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

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


* 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 phonetic, 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. 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).


1 http://www.sealang.net/shan/dictionary.htm (accessed on 2016-08-31)
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Reflexes of Proto-Tai initials *n- and *hn-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rice field’</td>
<td>naa⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lady’</td>
<td>naa⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘face’</td>
<td>naa³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>nak⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td>nam⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *Pd- 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
<th>Reflexes of proto-initial *?d-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘silk’</td>
<td>laaj³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
<td>lej¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>leŋ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘month’</td>
<td>lyn¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (kāhtawng), village clusters (mārē) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Zaiwa</th>
<th>Lhaovo</th>
<th>Ngochang</th>
<th>Rawang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘mistake’</td>
<td>čît</td>
<td>syut⁵</td>
<td>šat⁴</td>
<td>shuot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘different’</td>
<td>čày</td>
<td>syai³¹1</td>
<td>šay⁴</td>
<td>shaih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘correct’</td>
<td>jô</td>
<td>zyo¹¹</td>
<td>co⁵</td>
<td>jô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘song’</td>
<td>makhón</td>
<td>me¹-k/hon³¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bless’</td>
<td>čômáñ</td>
<td></td>
<td>šāmañ⁴</td>
<td>shvmánh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘public’</td>
<td>čwà</td>
<td></td>
<td>śava⁵</td>
<td>shwas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Zaiwa</th>
<th>Lhaovo</th>
<th>Rawang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘bag’</td>
<td>ľ⁰oñ¹</td>
<td>thîn̄</td>
<td>tung³¹</td>
<td>thauñ⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rabbit’</td>
<td>paaj¹-taaj⁴</td>
<td>præntáy</td>
<td>bang¹¹-dvai³¹</td>
<td>pyaŋ⁴-tay¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘country’</td>
<td>mŋ⁴</td>
<td>mûŋ</td>
<td>meng¹¹</td>
<td>muk²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pond’</td>
<td>nøŋ¹</td>
<td>nøŋ</td>
<td>nvong³¹</td>
<td>naŋ⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hook’</td>
<td>met⁴</td>
<td>myît</td>
<td>mit⁵</td>
<td>mit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 kaa⁵ ‘to trade’ > Jinghpaw phəga ‘trade (n.)’ > Zaiwa pe⁵⁵ga³⁵ ‘trade (n.)’, Lhaovo phəkaL ‘trade (n.)’, Lacid pha:ga: ‘trade (n.)’, Rawang pvga ‘goods’


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 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Lhaovo</th>
<th>Rawang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘caution’</td>
<td>sati</td>
<td>səhi²ti⁵</td>
<td>sodiʔ</td>
<td>sətiF</td>
<td>svdiq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘luck’</td>
<td>kamma</td>
<td>kaŋ</td>
<td>kaam²</td>
<td>gəm</td>
<td>gəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘machine’</td>
<td>sakka</td>
<td>cak</td>
<td>tsəak³</td>
<td>jąk</td>
<td>cakF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘intellect’</td>
<td>nəna</td>
<td>nən</td>
<td>naan²</td>
<td>nyən</td>
<td>nyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘camel’</td>
<td>kula-ətɔha</td>
<td>kula³ut</td>
<td>ka¹laa⁴ʔuk⁵</td>
<td>gołaʔuik</td>
<td>ko¹-la¹ʔukF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rich’</td>
<td>seʧthi</td>
<td>sətʰhe³</td>
<td>səhi⁵θe⁴</td>
<td>səthi</td>
<td>sətʰeH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kula³ut (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 seʧthi which does not convey any meaning is replaced by sə ‘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 un³ ‘coconut’, for example, is borrowed into Jinghpaw as mɔʔun⁴ (cf. Shan maaʔ₄un⁴) with a Shan class term maaʔ⁴ ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>CB</th>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘building/box’</td>
<td>tuik²</td>
<td>taiʔ⁴</td>
<td>tvk³</td>
<td>ᵙék⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘capital’</td>
<td>araʔ³</td>
<td>ʔɔyín⁴</td>
<td>ʔa¹raaj⁴</td>
<td>ʔáráaj⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘certificate’</td>
<td>laakmat³</td>
<td>leʔhama²</td>
<td>laak³maat³</td>
<td>làkmát⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bell’</td>
<td>khoń³loń³</td>
<td>kháuxláux⁴</td>
<td>kʰɔŋ⁴lɔŋ⁴</td>
<td>khoŋlọŋ⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘respite’</td>
<td>khyam³sã</td>
<td>chánõå</td>
<td>kʰjaam⁴sʰa²</td>
<td>khyámsã⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘murraya plant’</td>
<td>sanapkhã³</td>
<td>ðõnãkhã</td>
<td>s³hᵃ⁴naap³sʰa²⁴</td>
<td>sõnãpkhã⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sino-Jinghpaw words are much more restricted, as Hanson (1913: 29) puts it: “[v]ery few Chinese terms have been incorporated, although the Kachins [Jingpaws] 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.
Table 7 Chinese loanwords in some Kachin languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Zaiwa</th>
<th>Lhaovo</th>
<th>Rawang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘cut with scissors’</td>
<td>jiān</td>
<td>zèn</td>
<td>zuen\textsuperscript{11}</td>
<td>zin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘calculate’</td>
<td>suàn</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>son\textsuperscript{55}</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘chopsticks’</td>
<td>kuài zi</td>
<td>khoydzè</td>
<td>koi\textsuperscript{55}zvue\textsuperscript{11}</td>
<td>lo ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mule’</td>
<td>luó zi</td>
<td>lòdzè</td>
<td>lo\textsuperscript{11}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eel’</td>
<td>huáng shàn</td>
<td>khạ̀çan</td>
<td>hang\textsuperscript{11}syăn\textsuperscript{55}</td>
<td>khang:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘boss / rich man’</td>
<td>làobàn</td>
<td>làwbàn</td>
<td></td>
<td>lau ban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Kadu</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Zaiwa</th>
<th>Rawang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bag’</td>
<td>ठोंज़</td>
<td>ठोंठङ्ग</td>
<td>ठुङ्ग</td>
<td>ठुङ्गळ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rabbit'</td>
<td>पांज़ ताज़</td>
<td>पांज़ ताज़</td>
<td>परांज़ ताज़</td>
<td>बांज़ दवां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'shoes/slippers’</td>
<td>क़ै़ तिऩ ठि</td>
<td>हेउँ़तिन</td>
<td>क्हेप्डिन</td>
<td>चोप्ड़न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'duck’</td>
<td>पेत़ तिऩ ठि</td>
<td>हेउँ़तिन</td>
<td>क्हेप्डिन</td>
<td>चोप्ड़न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'castrate’</td>
<td>तों ठि</td>
<td>ठू़न</td>
<td>डोन</td>
<td>डोन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mosquito net’</td>
<td>स़ूँति</td>
<td>स़ूँति</td>
<td>स़ूँति</td>
<td>स़ूँति</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Sonorants</th>
<th>Fricatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i &gt; i</td>
<td>p &gt; p, b</td>
<td>m &gt; m</td>
<td>s&gt; s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e &gt; i</td>
<td>t &gt; t, d</td>
<td>n &gt; n</td>
<td>h &gt; kh, (h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε &gt; e</td>
<td>ts &gt; c, j</td>
<td>η &gt; η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a &gt; a</td>
<td>k &gt; k, q</td>
<td>η &gt; η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a &gt; a</td>
<td>p &gt; ph</td>
<td>l &gt; l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &gt; o</td>
<td>t &gt; th</td>
<td>r &gt; r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y &gt; i, u, uy</td>
<td>k &gt; kh</td>
<td>w &gt; w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &gt; u</td>
<td>? &gt; ?</td>
<td>j &gt; y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u &gt; u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au &gt; aw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some remarks on the correspondence summarized above are in order. Jinghpaw has six monophthongs, including a marginal /a/, 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 /o/ are mapped to mid vowels /e/ and /o/ in Jinghpaw, because Jinghpaw mid vowels are phonetically open-mid vowels. Shan close-mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, on the other hand, are adapted as high
vowels /i/ and /u/ in Jinghpaw. Shan vowels /ɣ/ and /uu/, which are lacking in the Jinghpaw vowel inventory, are mapped to /i/ or /u/, the choice of which seems to be unpredictable, e.g. nāmliŋ ‘dropsy’ (< Shan namɣlvŋ), lun ‘lunar month’ (< Shan lvŋl), khık ‘a kind of basket’ (< Shan kʰuŋkʰ), lükṣük ‘soldier’ (< Shan luk³sʰuŋk⁴). 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘hook’</td>
<td>met⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘jewel’</td>
<td>sʰɛŋ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bean’</td>
<td>tʰo²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rivulet/ditch’</td>
<td>hɔŋ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td>nam⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘barren’</td>
<td>haam⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /sʰ/ and /h/ are mapped to Jinghpaw /s/ [sʰ] 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 tr⁴sʰ), dêpkʰá ‘thatch comb’ (< Shan trp¹kʰa⁴). There are some cases where Jinghpaw shows hesitation between voiceless and voiced stops, e.g. kày ~ gày ‘fowl’ (< Shan kaj²), maypaw ~ maybaw ‘a kind of tree’ (< Shan maf²paw⁴). Table 10 shows some examples of initial stops, affricates and sonorants between Shan and Jinghpaw.
Table 10  Some correspondences between initial consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'palace'</td>
<td>hɔ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'yoke'</td>
<td>?ɛk²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'epilepsy'</td>
<td>maa³mu¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'difficult'</td>
<td>jaak³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'garden'</td>
<td>sʰon¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'shellfish'</td>
<td>hɔj¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /P/ in inherited words (Benedict 1972: 14), e.g. wàʔ ‘pig’ (< PTB *pʰak). 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘cave’</td>
<td>tʰam³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘model’</td>
<td>laaj⁴len⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘poison’</td>
<td>kɔŋ⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘uncooked fish’</td>
<td>paa¹lip⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘animal’</td>
<td>to¹sʰat⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘compartment’</td>
<td>lɔk⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘gourd’</td>
<td>taw³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘small scale’</td>
<td>jɔj⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ~ yi ‘female’ (< PTB *pwi(y)-n ‘female’). Shan loanwords having such illicit combinations in the Jinghpaw native phonology are imported into Jinghpaw, e.g. wîŋ ‘enclosure’ <
Shan *weg⁴ ‘town’ (possibly from Burmese), *jaHyin ‘silversmith’ < Shan *tsaay⁴jyun⁴, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unchecked syllables</th>
<th>Checked syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ma²) low</td>
<td>&gt; low, (mid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ma³) mid</td>
<td>&gt; low, (mid, high)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ma⁴) high</td>
<td>&gt; high, (low, mid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ma⁵) falling</td>
<td>&gt; mid, low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ma¹) rising</td>
<td>&gt; mid, (low, high)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ma⁶) emphatic</td>
<td>&gt; no example</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 0 > Jg. /?- (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 /t/ (e.g. ‘rabbit’, ‘red pepper’).
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Table 13 Unnecessary repairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘duck’</td>
<td>kaj⁴ ‘fowl’, pet⁴ ‘duck’ &gt; khaypyék</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mango’</td>
<td>maak₂moŋ³ &gt; mɔmũŋ ~ lɔmũŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lima bean’</td>
<td>tʰo²poŋ¹ &gt; thúbük</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hook’</td>
<td>met⁴ &gt; myít ~ ðmyék</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rabbit’</td>
<td>paaŋ₁taaj⁴ &gt; praŋtáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mix’</td>
<td>lɔ⁴le⁴ &gt; lòʔlèʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘red pepper’</td>
<td>maak²pʰit⁵ &gt; ñprík</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘black pepper’</td>
<td>maak²pʰit⁵pɔm³ &gt; mákphyíkbòm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paaŋ¹ ‘gathering place’</td>
<td>dɔbaŋ ‘camp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʰe³ ‘bolt’</td>
<td>sùmsè ‘bolt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰi² ‘pipe, flute’</td>
<td>sumpyi ‘flute’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paaŋ² ‘level as a tract of land’</td>
<td>dûmbàŋ ‘substantial tract of land’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’, kʰep⁴tin¹ ‘sandals’ (cf. tin¹ ‘foot’), tsaw³kʰøŋ³ ‘gunner’ (lit. master-gun) and sʰøŋ¹hon¹ ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gát ‘market’</td>
<td>gát gát ‘open, as a market’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyépdiŋ ‘shoes’</td>
<td>khyépdiŋ din ‘put on shoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jàwgonj ‘hunter’</td>
<td>jàwgonj gòŋ ‘hunt (v.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soŋkhun ‘cholera’</td>
<td>soŋkhun khun ‘be infected with cholera’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. bā-lūk ‘catfish’ (lit. fish-pit), māk-pháy ‘fire fruit’ (lit. fruit-fire), moj-dīn ‘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 nāa₁-k₄aw³), khāw-gāt (lit. rice-market) ‘bazaar’ (cf. Shan kaat²-k₄aw³), nā-lōk (lit. paddy-compartment) ‘compartment of a rice field’ (cf. Shan lōk₄-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

| ci     | ‘ten’               | PTB *ts(y)i(y) ≡*tsyay | ‘ten’ |
| tsa    | ‘hundred’           | PTB *b-r-gya           | ‘hundred’ |
| khyīŋ  | ‘thousand’          | Shan heŋ              | ‘thousand’ |
| mūn    | ‘ten thousand’      | Shan mūm²             | ‘ten thousand’ |
| s’en   | ‘hundred thousand’  | Shan sʰren¹           | ‘hundred thousand’ |
| wān    | ‘million’           | Chinese wān           | ‘ten thousand’ |
| ri     | ‘ten million’       | Chinese yī            | ‘hundred million’ |
| gādni  | ‘hundred million’   | Burmese gādē           | ‘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. mācàn maŋay mālī (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 sʰren¹ may be originally from Chinese qiān ‘thousand’ and from Written Burmese sin¹ ‘hundred thousand’, respectively. Burmese gādē is of Indo-Aryan origin, i.e. Pali kōṭi ‘the end’ (Dr. Huziwara Keisuke, p.c., 2016).
Table 17  Asymmetrical distribution of inherited and borrowed round numbers in Jinghpaw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Borrowed Jinghpaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘forty’</td>
<td>m@li ci</td>
<td>*ci m@li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four hundred’</td>
<td>m@li tsa</td>
<td>*tsa m@li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four thousand’</td>
<td>*m@li khyiŋ</td>
<td>khyiŋ m@li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘forty thousand’</td>
<td>*m@li mün</td>
<td>mün m@li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four hundred thousand’</td>
<td>*m@li sën</td>
<td>sën m@li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four million’</td>
<td>*m@li wàn</td>
<td>wàn m@li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘forty million’</td>
<td>*m@li rì</td>
<td>rì m@li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four hundred million’</td>
<td>*m@li gôdì</td>
<td>gôdì m@li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 hO¹ ‘palace’, tsaw³ ‘master’ and nam⁵ ‘water’. Some of these recurrent items appear with Shan class terms such as maak² ‘fruit’, paa¹ ‘fish’, nam⁵ ‘water’, maj⁵ ‘wood’ and khaw³ ‘rice’. For example, Jinghpaw, as shown in Table 18, has a number of lexical items associated with fruits involving a morpheme maak² ‘fruit’.

Table 18  Plant names with maak² ‘fruit’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘jackfruit’</td>
<td>maak²laaN⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fire fruit’</td>
<td>maak²pʰaj⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sweet orange’</td>
<td>maak²waan¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bitter gourd’</td>
<td>maak²ʔaan¹kʰaaN¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pomegranate’</td>
<td>maak²man⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘quince’</td>
<td>maak²waaw⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘orange’</td>
<td>maak²tsök⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘black pepper’</td>
<td>maak²pʰit⁵pom³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hog’s plum’</td>
<td>maak²kôk²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mango’</td>
<td>maak²mon⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pear’</td>
<td>maak²ko³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘plum’</td>
<td>maak²kʰo¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some of the loanwords have undergone semantic changes in Jinghpaw. As an illustration, consider a Shan word ʰəkhʰəm⁴ ‘royal palace’ which has undergone metonymic semantic change, meaning ‘king’ in Jinghpaw (i.e. ʰkhokʰám). Other examples include:

Table 19  Semantic shifts of loanwords

| Jg. məysəw | ‘paper’ | < | S. maj⁵shaw³ | ‘slender piece of wood’ |
| Jg. phày   | ‘flint’  | < | S. pʰaj⁴    | ‘fire’ |
| Jg. khám   | ‘gold leaf’ | < | S. kʰam⁴   | ‘gold’ |
| Jg. sūŋ    | ‘deep’   | < | S. sʰuŋ¹    | ‘high, tall’ |
| Jg. ʔəroŋ  | ‘honor’  | < | S. ʔa⁵ɾəŋ² | ‘brightness’ (< B. ‘color’) |
| Jg. səsənə | ‘mission’| < | S. sʰa²sʰa¹naa² | ‘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)
- C. Chinese
- D. Dehong
- G. Ganan
- Hp. Hpun
- Ka. Kadu
- Kh. Khamti
- Lac. Lacid
- Lan. Langsu
- Le. Leqi
- Lh. Lhaovo
- Li. Lisu
### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cave</td>
<td>htam /thām/</td>
<td>S. l(^4)am(^3), D. thām(^d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth oil</td>
<td>nam myin /nāmmyin/</td>
<td>S. nam(^5)men(^1); R. nēmmēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enamel</td>
<td>nam ya /nāmyā/</td>
<td>S. nam(^5)jāa(^3); R. nēmyā ‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditch</td>
<td>hkawng /khōng/</td>
<td>S. hōy(^3) ‘rivulet’, Kh. hōy(^2) ‘channel’ (W), D. hōy(^6); Z. xōy(^2) (D), R. tikūng (water-ditch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditch</td>
<td>nam hkawng /nāmkhōng/</td>
<td>S. nam(^5)hōy(^3) ‘stream of water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flood</td>
<td>nam htum /nāmthūm/</td>
<td>S. nam(^5)hōy(^3) ‘stream of water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold leaf</td>
<td>hkam /khām/</td>
<td>S. k(^b)am(^3) ‘gold’, Kh. k(^b)am(^3) ‘gold’, D. xam(^2) ‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake(^9)</td>
<td>nawng /nōŋ/</td>
<td>S. nōŋ(^1), Kh. nōŋ(^4) (W), D. lōŋ(^1); Z. nvong(^3), Lh. yit(^f)nauŋ(^H), Lac. gyid noung”, R. tīnūŋ, G. nāuŋ (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain(^10)</td>
<td>loi /lōy/</td>
<td>S. lōi(^1), Kh. nōŋ(^4), D. lōi(^6); Z. lōi(^1)lōŋ(^3) ‘Loilung village’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^9\) This word is often preceded by khāʔ ‘water’ in Jinghpaw. The same holds for Lhaovo, Lacid and Rawang where yit\(^f\), gyid and tū mean ‘water’, respectively.

\(^10\) “a large number of Kachin hills and villages have names derived from the Shan; thus Loije, Loijau, Loikhang and Loilung; ... Loi sam sip, the traditional thirty hills in the Sinli district” (Hanson 1906:357)
This hybrid word is created in Jinghpaw by combining etymologically Tai and Indo-Aryan parts: Shan nam⁵ ‘water’ and Written Burmese samuddarā (< Sk. samudra).

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).

‘water oozing through the ground’

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 khaï pet⁶ and Turung kai pet⁶.

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4.2. Animals

**animal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ocean</td>
<td>nam muk dāra</td>
<td>S. nam⁵ ‘water’, Sk. samudra, B. ŭāmouʔdāya (WB samuddarā), Z. nam⁳ moq¹ de¹ ra⁵⁵, Lh. nam mug dara: (K), Lac. nam mug dara:, Ng. nvmuk-dra, R. nvmukdvra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salween river</td>
<td>sap hkung /sàpkhun/</td>
<td>S. kʰou⁶, D. xøj²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solder</td>
<td>nam san /nàmsan/</td>
<td>D. lām³ san³¹ (M); Z. nam⁵ san⁵⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>Nu. kángkhau /kàŋ⁴khav⁴/</td>
<td>S. pʰaa⁵ ka⁴y¹ haaw¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tract of land</td>
<td>dumbai /dàmbi¹⁴/</td>
<td>S. pao⁵, Kh. nam⁵, D. lam⁴⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>nam /nàm⁴⁲</td>
<td>S. nam⁵ ‘water’, kʰaαn¹ ‘formation of lime, as a stalactite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water (oozing)</td>
<td>nam chyim /nàmcīm⁴⁵/</td>
<td>S. nam⁵ ‘water’, kʰaaαn¹ ‘formation of lime, as a stalactite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water rust</td>
<td>nam hkan /nàmkhαn⁴⁴⁶/</td>
<td>S. nam⁵ ‘water’, kʰaαn¹ ‘formation of lime, as a stalactite’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**animal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>du sat /dûsåt/</td>
<td>S. to¹ sa⁵t⁴, Kh. to¹ ‘classifier for animals’, D. sat¹; Z. du¹¹ sat¹ ~ du¹¹ sat⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird, hf.</td>
<td>kai /kài/ ~ gai /gài/ ~ hcai /hχài/</td>
<td>S. kaj² ‘fowl’, Kh. kai⁴ ‘fowl’, D. kai³ ‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capon</td>
<td>kai dawn /kàydon⁴⁸⁶</td>
<td>S. kaj² ‘fowl’, ton¹ ‘to geld’, D. kai³ phu⁴ ton⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catfish</td>
<td>bālu /bɔlûk/</td>
<td>S. paa¹ lu⁴, Kh. muk⁴ ‘catfish’; Lh. balu (K), Lac. ba lug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipper</td>
<td>kai nam /kàynam/ ~ gai nam /gàynam⁴⁴⁶/</td>
<td>S. kaj² ‘fowl’, nam⁵ ‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>pyek /pyék/⁴⁴⁶</td>
<td>S. pet¹ ‘duck’, Kh. pet⁴, D. pet³; Z. bvyet⁶, Lac. gai pyed, R. kabìt, Ka. aûmpetû, G. ðûmpet (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>hcai pyek /khaypyék⁴/</td>
<td>S. kaj² ‘fowl’, pet⁴ ‘duck’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Asian and African Languages and Linguistics 11

4.3. Plants

banana (kind of)  
gwi hkawm /güykhom/  
S. koj3 hóm1, Kh. koj5 ‘banana’, D. koj4 ‘banana’

banana (kind of)  
gwi lung /güylunj/  
S. koj3 ‘banana’, loj1 ‘forest’

---

15 Possibly from Chinese mā ‘horse’ through Shan.
16 Possibly from Chinese qī ‘to ride’ through Shan.
banana (kind of)  | gwi sum /qûysûm/  | S. koj3sôm3
bean          | htu /thû/       | S. tûo2, Kh. tho4, D. tho3
betel, bf.    | doi hkawm /doykhûm/  | S. taj3 ‘creepers the leaf of which is used for chewing instead of the betel leaf’, kôm1 ‘be bitter’
betel         | ya man /yàmàn/   | S. jaa3 ‘grass’, D. yaa4 ‘grass’
bitter gourd  | mak ang hkang   | S. maak2ʔaay1khaay1
black pepper  | mak hpyik bawm   | S. maak2pît5pûm3
                | /mâkʔaŋkhaŋ/     | D. maak3phit5; Z. my55phûk55pûm21 (D)
Bodhi tree leaf | T. nyong /nyûŋ3/ | S. maj5pøy2
coriander     | hpak kyi /phûkkêi/ | S. pûak4ki4; Z. phû55kii51 (D), Lh. pha jhi: (K), Lac. pha: jhi”
                | ~ hpêkêi /phêkêi/ | ‘tomato’, S. bânzi, Ka. cihaûm ‘flower’, G. cihoûm (H)
egggplant     | ba kyi /bûkêi/   | S. maak2khaû4
                |                | D. maak3x4; Lh. pûkêyû4śîl ‘tomato’, R. baki
fig            | mai hpang /mûyphâng/ | S. maî5pûj5? ‘touchwood, decayed wood’, S. maiphûng
fire fruit     | mak hpai /mûkphûëi/ | S. maak2pûj4
fruit, bf.     | mak /mûk/        | S. maak2, Kh. maak4, D. maak3
garlic         | hpêraw /phêrô/   | S. pûak6 ‘pod’, D. phûk1lo1; Z. pe5ro35, R. gûro
ginger         | khûying kha /khûyêkha/ | S. kûjî1, Kh. khjû4, D. xûjî1
gourd          | tau /taw/ ~ tau ba /tawbah/ | S. taw3, D. tau4; Z. dvûu55
                |                | ‘bottle’, R. dobâ
hog’s plum     | mûkawk /mûkûk/  | S. maak2kôk2; Lh. mho kawug (K), Lac. mûkôug
jackfruit      | mak lang /mûkalûng/~  | S. maak2laûj4; R. mûlûngshûi, Hû. mûngûj
lotus          | tawng mu /tûmû/  | S. mo4, Kh. mo4 (W), D. mo6
lima bean      | htu buk /thûbûk/ | S. tûo2pøj4
mango          | lûmûng /lûmunj/~  | S. maak2moj3, Kh. ma4moj1
                | mûmûng /mûmûnj/  | D. maak3moj6; Lh. lamûng (K), Lac. lamûng, Ng. lûmûngs, R. lûmûng

17 This word occurs only as the couplet of pinlû ‘betel’ (< Chinese pûnglang ‘betel’).
18 Possibly related to Burmese ji (WB khûn3) ‘ginger’.
maize

hkau hpa /khàwphà/  

S. kʰaw³paan³, Kh. klaupa (P), D. xaw⁴faa⁵

myrobalan fruit

māna /mònā/  

S. maak²nāa²; Ka. maʔnāci (H), G. mònàš⁴i (H)

orange

mak chyaw /màkcòk/  

S. maak²tsok⁴, D. maak³tsok⁵; Z. mak¹zyok³, Lan. mak³tfok³¹, Le. mak³tfok⁵⁵

pear

māgaw /məgo/  

S. maak³kɔ⁵; Z. me⁵ko⁵⁵, R. mvgo

plum

māhkaw /məkhó/  

S. maak²khi⁴¹, Lh. mhokho” (K), Lac. mo:kho” ~ moo:kho”, Ng. mvkho

plum

mak man /màkmàn/  

S. maak²man⁵, D. maak³man⁵; Ka. māʔmànči (H)

pomegranate

mâchyang /mɔcaŋ/  

S. maak²tsaj⁴

quince

mak wau /màkwàw/  

màwau /məwàw/  

S. maak²waaw⁴

red lentil

htu leng /thùlèng/  

S. tʰo² ‘leguminous plant’, ləy¹ ‘be red’

red pepper

nprik /nprik/  

S. maak²pʰit⁵, D. maak³phet³; Z. pika³ ‘spicy’, si¹-pika³ ‘chillies’

scutch grass

ya sai /yàsáy/  

S. jaa³s’haj⁴, Lh. ya sai” (K)

Shorea robusta

mai pau /maypàw/  

mai bau /maibàw/  

S. maaj⁵paw⁴

sweet orange

mak wan /màkwàn/  

S. maak²waan¹, D. maak³waan¹; R. mokwàn ‘pomelo’

sweet pea

htu hkam /thùkhàm/  

S. tʰo²kʰhàm⁴

teak

mai sak /màysàk/  

S. maaj⁵s’hàk⁴; Z. mai²¹sak²¹ (D), Lac. mai saŋ, Ng. maisak, R. màysvk

thorny bamboo

mai sang /màysaŋ/  

S. maaj⁵s’hàaŋ⁴, D. maaj⁵saŋ²

tomato

māhكري sum /màkhrisùm/  

S. maak²kʰr₁sʰom³; D. maak³xɔ¹som⁴; Z. me⁵ke⁵sum¹¹, Lh. pʰi khyi¹sí¹, Lac. ba khyi;, R. baki

thorny bamboo

htu h’ha /thùh’ha/  

S. pʰhak⁴haa³

vegetable, bf.

hpak /phàk/  

S. pʰak⁴ ‘pod’, Kh. phak⁴ ‘vegetable’, D. phak¹ ‘vegetable’

—

19 ‘a kind of tree, the sprouts of which is used as food’
willow  
mai /mâykhāy/  S. mař₄kha₃
wood, bf.  
mai /mây/ ~ /mây/  S. mař₄, Kh. ma₄, D. ma₅

4.4. Food and drink

cut fine, v.  
soi /sōy/  S. sa₄j, Kh. saF₃ (W)
dish (kind of)²⁰  
sun wan /sumwan/  S. sa₄om³ ‘be sour’, wa₄n ‘be sweet’
dried fish  
ba heng /bahēŋ/  S. pa₄lhe₃
flour  
hkau mun /khâwmun/  S. k₃aw₃mun₄, D. xau₄mun²
food²¹  
hkau dum /khâwdum/  S. k₃aw₃tom₃
food²²  
hkau puk /khâwpuk/  S. k₃aw₃puk₄; B. khōbou? (WB khopup), R. kōbuk
fresh fish  
ba lip /balip/  S. pa₄l lip₄
green sour curry  
hpak chyaw /phâkcho/  S. p₄ak₄tsa₄
 glutinous rice  
hkau lam /khâwlam/  S. k₃aw₃laam₁
jaggery  
nam htan /nâmthan/²³  S. nam₅thaan₁; Ng. thanh, Ka. thāngāk
liquor  
lau hku /lâwkhū/  S. la₃h₂, D. lau₄
meal  
ma /mā/  D. ma₅¹ (D), Lan. ma₅⁵
meal, clf.  
da /dā/  S. taa², D. ta₃
mix  
law le /lōʔlēʔ/  S. l₄lê₄
noodles  
hkau sin /khâwssin/²⁴  S. k₃aw₃sh₄n; Z. hau₅⁵seng₅⁵
noodles  
hkau soi /khâwsōy/²⁵  S. k₃aw₃soj₄; Z. hau¹¹soi₃¹, Lh. khau soe” (K), Lac. khau: sue”
palm sugar  
nam oj /nâmʔoj/ ~ nam  S. nam₅oj₃, Kh. ?oij⁵ ‘sugar cane’;
moi /nâmʔmōj/  Z. nam₅¹oi¹
parched rice  
hkau dek /khâwdék/  S. k₃aw₃tek²
pickled fish  
ba sum /basum/  S. pa₄lsh₃om₃
preparation²⁶  
hkau dam nga  S. k₃aw₃tam₁ya₄
/khâwdamn̄a/
preparation²⁷  
hkau dum gwi  S. k₃aw₃tom₃koj₃
/khâwdumgwi/
preparation²⁸  
hkau hkyep /khâwkhyep/  S. k₃aw₃khrp₃

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 thāw (WB than’) ‘toddy-palm’.
²⁴ Possibly from Chineses xiān ‘thread’ through Shan.
²⁵ Possibly from Burmese khauʔswé (WB khookhwa) ‘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  
\( \text{hkau} / \text{khàw}/ \sim / \text{khaw}/ \)  
S. \( k^h \text{aw}^3 \), Kh. \( k\text{haw}^2 \), D. \( xau^4 \); Hp. \( \text{khàu shwàm} \)

rice\textsuperscript{29}  
\( \text{hkau wun} / \text{khàw}w\text{wun}/ \)  
S. \( k^h \text{aw}^3 \) ‘rice’, won\textsuperscript{l} ‘above’

rice\textsuperscript{30}  
\( \text{hkau ya ku} / \text{khàwyakû}/ \)  
S. \( k^h \text{aw}^3 \text{ja}a^2 \text{ku}^4 \) ‘dish made from rice, jaggery, peanuts and sesame seeds’

salted fish paste  
\( \text{bänau} / \text{bɔnàw}/ \)  
S. \( paa^4 \text{naw}^3 \), Z. \( \text{be}^1 \text{nau}^{11} \), R. \( \text{bnò} \)

serve a meal  
\( \text{ling} / \text{lîn}/ \)  
S. \( \text{leN}^5 \)

sesame oil  
\( \text{nam man} / \text{nàmmán}/ \)  
S. \( \text{nam}^5 \text{man}^4 \), Kh. \( \text{nan}^2 \text{man}^3 \), D. \( \text{lam}^5 \text{man}^2 \); R. \( \text{nvmmv̥n} \)

sweet potato leaves  
\( \text{hpàman} / \text{phàkman}/ \)  
S. \( p^b \text{ak}^4 \text{man}^4 \)

taste, v.  
\( \text{chyim} / \text{cîm}/ \)  
S. \( \text{tsim}^4 \), Kh. \( \text{cîm}^3 \), D. \( \text{tsim}^2 \); Z. \( \text{zîm}^{31} \)

tobacco  
\( \text{mâlut} / ?\text{məlüt}/ \)  
S. \( \text{lu}^2 \) ‘to suck, smoke’; R. \( \text{mvløt} \)

tobacco leaves\textsuperscript{31}  
\( \text{gan ya} / \text{gànyà}/ \)  
S. \( \text{kaan}^2 \text{ja}a^3 \)

vinegar  
\( \text{nam sum} / ?\text{nàmsùm}/ \)  
S. \( \text{nam}^5 \text{sh}^4 \text{om}^3 \); Lan. \( \text{nam}^{31} \text{sum}^{31} \)

4.5. Clothing and adornments

blanket  
\( \text{hpa jawng} / \text{phàjø}/ \)  
S. \( p^b \text{aa}^3 \); Z. \( \text{ph}^2 \text{tjo}^5 \text{f}^5 \) (D), Lan. \( \text{ph}^3 \text{tjo}^5 \text{f}^5 \), R. \( \text{paqzun} \)

cloth  
\( \text{hpa} / \text{phà}/ \)  
S. \( p^b \text{aa}^3 \) ‘covering, waist cloth’, Kh. \( \text{pha}^5 \) (W), D. \( \text{phaa}^4 \)

cotton cloth  
\( \text{man} / \text{màn}/ \)  
S. \( \text{man}^3 \), D. \( \text{man}^4 \)

dress  
\( \text{hking} / \text{khiñ}/ \)  
Kh. \( \text{khìng} \) (P)

dye, v.  
\( \text{mak} / \text{màk}/^{32} \)  
S. \( \text{mak}^4 \) ‘make a mark’; Z. \( \text{mak}^5 \) ‘tattoo’, Hp. \( \text{mà?} \) ‘ink’

indigo  
\( \text{nam hkawn} / \text{nàmkhøn}/ \)  
S. \( \text{nam}^5 \) ‘water’, \( \text{høn}^4 \) ‘indigo’, D. \( \text{høn}^4 \) ‘indigo’

leggins  
\( \text{hpa kau} / \text{phàkàw}/ \)  
S. \( p^b \text{aa}^3 \text{kaaw}^3 \)

shoes  
\( \text{hkye}p \text{ din} / \text{khùpùdin}/ \)  
S. \( k^h \text{rp}^4 \text{tin}^1 \) ‘sandals’, D. \( \text{kep}^3 \text{tin}^6 \); R. \( \text{chòpdøn} \), Ka. \( \text{hùttìn} \) ‘slipper’

shoes  
\( \text{sawk din} / \text{sòkdìn}/ \)  
S. \( s^b \text{ok}^4 \text{tin}^1 \)

\textsuperscript{29} ‘a species of highland paddy with pearly white grain’

\textsuperscript{30} ‘rice mixed with millet’

\textsuperscript{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’

\textsuperscript{32} Possibly associated with Chinese \( \text{mò} \) ‘ink’.
silk  
\( \text{lai /lây/ ~ lai /lay/} \)  
S. \( \text{laaj}^3 \), Kh. \( \text{naay}^5 \), D. \( \text{laai}^4 \); Z. \( \text{lai}^{11} \)

'silkworm'

socks  
\( \text{mawng din /mûqdin/} \)  
S. \( \text{mûq}^1 \ûn^1 \)

tattoo, v.  
\( \text{sam /sâm/} \)  
S. \( s^h \text{am}^4 \), Kh. \( \text{sam}^3 \), D. \( \text{sam}^2 \)

towel  
\( \text{hpa jet /phâjet/} \)  
S. \( \text{phaa}^3 \text{tset}^5 \), D. \( \text{phaa}^4 \text{tset}^5 \); Z. \( \text{ph}^{31} \text{tfer}^{21} \) (D), Lh. \( \text{phaî}^F \text{cat}^F \), Lac. \( \text{pha joid} \), Le. \( \text{pha joid} \)

trousers  
\( \text{gun hkung /gunkhûn/} \)  
S. \( \text{kon}^1 \ûh^2 \ûjûj^2 \), D. \( \text{kon}^2 \)

turkey-red cloth  
\( \text{san leng /sânlenû/} \)  
S. \( \text{sûaannée}^2 \)

4.6. Dwelling

Bhamo  
\( \text{Manmaw /maamo/} \)  
S. \( \text{maan}^2 \ûmû^2 \); Lh. \( \text{man: mo (K)} \)

camp  
\( \text{dûbûng /dûbûŋ/} \)  
S. \( \text{paâpû}^1 \) ‘gathering place’

country  
\( \text{mung /mûnû/ ~ mûng /mûnû/} \)  
S. \( \text{mûyû}^4 \), Kh. \( \text{mûyû}^3 \), D. \( \text{mûyû}^2 \); Z. \( \text{mûng}^{11} \), Lh. \( \text{mûk}^L \), Lac. \( \text{mûq}^2 ; \) Le. \( \text{mûyû}^{33} \), R. \( \text{mûng} \)

country  
\( \text{mung dan /mûngdan/} \)  
S. \( \text{mûyû}^4 \) ‘country’, \( \text{tan}^{14} ? \) ‘place’; Z. \( \text{mûyû}^{21} \text{tan}^{55} \) (D), Lh. \( \text{mûyû}^H \text{tan}^{L} \), Lac. \( \text{mûng}” \text{dain}^{33} \)

country (world)  
\( \text{mung kan /mûngkûn/} \)  
S. \( \text{mûyû}^4 \) ‘country’; Z. \( \text{mûng}^{11} \- \text{gvan}^{11} \), Ng. \( \text{mûngkûn} \), R. \( \text{mûngkûn} \)

Hsenwi  
\( \text{Sinlû /sûnlû/} \)  
S. \( \text{sûn}^3 \ûû^1 \); Lh. \( \text{sinlû} : (K) \)

Keng Tung  
\( \text{Kyengdûng /kyêngdûng/} \)  
S. \( \text{keî}^4 \ûû^1 \)

Mogok  
\( \text{Munggût /mûngût/} \)  
S. \( \text{mûyû}^4 \ûkû^3 \)

Nam Hkam  
\( \text{Nâmhkûm /nâmkhûm/} \)  
S. \( \text{nam}^5 \ûk^h^3 \ûmû^4 \); Lh. \( \text{nam kham}” (K) \)

palace  
\( \text{hkûw /ho/} \)  
S. \( \text{ho}^1 \), D. \( \text{ho}^1 \); Lh. \( \text{ho} : (K) \), Lac. \( \text{khoo} : \)

room  
\( \text{gûw /gûk/} \)  
S. \( \text{k}^h^3 \- \text{ak}^2 ? \) ‘enclosure for keeping animals, cage’; Z. \( \text{gok}^1 \), R. \( \text{kok} \)

thatch  
\( \text{dep hûk /déphûkû/} \)  
S. \( \text{trp}^1 \ûk^h^3 \ûû^4 \), D. \( \text{trp}^3 \ûk^h^3 \ûû^2 \)

village  
\( \text{mûnû /mûnû/} \)  
S. \( \text{maan}^5 \), Kh. \( \text{maan}^5 \), D. \( \text{maan}^4 \)

water gate  
\( \text{nam hûpû /nûmûphû/} \)  
S. \( \text{nam}^5 \) ‘water’, \( \text{ph}^h^3 \ûû^1 \) ‘dam’, D. \( \text{faûi}^1 \)

---

33 The first syllable is not \( mûq \): according to my consultant.
4.7. Tools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Mon</th>
<th>Lao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bag, bag.</td>
<td>htung /thun/</td>
<td>S. tʰoŋ¹, Kh. thoŋ⁴, D. thoŋ¹; Z. tung³¹, Lh. thauŋ², Lac. thung.; Ng. thung, R. ɗynggung ‘sholder bag’, Ka. shithaung, G. sʰiʔtʰauŋ (H)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag (cotton)</td>
<td>htung lai /thuŋlây/</td>
<td>S. tʰoŋ¹ ‘bag’, laaj³ ‘silk’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag (ordinary)</td>
<td>htung hkin /thuŋkh n/</td>
<td>S. tʰoŋ¹ ‘bag’; Z. tung³¹-hen⁵⁵</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag (shoulder)</td>
<td>htung ba /thuŋbá/</td>
<td>S. tʰoŋ¹ paa⁴</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket (fish)</td>
<td>hkik /khïk/</td>
<td>S. kʰuk²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket (rice)³⁴</td>
<td>hkau dawm /khâwdom/</td>
<td>S. kʰaw³ ‘rice’, tɔm² ‘large wicker basket’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket (wicker)</td>
<td>mung /mùŋ/</td>
<td>S. mʊŋ¹, D. mʊŋ⁶; Z. mong¹¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>button</td>
<td>mak dum /màkdùm/</td>
<td>S. maak²tum², D. tum³</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chain</td>
<td>sai dawng /sâydɔŋ/</td>
<td>S. sʰaaj¹tɔŋ⁴</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chisel, v.</td>
<td>tawk /tɔk/</td>
<td>S. tɔk², D. tsɔk³; Z. dvɔk⁵</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleaver</td>
<td>hpa /pâ/</td>
<td>S. pʰaa⁵, Kh. phaa²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cup</td>
<td>gawm /gɔm/</td>
<td>D. kɔm³; Z. gom³⁵, Lh. keim (K), Ng. kom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipper</td>
<td>ka mai /kamay/</td>
<td>S. moj¹ʔiʔ ‘water dipper’; Z. gva⁵⁵ mai³⁵</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishhook</td>
<td>myit /myît/ ~</td>
<td>S. met⁴, Kh. met⁴, D. met³; Z. mit¹ ~ mit⁵, Lh. ngo: myhad’ (K), Lac. wim: myhed, R. ngamit, G. met ‘to fish’ (H)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>myek /mîyék/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flint</td>
<td>hpai /phây/</td>
<td>S. pʰaŋ⁴ ‘fire’, Kh. phav³ ‘fire’, D. fai² ‘fire’; Z. pai¹¹-kyet¹ ‘match’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girth</td>
<td>sai kyet /saykyêt/</td>
<td>S. sʰaaj¹ket⁴maa⁵</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatchet</td>
<td>hpa tung /phàtûŋ/</td>
<td>S. pʰaŋ⁵ ‘cleaver’, D. phaa⁵tum³; Z. pe¹dvung³¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamp</td>
<td>pyen ding /pyéndîŋ/</td>
<td>S. ten⁴ʔ ‘candle’; Z. byen³¹-din¹¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>sat /s’àt/</td>
<td>S. sʰaat², D. saat³</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mill</td>
<td>lui /luy/</td>
<td>S. loj¹; Z. lui³⁵, Lh. lui” (K), Le. lui³³</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³⁴ ‘a small basket for storage of rice’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mirror</td>
<td>jam na</td>
<td>/jämma/ S. tsam³ ‘mirror’, naa³ ‘face’, Kh. naa⁵ ‘face’, D. tsam⁶ ‘mirror’, laa⁴ ‘face’; Z. man³-zyam³, (D) mjo³-tfam⁴, Lh. jham na: (K), Lan. mj³-tfam³, R. jümna, Ka. zän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosquito net</td>
<td>sut</td>
<td>/sút/ ~ āsút /ʔasút/ S. sʰut⁴, Kh. sup⁴, D. sut¹; Z. sut⁵ ~ sun³, R. söt, Ka. sút, G. sʰut (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nail</td>
<td>mai na</td>
<td>/màyná/ S. maa²-naa⁴; Z. mai⁵-na⁵ ~ mai³-na¹ ~ mai³-na¹, Lh. mai na” (K), Ka. mainná (H), G. mënná (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddle</td>
<td>dak hpai</td>
<td>/dákpháy/ S. pʰ¹aaj¹, D. faaj²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddy mill</td>
<td>hkau lui</td>
<td>/kháwľuy/ S. kʰaw³-loj¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pierce, v.</td>
<td>chyawk</td>
<td>/cók/ S. tsok⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pin</td>
<td>se /sè/, sumse /súmsè/</td>
<td>‘bolt’ S. sʰ-e³ ‘bolt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ploughshare</td>
<td>na jawn</td>
<td>/nàjón/ S. naa⁴ ‘rice’, tsən⁵ ‘to dig out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ploughshare</td>
<td>na htay</td>
<td>/nàthay/ S. naa⁴ ‘rice field, lʰaaj¹ ‘plough’, thAI⁴ (W), B. thé (WB thay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot</td>
<td>maw/mó/</td>
<td>Na. maw h kang /moo⁴-haanh⁵/ S. mɔ³, Kh. mo⁵, D. mo⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot (metallic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope</td>
<td>jik/jík/</td>
<td>S. tsvk³, D. tsok⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope, bf.</td>
<td>sai/say/</td>
<td>S. sʰaaj¹, Kh. saay⁴, D. saai¹; Z. sai³³-haaj³⁵ (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope³⁵</td>
<td>sai gang</td>
<td>/saygāŋ/ Sʰaaj¹-kaaj²⁷ ‘string of a crossbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rudder</td>
<td>li h Kang</td>
<td>/líkhaanh³⁶/ S. haaf¹ ‘tail’, Kh. haaf⁴ ‘tail’, D. haaf¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scales</td>
<td>yoi/yöy/</td>
<td>S. jaj³; Z. ngun³₁-yöi¹¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small bottle</td>
<td>kawk/kök³⁷</td>
<td>S. kok⁴, D. kék³; Z. gok³⁵, R. gok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small box</td>
<td>yep/*yęp/</td>
<td>S. ṭep², Kh. ṭep⁴, D. ṭep³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spinning wheel</td>
<td>gawng /göŋ/</td>
<td>S. koj¹, D. koj²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spinning wheel</td>
<td>gawng sai</td>
<td>/göŋsày/ S. koj⁴ ‘spinning wheel’, sʰaaj¹ ‘rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>spoon</td>
<td>chyaw /cò/ S. ts³⁵, D. tso⁵; Z. zvyo³¹, Ka. hünzaui, G. hãnsót (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sword</td>
<td>lap lang</td>
<td>/láplán/ S. laap², Kh. naap⁴, D. laap³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 khweʔ ‘cup’ (WB khwak).
table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>Kh.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Z.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku²</td>
<td>k(u)²</td>
<td>bed'</td>
<td>yøpgu²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

teapot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyo²</td>
<td>nyo²</td>
<td>ngo²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tobacco pipe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m(a)²ja(a)³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tool (kind of)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la(a)⁵⁵tsa(i)⁵¹</td>
<td>la(a)⁵⁵tsa(i)⁵¹ (DX)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

trap

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s(h)a(i)⁴</td>
<td>s(h)a(i)⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

umbrella

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts(a)⁵³</td>
<td>ts(a)⁵³ (W)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

umbrella

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts(a)⁵³kh(a)⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

water bottle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nam(t)³w</td>
<td>nam(t)³w (W)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wheel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>le(n)⁴</td>
<td>le(n)⁴ (W)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yoke

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ek²</td>
<td>?ek²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.8. Community, occupation and production

barren

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>Kh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha(a)⁴</td>
<td>‘be empty’, kham³ (W)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

barren field

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na(a)⁴m</td>
<td>na(a)⁴m</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

blacksmith

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsa(a)⁵³le(k)²</td>
<td>tsa(a)⁵³le(k)² (D)</td>
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</table>

blighted rice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k(h)a(w)³p</td>
<td>k(h)a(w)³p</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

butcher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsa(a)⁵³ny</td>
<td>tsa(a)⁵³ny</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

compartment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l(a)k⁴</td>
<td>l(a)k⁴ (W)</td>
<td></td>
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compartment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l(a)k⁴n</td>
<td>l(a)k⁴n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

coppersmith

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts(a)⁵³</td>
<td>‘be skilled in’, t(a)⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

enclosure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Lh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k(h)(a)k³</td>
<td>k(h)(a)k³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

38 ‘a platform, anything in the shape of a table, e.g. yøp-k\(u\) ‘bed’ (lit. sleep-table), c\(a\)-k\(u\) ‘dining table’ (lit. eat-table), l\(a\)ya-k\(u\) ‘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 wing /wín/ S. wéŋ⁴ ‘town’, D. wéŋ² ‘city’
fence da hka /ðákʰə/ D. ta³³xa¹¹ (M); Z. ta²¹kha⁵⁵ (D)
garden sun /súŋ/ S. sʰon¹, Kh. son⁴, D. son¹; Z. sun⁵⁵, R. sún
goldsmith jang hkam /jáŋkhám/ S. tsaaŋ³kʰam⁴
landing place da nam /dánəm/ S. taa³nam⁵, Kh. taa¹, D. taa⁶
lowland paddy hkau lung /khawluŋ/ S. kʰaw³⁴⁴lon⁴ ‘manure’, D. kon a
manure nam hpun /námphun/ S. nam⁵ ‘water’, phun² ‘manure’, D. fun³; Z. nam³¹-pun⁵⁵, R. nvmpun
martial art jau hkyen /jáwkhyën/ S. tsaw³ ‘master’, kʰEn¹ ‘hand’; Lh. jau khyen, Lac. jau khyen
mine maw /mo/ S. mo², Kh. mo⁴ (W), D. mo³; Lh. mo: (K), Lac. mo:; Ng. luk mau , R. shémo ‘gold mine’, Ka. maũ, G. mo ‘Kadu’ (H)
paddy (red) leng /lën/ S. ley¹ ‘be red’, Kh. ney¹ ‘be red’, D. ley⁶ ‘be red’; Hp. lãŋ ‘yellow’
paddy embankment na dung /nàdùŋ/ D. toŋ³³ta⁵⁵ (DX)
rice field na /nà/ S. naa¹, Kh. nää³, D. laa²
rice field hkau na /khawnà/ S. kʰaw³ ‘rice’, naa¹ ‘rice field’; R. koná
rice nursery hkau ga /khawgà/ S. kʰaw³ ‘rice’, D. ka³¹xau³¹ ‘rice sprouts’ (DX)
ridge te /të/ S. te⁴, D. te²; Lh. te: (K)
ridge te na /tëñà/ S. te³naa⁴, Kh. te³nña³; R. nàdê, Ka. lapátənà (H), G. lapátənà (H)
seedlings ka /kà/ S. kaa³, Kh. ka³ (W), D. kaa⁴
silversmith jang ngin /jáŋŋin/ S. tsaaŋ³yüm⁴, Kh. yüm³ ‘silver’ (W), D. yım² ‘silver’
smith, bf. jang /jáŋ/ S. tsaaŋ³ ‘be skilled in’
terraced fields na kawng /nákɔŋ/ S. nää¹ ‘rice’, koy⁴ ‘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 jiāng ‘craftsman’ through Shan.
49 ‘terraced fields on the side of a hill watered by irrigation’
timber log  

mai lung /maylùŋ/  

S. maj⁵ ‘wood’, loŋ⁴ ‘forest’; Lh. mai lung: (K), Lac. mai lung:

4.9. Commerce and trade

bazaar  

hkau gat /khàw gàt/  

S. kʰaw³ ‘rice’, kaat² ‘market’

market⁵⁰  

gat /gát/  

S. kaat², D. kaat³; Lh. kaít⁴, R. gvt

measure⁵¹  

jaw /jó/  

S. tso³

measure⁵²  

hkan /khán/  

S. kʰan¹

measure⁵³  

hpak /phák/  

S. pʰak² ‘part, side (as of a body of water), division or portion of anything divided lengthwise into halves or fourths’; Z. pak¹ ‘half a pound’, Lh. phag! (K)

measure⁵⁴  

joi /joi/  

S. tso³; Lh. joë: (K), Lan. tfoj³⁵

‘steelyard’, Lac. joï.; R. joy

price  

ka /kà/  

S. kaâ³, D. kaâ⁶; R. ká ‘debt’

tax  

hkan /khán/⁵⁵ ~ hkan  

S. kʰan¹ ‘price’, D. xan³⁵ se⁵⁵

se /khansë/ ~ hkan si /khansi/  

(DX); Z. kàŋ²¹ (D), Lh. khaŋ², Lac. khaung” doug:

trade  

hpāga /phōga/  

S. kaâ⁵ ‘to trade’; Z. pe⁵⁵ ga³⁵ ‘trade’, Lh. phāk²-pyû² (trade-person), Lac. pha: ga.; R. pygä

trade, v.  

ga /ga/  

S. kaâ⁵, D. kaâ⁶; R. ga

4.10. Communication and transportation

bridle  

gak /gàk/  

S. kak⁵

cart  

law /lò/  

S. lə⁵, Kh. lə², D. lə⁵, Hp. lə

journey⁵⁶  

hkau /khàw/  

S. kʰaaw⁴

package  

chyawk /cök/  

S. tsök⁴; Z. zyok⁵

way⁵⁷  

tang /tànŋ/  

S. taŋ⁴, Kh. taŋ³ (W), D. taŋ²

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⁵⁰ Zaiwa gai²¹ ‘market’ is from Chinese local dialect gài (Lustig 2010: 135), which is also found in Lhaovo spoken in Shan State gài (Yabu 2000: 34), Langsu kai³¹, Leqi kei³³ and Ngochang kait.

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 ‘a measure of capacity equal to two járe, about four cups by volume’

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

⁵⁵ Possibly from Burmese ṭâkʰù (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Kachin</th>
<th>Lhawngaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>laika /lâyka/(^{58})</td>
<td>lik(^3)laaj(^4)</td>
<td>D. lik(^5)laai(^2); Z. lai(^{11})gya(^5), R. lèqa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>lik /lik/</td>
<td>lik(^3)laaj(^4) ‘book’</td>
<td>D. lik(^5)laai(^2) ‘book’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culture</td>
<td>laili laika /làyllàyka/</td>
<td>lik(^3)laaj(^4) ‘book’</td>
<td>Z. lai(^{21})li(^{21})pha?(^{21})tj(^{5}) (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flute</td>
<td>pyi /pyi/, sumpyi /sumpyi/</td>
<td>pr(^2), Kh. pr(^4) (W), D. pr(^3); Z. brv(^{55}), sam(^{55})pji(^{55}) (D), R. bilôm, biman</td>
<td>‘flute’, bishun ‘long flute’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamble</td>
<td>taw /tò/(^{59})</td>
<td>ts(^2), D. to(^3); Lh. to”, R. dó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handiwork</td>
<td>lai /lày/</td>
<td>laaj(^{3}?) ‘silk’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harp</td>
<td>tingse /tińse/</td>
<td>ti̲j(^2) ‘harp’, se(^2) ‘to play’</td>
<td>Z. ti̲j(^{55})je(^{5}) (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manner</td>
<td>lai /lày/</td>
<td>laaj(^{4})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manner</td>
<td>tang het / tá̂qhet/</td>
<td>taay(^4)het(^4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>model</td>
<td>lai lên /làylèn/</td>
<td>laaj(^{4})len(^4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paper</td>
<td>je /jê/(^{61})</td>
<td>tse(^2), D. tse(^4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paper</td>
<td>mai sau /màysaw/</td>
<td>maf(^5)saw(^3) ‘slender piece of wood’</td>
<td>Z. mau(^{11})saw(^{11}), Lh. muk(^{3})uku(^{3}), Lac. moug: soug”, Le. mou(^{53})sou(^{55}), Ng. maussauh, R. mèso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.12. Cults, customs and socializing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Shan</th>
<th>Kachin</th>
<th>Lhawngaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>day of fasting</td>
<td>wan gam /wángam/</td>
<td>wan(^4)kan(^1)s(^{6})in(^1)</td>
<td>S. kow(^4)mu(^4), D. kow(^2)mu(^2); Z. kow(^{21})yu(^{21}) (D), Lh. gug ngung (K)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pagoda</td>
<td>gawng ngu /gò̂ngjû(^{62})</td>
<td>kow(^4)mu(^4), D. kow(^2)mu(^2); Z. kow(^{21})yu(^{21}) (D), Lh. gug ngung (K)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{58}\) 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 kāwshmū ‘good deed’ (WB kōi’nhuí) 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.
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Lac. goung ngo, Ng. gongs-ngu, Li. kong⁵mu⁵

spirit  hpyi /phyi/

S. pʰi¹, Kh. phi⁴, D. phi¹; Z. pi¹ⁱ, G. pʰitun ‘evil spirit’ (H)

spirit country  mung hpyi /mùnphyi/

S. mɪŋ⁴pʰiⁱ

vanish  hpoi /phøy/

D. phə̂⁵ ‘be fragile’; Z. poi¹¹, R. pə̂y

4.13. Human body

body  Nu. hking /kʰin/

S. kʰin⁴, Kh. khIŋ³ (W), D. xiŋ²

semen  nam ngan /nàmŋaŋ/

S. nam⁵ ‘water’, ɲaŋ¹ ‘be fertile, not castrated’, D. lam⁵ɲaŋ¹

weight  nam nak /nàmnák/

S. nam⁵nak⁴

4.14. Life, sickness and death

bullet  mak /màk/

S. maak² ‘round thing’⁶⁴

bullet  mak lung /màklɪŋ/

S. maak²boŋ¹

cannon  gawng dang /ɡʊŋdæŋ/

S. kʊŋ³ ‘gun’; Z. gɔŋ¹¹dang¹¹ ‘large underground fireworks’

cholera  sawng hkun /soŋkʰʊŋ/

S. sʰʊŋ¹hoŋ¹; Z. soŋ⁵ʂʊŋ⁵mo⁵⁵ (D), Lh. saung: khun: (K), Lac. seing: khoìn; R. songkun

dropsy  nam ling /nàmlɪŋ/

S. nam⁶lyŋ¹

epilepsy  ma mu /màmʊ/

S. maᵃ⁵mu¹, Kh. maᵃ⁵ ‘be crazy’, mu⁴ ‘pig’, D. maᵃ⁴mu¹

foster  bau /baw/

S. paur⁵, Kh. pAuɾ² (W); Z. bau¹¹

gun  gawng /ɡʊŋ/

S. kʊŋ³ ‘gun’, D. kʊŋ⁴

gun (kind of)  gawng hpai /ɡʊŋphai/

S. kʊŋ³ ‘gun’, pʰaj⁴ ‘fire’

herbal medicine  ya ya /yàya/

S. jaᵃ⁵jaᵃ¹; Z. ya¹¹yə⁵⁵

leprosy  dut /dút/

S. tut³, D. tut⁵

machine gun  gawng jawk /ɡʊŋjɑk/

S. kʊŋ³tsək³

measles  måling /mʊlɪŋ/

S. maak²lyŋ¹; R. muʳlîŋ

medicine, bf.  ya /yə/

S. jaᵃ¹, Kh. yaa⁵, D. yaa⁴; Z. ya¹¹
‘to cure’

overcome  pye /pyè/

S. pe⁵

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\textsuperscript{66} \textit{mak hpai} /màkpháy/ \textit{S. maa}k\textsuperscript{2} ‘round thing’, \textit{pʰa}j\textsuperscript{4} ‘fire’

poison \textit{gung} /guŋ/ \textit{S. koj\textsuperscript{5}}, Kh. \textit{koj}\textsuperscript{2} (W), D. \textit{koj}\textsuperscript{5}

powder flask \textit{yam kawk} /ʔyàmkoʔ/ \textit{S. jaam\textsuperscript{4} ‘gunpowder’, kək\textsuperscript{4} ‘cup’; R. yàm ‘gunpowder’}

syphilis \textit{kālang gyi} /kɔlaŋ gyi/ \textit{S. ka}l\textsuperscript{1}laaN\textsuperscript{2}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{4.15. Types of people}
\item abbot \textit{mun jau} /munjāw/ \textit{S. mun\textsuperscript{1}tsaw\textsuperscript{3}}
\item beggar \textit{kun yawn} /kùnyón/ \textit{S. kon\textsuperscript{4}jau\textsuperscript{4}, D. yən\textsuperscript{2} ‘to beg’}
\item beggar \textit{maw hpyi} /mophyi/ \textit{D. mo\textsuperscript{1}phi\textsuperscript{1}; Z. mo\textsuperscript{35}pi\textsuperscript{55}, Lan. mo\textsuperscript{35}phi\textsuperscript{31}, Le. mo\textsuperscript{33}phi\textsuperscript{23, R. mopi}
\item Burman \textit{man} /màn/ \textit{S. maan\textsuperscript{3}, Kh. maan\textsuperscript{1} (W), D. maan\textsuperscript{6}}
\item Burman \textit{myen} /myeN/\textsuperscript{67} \textit{S. maan\textsuperscript{2}myeN\textsuperscript{4}; Z. myen\textsuperscript{31}, Lac. lamyen, Ng. lvmyens, R. min}
\item child \textit{luk} /lùk/ \textit{S. luk\textsuperscript{3}, Kh. luk\textsuperscript{1}, D. luk\textsuperscript{5}}
\item Chin \textit{hkang} /khán/\textsuperscript{68} \textit{S. kʰaŋ\textsuperscript{1} ‘Kachin’; Lh. khaung” (K), Ng. khang, Hp. kâxâγ ‘Kachin’, Ka. hâhây (H), G. hâhây (H)}
\item elder \textit{jau lung} /jâwluN/ \textit{S. tsaw\textsuperscript{3} ‘master’, lùŋ\textsuperscript{4} ‘father’s or mother’s elder brother’}
\item headman \textit{htâmung} /tʰâmʊŋ/ \textit{S. tʰa\textsuperscript{1}moŋ\textsuperscript{1}}
\item hunter \textit{jau gawng} /jâw⁴on/ \textit{S. tsaw\textsuperscript{3}koŋ\textsuperscript{3} ‘gunner’; Z. zyau\textsuperscript{11}gong\textsuperscript{11}, Lac. jau goung}
\item king \textit{hkaw hkam} /khoḥām/ \textit{S. ho\textsuperscript{1}kʰam\textsuperscript{4} ‘royal palace’; Z. xʊə\textsuperscript{55}kʰam\textsuperscript{51} (D), Lh. kho\textsuperscript{6}kʰam\textsuperscript{5}, Lan. kho\textsuperscript{35}kʰam\textsuperscript{55}, Lac. kho: kʰam\textsuperscript{1}, R. koʔkwim}
\item king \textit{jau wawng} /jâw⁴wong/ \textit{S. tsaw\textsuperscript{3} ‘master’, C. huâŋ}
\item king \textit{mun jau hkaw hkam} /munjauhkʰam/ \textit{S. mun\textsuperscript{1}tsaw\textsuperscript{3} ‘Buddhist monk’; ho\textsuperscript{1}kʰam\textsuperscript{4} ‘royal palace’}
\item lazy person \textit{kun hkan} /kùnkʰan/ \textit{S. koŋ\textsuperscript{4}kʰaŋ\textsuperscript{5}}
\item loafar \textit{kun le} /kùnlé/ \textit{S. koŋ\textsuperscript{1}leŋ\textsuperscript{5} ‘dishonest man’}
\item master \textit{jau} /jâw\textsuperscript{69} \textit{S. tsaw\textsuperscript{3}, Kh. cau\textsuperscript{5}, D. tsau\textsuperscript{5}; Lh. jau (K), Lac. jau, G. sɔ ‘God, lord’ (H)}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{66} ‘a percussion cap used with a rifle’
\textsuperscript{67} Possibly from Chinese \textit{mián ‘Burma’ through Shan.}
\textsuperscript{68} “uncivilized, a term the Shan applies to Kachin, and the Kachin passes on to the Chin” (Maran 1964: 42)
\textsuperscript{69} Shan tsaw\textsuperscript{3} ‘master’ was borrowed into Jinghpaw in two different forms with different meanings: jâw ‘master’ and dzâw ‘prince’ (see ‘prince’ below).
merchant  jau poi /jáwpòy/  S. tsaw⁴ ‘master’, pa³⁴tsaa⁴ ‘broker’⁷⁰; Lh. jhau: boe (K)
military officer  jau bu /jàwbù/  S. tsaw⁴ ‘master’, po² ‘military officer’⁷¹
monk  jau mun /jàwmun/  S. tsaw⁴mun¹; Ka. səmón (H), G. səmúj (H)
nun  ya hkau /yàkhaw/  S. naaj³kʰaaw¹, Kh. khaaw⁴ ‘white’, D. yaa⁶ ‘lady’, ləaaj²xaau¹; Z. ja²¹khau⁵⁵ (D)
paddy dealer  jau hkaw /jàwkhaaw/  S. tsaw⁴⁵kʰaaw³
prince  zau /zàw/⁷²  S. tsaw³ ‘master’, D. tsau⁴ ‘master’; Z. zvau¹ ‘officer’, Lh. zug: (K), Lac. zau; Ng. zau ‘officer’
princess  nang /nànj⁷³  S. naaj⁴, Kh. naaj³ (W), D. laaj²; R. nvaaj ~ nvaaj² ‘the name of the first daughter’, Ka. naajngaajng ‘wife’s younger sister’, G. naaj ngaaj ‘wife’s younger sister’ (H)
rich man  kun mi /kúnmì/  S. kon⁴maak²kon¹mi³, Kh. mi³ ‘be rich’ (W), D. mi² ‘be rich’
robber  jun /jùn/  S. tsun¹, Kh. tsun¹ (W), D. tsun⁶
robber  kun jun /kùnjùn/  S. kon⁴tsun¹; Z. gvun³⁵zvun³⁵
servant  ningchyang /nìńcaaj/ ~ nchyang /nčaaj/  S. tsaaaj³ ‘to hire’, Kh. tsaaaj³ ‘to hire’ (W), D. tsaaaj⁴ ‘to hire’; R. ñngvzn©
soldier  luk suk /lùksùk/  S. luk³shuk⁴
Tai  tai /tài/  S. taj², Kh. tay³, D. tai²
young girl  sau /saw/  S. sʰaaw¹, Kh. saaw³, D. saau¹

4.16. Activity and mental activity

compete  hkying /khyìŋ/  S. kʰeŋ²
hate  chyang /càŋ/  S. tsàŋ⁴, D. tsàŋ²

⁷⁰ From Burmese pwàzà (WB OURCE) ‘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\textsuperscript{74}  
mak /ʔmáːk/  
S. \textit{maak}\textsuperscript{3} ‘blade’, \textit{maak}\textsuperscript{2} ‘be in confusion’

knead  
nut /nùt/  
S. \textit{not}\textsuperscript{3}

liberate  
boi /boi/  
S. \textit{poj}\textsuperscript{2}, D. \textit{poi}\textsuperscript{3}

pass by  
pun /pun/  
S. \textit{pon}\textsuperscript{5}

prepare  
hkyen /hkyen/  
S. \textit{hen}\textsuperscript{4}

search  
sawk /sòk/  
S. \textit{sək}\textsuperscript{3}, Kh. \textit{sək}\textsuperscript{1} (W); Z. \textit{zok}\textsuperscript{1}

stir\textsuperscript{75}  
wai /way/  
S. \textit{waaj}\textsuperscript{3}

wait for  
mawng /mōŋ/  
S. \textit{mōŋ}\textsuperscript{4}

4.17. State and quality

be alert  
let /lët/  
S. \textit{let}\textsuperscript{4}; Z. \textit{lyet}\textsuperscript{1}, R. \textit{lak}\textsuperscript{?}

be deep  
sung /siŋ/  
S. \textit{siŋ}\textsuperscript{1} ‘be high’, Kh. \textit{suŋ}\textsuperscript{4} ‘be high’, D. \textit{suŋ}\textsuperscript{1} ‘be high’

be different  
lak /làk/, lak lai /làklày/  
S. \textit{laak}\textsuperscript{2}, D. \textit{lak}\textsuperscript{1}

be difficult  
yak /yàk/  
S. \textit{jaak}\textsuperscript{3}, D. \textit{yaak}\textsuperscript{1}, Z. \textit{yak}\textsuperscript{1}, R. \textit{yvk}

be educated  
kat /kät/  
S. \textit{kat}\textsuperscript{5}; Z. \textit{kat}\textsuperscript{21} ‘be able’

be foolish  
ngawk /ŋòk/  
S. \textit{yuŋ}\textsuperscript{4}

be fragrant  
hawm /hōm/  
S. \textit{hom}\textsuperscript{1}, Kh. \textit{hom}\textsuperscript{4}, D. \textit{hom}\textsuperscript{1}; Z. \textit{kom}\textsuperscript{55} ~ \textit{hom}\textsuperscript{55}

be glad  
T. \textit{hum hum} /hum\textsuperscript{2}hum\textsuperscript{2}/  
S. \textit{hom}\textsuperscript{1}

be grateful  
chyum /cum/  
S. \textit{tsom}\textsuperscript{4}

be great  
hkik hcam /khi:\kham/  
D. \textit{xək}\textsuperscript{xaru}\textsuperscript{3}; Z. \textit{khr}\textsuperscript{21}kham\textsuperscript{21} (D)

be heavy  
nak /nàk/  
S. \textit{nàk}\textsuperscript{4}, Kh. \textit{nàk}\textsuperscript{4}, D. \textit{lak}\textsuperscript{1}

be insatiable  
mak /màk/  
S. \textit{maak}\textsuperscript{3} ‘be abundant’; Z. \textit{mak}\textsuperscript{1}

be jelled  
dung /duŋ/  
S. \textit{tuŋ}\textsuperscript{1}

be lazy  
hkan /khan/  
S. \textit{khaŋ}\textsuperscript{5}, Kh. \textit{khaŋ}\textsuperscript{2}, D. \textit{xaaŋ}\textsuperscript{5}

be long  
yau /yàw/  
S. \textit{jaaw}\textsuperscript{4}, Kh. \textit{yaaw}\textsuperscript{3}, D. \textit{yaaw}\textsuperscript{2}

be new  
maw /màw/  
S. \textit{maaw}\textsuperscript{4}, Kh. \textit{maaw}\textsuperscript{4} (W), D. \textit{mai}\textsuperscript{3}

be old  
htau /thaw/  
S. \textit{thaw}\textsuperscript{5}, Kh. \textit{thaw}\textsuperscript{5}, D. \textit{thaw}\textsuperscript{4}

be potent  
hkin /khiːn/  
S. \textit{khiːn}\textsuperscript{1}

be pretty  
kya /kyaʔ/  
S. \textit{kjaʔ}\textsuperscript{5} ‘be excellent’

be restless  
lu /lu/  
S. \textit{lu}\textsuperscript{4}, Kh. \textit{lu}\textsuperscript{3} (W); R. \textit{bonlu}

be short  
bawt /bòt/  
S. \textit{pot}\textsuperscript{1}, Kh. \textit{pot}\textsuperscript{1} (W), D. \textit{pot}\textsuperscript{1}

be strong  
T. heng /hen\textsuperscript{2}/  
S. \textit{heŋ}\textsuperscript{4}

be superior  
lawng /lōŋ/  
S. \textit{loŋ}\textsuperscript{1}, D. \textit{loŋ}\textsuperscript{1}

be suspicious\textsuperscript{76}  
lawn lem /lomlem/  
S. \textit{ləm}\textsuperscript{1}lem\textsuperscript{1} ‘slyly, stealthily’

\textsuperscript{74} ‘to hit, strike, as with a sword, to be hit and thus confused, distracted, in disorder’

\textsuperscript{75} ‘to stir with a ladle’

\textsuperscript{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  

hkyem /khyém/ 

S. kʰeṁ¹

be wide  

gang /gàn/ ⁷⁷

S. kwaay³, Kh. kaay⁵, D. kaay⁴; R. gang

grow worse  

awk /ʔōk/

S. ʔok²ʔ ‘come out, as the eruption of a disease’
in vain  

li la /lilà/

S. laaʔli¹? ‘thoughtlessly’

4.18. Time

every year  

gu byi /gùbyì/

S. ku³ ‘every’, pi¹ ‘year’; Ka. kūpi (H), G. kūpi (H)
lunar month  

lun /lun/

S. lyn¹, Kh. nyん¹, D. lən⁶

4.19. Number

one hundred  

sen /sèn/⁷⁸

S. sʰeṁ¹, D. sën¹; Ng. dvsens, R. tìqsèn

thousand  

one thousand  

hkying /khyiŋ/⁷⁹

S. hey¹, D. hey¹; Z. hìng⁵⁵ ~ king⁵⁵, Lh. khyiŋH, Lac. khyeŋ”, Ng. dvkhyoengh, R. kíŋg, Hp. hèy

ten thousand  

mun /mùn/

S. mun², D. mun²; Z. mun¹¹, Lh. munF, Lac. mun, Ng. mons, R. münk, Hp. münk ‘hundred thousand’
two  

sawng /sɔŋ/

S. sʰɔŋ¹, Kh. sɔŋ⁴, D. sɔŋ¹; Ka. saïng, G. sʰauŋ (H)

References


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⁷⁷ Possibly from Chinese guāng ‘be wide’ through Shan.
⁷⁸ Possibly from Burmese ḍeĩs ‘hundred thousand’ (WB sìn²) through Shan.
⁷⁹ Possibly from Chinese qián ‘thousand’ through Shan.


