

A Classified Lexicon of Shan Loanwords in Jinghpaw*

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Jinghpaw is a Tibeto-Burman language primarily distributed in northern Burma, while Shan is a Tai-Kadai language whose distribution partially overlaps with that of Jinghpaw. The aim of this paper is to provide a classified lexicon of Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw, which are borrowed into Jinghpaw due to close cultural and linguistic contact. This paper also provides a brief overview of linguistic situation in the Jinghpaw-speaking area, followed by descriptions of linguistic properties of Shan loanwords in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics.

Keywords: Jinghpaw, Shan, language contact, loanwords, lexical borrowing

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1. Introduction

Jinghpaw is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language primarily distributed in northern Burma (Myanmar), but whose distribution is broad, stretching from the upper Brahmaputra valley of northeastern India across northern Burma, and beyond the Sino-Burmese border into far western Yunnan. The Jinghpaw people have had a long-term symbiotic relationship with the Tai-speaking Shan people whose distribution partially overlaps with that of the Jinghpaw. Although Jinghpaw and Shan are genetically unrelated, Jinghpaw has absorbed a large number of lexical items from Shan, with which it has been in close cultural and linguistic contact for the past centuries. The aim of this paper is to provide a classified lexicon of Shan loanwords adopted by Jinghpaw, mainly collected by the author as a part of historical-comparative and contact linguistic

KURABE, Keita. 2017. "A classified lexicon of Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw". *Asian and African Languages and Linguistics* 11. pp.129–166. [Permanent URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10108/89212>]

* A part of this paper is based on work that was presented at the 48th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics held at University of California, Santa Barbara, August 21–23, 2015. I would like to express my gratitude to the participants of the conference for their helpful discussion and comments. I am also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their careful reading and constructive comments on an earlier draft of this paper. My fieldwork was supported in part by a Grant-in-Aid for JSPS Fellows (Nos. 24-2938 and 26-2254) from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS).

research on Jinghpaw and its dialects. I will also offer a brief introduction to linguistic situation in the Jinghpaw-speaking area and descriptions of linguistic properties of Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 provides an introduction to linguistic situation in the Jinghpaw-speaking region. This is followed by sections providing brief linguistic sketches of Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw, beginning with phonology (Section 3.1), and followed by morphology (Section 3.2), syntax (Section 3.3) and semantics (Section 3.4). Section 4 is devoted to providing Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw classified in terms of semantic fields, with some corresponding forms from relevant languages that have close cultural and/or linguistic relationships with Jinghpaw and/or Shan. In the remainder of this section, I provide a brief review of literature, sources of the linguistic data and a brief description of Tai varieties in northern Burma.

1.1. Previous studies

Major previous studies that provide and/or discuss Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw include: Hanson (1906), Maran (1964) and Dai and Xu (1995). Hanson (1906), a dictionary of Jinghpaw, is a significant contribution to lexical borrowing between Shan and Jinghpaw in that it identifies a number of Jinghpaw lexical items of Shan origin. Hanson (1906), however, does not offer corresponding Shan forms. Maran (1964) investigates bilingualism in acculturation in Jinghpaw, surveying the varying degrees of bilingualism and cultural borrowing from Shan. His findings show that the structural resistance to the Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw can be seen at phonic, lexical and grammatical levels, at the last level of which the Shan influence is quite minor, as Shan loanwords follow the rules of Jinghpaw grammar. Dai and Xu (1995: 259–265) identify over one hundred Jinghpaw words of Tai origin, listing half of them with corresponding forms of Dehong Tai, a Tai dialect closely related to Shan. They point out several linguistic properties of these loanwords that will be noted in relevant sections below.

1.2. Data

The secondary data of the relevant languages are, unless otherwise noted, taken from the following sources. The Jinghpaw data based on Maran (1978) are given with slight modification according to the phonemic transcription employed in Kurabe (2016). The Shan data based on Sao Tern Moeng (1995), an updated version of Cushing (1881 [1914]), are transcribed according to the system used in SEALang Library Shan Dictionary.¹ The data for Colloquial Burmese are transcribed according to the system illustrated by Kato (2008) and the transcription of Written Burmese is based on the system outlined by Duroiselle (1916).

- Burmese (Colloquial): Myanmar Language Commission ed. (2009)
- Burmese (Written): Myanmar Language Commission ed. (2009)

¹ <http://www.sealang.net/shan/dictionary.htm> (accessed on 2016-08-31)

- Dehong: Luo (1999); supplemented by Dai and Xu (1995) marked by (DX) and Meng (2007) marked by (M)
- Ganan: Huziwara (2012a); supplemented with the help of Dr. Huziwara Keisuke marked by (H)
- Hpun: Henderson (1986)
- Jinghpaw: Maran (1978)
- Kadu: Sangdong (2012); supplemented with the help of Dr. Huziwara Keisuke marked by (H)
- Khamti: Harris (1976); supplemented by Pulu (1997) marked by (P) and Weidert (1977) marked by (W)²
- Lacid: my field notes
- Langsu: Dai (2005)
- Leqi: Dai and Li (2007)
- Lhaovo: Sawada (2003, 2004); supplemented by my field notes marked by (K)
- Lisu: Fraser (1922)
- Ngochang: Nasaw Sampu et al. (2005)
- Numhpuk: Morey (2007b)
- Pali: Rhys Davids and Stede, (eds.) (1921–1925)
- Proto-Tibeto-Burman: Matisoff (2003)
- Rawang: LaPolla and Sangdong (2015)
- Sanskrit: Macdonell (1929)
- Shan: Sao Tern Moeng (1995)
- Siamese: Haas (1964)
- Turung: Morey (2007a)
- Zaiwa: Lustig (2010); supplemented by Duoshi et al. (1992) marked by (D)

1.3. Tai varieties in northern Burma

Northern Burma is inhabited by Tai peoples whose languages and dialects are closely related, such as Shan (Tai Long or Tai Yai), Tai Mao, Tai Laing and Tai Khamti. This paper, as noted earlier, is based on Tai data from Shan because of the availability of its copious data (Cushing 1881 [1914], Sao Tern Moeng 1995). While it would also be possible that the direct source of Tai items in Jinghpaw has been of other Tai varieties closely related to Shan, and some mismatches between Jinghpaw and Shan forms might be attributed to this fact, this question is not easily solved due to the lack of sufficient data for other Tai varieties and dialects spoken in northern Burma. The attempt of this paper should thus be viewed as a preliminary approximation toward studies in Tai-Jinghpaw contact linguistics. Despite this situation, it is still true that Tai varieties in northern Burma have close relationship with each other, and that Jinghpaw words of Tai origin well correspond to those of Shan in many respects (see Section 3).

² The tone marks employed in Weidert (1977) are modified in accordance with the system used in Harris (1976).

Before we move on, a brief discussion of some of the other possible donor languages is in order. Dai an Xu (1995) treat Dehong Tai (Chinese Shan) spoken in the southwestern part of Yunnan province as the direct source of Tai words in Jinghpaw. This does not seem to hold, however, as can be seen from the following comparison where Dehong reflects initials *n- and *hn- of Proto-Tai with /l/ in contrast to other varieties that reflect them with /n/, which Jinghpaw has borrowed.³

Table 1 Reflexes of Proto-Tai initials *n- and *hn-

	Shan	Dehong	Khamti	Siamese	Jinghpaw	Proto-initials
‘rice field’	naa ⁴	laa ²	naa ³	naa	nà	PT *n-
‘lady’	naaŋ ⁴	laaŋ ²		naaŋ	nàŋ	PT *n-
‘face’	naa ³	laa ⁴	naa ⁵	nâa	na	PT *hn-
‘heavy’	nak ⁴	lak ¹	nak ⁴	nàk	nák	PT *hn-
‘water’	nam ⁵	lam ⁵	nam ²	nám	nàm	PT *nl/r-

Tai Khamti (Khamti Shan) is another possible candidate for the direct donor language which has introduced Tai lexical items into Jinghpaw given the partial overlap between the Khamti and Jinghpaw peoples in the northern part of what is present-day Kachin State, as well as the early migration history of Jinghpaw which suggests a north-to-south migration. The following comparison, however, suggests that Khamti, which reflects the proto-initial *ʔd- with /n/ unlike many other Tai varieties which reflect it with /l/ (Li 1977: 107–108, Edmondson 2008: 199–200), is not the direct source language because Tai loanwords in Jinghpaw have /l/ for these lexical items. Compare:

Table 2 Reflexes of proto-initial *ʔd-

	Shan	Dehong	Khamti	Siamese	Jinghpaw	Proto-initials
‘silk’	laaj ³	laai ⁴	naay ⁵	dâay	lày	PT *ʔd-
‘mountain’	lɔj ¹	lɔi ⁶	nɔy ¹	dɔɔy	loy	PT *ʔdl/r-
‘red’	lɛŋ ¹	lɛŋ ⁶	nɛŋ ¹	dɛɛŋ	leŋ	PT *ʔdl/r-
‘month’	lɳn ¹	lɳn ⁶	nɳn ¹	dɳan	lun	PSWT *ʔd-

³ Proto-Tai (PT) initials in Tables 1 and 2 are based on Li (1977: 108, 111, 114, 129, 131) and Proto-Southwestern Tai (PSWT) initials in Table 2 on Edmondson (2008: 200).

2. Linguistic situation in northern Burma

The Jinghpaw-speaking region in northern Burma is a site of intensive contact in which cultural and language contact among intra- and extra-TB speakers has been a long-standing phenomenon. The intra-TB contact is represented by the Kachin people who consist of several TB linguistic groups, of which the Jinghpaw is a primary member (2.1). The Kachin people, including the Jinghpaw, have also had a long symbiotic relationship with the Tai-speaking Shan people, from whom they have borrowed a number of lexical items (2.2). Burmese and Chinese are two dominant languages in the Jinghpaw-speaking region today. Their influence on Jinghpaw, however, is diachronically quite limited (2.3). Within the Sino-Tibetan language family, Jinghpaw is closely related to the Luish (Asakian) languages, some of which are distributed in northern Burma. While they are not in direct contact relationship with Jinghpaw, they are in contact with Shan (2.4).

2.1. Jinghpaw and Kachin

The Kachin people are recognized as one of the major ethnic groups in Burma. Linguistically, the Kachin are not a monolith group and exhibit internal diversity, consisting of speakers of languages belonging to several TB branches. In spite of internal linguistic diversity, the Kachin people form more or less a coherent socio-cultural complex of shared cultural traits such as a marriage-alliance system. In Burma, this Kachin grouping consists of speakers of languages such as Jinghpaw, Zaiwa, Lhaovo, Lacid, Ngochang and Rawang, and includes some Lisu speakers as well. In the Kachin region, especially in the southeastern part where non-Jinghpaw Kachin population is great, as noted by Bradley (1996), it is not difficult to find Kachin villages (*kăhtawng*), village clusters (*măre*) and communities inhabited by several linguistic groups. Leach (1954: 63–100) describes a Kachin community of some 500 people in the Kachin Hills of Burma situated close to the Burma-China border, which consists of diverse linguistic groups speaking Jinghpaw, Gauri, Zaiwa, Lhaovo, Lisu and Chinese.

Aside from common inheritance, members of the Kachin grouping share linguistic as well as cultural traits that have arisen as a result of intensive contact. Of particular importance is the fact that Jinghpaw serves as a lingua franca among the Kachin people, being spoken not only by the Jinghpaw people but also by other groups whose native tongues belong to distinct branches of TB. Jinghpaw, as a lingua franca, has provided many words to non-Jinghpaw Kachin languages, which form the areal lexicon in the Kachin cultural area. Table 3 provides a few examples of lexical items of Jinghpaw origin borrowed into other Kachin languages. Jinghpaw loanwords in other Kachin languages are also identified by Yabu (1982), Sawada (2003, 2004), Lustig (2010) and Matisoff (2013).

Table 3 Selected words of Jinghpaw origin in several Kachin languages

	Jinghpaw	Zaiwa	Lhaovo	Ngochang	Rawang
‘mistake’	ɕút	syut ⁵	šat ^H	shuot	shut
‘different’	ɕà̄y	syai ³¹	šay ^H	shaih	sháy
‘correct’	jò	zyo ¹¹	co ^F		jò
‘song’	məkhón	me ¹ -k/hon ³¹			mvkún
‘bless’	ɕəmán		šăman ^H	shvmanh	shvmán
‘public’	ɕəwà		šăva ^F	shvwas	shvwà

2.2. Jinghpaw and Shan

The Kachin people, including the Jinghpaw, have also had a long-term symbiotic relationship with the Tai-speaking Shan people. Although the situation has been changing, in general, Kachins are highlanders occupying hills and mountains where they practice slash and burn agriculture, while Shans are lowlanders occupying river valleys where they practice rice cultivation in irrigated fields (Leach 1954: 1). In spite of the contrastive ecological settings they occupy, “Kachins and Shans are almost everywhere close neighbours and in the ordinary affairs of life they are much mixed up together” (ibid.: 2). The ethnological fluidity in the region can be seen in the fact that it is not uncommon to observe that a Kachin “becomes a Shan” (ibid.: 30). Leach (1954) shows that Kachin communities in the first half of the twentieth century were “oscillating” between an egalitarian system and a Shan feudal system.

The Shan influence on the Kachin people is also reflected in a large number of Shan loanwords in their languages. The borrowing relationship is seemingly hierarchical, as witnessed by the fact that, in contrast to the situation in which Kachin languages have adopted a number of Shan words, Shan seems to have borrowed a very few lexical items from them. Some words of Shan origin, as shown in Table 4, are shared across several Kachin languages. Section 4 provides Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw, together with relevant data from other Kachin languages.

Table 4 Selected Shan loanwords in several Kachin languages

	Shan	Jinghpaw	Zaiwa	Lhaovo	Rawang
‘bag’	t ^h oŋ ¹	thuŋ	tung ³¹	thauŋ ^F	d̀v̀nggúng
‘rabbit’	paaj ¹ taaj ⁴	praŋtáj	bang ¹¹ dvai ³¹	pyaj ^F tay ^L	bàngday
‘country’	mvŋ ⁴	múŋ	meng ¹¹	muk ^L	móng
‘pond’	nɔŋ ¹	nóŋ	nvong ³¹	nauŋ ^F	núng
‘hook’	met ⁴	myít	mit ⁵		mit

Although it is not always easy to tell whether non-Jinghpaw Kachin languages

borrowed lexical items directly from Shan or through Jinghpaw, there are at least some examples that indicate the latter scenario. These examples come from Shan items with non-etymological Jinghpaw elements as in (1), and shared semantic shifts as in (2).

- (1) Shan *kaa*⁵ ‘to trade’ > Jinghpaw *phəga* ‘trade (n.)’ > Zaiwa *pe⁵ga³⁵* ‘trade (n.)’, Lhaovo *phăka^L* ‘trade (n.)’, Lacid *pha:ga*: ‘trade (n.)’, Rawang *pvga* ‘goods’
- (2) Shan *maj⁵s^haw³* ‘slender piece of wood’ > Jinghpaw *màysàw ~ màwsàw* ‘paper’ > Zaiwa *mau¹¹sau¹¹* ‘paper’, Lhaovo *muk^Fsuk^H* ‘paper’, Lacid *moug*: ‘soug’ ‘paper’, Rawang *mèsò* ‘paper’

As noted above, Jinghpaw, as a lingua franca among the Kachin people, performs the function of transferring lexical items of languages of high prestige in the region, such as Shan, into non-Jinghpaw Kachin languages. Matisoff (2013: 24) provides the borrowing chains across several language families given in (3), remarking that the Jinghpaw lexicon has a large number of Shan elements, and “[s]ome of these Shan items were themselves from Burmese, and in turn some of these were originally from Indo-Aryan”. Jinghpaw, as a lingua franca among the Kachin people, introduced some of these items into non-Jinghpaw Kachin languages such as Rawang.

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

Table 5 shows some of the lexical items of Pali origin shared across several TB and Tai languages discussed above, including Written Burmese (WB), Shan and Jinghpaw.⁴

Table 5 Selected Pali loanwords in several TB and Tai languages

	Pali	WB	Shan	Jinghpaw	Lhaovo	Rawang
‘caution’	<i>sati</i>	<i>sati</i>	<i>s^ha¹ti⁵</i>	<i>sədiʔ</i>	<i>sătiʔ^F</i>	<i>svdiq</i>
‘luck’	<i>kamma</i>	<i>kaṃ</i>	<i>kaam²</i>	<i>gàm</i>	<i>kam^F</i>	<i>gàm</i>
‘machine’	<i>sakka</i>	<i>cak</i>	<i>tsaak³</i>	<i>jàk</i>	<i>cak^F</i>	<i>jvk</i>
‘intellect’	<i>ñāṇa</i>	<i>ñāṇ</i>	<i>ṇaan²</i>	<i>nyàn</i>		<i>nyan</i>
‘camel’	<i>kula-oṭṭha</i>	<i>kulā³ut</i>	<i>ka¹laa⁴ʔuk⁵</i>	<i>golaʔúk</i>	<i>ko^Lla^Lʔuk^F</i>	<i>golawu</i>
‘rich’	<i>setṭhi</i>	<i>sūthe³</i>	<i>s^ha⁵t^he⁴</i>	<i>səthí</i>	<i>săthe^H</i>	<i>svté</i>

⁴ It is often the case that the original meaning has been obscured in recipient languages as a result of semantic change. Table 5 provides glosses in the recipient languages. The original Pali meanings are respectively as follows: ‘memory, recognition, consciousness’, ‘the doing, deed, work’, ‘able, possible’, ‘knowledge, intelligence, insight’, ‘clan-camel’, ‘foreman of a guild, treasurer’. Note that Written Burmese *kulā³ut* (lit. Indian-camel), whose roots are not combined in the donor language, seems to be a novel compound coined by Burmese. The first syllable of Pali *setṭhi* which does not convey any meaning is replaced by *sū* ‘person’ in Burmese due to folk etymology.

2.3. Jinghpaw and other dominant languages

The Jinghpaw-speaking region is also inhabited by Burmese and Chinese speakers. The linguistic influence from Burmese and Chinese on Jinghpaw is, diachronically speaking, less significant than that from Shan, as reflected in the relative lack of Burmese and Chinese loanwords in Jinghpaw as compared to those of Shan. Many of the Burmese loanwords seem to have been introduced into Jinghpaw through Shan, given that many of them are also found in Shan, and that intensive direct contact between Jinghpaw and Burmese seems to be dated back no further than the early 1800s before the Anglo-Burmese wars. The fact that some Jinghpaw words of Burmese origin have additional non-etymological Shan elements also suggests that these words are introduced into Jinghpaw through Shan. Written Burmese *un*³ ‘coconut’, for example, is borrowed into Jinghpaw as *məʔún* (cf. Shan *maak*²?*un*¹) with a Shan class term *maak*² ‘fruit’, which frequently occurs in Shan fruit names (see Section 3.4).

Table 6 shows some selected Burmese loanwords in Jinghpaw with corresponding Shan forms. Observe in the table that Burmese lexical items borrowed into Jinghpaw retain phonological properties of Written Burmese (WB), which have undergone significant sound changes in Colloquial Burmese (CB). The Written Burmese liquid *r* which has merged with *y* in Colloquial Burmese, for example, appears as *r* in Shan and Jinghpaw. As such, data of Burmese loanwords in Shan and Jinghpaw, together with evidence from the writing system and conservative Burmese dialects, offer clues for reconstruction of phonetic values of Old Burmese phonemes.

Table 6 Burmese loanwords in Shan and Jinghpaw

	WB	CB	Shan	Jinghpaw
‘building/box’	tuik	taiʔ	tɿk ³	dèk
‘capital’	araŋ ³	ʔəyín	ʔa ¹ raaŋ ⁴	ʔáráŋ
‘certificate’	lakmhat	lɛʔhmaʔ	laak ³ maat ³	làkmàt
‘bell’	khoŋ ³ loŋ ³	kháunláun	k ^h ɔŋ ⁴ loŋ ⁴	khonloŋ
‘respite’	khyam ³ sā	chánǎ	k ^h jaam ⁴ s ^h aa ²	khyámsà
‘murraya plant’	sanapkhā ³	θānākhá	s ^h a ¹ naap ³ k ^h aa ⁴	sə̀nàpkhá

Sino-Jinghpaw words are much more restricted, as Hanson (1913: 29) puts it: “[v]ery few Chinese terms have been incorporated, although the Kachins [Jinghpaws] for centuries have been in close contact with their powerful and intelligent neighbours.” Some words of Chinese origin are shared between several Kachin languages. Table 7 shows some selected Chinese loanwords in pinyin found in Jinghpaw and some other Kachin languages.⁵ Note that some Chinese items are also found in Shan, leaving the

⁵ The Lhaoovo data in orthographic forms are from my field notes.

possibility that they were introduced into Jinghpaw through Shan, e.g. *s^hɔn²* ‘calculate’, *lɔ³* ‘mule’.

Table 7 Chinese loanwords in some Kachin languages

	Chinese	Jinghpaw	Zaiwa	Lhaovo	Rawang
‘cut with scissors’	jiǎn	zèn	zuen ¹¹		zìn
‘calculate’	suàn	son	son ⁵⁵		sun
‘chopsticks’	kuàizi	khoydzè	koi ⁵⁵ zvue ¹¹		
‘mule’	luózi	lòdzè	lo ¹¹	lo ze	lòzè
‘eel’	huángshàn	khànɕan	hang ¹¹ syān ⁵⁵	khang: shan:	
‘boss / rich man’	lǎobǎn	làwbàn		lau ban	lòbòn

While the Burmese and Chinese influence on Jinghpaw is historically less significant, the situations are rapidly changing, with increased demands for Burmese in Burma and Chinese in China as the medium of education and communication. The majority of the Kachin people in Burma today, including Jinghpaw, are fully bilingual in Burmese from childhood.

2.4. Jinghpaw and Luish

Jinghpaw, as noted earlier, belongs to the TB branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family, as evidenced by well-established sound correspondences between Jinghpaw and the proto-language as well as by a large number of Jinghpaw lexical items inherited from the proto-language. Within TB, Jinghpaw is closely related to the Luish (Asakian) languages such as Cak (Sak), Kadu, Ganan, Andro and Sengmai, which are distributed in small discontinuous pockets situated across three countries: northwestern Burma, southeastern Bangladesh and northeastern India. Together these constitute the Jinghpaw-Luish (Jinghpaw-Asakian) branch of TB, which covers a widespread but discontinuous area in the northwestern part of Greater Mainland Southeast Asia (Huziwara 2012b, 2014, Matisoff 2013).

Jinghpaw and Luish languages, being geographically separated, have not been in contact relationship for the past centuries. It should be noted, however, that both Jinghpaw and some Luish languages in northern Burma such as Kadu and Ganan have been in contact with Shan independently. Shan influence on Kadu, for example, is reflected in its lexicon where basic lexical items such as some numerals and kinship terms are of Shan origin (Sangdong 2012: 139–141, 236–238). Some Shan loanwords in Kadu and Ganan, due to this situation, are shared with some languages of the Kachin including Jinghpaw, some examples of which are presented in Table 8. Section 4, when relevant, provides Shan loanwords in Kadu and Ganan shared by Jinghpaw.

Table 8 Selected Shan loanwords in Kadu and several Kachin languages

	Shan	Kadu	Jinghpaw	Zaiwa	Rawang
‘bag’	t ^h oŋ ¹	shíthaúng	thuŋ	tung ³¹	d̀vnggúng
‘rabbit’	paaj ¹ taaj ⁴	pángtaí	praŋtáy	bang ¹¹ dvai ³¹	bàngday
‘shoes/slippers’	k ^h ep ⁴ tin ¹	heúttín	khyèpdin		chøpdòn
‘duck’	pet ⁴	aūmpeút	khaypyék	bvyet ⁵	kabit
‘castrate’	tøn ¹	taún	don		dun
‘mosquito net’	s ^h ut ⁴	sūt	sút	sut ⁵	

3. Linguistic properties of Shan loanwords

This section deals with a brief overview of linguistic characteristics of Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw in terms of phonology (3.1), morphology (3.2), syntax (3.3) and semantics (3.4).

3.1. Phonology

The mapping of vowels and initial consonants from Shan to Jinghpaw can be summarized as follows.

<i>Vowels</i>	<i>Stops</i>	<i>Sonorants</i>	<i>Fricatives</i>
i > i	p > p, b	m > m	s ^h > s
e > i	t > t, d	n > n	h > kh, (h)
ɛ > e	ts > c, j	ɲ > ny	
a > a	k > k, g	ŋ > ŋ	
aa > a	p ^h > ph	l > l	
ɔ > o	t ^h > th	r > r	
ɣ > i, u, uy	k ^h > kh	w > w	
o > u	? > ?	j > y	
u > i, u			
u > u			
au > aw			

Some remarks on the correspondence summarized above are in order. Jinghpaw has six monophthongs, including a marginal /ə/, while Shan has many more vowel contrasts. Many of the Shan vowels, thus, are replaced in Jinghpaw by close equivalents. Shan has contrastive mid vowels /e/, /ɛ/, /o/ and /ɔ/, while Jinghpaw has only /e/ and /o/. Shan open-mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are mapped to mid vowels /e/ and /o/ in Jinghpaw, because Jinghpaw mid vowels are phonetically open-mid vowels. Shan close-mid vowels /e/ and /o/, on the other hand, are adapted as high

vowels /i/ and /u/ in Jinghpaw. Shan vowels /ɿ/ and /ʉ/, which are lacking in the Jinghpaw vowel inventory, are mapped to /i/ or /u/, the choice of which seems to be unpredictable, e.g. *nàmlíj* ‘dropsy’ (< Shan *nam⁵lɿŋ¹*), *lun* ‘lunar month’ (< Shan *lɿn¹*), *khík* ‘a kind of basket’ (< Shan *k^huk²*), *lùksùk* ‘soldier’ (< Shan *luk³s^huk⁴*). Vowel length is not phonemic in Jinghpaw while Shan has a length contrast for /a/. Both of Shan /a/ and /aa/ are mapped to /a/ in Jinghpaw without any trace. The Shan diphthong /au/ is replaced by /aw/ in Jinghpaw. Shan vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ are faithfully retained in Jinghpaw. Table 9 shows some examples of vowel correspondences between Shan and Jinghpaw.

Table 9 Some vowel correspondences

	Shan		Jinghpaw
‘hook’	met ⁴	>	myít
‘jewel’	s ^h ɛŋ ¹	>	seŋ
‘bean’	t ^h o ²	>	thù
‘rivulet/ditch’	hoŋ ³	>	khòŋ
‘water’	nam ⁵	>	nàm
‘barren’	haam ⁴	>	khám

Jinghpaw faithfully retains Shan voiceless aspirated stops, glottal stop and sonorants, which are mapped straightforwardly to corresponding Jinghpaw consonants without any substitution. The two Shan fricatives /s^h/ and /h/ are mapped to Jinghpaw /s/ [s^h] and /kh/ or /h/. The mapping /h/ > /kh/ can be accounted for in terms of phonological nativization as Jinghpaw /h/ is marginal in the native phonology, being mostly restricted to interjections and onomatopoeic words. The Shan voiceless unaspirated stops and a voiceless affricate /ts/ (represented by /c/ in Lengtai 2009 and by /s/ in Hudak 2000) are mapped to either voiceless or voiced counterparts in Jinghpaw, the conditioning factor of which is unknown, e.g. *té* ‘ridge’ (< Shan *tɛ⁴*), *dépkhá* ‘thatch comb’ (< Shan *tɛp⁴k^haa⁴*). There are some cases where Jinghpaw shows hesitation between voiceless and voiced stops, e.g. *kày* ~ *gày* ‘fowl’ (< Shan *kaj²*), *maypàw* ~ *maybàw* ‘a kind of tree’ (< Shan *maj⁵paw⁴*). Table 10 shows some examples of initial stops, affricates and sonorants between Shan and Jinghpaw.

Table 10 Some correspondences between initial consonants

	Shan		Jinghpaw
‘palace’	hɔ ¹	>	kho
‘yoke’	ʔɛk ²	>	ʔék
‘epilepsy’	maa ³ mu ¹	>	màmu
‘difficult’	jaak ³	>	yàk
‘garden’	s ^h on ¹	>	sún
‘shellfish’	hɔj ¹	>	khoy

The rhyme systems of Jinghpaw and Shan are similar in many respects, for example, in that they have basically the same set of final consonants, and that the vowel-coda combination is basically free in both languages, except when the coda is a glide. This fact accounts for the fact that final consonants of Shan are faithfully retained in Jinghpaw without modification. Note additionally that Jinghpaw has regularly lost the final *k of Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB), reducing it to a glottal stop /ʔ/ in inherited words (Benedict 1972: 14), e.g. wàʔ ‘pig’ (< PTB *p^wak). The Shan final /k/ is imported as /k/ in Jinghpaw, filling the structural gap in the Jinghpaw native phonology once created by the sound change. These facts indicate that Jinghpaw borrowed these items from Shan after the PTB *k was reduced to /ʔ/ in Jinghpaw. As such, Jinghpaw words with final /k/ are good candidates for loanwords (Matisoff 1974: 157, 2013: 24). Table 11 shows some correspondences of final consonants between Shan and Jinghpaw.

Table 11 Some correspondences between final consonants

	Shan		Jinghpaw
‘cave’	t ^h am ³	>	thàm
‘model’	laaj ⁴ len ⁴	>	làylèn
‘poison’	kɔŋ ⁵	>	guŋ
‘uncooked fish’	paa ¹ lip ⁴	>	balíp
‘animal’	to ¹ s ^h at ⁴	>	dùsàt
‘compartment’	lɔk ⁴	>	lòk
‘gourd’	taw ³	>	tàw
‘small scale’	joj ⁴	>	yòy

Jinghpaw has a native phonotactic restriction against combining an initial /w/ or /ŋ/ with front vowels. An illicit combination of /w/ plus front vowels has arisen as a result of a sound change *w > /y/ before front vowels (Kurabe 2014), e.g. yi ~ yì ‘female’ (< PTB *pwi(y)-n ‘female’). Shan loanwords having such illicit combinations in the Jinghpaw native phonology are imported into Jinghpaw, e.g. wíŋ ‘enclosure’ <

Shan *wɛŋ*⁴ ‘town’ (possibly from Burmese), *jàŋŋín* ‘silversmith’ < Shan *tsaən*³*ŋun*⁴, the former example of which suggests the borrowing took place after the sound change *w > /y/.

Shan has more contrastive tones than Jinghpaw. These Shan tones are adapted in Jinghpaw according to the Jinghpaw tone system. The tonal correspondences between Shan and Jinghpaw are summarized in Table 12.⁶

Table 12 Tonal correspondences in checked and unchecked syllables

Unchecked syllables			Checked syllables		
(ma ²)	low	>	low, (mid)	(mak ²)	low > high, (low)
(ma ³)	mid	>	low, (mid, high)	(mak ³)	mid > low, high
(ma ⁴)	high	>	high, (low, mid)	(mak ⁴)	high > high, (low)
(ma ⁵)	falling	>	mid, low	(mak ⁵)	falling > low, (high)
(ma ¹)	rising	>	mid, (low, high)		
(ma ⁶)	emphatic	>	no example		

As can be seen, the correspondence is not straightforward. In some cases the tone assignment seems to be based on faithfulness to the input (e.g. the Shan high tone in unchecked syllables), while in other cases it seems to be based on a default assignment mechanism by which the default low and mid tones are assigned to loanwords in contrast to the less frequent Jinghpaw high tone (Matisoff 1974: 159). It would be also possible that the non-straightforwardness of tonal correspondences might be attributed to dialectal differences within Shan.

There are also some puzzling cases in which Shan forms are repaired in Jinghpaw even though there is no necessity. Examples include: Shan /k-/ > Jg. /kh-/ (e.g. ‘duck’, below); Shan /m-/ > Jg. /l-/ (e.g. ‘mango’); Shan \emptyset > Jg. /-ʔ/ (e.g. ‘mix’); Shan /-ŋ/ > Jg. /-k/ (e.g. ‘lima bean’); Shan /-t/ > Jg. /-k/ (e.g. ‘duck’, ‘red pepper’, ‘hook’, ‘black pepper’); the insertion of a non-etymological medial /r/ (e.g. ‘rabbit’, ‘red pepper’).

⁶ Table 12 is based only on tones on monosyllabic words because Jinghpaw sometimes shows tonal alternations involving polysyllabic words whose rules are not thoroughly understood.

Table 13 Unnecessary repairs

	Shan		Jinghpaw
‘duck’	kaj ² ‘fowl’, pet ⁴ ‘duck’	>	khaypyék
‘mango’	maak ² moŋ ³	>	məmûŋ ~ ləmũŋ
‘lima bean’	t ^h o ² poŋ ¹	>	thùbúk
‘hook’	met ⁴	>	myít ~ ?myék
‘rabbit’	paaj ¹ taaj ⁴	>	praŋtáy
‘mix’	lo ⁴ le ⁴	>	lò?lè?
‘red pepper’	maak ² p ^h it ⁵	>	ùprík
‘black pepper’	maak ² p ^h it ⁵ pòm ³	>	mákphýík bòm

3.2. Morphology

The unnecessary repair noted in Section 3.1 can also be observed at the morphological level. As noted by Dai and Xu (1995: 248–249), some Shan words are borrowed into Jinghpaw with non-etymological meaningless presyllables, the function of which are unclear.

Table 14 Addition of non-etymological meaningless presyllables

Shan			Jinghpaw	
paaj ¹	‘gathering place’	>	dəbaŋ	‘camp’
s ^h ɛ ³	‘bolt’	>	sùmsè	‘bolt’
pi ²	‘pipe, flute’	>	sumpyi	‘flute’
paaj ²	‘level as a tract of land’	>	dùmbàŋ	‘substantial tract of land’

Jinghpaw has verb-deriving reduplication whereby verbs are derived from nouns by means of partial reduplication. This process, as pointed out by Diehl (1988) and Dai and Xu (1995: 249–250), is also applicable to loanwords. Thus, Shan nouns such as *kaat²* ‘market’, *k^hɛp⁴tin¹* ‘sandals’ (cf. *tin¹* ‘foot’), *tsaw³kɔŋ³* ‘gunner’ (lit. master-gun) and *s^hɔŋ¹hon¹* ‘cholera’ are involved in the noun-verb reduplicative construction in Jinghpaw, the morphological process of which is not attested in Shan. Examples:⁷

(4) Reduplicative noun-verb constructions

- gát* ‘market’ → *gát gát* ‘open, as a market’
khyépdin ‘shoes’ → *khyépdin din* ‘put on shoes’
jàwgòŋ ‘hunter’ → *jàwgòŋ gòŋ* ‘hunt (v.)’
soŋkhun ‘cholera’ → *soŋkhun khun* ‘be infected with cholera’

⁷ Reduplication may trigger irregular tone alternations.

Shan is a head-initial language where the head of noun-noun compounds precedes its modifier while Jinghpaw is a head-final in noun-noun compounding, the default head position of which is the right position. Many Shan noun-noun loanwords in Jinghpaw follow the rules of Shan, e.g. *bà-lúk* ‘catfish’ (lit. fish-pit), *màk-pháy* ‘fire fruit’ (lit. fruit-fire), *moŋ-din* ‘socks’ (lit. bag-foot), *nam-sum* ‘vinegar’ (lit. water-sour), suggesting that they were borrowed into Jinghpaw as a whole. There are also a few examples which show the reverse modifier-head order, suggesting that they were borrowed into Jinghpaw part by part and then compounded in Jinghpaw in accordance with its morphological rule, e.g. *khaw-nà* (lit. rice-paddy) ‘rice field’ (cf. Shan *naa¹-k^haw³*), *khàw-gát* (lit. rice-market) ‘bazaar’ (cf. Shan *kaat²-k^haw³*), *nà-lòk* (lit. paddy-compartment) ‘compartment of a rice field’ (cf. Shan *lok⁴-naa⁴*).

3.3. Syntax

Borrowed numerals sometimes function as classifiers in Jinghpaw. As pointed out by Dai and Xu (1995: 245), Jinghpaw round numbers over ‘thousand’ are loanwords from neighboring languages. Observe this in the following list of Jinghpaw numerals where some numerals exhibit semantic shifts.⁸

Table 16 Round numbers in Jinghpaw

çi	‘ten’	PTB	*ts(y)i(y) ≈ *tsyay	‘ten’
tsa	‘hundred’	PTB	*b-r-gya	‘hundred’
khyiŋ	‘thousand’	Shan	heŋ	‘thousand’
mùn	‘ten thousand’	Shan	mum ²	‘ten thousand’
sèn	‘hundred thousand’	Shan	s ^h en ¹	‘hundred thousand’
wàn	‘million’	Chinese	wàn	‘ten thousand’
rì	‘ten million’	Chinese	yì	‘hundred million’
gə̀dì	‘hundred million’	Burmese	gǎ̀dè	‘ten million’

The borrowed round numbers are distinguished from inherited round numbers in terms of the relative position they occur. Consider the contrast in Table 17. These borrowed round numbers can be interpreted as classifiers based on their position, e.g. *mə̀çà mə̀ray mə̀li* (person-CLF-four) ‘four persons’. This is supported, in part, by the fact that many of the Jinghpaw classifiers are of foreign origin (Xu 1987).

⁸ Shan *heŋ¹* and *s^hen¹* may be originally from Chinese *qiān* ‘thousand’ and from Written Burmese *sin³* ‘hundred thousand’, respectively. Burmese *gǎ̀dè* is of Indo-Aryan origin, i.e. Pali *koṭṭi* ‘the end’ (Dr. Huziwara Keisuke, p.c., 2016).

Table 17 Asymmetrical distribution of inherited and borrowed round numbers in Jinghpaw

‘forty’	məli ɕi	*ɕi məli
‘four hundred’	məli tsa	*tsa məli
‘four thousand’	*məli khyiŋ	khyiŋ məli
‘forty thousand’	*məli m̀n	m̀n məli
‘four hundred thousand’	*məli s̀n	s̀n məli
‘four million’	*məli ẁn	ẁn məli
‘forty million’	*məli r̀i	r̀i məli
‘four hundred million’	*məli gədi	gədi məli

3.4. Semantics

Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw recur in several specific semantic fields. Dai and Xu (1995: 259–265) point out that many Jinghpaw words associated with wet-rice cultivation, trading, fauna and flora (esp. fruit, vegetable and fish), and cultural items (esp. food and daily utensils) are of Tai origin, since the Jinghpaw people did not have these objects before they came into contact with the Tai people. Hanson (1896: 91) points out the existence of some Shan morphemes which occur recurrently in the Jinghpaw lexicon such as *hɔ*¹ ‘palace’, *tsaw*³ ‘master’ and *nam*⁵ ‘water’. Some of these recurrent items appear with Shan class terms such as *maak*² ‘fruit’, *paa*¹ ‘fish’, *nam*⁵ ‘water’, *maj*⁵ ‘wood’ and *k^haw*³ ‘rice’. For example, Jinghpaw, as shown in Table 18, has a number of lexical items associated with fruits involving a morpheme *màk* ~ *mák* ~ *mə*, which has its diachronic source in the recurrent Shan class term *maak*² ‘fruit’.

Table 18 Plant names with *maak*² ‘fruit’

	Shan	Jinghpaw
‘jackfruit’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>laaŋ</i> ⁴	<i>màk</i> <i>laŋ</i>
‘fire fruit’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>p^haj</i> ⁴	<i>màk</i> <i>pháy</i>
‘sweet orange’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>waan</i> ¹	<i>màk</i> <i>wan</i>
‘bitter gourd’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>ʔaaŋ</i> ¹ <i>k^haaŋ</i> ¹	<i>màk</i> <i>ʔaŋkhaŋ</i>
‘pomegranate’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>man</i> ⁵	<i>màk</i> <i>mân</i>
‘quince’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>waaw</i> ⁴	<i>màk</i> <i>wáw</i>
‘orange’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>tsək</i> ⁴	<i>màk</i> <i>còk</i>
‘black pepper’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>p^hit</i> ⁵ <i>pəm</i> ³	<i>mák</i> <i>phyík</i> <i>bòm</i>
‘hog’s plum’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>kək</i> ²	<i>mək</i> <i>kók</i>
‘mango’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>moy</i> ³	<i>məm</i> <i>ûŋ</i>
‘pear’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>kɔ</i> ³	<i>mə</i> <i>go</i>
‘plum’	<i>maak</i> ² <i>k^hɔ</i> ¹	<i>mə</i> <i>khó</i>

Some of the loanwords have undergone semantic changes in Jinghpaw. As an illustration, consider a Shan word *hɔ¹k^ham⁴* ‘royal palace’ which has undergone metonymic semantic change, meaning ‘king’ in Jinghpaw (i.e. *khokhám*). Other examples include:

Table 19 Semantic shifts of loanwords

Jg. màysàw	‘paper’	<	S. maj ⁵ s ^h aw ³	‘slender piece of wood’
Jg. phày	‘flint’	<	S. p ^h aj ⁴	‘fire’
Jg. khám	‘gold leaf’	<	S. k ^h am ⁴	‘gold’
Jg. sùŋ	‘deep’	<	S. s ^h uŋ ¹	‘high, tall’
Jg. ʔəroŋ	‘honor’	<	S. ʔa ⁵ rɔŋ ²	‘brightness’ (< B. ‘color’)
Jg. sasə̀nà	‘mission’	<	S. s ^h a ² s ^h a ¹ naa ²	‘religious system’ (< B. < Pali)

4. Classified lexicon of Shan loanwords

This section provides a lexicon of Shan loanwords in Jinghpaw classified in terms of semantic fields based on Aung Kyaw et al. (2001): nature (4.1); animals (4.2); plants (4.3); food and drink (4.4); clothing and adornments (4.5); dwelling (4.6); tools (4.7); community, occupation and production (4.8); commerce and trade (4.9); communication and transportation (4.10); culture and entertainment (4.11); cults, customs and socializing (4.12); human body (4.13); life, sickness and death (4.14); types of people (4.15); activity and mental activity (4.16); state and quality (4.17); time (4.18); number (4.19).

The lexicon, including Numhpuk and Turung, two Jinghpaw dialects spoken in northeastern India, also provides corresponding lexical items of several relevant languages from Tai-Kadai (TK) and Tibeto-Burman (TB) which are outlined in Section 2. They include: Dehong [TK] and Khamti [TK] (genetically having a close relationship to Shan); Hpun [TB] (culturally having a close relationship to Shan); Lacid [TB], Langsu [TB], Leqi [TB], Lhovo [TB], Lisu [TB], Ngochang [TB], Rawang [TB] and Zaiwa [TB] (culturally having a close relationship to Jinghpaw and Shan); Kadu [TB] and Ganan [TB] (genetically having a close relationship to Jinghpaw and culturally to Shan). Among these, Lacid and Leqi, and Langsu and Lhaovo can be viewed as closely related dialects of a single language, respectively.

Abbreviations for the languages in the lexicon are as follows.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| • B. Burmese (Colloquial) | • Hp. Hpun | • Lan. Langsu |
| • C. Chinese | • Ka. Kadu | • Le. Leqi |
| • D. Dehong | • Kh. Khamti | • Lh. Lhaovo |
| • G. Ganan | • Lac. Lacid | • Li. Lisu |

- Ng. Ngochang
- Nu. Numhpuk
- P. Pali
- R. Rawang
- S. Shan
- Sk. Sanskrit
- T. Turung
- Z. Zaiwa

Transcription systems depend on data sources: phonological (Colloquial Burmese, Dehong, Ganan, Hpun, Kadu, Khamti, Langsu, Leqi, Lhaovo by Sawada 2003 and 2004, Lisu, Numhpuk, Shan, Turung, Zaiwa); orthographic (Chinese, Lacid, Lhaovo by the author, Ngochang, Rawang); literal (Pali, Sanskrit and Written Burmese). For the phonological systems and/or correspondences between phonological and orthographic transcriptions of Lacid, Lhaovo, Ngochang and Rawang, the readers are referred to Wannemacher (2011), Sawada (2006), Nasaw Sampu et al. (2005), and LaPolla and Sangdong (2015), respectively.

Notes on the lexicon are as follows. The first line provides English translations for corresponding Jinghpaw words based on Hanson (1906) and Maran (1978). The abbreviation *bf.* stands for a bound form, *clf.* for a classifier and *v.* for a verb. The second line offers Jinghpaw words in the orthographic forms followed by phonemic transcriptions enclosed in square brackets. The third line provides corresponding Shan forms followed, if any, by corresponding forms from other relevant languages. No glosses are provided for these words when all the given items denote the same meanings.

4.1. Nature

cave	<i>htam</i> /thàm/	S. <i>t^ham³</i> , D. <i>tham⁴</i>
earth oil	<i>nam myin</i> /nàmmyin/	S. <i>nam⁵men¹</i> ; R. <i>nvmín</i>
enamel	<i>nam ya</i> /nàmyà/	S. <i>nam⁵jaa³</i> ; R. <i>nvmya</i> ‘blue’
ditch	<i>hkawng</i> /khòŋ/	S. <i>hɔŋ³</i> ‘rivulet’, Kh. <i>hɔŋ²</i> ‘channel’ (W), D. <i>hɔŋ⁶</i> ; Z. <i>xoŋ²¹</i> (D), R. <i>tikùŋ</i> (water-ditch)
ditch	<i>nam hkawng</i> /nàmkhòŋ/	S. <i>nam⁵hɔŋ³</i> ‘stream of water’
flood	<i>nam htum</i> /nàmthùm/	S. <i>nam⁵t^hom³mɔŋ⁴</i>
gold leaf	<i>hkam</i> /khám/	S. <i>k^ham⁴</i> ‘gold’, Kh. <i>k^ham³</i> ‘gold’, D. <i>xam²</i> ‘gold’
lake ⁹	<i>nawng</i> /nónŋ/	S. <i>nɔŋ¹</i> , Kh. <i>nɔŋ⁴</i> (W), D. <i>lɔŋ¹</i> ; Z. <i>nvong³¹</i> , Lh. <i>yi^Fnauŋ^H</i> , Lac. <i>gyid nounŋ</i> , R. <i>tínúŋ</i> , G. <i>nàuŋ</i> (H)
mountain ¹⁰	<i>loi</i> /loy/	S. <i>lɔj¹</i> , Kh. <i>nɔy¹</i> , D. <i>loi⁶</i> ; Z. <i>loi¹¹lung³⁵</i> ‘Loilung village’

⁹ This word is often preceded by *khà?* ‘water’ in Jinghpaw. The same holds for Lhaovo, Lacid and Rawang where *yi^F*, *gyid* and *tí* mean ‘water’, respectively.

¹⁰ “a large number of Kachin hills and villages have names derived from the Shan; thus *Loije*, *Loijau*, *Loihkang* and *Loilung*; ... *Loi sam sip*, the traditional thirty Hills in the *Sinli* district” (Hanson 1906:357)

ocean	<i>nam muk dāra</i> /nàmmùkdəra/ ¹¹	S. <i>nam</i> ⁵ ‘water’, Sk. <i>samudra</i> , P. <i>samudda</i> ; B. <i>θāmouʔdāya</i> (WB <i>samuddarā</i>), Z. <i>nam</i> ³¹ <i>moq</i> ¹ <i>de</i> ¹ <i>ra</i> ³⁵ , Lh. <i>nam mug dara</i> : (K), Lac. <i>nam mug dara</i> ., Ng. <i>nvmuk-dra</i> , R. <i>nvmukdvra</i>
Salween river solder	<i>sap hkung</i> /sàpkhuŋ/ <i>nam san</i> /nàmsan/	S. <i>k^hoŋ</i> ⁴ , D. <i>xoŋ</i> ² D. <i>lām</i> ⁵³ <i>san</i> ³⁵ (M); Z. <i>nam</i> ⁵¹ <i>san</i> ⁵⁵ (D)
sky	Nu. <i>kanghkau</i> /kaŋ ⁴ khau ⁴ /	S. <i>p^haa</i> ⁵ <i>kaaŋ</i> ¹ <i>haaw</i> ¹
tract of land	<i>dumbang</i> /dùmbàŋ/	S. <i>paaj</i> ² ‘be level as a tract of land’
water	<i>nam</i> /nàm/ ¹²	S. <i>nam</i> ⁵ , Kh. <i>nam</i> ² , D. <i>lam</i> ⁵
water (oozing) ¹³	<i>nam chyim</i> /nàmcím/	S. <i>nam</i> ⁵ <i>tsum</i> ⁴ , D. <i>lam</i> ⁵ <i>tsim</i> ²
water rust	<i>nam hkan</i> /nàmkhan/	S. <i>nam</i> ⁵ ‘water’, <i>k^haan</i> ¹ ‘formation of lime, as a stalactite’

4.2. Animals

animal	<i>du sat</i> /dùsàt/	S. <i>to</i> ¹ <i>s^hat</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>to</i> ¹ ‘classifier for animals’, D. <i>sat</i> ¹ ; Z. <i>du</i> ¹¹ <i>sat</i> ¹ ~ <i>du</i> ¹¹ <i>sat</i> ⁵
bird, <i>bf.</i>	<i>kai</i> /kày/ ~ <i>gai</i> /gày/ ~ <i>hkai</i> /khày/	S. <i>kaj</i> ² ‘fowl’, Kh. <i>kay</i> ⁴ ‘fowl’, D. <i>kai</i> ³ ‘chicken’
capon	<i>kai dawn</i> /kàydon/	S. <i>kaj</i> ² ‘fowl’, <i>ton</i> ¹ ‘to geld’, D. <i>kai</i> ³ <i>phu</i> ⁴ <i>ton</i> ⁶
catfish	<i>bāluk</i> /bəlúk/	S. <i>paa</i> ¹ <i>luk</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>nuk</i> ⁴ ‘catfish’; Lh. <i>balug</i> (K), Lac. <i>ba lug</i>
dipper	<i>kai nam</i> /káynam/ ~ <i>gai nam</i> /gáynam/	S. <i>kaj</i> ² ‘fowl’, <i>nam</i> ⁵ ‘water’
duck	<i>pyek</i> /pyék/ ¹⁴	S. <i>pet</i> ⁴ ‘duck’, Kh. <i>pet</i> ⁴ , D. <i>pet</i> ³ ; Z. <i>bvyet</i> ⁵ , Lac. <i>gai pyed</i> , R. <i>kabit</i> , Ka. <i>aūmpeút</i> , G. <i>ʔáunpét</i> (H)
duck	<i>hkai pyek</i> /khaypyék/	S. <i>kaj</i> ² ‘fowl’, <i>pet</i> ⁴ ‘duck’

¹¹ This hybrid word is created in Jinghpaw by combining etymologically Tai and Indo-Aryan parts: Shan *nam*⁵ ‘water’ and Written Burmese *samuddarā* (< Sk. *samudra*).

¹² This morpheme is found in many river and place names in Kachin and Shan State, as can be seen in Nam Ti Sang, Nam Li Hka, Nam Yin Hka, Nam Si, Nam Mi Lawng, Nam Mun, Nam Ma, Nam Hkam, Nam Hpat Kar (see Sawada 2011).

¹³ ‘water oozing through the ground’

¹⁴ This word is recorded with final *t* as *u pyet* in Scott (1900:664) and *kaipet* in Grierson (1928:521), suggesting a sporadic sound change of *t* to *k*. Also note Numhpuk *kha^hpet⁴* and Turung *kai³pet⁴*.

elephant (tuskless male)	<i>jang dwi</i> /jàŋduy/	S. <i>tsaaj⁵tuj⁴</i> , Kh. <i>caaj²</i> ‘elephant’, D. <i>tsaaj⁵</i> ‘elephant’
fish, <i>bf.</i>	<i>ba</i> /ba/	S. <i>paa¹</i> , Kh. <i>paa¹</i> , D. <i>paa⁶</i>
geld	<i>dawn</i> /don/	S. <i>tɔn¹</i> , Kh. <i>tɔn¹</i> , D. <i>tɔn⁶</i> ; Z. <i>ton²¹</i> (D), R. <i>dun</i> , Ka. <i>taún</i>
horse	<i>ma</i> /mà/ ¹⁵	S. <i>maa⁵</i> , Kh. <i>maa²</i> , D. <i>maa⁵</i>
horse (black)	<i>ma gam</i> /màgàm/	S. <i>maa⁵</i> ‘horse’, <i>kam²</i> ‘be black’
leech (water)	<i>bying</i> /byìŋ/	S. <i>pij¹</i> , Kh. <i>pij¹</i> , D. <i>pij⁶</i> ; Z. <i>toŋ²¹pjin²¹</i> (D), Lh. <i>na bying</i> (paddy-leech) (K), Lac. <i>na byen</i> (paddy-leech), R. <i>nabing</i> ~ <i>naqbing</i> (paddy-leech), Hp. <i>pəiŋ</i> ~ <i>peìŋ</i>
parrot	<i>kai ke</i> /kayke/ ~ <i>hkai ke</i> /khayke/	S. <i>ka²</i> ‘fowl’, <i>nok⁵k^hew¹</i> ‘parrot’, D. <i>lok⁵xeu¹</i> ; Z. <i>gvai⁵⁵gvyeq¹</i> ‘kind of parrot’, Lac. <i>khai: ke:</i> , Ka. <i>mákheú</i> , G. <i>mak^hé</i> (H)
rabbit	<i>prang tai</i> /praŋtáy/	S. <i>paaj¹taaj⁴</i> , Kh. <i>paŋ¹taay³</i> , D. <i>paaj⁶taai²</i> ; Z. <i>bang¹¹dvai³¹</i> , Lh. <i>pyaŋ^Ftay^L</i> , Lan. <i>paŋ³⁵tai⁵⁵</i> , R. <i>bàngday</i> ~ <i>brvngday</i> , Hp. <i>pàŋ thwai</i> , Ka. <i>pángtai</i> , G. <i>páyté</i>
red catfish	<i>ba leng</i> /baleŋ/	S. <i>paa¹</i> ‘fish’, <i>lɛŋ¹</i> ‘be red’
ride (horse)	<i>hkyi</i> /khyi/ ¹⁶	S. <i>k^hi²</i> , Kh. <i>khi⁴</i> , D. <i>xi³</i>
shellfish	<i>hkoi</i> /kхой/	S. <i>hɔj¹</i> , Kh. <i>hɔI⁴</i> , D. <i>hɔi¹</i> ; Z. <i>hoi⁵⁵</i> , Lh. <i>lǎxǝ^L</i> , Lan. <i>lǎ³¹xɔi³⁵</i> , Lac. <i>la</i> <i>foi:</i> , Le. <i>lǎ³¹xɔi³³</i>
stork	<i>gawn</i> /gon/	S. <i>kɔn²</i> , D. <i>kɔn³</i> ; Z. <i>gon³⁵</i>
turtle	<i>tau</i> /taw/	S. <i>taw²</i> , Kh. <i>taw⁴</i> , D. <i>tau³</i>
turtle	<i>tau kawk</i> /tawkók/	S. <i>kɔk⁴taw²?</i> ‘upper shell of a turtle, oil dipper’; Z. <i>dvau⁵⁵-gvop¹</i> , Lh. <i>tau: kog</i> (K), Lac. <i>tau: kug</i> , Ng. <i>thomh tau-kuk</i>

4.3. Plants

banana (kind of)	<i>gwi hkawm</i> /gùykhom/	S. <i>koj³hɔm¹</i> , Kh. <i>koy⁵</i> ‘banana’, D. <i>koi⁴</i> ‘banana’
banana (kind of)	<i>gwi lung</i> /gùyluŋ/	S. <i>koj³</i> ‘banana’, <i>loŋ¹</i> ‘forest’

¹⁵ Possibly from Chinese *mǎ* ‘horse’ through Shan.

¹⁶ Possibly from Chinese *qí* ‘to ride’ through Shan.

banana (kind of)	<i>gwi sum</i> /gùysùm/	S. <i>koj³s^hom³</i>
bean	<i>htu</i> /thù/	S. <i>t^ho²</i> , Kh. <i>tho⁴</i> , D. <i>tho³</i>
betel, <i>bf.</i>	<i>doi hkawm</i> /doykhhòm/ ¹⁷	S. <i>tɔj²</i> ‘creeper the leaf of which is used for chewing instead of the betel leaf’, <i>k^hom¹</i> ‘be bitter’
betel	<i>ya man</i> /yàmàn/	S. <i>jaa³</i> ‘grass’, D. <i>yaa⁴</i> ‘grass’
bitter gourd	<i>mak ang hkang</i> /màkʔaŋkhaŋ/	S. <i>maak²ʔaaŋ¹k^haaŋ¹</i>
black pepper	<i>mak hpyik bawm</i> /màkphyík bòm/	S. <i>maak²p^hit⁵pòm³</i> , D. <i>maak³phit⁵</i> ; Z. <i>mɿ⁵⁵phjik⁵⁵pòm²¹</i> (D)
Bodhi tree leaf	T. <i>nyong</i> /nyoŋ ³ /	S. <i>maj⁵pɔŋ²</i>
coriander	<i>hpak kyì</i> /phákkýí/ ~ <i>hpăkyi</i> /phăkyí/	S. <i>p^hak⁴ki⁴</i> ; Z. <i>phɿ⁵⁵kj⁵¹</i> (D), Lh. <i>pha jhi</i> : (K), Lac. <i>pha: jhi</i> ”, R. <i>banzi</i> , Ka. <i>cīhaúm</i> ‘flower’, G. <i>cihɔm</i> (H)
eggplant	<i>ba kyì</i> /bàkyí/	S. <i>maak²k^hɿ¹</i> , Kh. <i>ma⁴khy⁴</i> , D. <i>maak³xə¹</i> ; Lh. <i>pa^Fkhyi^Lš^L</i> ‘tomato’, R. <i>baki</i>
fig	<i>mai hpang</i> /màypħaŋ/	S. <i>maj⁵p^haj⁵?</i> ‘touchwood, decayed wood’; Ng. <i>maiphang</i>
fire fruit	<i>mak hpai</i> /màkpháy/	S. <i>maak²p^haj⁴</i>
fruit, <i>bf.</i>	<i>mak</i> /màk/	S. <i>maak²</i> , Kh. <i>maak⁴</i> , D. <i>maak³</i>
garlic	<i>hpăraw</i> /phəro/	S. <i>p^hak⁴</i> ‘pod’, D. <i>phak¹lo¹</i> ; Z. <i>pe⁵ro³⁵</i> , R. <i>gvro</i>
ginger	<i>hkying hka</i> /khyiŋkha/ ¹⁸	S. <i>k^hij¹</i> , Kh. <i>khiŋ⁴</i> , D. <i>xij¹</i>
gourd	<i>tau</i> /taw/ ~ <i>tau ba</i> /tawbà/	S. <i>taw³</i> , D. <i>tau⁴</i> ; Z. <i>dvau⁵⁵</i> ‘bottle’, R. <i>dobá</i>
hog’s plum	<i>măkaw</i> /măkók/	S. <i>maak²kək²</i> ; Lh. <i>mho kaug</i> (K), Lac. <i>ma koug</i>
jackfruit	<i>mak lang</i> /màklaŋ/ ~ <i>mălang</i> /məlaŋ/	S. <i>maak²laaŋ⁴</i> ; R. <i>mvlángshí</i> , Hp. <i>màŋtəŋ</i>
lotus	<i>tawng mu</i> /tóŋmu/	S. <i>mo¹</i> , Kh. <i>mo¹</i> (W), D. <i>mo⁶</i>
lima bean	<i>htu buk</i> /thùbúk/	S. <i>t^ho²pɔŋ¹</i>
mango	<i>lămung</i> /ləmuŋ/ ~ <i>mămung</i> /məmûŋ/	S. <i>maak²moŋ³</i> , Kh. <i>ma⁴moŋ¹</i> , D. <i>maak³moŋ⁶</i> ; Lh. <i>lamung</i> (K), Lac. <i>lamung</i> , Ng. <i>lvmungs</i> , R. <i>lvmúŋ</i>

¹⁷ This word occurs only as the couplet of *pínlāŋ* ‘betel’ (< Chinese *pīnglang* ‘betel’).

¹⁸ Possibly related to Burmese *jín* (WB *khyai³*) ‘ginger’.

maize	<i>hkau hpa /khàwphà/</i>	S. <i>k^haw³paaj³</i> , Kh. <i>khaupa</i> (P), D. <i>xau⁴faa⁵</i>
myrobalan fruit	<i>măna /mənâ/</i>	S. <i>maak²naa⁵</i> ; Ka. <i>ma?nâci</i> (H), G. <i>mənâs^hi</i> (H)
orange	<i>mak chyawk /màkcòk/</i>	S. <i>maak²tsək⁴</i> , D. <i>maak³tsək⁵</i> ; Z. <i>mak¹zyok⁵</i> , Lan. <i>mak³¹tjək³¹</i> , Le. <i>mak³¹tjək⁵⁵</i>
pear	<i>măgaw /məgo/</i>	S. <i>maak²kə³</i> ; Z. <i>mē⁵ko⁵⁵</i> , R. <i>mvgo</i>
plum	<i>măhkaw /məkhó/</i>	S. <i>maak²k^hə¹</i> ; Lh. <i>mhokho</i> ” (K), Lac. <i>mo:kho</i> ” ~ <i>moo:kho</i> ”, Ng. <i>mvkhoh</i>
plum	<i>mak man /màkmân/</i>	S. <i>maak²man⁵</i> , D. <i>maak³man⁵</i> ; Ka. <i>má?mânçi</i> (H)
pomegranate	<i>măchyang /məcaŋ/</i>	S. <i>maak²tsaŋ³</i>
quince	<i>mak wau /màkwáw/ ~</i> <i>măwau /məwáw/</i>	S. <i>maak²waaw⁴</i>
red lentil	<i>htu leng /thùlɛŋ/</i>	S. <i>t^ho²</i> ‘leguminous plant’, <i>lɛŋ¹</i> ‘be red’
red pepper	<i>nprik /n̩prik/</i>	S. <i>maak²p^hit⁵</i> , D. <i>maak³phet³</i> ; Z. <i>pik⁵</i> ‘spicy’, <i>si¹-pik⁵</i> ‘chillies’
scutch grass	<i>ya sai /yàsáy/</i>	S. <i>jaa³s^haj⁴</i> ; Lh. <i>ya sai</i> ” (K)
Shorea robusta	<i>mai pau /maypàw/ ~</i> <i>bau /maybàw/</i>	S. <i>maj⁵paw⁴</i>
sweet orange	<i>mak wan /màkwán/</i>	S. <i>maak²waan¹</i> , D. <i>maak³waan¹</i> ; R. <i>mokwán</i> ‘pomelo’
sweet pea	<i>htu hkam /thùkhám/</i>	S. <i>t^ho²k^haam⁴</i>
teak	<i>mai sak /màysàk/</i>	S. <i>maj⁵s^hak⁴</i> ; Z. <i>mai²¹sak²¹</i> (D), Lac. <i>mai sag</i> , Ng. <i>maisak</i> , R. <i>màysvk</i>
thorny bamboo	<i>mai sang /maysaŋ/</i>	S. <i>maj⁵s^haaŋ⁴</i> , D. <i>mai⁵saŋ²</i>
tomato	<i>măhkri sum /məkhri sum/</i> <i>~ ba hkri /bàkhri/</i>	S. <i>maak²k^hɿ¹s^hom³</i> ; D. <i>maak³xə¹som⁴</i> ; Z. <i>mē⁵ke⁵⁵sum¹¹</i> , Lh. <i>pa^Fkhyi^L-si^L</i> , Lac. <i>ba khyi:</i> , R. <i>baki</i>
tree (kind of) ¹⁹	<i>hpak ha /phákhà/</i>	S. <i>p^hak⁴haa³</i>
vegetable, <i>bf.</i>	<i>hpak /phák/</i>	S. <i>p^hak⁴</i> ‘pod’, Kh. <i>phak⁴</i> ‘vegetable’, D. <i>phak¹</i> ‘vegetable’

¹⁹ ‘a kind of tree, the sprouts of which is used as food’

willow	<i>mai hkai</i> /màykhay/	S. <i>ma^{j5}k^haj⁵</i>
wood, <i>bf.</i>	<i>mai</i> /mày/ ~ /may/	S. <i>ma^{j5}</i> , Kh. <i>may²</i> , D. <i>mai⁵</i>

4.4. Food and drink

cut fine, <i>v.</i>	<i>soi</i> /sòy/	S. <i>s^hɔj⁴</i> , Kh. <i>sɔI³</i> (W)
dish (kind of) ²⁰	<i>sum wan</i> /sùmwan/	S. <i>s^hom³</i> ‘be sour’, <i>waan¹</i> ‘be sweet’
dried fish	<i>ba heng</i> /baheŋ/	S. <i>paa¹heŋ³</i>
flour	<i>hkau mun</i> /khàwmún/	S. <i>k^haw³mun⁴</i> , D. <i>xau⁴mun²</i>
food ²¹	<i>hkau dum</i> /khàwdùm/	S. <i>k^haw³tom³</i>
food ²²	<i>hkau puk</i> /khàwpúk/	S. <i>k^haw³puk⁴</i> ; B. <i>khóbou?</i> (WB <i>khopup</i>), R. <i>kòbuk</i>
fresh fish	<i>ba lip</i> /balíp/	S. <i>paa¹lip⁴</i>
green sour curry	<i>hpak chyaw</i> /phákcó/	S. <i>p^hak⁴tso⁴</i>
glutinous rice	<i>hkau lam</i> /khàwlam/	S. <i>k^haw³laam¹</i>
jaggery	<i>nam htan</i> /nàmthan/ ²³	S. <i>nam⁵thaan¹</i> ; Ng. <i>thanh</i> , Ka. <i>thángāk</i>
liquor	<i>lau hku</i> /làwkhù/	S. <i>law³hy²</i> , D. <i>lau⁴</i>
meal	<i>ma</i> /má/	D. <i>maa²</i> ; Z. <i>ma⁵¹</i> (D), Lan. <i>ma⁵⁵</i>
meal, <i>clf.</i>	<i>da</i> /dà/	S. <i>taa²</i> , D. <i>taa³</i>
mix	<i>law le</i> /lòʔlèʔ/	S. <i>lɔ⁴le⁴</i>
noodles	<i>hkau sin</i> /khàwsìn/ ²⁴	S. <i>k^haw³s^hen³</i> ; Z. <i>hau⁵⁵seng⁵⁵</i>
noodles	<i>hkau soi</i> /khàwsóy/ ²⁵	S. <i>k^haw³s^hɔj⁴</i> ; Z. <i>hau¹¹soi³¹</i> , Lh. <i>khau soe</i> ” (K), Lac. <i>khau: sue</i> ”
palm sugar	<i>nam oi</i> /nàmʔòy/ ~ <i>nam moi</i> /nàmʔmòy/	S. <i>nam⁵ʔɔj³</i> , Kh. <i>ʔɔy⁵</i> ‘sugar cane’; Z. <i>nam³¹oi¹¹</i>
parched rice	<i>hkau dek</i> /khàwdèk/	S. <i>k^haw³tek²</i>
pickled fish preparation ²⁶	<i>ba sum</i> /basùm/	S. <i>paa¹s^hom³</i>
	<i>hkau dam nga</i> /khàwdamŋa/	S. <i>k^haw³tam¹ŋaa⁴</i>
preparation ²⁷	<i>hkau dum gwi</i> /khàwdùmɡùy/	S. <i>k^haw³tom³koj³</i>
preparation ²⁸	<i>hkau hkyep</i> /khàwkhýèp/	S. <i>k^haw³k^hep³</i>

²⁰ ‘a dish made from finely chopped lean beef, hot rice, limes, and spices mixed together’

²¹ ‘a glutinous rice preparation in which the rice, brown sugar, and a species of aromatic banana are wrapped in leaves and steamed’

²² ‘food item made by pounding steamed glutinous rice’

²³ The second syllable is originally from Burmese *thán* (WB *than³*) ‘toddy-palm’.

²⁴ Possibly from Chinese *xián* ‘thread’ through Shan.

²⁵ Possibly from Burmese *khauʔshwé* (WB *khokchwai*) ‘noodles’ through Shan.

²⁶ ‘a preparation of pounded rice and sesame seeds used in making bread’

²⁷ ‘a preparation of pounded soaked rice and banana wrapped in a leaf steamed, then eaten’

²⁸ ‘a preparation of puffed rice, brown sugar in sticky form, and sesame seeds pressed together into a bar and sold or eaten as candy’

rice	<i>hkau /khàw/ ~ /khaw/</i>	S. <i>k^haw³</i> , Kh. <i>khaw⁵</i> , D. <i>xau⁴</i> ; Hp. <i>khàu shwàm</i>
rice ²⁹	<i>hkau wun /khàwwun/</i>	S. <i>k^haw³</i> ‘rice’, <i>won¹</i> ‘above’
rice ³⁰	<i>hkau ya ku /khàwyakúʔ/</i>	S. <i>k^haw³jaa²ku⁵</i> ‘dish made from rice, jaggery, peanuts and sesame seeds’
salted fish paste	<i>bǎnau /bənàw/</i>	S. <i>paa¹naw³</i> ; Z. <i>be¹nau¹¹</i> , R. <i>bvnò</i>
serve a meal	<i>ling /lìŋ/</i>	S. <i>leŋ⁵</i>
sesame oil	<i>nam man /nàmmán/</i>	S. <i>nam⁵man⁴</i> , Kh. <i>nam²man³</i> , D. <i>lam⁵man²</i> ; R. <i>ǹmm̀n</i>
sweet potato leaves	<i>hpǎman /phákman/</i>	S. <i>p^hak⁴man⁴</i>
taste, v.	<i>chyim /cím/</i>	S. <i>tsim⁴</i> , Kh. <i>cim³</i> , D. <i>tsim²</i> ; Z. <i>zim³¹</i>
tobacco	<i>mǎlut /ʔmələt/</i>	S. <i>lut²</i> ‘to suck, smoke’; R. <i>mvlət</i>
tobacco leaves ³¹	<i>gan ya /gànyà/</i>	S. <i>kaan³jaa³</i>
vinegar	<i>nam sum /ʔnàmsùm/</i>	S. <i>nam⁵s^hom³</i> ; Lan. <i>nam³¹sum³¹</i>

4.5. Clothing and adornments

blanket	<i>hpa jawng /phàjɔŋ/</i>	S. <i>p^haa³</i> ; Z. <i>phɿ²¹tfoŋ⁵⁵</i> (D), Lan. <i>phə³¹tfoŋ³⁵</i> , R. <i>paqzung</i>
cloth	<i>hpa /phà/</i>	S. <i>p^haa³</i> ‘covering, waist cloth’, Kh. <i>pha⁵</i> (W), D. <i>phaa⁴</i>
cotton cloth	<i>man /màn/</i>	S. <i>man³</i> , D. <i>man⁴</i>
dress	<i>hking /khìŋ/</i>	Kh. <i>khing</i> (P)
dye, v.	<i>mak /màk/³²</i>	S. <i>mak⁴ʔ</i> ‘make a mark’; Z. <i>mak⁵</i> ‘tattoo’, Hp. <i>məʔ</i> ‘ink’
indigo	<i>nam hkawn /nàmkhon/</i>	S. <i>nam⁵</i> ‘water’, <i>hon⁴</i> ‘indigo’, D. <i>hon⁴</i> ‘indigo’
leggings	<i>hpa kau /phàkàw/</i>	S. <i>p^haa³kaaw³</i>
shoes	<i>hkyep din /khyépdin/</i>	S. <i>k^hep⁴tin¹</i> ‘sandals’, D. <i>kep³tin⁶</i> ; R. <i>chøpdòn</i> , Ka. <i>heúttín</i> ‘slipper’
shoes	<i>sawk din /sòkdin/</i>	S. <i>s^hɔk⁴tin¹</i>

²⁹ ‘a species of highland paddy with pearly white grain’

³⁰ ‘rice mixed with millet’

³¹ ‘a mixture of tobacco leaves with the chopped stems of the tobacco plant or other vegetable matter such as hemp, which mixture is milder in flavour than the pure tobacco leaves’

³² Possibly associated with Chinese *mò* ‘ink’.

silk	<i>lai /lày/ ~ lai /lay/</i>	S. <i>laaj</i> ³ , Kh. <i>naay</i> ⁵ , D. <i>laai</i> ⁴ ; Z. <i>lai</i> ¹¹ 'silkworm'
socks	<i>mawng din /moŋdin/</i>	S. <i>moŋ</i> ¹ <i>tin</i> ¹
tattoo, v.	<i>sam /sám/</i>	S. <i>s^ham</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>sam</i> ³ , D. <i>sam</i> ²
towel	<i>hpa jet /phàjèt/</i>	S. <i>p^haa³tset</i> ⁵ , D. <i>phaa⁴tset</i> ⁵ ; Z. <i>phɣ²¹tjet</i> ²¹ (D), Lh. <i>pha[?]cat^F</i> , Lac. <i>pha joid</i> , Le. <i>phɔ³¹tjet</i> ³¹ , R. <i>pazit</i> S. <i>kon</i> ¹ <i>hoŋ²joŋ</i> ⁵ , D. <i>kon</i> ⁶ S. <i>s^haan²leŋ</i> ¹
trousers	<i>gun hkung /gunkhùŋ/</i>	
turkey-red cloth	<i>san leng /sànleŋ/</i>	
4.6. Dwelling		
Bhamo	<i>Manmaw /mánmo/</i>	S. <i>maan</i> ³ <i>mɔ²</i> ; Lh. <i>man: mo</i> (K)
camp	<i>dăbang /dəbaŋ/</i>	S. <i>paan</i> ¹ 'gathering place'
country	<i>mung /múŋ/ ~ ming /miŋ/</i>	S. <i>mɣŋ</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>mɣŋ</i> ³ , D. <i>məŋ</i> ² ; Z. <i>meng</i> ¹¹ , Lh. <i>muk</i> ^L , Lac. <i>moug</i> ; Le. <i>məŋ</i> ³³ , R. <i>móng</i>
country	<i>mung dan /múŋdan/</i>	S. <i>mɣŋ</i> ⁴ 'country', <i>tan</i> ⁴ ? 'place'; Z. <i>mɣŋ²¹tan</i> ⁵⁵ (D), Lh. <i>muŋ^Htan^L</i> , Lac. <i>mung</i> " <i>dain</i> ³³ Le. <i>maŋ⁵⁵tan</i> ⁵⁵ , R. <i>móngdàn</i>
country (world)	<i>mung kan /mùŋkàn/</i>	S. <i>mɣŋ</i> ⁴ 'country'; Z. <i>meng</i> ¹¹ - <i>gvan</i> ¹¹ , Ng. <i>mungkvn</i> , R. <i>mònggàn</i>
Hsenwi	<i>Sinli /sìnli/</i>	S. <i>s^hen³wi</i> ¹ ; Lh. <i>sinli</i> : (K)
Keng Tung	<i>Kyengdung /kyéŋduŋ/</i>	S. <i>keŋ</i> ⁴ <i>tuŋ</i> ¹
Mogok	<i>Munggut /múŋgùt/</i>	S. <i>mɣŋ</i> ⁴ <i>ku^t</i> ³
Nam Hkam	<i>Namhkam /nàmkhám/</i>	S. <i>nam</i> ⁵ <i>k^ham</i> ⁴ ; Lh. <i>nam kham</i> " (K)
palace	<i>hkaw /kho/</i>	S. <i>ho</i> ¹ , D. <i>ho</i> ¹ ; Lh. <i>ho</i> : (K), Lac. <i>khoo</i> :
room	<i>gawk /gòk/</i>	S. <i>k^hɔk</i> ³ ? 'enclosure for keeping animals, cage'; Z. <i>gok</i> ¹ , R. <i>kok</i>
thatch	<i>dep hka /dépkhá/</i>	S. <i>te^pk^haa</i> ⁴ , D. <i>te^pxaa</i> ²
village	<i>man /màn/</i>	S. <i>maan</i> ³ , Kh. <i>maan</i> ⁵ , D. <i>maan</i> ⁴
water gate	<i>nam hpai /nàmphay/</i>	S. <i>nam</i> ⁵ 'water', <i>p^haaj</i> ¹ 'dam', D. <i>faai</i> ¹

³³ The first syllable is not *moug*: according to my consultant.

4.7. Tools

bag, <i>bf.</i>	<i>htung /thuŋ/</i>	S. <i>t^hoŋ¹</i> , Kh. <i>thoŋ⁴</i> , D. <i>thoŋ¹</i> ; Z. <i>tung³¹</i> , Lh. <i>thauŋ^F</i> , Lac. <i>thung:</i> , Ng. <i>thung</i> , R. <i>ḍv̄nggúng</i> ‘shoulder bag’, Ka. <i>sh̄ithaúng</i> , G. <i>s^{hi}iʔt^hauŋ</i> (H)
bag (cotton)	<i>htung lai /thuŋlày/</i>	S. <i>t^hoŋ¹</i> ‘bag’, <i>laaj³</i> ‘silk’
bag (ordinary)	<i>htung hkin /thuŋkhìn/</i>	S. <i>t^hoŋ¹</i> ‘bag’; Z. <i>tung³¹-hen⁵⁵</i>
bag (shoulder)	<i>htung ba /thuŋbá/</i>	S. <i>t^hoŋ¹paa⁴</i>
basket (fish)	<i>hkik /khík/</i>	S. <i>k^huik²</i>
basket (rice) ³⁴	<i>hkau dawm /khàwdom/</i>	S. <i>k^haw³</i> ‘rice’, <i>tóm²</i> ‘large wicker basket’
basket (wicker)	<i>mung /mùŋ/</i>	S. <i>muŋ¹</i> , D. <i>muŋ⁶</i> ; Z. <i>mong¹¹</i>
button	<i>mak dum /màkdùm/</i>	S. <i>maak²tum²</i> , D. <i>tum³</i>
chain	<i>sai dawng /saydòŋ/</i>	S. <i>s^haaj¹tòŋ⁴</i>
chisel, <i>v.</i>	<i>tawk /tók/</i>	S. <i>tək²</i> , D. <i>tsək³</i> ; Z. <i>dvok⁵</i>
cleaver	<i>hpa /phà/</i>	S. <i>p^haa⁵</i> , Kh. <i>phaa²</i>
cup	<i>gawm /gom/</i>	D. <i>kóm³</i> ; Z. <i>gom³⁵</i> , Lh. <i>keim</i> (K), Ng. <i>kom</i>
dipper	<i>ka mai /kamay/</i>	S. <i>moj¹?</i> ‘water dipper’; Z. <i>gva⁵⁵mai³⁵</i>
fishhook	<i>myit /myít/ ~ myek /ʔmyék/</i>	S. <i>met⁴</i> , Kh. <i>met⁴</i> , D. <i>met³</i> ; Z. <i>mit¹ ~ mit⁵</i> , Lh. <i>ngo:</i> <i>myhad’</i> (K), Lac. <i>wim: myhed</i> , R. <i>ngamit</i> , G. <i>met</i> ‘to fish’ (H)
flint	<i>hpai /phày/</i>	S. <i>p^haj⁴</i> ‘fire’, Kh. <i>phay³</i> ‘fire’, D. <i>fai²</i> ‘fire’; Z. <i>pai¹¹-kyet¹</i> ‘match’
girth	<i>sai kyet /saykyét/</i>	S. <i>s^haaj¹ket⁴maa⁵</i>
hatchet	<i>hpa tung /phàtúŋ/</i>	S. <i>p^haa⁵</i> ‘cleaver’, D. <i>phaa⁵tum³</i> ; Z. <i>pe¹dvung³¹</i>
lamp	<i>pyen ding /pyéndìŋ/</i>	S. <i>ten⁴?</i> ‘candle’; Z. <i>byen³¹-din¹¹</i>
mat	<i>sat /sát/</i>	S. <i>s^haat²</i> , D. <i>saat³</i>
mill	<i>lui /luy/</i>	S. <i>loj¹</i> ; Z. <i>lui³⁵</i> , Lh. <i>lui</i> ” (K), Le. <i>lui³³</i>

³⁴ ‘a small basket for storage of rice’

mirror	<i>jam na /jàmna/</i>	S. <i>tsam</i> ³ ‘mirror’, <i>naa</i> ³ ‘face’, Kh. <i>naa</i> ⁵ ‘face’, D. <i>tsam</i> ⁶ ‘mirror’, <i>laa</i> ⁴ ‘face’; Z. <i>man</i> ³¹ - <i>zyam</i> ³¹ , (D) <i>mjoʔ³¹tfam</i> ⁵¹ , Lh. <i>jham na</i> : (K), Lan. <i>mjoʔ³¹tfam</i> ³¹ , R. <i>jv̄mna</i> , Ka. <i>zàn</i>
mosquito net	<i>sut /sút/ ~ əsut /ʔəsút/</i>	S. <i>s^hut</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>sup</i> ⁴ , D. <i>sut</i> ¹ ; Z. <i>sut</i> ⁵ ~ <i>sun</i> ³¹ , R. <i>sət</i> , Ka. <i>sūt</i> , G. <i>s^hut</i> (H)
nail	<i>mai na /màyná/</i>	S. <i>maa</i> ² <i>naa</i> ⁴ ; Z. <i>mai</i> ¹¹ <i>na</i> ³¹ ~ <i>mai</i> ³¹ <i>na</i> ¹¹ ~ <i>mai</i> ³¹ <i>na</i> ³¹ , Lh. <i>mai na</i> ” (K), Ka. <i>maiṅná</i> (H), G. <i>menná</i> (H)
paddle	<i>dak hpai /dàkpháy/</i>	S. <i>p^haaj</i> ⁴ , D. <i>faai</i> ²
paddy mill	<i>hkau lui /khàwluy/</i>	S. <i>k^haw</i> ³ <i>loj</i> ¹
pierce, v.	<i>chyawk /cók/</i>	S. <i>tsok</i> ⁵
pin	<i>se /sè/, sumse /sùmsè/</i> ‘bolt’	S. <i>s^hε</i> ³ ‘bolt’
ploughshare	<i>na jawn /nàjon/</i>	S. <i>naa</i> ⁴ ‘rice’, <i>tsɔn</i> ⁵ ‘to dig out’
ploughshare	<i>na htai /nàthay/</i>	S. <i>naa</i> ⁴ ‘rice field, <i>thaj</i> ¹ ‘plough’, <i>thAI</i> ⁴ (W), B. <i>thè</i> (WB <i>thay</i>)
pot	<i>maw /mò/</i>	S. <i>mɔ</i> ³ , Kh. <i>mo</i> ⁵ , D. <i>mo</i> ⁴
pot (metallic)	Nu. <i>maw hkang</i> <i>/moo⁴khaaj⁵/</i>	S. <i>mɔ</i> ³ <i>k^haaj</i> ¹
rope	<i>jik /jìk/</i>	S. <i>tsɿk</i> ³ , D. <i>tsək</i> ⁵
rope, bf.	<i>sai /say/</i>	S. <i>s^haaj</i> ¹ , Kh. <i>saay</i> ⁴ , D. <i>saai</i> ¹ ; Z. <i>sai</i> ³⁵ <i>haj</i> ³⁵ (M)
rope ³⁵	<i>sai gang /saygàŋ/</i>	<i>s^haaj</i> ¹ <i>kaaj</i> ² ? ‘string of a crossbow’
rudder	<i>li hkang /likhánj³⁶/</i>	S. <i>haaj</i> ¹ ‘tail’, Kh. <i>haaj</i> ⁴ ‘tail’, D. <i>haaj</i> ¹
scales	<i>yoi /yòy/</i>	S. <i>joj</i> ⁴ ; Z. <i>ngun</i> ³¹ - <i>yoi</i> ¹¹
small bottle	<i>kawk /kók/³⁷</i>	S. <i>kək</i> ⁴ , D. <i>kək</i> ³ ; Z. <i>gok</i> ⁵⁵ , R. <i>gok</i>
small box	<i>yep /ʔyép/</i>	S. <i>ʔep</i> ² , Kh. <i>ʔep</i> ⁴ , D. <i>ʔep</i> ³
spinning wheel	<i>gawng /gòŋ/</i>	S. <i>koj</i> ⁴ , D. <i>koj</i> ²
spinning wheel	<i>gawng sai /gòŋsày/</i>	S. <i>koj</i> ⁴ ‘spinning wheel’, <i>s^haaj</i> ¹
belt		‘rope’
spoon	<i>chyaw /cò/</i>	S. <i>tsɔ</i> ⁵ , D. <i>tso</i> ⁵ ; Z. <i>zvyo</i> ³¹ , Ka. <i>húnzaú</i> , G. <i>hánsót</i> (H)
sword	<i>lap lang /lápláŋ/</i>	S. <i>laap</i> ² , Kh. <i>naap</i> ⁴ , D. <i>laap</i> ³

³⁵ ‘ropes holding the baskets, as of a bullock-load, in place’

³⁶ The first syllable *li* expresses ‘boat’ in Jinghpaw.

³⁷ Possibly related to Burmese *khwε?* ‘cup’ (WB *khwak*).

table ³⁸	<i>ku</i> /kù/	S. <i>ku</i> ² ‘block, bench, couch, bed’, Kh. <i>ku</i> ⁴ ‘bed’, D. <i>ku</i> ³ ‘bed’; Z. <i>ku</i> ⁵⁵ ‘bed’ (D), R. <i>yøpgù</i> ‘bed’
teapot	<i>ngoi</i> /ŋóy/	S. <i>ŋɔj</i> ⁴ , D. <i>ŋɔi</i> ² ; Lh. <i>ngoe</i> ” (K), R. <i>ngoy</i>
tobacco pipe	<i>maw ya</i> /mòya/	S. <i>mɔ</i> ³ <i>jaa</i> ³
tool (kind of) ³⁹	<i>lang chyoi</i> /láŋcói/	D. <i>laŋ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>tsɔi</i> ³¹ (DX)
trap	<i>sai</i> /sáy/	S. <i>s^haj</i> ⁴ , D. <i>sai</i> ² ; R. <i>se</i>
umbrella	<i>jawng</i> /jɔŋ/	S. <i>tsɔŋ</i> ³ , Kh. <i>tsɔŋ</i> ⁵ (W), D. <i>tsɔŋ</i> ⁶ ; Z. <i>zyong</i> ³⁵ , R. <i>zung</i>
umbrella ⁴⁰	<i>jawng hkam</i> /jòŋkhám/	S. <i>tsɔŋ</i> ³ <i>k^ham</i> ⁴
water bottle	<i>nam tau</i> /nàmtau/	S. <i>nam</i> ⁵ <i>taw</i> ³ , Kh. <i>nAm</i> ² <i>tAU</i> ⁵ (W), D. <i>tau</i> ⁴ ; Z. <i>dvau</i> ⁵⁵
wheel	<i>leng</i> /lèŋ/	S. <i>leŋ</i> ¹ ‘bicycle’, Kh. <i>leŋ</i> ⁴ ‘vehicle’ (W), D. <i>leŋ</i> ¹ ‘cart’; Z. <i>lyeng</i> ³¹ , Ng. <i>lhyingh</i> ‘cart’, R. <i>lìng</i> ‘cart’
yoke	<i>ek</i> /ʔék/	S. <i>ʔek</i> ² , Kh. <i>ʔek</i> ⁴ , D. <i>ʔek</i> ³
yoke	<i>gan</i> /gàn/	S. <i>kaan</i> ⁴ ; Z. <i>xap</i> ²¹ <i>kān</i> ⁵¹

4.8. Community, occupation and production

barren	<i>hkam</i> /khám/ ~ <i>ham</i> /hám/	S. <i>haam</i> ⁴ ‘be empty’, Kh. <i>ham</i> ³ (W)
barren field	<i>na hkam</i> /nákhám/	S. <i>naa</i> ⁴ ‘rice field’, <i>haam</i> ⁴ ‘be empty’; Z. <i>na</i> ⁵¹ <i>xam</i> ⁵¹ (D), Lh. <i>na kham</i> (K), R. <i>nàhàm</i>
blacksmith	<i>jang lek</i> /jàŋlék/	S. <i>tsaaŋ</i> ³ <i>lek</i> ⁴ , D. <i>tsaaŋ</i> ⁶ <i>lek</i> ³
blighted rice	<i>hkau pyi</i> /khàwpyì/	S. <i>k^haw</i> ³ <i>p^hi</i> ¹
butcher	<i>jang nwi</i> /jàŋnuy/	S. <i>tsaaŋ</i> ³ <i>nɿ</i> ⁵
compartment ⁴¹	<i>lawk</i> /lòk/ ~ <i>lung</i> /lúŋ/	S. <i>lɔk</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>lɔk</i> ⁴ (W), D. <i>lɔk</i> ¹ ; Z. <i>lok</i> ¹
compartment ⁴²	<i>na lawk</i> /nàlòk/	S. <i>lɔk</i> ⁴ <i>naa</i> ⁴
coppersmith	<i>jang tawng</i> /jàŋtɔŋ/	S. <i>tsaaŋ</i> ³ ‘be skilled in’, <i>tɔŋ</i> ⁴ ‘metallic substance’
enclosure	<i>hkawk</i> /khòk/	S. <i>k^hɔk</i> ³ , Kh. <i>khɔk</i> ¹ ‘room’ (W), D. <i>xɔk</i> ⁵ ; R. <i>kok</i> ‘room’

³⁸ ‘a platform, anything in the shape of a table, e.g. *ʔyúp-kù* ‘bed’ (lit. sleep-table), *ɛá-kù* ‘dining table’ (lit. eat-table), *làyka-kù* ‘writing desk’ (lit. letter-table)’

³⁹ ‘a tool consisting of a bamboo pole about six feet in length with a hook at the end (e.g. as for pitching straw)’

⁴⁰ ‘golden umbrella used by royalties or monks for special occasions’

⁴¹ ‘a section, compartment of a lowland field’

⁴² ‘a compartment of a rice-field, bounded by bunds’

enclosure	<i>wing</i> /wín/	S. <i>wɛŋ</i> ⁴ ‘town’, D. <i>wɛŋ</i> ² ‘city’
fence	<i>da hka</i> /dàkhà/	D. <i>ta</i> ³³ <i>xa</i> ¹¹ (M); Z. <i>ta</i> ²¹ <i>kha</i> ⁵⁵ (D)
garden	<i>sun</i> /sún/	S. <i>s^hon</i> ¹ , Kh. <i>son</i> ⁴ , D. <i>son</i> ¹ ; Z. <i>sun</i> ⁵⁵ , R. <i>sún</i>
goldsmith	<i>jang hkam</i> /jàŋkhám/	S. <i>tsaaj</i> ³ <i>k^ham</i> ⁴
landing place ⁴³	<i>da nam</i> /dànàm/	S. <i>taa</i> ³ <i>nam</i> ⁵ , Kh. <i>taa</i> ¹ , D. <i>taa</i> ⁶
lowland paddy	<i>hkau lung</i> /khàwlun/	S. <i>k^haw</i> ³ <i>loŋ</i> ¹
manure	<i>nam hpun</i> /nàmphun/	S. <i>nam</i> ⁵ ‘water’, <i>p^hun</i> ² ‘manure’, D. <i>fun</i> ³ ; Z. <i>nam</i> ³¹ - <i>pun</i> ⁵⁵ , R. <i>nìmpun</i>
martial art ⁴⁴	<i>jau hkyen</i> /jàwkhýèn/	S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ ‘master’, <i>k^hen</i> ¹ ‘hand’; Lh. <i>jau khyen</i> , Lac. <i>jau khyen</i>
mine	<i>maw</i> /mo/	S. <i>mɔ</i> ² , Kh. <i>mo</i> ⁴ (W), D. <i>mɔ</i> ³ ; Lh. <i>mo</i> : (K), Lac. <i>mo</i> :, Ng. <i>luk mau</i> , R. <i>shémo</i> ‘gold mine’, Ka. <i>maū</i> , G. <i>mɔ</i> ‘Kadu’ (H)
paddy (red) ⁴⁵	<i>leng</i> /leŋ/	S. <i>leŋ</i> ¹ ‘be red’, Kh. <i>neŋ</i> ¹ ‘be red’, D. <i>leŋ</i> ⁶ ‘be red’; Hp. <i>lɔŋ</i> ‘yellow’
paddy embankment	<i>na dung</i> /nàdùn/	D. <i>toŋ</i> ³³ <i>la</i> ⁵⁵ (DX)
rice field	<i>na</i> /nà/	S. <i>naa</i> ¹ , Kh. <i>naa</i> ³ , D. <i>laa</i> ²
rice field	<i>hkau na</i> /khawnà/	S. <i>k^haw</i> ³ ‘rice’, <i>naa</i> ¹ ‘rice field’; R. <i>koná</i>
rice nursery	<i>hkau ga</i> /khàwga/	S. <i>k^haw</i> ³ ‘rice’, D. <i>ka</i> ³¹ <i>xau</i> ³¹ ‘rice sprouts’ (DX)
ridge ⁴⁶	<i>te</i> /té/	S. <i>tɛ</i> ⁴ , D. <i>te</i> ² ; Lh. <i>te</i> : (K)
ridge ⁴⁷	<i>te na</i> /téná/	S. <i>tɛ</i> ⁴ <i>naa</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>te</i> ³ <i>naa</i> ³ ; R. <i>nádé</i> , Ka. <i>lɔpátəná</i> (H), G. <i>lɔpáténá</i> (H)
seedlings	<i>ka</i> /kà/	S. <i>kaa</i> ³ , Kh. <i>ka</i> ⁵ (W), D. <i>kaa</i> ⁴
silversmith	<i>jang ngin</i> /jàŋŋín/	S. <i>tsaaj</i> ³ <i>ŋun</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>ŋun</i> ³ ‘silver’ (W), D. <i>ŋən</i> ² ‘silver’
smith, <i>bf.</i>	<i>jang</i> /jàŋ/ ⁴⁸	S. <i>tsaaj</i> ³ ‘be skilled in’
terraced fields ⁴⁹	<i>na kawng</i> /nákòŋ/	S. <i>naa</i> ⁴ ‘rice’, <i>kɔŋ</i> ⁴ ‘ridge, or elevated part of anything’

⁴³ ‘a ferry or public landing place on the bank of a river or of a lake’

⁴⁴ ‘the martial art of self-defence, which is practised in several varieties (including principally a variety using swords or spears, one using wooden staffs, and one using no weapons)’

⁴⁵ ‘an insect-caused blight of paddy in which the stalks turn red, lit. red’

⁴⁶ ‘a ridge of earth or mound separating the locks or sections of a paddy field’

⁴⁷ ‘the terrace of a paddy field’

⁴⁸ Possibly from Chinese *jiàng* ‘craftsman’ through Shan.

⁴⁹ ‘terraced fields on the side of a hill watered by irrigation’

timber log *mai lung* /maylùŋ/ S. *maŋ*⁵ ‘wood’, *loŋ*¹ ‘forest’; Lh. *mai lung*: (K), Lac. *mai lung*:

4.9. Commerce and trade

bazaar	<i>hkau gat</i> /khàwǵát/	S. <i>k^haw</i> ³ ‘rice’, <i>kaat</i> ² ‘market’
market ⁵⁰	<i>gat</i> /ǵát/	S. <i>kaat</i> ² , D. <i>kaat</i> ³ ; Lh. <i>kāt</i> ^H , R. <i>gvt</i>
measure ⁵¹	<i>jaw</i> /jǵó/	S. <i>tsǵ</i> ⁴
measure ⁵²	<i>hkan</i> /khán/	S. <i>k^han</i> ¹
measure ⁵³	<i>hpak</i> /phák/	S. <i>p^haak</i> ² ? ‘part, side (as of a body of water), division or portion of anything divided lengthwise into halves or fourths’; Z. <i>pak</i> ¹ ? ‘half a pound’, Lh. <i>phag!</i> (K)
measure ⁵⁴	<i>joi</i> /joy/	S. <i>tsǵ</i> ⁵ ; Lh. <i>joe</i> : (K), Lan. <i>tǵoi</i> ³⁵ ‘steelyard’, Lac. <i>joi</i> .; R. <i>joy</i>
price	<i>ka</i> /kà/	S. <i>kaa</i> ³ , D. <i>kaa</i> ⁶ ; R. <i>ká</i> ‘debt’
tax	<i>hkan</i> /khàn/ ⁵⁵ ~ <i>hkan se</i> /khanse/ ~ <i>hkan si</i> /khansi/	S. <i>k^han</i> ¹ ‘price’, D. <i>xan</i> ³⁵ <i>se</i> ⁵⁵ (DX); Z. <i>kāŋ</i> ²¹ (D), Lh. <i>khaŋ</i> ^L , Lac. <i>khaung</i> ” <i>doug</i> :
trade	<i>hpǵa</i> /phǵa/	S. <i>kaa</i> ⁵ ‘to trade’; Z. <i>pe</i> ⁵ <i>ga</i> ³⁵ ‘trade’, Lh. <i>phǵa</i> ^L <i>pyu</i> ^F (trade-person), Lac. <i>pha</i> : <i>ga</i> .; R. <i>pvga</i>
trade, v.	<i>ga</i> /ǵa/	S. <i>kaa</i> ⁵ , D. <i>kaa</i> ⁵ ; R. <i>ga</i>

4.10. Communication and transportation

bridle	<i>gak</i> /ǵàk/	S. <i>kak</i> ⁵
cart	<i>law</i> /lò/	S. <i>lǵ</i> ⁵ , Kh. <i>lǵ</i> ² , D. <i>lǵ</i> ⁵ ; Hp. <i>lǵ</i>
journey ⁵⁶	<i>hkau</i> /khàw/	S. <i>k^haaw</i> ⁴
package	<i>chyawk</i> /cók/	S. <i>tsǵk</i> ⁴ ; Z. <i>zyok</i> ⁵
way ⁵⁷	<i>tang</i> /táŋ/	S. <i>taaj</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>taŋ</i> ³ (W), D. <i>taaj</i> ²

⁵⁰ Zaiwa *gai*³¹ ‘market’ is from Chinese local dialect *gài* (Lustig 2010: 135), which is also found in Lhaovo spoken in Shan State *gai* (Yabu 2000: 34), Langsu *kai*³¹, Leqi *kei*⁵⁵ and Ngochang *kaih*.

⁵¹ ‘a measure of volume or capacity equal to ten baskets’

⁵² ‘a unit of weight equal to the weight of ten silver Rupees, one tenth of a viss’

⁵³ ‘measure of capacity equal to two *järe*, about four cups by volume’

⁵⁴ ‘one viss, a unit of weight equal to 1.63 kg’

⁵⁵ Possibly from Burmese *ṭāk^hùn* (WB *akhwan*) through Shan.

⁵⁶ ‘stage of a journey, a day’s journey, generally with a pack-bullock’

⁵⁷ ‘a way, a road; an antecedent, a cause’

4.11. Culture and entertainment

book	<i>laika /làyka/</i> ⁵⁸	S. <i>lik</i> ³ <i>laaj</i> ⁴ , D. <i>lik</i> ⁵ <i>laai</i> ² ; Z. <i>lai</i> ¹¹ <i>gva</i> ⁵⁵ , R. <i>lèga</i>
book	<i>lik /lík/</i>	S. <i>lik</i> ³ <i>laaj</i> ⁴ ‘book’, D. <i>lik</i> ⁵ <i>laai</i> ² ‘book’
book, <i>clf.</i>	<i>bap /bàp/</i>	S. <i>pap</i> ⁵ ‘book’, Kh. <i>pap</i> ¹ ‘book’, D. <i>pap</i> ⁵ ‘book’
culture	<i>laili laika /làyliłàyka/</i>	S. <i>lik</i> ³ <i>laaj</i> ⁴ ‘book’ Z. <i>lai</i> ²¹ <i>li</i> ²¹ <i>pha</i> ²¹ <i>tji</i> ⁵¹ (D)
flute	<i>pyi /pyi/, sumpyi /sumpyi/ ~ sampyi /sampyi/</i>	S. <i>pi</i> ² , Kh. <i>pi</i> ⁴ (W), D. <i>pi</i> ³ ; Z. <i>bvi</i> ⁵⁵ , <i>sam</i> ⁵⁵ <i>pji</i> ⁵⁵ (D), R. <i>bilóm</i> , <i>biman</i> ‘flute’, <i>bishun</i> ‘long flute’
gamble	<i>taw /tò/</i> ⁵⁹	S. <i>to</i> ² , D. <i>to</i> ³ ; Lh. <i>to</i> ”, R. <i>dó</i>
handiwork	<i>lai /lày/</i>	S. <i>laaj</i> ³ ? ‘silk’
harp	<i>tingse /tiŋsè/</i>	S. <i>tiŋ</i> ² ‘harp’, <i>se</i> ² ‘to play’; Z. <i>tŋ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>je</i> ⁵¹ (D)
manner	<i>lai /lày/</i>	S. <i>laaj</i> ⁴
manner ⁶⁰	<i>tang het /táŋhét/</i>	S. <i>taaj</i> ⁴ <i>het</i> ⁴
model	<i>lai len /làylen/</i>	S. <i>laaj</i> ⁴ <i>len</i> ⁴
paper	<i>je /jè/</i> ⁶¹	S. <i>tse</i> ³ , D. <i>tse</i> ⁴
paper	<i>mai sau /màysàw/ ~ mau sau /màwsàw/</i>	S. <i>maj</i> ⁵ <i>s^haw</i> ³ ‘slender piece of wood’; Z. <i>mau</i> ¹¹ <i>sau</i> ¹¹ , Lh. <i>muk</i> ^F <i>suk</i> ^H , Lac. <i>moug</i> : <i>soug</i> ”, Le. <i>mou</i> ⁵³ <i>sou</i> ⁵⁵ , Ng. <i>maussauh</i> , R. <i>mèsò</i>

4.12. Cults, customs and socializing

day of fasting	<i>wan gam /wángam/</i>	S. <i>wan</i> ⁴ <i>kam</i> ¹ <i>s^hin</i> ¹
pagoda	<i>gawng ngu /gòŋŋù/</i> ⁶²	S. <i>kəŋ</i> ⁴ <i>mu</i> ⁴ , D. <i>kəŋ</i> ² <i>mu</i> ² ; Z. <i>koŋ</i> ²¹ <i>ŋu</i> ²¹ (D), Lh. <i>gug ngung</i> (K)

⁵⁸ The second syllable *ka* is a Jinghpaw word which means ‘to write’.

⁵⁹ Possibly from Chinese *dū* ‘to gamble’ through Shan.

⁶⁰ ‘manner of doing, one’s gait, posture, deportment’

⁶¹ This word is mostly used in northern Jinghpaw dialects.

⁶² Possibly from Burmese *káunhmú* ‘good deed’ (WB *koí³mhu*) through Shan (Professor Mathias Jenny, p.c., 2016). The mismatch of the initial consonant of the second syllable between Shan and Jinghpaw can be accounted for in terms of progressive assimilation occurred in Jinghpaw. This feature shared among Kachin languages suggests that this item was introduced into non-Jinghpaw Kachin languages through Jinghpaw.

spirit	<i>hpyi /phyi/</i>	Lac. <i>goung ngoo</i> , Ng. <i>gongs-ngu</i> , Li. <i>kong⁵mu⁵</i> S. <i>p^hi¹</i> , Kh. <i>phi⁴</i> , D. <i>phi¹</i> ; Z. <i>pi¹¹</i> , G. <i>p^hitun</i> ‘evil spirit’ (H)
spirit country vanish ⁶³	<i>mung hpyi /mùŋphyi/ hpoi /phòy/</i>	S. <i>mɿŋ⁴p^hi¹</i> D. <i>phoi⁶</i> ‘be fragile’; Z. <i>poi¹¹</i> , R. <i>pòy</i>

4.13. Human body

body	Nu. <i>hking /khiŋ/</i>	S. <i>k^hiŋ⁴</i> , Kh. <i>khIŋ³</i> (W), D. <i>xij²</i>
semen	<i>nam ngan /nàmŋan/</i>	S. <i>nam⁵</i> ‘water’, <i>ŋaan¹</i> ‘be fertile, not castrated’, D. <i>lam⁵ŋaan¹</i>
weight	<i>nam nak /nàmna^k/</i>	S. <i>nam⁵nak⁴</i>

4.14. Life, sickness and death

bullet	<i>mak /màk/</i>	S. <i>maak²</i> ‘round thing’ ⁶⁴
bullet	<i>mak lung /màklùŋ/</i>	S. <i>maak²loŋ¹</i>
cannon	<i>gawng dang /gòŋdàŋ/</i>	S. <i>kəŋ³</i> ‘gun’; Z. <i>gong¹¹dang¹¹</i> ‘large underground fireworks’
cholera	<i>sawng hkun /soŋkhun/</i>	S. <i>s^həŋ¹hon¹</i> ; Z. <i>soŋ⁵⁵xun⁵⁵mo⁵⁵</i> (D), Lh. <i>saung: khun: (K)</i> , Lac. <i>seing: khein:</i> , R. <i>songkun</i>
dropsy	<i>nam ling /nàmliŋ/</i>	S. <i>nam⁵lɿŋ¹</i>
epilepsy	<i>ma mu /màmù/</i>	S. <i>maa³mu¹</i> , Kh. <i>maa⁵</i> ‘be crazy’, <i>mu⁴</i> ‘pig’, D. <i>maa⁴mu¹</i>
foster	<i>bau /baw/</i>	S. <i>paur⁵</i> , Kh. <i>pAur²</i> (W); Z. <i>bau¹¹</i>
gun	<i>gawng /gòŋ/</i>	S. <i>kəŋ³</i> ‘gun’, D. <i>kəŋ⁴</i>
gun (kind of) ⁶⁵	<i>gawng hpai /gòŋphay/</i>	S. <i>kəŋ³</i> ‘gun’, <i>p^haj⁴</i> ‘fire’
herbal medicine	<i>ya ya /yàya/</i>	S. <i>jaa³jaa¹</i> ; Z. <i>ya¹¹ya³⁵</i>
leprosy	<i>dut /dút/</i>	S. <i>tut³</i> , D. <i>tut⁵</i>
machine gun	<i>gawng jawk /gòŋjòk/</i>	S. <i>kəŋ³tsaak³</i>
measles	<i>mǎling /mǎliŋ/</i>	S. <i>maak²leŋ¹</i> ; R. <i>mǎrlòng</i>
medicine, <i>bf.</i>	<i>ya /yà/</i>	S. <i>jaa¹</i> , Kh. <i>yaa⁵</i> , D. <i>yaa⁴</i> ; Z. <i>ya¹¹</i> ‘to cure’
overcome	<i>pye /pyè/</i>	S. <i>pe⁵</i>

⁶³ ‘to vanish, disappear, to lose potency, become inane, to have vanished or been lost (e.g. as luck, glory, honour, flavour)’

⁶⁴ ‘fruit; also applied to anything round’

⁶⁵ ‘a primitive kind of gun that requires a firebrand for discharging’

percussion cap ⁶⁶	<i>mak hpai /màkpháy/</i>	S. <i>maak</i> ² ‘round thing’, <i>p^haj</i> ⁴ ‘fire’
poison	<i>gung /guŋ/</i>	S. <i>kəŋ</i> ⁵ , Kh. <i>kəŋ</i> ² (W), D. <i>kəŋ</i> ⁵
powder flask	<i>yam kaw /ʔyàm kók/</i>	S. <i>jaam</i> ⁴ ‘gunpowder’, <i>kək</i> ⁴ ‘cup’;
		R. <i>yàm</i> ‘gunpowder’
syphilis	<i>kālang gyi /kəlaŋ gyi/</i>	S. <i>ka¹laaŋ</i> ²

4.15. Types of people

abbot	<i>mun jau /munjàw/</i>	S. <i>mun¹tsaw</i> ³
beggar	<i>kun yawn /kún yón/</i>	S. <i>kon</i> ⁴ <i>jən</i> ⁴ , D. <i>yən</i> ² ‘to beg’
beggar	<i>maw hpyi /mophyi/</i>	D. <i>mo¹phi</i> ¹ ; Z. <i>mo</i> ³⁵ <i>pi</i> ⁵⁵ ,
		Lan. <i>mo</i> ³⁵ <i>phji</i> ³¹ , Le. <i>mo</i> ³³ <i>phi</i> ³³ , R. <i>mopi</i>
Burman	<i>man /màn/</i>	S. <i>maan</i> ³ , Kh. <i>man</i> ¹ (W), D. <i>maan</i> ⁶
Burman	<i>myen /myèn/</i> ⁶⁷	S. <i>maan</i> ³ <i>məŋ</i> ⁴ ; Z. <i>myen</i> ³¹ , Lac. <i>lamyen</i> , Ng. <i>Ivmyens</i> , R. <i>min</i>
child	<i>luk /lúk/</i>	S. <i>luk</i> ³ , Kh. <i>luk</i> ¹ , D. <i>luk</i> ⁵
Chin	<i>hkang /kháŋ/</i> ⁶⁸	S. <i>k^haaŋ</i> ¹ ‘Kachin’; Lh. <i>khaung</i> ”
		(K), Ng. <i>khang</i> , Hp. <i>kǎxáŋ</i> ‘Kachin’,
		Ka. <i>hàháŋ</i> (H), G. <i>hàhaŋ</i> (H)
elder	<i>jau lung /jàwluŋ/</i>	S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ ‘master’, <i>luŋ</i> ⁴ ‘father’s or
		mother’s elder brother’
headman	<i>htámung /thəmuy/</i>	S. <i>t^ha¹moŋ</i> ¹
hunter	<i>jau gawng /jàw gòŋ/</i>	S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ <i>kəŋ</i> ³ ‘gunner’;
		Z. <i>zyau</i> ¹¹ <i>gong</i> ¹¹ , Lac. <i>jau goung</i>
king	<i>hkaw hkam /khokhám/</i>	S. <i>hə¹k^ham</i> ⁴ ‘royal palace’; Z. <i>xo</i> ⁵⁵ <i>kham</i> ⁵¹ (D), Lh. <i>khə^Lkham^F</i> ,
		Lan. <i>khə³⁵kham</i> ⁵⁵ , Lac. <i>khoo: kham</i> ”, R. <i>koqkám</i>
king	<i>jau wawng /jàw wòŋ/</i>	S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ ‘master’, C. <i>huáng</i> ‘emperor’
king	<i>mun jau hkaw hkam /munjawkhokhám/</i>	S. <i>mun¹tsaw</i> ³ ‘Buddhist monk’,
		<i>hə¹k^ham</i> ⁴ ‘royal palace’
lazy person	<i>kun hkan /kúnkhan/</i>	S. <i>kon</i> ⁴ <i>k^haan</i> ⁵
loafer	<i>kun le /kùnlè/</i>	S. <i>kon</i> ⁴ <i>lən</i> ¹ ? ‘dishonest man’
master	<i>jau /jàw/</i> ⁶⁹	S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ , Kh. <i>caw</i> ⁵ , D. <i>tsau</i> ⁴ ; Lh. <i>jau</i> (K), Lac. <i>jau</i> , G. <i>sə</i> ‘God, lord’ (H)

⁶⁶ ‘a percussion cap used with a rifle’

⁶⁷ Possibly from Chinese *mǎn* ‘Burma’ through Shan.

⁶⁸ “uncivilized, a term the Shan applies to Kachin, and the Kachin passes on to the Chin” (Maran 1964: 42)

⁶⁹ Shan *tsaw*³ ‘master’ was borrowed into Jinghpaw in two different forms with different meanings: *jàw* ‘master’ and *dzàw* ‘prince’ (see ‘prince’ below).

merchant	<i>jau poi</i> /jàwpòy/	S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ ‘master’, <i>pəj</i> ⁴ <i>tsaa</i> ⁴ ‘broker’ ⁷⁰ ; Lh. <i>jhau: boe</i> (K)
military officer	<i>jau bu</i> /jàwbù/	S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ ‘master’, <i>po</i> ² ‘military officer’ ⁷¹
monk	<i>jau mun</i> /jàwmun/	S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ <i>mun</i> ¹ ; Ka. <i>səmon</i> (H), G. <i>səmúŋ</i> (H)
nun	<i>ya hkau</i> /yàkhaw/	S. <i>naaj</i> ⁴ <i>k^haaw</i> ¹ , Kh. <i>khaaw</i> ⁴ ‘white’, D. <i>yaa</i> ⁶ ‘lady’, <i>laaj</i> ² <i>xaau</i> ¹ ; Z. <i>ja</i> ²¹ <i>khau</i> ⁵⁵ (D)
paddy dealer prince	<i>jau hkaw</i> /jàwkhàw/ <i>zau</i> /zàw/ ⁷²	S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ <i>k^haw</i> ³ S. <i>tsaw</i> ³ ‘master’, D. <i>tsau</i> ⁴ ‘master’; Z. <i>zvau</i> ¹¹ ‘officer’, Lh. <i>zug:</i> (K), Lac. <i>zau:</i> , Ng. <i>zau</i> ‘officer’
princess	<i>nang</i> /nàŋ/ ⁷³	S. <i>naaj</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>naŋ</i> ³ (W), D. <i>laaj</i> ² ; R. <i>nvang</i> ~ <i>vnvang</i> ‘the name of the first daughter’, Ka. <i>naūngsaúng</i> ‘wife’s younger sister’, G. <i>nàuŋs^hɔ</i> ‘wife’s younger sister’ (H)
rich man	<i>kun mi</i> /kúnmi/	S. <i>kon</i> ⁴ <i>maak</i> ³ <i>kon</i> ⁴ <i>mi</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>mi</i> ³ ‘be rich’ (W), D. <i>mi</i> ² ‘be rich’
robber	<i>jun</i> /jun/	S. <i>tson</i> ¹ , Kh. <i>tson</i> ¹ (W), D. <i>tson</i> ⁶
robber	<i>kun jun</i> /kúnjun/	S. <i>kon</i> ⁴ <i>tson</i> ¹ ; Z. <i>gvun</i> ³¹ <i>zyun</i> ³⁵
servant	<i>ningchyang</i> /nìŋcaŋ/ ~ <i>nchyang</i> /ñcaŋ/	S. <i>tsaaj</i> ³ ‘to hire’, Kh. <i>tsaŋ</i> ⁵ ‘to hire’ (W), D. <i>tsaaj</i> ⁴ ‘to hire’; R. <i>lìngzvn̄g</i>
soldier	<i>luk suk</i> /lùksùk/	S. <i>luk</i> ³ <i>s^huk</i> ⁴
Tai	<i>tai</i> /táy/	S. <i>taj</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>tay</i> ³ , D. <i>tai</i> ²
young girl	<i>sau</i> /saw/	S. <i>s^haaw</i> ¹ , Kh. <i>saaw</i> ⁴ , D. <i>saau</i> ¹

4.16. Activity and mental activity

compete	<i>hkying</i> /khyìŋ/	S. <i>k^herj</i> ²
hate	<i>chyang</i> /cáy/	S. <i>tsaŋ</i> ⁴ , D. <i>tsaŋ</i> ²

⁷⁰ From Burmese *pwézá* (WB *pwaicā*³) ‘broker’.

⁷¹ From Burmese *bò* ‘commander’ (WB *buil*) < Pali.

⁷² “The male members of a chief’s family carry the title *Zau* (*jau*), a term borrowed from the Shan, meaning Lord.” (Hanson 1913: 174–175) “first names indicating chiefly status. This name will replace an extraneous affix the Kachins put before the sibling position. Hence, a Ja Naw is a chiefly name for a second son in traditional fashion. This will assume a *Zau* from the Shan and become *Zau Naw*.” (Maran 1964: 38)

⁷³ “The daughters of a chief carry the title *Nang*, also a Shan term.” (Hanson 1913: 175)

hit ⁷⁴	<i>mak</i> /ʔmák/	S. <i>maak</i> ³ ‘blade’, <i>maak</i> ² ‘be in confusion’
knead	<i>nut</i> /nùt/	S. <i>not</i> ³
liberate	<i>boi</i> /boy/	S. <i>pəj</i> ² , D. <i>pəi</i> ³
pass by	<i>pun</i> /pun/	S. <i>pon</i> ⁵
prepare	<i>hkyen</i> /khyén/	S. <i>hɛn</i> ⁴
search	<i>sawk</i> /sòk/	S. <i>s^hɔk</i> ³ , Kh. <i>sək</i> ¹ (W); Z. <i>zok</i> ¹
stir ⁷⁵	<i>wai</i> /way/	S. <i>waa</i> ³
wait for	<i>mawng</i> /móŋ/	S. <i>mɔŋ</i> ⁴

4.17. State and quality

be alert	<i>let</i> /lét/	S. <i>lɛt</i> ⁴ ; Z. <i>lyet</i> ¹ , R. <i>lak</i> [?]
be deep	<i>sung</i> /sùŋ/	S. <i>s^huj</i> ¹ ‘be high’, Kh. <i>suŋ</i> ⁴ ‘be high’, D. <i>suŋ</i> ¹ ‘be high’
be different	<i>lak</i> /ʔlák/, <i>lak lai</i> /làkláy/	S. <i>laak</i> ² , D. <i>lak</i> ¹
be difficult	<i>yak</i> /yàk/	S. <i>jaak</i> ³ , D. <i>yaak</i> ⁵ ; Z. <i>yak</i> ¹ , R. <i>yvk</i>
be educated	<i>kat</i> /kàt/	S. <i>kat</i> ⁵ ; Z. <i>kat</i> ²¹ ‘be able’
be foolish	<i>ngawk</i> /ŋòk/	S. <i>ŋuuk</i> ⁴
be fragrant	<i>hawm</i> /hom/	S. <i>hɔm</i> ¹ , Kh. <i>hɔm</i> ⁴ , D. <i>hɔm</i> ¹ ; Z. <i>kom</i> ⁵⁵ ~ <i>hom</i> ⁵⁵
be glad	T. <i>hum hum</i> /hum ² hum ² /	S. <i>hom</i> ¹
be grateful	<i>chyum</i> /cum/	S. <i>tsom</i> ⁴
be great	<i>hkik hkam</i> /khìkkhàm/	D. <i>xək⁵xam</i> ³ ; Z. <i>khɤk²¹kham</i> ²¹ (D)
be heavy	<i>nak</i> /nák/	S. <i>nak</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>nak</i> ⁴ , D. <i>lak</i> ¹
be insatiable	<i>mak</i> /màk/	S. <i>maak</i> ^{3?} ‘be abundant’; Z. <i>mak</i> ¹
be jelled	<i>dung</i> /duŋ/	S. <i>tuŋ</i> ¹
be lazy	<i>hkan</i> /khan/	S. <i>k^haan</i> ⁵ , Kh. <i>khaan</i> ² , D. <i>xaan</i> ⁵
be long	<i>yau</i> /yàw/	S. <i>jaaw</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>yaaw</i> ³ , D. <i>yaau</i> ²
be new	<i>mau</i> /màw/	S. <i>maur</i> ² , Kh. <i>maU</i> ⁴ (W), D. <i>maí</i> ³
be old	<i>htau</i> /thaw/	S. <i>t^haw</i> ³ , Kh. <i>thaw</i> ⁵ , D. <i>thau</i> ⁴
be potent	<i>hkin</i> /khín/	S. <i>k^hin</i> ¹
be pretty	<i>kya</i> /kyáʔ/	S. <i>kjaa</i> ^{5?} ‘be excellent’
be restless	<i>lu</i> /lu/	S. <i>lu</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>lu</i> ³ (W); R. <i>bònlū</i>
be short	<i>bawt</i> /bót/	S. <i>pət</i> ⁴ , Kh. <i>pət</i> ⁴ (W), D. <i>pət</i> ¹
be strong	T. <i>heng</i> /heŋ ² /	S. <i>heŋ</i> ⁴
be superior	<i>lawng</i> /loŋ/	S. <i>loŋ</i> ¹ , D. <i>loŋ</i> ¹
be suspicious ⁷⁶	<i>lawm lem</i> /lomlem/	S. <i>lɔm</i> ¹ <i>lɛm</i> ¹ ‘slyly, stealthily’

⁷⁴ ‘to hit, strike, as with a sword, to be hit and thus confused, distracted, in disorder’⁷⁵ ‘to stir with a ladle’⁷⁶ ‘to be suspicious of a person and attempt to find tell-tale signs of intrigue and foul-play, if any, in the person’

be well-finished	<i>hkyem /khyém/</i>	S. <i>k^hɛm³</i>
be wide	<i>gang /gàŋ/</i> ⁷⁷	S. <i>kwaan³</i> , Kh. <i>kaan⁵</i> , D. <i>kaan⁴</i> ; R. <i>gang</i>
grow worse	<i>awk /ʔók/</i>	S. <i>ʔək²ʔ</i> ‘come out, as the eruption of a disease’
in vain	<i>li la /lilà/</i>	S. <i>laa³li¹ʔ</i> ‘thoughtlessly’

4.18. Time

every year	<i>gu byi /gùbyì/</i>	S. <i>ku³</i> ‘every’, <i>pi¹</i> ‘year’; Ka. <i>kùpì</i> (H), G. <i>kùpì</i> (H)
lunar month	<i>lun /lun/</i>	S. <i>lɔn¹</i> , Kh. <i>nɔn¹</i> , D. <i>lən⁶</i>

4.19. Number

one hundred thousand	<i>sen /sèn/</i> ⁷⁸	S. <i>s^hɛn¹</i> , D. <i>sɛn¹</i> ; Ng. <i>dvseŋs</i> , R. <i>tìqsèn</i>
one thousand	<i>hkying /khyiŋ/</i> ⁷⁹	S. <i>heŋ¹</i> , D. <i>heŋ¹</i> ; Z. <i>hing⁵⁵</i> ~ <i>king⁵⁵</i> , Lh. <i>khyiŋ^H</i> , Lac. <i>khyeiŋ</i> ”, Ng. <i>dvkhyoengh</i> , R. <i>kíng</i> , Hp. <i>héŋ</i>
ten thousand	<i>mun /mùn/</i>	S. <i>mun²</i> , D. <i>mun³</i> ; Z. <i>mun¹¹</i> , Lh. <i>mun^F</i> , Lac. <i>mun</i> , Ng. <i>mons</i> , R. <i>mùn</i> , Hp. <i>món</i> ‘hundred thousand’
two	<i>sawng /soŋ/</i>	S. <i>s^hɔŋ¹</i> , Kh. <i>sɔŋ⁴</i> , D. <i>sɔŋ¹</i> ; Ka. <i>saūng</i> , G. <i>s^hauŋ</i> (H)

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⁷⁷ Possibly from Chinese *guǎng* ‘be wide’ through Shan.

⁷⁸ Possibly from Burmese *théin* ‘hundred thousand’ (WB *sin³*) through Shan.

⁷⁹ Possibly from Chinese *qiān* ‘thousand’ through Shan.

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