A Classified Lexicon of Jinghpaw Loanwords in Kachin Languages

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The Kachin people, who inhabit northern Burma and its adjacent areas in China and India, are a linguistically diverse people that form a single socio-cultural complex of shared cultural traits. Jinghpaw, a Tibeto-Burman language, serves as a lingua franca among the linguistically diverse people, and as such, has provided a number of lexical items to non-Jinghpaw Kachin languages that form a part of the areal lexicon of the Kachin region. The aim of this paper is to provide a semantically classified lexicon of Jinghpaw loanwords in other major languages of the Kachin that have emerged due to close cultural and linguistic contact. This paper also provides a brief background and comparison of several Kachin languages, followed by descriptions of the linguistic properties of Jinghpaw loans in terms of phonology, morphosyntax, and semantics.

Keywords: language contact, loanwords, borrowing, Jinghpaw, Kachin

1. Introduction

The Kachin people, who inhabit northern Burma and parts of China and India neighboring it, are a linguistically diverse people who form a socio-cultural complex of shared cultural traits, such as marriage alliance systems. They speak several distinct...
languages belonging to Tibeto-Burman (TB), many of which are mutually unintelligible with each other. Multilingualism is an ordinary and long-standing phenomenon in this world of multiple languages. This multilingualism, however, is not always reciprocal: Jinghpaw, a Jinghpaw-Luish (Asakian) language of TB, serves as a lingua franca among this linguistically diverse people; it is also spoken as a second language by several Kachin linguistic groups. The Jinghpaw influence on other Kachin languages has been an intensive and prolonged phenomenon in the Kachin area, because of which a number of Jinghpaw lexical items have been introduced into other languages in the Kachin area, which form a part of the areal lexicon in the Kachin region.

Several previous studies on non-Jinghpaw Kachin languages, especially dictionaries and wordlists with etymologies, have individually identified Jinghpaw loanwords in the languages (Yabu 1982, Wannemacher and Zau Mo 2000, and Lustig 2010 for Zaiwa; Sawada 2004 for Lhaovo; LaPolla and Sangdong 2015 for Rawang). Dai (1993: 1) provides thirteen Jinghpaw loans in three Kachin languages. There has, however, been little study that sheds light on the whole picture of Jinghpaw loans in Kachin languages. The primary purpose of this paper, as a preliminary approximation toward studies in Kachin contact linguistics, is to provide a summary of Jinghpaw loans in other Kachin languages, classified based on semantic fields. This paper also differs from previous works in providing: (a) criteria for diagnosing the likelihood of the loan status of each item that helps to distinguish between certain and possible loans; (b) semantic classification of loans that help to determine in what semantic areas Jinghpaw influence is significant; and (c) additional loan data identified by the author. Jinghpaw loans are key in not only understanding language contact in the Kachin region but also in peeling back the layers of contact-induced lexical changes in the Kachin languages required to enable further understanding of the genetic subgrouping of the languages in the region.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 provides a brief background of Kachin languages, followed by a comparison of their linguistic properties in terms of phonology (2.1), morphosyntax (2.2), and lexicon (2.3). In Section 3, after describing the contact situation among Kachin languages (3.1) and the scale of Jinghpaw influence (3.2), we will look at Jinghpaw loans (3.3) in terms of their identification (3.3.1), adaptation and importation (3.3.2), grammatical borrowing (3.3.3), and their semantics (3.3.4). Section 4 is devoted to a list of Jinghpaw loans in several other Kachin languages, classified in terms of semantic fields.

2. Languages of the Kachin people

This section provides a brief summary of the languages spoken by the Kachin people in terms of phonology, morphosyntax, and lexicon.2 Before we move on, a brief

\[\text{http://www.sealang.net/shan/dictionary.htm (accessed on May 31, 2017). Colloquial and Written Burmese are given, based on the transcription systems in Kato (2008) and Duroiselle (1916), respectively.}\]

\[\text{2 Data on Lisu and Rawang are provided and checked by David Bradley and Randy J. LaPolla, respectively.}\]
description of major Kachin languages is in order. The Kachin people, as noted in
Section 1, are a linguistically diverse people, encompassing speakers of several distinct
languages, including Jinghpaw (Jg.), Zaiwa (Zw.), Lhaovo (Lv.), Lacid (Lc.), Rawang
(Rw.), and Lisu (Ls.). Some properties of these six well-recognized major languages of
the Kachin in Burma are summarized in Table 1. It should be noted that it is not easy to
tell the exact number of languages spoken by the Kachin people due to the difficulties in
distinguishing between languages and dialects as well as a lack of relevant information
on underdescribed languages. Rawang, for example, consists of a number of diverse
“dialects” that are not always mutually intelligible. Note also that the Lisu, whose
population is great in China and who have a distinct nationality status there, are often
regarded as a group distinct from the Kachin, especially outside Kachin State.

Table 1 Major languages of the Kachin people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>autonym</td>
<td>Jinghpaw</td>
<td>Zaiwa</td>
<td>Lhaovo</td>
<td>Lacid</td>
<td>Rawang</td>
<td>Lisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>population</td>
<td>940,000</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>103,500</td>
<td>31,800</td>
<td>63,000</td>
<td>942,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISO 639-3</td>
<td>kac</td>
<td>atb</td>
<td>mhx</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>raw</td>
<td>lis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affiliation</td>
<td>TB</td>
<td>TB</td>
<td>TB</td>
<td>TB</td>
<td>TB</td>
<td>TB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>within TB</td>
<td>JL</td>
<td>NGB</td>
<td>NGB</td>
<td>NGB</td>
<td>RG</td>
<td>NGB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>within subgroups</td>
<td>JG</td>
<td>NB</td>
<td>NB</td>
<td>NB</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>CNG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locations</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The population of each linguistic group of the Kachin may vary due to the lack of
accurate census data in Burma. The estimated population given in Table 1 is based
on the Ethnologue (Simons and Fennig 2017). All languages spoken by the Kachin
people are affiliated with the Tibeto-Burman (TB) branch of the Sino-Tibetan language
family, belonging to three distinct branches within TB: Jinghpaw-Luish/Asakian (JL),
Ngwi-Burmese (NGB), and Rung (RG).3 Within the branch, Jinghpaw belongs to the
Jinghpaw sub-branch (JG); Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Lacid to Northern Burmish (NB);
Rawang to Nungish (NG); and Lisu to Central Ngwi (CNG). Jinghpaw is distributed
throughout the Kachin region, except in the far north area; Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Lacid
are concentrated especially in the southeastern area; Rawang and Lisu are especially
found in the northern area.

Nomenclatural complexity, as applicable to the entire TB branch (Matisoff 1996),
also holds for the Kachin languages. Dai and Xu (1992: 2–3) provide the intra-Kachin
autonyms and exonyms in China given in Table 2, where the Jinghpaw exonyms for

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3 See Matisoff (2013) for Jinghpaw-Luish/Asakian, and LaPolla (2003) for Rung that is established based on shared
morphological innovations.
Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Lacid were often used in the early literature on these languages.4

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tSiN</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>pho?</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuN</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>lā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zv.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Tsai</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsai</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Va</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phauk</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>vO</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>lO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phuk</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Vu</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lc.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Vu</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Va</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1. Phonology

All Kachin languages, as with other neighboring TB languages, have lexical tones exhibiting three to six tonal contrasts in open syllables and no or two in checked syllables. In general, vowel length is not phonemically contrastive in the Kachin languages, except Rawang with non-basic long vowels. The major Kachin languages allow final consonants except Lisu, which has only open syllables in its native phonology.5 PTB medial *-r- is retained in Jinghpaw (after bilabial and velar stops), unlike in other languages,6 while PTB final liquids, which have merged with PTB *-n in Jinghpaw, are retained only in Rawang.

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4 The table includes the Pola, whose language is closely related to Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Lacid, and excludes the Lisu and Rawang, whose closest relatives have distinct nationality status in China.

5 Lisu has final nasal consonants, but only in some loans. The most frequent is /ŋ/ /n/ also occurs in one Chinese loan /ŋ/ 'classifier for books' used in Burma, also a few others used in China. Also, Lisu has two "checked" tones, tone 3 mid with tense phonation and tone 6 low falling with final glottal stop. These contrast with tone 4 mid with normal phonation and tone 5 low falling without final glottal stop (David Bradley, p.c., 2017). In this paper, we count tone 6 as one type of tone in accordance with Bradley (2003).

6 The Dulong varieties closely related to Rawang do have medial liquids (Randy J. LaPolla, p.c., 2017).
Table 3 Phonologies of the major Kachin languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lexical tones</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonal contrast in checked syllables</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowel length</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medial liquids</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final consonants</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final liquids</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diphthongs in closed syllables</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free VC distribution</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich sesquisyllables</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich syllabic nasals</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zaiwa, which is closely related to Lhaovo and Lacid but is most influenced by Jinghpaw (see Section 3.2), is of interest, in that, its phonology often exhibits systematic similarities to that of Jinghpaw (Yabu 1988: 106, Kurabe 2015: 74, Müller 2016: 34). Its phonetic diphthongs, for example, do not occur in closed syllables like in Jinghpaw but unlike in Lhaovo and Lacid. Also, the VC distribution (vowel-final consonant combination) is relatively free in Zaiwa and Jinghpaw but more restricted in Lhaovo and Lacid (over 30 gaps). Note, further, that Zaiwa has a vowel system similar to that of Jinghpaw but diverse from those of other closely related NB languages, including Lhaovo, Lacid, Ngochang, and Achang. Compare:

(1)  a. Jg. i, e, a, o, u, ai, au, oi, ui
     b. Zw. i, e, a, o, u, ai, au, oi, ui
     c. Lv. i, e, a, o, u, ø, au
     d. Lc. i, e, a, o, u, i, u, ei, ai, au, ou, (ui, ua)
     e. Ng. i, e, a, a’, ø, u, w, ei, au, wa, uu
     f. Ac. i, e, a, ø, o, u, ø, ai, oi, ui, iu, au, øu, iau, uai

Sesquisyllables, consisting of a heavy syllable preceded by a light syllable with reduced phonemic possibilities (Mattheson 1973), are somewhat common in many Kachin languages. Syllabic nasals, which are abundant in Jinghpaw, are highly marginal or absent in many other Kachin languages.  

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7 Data drawn from the following sources: Jg. (Kurabe 2016a); Zw. (Yabu 1982), Lv. (Sawada 2004), Lc. (Wannemacher 2011), Ng. (Nasaw Sampu et al. 2005), and Ac. (Yabu 2011).

8 Syllabic nasals, although highly rare, are marginally attested in many Kachin languages: Zw. m’li ‘yes’, m’mo’³⁵ ‘no’, m’mo’³³ ‘agreed’ (Lustig 2010: 227); Lv. n’⁰ ‘yes’, n’⁰ ‘quoraxvon’ (Sawada 1999: 110); Lc. n’ ‘ok’, n’ok ‘five people’ (Wannemacher 2011: 6), Ng. ng ‘fish’, ng ‘five’, ng ‘1sg’ (Yabu 1990: 126). Southern Lisu also has some syllabic nasals in the first syllable of two-syllable words, mostly reduced from syllables with a nasal initial plus a high vowel in other dialects. The syllabic nasal tends to be homorganic to the following initial, regardless of its source, e.g., n’⁰ k’⁰ w’⁰ ‘night’, elsewhere m’bi⁰ k’⁰ w’⁰ or m’bi⁰ k‘⁰ w’⁰ (David Bradley, p.c., 2017)
2.2. Morphosyntax

Table 4 is a brief summary of some morphosyntactic properties of the major Kachin languages. All languages, as with many other TB languages, are verb-final, where the order of core arguments in transitive clauses is usually determined by pragmatic principles. They have case-marking systems (in many cases, not obligatory), the alignment patterns of which vary between the nominative-accusative (n-a) and ergative-absolutive (e-a) systems. Person marking on verbs, which is alien to the NGB Kachin languages, is found in Jinghpaw and Rawang, both manifesting the hierarchical alignment with (Rawang) or without (Jinghpaw) an inverse marker (LaPolla 2010, Kurabe 2016a). It should be noted, however, that modern spoken Jinghpaw in Burma usually does not encode the person category on the verb anymore, which can be attributed to its status as a lingua franca among many speakers whose languages do not have verb agreement. Jinghpaw and Rawang have both head and dependent marking (h-d) at the clausal level while others have only dependent marking (d), although, as noted above, modern spoken Jinghpaw has been shifting toward a dependent-marking language, much like neighboring NGB Kachin languages.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb-final</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>case-marking</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alignment of case marking</td>
<td>n-a</td>
<td>n-a</td>
<td>n-a</td>
<td>n-a</td>
<td>e-a</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbal person marking</td>
<td>(yes)</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locus of marking</td>
<td>(h-d)</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>h-d</td>
<td>de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>height-based demonstratives</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>positions of demonstratives</td>
<td>flex</td>
<td>flex</td>
<td>flex</td>
<td>flex</td>
<td>pre</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual pronouns</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incl/excl pronouns</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>rich classifiers</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb serialization</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>(no)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense-aspect-mood</td>
<td>a-m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>t-m</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives in many Kachin languages are distinguished in terms of not only distance but also relative height, which is not uncommon in the languages of the hill.

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9 Here, we use these terms in the non-strict sense because, in many Kachin languages, the marking is based primarily on semantic and pragmatic factors.

Case marking in Lisu is pragmatic and fairly infrequent. The ergative and agentive subject can be marked with le⁴⁴ but is usually not. The accusative can be marked with te⁵⁵, which is a bit more frequent than le⁴⁴ (David Bradley, p.c., 2017).

10 Although Rawang does not have height-based demonstratives, Anong, which is closely related to Rawang, does
peoples of Southeast Asia. It is also worth noting that demonstratives in Jinghpaw and NB Kachin languages exhibit flexibility in their positions, with the ability to occur in both pre- and post-nominal positions (Kurabe 2015: 77, Müller 2016: 35), while they occur in pre-nominal position in Rawang.\(^{11}\) Personal pronouns, having dual pronouns, exhibit three-way splits in person in many Kachin languages. The inclusive/exclusive distinction, scattered throughout most of the TB branches but not reconstructible for PTB (LaPolla 2005), is found in NGB Kachin languages. Jinghpaw, unlike other neighboring Kachin languages, is not a classifier-rich language and only has a small set of optional sortal numeral classifiers, which appear to have arisen due to language contact with neighboring classifier languages. Verb serialization, as with other neighboring languages of Southeast Asia, is widely employed in many Kachin languages, except Rawang, where preceding verbs usually undergo tonal changes like nominalization. The citation form for verbs usually takes a tense-aspect-mood marker in Kachin languages (including a zero in Lacid) that is chiefly based on: aspect (change-of-state vs. non-change-of-state) and mood (declarative, interrogative, imperative, etc.) in Jinghpaw (‘a-m’ in Table 4); mood (realis vs. irrealis) in Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Lacid (‘m’ in the table); and tense (past vs. non-past) and mood (declarative, etc.) in Rawang (‘t-m’ in the table).\(^{12}\)

2.3. Inherited lexicon

The Kachin languages, all of which belong to the TB branch, share many words inherited from their common ancestor, as illustrated in Table 5.\(^{13}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>Jg.</th>
<th>Zw.</th>
<th>Lv.</th>
<th>Ng.</th>
<th>Rw.</th>
<th>Ls.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>*ŋa-y</td>
<td>ṇay</td>
<td>ṇó</td>
<td>ṇo</td>
<td>ṇos</td>
<td>ṇá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>*hya-hy</td>
<td>sáy</td>
<td>suí</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>siih</td>
<td>shwí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>*k'w-ay</td>
<td>gúy</td>
<td>hkui</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>khuih</td>
<td>gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>*p'ak</td>
<td>wá'</td>
<td>waq</td>
<td>vo</td>
<td>wuq</td>
<td>waq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>*g-sum</td>
<td>m'g-sum</td>
<td>s'um</td>
<td>san</td>
<td>somh</td>
<td>shòm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>*d-k-ruk</td>
<td>krú'</td>
<td>hkyuq</td>
<td>khyauk</td>
<td>khyuk</td>
<td>chuq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oil</td>
<td>*sa:w</td>
<td>sáw</td>
<td>xu</td>
<td>tshau</td>
<td>coeu</td>
<td>só</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lexical items, not always cognates, are sometimes structured into a similar pattern in some Kachin languages. For example, kinship terms, as pointed out by Burling

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\(^{11}\) See Bradley (2017), for the complex distribution of demonstratives in Lisu.

\(^{12}\) TAM in Lisu is pragmatic, with aspect marked more than anything else (David Bradley, p.c., 2017).

\(^{13}\) Due to a lack of sufficient lexical data for Lacid, they are substituted for by those of Ngocchang (Nasaw Sampu et al. 2005), which is considered to be the closest relative of Lacid by Lacid speakers.
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(1971), are organized into a similar kinship system in Jinghpaw and Lhaovo, although individual kin terms are not always cognates between them (see Section 3.3.3). Note also that semantic fields do not always exhibit a similar structure among the Kachin languages. For example, Jinghpaw has only one motion verb that is deictically neutral, carrying the sense of both ‘go’ and ‘come’, while Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Lacid have four deictic motion verbs distinguished in terms of distance, height, etc. (Yabu 1988, Sawada 2003b). Also, Jinghpaw and Rawang, as with many Southeast Asian languages, have multiple washing verbs consisting of distinct roots while Zaiwa and Lhaovo do not (Yabu 2009).

3. The contact situations and borrowings

3.1. The contact situations in the Kachin region

Jinghpaw, due to it being predominantly spoken, serves as a lingua franca among the linguistically diverse Kachin people. In the Kachin region, especially in the southeastern part where the Burmish Kachin population is great, it is not difficult to find Kachin villages (kăhtawng), village clusters (măre), and communities inhabited by several distinct linguistic groups (Leach 1954, Dai, Fu, and Liu 1985, Dai 1993, Bradley 1996). Multilingualism is a common and prolonged phenomenon, part of which stems from marriage preferences built into the Kachin cultural system that promote and perpetuate multilingualism among the Kachin, as Bradley (1996: 750–751) puts it:

In most mixed villages each Burmish group operates as a Kachin exogamous patrilineal clan, so if the father is from one of the Burmish-speaking groups, the mother must have a different first language from her husband. Grandparents could therefore represent up to four languages, but marriage preferences tend to lead to repeated marriages between the same clans. The clan identity is acquired from the father, but children also speak the mother’s language, especially if it forms a substantial group in the village. Thus, people of one of the Burmish backgrounds may be bilingual in their father’s and their mother’s language, and if neither of these is Jinghpaw they will early on become trilingual and use Jinghpaw as their medium of education, literacy and lingua franca within the group as a whole.

Dai (1993) provides a socio-linguistic description of language use within the Jingpo [Kachin] nationality in China, showing that the language choice is not arbitrary, being ruled by factors such as social setting, generation, age, sex, and occupation, some of which are explained as follows (ibid., p.4):

Many Jingpo families include people from different subgroups. In such families, the language used by each member is stipulated by tradition. The
children belong to their father’s subgroup, and they use the language of that subgroup. If a father and mother are from different subgroups, the father and children use one language and the mother uses another. Although husband and wife each master the other’s language, each uses his or her own. In other words, people speak in one language but are spoken to in another. The mother insists on using her own language, and the children may also use their mother’s language when speaking to her. If a family has a grandmother who speaks a third language, the younger generation uses her language when speaking to her.

3.2. Scale of Jinghpaw influence

Jinghpaw influence on other Kachin languages varies from language to language, as represented below.

(2) Scale of Jinghpaw influence

| Zaiwa | Lhaovo, Lacid | Rawang | Lisu |

Zaiwa is considered the most affected by Jinghpaw, as reflected in its phonological similarity to Jinghpaw (Section 2.1) as well as in its abundant Jinghpaw loans, including many kinship terms such as ‘father’ and ‘mother’ (Section 3.3.4). Lisu, on the other hand, is least influenced by Jinghpaw, as many of its speakers do not enter into the Kachin cultural complex, especially outside Kachin State (Section 2). This is reflected in the fact that Lisu has very few Jinghpaw loans. Lhaovo and Lacid are also considered to have been significantly influenced by Jinghpaw while Rawang is less so, although Rawang has a number of Jinghpaw loans, as demonstrated in Section 4. More evidence should be accumulated to render the validity of the scale.

3.3. Jinghpaw loanwords

Due to intensive contact, many Kachin languages, aside from inherited words (Section 2.3), also share a considerable number of lexical items that have arisen as a result of intra-Kachin language contact. Jinghpaw, as a lingua franca, is one of the major donor languages in the Kachin region, providing its lexical items in other Kachin languages, as exemplified in Table 6, that form a part of the areal lexicon of the Kachin region.14

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14 The Zaiwa data for ‘sugar’ and the Lhaovo data for ‘desk’ are based on Lustig (2010) and Yabu (2000), respectively.
It is also of importance to note that Jinghpaw has performed the function of transferring some lexical items of languages of high prestige, such as Pali, Burmese, and Shan, into other Kachin languages (Matisoff 2013: 24, Kurabe 2016b, 2017). This is represented by the following chains of borrowing across several language families: Indo-Aryan (IA), Tibeto-Burman (TB), and Tai-Kadai (Tai). The position occupied by Rawang in these chains can also be replaced by other non-Jinghpaw Kachin languages.

(3) Borrowing chains (Matisoff 2013: 24)
Pali (IA) → Burmese (TB) → Shan (Tai) → Jinghpaw (TB) → Rawang (TB)

For example, the words for ‘blue’, ‘wheel’, and ‘recognition’ in Pali (Pa.), given from (4a) to (c), respectively, are likely to have entered into recipient languages through the borrowing chains.16

(4) a. Pa. nīla > WB nīlā > Sh. nīlā laa2 > Jg. nīla > Ng. nīla  
b. Pa. cakkā > WB cakkā > Sh. tsaak3 > Jg. jāk > Zw. jāk  
c. Pa. sāti > WB sāti > Sh. sāt1 ti5 > Jg. sāti? > Rw. svdiq

Indirect borrowing sometimes explains the presence of non-etymological elements and non-straightforward semantic correspondences. Examples:

(5) a. Sh. kaā5 ‘trade (v.)’ > Jg. phāga ‘trade (n.)’ > Zw. hpaāgā ‘trade (n.)’  
b. WB un3 ‘coconut’ > Sh. maak2-īn1 ‘coconut’ (lit. tree-coconut) > Jg. mōʔun ‘coconut’ > Rw. mvwōn ‘coconut’  
c. WB khyam3sā ‘be at ease’ > Sh. kāaam1shāa2 ‘be at ease’ > Jg. khyānsā ‘be at ease; be cheap’ > Lv. khyam1saF ‘be at ease; be cheap’  
d. Sh. māf3shaw3 ‘slender piece of wood’ > Jg. māysāw ‘paper’ > Zw. mausau ‘paper’, Rw. mēsō ‘paper’

---

15 They underwent semantic changes in recipient languages, i.e., ‘sapphire’, ‘machine’, and ‘caution’, respectively, the last of which denotes both ‘caution’ and ‘promise’ in Jinghpaw and ‘promise’ in Rawang.

16 More relevant examples can be found in Kurabe (2016b).
3.3.1. Identification of loanwords

Identifying a loan among many shared retentions is not always easy, but the loan status of a given item would be demonstrated by the following criteria/clues (Haspelmath 2009, Campbell 2013):

(6) a. phonological patterns
b. morphological complexity
c. cognates in sister languages

The phonological criterion suggests that items in (7) are not words native to Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Rawang. As pointed out by Sawada (2005), the loan phoneme /r/\(^{17}\) indicates the loan status of the words in (7a) in Zaiwa and Lhaovo, for which Written Burmese \(r\) corresponds to /w/ and /ɣ/, respectively. The aberrant rhyme /un/ in Lhaovo, which has many gaps in the VC combination of its native phonology, also suggests that the word in (7b) is of foreign origin. The fact that the native phonology of Rawang does not allow consonant clusters gives us a clear indication that the Rawang item in (7c) is a Jinghpaw-derived term.

(7) a. Zw. *garu, Lv. kāru\(^F\) < Jg. gorù ‘noisy’
b. Lv. phālu\(^L\) < Jg. phalun ‘mint’
c. Rw. grvý < Jg. grāy ‘very’

The morphological complexity of items in (8), which is transparent and analyzable in Jinghpaw but not in other languages, also reveals to us that they are words of Jinghpaw origin. Note that Jg. s@dēk ‘box’ in (8c) is not always analyzable for modern native speakers due to its phonological reduction, but the history of the language clearly indicates its status as a Jinghpaw word.\(^{18}\)

(8) a. Zw. myiqhtoi ‘prophet’ < Jg. myi?-thɔy (lit. eye-shine)
b. Lv. fāmân\(^H\), Rw. shvɔṅ ‘bless’ < Jg. cɔ-mán (lit. caus-be.true)
c. Zw. sǐdēk ‘box’ < Jg. sɔ-dēk (ultimately from sūt-dēk ‘lit. wealth-box’)

Cognates in closely related sister languages also provide a clue in identifying loans. A given item in non-Jinghpaw Kachin languages is likely to be of Jinghpaw origin when a cognate is unattested not only in PTB but also in their sister languages outside the Jinghpaw sphere of influence: Burmese for Northern Burmish Kachin languages,

\(^{17}\) It also marginally occurs in a few native particles.

\(^{18}\) This word is a loanblend whose second syllable is ultimately of Burmese origin (Kurabe 2016b: 110). This is reflected in the final \(-k\) because Jinghpaw has regularly lost PTB \(*-k\), reducing it to a glottal stop in inherited words (Benedict 1972: 14). As such, Jinghpaw words with final \(-k\) are good candidates for loanwords (Matisoff 1974: 157).

The same development also holds for the Mvtwang dialect of Rawang where all of the historical \(*-k\) finals became glottal stops in citation forms of native words \((\ast-k\) represents 1st person marking on verbs – some other dialects still have \(-k\)), so if the Mvtwang form ends in \(-k\) we know it is a loan (Randy J. LaPolla, p.c., 2017).
and Dulong and Anong for Rawang. Words rendering ‘cat’ in Zaiwa and Lhaovo, for example, are likely to be Jinghpaw loans, given that no cognate is attested in Burmese, as in (9a). A more convincing case comes from Zw. *jum* ‘salt’, which is not attested in other closest NB languages, such as Lhaovo and Ngochang, as in (9b). The same, as exemplified by (9c), is also applicable to Rawang that is closely related to Dulong and Anong spoken in China. Rw. *mvkray* ‘bridge’ is clearly a Jinghpaw loan not only because of its phonological aberrancy (see above) but also because of its absence in Dulong (Dl.) and Anong (An.). Note that Rawang also has the word *dvbà* ‘bridge’ that is relatable to the Dulong form.

(9) a. Jg. *lɔ̀nyaw*; Zw. *la-nyhaú*, Lv. *lāŋu*<sup>e</sup>, Bur. *càun*
b. Jg. *jum*; Zw. *jum*, Lv. *tshõ<sup>f</sup>*<sup>e</sup>, Ng. *coh*, Bur. *shá*
c. Jg. *məkhray*; Rw. *mvkray*, Dl. *dɔ̃bra<sup>53</sup>*<sup>e</sup>, An. *go<sup>31</sup>da<sup>55</sup>*

### 3.3.2. Adaptation and importation

Foreign inputs are sometimes modified in accordance with the native phonology of recipient languages. Jinghpaw consonant clusters with medial /ɾ/, for example, are usually not allowed in the native phonotactics of other Kachin languages (Section 2.1). Thus, they are often subject to adaptation in recipient languages, as in (10a) to (c).

(10) a. Jg. *cəkram* ‘greet’ > Zw. *shi-kyám*
c. Jg. *bra* ‘be scattered’ > Rw. *bya*

There are also many Jinghpaw words that did not undergo any phonological integration in donor languages even at the cost of restrictions to their native phonologies. The Jinghpaw phoneme /ɾ/, restricted in the native words of Zaiwa and Lhaovo, was imported into them, filling the gaps in their native phonologies once created by sound changes (Section 2.1). For example:

b. Jg. *run* ‘waterfall’ > Zw. *rum<sup>25</sup>* (L)
c. Jg. *khỳrən* ‘marry’ > Lv. *khung ran”* (Y2)

Lhaovo, which has many gaps in its VC restriction, sometimes fills the gaps with Jinghpaw loans. For example, rhymes such as /ut/, /on/, and /in/, which are not allowed in Lhaovo native phonology (Sawada 2004), are filled by Jinghpaw loans, e.g.,

(12) a. Jg. *thɔ̀t* ‘move’ > Lv. *thut<sup>F</sup>*
b. Jg. *khôn* ‘sing’ > Lv. *khon”* (Y2)
c. Jg. *diŋ* ‘be straight’ > Lv. *ding”* (Y2)
3.3.3. Structural borrowing

In contrast to material borrowing, little is known about structural borrowing among the Kachin languages that has emerged as a result of contact-induced changes and linguistic convergence. This section provides a few remarks on points of interest. One example comes from the *ma*-like prefixes in Jinghpaw, Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Lacid that derive nouns with the meaning of ‘everything’, with reduplication of the verb stems, as in (13).\(^{19}\) This productive morphological process can be demonstrated to be of Jinghpaw origin, based on the etymology of the *ma*-like prefix, that is, *mā*? ‘be exhausted’ (Hanson 1896: 32). Note that verb stems involved in this process are not always cognate.

(13) a. Jg. *yà ‘exist’ → *yà mā-ŋà ‘everything that exist’
    b. Zw. *nyi ‘exist’ → *nyi ma-nyi ‘everything that exist’
    c. Lv. *na ‘exist’ → *na ma-na ‘everything that exist’
    d. Lc. *nyid ‘exist’ → *nyid mño-nyid ‘everything that exist’

Shared calques, as shown in (14), also provide examples of structural borrowing. It seems highly possible that Kachin languages have far more of these kind of calques, although it is beyond my knowledge.

(14) a. ‘sugar’ (lit. salt-sweet): Jg. *jǔn-düß, Ng. coh-chau
    b. ‘bicycle’ (lit. foot-wheel): Jg. *ləgə-lə, Zw. *hkyi-lhèng
    c. ‘for example’ (lit. word-measure): Jg. *gà-ćeáðén, Zw. *däng-kè

Loan meaning extension can also be attested. Both Jinghpaw and Zaiwa, as pointed out by Yabu (1982), express ‘north’ and ‘south’ using the words ‘length’ and ‘width’, respectively, which is highly idiosyncratic and thus attributable to language contact.

(15) a. Jg. *diŋdu ‘length, north’, *diŋdà ‘width, south’

Also, semantic patterns are sometimes shared among the Kachin languages. A characteristic trait of some Kachin languages, as demonstrated by Burling (1971), is that they share a remarkably similar kinship term system, where items, not always cognate, are organized into a similar system, as Burling (1971: 27) puts it:

[T]he [kinship] terms of Jinghpaw and Maru [Lhaovo] are (with one interesting exception to be discussed later) different, but the systems into which they are organized are very similar. Indeed the systems are so much alike that each term of one language can generally be paired with a synonym from the other language and the equivalent pairs can be defined together.

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\(^{19}\) The Zaiwa data are based on Wannemacher (2010: 90). Lhaovo and Lacid forms in their orthographic forms are taken from my field notes.
3.3.4. Semantics of loans

Many Jinghpaw loans, as seen in the loan lexicon in Section 4, are cultural items from such semantic fields as religion, clothing, and the house, which are susceptible to borrowing in general, as exemplified in (16a) to (c). Nevertheless, as provided in (16d) and (e), more borrowing-resistant items with culture-free meanings such as body parts, spatial relations, and sense perception also appear in the loanword lexicon. This includes items in the Leipzig-Jakarta list of core/basic vocabulary (Haskelmath and Tadmor 2009, Tadmor, Haskelmath and Taylor 2010), such as ‘salt’, ‘mouth’, and ‘sweet’. It should be noted, however that, as shown in (16e), the loans with culture-free meanings often coexist with inherited words, confirming that they are less borrowable.

(16)  
(a) Zw. dumsá ‘spirit medium’, Zw. garai ‘God’, Rw. noqgú ‘worship’
(b) Zw. naká ‘embroidery’, Rw. sőmban ‘cloth’, Rw. sőmbuq ‘pocket’
(c) Zw. htingnu ‘house of a chief’, Rw. shvrim ‘tie-beams of a roof’
(d) Zw. nu ‘mother’, Zw. mahkù ‘voice’, Zw. jum ‘salt’
(e) Zw. díng ‘straight’, Zw. nyàng ‘straight’; Rw. shôngyn ‘outside’, Rw. túng ‘outside’; Zw. duí[1] ‘sweet’ (L), Zw. cuui[2] ‘sweet’ (L); Rw. nôngqop ‘mouth’, Rw. níqù ‘mouth’; Zw. zit[1] ‘urine’ (L), Zw. i’si[3] ‘urine’ (L)

Zaiwa, which is most affected by Jinghpaw (Section 3.2), is of interest in that it has adopted many Jinghpaw kinship terms, including ‘father’ and ‘mother’, which are cross-linguistically resistant to borrowing (Tadmor, Haspelmath and Taylor 2010). This situation can be contrasted with that of Lhaovo, which shows a similar kinship organization to Jinghpaw (Section 3.3.3) but is more resistant to adopting individual kin terms. In some cases, as in (17f), Zaiwa has both loan and inherited words simultaneously.

(17)  
(c) Jg. ?na ‘elder sister’, Zw. nhá, Lv. ʔāpay[5]
(e) Jg. ?woy ‘grandmother’, Zw. whoí, Lv. ʔāphyit[8]

Jinghpaw loans, as exemplified in (18), sometimes undergo semantic changes in recipient languages, illustrating changes such as specialization.

(18)  
(a) Jg. lamù ‘sky; heavens’ > Zw. lanu ‘heavens’
(b) Jg. madät ‘listen; order (n.)’ > Zw. madät ‘promise, advice’
(c) Jg. khvey ‘be red; be yellow’ > Zw. kyeng[10] ‘be yellow’ (L)
(d) Jg. dēm ‘stamp (v.); take picture’ > Zw. dem ‘take picture’

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20 Christianity is the major religion of the Kachin people in Burma who practiced animism before Christianity.
e. Jg. setzen ‘add; wear glasses’ > Zw. suet ‘wear glasses’ (L)

f. Jg. pa ‘be flat; field’ > Zw. bva ‘field’ (L), Lv. pag ‘field’

g. Jg. khñat ‘fall; issue permit’ > Rw. krvt ‘issue permit’

h. Jg. phyen ‘enemy; army’ > Rw. pin ‘army’

i. Jg. sòdù ‘caution; promise’ > Rw. svdiq ‘promise’

4. A classified lexicon of Jinghpaw loanwords

This section offers a lexicon of Jinghpaw loans in several Kachin languages, particularly Zaiwa and Rawang. Due to the lack of sufficient lexical data on Lhaovo and Lacid, their items are limited in the lexicon. The following dictionaries and literature were consulted for identification of loans in each language, supplemented by the author: Lhaovo (Sawada 2003a, 2004, 2005), Rawang (LaPolla and Sangdong 2015), Zaiwa (Yabu 1982, Wannemacher and Zau Mo 2000, Lustig 2010).

4.1. Loanword status

The loan status of each item based on the three criteria/clues in (6), provided in Section 3.3.1, is indicated by “p” (for phonological patterns), “m” (for morphological complexity), and “c” (for cognates in sister languages, as far as the available data tell). The last is further divided into “cb” (meaning that cognates are absent in Burmese), “cn” (cognates are absent in other Northern Burmish), “cd” (cognates are absent in Dulong), and “ca” (cognates are absent in Anong).21 Note that absent cognates do not mean that relevant data are not found in the sources, but that semantically corresponding words are not cognate with given items. It should be noted also that the cognate criterion is not always conclusive, given that not all sources are comprehensive dictionaries.

4.2. Lexicon

The loanword lexicon is classified in terms of semantic fields based on Aung Kyaw et al. (2001): nature (4.2.1); animals (4.2.2); plants (4.2.3); food and drink (4.2.4); clothing and adornments (4.2.5); dwelling (4.2.6); tools (4.2.7); community, occupation, and production (4.2.8); communication and transportation (4.2.9); culture and entertainment (4.2.10); cults, customs, and socializing (4.2.11); human body (4.2.12); life, sickness, and death (4.2.13); human relationships (4.2.14); types of people (4.2.15); activity (4.2.16); mental activity (4.2.17); sensations (4.2.18); state and quality (4.2.19); time (4.2.20); location and movement (4.2.21); copula and existential (4.2.22); quantity and number (4.2.23); interjections (4.2.24); particles and connectives (4.2.25); and adverbs (4.2.26). The first column provides English translations for

21 See n. 1 in Section 1 for sources I have drawn on for the lexical comparison. I also consulted Sun and Liu (2009) for Anong and to copious Dulong lexical data provided by Randy J. LaPolla for Dulong.
corresponding Jinghpaew words based on Hanson (1906) and Maran (1978). The second offers Jinghpaew items in the orthographic forms followed by phonemic transcriptions enclosed in slashes. The third column provides corresponding forms in other Kachin languages with clues for their loan status. No glosses are provided for these words when all the given items denote identical meanings.

4.2.1. Nature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Jinghpaew Form</th>
<th>Corresponding Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fog, mist</td>
<td>māhkup /məkhup/</td>
<td>Zw. mau¹¹kup⁵ (cn, cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fog, mist</td>
<td>sai wan /saywân/</td>
<td>Zw. saiwân (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold</td>
<td>jà /jà/</td>
<td>Rw. jà (ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron</td>
<td>hprī /phrī/</td>
<td>Rw. pi (ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island</td>
<td>zunlawng /zûnloŋ/</td>
<td>Zw. zênloŋ (cn, cb),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zinlawng /zûnloŋ/</td>
<td>Rw. tû zûn lung (cd) (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jade</td>
<td>lung seng /lûŋseŋ/²³</td>
<td>Zw. lungšêng (m, cn, cb),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rw. lûngšêng (m, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lowland</td>
<td>hprî hpraw(ng) /phrî</td>
<td>Rw. pîngšêm (m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain</td>
<td>layang /lôyâŋ/</td>
<td>Zw. layâŋ (m, cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shore</td>
<td>hkin-gau /khîŋâw/</td>
<td>Zw. gîn-gaû (m, cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree, kind of²⁴</td>
<td>lâhkrâ /lôkhrâ/</td>
<td>Rw. lvkrâ twâ (p) (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valley</td>
<td>hkâraw /hîrâʔ/</td>
<td>Rw. kvroq (m, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vapor</td>
<td>sâlu /sêlu/</td>
<td>Zw. se¹lu³⁵ (cn, cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waterfall</td>
<td>rum /rum/</td>
<td>Zw. run³⁵ (p, cn, cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zinc</td>
<td>hprî hpraw(ng) /phrî</td>
<td>Rw. pîpiûng (m) (H)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2. Animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Jinghpaew Form</th>
<th>Corresponding Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alligator</td>
<td>hâng se /khângsê/²⁵</td>
<td>Zw. hângsê (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ng. khanghseh (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>dusat dumyeng /dûsât</td>
<td>Zw. tusat tunyêŋ (cn, cb) (Y1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dù.myêŋ²⁶</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal²⁷</td>
<td>yam nga /yamŋa/</td>
<td>Zw. tusat yamŋâ (m, cn, cb) (Y1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butterfly²⁸</td>
<td>pâlam la /pâlâmâʔ/ ~ pi</td>
<td>Zw. hpalhàn (cb),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lam la /pîlâmâʔ/</td>
<td>Ng. phvlhyam (cb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²² The data on Langsu and Leqi, two Northern Burmish languages/dialects under Jinghpaew influence in China, are also provided in the footnotes, if relevant.
²³ A loanblend whose second syllable is of Pali origin (Kurabe 2016b: 118).
²⁴ ‘Cephalostachyum virgatum’
²⁵ Also in Rw. kışgîhê although relevant meanings are not listed in the Anong and Dulong sources.
²⁶ A loanblend whose first element is of Shan origin (Kurabe 2017).
²⁷ ‘domesticated animals, beasts of burden’
²⁸ Also in Lg. pî³³le³¹ and Lq. pî³³lam³³.
chameleon  shingnyen /ciñyen/  Zw. shingnyèng (cn, cb)
cat²⁹  lanyau /loʔnyaw/  Zw. la-nyhaui (cb), Lv. lā-ŋau⁴ (cb), Ng. Ivnyhau (cb)
cicada  gaw yeng /goyeŋ/  Zw. koyeng (cn, cb)
cock’s comb  jaw bān /jöʔbān/  Zw. zyoq¹-bàn¹¹ (m, cn, cb) (L)
cricket³⁰  kādawn /kodon/  Zw. ke²dvon⁵⁵ ~ he²dvon⁵⁵ (cb) (L)
cuckoo  kuk dun /kûkdun/  Rw. kudkon (ca, cd) (H)
deer  shat nga /câtja/  Rw. shvtna (m, ca, cd)
elephant  māgwi /məguy/  Zw. maguí (cn, cb), Rw. mvguvi (ca, cd), Ls. magwi³¹
flying squirrel  sālaw /səlo/  Zw. si¹lo¹ (cn, cb) (L)
herd (v.)  rem /rem/  Zw. rém (p, cn, cb)
horse  gumra(ng) /gûmrâ(ŋ)/  Rw. gûmrâng (ca, cd)
hunt³²  gyam /gyam/  Zw. gyâm (cn, cb)
mosquito  ji grawng /jiʔgronŋ/  Rw. zigûng (m, ca, cd)
prawn³³  kātsu /kâtsû/  Ls. khâtsû (cb), Ng. khvtsoeq (cb), Rw. gvyû (cd)
rhinoceros  dumbai /dûmbâw/  Zw. dumbai⁴₁ bau¹¹ (cb) (L), Ng. dumbaus (cb)
scorpion  n-gaw gawk /ŋûgûk/  Zw. gogok ~ n-gô-gok (p, cb)
shell  kawp /kûp/  Zw. gvp¹ (cn, cb) (L)
tiger  shâraw(ng) /câro(ŋ)/  Rw. shvrûng (ca, cd) (H)
wild bison  hpaw lâm /phûlâm/  Rw. poqûm (m)
wild cat, species of  sha lawm /cûlôm/  Rw. shûlm (m, ca)

4.2.3. Plants

be flourish  ring /rûŋ/  Zw. ring (p, cb)
branch  läkung /lûkûŋ/  Zw. lâkûŋ (m) (Y1)
cinnamon  māza /mûdzâ/  Rw. mvzâshôŋ (cd) (H)
flower  nam pân /nûmpân/  Rw. nûnmûn (m, ca, cd)
forest  nam /nûm/  Rw. nûm (ca, cd)
fungus  awng lawt /ʔûnlût/  Zw. ong¹¹ lot¹ (cn, cb)
mildew  mung zung /mûndzinũ/  Zw. mhûngzéng (cb)
thicket  shâlawng /cûlûŋ/  Zw. shûlûng (cn, cb)
yam, variety of  na htam /nûʔthâm/  Zw. naq⁵tam¹¹ (m, cb) (L)

²⁹ Also in Lg. Lâ³⁷ ngû²⁵.
³⁰ Also in Lg. khâ³⁵ lûm²¹.
³¹ In Northern Lisu spoken in Burma (David Bradley, p.c., 2017).
³² ‘to lie in wait for, to hunt by hiding behind vegetation and catching unaware game as they pass’
³³ Also in Lg. khâ³⁵ lûm²¹.
4.2.4. Food and drink

- **bread**: muk tawng /müktoŋ/\(^{34}\)  
  Rw. muk tung (m) (H)
- **game meat**: nam shan /nämçän/  
  Rw. nимвšàn (m, cd) (H)
- **porridge**: hpa /phàʔ/  
  Rw. paq (ca, cd)
- **salt**: jum /jüm/  
  Zw. jum (cn, cb)
- **serve**: jau /jaw/  
  Zw. jaū (cn, cb)
- **slice (v.)**: lep /lèp/  
  Zw. lyep\(^1\)lyep\(^1\)\(^{36}\) (cn, cb) (L)
- **sugar**: jum dwi /jümduŋ/  
  Zw. jümduŋ\(^{11}\)-dui\(^{11}\) (m, cn, cb) (L),  
  Rw. jümduŋ (m, ca, cd)
- **tobacco**: m˘alut /m@l ut/\(^{37}\)  
  Rw. mløt (m)

4.2.5. Clothing and adornments

- **adorn**: sh˘areng /ʃ@reŋ/  
  Zw. si\(^1\)reng\(^{35}\) (p, m, cn, cb) (L),  
  Rw. shvrings (m)
- **cloth**: sumpan /sumpan/  
  Rw. sømban (m, ca, cd)
- **embroidery**: m˘aka /m@ka/  
  Zw. mákā (m, cb)
- **pocket**: sumbu /sømbuʔ/  
  Rw. sømbuq (m, ca, cd)
- **wear glasses**: set /sëʔ/  
  Zw. suet\(^5\) (cn, cb) (L)

4.2.6. Dwelling

- **beams**: sh˘arem /ʃ@rem/  
  Rw. shvrims (ca, cd)
- **corner**: jut /jût/  
  Zw. jut (cn, cb)
- **corner (of a fire-place)**: dap jut /dàpjût/\(^{40}\)  
  Zw. dap\(^1\)-zyut\(^1\) (cn, cb) (L)
- **fence-post**: hpun dung /phunduŋ/  
  Zw. pur\(^{55}\)dung\(^{11}\) (m, cn, cb) (L)
- **foundation**: m˘adung /m@duŋ/  
  Rw. mvdøng (m, ca, cd)
- **homeland**: bu ga /bûga/  
  Zw. bugà (m, cn, cb)
- **house of a chief**: htingnu /thalmuŋ/  
  Zw. htingu (m, cn, cb)
- **neighbor**: htingbu /thalmuʔ/  
  Zw. htingbu (m, cn, cb)
- **post**: daw lum /døʔlum/  
  Rw. döløm (m, ca)

---

34 A loanblend whose first syllable is of Burmese origin (Kurabe 2016b).
35 ‘to serve, to wait on, to attend others (as at a meal or a feast)’
36 ‘ideophone expressing the notion of cutting into small slices’
37 A loanblend whose second syllable is of Shan origin (Kurabe 2017).
38 ‘embroidery, carving, drawing, steps or movements, as of a dance’. Also in Lq. m\(33\)ka\(^3\).
39 ‘the tie-beams of a roof’
40 The first syllable is a common TB root (Matisoff 2003: 336).
41 ‘the basis, foundation, root of a thing, central or main pillar’
42 ‘a large round post: usually, the front side post of a house’
4.2.7. Tools

basket

basket /sawng/  Zw. *song* (cn, cb) (L)

box  

sādek  Zw. *sidek* (m, cb), Lv *sadiq* (m, cb) (Y2), Rw. *svdik* (m, ca, cd)

casting net  

sumgawn  Zw. *shvgün* (m, cd)

dipper  

ka-mai  Zw. *gva* (cn, cb) (L)

fan  

lāyīt  Zw. *lvwōt* (m, ca, cd)

glass, amber  

pat  Zw. *pvt* (cb)

heddle-bar

sānat  Zw. *sanat* (m) (H)

large hoe  

shang hkawp  Zw. *shakhop* (cn, cb)

picture, figure  

sumla  Zw. *sumla* (cn, cb), Rw. *sømla* (ca, cd)

pincers, tongs  

lākap  Zw. *lvgap* (m, ca, cd)

rope  

sumri  Zw. *sømri* (m)

rubber  

kānoi  Zw. *gvwe* (m, ca)

seal, mark  

māsat māsa  Zw. *masat masa* (m, cn, cb)

slate  

lungha  Zw. *longpā* (m, cn, cb)

tumbler  

pat gawm  Zw. *pat kom* (m, cb)

4.2.8. Community, occupation, and production

beggar  

maw hpyi  Zw. *mohpyi* (m, cn, cb), Rw. *mopī* (m)

cost (n.)  

mānu  Zw. *mvno* (ca, cd)

cultivate  

hkai  Zw. *hkai* (cn, cb)

district  

ginwang  Zw. *gnwāng* (m, cn, cb), Rw. *gōnwāng* (m, ca)

entrance to a village  

numshang  Zw. *numshang* (m, cn, cb), Rw. *nvnumshang* (m, ca, cd)

foreign  

maigan  Zw. *maigān* (m, cn, cb)

gather  

zup  Zw. *zup* (cb), Ng. *zp* (cb)

gathering  

hpawng  Zw. *hpōŋ* (cb), zuphpawng (m, cb), Rw. *pong* (ca)

---

43 'a step, a notch of which a series is indented into a heavy block of wood and used as a ladder'
44 'a kind of covered basket carried by the Northern Kachin'
45 All of the historical *w-* became *y-* before front vowels in Standard Jinghpaw. The original sounds are retained in Jinghpaw varieties spoken in the northern areas where Rawang is spoken (Kurabe 2014).
46 'the heddle-bar of a Kachin loom'
47 'to gather, congregate, assemble, to form a confluence, as two or more streams'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Rw.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>issue permit</td>
<td><em>hkrat</em> /hkrát/</td>
<td><em>krvt</em> (p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>join force</td>
<td><em>jawm</em> /jóm/</td>
<td><em>chóm</em> (cb), <em>chomp</em> (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>judge (v.)</td>
<td><em>hpáran</em> /phóran/</td>
<td><em>pvránoće</em> (m, ca) (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>messenger</td>
<td><em>kása</em> /kosá/</td>
<td><em>kasá</em> (m, cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mock (v.)</td>
<td><em>roi</em> /róy/</td>
<td><em>rho</em> (cb), <em>rov</em> (ca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remove</td>
<td><em>rawm</em> /róm/</td>
<td><em>rom</em> (p, cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trade</td>
<td><em>hpága</em> /phóga/</td>
<td><em>hpága</em> (m, cb), <em>pháka</em> (m, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td><em>máre(ng)</em> /mòre(ŋ)/</td>
<td><em>mvring</em> (ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wealth</td>
<td><em>sút</em> /sùt/</td>
<td><em>sít</em> (m, cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wealth</td>
<td><em>sut gan</em> /sùt gán/</td>
<td><em>sítgán</em> (m, cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td><em>bungli</em> /bùnli/</td>
<td><em>bënli</em> (m, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.9. Communication and transportation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Rw.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accompany</td>
<td><em>lawm</em> /lóm/</td>
<td><em>lóm</em> (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td><em>nbung li</em> /nùnli/</td>
<td><em>ñmbungli</em> (m, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>answer (n.)</td>
<td><em>máhtai</em> /mothày/</td>
<td><em>mahtai</em> (m, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be noisy</td>
<td><em>káru</em> /górù/</td>
<td><em>garu</em> (p, cb), <em>garú</em> (p, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be noisy</td>
<td><em>káru káchyi</em> /gárù gɔci/</td>
<td><em>garu gachyî</em> (p, m, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bridge</td>
<td><em>mahkrai</em> /makhray/</td>
<td><em>mvkray</em> (p, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for example</td>
<td><em>ga shádawng</em> /gà còdόn/</td>
<td><em>káshvdûn</em> (ca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>move</td>
<td><em>htawt</em> /hòt/</td>
<td><em>htot</em> (cb), <em>thot</em> (p, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listen; order (n.)</td>
<td><em>mádat</em> /màdat/</td>
<td><em>madat</em> (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td><em>ngu</em> /ŋú/</td>
<td><em>ngû</em> (cb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.10. Culture and entertainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Rw.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>attend school</td>
<td><em>jawng lung</em> /jònlùŋ/</td>
<td><em>zùnlông</em> (m, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td><em>laika</em> /làyka/</td>
<td><em>laiká</em> (m, cn, cb), <em>lèga</em> (m, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clarinet</td>
<td><em>dumba</em> /dùmба/</td>
<td><em>dumba khvhlank</em> (m)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

48 ‘to join forces, to co-operate, to plan and do in unison, to chase or drive game, as a party of hunters, together, unitedly’
49 Also in Lg. 5231 and Lq. 5235.
50 ‘to remove, clear away (e.g., as straw from a threshing floor or heaped-up weeds from a field)’
51 A loanblend whose second syllable is of Shan origin (Kurabe 2017).
52 Also in Lq. 5332.
53 Also in Lg. thot11 and Lq. thut55.
54 ‘promise, words said at death for inheritance, advice, etc.’
55 A loanblend whose first syllable is of Shan origin (Kurabe 2017).
flute sumpyi /sumpyi/ Zw. sumpyí (m, cn, cb)
inheritance sâli wunli /sâli wûnli/ Zw. salí wunlí (m, cn, cb)
literature laili laika /lâyli láyka/ Zw. laili laiká (cn, cb)
newspaper shî laika /cî lâyka/ Rw. shîlèga (m, ca, cd)
play (games) ginsup /ginṣûp/ Zw. sup (cn, cb)
press, print dip /dîp/ Rw. dip (ca, cd)
sing hkawn /khôn/ Zw. hkôn (cb), Lv. khôn” (cb) (Y2)
song mâhkawn /môkhôn/ Zw. mahkôn (m, cb), Rw. mvkûn (m, ca, cd)
story, tale mau mwi /màwmûy/ Zw. mau[mû] (m, cb) (L), Ng. mvnyei (m, cb), Ls. mà mjö (m, cb)
take picture dem /dêm/ Zw. dem (cn, cb), Rw. dûm (ca)
tell, narrate hkai /khày/ Zw. hkai (cn, cb)
write ka /ka/ Zw. kà (cn, cb)

4.2.11. Cults, customs, and socializing

baptism hka lup /khà?lûp/ Zw. hkaqlup (m, cb)
bless shâ-a /cô?à/ Zw. shi-a (cn, cb)
bless shâman /cômân/ Zw. shimân (m, cb), Lv. fâmânH (m, cb), Ng. shvmauh (m, cb), Rw. shvnûn (m, cd)
chief du /du/ Rw. dû (ca, cd) (H)
chief’s assistant hkring mang /khînngâ/ Rw. kumûng (m) (H)
chronology mu shî /mû?çi/ Rw. muqshî nvt (m) (H)
compete shingjawng /cînjoŋ/ Rw. shôngjông (m, cd)
common people dârat /dorât/ Rw. dvrî (ca, cd)
curse dâgam /dògâm/ Rw. dvûm (ca, cd)
dance the Manau nau /nàw/ Zw. nau[l] (cb) (L)
dancing post shûdung /côdûŋ/ Zw. si[t]dûng[l] (m, cn, cb) (L)
fault mûra /mûra/ Zw. marâ (p, cb), Rw. mûrâ (ca)
fine (v.) shâwa /côwà?/ Rw. shvwaq (m, cd) (H)
give birth shàngái /côñày/ Zw. shí-ngâi (m, cn, cb)

56 A loanblend whose second syllable is of Shan origin (Kurabe 2017).
57 A loanblend whose first and third syllables are of Shan origin (Kurabe 2017).
58 Also in Lg. m33[khû]55.
59 ‘the history or chronology of the celestial nat’
60 ‘the square or plank-like dancing post, carved with dancettes, placed in the center of a dancing-floor (nau) at a great feast (mûnau)’
61 Also in Lg. m33[5a]41 and Lq. m55[5a]55.
God  
Kărai /gərəy/  
Zw. garai (p, m, cn, cb),  
Rw. gvrəy (m)

God  
Kărai Găsang /gərəy  
Zw. garai gasang (p, m, cn, cb),  
gəsəŋ/  
Rw. gvrəy gvsəŋ (m)

heavens  
lămu /ləmə/  
Zw. lamu (cn, cb)

heavens  
sŭmsing /sŭmsıŋ/  
Zw. sum sıŋ (cn, cb)

history  
lăbau /ləbåw/  
Zw. labaũ (cn, cb)

Manau62  
Mănau /mənəw/  
Zw. manau (cb),  
Rw. mvnõ (ca, cd)

marry  
hkung ran /khuŋrăn/  
Lv. khung ran” (p, cn, cb) (Y2),  
Rw. kung rın (ca, cd)

morals  
sări sădang /sərə sədąŋ/  
Zw. sari sadang (p, m, cn, cb)

nat altar  
hkung-ri /khuŋrı/  
Zw. hkungri (cb)

nat-priest63  
dumsa /dŭmsə/  
Zw. dŭmsă (cb),  
Rw. dĭmshă (ca)

nat-priest of the 
second order  
hkinjawng /khiŋjəŋ/  
Rw. kŏnzəng (ca) (H)

prophet  
myi htoi /myiʔthōy/  
Zw. myıghtoi (m, cn, cb)

punishment  
ări /ʔarı/  
Zw. ārì (p, cn, cb)

spirit64  
jăthung /jəθhʊŋ/  
Zw. jihtung (cb)

vanish65  
hpoi /phoy/  
Zw. hpoı (cn, cb),  
Rw. pŏy (ca, cd)

wonder (n.)  
mau hpa /mawpha/  
Ng. mauh phoh (m)

word of God  
mung ga /munggə/  
Rw. mŏngkă (m)

worship  
naw ku /nōʔ kūʔ/  
Zw. noqkuq (m, cn, cb),  
Rw. noqqū (m, ca)

4.2.12. Human body

buttocks  
dang bau /dăŋbaw/  
Zw. dvąng31 bau35-bvun31 (m, cn, cb) (L)

cross the legs or 
arms  
gungkai /gùŋkåy/  
Ng. kungh kaiq (cb)

dart (v.)  
htim /thım/  
Zw. htım (cn, cb)

greet66  
shăkram /cokram/  
Zw. shì-kyám (cb)

---

62 ‘a great nat-feast and religious dance which legend claims to be of supernatural origin (the feast, which lasts four, six, or eight days, can be given only by those who offer to the Mădai nat, this being the aristocratic lineages)’

63 Also in Lg. tum31 sa35 and Lq. tum31 sa35.

64 ‘a family of powerful and cruel terrestrial nat that inhabit waterfalls, caves, and deep forests (two of these, Dingra Shun Wa and Nhkut Chyang, are especially important in Kachin traditional lore)’

65 ‘to vanish, disappear, to lose potency, become inane, to have vanished or been lost (e.g., as luck, glory, honor, flavor)’

66 Also in Lg. f31 kjam35 and Lq. f31 kjam35.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hide</td>
<td>gawp /gɔp/</td>
<td>Zw. gɔp⁴ (cn, cb) (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in a dozing</td>
<td>myet myet /myɛt myɛt/</td>
<td>Zw. myɛt⁴myɛt⁴ (cn, cb) (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mole</td>
<td>prat /præt/</td>
<td>Zw. i¹-bv yat⁴ (cn, cb) (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>n-gup /ŋɡu p/</td>
<td>Rw. nɔnggɔp (ca, cd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tickle</td>
<td>kählen /ɡɔj u/</td>
<td>Ng. gvjywih-lhoq (cb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twist (v.)</td>
<td>mänai /mɔnəy/</td>
<td>Zw. me¹nai¹¹ (cn, cb) (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urine</td>
<td>jët /jɪt/</td>
<td>Zw. zit¹ (m, cn, cb) (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voice</td>
<td>māhku /mɔkh u/</td>
<td>Zw. makh u (cn, cb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.13. Life, sickness, and death

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>army</td>
<td>hpyen dap /phyendap⁶⁷</td>
<td>Rw. pindap (m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>booty</td>
<td>lānep /lānɛp/</td>
<td>Ng. Ivn hyvp (cb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enemy, army</td>
<td>hpyen /phyen/</td>
<td>Rw. pin (p,⁶⁸ ca)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epidemic⁶⁹</td>
<td>zɨn li /zɛnli/</td>
<td>Zw. ūna tsi nli (m, cn, cb) (Y1), Rw. zôngli (m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fates</td>
<td>mərawŋ /mɔraŋ/</td>
<td>Rw. mv rʊŋ⁷⁰ (ca, cd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fight (v.)</td>
<td>kāsæt /gɔsæt/</td>
<td>Zw. kásæt (cn, cb) (Y1), Rw. gvs vdi (ca, cd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gleet</td>
<td>ri /r i/?</td>
<td>Ng. ri nos (p)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have fever</td>
<td>bu /bʊ/?</td>
<td>Zw. buq (cn, cb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiccup (v.)</td>
<td>kā-e /koʔe/?</td>
<td>Zw. ageq ĝeq (cb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independence</td>
<td>shang la w /càŋlōt/</td>
<td>Rw. shvn ḥlu t (m, ca)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itch⁷¹</td>
<td>məru /mɔrû/?</td>
<td>Zw. me¹ruq¹ (p, m) (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malaria</td>
<td>hka li /kãhəli/</td>
<td>Rw. kãli (m, ca, cd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>military officer</td>
<td>hpyen du /phyendu/</td>
<td>Rw. pindu (m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebel</td>
<td>gumlau /gumluu/</td>
<td>Ng. gumlo eus k uot (m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rest (v.)</td>
<td>ban /bæn/</td>
<td>Zw. bæn (cn, cb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rest (v.)</td>
<td>hkring /khrɪŋ/</td>
<td>Zw. hky ing (cn, cb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soldier</td>
<td>hpyen la /phyenla/</td>
<td>Rw. pinla (m, ca)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take care of</td>
<td>bau /baw/</td>
<td>Zw. baʊ (cn, cb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trouble (v.)</td>
<td>zingri /ziŋrɪ/</td>
<td>Zw. zing-ri (p, m, cn, cb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war</td>
<td>mājan /mɔjãn/</td>
<td>Zw. majan (cn, cb), Rw. mvzãn (ca, cd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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⁶⁷ A loanblend whose second syllable ultimately came from Mon through Burmese and Shan (Kurabe 2016: 104).
⁶⁸ This word is clearly a loan from its phonetic shape because there are no native words with pin (Randy J. LaPoll, p.c., 2017).
⁶⁹ ‘an epidemic, esp. of cattle disease’
⁷⁰ ‘deadly curse that can last for generations’
⁷¹ ‘itch, an itchy rash’
4.2.14. Human relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aunt (paternal)</td>
<td>moi /moy/</td>
<td>Zw. mhoi (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (elder)</td>
<td>hpu /phu/</td>
<td>Zw. pulu¹¹ (cn, cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (1st)</td>
<td>ma gam /mågam/</td>
<td>Zw. laqam (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (2nd)</td>
<td>ma naw /måno/</td>
<td>Zw. lalong (cb) (L), Ng. naw (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (3rd)</td>
<td>ma la /målà?/</td>
<td>Zw. lalaq (cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (4th)</td>
<td>ma tu /måtû/</td>
<td>Zw. latu (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (5th)</td>
<td>ma tang /måtaŋ/</td>
<td>Zw. latang (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (6th)</td>
<td>ma yaw /måyo/</td>
<td>Zw. layouns (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (7th)</td>
<td>ma hka /måkhå/</td>
<td>Zw. lakhå (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (8th)</td>
<td>ma yun /måyun/</td>
<td>Zw. layun (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-cousin</td>
<td>hkau /khaw/</td>
<td>Zw. hkaus (cb), Lw. khau: (cb) (Y2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>dinghku /djinkhu/</td>
<td>Rw. dongku (m, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>wa /Pwa/</td>
<td>Zw. wa (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-in-law</td>
<td>tsa /tsa/</td>
<td>Zw. tsa (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First born</td>
<td>ålat /'ølàt/</td>
<td>Rw. vlat gö (ca) (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>numnang /numnaŋ/</td>
<td>Zw. numnaŋ (m, cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mânang /mønnaŋ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td>shu /çu/</td>
<td>Zw. åshu (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather (maternal)</td>
<td>ji dwi /jìdùy/</td>
<td>Zw. zví⁵-dui¹¹ (cn, cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather (paternal)</td>
<td>ji /jì/</td>
<td>Zw. chyí (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother (maternal)</td>
<td>ådwi /'ødùy/</td>
<td>Zw. å⁵-dui¹¹ (cn, cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother (paternal)</td>
<td>woi /'woy/</td>
<td>Zw. whoi (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>nu /?nu/</td>
<td>Zw. nu (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (elder)</td>
<td>na /?na/</td>
<td>Zw. nah (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (1st)</td>
<td>ma kaw /måkå'?/</td>
<td>Zw. nukoq (cb), Ng. kaw (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (2nd)</td>
<td>ma lu /målû'/</td>
<td>Zw. luq¹ ~ luq⁵ (cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (3rd)</td>
<td>ma roi /måroy/</td>
<td>Zw. muroi (p, cb), Ng. roi (p, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (4th)</td>
<td>ma htu /måthu'/</td>
<td>Zw. muhtuq (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (5th)</td>
<td>ma kai /måkai/</td>
<td>Zw. mukai (cb), Ng. kai (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (6th)</td>
<td>ma tawm /måtom/</td>
<td>Zw. mutom (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (7th)</td>
<td>ma pri /måpri/</td>
<td>Zw. mut-psy (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (8th)</td>
<td>ma yun /måyun/</td>
<td>Zw. myyun (cb), Ng. yun (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (9th)</td>
<td>ma kying /måkying/</td>
<td>Zw. muying⁵ (cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁷² ‘a paternal aunt, a mother-in-law, a husband’s mother, any middle-aged woman of the da ma man’s wives’
sister-in-law\textsuperscript{73} rat /?rät/ Zw. *rhat* (p, cn, cb)
sister-in-law\textsuperscript{74} ning /?nĩŋ/ Zw. *nlĩŋ* (cn, cb)
son shădăng / todavía/ Rw. *shvdıŋ* ‘child’ (m, ca, cd)
uncle\textsuperscript{75} wa dim /?wádım/ Zw. *wa dim* (cn, cb)
wife jan /jen/ Zw. *ján* (cn, cb)

4.2.15. Types of people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blacksmith</td>
<td>ningdup /nĩŋdüp/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>ningdup</em> (m, cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>miwa /miwã/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>miwa</em> (m, cb) (L), Rw. <em>miwã</em> (m, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grown man</td>
<td>wa ngan /waŋ? ngán/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>waŋˈngan\textsuperscript{31}</em> (cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hero</td>
<td>shâre /cãre/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>sârë</em> (p, cb), Rw. <em>shvøre</em> (cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachin\textsuperscript{76}</td>
<td>wunpawng /wũnpõŋ/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>wũnn11-bvõŋ\textsuperscript{55}</em> (m, cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leader</td>
<td>ning baw /nĩbõ/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>nĩbbó</em> (m, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young girl</td>
<td>hkawn ji /kʰonjì/</td>
<td>Rw. <em>kʰonzi</em> (m, ca, cd) (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth</td>
<td>ram /räm/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>rám</em> (p, cb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.16. Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beg</td>
<td>hpyi /phyí/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>pré\textsuperscript{55}</em> (cn, cb) (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catch</td>
<td>rim /rim/</td>
<td>Rw. <em>rim</em> (ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause trouble</td>
<td>gumlau /gũmlâw/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>gumlau</em> (cb), Ng. <em>gumlau</em> (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distinguish</td>
<td>gĩnhka /gĩnhkã?/</td>
<td>Rw. <em>günkâ</em> (m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divide</td>
<td>gam /gãm/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>gãm</em> (cb), Ng. <em>gvm</em> (cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divide</td>
<td>gãrân /gãrân/</td>
<td>Rw. <em>gvrîn</em> (m, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiddle with</td>
<td>gãjam /gãjãm/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>gãjam</em> (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>help\textsuperscript{77}</td>
<td>kãrum /gãrum/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>gãrum</em> (p, cb), Rw. <em>gvrõm</em> (ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mark (v.)</td>
<td>mãsat /mɑsåt/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>masat</em> (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place cross-wise</td>
<td>dingchyai /ɗûçáy/</td>
<td>Rw. <em>dõngjai</em> (m) (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praise</td>
<td>shãkawn /cãkõn/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>shõkon</em> (m, cn, cd), Rw. <em>shvõûn</em> (m, ca, cd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prohibit</td>
<td>hkum /khûm/</td>
<td>Zw. <em>khûm</em> (cn, cb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{73} *(1) the elder sister of a wife, (2) the wife of an elder brother, (3) the younger brother of a husband’*
\textsuperscript{74} *(a sister-in-law (a husband’s sisters or the wife of a brother)’*
\textsuperscript{75} *(a kinship term designating the younger brothers of a father or the husbands of the younger sisters of a mother’*
\textsuperscript{76} *(the center, the middle: mankind, or the inhabitants of the middle universe: the confederation of Kachin tribes’*
\textsuperscript{77} *Also in Lg. *kšt equilibrium* and Lq. *kšt equilibrium*.*)
4.2.17. Mental activity

agree  hpawm /pʰɔm/  Zw. pong\(^{11}\) (cn, cb) (L)
be anxious  myit tsang /myɪt tsɑŋ/  Zw. myit tsang (m, cn, cb)
be depressed  hkyet rung /kʰyɛt rʊŋ/  Zw. i\(^{t}\)kyet rung\(^{11}\) (p, m, cb) (L)
be diligent\(^{78}\)  kyet /kyɛt/  Zw. kyet (cb)
be discouraged  myit hten /myɪt thɛn/  Zw. myit hten (m, cn, cb)
be energetic  zet /dzɛt/  Zw. zet (cn, cb)
be glad\(^{79}\)  k˘abu /g@bu/  Zw. gab u (cb)
be honest  myit ding /myɪt dɪŋ/  Zw. myit ding (m, cn, cb)
be in sorrow  myit yon /myɪt ɣʊn/  Zw. myit yon (m, cn, cb)
be interested  myit lawm /myɪt ɭ/ac/  Zw. myit lôm (m, cn, cb)
be jealous\(^{80}\)  m˘anawn /mənən/  Zw. manon (cb), Lv. manon\(^{''}\) (cb) (Y2)
be lazy\(^{81}\)  làgawn /laŋən/  Zw. lgon (cb)
be pleasant\(^{82}\)  ngawn /ŋən/  Zw. ngon (cb)
be pleased  ngwi /ŋʊi/  Zw. nguí (cn, cb)
be proud  gumrawng /ɡʊmɹəŋ/  Zw. gumròng (p, cn, cb)
be righteous  ding man /diŋmən/  Zw. dingmán (m, cn, cb), Rw. dongman (m, ca, cd)
be satisfied  myit dik /myɪt dɪk/  Zw. myit dik (m, cn, cb)
be willing  kam /kəm/  Zw. kám (cn, cb)
consider  myit yu /myɪt ɣʊ̞u/  Zw. myit yu (m, cn, cb)
dare  rip /rip/  Zw. rip (p, cn, cb)
desire, miss  m˘arit /məɾɪt/  Rw. mvrøt (ca, cd) (H)
like  ra /rəʔ/  Zw. raq\(^{1}\) (p, cn, cb) (L)
like  rawn /ɾoŋ/  Zw. ron\(^{11}\) (p, cn, cb) (L)
like  sh˘arawng /ʃəɾənŋ/  Zw. shirong (p, cn, cb)
lose spirit  myit htum /myɪt tʰʊm/  Zw. myit htum (m, cn, cb)
love (n.)  sumtsaw /sʊmtʃɔʔ/  Zw. sumtsoq (m, cn, cb)
make a decision  myit dawdan /myɪt doŋɗɛn/  Zw. myit doqdan (m, cn, cb)
meaning  làchyum /ləcʊm/  Zw. lichyım (cn, cb), Rw. lvjom (cd)

mistake (v.)  shut /ʃuʃ/  Zw. shut (cb), Lv. šat\(^{H}\) (cb), Ng. sluot (cb), Rw. shut (ca, cd)

\(^{78}\) Also in Lg. kjø^1^1 and Pl. kjø^1^1 (Dai 1993: 10).
\(^{79}\) Also in Lg. kì^1^1 pu^2^.
\(^{80}\) Also in Lg. mi^3^1 nmx^5^.
\(^{81}\) Also in Lg. la^3^1 kù^1^ and Lq. la^3^1 kù^1^.
\(^{82}\) Also in Lg. yon^1^ and Lq. yɔ^3^1 ym^1^.
mourn\textsuperscript{83} yawn /yon/ Zw. yón (cn, cb)
persist\textsuperscript{84} shákut /cakut/ Zw. shikut (m, cb)
rejoice kábú gāra /qabù gará/ Zw. gabú gará (p, m, cb)
remember\textsuperscript{85} mātsing /matsìn/ Zw. matsìng (cb), Rw. mvzöng (ca)
respect (v.) hkungga /khúngga/ Zw. hkungga (cn, cb)
seem to sam /sám/ Zw. sám (cn, cb)
should ang /ʔaŋ/ Zw. ang (cb)
think myit /myit/ Zw. myít (cb), Lv. myít\textsuperscript{6} (cb)
want to māyu /məyu/ Rw. mvýó (ca, cd)
wonder\textsuperscript{86} mau /maw/ Zw. maú (cb), Lv. muk\textsuperscript{H} (cb)

4.2.18. Sensations

be big kāba /gəbā/ Rw. gvbà (ca, cd)
be round ling /līŋ/ Zw. līng (cn, cb)
be straight ding /dīŋ/ Zw. dīng (cb), Lv. dīng\textsuperscript{7} (cb) (Y2)
be sweet dwi /duy/ Zw. duí\textsuperscript{11} (cn, cb) (L)
color nsam /ḥsām/ Zw. ḫsām (cn, cb)

4.2.19. State and quality

be beautiful chyoi /cōy/ Zw. chyoi (cn, cb)
be broken hten /thēn/ Zw. then (cn, cb)
be busy\textsuperscript{87} kyin /kyīn/ Zw. gyin (cb)
be clear san seng /sānsēŋ/ Zw. san sēŋ (m, cn, cb)
be correct jaw /jō/ Zw. jo (cb), Lv. co\textsuperscript{F} (cb)
be different shai /cāy/ Zw. shaï (cb), Lv. šay\textsuperscript{H} (cb), Ng. shaï (cb), Rw. šày (ca, cd)
be enough ram /rām/ Zw. rám (p, cn, cb)
be even ra /rā/ Zw. rá (p)
be expensive mānu dan /mənu dán/ Zw. manú dán (m, cn, cb)
be fine, splendid reng /req/ Zw. ruen̄\textsuperscript{35} (p, cn, cb) (L)
be fulfilled dik /dík/ Zw. dik (cn, cb)

\textsuperscript{83} Also in Lg. jōn\textsuperscript{25}.
\textsuperscript{84} Also in Lg. jō\textsuperscript{34}kut\textsuperscript{31}.
\textsuperscript{85} Also in Lg. mā\textsuperscript{33}səŋ\textsuperscript{35}.
\textsuperscript{86} Also in Lq. māz\textsuperscript{35}.
\textsuperscript{87} Also Lg. kōm\textsuperscript{53} and Pl. kōm\textsuperscript{11} (Dai 1993: 10).
4.2.20. Time

be dusk rim /rim/ Zw. rem\textsuperscript{11} rem\textsuperscript{11} (p, cn, cb) (L)
last jähtum /jähṭum/ Zw. jihtum (m, cb)
lifetime\textsuperscript{91} prat /prat/ Zw. pyat (cb), Rw. bat (cd)
Sunday\textsuperscript{92} làban /lábân/ Zw. yiban (cb), Rw. lvbán (m, ca)
time åten /ʔatén/ Zw. aten (cn, cb) (Y1)
time (clf.) lang /ʔlāŋ/ Lv. lhan (cn, cb) (Y2)

4.2.21. Location and movement

be close htep /thèp/ Zw. htep (cn, cd), Rw. tep\textsuperscript{93} (ca, cd)
be close\textsuperscript{94} jem /jèm/ Zw. jem (cn, cd)
be close together yep /ʔyèp/ Zw. yvep\textsuperscript{5} yvep\textsuperscript{5} (cn, cb) (L)
begin hpan g /PHAŋ/ Zw. pang\textsuperscript{55} (cn, cb) (L)
center ginjaw /gǐnʒɔ/ Rw. gɔŋjoq (m, ca, cd)
center, origin  
enter  
hurry  
north  
outside  

4.2.22. Copula and existential

happen  
resemble  

4.2.23. Quantity and number

add, increase  
be diminishing  
complete  
empty  
increase  
increase
many  
many
measure  
one thousand  
part  
replenish  
whole  

4.2.24. Interjections

Aha!  
Alas!  
Cold!  
Hot!

---

96 ‘increase, multiply, proliferate, reproduce abundantly, as offspring’
97 A loanblend whose second syllable ultimately came from Shan (Kurabe 2017).
98 ‘an expression of surprise or displeasure’
99 ‘indicating slight irritation, disturbance or annoyance’
100 ‘an expression used when one has come into contact with something cold’
101 ‘an expression used when one has come into contact with something hot’
Let’s go! sa /sà/ Zw. sà (cb)
Look out! āru /ʔorú/ Zw. āruq (p, cb)
Now! gai /găy/ Zw. găí, Ng. gais (cb)
Oh!102 yi /yi/ Zw. yì (cb)
Ouch!103 āka /ʔokā/ Zw. ā-kā (cb)
Take it! yaw /ʔyō/ Zw. yhoq (cb)
Wow!104 wai /wáy/ Zw. waí (cb)
Wow!105 wì /wì/ Zw. wvue55 (cb) (L)
Yes!106 āra /ʔorà/ Zw. arà (p, cb)
Yes!107 oì /ʔoì/ Zw. oì (cb) (L)

4.2.25. Particles and connectives

also ma /má/ Zw. mă108 (cn, cb) (Y1)
approximately dang /daŋ/ Rw. dăng (ca, cd)
because măjaw /măjô/ Zw. măjo (cn, cb)
contrastive măhtang /măthāŋ/ Zw. măhtang (cn, cb)
for, in behalf of mătu /mătu/ Zw. mătu (cn, cb)
instead of mălai /mălāy/ Zw. mălai (cn, cb)
interrogative ta /tâ/ Zw. ta11 (cn, cb) (L)
when, if jang /jaŋ/ Zw. jâng (cn, cb)

4.2.26. Adverbs

at once kălang ta /kălāŋtăʔ/ Rw. qvlangtaq (m, ca)
deliberately dingsa(ng) /dĭngsa(ŋ)/ Zw. dingsång (cn, cb)
directly ding-yang /dĭngyāŋ/ Zw. ding-yâng (cn, cb)
each shāda /šădaʔ/ Zw. shidaq (cn, cb)
exactly raw /röʔ/ Zw. roq (p, cn, cb)
if lămā /lămā/ Zw. laqmā (cb),
indeed she /cēʔ/ Zw. sheq (cn, cb)
more je /je/ Zw. je (cb), Lv. je: (cb) (Y2)
perhaps hkoï /hkoï/ Zw. koï55 ~ hoi55 (cn, cb) (L)
persistently tik tik /tīktīk/ Zw. tik tik (cb),
Ng. toek toek he (cb)

102 ‘interjection expressive of fear’
103 ‘expression of pain’
104 ‘interjection of surprise’
105 ‘interjection of surprise’
106 ‘used exclamatorily to indicate great excitement and pleasure’
107 ‘a responsive interjection’
108 Zaiwa also has forms like li11 and lye11 that are cognate with those of Burmese.
Acknowledgements

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109 Also in Lg. kjai and Lq. kjai.


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