

# Studies in Asian Geolinguistics

## II



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Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa  
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*Studies in Asian Geolinguistics II*

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## "Sun" in Asia

The word forms denoting “sun” in Asia have much more variety compared with those in Europe. One reason might be that more than 17 language groups and isolates in Asia are included in this atlas while many languages in Europe are Indo-European languages.

In some language groups or isolates shown below (Table 1), the word forms interpreted as the oldest are monosyllabic forms, which are followed by disyllabic forms or compound forms.

**Table 1 Languages with oldest monosyllabic forms**  
#loans from other languages

	mono-syllabic	di-syllabic	compound
Japanese	<i>hi</i>	<i>taiyō</i> <sup>#</sup> 太陽	<i>otentosama</i> <sup>#</sup> , <i>nichirin</i> <sup>#</sup> <i>etc.</i>
Korean	<i>he</i>	<i>thejaŋ</i> <sup>#</sup> 太陽	<i>henim</i> reverential
Sinitics	<i>ri</i> 日	<i>taiyang</i> 太陽	+ <i>tou</i> 頭, <i>Bw-</i> 婆, 菩, 佛, <i>ye</i> 爺, <i>wo</i> 窩, <i>yan</i> 眼, <i>Kw-</i> 公, <i>di</i> 帝
Hmong-Mien	A <i>ŋV<sup>l</sup></i> <sup>#</sup> B root is <i>naŋ</i> or <i>ntoŋ</i>	<i>ŋi tau</i> <sup>#</sup> <i>ni tau</i> <sup>#</sup> 日头(頭) or 热头 (頭)	polysyllabic words + “hole”, “father”, “wife”, “sky”, “moon” etc.
Tibeto-Burman	Ax <i>*nəy</i> A0 <i>*g-nam</i>	various compound forms and plain forms	
Tai-Kadai	<i>van</i>	<i>ta van</i> “eye of day” <i>tang ugon</i> “lamp of day”	
Austro-asiatic	IA <i>ŋaj</i> oldest & others	“eye of day”, “eye of sky”, “eye of god” for all types	
Turkic	<i>kün</i>	<i>küneš</i>	+ <i>karak</i> “eye”

Some forms are loans from neighboring, prestigious languages such as Chinese, Tibeto-Burman, Sanskrit, Persian and Classical Arabic.

In Japanese, there are *taiyō* and several other compound words including parts of Chinese origin, but only the use of *taiyō* 太陽 and *nichirin* 日輪 are

observed in Sinitic documents found in China (Comment by M. Endo). The word forms *tida/tira* found in the Ryukyuan dialects seem to be considered as connected to *tendō* 天道 after the long disputes. In Ainu, the form *cup* stands for both “sun” and “moon”, so the form meaning “daytime” or “night” is added to the form *cup* to distinguish between “sun” and “moon”. Thus all forms denoting “sun” are compounds in Ainu. In Korean, there is no dialectal variation, only with the three forms shown in Table 1. In Sinitics, in addition to two main categories, *ri* 日 and *taiyang* 太陽, there are a variety of compounds. In Hmong-Mien, the root of the Type A *ŋV<sup>l</sup>* is considered as a loan from some Tibeto-Burman language. Also, there are loans from Chinese.

In Tibeto-Burman, there are some compound types considered older than plain types from the geolinguistic viewpoint. Thus, the form, once used as part of a compound, later became an independent word denoting “sun”.

Mongolic and Turkic do not share the words for sun. Mongolic has a disyllabic word *naran* as the oldest. In Tungusic, the oldest form *šigun* which could date back to the Proto-Tungusic is not monosyllabic. In South Asia, there are 15 categories, and the major type among them covers from Aryan languages to Dravidian languages. Some types are observed only in Dravidian languages or mainly in Iranian languages. Some word forms have roots in Sanskrit, Prakrit, or even Persian. In Arabic, the oldest form for “sun” is *fams*, which is used in Classical Arabic and is widely spread throughout the Arabic-speaking areas.

There might be some more word-forms with similar features in different language groups; whether they are actually cognates or not has to be further examined by the experts of the languages involved.

### Semantic extension and differentiation

The word form denoting “sun” often extends its meaning to “day”. Thus the word forms for “sun” and “day” are not always distinguished clearly.

In Turkic, the form *kün* originally meaning “sun” extended the meaning to refer also to “day”. In Uralic, the distinction for “sun” and “day” is not clear in some languages, but Tungusic and Samojed languages have different words. In Hmong-Mien, the borrowed word *ŋV<sup>l</sup>* (Type A) for “sun” is also used for “day” while the seemingly older Type B might have shifted its meaning to “sunshine” in some dialects because of the

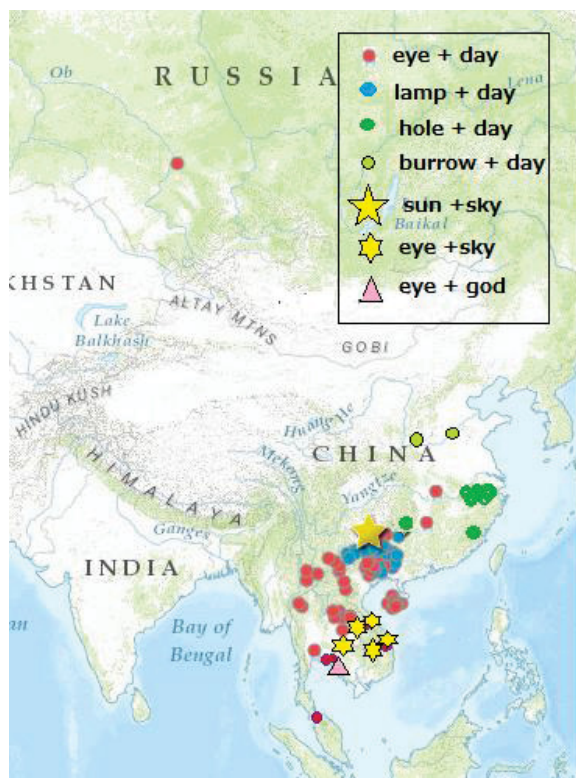
newly introduced Type A. In Tai-Kadai, the oldest *van* for “sun” denotes both “sun” and “day” but compounds have been developed to differentiate two meanings. In Austroasiatic, most word forms denoting “sun” have developed other meanings, “day”, “sky”, “time”, and “god”. As in Tai-Kdai, compounds have been developed to refer only to “sun”. In South Asia, some word forms for “sun” might have developed from the words denoting “sun, sunshine”, “daytime”, “sun, mountain”, “name of a god”, “time” and “hot”. In Arabic, some forms developed from those meaning “hot” or “day” in Classical Arabic.

In Sinitics, except for *ri* 日, other word forms exclusively mean “sun”. In Japanese, *hi* for “sun” also has the meaning for “day” and “sunshine” while it is part of a word form *hiru* meaning “daytime”. In Ainu, the word *to* or *too* which originally meant “day” extended the meaning to “day of the month” as Japanese *-ka/-nichi*, and the word *cup* which originally meant both “sun” and “moon” to “month” as Japanese *-gatsu*.

In Korean, the word *hæ* for “sun” also denotes “year” instead of “day”, whereas the word *nar* means “day”.

### Diffusion of word-formation patterns

Some peculiar patterns of word-formation which



Map 1 “eye + day” compounds

express “sun” are found in the area from Austronesian, Austroasiatic, Tai-Kdai, Sinitics, and even to Turkic (one language). In order to distinguish “sun” with “day”, the combinations such as “eye” + “day”, “eye” + “sky”, “eye” + “god”, “burrow” + “day”, “hole” + “day” etc. are produced (See Map 1: the distributions in Austronesian languages are not included). The *wo* type 窩 (“burrow” + “day”) and the *Kw*- type 孔 (“hole” + “day”) are found in Sinitics. This is the same word-formation as the Indonesian form *matahari* (“eye” + “day”). These are examples of calque or loan translation.

### Reverential forms and sun worship

Reverential forms for “sun” are also found in languages in East Asia because the sun has been as an object of worship: for example, *kamuy* for “god” in Ainu, *o-*, *don*, and *sama/san* in Japanese, *-nim* in Korean, and the *Kw*- type 公 and the *di* type 帝 in Sinitics (See Map 2). Also, the *Bw*- type 婆, 菩(薩), 佛 and the *ye* type 爺 might be kind of a reverential form because it is personification. In Austroasiatic, the “eye” + “god” pattern is found, and in South India, a name of god from Sanskrit is used to denote “sun”; these are further evidences of worship.

**Keywords:** monosyllabic, compound, loan, semantic extension & differentiation, pattern of word-formation, reverential form

(Chitsuko Fukushima)



Map 2 Reverential forms in East Asia



## Sun: Austronesian languages

### 1. Classification of word forms

Word forms to denote the “sun” in Austronesian languages can be categorized into four large types. Type A contains an alveolar consonant(s) and vowels before and/or after it/them. In most of the languages that use type A, the form for “sun” is the same as that for “day.” Type B consists of *mata* or its variation, combined with type A and typically means “eye of the day.” Type C consists of only *mata* or its variation. Type D has /sin/ and a vowel and/or a nasal that follows it, and mostly, it is a form meaning “light.” Type E consists of miscellaneous forms that do not have much in the way of shared features. These types and subtypes are shown below.

A. (V+) alveolar consonant (+V): “Day”

- A-1. V+d+Vw ◆ qadaw
- A-2. V+dl+Vw ◆ adlaw, ɔldɔw
- A-3. V+r/l+V(w) ◆ allaw, aaraw, azaw, yaŋo
- A-4. d+V+(na) ◆ du, dina
- A-5. V+i/l/n/s+(V) ◆ ai, al, an, allo, asa
- A-6. r/l+V+(α) ◆ laʔaa, raʔaa, le

B. /mata/ + A: “the eye of the day”

B-1. *mata* “eye” + Linker(nu, ni, lo etc.) + A (allo, ari, leso) etc. ●

B-2. *mata/mato* “eye” + type A: ● *mata hari*, *mato ari*, *mata urɔe*, etc.

C. /mata/

C-1 *ma*+(α): ● *mata*, *mæxa*, *mət*, *metéal*

C-2 Innovation from “eye,” without /m(a)/ ○ *tèát*, *ʃəlo*

C-3 Innovation from “eye” with /ma/: ● *rimata*,

D. /s/+V+n(α) type: ✨ *sinaŋ*, *sina* etc.

E. Unique forms employed to denote “sun” (not identical with “day” nor “eye”).

E-1. /n/+r/ or /l/+V: ■ *nadafi*, *n-iö*

E-2. /ka/+α: ✖ *kabudala*, *kalasia*

E-3. else: ■

### 2. Geographical distribution

2-1. Formosan languages: Atayal uses a unique form for “sun,” but other languages have forms related to “day” in the corresponding languages. “Sun” in Paiwan, Yami, and Tsou have exactly the same form as “day,” but Paiwan and Yami belong to Type A, whereas Tsou belongs to Type D. There are several different types found in a relatively small area.

2-2. Philippine languages: Only Kalinga Limos in the sample belongs to Type E. Other languages adopt the

form for “day” or “eye” for denoting “sun.” Isnag uses the same form for “sun” and “eye” (type C). The majority of these languages belong to type A and use the same form for both “day” and “sun.”

2-3. Indonesian and Papua New Guinea languages: In Indonesia, most languages adopt the expression “the eye of the day” for denoting “sun” (type B). Two subgroups can be posited for this expression. One group of languages just juxtapose the word for “eye” before the word for “day” (B-1). Languages of this type are spread all over Sumatra, Java, Sulawesi, and Nusa Tenggara, more in the western region of Indonesia. The other group consists of languages that adopt the linker between the words for “eye” and “day” (B-2), and this group also spreads over Sulawesi and Sumatra. Other languages in Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, and Papua New Guinea (PNG) are mostly type A. Some languages in PNG use the same form for both “sun” and “light” (type D). Bali, Java, and Dobel are examples of exceptional languages in which a unique form is used for “sun” (type E).

2-4. Oceanic languages and Madagascar: Most languages used in the Pacific Ocean region are Type E and use a unique form for “sun.” However, in Tahitian and Eastern Fijian “sun” is expressed as type A, but in Western Fijian it is type B-2. Malagasy uses type B-1.

### 3. Word forms for “day,” “eye,” and unique forms

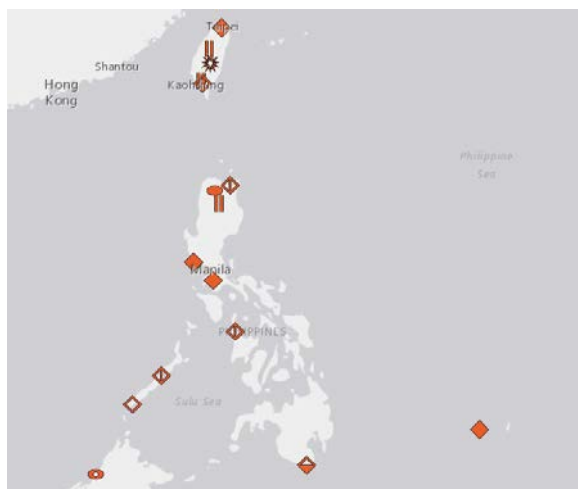
The forms for “eye” do not differ much from language to language, *mata*, *mato*, or *masu*. In contrast, those for “day” differ very much. At least one alveolar consonant should appear, but it can be /d/, /l/, or /r/ and the number of consonants and combination of consonants may also vary: /dd/, /ll/, /dl/, or /ld/. These forms are prevalent in Taiwan and the Philippines in languages, such as *aaraw* (Tagalog), *ɔldɔw* (Palawan), and *adlaw* (Kaguyanen). In and around Indonesia, there is an even wider variety such as *hari* (Indonesian), *ari* (Madurese), and *urɔe* (Aceh). In Papua New Guinea, forms like *kina* (Mekeo) or *dina* (Motu) are found.

Type E forms cannot be split into subgroups here because they differ very much.

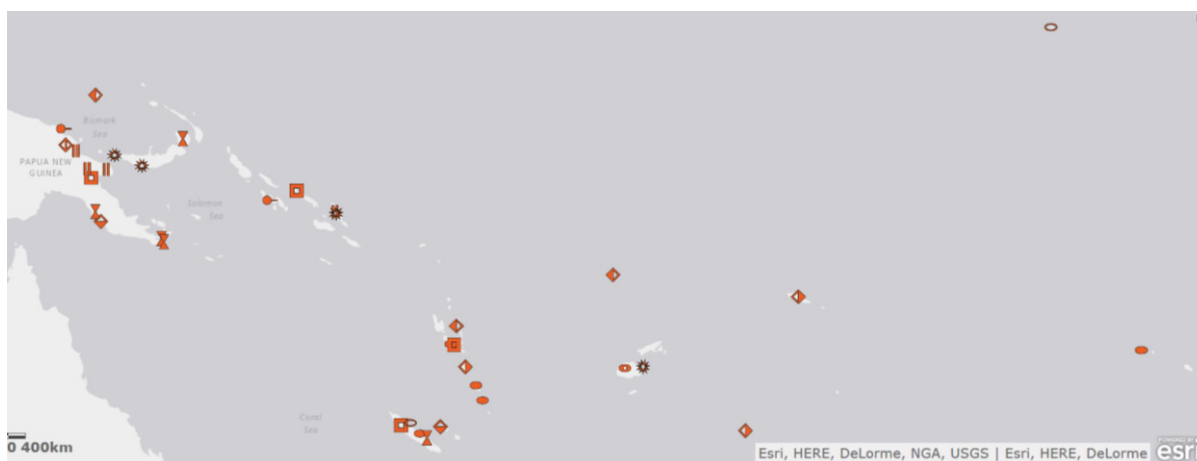
**Keywords:** word forms, three major types for: “sun,” “day,” “eye of the day,” unique forms.

**References:** Tryon, Darrell T. (eds.) 1995. *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

(Atsuko Utsumi)



- A-1 qadaw    A-2 adlaw, ɔldɔw  
A-3 allaw, aaraw, azaw, yaŋ  
A-4 du, dina  
A-5 ai, aɭ, an, allo, asa  
A-6 laʔaa, raʔaa, le  
B-1 mata/mato/maso+ nu/ni/lo + allo/ari/leso  
B-2 mata hari, mato ari, mata urɔe, etc  
C-1 mata, mɛɛxa, mət, meteal  
C-2 tɛát, ʃɔlo  
C-3 rimata  
D sinaŋ, sina etc.  
E-1 nadafi, n-iö  
E-2 kabudala, kalasia  
E-3 else



## "Rice" in Tungusic and Uralic

Rice does not grow in the North Eurasia and Siberia. Peoples in such areas live by pasturage and hunting. However, rice is sold at stores and they eat it as an accompaniment to some food. The Russian word for 'rice', "*pus (ris)*", has been borrowed by the languages of these peoples regardless of which language families they belong to.

Map 1 shows the distribution of words for 'rice' in Tungusic and Uralic. Phonologically similar forms *ris*, *riisi* etc. are indicated in the same symbol without mentioning the donor languages (Rus. *pus (ris)*, Swe. *ris*, Ger. *Reis*). The black dot in the Map 1 means that no words for rice are documented.

### Tungusic in China

The Tungusic peoples in China have rich lexicons compared to those in Russia (Map 2).

	稻子 'rice plant'	米 'rice'
Orochon (鄂伦春语)	kando	dзэəktə
Ewenke (鄂温克语)	xantə dзэəttə	dзэəttə
Tungus Ewenke	torgo	boda
Yakut Ewenke	kugduur	kaaxe
Hezhe (赫哲语)	—	bələ
Sibe (锡伯语)	χandu	bele

#### a. kando, xantə

As Hu (2001: 206) mentions, *kando* is possibly borrowed from Chinese and *xantə* might also be, but he does not mention the Chinese donor word. The possible donor word might be 旱稻 *hàndào* 'rice grown on dry field' or 粳米 *jīngmǐ* ~ *gēngmǐ* 'rice'.

#### b. dзэəktə, dзэəttə

These words contain the root *jab-* 'to eat'. According to Vasilevich (1958), the last coda consonant of the root tends to disappear in the southern dialects.

Ev. *jab-*, *jav-*, *jav-*, *jabut-* cf; Sol. *jav-*, Ew./Neg. *jab-*, Orch./Oroc./Nan. *jav-*, Ude. *jav-*, Man. *jav-*

In Tungusic in China:

Orochon *dзэəp-*, Ewenke *dзэət-*, *dзit-*, *dзəbt-*, *filun-*  
Hezhe *dзəfu-*, Sibe *je-*, *jewe* / *dzi-*

Evenki in Russia has some derivative forms with the suffix for the word meaning 'food, groceries':

*javgə*·, *javpta*, *jabuvu.n*, *javkə*·, *javtilə*·, *bilgə*·

In contrast to the suffixes used in Russian, the suffix *-ktə* is used in China. The suffix *-ktə* is found in many words relating to food (mainly for many kinds of berries: диктэ 'berry', химиктэ 'cranberry', игэликтэ 'red currant', and others: дэгинүэктэ 'mushroom', хуликтэ 'dried meat'), but it is not regarded as productive in Russia and the word such as *\*javuktə* is not found<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, in China it seems to be more or less productive:

*kəəjukta* 山芹菜, *əjukta* 野葱, *ijəktə* 稠李子, *dзiktə* 都柿, *ijəlikəktə* 灯笼果, *fiʃiktə* 榛子, *kovʃiktə* 五味子, *gaakaakta* 治外伤 etc.

It is assumed that the word *dзэəktə* appeared soon after the Orochon separated from the other Evenki and moved to China.

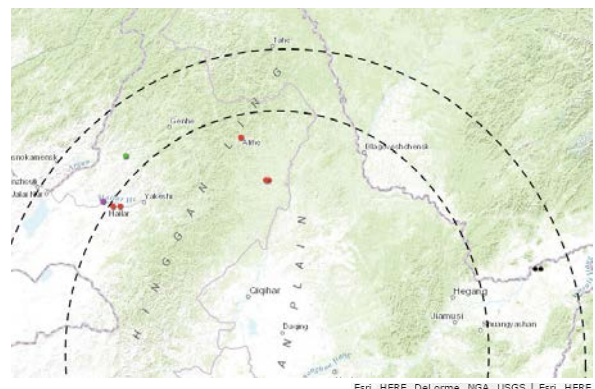
#### c. bələ, bele

In Classic Manchu *bele* means 'rice'. Sibe, a descendant of Manchu speakers, retains the word, and Hezhe is the only other Tungusic groups that keeps the cognate word.

#### d. Other forms

The *torgo* is borrowed from Mongolic "*tuturgan*", but the origin of *kugduur* is unknown.

Map 3 tentatively shows the spread of Chinese rice culture. In the peripheral area borrowing is not observed and only the words for 'rice meal' are found (no words for 'rice plant').



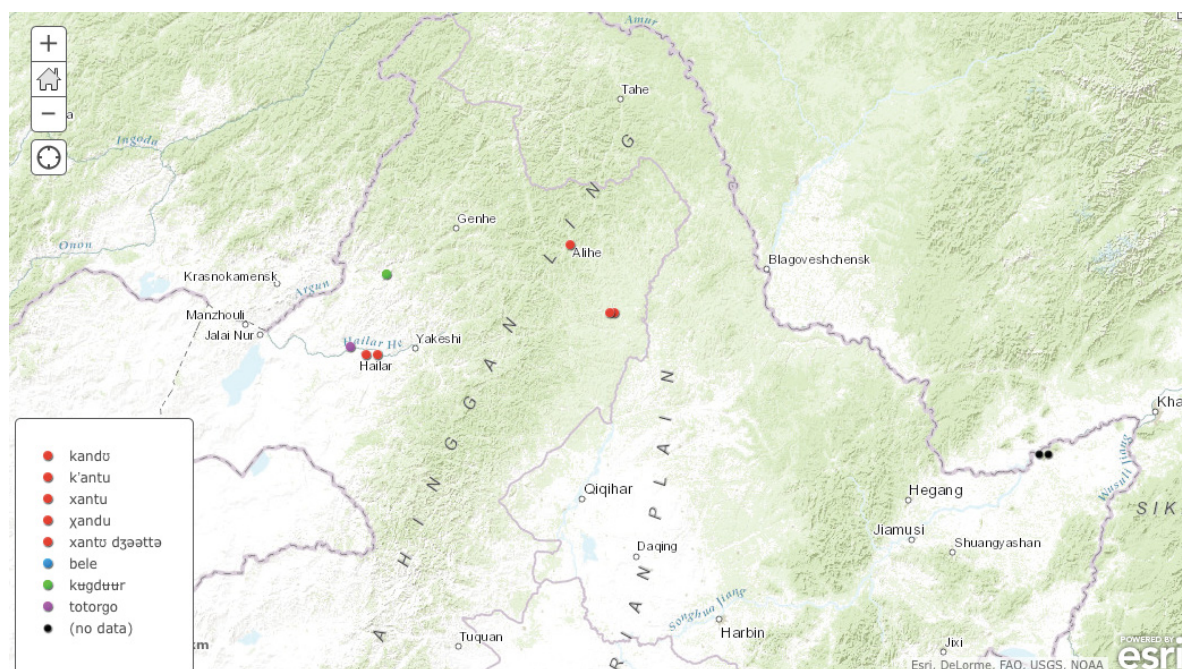
Map 3. The spread of rice culture

<sup>1</sup> Константинова (1964: 98) mentions that the suffix *-ktə* possibly means originally "many", which makes collective noun.





Map.1 Rice in Tungusic and Uralic languages



Map.2 Rice in Chinese Tungusic languages

## “Rice plant” in Mongolic and Turkic

### 1. Mongolic

The word forms representing “rice plant” in Mongolic can be divided into the following two types<sup>1</sup>:

#### A) *tuturgan*-type

Mongolic words for “rice plant” include *tuturga* (Ordos), *totrəḥ* (Khalkha), etc. in Mongol, *hturgan* in Shera Yugur, *tudorga* in Monguor, *tutrəḡa* in Kalmyk, and so on.

These type-A forms have derived from the Turkic word for “rice” *tuturkān*, which became obsolete in Turkic and survived in Mongolic. (Clauson 1972)

#### B) *kans*-type

Words of this type are found in Dagur. The Hailar dialect in northeastern China has the word *kans* “rice plant.” (Cf. *kans am* “rice grains,” and *kans budā* “cooked rice”) The Tacheng dialect in the Xīnjiāng (新疆) has *kāndā* and *xāndā*<sup>2</sup> for “rice, rice plant” (Cf. *kāndā budā* / *xāndā budā* “cooked rice”)

The Kalmyks in the lower Volga region diverged from the present-day Xīnjiāng in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the speakers of the Tacheng dialect of Dagur are the descendants of the soldiers sent from northeastern China by the Qing (清) government in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Mongolic words, excluding those used by these two groups, show an AB-type distribution.

Rice does not grow in Mongolia, but there seems to be a fairly clear distinction between “rice plant” and “rice grains” in Mongolic. This may be the result of Chinese influence.

### 2. Turkic

The word forms representing “rice plant” in Turkic fall into the following five groups<sup>3</sup>:

#### A) *döge*-type

The forms *döge* (Tatar), *dögö* (Bashkir), *diügi* (Kumyk), *dügi* (Nogay), *düjü* (Azeri), *tüwi* (Turkmen), etc. come from the old form *tögī*, which originally meant “crushed or cleared cereal.”

#### B) *küriş*-type

The forms are *küriş* (Kazakh), *güriş* (Karakalpak), *kürüç* (Kirghiz), *guruç* (Uzbek), and so on. These forms are derived from the New Persian word *guriñj*<sup>4</sup>.

#### C) *pirinč*-type

<sup>1</sup> Buriat has no word for “rice plant.” It only has the word *baraigar*, which means both “rice” and “rice porridge.” This word is related to the Tibetan *bras-dkār* “white rice.” (Jargal Badagarov, personal communication)

<sup>2</sup> < Chinese 旱稻 *hàndào* (Cf. R. Matsumoto’s paper)

<sup>3</sup> In addition to these five types of words, Äynu, a Turkic cryptolect spoken in the Xīnjiāng, has *sipit* for “rice plant.”

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sanskrit *vr̥hi* (Laufer 1919).

The form *pirinč* is found in Turkish, Gagauz, Karaim, and Crimean Tatar. The word is from the Persian *birinj*<sup>5</sup>.

#### D) *šal*-type

The Uighur word for “rice plant” is *šal* (< Persian *šālī*). Turkmen has the cognate *šali*, but it means “rice in the husk.”

#### E) *ris*-type

Chuvash, Sakha, Tuvan, Khakas, Altai, etc. use the Russian loanword *ris* for “rice.”

In many languages “rice plant” and “rice grains” are not distinct words. For example, the Uzbek word *guruč* means both.

Some languages have more than one word for “rice.” Turkmen and Nogay have the type-C words *bürünč* and *burij* respectively in addition to the type-A forms, but the difference between the two forms is not clearly stated in dictionaries.

In Tuvan, the word *ak-bidā* (*ak*, “white” in Turkic and *bidā*, “rice” in Mongolic) was once used for both “rice plant” and “rice grains” before, but this is now obsolete and has been replaced with the Russian *ris*.

From a linguistic point of view, rice seems to have spread among the Turkic-speaking peoples in premodern times mostly from Persia, where it was frequently eaten. Wollaston (1842) lists the following Persian words relating to rice:

- |                                |                                    |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) growing or in the husk     | <i>šaltūk, čaltūk, šālī</i>        |
| (2) cleared from the husk      | <i>birinj</i>                      |
| (3) boiled                     | <i>čilāv</i>                       |
| (4) rice and milk              | <i>šīr-birinj</i>                  |
| (5) rice-broth                 | <i>šullāh</i>                      |
| (6) rice and meat, spices, &c. | <i>pilāv</i> <sup>6</sup>          |
| (7) rice-field                 | <i>šaltūk-zār, mazra‘-i-čaltūk</i> |

In the process of spreading, each word seems to have undergone some semantic changes.

**Keywords:** rice plant, rice grains, husk, cooked rice

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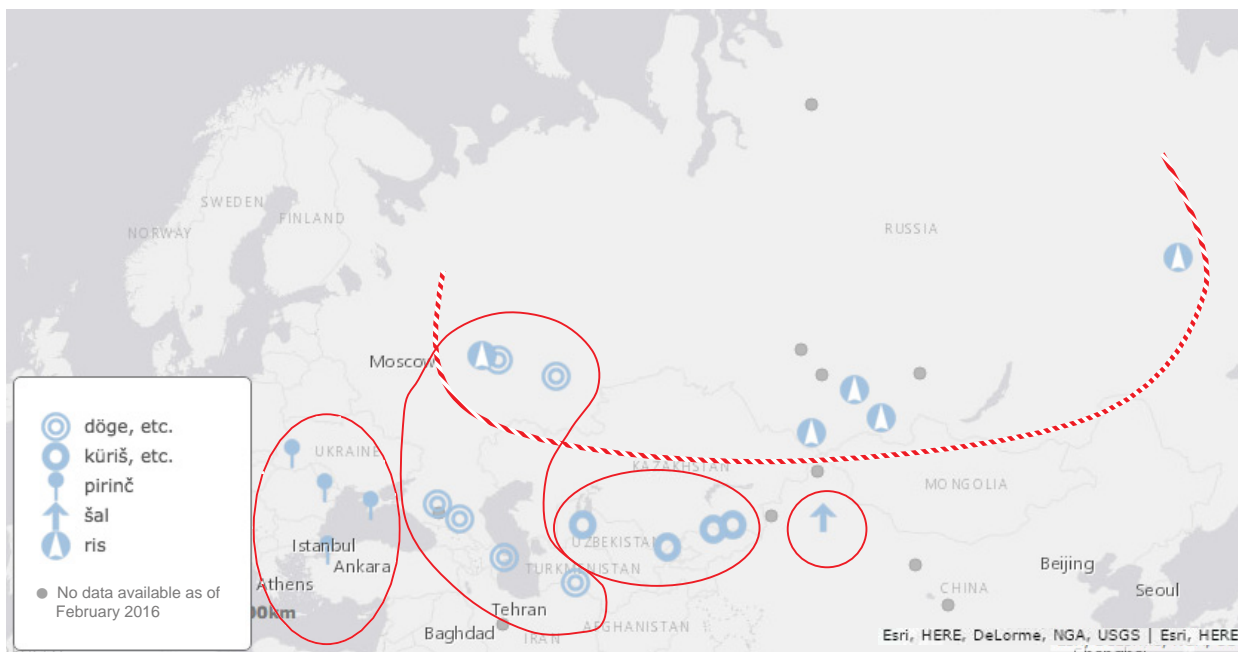
<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sanskrit *vr̥hi* (Laufer 1919).

<sup>6</sup> > Turkic *pilov, pelau, palau*, etc. > European *pilaf* and *pilav*.





*“Rice plant” in Mongolic*



*“Rice plant” in Turkic*

## Rice in Sinitic

### 1. Classification of word forms

We classified word forms into 4 large categories.

#### A. *dao* 稻 type

A1. tau/dau: 稻[tau<sup>III</sup>] [dɔ<sup>III</sup> b] 稻子[tau<sup>III</sup> tsɿ] 水稻  
[suei<sup>II</sup> tau<sup>III</sup>]

A2. tiu: 粳[tiau<sup>III</sup> b] 粳仔[tiau<sup>III</sup> b a]

#### B. *he* 禾 type: 禾[vɔ<sup>I</sup> b][ ui]

#### C. *gu* 谷(穀) type:

C1. 谷(穀) [kuɿ<sup>IV</sup> a] 谷子[ku<sup>I</sup> b tsɿ]

C2. 稻谷[tau<sup>III</sup> ku<sup>I</sup> a]

#### D. others *su* 粟[sy], *zaozi* 早子[tsau tsie]

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

A distribution of the words denoting Rice plant in China looks comparatively simple. A. *dao* 稻 type is mainly distributed in the northern area of the country and the lower reaches of the Yangzi river (A1). Adjacent to A1, A2 is distributed in Fujian province. A2 is characterized by the glide -i- in the root. B. *he* 禾 type is distributed in other southern areas, including Hunan, Jiangxi, Guangdong and Guangxi. C *gu* 谷 type is distributed in the upper reach of Yangzi river(C1). C2“稻谷”, the contamination form of A and C1, is distributed in the contact area of A type and C1 type.

Table 1

		RP	UR	IM
Northern type	太原	稻子 tau tsə?		谷 kuə?
	西安	稻子 thau tsɿ		谷子 ku tsɿ
Yangzi basin	武漢	谷 ku		粟谷 eiou ku
	合肥	稻 tɔ	稻子	谷子 kuə? tsə
Southern type	蘇州	稻 de	谷 ko?	粟 so?
	梅鼎	禾 vɔ	谷 kuk	粟仔 siuk e

A conceptual model of distribution of the rice plant (RP) referring to “unhusked rice (UR)” and “Italian millet (IM)” is shown in Table 1. Looking at table 1, we can notice two features indicating the south-north contraposition. First of all, in the southern area, “rice plant” and “unhusked rice” are distinguished, while this is not the case in the northern area. Secondly, in the northern area, *gu* 谷 is used for “Italian millet”, while the same word it is used for “unhusked rice” in the south area. The Yangzi basin, reflecting its geographical location, presents intermediate features. For example, in Wuhan 武漢, RP and UR are denoted by identical terms (northern type), but *gu* 谷 is used to denote UR (southern type). *Gu* 谷, also written as “穀”, was originally used as a generic term for “grain”, so

the use of this term may indicate the superiority or the importance of the referent as grain. Needless to say, millet is more frequently cultivated than rice in the north, and rice is more important than millet in the south. The dividing line of rice cultivation is well known as the *Qinling-Huaihe* 秦嶺淮河 line. Northern people rarely see planted rice, so there is no need for them to represent rice as plant or as grain with different word.

The formation of type C *gu* 谷(穀) may be explained in the context of intermediate environmental conditions. There are two possibilities for its formation; either the northern type (dividing RP and UR, 谷 denote UR) was replaced by the southern type, or the opposite is true. Be that as it may, 谷 probably denoted “unhusked rice” at first, and later expanded its meaning to include “Rice plant”.

Table 2

		RP	UR	IM
Min type (Fujian)	福州	稻 tieu	粟 ts <sup>h</sup> uɔ?	tai
	廈門	稻 tiu	粟 ts <sup>h</sup> lk	黍仔 sue a

Table2 shows the condition in Min dialect. *Su*“粟” is used to denote “unhusked rice” here. 粟 is usually used for “Italian millet” in other regions, so the referential shift of 粟 can be clearly observed. However, *su* 粟 and *gu* 谷 are relatively similar in pronunciation and meaning, therefore their etymology may be related. Except referential shift or confusion, many kinds of names related to rice are found in ancient sources. Some of them may relate with other languages. Examples are shown in Table3. Middle Chinese(MC) are attached for reference.

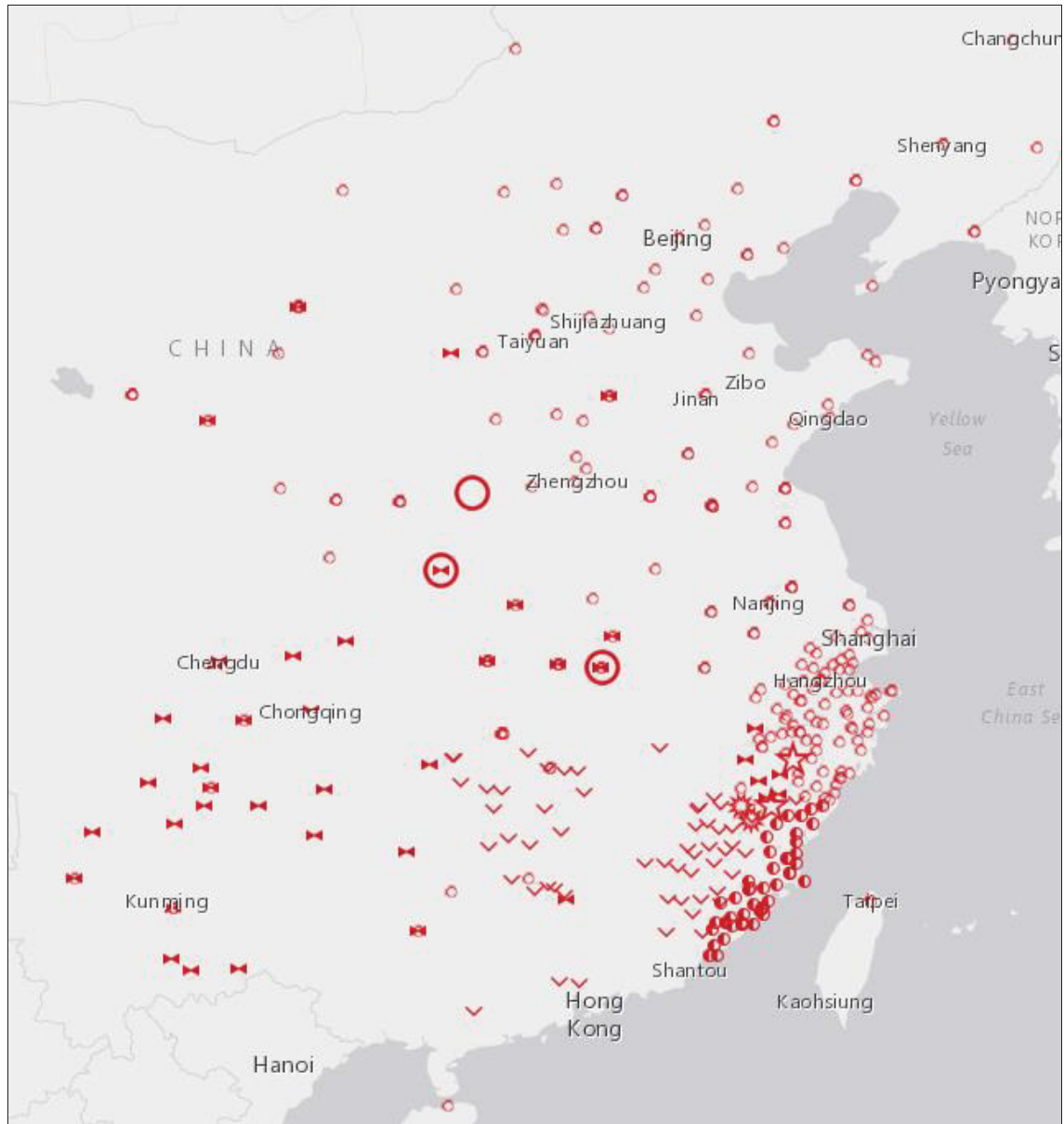
Table 3

私 *si	Rice plant 禾也(說)	稼 *ka	Fruit of rice 禾之秀實(說)
移 *jie	( Rice plant ) 一曰禾名(說)	稷*nuan /*nua	Rice in Pei dialect 沛國謂稻 (說)
秣 *t <sup>h</sup> u	Rice 稻也 (說)	[ 禾 蔑 ] *miet	Rice plant 禾也(說)
黍 *cǐo	Glutinous rice 禾屬而黏(說)	稗 *bai	Rice or barn grass 稻又稗草似穀(廣)
稷 *lǐo	Wild rice 自生稻 (玉)	秣*xubi /*xau	Rice in Nanhai 稻屬/南海之秣(說)

(說:Shuowenjiezi 說文解字, 玉:Yupian 玉篇, 廣:Guangyun 廣韻. cf. MC: 稻:\*dau, 禾:\*yua, 谷:\*kuk, 粟:\*siwok)

**Keywords:** south-north contraposition, intermediate dialects, referential shift

(Kenji Yagi, Takashi Ueya)



Esri, HERE, DeLorme, NGA, USGS | Esri, HERE

*"Rice" in Sinitic*

○ A1 tau/dao  
● A2 tiu  
▼ B vu

✕ C1 ku  
○ C2 tau ku

★ D1 sy  
☀ D2 tsau



## Rice plant: Tibeto-Burman

### 1. Classification of word forms

In Tibeto-Burman (TB), more than 15 word roots are found to denote ‘rice plant’. Many of them are etyma of the proto-level forms such as Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB; see STEDT), Proto-Kuki-Chin (PKC; see STEDT), and Proto-Burmish (PB; see Bradley 2011), as well as Written Tibetan (WrT) and Written Burmese (WrB). A list of word forms is as follows:

- A. PTB etymon *\*b-ras*, incl. reflexes of WrT *\*bras*  
*<sup>m</sup>bras24, mbrat, <sup>m</sup>dwa53, mdzwi, bras, bdza:, <sup>n</sup>dah,  
<sup>n</sup>dui hui, <sup>n</sup>dε:, <sup>n</sup>gu:, <sup>n</sup>ji:, <sup>n</sup>gi:, <sup>n</sup>dze:, <sup>m</sup>bε:, <sup>m</sup>bε<sup>ε</sup>:, etc.*
- B. PB etymon *\*čan1*, incl. reflexes of WrB *chan*  
 BC: *shain, cîn*, etc.  
 BK: *tshu33, tche33, tshe33, tshu44, cà*, etc.
- C. PTB etymon *\*bu*  
*bùq, bì, bù, bù, etc.*
- D. PTB etymon *\*ma-y* ⚭ *\*mey*  
 DM: *mam, maam, a44 mε44, mε35mε31*, etc.  
 DA: *aŋ, am33, aŋ31bu55, a:ŋ55*, etc.
- E. PTB etymon *\*kuk*, incl. that of PB *\*ʔgok*  
*kaukF, kuk31, ko33, khɔ13, quo31, gɔ31*, etc.
- F. PB etymon *\*haŋ*  
*a55ho21*, etc.
- G. PTB etymon *\*m-dz(y)a-k/n/t/s*  
*dza31*.
- TH. PKC etymon *\*θaaŋ* (‘millet’)  
*ta:ng2, tsáaŋ*, etc.
- KR. *\*k<sup>h</sup>r/\*q<sup>h</sup>r*-type (cf. WrT *khre* ‘millet’)  
*k<sup>h</sup>ru<sup>2</sup>35, qhə<sup>4</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>i44, k<sup>h</sup>rɿ*, etc.
- TD. reflexes of WrT *drus ma* ‘polished grain’  
*te: ma, te ma*, etc.
- BA. *ba*-type  
*ba, wā*.
- S. *s*-type  
*siuu55, eu55, sɔ44, sv44, ei31, suε55*, etc.
- DO. *do*-type  
*dɔ35*.
- LZ. *l*-type  
*li31za53*.
- NY. *ny*-type  
*nȳ*.

In addition to the above-mentioned forms, most of which are monosyllabic, several types of compounds (excluding examples with an affix) are also found. Some of them are as follows:

E + C type

*kɔ33 bo55, ku33 pɔ55*, etc.

E + B type

*koʔ4tche6, kɔ tshén*, etc.

E + other type

*kauʔ-pìn, jɔ21thaŋ35kauk31*, etc.

BK + others type

*tche55 pɔ55, tshe21pəʔ42, tʂ<sup>h</sup>a55p<sup>h</sup>ɿ33, tʃhə33sɿ31,  
 dzɿ31 ia33 so55, tɕɔ31tseŋ55*, etc.

The PTB etyma mentioned above contain several meanings: PTB *\*b-ras* ‘RICE / FRUIT / BEAR FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT’; PTB *\*bu* ‘RICE’; PTB *\*ma-y* ⚭ *\*mey* ‘RICE / PADDY’; PTB *\*kuk* ‘RICE / GRAIN (CROP)’; PTB *\*m-dz(y)a-k/n/t/s* ‘EAT / FOOD / FEED / RICE’ (see STEDT). The PB etymon *\*čan1* means ‘polished rice’ (cf. Bradley 2011).

In the classification above, subclassifications regarding phonetic forms are not provided except for the B and D types because the diversity of phonetic forms usually reflects a sound change within a language or language complex; hence, for example, to clarify the variegated phonetic forms of the A-type is useful only when a loan process into other languages is discussed. It is certain that these forms are related to the WrT form *\*bras* if a whole systematic sound correspondence of a language or a dialect is considered. Bradley (2011) took into consideration that the B-type is divided into two categories: reflexes of WrB *chan* (BC) and the others (BK); the D-type is also divided into two categories: straightforward reflexes of the proto-forms (DM) and their metathesis counterpart (DA). The B-type and the KR-type might have a relation with each other if the examples from Qiang, /qhə/ (Yadu) and /tshə/ (Puxi), are considered, despite WrT also having a form *chan* ‘boiled grain’. It is thus to be well examined whether a hypothetical archi-proto-form for these two types is built based on this evidence.

Compounds of different roots are not frequently attested. A stem with an affix is not considered in the list above, but reflected on the maps as marked by ‘+’, regardless of the sort of affixes or compounds. Some etyma are used for other categories of ‘rice’ such as ‘hulled rice’, ‘rice grain’, and ‘cooked rice’, depending on the languages. To the contrary, the form of ‘rice plant’ corresponds to that of ‘millet’ in the original meaning as seen in the TH- and KR-types as well as that of ‘polished grain’ in the original meaning, as seen in the TD-type.

## 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

The A-type is the most widely distributed because most Tibetan languages share it, presenting extremely variegated phonetic forms. Several non-Tibetic languages spoken in the easternmost Tibetosphere such as various rGyalrongic languages, nDrapa, and Darmdo Minyag, also use this type, which is regarded as a Tibetan loan. One noticeable point is that rice does not grow in many parts of the Tibetosphere, but the varieties share the same root of this word; moreover, it produced a loan word. However, since the rice is used for religious rituals, 'bras might spread and remain as a religious word, not as a basic word.

Another WrT etymon *drus ma* (the TD-type) is mainly used in Yunnan. It originally designates 'rice grain', distinguished from 'bras 'rice plant' in several vernaculars of Khams Tibetan, however, some dialects use it as a general term for 'rice' in English.

The B-type is divided into two groups, one of which is the BK-type, widely distributed in the south-eastern area next to the Tibetosphere. This type is mainly attested in Loloish languages. Various phonetic realisations of BK are perhaps the same as the A-type, a result of diachronic sound change in a given variety. The other category is BC: reflexes of WrB *chan*, mainly attested in Burmese dialects.

The C-type is distributed mainly in Karenic languages in Myanmar and its surrounding areas. A phonetically similar form to the C-type is the BA-type, also attested in Myanmar and its adjacent areas. The form in Newar /wā/ is included in the BA-type because of a phonetic similarity; however, the origin is uncertain. A compound /zābā-bin/ (hulled rice + plant) is used in Yangon Burmese as well as Myeik (/zabābī/), in which the first two syllables (reflex of WrB *capā*<sup>3</sup>) are a Mon loan (Bradley 2011:135).

The D-type is divided into two categories. The DM-type is attested in Jino, Nusu, and Jinghpaw, whereas the DA-type is found in Cak, Rawang, and Trung languages. Their distribution is scattered, hence the forms are unlikely to have a mutual relationship. However, the explanation as metathesis given by Bradley (2011:139) could be acceptable.

The E-type is attested in Bai and several Lolo-Burmese languages. This form is related to Chinese *gu* 'grain' (STEDT), and it should be noted that Yunnan Chinese also use *gu* for 'rice plant' (Yagi & Ueya, this volume). We can find that the E-type appears with a suffix or in a compound, e.g., Yangon

Burmese /kauʔ-pìn/ (rice-plant + plant).

The TH-type, corresponding to a PKC form, is widely shared by Kuki-Chin languages mainly spoken over the Myanmar-Bangladesh-India borderland. Note that there is no expansion of this form into other languages.

The S-type is mainly found in Prinmi, Naic languages, and some dialects of Bai. Its distribution is clustered from a wider view, i.e., a south-eastern part of the TB area. Interestingly, it appears between the A and B/E types. The S-type found in Bai may be a loan from the neighbouring Naic languages. However, its spreading route is still unclear.

The DO-type is attested only in Guqiong, /dɔ35/; however, a similar form /<sup>n</sup>du55/ 'meal' is also used in Lhagang Choyu. The form /to/ in Dakpa (mTshosna Monpa) also means 'rice'. Even geographically scattered, they might share a common origin, the DO-type. However, there is also another form, reflex of WrT *lto* 'meal', employed as 'cooked rice' in Dzongkha, which has four distinctions in the 'rice' category. More investigation is needed.

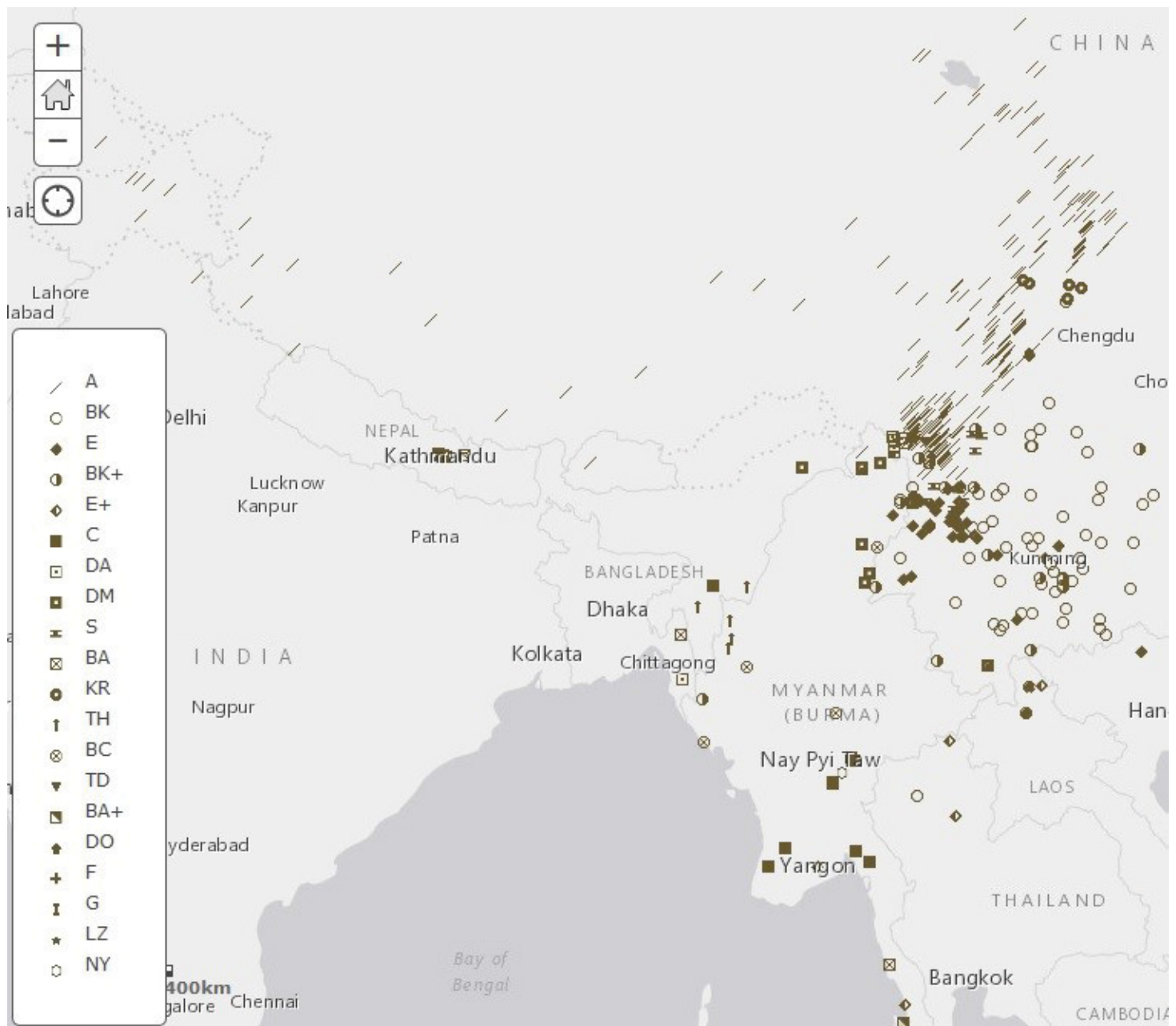
Any geolinguistic explanations are currently unavailable for other types such as F-type (found in Phongsalı Hani), G-type (found in Nusu; a PTB etymon \**m-dz(y)a-k/n/t/s*, generally corresponding to words meaning 'food' and/or 'eat'), LZ-type (found in Trung, but originated from Nujiang Lisu), and NY-type (found in Kayaw) because of their extremely limited distribution.

## 3. Conclusion

In the present work, we collected Tibeto-Burman data of 'rice plant' from 483 languages and dialects, and found more than 15 roots that denote 'rice plant'. On the maps, we distinguished 17 types of plain forms, and 3 types of stems with an affix and compound form. The various word roots are independent and have their own territory; therefore we do not conclude any chronological order of them. A much more interesting point might be possible semantic changes of roots among related words regarding 'rice' and other crops such as 'millet', which is another investigation from different perspectives.

**Keywords:** Tibeto-Burman, semantic category, semantic change

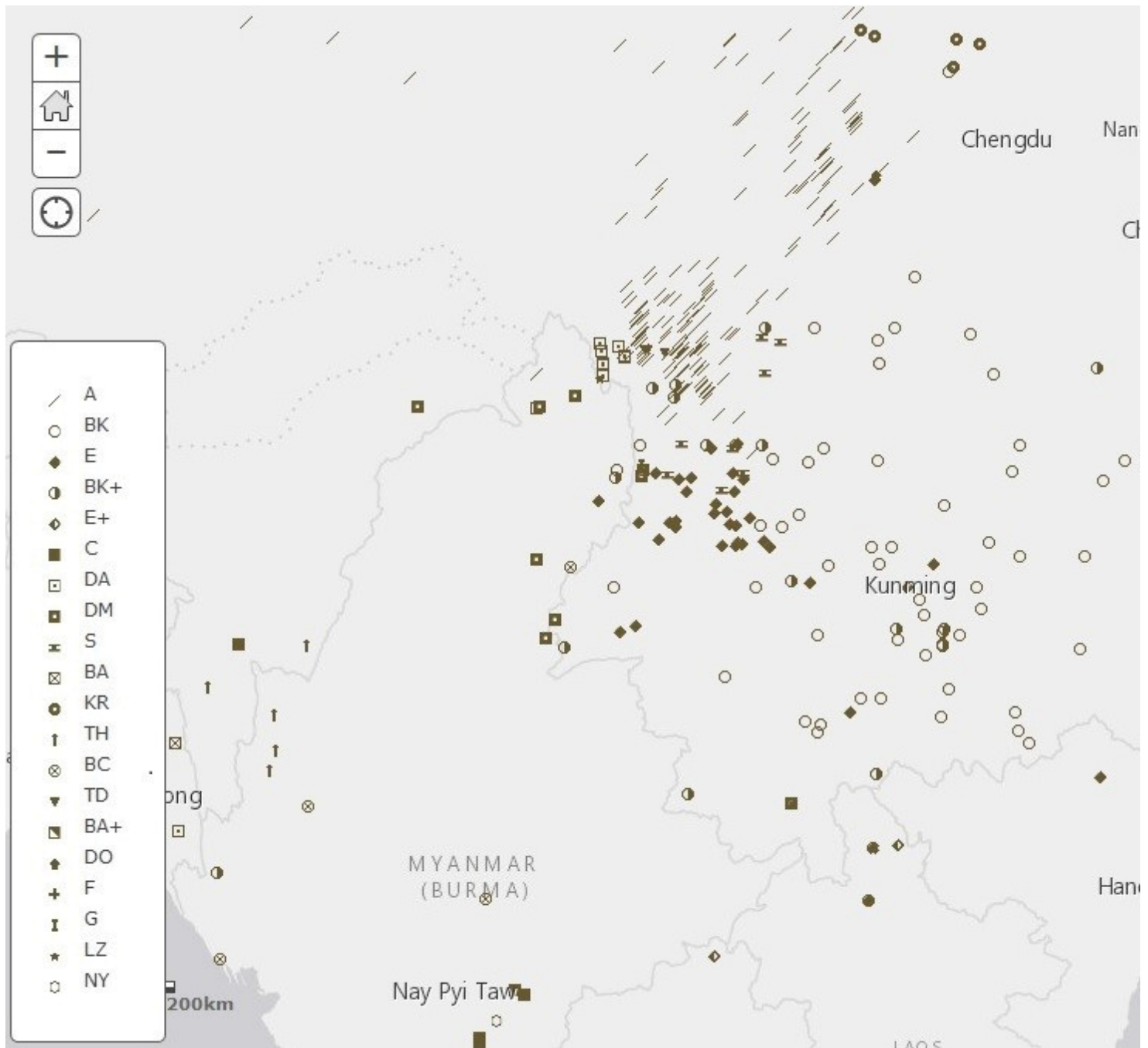
(Hiroyuki Suzuki, S. Shirai, K. Kurabe, K. Iwasa, S. Ebihara, and I. Matsuse)



Legend

Map 1: 'Rice' in Tibeto-Burman: The whole area.

N.B. The mark '+' in the legend means an existence of other morphemes.



Legend

Map 2: 'Rice' in Tibeto-Burman: An enlarged version.

N.B. The mark '+' in the legend means an existence of other morphemes.

## Rice in Tai-Kadai

### 1. Classification of word forms

The dominant word forms for rice in Tai-Kadai are types A and B, which presumably have the same origin:

- A. *yau* C2 type
  - A-1 *yau* C2 type
  - A-2 *fiau* C2 type
  - A-3 *hau* C2 type
- B. *khau* C1 type
  - B-1 *xau* C1 type
  - B-2 *khau* C1 type
  - B-3 *khaau* C1 type
- C. *m*- type
  - C-1 *mu:n* C1 type
  - C-2 *mut* type
  - C-3 *meu* C1 type
- D. others

Some examples, such as su42 muŋ42 kuŋ35, je23, ha:ŋ24 na55 / pa:i24 etc. in the Geyang languages are isolated. Other than these, some irregular forms of A and B regarding tone class, for examples A2, B2 and so on, occur. However, their locations are scattered.

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

The type C distributed among the Li languages is in Hainan Island only. If the C-1 *mu:n* C1 type is considered as a peripheral form surrounding the C-2 *mut* type, the latter might be a newer form.

Types A and B differ in terms of voicedness of initial consonants with a consequent upper/lower distinction of tone. Types A-1 and A-2 retain the voiced initial consonant, but the initial consonant of A-3 is devoiced. Type A is mainly distributed in the northern area, but it is also found in the southernmost places as well as the Isan area of Thailand and Laos. It is especially noteworthy that the Saek language, one of the most conservative languages in Tai, belongs to this type. Type B is distributed in the southern area.

There are several interpretations concerning the chronological order of types A and B.

Li (1977: 209, 290) reconstructed the proto form as \*xəu C. He says: "This voiceless fricative has merged with Proto-Tai \*kh- in most SW and CT dialects, but is represented by h- in most NT dialects, occasionally ɣ- or v- in some Pu-i dialects. The NT dialects then are crucial in determining whether the Proto-Tai consonant is \*kh- or \*x-. ...The Sukhothai inscriptions have two letters, the normal letter

corresponding to Indic kh- to represent kh and modified letter (𑜀) to represent x-, agreeing on the whole with Lü and White Tai." According to him, \*x- changed into kh- in SW and CT, while \*x- changed to ɣ-, fi-, and h- in NT dialects.

You (1980: 8) postulates the chain as kh- > h- > x- > ɣ-, but he doesn't mention that a different sound should be reconstructed for this category, opposing to \*kh- for 𑜀.

Diller (1988, 1991: 177) cited Gedney (1979, 1989)'s reconstruction for the initial of rice as \*ɣ. That means, the NT form preserved the oldest sound, and it changed to kh-, x-, respectively. This view conforms to the geographical distribution of type A having or having had a voiced guttural, since it occupies the peripheral areas denoting an older origin.

Nishida (2000:115-117) reconstructed \*khau for "rice", \*qhau for "to enter" (sic, they should be reversed), and he considered the changing process in Sipsongpanna Dai of NT as below:

13th C. kh- : qh-  
15th C. kh- : x-  
17th C. kh- : x-  
                    ∨  
present        x-

Ferlus (2010: 65) says: "The vocabulary for rice in the Thai languages originates from MK. The generic term **k<sup>h</sup>aw**<sup>C1</sup> (exception: **k<sup>h</sup>a:w**<sup>C1</sup> in Siamese) originates from the widespread root \*r.ko? "husked rice" in MK." Its modern reflection in Khasi is [k<sup>h</sup>aw]. The Modern Mon form for the husked rice is hao? < \*s.ŋə? which he mentioned is also noteworthy in this regard.

Pan (2013) reconstructed the proto Tai-Kadai form for "rice" as \*Gu, and it changed to q- in Kam-Sui languages, then further changed to \*h- in proto Tai.

Shimizu (2015) showed that \*r.ko?, meaning "husked rice", is dominant in the major Austroasiatic area except for the southeastern corner in his map. 2.

In the majority of Tai-Kadai languages, rice plant, husked rice, and meal are denoted by one and the same word form. This fact implies that rice cultivating was unknown for former Tai-Kadai's, and favors the theory by Ferlus that it was borrowed from Austroasiatic. However, if the sound changing process \*ɣ > fi > h > x > k<sup>h</sup> is correct, the original borrowed form should have a voiced initial. *khau* C is already attested in the Ram Khamhaeng inscription composed in 1292. (Mitsuaki Endo)





Esri, HERE, DeLorme, NGA, USGS | Esri, HERE

■	A-1 khau C1	40
□	A-2 kha:u C1	2
⊞	A-3 xau C1	7
⊙	B-1 yau C2	16
⊙	B-2 hau C2	7
☆	B-3 hau C2	52
~	C-1 mut	6
~	C-2 mu:n C1	3
ψ	C-3 mew C1	1

## Rice: Austroasiatic

### 1. Classification of word forms

In this map, word forms of “rice plant,” “paddy (rice),” or “unhusked rice,” which are in most cases distinguished from those of “husked rice,” “uncooked rice” or “pounded rice,” are classified as 9 categories as follows:

#### A. *ba:ʔ* type

A-1. *kba:* (Khasic)

A-2. *ba:(ʔ)* (Aslian, Bahnaric), *baba* (Aslian), *bwa:* (Bahnaric), *va:* (Bahnaric)

#### B. *cɛh* type

*cɛh* (Western Bahnaric)

#### C. *maw* type

*maw* (Northern Bahnaric)

#### D. *C-rɔ:* type

*s(ə)rɔʔ* (Katuic), *sɾəw* (Khmeric) *sro'* (Monic), *ʔara:*, *thra:*, *ʔarɔ:*, *harɔ:*, *trɔ:*, *rɔ:* (Katuic), *chróʔ*, *chóʔ* (Monic)

#### E. *sa:ʔ* type

*sa:* (Katuic), *saʔ*, *spʔ* (Monic)

#### F. *hɣɔʔ* type

F-1. *hɣɔʔ* (Khmuic, Palaungic), *hɣauʔ* (Palaungic)

F-2. *ɲo:* (Khmuic, Palaungic), *ɲaw* (Khmuic, Palaungic), *ɲuaʔ* (Khmuic)

#### G. *ha:l* type

G-1. *ha:l tkoʔ* (Pearic)

G-2. *ha:j* (Pearic)

#### H. *alo:ʔ* type

H-1. *ala:ʔ*, *alo:ʔ*, *ʔalɔ:*, *ulo:ʔ* (Vietic)

H-2. *lɔ:*<sup>4 6</sup>, *lɔ:ʔ*, *luaʔ*, *law* (Vietic)

#### I. The other types

*padej* (< Malayic), *phɛ:* (< “husked rice”), *juuk*, *θák*, etc.

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

A first look at the distribution of 8 main lexical forms representing “rice plant,” “paddy (rice),” and “unhusked rice” will allow us to regard *ba:ʔ* type as quite old because its location is scattered in the most peripheral areas: Northeast India, Southern Laos, Southern Vietnam, and Peninsular Malaysia. A close look at the distribution of *sa:ʔ* type with reference to *C-rɔ:* type also reveals its oldness due to its peripheral distribution. Meanwhile, among the forms belonging to *C-rɔ:* type, the forms as *s(ə)rɔʔ* (Katuic), *sɾəw* (Khmeric) *sro'* (Monic) are older than those as *ʔara:*, *thra:*, *ʔarɔ:*, *harɔ:*, *trɔ:*, *rɔ:* (Katuic), *chróʔ*, and *chóʔ* (Monic) because the former are seen in more peripheral areas than the latter (see Map. 1).

*hɣɔʔ* type does not show the a-b-a distribution pattern as can be seen in the above cases. However, its location is quite broad, ranging from Northern Thailand and Northern Laos to Northern Myanmar.

The locations of the other 4 forms are all limited to certain regions: *cɛh* type in Southern Laos, *maw* type on the border of Laos and Vietnam, *ha:l* type along the coast of Gulf of Thailand, and *alo:ʔ* type in Northern Central Vietnam.

Only *alo:ʔ* type (Vietic) is supposed to have been borrowed from the Old Chinese: 稻 *\*[l]uʔ* (> *dào*) (Ferlus 2010, Baxter & Sagart 2014).

In most cases, the forms for “rice plant,” “paddy,” or “unhusked rice” are distinguished from those of “husked rice.” Furthermore, the forms for the latter are quite limited, having only 2 root forms: *\*r.koʔ* and *\*phɛ:* (Ferlus 2010). As for their distribution, shown in Map 2, *\*phɛ:* can only be seen in the region where *cɛh* type is dominant—that is, the West Bahnaric region.

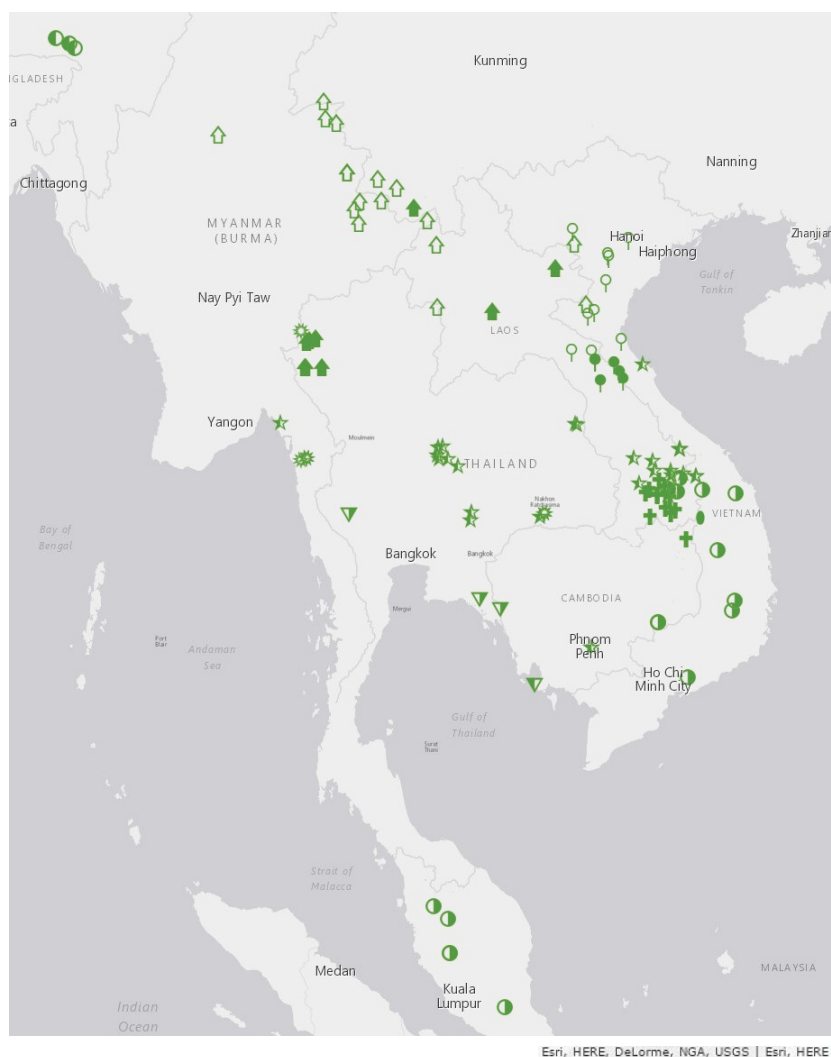
**Keywords:** rice plant/paddy/unhusked rice, husked rice  
(Masaaki Shimizu)



Map 1 *sa:ʔ* type (★) and *C-rɔ:* type (★)



Map 2. *\*r.koʔ* (+) and *\*phɛ:* (✓)



**A** \*k.6a: (Ferlus 2010)

A1 ① kba:

A2 ① ba:(ʔ) / bwa: / va:

**B** \*cɛh (Sidwell 2003)

✚ cɛh

**C** \*ʔmaw (Sidwell 2011)

① maw

**D** \*sarɔ (Sidwell 2005); \*srooʔ (Diffloth 1984)

★ sara: / s(ə)ro: / sro' / srəw / [ʔa/th]ra: /  
[ʔ/h]aro: / trɔ: / rɔ: / chrɔoʔ

**E** \*sɔiʔ (Diffloth 1984)

✳ sa: / saʔ

**F** \*hɔʔ (Diffloth 1980)

F1 ▲ hɔʔ / (h)ɔʔ / hɔauʔ

F2 ▲ ɔʔ / ɔaw / ɔuaʔ

**G** \*ha:l (Headley 1985)

G1 ▼ ha:l tkoʔ

G2 ▼ ha:j

**H** \*ʔa-lɔ:ʔ (Ferlus 2007)

H1 ● ala:ʔ / alɔ:³ / ʔalɔ: / ulɔ:³

H2 ♀ lɔ:⁴⁶ / lɔ:³ / lua³ / law

**I** Others

## Rice: South Asia (IE (Indic, Iranian, Nuristani), Dravidian, Andamanese, Nihali, Burushaski)

### 1. Classification of word forms

In this map, there are six major categories of word form: *vr̥hi*, *taṇḍula*, *bhāt*, *dhāna*, *nell*, and *varči*, and six minor categories.

A. *vr̥hi*: *vr̥hi*, *vī*, *wr̥ji*, *wr̥ži*, *wrize*, *birinj*, *berenj*, *grinč*, *grenj*, *rizan*, *ruji*, *bryúu*, *brúu*

B. *taṇḍula*: *taṇḍula*, *taṇḍulamu*, *tāndūla*, *taṇḍur*, *haṇḍū*, *čhāula*, *čāula*, *čāla*, *čaul*, *čawal*, *čāval*, *sahal*

C. *bhāt*: *bhāt*, *bhāta*, *bhatt*, *bhatta*, *bat*

D. *dhāna*: *dhāna*, *dhān*, *dhāṇ*, *dāñē*

E. *nell*: *nell*, *nellu*, *nelli*, *nel*, *neṣ*, *neṣiṣky* (compounding with *aṣky* in K. *aṣki* group)

F. *varči*: *verči*, *varsil*, *vari*, *valči*, *vaḍlu*, *val*, *wanjī*, *bār*, *ariči*, *ari*; *nivari*, *ōremu*

G. *šāli*: *šāli*, *šalí*, *sārī*

H. *anna*: *anna*

I. *prāu*: *prāu*, *prālu*

J. *biyyam*: *biyyamu*, *bi-am*

K. *aṣki*: *aṣky*, *akki*

L. *qes*: *qesu*, *xess*

M. others: *čōnnā mūjī*, *mo*, *nēbe*, *depuṭullantana*, *iat*, *bras*

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

The lexical forms representing rice (plant, paddy) can be classified into A) *vr̥hi* type, B) *taṇḍula*, C) *bhāt*, D) *dhāna*, E) *nell*, F) *varči*, G) *šāli*, H) *anna*, I) *prāu*, J) *biyyam*, K) *aṣki*, L) *qes*, and M) others.

The major types are *vr̥hi* and *taṇḍula*.

The former can be found in Sanskrit *vr̥hi* व्रीहि '(grain of) rice'. Forms of this type are mainly located in the northwestern area of South Asia, i.e. westward of Pakistan, but also in Sri Lanka, within Aryan and Iranian languages, and even Burushaski languages (see Map 2). In the south, Marathi (▲) and Sinhala (▲) retain the initial /v/. In the border between Aryan and Iranian, Pashto and Wañeci use the initial /w/ and

have changed the middle /h/ into /j/, /ž/, /z/: such as Pashto *wr̥ji* وړيجي (▲). In the west of the region, Persian, Tajik, and Balochi have changed the initial /w/ into /b/. These languages have also added a front vowel after the consonant, and /n/ before the /j/ as losing the final front vowel; e.g. Balochi *birinj* برنج (▷). In northwest Pakistan, the forms changed the initial sound /bir/ into /gr/; e.g. Khowar *grinč* (▼). Meanwhile in northeast Pakistan, the other current is observed, which transformed the consonant cluster /vr/ into /br/, and the phoneme /h/ into zero; e.g. Shina *brúu* (▲) and Nager Burushaski *bryúu* (▲). This change of /vr/ into /br/ may have happened under the influence of the neighbouring Hunza Burushaski and Domaaki form *bras* 'rice-plant' (/, /), which originated in Tibeto-Burman.

Forms of the *taṇḍula* type are observed throughout South Asia around the Sanskrit region, i.e. from the northern part of Pakistan to Maldives (see Map 3). The forms of this type are derived from the Sanskrit word *taṇḍula* तंडुल 'grain after threshing, unhusking and winnowing (especially rice)'. Additionally, many languages in South Asia have cognate words such as Urdu *čāwal* چاول, but they mean 'grain of rice', not 'rice-plant, paddy'.

The next *bhāt* type can be seen around the longitude of 70° E. The original form and meaning of this type are not clear.

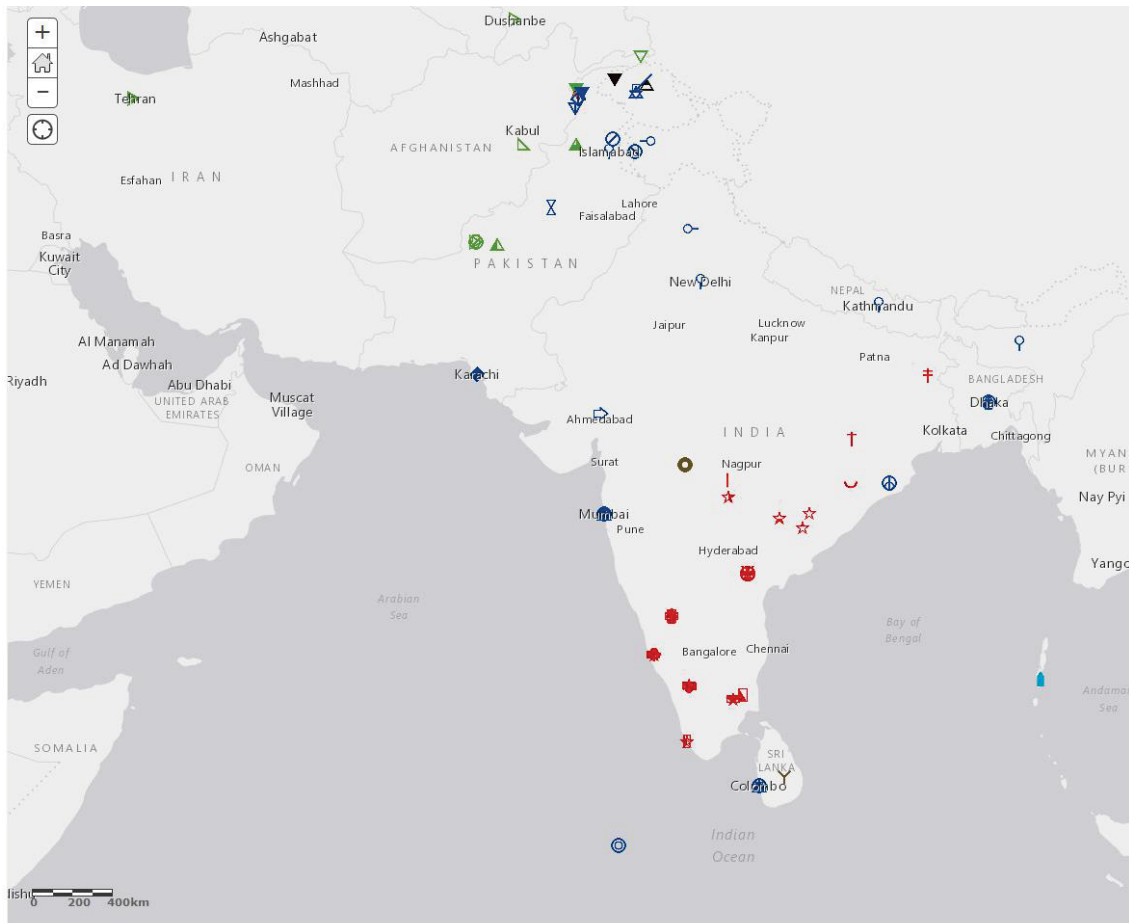
The *dhāna* type is observed in northern areas. From Assamese language in the north-east end of South Asia, to Kashmiri in the north-west end. The meaning of the Sanskrit word *dhāna* धान is 'corn grain'.

*Nell* and *varči* originated in Dravidian. The former originally meant 'rice, paddy' while the latter 'rice, grain'. Forms of these categories are used only in modern Dravidian languages. The Telugu word *nivari* is either of this category, or derived from Sanskrit *nīvār* नीवार 'wild rice'.

*Šāli* शालि and *anna* अन्न originally meant 'grain in the husk' and 'food' in Sanskrit, respectively. These types are employed by Aryan languages.

*Prāu*, *biyyam*, *aṣki*, and *qes* seemed to emerge from Dravidian, but their original definitions are unknown. These types are only observed in Dravidian languages. It is sometimes believed that Persian dish *polow* پلاو and Turkish *pilav* are of Persian origin, but the term appears to be derived from Dravidian. Sanskrit *pulāka* पुलाक means 'lump of boiled rice'.

(YOSHIOKA Noboru)



Map 1. 'Rice' in South Asia

Esri, HERE, DeLorme, NGA, USGS | Esri, HERE

Aryan	Iranian	Dravidian	Burushaski
△ vrihi	▲ wriji	⊙ taṇḍulamu	▲ bryūu
▲ vī	▲ wriži	▲ bhatta	▼ grinč
△ briu	▲ wrize	➡ bhatt	／ bras
▼ grinč	△ rizan	□ nell	
▼ ruji	△ birinj	▢ nelli	
○ taṇḍula	▼ berenj	▢ nel	
● tāndūla	▼ grinč	■ neš	
⊙ haṇḍū	▼ grenj	★ verči	
⊕ čāuļa	▼ čavēl	★ valči	
⊖ čaul	▼ bač	★ varsil	
⊗ čawal		★ wanji	
⊕ čāla		★ vari	
⊗ sahal		★ val	
⊕ dhāna		★ vaḍlu	
⊖ dhān		★ bār	
⊕ dhān		★ ariči	
⊖ dāñē		★ ari	
⊕ bhāta		★ nivarī	
⊖ bhāt		★ ašky	
⊕ bač		★ nešjsky	
⊖ šāli		★ akki	
⊕ šālī		★ anna	
⊖ sārī		★ biyyamu	
⊕ bras		★ bi am	
⊖ čönnā mūji		★ khess	
⊕ anna		★ qesu	
		★ prālu	
		★ prāu	
		★ nēbe	
		★ öremu	

**Nuristani**  
mo

**Nihali**  
tanḍur

**Vedda**  
depuṭullantana

**Andamanese**  
iat



Map 2. vrihi type



Map 3. taṇḍula type



## The Rice: Arabic languages

### 1. Classification of word forms

The word forms of “the rice” are classified as 4 large categories: *ruzz*, *ʕe:f*, *timman*, *ma:ru*.

#### A. *ruzz* type

subgroups are

A-a. *ruzz*, *ʕuzz*, *ru:*, *rəzz* ( رُز ● )

*ruzzu*, *ruzzun*,

*rizz*, *ʕizz* (the vowel *i*)

*russ*

*ʕəzz*,

A-b. *ro:z*, *ru:z*, *ʕu:z*, *rowz*, *rawz* ( رُو ز ○ )

A-c. *rinz* ( رِن ز ○ )

B. *ʕe:f* ( عِش ) (▲)

C. *timman* ( تَمَن ) (+)

D. *ma:ru* ( مَ ر و ) (×)

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

A. *ruzz* type ( رُ ز ) (●, ○)

A-a. *ruzz* type

The *ruzz* type is the most widely distributed in Arabic-speaking areas.

*ὀρυζα* (Classical Greek)

↓

*uruz*, *urz*, *aruz* ... (Classical Ar.)

↓

\**ruz* (< ~~#~~*ruz*) or *ρύζι* (Modern Greek)

↓

↓

↓ ?

*ruzz* *ruwz* → ? *rizz* *rinz*

The Classical Arabic *uruz*, *urz*, *aruz* ( ا ر ز ) may have been borrowed from the Classical Greek *ὀρυζα*. From there, the use of *u*, *a*, or the Arabic *ʕ* ( ا ) as an initial sound may have been dropped. This phenomenon of the initial *ʕ* being dropped can often be seen in other lexicons as well:

Cl. Ar. *ʕaxaḍa* ‘to take’ > *xuḍ* ‘take! (imperative)’

Cl. Ar. *ʕaxaḍa* ‘to take’ > Cairene Ar. *ḡad* ‘to take’

Because the two consonant *r-z* becomes the word root when *ʕ* ( ا ) is dropped, the doubled *z* *ruzz* (the root is *r-z-z*) becomes a three consonant root.

It is possible that *rizz* was borrowed from the Modern Greek *ρύζι*; but it is necessary to give consideration to the period that this took place in.

It is possible that it wasn’t borrowed from Modern Greek, and is a result of the vowels being repositioned again according to the consonant environment once *i*

and *u* merged in Colloquial Arabic.

For example, \**ḡima:r* > *ḡuma:r*, \**dḡubna* > *gibna*, etc. can be seen in Cairene Ar. Accented *i* and *u* are always rendered as *a* in Damascene Ar. The same explanation can be used with regards to *rəzz* in Mesopotamian dialects including Anatolian.

In the Mossul *ʕəzz* the *r* is shifted to *ʕ*. The pronunciation of *r* as [ʕ] can often be seen at the individual level in other regions. The so-called emphasized *r* ([r<sup>h</sup>] or [r<sup>ʕ</sup>]) can be seen in some places. When *r* is not in combination with *i* it often becomes *ʕ*.

*riss*, *russ* are *z* devoiced at the end of a word. The word is written as *ross* according to Maltese orthography, and the two separately written vowels *o* and *u* are the same phoneme. Further, the voiced consonants at the end of the word are all devoiced.

Juba Ar. in South Sudan is losing its original Arabic features, having *ruz* remain a two consonant word root.

A-b. *ro:z* type

The *ro:z* type is a *r-w-z* three consonant root form where a *w* is added to the two word root *r-z*, including *ʕo:z*, *ʕo:z*, *ʕu:z*, *ru:z*, etc. In Morocco, since it is linked to *o*: > *u* it becomes *ru:z*. It is distributed solely from Tunisia to Morocco, and is *ruzz* in Malta and medieval Andalus (Iberia), allowing us to think that it was originally the *ruzz* type, that later developed into the *ro:z* type.

A-c. *rinz* ( رِن ز ○ )

*rinz* is in Taṣāwīr Oman. It is believed that *n* was added onto this in order to make it a three consonant root, but this addition of an *n* for this purpose is unusual. In Taṣāwīr *rənz* = “plant” and *ʕif* = “dish” < *ʕajf*.

B. *ʕe:f* ( عِش ) (▲)

*ʕe:f* is distributed throughout the Persian Gulf. *ʕajf* originally meant ‘life, living’ and is used in Egyptian Ar. to mean ‘bread. Perhaps “life” grew to indicate “rice,” as pilaf is eaten as a staple food in the Arabian Peninsular.

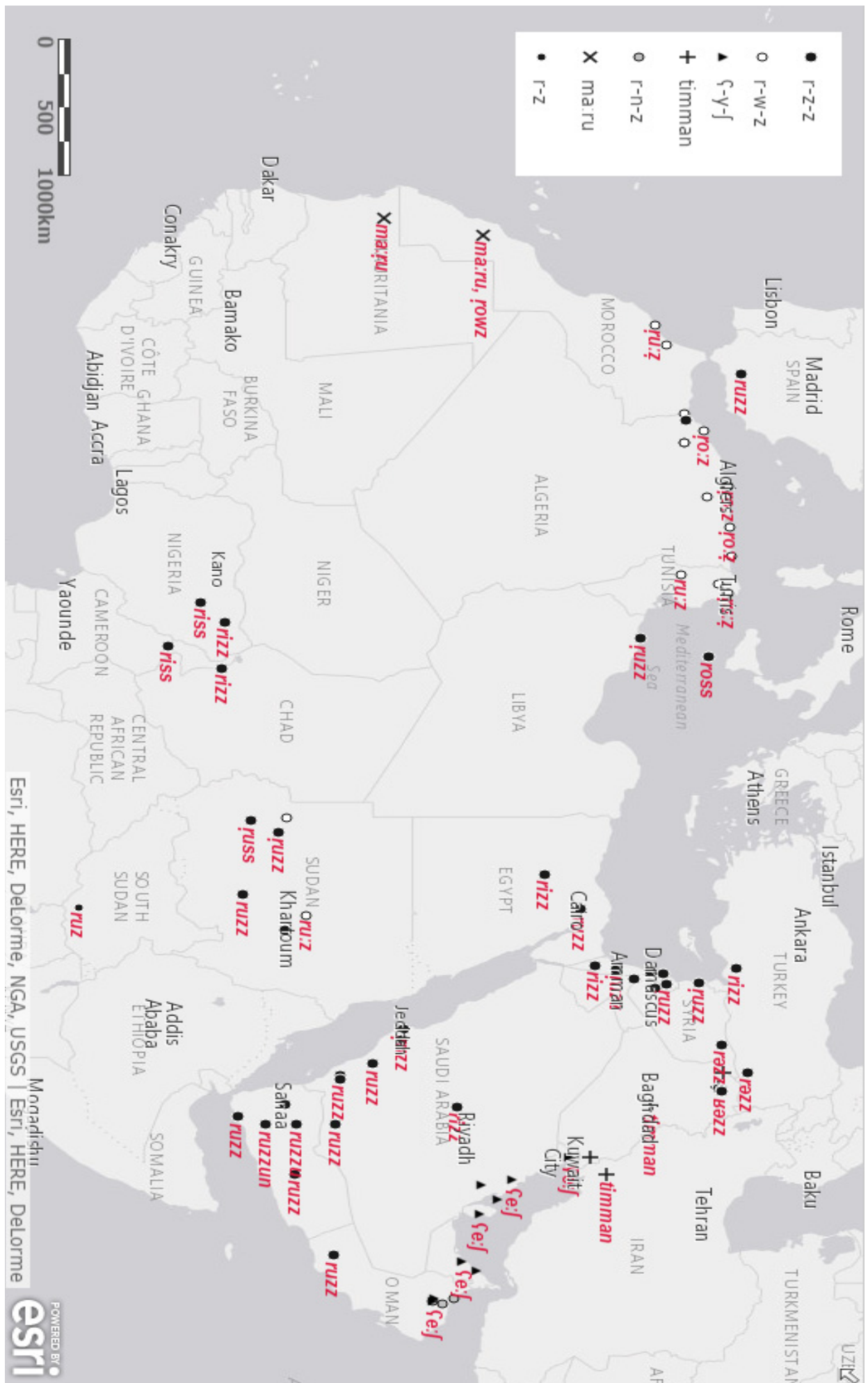
C. *timman* ( تَمَن ) (+)

*timman* is used in areas of Iraq including Baghdad, Basra, etc. In this region a distinction is made between *ʕilib* “field rice, rice before being processed for food” and *timman*.

D. *ma:ru* ( مَ ر و ) (×)

*Ma:ru* is used in Ḥassānīya Ar. in Mauritania. cf. Wolof *mālo* “rice”.

(Youichi Nagato)



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# Dialectal Word-forms Associated with the Word *Ine* (rice) in Japanese

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**Keywords:** Japanese Dialect, Ryukyuan dialects, Geographical Distribution, Chinese Origin,

## 1. Introduction

In *Kaijou no Michi*, Yanagida (1961) hypothesized that Japan gained the culture of rice cultivation from the south. He developed this hypothesis to demonstrate that the route which the culture of rice cultivation spread through mainland of Japan equates with the route through which the diffusion of Japanese culture occurred in Japan. The region of origin as well as route of dispersion of culture of rice cultivation is now being discovered through more research with advanced modern technology.

By means of the DNA analysis of rice, Sato (1992) discusses how the culture of rice cultivations entered Japan mainly through two routes. With reference to studies by Sasaki (1997) the two routes of dispersion of rice cultivation include the route started from the Yangtze River leading to Japan Archipelago through the Korean peninsula and that from the Philippines leading to the Ryukyu Islands and from there further to the Japan Archipelago. The former is known to be *japonica* (i.e., temperate Japanese variety) bearing the gene of Hwc-2. This type accounts for about 93% of total rice cultivation in the Japanese archipelago. On the other hand, the latter is known as *Japanika* (i.e., tropical Japanese variety) bearing the gene of hwc-2, which accounts for about 7% of total rice cultivation spread throughout the country.

Currently, studies are being conducted on the trends of the introduction and spread of culture of rice cultivation in Japan, which may shed light on the nature of Japanese culture beginning from the *Jōmon* to *Yayoi* era. In this regard, the findings of the distribution of dialectal forms associated with *ine* (rice) in the Japanese archipelago seems to be important; though there is a poor variation in the distribution of dialectal- forms associated with it, i.e. *ine* (rice).

*Ine* (稲) as a vegetation is known to be *ine* (rice), however, when rice-ears are thrashed they change to *momī* (paddy). These husked *momī* (paddy) are known to be

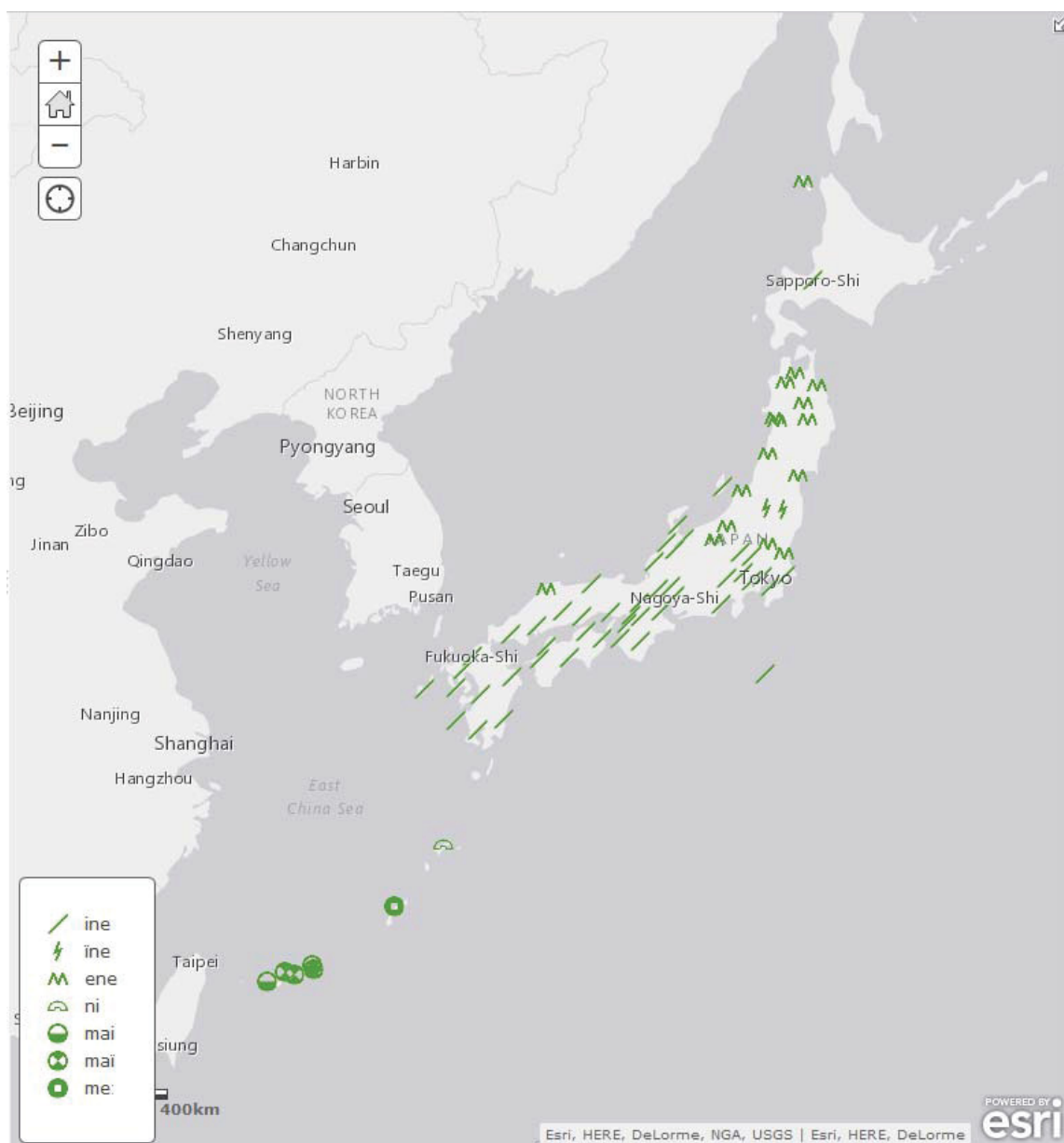
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<sup>1</sup> Tokushima University

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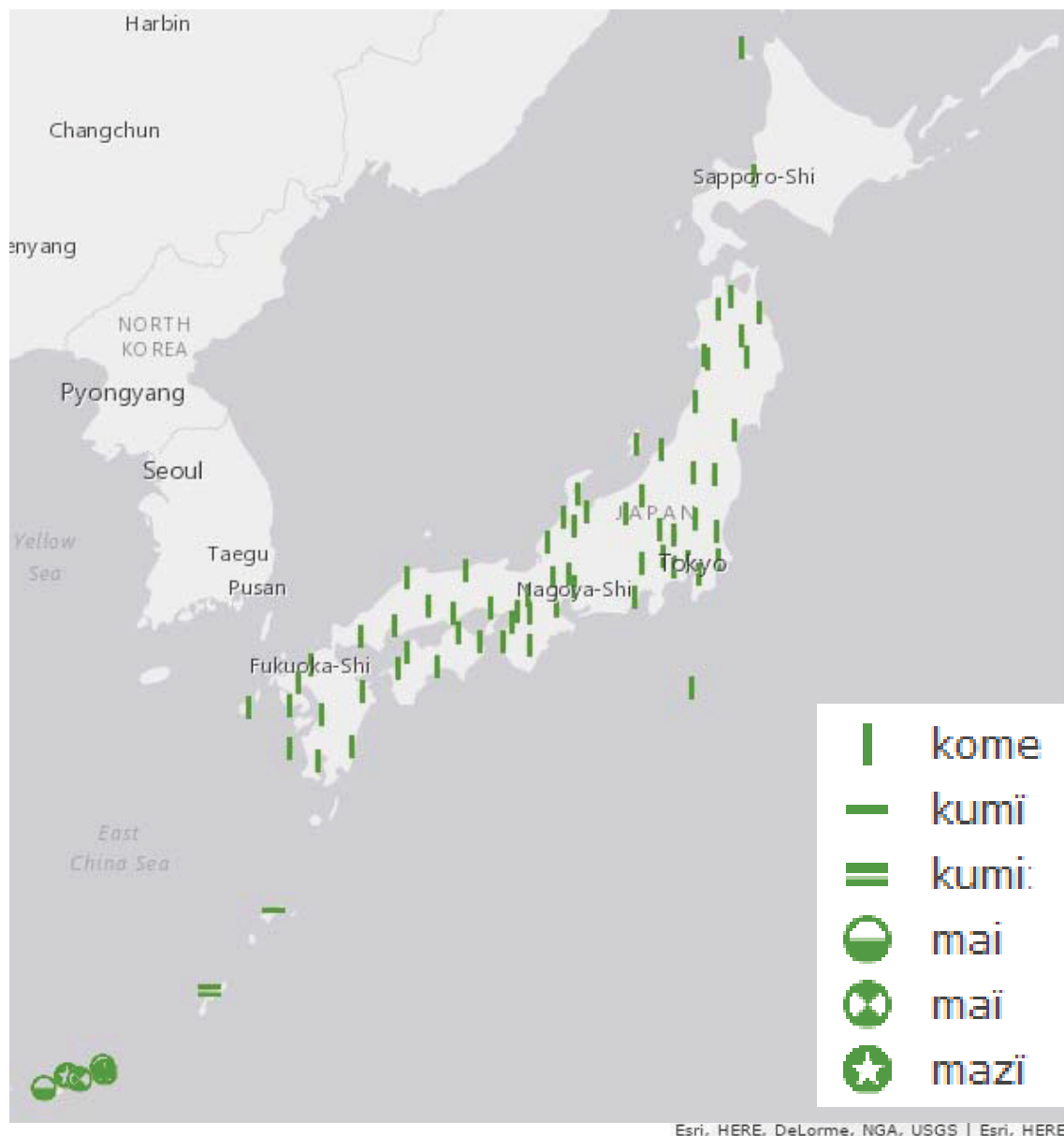
*genmai* (husked rice) and polished *genmai* (husked rice) is known as *hakumai* (polished rice). Subsequently, the cooked form of this rice is known as *mefi* (cooked rice) or *gohan* (cooked rice). It would be significant to designate derivations of these words in the framework of the linguistic typology.



Dialect map1. Rice Plant in Japanese Dialects

Source:

HIRAYAMA Teruo, et al. eds. (1992-1994) Dictionary of Japanese Dialects (Gendai Nihongo Hōgen Daijiten), Meijishoin, Tokyo



Dialect map2. Rice in Japanese Dialects

Source:

Hirayama Teruo et al. (1992) . Contemporary Japanese Dialect Dictionary (Gendai Nihongo Hogen Daijiten) , Meijishoin

There are two arguments in favor of this proposal as follows.

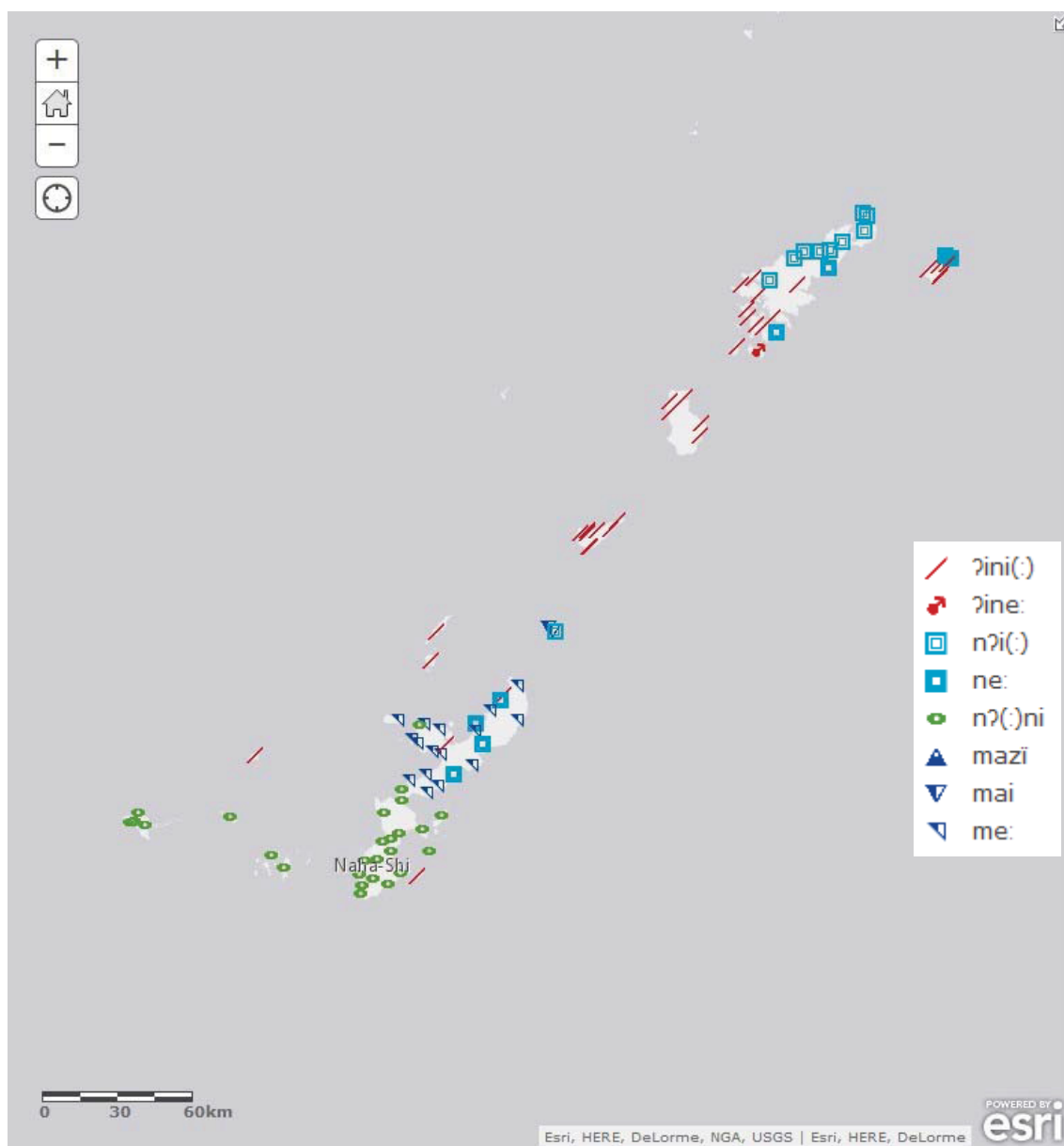
Argument 1 (Topic 1): What are the corresponding words for the word-forms *ine* [paddy]/*kome* [rice]/*mefi* [rice] or *gohaN* [rice] in the Eurasian languages (or dialects).

Argument 2 (Topic 2): There are word-forms for rice, which include *motf* and *sekihaN* other than this general word for rice *kome* in the Japanese. Former is known to be *motfigome* [glutinous

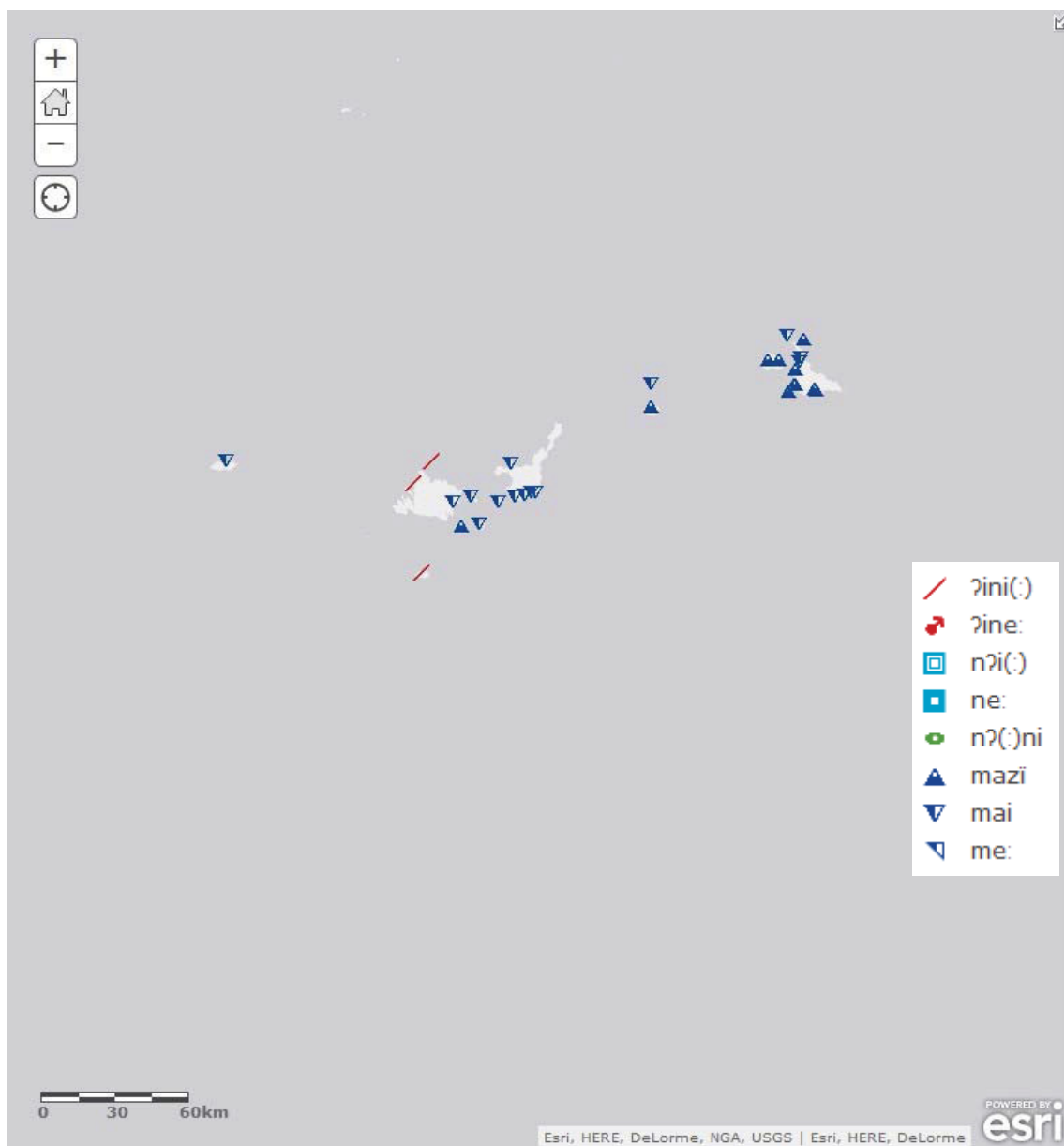
rice] while the latter is known as *urut/imai* [non-glutinous rice]. In line with these word-forms, what are the other word-forms to represent *kome* (rice) in other languages (dialects) .

## 2. Distribution of dialectal word-forms to represent the word ine (rice) in Japanese

The dialectal-forms associated with the word ine (rice) and kome (rice) in Japanese can be ascertained from the Gendai Nihongo Hougen Daijiten(Contemporary Japanese dialect Unabridged) compiled by Teruo et al. (1992-1994) as well as Zusetsu Ryukyugo Jiten (Illustrated Ryukyugo language dictionary) compiled by Nakamoto (1981).



Dialect map3-1. Rice plant in Ryukyu Dialects



Dialect map3-2. Rice plant in Ryukyu Dialects

Source:

NAKAMOTO Masachie (1981). *Zusetsu Ryukyugo Jiten*, Kinkeisha

There is a meager variation in the distribution of dialectal forms for the word-forms representing *ine* (paddy) and *kome* (rice). The word-form *ine* is distributed throughout most of the mainland Japan, while *ine* or *ene*, being the phonetic variant of each other, are distributed in the region of Tohoku and Izumo (Izumo).

The Japanese word for the plants, e.g., *Higanbana*, (*Amaryllis*) have a lot of dialectal variants,

while the words for the plants e.g., *matsu*, (pine), *take* (bamboo) and *ume*, (plum) have a few dialectal variants respectively. The word *ine* (rice) belongs to the latter group. Accordingly, plants having meager variants in dialectal word-forms, which have existed in Japan from the ancient times, tend to have no dialect variants. Therefore, it cannot be denied that the word-forms *ine* (rice) had existed from the Yayoi era when the cultivation of rice has thought to have begun. One distinguishes between *ine* and *kome*, while the other does not. The former cluster of dialects distinguishes 稲 and 米 respectively and are pronounced as [ine] and [kome]. The later does not distinguish between 稲 and 米, which are pronounced as [mai] or [me:] [mi]. Although there are many dialects distinguishing *ine* 「稲」 and *kome* 「米」 in the mainland and North Ryukyu, most of the dialects in the cluster of dialects in the southern Ryukyu do not distinguish them. With regard to the dialects associated with *ine* in the Ryukyu dialects, Nakamoto (1990) referred to the pattern of importation and dispersion of typical dialects.

When the word entered the Ryukyu archipelago it spread from middle Okinawa towards the southern part of northern Amami and Southern Miyako, and Yaeyama. Therefore, the distribution shows that there are new word-forms in the mid-southern part of Okinawa, while the old word-form remained around the periphery. In consideration of this distribution of the *ine*, the word-form of *ine* lineage is distributed in southern middle Okinawa, while the word-form of *mai* lineage is distributed in northern Okinawa, Miyako and Yaeyama.

### 3. Conclusion

To conclude from individual distribution among the word-forms representing the word rice, *mai* has entered first in the Ryukyu Islands, and then the *ine* in the latter period. This also attests that the spread of word-forms of the *mai* lineage first entered Kyushu and subsequently word-forms of *ine* lineage spread through the Japanese archipelago. The distribution of the various dialects of the Ryukyu Islands is one of the sources that contributed to the prediction of the historical development of the dialects in the Japanese archipelago.

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# Rice and related words in Korean

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## Abstract

Korean has a rich vocabulary of words related to rice. This paper gives a tentative comparison with that of Japanese, and then present linguistic maps for two important words representing rice plant and husked rice. Based on these maps and historical data, the history and etymology of these words will be discussed.

## 1 Introduction

Rice has been one of the main staple foods in Korea, in much the same way as in other east Asian countries, and vocabulary related to rice is abundant.

## 2 Modern standard Korean

Modern standard Korean has the following words related to rice:

pjɔ [pjɔ]	rice plant; unhusked rice
nwi [nwi]	unhusked rice mixed in husked rice
s'ar [s'al]	husked rice (typically rice but not confined to it)
ips'ar [ips'al]	non-glutinous rice (as opposed to <i>s'ar</i> of grain other than rice, and also to glutinous rice)
meps'ar [meps'al]	non-glutinous rice (as opposed to glutinous rice)
c <sup>h</sup> aps'al [t <sup>h</sup> aps'al]	glutinous rice
pap [pap]	cooked rice (typically rice but not confined to it); meal

The distinction between /pjɔ/ and /s'ar/ is similar to that of Japanese /ine/ and /kome/ but there are slight differences. For example, /pjɔ/ can mean not only the rice plant but unhusked rice which in turn is expressed by a separate word in Japanese. The word /nwi/ can mean unhusked rice but it can be used only when it is mixed with husked rice. The word /s'ar/ largely corresponds to Japanese /kome/ but it is different from the latter in that it can mean various other grain, e.g., /cops'ar/ (foxtail millet), /poris'ar/ (husked barley) etc., by prefixing the name of grain other than rice. In this respect the word /s'ar/ resembles more like Chinese *mǐ* (米).<sup>1</sup>

A tentative comparison of Korean and Japanese vocabulary concerning rice is shown in the following table.

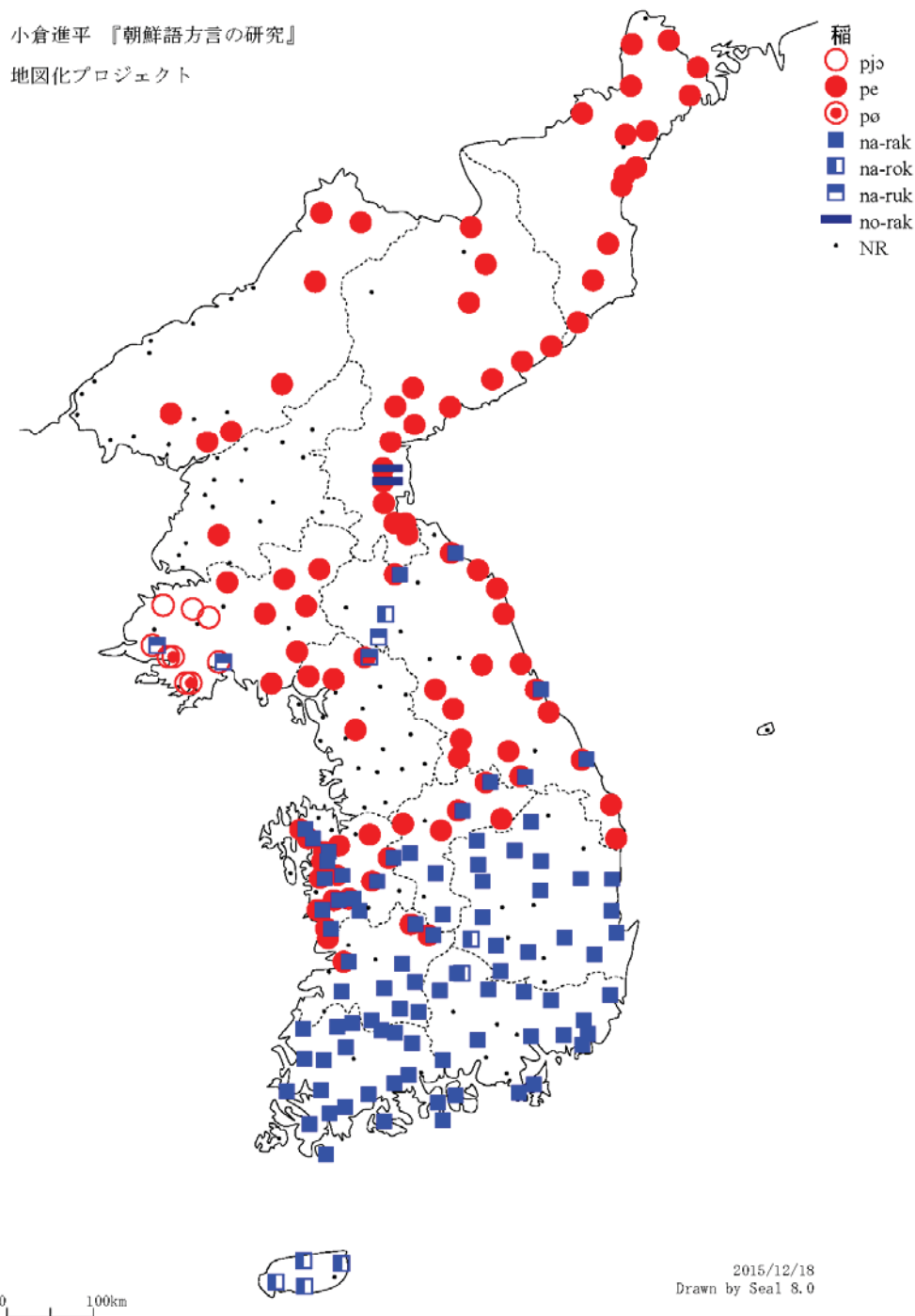
	Korean	Japanese
rice plant	pjɔ	ine
unhusked rice		momi
unhusked rice mixed in husked rice	nwi	
husked rice (in general)	s'ar	kome

<sup>1</sup> This is pointed out in Ito (2008 : 272).

husked grain (other than rice)	*-s'ar	
non-glutinous rice	ips'ar, meps'ar	uruci
glutinous rice	c <sup>h</sup> aps'al	moci-gome
cooked rice (and other grain); meal	pap	mesi, (archaic) ii

### 3 Dialectal variation

Among various words related to rice, linguistic maps for two important words, /pjɔ/ ‘稻’ and /s'ar/ are shown below, based on data found in Ogura (1944), dialect data for ‘稻’ and are given.



Map 1. /pjɔ/ ‘稻’.

A. *pjɔ* type

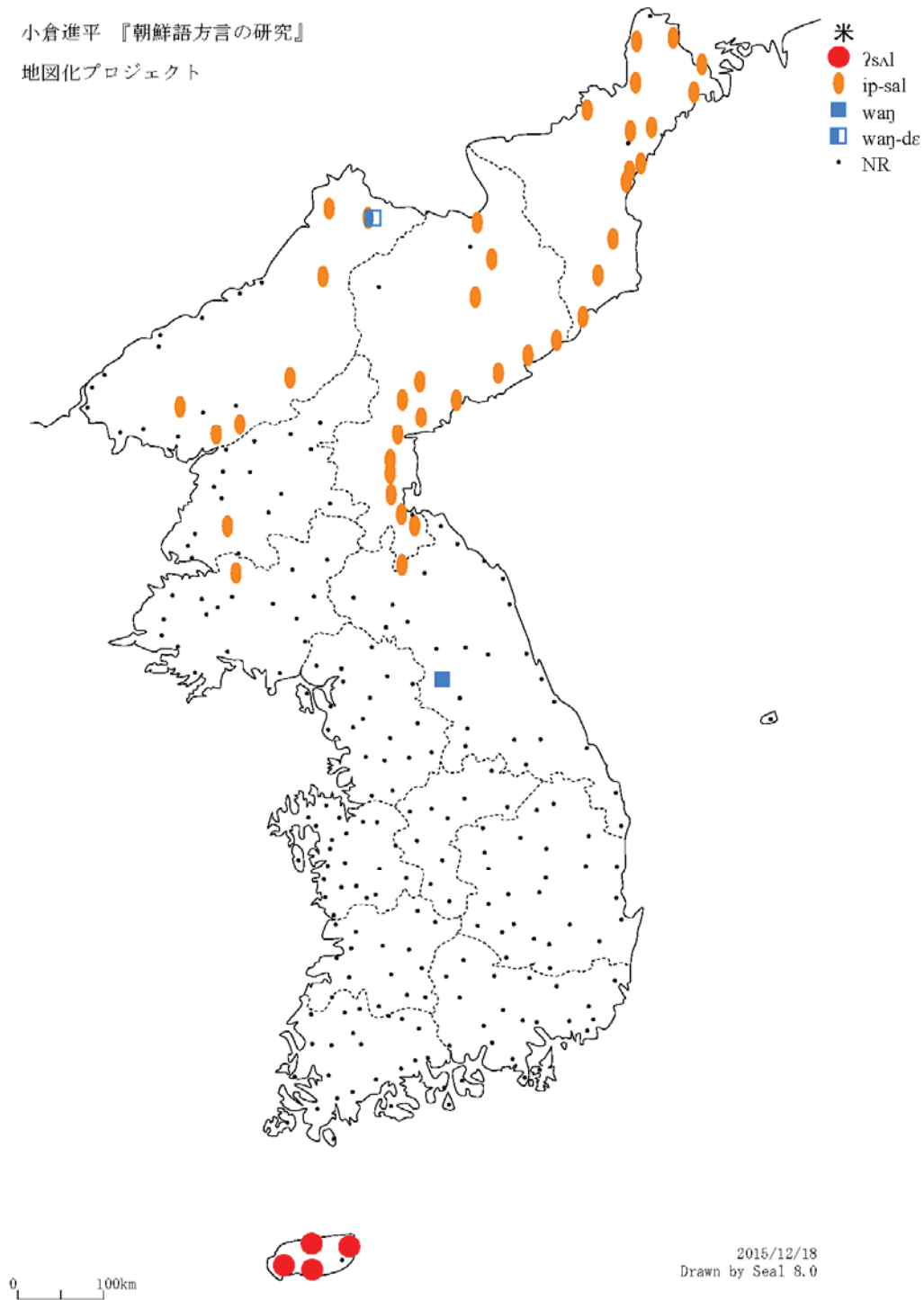
A1. *pjɔ*, A2. *pe*, A3. *pø*

B. *narak* type

B1. *na-rak*, B2. *na-rok*, B3. *na-ruk*, B4. *no-rak*

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Map 2. /s'ar/ ‘米’

A. *s'ar* type

A1. ʔsal, A2. ʔsal (Used in many places. Omitted in the map.)

B. *ips'ar* type

B1. ip-sal

C. *waŋ* type

C1. waŋ-dɛ, C2. waŋ

In map 2 the word /s'ar/ [ʔsal] is not displayed because it is used in many places and Ogura (1944) specifies no locations for this item.

Based on the above two maps, the following observations can be made on the geographical distribution of these two items.

Rice as plant (稻):

- (1) Geographical distribution: A clear north vs. south contrast; *pjɔ*-type forms (north) and *narak*-type forms (south).
- (2) The modern standard form /pjɔ/ is used only in a limited area and a phonetic variety /pe/ is more widespread.<sup>2</sup>
- (3) Among the four *narak*-type forms, the form /narok/ and its variety /naruk/ are located separately at several places, mainly at the borders, separated by the /narak/ area so that it can be said that the form /narok/ is the oldest among the four.

Rice as husked grain (米):

- (1) The standard form /s'ar/ (not marked in the map) and a phonetically more conservative variety /s'ar/ is widespread.
- (2) Other type of forms /ips'ar/ and /waŋ/ are located at the northern half of the peninsula.

## 4 History and etymology

The following table shows modern forms concerning rice and corresponding Middle Korean forms, and data from *Jilín lèishì* recorded in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Modern forms	MK (15-16c.)	<i>Jilín lèishì</i> (鷄林類事, 12c.)
/pjɔ/	/pje/ (H)	
/narak/		
/s'ar/	/psar/ (H)	菩薩 (*pasar)
/ips'ar/	/nipsar/ (RH)	
/meps'ar/	/moipsar/ (LH)	
/c <sup>h</sup> aps'ar/	/c <sup>h</sup> apsar/ (HH)	
/pap/	/pap/ (H)	

Ogura (1943) gives a detailed account on the etymologies of words related to rice, in which the main points are summarized as follows:

- (1) Modern /ips'ar/ goes back to MK /nipsar/ and the morpheme /ni-/ is cognate with Japanese /ine/.
- (2) According to a folk etymology, the /ni-/ in /nipsar/ was derived from ‘李’, as opposed to another form /waŋ-mi/ (‘王米’) in which the element /waŋ/ is related to *wangkōn* (王建), the founder of the Koryo dynasty. But Ogura denies this theory because the prefix /waŋ/ is used simply to denote a ‘big’ thing.

<sup>2</sup> The alternation between vowels /jɔ/ and /e/ are often observed in many dialects including Seoul.



- (3) Modern /s'ar/ goes back to MK /psʌr/ and it was recorded as ‘菩薩’ in *Jīlín lèishì* (鷄林類事). But it has neither Chinese or Sanskrit origin, and it has its origin in another word /bjesir/ (official position in bureaucracy).
- (4) The word ‘菩薩’ is also used in some Japanese dialects but it was borrowed from Korean.
- (5) The word /narak/ is related to the word /narah/ (nation, country), because rice was considered to be the foundation of politics in the old days.
- (6) He also tries to find cognates in Austronesian and other languages families for the word /s'ar/ but present no definite conclusion.

I have the following questions on these points:

- (1) No mention was made about the origin of the word /pjo/.
- (2) /ni-/ included in MK /nipsʌr/ contained a rising tone (R). This must be taken into account in considering etymology of this word.

Finally I would like to point out the possibility that the MK form /psʌr/ might be related to Austronesian words for rice, for example *bras*, thereby supposing a metathesis occurred between the second liquid and final consonant.<sup>3</sup>

## Acknowledgements

I would like thank Professor Endo Mitsuaki for inviting me to this conference and also to Professor Ito Hideto for valuable opinions about the origin of words for rice in Korean.

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<sup>3</sup> This view was pointed out to me by Professor Ito Hideto (personal communication).

# A Geolinguistic Analysis of the ‘Rice’ Category in Tibeto-Burman

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## Abstract

This article deals with a geolinguistic analysis of various word forms represented as ‘rice’ in English in Tibeto-Burman languages. Because of a vast areal distribution of these languages over variegated cultural areas, the semantic field corresponding to ‘rice’ in English is also various. In our data, some Tibeto-Burman languages classify ‘rice’ into several semantic categories employed by distinct word forms, e.g., ‘rice plant’, ‘hulled rice’, ‘polished rice’, and ‘cooked rice’, whereas some merely have only one form as in English. The linguistic maps display that the complexity of the semantic field of ‘rice’ is related to the rice cultivation culture.

## 1 Introduction

Collecting data for producing a geolinguistic map of ‘rice plant’ for the second topic of the project *Study in Asian Geolinguistics* (Suzuki et al. this volume), we have noticed that Tibeto-Burman languages have different semantic division regarding the word ‘rice’. This article basically addresses the issue of the complicated way of representing the semantic field of ‘rice’.

As the first step, we arrange the semantic category of ‘rice’. For example, Japanese possesses a series of words corresponding to ‘rice’ in English, such as: *ine* ‘rice plant’, *kome* ‘rice grain’, *momi* ‘hulled rice’, *genmai* ‘polished (brown) rice’, *hakumai* ‘polished (white) rice’, and *mesi* / *gohan* ‘cooked rice’. Since Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in the rice cultivation region, it should be noticed that there is a possibility of distinguishing rice species, such as *japonica* and *indica*, non-glutinous rice (*urutimai* in Japanese) and glutinous rice (*motigome* in Japanese), and water rice plant (*suitoo* in Japanese) and land rice plant (*rikutoo* in Japanese). Among these semantic categories, for instance, most Tibetic languages have only one word to express all of these categories, whereas Burmic languages typically classify them into several categories.

We should also pay attention to the terminology which is frequently used in articles written in English, in which we have found crucial problems. One of them is ‘husked rice’. The lexicographical definition of the word ‘husked’ is ‘of which the husk was removed’; however, it is widely used for denoting both the original meaning and another meaning, ‘with a husk’. And, predictably, ‘unhusked’, the counterpart of the word ‘husked’, is also employed for both ‘with a husk’ and ‘without a husk’ in practical use. Therefore, in this article, we use ‘hulled’ for ‘with a husk’ and ‘polished’ for ‘without a husk’. Concerning ‘paddy’, we avoid this term for any kinds of ‘rice’ because of its polysemy.

This article deals with the rice as a biological form (plant and grain) of non-glutinous *oryza sativa*, planting rice. Words of other categories, such as ‘glutinous rice’ and ‘rice field’, are out of scope. Referring to Bradley (2011), we can see a more complicated situation of semantic changes over several important grain crops in the Tibeto-Burman languages. Such information will be mentioned when necessary.

## 2 Variation of the semantic category for ‘rice’ in Tibeto-Burman: examples

This section presents several examples which reflect a complicated situation regarding the semantic category for ‘rice’ in Tibeto-Burman based on the data collected and/or confirmed by the present authors. Some previous works do not provide any clear information regarding the classification of ‘rice’, to which we must pay attention because we cannot know whether the given languages have different semantic subdivisions or not. Such data might not be ready for use in geolinguistic analyses. This prudent attitude will certainly enhance the quality of linguistic maps.

We describe languages classified in the following linguistic groups: Tibetic, Burmese, Jinghpaw, Yi, Bai, Karenic, Newar, and Qiangic. Following the description of each language group, a summary regarding the variation of semantic division is provided. An appendix at the end of the article provides a word list for the ‘rice’ category of Burmese and Yi languages.

### 2.1 Tibetic

The major part of the Tibetsphere does not belong to the rice cultivation culture because of its climate condition. Hence, the word for ‘rice’ in the Tibetic languages is not abundant, and most varieties have a common word form derived from Literary Tibetan (LT) *’bras*. This LT form is related to Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) *\*b-ras* ‘RICE / FRUIT / BEAR FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT’ as mentioned in Suzuki et al. (this volume). This case can be displayed as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Table 1: Majority of the Tibetic varieties.

category	rice (plant, hulled, polished, cooked)
example	<sup>n</sup> <i>dε:</i> , <sup>m</sup> <i>brε:</i> , <sup>m</sup> <i>qi</i> , etc.

However, two exceptions are found: Khams Tibetan in Yunnan and Dzongkha, which are described below.

The first one is a part of dialects of Khams Tibetan spoken in Yunnan, which has two different forms for ‘rice’ as follows:

Table 2: Several Tibetic varieties spoken in Yunnan.

category	rice plant	rice grain (hulled, polished, cooked)
example	<sup>n</sup> <i>dze:</i> , <sup>m</sup> <i>brε:</i>	<i>ji: ma</i> , <i>tə mε</i>

This type distinguishes ‘rice plant’ from ‘rice grain’, comparable with *ine* and *kome* in Japanese. The form of ‘rice plant’ corresponds to LT *’bras* and that of ‘rice grain’, to LT *drus ma*. See Suzuki (this volume) for details.<sup>2</sup> All the dialects which possess this distinction are spoken in the rice cultivation area.

The second one is Dzongkha, which has a more complicated type for ‘rice’, which classifies the semantic category in four sorts:

Table 3: Dzongkha’s system.

category	rice plant	rice grain (hulled)	rice grain (polished)	cooked rice
example	<i>bdzə:</i>	<i>chum</i>	<i>re:</i>	<i>to</i>

Two word forms correspond to LT forms. /bdzə:/ ‘rice plant’: LT *’bras*, and /to/ ‘cooked rice’: LT *lto*. The latter is also employed for ‘meal’ including ‘cooked rice’ in other dialects spoken in Lhokha, the area along Yarlung Tsangpo River south to Lhasa, such as rGyantse and rTsethang.

<sup>1</sup> Note that some Tibetans consider that ‘cooked rice’ is to be called the form derived from LT *za ma* or *zan*. This word generally means ‘food, meal’, not specifically ‘cooked rice’ among various kinds of food and meals.

<sup>2</sup> See also Suzuki (2012), which is the first description regarding this topic.

## 2.2 Burmese<sup>3</sup>

Burmese, as is typical of languages of rice cultivation area in mainland Southeast Asia, has multiple words associated with ‘rice’, thus separating words for rice with and without a husk, and words for cooked and uncooked rice, all of which are expressed by distinct roots, e.g. *zǎbá* (Written Burmese (WB) *capā*<sup>3</sup>) ‘hulled, uncooked rice grain’, *shàn* (WB *chan*) ‘polished, uncooked rice grain’, and *thāmín* (WB *thaman*<sup>3</sup>) ‘cooked rice; food’. An appositional compound *shàn-zǎbá* is also used in order to refer to rice grain regardless of whether it is covered with a husk or not. In Burmese, ‘rice plant’ is expressed by a word *kau?* (WB *kok*) or by compound nouns involving a morpheme *ʔápìn* ‘tree, plant’, i.e. *kau?-pìn* and *zǎbá-bìn*.

Table 4: Burmese type.

category	rice plant	rice grain (hulled)	rice grain (polished)	cooked rice
example	<i>kau?</i> , <i>kau?-pìn</i> , <i>zǎbá-bìn</i>	<i>zǎbá</i>	<i>shàn</i>	<i>thāmín</i>

Many of these rice-related words are, diachronically speaking, inheritance from Proto-Burmic, a reconstructed ancestor of Lolo-Burmese languages: \*ʔgok ‘unhusked japonica paddy’, \*čan<sup>1</sup> ‘husked rice’ and \*maŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘cooked rice’, the first of which appears to have a historical connection to the Chinese word *gǔ* (Old Chinese \*[k]‘ok) ‘grain’ (Bradley 2011:135, 137-9). The word *zǎbá*, on the other hand, is considered to be a loanword from Mon, an Austroasiatic language which was predominantly spoken in Lower Burma before the southward expansion of Burmese speakers (ibid., p.135).

## 2.3 Jinghpaw

Jinghpaw, spoken in the northern edge of rice cultivation area in Southeast Asia, makes fine distinctions between ‘hulled’ and ‘polished’ rice as well as between ‘cooked’ and ‘uncooked’ rice, as is the case with other neighbouring languages of Southeast Asia, e.g. *mam* ‘hulled, uncooked rice grain’, *ngu* ‘polished, uncooked rice grain’, and *ɛ̀àt* ‘cooked rice; food’, the last of which has its diachronic source in suffixation of the obsolete nominalizing suffix *-t* to a verbal base *ɛ́* ‘eat’. The word *mam* can also refer to ‘rice plant’. Jinghpaw also has a morpheme *khàw* which is only found in compound words associated with rice plants, e.g. *khàw-̀na* (rice plant-paddy field) ‘irrigated paddy field’. The morpheme *khàw* is a loanword from Shan, a Tai language whose speakers occupy river valleys in the Jinghpaw region, cultivating rice in irrigated fields.

Table 5: Jinghpaw type.

category	rice plant	rice grain (hulled)	rice grain (polished)	cooked rice
example	<i>mam</i> , <i>khàw</i>	<i>mam</i>	<i>ngu</i>	<i>ɛ̀àt</i>

## 2.4 Yi languages in Loloish

Within the Loloish languages, especially the languages of the Yi (Lolo) people in China and VietNam will be discussed here. According to the official Chinese classification, there are six dialects spoken in the Southwestern part of China. In a few mountainous areas in northern VietNam<sup>4</sup>, it is said that there are two dialects spoken by Hoa Lolo (Flower Lolo) and Den Lolo (Black Lolo). Amongst the Yi languages, there exist distinctive words referring to ‘rice’ and ‘cooked rice’ as the examples of Nesu<sup>5</sup> and Sani<sup>6</sup> show as follows; on the other hand, many of them also demonstrate a distinction between ‘rice

<sup>3</sup> The transcription of Colloquial and Written Burmese are based on Kato (2008) and Duroiselle (1916), respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Loloish language is spoken in a part of Laos as well. However, unfortunately, its data have not been available hitherto, due to a certain reason.

<sup>5</sup> The data are cited from Chen (2010).

<sup>6</sup> The data are cited from Chen (2010).

plant’ and ‘hulled rice’, and ‘polished rice’ and ‘cooked rice’ such a case in Nersu<sup>7</sup>. However, throughout most of them, ‘polished rice’ is generally expressed by such a word formation as ‘rice’ + ‘white’.<sup>8</sup> As shown in Bradley (2011), the etyma of *tsn*<sup>33</sup> ‘rice grain’, *te<sup>h</sup>r*<sup>33</sup> ‘paddy’ and *tsn*<sup>33</sup> ‘cooked rice’ for Sani are respectively \*dza<sup>1</sup>, \*čan<sup>1</sup> and \*dza<sup>1</sup>. This seems to be the case with the words of Sani in the chart below.

Table 6: Loloish type.

category	rice plant	rice grain (hulled)	rice grain (polished)	cooked rice
Nesu	<i>tehe21</i>	<i>tehe21 se33</i>	<i>tehe21 thu55</i>	<i>dzo21</i>
Sani	<i>tehI33</i>	<i>tehI33 si21</i>	<i>tehI33 lu33</i>	<i>tsa33</i>
Nersu	<i>tshi21</i>	<i>tshi21 se33 mo33</i>	<i>dzo21 thu33</i>	<i>dzo21</i>

## 2.5 Bai

Bai, spoken in the western part of Yunnan Province, China, possesses several types of semantic distinctions within the ‘rice’ category:

1. four distinctions, i.e. ‘rice plant’, ‘hulled rice grain’, ‘polished rice grain’, and ‘cooked rice’, as is the case in Chinese; e.g., Jinshan, spoken next to Ancient Town of Lijiang Municipality, and Zhaozhuang, spoken next to New Town of Xiaguan, Dali Municipality.

Table 7: Bai four-distinction type.

category	rice plant	rice grain (hulled)	rice grain (polished)	cooked rice
Jinshan	<i>gu22</i>	<i>sr44</i>	<i>mei33</i>	<i>xe55zə33</i>
Zhaozhuang <sup>9</sup>	<i>kuo21</i>	<i>si44</i>	<i>me33</i>	<i>xe55si33</i>

2. three distinctions, i.e. ‘rice plant’, ‘hulled grain’, and ‘polished and cooked rice’; e.g., Jiuzhai, Baoshan, and Jintang, Liuhe, Heqin.

Table 8: Bai three-distinction type.

category	rice plant	hulled rice grain	polished and cooked rice
Jiuzhai <sup>10</sup>	<i>gɔ31</i>	<i>sv44</i>	<i>me33</i>
Jintang <sup>11</sup>	<i>ŋku21</i>	<i>sɔ44</i>	<i>me33</i>

3. two distinctions, i.e. ‘rice plant and hulled grain’ and ‘polished and cooked rice’; e.g., Qiping, Heqin, and Yinyuan, Yuanjiang, Yuxi.

Table 9: Bai two-distinction type.

category	rice plant and hulled grain	rice grain (polished, cooked)
Qiping <sup>12</sup>	<i>ku21</i>	<i>me33</i>
Yinyuan <sup>13</sup>	<i>kɔ12</i>	<i>me33</i>

There are small differences in sound of each word form; however, we can easily find four types: /k, g/-type, /s/-type, /m/-type, and /x/-type. The examples above display that the /m/-type, which is perhaps originally employed only for ‘polished rice’ as shown in Table 7, expands to other semantic categories.

<sup>7</sup> The data are cited from Chen (2010).

<sup>8</sup> In the Yi languages, an adjective is placed after a noun.

<sup>9</sup> The data are cited from Zhao (2012).

<sup>10</sup> The data are cited from Wang (2008).

<sup>11</sup> The data are cited from Wang (2008).

<sup>12</sup> The data are cited from Wang (2008).

<sup>13</sup> The data are cited from Wang (2008).



## 2.6 Pwo and Sgaw Karen

Karenic languages, such as Pwo and Sgaw Karen, are spoken in the Irrawaddy delta of Burma and in highlands of northwest Thailand. Pwo Karen (Hpa-an dialect) separates words associated with ‘rice’ into the following three categories, each being coded by distinct roots, i.e. *bú* ‘hulled rice; rice plant’, *yúchá* ‘uncooked rice’, and *mì* ‘cooked rice; food’ (Kato 2004:575). The same distinction can be found in Sgaw Karen as well, as illustrated by *bú* ‘hulled rice; rice plant’, *hútha?* ‘uncooked rice’ and *mē* ‘cooked rice; food’.

Table 10: Karenic type.

category	rice plant and hulled grain	rice grain (polished)	cooked rice
Pwo	<i>bú</i>	<i>yúchá</i>	<i>mì</i>
Sgaw	<i>bú</i>	<i>hútha?</i>	<i>mē</i>

## 2.7 Newar

Newar is mainly spoken in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal, and the central and eastern parts of Nepal belong to the ‘rice cultivation region’. This is supported by the existence of a combined word *jā-kē*: ‘rice-bean.soup’ which is the principal dining menu of Newar people. Five varieties of the Newar language collected for the project show three-category division of ‘rice’: ‘hulled rice; rice plant’, ‘polished rice’, and ‘cooked rice’, and each word corresponding to these three subcategories is shown in Table 11. *Wā* is used to mean ‘rice plant and hulled rice’ in Kathmandu, Patan, Baktapur and Bhanepa, except for Dolakha *yā*. *Wā* seems to preserve the older form than *yā*, because Newar has the word *bū*: ‘field’, in addition to *wā* and *yā*. Considering the reconstructed form of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *\*b-ras* and the Karenic word *buu*, *wā* is closer to them from the phonological point of view.

In Table 11, the compound word *jā-ki* is used for ‘rice grain’. *Jā* is the stem of the compound word; however, the suffix *-ki* also has the meaning of ‘rice’ according to Kölver (1994).

Table 11: Newar type.

category	rice plant and hulled grain	rice grain (polished)	cooked rice
Kathmandu	<i>wā</i>	<i>jāki</i>	<i>jā</i>
Dolakha <sup>14</sup>	<i>yā</i>	<i>jāki</i>	<i>jā</i>

## 2.8 Qiangic

Many Qiangic languages are spoken within the Tibetosphere and thus the language area generally does not belong to the rice cultivation culture. Because of this reason, many languages merely have one form for ‘rice’ as in English, such as Qiang, rGyalrongic languages, nDrapa, and Darmdo Minyag:

Table 12: Majority of the Qiangic varieties.

category	rice (plant, hulled, polished, cooked)
Yadu Qiang <sup>15</sup>	<i>qhəʹ</i>
Kyomkyo Situ rGyalrong	<i>kʰruʷ<sup>235</sup></i>
Munashan Chuchen rGyalrong	<i>mbras<sup>24</sup></i>
Shade Darmdo Minyag	<i>nqze<sup>55</sup></i>
Thamkhas Lhagang Choyu	<i>mɰwa<sup>55</sup></i>
Zhongni nDrapa	<i>nqe3</i>

Several rGyalrongic languages have two different forms for ‘rice’, as seen in Table 12, i.e. /kʰruʷ/-type and /mbras/-type. The latter is evidently a Tibetan loan (LT *bras*; see 2.1). However, one

<sup>14</sup> The data are cited from Genetti (2007).

<sup>15</sup> The source of the word form is LaPolla & Huang (2003).

variety only possesses one of two, and the meaning is completely the same between the two of them.<sup>16</sup> The former form might be related to LT *khre* ‘millet’; in some Tibeto-Burman languages such as Kuki-Chin, the form of which proto-semantic meaning is ‘millet’ is used for ‘rice’ (Bradley 2011; Suzuki et al. this volume). Therefore, it is highly possible that a similar phenomenon happened in some rGyalrongic languages and dialects.

It is noteworthy that some Qiangic languages have a semantic division for ‘rice’, e.g., Prinmi and Guiqiong.

Table 13: Prinmi and Guiqiong type.

category	rice plant	rice grain (hulled and polished)	cooked rice
Maoniuping Prinmi	<i>sjəw</i> <sup>55</sup>	<i>tʂ<sup>h</sup>we</i> <sup>13</sup>	<i>dzi</i> <sup>55</sup>
Qianxi Guiqiong <sup>17</sup>	<i>ku</i> <sup>55</sup> <i>tsɿ</i> <sup>33</sup>	<i>dɔ</i> <sup>35</sup>	<i>zi</i> <sup>35</sup>

These two languages are separately distributed from one another, however, they have the same semantic division for ‘rice’. The form of ‘rice plant’ in Qianxi Guiqiong is a Chinese loan, which corresponds to the form attested in Southwestern Mandarin. Another dialect of Guiqiong, Maibeng, in this Asian Geolinguistic Project, has only one form for ‘rice’, /dɔ<sup>35</sup>/ (Huang ed. 1992). This may be the only inherited word for both ‘rice plant’ and ‘rice grain’.

## 2.9 Summary

Based on the description above as well as the data collected for the project *Study in Asian Geolinguistics*, the semantic division within ‘rice’ (non-glutinous *oryza sativa*; plant and grain) attested within Tibeto-Burman is classified as follows:

- A. only one semantic category (as in the English word ‘rice’)
  - no classification needed: most Tibetic languages and many Qiangic languages
- B. two semantic categories
  - 1. rice plant vs. rice grain: some Tibetic languages spoken in Yunnan
  - 2. rice plant and hulled grain vs. polished and cooked rice: Loloish languages, Bai
  - 3. rice not ready to eat (plant and grain) vs. rice ready to eat
- C. three semantic categories
  - 1. rice plant and polished rice vs. hulled rice vs. rice ready to eat: several Loloish languages
  - 2. rice plant and hulled grain vs. polished rice vs. cooked rice: Jinghpaw,<sup>18</sup> Karenic, Newar
  - 3. rice plant vs. rice grain (hulled and polished) vs. rice ready to eat: Prinmi, Guiqiong
  - 4. rice plant vs. hulled grain vs. polished and cooked rice: Bai
- D. four semantic categories
  - rice plant vs. hulled rice vs. polished rice vs. cooked rice: Burmese, Bai, several Loloish languages, and Dzongkha (Tibetic)

As displayed above, the semantic division attested in Tibeto-Burman languages is so variegated that generalisation to give an overall explanation regarding the diachronic acquisition of semantic categories of ‘rice’ within Tibeto-Burman languages is a complicated task. The classification above can be displayed as in the following tabular:

<sup>16</sup> Elder speakers, as well as local intellectuals such as monks may know both the word forms; however, this does not mean that a distinction of these two word forms is attested in a given variety.

<sup>17</sup> The source of the word form is Song (2011).

<sup>18</sup> A Shan loan taken into consideration, Jinghpaw should be classified as D. See Table 5.

Table 14: classification of the ‘rice’ category

classification	rice plant	hulled rice	polished rice	cooked rice
A	word form a	word form a	word form a	word form a
B1	word form a	word form b	word form b	word form b
B2	word form a	word form a	word form b	word form b
B3	word form a	word form a	word form a	word form b
C1	word form a	word form b	word form a	word form c
C2	word form a	word form a	word form b	word form c
C3	word form a	word form b	word form b	word form c
C4	word form a	word form b	word form c	word form c
D	word form a	word form b	word form c	word form d

The purpose of this article is limited to elucidate the geographical distribution of the above-mentioned categories. The classification and the name of each category (A-D) are to be applied for linguistic maps and analyses in Section 3.

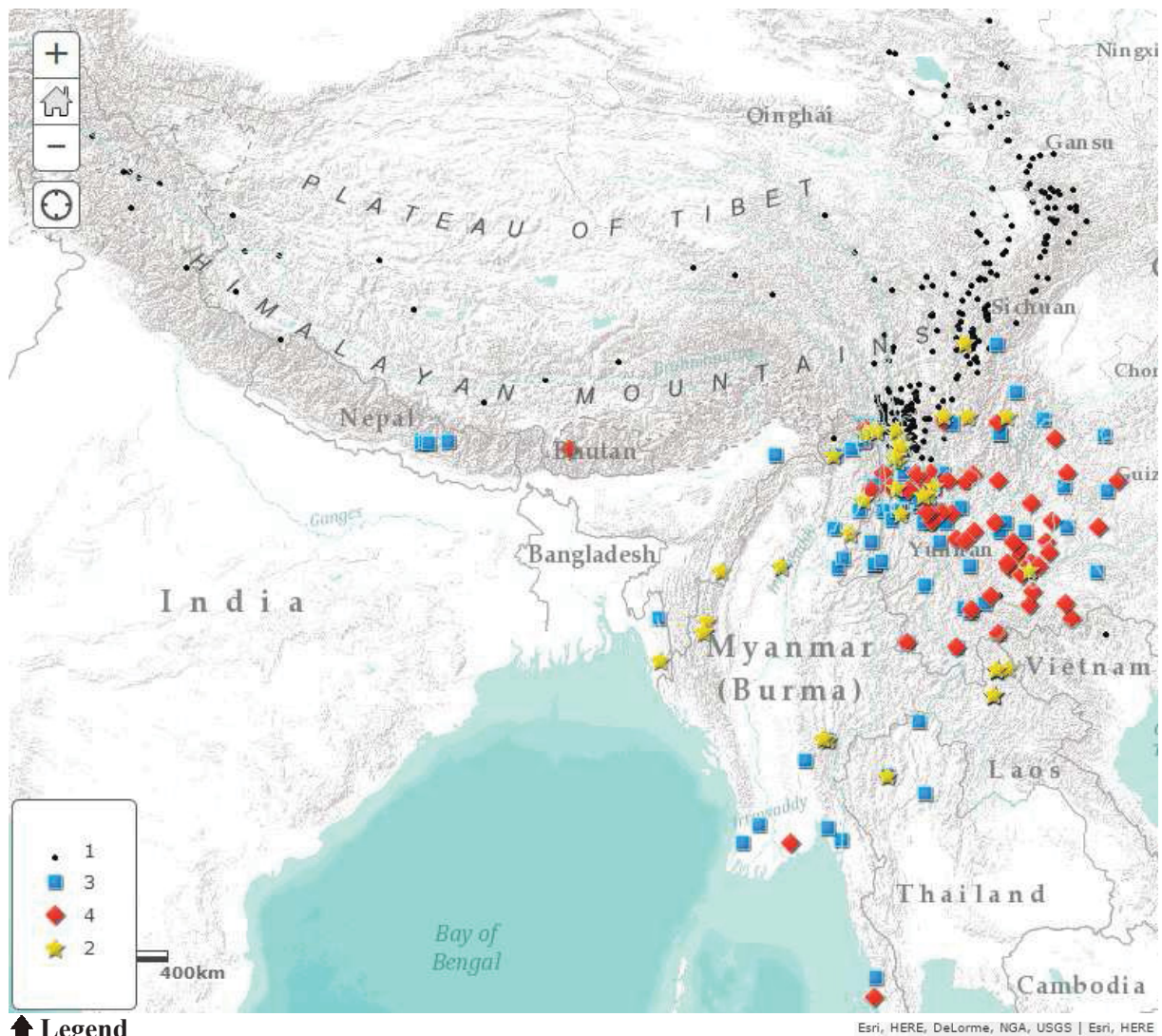
### 3 Map design and analysis

This article presents five maps. The basis of the dataset is quite similar to that employed in Suzuki et al. (this volume); however, several data are omitted due to lack of the specific explanation of the semantic field of ‘rice’. The maps will, based on available data, show how many semantic divisions a given language at least possesses. Map 1 and 2 are designed regarding the number of word forms employed for ‘rice’, i.e. the four categories A, B, C, and D found in 2.9; Map 2 is an enlarged version of Map 1 regarding the southern half part of the Tibeto-Burman area. Maps 3, 4, and 5, are, respectively, the maps of the whole TB area, the southern part of the TB area, and Yunnan-Northernmost Myanmar area, based on the full classification displayed in 2.9.

The shape of symbols of the legend is common to all the maps, featured as follows:

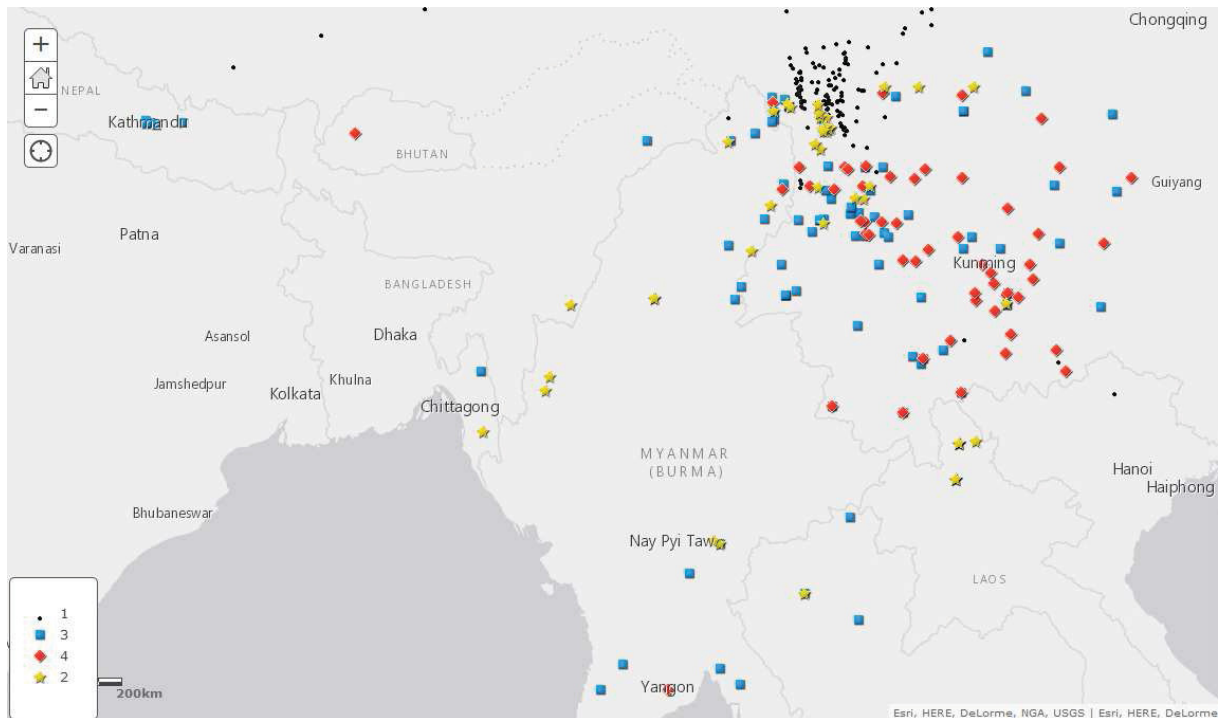
A-type	small dot
B-type	star
C-type	square
D-type	diamond

Because of the dense distribution of recorded varieties in the eastern part of the TB area, use of coloured symbols can enhance readability, which is applied for all the maps. However, the colour used in Maps 1 and 2 is redundant for better readability, whereas it is related to the classification and functions as a display of distinctions in Map 3, 4, and 5.



↑ Legend

Map 1: Overall distribution of the number of word forms for 'rice'.



#### **Legend**

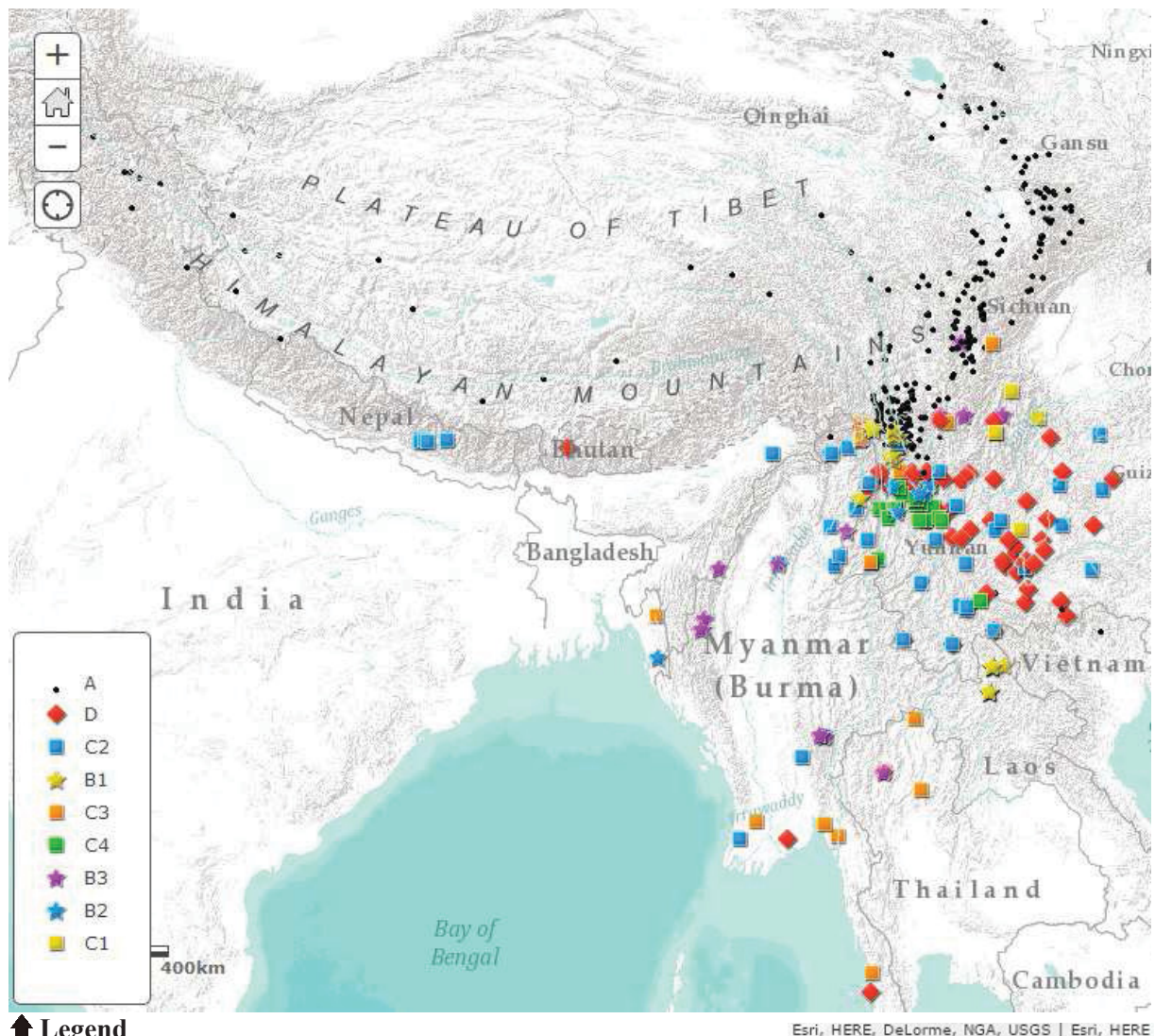
Map 2: Distribution of the number of word forms for ‘rice’: Southern TB area.

Map 1 and Map 2 display an overall distribution of the number of distinct word forms for ‘rice’. They basically show that languages mainly spoken in the rice cultivation area have multiple semantic categories for ‘rice’ expressed with distinct word forms. The northernmost point in the data which have multiple distinct semantic categories for ‘rice’ is the Qianxi dialect of Guizhong (nGochang), at the point of 30.170 latitude north and 102.208 longitude east. This dialect is spoken in a valley along the Daduhe River, and the climate condition is warm and appropriate for rice cultivation. The languages with four semantic categories for ‘rice’ are, according to Map 1 and Map 2, spoken between Xide (28.182 latitude north; Nosu Yi) and Myeik (12.433 latitude north; Burmese).

It is interesting that some Tibetic languages spoken in the rice cultivation area acquired a detailed semantic division for ‘rice’, as in Dzongkha and Yunnan Khams (see also 2.1). Looking at Loloish languages, the distributions of ‘three-division’ type and ‘four-division’ type are not related to each other from a geographical viewpoint. The major part of the ‘four-division’ type is attested within the territory of China, i.e. within the linguistic Sinosphere. This most complicated type may be related to the semantic division for ‘rice’ in Chinese (e.g., *dao* ‘rice plant’, *gu(zi)* ‘rice grain’, *(da)mi* ‘rice ready to cook/ rice grain’, *(mi)fan* ‘cooked rice’)<sup>19</sup> other than the inheritance of the semantic division with multiple word forms in a given language.

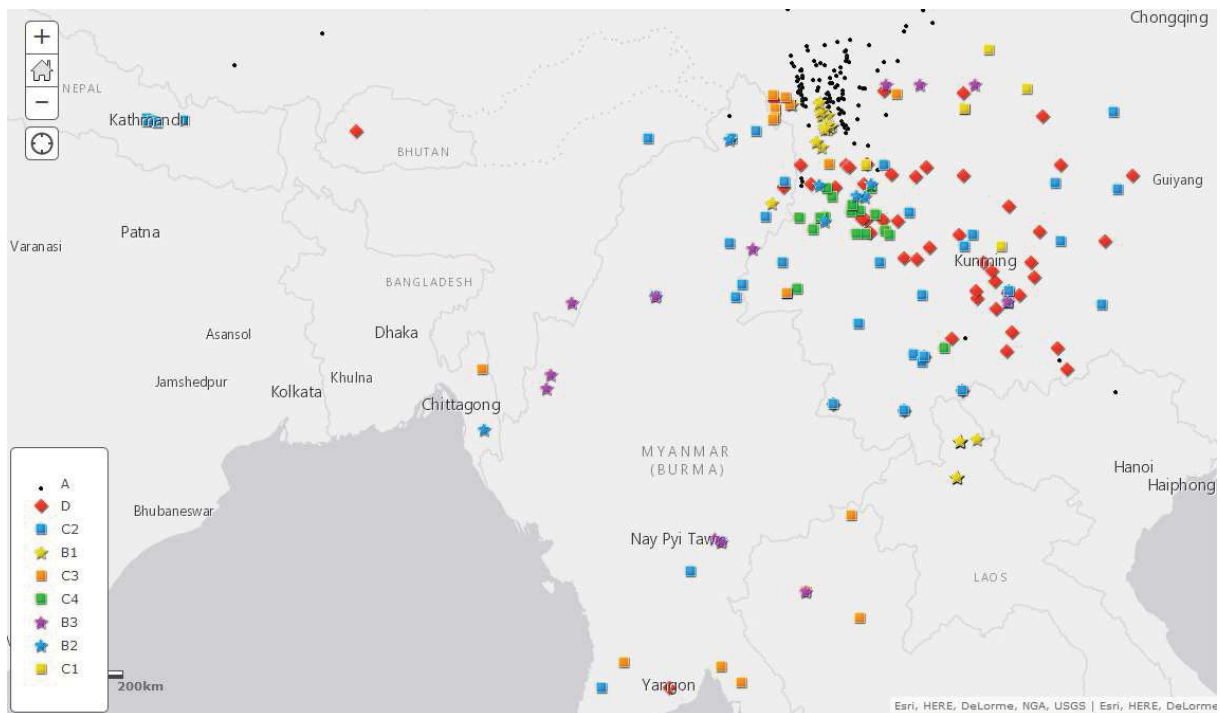
<sup>19</sup> The lexical form and meaning may differ depending on dialects of Chinese, even within South-western Mandarin. See Yagi & Ueya (this volume).





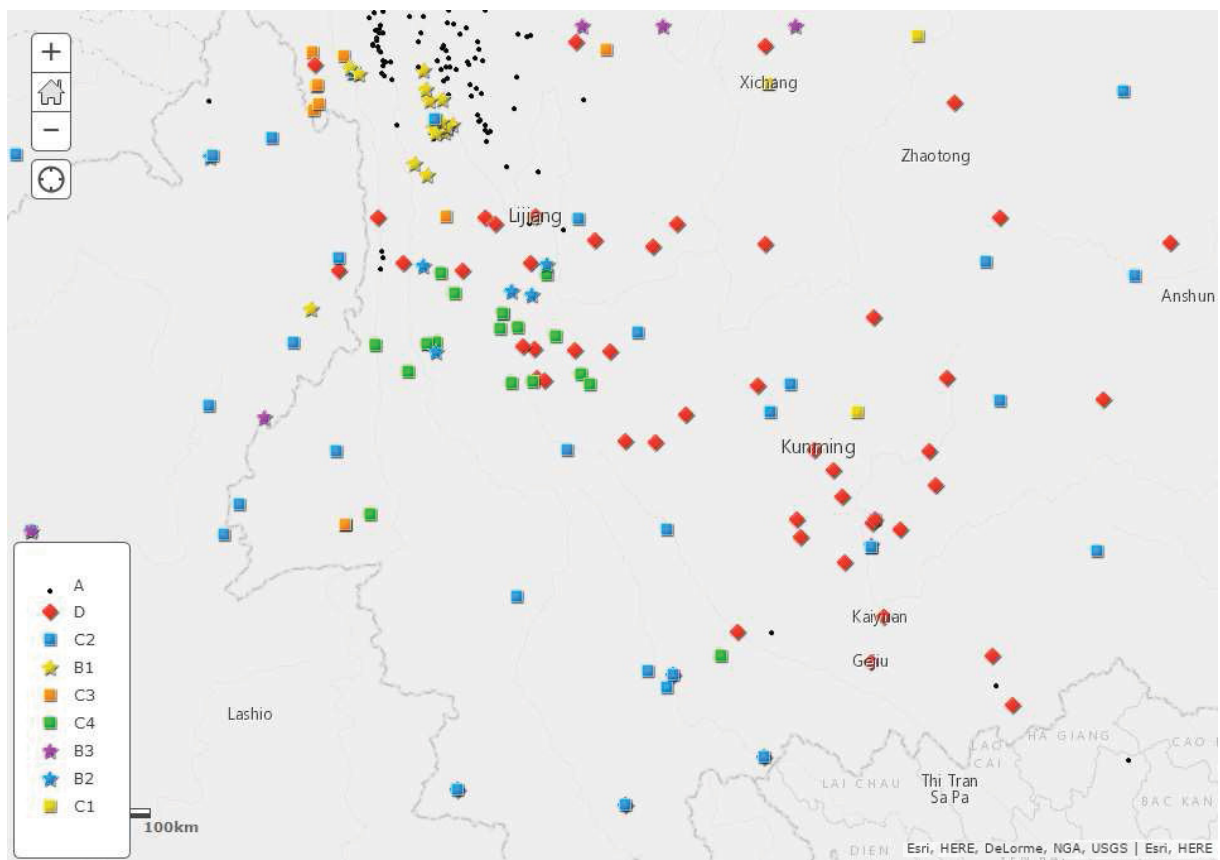
#### Legend

Map 3: Overall distribution of word forms for 'rice' with the classification provided in 2.9.



#### ▲ Legend

Map 4: Distribution of word forms for 'rice' with the classification provided in 2.9: Southern TB area.



#### ▲ Legend

Map 5: Distribution of word forms for 'rice' with the classification provided in 2.9: Yunnan-Myanmar.

Maps 3, 4, and 5 present a distribution of word forms for ‘rice’ with the classification provided in 2.9. The criterion of the classification is the number of word forms connecting with their division of semantic fields. Categories B1, C3 (symbols in orange), and C4 (symbols in green) distinguish ‘rice plant’ from ‘grain’. This type is principally found in the north-western part of Yunnan, in Trung, Khamts Tibetan, and Bai languages. Categories B2 and C2 (symbols in sky blue) are common in that a variety has the same word form for ‘rice plant’ and ‘hulled rice’. In Loloish languages, except for the ‘four-division’ type, the ‘three-division’ type with C2 category is found the most. In addition, the C2 type is found in Jinghpaw.

#### 4 Concluding remarks

This article analysed the semantic category of ‘rice’ in Tibeto-Burman languages by presenting 5 maps regarding the number of word forms for ‘rice’ with a classification of its semantic categories. The maps basically show that the complexity of the semantic category for ‘rice’ is related to the region where a given language is spoken as well as where the rice cultivation culture is location; however, because of limitation of data, in-depth analysis was unable to be provided.

The article, though, presents a basic view for an investigation of ‘rice’ category in the Tibeto-Burman languages. The appendix provides a list of word forms for ‘rice’ in Burmese and Loloish languages collected from the authors’ fieldwork and previous works. The task in coming works is to elucidate the semantic division of ‘rice’ in every related Tibeto-Burman variety.

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#### Appendix: Data for ‘rice’ in Burmese and Yi languages

Burmese languages:

language/ variety	rice plant	rice grain (hulled)	rice grain (polished)	cooked rice	source
Yangon	kauʔ, kauʔ-pìn, zābá-bìn	zābá	shàn	thāmín	
Arakanese/Sittwe			seŋ		Ohno (1969:94)
Intha/Inle		pà		mèn	Okell (1995:69)
Marma/Chittagong	cəbá		chaiŋ	thəmón	Huziwara (2008:831)
Myeik	zabábĩ	zabá	shā	mĩ	Kato (2012:154)
Palaw	koʔpan <sup>M</sup>	zāba <sup>H</sup>	shan <sup>M</sup>	man <sup>H</sup>	Otsuka (2014:186)
Taungyo/Pindaya			shain	thəmín	Yabu (1981:163)
Tavoyan/Dawei		ba:		hman:	Ohno (1971:114)
Yaw/ Gangaw			shen	thəmân	Yabu (1980:170)

Yi languages:

language/ variety	rice plant	rice grain (hulled)	rice grain (polished)	cooked rice	source
Yi Northern/Lizixiang	tshu33		tshu33	dza33	ZMYC (1991)
Yi Northern/Xide	tshu33	tshu34 sɿ33	tshu33 tehu33	dza33	Huang (1992)
Yi Northern/Liangshan	tshu33		tshu33 qu33		DCQG (1984)
Senza/Xichang	tshu33	tshu34 si33	tshu33	dza33	Chen (2010)
Yino/Leibo	tshu22	tshu22 si22	tshu22	dza22	Chen (2010)
Lidim/Ganluo	tshu33	tshu33 si33	tshu33	dza33	Chen (2010)
Sodi/Huili	tshu33	tshu33 ma33	tshu33	dza33	Chen (2010)
Yi Western/Wuju	tehi55		dza21 kha55	dza55	ZMYC (1991)
Yi Western (Laluba)/ Baiwudi	tehi55	tehi55 sE21	dza21 kha55 fu55	dza55	Huang (1992)
Lalu/Binchuan	tehi55	tehi55 ʂe21	dza21 kha55 fu55	dza55	Chen (2010)
Lalo/Lincang	tehi55	tehi55	dza21 kha55	dza33	Chen (2010)
Lipo/Huaping	tehe33	tshe33 sE21	kho33	dzo33	Chen (2010)
Lolo/Mouding	tehe33	tehe33 sE21	tehe33 phy33 o33	dzo33	Chen (2010)
Tolozha/Lijiang	tshi21	tshi21 kha33	tshi33	dza21	Chen (2010)
Talu/Yongsheng	tehu55	tshu55 mu55	tshu55 pu55	dzu55	Chen (2010)
Lavu/Shunchuan	tshu55 ʂa21	tshu55 mu55	dzu55 khu55	dzu55	Chen (2010)
Zoko/Maguan	tehi21	tehi21 ei44	tehi21 ku55	dzo21	Chen (2010)
Polo/Wenshan	tshe33	tshe33 ei33	tshe33 phi33	dzo33	Chen (2010)
Yi Eastern/Luquan	tshE21		dzo33 kho33	dzo21	DCQG (1984)
Yi Eastern/Panxian	tehe21		tehe21 thu33	dzo21	DCQG (1984)
Yi Eastern/Daxiyi	tshE11	tshE11 mu11	tshE11 tɕy33	dzu11	Huang (1992)
Yi Eastern/Weining	tɕɿ21		dzu21 thu33	dza33, dzu21	DCQG (1984)
Yi Eastern/ Chengguanzen	tshɿ21		dzo21 tɕhu33	dzo21	ZMYC (1991)
Yi Eastern/Dafang	tshɿ21 mu21		dzu21 thu33	dzu21	DCQG (1984)
Yi Eastern/Longlin	tshe21		tshe21 thu21	dzo21	DCQG (1984)
Nasu/Dongchuan	tshE21	tshE21 mo21	dzo33 kho33	dzo21	Chen (2010)
Naso/Daguan	tehe21	tehe21 mo21	tshe21 thu33	dzo21	Chen (2010)
Alo/Fumin	tshE21	tshE21 mu21	dzo33 kho33	dzu21	Chen (2010)
Mongi/Haoming	khɔ13	khɔ13 khe13 i13	khɔ13	dzo13	Chen (2010)
Nersu/Weining	tshi21	tshi21 se33 mo33	dzo21 tɕhu33	dzo21	Chen (2010)
Nipu/Zhijin	tshi21	tehe21 ei33	dzo21 tɕhu33	dzo21	Chen (2010)
Noso/Xingren	tehI21	tehI21 ei33	tehI21 thu55	dzo21	Chen (2010)
Yi Southern/Shuangbo	tshia21		tshia21 thu21	dzo21	DCQG (1984)
Yi Southern/Mocedian	tehe21				Iwasa (forthcoming) <sup>20</sup>
Yi Southern/Jingxing	tehe21		tehe21 thu55	dzo21	ZMYC (1991)
Neshu/Yuxi	tehI21	tehI21 ʂə33	tehI21 thu55	dzo21	Chen (2010)
Narsu/Gejiu	tehe21	tehe21 se33	tehI21 thu55	dzo21	Chen (2010)
Nesu/Yuanjiang	tehe21	tehe21 se33	tehe21 thu55	dzo21	Chen (2010)
Yi Central/Yangjiation	tehi33		tehe33 phiu33	dzo33	ZMYC (1991)
Yi Central (Luoluobo)/ Wujie	tehe33 sE21	tehe33 sE21	tehe33 phyo33	a55 me21, dzo33	Huang (1992)

<sup>20</sup> An article including this data is currently being written.



Yi Central/Pujiehei	tshe55 thu55	tshe55			Xu et al. (2013)
Kopo/Zhanyi	tehI33	tehI33 se21	dzo33 tei55	tso33	Chen (2010)
Yi Southeastern (Axi)/ Dapingdi	tehi33 tse33, tso33 bi33 tse33		tso33 bi33, tsho33 tho33	tso33	ZMYC (1991)
Yi Southeastern (Axi)/ Lanniqing	tso33 sa11			tso33 bi55 tso33	Iwasa (2004)
Yi Southeastern (Axi)/ Moxiangjing	tso22 bi22		tso22 bi22, tsho22 tho21	tso22	Yuan (1953)
Asi/Chengjiang	tehi33	tehi33 sa21	tso33 bi33	tso33	Chen (2010)
Yi Southeastern (Sani)/Lunan	tehI33 ma33		tehI33 lu33	tsa33	DCQG (1984)
Yi Southeastern (Sani)/Weize	tehI33 mo33	tehI33 sa11	tehI33 lɿ33	tsɒ33	Huang (1992)
Yi Southeastern (Sani)/Lunan	tehI33, tehI33	tehI33 me33	tehI33 lu33	tsɛ33	YHJMCD (1982)
Sani/Luliang	tehI33	tehI33 si21	tehI33 lu33	tsa33	Chen (2010)
Nise/Lunan	tehi21	tehI21 se33	tehI33 tlu33	dzu21	Chen (2010)
Sanni/Kunming	tehi33	tehi33 sa55	tshi33 su33	dza33	Chen (2010)
Yi Southeastern (Azha)/Madi	tso31				Iwasa (2004)
Azi/Kaiyuan	tehI33	tehI33 se21	dzo33 tei55	dzo33	Chen (2010)
Lopo/Mile	tehe21	tehi21 se33	a21 thu21	dzu21	Chen (2010)
Ma Ndzi/Baolac	qa13				Iwasa (2003)

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# A Geolinguistic Description of Terms for ‘Rice’ in Tibetic Languages of the Eastern Tibetosphere

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## Abstract

This article attempts to describe a dialectal difference of the word ‘rice’ attested in around 230 dialects of the eastern Tibetic languages. The word ‘rice’ generally corresponds to Written Tibetan (WrT) *’bras*, however, a small number of vernaculars spoken in the southernmost area of the eastern Tibetosphere (Yunnan) divide ‘rice’ into two semantic categories, ‘rice grain’ and ‘rice plant’, of which the former corresponds to WrT *drus ma*. The geographical distribution shows the difference of the lexical system in the rice-cultivating area.

## 1 Introduction

This article provides a detailed description of the geolinguistic analysis of the word forms for ‘rice’ in the Tibetic languages spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere, which Suzuki et al. (this volume) did not describe in detail due to their focus on the whole of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic area. The geographical scope of the eastern Tibetosphere follows the definition of Suzuki (2015c).

The data used to create the linguistics maps at the end of this paper only includes first-hand materials collected by the author from 2003 to 2015. Because of this, as well as because of time constraints on the part of the author, the data points are not equally distributed within this area, and the points on the map only reflect the current research situation. The present map contains 225 points.

The linguistic maps reflect so-called ‘regiolects’, i.e., dialects with regional differences. Sociolects, which certainly exist in the given area, are not dealt with in this article.

## 2 Classification of semantic categories and word forms

This section provides a classification of word forms of ‘rice’ based on its semantic differentiation and the phonetic variation. Regarding the semantic differentiation, there are two types:

(A) one semantic category for ‘rice’; this type possesses only one single stem as in English.

(B) two semantic categories for ‘rice’; this type distinguishes ‘rice grain (hulled, polished, and cooked)’ from ‘rice plant’ or ‘general species’ name for rice’ by differing stems.

The stem attested in most dialects of the A-type, and one stem in the B-type correspond to Written Tibetan (WrT) *’bras*, including numerous types of phonetic realisations. However, the variation of phonetic realisations is not crucial for classification here, and it just distinguishes a regular sound correspondence with WrT from a regular one. The classification proposed in the article is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

A-type

A-1: showing a regular sound correspondence of WrT *’bras*

[<sup>n</sup>dɛ:], [<sup>m</sup>dɛ:], [<sup>ɲ</sup>ji:], [<sup>n</sup>dze:], [<sup>m</sup>bɛ:], [<sup>m</sup>bɛ<sup>ɕ</sup>:], [<sup>m</sup>bre:], etc.

A-2: showing an irregular sound correspondence of *’bras*

[<sup>n</sup>dɯ fɯw], [<sup>n</sup>gu:], [<sup>ŋ</sup>gi:], etc.

A-3: correspondence of WrT *drus ma* ‘polished grain’

[tɛ ma], [tɛ: ma]

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<sup>1</sup> A suprasegmental description is uniformly omitted.

B-type

B-1: '*bras* 'general name for rice' and *drus ma* 'rice grain' with a regular sound correspondence [ʰdze:] + [ʰtu: ma], [ʰdze:] + [ti: ma], [ʰdze:] + [tə ɲa], [ʰbɛ:] + [tə mə], etc.

B-2: '*bras* 'general name for rice' and *drus ma* 'rice grain' with an irregular sound correspondence [ʰge:] + [ʰtə: ma],

Phonetic variation is generally not a criterion to classify word forms, as seen in Shirai et al. (2015). However, an irregular sound correspondence should be noted, because it might show a spreading process of the irregular form. Evidence that shows irregular phonetic correspondences, which we can obtain only through a systematic analysis of sound correspondences of a given variety with WrT, are not discussed here for the sake of simplicity.<sup>2</sup> A partial discussion of the irregular phonetic form of WrT '*bras* 'rice' was provided in Suzuki (2012).

### 3 Geographical distribution and interpretation

I present three linguistic maps (see the end of the article). Map 1 displays an overall distribution of the word forms for 'rice', reflecting semantic differences as well as phonetic realisations, that is, the map distinguishes the classifications given in Section 2 from each other. Map 2 is an enlarged version of the southeastern Khams area. Map 3 reflects the phonetic variation of the word form corresponding to WrT '*bras*'. Map 3 is not directly for geolinguistic discussions but for a reference of phonetic forms. The linguistic maps here were designed with ArcGIS online.

Map 1 displays that the varieties using the A-type are distributed in the majority of the eastern Tibetosphere<sup>3</sup> with an evident exception from Yunnan, where those using the B-type concentrate. The area of the B-type belongs to a rice cultivation culture, and Tibetans there also plant rice. Therefore, the distribution of the B-type is highly related to this cultural background, where a classification of 'rice plant' and 'rice grain' must have been needed. However, as mentioned in Suzuki et al. (this volume), the rice does not grow in many parts of the Tibetosphere because the climate condition is inappropriate for rice-growing, but the varieties share the same root of this word. This implies that the rice is not a basic word but a cultural one which can be related to the religious purpose. We can also note that the WrT form '*bras*' corresponds to Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) *\*b-ras* 'RICE / FRUIT / BEAR FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT' (STEDT<sup>4</sup>), and it is principally Tibetic languages that employ this PTB etymon for 'rice' among the Tibeto-Burman languages.

Map 2 is an enlarged version of the area where the word form for 'rice' is complicated in the eastern Tibetosphere. The minor groups of the classification above, which are A-2, A-3, B-1, and B-2, appear mainly in the rGyalthang dialect group spoken on the rGyalthang-Yangthang plain and the adjacent area of the Jinshajiang River. Some varieties spoken along the Lancangjiang River and the Nujiang River also have either the A3 or B1 type.

Firstly, it is certain that the B-type appears in varieties spoken in a rice cultivation culture, including Wujing, Tuoding, and Xiaruo townships as well as Tacheng Town (belonging to the Jinshajiang drainage system), Yongchun and Pantiange townships (belonging to the Lancangjiang drainage system), and Bingzhongluo and Bangdang townships (alongside Nujinag). Note that the dialectal relationship among the varieties is not so close to every other because these varieties include the Sems-kyi-nyila and sDerong-nJol groups.

<sup>2</sup> For details regarding the irregularity of this sound correspondence in several dialects of Yunnan, see Suzuki (2009, 2010ab, 2011ab, 2014ac, 2015a, 2016ab).

<sup>3</sup> Following the previous geolinguistic works regarding the Tibetic languages spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere, the distribution of lexical forms can appear in two extreme ways: either occupied by one majority (as in Shirai et al. 2015 and Suzuki 2015c for 'sun') or scattered in variegated forms (as in Suzuki 2012b for 'piglet', and Suzuki 2014b for 'cat'). The case of 'rice' evidently belongs to the former.

<sup>4</sup> <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt-cgi/rootcanal.pl/etymon/2071>, accessed on 20<sup>th</sup> January 2016.

Secondly, we should also pay attention to the distribution of the A-3 type, with a single stem corresponding to WrT *drus ma*, which only appears in three varieties in a mountainous area which does not belong to a rice cultivation culture. Considering the geographical condition and genetic position of dialects, these varieties probably once had the B-type system and lost the form corresponding to WrT *'bras* with a replacement of WrT *drus ma*. Following this, it is also noted that the B-type is distributed in two different dialect groups as mentioned above. However, the lexical varieties for 'rice' imply that they might have had a mutual relationship. Suzuki (2014d) mentions that the Bodgrong dialect (spoken along the Nujiang) is spoken by immigrants from some villages along the Lancangjiang, among which two villages, gYanggril and Tshodrug, are nominated as candidates based on the local tradition. The case of 'rice' suggests that speakers of the Bodgrong dialect might be related to those of Tshodrug, for the dialects with the A-3 type are spoken in the close area to it. Now the Tshodrug dialect does not maintain the B-type and employs the A-type; however, it is possible that the elder generation of the speakers of the Tshodrug dialect used the B-type.

Finally, we look at the A-2 and B-2 types, both of which are characterised by an irregular sound correspondence of WrT *'bras*. These types have a /g/ as the main initial, which is considered as an irregular form. Referring to Map 3, we see that the /g/-initial form are not perfectly equivalent to the A-2 type. Some varieties with the A-1 type also have a /g/-initial form, such as Shingkhogteng and Daan, in which the forms corresponding to WrT 'labial obstruent with a glide *r*' normally correspond to velar obstruents. The velar sound /g/ attested in the form for 'rice' has a close relation to /j/ and /dz/ as discussed in Suzuki (2015a, 2016a). Based on each phonetic form, /g/ must be related with /j/, not with /dz/. Taking the process of sound development discussed in Suzuki (2016a) into consideration, /j/ is the most conservative sound and /dz/ is the innovative. The rGyalthang dialect, an example of the A-2 type, normally has a /dz/ initial for a WrT *'br* initial as seen in <sup>n</sup>dzɔʔ/ for WrT *'brug* 'dragon', while the form for 'rice' is <sup>n</sup>gu:/, which can be considered as an exception. Then, how did the rGyalthang dialect obtain this velar initial attested in 'rice'? Map 3 with a diachronic change given in Suzuki (2016a) suggests that the form for 'rice' with a /g/ initial might have spread from south to north in the rGyalthang-Yangthang plain. This route of expansion may be related to that of Naxi from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to Suzuki (2015b), the sound change regarding the WrT *r*-glide should have been influenced by Naxi after its intense contact began in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, thus the expansion of the word form for 'rice' might be related to Naxi's rule for the rGyalthang area at that period.<sup>5</sup> In this case, 'rice' is not likely to be used for a kind of staple food but for a religious purpose, as rice cultivation is not practised on the rGyalthang-Yangthang plain. This explanation can also be applied for the case of the B-2 types attested along the Jinshajiang. The region once functioned as an 'entrance' from the Naxi cultural area to the Tibetosphere and has a religious site. Naxis and Tibetans still live together in this region.<sup>6</sup>

## 4 Conclusion

The word form of 'rice' in the Tibetic languages in the eastern Tibetosphere mainly corresponds to WrT *'bras*, and its geographical distribution is nearly pervasive. Most regions do not belong to the rice cultivation area; however, varieties have the same stem for rice. It is probably because the rice is used for religious rituals, whether they are of Bon or Buddhism. The 'rice' seems to be a kind of staple food, but in the case of Tibet, it can be for a religious purpose.

In the Tibetosphere in Yunnan, however, a complicated system is attested. Several dialects spoken under the rice cultivation culture distinguish 'rice grain' from 'rice plant' by using different stems. The irregular sound correspondence of WrT *'bras* is also seen in Yunnan, which might be spread from the Naxi area to the north. The case of the Bodgrong dialect, spoken along the Nujiang, can be related to the varieties with the B-type spoken along the Jinshajiang. Because the B-type is attested in the limited

<sup>5</sup> See Wang (1995) for a detail.

<sup>6</sup> See Wu (2009) for a detail. However, the varieties that were influenced by Naxi the most belong to the Melung subgroup of the Sems-kyi-nyila group, and this fact appears in the Melung's systematic phonetic development, See also Suzuki (2013).

range among the Tibetic languages, it is difficult to suppose that varieties with the B-type developed independently in several places. The migration history of the Bodgrong Tibetans also indicates the origin where the varieties using the B-type are spoken.

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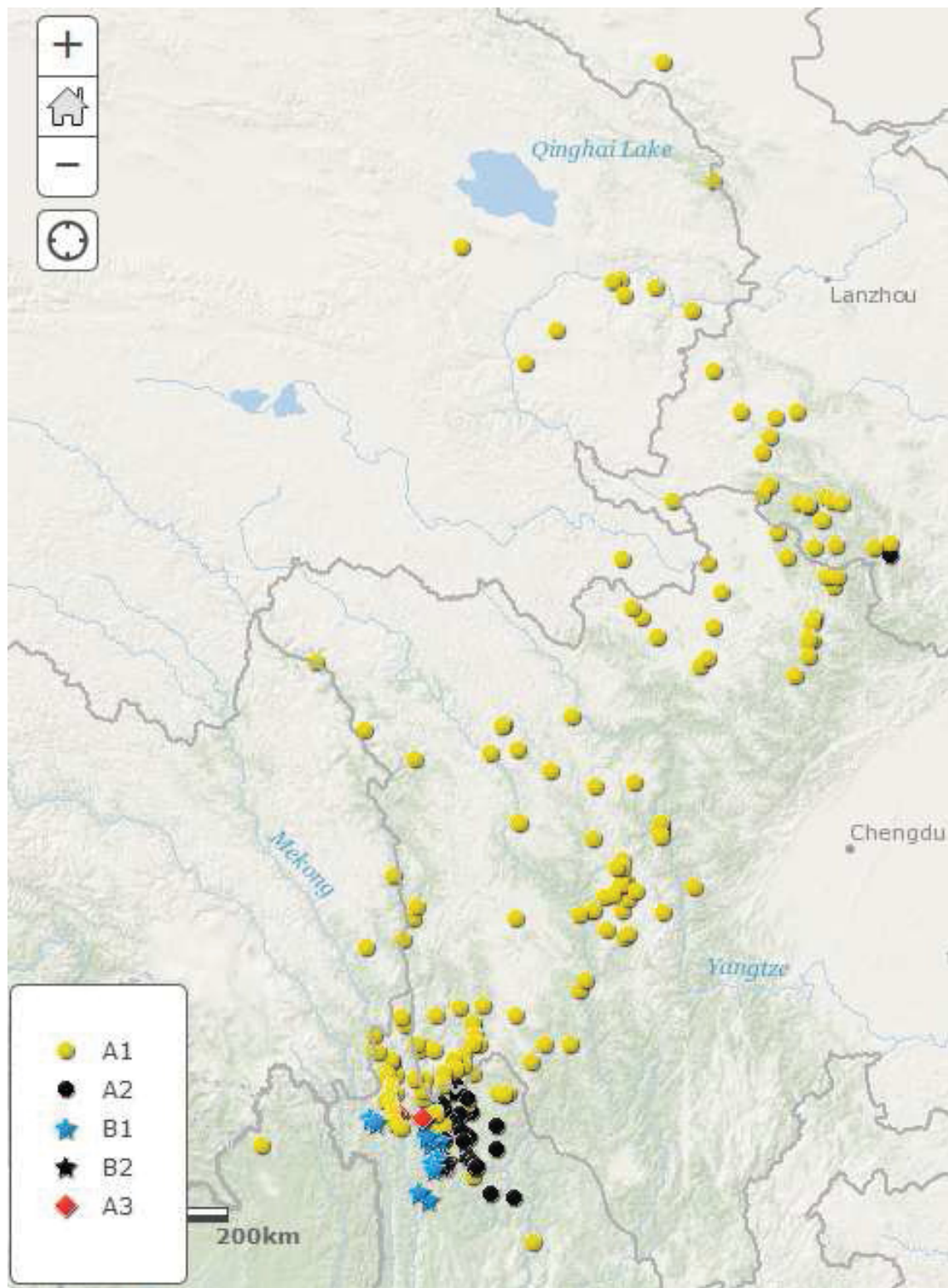
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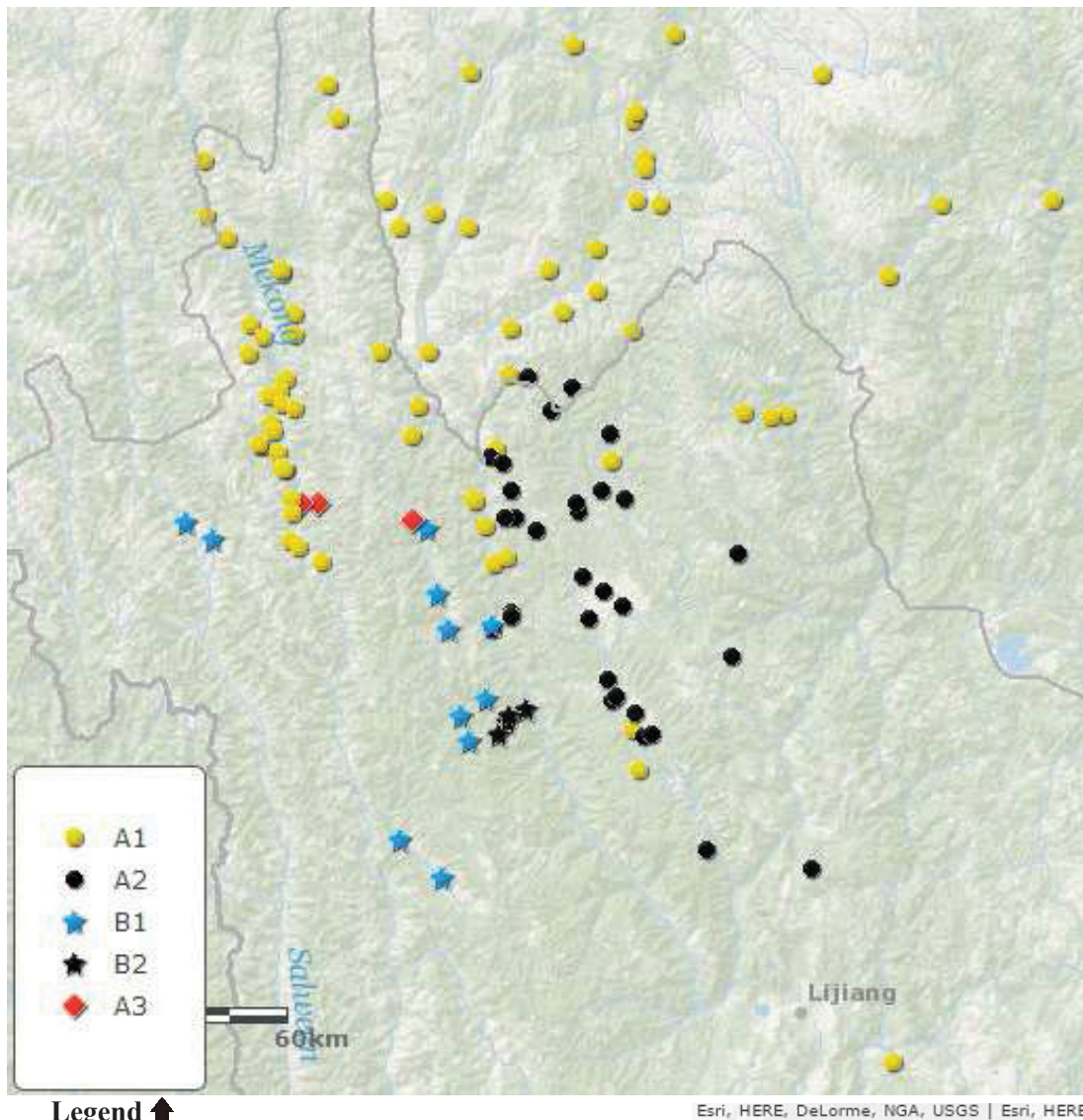


## Maps



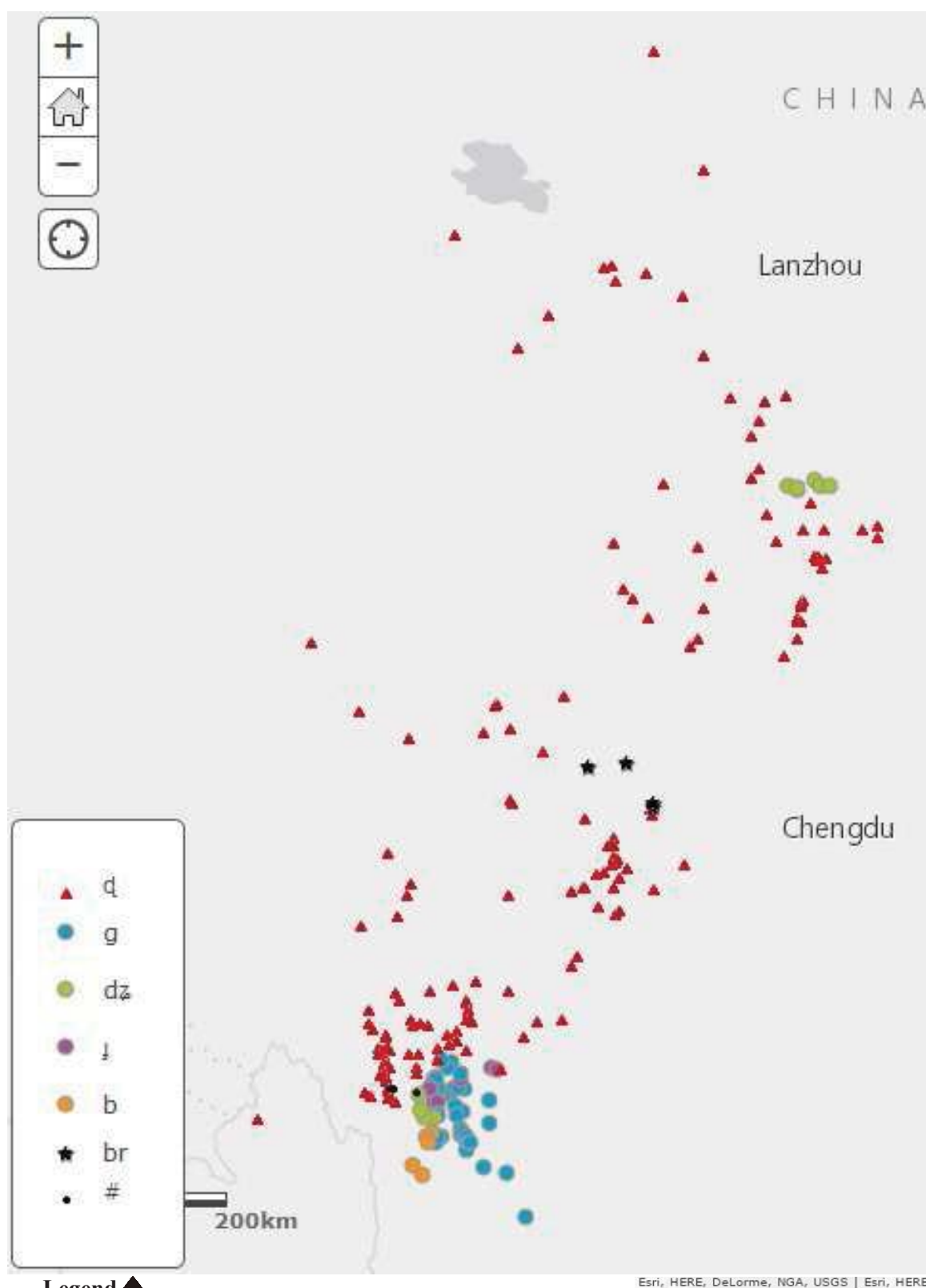
**Legend** ↑  
Map 1: Overall distribution of word forms.






Map 2: Distribution of word forms in the southeastern Kham region.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the map automatically generated by ArcGIS does not reflect the factual borderline dividing Yunnan Province from Sichuan Province. The actual line should be further to the north; on the map, Dongwang Township belongs to Sichuan, which should be within Yunnan.



**Legend**   
 Map 3: Distribution of the main initial (with a glide) sound corresponding to WrT 'bras'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The legend does not reflect the preinitial feature (prenasalisation in most cases); 'd' includes both a plosive /d/ and an affricate /dz/; '#' means lack of the form corresponding to WrT 'bras' (i.e., A-3 type).

# Lhagang Choyu: A First Look at its Sociolinguistic Status

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## Abstract

Lhagang Choyu is a newly recognised moribund language spoken only in one hamlet named Täge (*Thabs-mkhas*) of Tagong (*lHa-sgang*) Town, Kangding (*Dar-mdo*) Municipality, Ganzi (*dKar-mdzes*) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. There are less than a hundred competent speakers, most of whom, unfortunately, no longer use the language in daily life, speaking Kham Tibetan instead. This essay describes the sociolinguistic status of Lhagang Choyu and explains how it has remained undiscovered until now.

## 1 Introduction

This short article aims to shed light on a Qiangic language named Lhagang Choyu (Tagong Queyu 塔公却域语<sup>1</sup>), spoken only in one hamlet, called Täge 塔格 [*Thabs-mkhas*] of Tagong 塔公 [*lHa-sgang*] Town, Kangding 康定 [*Dar-mdo*] Municipality,<sup>2</sup> Ganzi 甘孜 [*dKar-mdzes*] Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan 四川 Province, China.



Fig. 1: Geographical position of Tagong Town.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The character 却 *que* is pronounced as [tɕʰio] in the local Sichuanese (a member of southwestern Mandarin) of Kangding.

<sup>2</sup> Kangding became a municipality-level administrative unit on the 1st of June, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> This map, designed with Googlemaps (<https://www.google.co.jp/maps/>; accessed 25<sup>th</sup> June 2015), is also used in Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2015c, 2016a).

This language is currently moribund, and there might not, unfortunately, be any more *native* speakers who acquired the language as a mother tongue. Although there are around 20 households living in Tage Hamlet, there are less than a hundred people who know the language, most of whom are now habitual speakers of Khams Tibetan (the Thamkhas dialect; Minyag Rabgang Khams), with a knowledge of Lhagang Choyu as a second language. Hence, they do not habitually use this language, and speak Khams Tibetan instead. Khams Tibetan is even used within families in which all members are from Tage Hamlet.

The existence of Lhagang Choyu<sup>4</sup> was incidentally found in the course of the first author's investigation of the historical area of Darmdo Minyag, a Qiangic language which may have been dominant in this region in the past (Dawa Drolma & Suzuki 2015). Collecting local narratives related to non-Tibetic languages, he encountered information concerning a non-Tibetic, non-Darmdo Minyag language spoken in two hamlets located to the west of Tagong Village.

Despite long-standing academic interest in endangered languages, and intense ethnographic explorations in the region, this language has remained unrecorded until now. Even the second author, a native of Tagong Village, only learnt of the language during this research. Most middle-aged and younger villagers living in Tagong Village do not know it either. In such a situation, it is not unimaginable that outsider linguists have never had any contact with Lhagang Choyu speakers, even though local non-Tibetic languages spoken in the Ethnic Corridor of West Sichuan (a.k.a. Tibeto-Lolo Corridor or Tibeto-Qiang-Lolo Corridor) have attracted a great deal of attention in the past four decades (Sun 1983, Dai et al. 1990, Ikeda 2003). In addition, the linguistic situation within Tagong Town is complicated (Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2015a, 2017). Figure 2 shows the distribution and classification of various languages spoken within the administrative territory of Tagong Town.



Fig. 2: Language distribution within Tagong Town.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This language is briefly mentioned in Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017).

<sup>5</sup> Figures 2 and 3 are designed with the online geocoding mapping method provided by the site: <http://ktgis.net/gcode/index.php> (accessed 13<sup>th</sup> March 2016).



Two sites associated with Lhagang Choyu are indicated in Figure 2. However, it is no longer spoken in one of them; see Section 2.

The article consists of two main sections: a description of the background of Lhagang Choyu, followed by a brief sociolinguistic description. We also provide an appendix containing a brief description of four word forms that characterise Lhagang Choyu. Field research in Tagong Village was conducted in the summer of 2015 and the spring of 2016. The description of toponyms is uniformly in pinyin, whereas that of languages and varieties utilises a Tibetan-based spelling.

## 2 Background: languages, geography, and history

This section describes the context of the Lhagang Choyu language, including language distribution in its surrounding area, the geographical location, and historical features.

As an undescribed variety, the name “Lhagang Choyu” must remain tentative, indicating that the variety is most closely-related to four known dialects of the Choyu language<sup>6</sup> (registered in *Ethnologue* as Queyu;<sup>7</sup> ISO 639-3 code: qvy): Youlaxi 尤拉西 [*gYang-la-gshis*] Township of Xinlong 新龙 [*Nyang-rong*] County (Wang 1991; Huang ed. 1992), Rongba 绒坝 [*Rong-pa*] Township of Litang 理塘 [*Li-thang*] County (Nishida 2008), and Tuanjie 团结 Township (Lu 1985; Sun ed. 1991) and Xiala<sup>8</sup> 呷拉 Township (Prins & Nagano 2013) of Yajiang 雅江 [*Nyang-chu-kha*] County (see Fig. 3 for the geographical distribution of these varieties).

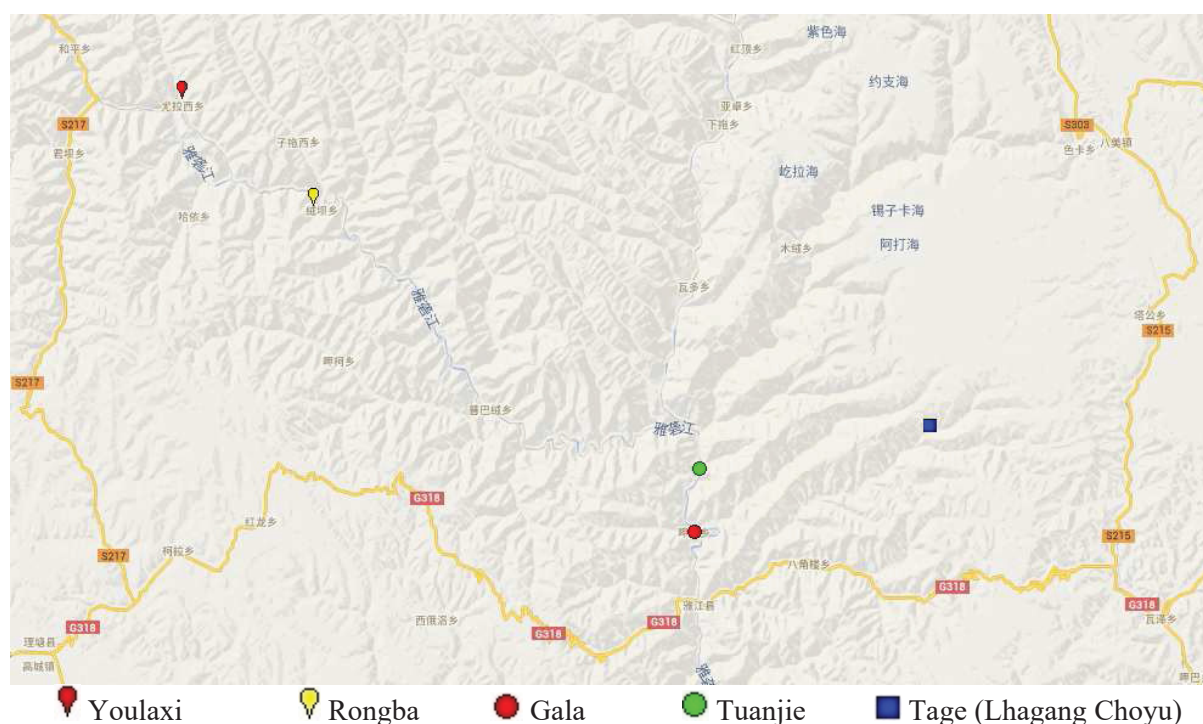


Fig. 3: Geographical distribution of Choyu and Lhagang Choyu.

<sup>6</sup> “Choyu” can be analysed as the autonym of Choyu speakers “Cho” and WrT *yul* ‘place’. It is unclear what “Cho” means and how it is spelt in WrT (or completely nonexistent). Dawa Drolma (2015) uses WrT *khyo yul* for this name, however, no interpretation is given. The article continues to use the spelling “Choyu”.

<sup>7</sup> As mentioned in footnotes 1 and 6, “Queyu” as a language name, just following the pinyin, has no significance; hence we recommend the use of “Choyu” instead.

<sup>8</sup> Locally pronounced as Gala, in a way of Sichuanese, as shown in Prins & Nagano (2013). The spelling ‘Gala’ is used throughout this article.

There are two principal reasons why we call this language *Choyu*: first is its linguistic similarity to Choyu, including phonetic, morphological, and lexical traits, and second is sociolinguistic information we collected on the language that suggest historical links with Choyu speakers. The former characteristics (see Appendix) are beyond the scope of this article. The latter much attracts us and will be discussed here. It remains to be seen whether Lhagang Choyu is linguistically independent from other Choyu dialects; however, the present status of Lhagang Choyu to be discussed in the article suggests that we should treat it as an independent language facing severe endangerment.<sup>9</sup> When we refer to the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) provided by *Ethnologue*,<sup>10</sup> Lhagang Choyu can be classified as 8b (Nearly extinct),<sup>11</sup> whereas Choyu is 6b (Threatened), with around 7,000 speakers.

Lhagang Choyu *has been spoken* in at least two hamlets called Tage and Xiya 西雅 [Shing-nyag], in the southwest of Tagong Town (see the description later in this section); however, at present, it *seems to be used* only in Tage. This means that the speech community of this language has already disappeared and that limited users remain there. Xiya Hamlet belongs to a pastoral area located on the grassland, now inhabited by speakers of a nomadic variety of Amdo Tibetan, whereas Tage Hamlet belongs to an agricultural area surrounded by mountains. There are no motorable roads between these hamlets and any main surrounding villages, and transportation is therefore primarily limited to horses and motorbikes. It used to take one whole day to walk from Tage to the town centre of Tagong (i.e., Tagong Village), however, it now takes three hours by motorbike. A direct distance from Tage Hamlet to the closest speech community of Choyu found in Gala Township of Yajiang County is around 30 kilometres, taking one day by horse. According to our interviews, there is no specific relationship between Tage and Gala. As Figure 3 shows, the geography between them consists of steep mountainous terrain.

Due to this situation, connections between Tage and other villages have been limited. However, at present, several families of Tage Tibetans have immigrated to the centre of Tagong Village from Tage, and live together with locals. Some households also immigrated from Tage to the area beside the main road between Tagong and Xinduqiao 新都桥 [*Ra-rnga-kha*], mainly to Shang Baisang 上柏桑 [*Bal-bsrung stod*] Village.<sup>12</sup>

Written documents do not provide any information on the origins of speakers of Lhagang Choyu. However, according to a local oral narrative, they migrated from the direction of Yajiang in the relatively recent past. Previously, Tage Hamlet had a Bon monastery, but it has now become Nyingmapa.<sup>13</sup> Taking this religious culture into consideration, Tage might have had relations to its western neighbours, such as Zhaba 扎坝 [*'Dra-pa*] and Xinlong, where Bon culture is still strong.<sup>14</sup>

As for the situation of Xiya Hamlet, the eastern neighbour of Tage Hamlet, according to a woman from the community currently in her 20s, elders there used to speak a language that others could not understand when they wanted to discuss secrets.<sup>15</sup> She last heard this language when she was six or seven years old, i.e., in the late 1990s. At present, it is not longer spoken in Xiya. However, the existence

<sup>9</sup> At present, the authors are planning to edit a vocabulary and a phonetic description as an independent article. A part of the lexical data of Lhagang Choyu is used as a research outcome of the project of *Studies in Asian Geolinguistics*, as in Shirai et al. (2015), Suzuki et al. (2016ab), Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2016b), and Ebihara et al. (2016).

<sup>10</sup> See Lewis et al. (2016). Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status>, accessed 17<sup>th</sup> March 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Among the Tibetic languages in the easternmost Tibetosphere, there exists a variety to be labeled as 8b: Dartsendo Tibetan. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2015b).

<sup>12</sup> An interview conducted in Lucheng Town (Kangding), 2015.

<sup>13</sup> Interviews conducted in Lucheng Town (Kangding), 2015 and 2016. Karmay & Nagano eds. (2003:519-520) describe a Bonpo monastery in Lhagang Town called Grib-srib, founded in 1646, according to oral tradition. However, it is just a ruin now, and the hamlet has a Nyingmapa monastery called dPal-ri instead.

<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, the relationship between local Bon communities and ethnic minority languages speakers is to some extent attested. This article, however, will not discuss this issue in detail.

<sup>15</sup> An interview conducted in Tagong Village, 2015.



of a ‘secret language’ is still known and this memory is shared even among youngsters. Our informant, unfortunately, does not what the language was or what it was called. Therefore, we assume that the variety of Xiya is already extinct and inaccessible. The variety might be Lhagang Choyu, or another type of language, such as ‘Tibetan Pig Latin,’ the use of which has been attested to in some nearby areas. However, the reason why we consider this ‘secret language’ to be a kind of Lhagang Choyu is because of the word form of ‘meal’ still remembered by our interviewee: [ʰdu].<sup>16</sup> This form is peculiar to Choyu and Lhagang Choyu, and no similar phonetic forms are attested in surrounding languages (Suzuki et al. 2016a).<sup>17</sup>

Based on the descriptions above, Lhagang Choyu would have two regional varieties, Thamskhas and Shingnyag, though they might have been one variety before. However, the variety of Shingnyag is now extinct, and there is no way to know what it was like.

### 3 Sociolinguistic description

This section presents a description regarding the current sociolinguistic situation of Lhagang Choyu, divided into three topics: accessibility to the language, current language use, and possible reason why Lhagang Choyu has been unrecognised so far.

#### - Accessibility to Lhagang Choyu

Before providing a sociolinguistic overview, we make a short notice regarding the accessibility to Lhagang Choyu, which could be one reason why this language has not received attention so far.

As mentioned above, there are presently no speakers who have acquired Lhagang Choyu as their first language. This means that all the Lhagang Choyu users are multilingual, most of whom acquired Khams Tibetan (a variety of Thamskhas) as their mother tongue. This variety, according to our preliminary analysis, belongs to the southern subgroup of Minyag Rabgang Khams, including the Rangakha (Xinduqiao) dialect. It is close to the variety spoken in the centre of Lhagang Town (called Lhagang-B in Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2015c, 2016a). However, the intelligibility between them is not always high. Difference of intonation features, in particular, lowers the intelligibility. Therefore, even native speakers of Lhagang-B can to some extent have difficulty communicating with Täge Tibetans.

When the first author initially recorded Lhagang Choyu with an elderly woman in her 70s living in Tagong Village, he needed two “interpreters”. Firstly, his principal communication language is Lhagang-B, a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Khams, however, as the old woman does not understand it well, and thus the first interpreter, from Xiya Hamlet of Tagong, translated Lhagang-B Tibetan into Shingnyag Tibetan, a dialect of nomadic Amdo with peculiar local features. The second interpreter, from Täge Hamlet, translated Shingnyag Tibetan into Thamskhas Tibetan, a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Khams highly influenced by nomadic Amdo. Finally, since the elderly woman understood Thamskhas Tibetan, communication was thus made possible.

This situation implies that no lingua franca existed in the past, hence the mutual relationship over hamlets has also been weak. Indeed, such low intelligibility is probably limited to the case that an outsider talks with an elderly person regarding such things without any context as a questionnaire of linguistic materials. The first author was successfully able to communicate with the second interviewee from Täge, who was in her 50s and already accustomed to life in Tagong Village, by using Lhagang-B.

As mentioned above, the communication language with Täge Tibetans should be Minyag Rabgang Khams, especially Lhagang-B. There is no use using Chinese or Derge Tibetan (so-called *standard* Khams). This specific linguistic situation might have been a great barrier to reach Lhagang Choyu from a practical aspect. However, there are persons who know of this “unknown” language. Then, why have linguists had no occasion to access this language before? This question will be discussed later.

<sup>16</sup> Lhagang Choyu is a tonal language, however, since the mother tongue of the interviewee is Amdo Tibetan, non-tonal language, and she thus cannot reproduce the exact tonal phenomenon.

<sup>17</sup> However, a similar form /tɕ/ is attested in nGochang (Guiqiong), which designates ‘rice’ in general.

### - Current language use

Based on our research, Lhagang Choyu no longer functions as a communicative tool. In this case, what do the local people, including speakers and non-speakers of Lhagang Choyu, know about this language? We will describe below several views regarding this question, based on oral descriptions obtained by interviews conducted in Lhagang Village.

The multilingual situation in Lhagang Village appears in our field research. Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017) describe the rapid language change occurring due to urbanisation in Lhagang Village, including the resettlement of pastoralists. Speakers of Lhagang Choyu living in Lhagang Village are also involved in this situation, even though their number is small.

Sociolinguistic information was obtained from some interviewees living in Tagong and Xinduqiao towns.<sup>18</sup> Some elderly people know that Lhagang Choyu is to some extent intelligible to Choyu speakers in Xinlong. One of the interviewees even observed a person from Tage Village speaking in a non-Tibetan language with some people from Xinlong; he later learnt that the language spoken in Xinlong was called “Choyu”. Thus, his assumption is that the non-Tibetan language of Tage Hamlet is a kind of Choyu.

Elder Tibetans from Tage Hamlet also know the name Choyu as a toponym, but not as an autonym or a glottonym. However, they cannot specify the exact geographical area of Choyu. They have no specific autonym for themselves, either. Some Lhagang Choyu speakers identify themselves as /'po pe/, an older loan from a surrounding Tibetic language corresponding to Written Tibetan *bod pa*. Note the vowel in the second syllable of this word, where we can find a sound correspondence between WrT *a* in an open syllable and /e/ in Lhagang Choyu. This is a specific feature shared with many Qiangic languages, not with Tibetic languages, hence this phonetic form is considered as an archaic loan.

One of the interviewees told us that Lhagang Choyu is a mixed language of Choyu (i.e., varieties spoken in Xinlong, Litang and Yajiang) and Tibetan (i.e., Minyag Rabgang Khams and Amdo). However, since she did not know what the Choyu language is like, this story should be treated as hearsay. As seen in this discourse, Lhagang Choyu is a low-prestigious variety; speakers often adopt negative attitudes to its use. However, a negative attitude taken by non-Thamkhas Tibetans against Lhagang Choyu has not been attested in the present survey.<sup>19</sup> The negative view is also observed in another regard, which will be explained later.

Lhagang Choyu is no longer used for communication. Moreover, some differences in the linguistic features between the elder and middle generations are already clearly evident; for example, specific sounds, such as complex initials and velarised vowels, are simplified in the pronunciation of the middle generation. At present, we cannot evaluate whether this phenomenon is because of an ordinary process of historical sound change or because of interrupted intergenerational transmission of the language. Many Tibetans from Tage have now migrated to Tagong Village and Shang Baisang Village of Xinduqiao Town. After moving there, they rarely speak Lhagang Choyu and generally use Khams Tibetan, and other sedentary Tibetans do not know that Tage Tibetans *can* or *could* speak another language except for Khams Tibetan. Some people *know* Tage Tibetans speak a kind of “unintelligible Khams Tibetan,” however, they do not understand that it is a non-Tibetic variety. Why does such a misunderstanding occur? Following, we describe a noteworthy factor which can help explain this situation.

### - logs-skad and skad-logs: why Lhagang Choyu has been unrecognised so far

More than three decades have already passed since the study of language endangerment emerged as a trend in linguistics. As Minyag Rabgang is located within the “Ethnic Corridor” in West Sichuan, and regarded as the centre of the Corridor by Fei (1980), intense works on minor languages and language endangerment have been conducted; in consequence, various languages, such as Minyag (Darmdo

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<sup>18</sup> Interviews conducted in 2015 and 2016.

<sup>19</sup> Some pejorative expressions to denote non-Tibetic languages are attested in communities in Ganzi Prefecture, for example, WrT *'dre skad* ‘ghost language’ for Nyagrong Minyag (Van Way & Bkrashis Bzangpo 2015:249) and /'gu skə/ ‘cattle language’ for Geshitsa or Situ-rGyalrong spoken in Danba County.

Minyag), Lyuzu, and Daohua, were recognised by linguists.<sup>20</sup> Yang (1994) even provides *incorrect* information regarding the distribution of non-Tibetic languages, mentioning Tibetan varieties as non-Tibetic languages. Then, an essential question has emerged: why has Lhagang Choyu gone unrecognised so far in spite of scholars' great interest in this area?

Local non-Tibetic languages in Khams are often referred to as *logs-skad* 'locally-based non-Tibetic language' in Tibetan, wherever such languages are distributed within Khams, in Sichuan (Ganzi) and Qinghai (Yushu), and even in the Tibet Autonomous Region (Chamdo).<sup>21</sup> The word *logs*, derived from a verb *log* 'inverted, irregular, incorrect,' in Tibetan, originally means 'biased, leaning'. However, as far as the authors observed, the present usage of *logs-skad* lacks negative implications, and primarily designates a language which cannot be understood by Khams Tibetan speakers.<sup>22</sup> The word formation of *logs-skad* is parallel to that of *rong-skad* 'farmers' language' and '*brog-skad* 'pastoralists' language'. But if the word is used in a reversed word order, i.e., *skad-logs*, the word is understood as a completely different, very negative sense: 'leaning language'.

Lhagang Choyu-speakers consider the language not as *logs-skad*, but as *skad-logs*. Talking with them, we have realised that they do not understand the word *logs-skad*, which we initially used in our conversations with them. After that, one speaker used the word *skad-logs* to refer to Lhagang Choyu, and we finally understood the manner to designate this language. Unfortunately, the word *skad-logs* implies that it is a very strange vernacular of a given language --- which must be Lhagang Tibetan here --- and Lhagang Choyu-speakers understood their language as it is. In other words, Lhagang Choyu is regarded as an abnormal, unintelligible variety of Lhagang-B. Tibetan languages cannot specify whether a speech form is an independent language or a dialect of somewhat larger languages within the Tibetan lexical items, because it merely has one word *skad* for 'speech', 'language', and 'dialect'.

## 4 Conclusion

This article reported for the first time the existence of a newly recognised language which we refer to as Lhagang Choyu, spoken in Tage Hamlet, Tagong Town, Kangding Municipality, Sichuan, based on our fieldwork. It is unfortunate that this language has no more native-competent speakers, however, meanwhile, it is certainly fortunate that it was found before it was completely lost. This article also analysed the possible factors that have resulted in linguists having no access to this type of minority language, i.e., speakers' multilingualism of a given language and a Tibetan regiolect, the polysemy of WrT word *skad*, which cannot distinguish a language from a dialect in general.

The history of speakers of Choyu currently seems to be the least obvious among the Qiangic languages of the Tibetosphere. Linguistic characteristics may be able to elucidate the history of the Choyu-speaking community. The article has not particularly discussed its linguistic features. However, the authors will continue to seek possible linguistic descriptions regarding Lhagang Choyu, for this highly endangered language could tell us about various typological traits, and consequently we need an urgent documentation of Lhagang Choyu before it really is forgotten.

## Appendix: commentary for four words in Lhagang Choyu

Four words (of which three are taken from the SAG project) in Lhagang Choyu are explained in detail below: 'sun', 'rice', 'milk', and 'tooth'.

- 'sun' (see Shirai et al. 2015)

The form of Lhagang Choyu is /mi tsi/. In Choyu, it is /ɲima/ in Gala, /ɲi<sup>55</sup> mu<sup>33</sup>/ in Tuanjie, /<sup>H</sup>pə/ in Rongpa, and /pu<sup>55</sup>/ in gYanglagshis. The form of Lhagang Choyu is different from that in any dialects of Choyu, furthermore, the /m/-initial is also characteristic in the Tibeto-Burman languages.

<sup>20</sup> See Sun (1983), Huang & Rig-'dzin dBang-mo (1990), A-tshogs (2004), and Dawa Drolma & Suzuki (2015).

<sup>21</sup> See Zla ba sgrol ma (2012).

<sup>22</sup> However, users of this word might have to some extent pejorative feelings to designate a language which they cannot understand. A sociolinguistic survey is needed regarding its use.

-‘rice’ (see Suzuki et al. 2016ab, Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2016b)

The form of Lhagang Choyu is /<sup>h</sup>m̥dwa/. In Choyu, it is /ndzɛ<sup>35</sup>/ in Tuanjie, and /mdzɛ<sup>13</sup>/ in gYanglagshis. This form is evidently a Tibetan loan. The form is quite similar to the present nomadic Amdo variety spoken in Lhagang Town, however, the form attested in Lhagang Choyu is more archaic. The period of borrowing is thus suggested in an earlier time.

-‘milk’ (see Ebihara et al. 2016)

The form of Lhagang Choyu is /<sup>h</sup>nɛ<sup>v</sup>/. In Choyu, it is /k<sup>h</sup>i'noŋ/ in Gala, /nu<sup>55</sup>/ in Tuanjie, and /ŋi<sup>55</sup> nɛ<sup>55</sup>/ in gYanglagshis. The /n/-initial for ‘milk’ is not peculiar in Tibeto-Burman; however, the existence of a velarised vowel in Lhagang Choyu should be noted, because any Choyu dialects do not have this articulatory manner.

-‘tooth’

The form of Lhagang Choyu is /ki/. In Choyu, it is /ku/ in Gala, /ku<sup>53</sup>/ in Tuanjie, and /ski<sup>55</sup>/ in gYanglagshis. The /k/-initial attested in the word ‘tooth’ is noteworthy in Tibeto-Burman, it is just similar to Zhangzhung *skod* (Nagano 2009) and Xixia (Tangut) *kʉo*<sup>2</sup>, which is related to PTB *\*s-k-lu* (STEDT)<sup>23</sup> within the languages considered as those with a genetically closer relationship to Lhagang Choyu. Since the SAG project does not provide a linguistic map for ‘tooth’, we will display a map for ‘tooth’ based on a simplified classification of the initial sound within the easternmost Tibetosphere below:

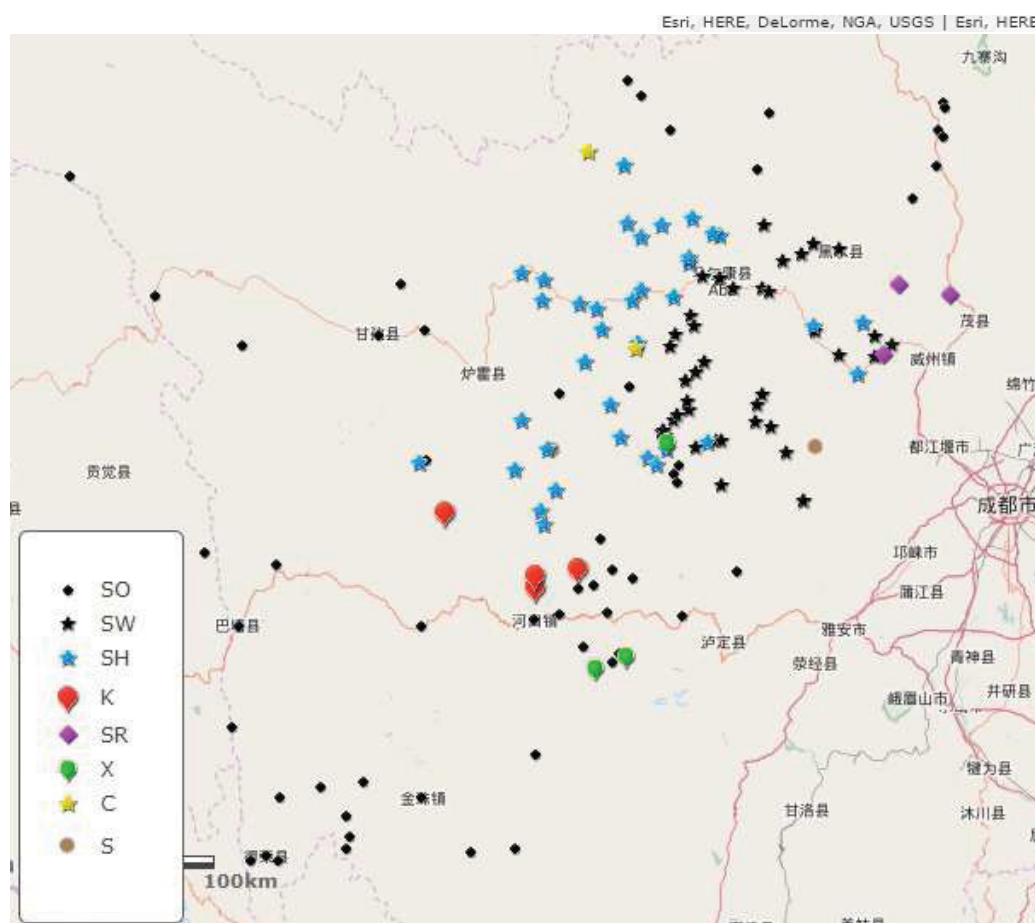


Fig.4: Linguistic map for ‘tooth’ within the easternmost Tibetosphere.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt/cgi/rootcanal.pl/etymon/1322>, accessed 28<sup>th</sup> March 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Figure 4 is designed with ArcGIS Online.

This map shows that the form of Choyu and Lhagang Choyu (K-type; the type of which the initial is /k/) is isolated; however, there is a similar type (X-type; the type of which the initial is /x/) distributed around the Choyu-region, which is Darmdo Minyag and brGyargyud Geshitsa.

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# Additional Remarks on Rice in Tai-Kadai

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Li (1987) revived his Proto-Tai reconstruction to postulate a voiced/voiceless distinction concerning aspirated stop initial consonants. As for the word for "rice", the initial is still reconstructed as \*x as before.

Ni (2010: 167) showed that the word form for "rice plant", "husked rice" and "cooked rice or meal" is basically identical among the major Tai-Kadai languages:

languages	rice plant	husked rice	cooked rice or meal
Zhuang	hau <sup>4</sup>	hau <sup>4</sup>	hau <sup>4</sup>
Buyi	hau <sup>4</sup>	hau <sup>4</sup>	hau <sup>4</sup>
Lingao	ɲau <sup>4</sup>	<u>lɔp</u> <sup>8</sup>	<u>fia</u> <sup>4</sup>
Dai	xau <sup>3</sup>	xau <sup>3</sup>	xau <sup>3</sup>
Dong	qən <sup>4</sup>	qən <sup>4</sup>	qən <sup>4</sup>
Mulao	hu <sup>3</sup>	hu <sup>3</sup>	hu <sup>3</sup>
Shui	ʔau <sup>4</sup>	ʔau <sup>4</sup>	ʔau <sup>4</sup>
Maonan	ɦu <sup>4</sup>	ɦu <sup>4</sup>	ʔu <sup>5</sup>
Yanghuang	ɣən <sup>4</sup>	ɣən <sup>4</sup>	ɣən <sup>4</sup>
Mo	hən <sup>3</sup>	hən <sup>3</sup>	<u>ɲa:i</u> <sup>2</sup>
Jiamu	ʔəu <sup>3</sup>	ʔəu <sup>3</sup>	<u>tin</u> <sup>1</sup>
Lajia	kou <sup>3</sup>	kou <sup>3</sup>	kou <sup>3</sup>
Li	mu:n <sup>3</sup>	<u>gei</u> <sup>1</sup> <u>rap</u> <sup>7</sup>	<u>tha</u> <sup>2</sup>

The exceptional cases in Lingao, Mo, Jiamu, and Li are underlined..

Furthermore, Ni (2010: 168) considered that the description in the *Shuowen Jiezi* by Xu Shen (AD. 100) reflected the earlier form of Tai-Kadai. The description is as follows (quoted from the *Shuowen Jiezi*, p. 144, Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1972): “秬，稻屬。从禾毛聲。伊尹曰：‘飯之美者，玄山之禾、南海之秬’。呼到切。” *Hau* belongs to the category of rice. It consists of 禾 *he* as semantic element and 毛 *mao* as sound element. Yi Yin said: "Delicious cooked rice is grain in the Xuan mountain and *hau* in the Southern Sea. 呼到切 is the *fanqie* spelling added by Xu Xuan in the 10th Century AD which can be reconstructed as \*hau, departing tone. This is an interesting interpretation. Still, Duan Yucai quoted the Lyshi Chunqiu, chapter Benwei: 伊尹曰:南海之秬。The gloss for this word added by 高誘 Gao You is 黑黍 black millet. If this is correct, 秬 could be a corrupted form of 秬, which goes back to the time of the author Xu Shen.

Professor Masaaki Shimizu pointed out that C-3 *mew* C1 type in the Li language in Hainan could have a relationship with Austroasiatic C maw type in Northern Bahnaric which is located in South Vietnam (see Shimizu 2016).

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