

AKHA AND SOUTHERN LOLOISH

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Akha is a Southern Loloish Burmese-Lolo Tibeto-Burman language spoken by more than 1000,000 people in southwestern Yunnan, China; eastern Shan State, Burma; northern Thailand and Laos; and northwestern Vietnam. Various names are used by other groups to refer to the Akha: in Burmese, ခေါ် or Kaw; in Thai, ເກວ or Ikaw; in Lao and Shan, ຂ່າຂໍ or Kha Kho; in Chinese 哈尼 or Hāní; and in Vietnamese, Hanhi. Because of this diversity of names, some of which also refer to other groups, the total extent of Akha population has not usually been realized.¹

The term 'Hani' as used in China and Vietnam refers to various ethnic groups who speak Loloish languages; the majority of these are probably speakers of Akha dialects. At any rate, the 'standard' Lüchün dialect of Hāní, recorded in Hú/Dai 1964, is an Akha dialect;² and several other dialects, including Jiăyín and Yāní, also may be. On the other hand, various other languages included within 'Hani' are Wonoid.³ Some Hanhi in Vietnam are also Akha; but others are speakers of Wonoid languages.⁴

The Akha have a distinctive culture, with strong emphasis on religion. They are divided into named patriclans; dialect divisions are said to follow these clan divisions. The 'standard' Akha of Burma and Thailand is the dialect of the Jeu.g'oev clan, and the next most important dialect there is that of the A*jaw* clan.⁵ A similar dialect is recorded from northwestern Laos;⁶ most of the Akha in Thailand also are Jeu.g'oev, but speak a slightly different dialect. In northeastern Laos and adjacent areas of Vietnam, these clans are unknown; a rather different dialect is spoken. In Laos, the largest clan is the Nu-Quay.⁷ It is possible that Lüchün Hāní, Jiăyín, and Yāní are similarly the

dialects of particular Akha clans, living in China. There are also more divergent dialects, such as the A^vkeu^v of Burma;⁸ possibly some languages spoken in China also fall in this category.

SUMMARY OF EXISTING DATA

A. Akoid Vocabularies

- | | | |
|--|------|---|
| 1. Burma/Thailand/NW Laos | Akha | Scott/Hardiman 1900
Madrolle 1908 Ko
Antisdel 1911 Kaw
Lewis, Nishida, Dellinger, Egerod,
Katsura, <i>et al.</i> |
| 2. Vietnam/NE Laos/China | Akha | Lefèvre-Pontalis 1892 Ounhi
Roux 1924
Hú/Dai 1964 Yǎnī |
| 3. NW China | Akha | Hú/Dai 1964 Hāní
Hú/Dai 1964 Jiàyín |
| 4. A ^v keu ^v (Burma) | | Scott/Hardiman 1900 Akö ^v
(not Lefevre-Pontalis 1892 Kou ^v ,
which is La ^v hu_ shi: ban ^v keo:) |
| 5. Lami, Khali (China) | | Lefèvre-Pontalis 1892 |
| 6. Asong, Phana (Vietnam, Laos) | | Lefèvre-Pontalis 1892
(formerly called Kha Pai, and
now Sila) |
| 7. Pe ^v law ^v meh ^v or Law ^v Pe ^v (China) | | (Lewis 1970a v.IV 764 mentions) |

B. Bisoid Vocabularies

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. Pyen (Burma) | Scott/Hardiman 1900 |
| 2. Bisu (Thailand) | Nishida 1966a, 1966b, 1967 |
| 3. Phunoi (Laos, Vietnam) | Lefèvre-Pontalis 1892 Khong
Roux 1924 Phunoi
Bradley 1973 Phunoi
Ferlus 1975 Phou Noy
Vuong 1973 Côông |

C. Wonoid Languages

Kăduō: Wonoid group living near Zhènyuán, cited as Ka-to, K'ato, etc. in Lefèvre-Pontalis 1902, Madrolle 1908, and Davies 1909. Vocabulary in Hú/Dai 1964.

Bìyuē: Wonoid group, cited as Woni with two subgroups, Pi-yo and Lo-mi, in Madrolle 1908; and as Pi-o in Davies 1909. Vocabulary in Hú/Dai 1964.

Báihóng: Wonoid group, cited as Ma-hê in Madrolle 1908, and as Ma-hei or Pa-hawng, with a vocabulary, in Davies 1909. Vocabulary in Hú/Dai 1964.

Háoni: another Wonoid group in the same area; vocabulary in Hú/Dai 1964.

Mpi: Wonoid group in Thailand; data from Harris, Ege, and Bradley.

'Hani' vocabularies (of Wonoid languages): Gao 1955,⁹ Madrolle 1908.

'Woni' vocabulary (of a Wonoid language): Yuan 1947.¹⁰

D. Lahoid } cf. Bradley 1975a
E. Lisoid }

F. Nasoid (not Southern Loloish)

Hua y, formerly White Lolo China and Vietnam; vocabularies Lefèvre-Pontalis 1892, Madrolle 1908, Liétard 1913,¹¹ and elsewhere.

Lùquàn, included in Hani by Hú/Dai 1964.

(also many other languages, spoken far to the north)

G. Genetic Group Uncertain

Měiluò } 'Hani' dialects cited by Hú/Dai 1964 without vocabulary.
Xīmòluò }

Zaiwǎ: Loloish language cited in Hú/Dai 1964 (*not* Hani).

Putu: cited by Davies 1909 and Madrolle 1908 (who adds Makho) as close to Kăduō and Bìyuē; no vocabularies, China.

Lopi/Nopi: cited by Madrolle 1908 and Davies 1909; China.

Peupa/Pula/Fula: cited by Madrolle 1908 and Davies 1909; China.

Simo: Madrolle 1908, China.

K'u-tsung: Devéria 1886, Davies 1909; China, *not* Tibetans.

Sansu: Davies 1909, China.

Bo Kho Pa, formerly Xa Pho: Nguyen 1973, Vietnam.

Data on non-Southern Loloish languages from outside the usual range of Southern Loloish is not included. Herein, only the data on Akha will be considered in detail. Reconstructions are from Bradley 1975a.

These reconstructions are formulae based on Proto-Loloish (*L) correspondences.

Forms from Lewis 1966b, Roux 1924, and Hú/Dai 1964 are listed in a wordlist, which forms the corpus of data to be considered. Thus, three main subdialects within Akha are compared. These data are supplemented with data from Lefèvre-Pontalis 1892, comparable to the Roux material; and from Madrolle 1908, most directly similar to the Lewis material.

The Lewis transcription is his orthography for Akha, using some conventions from the Lahu orthography. Roux uses the Vietnamese orthography¹² to represent Akha, with less than total success. Hú and Dai use an IPA-style transcription, with Chao tone-letters. A brief summary of the transcriptions follows; for more detail, consult the original works.

Lewis Initials								Vowels			
p	py	t	ts	c	k	k'	ɸ	i	(oi)	vi	
b	by	d	dz	j	g			(e)	oe	eu	
m	my	n		ny	ng			eh		aw	
			s	sh		(h)	(m)	a		(ah)	
l	z	y		g'							

Tones											
*	[˥]								
[˧]	˥[˧]						
⌄	[˨]	˧[˨]					

c, j, ny, sh and y represent /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /n/, /ʃ/, and /j/ respectively. ng and g' represent /ŋ/ and /ɣ/; k represents /χ/, and ɸ (absence of initial) represents /ʔ/. oi and oe represent /y/ and /ɸ/; ui and eu represent /ɯ/ and /ɤ/; and eh and aw represent /ɛ/ and /ɔ/. m can be syllabic; ah is a nasalized /ã/. The tones have the pitch values given in brackets. Akha, a register language, has three unconstricted tones, which occur with aspirated initials; and two constricted tones, which occur with unaspirated initials, and are marked with inverted hačeks. Thus, aspiration is a redundant factor in the realization of unconstricted syllables. Parenthesized items occur only in unconstricted syllables.

Roux

p	p̥i	t	ts, ki	c, k	ɸ	i	u̥	u
p'	p̥'i	th	tch	k'		e	o̥	ô
b	b̥i	d	ch	g, c		e	a	o
m	m̥i	n	nh	ng				
		s	sh, ch	kh	h	'[˥]		
l	z	y		g		ɸ[˧] φ̥[˨], [˧]		
						'[˩] .[˩]		

Roux is not entirely consistent in his transcription; he includes phonetic details unnecessary for other dialects, such as aspiration; but he does not distinguish between, for example, front rounded and back spread vowels – both are represented with Vietnamese 'barbed' letters. There are also many errors in his glosses. Only the existence of better-recorded dialects makes such data useful. It is possible, for example, that this dialect, like some dialects in Thailand, has merged the dental affricates/fricatives and palato-alveolar affricates/fricatives.¹³

It is also possible that the aspiration may have become contrastive, with the loss of constriction in the higher of the two tones that are constricted elsewhere – the transcription of this tone is very inconsistent. Fluctuation between c and k, g and c, and so on is less easy to account for. Some contrasts, such as that between /g/ and /ɣ/, are completely unrepresented – but may be present nevertheless.

Hú/Dai

p	p̥j	t	ts	tʂ	k	ɸ	i	y	l	w	u
ph	ph̥j	th	tsh	tʂh	kh		e		x	o	
b	b̥j	d	dz	dʐ	g					ɔ	
m	m̥j	n		ɳ	ɳ				a		
		s	ʂ	x							
z	j	ɣ				˥ (unconstricted only)					
						˧ (unconstricted or constricted)					
						˩ (unconstricted or constricted)					

Constriction is represented by *underlining the vowel*, the usual convention now used in China. Absence of initial probably represents initial glottal-stop. There are alveopalatal, instead of palato-alveolar, affricates and fricatives. In the more than 240 forms cited by Hú and Dai, there are no aspirated stops in constricted syllables; hence this distinction again appears not to be phonologically contrastive.

In comparing the three dialects, the Lewis material will be cited both orthographically and in IPA terms; Roux data is used when patterns are clear. The initial systems of Jeu_vg'oe_v (Lewis) and Lüchün (Hú/Dai) Akha appear to be identical in pattern apart from the absence of /h/ in Lüchün, and the above-noted nonphonological representation of aspiration in Lüchün.

/h/ occurs in Jeu_vg'oe_v only in unconstricted syllables; it would appear that Lüchün has simply merged *h > /x/.

Lüchün has merged *s and *ʃ to /s/, unlike Jeu_vg'oe_v. It has then developed a new /q/ from various prefixed *R-type resonants – most of which instead develop to y/j/ in Jeu_vg'oe_v. The *s/*ʃ merger must have followed the development, noted below, of *i/ik to /j/ in Lüchün after *dental affricate/fricative initials.

In general, half-close vowels in Lüchün have merged with close vowels: *e > /i/, *ø > /y/, and *o > /u/; but *ɤ remains /ɤ/ in most cases.

Subsequently, half-open vowels in Lüchün have become half-close vowels: *ɛ > /e/, and *ɔ > /o/.

The development of *L *m-final and some *ŋ-final rhymes provides an excellent example in which Nu Quay (Roux) and Yǎní data show a different development than Jeu_vg'oe_v and Lüchün.

Jeu _v g'oe _v	Nu Quay	Yǎní	Lüchün
*-m	m	ung/ong	uŋ
*iŋ/on	ɔ̄	ang	aŋ

Jeu_vg'oe_v keeps the two sets of rhymes distinct, conservatively preserving the final *m, and the nasalization associated with *iŋ/on (but not *aŋ). Lüchün, with the raised back half-open vowel, merges the two 'nasal-final' rhymes to /ɔ̄/. In Nu Quay and Yǎní, the *-m rhymes have back rounded vowels as their reflex, while *iŋ/on have a more open vowel; in both cases, there is neutralization of final nasals to /ŋ/. *L *aŋ and *n-final rhymes have non-nasal reflexes in Akha. This development is rather difficult to reconcile with the hypothesis presented by W. S.-Y. Wang and M. Chen on the development of nasal finals in Chinese.

Lüchün preserves a distinction between *L *uk and *ok, unlike Jeu_vg'oe_v; but the distinction is the opposite of that seen in Lahu, and reconstructed for *L.

Another instance in which *L forms are required for the interpretation of dialectal correspondences is /j/ in Lüchün. This vowel occurs after *dental affricate/fricative initials as the reflex of *L *i or *ik, with the appropriate tonal correspondence. In Jeu_vg'oe_v, such

*rhymes with these *initials have merged with other front-vowel *rhymes such as *e, giving reflexes such as i/i/, ui/w/, and so on. Subsequently, Lüchün also develops *e > /i/.

A dialectal difference which separates southern Jeu.^vg'oe^v from other Akha dialects is the reflex of *L *w and *r initials before rhymes with *a, such as *a, *ak, and *ay. Southern Jeu.^vg'oe^v has z/z/ as the reflex, while northern Jeu.^vg'oe^v, Nu Quây,¹⁴ and Lüchün have /y/.

There are some apparent differences in the development of *resonants in Nu Quay. *hy initials have a reflex transcribed hi by Roux; this reflex is conservative when compared to the Jeu.^vg'oe^v y/j/. Also, *?l initial has a reflex transcribed chl by Roux – unlike the /l/ which is the reflex elsewhere.

Before /i/ (including secondary /i/ from *e) Lüchün has initial /n/ for /n/. With some vowels, the palatalized bilabial /bj/ is instead merged to /b/ in Lüchün. Sporadic irregularities in correspondence between Jeu.^vg'oe^v and Lüchün are indicated in the wordlist below: I for initial, V for vowel, and T for tonal irregularity. For example wing (83) daw^v mi^v /dɔ̄l miɔ̄l/ Jeu.^vg'oe^v, /dɔ̄l miɔ̄l/ not the expected /dɔ̄l miɔ̄l/ in Lüchün. The Lüchün vowel development from *L *daŋ²?mri² is irregular.

The regular differences between Lüchün and Jeu.^vg'oe^v are summarized below.

Lüchün	Jeu. ^v g'oe ^v
0. *ok > u, *uk > o	*ok, *uk > o
1. *i/ik > /j/ *TS -	
2. e, φ, o > i, y, u	
3. ε, ɔ > e, o	
4. m, ŋ > ɔ	
5. ſ > s, h > x	
6. *hr > φ	

AKHA AND PROTO-LOLOISH

Tonal developments in Akha, as in all Southern Loloish languages, are not very spectacular. In fact, Bradley 1975a suggests that Akha preserves the *L tonal system intact.¹⁵ The following chart shows the regular correspondences; position of the vowel is shown by V.

*L	Lüchün	Jeuvg'oev	Nu Quây	Phonetic Value
*1	v ˥	v *	ጀ	[˥], unconstricted
*2	v ↓	v *	ጀ	[↓], unconstricted
*3	v ˧	v	ጀ	[˧], unconstricted
*H	v ˧	v ^	(various)	[˧], constricted
*L	v ↓	v *	ጀ	[↓], constricted

There is some shifting from unconstricted to constricted register, and vice versa, which is particularly frequent, but does not always occur, in certain environments. For example, there is a 'k-dissimilation rule':¹⁶ when a lexical item had the *k-prefix, and a final *k, it develops an unconstricted tone. Examples include *leopard* (14), *rat* (31), *chicken* (50), *ant* (73) and *rock* (337). Conversely, constricted tones develop in some instances with *fricative and certain *resonant initials; examples include *he* (440), *sand* (334), *bamboo* (295), and so on. There are also some sporadic instances of both developments in other environments.

The developments of the *L rhymes (vowel and final if any) in Akha differ very substantially between dialects. Such differences are presumably of comparatively recent origin; thus they may indicate that Akoid maintained some distinctions which had been merged in other Loloish languages. Southern Loloish is generally very conservative with consonant-final rhymes; some Bisoid languages have actually retained *-m, *-n, *-p and *-t as such, while Akoid appears to have been conservative in the case of *-m, *-ŋ in some environments, and in the regular reflection of *-stops with the constricted register. The following chart summarizes the developments.

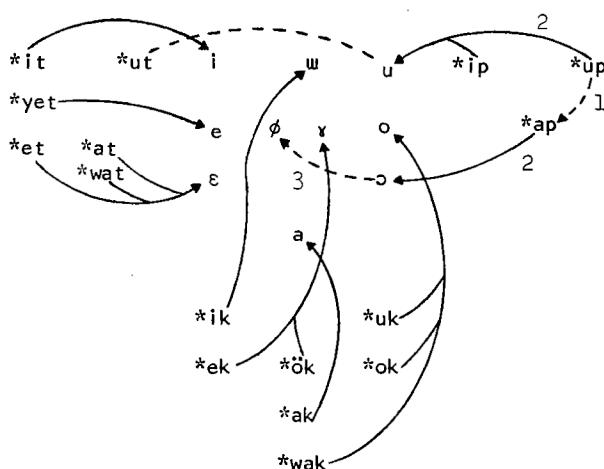
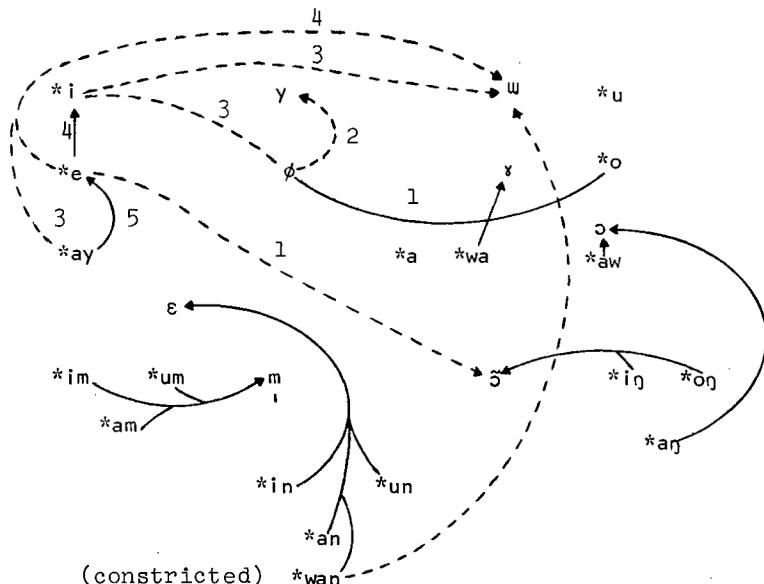
*L	Lüchün	Jeuvg'oev	Nu Quây	Comment or Environment
Open Syllables (unconstricted register tones)				
*u	u	u /u/	ጀ	
*o	y	oe /ø/	ጀ	(Burmese ui, but *L *o)
*aw	o	aw /ɔ/	ጀ	
*a	a	a /a/	ጀ	
*wa	ɤ	eu /ɤ/	ጀ	
*i		oe /ø/	ጀ	*Lateral initial
	{ ɿ	i /i/, ui /u/	ጀ	*Dental Affricate/Fricative initial
	{ i	i /i/	ጀ	elsewhere
*e	{ u	ui /u/	ጀ	with *r, initial or medial
	{ ɔ	ah /ɔ/	ጀ	*n initial
	{ i	i /i/	ጀ	elsewhere

*L	Lüchün	Jeuvg'oev	Nu Quây	Comment or Environment
(Open Syllables Continued)				
*ay	e w i	e /e/ ui /w/ i /i/	e u i	*Dental Affricate initial *Velar + *-y- initial with *r, initial or medial elsewhere
Nasal-Final (unrestricted register tones)				
*im	ɔ	m /m/	ung	(the differences in
*um	ɔ	m /m/	ung/ong/ông	Nu Quây are based on
*am	ɔ	m /m/	ông	limited data: a total
*wam	ɔ	m /m/	ong	of ten forms)
*in	e	eh /ɛ/	i	
*un		eh /ɛ/	e	
*an	e	eh /ɛ/	e	
*wan		ui /w/ eh /ɛ/	u e	*m initial *fricative initials
*in̥	ɔ	ah /ɔ/	ang	
*on̥	ɔ	ah /ɔ/	ang	
*əŋ	o	aw /ɔ/	o	
(*waŋ merges with *əŋ or *on̥)				
Stop-final (constricted register tones)				
*ip	u	u /u/	u	
*up	u	u /u/	u	(sometimes merges with *ap instead)
*ap	o	aw /ɔ/ oe /ɸ/	ô/o	rare, but cf. fold (695) with both
*it	i	i /i/	i	
*yet		e /e/	ê	rare, but cf. bamboo shoot (296)
*et	e	eh /ɛ/	ê	
*ut	u	u /u/ eu /y/	ø	*Palatal initial elsewhere
*at/wat	e	eh /ɛ/	ê	
*ik	l	ui /w/	u	
*ek		eu /y/	o	
*ök	y w	eu /y/ ui /w/	ø	(this rhyme may simply represent variation be- tween *ek and *ok in *L)
*uk	o	o /o/	ô	Note that Lüchün distin- guishes *uk and *ok, un- like Jeuvg'oev; but the
*ok	u	o /o/	ô	reflexes are the opposite
*ak	a	a /a/	a	of the Lahu.
*wak	u	o /o/	u/ô	

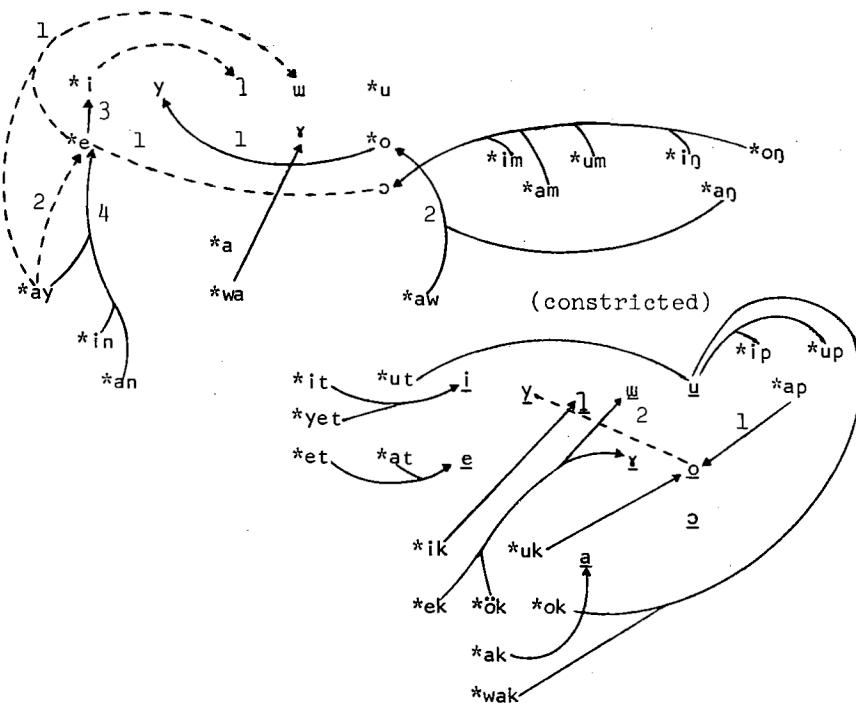
It should be strongly emphasized that the attested Akha forms often show irregularities in rhyme development in the case of particular lexical items, implying that the *rhyme for Akoid was different from that proposed for *L in Bradley 1975a and herein.

The developments from *L to the various Akha dialects are summarized in the following diagrams. Solid lines represent regular or 'elsewhere' developments, and broken lines represent partial, conditioned developments. Underlining is used to represent constriction. Order is shown by numbers associated with lines. When no lines proceed from a *rhyme, its reflex is similar to the postulated *L reconstruction, e.g. *u > u is not shown.

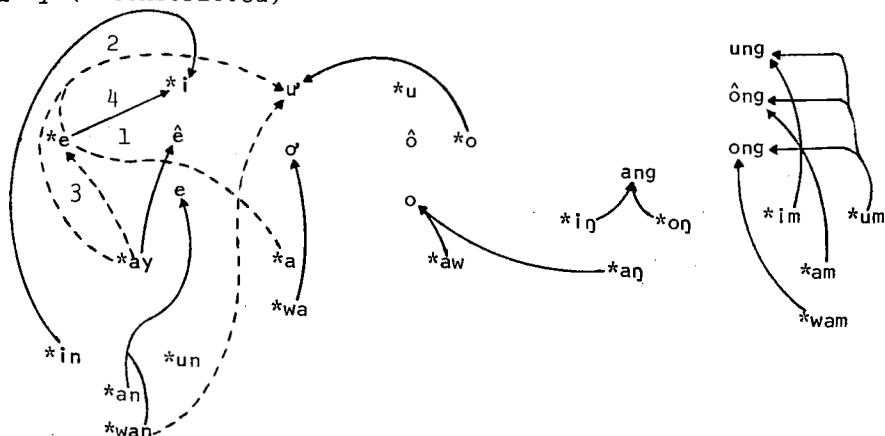
Jeuvg'oev (unconstricted)

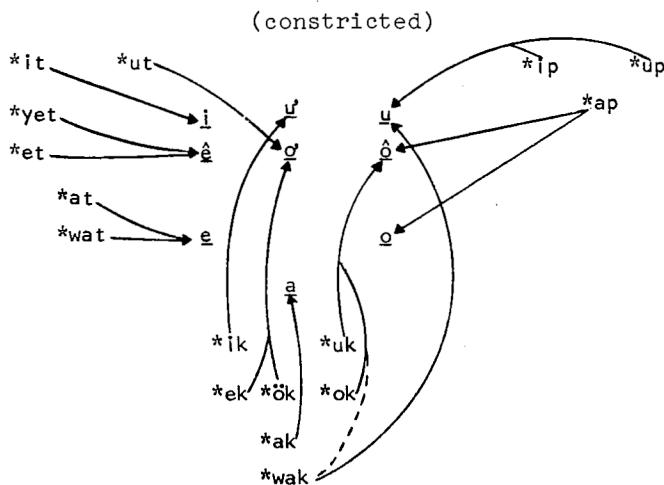


Lüchün (unconstricted)



Nu Quây (unconstricted)





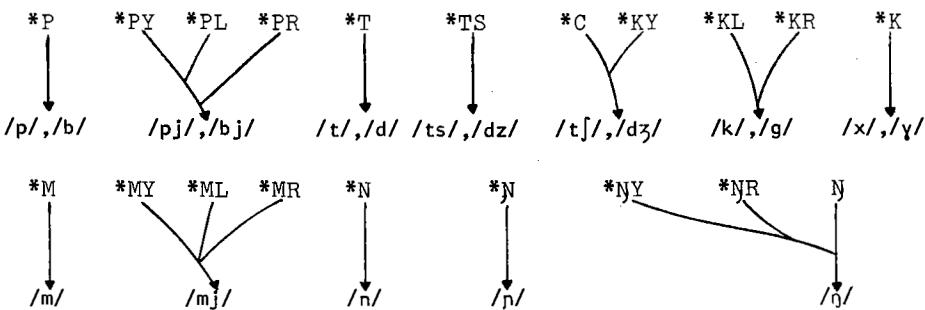
The parallelism of developments is clear.

There are fewer differences between Akha dialects in the developments of *L initials than there are in the developments of *L rhymes. Southern Loloish languages generally are rather conservative in the position of articulation of reflexes of *L initials; but there have been many mergers among *L manners of articulation in the Southern Loloish reflexes.

For *Stops, five *positions of articulation are reconstructed in various sources; using the voiceless unaspirate to represent the class, they are *P, *T, *TS, *C, and *K. In addition, as noted in Matisoff 1973, *P and *K positions have three cluster possibilities with *medials *-y-, *-r-, and *-l-; in total, there are thus eleven *positions: *P, *PY, *PR, *PL, *T, *TS, *C, *KY, *KL, *KR, and *K. The possibilities for *Nasals are slightly more limited: *M, *MY, *MR, *ML, *N, *N, *NR, and *N. In fact, Bisu (Southern Loloish) data is the only support for *-l- in Loloish.¹⁷ For *Fricatives, three *positions are reconstructed: *S, *ʃ, and *X. *Resonants are reconstructed in four '*positions': *W, *L, *Y and *R. There are also several *Laryngeals: *h, *? (and vocalic anlaut or vowel initial).

Akha has merged *PY, *PL, and *PR positions to palatalized labials: /pj/, /bj/ or /mj/ as appropriate. *KY has merged with *C, as /tʃ/ or /dʒ/; while *NY merges instead with *NR and *N to /ŋ/. *KR and *KL merge to /k/ or /g/; while *K becomes /χ/ or /γ/ in Akha. Some dialects merge /ts/ and /tʃ/, and /dz/ and /dʒ/.

The following table summarizes the *Stop and *Nasal position developments in Akha.



As was noted above, in Lüchün /n/ merges with /p/ before /i/. The developments of the *Fricatives positions parallels that of the *Stops and *Nasals to a certain extent. The relatively scarce *voiced fricatives *z and *ʒ have some *Resonants merged with them. In Jeuvg'oev *X position fricatives merge into *ʃ position fricatives, giving /ʃ/;¹⁸ in Lüchün there is a further merger of voiceless /s/ and /ʃ/.

Syllables reconstructed with *vowel-initials in *L sometimes have /χ/ initial in Akha. Akha thus may keep *vowel-initial syllables distinct from *ʔ and *h-initial syllables, which have initial /ʔ/ and /h/ as their reflexes in Akha. The developments of *Resonants are quite complex in Akha, and will be treated separately below.

In Akha, there is a voicing distinction for stops and fricatives; all nasals are voiced. Many *L manner of articulation distinctions associated with *BL and *TB prefixation have been entirely merged in Akha. Thus, Akha is not of much help in the reconstruction of *L manner distinctions; the development of the unconstricted/constricted register system has resulted in a merger of voiceless unaspirated and aspirated stops, probably distinct at an earlier stage but not in Akoid.

Essentially, *L voiceless stops have voiceless reflexes in Akha when *plain (unprefixed) *ʔ-prefixes, and usually when *C-prefixed. *L voiced stops have voiceless reflexes when *C-prefixed. Other *L stops, that is *N-prefixed (voiceless or voiced), some *C-prefixed voiceless, *ʔ-prefixes and *plain (unprefixed) voiced stops, have voiced reflexes in Akha. *L nasals all have voiced reflexes in Akha, whatever the prefix. In this respect, Akha is strikingly unlike the rather closely related Bisoid group – which may imply that the merger of *nasal manners in Akoid is a recent phenomenon. *Voiceless fricatives remain voiceless irrespective of prefixation; *Voiced fricatives, and many *Resonants, have voiced fricative reflexes in Akha.

The development of *L Resonants in Akha is very complex, sometimes involving fusion of prefixes, reprefixation, and other phenomena which make simple statement of reflexes incomplete. There are dialect differences in the reflexes of some *Resonants. Some such differences are

related to differences in the distribution of certain initials before vowels between dialects. That is, /γ/ occurs before /a/ in Lüchün, Nu Quây, and northern Jeuvg'oev as the reflex of *w and *r; but in southern Jeuvg'oev /z/ is the usual reflex, and a syllable /γa/ does not occur if the lexical item is a noun or a verb.¹⁹ Other such differences seem to reflect different reflexes for particular *Resonants in different dialects. For example, some *C or *? prefixed, *-y-medial *r and *y resonants in Lüchün have the reflex /s/, unlike Jeuvg'oev which in most of the same cases has /j/.²⁰ Jeuvg'oev has the reflex /ʃ/ for *hr and one instance of *Cy; but in these cases the *hr > /ʃ/ development is relatively long-standing, as Lüchün has merged such /ʃ/ with *Fricatives /ʃ/ to /s/. The Lüchün development to /s/ must be more recent than this merger, and has re-created an alveopalatal fricative in Lüchün.

In general, *Lateral resonants have /l/ as their reflex in Akha – but for an exception, see *four* (481), and for an instance of the *prefix becoming the Akha initial, see *lick* (630). *Y resonants usually have /j/ as their Akha reflex, but in a number of cases /z/ occurs instead. Similarly, *Voiced fricatives *z and *ʒ usually have /z/ and /j/ as their reflexes, but converse examples do occur. *W resonants most frequently have /z/ as their reflex; there is no /v/ in Akha; there are also instances with /j/, /γ/, and even /b/ – the latter possibly loanwords or area words, and hence not really reconstructable for *L. *R resonants show the most variation. The most frequent reflex is /γ/, but /ʔ/, /z/ and /j/ are also frequent – more so in Jeuvg'oev than elsewhere. *hr, as noted, usually has /ʃ/ as its reflex; *k-r frequently has /h/ as its reflex. /g/ occurs in some instances, for example *count* (671), in which a prefixed *g has been re-analyzed as the initial, and the *r as a *medial; *gr regularly has /g/ as its reflex. Part of the reason for such variety in possible reflexes – /γ/, /z/, /j/ and /ʔ/ for certain *plain (unprefixed) Resonants – is the phonotactics of Akha – with some vowels, only some of these voiced fricatives may occur.

There are some instances in which Jeuvg'oev shows an irregular development, replacement, or semantic shift of a *L etymon, but Lüchün has a regular cognate; the converse also occurs.

	Lüchün	Jeuvg'oev	*L	Comment (on Jeuvg'oev)
horse	(6) /moŋ/	mah/mɔŋ/	*mray ² (area)	rhyme irregular
salt	(408) /tshaŋdʒɪ/	sədeuə	*tsa	(initial irregular)
thousand	(489) /thɔŋ/	he /hɛl/	*ton ¹	Lahu loan
		tah'/tɔŋ/	hundred million	semantic shift

	Lüchün	Jeuvg'oev *L	Comment (on Jeuvg'oev)
smell bad (573)	/nɔl/	beh ₊ -eu /bɛlχɪ/	*?nam ¹ loss
fly	(659) /bjɔl/	zaw-eu /zoχɪ/	*byam ¹ irregular; reanalysis?
near	(751) /nɪl/	daw-peh /dɔlpeɪ/	*Cni ² /dɔlpeɪ/ loss

In some cases, Lüchün has a reflex of one *L form, while Jeuvg'oev has a reflex of an alternative *L form with the same gloss.

mortar	(240) /khuʃ/	tah ₊ tsm ^v /tɔχɪtsmɪ/	240 C 240 A,B	*?kril ¹ *?ton ² tsum ¹
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There are some etyma whose reflexes in all Akha dialects have initial stops when the *L initial was *nasal*. Such forms may have been influenced by Bisoid languages, which have voiced stops as reflexes of *L *C-prefixes.

bamboo shoot (296)	a ^v bye ₊ /aχibyeɪ/	*(s)myet ^L	
blow	(690)	baw-eu /boχɪ/	*smut ^H

Some forms show interesting prefix fusions in all Akha dialects.

lightning	(328)	myaw ₊ -eu /mjɔχɪ/	*b-lyap ^L
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which may imply reanalysis as *fire* (329) *Cmi² + *needle* (382) *rap^L.

lick	(630)	myeu ₊ -eu /mjχɪ/	*m-lyak ^L
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again, fusion which differs from that seen in other Loloish languages.

star	(319)	a ^v gui ^v /?aχɪgwi/	*bkray ^L
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perhaps reanalyzed as *sky* (321) *mo² + *star* (319A) *k¹ray¹, fusing to *Nk¹ray¹ and then developing regularly.

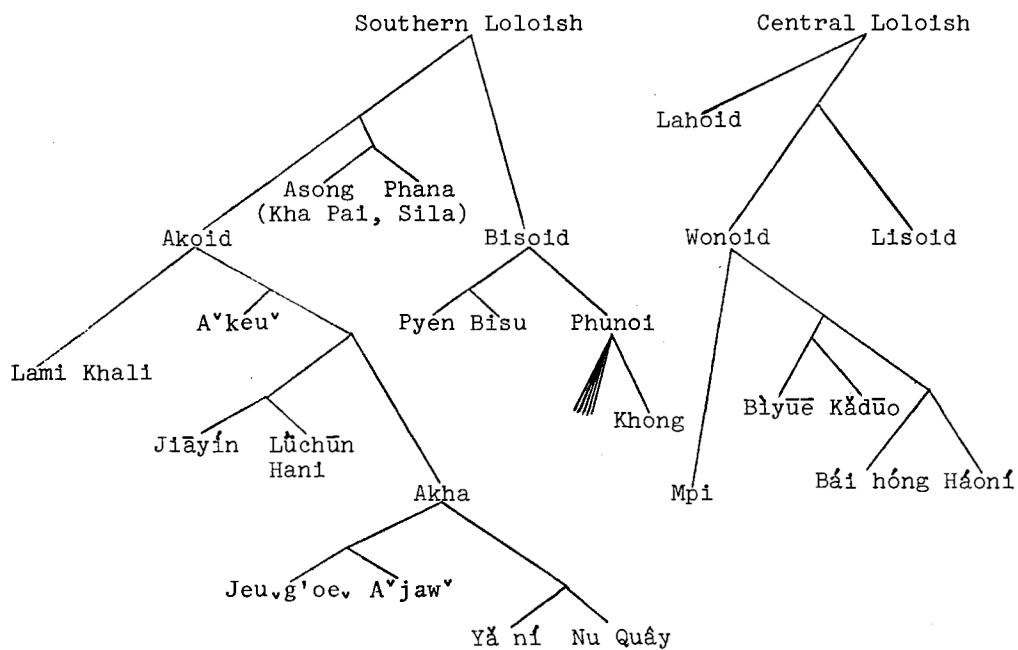
Akha dialects preserve *L *k animal prefix and *ʃ body-part prefix as such, in addition to the *? kinship prefix.

leopard	(14)	k ¹ avzui ₊ /xalzɪ/	*k-zik ^L
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This preserved *prefix seems to have caused loss of final *k in the word; see k-dissimilation rule above.

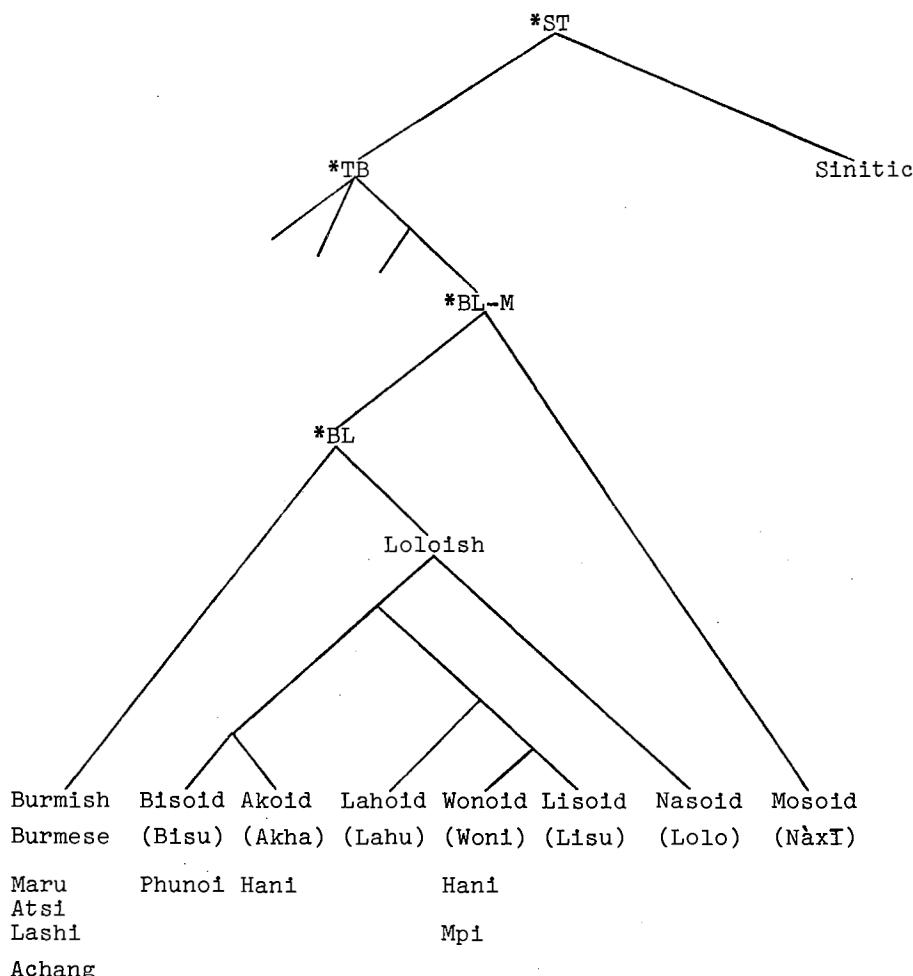
The following chart shows the relationships between various Southern Loloish languages. The branching is based on various criteria: predominantly shared lexical material (Bradley 1975a) and also shared sound changes (Matisoff 1972; Bradley 1975a). The branching relationships shown are intended to indicate genetic relationships; horizontal

relationships on the charts indicate likely contact relationships – sometimes across genetic boundaries, as between Lahoid and Akoid.



Further data on Akoid, Bisoid, and other languages will certainly clarify the genetic relationships within Southern Loloish.

The chart below gives an impression of the genetic relationships of Akha within Proto-Sino-Tibetan (*ST); Proto-Tibeto-Burman (*TB); Proto-Burmese-Lolo/Moso (*BLM); Proto-Burmese-Lolo (*BL), and Proto-Loloish (*L).



For further details of branching relationships within *ST, see Benedict 1972. Bradley 1975b clarifies the relationship between Nàxí and *BL. Burling 1967, and various works by Matisoff have explored the reconstruction of *BL; Matisoff, Bradley, and Thurgood have investigated the relationships within *L; see especially Matisoff 1972 and 1973, and Bradley 1975a.

N O T E S

1. There are probably about 5,000 Akha in Vietnam, 10,000 or more in Laos, about 20,000 in Thailand, and 50,000 or more in both Burma and China.
2. See Bradley 1969 for the first discussion of Lüchün Hāní as an Akha dialect.
3. Including Bìyuē, Kǎduō, Háoni, and Báihóng in Hú/Dai 1964; also Gāo's study of Yang-wu Hāní, and Yuán's study of Woni; see below for further discussion.
4. Lefèvre-Pontalis 1892 Ou-nhi is Akha; but Madrolle 1908 Hanhi is Wonoid.
5. Lewis 1970a IV 764.
6. Madrolle 1908, from 'Province du Haut-Mékong' (Nam Tha Province).
7. Roux 1924; vocabulary in Lefèvre-Pontalis 1892 is of a similar dialect, as is Yǎní.
8. Lewis *ibid.* 765.
9. Gāo Huáníán 'Preliminary Investigation of the Hani Language of Yang-wu' (in Chinese) *Chung-shan University Journal* 1955.
10. Yuán Jiāhuá 'Preliminary Investigation of the Woni Language' (in Chinese) *Frontiers of Human Culture* 1947 (Nankai University, Tientsin).
11. Lietard, A. 'Au Yun-nan, les Lo-lo P'o' *Anthropos-Bibliothek* I.5 1913.

12. With a few additions: p' for aspirated [p^h].
13. Dellinger 1968.
14. Actually Nu Quây g , which in such cases probably represents / γ /.
15. However, the A'keu' dialect has undergone a tonal flip-flop, leaving the reflex of *Tone 3 as mid pitch, but reversing the pitch values of the reflexes of *Tone 1 and *Tone 2. *Tones 1, 2, and 3 occur in *open and *nasal-final syllables, while *H (high) and *L (low) tones occur in *stop-final syllables.
16. Reminiscent of the glottal-dissimilation rule of Lahu, Matisoff 1970a; first noted in Bradley 1971.
17. Of course, within Burmese-Lolo Burmese inscriptions and Burmese dialects provide evidence for *-l-. Further detail on the Loloish correspondences is found in Bradley 1975a.
18. No examples of a voiced * γ are reconstructed; the *Resonant *r may have had such a realization.
19. But $g'a\text{v}$ / $\gamma\text{a}\text{l}$ / is the 'classifier for people' (496) even in southern Jeu,g'oev. Differences in developments between different form classes are widespread in *BL languages. For example, Burling 1967 notes a difference in tonal reflexes of *Tone 2 between nouns and verbs in Atsi.
20. Cf. *four* (485) and *stand* (687).

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APPENDIX

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
2. <i>b. deer</i>	cí ^v ha _v	tsí ^v hà		*kye ¹
3. <i>s. deer</i>	k'á ^v tseh _v	(k'a tse) che	xé ^v tse _v	*k-tsat ^L
4. <i>goat</i>	cí ^v myeh _v	(tsi me) chí	a ^v tsí _v	*k-cit ^L
6. <i>horse</i>	mah _v	(moeu ang)màng (moo)	mo _v (v)	*mrang ² (area)
8. <i>buffalo</i>	a ^v nyov	(a gno) nhìu p'w(ie a ^v nu J pheu)	8B	*nya ²
9. <i>cattle</i>	maw ^v ne ^v	(mo hé ^v) nhìu né ^v (niungnè)		9B *smyan ¹
10. <i>gaur</i>	neh ^v nyov	sán nhìu		*na ²
11. <i>elephant</i>	yá ma	(ia ma) yama (niu tsueu)		*hya ³
12. <i>bear</i>	k'ávhm ^v	k'á ^v (n)hoñg		*k-Cwam ¹
13. <i>tiger</i>	k'ávla _v	(k'a la)k'á ^v lā (kala)		*k-1a ²
14. <i>leopard</i>	k'a zui _v		xa ^v zí _v	*k-zik ^L
16. <i>leopard cat</i>	a ^v hah ^v	a-háng fox		16 *k-ron ¹
17. <i>cat</i>	a ^v mi ^v	(a mi) a mí (a mi)		17B *mil
18. <i>dog</i>	a ^v kuiv	(a k'ou)a-k'ú(akheu)		*kwe ²
19. <i>wolf</i>	k'ávye ^v	k'í ^v si	a ^v khw _v	*k-wan ¹
21. <i>pig</i>	a ^v za _v	(a ga)ga ^v (agha)	a ^v ya _v	*wak ^L
22. <i>wild pig</i>	za ^v te _v	gà thè		
23. <i>monkey</i>	a ^v myo _v	(a mieo)á-miêu	a ^v mju _v	*myok ^L
25. <i>gibbon</i>	a ^v myo ^v amyo ^v na ^v	miêu na		(23 + 503)
29. <i>otter</i>	ui ^v shm ^v	ò shóng	u ^v so _v	*Cyam ¹
30. <i>porcupine</i>	ho pu ^v	hu p'iú		*?pru ¹
31. <i>rat</i>	ho ca _v	(ho kou oeū)hu chä		*k-rwak ^H
43. <i>squirrel</i>	(ho ca _v)	húxa mìpò		(*ʃu ¹)
46. <i>rabbit</i>	lah _v /tah _v la ^v	shé		
48. <i>bird</i>		(a t'i) (a ji)		*sŋyak ^H
49. <i>chicken</i>	ya cí ^v	ha ma (akha)		*k-rak ^H

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
51. dove	k'a ^v k'oe ^v	khò-khò	51A	*k-?ko ²
52. crow	a ^v a ^v	oa		*?ak ^L
53. duck	haw ^v gu ^v	(ovoi)o-ha(o ha)		(*bay ² /gap ^L)
55. sparrow	k'avjav	a chí		*Njal
57. partridge	geu ^v	go(n)		*rök ^H
58. rooster	ya poe ^v	(ga fo) hap'o		(50+)*po ¹
jungle fowl	ya nyiv	ha shò		
quail		há nhí		
turtle dove	k'avkoevlu ^v ju ^v	khò khò lòchu		
60. snake	a ^v law ^v	(alo) a-lo (hala)	60B	*laŋ ¹
64. python	li ^v	li-lí-ma		(*lay ¹)
66. frog	k'avpav	(kafa) khà p'à		*k-?pa ²
68. crab	a ^v ka	a-k'a	68A	*?kra ³
70. fish	nga ^v	(ngasa) ngà shà (la sha)	ŋaŋ deŋ	*ŋa ²
71. insect	a ^v boe ^v	hlék-cò		*bo ²
72. fly	{ pu ^v sa ^v avma ^v	p'u sää a-mä		*Cbrut ^L
73. ant	avho	a-hò		*p-rwak ^H
74. louse	sheh ^v	shé		*xan ¹
75. leech	yeh ^v	hi-ê		*k-rwat ^L
76. termite	avi ^v	a-yì		*k-ru ²
77. bee	byav	bia	bjaŋ	*bya ²
78. butterfly	a ^v lu	a-ghí/chenhí		*Clu ³
79. spider	avg'ovlovo ^v ma	a-chu-lu-ga(n)	79B	*Ngl ¹
flea	avgaw ^v	a-gö(n)	aŋgoŋ	-
82. horn	uvcoe ^v	(tsouo)ù tsó		*kro ¹
fish scale	g'aw		yoŋ(T)	-
84. tail	daw ^v mi ^v		doŋmi ū(V-1)	*dəŋ 1mri ²
86. egg	ya u ^v	ha u (kha ou)		*?u ³
88. head	uvduv	(ou tou) u tu (oudou)		*?u ² ?du ²
89. hair (head)	tseh ^v kah ^v	(tsek'ang)chek k'ang (sekhung)		*tsam ¹ krin ¹
90. hair (body)	ca ^v hm		moŋ(V,T)	*?mwe ³
92. eye	mya ^v nui ^v	(mia noeung)mién nu ^v (niè mung)	mjaŋ	*Cmyak ^H
93. nose	na ^v meh ^v	(na me) nà me	naŋmeŋ	*sna ¹ (kaŋ ²)
forehead	na ^v k'aw ^v	na-kho		nose *sna ¹ kaŋ ²
96. teeth	seu ^v	(so) sô (seu)	sŋ ^v	96A *swa ²
97. tongue	meh ^v la ^v	miè lá (meu ha)		*?l(y)a ¹
99. cheek	ba ^v ba	ba ba		*ba ²

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
100. chin	meh _v tah _v	miè-tà		100B *?don ²
101. beard	meh _v mah _v	(me mang) miè-mà		(cf. 90)
102. ear	na _v baw ^v	(na pa)nà bò (na bo) na _v bo _v		*(C)na ² ?ban ¹
105. throat	kaw _v lah ^v	(k'o no) k'à-lá		105A *?kron ² 104*lin ¹
106. chest	k'ah _v	k'àng (n)		*kon ²
107. shoulder	ba _v pu	(ba fou) bà-p'u		(*Crum ²)
108. arm	a _v la _v	(la dou) là tu		(111+)*?bu ²
109. elbow	la _v tsui _v	là tsu ^v	ts _v ↓ joint	*Cdzik ²
111. hand	a _v la _v	(la fu) là p'u (laga)	a _v la _v	*lak ²
113. finger	la _v noe ^v	(la no) là nué		*sno ¹
115. finger nail	la _v sah _v	(la sang) là sàng	la _v sa _v	*sin ²
117. back	da ^v tsui _v	tá(n)tsu ^v (backbone)		—
118. back (lower)	jo _v	dò the		*gyaw ²
120. navel	ca ^v tah ^v	tsa pé		120B *?don ¹
121. thigh	sha _v pyav	chàp'ià (chapa)		121A *Cpyon ²
124. leg	baw ^v law	mò gó(n)		—
125. knee	paw _v tsui _v	p'ò tsu ^v		(*du ³)
127. foot	avku ^v	shà khú (sekheu)	a _v khw _v	*kre ¹
buttock	daw _v dah ^v	bià-ga(n)		121B *Cton ¹
133. belly	u _v ma ^v	ù mǎ		*wam ²
134. skin	ba ^v k'o ^v	shà cō		(*re ¹)
135. meat	sha _v ji ^v	shà chí	sa _v	*xa ²
136. bone	sha _v yoe _v	sha giè		*ʃ-ro ²
138. breath	sa _v		sa _v	*Csak ^L
140. brain	u ^v nma _v	u-né	u _v n _v (T-1)	*Cnok ^L
141. lungs	sha _v paw _v	pô	po _v	141A *ʃ-pap ^L
142. heart	nui ma	sík'àng		*ni ³
143. liver	sha _v tsah _v			*ʃ-siŋ ²
145. stomach	baw ma	pô ma		(*ʃ-wut ^L)
146. intestines	baw u ^v	bô-u		*?u ¹
147. blood	shiv	(s'i)		*se ²
148. bile	peh _v kui ^v	p'ia k'ú		*b-?kre ¹
155. milk	a _v coe ^v	(a tio)a tsé		155A *co ¹
156. person	tsaw ^v hav	(tsoha) tsò hǎ (tso) tsho _v		*tsan ¹
163. elder	tsaw ^v maw _v	nang-o'		(156+535)
164. friend	tsui _v ye ^v	chuyé		*kyan ²
166. widow	mi _v coe _v law ^v ma	mì tsò		*mi ² co ²
widower	yo coe _v	biá tǎng		—
167. headman	lavjav	chò-ma		—
regional headman	buvseh ^v	sam-p'a		*sing ¹
168. priest	dzoevma	woang p'a tchu ^v		365A *Ndzo ²

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
172. <i>soldier</i>	yeh ^v		ma ₂ za ₁	*Cmak ^L
173. <i>male suffix</i>	pav/poe ^v	pà	phy ₁	*?pa ²
174. <i>female suffix</i>	ma	(ma)ma		*Cma ³
190. <i>Gr F</i>	a _v baw ^v	(a po) a pō		(*?-po ²)
191. <i>Gr M</i>	a _v pi _v	(a fi) a p'i		*?-pi ¹
196/7M B	a _v g'oe	a gó		*?-ri ³
199. <i>MyZ</i>	a _v mui	a mu		*?-me ³
200. <i>M</i>	a _v ma	(a ma) a ma (a ma)		*?-ma ³
201. <i>F</i>	a _v da	(a da)a ta (a ta)		*?-dya ³
202. <i>eB</i>	a _v yui _v	(a ieu)a yu		*?-wik ^L
203. <i>yB</i>	a _v nyi ^v	(a ni) a nhí		*?-ni ¹
204. <i>eZ</i>	dm ^v ma	a pa/túma	205	*?-snam ¹
206. <i>S</i>	a _v li/zavyo	yà hiêu	za ₁	*ʒa ²
207. <i>D</i>	a _v bu ^v	(za mi)yà mì		*ʒa ² Cmi ²
WZ	a _v tsu		a _v tshu ₁	204B *?-tsu ³
216. <i>wife</i>	za _v mi _v zav	(miza)mì zà		*ya ²
217. <i>husband</i>	k'a _v dze ^v za _v	(k'adži)hè chí		(*plan ¹)
225. <i>hat</i>	uvk'o _v	(ouko) ô khô (la heu)		(*?tsi ²)
226. <i>turban</i>	u _v dzah _v	(outo) ù to/u - tsang		(*ni ²)
227. <i>shirt</i>	peh ^v k'ah _v	(fe k'ang) p'iá k'āng(n) (pi hang)		*bun ¹ (<i>area</i>)
228. <i>pants</i>	la _v di	(la di) là tsò (la gha)		*?la ²
230. <i>shoes</i>	seh _v naw _v	sèn no		*hap ¹
231. <i>skirt</i>	pi dì	la gà (Nu Quây woman's pants)		*Cti ³ Ndu ¹
232. <i>belt</i>	jo _v pa _v	cho-chang		—
234. <i>earring</i>	na _v saw ^v / na _v tah ^v	(nà pò = ear)		(*k-wa ²)
235. <i>ring</i>	la _v beh _v	là cáng		*?ban ²
236. <i>bracelet</i>	la _v du _v	(là dou) là dù		(*Cgoŋ ¹)
237. <i>necklace</i>	law ^v dah	yién sò		—
238. <i>button</i>	peh ^v taw _v	p'iét tsú		(*Cdup ²)
239. <i>covrie</i>	ju ^v ma/hu ^v siv	chú(n) sì		*k-rwe ¹
240. <i>mortar</i>	tah _v tsm ^v	thăng sõng	khw ₁ 240A/B	*?ton ² tsum ¹
			240C	* (?)kri ¹
242. <i>pot</i>	oe _v lah _v	cù(n)tsá		*o ²
243. <i>tripod</i>	shm ^v kui ^v	sùng k'ú		(480+127)
248. <i>chopstick</i>	ju da ^v	chu tá		*ju ² (<i>Chinese</i>)
249. <i>chair</i>	k'a _v bo ^v / nui ^v gaw _v	khò bo (na gà)		*kum ²
250. <i>table</i>	haw _v jeh	(padopato)(daukha)		—

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
251. <i>dish</i>	k'm _v ma _v	(hò cù)k'ôma		(*?byap ^H)
253. <i>basket</i>	k'a^jo _v /k'a^ka ^v pɔ̄ thú (pa thou)		253A	*krak ^H
256. <i>mat</i>	gaw _v pu/hu ^v seu	cò p'u (oua fou)		*Ngv ² ?pu ³
257. <i>knife</i>	mi ceh ^v	mìà/mià shōng (mia)	257B	*smi (a) ³
260. <i>axe</i>	deu ^v ha _v	tsí		*cin ²
264. <i>bow</i>	ca _v oe _v			*le ²
265. <i>crossbow</i>	ka ^v	(ka)		*krak ^H
266. <i>arrow</i>	ka ^v mya _v	(ka mia)	266A	*Cmla ²
267. <i>gun</i>	mi _v beu ^v	mìà bu		(329+704)
275. <i>banana</i>	nga beh ^v	ngà be a sì	275B	*sŋak ^H
276. <i>bean</i>	a ^v nui ^v /a ^v beh ^v	a bẹ haricots	a _v n <u>w</u> -	*snöök ^H
277. <i>chilli</i>	la ^v pi ^v	là p'i		(area)
278. <i>fruit</i>	a ^v si _v	(a si) a sì	a _v si _v	*si ²
279. <i>rice (grains)</i>	k'aw/ceh ^v pyu ^v			*kaw ³
280. <i>rice (paddy)</i>	ceh ^v	ho chè (tchè)	tshe _v I	*can ¹
281. <i>rice (cooked)</i>	haw _v	ho (ho)	ho _v	281B *haŋ ²
282. <i>cabbage</i>	g'aw _v pa _v	gò(n)pa		*ran ²
284. <i>taro</i>	mah _v			*?mun ¹
286. <i>garlic</i>	seh ^v pu ^v	(saipo)		*swan ¹
287. <i>liquor</i>	ji ^v ba _v	(dji ba) chi pa knife		*Nji ¹
290. <i>corn</i>	a ^v du	(a tou) a tu		(* ja ¹ Ckok ^L)
292. <i>potato</i>	a lu ^v siv yav ^v siv	bìu ma		(loan)
295. <i>bamboo</i>	za ^v baw ^v	hàbó/ga	295A	*wa ²
296. <i>b. shoot</i>	a ^v bye _v	hà bék		*smyet ^L
301. <i>flower</i>	a ^v yeh ^v	(aje) a ye	a _v je _v -	*Cwat ^H
302. <i>grass</i>	mo _v /ja ^v ga ^v	(ia mou) ù chy	dza _v γ <u>ya</u> J (T-1,2)	*Cmrok ^L
303. <i>tree</i>	a ^v baw ^v	(bo) a bō (a bō)	303B	*baŋ ¹
304. <i>branch</i>	a ^v pya _v /a _v la _v	a la		(*Cgak ^L)
305. <i>leaf</i>	a ^v pə _v	(a pa) a pə	a _v p <u>ə</u> J	*Cpak ^L
306. <i>root</i>	du _v ci ^v	a tsí	306A	*Nce ¹
307. <i>thorn</i>	a ^v gah	dá tsia		(*cu ²)
308. <i>seed</i>	a ^v yoe _v		308A	*yo ²
309. <i>bark</i>	ba _v k'ō _v		a _v xo _v - (V-2)	Cguk ^L
312. <i>mountain</i>	gaw _v jaw _v	(ga da) cô-chò (ga da)		(*kan ¹)
313. <i>valley</i>	g'avlaw _v	lô dà		(*Ckuk ^L)
314. <i>river</i>	law ^v ba _v	(lo ma) lô ma		*laŋ ¹
317. <i>sun</i>	nah ^v ma	(no ma) ná(n)ma (namma)	317-2	*(?ne ¹)

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
318. moon	ba la	(pa la) pá la (pela)		*b-la ³
319. star	a ^v gui ^v	(a goeu) a cū (agheu)	a ^v gw ^v	*Ckray ¹
320. cloud	m ^v dm ^v			*Ctim ¹
321. sky	m ^v /uv	(n'ou)u(n) (hun)		*mo ²
323. earth	mi ^v tsa ^v	(mí sa) mí tsà (mitsa)		*?m(r)e ¹ tsa ²
324. rain	u ^v yeh ^v	(oumie·ie·) ô - yé		*ywa ¹
326. wind	jav ^v leh ^v	(cha le) chà-lé		(*le ¹)
lake	lah	la ma	315	*long ³
327. thunder	m ^v jev	(oumjichi) u chí		*gro ²
328. lightning	m ^v myaw ^v	u miêu		*b-lyap ^L
329. fire	mi ^v dza ^v	mì chà (mì tià)	mi ^v dza ^v	*Cmì ²
332. charcoal	k ^v avg'euv	khà gò	332-2	*rut ^L
333. smoke	u ^v k ^v 'oev	giôk'ò fog/ mìà k'ò smoke		*ko ²
334. sand	k'a ^v shui ^v	(k'a si)		*say ² (area)
336. water	ui ^v cu ^v	(ou tsou) ù chü (outiou)		*re ¹
337. rock	k'a ^v lo	(k'alo)k'à lô (khalo)		*k-lok ^L
338. sunshine	u ^v tsa ^v	ò tsá-tsá-nhi	338A	*tsa ¹
339. waterfall	tsaw ^v	ú chü tsôp'ò		-
341. house	nym ^v	(iong) nhúng (larheu)		*yim ¹
344. door	la ^v g'o ^v	(iu k'e) lô ô	yo ^v -xe ^v 344B T-1	*ko ³
347. roof	nym ^v mv	mí bo		-
351. ladder	daw ^v dzm	gô(n)bà-cá chông		* (N)tsam ³
352. granary	ceh ^v ji ^v	tsa chí		*?gyil
353. fence	km ^v céh ^v	k'óng		*kram ¹
355. village	pu	(p'ou) p'u	355D	*pu ³
358. country	mi ^v k'ah ^v	mi-k'ang		*smi ¹
360. God	a ^v poe ^v mi ^v yeh ^v / m ^v sa ^v			(*re ¹ sa ¹)
361. spirit	neh ^v	nê	ne ^v xal	*Cnat ^L
362. soul	sa ^v la ^v /su ^v la ^v	sông-la		*?la ¹
372. resthouse	sa ^v la pav			(Pali)
bamboo star	da ^v leh ^v	da leng		
375. drum	tah ^v	thàng(n)	cf. 626	
376. gourd organ	la ^v jev	lèn chè		(*span ²)
377. flute	meh ^v li ^v	mèn pà	377B	*p-lwe ¹
379. blanket	a ^v bui/bui ta ^v	á(n)bú		*bo ³ (area)
380. pillow	u ^v g'mv	ùtù-ùgùng(n)		*Ngum ²

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
382. needle	a ^v g ^l aw ^v	go	a ^v yɔ ^l	*rap ^L
383. thread	savkah ^v	sà k'áng		cf. 89
cotton	savlav	sà là		
384. fat/oil	tsi ^v	tsi		*tsi ^l
385. pipe	gaw ^v luv	gó(n) tó ^v (latsou bodo)		*?gu ^l
387. fan	baw seu	pò su		(*pay ²)
389. (rope)	a ^v ca ^v	á chä		*?cak ^H
390. trap	(za)/tah ^v - eu			390B *Cton ^l 390A *wa ³
391. poison	do ^v		du ^v	*(C)dok ^L
393. bridge	law ^v dzm ^v		la ^v dzo ^v	V-1 *dzam ^l
395. broom	ya ^v pyaw ^v	yê tchê		cf. 733
398. boat	law ^v	(lo) chlo	lo ^v	(*?li ^l)
401. silver	pyu ^v	(fiœu) p'iú		401A *plu ^l
402. gold	shui ^v	(sœu) mia k'â		402A *hrwe ^l
403. iron	shm ^v	(song) shöng		*xam ^l
404. copper	gui ^v ne ^v	(kouæ) cù	gw ^v	*gre ²
405. cloth	savpa ^v	sà p'â		*pa ^l (area)
406. tobacco	ya k'aw ^v	(ia k'o) (to sou)		406A *ya ³ (area)
407. tea	law ^v baw ^v	lô bô	la ^v pe ^v	*la ^l (area)
408. salt	savdeu ^v	chà dø ^v (sa deu)	tsha ^v dy ^v	I-1 *tsa ²
409. sugar	savdeu ^v coe ^v	p'ò cha-chä pa (po tcheu)		—
414. dry field	ya ^v	(ia) hiá		*hya ^l
415. wet field	deh ma	(de ma) te ma (hè dè)		*?dan ³
416. path	ga ^v ma	(ga ma) gá ma		*?ga(ŋ) ¹
418. language	daw ^v		do ^v	418A *dəŋ ²
419. name	tsaw ^v myah ^v		sa ^v	*?myin ¹
421. price	a ^v poe ^v		phy ^v	*po ²
424. thing	myaw ^v	cô		424A *Cm(y)u ²
426. work	myaw ^v	mìâ		426A *mia(w) ²
430. who?	a ^v su ^v		a ^v so ^v	V *?əsul ¹
432. when?	a ^v myah	hà miéng		(*?ə + 416)
433. where?	a ^v ga ^v	hà cà chô ông		(*?ə + 416)
435. how many?	a ^v mya ^v	ha miə-u(n)		(*?ə + 752)
438. I	nga ^v	nga(n)	ŋə ^v	*Cŋə ^l
439. you	naw ^v	no	no ^v	*nəŋ ¹
440. he	avyaw ^v	ay yô		*zəŋ ²
441. someone else	su ^v	shû		*su ^l
445. right	la ^v ma ^v	a mä		—
446. left	la ^v ca ^v	a tsa		445 *?ya ^l

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
447. <i>in front</i>	meh _v shi	mì si	aŋqεj T-2	447-2 *hre ³
448. <i>behind</i>	meh _v nah	ná kha		*ka ² ?nok ^L
459. <i>here</i>	heu ga ^v / hah-ah ^v	hi cá		-
460. <i>side</i>	paw	p'ó/p'o		*pan ²
461. <i>day</i>	a ^v nah	(no)nă(n)	nɔ˧	* (?)ne ³
462. <i>night</i>	uvci _v	ù chi	ɔ˩ tɕi˩ T-1	(*?rak ^L)
463. <i>early</i>	na _v -eu		na˩	*Cnak ^L
464. <i>morning</i>	u _v shaw _v	a cū		*ʃaw ²
465. <i>dusk</i>	uvci _v taw	chì tho		(*Cput ^L)
466. <i>today</i>	i _v nah	ù na(n)		-
470. <i>yesterday</i>	mi ^v nah	mi ^v na(n)		*?-mi ¹
472. <i>day before yesterday</i>	hu _v nah	fù na(n)		(*?ʃik ^H)
473. <i>tomorrow</i>	nui shaw _v	nushô		(*?pran ²)
474. <i>day after tomorrow</i>	sa ^v peh _v	sá p'è	475	*pin ²
476. <i>mouth</i>	ba la	bala		(cf. 318)
477. <i>year</i>	a ^v k'oa _v	gó	xu˩	477B *Ckok ^L
478. <i>one</i>	tiv/tia _v	(t'i)tì/tì (ti)		*ti ²
479. <i>two</i>	nyi _v /nyi _v	(ni)nhí (nhí)	ní˩	*sni ²
480. <i>three</i>	sm _v /sm _v	(song)sóng (sung)	so˥	*Csum ²
481. <i>four</i>	oe _v	(hoeu) ô (eu)		*bli ²
482. <i>five</i>	ngav	(nga)ngà(n) (nga)	na˩ T	*ŋa ²
483. <i>six</i>	k'oa _v	(kou)cò(ko)	ku˩	*Ckrok ^L
484. <i>seven</i>	shia _v	(s'i) tchi _v (chi)	si˩	*Cʃik ^L
485. <i>eight</i>	yeh _v	(ich) hié _v (hié)	qe˩	*Cyet ^L
486. <i>nine</i>	g'oe _v	(g'oeu) gó (houeu)	yy˩	*go ²
487. <i>ten</i>	tse ^v	(tsé)tsé (ché)	tshe˩ V	*tsay ¹
488. <i>100</i>	ya ^v	(ia)hiá(tiha)		*Cra ¹
489. <i>1000</i>	he ^v /tah ^v	(ba)tháñg(titang)	tho˥	*?ton ¹
490. <i>10,000</i>	mui ^v /myeh ^v	míá		(Dai loan)
494. <i>clf. general</i>	hm _v	mà		*ma ¹
496. <i>clf. people</i>	g'a _v	gà	ya˩	*ra ²
498. <i>clf. round objects</i>	si _v	si		*si ²
499. <i>half</i>	pa [^]		pa˧	*pak ^H
<i>cave</i>	lo byoe		by˧ (I)	
<i>latch</i>	g'o [^] dah _v		qo˧	
<i>mugwort</i>			be˧	
<i>chestnut</i>	tsui _v si _v		tsx˩ si˩	

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
<i>cardamon</i>			dv <u>J</u> xv <u>J</u>	
<i>top of</i>	la <u>A</u> ta^		a <u>J</u> ta <u>-</u>	*?dak ^H
<i>drop</i>	dza^		dza <u>-</u>	*dzak ^H
<i>pen</i>	ku^		ku <u>-</u>	
<i>ear of grain</i>	ceh^ nm^		no <u>L</u>	(?) *nam ¹
<i>bug</i>	boe <u>v</u> ha <u>v</u> / boe <u>v</u> k 'a <u>v</u>		by <u>J</u> za <u>J</u> I-2	
502. <i>red</i>	(yaw)ne^	(ione) yo n̄é	ŋi <u>L</u>	*?ni ¹
503. <i>black</i>	(yaw)na^	(io na) yo n̄a	na <u>-</u>	*Cnak ^H
506. <i>yellow</i>	(yaw) shui^	(io s'œu) yotchú	s <u>L</u>	*hrwe ¹
507. <i>white</i>	(yaw)pyu^	(io pa) yo pa	phju <u>-</u>	*plu ¹
508. <i>green</i>	(yaw)nyoe^	(io ho) yo nh̄e		*?no ¹
509. <i>grey</i>	(yaw)pui^	(io p'ou) yotp'u (blue)		*pe ¹
512. <i>smell good</i>	yaw saw	yɔtso		—
513. <i>smell bad</i>	yaw sha^	beh <u>A</u> la <u>A</u> -eu	no <u>L</u>	*?nam ¹
514. <i>cold</i>	ga^ -eu		ga <u>-</u>	* grak ^H
515. <i>cool</i>	yaw tseh <u>A</u>		tse <u>-</u>	(*Ngaw ¹)
516. <i>warm</i>	yaw lm^		lo <u>L</u>	*lum ¹
517. <i>hot</i>	tsa^ -eu	tsá (tia)		(cf. 338)
520. <i>ashamed</i>	sha <u>A</u> daw^ -eu	cha tó		*srak ^L ?daŋ ¹
523. <i>tired</i>	g'a doe^ doe^ -eu		t <u>χ</u> ha <u>J</u>	—
524. <i>angry</i>	nui ma peh^	nurma p'è		(*?(d)zup ^H)
526. <i>narrow</i>	na <u>A</u> -eu	yɔthè	na <u>J</u>	*?nak ^L
527. <i>wide</i>	yaw je^	yɔké(g)		*glay ¹
528. <i>soft</i>	nah <u>v</u> -eu	yɔbe	no <u>J</u>	*Cnu ²
529. <i>hard</i>	g'ah^ -eu/ k'a^ -eu	yɔ-gång (n)	x <u>A</u> -	(Dai)
530. <i>flat/thin</i>	ba <u>v</u> -eu	yɔbà	ba <u>J</u>	*?bra ²
531. <i>thick</i>	tu^ -eu	yɔthu		*tu ¹
532. <i>fat (v)</i>	tsu^ -eu	yɔtsú	tshu <u>-</u>	*tsu ¹
533. <i>thin (person)</i>	yaw jeh	yɔhi <u>A</u>		533B *Cjok ^L
535. <i>old (person)</i>	maw <u>v</u> -eu	mò	mo <u>J</u>	*man ²
536. <i>new</i>	yaw shui <u>A</u>		s <u>L</u>	*Cfik ^L
538. <i>straight</i>	daw^ coe	yɔto	do <u>L</u>	538A *(C)dwaŋ ¹
539. <i>crooked</i>	g'o <u>A</u> -eu	{ chì	γ <u>L</u>	*gok ^L
540. <i>wet</i>	nyi <u>v</u> le^ -eu/ a <u>v</u> -eu	{ k'iia pu get wet	d <u>χ</u> e <u>-</u>	540A *(C)nat ^{L/H}
541. <i>dry</i>	gui -eu/ko^ -eu		gw <u>-</u>	541B *gwe ³

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
543. sharp <i>dry in sun</i>	ta [^] -eu		ta [^]	*tak ^H
547. full	byah-eu		lo ^J	(?) *lap ^L
548. spicy <i>astringent</i>	pi ^v -eu	yaw peh ^v	bjo ^J	*Nbliŋ ³
550. bitter	k'a _v -eu	yɔk'ū	tshi ^J	(loan)
551. sweet	cœ ^v -eu	yɔtsō ^v	phe ^J	—
552. rotten	bu _v -eu		xə ^J	*ka ²
			tchu ^J V	*kyo ¹
			(dze ^J rot)	552A *Nbup ^L
553. alive	deh _v -eu		de ^J	*dat ^L
554. beautiful	haw mui _v -eu	yɔchā		— z
556. bright	bya-eu	yɔcū		*ba ³
557. crazy	u _v (i ^v)-eu	chò thàng		557A *ru ²
558. dirty <i>clean</i>	ci ^v jaw _v -eu	mà shó		558A *kre ²
	yaw shaw ^v	yɔsho'		—
559. drunk	(ji ^v ba ^v)yeh _v -eu	chí pà yiɛn		*yet ^L
560. enough	lo _v -eu	lò	lu ^J	*lok ^L
561. expensive	yaw k'a [^]	p'ò nhì		561A *kak ^H
562. fast	gah ^v -eu/ yaw kaw ^v	ðk'ò		562A *Ngil ¹
563. good	yaw mui _v	yɔmùng yɔsa (meu)	mw ^J	563A *?mwan ²
564. heavy <i>light</i>	yaw kah	yɔk'iang		(*Cle ²)
	yaw pya ^v	yo piá		—
566. lazy	bya ^v -eu/doe ^v -eu	nhé-gòra		*Nbyan ²
567. round	g'aw ^v -eu	yɔ lăng(n)		*wɔŋ ² (area)
569. strong	deu ^v -eu/ g'avk'a [^] -eu	ngà(n)kha(n)pô		—
571. blind	mya [^] beh _v beh _v -eu	mia biə		(*Cju(k))
572. dumb	a _v byah _v / avdzaw _v	a chô		(*a ²)
573. deaf	(na _v baw ^v) baw _v -eu	nà bò		*ban ²
576. cough	tsoev-eu	ɔsɔsɔ	tshy ^J	576A *tso ²
577. vomit	peh _v -eu	ù pe pe	pe ^J	*Cpat ^L
583. hear	ga _v -eu	(há hà)	ga ^J	*gra ²
584. itch	dzui ^v -eu		dz ^J	584B *Ntsik ^H
585. scratch <i>rake</i>	pya [^] eu	pia		prak ^H
	ka [^] -eu		ka ^J	Nkrak ^H
586. dream	yu _v ma [^] ma [^] -eu		ju ^J ma ^J	*Cmak ^H
587. think	noev-eu du ^v -eu			(*Ndaŋ ²)
589. remember	jui ^v -eu/noev	noè thà		(*Ndaŋ ²)
	tav _v -eu			

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
590. know	siv-eu	sì nha	sì	*si ²
591. forget	ngeh ^v -eu	nghe		(*me ³)
593. understand	sivnya-eu	(sì nhă)		(*lin ¹)
594. look at	haw-eu	hô	xu ¹	594B *haŋ ³
595. look for	sha ^v -eu	tsô [?]		*k-ra ¹
596. see	maw ^v -eu	mô	xu ¹ mo ¹	*?mraŋ ¹
597. be born	baw-eu	p'ù		*baw ³
598. live	jaw ^v -eu	chô		*jya ²
599. die	shi ^v -eu	(s'i)shí-ɔ		*ʃe ¹
601. borrow (money)	pa ^v -eu	p'á		*kye ²
602. exchange	pa ^v -eu	p'á	pha ¹	*?pa ¹
603. buy	zeu ^v -eu	go		*way ¹
604. sell	ah ^v -eu	a		*?ron ²
605. give	bi ^v -eu	bì	bì ¹	*be ²
606. take	yu ^v -eu	yú		*yu ¹
609. get	za-eu	ya		*ra ³
610. have/exist	jaw ^v -eu/ ja [^] -eu	cha/ (tia)	dza ¹	(*jan ¹)
612. marry	sheu,da [^] -eu	(gala <i>marry</i>) (sha ma <i>marriage</i>)		—
614. return	g'o ₁ va-eu	gô(g)		*Ckok ^L
615. steal	k'oev-eu	k'ò	xy ¹	*ko ²
616. destroy	pya [^] -eu	pia		*pyak ^H
617. clear field	ji-eu/ myav-i ^v -eu	hiá mò		—
618. chop	k'eh ^v -eu/ byeh [^] -eu		xe ¹	A/B *Ncik ^H /?byak ^H
619. dig	duv-eu/ k'ah ^v -eu	tù	du ¹	*Ndu ²
620. plant	ka-eu	k'ia		(*Cmi ¹)
621. weed	mo ₁ v-eu		mu ¹	(cf. 302)
622. reap	yeh ^v -eu	yien	je ¹	*rit ^L
623. cut	deu [^] -eu/ tseh [^] -eu	dø	tse ¹	*?dök ^H
624. pick fruit	pya [^] -eu	chø		(*Cxak ^L)
626. pound	tah ^v -eu	thàng	tho ¹	626B *?ton
627. pile up	bym ^v -eu		bɔ ¹ I,T	627A *byum ¹
629. eat	dzav-eu	(tza) chà(tsa)	dza ¹	*dza ²
630. lick	myeu ^v -eu	(do)tò(to)		*m-lyak ^L
631. drink	daw ^v -eu	(do) tò(to)	do ¹	*Ndəŋ ¹
632. smoke	daw ^v -eu/ shu [^] -eu	(do) (to)		*ʃuk ^L
633. suck	cua ^v -eu		tsu ¹ T,I	*Ccut ^L

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
634. bite	tseh ⁺ -eu/ kaw ⁺ -eu	cô	ko _J	634B *Ckuk ^L
635. chew	g'ov ⁺ -eu	gó-o		635A *gwa ²
636. swallow	myo ⁺ -ah ⁺ -eu	thung		*mlok ^L
637. hungry	haw ⁺ meh ⁺ -eu	hò mè	me _J	*Cmwat ^L
638. thirsty	i ⁺ cu ⁺ meh ⁺ -eu	ú chù mè o		(*Csip ^L)
639. boil	ca ⁺ -eu/ bui ⁺ -eu	yabia/bú	tɕə <u>J</u>	639A *Cdzak ^L 639B * bìl
640. fry	lu ⁺ -eu		by _J /lu _J	(*g-raw ¹)
641. roast/scorch	ku ⁺ -eu		khu _J	*?gaŋ ¹
643. smoke/dry	law ⁺ gui ⁺ -eu	ch1ô		—
644. steam	sax ⁺ -eu		sa _J (cf.138)	*Csak ^L
646. pour	sheh ⁺ -eu/ shehv ⁺ -eu	k'áng		*xwan ² /xwat ^H
647. go	i ⁺ -eu/le ⁺ -eu	y-ɔ-/i		*?ay ¹
648. walk	cah ⁺ -eu/zov ⁺ -eu	y-ɔ-/ga l̥	zu _J	648A *Njo(ŋ) ²
649. come	la ⁺ -eu/oe ⁺ -eu	lá	la _J	*la ¹
650. run	coev (ceh ⁺)	ké		(*p-re ²)
651. ride	dzi ⁺ -eu		dz <u>J</u>	*dzi ²
652. go up	da ⁺ -eu	dá l̥	da _J	*Cdak ^H
653. go down	za ⁺ -eu	yà l̥	za _J	*zak ^L
654. arrive	keu ⁺ -eu	khò		(*Nga ¹)
656. come out	do ⁺ -eu	dùi	du _J	*?dwak ^H
657. jump	tsaw ⁺ -eu		tsho _J	(*?bok ^H)
658. dance	la ⁺ jev tsaw ⁺ -eu	nhi-an		(*ga ³)
659. fly	zaw ⁺ -eu		bjɔ _J I,T	(*b-yam ¹)
660. flee	paw ⁺ -eu	khùy kê		*paw ¹
661. carry	ba ⁺ -eu/daw ⁺ -eu	ò /ba (g)/ba perch	do <u>J</u> /ba _J	*bo ²
662. say	eh ⁺ -eu/ ja ⁺ -eu	cha daw ⁺ ja		(*uk ^H)
664. ask	na ⁺ ha ⁺ -eu	ná hà	sa _T demand	—
665. call	ku ⁺ -eu	khú		*ku ¹
666. sing	ca ⁺ -eu	a tsí k'ú		(*mi ¹)
667. listen	na ⁺ ha ⁺ -eu	ná hà obey		*?na ¹
668. laugh	ui ⁺ -eu	u'-ɔ'		*ray ¹
670. cry	ngœ ⁺ -eu	yɔ' thu	ŋy _J	*ŋɔ ¹
671. count	gui ⁺ -eu	cū		*g-raw ¹
674. bark	tseh ⁺ -eu	cô	tse _J	(* (h)lon ¹)
676. answer	ja mehv ⁺ -eu	é cò l̥		676B *tu ¹
677. wash (person)	dzui ⁺ -eu	thu		678 *gyo ²
678. wash	tsiv ⁺ -eu	tsì/kè chê	tshi _J	677 *tse ²
679. comb	ka ⁺ -eu	pe	ka <u>J</u>	cf.585 (* pi ²)

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
680. <i>sew</i>	gu ⁺ -eu/taw ⁺ -eu	gu ⁺	gu ⁺	680A *gyup ^L
684. <i>wear</i>	dm-eu	tōng	do ⁺	*Ndum ³
685. <i>sit</i>	nui ⁺ -eu	chó		*Cnil/?mil
686. <i>standing</i>	tu ⁺ -eu	cò yò thú		*?to(n) ¹
687. <i>stand up</i>	yaw ⁺ -eu	yò	qo ⁺	*?ryap ^L
688. <i>free</i>	law-eu			*k-lwat ^H
689. <i>fear</i>	gu ⁺ -eu	gu(g) nhí	gu ⁺	*Grok ^H
690. <i>blow</i>	baw-eu	(po)		*smut ^H
691. <i>break</i>	pa ⁺ -eu/ tseh ⁺ -eu	timmu ⁺ /pa		*cit ^H
692. <i>fall</i>	co ⁺ -eu/ga-eu	tchù		692A *gla ³
693. <i>lift</i>	civ-eu/ di ⁺ -eu	ba tí		*kyi ²
695. <i>fold</i>	toe ⁺ -eu/ taw ⁺ -eu	bia tōng	to ⁺	*tup ^H
697. <i>hit</i>	div-eu	tí	di ⁺	697B *Ndi ²
698. <i>be the case</i>	ngeu ⁺	(hu)	ŋw ⁺ v	(*hut ^H)
699. <i>join</i>	tsa ⁺ -eu		tsa ⁺	*?tsak ^L
700. <i>separate</i>	bi ⁺ -eu/ka interval	bi σ divide tik cay tik hung(n) khaj	bi ⁺ 700A *bay ¹ 700B *Cklay ²	
701. <i>catch</i>	mi ⁺ -eu/ nyeh ⁺ -eu		ne ⁺	*smil
702. <i>chase</i>	teh-eu	thê		(*Ngak ^L)
703. <i>hang</i>	(ci ⁺)ceu ⁺ -eu	pà tò		(*Gyat ^L)
704. <i>shoot</i>	beu ⁺ -eu		bx ⁺	*Npök ^H
705. <i>stab</i>	tsaw ⁺ -eu	chô		705A *?dzap ^H
706. <i>kill</i>	seh ⁺ -eu	se	se ⁺	*Csat ^L
707. <i>pierce</i>	geu ⁺ -eu/caw ⁺ - eu/tsaw ⁺ -eu	bo'		*Nkyap ^H
<i>insert</i>	tso ⁺ -eu		tsu ⁺	
708. <i>tie</i>	pa ⁺ taw ⁺ -eu		tsh ⁺ l	(*pay ¹)
709. <i>untie</i>	pui ⁺ -eu		phw ⁺ /phe ⁺	*pre ¹
712. <i>weave</i>	sa ⁺ nm ⁺ za ⁺ -eu	(sà nū(n))gá		*rak ^L
713. <i>weigh</i>	sa ⁺ -eu	yɔ:p'iá		(*kyin ¹)
714. <i>open</i>	pah-eu	p'āng	pho ⁺	*pwao ³
715. <i>close</i>	pi ⁺ (leh ⁺)-eu	p'i		715B *pi ²
720. <i>send (person)</i>	bi v	là ý o		(*Cpo ³)
<i>(thing)</i>	daw ⁺ ah ⁺ -eu	bì o'		
721. <i>teach</i>	meh ⁺ -eu	é mè	me ⁺	*sma ²
722. <i>study</i>	dzaw-eu		dzo ⁺ T	722B *Ndzaŋ ¹
<i>herd (vt.)</i>	lo ⁺ -eu		lu ⁺	
725. <i>raise animals</i>	cu-eu	(gà) p'a pige/ tchu feed		(*myu ¹)

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
726. play	ni ^v g'a-eu	ga (g) σ		726B *?ga ³
push	dehv-eu		de J	
728. pull	g'euv-eu/ g'awv-eu	go	xx J I	728A *Ngan ¹
729. spin	gah-eu	pu p'a o roll		*g-wan ¹
move	ji ^v -eu	pé	dzi J	
731. throw	biv-eu/ bui ^v -eu	ó che		(*Nba ¹)
732. rot	peuv-eu			(*Nbup ^L)
733. rub/sweep	si ^v -eu/ saw ^v -eu	kè chê	zu J IVT (so J wipe sI J scrape)	*sut ^H
734. sharpen	siv-eu		bo J scrape/	*si ²
			shave	
735. sleep	yua ^v -eu	yü-ɔ/yiu müng	ju J	*yip ^L
736. shake	yaw dzuv	kè		736B *kyway ²
press down	dehv-eu		de J	
739. stop	g'avnavnav-eu		na J	(*tso ²)
740. swell up	puv-eu		phu J	740B *Cpwam ²
742. twist	yeu ^v -eu		jx J	*hret
743. do	m ^v -eu	úng	ní J	*m ¹
745. love	(g'æ ^v -eu) gav-eu	mô mia		—
746. meet	tah ^v puv-eu	thàng p'u σ		*Cton ²
749. finish	ji ^v -eu	zchi bià		*bran ¹
750. far	yaw mah ^v	cà ma		(*we ²)
751. near	daw ^v peh	tò p'e	ŋi J	*Cni ²
752. many	myav-eu	yo'mià	mja J	*Cmya ²
753. few	ma ^v mya ^v	mà mià	no J	*nay ²
754. long	yaw mah ^v	yo'ma		*m-rin ¹
755. short	yaw aw/ yaw nym ^v	yo'nhúng		*sn-yum ¹
756. big	huiv-eu	yo'hù(g) (ngou)	xw J	*k-ri ²
757. small	nyi ^v -eu	yo nhí (iniung)		*n-yay ¹
758. high	yaw go ^v	yo'cō		(*?mrəŋ ³)
759. low	yaw jev	yo'σ (g)		(*?n-yim ³)
761. put/place	tav-eu	thà		761A *?ta ²
763B. ill	na ^v -eu	na σ	aŋ naŋ	*Cna ¹
763C. cure	la ^v tav-eu	mùng lá		—
764B. ripe	myah-eu	yo'miang	mjo J	*smiŋ ³
766. feed	bi dzav-eu	tchu		(*s-dza ²)
767S. wake up	noev-eu	neù lá		*Cno ²
C.waken	la ^v noev-eu			(*S-Cno ²)

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
768. <i>bury</i>	du _v pah _v -eu	tsō̥ ha tū		(*S-Ndu ²)
771. <i>hide (vi)</i>	za _v -eu	gô(g)ga(g)		*wak ^L
772S. <i>burn</i>	do _v -eu/pui [^] -eu	tō̥ -nga	<u>pw</u> ↓	*?duk ^L
772C. <i>set on fire</i>	keu _v (do _v)-eu	ngô-yiè		*S-?duk ^L
786. <i>able to (well)</i>	V ci _v		tɕi↓	(*?put ^L)
787. <i>able to (can)</i>	V nya		ya↓	787A *Nga ¹
790. <i>very</i>	zaw ^v V		də↓ IVT	(*Ndza ²)
796. <i>now</i>	nymv ^v	nħ [?] ng(n)		461+796B *?-may ¹
797. <i>formerly</i>	a ^v hu	dù hǔ		—
801. <i>not</i>	ma _v V	mà (ma)	ma↓	*ma ²
802. <i>don't</i>	ta _v V		tha↓	*ta ²
806. <i>a little</i>	ui cui [^]	mi chi		*?ə?cik ^L
827. <i>want to</i>	V maw _v	mô	mo↓	827B *map ^L
828. <i>excessively</i>	a ^v dzh _v		dze↓	*kay ¹
833. <i>still</i>	siv		s i ↓	*se ²
<i>overflow</i>	bya k'a ^v -eu		bi↓	
<i>wrap around</i>	lah ^v -eu		lɯ↓	
<i>roll up</i>	lui [^] -eu/yo [^] -eu		lɯ↓	
<i>weave-2</i>	dzeu _v -eu		dʒ <u>l</u> ↓	
<i>level</i>	deh-eu		de↓	
<i>lose</i>	dzeh-eu		dze↓	
	<i>miscarriage</i>			
<i>complete</i>	yaw ku _v		gu↓	
<i>follow</i>	leh _v nah		le↓/ne↓	
<i>soak</i>	dui [^] -eu		le↓ dɯ↓	
<i>wink</i>	mi [^] -eu		mi↓	
<i>oppress/mass</i>			z <u>l</u> ↓	
<i>cry out (rats)</i>	deh ^v -eu		de↓	
<i>leaf through</i>	po [^] -eu	<i>look through</i>	pu↓	
<i>wear bracelet</i>	du _v -eu		do↓	
<i>row (boat)</i>	heu-eu	chlo̥ ho̥	xx↓	
<i>pick (teeth)</i>	k'eua _v -eu/ kaw [^] -eu		xy↓	
<i>pluck (flower)</i>	tseu [^] -eu	chø̥	ts <u>l</u> ↓	
<i>turn over</i>	po [^] -eu		pu↓	
<i>scatter</i>	sehv _v -eu		se↓	
<i>poor</i>	shav _v -eu	gà tsò	sa↓	
<i>spend money</i>	zmv _v -eu		zo↓	
<i>receive</i>	tsaa _v -eu/sa-eu		ts <u>a</u> ↓	

Gloss	Burma	Laos	China	*Loloish
<i>point</i>	ceh		t ^ç he ⁻ / bjo ⁻	
<i>hear~2</i>			n ^l o ⁻	
<i>familiar</i>	a ^v myah <i>every, all</i>		mjo ⁻	
<i>reduce swell-ing</i>	shu ^u -eu		s ^u ↓	
<i>gargle</i>	law haw-eu <i>trial by ordeal</i>		lo↓	
<i>serve</i>	kuv-eu		khu↓	
<i>crisp</i>	yaw ko [^]		yo↓	
<i>blow nose w.</i>				
<i>fingers</i>	cu dzeh-eu		kho↓	
<i>alive, raw</i>	yaw dzm ^v <i>starving</i>		dzo↓	
<i>collect</i>	g'o [^] -eu		yu↓	

