

# **Studies in Asian Geolinguistics**

## **IV**



**ILCAA Joint Research Project 2015 - 2017 “Studies in Asian Geolinguistics”**

**Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa  
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies**

# *Studies in Asian Geolinguistics IV*

— WIND —

Report of ILCAA JOINT RESEARCH PROJECT 2015–2017  
“STUDIES IN ASIAN GEOLINGUISTICS”

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## “Wind” in Korean

### 1. Classification of word forms

Modern standard word for “wind” is /param/.

There is very little dialectal variation. Only one basic form, derived from Middle Korean (MK) /paɾam/, is used. However, the MK vowel /ʌ/ is no longer distinctive in all dialects except for Cheju dialects and realizes as either /a/, /e/, /o/, /ʌ/ or /i/, depending on dialects or phonological environments. The basic correspondence between this MK vowel and its modern reflexes is as follows:

MK	Seoul
/ʌ/	: /a/ on the first syllable (/e/ [ɔ] or /i/ in a few words) /i/ on the second syllable or later

Some dialects (North Hamgyŏng and South Chŏlla) are known for having /o/ instead of /a/ followed by a bilabial consonant. And Cheju dialects are known for maintaining a phonologically separate vowel that corresponds to MK /ʌ/, transcribed variously according to authors ([o], [ω], [e], [ɐ] and [ɔ]); the author of this paper uses /ʌ/ phonemically and [ɔ] phonetically).

Ogura Shinpei (1944: 1<sup>st</sup> vol. 7-8) recorded this word only for Hamgyŏng dialects and for one place in Hwanghae dialect.

pa-ram
pa-rim (his [ü] is replaced by [i])
po-rom

A few more additional forms are recorded in Choi Hakkŭn (1978) :

parem – in some Kyŏngsang dialects
pərem – in a Kyŏngsang dialect
pərem – Cheju (same as ‘pərom’ in Hyŏn (1985))
pərīm – Cheju (= ‘pəruum’ in Hyŏn (1985))

The map shown on the last page of this paper is made based on the data in Ogura (1944) and Choi (1978). The above mentioned seven forms are classified as follows (transcriptions are modified according to Ogura Shinpei’s transcription):

- 1a pa-ram, 1b pa-rəm, 1c pa-rim
- 2 pə-rəm
- 3 po-rom
- 4a pa-ɾam, 4b pa-rim

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

The form [pa-ram] is most widespread throughout the Korean peninsula. Other forms are found only in specific regions.

The Middle Korean form /paɾam/ (LL) has some phonological characteristics: it has a so-called *minimal vowel* (Samuel Martin’s term) in each syllable and in such cases it predictably has LL pitch.

As for the development of the modern forms from MK /paɾam/, the expected form is [pa-rim], because the vowel /ʌ/ in the second syllable normally becomes /i/ from the 16th century so that the modern standard form /param/ can be said to be anomalous. However, parallel examples are found, such as the following:

MK	Seoul
/paɾam/ (LL) ‘wall’	> /param/ (homonym with the word for <i>wind</i> )
/saɾam/ (R-) ‘person’	> /saram/

The two homophonous words appear as /param/ as early as in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Endo (2014)).

There might have been a sub-rule according to which the instances of the vowel /ʌ/ appearing in the second syllable differentiated. Examples of other (‘normal’) cases are:

MK	Seoul
/maɾam/ ‘mind’	> /maim/
/maɾarh/ ‘village’	> /mair/
/kaɾarh/ ‘autumn’	> /kair/
/hanarh/ ‘heaven’	> /hanir/

It seems like the second syllable /ram/ preferably changed to /rim/, but the phonetic motivation for this is not so apparent.

As for the etymology of this word, there have been five theories (cf. Kim Minsu (1997) and Endo (2014)).

- (1) borrowing from Old Chinese /風/ (\*prəm-s, according to the Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese reconstruction).
- (2) borrowing from Altaic languages.
- (3) borrowing from Dravidian languages (Kang Kilun (2010)).
- (4) nominalized form of the verb *pur-* (‘to blow’)
- (5) derived from an onomatopoeic element *par* which is also included in the verb *piri-* (‘to call’), and so on.

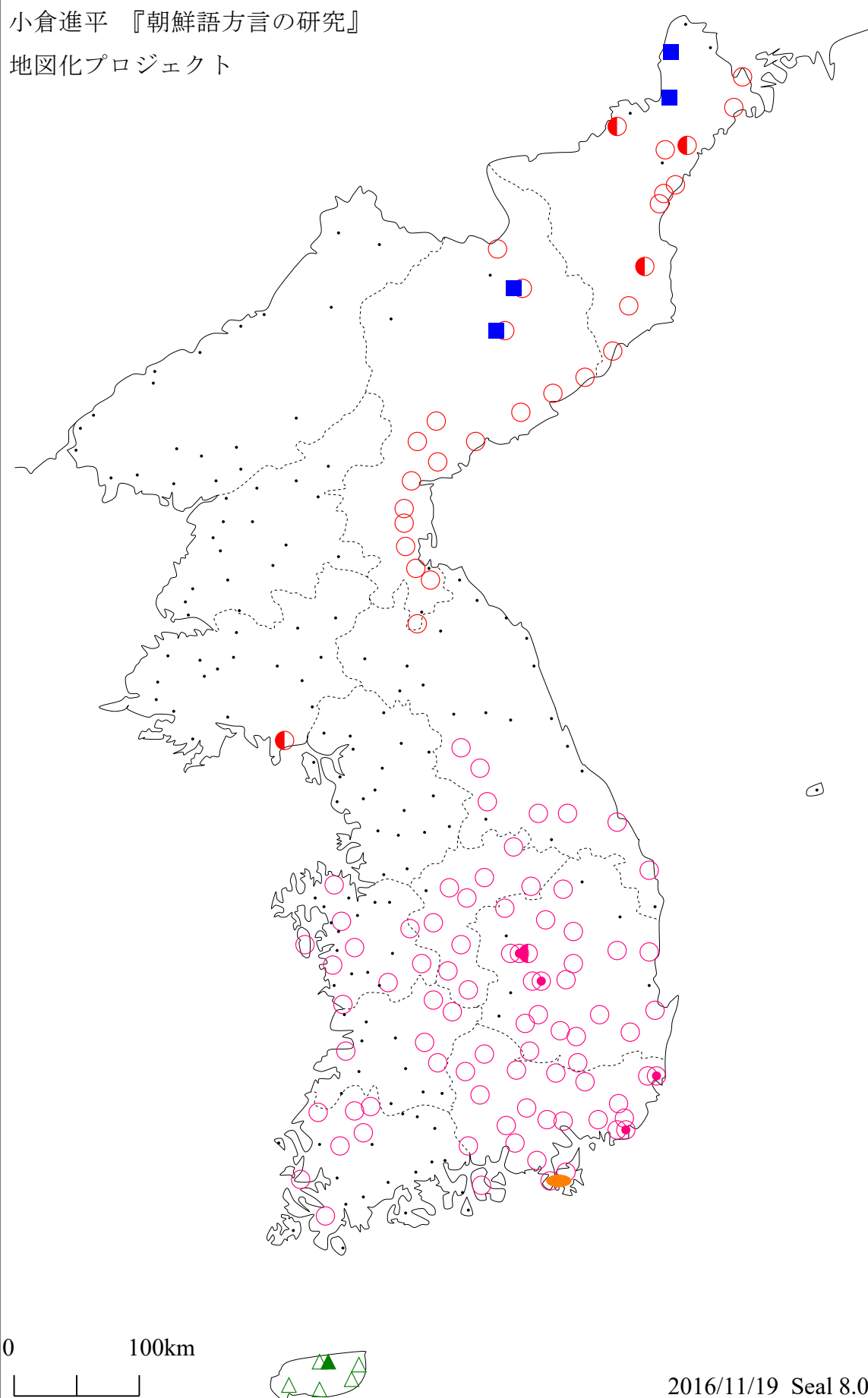
Among these theories the most popular one

seems to be (4). But this theory does not explain the relationship between the minimal vowel /ʌ/ and the full vowel /u/ included in the MK word *pur-*. If the vowel included in the latter verb stem were another minimal vowel /i/, then it would have been possible to admit the alternation between /ʌ/ and /i/. But the existence of the full vowel /u/ makes it difficult to admit this theory.

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(Rei Fukui)



## “Wind” in Ainu

### 1. Geographical distribution and interpretation

The terms for “wind,” which Hattori and Chiri (1960: 49) reported, are classified into one type. In most of the Sakhalin dialects, Form A-1, *reera*, has a long vowel *ee* [e:], which is phonetically equivalent to the high-pitch accented *é* in Hokkaido. When the first syllable is open in a word with more than one syllable, (C<sub>1</sub>) V<sub>1</sub>. (C<sub>2</sub>) V<sub>2</sub> (C<sub>3</sub>), the high pitch falls on the second syllable, V<sub>2</sub>, in the Hokkaido dialects

In 17th- to 19th-century Japanese written materials, a long vowel or high pitch on the first syllable, V<sub>1</sub>, is often written as a long vowel with Japanese characters. For example, the word “連いら” /*reira*/ is recorded as “wind.” in “Matsumae no koto 松前の言,” which is the oldest Japanese manuscript, estimated to date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Sato (1999: 77) indicates that “連い” /*rei*/ seems to express the long vowel sound [re:]. This suggests that the Hokkaido dialects also had long vowels at that time.

Form A-2, *teera*, in the Nairo dialect of Sakhalin, tends to have the onset of the first syllable /t/, which corresponds to /r/ in the Hokkaido and the other Sakhalin dialects: for instance, *ráp:tap* ‘feather,’ *ráy:tay* ‘die,’ *rús:tus* ‘fur,’ *rupús:tupus* ‘freeze,’ *ré:tee* ‘name’ and *rekút:tekut* ‘neck’ (Hattori and Chiri 1960).

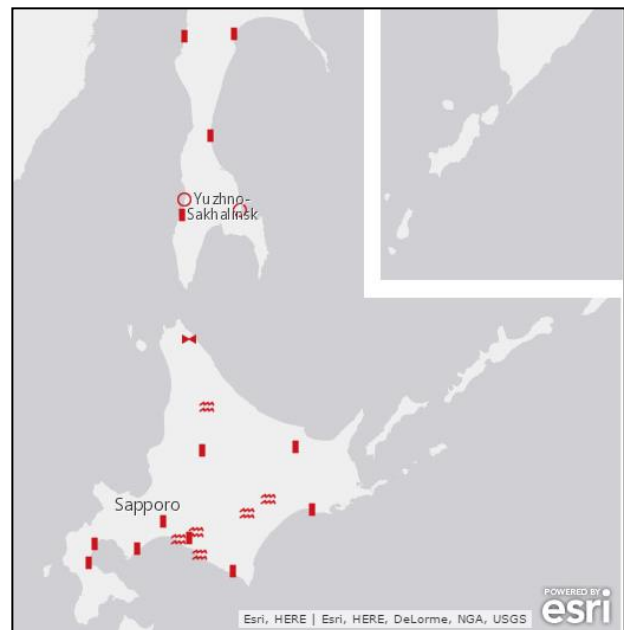
Vovin (1993: 16-18) reconstructs Proto Ainu \**d*- when Common Ainu [r-] corresponds to Nairo [t-], and then his reconstructed form for “wind” is \**dEera* HLL. Vovin (ibid.: 17) mentioned that until more Nairo data is published this point in his reconstruction cannot be definitely proven, since only nine words with [r-] correspond to Nairo [t] among the 200-word list based on Swadesh’s list. Moreover, Kindaichi (1931: 10-11) described that investigators often mistake *retara* for *detara* because this is an intermediate sound between /t/ and /d/ and /r/. Chiri (1942: 462) explained that in Sakhalin, the onset /r-/ of the first syllable is confused with /t-/ (or /d-/).

Form A-3, *réra*, appears in the Hokkaido dialects, including the non-accentual *rera* in the dialects of Bihoro, Kushiro, Samani, and Shizunai. In the Shumshu dialect of the northern Kurils, the terms *re’ra* and *reara* are reported by Torii (1903: 131, 162). Here, they are also included in Form A-3, since it is uncertain whether the first syllable was a long vowel or not.

The meaning of “the wind blows” is expressed by

the subject noun for “wind” and the intransitive verbs for “stand,” “exist (singular)” and “strong,” (see Map 2; Hattori and Chiri 1960: 58). For example, the dialects of Type A use the expression *réra ás* (lit. wind stand). Conversely, for “(wind) stop,” the intransitive verbs, *túy/tuy/otuy* “cut off (singular),” *isám* “non-exist,” and *háwke* “weak,” are used (Hattori 1964: 229).

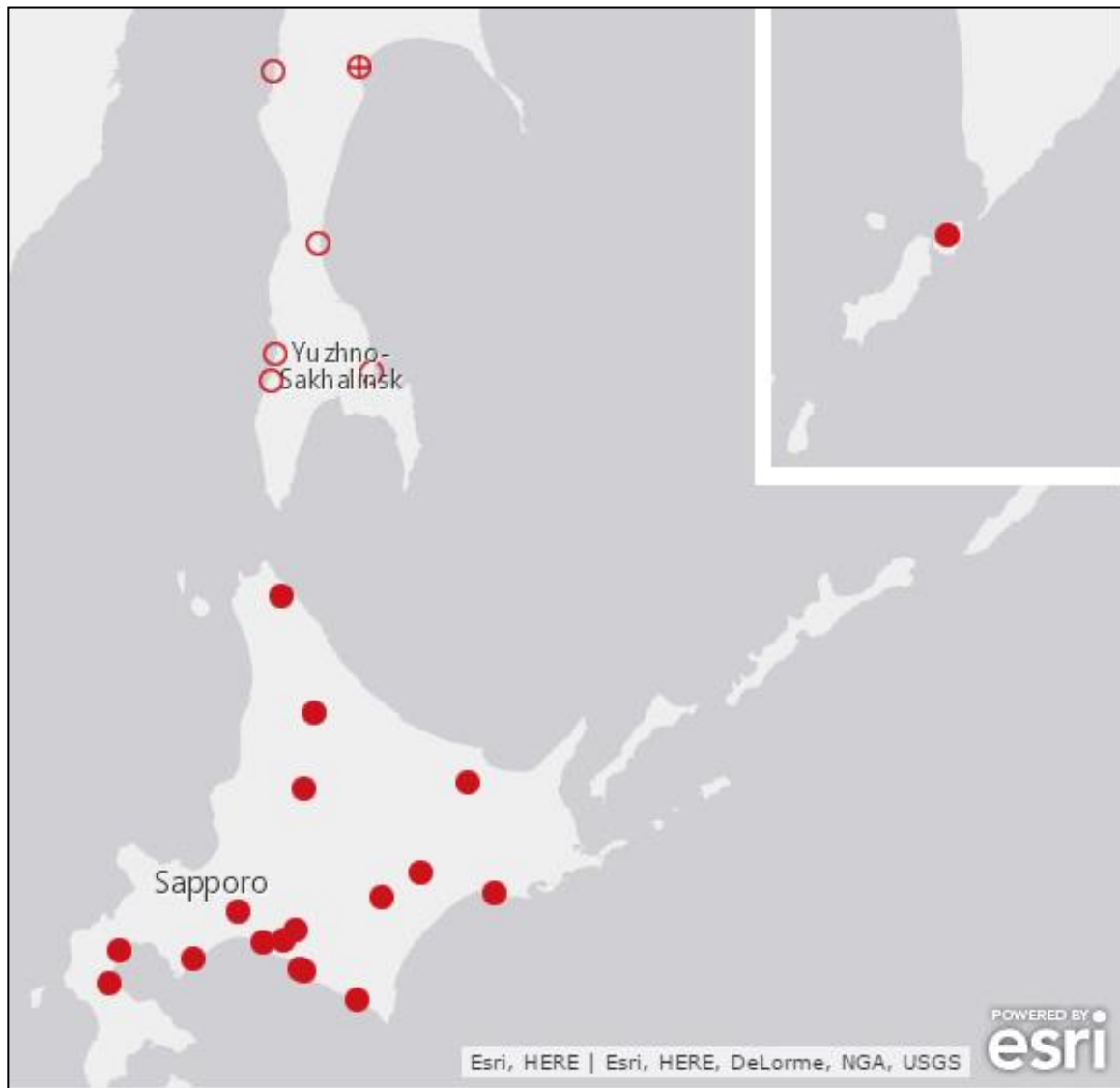
The terms *wén réra* “bad wind” and *poró réra* “big wind” represent a typhoon. When a typhoon was approaching, Ainu people in Hokkaido would hang a traditional wooden mortar, *nísu*, from the beam of the house and offer prayers such as “*nísu kamúy, cisé epúnkine!* (The god of mortar, protect (this) house!)” (Watanabe et al. 1990: 78). Moreover, as a charm to stop the strong wind, they have a sickle, *iyókpe/iyoppe*, and swing or stand it against the direction of the wind. If they do that, the god of wind, *réra kamúy*, would shed blood (Watanabe et al. 1992: 71) or the spinal cord could be damaged with the edge of it (Watanabe et al. 1986: 107-108). Then, the wind will die down. This means a punishment for harming humans.



Keywords: wind, blow, typhoon, stormy

Map 2. “(Wind) Blow” in Ainu

- A. *ás/as* “stand” ■
- B. *án/an* “exist” ○
- C. *rúy* “strong” 〰
- D. *yúpke* “strong” 𐰚



Map 1. “Wind” in Ainu

A. *rera* type

- A-1. *reera* ○
- A-2. *teera* ⊕
- A-3. *réra/rera* ●

(Mika Fukazawa)



## “Wind” in Mongolic and Turkic

### 1. Mongolic

The word forms representing “wind” (in the generic sense) in Mongolic can be divided into the following two types:

#### A) *kei* type

This is the original word for “wind” in Mongolic,<sup>1</sup> but in many modern languages, it has undergone a semantic change and means “air, gas.” The original meaning is retained in such peripheral languages as Dagur (*xəin*), Dongxiang (*kəi*), Bonan (*ki*) and Monguor (*kī*<sup>2</sup>) in China and Moghol (*kei*) in Afghanistan.

#### B) *salkin* type

The modern Mongolic languages other than the ones mentioned above have cognates of *salkin* for “wind.” The Old Turkic had *salkim*<sup>3</sup> “cold,” which survives in the northeastern group as *saikin* “cool, cold (weather); a violent (cold) wind.”<sup>4</sup> The Mongolic word *salkin* could be a loanword from Turkic. The word appears as *salix* (Mongol), *salγən*<sup>5</sup> (Shira Yughur), *halxin* (Buriad: Khorī), *xalx*<sup>6</sup> (Buriad: Old Barga), etc.

### 2. Turkic

The word forms representing “wind (in the generic sense)” in Turkic can be divided into the following seven types:

#### A) *jel* type

The word forms of this category are *jel* (Salar, Sarig Yughur, Turkmen, Nogay, Crimean Tatar<sup>6</sup>), *jel'* (Karaim), *jāl* (Khalaj); *jel* (Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Karakalpak<sup>7</sup>, Karachai-Balkar), *jil* (Tatar); *čel* (Chulym); and *šil* (Chuvash).

#### B) *tial* type

Sakha and Dolgan have the form *tial*, which is related to the word *dawil* “storm, strong wind” in such languages as Tatar, Kazakh, Nogay, etc.

#### C) *salkin* type

Altai has *salkin*. This word is related to the Old Turkic *salkim* “cold” mentioned above.

#### D) *xat* type

Tuvan<sup>8</sup> has the word *xat* for “wind.” It comes from *kad*, which originally meant “snowstorm” in Turkic and may possibly be related to Tungusic *adin*, *xadun*, etc.

#### E) *rüzgâr* type<sup>9</sup>

Turkish<sup>10</sup> *rüzgâr* and Gagauz *rüzgâr* are from Persian.

#### F) *šamal* type<sup>11</sup>

An Arabic loanword is used in Uighur (*šamal*) and Uzbek<sup>12</sup> (*šamol*).

#### G) *küläk* type

Azeri has the form *küläk*, a word of unknown origin.

### 3. Geographical Distribution

The map shows that in the Mongolic languages the *kei*-type forms are only distributed in some peripheral regions such as Hēilóngjiāng and Gānsù Provinces in China and western Afghanistan, while the *salkin*-type forms are shared by the languages in the central area. From this distribution pattern, we could assume that *kei* is the older word and was replaced by the newer one, *salkin*, in the central part of the Mongolic-speaking area, and remained only on the eastern, southern and western edges. This interpretation matches the linguistic data recorded in old documents.

In the Turkic languages, *jel* and its cognates are widespread. The other forms are used in peripheral areas: The word *tial* is used in northern Siberia; the word *salkin* in southern Siberia; word of Arabic origin in Central Asia and a Persian loanword and a word of unknown origin in the Near East. This distribution pattern could tell us that *kei* is the oldest word for “wind” in Turkic. (Yoshio Saitō)

<sup>8</sup> Tuvan also has the Mongolic-originated word *salgīn*, which means “weak wind or breeze.” Tuvan in Burqin County in Xīnjiāng has *boran* “strong wind”; *χarazalyan* “spring wind”; *salγan* “breeze”; and *gazərgə* “whirlwind.”

<sup>9</sup> Persian رُزْگَر, *rūzgār*.

<sup>10</sup> Turkish has Turkic-originated *jel* and Persian-originated *rüzgâr*. The former word with a meaning of “weak wind” is literary in style, while the latter, which means “wind in the generic sense,” is frequently used in daily life.

<sup>11</sup> Arabic شَمَل *šamal*. This word in Modern Arabic means “hot and dry wind with dust from the north or northwest in Iraq, Iran, and the Arabian Peninsula.”

<sup>12</sup> Uzbek has Turkic-originated *jel* and Arabic-originated *šamol*. The former word, which means “strong wind,” is literary in style, while the latter one, which means “wind in the generic sense,” is most commonly used in daily life.

<sup>1</sup> The form *kei* appears in the *Yüan-chao Mi-shi* (元朝秘史) and the *Hua-yi Yi-yü* (華夷譯語).

<sup>2</sup> Sūn (1990) also lists *salkī*.

<sup>3</sup> The Old Turkic form of the word ends in a bilabial nasal -m.

<sup>4</sup> Clauson (1972).

<sup>5</sup> Sūn (1990) also lists *kī*.

<sup>6</sup> Crimean Tatar also has the Persian word *ruzgâr*.

<sup>7</sup> Karakalpak also has the Arabic word *samal*.



*“Wind” in Mongolic*



*“Wind” in Turkic*

## “Wind” in Sinitic

### 1. Classification of word forms

As mentioned in Endo (2013), all forms representing “wind” in Sinitic can be traced back to Middle Chinese (MC) *pjuŋ* (Schussler (2007:238) 風), and have just one syllable; therefore, although their distribution is quite simple, we still classified them into three subtypes, based on initial consonants.

A-1 *P* type (initial consonant is *p* or *p<sup>h</sup>*)

*piuŋ, piəŋ, pyoŋ, pəŋ, p<sup>h</sup>oŋ, pen, pɛ, etc.*

A-2 *F* type (initial consonant is *f* or *ɸ*)

*fəŋ, foŋ, fəŋ, faŋ, fən, fəu<sup>N</sup>, fəu, fe, etc.*

A-3 *H* type (initial consonant is *h* or *x*)

*huŋ, huaŋ, hoŋ, həŋ, həŋ, xən, xəŋ, xə<sup>N</sup>, xoŋ, etc.*

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

The A-1 maintains the bilabial plosive onset *p*-, which corresponds with the MC form. Their distributions are relatively scarce, and found only in the south east area (e.g., Fujian, Hunan, or Guangdong). Based on the initial consonant, the A-1 type can be said to be the oldest form; however, some A-1 type forms have also undergone new changes, (e.g., coda *-ŋ* changed into *-n* or vowel in *pɛ* (Jiangyong) and *pen* (Jianghua)). The A-2 forms, including the standard Chinese *fəŋ*, are distributed most widely in the whole of China. The A-3 forms are mainly distributed in the south east area. In the south area, *h*-/x- and *f*- tend to be confused or merged (see table 1); A-3, reflecting this tendency, would be the newest type.

MC place	<i>pjuŋ</i> 風 <sub>1</sub>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>juŋ</i> 蜂 <sub>1</sub>	<i>pjun</i> 分 <sub>1</sub>	<i>xwəŋ</i> 轟 <sub>2</sub>	<i>ɣən</i> 痕 <sub>1</sub>	<i>xuən</i> 婚 <sub>1</sub>
北京	fəŋ	fəŋ	fən	xuŋ	xən	xuən
合肥	fəŋ	fəŋ	fən	xəŋ	xən	xuən
長沙	xən	xən	fən	xən	xən	fən
双峰	xan	xan	xuan	xan	ɣə <sup>N</sup>	xuan
廈門	həŋ	həŋ / p <sup>h</sup> aŋ	hun / pun	həŋ	hun	hun

**Table 1. Fricative onsets and nasal codas**

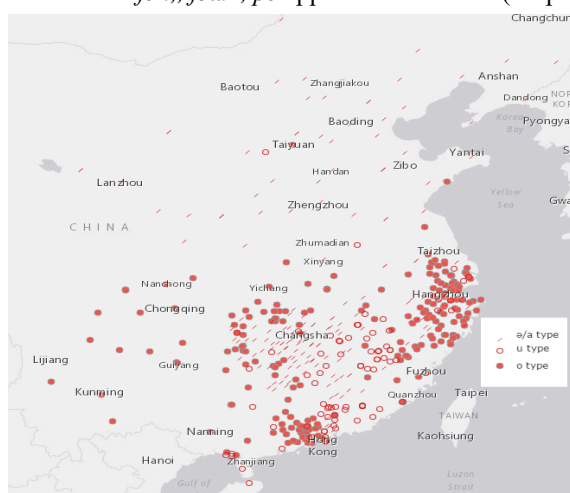
Source: Beijing University(1989), MC sources 1: Schussler (2007), MC sources 2: Guo(2010)

In the phonological system of Qieyun (A.D.601), there were only plosives for labial onsets. However, some of these plosives had changed into fricatives throughout the eighth century (dentilabialization). This change occurred under certain phonological conditions, for example, possessing high *i* glide followed by a central or a back vowel (Chao1941: 224).

Some southern dialects, which possess plosives for dentilabials, also often possess fricatives as allomorphs (e.g., *hun* / *pun* in Xiamen 廈門 (table 1)). This situation may imply that these fricatives are not formed through inner changes of the phonological system but through contact with other dialects, especially northern dialects. The confusion between *f* and *h* / *x* may also be related to such a situation.

The distribution of the nucleus shows relatively clear opposition between the north and south areas. In the north area, unrounded vowels such as *ə* and *a* are distributed, whereas rounded vowel such as *u* and *o* are distributed in the south (Map. 2. Cao 2008:195).

In Hunan area, nasal codas *-ŋ* are systematically weakened and frequently merged with *-n*, occasionally dropped out (Cao 2008:173). Therefore forms like *fən*, *fəu<sup>N</sup>*, *pɛ* appear in these area (Map. 3).

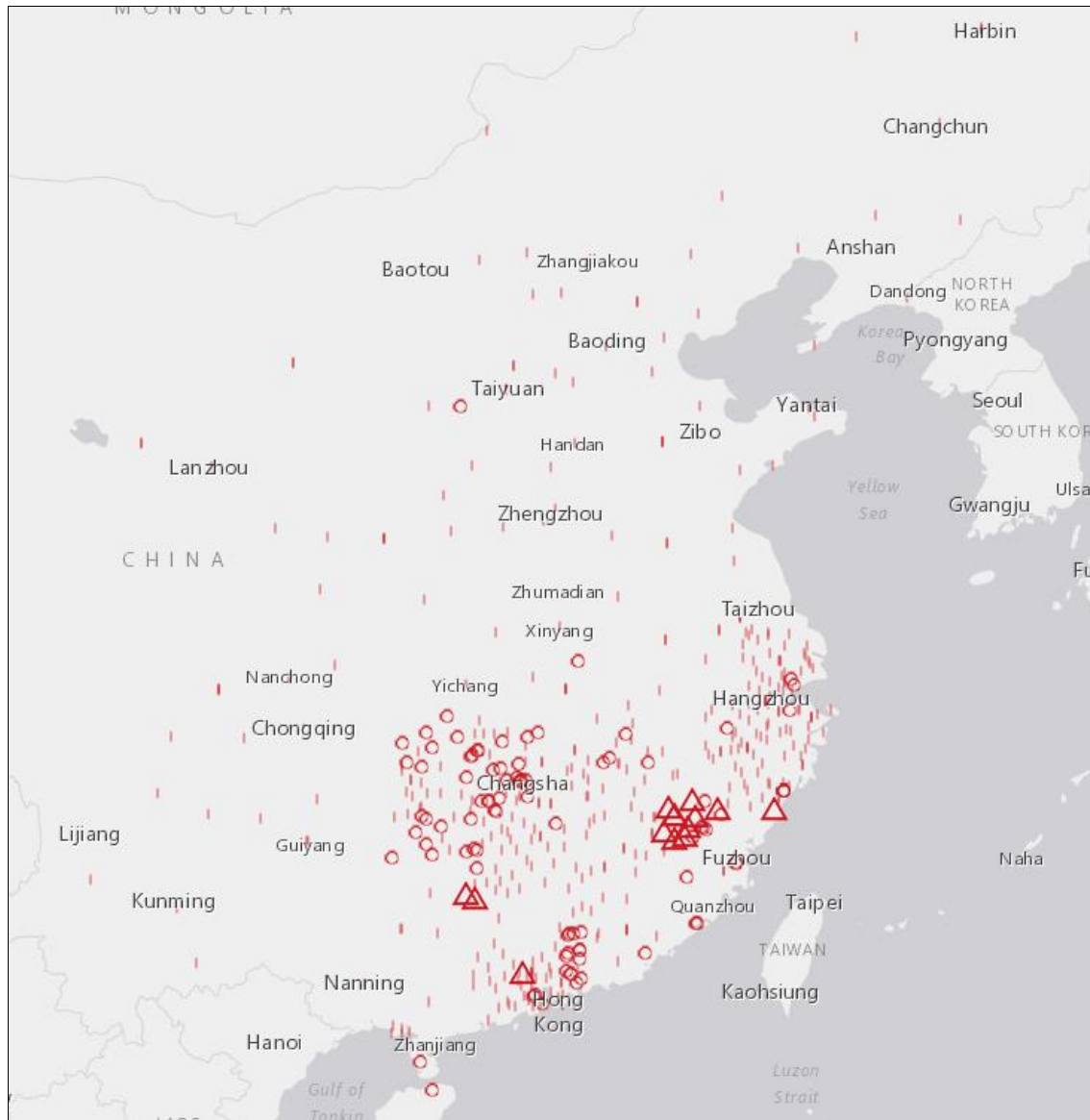


**Map 2. Nucleus**



**Map 3. Nasal coda**

**Keywords:** North-South opposition, Dentilabialization  
(Kenji Yagi, Takashi Ueya, Fumiki Suzuki)



Map 1. "Wind" in Sinitic



- △ A-1 *P* type (initial consonant is *p* or *pʰ*)  
*piuŋ, piɔŋ, pyoŋ, pɔŋ, pʰoŋ, pen, pe, etc.*
- | A-2 *F* type (initial consonant is *f* or *ɸ*)  
*fəŋ, foŋ, fɔŋ, faŋ, fən, fəu<sup>N</sup>, fəu, fe, etc.*
- A-3 *H* type (initial consonant is *h* or *x*)  
*huŋ, huaŋ, hoŋ, hɔŋ, həŋ, xən, xəŋ, xə<sup>N</sup>, xoŋ, etc.*

## Wind: Tibeto-Burman

### 1. Classification of word forms

In Tibeto-Burman (TB), the classification of word forms is based upon 560 languages and dialects. According to our data, 24 word roots denote ‘wind’, almost half of which are etyma of the proto-level forms such as Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB; see STEDT<sup>1</sup>), Proto-Kuki-Chin (PKC; see STEDT), and Written Tibetan (WrT). A list of word forms appears below:

#### L type

L1: PTB etymon \**g-lay* (‘WIND’).

*li*, *lai51*, *li55*, *le*, *me21li55*, *la55*, *li55*, *mu33tj33*, *mə21ei33*, *mu33hi33*, *me33xe33*, *li1*, etc.

L2: Etymon unclear.

*rə22la53*, *βlə*, *βlo’lo*, *ɦglə*, *ɦle*.

LU: WrT etymon *rlung* (‘BREEZE / WIND / AIR’).

*lu1*, *lo35*, *hlon*, *rlun*, *wlon*, *lu2po*, *lūŋ*, *glung*, *tuŋspo*, *ɦlū*, *βlon*, *ɦlū*, *ɦlu:*, *lō*, etc.

LH: WrT etymon *lhag(s) pa* (‘COLD WIND’).

*ɦa13pa53*, *ɦao55*, *ɦlak pa*, *ɦa2ka*, *ɦa ka*, *ɦe kə*, *ɦa ka*, *ɦa ɦə*, *ɦa pa*, *ɦaʃ pa*, *ɦl̥ʃ*, *lo’pə*, *xər33*, *ɦə55pə22*, etc.

K type: PTB etymon \**g-lay* (‘WIND’).

*khəkhi*, *chi*, *mokʊ*, etc.

KL type: PTB etymon \**g-lay* (‘WIND’); the etymon seems to have become disyllabic in most forms of this type.

*kʰə22li44*, *kʰa22li53*, *qale*, *k’li*, *gəli*, *thli1*, *gili1*, *ka’lə*, *kar’tə*, *kʰa’li*, *qal’də*, etc.

#### M type

M1: PTB etymon \**k/s-mut* (‘BLOW (with mouth)’).

*məi*, *mə55mə33*, *mu31ji55*, *mu55mo13*, *mɹ55mɹ53*, *mɛ*, etc.

M2: Etymon unclear; type appears only in *η21mi55*.

M3: This word root might be a cognate with *mun* in Ganan and Kadu, and has only one example: *mun* in Cak (Jingpho-Asakian).

B type: PTB \**buŋ* (‘WIND’); type is found mostly in compounds.

*nam53buŋ53*, *n31puŋ33*, *nəmbəŋ*, *nam31boŋ53*, *nam31bun53*, etc.

HY type: PKC \**hu(u)y* (‘AIR / WIND’).

*huɿy*, *hui233*.

V type: Etymon is unclear, although PTB \**woy* (‘FART’), PKC \**woy2* ~~wey2~~ (‘FART’).

*khar33vu55*, *vī*.

W type

W1: WrT etymon \**ur* (‘NOISE / TO BE NOISY’).

\**wu:r*.

W2: Etymon unclear.

*mu55wa53*.

HB type: Type appears only in the Bisu language; both *ha* and *ban* mean ‘wind’.

*há bán*, *haŋ33 ban33*.

PH type: Etymon unclear; type found only in Newar.

*phae*, *phasa*.

P type: Etymon unclear; type appears only in Bai languages.

*pi35*, *pī*, *pi35sɿ35*, *pi35sou55*, etc.

TH type: Etymon unclear.

*tho31ŋo31*, \**lu55tʰej55*.

TS type: Etymon unclear.

*tsuē*, *tɛyi33*.

N type

N1: Etymon unclear.

*mɹ13nɛ33*, *mu33ŋu33*, *mu33ŋu33*, *ŋu33*, etc.

N2: The word initial is *hn-*; its etymon is unclear.

*hnôoy*, *hnó-biá*.

R type: Etymon unclear.

*jə33*, *rə’gu*, *za535gou53*, etc.

PR type: Etymon unclear.

*po13zy35*, *xpər55ju33*, *xpərju*, *xpə’rjuro*, *pə’rju*, *pərjixs*, *ypərju*, etc.

SR type: WrT *bser bu* (‘BREEZE’).

*sʰarə*, *sʰərə*, etc.

Along with the abovementioned types, two compound forms exist:

TS+L1 type

*tsə31li55*, *dza31le55*, *ʃə31li55*, *teə21le55*, *tsa21le55*, etc.

L1+M1 type

Found only in two words: *hu33me55* and *hə33me55*.

Any case in our data where the words contain more than one morpheme is marked by ‘+’ in the legends.

<sup>1</sup> Reconstructed etyma and their references are cited from STEDT Database (accessed 14 January 2017).  
URL: <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt-cgi/rootcanal.pl>

## 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

Notably, many of our data in TB contain a morpheme whose etymon is PTB *\*r-məw* ('SKY / HEAVENS / CLOUDS'), and especially in the B group, most etyma are PTB *\*g-nam* ('SUN / SKY').

Throughout the data, the most striking feature in TB is that PTB *\*g-ləy* has been divided into three groups: L1, K and KL. Unlike in the L1 and K groups, in the KL group the etymon seems to have become disyllabic, as in *gəli* and *kʰə22li44*. This word root is found primarily in rGyalrongic languages and is distributed around the northwestern area of Chengdu, Sichuan Province. This group shows great diversity in its word forms.

Whereas the K group has few data in languages such as Daai (KC) and Mindat Cho (KC), the L1 group, including the L1+ type, shows the second-largest distribution on the map, namely around southwestern China, northern VietNam and Laos, and western Myanmar near Yangon. This group primarily appears in most of Yi (Loloish) and Burmish languages and dialects.

The most widely spread group is the LU group, as attested in the Tibetosphere. From its westernmost point around Srinagar, India, to its easternmost tip in Lanzhou, China, the group is scattered along the Himalayas. The northernmost end is in Xining, China, and the group ends at its southernmost point in Lijiang, China. By contrast, the LU+ group, including at least one morpheme added to the LU-type root, appears only around northwestern Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces.

Conversely, the LH group shared among Tibetic languages is scattered about Lhasa and a few areas adjacent to KL and LU prominent zones.

M1 appears mostly in Qiangic languages such as Munya, Guizhong and Northern Prinmi, and its compound form, L1+M1, appears only in two Loloish languages spoken in Laos, Khongsat and Laoseng.

Observed in Nungic and Jingpho languages, the B type is distributed around the border of China and Myanmar. The etymon PTB *\*buŋ* is a cognate with *\*pǰum/pjung* of Old and Middle Chinese, *\*p(r)ji/um* of Old Chinese, and also *fēng* of Modern Chinese.

As mentioned earlier, the first syllable found in most cases in this group, for example, *nam53 buŋ53* in Dulong, is the etymon PTB *\*g-nam* ('SUN / SKY').

The HY type, observed in two places near the Indo-Myanmar border, has only two instances in

Thado and Tiddim, and both are of KC.

The V group has only two data: one appearing in Eastern Kayah Li (Karenic) near Loikaw in Myanmar, the other is found in Khroskyabs or Lavrung (rGyalrongic).

The W1 type is scattered only in the southwestern Tibet Autonomous Region.

The HB type is found in northern Laos and Thailand.

The PH type has appeared only in Newar, around Kathmandu.

P and its compound types, intensively observed in Bai, are distributed mostly around Lijiang on the maps.

The TH type is observed in nDrapa and Lisu.

The TS type is shared in Bai, and its compound type, TS+L1, is observed in Hani, Akha Nukui in Loloish languages, on the border of China and Laos.

The N1 type has been attested in seven Yi languages and Anong (Nungic), while the N2 type is shared only in Falam Lai and Mara, both of which belong to KC.

The R type is found mainly around the KL region.

The PR type is found in Pema in Tibetic languages, adjacent to the KL region.

The SR type is shared in Tibetan dialects spoken in the LU prominent area in northern Sichuan Province.

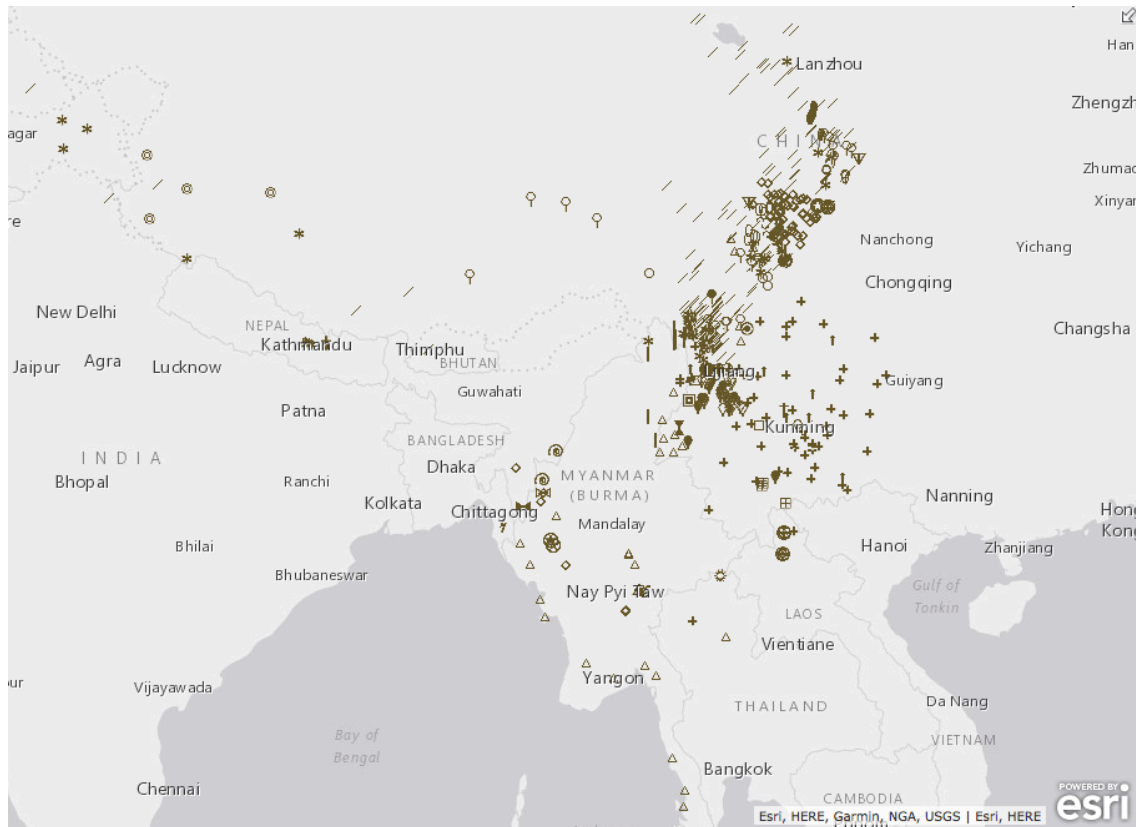
## 3. Conclusion

For the word 'wind' in Tibeto-Burman languages, 560 data have been collected, and 24 roots found. Among them, the M1 type shows a semantic change by which a root originally referring to 'BLOW' has come to mean 'WIND'. It is also noteworthy that the L1, K and KL types originate from PTB *\*g-nam* and demonstrate great diversity in their actual word forms.

Our next challenge is to consider chronological order among TB languages.

*Keywords:* Tibeto-Burman, compound

(Kazue Iwasa, H. Suzuki, K. Kurabe, S. Ebihara, S. Shirai, I. Matsuse)

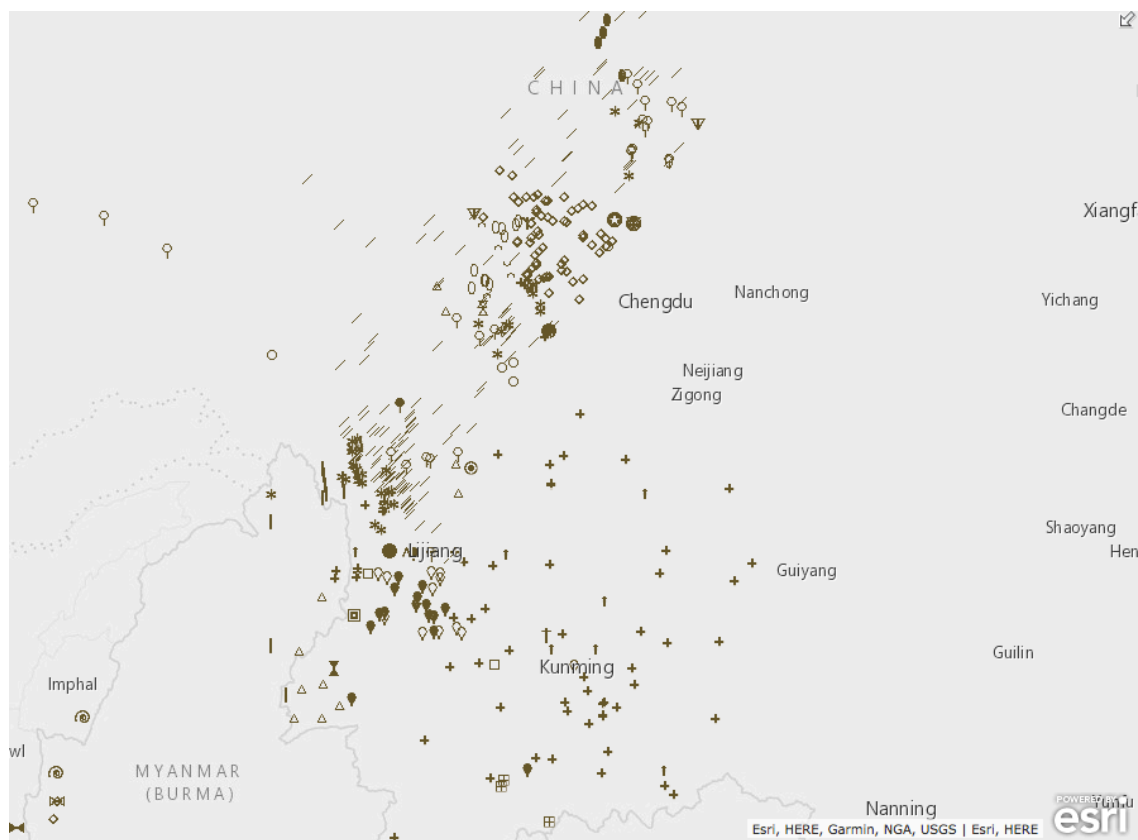


Map 1: Wind in Tibeto-Burman, the whole area

Legends:

/ LU	↑ N1+	⊗ K	⚡ M3
+ L1+	⊞ TS+L1	⊙ K+	† N1
◇ KL	○ M1	⊕ L1+M1	⚡ N2
* LU+	~ L2	● M1+	⚡ N2+
△ L1	✱ PH	□ TS	⚡ PH+
♀ LH	♂ SR	Y V	⚡ R
♂ P+	⊙ W1	~ L2+	⚡ TH
♀ P	▽ R+	♂ LH+	⚡ TH+
○ PR	☀ HB	* LU+?	⊞ TS+
B+	⊙ HY	⚡ M2+	⊙ W2

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



Map 2: Wind in Tibeto-Burman, enlarged.

N.B. All the symbols are identical to those displayed in the legends of the previous page.



## “Wind” in Hmong-Mien

### 1. Classification of word forms

The word forms of “wind” in Hmong-Mien are derived from two major etyma reconstructed as \*N-cæwH and \*poŋC in Ratliff (2010). The former etymon is reconstructed at the stage of Proto-Hmong-Mien, and the latter etymon at the stage of Proto-Hmongic. Although the reconstruction for the former etymon might induce some argument, especially on the reconstruction of a hyphenated element \*N-, the cognacy among the forms subsumed under \*N-cæwH has been assumed by most scholars (\*N- in Ratliff’s reconstruction causes the initial consonants of the root syllables voiced in Mienic, but simply drops in Hmongic without exerting a voicing effect. \*H at the end of the form represents a proto-segment deriving Tone C in the later development). The reflexes of the latter etymon \*poŋC are observed only in a limited number of Hmongic lects. Many other Hmongic lects also have the reflex of this etymon with a different meaning: “air, smell.” One Hmongic lect shows a compound form comprising the reflexes of the two etyma: *poŋ5 tei5* (Tone 5 is one of the regular reflexes from Tone C of the proto-stage. Note that this form has a voiceless initial consonant /t̥/ since the lect belongs to Hmongic). One Hmongic lect has a form deriving from a distinct etymon: *zəm2*.

Based on the above-mentioned comparative evidence, we can classify the forms for “wind” into four types: A (forms deriving from \*N-cæwH), B (forms deriving from \*poŋC), C (*poŋ5 tei5*, compound form of A and B), and D (*zəm2*). Type A can be further divided into four subtypes. A1 is observed in Hmongic lects, indicating a voiceless initial. A2 is observed in Mienic, indicating a voiced initial. A3 is a complex form with an element *aŋ1* before a form of Type A1 *tei5* (*aŋ1* might be related to the word designating “water”). A4 is a form observed in two lects of Ho-ne. It has been treated by some scholars as a reflex of the Type A etymon with an irregularity in tone (the expected tone is Tone 5, and not Tone 1).

A: forms from \*N-cæwH

A1: *tei5*

A2: *dzjau5*

A3: *aŋ1 tei5*

A4: *ki1*

B: forms from \*poŋC

C: *poŋ5 tei5* (compound form of A and B)

D: *zəm2*

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

Most lects, regardless of genetic subgrouping, Hmongic or Mienic, indicate a reflex belonging to Type A. This fact suggests that the Type A is the original form for “wind” in Hmong-Mien.

Turning to the forms for Type B, which is distributed in the central part of Guizhou, we observed an interesting fact. Two Hmongic lects distributed in Guizhou, Yanghao, and Gaozhai, which have one of the Type A forms for “wind,” use forms belonging to Type B for “air, smell” (see Table 1. The form *poŋ5* in Yanghao is from Office of Miao-Yao Research Lexicon). We can also note that one of the Type B lects, Datang, uses the same form for both of the two meanings. These facts suggest that a semantic extension includes not only “air, smell” but also “wind,” that is, not only “body of air” but “blow of air” has occurred in the Type B lects distributed in the central part of Guizhou. The Type C form *poŋ5 tei5* for “wind” observed in Taijiang can be understood in a similar way. The form shows a combination of Type B *poŋ5* and Type A *tei5*. Taijiang also uses a Type B form *poŋ5* for “air.” Thus, the formation of this compound can be explained as follows: in Taijiang a similar semantic extension has occurred in *poŋ5*, but still preserves the original element *tei5* for distinction. The historical relation between Type B and Type C, however, is yet to be investigated.

Table 1

	WIND	AIR, SMELL
Yanghao	<i>teen5</i>	<i>poŋ5</i>
Jiwei	<i>ci5</i>	-
Dananshan	<i>təua5</i>	-
Gaozhai	<i>teiC</i>	<i>təA poŋC</i>
Gundong	<i>ʃl tei5</i>	-
Taijiang	<i>poŋ5 tei5</i>	<i>poŋ5</i>
Datang	<i>paŋ5</i>	<i>paŋ5</i>
Zongdi	<i>paŋ5</i>	-

(Yoshihisa Taguchi)



### "Wind" in Hmong-Mien

A: forms from \*N-cæwH

A1: tɛi5

A2: dzjau5

A3: aŋ1 tɛi5

A4: ki1



B: forms from \*poŋC



C: poŋ5 tɛi5 (compound form of A and B)



D: zəm2



## Wind: Tai-Kadai

### 1. Classification of word forms

The major type A ends with the coda -m or -ng (A-4) and all subtypes are to be treated as descendants from the same proto form. Minor types B and C are found in Hlai in the Hainan island.

A-1 l-m type

A-2 r-m type

A-3 z-m type

A-4 z-ng type

A-5 j-m type

A-6 ð-m type

A-7 ɣ-m type

A-8 hj-m type

B vo:t type

C viu type

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

The proto Tai form for “wind” is reconstructed as \*dluom A by Li (1977:125, 273). Yuan (1963) exhaustively studied / r /-type sounds among Zhuang dialects, and he postulated the proto initial of this sound class as \*r-.

All subtypes A-1 to A-8 are due to the regular sound change in each place. Endo (2016) drew maps for all 98 example words of this / r /-type category given in Yuan (1963) and gave hypotheses as follows (p.52):

A-2 r-m type is the oldest form;

A-7 ɣ-m type is the newest form;

A-8 hj-m type was derived from A-2 r- type.

Other types should be the results of individual changes in each place. A-4 z-ng type came about by the change of coda from A-3 z-m type.

Endo (2014) discussed the problem of the relationship of this Tai-Kadai form \*dluom (A) with other eastern Asian languages, like Chinese, Korean, the Bai language of Lolo-Burmese, and Taiwan Austronesian.

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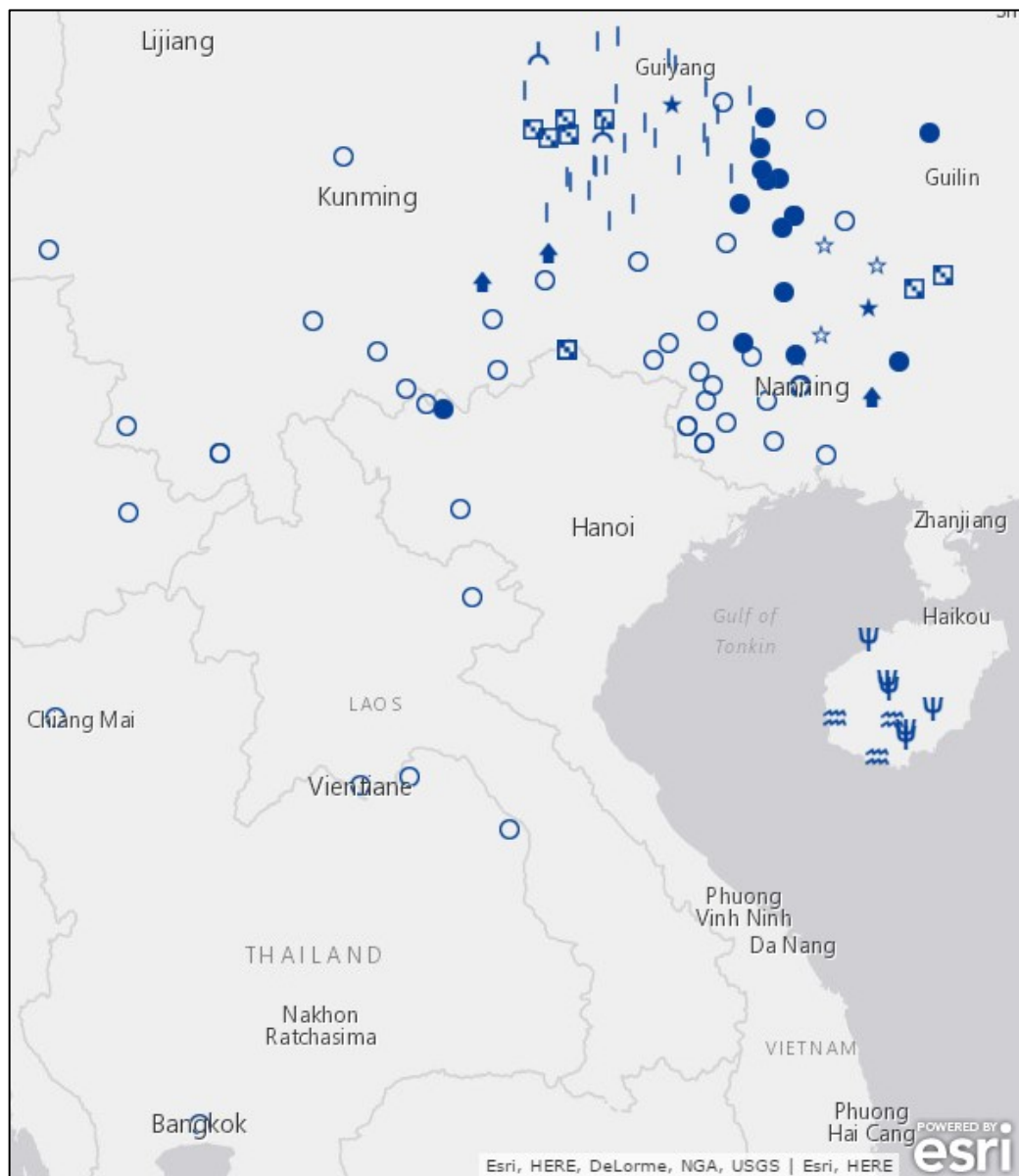
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(Mitsuaki ENDO)



- A-1 ○ l
- A-2 ● r
- A-3 | z
- A-4 人 zng
- A-5 田 j
- A-6 ↑ dh
- A-7 ★ g
- A-8 ☆ h
- B Ψ vo:t
- C 浪 viu

## Wind: Austroasiatic Languages

### 1. Classification of word forms

The word forms for “wind” in Austroasiatic can be classified into 9 categories as follows:

#### A) *CjVʔl* type

A-1: Cjaal < \*kyaal (Shorto, 2006, p.462)

kəjaal (Katuic: Bru, Kui, Souei)

ca:l (Bahnaric: Mnong, Sre, Stieng)

ca (Monic: Mon), etc.

A-2: Cjo < \*k-jə:ʔ (Ferlus, 1997)

kajə:w (Bahnaric: Brao [Laveh])

kjew (Bahnaric: Nyaheun)

kajɔ̃: (Vietic: Chút [Rục])

kojo (Munda: Juang, Kharia)

hojo (Munda: Birhor, Ho, Mundari), etc.

A-3: həj type

həe (Munda: Santali)

həj (Munda: Kol, Mahali, Santali), etc.

#### B) *kur* type < \*[ ]kuur (Shorto, 2006, p.418, 421)

gur (Palaungic: Kentung-wa, Son)

kúul (Palaungic: Samatou)

kau (Palaungic: Lawa [Bo Luang], Lawa [Mac Sariang]), etc.

#### C) *bVwV* type < \*by[əw]h for ‘storm’. (Shorto, 2006, p.473)

brwaʔ (Aslian: Jahai)

pəwaʔ, bəwaʔ (Aslian: Kensiu, Tonga), etc.

#### D) *ɲ~ɲin* type < related to “\*haɲin” type in Austronesian? (Utsumi 2017)

ɲin (Katuic: Katu [phuong], Ngeq [Kriang])

ɲin (Katuic: Ong), etc.

#### E) *hiw* type < \*hiw; \*hiəw for ‘to drift’. (Shorto, 2006, p.479)

hiəl (Monic: Nyah Kur [Huai Khrai, Northern])

hiəl~hiəw (Monic: Nyah Kur [Huai Khrai, Northern])

#### F) *-ma* type

ʔma:ʔ, (Palaungic: Lamet [Nkris])

θamáʔ (Palaungic: Hu)

samà (Palaungic: U), etc.

#### G) *has* type < \*ʔuh; \*ʔa[ ]h; (\*ʔuh ʔuh >?) \*huh (& \*huuh?); \*huəh; \*ha[ ]h for ‘to blow’. (Shorto, 2006, p.499)

hās (Nicobaric: Nancowry)

hā:ʃ (Nicobaric: Nancowry)

#### H) *pəs* type < \*puh; (\*puh-s >) \*puus for ‘to blow’. (Shorto, 2006, p.514)

pəs (Aslian: Semai [II])

Other forms: daren (Aslian: Jahai), nhəm (Bahnaric: Sre [Koho]), ʔadiiʔ, ʔadi:ʔ (Katuic: Katu), lʔer ʔer, lʔer l'er (Khasic: Khasi), qə<sup>31</sup>təŋ<sup>55</sup> (Mangic: Bolyu), kufət, kum-fə:-tə (Nicobaric: Car), pəbənə, pobono (Munda: Juang) < पवन (pavana) in Sanskrit ...

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

The forms of A) *CjVʔl* type are widely seen across all Austroasiatic languages, so it is quite likely that this is the oldest form. About this type, we can assume the historical order of development as follows:

According to Shorto (2006), the proto-form for ‘wind’ in Mon-Khmer is \*kyaal, while Ferlus (1997) shows that the proto-form for ‘wind’ in Viet-Muong is \*k-jə:ʔ. Shorto (2006) also points out the relationship between these two forms, as we can see some words like jaaʔj, ja:ʔj, kʰəja:ʔj, ksaʔl appear in Chong, the Western Pearic language. Therefore, it is quite likely that the ending \*-ʔl can be reconstructed for type A. A-1 forms are the result of losing the final -ʔ, while A-2 forms are the result of losing the final -l. The Mon form, ca, is the result of a further loss in the final -l in the next stage, while the rising tone in Vietic comes from the final -ʔ. The A-3 type of Munda might come from the A-2 form (Munda) following the loss of the final vowel, hojo > həj, and the loss of the consonant, j, between vowels hojo > həe

The type E *hiw* can be related to Type C *viu* of Tai-kadai in Hainan Island (Endo 2017).

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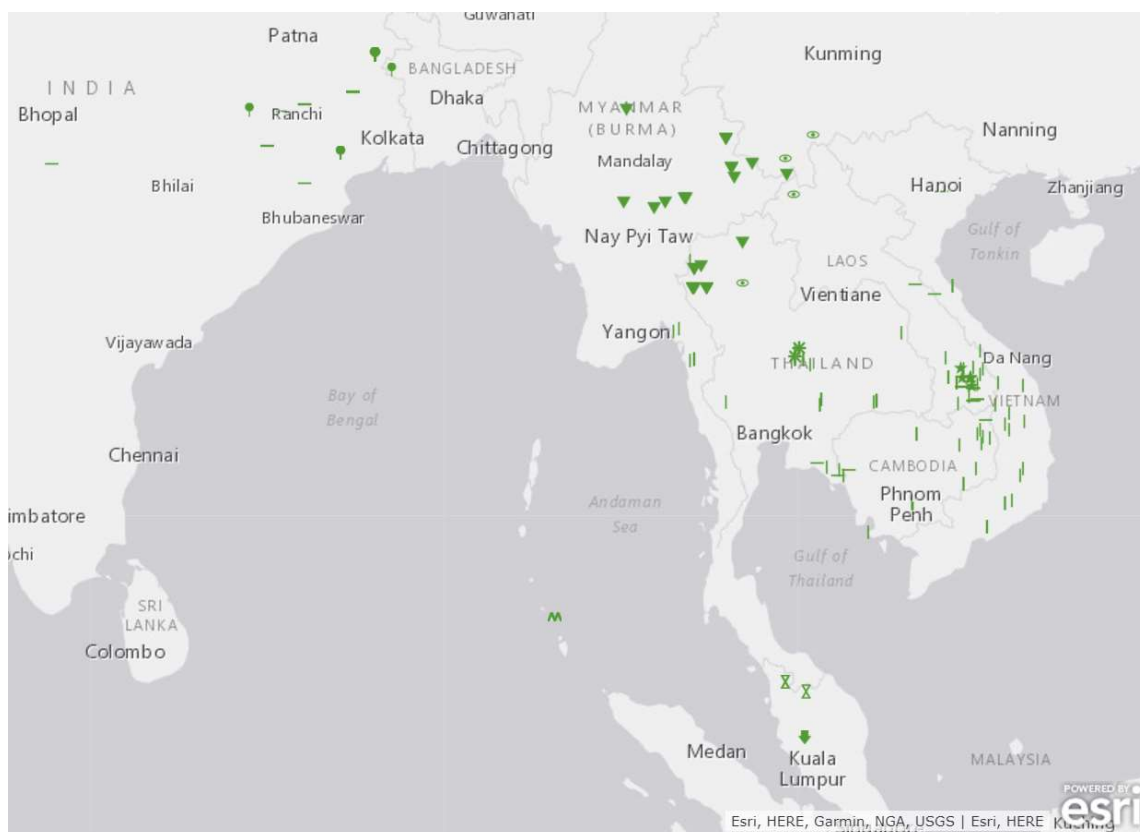
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Keywords: wind, Austroasiatic

(KONDO Mika)



**"Wind" in Austroasiatic**

- A) *CjVl* type  
 A-1: *Cjaal*  
 A-2: *Cjo*  
 A-3: *həj*



- B) *kur* type  
 C) *bVwV* type  
 D) *ɲ~ɲin* type  
 E) *hiw* type



- F) *-ma* type  
 G) *has* type  
 H) *pəs* type



## WIND: Austronesian languages

### 1. Classification of word forms

The word form for “wind” varies a great deal. In Proto Austronesian vocabulary, there are many words related to “wind”: general term for wind (*\*bali*), and winds from four cardinal directions. As a result, many different forms are found in present languages. It is assumed that they can be categorized into four main groups. Type A forms start with the sound /p/, but the rest is not very similar with each other, and this grouping is only for convenience. Forms that belong to type B and C, on the other hand, are similar and clearly the reflections of proto-form: Proto Austronesian (PAN) *\*bali* and Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *\*hawin* respectively. Type B consists of /b/ as the first consonant and /l/ or /r/ as the onset of the second syllable. Some forms of Type C-1 retain the first consonant /h/ or /s/ (the two phones are easily changeable from each other in Austronesian languages), but most forms have lost it. The onset of the second syllable is mostly /ŋ/, but sometimes changed into /n/. Type C-2 forms have lost /h/ and /ŋ/, beginning with /l/, /y/ or /ð/ (/l/ has changed into /y/ as a result of historical innovation in some languages). Type C-3 has the prefix *\*ma-* (stative prefix) or *\*na-* (stative or past prefix) before the reflection of *\*hawin*. Type D groups together the forms beginning with /d/ sound. D-1 has more than one syllable whereas D-2 has only one. Type E forms begin with /m/ and have /r/ as the onset of the second syllable, but one form, *mu*, is included although it has no /r/ since it is assumed to have lost it as an innovation. Type F forms begin with a palatal or velar nasal and has /l/ as the onset of the second syllable. Type G groups together forms that have /r/ as the onset of the second syllable. Type H is just a label to group together miscellaneous forms that have a little in common among them.

- A. Beginning with the consonant /p/ : *pagpag, porepe, pōiri* ★
- B. The onset of the first syllable is /b/ and the onset of the second syllable is /l/, /r/, or /y/. *balbāli, baliyu, baligbōg, buru* ✕
- C. “*\*hawin*” type
  - C-1. With the first syllable containing /ha/ /sa/ or /a/: *hāŋin, saŋin, alaŋ, alogo, ayōŋ, aŋ, aŋiŋ, aŋŋiŋ, aŋin, aŋen, te aŋ, āŋ, ani-n, aŋin, anin* ★

C-2. Without the first syllable: *ðaŋi, laŋi, lai, lōŋi, yaŋila, yau, yaŋi* ★

C-3. Beginning with /nVmV/ or /mV/ (V means a vowel) followed by the reflection of *\*hawin*: *nəmataŋi, nəmətaŋ, mataŋi, mataʔi* ✕

D. Beginning with the consonant /d/

D-1. Two or three syllables: *dupoto, doros, dōrōs* ♥

D-2. One syllable only: *dan, dān* ♥

E. Beginning with /m/: *manis, moda, mu, miri, mīri, more* ♡

F. Beginning with a palatal or velar nasal: *ŋalu, ŋoluʔ, ŋayeŋo* ○

G. Having /r/ or /s/ as the onset of the second syllable: *nuri, nus, ŋiru, ōru* ✧

H. Beginning with /k/ and having an alveolar consonant as the onset of the second syllable: *kayā, kwade* ▼

I. Other forms: *n-ean, noʔə, oasa, siyer, tim, togawa, tokerau, rivusu, eip, aneku* ♥

### 2. Geographical distribution

2-1. Formosan languages: Type A and B are found.

2-2. Philippines and Kalimantan: Various forms that belong to Type B, C-1, D-1 and G are found.

2-3. Sulawesi, Maluku and West Papua New Guinea: Various forms that are categorized into Type A, C-1, D-1, E, and F are found. The forms that do not belong to any of the groups A-F, which groups together similar forms, are also found.

2-4. Sumatra and Jawa: Predominantly type C is found, and also one instance of type B.

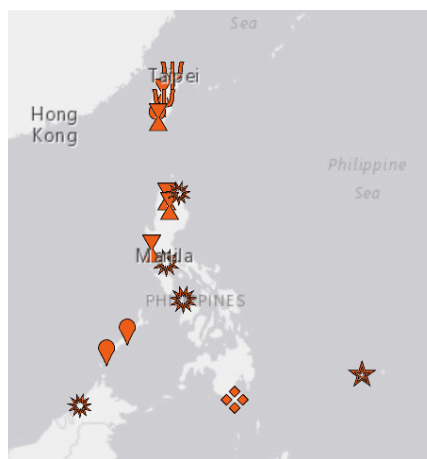
2-5. East Papua New Guinea: Type C-2, E and G are found. In addition, miscellaneous forms which are grouped into type I for convenience are found, too.

2-6. Oceanic languages: Type C-3, D-2, F and H, are found, but C-3 and F seem to be most common.

### 3. Word Forms for “wind”

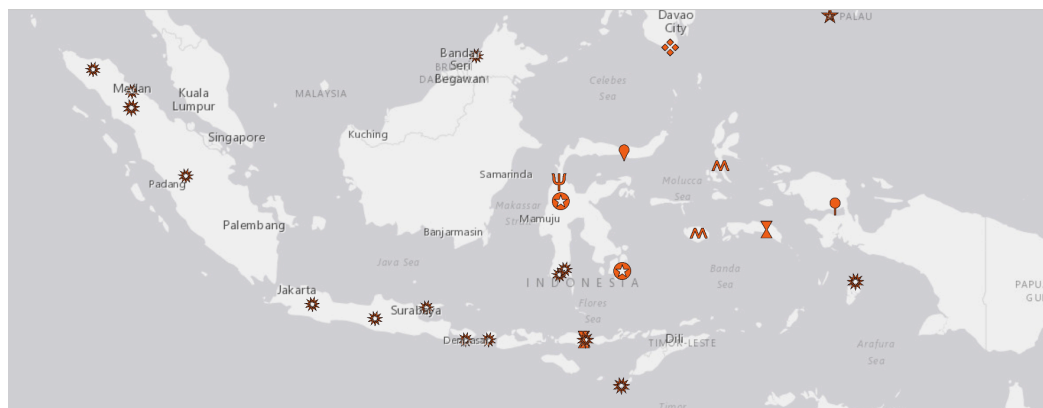
In Austronesian languages, winds from four cardinal directions have different lexicons. In addition, general term for “wind”, “gentle wind”, “stormy wind” and so on are found. This explains why even in a small area has various forms for “wind” in the present languages. Only in Sumatra and Jawa do we find consistency (predominantly type C-1).

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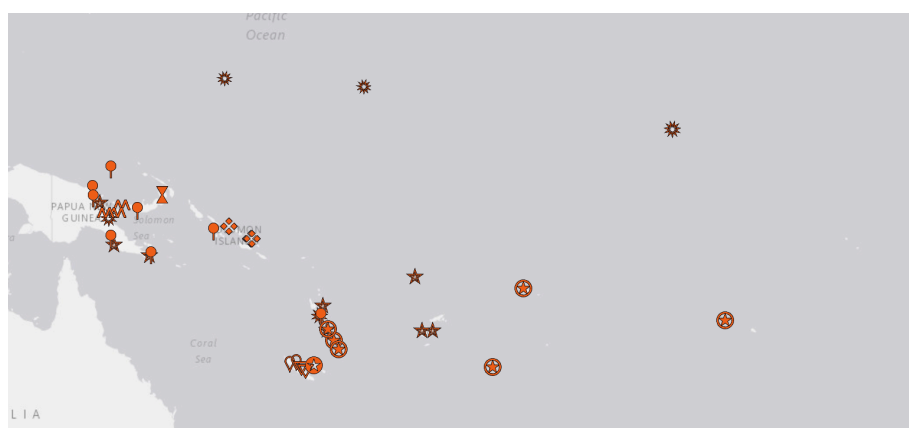


Map 1: Taiwan and the Philippines

Ψ *pagpag, porepe, poiri*  
 X *balbāli, baliyu, baligbōg, buru*  
 \* *hāñin, sañin, alaŋ, alogo, ayōŋ, aŋ, aŋiŋ, aŋiŋiŋ, aŋin, aŋen, te aŋ, āŋ, ani-n, aŋin, anin*  
 ★ *ḏaŋi, laŋi, lai, lōŋi, yagila, yau, yaŋi*  
 ⊗ *nəmataŋi, nəmətaŋ, mataŋi, mataʔi* ⊗  
 ◊ *dupoto, doros, dərɔs*  
 ∇: *dan, dān* ∇  
 M *manis, moda, mu, miri, mīri, more*  
 ⊕ *ŋalu, ŋoluʔ, ŋayeŋo*  
 ✧ *nuri, nus, ʔiru, ōru*  
 ▽ *kayā, kʷade*  
 † *n-ean, noʔə, oasa, siyer, tim, togawa, tokerau, rivirusu, eip. aneku*



Map 2: Indonesia



Map 3: Papua New Guinea and Pacific



## Wind: South Asia (IE (Aryan, Iranian, Nuristani), Dravidian, Andamanese, Burushaski)

### 1. Classification of word forms

In this map, there are five major categories of word forms –  $\sqrt{vā}$ , *gāli*, *pavana*, *hawā?*, and *vali* – and four minor categories.

A.  $\sqrt{vā}$ : [**vātā**]: *vāṭa*, *vāṭai*, *vāyu*, *wāy*, *vai*, *vāv*, *wāv*, *vāu*, *wāu*, *vā*, *vaha*, *gwāth*, *gwāt*, *bot*, *bād*, *bad*, *bod*, *bāy*, *bāyu*, *bāyū*, *bayáu*, *bai*, *bāo*, *bāu*, *bauā*, *baúa*, *bau*, *bāā*, *bā*, *ba*; [+*dhmāna*]: *bádum*, *wādana* (cf. G. *dhamana* group), [+*trāsa*]: *batās*, *bātās*, *batāh*, *basāt*, [+*udgūra*]: *bagur*, *bagər*, *waga*; [**vātara**]: *bayāri*, *bālē*, *vāryə*, *bālā*, *vārē*, *bayālo*, *vārā*, *orē*, *vāryālā*, *bhāla*, *balay*, *bālāi*; [**vātālī**]: *bāl*; [**vāsa**]: *wāgan*, *bās*; [**vāni**]: *bāni*

B. **gāli**: *gāli*, *ghāli*, *gāli*, *ga-li*, *gāl*, *gāḍupu*, *kāl*, *kārru*, *ka-tī*, *ka-t*; [+**vali**]: *garuvali*, *karuvali* (cf. E. *vali*)

C. **pavana**: *pavan*, *pawan*, *paban*, *pavan*, *paun*, *pən*, *pōṇ*

D. **hawā?**: *hawā*, *hawā*, *havā*, *həwā*, *hawā*, *hāwā*, *hawāh*, *awa*, *have*

E. **vali**: *valli*, *vallu*, *vaḷi*, *val*, *vilu*, *vliu*, *waṛī*, *vīvali*

F. **oṣ**: *óoṣi*, *oṣ*, *uṣ*, *ūṣi*, *hāṣi*

G. **dhamana**: *dhamān*, *dhamu*, *damū*, *domō*, *damu*, *dəma*, *dimi*

H. **takā**: *tākā*, *tāke*, *tahō*

I. **suḷan**: *suḷan*, *huḷan*, *hulampoija*

J. **others**: *āli*; *nala*; *borṭercek*, *bō:r*; *jakar*; *gaán*; *eygáin*; *maru*; *páte*, *pāūtāū*, *tótāūté*; *sīra*; *tiṣ*; *uyir*; *ūtai*; *viṇtu*; *wulanga-da*, *ólui*; *šamol*; *hadiman*

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

The lexical forms representing the word ‘wind’ have quite diverse origins. They can be classified into A)  $\sqrt{vā}$  type, B) *gāli*, C) *pavana*, D) *hawā?*, E) *vali*, F) *oṣ*, G) *dhamana*, H) *takā*, I) *suḷan*, and J) others.

The most major types are  $\sqrt{vā}$  and *gāli*.

The former can be verified in Sanskrit *vātá* वात ‘wind’, *vātadhmāna* वातध्मान ‘wind-blow’,

*vātatrāsa* वातत्रास ‘wind-storm’, *vātōdgūra* वातौदगूर ‘whirlwind’, *vātara* वातर ‘windy’, *vātālī* वाताली ‘whirlwind’, *vāsa* वास ‘perfume’, and *vāni* वानि ‘perfume’, which are derived from the verbal root  $\sqrt{vā}$  वा ‘to blow’. Forms of this type are located all over the Indian subcontinent, within Aryan, Iranian, Nuristani, and southern Dravidian languages (see Map 2).

While forms of the latter *gāli* type are only observed in the southern half of India, this type is employed by southern Dravidian languages (see Map 3). The forms of this type are derived from the Dravidian word something like \**gāli*. The South-Central Dravidian languages prefer \**vali* type forms, and the Northern Dravidians clearly use \**takā* group words. I couldn’t find out the original forms and meanings of these types, but surely each of them means ‘wind’, since they show complementary distribution from the areal viewpoint.

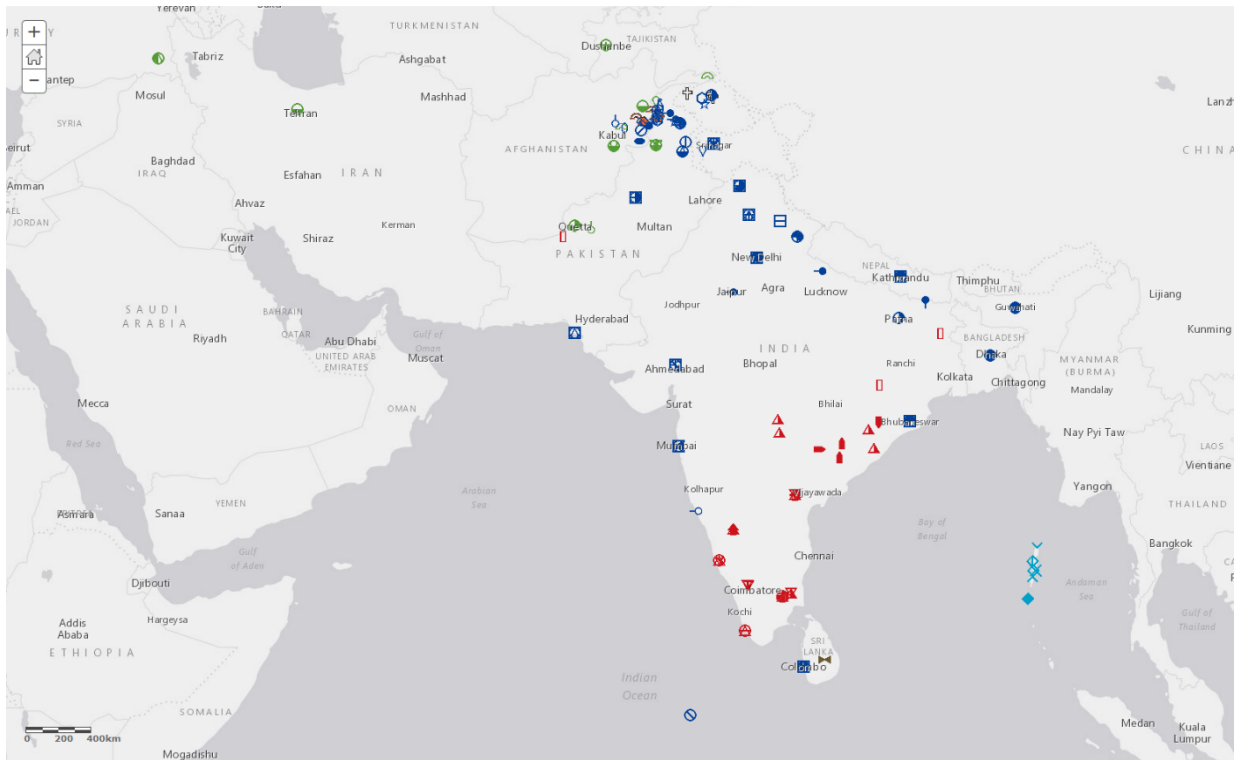
The third major type, *pavana*, derived from the verbal root  $\sqrt{pū}$  पू ‘to make pure, to winnow’, can be seen only in Aryan languages. The distribution is, however, very wide, from Nepal and Pakistan in the north to Sri Lanka in the south. And their forms do not vary much, only in a narrow width.

The *hawā?* type has been observed in the northern part of Aryan languages’ area and in many Iranian areas. This word was originally borrowed from Arabic, *hawā?* هواء ‘wind’ derived from the root *h-w-y* هوى ‘to blow, to love’. That is why the distribution of this type considerably overlaps with the area of Islamic dominance.

*Oṣ* is a minor type of Aryan, in particular of the so-called Dardic language group (a subgroup of the Northwestern Aryan). The origin of this type is unclear, or it might be derived from Sanskrit *uṣṇavāta* उष्णवात ‘hot-wind’. *Dhamana* is used in Nuristan regardless of language families, near the west of the *oṣ* type. Sanskrit word *dhamana* धमन means ‘blow’.

The *suḷan* type is seen in Sri Lanka, Sinhalese, and Vedda. I have not found a clue to the origin.

There are many types for ‘wind’ here. Taking a broad view of the situation, we can find that each language family each has an original word for ‘wind’, and so they don’t borrow any form from another family. Burushaski also has the only original form, and Andamanese languages have a few types even within themselves. (YOSHIOKA Noboru)

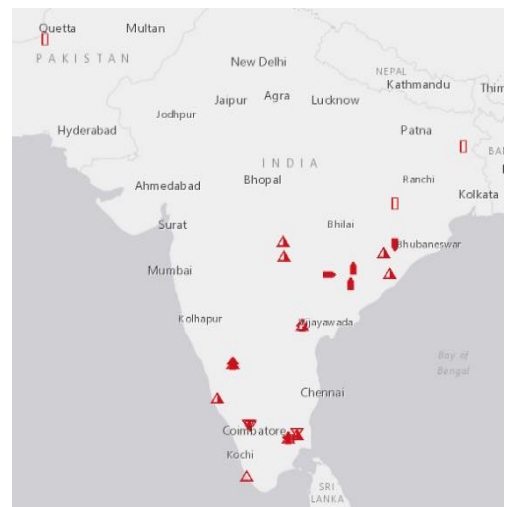


Map 1. 'Wind' in South Asia

<b>Aryan</b>		<b>Iranian</b>	<b>Dravidian</b>	<b>Burushaski</b>
○ vāu	● bālā	○ ba	△ kārru	✚ tiš
○ vā	● bhāla	○ bot	△ kāl	
○ vāyu	● balay	○ bād	▽ ka-t	<b>Vedda</b>
○ wāy	● bālāi	○ bad	▽ ka-ti	✚ hulampojja
○ vai	● bālē	○ bod	△ gāl	
○ vāv	● bayālo	○ gwāt	△ gālī	<b>Andamanese</b>
○ wāv	● bayāri	○ gwāth	△ ghālī	／ bor
○ wāu	● orē	○ waga	△ ga-li	◇ bortecek
○ vaha	● bāni	○ dhamān	△ gādupu	◇ pāte
○ ba	○ wāgan	○ dema	△ garuvali	◇ pāūtāu
○ bā	○ pavan	○ hawā	△ valī	◇ olūi
○ bāā	○ pawan	○ hewā	△ valli	◇ wulanga-da
○ bāo	○ paban	○ hwa	△ villu	
○ bau	○ paun	○ ergāin	△ ali	
○ bauā	○ pōn	○ šamol	△ warī	
○ bauā	○ pon		△ vivali	
○ bāyu	○ hawā		△ vinṭu	
○ bāyu	○ hawāh	<b>Nuristani</b>	△ tākā	
○ bayāu	○ hawā	○ bādum	△ tāke	
○ bāy	○ hwa	○ bās	△ tahō	
○ bād	○ ōsi	○ dhāmu	△ ūtai	
○ bātās	○ uš	○ damū	△ uyir	
○ bātās	○ oš	○ damu	○ vāyu	
○ batāh	○ hāsi	○ dimi	○ vāta	
○ basāt	○ sulan		○ vātai	
○ wādana	○ hulan		○ have	
○ bagur	○ sira			
○ bager	○ jākā			
○ bāl	○ domō			
○ vārā	○ gaān			
○ vāyālā	○ hadimn			
○ vāyo	○ maru			
○ vārē	○ nala			



Map 2. √vā and dhamana types



Map 3. Dravidian types



## Wind: Semitic languages

### 1. Classification of word forms

The word forms of “wind” are classified as follows.

#### A. *n-f-s* type

*nafa:s, nāfas, əmfas*

#### B. *r-w-h* type

**B-1.** *r-ḥ, ru:ḥa, ruha, ru:aḥ, rehwa*

**B-2.** *ri:ḥ, riḥ, riḥa, ri:(h), ri*

#### C. *hawa* type

*hawa:, hawa, xava, hwō*

#### D. the others

*h(i)yé, wālwāl, lobú*

#### E. *aḍu* type

*aḍu, aḍo, aṭu*

#### F. *tʔw* type

*tʔw, tēu*

#### G. *fa:ru*

### 2. Geographical distribution and interpretation

#### A. *n-f-s* type

The *n-f-s* type is used in the Ethiopic. *nafa:s* (ነፋስ) in Ge'ez (the ancient Ethiopian), *nāfas* (ነፋስ) in Amharic (an official language of Ethiopia), *nāfas* in Tigrinya spoken in Eritrea. *əmfas* in Chaha spoken in the Gurage Zone in central Ethiopia, *əm* is a result of place assimilation of *n* to the *f*.

This consonantal root is shared with the word ‘soul’: *napištu* (𐎎𐎠𐎢𐎵) in Akkadian, *n-p-š* (𐤎 𐤐 𐤑) in Ugaritic, *nepeš* (נֶפֶשׁ) in Hebrew, *nafs* (نفس) in Ge'ez, *nəfsət* in Jibbali, *nafs* (نفس) in Arabic.

#### B. *r-w-h* type

**B-1.** *r-w-h* sub type

This type is distributed in Mesopotamia and Syria. *ru:aḥ* (רוח) in Biblical [ru:əḥ] and Modern Hebrew [ruəχ]. *rehwa* in the Modern Manda (spoken in Iraq and Iran).

The oldest evidence is the form *r-ḥ* (𐎎 𐎢) of Ugaritic (in Syria in 13-14 century B.C.). Some other old Semitic languages have *r-w-h* type forms. *ru:ḥa:* (ܪܘܚܐ) in Syriac (2-7th century A.D.) with the definite article *-a:*. *ruha* in the Mandaic (the Eastern Aramaic).

These forms in Hebrew and Syriac have also meaning “soul, spirit” and Arabic also has *ru:ḥ* “soul, spirit”.

#### B-2. *r-y-h* type

*ri:ḥ* (ريح) is Arabic form of Classical, North Israel, Najd in Saudi, UAE, San'a and Aden in Yemen, Tunis, Alger, Rabat and Casablanca in Morocco. *ri:(h)* in Borno shuwa (Nigeria) and *ri* in Njamena (Chad) are the result of drop of *ḥ*. *riha* of Ma'alūla Aramaic (Syria) is the exceptional case for Aramaic. This may be borrowed from Arabic.

#### C. *hawa* type

The original meaning of the form *hawa* (هواء) is “air”. This form is found in Egypt and the Eastern Arab, such as Damascus and Aleppo (Syria), Palestine, Lebanon, Mardin (Turkey), Baghdad (Iraq), Kuwait and *xava* in Cypriot. Note that *hwō* of Ma'lūla is borrowed from Arabic.

#### D. Other forms

Other forms are *h(i)yé* in Jibbali (South Arabian) and in Oman, *wālwāl* in Tigre of Ethiopic, in Eritrea, *du:f* in Harari (Ethiopia), *lobú* in Ki-Nubi a creole in Kenya are also found.

#### E. *aḍu* type

*aḍu* type is Berber form: *aḍu* in Kabyle (Algeria) and Wargla (Algeria), *aḍo* in Ghadamsi, *aṭu* in Jebel Nefusa (Libya).

#### F. *tʔw* type

*tʔw* (𐤌𐤕𐤏) in the ancient Egypt, *tēu* (𐤌𐤕𐤏) in the Coptic.

#### G. *fa:ru*

The Akkadian (spoken in ancient Mesopotamia) form *fa:ru* (𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎵; the ideogram of Sumerian 𒂗𒍪 *im*) is the oldest evidence in Semitic. But this consonantal root is not shared with the other Semitic languages.

(Youichi Nagato)



## Words for “Wind” in Asian Languages: A Brief Overview

### 1. Introduction

The air moves everywhere on the earth and every language has a word for the natural perceptible current of air.<sup>1</sup>

### 2. Word Forms

The word forms for “wind” in Asia vary greatly. The geographical distribution of the dominant types of words in each language family or linguistic/cultural area schematically shown in Figure 1 gives a rough idea about the diversity.

Some languages / language families have only one type of word for “wind”: *la* in Nivkh<sup>2</sup>; *param* in Korean; *pjuŋ*<sup>3</sup> in Sinitic. Within each language family / linguistic area with more than one type of word for “wind,” geolinguistic

interpretations can be applied to the distribution of the words.

There are words used in a vast area across language families, but if we look at Asian languages as a whole, we see more diversity than unity.

### 3. Etymology

A movement of air, i.e. wind, can be perceived directly on the skin, but its existence is also recognized through smell conveyed by it, noise made by it, visual perception of wind-blown objects, and so on. Therefore, the words for “wind” in several languages are derived from a word meaning “to blow,” etc.: Tibeto-Burman *\*k/s-mut* “to blow” and *\*ur* “noise, to be noisy”; Hmong-Mien *\*poŋC* “air; smell”; South Asian *√pū* “to make pure; to winnow.”

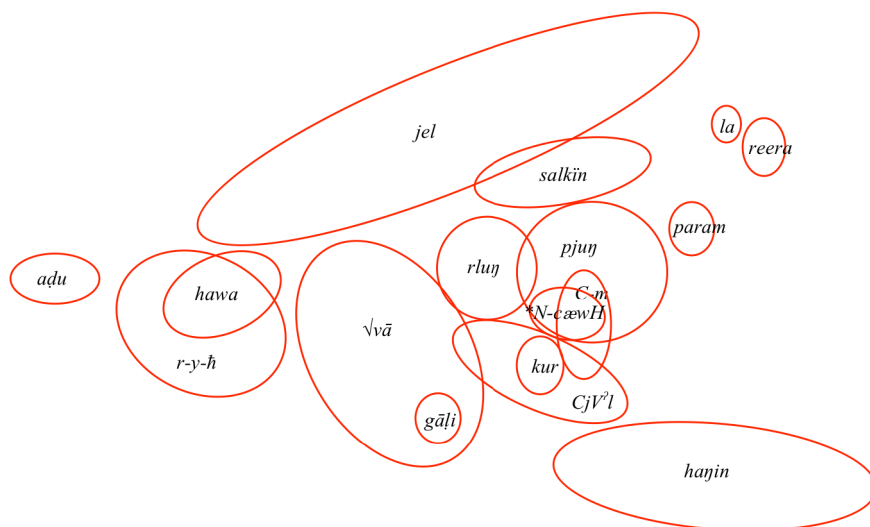


Figure 1

<sup>1</sup> Currents of air can be distinguished in terms of strength, temperature, direction, and so on. They can be named with completely different words in language, but generic terms for “wind” is dealt with here. In English, for example, “wind” is defined as “the perceptible natural movement of the air,” while “breeze” is explained as “a gentle wind.” The word “wind” is used in the definition of the word “breeze,” and therefore it is a generic term.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Taguchi ed. (2017).

<sup>3</sup> The Middle Chinese form.

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(Yoshio Saitō)

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

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## Abstract

This article attempts to describe a dialectal difference of the word ‘wind’ attested in around 230 dialects of the eastern Tibetic languages. The word ‘wind’ generally corresponds to Written Tibetan (WrT) *rlung* or *lhags pa*. The former form has several phonetic differences, such as the initial consonant. Other than them, there are also compound forms, which are also existent as WrT forms.

## 1 Introduction

This article provides a detailed description of the geolinguistic analysis of the word forms for ‘wind’ in the Tibetic languages spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere, which Iwasa 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 (2015).

The data used to create the linguistics maps at the end of this article only includes first-hand materials collected by the author from 2003 to 2016. 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 235 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 word forms

This section provides a classification of word forms of ‘wind’ based on Written Tibetan (WrT) forms and their various phonetic realisations. There are three principal types:

- (A) WrT *rlung*-type.
- (B) WrT *lhags pa*-type.
- (C) /s<sup>h</sup>a rə/-type.

The A-type is attested much more widely than the B- and C-types. In addition, the A-type can be classified into different subcategories based on its phonetic realisations and formation of compounds. There are two sound correspondences /l/ and /j/ with a WrT radical letter *l*, however, this difference is not applied for the classification provided here (see Suzuki 2009, 2016). Examples are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

### A-type

A1a: monosyllabic form corresponding WrT *rlung*

[<sup>h</sup>l̥ʰ], [<sup>h</sup>l̥ʰoŋ], [ɣloŋ], [<sup>h</sup>l̥ʰũ], [<sup>w</sup>loŋ], [l̥ʰ], [<sup>h</sup>l̥ʰv̥], [<sup>h</sup>j̥ʰ], [<sup>h</sup>j̥ʰō], etc.

A1b: monosyllabic form including a voiceless lateral initial /l̥ʰ/

[l̥ʰ] etc.

A2a: disyllabic form (compound) corresponding to WrT *rlung dmar*

[<sup>h</sup>l̥ʰ m̥:], [<sup>w</sup>l̥ʰ m̥:], [j̥ʰ m̥v̥:], etc.

A2b: disyllabic form (compound) corresponding to WrT *rlung ma*

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

[<sup>h</sup>lo mɛ], [<sup>w</sup>lo ma], etc.  
 A2c: disyllabic form (compound) related to WrT *rlung dmar*  
 [<sup>h</sup>lɔ̃ peʔ], [<sup>h</sup>lɔ̃ mbeʔ], [<sup>h</sup>lɔ̃: beʔ], [<sup>h</sup>jɔ̃ pje], [<sup>h</sup>jɔ̃ mjeʔ], etc.  
 A3: disyllabic form corresponding to WrT *rlung kha*  
 [<sup>h</sup>lɔ̃ k<sup>h</sup>a], [<sup>h</sup>loŋ k<sup>h</sup>a], etc.  
 A4: other types  
 [<sup>h</sup>lo wo], [<sup>h</sup>loŋ <sup>h</sup>dzə]  
 B-type: a form corresponding to WrT *lhags pa*  
 [hɜ kə], [hɑ hɜ], [hɑɕ pa], [hɑɕ pa], [hɑ pa], etc.  
 C-type: probably related to WrT *bser bu*  
 [s<sup>h</sup>a rə], [s<sup>h</sup>ɛ lə:], etc.

Note that the difference of initials (/l/ or /j/), depending on the whole system of the sound correspondence between spoken varieties and WrT. The chronological order should be: /l/ > /j/, however, this is not reflected in the classification above. The voiceless counterpart of the initial /l/ (A1b, a part of A4) might have appeared through another rule of sound change. WrT *rlung dmar* generally denotes ‘stormy wind’. It is a little complicated to distinguish a form corresponding to WrT *rlung dmar* from one corresponding to WrT *rlung ma*.<sup>2</sup> For example, the dGudzong dialect (Rongbrag Khams) uses /<sup>h</sup>lũ maʔ/, which is close to WrT *rlung dmar* because WrT *a* in an open syllable in this dialect generally corresponds to /o/.

B-type always appears as a form ‘root+suffix *pa*.’ This is the difference between A-type and B-type, i.e., A-type can form a word by using the root itself.<sup>3</sup>

The semantic difference between *rlung* and *lhags pa* in the literary language is concerned with two aspects: semantic field and degree of strength of wind: *rlung* also denotes ‘air,’ ‘breath’ as well as ‘air element (one of the four elements in the world),’ and *rlung* is stronger than *lhags pa* ‘breeze’. However, it seems that there are only few oral varieties which still maintain the distinction of meaning by different lexical forms.

### 3 Geographical distribution and interpretation

I present two linguistic maps (see the end of the article). Map 1 displays an overall distribution of the word forms for ‘wind’, reflecting the classification provided in Section 1, while Map 2 is an enlarged version of the southeastern Khams area. The linguistic maps here were designed with ArcGIS online.

As Map 1 displays, the A type (using a word including WrT *rlung* form) is widespread in the eastern Tibetosphere. The B and C types are both distributed in the north-eastern area of this region, and they are used in the varieties which are linguistically divided as ‘Eastern Section’ (Tournadre 2014, Tournadre & Suzuki forthcoming), and speakers of these varieties are said to be descendants of immigrants from somewhere in Central Tibet in the period of Tibet Empire (Yang 2009:94-95; Sum-bha Don-grub Tshe-ring 2011:37-38). According to the data of modern varieties spoken in Central Tibet (Iwasa et al. this volume), the use of the B type is attested even in Lhasa. However, the B type is registered in WrT and not regarded as a dialectal word, hence sharing the word form is not a strong evidence to connect the varieties spoken in Central Tibet with those in Eastern Section. In addition, several varieties in Eastern Section also use the A type. Their distribution is scattered; hence, the A type might not have been acquired by the influence of surrounding languages (mainly Amdo). In Literary Tibetan, in fact, both the A form (*rlung*) and the B form (*lhags pa*) are used, denoting ‘wind’ and ‘breeze’ respectively. Even at present, coexistence of either the ‘A and B’ type or the ‘B and C’ type is attested in a few varieties. However, this difference is not reflected on the map.

<sup>2</sup> This form is used in such languages and dialects as Dzongkha and Kongpo outside the eastern Tibetosphere (personal communication with Nicolas Tournadre, 2016).

<sup>3</sup> There are several dialects from Rongbrag which employ a form corresponding to WrT *lhags pa* for ‘frost’, not ‘wind.’ This use has already been attested in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, because it is recorded in *Muping Yiyu*, one of the nine texts known as Ding-series *Xifan Yiyu* (Suzuki 2007).



The A type is divided into seven subgroups in total, based on word formation patterns (A1, A2, A3, A4) and phonetic realisations (A1a, A1b; A2a, A2b, A2c). Of the seven subcategories, A1a and A1b only consist of a word stem. The formation of A1b is irregular, just attested in the southern Khams area. The varieties using A1b are spoken on the border area of dialect groups such as Sems-kyi-Nyila, Chaphreng, Muli-nDappa, and sDerong-nJol. A2a, A2b, and A2c are similar to each other in terms of the second morpheme of the word, however, it is not certain whether A2c is genetically closer to A2a or A2b. The A2 form is originally related to two WrT forms, i.e., *rlung dmar* ‘strong wind, hurricane’ and *rlung ma* ‘wind’. This means that A2 has two origins, however, because of the existence A2c, they are dealt with together. In Section 2, I mention that A2c is closer to A2a, however, it is just an assumption. Since A2a and A2b have a WrT correspondence for each, it is probably correct to claim that the common form distributed in two or more places which are geographically far from each other, e.g., several varieties of Rongbrag Khams and various varieties spoken in Yunnan for A2a, is not because of a shared innovation but because of coincidence. More interestingly, one should note the distribution of A2a, A2b, and A2c in Yunnan. That of A2a is surrounded by A2b and A2c (see Map 2). If this is considered as an example of the ABA-distribution, A2a is more recent form than A2b and A2c. However, paying attention to the distribution of A2c, we find that it is concentrated in the area to the north-west of A2a and A2b, it can be treated separately. Only one A2c form attested along the Jinshajiang River (mBukha dialect; Sems-kyi-nyila Khams) implies that this form originates from sDerong-nJol Khams spoken in the northwest to the region through where a main traffic road passes. If we accept this observation, the relationship between A2a and A2b will be a key question. Looking at the distribution along the Lancangjiang River, we can notice that A2a and A2b look like an ABA-distribution. Since A2a is situated in the centre, it might be a more recent form than surrounding A2b forms. If these word forms are not originally different and related to each other, the geographical distribution will mean the form *rlung ma* has changed into *rlung dmar* because of confusion of the sound structure (see Suzuki 2011). People in younger generation might have forgotten the original form and have made an analogy regarding the second syllable, and begin to confuse one form with the other. To the contrary, the dialects spoken along the Jinshajiang River are a quite different case. Since the dialects using A2a belong to the East Yunling Mountain subgroup, whereas those using A2b, to the Melung subgroup. The latter group is likely to have A2b originally based on its phonetic realisation, which suggests lack of the final *r* in WrT. The former group is more sensitive to the pronunciation corresponding to the WrT final *r*, which is maintained as a consonantal feature, or omitted with an influence to the preceding vowel. Therefore, this case can be analysed as an existence of two different word forms. A3 is mainly found in the Minyag Rabgang area, regardless of the languages. Some varieties of Minyag Rabgang Khams use A3, and some surrounding varieties of Amdo also use it. The expansion of A3 could have started from Minyag Rabgang Khams, which is regarded as a sedentary, more archaic variety in the local historical context (Sonam Wangmo 2013, Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2015). A4, including two exceptional forms [ʰlo wo] and [ʰloŋ ʰdzə], are attested in the Babzo dialect (dPalskyid Tibetan) and the Rwata dialect (Chaphreng Khams), respectively. The origin of these word forms is still unclear.

The B type is mainly attested in the Sharkhog and Khodpokhog area. There are so many phonetic varieties depending on languages, however, they are certainly connected with WrT *lhags pa* ‘wind’, which is widely used in Central Tibet.

The C type is mainly attested in Thewo and Cone counties. This word form seems to correspond to WrT *bser bu* ‘breeze’,<sup>4</sup> however, the sound correspondence expected based on this spelling is not an aspirated initial, but a preaspirated one. Hence, the origin of this word form is still unclear. In this reason, this form is characterised as a word of local vernaculars. The varieties using the C-type also use the B-type to denote ‘strong wind’. The distribution of the B-type and the C-type almost connect with each other.

Based on the description of Iwasa et al. (this volume), more one form is found in Tibetic languages: WrT *’ur*. However, this form is not generally used in the eastern Tibetosphere.

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<sup>4</sup> This suggestion was based on a personal communication with Tsering Samdrup, 2016).



## 4 Conclusion

The word of ‘wind’ in the eastern Tibetic languages mainly corresponds to WrT *rlung* everywhere in the eastern Tibetosphere, and other than this monosyllabic word, several patterns of compound are also employed. In addition, the case of the Tibetic languages in Yunnan provides us of a good example for a geolinguistic discussion on an analysis of the development of word forms. As minorities, WrT *lhags pa* as well as /s<sup>h</sup>a rə/, possibly corresponding to WrT *bser bu*, are also found. It is also found that several dialects have two (or more) words denoting ‘wind’, which is common to Literary Tibetan.

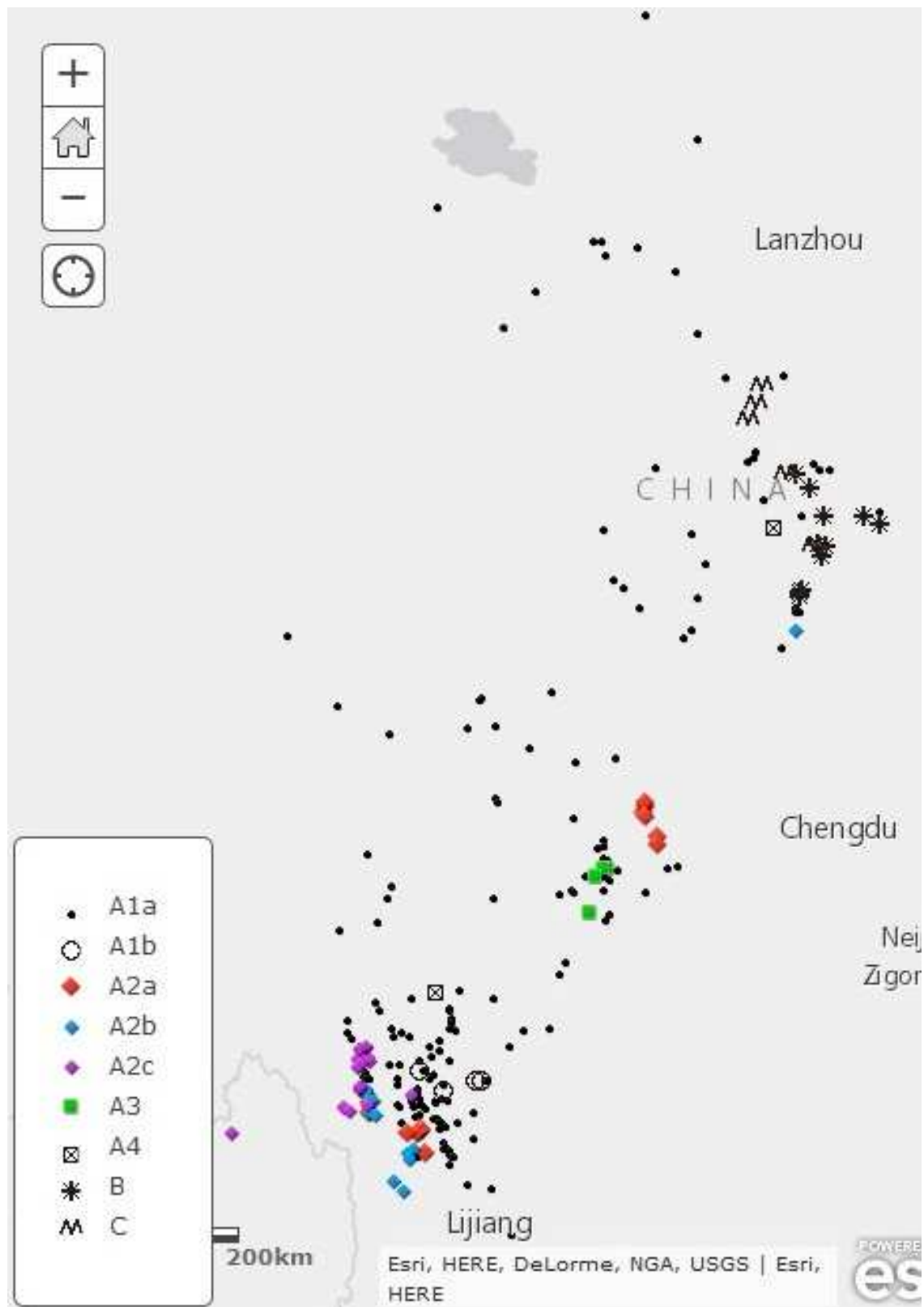
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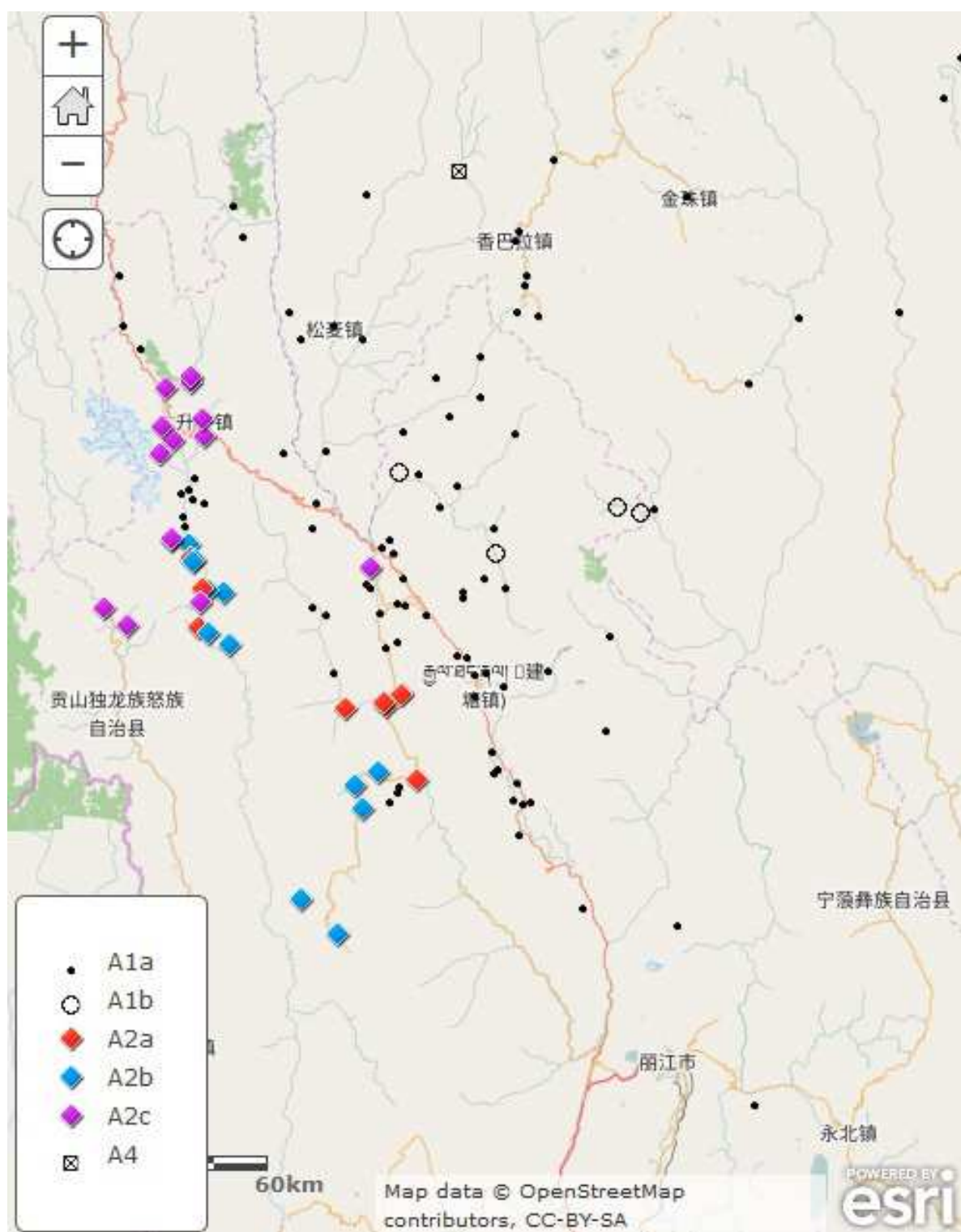
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## Maps



**Legend** ↑

Map 1: Overall distribution of word forms for 'wind'.



Legend ↑

Map 2: Distribution of word forms in the southeastern Khams region.

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