

Zhangzhung and Gyarong

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1. Introduction
2. Old Zhangzhung Language
3. Some Extra-linguistic Facts concerning Zhangzhung
4. New Zhangzhung Materials
5. Some Findings of New Zhangzhung Correspondences
6. Afterword

1. Introduction

This paper aims to demonstrate a genetic relationship between the new Zhangzhung language and the Gyarong language and to serve as a basis for future research. Before I explain the linguistic data, I'd like to discuss some extra-linguistic facts, which are related to Zhangzhung.

2. Old Zhangzhung Language

The Zhangzhung language was originally that of the dMu tribe that was based north of Mt. Kailash in the Zhangzhung sMad district of Western Tibet. The dMu and other tribes in Zhangzhung strengthened the bond with the Yarlung dynasty, which had arisen in Central Tibet, through cross-cousin marriages. They then began moving eastward around the 4th to 5th century until they settled in the northwestern area of current Sichuan Province. Later, when the Yarlung dynasty came to power, it abandoned the Bon religion, which was the religion of the dMu, and accepted Buddhism as the new ideology of state unification. As a result, the political powers of Central Tibet removed those bureaucrats of Zhangzhung origin who had been cooperating with them. Moreover, as the central administration strongly promoted Tibetanization, the Zhangzhung language seems to have become obsolete around the 10th century, when Tibetan control over Dunhuang ended.

Research into the literature excavated from Dunhuang has made progress since the beginning of the 20th century. The research shows that the Dunhuang literature belonging to the British Library includes some texts written in Tibetan characters, but not in the Tibetan language. F. W. Thomas assumed that they were in the Zhangzhung or the Nam language. Considering the lexical items that can be picked up in fragments, he hypothesized that: (1) the

two pieces (plus one piece added later) of the literature known at that time to be Zhangzhung are those related to medical herbs, and (2) the forms other than loanwords from either Written Tibetan or Sanskrit have a genetic relationship with the pronominalized languages of Western Tibet. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, has another three pieces of literature which are considered similar to the above, making a total of six pieces at present. We position this Zhangzhung language as “Old Zhangzhung (OZ)” to distinguish it from the Zhangzhung language reconstructed in and after the 14th century.

Although we have been analyzing these pieces of literature, we have not clearly deciphered them yet and are still working, for no parallel texts exist and there are only a limited number of samples in the literature. Progress on this front is described by Tsuguhito Takeuchi and Nishida’s paper in this volume. Tatsuo Nishida, in regard to the same literature which we are working on, cites several examples of lexical correspondence with Written Tibetan and argues that “they clearly show characteristics of Tibetan languages, as shown by the correspondence of the sentence final particles such as *-new’o*, *-khyiro*, and *-shido* with those in Tibetan” (Nishida 1982). Conversely, they can be all regarded as loanwords from Tibetan, and we do not have to stand on his assumption. Instead, the theory by Thomas (1933) and Shafer (1966) about the relationship with the pronominalized language of Western Tibet, Old Almora, and Tibeto-Kinnaur seems more persuasive.

3. Some Extra-linguistic Facts concerning Zhangzhung

The dMu tribe and others who had been using the Zhangzhung language before the establishment of the Tufan (吐蕃) Dynasty moved eastward and settled in the Khams district and in the northwestern area of Sichuan Province. During this period, Tibetanization made rapid progress in Tibet, and the Bon religion, which had played a major part in the Zhangzhung language, was largely driven out by Buddhism and was relegated to a minor role. Meanwhile, the Bon religion focused on the development of doctrines and documentary materials opposing Buddhism, and it seems to have established its system on a par with Buddhism by the beginning of the 15th century. In this process, there was a movement to reconstruct the Zhangzhung language which had been previously spoken by the ancient adherents of the Bon religion. As a result, every title of the Bon scriptures includes a description such as “xxx in Sanskrit, yyy in Zhangzhung, and zzz in Tibetan.” We call the Zhangzhung language at this stage the “New Zhangzhung language (NZ).” However, the NZ found in the Bon literature written in Tibetan is merely at a lexical level and no sentences in Zhangzhung have been found. It is said that there is a grammar book in existence, but such a book has not yet been discovered.

Then, where was their base located? Some Chinese literature states that the Kingdom of the Queen (女國) moved eastward to build the Eastern Kingdom of the Queen (東女國) where the sBrang clan reigned, and united with several clans in the area formed by lines connecting Zungchu (Songpan 松潘), rNgaba (Aba 阿壩), Barkham (Maerkang 馬爾康), ’Dzamthang (壤塘), Rab brtan (Jinchuan 金川), bTsan lha (Shaojin 小金), and Wunkhron (Wenchuan 汶川). The location of the base of the sBrang clan has long been controversial in the field of Oriental history. Studies by Zuiho Yamaguchi, who took advantage of both the Dunhuang and Chinese literature, proved that it was a place called Gyim-shod or Jinchuan in Chinese.

Jinchuan at that time was located at Zhangkuotun (章谷屯), around 70 kilometers south of where the city of Jinchuan lies today, and just south of modern Danba (Rong drag 丹巴). *Gyim*, or *kim* in middle-ancient Chinese as reconstructed by Baxter (1992), means ‘gold,’ and *shod* is a Tibetan word for ‘locality.’ Therefore, *Gyim-shod* means a ‘country of gold.’ The Kingdom of the Queen is called *suvarṇagotra* in Sanskrit, which corresponds to *Gyim-shod*. Also, it should be noted that when vowels are dropped from *suvarṇa*, it becomes *sBrang*.

Considering these factors, it is likely that the descendants of Zhangzhung settled in the region where the Gyarong language is currently spoken. Given that they reconstructed the new Zhangzhung language, it is no wonder that it has some genetic relationship with the Gyarong language. However, it remains unknown (1) whether those who currently speak the Gyarong language are descended from those who used the Zhangzhung language, or (2) whether Gyarong served as a substratum in the reconstruction of Zhangzhung. In Nishi and Nagano (2001), I pointed out part of the relationship between the two languages, but could not provide sufficient evidence.

4. New Zhangzhung Materials

In 1999, the only material available relating to NZ was the *Tibetan-Zhangzhung Dictionary*, published in Delhi in 1965. Reverend Tenzin Namdak completed this dictionary by compiling descriptions by Nyima Dragpa, a learned monk of Bon. Most of the examples were employed from *gZi-brjid* and *mDzod-phug*, thereby handing down the tradition of *bsGyur bon* (transformed/organized Bon). E. Haarh (1968) analyzed this material (see Tables B and C) and compared it mainly with the Linguistic Survey of India materials to indicate several interesting relationships concerning case particles, numerals (1–10), and the words for ‘ear,’ ‘iron,’ ‘water,’ ‘horse,’ and ‘dog.’ He concluded, “The above few examples of word-correspondence ... indicate that the Zhangzhung language belongs to the West Tibetan languages, most probably among the Complex Pronominalized dialects of the western group.” His analytical and comparative approach is novel because of its emphasis on particular examples supporting the relationship with Himalayan languages. However, the examples of correspondence are either Tibeto-Burman roots or loanwords from Written Tibetan, and the only word which positively indicates his hypothesis is *ra-tse* which means ‘ear.’ Furthermore, if one looks into the above dictionary, it is apparent that *ra-tse* does not mean ‘ear’ but ‘nose.’

5. Some findings of New Zhangzhung Correspondences

Recently, another publication relating to NZ has been released. *A Lexicon of Zhangzhung and Bonpo Terms* was published as one of the results of this project. This lexicon was edited jointly with Dr. Samten Karmay, CNRS, Paris (Nagano and Karmay 2008). We extracted the Zhangzhung lexical items and those which exclusively appear only in Bonpo literature from sixteen kinds of Bonpo scriptures, and added translations in Tibetan and English.

Based on these materials, I prepared Table A, which shows the correspondence with James Matisoff’s 200-word list. Table A also includes Proto-Southern Qiang (PSQ), Proto-Tamang (PTam), and Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) for reference.

5.1 The following shows examples of direct correspondence between the new Zhangzhung and PTB. Most of the examples are TB roots. Thus,

17	mouth	NZ ag sho	PTB *ak
58	frog	NZ rba	PTB *s-bal
126	nine	NZ du gu	PTB *d-kuw
48	poison	NZ dug	PTB *duk
125	eight	NZ gyad	PTB *b-r-gyat
178	tie	NZ khyig	PTB *kik
20	skin	NZ kog tse	PTB *kok
179	steal	NZ kun mun	PTB *r-kuw
66	horse	NZ hrang	PTB *s-raŋ
78	moon	NZ zla ri	PTB*s-la
93	wind	NZ li	PTB *g-liy
6	eye	NZ mig ci	PTB *mik
46	name	NZ ming	PTB *r-miŋ
120	two	NZ nis	PTB *g-nis
117	seven	NZ snis	PTB *s-nis
123	five	NZ nga	PTB *l-ŋa
130	cry	NZ ngu 'bar	PTB *ŋuw
113	neighborhood	NZ nye	PTB *ney
90	sun	NZ nyi(-ri)	PTB *ney
15	horn	NZ ru	PTB*kruw
101	iron	NZ zom shang	PTB *syam
16	liver	NZ shin	PTB *m-sin
91	tree	NZ shing	PTB *siŋ
121	three	NZ ne sum	PTB *g-sum
7	fat	NZ tshos	PTB*tsow
111	right	NZ ya	PTB *g-ya
110	left	NZ yi	PTB *bay

5.2 Among the words selected by Haahr, the word *hrang* 'horse' has a cognate form in Written Tibetan and also has corresponding forms in Jinghpaw (*kumray*) and Burmese (*mràŋ*). The words *ting* 'water' and *ku-ra* 'dog' are widely distributed and can be considered to be Sino-Tibetan roots. The word *zangs* 'iron' is obviously cognate with 'copper' in Written Tibetan and is a loanword from it.

Table B

	EAR	IRON	WATER	HORSE	DOG
Zhang-zhung	ra-tse	zangs	ting	hrang	ku-ra
Kanawri			ti	rang	khui
Manchati	rhe-tra		ti	rang	khui
Chamba Lahuli			ti	rhang	khui
Tinan	re-tra		so-ti		
Bunan	re-tsi		so-ti	srangs	khyu
Rangkas	rach	chyang	ti	rhang	khvi
Darmiya	racho	nijang	ti	rang	khi
Chaudangsi	rach	najang	ti	rang	
Byangsi	rach	najag	ti	rang	

(Haarh 1968: 26)

Table C

	Newari		Pahri Colloquial [20]	Tinan		Bunan		Byangsi Colloquial [20]	Zhang- zhung
	Classical [19]	Colloquial [20]		Written [21]	Colloquial [20]	Written [21]	Colloquial [20]		
1	chi	chi	thi-ki	i, id		ti, ti-ki	ti-ki	tig	tig
2	ni	nasi	nisi	nyi-ji	nyizhi	nyis	nyis-king	nisi	ni
3	swom	sō	songo	srum	shrummu	sum	sumi	sum	sum
4	pi	pi	pingi	pi'i		pi'i	pi	pi	bing
5	nga	nga	ngongu	nga	ngar	nga'i	ngai	nge	nga
6	khu	khu	khugu	tru'i		trug	trui	truk	drug
7	hnas	nhasa	nhagi	nyi-ji	nyid-chi	nyi-ji	nyizhi	nis	snis
8	cya	chya	chegi	gye'i		gyad	gyei	jedr	gyad
9	gu	gū	gugu	gu		gu	gu	gvi	gu-dug
10	ji	sanha	jigi	sa	sa	cu'i	chui	chi	cu

(Haarh 1968: 25)

5.3 Table C shows the correspondence of numerals. According to the comparison of the numerals 1, 4 and 7, it seems reasonable that, as Nishi (1991: 78) claims, Zhangzhung is not directly related to Written Tibetan and that it corresponds to Almora rather than Western Himalayish, in a more detailed way.

5.4 The following shows examples of a clear correspondence between the new Zhangzhung language and Gyarong, with no correspondence to other language groups. Initial consonants

and rhymes correspond perfectly except for the last two examples, and there exists no correspondence with PTB except for ‘frog.’ As for ‘gold,’ NZ, Gyarong, and Proto-Tamang correspond well with one another while no correspondence with PTB is observed. Thus,

58	frog	NZ rba	G ka rpa
160	cold	NZ cil	G wu tʃ ^h u tʃ ^h u (Lin 1993: 123)
164	heavy	NZ lden	G kə di
71	cloud	NZ du	G zdem
89	stone	NZ ju slig	G jeluk
17	mouth	NZ khag	G tə kha
95.1	gold	NZ mar, mar-zhi	G smar ‘yellow’
85	sky	NZ mu ra	G təmu
80.1	snow	NZ mu	G təmu
158	long	NZ rko rin	G kə skren
43	son	NZ hri tsa	G məza
110	left	NZ yi	G ka we
200.1	burn	NZ bzhop	G kə nʃop

5.5 The following shows examples of correspondence between NZ and PSQ. In these six examples, correspondence is observed only between NZ and PSQ, while no correspondence with PTB or PTam is observed. Considering that Gyarong and Qiang have the same proto-language and referring to the NZ-Gyarong and NZ-PSQ correspondences, I assume that NZ and Proto-Gyarong-Qiang are substantially related to each other. Thus,

143	emerge	NZ da dod ci	PSQ tɕhi - tɕhi
160	cold	NZ cil	PSQ χtu -
71	cloud	NZ du	PSQ χd a/e-(H)
173	sharp	NZ kha rtse	PSQ tsie ~ tsa-L
170	black	NZ kha nig	PSQ ñi -
179	steal	NZ kun mun	PSQ χku -

5.6 The following shows the correspondence relationship between NZ and Himalayish languages. As Isao Honda’s paper in this volume explains, the relation between ‘gold’ and ‘way/road’ should be paid attention to. In connection with the above, the following correspondences might be noted:

163	red	NZ mang	Bunnan	maŋ
20	skin	NZ pad	Kinnaur	pɔd
19	nose	NZ ra-tse	Bunnan	retsi
92	water	NZ ting	Kinnaur	ti
163	blue	NZ ting	Bunnan	tiŋ

6. Afterword

From the rough comparison shown above, one may agree that Gyarong has many identical shapes to PTB and WT and is closest to NZ. But, most of the NZ forms we have are Bon-related and the number of basic NZ words is rather limited. On the other hand, the Gyarong materials are also far from being sufficient both in terms of their number and of dialect variation, because of the difficulty of field research. We must continue our efforts to accumulate data for comparison.

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Abbreviations

G-LIN1	Gyarong (Cogtse dialect), from Lin Xiangrong 1993
G-LIN2	Gyarong (Ribu dialect), from Lin Xiangrong 1993
G-LIN3	Gyarong (Ergangli dialect), from Lin Xiangrong 1993
G-NAGANO	Gyarong (Cogtse dialect), from Nagano [unp. field notes]
HPTB	Matisoff 2003
JAM	J. A. Matisoff
NZ (SER)	Zhangzhung, from Nagano and Karmay (eds.) 2008
NZ (HAARH)	Zhangzhung, from E. Haarh 1968
PLB	Proto-Lolo-Burmese
PSQ	Proto-Southern Qiang, from Evans 2001 (ñ = voiced palatal nasal)
PTam	Proto-Tamang, from M. Mazaudon 1988
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman, from J. A. Matisoff 2003
STC	Benedict 1972
TBL	Dai <i>et al.</i> 1992
TSR	Matisoff 1972
WT	Written Tibetan

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Table A 200-Wordlist

	GLOSS	ZZ (SER)	ZZ (HAARH)	G-NAGANO	G-LIN1	G-LIN2	G-LIN3	PTam	PSQ	PTB
1	belly	rko rtse	khog-tse	təwo	tə-pok	tə-ɹu	ɹdu		pu-L	*pu-k (STC 358)
2	blood	ting tsar, nyun, tsa mun ta, she tshu	ri-bil	tashi	ta-ʃi	ta-sa	sə		sa-L	*s-hwiw (STC 222)
3	bone	tal, ru sul		sharə	ʃe rə	ɕe rə	ɕe rə		ra-L k V	*rus (STC 006)
4	ear	khud 'khor, ra tse, she ru	ra-tse (=nose)	tərna	tə-rna	tə-rna	ɲu		ñ/n i/ə-L ma-L	*g-na (STC 453)
5	egg	mu ril		taŋgam	ta-gam	ta-gum	t'ɔy	*phum-A	χtə-(H)	*twiy (STC 168)
6	eye	mig ci, rgyang zhag		təmnyak	tə-mɲak	tə-mɲak	mək		mia-(H)	*mik ≠ *myak (STC 402)
7	fat (oil)	tshal, tshos	tshas	təzi	tə-tʂəm	ta-rtsi	məl lo	*tshi	tshi -, s o/a-L ie -, χfa	*ryak (STC 204), *tsil (STC pp. 16, 168, 173), *sa-w (STC 272)
8	leg	ngar, nyungzug, zham zug	tshas-phru	tame	ta-mə	tə-mə	qa le	*kang-B	go-L, dzV -	*kriy (STC 038)
9	intestines	gyir, ling, hri tsum	hri-tsum	təbok laŋca	naŋ tʃe	naŋ tʃi	wu wɔ		pzi-L	*pik (STC 035)
10	hair (of head)	con, ding ra	spa	ta kornye	ta-ko rɲe	ta-ku rme	ɛe rme	*cham	q ə/e-L to-H	*s-kra (STC 115); *ney (STC 292); *tsam (STC 073)
11	hair (of skin)	spu					smək	*tsham-A	smu-L	*mul (STC 002), *tsam (STC 073)
11 1	feather	spu		warnye	ta-mɲi	ta-ɹar	mbjə vɛ'			*mul (STC 002), *tsam (STC 073)
12	hand	ra	khri-tse	təyak	tə-jək	tə-jək	ɲək		l V -, dze -, i-H, l/ø i-(L) pa-H	*lak (STC 086)
13	head	dung mtsho, pu ta ra	cog	tako	ta-ko	tə-ku	ɣu		qə-L b/p a-H tʃi-L	*m-gaw ≠ *s-gaw (STC 490), *d-bu (STC p. 117)
14	heart	thigs pa, mang wer, tsi ta, she, she tung, ha ra	tsi-ta	tesne	tə-ʃne	tə-sne	sjo		snie-(H) m i/u-(L)	*s-niŋ (STC 367)
15	horn	ru		ta ga khru	tə-ru	ta-ɹrə	rə		ra-L k/q ə-H	*kruw (STC 037), *ruŋ (STC 085)
16	liver	shin,	shin	mkhyn pa, te pshu	tə-p'ʃu	tə-mts'i	p'se	*net-A	sin-(H)	*m-sin (STC 234)
17	mouth	khag	ag-sho	tə kha	tə-k'a (tə-mtʃ'ə)	tə-k'a	mtɕ'ə		χqa -	*ak (STC 106), *m-ka (STC 468)
18	neck	khang, ag	khang	tə mnyuk krun krun, tə mki	tə-mki	tə-mkɛ	fqa		mu-L kie-L	*ke (STC 251), *liŋ (STC 096), *tuk (STC 392)
19	nose	ye thum, lgyum, li zhi	lgyum, ra-tse	te sna	tə-ʃna	tə-ʃniy	sne	*hna-B	sni-L q V-(H) p i/a-L	*s-na ~ *s-nar (STC 101)
20	skin	kog tse, pad	sad, pad, bad	tə ndrɪ	tə-ndzɪ	tə-ndzə	dzə dzu		ra-(L) pia-H, *χʃi	*s-graw (STC 121), *kok (STC 342)
21	spit			te kha dzi					dzə -	*m-ts(y)il (STC 231), *m-tuk ≠ *s-tu-k ≠ *s-du-k (STC pp. 58, 75, 126, 132, 146), *twiy (STC 168)
22	tail			təmə	mbro jmi	mbrɛ lme	mbro jmi	*hme:-B	sua-(L) kie-L	*r-may (STC 282)
23	tongue	rkyel, rke ru, lge	rkyel, rkyes, lke-ri, skyel	tesme	tə-ʃmiɛ	tə-mdʒi	ʃni	*hle (PB)	zə-L qə-(H)	*m-lay ≠ *s-lay (STC 281)
24	tooth	skod	skod	te swa	tə-swa	tə-ʃwa	ɕvi	*swa-B	suə-(H)	*s-wa (STC 437)
25	wing	ting skras		ta rkham					dzya-L k/q e-L	*s-toŋ; *(s/k-)l-w-ak [cf. No. 12]; *(s/p-)lyap
26	nail	gzer bu		shim dzəmdzə	ta-ndzru	tə-ndzru	rdze			*m-(t)sin (STC 074)
26 1	back			wa sgan	tə-zgən	tə-zga	ve rke		de -, bo -	*s-gal (STC p. 18), *s-nuŋ (STC 354)
26 2	knee			tə mɲa	tə-mɲa	tə-χpum	rɲi		χŋ o/u-(L)	*du (STC p. 21), *(m-)kuk (STC pp. 120, 159, 182); *put (STC 007)
26 3	leg	ngar, nyung zug, zham ze, ta pep pa	tshas-phru, nyung-zug	te me					go-L, dzV -	*(r-)kaŋ (STC pp. 70, 142)
27	finger	kun, kan, mang ber	sran , rtsal-gsum	ta yak ndzo	tə-jək ndzo	tə-jək ndzɛo	t'v me		nə/e-L	*m-yuŋ (STC 355)
28	palm			ta yak pa						*pwa or *b-wa (STC 418)
29	penis	ther ber, the'u ber, sta		tə lam				*mle-B	lia-L q ə/e-L	*li ≠ *m-ley (STC 262)
30	vagina		pad-ma	tə stu	tə-ʃtu	tə-stə			ña-(L) ña-(H) ~ [breast, milk]	*nuw (STC 419)
31	brain	glang, tsa na,		tə wurnok	tə-rnok	tə-rnok	nak		qə-L χña-L	*nuk (STC 483)
32	navel			tə pok cu					pu - tʃi-L	*la-y, *s-tay (STC 299)
33	shit			ta pshe						*kliy (STC 125), *n(y)ik (STC 235), *s-baŋ (STC p. 21), *r-kyak ≠ *s-kyak (STC pp. 26, 146), *e-k (STC p. 26, p. 146)
34	piss			ta skyi						*ts(y)i ≠ *ziy (STC 077)

35	sweat			tə stre					χʈsu(ə)-(L)	*ʔkrwiy ² (PLB)
36	snot			tə snam					χñi-(H)	*s-nap (STC 102)
37	vomit	lhug		tə mpmat	tə-mp'ət	tə-nbes	mp'ət		ra-L	*Npat (TSR 038), *on (STC 343)
38	marrow	zhung, zhum		tə b-yo	tə-pjo	tə-rka	p'ju			*kliŋ (STC 126)
39	breath	khri seg, rko seg, li, seg ri	lung-rgyung-sad, seg, seg-ri	tə sŋo re						*sak (STC 485); *C-sak (TSR 123)
40	man, person	ni	klung-se (=youth), ni	te rmi	tə-rmi	tə-rmɛ	rju		m u/e-L	*r-mi(y) (STC pp. 107, 119, 158)
40 1	man	kyo			tə-tsa	ta-nmak	ŋə vju			*mi(HPTB p. 81), *pwa(HPTB p. 165)
40 2	woman	nyung sa, na ri ma, dbyal, mo btsun, yo se, shang mo	tša-med, yo-se (old), yog-ze (old)		tə-mi	tə-mi	mə le			*mow(STC 223), nya(STC 173)
41	you			nəgyo	no	nə jjo	ŋe		no -, u-L, kuə -	*na(ŋ) (STC 407)
42	I	a bu		ŋa	ŋa	ŋə	ŋe		qa -, ŋa -	*ŋa (STC 406) ≠ *ŋay (STC 285)
43	son	ca li, bu le, hri tsa	slung-se, hri-tse	ta pu, məza, ti za pu	ta-ro-zie	ta-ro ze	tə-ru ze	*dza-B	tɕi - bri-(L)	*za ≠ *tsa (STC 059)
44	grandchild			pkhi					zi-(H) tsuə-L, dži-L[niece, nephew]	*b-liy (STC 448)
44 1	nephew			tim 'di						*b-liy (STC 448)
45	groom			phəya, wa rcap	tə-nmak	ta-nmak	məle ji vju		tɕi-(L) mia-L	*ma-k (STC 234), *z-ma-k (TSR 153)
46	name	snyo men, ma ming	ma-ning	wu rme	tə-rmiɛ	ta-rmi	rme	*hmin-B	χm ə/e-(H)	*r-miŋ (STC 083)
47	pea			stok zem, stog tsa	stok lər	sno le	sna li		də-L	*be (STC 253), *s-nok (TSR 140)
48	poison	dmu thug, dug	dub	ta dok	ta-dok (dək)	dək	dəy sman			*duk ≠ *tuk (STC 472)
49	mushroom			te mok, dzur nu, sherna	mdzə rnu	kə pa lmok	rdza rməy		m V-L zu -	*g-muw (STC 455) ≠ *s-muw (JAM)
50	wine (strong)			khyə, ma'a zi	?e-rək	?a-rak	rja vo		tɕha -	*yu(w) (STC 094)
51	banana									*s-ŋak (STC 477)
51 1	medicine			smen	smon	smen	sman		si -	*tsiy (STC 065)
51 2	cooked rice	kar be'u			k'ri	mbres	mbre		ma-L ma-H, tɕhl-L[in fileds]	*b-ras (STC pp. 17, 123), *haŋ ² (PLB:Bradley 1975a, #281b)
51 31	barley	a rdag	zad	tə rgok	swi	ta-ʃə	ɕə		χlə-L	(TBL 0412)
51 32	buckwheat			shok	ʃok	ɕok	ɕoŋ			(TBL 0413)
51 33	wheat			swe	ti	qa	ɛjtu			(TBL 0410)
51 34	auto wheat				tə-jmɛt	rja qa	?a ɛə			
52	raw meat	mang sa		jari, thamtham	ʃa ni	ɕa ltə	ɕe lu	*tshing kai-B, sja-B	tshi-(L)	*sya (STC 181)
53	bird		du	katsa					i-L tshV-H, ye -	*bya (STC 177), *s-ŋak (TSR 141)
53 1	crow	pho ma rog dgu		pho rok	ki, p'o rok (ki)	qa rɛ, p'o rok	qa bi			
53 1	crow with a red beak			pho ma rog dgu	k'ə rko	kuəl ku				
53 2	owl				pka k'u	pu ka	q'o			
54	dog		ku-ra	khəna	k'ə na	ku ze	kə to		khuə-(L)	*kwiy (STC 159)
55	fish		tša	gyigyo				*tarn ga-A	qe-L, ɛdzə -	*ŋya (STC 189)
56	louse	pra mo ha		sor, dzəyi	ndzə ʃək, sor	ndzj ɕək, sɛr	ndzj ɕo, tɕ'oŋ		χʈsi-(L)	*s-rik (STC 439), *sar ≠ *sar (STC pp. 15, 53, 84, 147, 172, 189)
57	snake		re-hab	ka pri	k'a brɛ	ɛa pri	mbə rə		br u/e-L	*b-ru-l (STC 447)
58	frog	rba		ka rpa					dzo-L pia-H	*s-bal (STC 015, 021, 107)
59	worm			kəlu	kə-lu	tə-mbə	mbə ndzo		b u/o-L lo-(L)	*buw (STC 027)
60	honeybee			babu	mba bu	wu ja	vəl zu	gwai-A		*bya ² (PLB); *kwa-y (STC 157), *was (STC 017), *taŋ (STC 494)[cf. BIRD#053]
61	pigeon			skro	du dut pi pi	du dut pi pit			gue-L	*m-kruw (STC 118), *kuy 'pigeon' (STC 495)
62	monkey	shi mun		kəzu	kə-tsu	ɛzə	zə		ɛua-L sa-L	*mrək (STC pp. 43, 112), *woy (STC 314); *m-yuk (PLB:JAM 1973e)
63	pig	du re		pak	pak	pak	p'o		pia-L	*pwak (STC 043); *wak (PLB:TSR 168)
64	chicken			ka cu	pka ʃa	pɛɛ ɕɛ	pa ku ɕi			*k-rak (STC pp. 88, 107, 187-9)
65	otter			ji sram	tʃ'ə sram	tʃ'ə sram	sram			*s-ram (STC 438)

66	horse	ku hrang	hrang	nbro	ṛta-p'ò	rta-p'ò			Cr o/u-(L)	*s-raŋ ʷ *m-raŋ (STC 145)
67	ant			kha rok	k'ò rok	k'rok	q'e			*r-wak (STC 199)
68	bear (N)			tu wam	pri	pra	p'rə		tiam-(H)	
68 1	leech			wa stsa, ku ru smenba						(TBL 0364)
69	rat			pu gyu	pə ju	pə ji	pi		z/dz i/e-(L) kuə-(L)	*k-r-wak (TSR 188); *b-wiy (STC 173) 'bamboo rat', *b-yuw (STC 093) 'rat, rabbit'
70	ground, base			te lop, datro	zdi srem, ta tšo zgok	zda ɬuɐi, spu tu	srə, p'ò lo	*sa-B	br i/e-L[ashes]	*pla (STC 137), *r-ka (STC 097), *m-liy (STC 152)
71	cloud	du phung, spre zhi	du	zdem	zdem	zdim	zdəm		χd a/e-(H)	*C-tim ¹ (PLB: Bradley 1975a, #320-2)
70	earth								zuə-L, dzu -	
72 1	wall mud, plaster			tarnya	ʒa lə	ʒa lə	ɬa ɲo			(TBL 0046)
73	fire (N)	ne, ne cu, ne ra, tshang stang, rma 'dangs	ne	təmcik	tə-ntʃək	sə-mə	ɬmə	*hjme-B	m u/i-(H)	*bar ʷ *par (STC 220), *mey (STC 290)
74	flower		ba-ni-ne-ra (lotus)	ta pat	mən tok	mə tok	mə ta		pə-(L) tʃue -	*ba-r (STC 001)
75	fruit		khri-tse, tun, byung- ldem (fruit tree)	təshi	mbrəs wə	mbrəs wə			sie-(L) m i/u-(L)	*sey (STC 057)
76	grass			teno	ka-tsa	tə-kra	χci		dz o/u -	*mrak (STC 149)
77	leaf			tənbak	təi wək	təl vək	p'a la	*Hla-B, *lapte-B	kəɬ - qə-(L)	*la (STC 486), *lap (STC 321), *pak (STC 040)
78	moon	zla ri	zla-ri, sla	tsəla	tsə la	zde ŋi	sləu li	*hla	slə-L	*s-la ʷ *g-la (STC 144)
79	mountain		rang, rwang, nil- rwang, snil-rang	krowo	ta-wat	lə kə	p'ə		qhs u/uə -	*kaŋ ¹ (PLB:Bradley 1975a, #312)
80	rain (N)		kyi-tang, phang	təmu	tə-mu	tə-rdzi	mə		χdzV -	*r-wa (STC 443)
80 1	snow	rnil, rnir	rnil-rwang, snil-rwang	təi pa		k'ə vɛ	k'ə vɛ (lvi)			*kyam (STC 252), *wa (STC 46), *wal (STC 404)
81	river	ting kyo	ting-sho	dəci	mɲan gun	smɛ ɾtʃə	ɬrməm me		χdzV -	*klu-ŋ (STC 127), *kor (STC 349)
81 1	valley		khud	gyokha	cço k'a	tɬa	xi k'ə			(cf. TBL 0025 WT ri 'gag)
82	way		tha, lgyum-zhi	trəla	tʃə-la	tʃam mba	tɕ'i	*gyam ² (Nishi 1991)	dzɕ -	*lam (STC 087)
83	root		tsang-ri	wa sram	tə-srəm	tə-rzam	srəm		kie-L	*bul ʷ *pul (STC pp. 166, 173), *r-sa (STC 442)
84	salt			tsha	ts'ə	tsɛi	ts'i		tshi-(L)	*g-ryum (STC 245), *tsa (STC 214)
84	salt (from sea)			tsha	rjje ts'ə	rjja ts'ə	ts'i			
85	sky	mu ra, mu tor, mu trhig, mu la, mu ye	mu, mu-ne, mu-la	təmu, namkha	nəm mk'ə	tə-məs	nə mk'ə	*hmu-B	χmu-(L)	*muw (STC 488)
86	smoke			dəwu, dəkhə					mu-L kh/qh uə-H	*kuw (STC 256)
87	star	wak shing	dzwar-wag, 'dzar-wag, wer-zhi	tsə ŋgri	tsəu ri	skə mɛ	skər mɛ	*sar-A	χdzɕ-L	*s-kar (STC 049)
88	stick	bing chen		ta dar	tə-ɾtʃok wro	tə-ɾtʃ'ok rə	zgo də ɾru			*da ¹ (PLB cf Lahu á-tà)
89	stone	ju slig		jeluk	jjə lək	tə-ɬo	rɣə me	*hjung-B	χlo-L, pia -	*brak (STC 134) 'rock', *r-luŋ (STC 088), *k-lok ʷ *k-loŋ (PLB:TSR 190)
90	sun	nyi, nyi ri	nyi-ri	kəyam	kə-jam'taŋi	ta-ŋi	ɬna		'sky' + si-H, 'sky' +nə -	*nam (STC 048), *niy (STC 081), *tsyar (STC 187)
91	tree	shing	byung	shikphu	ʃie	ka-ju	s'e		pho, ɬo-L	*siŋ (STC 233); *sik (PLB:TSR 118)
92	boiled water	ting,	ting	təji	tʃ'ə stso	cçi lɲə ndɛi	də ts'u	*kjui-A	tsuə-L	*twiy (STC 168), *m-tsril (STC p. 30)
93	wind	yu bun, sha'a ser, be ling, li	li	khali	k'a-li	ɬa ldə	χpəl rjəɣ		'sky' + ɬu-H	*g-liy (STC 454)
94	branch	tha tan		gak	təi gɛ	rda lək	jɛ zgo		kh ə/ə/a-L	*ka-k (STC 327), *ku-ŋ (STC 359)
95	silver	gu ci, ting zhi		po nɲe	po ŋi (rjəl)	rjəl	rjɛ	*hmwi	χɲu-H	*d-ŋul (STC pp. 15, 173)
95 1	gold	gu lang, ma la, mar mar, mu mar	mar, mar-zhi	kser	k'sər	χser	sɛ'r	*mar ² (Nishi 1991)		*s-rwəy (TBL 0051) , *tsyak
96	bamboo			gyok	jjə	ʃɲuŋ mɛ	ɬju		χpu-(L)	*g-pa (STC 044)
97	shadow			dəyip	tə-jəp	tə-ɬjev	ɬgrəv			*g-rip ʷ *s-rip (STC p. 113)
98	joint (N)	sra tse		tə tsik	ts'ək	ts'ək	ts'əu		sa-(L)	*tsik (STC 064)
99	thorn			təmdzo	tə-mdzo	ta-mdzə	mdzu		tshi-(H)	*tsow (STC 276)
100	night			təmor	tə-rjək	tə-rjək	ʔə-rjau		ra-L, gie-L	*ya (STC 417)
101	iron	tal, zom shang	zangs	sham	ʃam	ɕam	ɕəm		ɕam-(L)	*si-r (STC 372), *syam (STC 228)

102	field		tig-tig, tig-smar	tə mnya	sə zəŋ	sa zɛŋ	mɲə lo		ʃue – [irrigate], l e/u –L[irraigate]	*ʔdan ³ ; *C-mi ¹ (PLB:Bradley 1975a, #415)
103	arrow	wer, nag phran	wer-hri, wer-hrim	shim nya				*hmja-B	lə-L	*m-da (STC pp. 96, 111-112, 118), *b-la (STC 449)
104	needle			tə kap					χe -	*kap (STC 052); *k-rap (PLB:TSR 191)
105	house	gung mig, se sto	se-to, se-dad	tə gyim	tʃəm	cɛim	jəm	*dim-A	tɛ e/i-H k/q o	*kim ≠ *kyim ≠ *kyum (STC 053)
106	bow	hrim	wi-to, wer-hrim	shim nya waj tsə	ʃə mɲa	tə-cɛə	mɲək			*d-liy (STC 463)
107	boat			sgru	ʒgru	zbri	rgu			*m-liy (STC 474)
108	stone mill			laŋ tak, ta 'dzor	ts'əu mbo	kə-ʃum	rgəme rtsəm	*sjp-A(to pound)	kh ue-H	*tsum (STC 075)
109	village			khyim dzə					tshua-H k/q u/o -, zo -	*r-wa ≠ *g-wa (STC 444), *kak (PLB:TSR 022)
110	left	yi		ka we	k'v-ʃkor	k'ua skor	k'v skor		χgy-L, ʒua -	*bay (STC 047)
111	right (against left)	ya		ka cha	ka-cɛ'aɭ	ʁi-cɛ'i	scɛ'əu		χda -	*g-ya ≠ *g-ra (STC 098)
112	far from			wure kəchə	kə-cɛ'ə	ka-qə	tɛ'e rdə		χua-L	*dzya-l (STC 229), *wiy ² (PLB)
113	neighborhood	nye drung		wure kənbat	cɛ'ə war	cɛ'ə vər	tɛ'v bə		q/k e-L χz i/a-H[near]	*ney (STC 291)
114	year			kəpa	pəi pa	pə vi	pə vi		pu-L, nə-(H) pu-L[last year], dia-H tɕhi-L[next year], tse-H pu-L[this year]	*niŋ (STC 368)
115	twenty	ni cu, ne cu	ni-cu, tseg	kə nyisce						*(m)-kul (STC 397)
116	one		tɪ, tig, pra-mo-ha (single), mu-tig (once)	kətek					a-L	*it (STC pp. 94, 162), *kat (p. 94), *(y)ik ≠ *(g-)tyik (STC pp. 84, 94, 169, 189)
117	seven	snis	sni, snel, snes	kə shnər	kə-ʃnəs	kə-snas, snəs	ʃnə, ʃsɲə	*hnis-A	sni-(H)	*s-nis (STC 005)[cf. TWO #120]
118	ten	cu snis	cu, cu-tse	sce				*tsjui-A	fiə diu	*gip (STC 016)
119	one hundred	bir pra	ra	pərgya	pər vje	pər rji	vrji	*bra-A, gjar-A	tʃhi-(L)	*r-gya (STC 164)
120	two	ni sum, nis	ni	kə nyis	kə-nəs	ʁnis	ɣnə	*ni:-A	(χ)nə-(L)	*g-nis (STC 004)
121	three	ne sum	sum	kə sam	kə-sam	fɛum	ʃsəm	*swam/som-A	khsi -	*g-sum (STC 409)
122	four	bi nga	bing	kə wdi	kə-wdi	vldi	vdə	*bli-A	grə-L	*b-liy (STC 410)
123	five	nga	nga	kə mɲo	kə-mɲo	mɲo	mɲə	*nga:-A	ʒua-L	*l-ŋa ≠ *b-ŋa (STC 078)
124	six	nga drug, drug snyis, snybe gyer	drug	kə trok	kə-tʃok	ʃtʃoɣ	ptɛəɣ	*dru:-A	χtʃu-(H)	*d-ruk (STC 411); *C-krok (PLB:TSR 35)
125	eight	gyad	sni-gyad	wu ryat	wə rjat	vrjje	vje		khr e/a-(L)	*b-r-gyat (TSR 163)
126	nine	gu dun, du gu, dun gu	gu-dug, gu-dun	kə ngu	kə-nɲgu	ɲgit	vɲgu		χguə	*d-kuw (TSR 013)
127	many	tɪ mur		kə mca					dio-H,	*mra (TSR 148)
128	be born	drod	skyi: mu-si-skyi	kə shkyi					bu -	*braŋ (STC 135), *kruŋ (STC 382)
129 1	sleep, take a nap			ka rma	kə-nə-ŋk'ə ɲəl	ka-nə-po'k ɲəl	sta fɛ'ə fɛ'əm		z/z e-L, nə -	*ip (STC 114), *mwiŋ (STC 196), *n(y)it (STC 236)
130	cry, weep	ngu 'bar		tə ɲu ru	ka-ŋa kru	ka-ŋa mbli	ʁmbə		z/z e-L, nə -	*krap (STC 116), *ɲuw (STC 076)
131	laugh	ha sig	ha-si-ga	tə nə ri	kə-rə ro wə	ka-nə rə ve	re və		dza-(L)	*m-nwi(y) (STC 191), *rya-t (STC 202)
132	die		gyog, gyag	no kshis	ka-ʃi	ka-sə	sə	*si-B	ɛ a/e-(L)	*siy (STC 232)
133	awake			wu mnyak nə gros						*m-sow (STC 295); *nuw ² ≠ *s-nuw ² (PLB)
134	cough			tə rtshos kə pa	tə-rtš'os kə-pa	ta-sq'ut	rtš'ə mbo			*su(w) (STC 423)
135	stand	nangs		ka rgyap					zj-L	*g-ryap (STC 246)
136	sit		kod	ka nyi	ka-ɲi	ka-mdzo	rje		dz u/o-H	*tu-ŋ (STC 361)
137	fall		ang	ka yok, no mjit	ka-ʒa	ka-nter	na χp'oɣ		tsh o/y-(L), gui-L	*kla (STC 123)
138	climb, ascend			to to, kə yam to kshot						*l-tak (STC pp. 52, 110, 123), *syar 'rise' (STC 090, p. 28)
139	descend			no no, kə mbap, kə nə pzhot						descend *yu(W) (STC 289, p 101); *ʔ-yuk [above 1 121(5E)]; *zak (TSR 121)
140	fly (V)			kə mbyam					gze-(L)	*pur ≠ *pir (STC 398), *pyam (STC 093, p. 29; 171, p. 51), *pyaw 'fly, swim, float' (STC 176)
141	hide		bad	kə ŋa pki, ki sha'a bki					ɛ y/ye-L, pia -, k o/ye-L	*p(w)ak (STC 046); *wak ≠ *ʔ-wak (PLB:TSR 178)
142	run, flee		ji	kə rgyik, kə pho	kə-cɛ'op	ka-cɛ'op	na t, 'dɣ		tʃhi - tʃhi -	*ploŋ (STC 140)
143	appear, emerge	khrun, da dod ci		ya we					tɛ i/y-L	*twak (STC p. 17), *pro (STC 248)

144	fear	yang za, du khrun	zhur	kə yi sdar					q o/u-L	*grok Ꞥ *krok (STC 473), *kri(y) (STC 416), *b-ray (STC 450)
145	know		shin, shi-shin (knowledge), 'gu-ye sa-trig (knowledge), she-shin (knowledge)	kə shis	ka-nə mfi	ka-nə fsis	kə-ts'e		ŋue-L, si -	*m-kyen (STC 223), *syey (STC 182)
146	shameful		dil-byil (shameless), dmyi-byil (shameless)	kə na sra	tə-srak	tə-zrak	mbəm			*kyeŋ (STC 162), *s-rak (STC 431), *g-yak (STC 452)
147	forget			ke mur					χmu-(L)	*b-la-p (STC 335)
148	dream (N)			ta rmo	ta-rmo	tə-lma	rmo	*mang-B	χm o/u-(L)	*maŋ (STC 082); *s-mak Ꞥ *s-maŋ (PLB:TSR)
149	see		ta-tan, pu-phro (look for)	ka mto	ka-mto	ka-mta	vde si		tiu-(H)	*mraŋ (STC 149)
150	smell		shi-shim (N), shin-tsa (N)		spos	spos	spo	*hna/hnang-A	χmam-H	*m-nam (STC 464)
151 1	thin			kə mba	kə-nə k'i	kə-nak mē	ɛgi		χua-H, bu-L	*ba (STC 025)
152	old	gcos	yog-ze (old woman), shang-ze (old person)	kə mtrho, kə mbi	kə-rgən (kə-mtʂo)	ka-rgas			p e/a-L, ba-(H)	*r-ga (STC 445)
153	alive	ta ka gyin		kə sə so	kə-sə so	kə-sə su	χsu		ʂ e/a-L	*kruŋ (STC 382), *s-riŋ Ꞥ *s-raŋ (STC 404)
154	ill	gyang		tə ŋgo	tə-wə (ta-mŋam)	tə-ŋga	t'v rjəm	*hna-A, *tsha	dzi -	*na (STC 080), *nyuŋ (STC 194)
155	fat	tshos, tshas, rlab che		ku tsho	kə-ts'o	ka-vjam	ts'u		tshi -, s o/a-L ie -, χda -	*tsow (STC 277)
156	itchy			kə ra jak	kə-ra jak	kə-rə je	spə		dzi-L dza-L	*g-ya (STC 451), *m-sak (STC 465)
157	full	rlab che		kə mə nyot	ka-pjot, kə-mjot	ka-fsot, kə-nə mts'ot	kə-psən, kə-psu		syē-L	*bliŋ Ꞥ *pliŋ (STC 142), *dyam Ꞥ *tyam (STC 226)
158	long	rko rin		kə skrən, kə nbro	kə-skrən	kə-rzan	sre		dzi-(L), br o/u-(H)	*duŋ (STC 020; #231, p 75), *low (STC 279), *s-riŋ (STC 433)
159	sweet		un-sing	kə chi	kə-cç'i	kə-cç'ə	t'ə		tsh u/y-(H)	*dz(y)im (STC 071), *twi(y) (STC 166)
160	cold	cil		kə mə shtak	wu tʃ'u tʃ'u	?ə tʃ'ə tʃ'ə	?ə tç'ə tç'u		χtu -	*graŋ (STC 120), *kyam (STC 224)
161	painful, bitter			kə sa kha	kə-tʃap	kə-teŋ	tç'a		qha-(L)	*ka (STC 008)
162	sour			kə cor	kə-tʃorʋ	kə-tʃor	ɛtʃer		tsuV	*kri(y) (STC 413), *s-kyur Ꞥ *su-r (STC 042)
163	red	pa ru, mang	ra-ga, ra, mang	kə wu rne					χñi-(H)	*kyeŋ (STC 162), *r-ni (STC pp. 46, 91), *tsyak (STC 184)
163 1	blue	ting, zor tir	ting	sŋon, laŋ	sŋon mbo	ka rŋui	sŋon mbu			*s-ngow?(STC #296)
164	heavy	lden		kə di					dzi-L	*s-liy (STC 095)
165	warm	khri seg, dung, mur zhi, ram me	mu-la	kə mpya					le -, s i/i - , duə -	*lum (STC 381)
166	round	tung bu, zhing ri	zhing-ri	kə por lor					χgy -	*z-lum (STC 143), *wal (STC 91)
167	ripe	smar		kə smin	kə-smən	kə-smi	sme	*hmin-A		*s-min (STC 432)
168	soft		bag-rtse, klang-sad (soft word)	kə mbyok, kə mə no	kə-ndzəm	kə-ndzəm	kə-ndiŋ		ma-L, la-L	*now (STC 274)
169	white	ke ru, she po	shim, mang-wer (pale white)	kə pram	kə-pram	kə-prom	p'rəm		phram-H	*bok (STC p. 181), *ŋow (STC 296), *plu (STC pp. 41, 46, 60-61, 89)[cf. SILVER #095]
170	black	kha, kha nig	kun, kha-rlon, khe-la, mu-gun	kə nak	kə-nək	nak	ɛni		ñi -	*tyaŋ (STC 225); *(s-)nak (STC pp. 88, 102, 155; TSR 142); *sim Ꞥ syim (STC 380)
171	thick	dos drag, rŋi ci, lden, u mun		kə yak					lia-L, pray-(L)	*r-ta-t (STC 426), *tow (STC 319), *tu-k (STC 356)
172	new			kə shik	sər pə		səlpə	*tshar-A	khsi-H	*sar (STC pp. 147, 172, 189)
173	sharp	kha rtse, dpal, gze ma		kə ŋam cok	ka-mtʃok	ka-mtʃok	zoŋ		tsie ~ tsa-L	*s-ryam (STC pp. 53, 171, 189), *tak (STC p. 87; TSR 41)
174	light (in weight)			kə jo	kə-joʋ	kə-ja	je		gʒ o/u-(H)	*r-ya-ŋ
175	eat	dung dung		kə nə ndza	ka-za	ka-ndzə	zi	*am-B, *tsa-B	dzi-L	*am (STC 481), *dza (STC 066)
176	drink (V)	gung, chu ca		ka mot	ka-mot	ka-t'i	kə-t'e	*thung-A	thie -, q u/o-H	*am (STC 481); *Ndaŋ¹ (PLB:TSR p 15)
177	give	he tor		ka nbi	kə-p'əl	ka-p'əl	ka-p'əl	*pin-B	χda-(H), grə-H	*biy (STC 427), *pek (STC pp. 101, 149)
178	tie	khyig		ka tshi, kə trhok, ta mtut	kə-mt'ət	ka-mt'u	ldzə ndzə	*khi-A, *tsung-B	di-L, dza -	*du-t Ꞥ *tu-t (STC 421), *kik (STC 484)
179	steal	kun mun, shod 'debs		ka smo					χku -	*r-kuw (STC 033)
180	lick			kə nə zok	ka-nə ntsok	ka-ldak	ŋɔ	*lem-B	ñ a/e-(L) ta-H	*m/s-lyak (STC 211)

181	bite			kha mcik ka lat, kə ne ntshok					dz/zV -	*gam (STC 491), *hap (STC 089), *ku-k (STC 388), *wa (STC 424)
182	scratch			kə ra ja	kə-rə-k'rok	ka-ra-vrok	nsprex		phra -	*hyak (STC 230); *krak ≠ *Nkrak (TSR 096); *kret ≠ Nkret (TSR 097); *kut (STC 383), *pruk (STC 391)
183	boil (V)			ka ska	ka-ska	ka-sqa	sə ɛəi	*khwai-A	χq a-L	*klak (STC 124), *prut (STC 131), *pryo (STC 250)
184	grind			kə stsu, ka rbok						*krit (STC 119)
185	wash			kə rkyi	ka-rtʃi	ka-χtʃ'ə	rju	*khru-A	χua-(L) la-(L)	*kruw (STC 117), *m-s(y)il (STC 492)
186	dig			ka rwa	ka-lwa	ka-lwa	ŋqa		lia-H	*klaw (STC 269), *r-ko-t (STC 420), *la-y (STC 288), *tu (STC 258)
187	leave		sang	ka wa rdi	kə-tə	ka-fəe	ndi			*g-lwat (STC 209)
188	extinguish	ja' lus	rbad, pe-brag (kill)	ka wa rmuk, ka sat	ka-wa-rlak	ka-wa-rlak			mV-L	*mit (STC 374)
189	blow			ka phro, ka bjo	kə-k'rot	ka-k'rət	ɕoɣ		χphu-(H)	*s-mut (STC p. 75)
190	buy			ka ki	ka-jok	ka-cɕ'ə	'a rgə		p o/u-H	ka bjo
191	sew, needlework			ka trho, ka mkhi	kə-tʃop	vzu vɛ	tɕ'e ftɕ'ə pə		ra - ri -	*d-rup (STC 456), *(?)-grup ≠ *ʔdrup; *byar ≠ *pyar (STC 178)
192	kill	gshed	pe-brag, rbad,	ka sat	zdək-pə ka-pa	ɛzdək-pə ka-pi	zdək-pə vi		tsV-L tsV-H	*g-sat (STC 058)
193	weave			tə tak ka pa	ka-tak	ka-tak	oɣ			*tak (STC 017)
194	rub			ka phyis	ka-klie	ka-χtsov	lni			*nu-l (STC 365), *s(y)wiy (STC 180)
195	squeeze	chag bcol		ka ncir, ka rjo						*nyap (STC 192), *tsyur (STC 188)
196	strike, shoot	ther	bteg	ka lat	ka-top	ka-ɛdo	ts'ə		qhr o/a-L	*ga-p (STC 219)
197	kick (V)				ta-zbro kə-lət	ta-χsu ka-tɛar	zbre ts'ə		tʃhu-(L)	*tek (PLB:TSR 14)
198	sell			ka mphar	kə-mp'er	ka-ntswi	ntsrəɣ			*par (STC p. 35), *ywar (STC pp. 15, 51, 89)
199	place, put		nam-mu	kə tə	kə-tə	ka-fəe	t'v		kuə -	*s-ta (STC 019)
200	drive, hunt, expel			kə nrek	tə-ʃp'e	ts'am χtʃot	χtɕot		qh/χ o-(H)	*rak ≠ Ngak (PLB:TSR 162)
200 1	burn	bzhop	bar, ar	kə njop	ka-tʃop	ka-tʃov	sna	*kro:-B	ua -, *tsu -	*bar ≠ *par (STC 220), ploŋ (STC 139), *tsow (STC 275), *ka-ŋ (STC 330), *duk ≠ *ʔduk (TSR 62), *put (TSR 8)
200 2	cut	gnyigs	rbad, rtsod	kə ra ntsik, ka pri, ka rzuk, ka pot	ka-rzək	ka-q'rə	tʃɒ	*tha:-A	qhr ə/ua-(L), χtʃua-H, tshua-H, khu(a) -, kh-H, H tia-(L)	*da-n (STC 22), *lep (STC 351), *mrak (STC 147), *ra-t (STC 458), *ri-t (STC 371), *tsywar (STC 240), *kut (STC 383), *tsyat (STC 185), *tuk (STC 387); *Ntök ≠ *ʔtök (TSR 101), *ʔtwap ≠ *C-dwap (TSR 69)