB	*low
WT	ring po
GC	ka skren
GT	ka ksri, ka Nbro
GM	kA mA-ro
GH	kä-mô-rô
GS	wu s'gri ki srim
NU	ăhang
LP	krul-lă, pŭr-song, krong
JG	[M]a-preng, gong dâ, gông tsô, rèn rèn [Z]tsaw ai
LU	hràm
AO	talang !BO tenggla, lawga, lawgi
AB	bo-dong, ai-ar, ôt, mi-rom, ya-ri
DF	anâ [Y]au [T]a
MK	kiding, chongding

TASTE

WT	myangs
GC	ka myeng
GS	ko wa ri
NU	htin
LP	kôn, nyông
JG	[M]tyim, phrâm, oi oi, nâm [Z]chyam ai, chyim ai
LU	tem=, hang=
LK	a tlô thlô lei
LA	tep, teq
AO	menakdang !RO chatotani, toa(N), *to-
BO	zanây, sakay, milA/w(A), taw(A), sâb(A)
AB	ting-ki, yâk-ki, an, ti-nâm
KO	jŭp, jep ne, jŭp ne
DF	yâ-kâ [Y]tipa, tîssar [T]tipa
MK	chomat, asa lang, dok, kethu
NW	[S]mâku(A)

TEACH

WT	(b)slab pa
GC	ka suk syot[IPF], kyes[PFT]
GT	ga si rik cit
GK	kasÏksyud
GC	ko si rig ch'ud
NU	shălap, shăngit
CH	[TP]Ar\sy=
	[MA]sU
LP	hlap byi
JG	[N]sha'rin 'ây
	[M]Atyin, syArin
	[Z]sharin ya ai
LU	thu=
AO	sayu
RO	*ski-, skia
NW	lhâ [S]sen-e, nwâ-ye
BO	dintí, pArAng
AB	ir, lu-ir, ni-ton
KO	nyo ne
DF	besrû, tomsûr
	[Y]kâchinto [T]kachinto
MK	than

TEAR

WT	gshag pa, phrul, dral
GC	na ka pre
GA	tyA-rA
GZ	preng
GS	ko pre
NU	bing, ring
CH	[L]phri, phrU [TT]phsyU [C]phrU
	[TP]zya= [MA]sypA
LP	hra, hrik, fik, hlak
JG	[N]thên 'ây
	[M]Amrà?, à? myá, jé, Asyèp, khyé?, mÂlók
	[Z]je ai
LU	tai= thlêr
LK	a-hri-pô-zia, hri chhei
TI	/bal, \bal, -mal, \mal
LA	thleêk
NW	khu-ye, caphu-ye
AO	aben, shima, shisa
RO	*cit-, chita, ginna, kena
BO	bisi, bla:, boso
AB	bét, shér
KO	daang ne, hiet ;ne
DF	sûru, surmû
	[Y]perömto
MK	ingsek, rak, phu, he-veng

TENDER

TB	*now
WT	ʻjam po
GC	ka Njam
GT	ka Njor
GS	ki ngbyar
LP	a-jil, nŭp
JG	[Z]chya ai
TI	/ngE:i
BO	narpina
AB	bei-âk
KO	ŭyoi
DF	[Y]nyengma
	[T]ninyak
MK	kangduk

THICK

TB	*r-tas, *dow, *tu:k
WT	thu po
GC	ke kam, ka yak
GT	ki pen, ka yak
GH	kĕ-yăk
GS	ki yeg
NU	htat
CH	[TT,T]pzye
	[C]pe
LP	a-tang, a-bak
JG	[N]thât ʻây
	[M]â thât, daû, ding
	[Z]htat ai
LU	bit_, chhah_, hraw_, pik_
LK	byu rô
TI	_sa?
LA	saq
AO	temelem
RO	milgipa, ritchagipa
BO	dagla, gubûng, motonga, raza
AB	bi-sâm, té-bi
DF	[Y,T]au
MK	karthat, arthat
	[G]selûng, ingténg, arthât-klông

THIN

TB *ba, *lyap, *pe:r
WT kra po
GC kchem, ka wa
GT ka kchem, ka wa
GZ kechim
GH kŏ-yĕt, kŏ-rŏm, kŏ-wyĕt
GS ki we, ki g'ch'em
GW bri, bu
NU ba, sung
CH [L]bre [T,TT,J]bzyi [C]bri [TT,C,J]bU
LP gryá-lă, să-mrán
JG [N]pâa 'ày
[M]Aphâ, grâm grâm, krìt, groi
[Z]lăsi ai, hpa ai
LU dang=dă, pan=, vár
TI /pa:, /pa:t
LA trcól
AO tapu
RO *bá-, *râm-, baranggipa
BO sere, bâ
AB ging, bêsor, bo-ro, ré-mik, a-long a-rong
KO pee
DF poinya, hŭl, bochor
[Y]kongpa, jenggung
[T]jŭgŭ
MK pangar, chungkreng, jisopet
NW [S]sălu, chwălu

THINK

WT bsam lo btang, bsams
GC su-so ka pa
GT ka si so
GK ka-sIso
GS ti sema pre
NU [S]nyit=
TR [S]mit=
CH [TP]xba-(x)ju- [MA]xca
LP cíng
JG [N]mit yùu 'ày [A]ma1 ju3
[M]màng, myìt yu
[Z]myit ai, myit yu ai
LU beĭ sei_, ngih_uah_
LA ruât, ruaq
AO bilem
RO chanchia, *can-ci-
BO sán
AB muing
KO teih ne
MK matha, jadi, chepori

THIRSTY

WT	kha skom
GC	ka sypak
GT	ka sypak
GK	kasypiag
GM	ka sypak
GS	ki sh'pag
NU	hti ral
	[S]ran‘
TR	[S]bal=
CH	[TP]xpa=
	[MA]sypi
LP	ung ngot(N)
JG	[N]pâng ka'ra 'ây
	[Z]hpang kăra ai
LK	da-phi
AO	tzŭra
RO	ranna(N)
BO	sagay, dah(N)
AB	ti-ling
KO	yianglepu
DF	hûr
	[Y]hârr [T]hörr
MK	lang ke-it [G]ling'it

THROW

WT	g'yug pa, phangs, bor, btab
GC	na ka psyi, ka ktor, ka psyit
GT	ka psyi, ka rku
GS	ko r'pu ko lad, ta yag mo ti ti
NU	dăgyang, arim
	[S]chat=, thŏr‘
TR	[S]cat=, tŏr=
CH	[TT]ji [J,C]hji
	[TP]chi- [MA]qhur
LP	rak, kryók, tyal, pok
JG	[N]ka'pây 'ây
	[M]gòng, syÂtot, tèng, râp, Asyap Alâp
	[Z]kăbai ai
LU	deng=, theh_lût, vâwm, paih_
TI	_thE?, \pa:i, _pai?
LA	deêng, deen, saây
AO	endok, ondaktaŭ
NW	kaeke
RO	galla, goa, *gar-, *go-
BO	aikar, sitir, garhor, garsÂm, upray
AB	yop, ge, ku, shut, pâk
KO	shep ne, vin ne
DF	kû-pa, hur-pâ, hûlû
MK	var, pedat, tiplok, arvak, jok, kip, pechon

THROW AWAY
TB *gar
WT 'dor ba
GC ktor, ka lat
GT rku
GS ko spang
NU gạ̈rr, nar
LP cŏm, dyán, dyán nyón
JG [M]ráp
[Z]kabai kau ai
LU paih
TI \pa:i, _pai?
BO newsay
AB me-pāk
DF [Y]hörrto, dāflato
[T]hörrto, dāk̲hato
MK o(det), tekang [G]wár(-chŏr)
ID le piambaga
NW [S]wâ-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 lat, ka tshi, ka ka prok
GT ka sri, ko ka prok
GS ta wa sag
GW tso
NU hpăn, măhong, syingkit
TR aGhra4
CH [TT,J]tso
[C]tsodaa
LP zŏp, čet, ayi:k, ayi:r
JG [N]kyit 'ây
[M]Aroi, syÂjúp, gran, mÂtut, gyit khàng, gùm phŏn, syîng tyó?
[Z]gyit ai, khang ai, shăjup ai
LU trâwn=, thlung=
LK tsA/khi
TI _xi?
LA treém
AO alen, mesA
RO *ka-, kaani, budu
BO zû, sŏn, sorkon, kasA, bA/n
AB pak, pon, ngot
KO shŭn, shin ne
DF hî
[Y]rengto, yekchengto, tsi?
[T]reto, yi'cheto [G]che-pân, pân-lók
MK kok, thit, martun
NW [S]ci-ye, khup-e

TIGHT

WT dam po
GT ksok
GS tam tam
NU mă sang, mă du
TR tsÂn4
LP zak, plín
JG [M]tyát
[Z]ghyat ai
TI /ga:k, \ga:k(V)
AO takang
RO kringgipa, salkringa(V)
BO paré(V), sepra(V), kasin(V), gel gel(AD), lér lér(AD)
AB pu-git
DF puzzin-daba
MK pring [G]sik

TIRED(BORED)

TB *bal, *(a-)ngung
WT thang chad pa
GC ka chat, ?tan na ki cat, na me sa ka
GT sa kha, ?u skun ka li
GZ mgeng
GK kÂrtug
GS ti ko ti ki wus, to ko pis, po ki pis
NU ber, ma jurr
LP ts'a, ka-gal-la
JG [N]tsú' 'áy, púu 'áy
[M]syÁbá, Átsú?, jin, khí, bá si
[Z]ba ai
LU hnĕ, chau_, zál
LK ri thei
TI _ba?
LA bâng
AO tani, alak
RO nenga
BO halay hapay, harÂw birÂw, méng, rÂymÂn, rewlay
AB a-pé, ba-gor, dép, ém
KO lan ne, lag ne, leng
DF nyelin
[Y]afi [T]èkh'
MK lak, angtur, selet, boikhi, aynî [G]dûk-wòy
NW [S]nel-e(V), tyânu

TOUCH

WT	ʻchang pa
GC	ta ka la trok, ka tat, ta-rpi ka tat
GT	ka tsok
GH	rĭk
GS	ko nar do
NU	htu al, ahter
LP	a-ká kya kya mat
JG	[N]khrâa ʻây
	[M]Ajót, Asyót, Athók
	[Z]ăhtawk ai, ăhtu ai
LU	khawih_
LA	daây, toq
AO	kongahi
RO	dangtapa
BO	dang, nang, suhây, panang
AB	i-ki, gâk-ki
KO	jon ne
DF	katti
MK	kisu, ot, pho [G]che-méy, pherèy

TURN AROUND

GC	skor ka wa, skor ka pa
LP	nyÂr
DF	[Y]lèköpto [T]liköpto
MK	henar [G]artîng-wòy, tewar

UGLY

WT	nyes po
GC	ka na la
GT	ka na nga
GS	wa yo ma ki ngpyʻir
NU	ma shăla, mă lè
JG	[Z]n tsawm ai, n htap ai
LU	hmel chhia_
AO	tepur majung
RO	nidikgipa, goka, nigogijagipa
AB	kâng-gé, kang-kan mang
KO	ahimeang
DF	kâ-p-mâ
MK	langno [G]che-chêk-rò, bàk-tàk-ráy, rò

UNDERSTAND

WT ha go ba, bsam(THINK)
GC nam sam, ka mis[PFT], ka msam[IPF]
GT nga mas
GK kasyIpiE, kAmAs
GS nam sang, ko shu
NU sa, sha
LP t'yak, pyo, a-sóm(BREATH)
JG [N]cŏy 'ây;
[M]myit dèp, tye nâ
[Z]chyè ai, chyeng ai, nsen(VOICE)
LU hre= thiam
BA theih
NW thu-ye
AO angatet
BO buzi, mÂndâng, miti, tA/ng
AB kin, tât-kin
KO ŭpong tow ne
DF chen
[Y]binsa(=WORD)
[T]besa(=WORD)
MK thek, pangdon, buji

UNTIE

WT bkrol
GC ka kya
NU [S]kha?= sa\
TR [S]pUt=, ka?=
CH [TP]zya\
[MA]phaRa
JG [N]phyân 'ây
[A]tat1
[Z]raw ai
DF [Y]tŏflyato
[T]tokhato
MK [G]pe-phlŏk, phri
NW [S]phen-e

USE

GC phan ka trho
JG [N]sûng 'ây
[A]lang3
[M]jai ai
NW [S]chel-e, wâ-ye, khel-e

VOMIT

TB	*m-/s-tu:k, *s-du:k, *on
WT	bakyugs, skyug
GC	ka mA mphat
GT	ka skyuk
GZ	esculak(N)
GM	tA mp'et
GS	ki kyug
NU	du
	[K]zu [S]dŭ?H
TR	[S]dŭ?H
CH	[J,TT]phe [C]pha [TP]zye- [MA]ra
LP	mót, hlung
JG	[N]ma'tàn 'áy
	[M]mAton
	[Z]mhpat ai
AO	saktsu
RO	wakala
BO	goblo
AB	bât
KO	phai ne
DF	blâ
	[Y,T]bato
MK	chingok, ningvang
NW	[S]lhwa-ye

WAIT

WT	sgug, bagugs
GC	ka yon[IPF, PFT], ka nyi[IMP]
GT	na na yon
GA	nje
GH	nâ-nî
GS	ko na ya'ou
NU	nar shi
CH	[C,L]zo [TT] zyju [J]hzy
LP	t'em, sa̍-ngang, ra̍ng
JG	[N]lâa 'áy
	[M]khring, lâ, rai?, Alà
	[Z]khring ai, nga ai
LK	ha
TI	/nga:k
LA	hngaak
AO	ata
AB	me, yang
KO	tan ne
MK	inghong, do, keru
NW	lan-e, pi-ye

WAKEN

GC kə ən ro
MK [G]mēk prăng(=WAKE UP)

WALK

WT gom pa rgyab, bcag
GC ngla ka kye
GT wo la ka skyet
GK sak'ri, kAsa-k'ruo
GS ka ch'i, ko wi ki ch'i
NU di, agun shi, ase [K]pa:i
TR aĕ kAil shiA4
LP sŭng-mut syŏk, lŏm
JG [N]lăm khŏm 'ày
[M]khom
[Z]sa ai, khawn ai
LU vāk\, kal=, ke_a=kal=(N)
LK cha rei, khi-kha(N)
TI /va:k, /ka:n
AO senzŪ, jaja
RO reani, roamani, eching-gisi, toa, *ro-
BO tabay, dÂydên
AB a-lé lok gi gong
KO kem ne
DF grâdam
[Y]lecho(FOOT)
[T]all'lŏch'
MK puri, dam, dong
NW [S]wan-e, nyâsi ju-ye, ju-ye, hul-e

WANT

WT rkam
GZ rje
GS ki re
NU shung, măyŪ
LP gat, ban
JG [Z]ra ai, tsaw ai
LU chāk, tum=, duh_
TI _dei?, /nuam, _nop
AO aginŪ
BO nanggÂw
AB muing, kâ-bo, la-gi
DF mui, nu, tâ, lăk, kâ
MK nang, hang, lang, avedet

WASH

TB *krÂw, *m-syil, *m-syal
WT ʼkhrud pa
GC ta rchis ka pa, ka rchi
GT ka rchi
GK rci
GH cą̄
GS kor chu
NU hti zal shi, yaw zal
[S]zyanʻ, chǐʔ=
TR [S]jăl=, cĭʔ=
CH [T]hwÂla [TT]xola
[C]xwÂla [J]xo
[TP]xuA= la [MA]xla
LP zut, ól, tŭt
JG [N]khrût ʻây
[M]Âgrâk, gÂsyin, khrùt
[Z]kâshin ai, myit ai, khrut ai
LU trhuah_, su_
LA kholq, phiaq
AO shidok, senɛ̆lk
RO *jak-su-
BO sû, lÂb, lâb
AB mo, âr, ir, be
KO poi ne, shau ne
DF nǖkhrâ, mômî
[Y, T]ishi(WATER)
MK chinglu, chersam
NW [S]hi-ye, sil-e

WEAK

WT shugs med pa
GC wu ksyik de mey
GT ʔa syuk mey
GS ma ki mag kle
NU mă jŭrr
LP dyâl-bo, lysng-na, ka-gryo-bo
JG [M]tyÂnyom, tyÂnyôm
LU awng_ rawp_, chak_lo_, chhe_tha_, der
LK chi lei, pa-nai, tha tlô vei
TI \nang, -nat
LA coór
AO tashi mait
RO bilgri, gilgri, sikrepa, noma
BO ala kala, gurÂ/y, mÂgina, halung, narpina, silong
AB tor mang
KO nyai(pu)
DF tâmmâ
MK kedande, ajakong ave [G]dân, marâ

WEAR

TB	*wat
GC	ka wa
MK	ɨ

WEAVE

TB	*tak, *trak
WT	'thag pa
GC	tá-tak ka pa, ka tak
JG	[Z]da ai, da?
LU	tsɨ
LP	thok
AO	atak IRO dak
DF	[Y]chemto [T]chubto
MK	thak

WEEP

TB	*krap, ngAw
GS	ki ka kru
WA	za
NU	ngü
CH	[L]bri [C]hza
LP	prám mat, hryóp, syót
JG	[Z]khrap ai
AO	ajeb
NW	kwo-ye
AB	mik-shi lén
KO	shap ne
MK	chiru

WET

TB	*hus, m-ti-s
WT	rlon pa
GC	ka sychit
GT	ka syci
GZ	kesci
GK	kÂmÂrlan
GS	ki ni r'lan
NU	sha
LP	a-syŭl, syur, jóm
JG	[N]ma'tii 'ây [Z]madi ai, nyap ai [M]syÂke, phyà phyà, syi?, mÂdit
LU	huh
LK	pa-cho
LA	ciín
AO	aja, tayi IRO chosiaata, chosigipa, chijingipa
NW	pyâ-ye
AB	ju-nâm
KO	diem, dem ne
DF	jujâ [Y]jöjapa [T]jujapa
MK	cham(vok)

WHITE

TB	*s-ngow
WT	dkar po
GC	ka pram
GT	ka prom
GZ	keprom
GK	kÂprom, pram
GS	ki prom
GW	koprŏm, phri
NU	mong
	[K]xa:u
CH	[L]phre [C]phri [J,T,TT]phsyi
LP	a-dum, a-t'uk
JG	[N]'a' phrông
	[M]Âphrô, N/ phrô, mÂphrô
	[Z]hpraw ai
LU	hlui= ngo=
LK	ngyu
TI	-ka:ng, \ka:n
LA	raáng
AO	temesüng
RO	gipok, *gip-bok, tenga, chinga
AB	kâm-po, ya-shing
KO	hieng, ühieng
DF	apin, pûllû
	[Y]ponglu [T]pulè
MK	kelok, lokphlan [G]lôk
NW	[S]tuyula, tu-ila

WIDE

WT	rgya chen po
GC	ka rgyam
GT	kya chen po, ka rjon
GZ	kerjom
GS	ki lom, ti nyi ki g'ti
GW	tec'í, la
NU	gwa, gang
CH	[T]lje [J]le
LP	a-vyór, a-yong, jól, pak
JG	[N]tâm 'áy
	[M]Awûng, dâm, gèng dâm, khÂloi, lâm, Awòng
	[Z]tam ai
LU	hlai=
TI	\la:n, _lat, /zai, \zai
LA	kaǎw, dawq
AO	tesadem, 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

WIN

WT	thabs pa, 'thab pa, bcams
GC	pka, ka nga
GS	ki r'gyal
NU	dang
	[S]khra?=
TR	[S]kra?=
CH	[TP]da\qe-, tA\qa=
	[MA]daqe, tAqu
JG	[A]tangl
	[Z]dang ai, awng ai
LU	hneh_
LA	neq
BO	zén, dén, derhâ
AB	pak, kum-ya
KO	nau ne, ok ne
MK	hai, lit

WIND

WT	gcas phur rgyab pa
GC	ta kyu na lat, ka ka tri, skru
GT	ga tsri
GZ	karcip
GS	ko wa leg
JG	[M]Asyen, Akhyên, bât
	[Z]mbong
RO	*wen-
BO	meray, tón
NW	tu-lhâ
AB	e-shâr
DF	[Y]dâri
	[T]dalye
MK	per [G]phân

WIPE

WT	phyis
GC	ka phyis
JG	[Z]ărut ai, kăsut ai
DF	[Y]telöpto
	[T]tilöpto
NW	[S]hu-ye

WITHER

GC	ram(DRY)
DF	[Y]ramputo
	[T]rumputo

WORK

TB *mow(N)
WT las ka byas pa
GC ta-ma ka pa
GT ta-ma ka pa
GK miE(N)
GS ta me ko pe, kÂsaj-ai, ta me(N)
NU gare(N)
LP áyok mat-bo, zo-bo
JG [N]ka'loo 'áy
[M]bu\ng si, khÀtûm, mû, Àmú, bùng lì
[Z]kălaw ai, di ai
LU bei_, chêt pui=, hma= sial
BA truan
AO inyak, mapa
RO kam kaa, kam(N), dakani
BO kam, maw, habá
AB a-gér i
KO toi
DF Um, kâm lyi
MK kam , keklem, jakong [G]kám ke-klém, sensé, sulí

WRITE

WT bris pa
GC ka ra skyo, ta-skyos ka pa
GT na ra skyu
GM tA-t'a
GH nâ-kŏ-râ-scyung
GS na ra sky'ou, na ra skyo
GW tastiángana
NU lik ăru
CH [T]aja
[TT]syjAE
[C]ae
LP pí, tsu
JG [N]lây kàa kâa 'áy
[Z]ka ai
LU dek_, tawk_
BA rin
TI _gel?
NW co-ye [S]cwa-ye, gi-ye
LA ngaân
AO zŭlu
RO *se-, sea, dalako seani
BO lír
AB ât, ka-kôt ât
KO nyan ne
DF he
[Y,T]fitto
MK tok, likhi

WRONG
GK kÂwuac-ai
GS ko ch'as
NU anghkying mă̆i
LP a-jăng
JG [Z]n teng ai, shut ai
LU a\ ni lo_, dik lo_, ni_ lo_ lo_
LK â na na, ău vei
AO tai
RO guallani, kaketgijani
AB béng mang, pâ mang
KO yetieng
DF ka-tâ-mâ-na
MK kahingno

YAWN
WT ag stong, a strong, bsgyings
GC wo
GT ta hom
NU ham
LP hôm
JG [N]ka'khâm 'ày(V) [Z]măkham ai
LU hâm_
TI \ha:m, _hap(V)
RO ajama, kuanga
BO hamiyay
AB kot-kâ
KO haampu, haam ne(V)
DF gomsâ [Y]gamsato [T]gomsato
MK kohe, ingko

YOUNG(cf.SMALL)
GC ka ktaey
GT ka ktaey
GK kÂgtaei
GH tă-tsĭâ
GS wa bli ki g'tse'i
NU dăhpat sam ê
LP kup, a-jon, a-rok
JG [N]'a' sâk ka'chîi 'ày [Z]kă̆ji ai
[M]khÂlung, Asâk kÂji, Asâk ram, ging lung
LU sên_, tlang val=
LK a-ma-chy, pa-nyu, pao-ly-pa
AO lanu, tanur, techanu
RO *dam-be-, dambe
BO sa-, duy, zÂhlaw
AB ya-mé, ahûr
KO ŭjoiha, naoshiha
DF êyâppâ [Y]inchungna, ajengpa [T]inchuna, ejido
MK akebi, aso, mi