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Jinghpo Prefixes : Their Classification, Origins, for General Morphology

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Jinghpo Prefixes: Their Classification, Origins, and Implications for General Morphology

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INTRODUCTION

The term 'prefix' in the title refers to the initial syllables in the following disyllabic Jinghpo words:

Words with a prefix		Relevant words	
[tʃä ³¹ k ^h ʒap ³¹]	make sb. cry	[k ^h ʒap ³¹]	to cry
[ʃä ³¹ jup ⁵⁵]	cause to sleep; put to bed	[jup ⁵⁵]	to sleep
[tʃä ⁵⁵ lu ⁵¹]	possessions	[lu ³¹]	to have
[kä ³¹ nu ³¹]	his mother <pron.>	[nu ⁵¹]	mother
[mä ³¹ ʒun ⁵⁵]	twins	[ma ³¹]	child
[kä ³¹ tʃaŋ ³³]	black soil	[ʒun ⁵⁵]	side by side, abreast
		[ka ⁵⁵]	earth, soil
		[tʃaŋ ³³]	black
[mä ³¹ kui ³³]	elephant	[kui ³¹]	dog
[niŋ ³¹ po ³³]	leader	[po ³³]	head
[ʃä ³³ kan ³³]	star		cf. Written Tibetan <i>skar ma</i>
[lä ³¹ p ^h ut ³¹]	knee		cf. Written Tibetan <i>pus mo</i>
[kä ³¹ ʒum ³³]	to help		cf. Motuo Menba [rum]

There are several reasons for identifying all the initial syllables in the left column as prefixes. 1) They appear word-initially. 2) They are bound, i.e. they cannot stand on their own. 3) These initial syllables verge on being a closed class. 4) Each one of these syllables recurs before a number of morphemes, thereby creating a set of words beginning with the same prefix but having different roots. The size of the set varies from only a few items to about 70 words in one instance and to [ʃä-], the productive causative prefix. 5) These syllables have two phonetic characteristics: (a) the syllable nucleus is always a simple vowel, never a diphthong. Moreover, this vowel is either [i], [u], or a weakened [a], i.e. the

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schwa, which is transcribed with the breve as [ã] in Xu *et al.* (1983), and (b) these syllables fairly often begin and/or end with a nasal, such as the [niŋ³¹-] in [niŋ³¹po³³] 'leader'.

Xu (1986) is the first study (at least in China) of Jinghpo prefixes. She divides them into two groups and coins a new term: prefix vs. *bàn-qiánzhùi*, literally 'semi-prefix'. That paper, however, offers only a preliminary treatment of the latter, and its classification is rather limited in scope. Then Dai (1993) came along to describe, and explain the origins of, semi-prefixes in more detail. He also propounds that the historical process of reducing several content morphemes into a single form in the word-initial position (i.e. a semi-prefix) signifies the simplification, motivated by the principle of economy, in the phonetic format of disyllabic words (p. 188). Departing from Xu's analysis, Part 1 of the present paper proposes a tripartite classification of Jinghpo prefixes. Furthermore, based on Dai's insight into the semi-prefix, Part 4 demonstrates the feasibility of a natural language creating new disyllabic words with a relatively small inventory of word-initial syllables, some of which are devoid of any meaning.

The three types in question are: prototypical prefixes (such as the causative ones), semi-prefixes, and look-alike prefixes. An example of the second type is the [kã³¹-] in [kã³¹tɕaŋ³³] 'black soil', which originates from the free morpheme [ka⁵⁵] 'earth, soil'. An example of the last type is [ʃã³¹zam³³] 'otter', the initial syllable of which evidently comes from the consonant cluster in its Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) etymon, as reflected by the cognate in Written Tibetan (WT): *sram* 'otter.' (The symbol [ʃ] in the Jinghpo transcription represents an r-colored sound; in fact, it corresponds to the letter 'r' in the orthography. Two other IPA symbols are also viable for this sound, namely [zɿ] and [ɹ].) Part 2 of this paper argues against Xu's classification of a certain group of bound morphemes as a subset of semi-prefixes.

Since the origin of a prefix is a major criterion of its classification, Part 1 also illustrates the origins of each type of prefix. It first traces one of the causative prefixes in Jinghpo, i.e. the afore-mentioned [ʃã-], to the *s- of the same function in PTB. As for semi-prefixes, they originate from word-initial content morphemes in what used to be genuine compounds. In relation to this, it is suggested that semi-prefixes present a problem to the definition of 'compound nouns' as consisting of *free* morphemes. Lastly, some instances of look-alike prefixes are shown to descend from word-initial clusters in PTB, whereas others find no genetic correspondence in other Tibeto-Burman (TB) subgroups. A list of words in other TB languages cognate with Jinghpo words with a prefix is also given. Part 3 schematically delineates a few sample etymologies to reiterate the historical development of prefix morphology in Jinghpo.

With regard to data for the present study, those of the prototypical prefix are primarily from Xu (1986), while those of the semi-prefix are from Dai (1993). The English gloss of Jinghpo words provided here is based on Hanson (1906), henceforth shortened to 'Han.' after quotations from the dictionary, and Xu *et al.* (1983), hereafter just 'Xu *et al.*'. Since the former has no phonetic transcriptions,

all the Jinghpo transcriptions in this paper are from the latter dictionary.

1. THREE TYPES OF PREFIXES

1.1 Two Groups of Prototypical Prefixes

Prototypical prefixes are subdivided into two groups: causative prefixes, and prefixes which change the part of speech of the root morpheme. Both of them share the function of qualifying the root, which is the head of the word.

1.1.1 Causativization is a regular morphological process in Jinghpo. There are three causative prefixes, viz. [a-], [fiŋ-], and one with two variants: [tʃǎ-] before a root beginning with a voiceless fricative or an aspirated consonant, and [ǎ-] elsewhere.¹⁾ Of these three prefixes, the last one is by far the most frequent; it can attach to most monosyllabic verbs and adjectives. Note the following examples:

Verbs, Adjectives, etc. ²⁾		Causative Verbs	
[ŋjɔp ⁵⁵]	to cave in, to be dented	[a ³¹ ŋjɔp ⁵⁵]	to dent
[pʒep ³¹]	[of sth.] to crack	[a ³¹ pʒep ⁵⁵]	crack sth.
[nip ³¹]	to be covered (up)	[fiŋ ³¹ nip ³¹]	cover (up)
[tɔt ⁵⁵]	to be or go beyond	[fiŋ ³¹ tɔt ⁵⁵]	jump or leap over
[k ^h ʒap ³¹]	to cry	[tʃǎ ³¹ k ^h ʒap ³¹]	make sb. cry
[ʃut ⁵⁵]	to be wrong	[tʃǎ ³¹ ʃut ⁵⁵]	make a mistake
[p ^h a ³¹]	to be thin {=not thick}	[ǎ ³¹ p ^h a ³¹]	make thin
[oŋ ³³]	to pass [an exam]	[ǎ ³¹ oŋ ³³]	let sb. pass [an exam]
[na ³³]	to be drunk	[ǎ ³¹ na ⁵⁵]	make sb. drunk
[tsai ³³]	to be clean	[ǎ ³¹ tsai ³³]	to clean
[mjij ³³]	a name	[ǎ ³¹ mjij ³¹]	to name
[mjam ⁵⁵]	in a ruffled manner	[ǎ ³¹ mjam ⁵⁵]	[hair] hang down loosely

It has generally been accepted that *s- was a causative prefix in PTB and that almost all TB languages show traces of this prefix. The Jinghpo causative prefix [tʃǎ-]/[ǎ-] should be a reflex of this *s-. Examples from the small number of

1) Some instances of [ǎ-] are in free variation with [sǎ-] before a root morpheme beginning with [ts], for example:

[tsa ³¹]	to be damaged	[ǎ ³¹ tsa ³¹]	~[sǎ ³¹ tsa ³¹]	to destroy
[tsam ³¹]	strength, spirit	[ǎ ³¹ tsam ³¹]	~[sǎ ³¹ tsam ³¹]	to energize; to spur on

But in the case of [tsap⁵⁵] 'to stand', there is only [ǎ³¹tsap⁵⁵] 'make sb. stand' and no [sǎ³¹tsap⁵⁵] in either Hanson (1906:613) or Xu *et al.* (1983:720).

2) Many Jinghpo words that have the verb 'to be' in their gloss in Hanson (1906) are classified as adjectives in Xu *et al.* (1983), e.g., [p^ha³¹] <adj.> 'thin' (p. 272) and [tsai³³] <adj.> 'clean' (p. 838). In Sino-Tibetan languages, an adjective by itself can generally be the predicate, so the verb 'to be' often makes a better English gloss.

Tibetan and Jinghpo cognate verbs that simultaneously show prefix causativization are given below. (The overwhelming majority of causative verbs with initial consonant cluster in Tibetan have *s-* as the prefix; the rest have *b-*, *g-*, *d-* and sporadically *m-* and *fi-* [Gesangjumian 1982:31].)

WT	Tense (if not present)	Lhasa Speech in IPA	Jinghpo	Gloss
nub			[lup ³¹]	[e.g. of a boat] to sink
snub			[ʃä ³¹ lup ³¹]	cause [e.g. a boat] to sink
fik ^h ur			[kun ³³]	to carry on one's back; to have on one's person
skur			[ʃä ³¹ kun ⁵⁵]	cause to carry; to send [a letter]
gas	past		[ka ⁹³¹]	to crack, split, break
bkas	past		[ʃä ³¹ ka ⁹³¹]	cause to crack, split; to smash
tɕ ^h ag	past		[pjak ³¹]	to be broken
			[p ^h jak ³¹]	to be destroyed
(zig)	past)		[pja ⁹⁵⁵]	[e.g. of a house] to be in ruins, fall down ³⁾
			[tsa ³¹]	'To be damaged ... [or] too roughly handled' (Han., p. 733)
btɕag	past		[ʃä ³¹ pjak ³¹]	to break; to put out of order
			[tʃä ³¹ p ^h jak ³¹]	cause to be destroyed
(bɕig)	past)		[ʃä ³¹ pja ⁹⁵⁵]	cause to fall down; to demolish
			[ʃä ³¹ tsa ³¹]	'To destroy, as one's own work' (Han., p. 656)
bzu			[pju ³¹]	to melt, dissolve
bzu			[ʃä ³¹ pju ³¹]	cause to melt; to smelt ⁴⁾
fi ^h ib			[nip ³¹]	to be covered up; to become over- cast
gtib			[fiŋ ³¹ nip ³¹]	[of clouds] to gather and cover up ⁵⁾
dral	past	[tʃ ^h e ¹³]	[tʃe ⁵⁵]	T.: to get torn/ ripped; ⁶⁾ J.: to tear up
dbral	past	[re ⁵⁵]	[ʃä ³¹ tʃe ⁵⁵]	cause [sth.] to tear

- 3) The brackets around the Tibetan word *zig* means that even though it means '[of a house] to fall down, to be in ruins', it is unrelated to the comparison here.
- 4) In Yu (1983:842) 'to melt, dissolve' and 'to smelt' are two senses of a single entry, viz., *bzu(r) ~ zu*. (Incidentally, the dictionary has recorded the future, past, and imperative forms for the latter sense, but only the present (or infinitive) form for the former.) In Goldstein (1978: 980 & 1000), *zu* and *bzu* are two separate entries, but they have almost the same gloss. Qujizhaba (1957) has, however, *zu ba* for 'to melt, dissolve' (p. 738) and *bzur* for 'to burn, smelt' (p. 753). It is possible that the two senses were pronounced differently in ancient times.
- 5) The WT form cited here is in both Goldstein (1978:480) and Qujizhaba (1957:338) but not in Yu (1983:419).
- 6) The WT form cited here of the verb 'to get torn/ripped' is in Goldstein (1978:577) but not in Yu (1983:915).

It should, however, be pointed out that the roots in most simplex-causative verb pairs are phonetically quite different in Jinghpo and Tibetan, for example:

WT	Jinghpo	Gloss
laŋ	[ʒot ³¹]	to get up; to stand
sloŋ	[fǎ ³¹ ʒot ³¹]	cause to get up
nal	[ju ⁵⁵]	to sleep
snol	[fǎ ³¹ ju ⁵⁵]	cause to sleep; put to bed
gon	[p ^h un ⁵⁵]	to wear
skon	[tǎ ³¹ p ^h un ⁵⁵]	cause to wear; to dress
fikh ^{ol}	[pʒut ³¹]	to be boiling
skol	[fǎ ³¹ pʒut ³¹]	to boil
fikh ^{or}	[tǎi ³³]	[of sth.] to turn around and around
skor	[fǎ ³¹ tǎi ³¹]	to turn/spin/roll sth.
fit ^{hor}	[pʒa ⁵⁵]	to separate, disband
gtor	[fǎ ³¹ pʒa ⁵⁵]	cause to disband, disperse
fit ^{had}	[ti ^{ʔ31}]	[e.g. of a rope] to snap, sever
gtɕod	[fǎ ³¹ ti ^{ʔ31}]	cause [e.g. a rope] to snap; to sever
fit ^{bag}	[to ^{ʔ31}]	[e.g. of a tree branch] to break
gtɕog	[fǎ ³¹ to ^{ʔ31}]	cause to break
cf. fit ^{hor}		to crumble, break down
gtor		to destroy, crush

Even though many of the roots in Jinghpo and Tibetan causative verbs look unrelated, some interesting cognate cases can still be unearthed there. The pair of verbs 'to suck' and 'to suckle' is a case in point. Consider the following words:

Gloss	WT	Jinghpo	Remarks
breasts; milk	fio ma nu ma	[tʃu ^{ʔ55}]	J.: [nu ⁵¹] 'mother' {Related?}
milk <n.> to suck ⁷⁾	fio btɕud nu fidzib	[tʃu ^{ʔ55}] [mǎ ³¹ ʒun ³¹] [tʃup ³¹]	T.: btɕud 'nutrition' 'to suck [the finger]'
to breast-feed ⁸⁾	snun blud ster	[fǎ ³¹ tʃu ^{ʔ55}]	

Both WT and Jinghpo show causativization for the pair 'to suck' and 'to breast-feed': nu vs. snun and [tʃu^{ʔ55}] vs. [fǎ³¹tʃu^{ʔ55}] respectively. But the Jinghpo root [tʃu^{ʔ55}] is rather related to the second syllable of the Tibetan noun for 'milk', i.e.

7) The WT form nu is in Huang (1992:550) but not in Yu (1983:#555 & 872).

8) The WT forms snun and blud are in Goldstein (1978:#663 & 776) but not in Yu (1983:#572 & 665).

btɕud, which by itself as a free morpheme means 'nutrition' in contemporary Lhasa speech. Another cognate example is the Jinghpo word for 'to fetch somebody':

Gloss	WT	Jinghpo	Remarks
speech	skad tɕ ^h a	[ka ³¹]	cf. Written Burmese (WB) [cakā ³] T.: skad 'sound, voice' tɕ ^h a {meaning unknown; a suffix?}
fetch somebody	skad gtoŋ	[ʃä ³¹ ka ⁵⁵]	T.: gtoŋ 'do, make' J.: cf. [ʃä ³¹ ka ³³] speak

Although it cannot be proven beyond doubt that the [ka⁵⁵] in [ʃä³¹ka⁵⁵] 'to fetch' is related to [ka³¹] 'speech', a similar kind of construction in Tibetan makes it seem probable.

The point here is that although Jinghpo and Tibetan have both inherited the causative category from PTB, the relevant prefixes may have attached to different PTB cognates. On the other hand, the divergence of the roots in Jinghpo and Tibetan causative verbs means that causativization as a morphological process must still have been productive after PTB had split up into different subgroups.

1.1.2 The second group of prototypical prefixes changes the part of speech of the root morpheme. Before proceeding to a discussion of actual examples, a caveat is in order here: the parts-of-speech systems in Hanson (1906) and Xu *et al.* (1983) are very different. Accordingly, the two dictionaries often assign the same word to a different part of speech. This difference, although theoretically important for an elegant grammar of the Jinghpo language, does not significantly affect the analysis here presented. What is important is the *shift* in part of speech, thereby denoting a change in syntactic behavior, even though Hanson and Xu *et al.* may disagree on the part of speech of an individual word.

The prefixes with the most productivity in this group are the two uses of [a⁵⁵-] and the two nominalizers [tʃä^{33/55}-] and [ʃä^{33/55}-]. The first use of [a⁵⁵-] is to go before a verb to signify repetition, e.g., [kä³¹lo³³] 'to do' and [a⁵⁵kä³¹lo³³] 'to do sth. often', and [ʃa⁵⁵] 'to eat' and [a⁵⁵ʃa⁵⁵] 'to eat sth. often'. Secondly, an adjective or a verb is preceded by [a⁵⁵-] and followed by [ʃa³¹] to produce an adverbial phrase. Note the following examples, where 'sfp' stands for 'sentence-final particle':

[loi ³¹] easy:			
[a ⁵⁵ loi ⁵¹ ʃa ³¹	p ^h ä ⁵⁵ ʒan ⁵⁵	kä ⁵⁵]	to have easily solved
easily	solve	perfective marker	[a problem]

[pui³¹] slow:

[a⁵⁵pui⁵¹ fa³¹ slowly] k^hom³³] walk to walk slowly

[kã³¹tfoŋ³¹] < v. > to scare, frighten:
 [a⁵⁵kã³¹tfoŋ³¹ fa³¹ suddenly] n⁵⁵ mu⁵¹ mat³¹ sai³³ suddenly cannot
 not see *perfective* *sfp* be seen/found
marker

[lu³¹] < aux. v. > to be able to:
 [p^hot⁵⁵n⁵⁵ a⁵⁵lu⁵¹ fa³¹ tomorrow definitely] sa³³ ʒit³¹ lu³³ You must come
 go *sfp* *particle* tomorrow!
toward-me *for request*

The two prefixes [tʃã^{33/55}-] and [ʃã^{33/55}-] can tag on to most monosyllabic verbs and adjectives to produce corresponding nouns, for example:

[si ³³]	to die	[tʃã ³³ si ³³]	n. a dead person
[lu ³¹]	to have	[tʃã ³³ lu ⁵¹]	n. 'Possessions; whatever may be on hand or laid by' (Han., p. 96)
[mu ³³]	delicious	[tʃã ³³ mu ³³]	n. delicious food
[tʃe ³³]	know, understand	[ʃã ³³ tʃe ³³]	n. the state of knowing how to do sth.
[lum ³³]	warm	[ʃã ³³ lum ³³]	n. something that is warm
[tum ⁵⁵]	to feel	[ʃã ⁵⁵ tum ⁵⁵]	n. the state of being awake

The other prefixes in this group, although much more restricted in distribution, are theoretically more interesting. There are, for example, some other prefixes besides [tʃã^{33/55}-] and [ʃã^{33/55}-] that are also used for nominalization. Note the following words:

[a ³¹ ŋok ³¹]	n.	'(from <i>ngawk</i> , to be silly.) A foolish, silly, puerile person'	(Han., p. 18)
[t ^h oŋ ³³]	v.	leave behind	(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 319)
[n ³³ t ^h oŋ ³³]	n.	legacy, inheritance	(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 592)
[pʒa ^{ʔ55}]	v.	'To be apart, severed, not close; to be forked'	(Han., p. 73)
[kã ⁵⁵ pʒa ^{ʔ55}]	n.	'... a fork, a crotch, as of a limb'	(Han., p. 245)
[poŋ ³³]	v.	'to be swelled'	
[kin ³¹ poŋ ³³]	n.	'ridges, as made by ploughing'	(Han, p. 153)
[kin ³¹ tʃum ³³]	n.	'(from <i>chyum</i> , to be tapering.) The base of a hill, as seen from the top; ... a cape, a promontory'	(Han., p. 153)
[ʃot ³¹]	v.	to shovel	(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 801)
[lã ⁵⁵ ʃot ⁵⁵]	n.	'(from <i>shawt</i> , to scrape.) A chisel; a gauge'	(Han., p. 381)

[ʒut ³¹]	v.	to wipe away	(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 701)
[lã ⁵⁵ ʒut ⁵⁵]	n.	a brush	(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 415)
[mä ³¹ kap ³¹]	n.	'(from <i>gap</i> , to cover.) A cover, a lid'	(Han., p. 413) ⁹⁾
[mä ³¹ tsun ³¹]	n.	'(from <i>tsun</i> , to speak.) A word, command; a will, a testament'	(Han., p. 441)
[pã ³³ k ^h am ³³]	n.	'(from <i>hkam</i> , to receive.) A security, as for money; a bond'	(Han., p. 524)
[ʒa ^{ʒ31}]	v.	'to like, be fond of, as an object of enjoyment and hence to wish, desire, long for'	(Han., p. 563)
[sum ³¹ ʒa ^{ʒ31}]	n.	'Love'	(Han., p. 596)
[sum ³¹ tsɔ ^{ʒ55}]	n.	'(from <i>tsaw</i> , to like.) Love, affection'	(Han., p. 598)
	n.	lover	(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 819)
		<i>sumtsaw sumra</i> 'love, passion, lustful desires'	(Han., p. 598)
[fiŋ ³¹ nan ⁵⁵]	n.	'(from <i>nan</i> , to follow.) A body-servant; a slave, given as a part of a marriage dowry'	(Han., p. 624)

Nominalization in Jinghpo is then interesting because besides the two major markers [tʃã^{33/55}-] and [ʃã^{33/55}-], there are a small number of minor prefixes which are, as it were, pressed into service occasionally. In this respect, Jinghpo is very different from languages that show more inflectional and derivational morphology. In the latter case, a part of speech will be marked by a (or a few) regular suffix(es), such as the *-tion* and *-ness* in English. Consequently, no general distribution pattern, such as the causative prefix [tʃã-]/[ʃã-] going before monosyllabic verbs and adjectives, can be stated for these minor nominalizers. Insights will be gained from an explanatory and/or historical accounting for the Jinghpo phenomenon.

On the other hand, it is not uncommon for a Jinghpo prefix to convert various morphemes into different parts of speech. Take for example the prefix [a-]. In addition to being an adverbial marker, it can also turn a word into an adjective, a verb, etc.:

[a ³³ tʃaŋ ³³]	adj.	'(from <i>chyang</i> , to be black; ...) black, dark'	(Han., p. 3)
[a ³¹ k ^h jep ⁵⁵]	v.	'(from <i>hkyep</i> , a fragment.) To break, as bread, into small pieces'	
	n.	'fragments, crumbs, leavings'	(Han., p. 10)
[mun ⁵⁵]	v.	'To be fine, atomical; ... (Shan.)'	(Han., p. 397)
	n.	powder	(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 526)
[a ³¹ mun ⁵⁵]	n.	'(from <i>mun</i> , to be atomical.) Small, dustlike particles'	

9) The root in the Jinghpo word [mä³¹kap³¹] 'lid' may be related to the root in [n³¹kup³¹] 'mouth'. This relation is true in Lhasa Tibetan: k^ha gtçod 'lid, cork', literally k^ha 'mouth' plus gtçod 'to close'.

v. 'to reduce to small particles or fractions' (Han., p. 13)

Other examples of relevant Jinghpo prefixes are ('class.' equals 'classifier'):

[kun ³³]	v.	carry on one's back		(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 214)
[mä ³¹ kun ⁵⁵]	class.	a load on the back		(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 453)
[mä ³¹ p ^h 30 ³¹]	adj.	'(from <i>hpraw</i> , to be white.) White; <i>mähpraw ri</i> , white yarn'		(Han., p. 430)
		cf. ' <i>ri hkyeng</i> , red yarn'		(Han., p. 331)
[n ³¹ t ^h om ⁵⁵]	adv.	'(from <i>htawm</i> , to be behind.) After, since, although'		(Han., p. 506)
		[t ^h om ⁵⁵] <n.>		(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 591)
		[n ³¹ t ^h om ⁵⁵] <conj.>		(Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 319)
[wa ³³]	n.	tooth	[kä ³¹ wa ⁵⁵]	v. to bite
[k ^h jeŋ ³¹]	adv.	slantingly	[n ³¹ k ^h jeŋ ³¹]	adj. slanting, sloping
[niŋ ³³]	class.	a year's time	[fä ³¹ niŋ ³³]	n. year

Based on the words listed above, another observation concerning the direction of derivation can be made. One would expect the classifier, being a new part of speech in the Jinghpo language, to be the derived item. This is true for the pair [kun³³] <v.> 'to carry on one's back' and [mä³¹kun⁵⁵] <class.> 'a back-load of'. But this expectation is contradicted by the pair [fä³¹niŋ³³] <n.> 'year' and [niŋ³³] <class.> 'a year's time'. Since the latter word corresponds to cognates meaning 'year' in other TB languages, such as Cuona Menba [niŋ⁵⁵] and Bogaer Luoba [niŋ], it must have gone through a shift in its part of speech. Note also the semantic association between [wa³³] 'tooth' and [kä³¹wa⁵⁵] 'to bite'. More generalizations about the shift direction can only be made by examining instances in other languages, including those genetically unrelated to Jinghpo.

1.2 Semi-Prefixes

(1) Semi-prefixes are weakened forms of corresponding content words. While the former are bound morphemes, the latter are mostly free. Preliminary examples of semi-prefixes are as follows:

Prefix	<Original free morpheme	Examples	Gloss
[kä ³¹ -]	< [ka ⁵⁵] earth, soil	[kä ³¹ k ^h je ³³] [kä ³¹ t ^h ŋ ³³]	soil + red {= red soil} soil + black {= black soil}
[lä ⁵⁵ -]	< [na ³³] ear	[lä ⁵⁵ tsop ⁵⁵]	ear + [tsop ³¹] membrane/reed {= eardrum}
[n ³³ -]	< [mam ³³] the rice plant	[n ³³ nan ³³] [n ⁵⁵ p ^h un ⁵⁵]	paddy + new {= grain of the new harvest} paddy + tree/ log

[num ³¹ -]	< [lam ³³]	road	[num ³¹ pʒo ^{ʔ31}]	{= stem of the rice plant} road+separate
[mǎ ³¹ -]	< [ma ³¹]	child	[mǎ ³¹ ʒun ⁵⁵]	{= a fork in the road} child+side by side, abreast
[wǎ ³³ -]	< [ŋa ³³]	cattle	[wǎ ⁵⁵ lam ⁵⁵]	{= twins} ox+to stroll
			[wǎ ⁵⁵ ʃan ⁵¹]	{= an ox on the loose} cattle+ [ʃan ³¹] meat {= beef}

Prefixes in the first column from the left and words in the second column can be considered as morphemic variants, or allomorphs, of a single morpheme. This implies that the two forms *are* different in their pronunciation.

Semi-prefixes are different from prototypical prefixes in three regards: (a) the former originate from independent lexical morphemes, not from PTB prefixes; (b) their meaning, being lexical, is very different from the meaning of causative prefixes; and (c) it is irrelevant whether a semi-prefix changes the part of speech of the other morpheme in the same word.

(2) Semi-prefixes can go through tone sandhi. Taking [wǎ⁵⁵ʃan⁵¹] 'beef' as an example, the underlying form should be 'cattle+meat' [wǎ³³] + [ʃan³¹]. This sandhi is in accordance with a phonological rule in the language, viz., [33] + [31]# → [55] + [51]. For example, when [mu³¹] 'see' is preceded by [n³³] 'not', the resultant phrase is [n⁵⁵ mu⁵¹] 'not see' (Liu 1984:9). Sandhi phenomena involving prefixes are more complicated than the general tonological rules in Jinghpo and so require discussion in a separate paper.

(3) Semi-prefixes and look-alike prefixes often show free variation. This subject will be described in more detail in Section 1.3.1. For the moment, suffice it to say that a semi-prefix can be in free variation with the content morpheme from which it derives, for example:

[n ³¹ -]:	[n ³¹ pʒo ^{ʔ31}]~[num ³¹ pʒo ^{ʔ31}]~[lam ³¹ pʒo ^{ʔ31}]	a fork in the road; crossroads
	[lam ³³] road; [pʒo ^{ʔ31}] separate ¹⁰	
[n ³¹ -]:	[n ³¹ kam ³³]~[ma ³¹ kam ³³]	eldest son ¹¹
	[ma ³¹] child; [kam ³³] eldest son	
[n ³¹ -]:	[n ³¹ k ^h ut ³¹]~[wan ³¹ k ^h ut ³¹]	smoke

10) Hanson (1906:339) has *lampraw* for 'crossroads'. The word will be spelled as *lampro* and transcribed as [lam³¹pʒo^{ʔ31}] according to the system in Xu *et al.* (1983). The [pʒo^{ʔ31}] (or [pʒo^{ʔ31}]) in 'crossroads' may be related to [pʒu³³] 'to separate', which is not an entry by itself in Xu *et al.*, but appears in an example under the entry [t^hŋ³¹pjen³³] 'a smaller household, as separated from the parental family' (p. 312): [t^hŋ³¹pjen³³#pʒu³³] '[of offspring] to divide up family property and live apart' (also in Huang 1992:440). This [pʒu³³], spelled 'pru', is not in Hanson (p. 529). (Incidentally, an underlined IPA symbol is a tense vowel.)

11) The form [ma³¹ kam³³] is not listed as an entry in Xu *et al.* (1983:450), but is used in an illustration under the entry [kɔ^{ʔ55}] <a locative marker>: [ma³¹ kam³³ kɔ^{ʔ55}] 'at the eldest son's, or in his possession' (p. 369).

	[wan ³¹] fire	
	[k ^h ut ³¹] 'To be ready, prepared, as food' (Han., p. 305)	
[n ³¹ -]:	[n ³¹ ko ³³]~[niŋ ³¹ ko ³³]~[t ^h iŋ ³¹ ko ³³]	household
	[t ^h iŋ ³¹ -] house	
	[ko ³³] to lay [bricks]; establish	
[n ³¹ -]:	[n ³¹ k ^h ʒut ³¹]~[niŋ ³¹ k ^h ʒut ³¹]~[luŋ ³¹ k ^h ʒut ³¹]	whetstone
	[luŋ ³¹ -] stone	
	[k ^h ʒut ³¹ -] whetstone, as in: [k ^h ʒut ³¹ t ^h ʂut ³¹] a coarse whetstone	
[n ³¹ -]:	[n ³¹ k ^h o ^{ʔ55}]~[puŋ ³¹ k ^h o ^{ʔ55}]	head-cloth, turban
	[puŋ ³¹ -] pertaining to the head	
	[k ^h o ^{ʔ55} -] head-cloth, as in: [k ^h o ^{ʔ55} t ^h ʂaŋ ³³] dark turban	
[pǎ ³¹ -]:	[pǎ ³¹ t ^h fat ³¹]~[pǔ ³¹ t ^h fat ³¹]	womb
	[pǔ ³¹] intestine	
	[t ^h fat ³¹] an animal lair made for giving birth	
[wǎ ³³ -]:	[wǎ ³³ ʒuŋ ³³]~[ŋa ³³ ʒuŋ ³³]	cattle's horn
	[ŋa ³³] cattle	
	[ʒuŋ ³³ -] horn, as in [ʒuŋ ³³ pət ³¹] the root of a horn	

Although there is a lack of concrete statistics on the relative usage frequencies of allomorphs in each set, this synchronic variation can constitute proof for the origins of semi-prefixes.

(4) Ignoring its tonal component which is not represented in the orthography, a single syllable, such as [wǎ-] or [n-], as a semi-prefix can trace its origins back to several content morphemes. The origins of [wǎ-] are as follows:

[wǎ-] from:	[kǎ ⁵⁵ wa ⁵⁵]	bamboo	[wa ³³]	tooth
	[ŋa ⁵⁵]	fish	[k ^h ai ⁵⁵ nu ³³]	corn, maize
	[ŋa ³³]	cattle	[n ³¹ wa ³³]~[niŋ ³¹ wa ³³]	ax

In the form of [wǎ-], the three words in the left column have been prefixed to many root morphemes to create new words, whereas the three words in the right only have limited productivity. Note the following examples:

[wǎ ³¹ t ^h ʂaŋ ³³]	bamboo + black	{=a kind of bamboo}
[wǎ ³¹ mǎŋ ³³]	bamboo + purple	{=a kind of bamboo}
[wǎ ³¹ pjap ⁵⁵]	bamboo + bush	{=a bamboo bush}
[wǎ ³³ man ³³]	tooth + face{?}	{=an incisor}
[wǎ ⁵⁵ t ^h ap ⁵⁵]	tooth + layer	{=overlapping teeth}
[wǎ ⁵⁵ tap ⁵⁵]	tooth + [tap ³¹] rise/protrude	{=a tooth protruding outward}
[wǎ ³³ maŋ ³³]	ox + corpse	{=the corpse of an ox}
[wǎ ³¹ mun ³³]	ox + hair	{=cattle's hair}
[wǎ ⁵⁵ t ^h um ⁵⁵]	ox + [t ^h um ³¹] finish/to be at the end	{=a sow which has turned barren}
[wǎ ³¹ k ^h je ³³]	fish + red	{=a kind of fish}

[wǎ ³¹ kjik ⁵⁵]	fish + <onomatopoeia >	{=a kind of fish which squeaks like [kjik ⁵⁵]}
[wǎ ³¹ na ³¹]	fish + to sting	{=a kind of fish which has a prickle at both ends of the mouth}
[wǎ ³³ pq ³³]	corn + kernel	{=the kernel of the corn}
[wǎ ⁵⁵ p ^h ji ^{ʔ51}]	corn + [p ^h ji ^{ʔ31}] skin	{=the skin of the corn}
[wǎ ⁵⁵ k ^h ʒo ^{ʔ55}]	corn + dry	{=dried corn, maize}
[wǎ ⁵⁵ t ^h oŋ ⁵¹]	ax + back	{=the back of an ax}
[wǎ ³³ man ³³]	ax + face	{=the face of an ax}

Since the set of words beginning with 'wa-' has become much larger in size, the identity of [wǎ-] as a prefix has been made stronger by this reduction of several morphemes into the same orthographic form in the word-initial position. Furthermore, the multiple origins of the prefix are in general obscure to Jinghpo-speakers, who may then treat 'wa-' as a single word-formational element.

Another case similar to 'wa-' [wǎ-] is 'n-' [n-]. Its origins are as follows:

[n-] from:	[mam ³³]	grain, paddy	[lǎ ³¹ mu ³¹]	sky
	[sum ³¹ -]	iron ¹²⁾	[ma ³¹]	child
	[wan ³¹]	fire	[man ³³]	face
[n ³³ nan ³³]	grain + new	{=grain of the new harvest}		
[n ⁵⁵ sa ⁵¹]	grain + [n ³¹ sa ³¹] old	{=grain of the last harvest}		
[n ³³ k ^h je ³³]	grain + red	{=red grain}		
[n ⁵⁵ p ^h ʒo ⁵¹]	grain + [p ^h ʒo ³¹] white	{=white grain}		
[n ⁵⁵ sin ⁵⁵]	sky + [sin ³³] dark	{=evening, night}		~[niŋ ⁵⁵ sin ⁵⁵]
[n ³¹ lum ⁵⁵]	sky + [lum ³³] warm	{=spring}		~[niŋ ³¹ lum ⁵⁵]
[n ³¹ p ^h oŋ ⁵⁵]	sky + [of the sky] to be clear	{=balmy/sunny weather}		~[niŋ ³¹ p ^h oŋ ⁵⁵]
[n ³¹ tup ³¹]	iron + to hit	{=a blacksmith}		~[niŋ ³¹ tup ³¹]
[n ³¹ tup ⁵⁵]	iron + a little blunt	{=a blunt knife/needle}		~[niŋ ³¹ tup ⁵⁵]
[n ³¹ fi ³¹]	iron + little ¹³⁾	{=small knife}		~[niŋ ³¹ fi ³¹]
[n ³¹ pja ³³]	child + [pja ^{ʔ55}] destroy ¹⁴⁾	{=miscarriage}		
[n ³¹ kji ^{ʔ33}]	child + ?	{=illegitimate child}		~[niŋ ³¹ kji ^{ʔ31}]
[n ³¹ kam ³³]	child + eldest son	{=eldest son}		~[ma ³¹ kam ³³]

12) The usual Jinghpo word for 'iron' is [p^hʒi³¹]. The morpheme [sum³¹-] 'iron' is bound, as in [sum³¹tu³³] 'a hammer', and it is cognate with corresponding words in other TB languages: Qiang [su:⁴ mu], Gyarong [ʃam], and Shixing [ʃə³⁵].

13) [-fi³¹] is a bound morpheme as in [pu³¹fi³¹] intestine + little {=small intestine} and [k^ha^{ʔ31} fi³¹] river + little {=brook}. Incidentally, the latter word as an entry is printed as two words in Xu *et al.* (1983:236), i.e. *hka shi*, but as one word in Nhkum *et al.* (1981:743), i.e. *hkashi*.

14) Hanson (1906:484) suggested that [pja³³] in [n³¹pja³³] was related to [pja^{ʔ55}] 'to be destroyed'. But it may come from [pja³¹], glossed as 'to run, spout, as water from a spout ...; to run, as a sore; ... to hang, as a streamer' by Hanson (p. 78), but as '[of sticky substance or soft things] to flow downward' in Xu *et al.* (1983:75).

[n ³¹ p ^h ʒo ⁵⁵]	face + features/looks	{ = face/look of a dead body }
[n ³¹ k ^h ut ³¹]	fire + to be cooked/done	{ = smoke }

(5) The pronunciation of all semi-prefixes is different from their respective original morphemes, so native speakers of Jinghpo, as previously suggested, may not know the diachronic development of these prefixes. This accounts for the following polysyllabic phrases in which there are two morphemes having the same meaning:

[wǎ ³¹ lun ⁵⁵]	[ŋa ⁵⁵ fish + [lun ⁵⁵ 'to rise, as smoke' (Han., p. 349) { = a school of fish swimming upstream to breed }
[ŋa ⁵⁵ wǎ ³¹ lun ⁵⁵]	meaning the same as [wǎ ³¹ lun ⁵⁵]
[wǎ ³¹ ʒat ³¹]	[ŋa ⁵⁵ fish + ? { = carp }
[ŋa ⁵⁵ wǎ ³¹ ʒat ³¹]	carp
[wǎ ³³ na ³³]	[ŋa ³³ cattle + ear { = cattle's ear }
[ŋa ³³ wǎ ³³ na ³³]	cattle's ear
[wǎ ⁵⁵ tik ⁵⁵]	[wa ³³ tooth + [tik ⁵⁵ to be tight together { = to gnash [the teeth] } ¹⁵
[wa ³³ wǎ ⁵⁵ tik ⁵⁵]	to gnash the teeth
[wǎ ³³ p ^h ʒa ³³]	corn + plot { = cornfields }
	{ [wǎ ³³] perhaps from the 2nd syllable in [k ^h ai ⁵⁵ nu ³³] }
[k ^h ai ⁵⁵ nu ³³ wǎ ³³ p ^h ʒa ³³]	[k ^h ai ⁵⁵ nu ³³ corn + [wǎ ³³ p ^h ʒa ³³ cornfields { = cornfields }

In the first three cases above, a tri-syllabic compound has been formed in which the first syllable means the same as the second one. As for the fourth case, the verb 'to gnash [the teeth]' itself was originally a compound of two free morphemes, i.e. [wa³³] and [tik⁵⁵]; now it can take [wa³³] 'tooth' as its object.

(6) Words with a semi-prefix are mostly nouns consisting of two elements. These words present a problem for applying the term 'compound' to Sino-Tibetan (ST) languages, for there seems to be no clear-cut answer to the question of whether they are compounds or not. One reason for saying yes is that some semi-prefixes do have a pronunciation close to their respective origins, such as:

[kǎ-]	< [ka ⁵⁵]	soil	[wǎ-]	< [kǎ ⁵⁵ wa ⁵⁵]	bamboo
[lǎ-]	< [na ³³]	ear	[wǎ-]	< [wa ³³]	tooth
[mǎ-]	< [ma ³¹]	child	[wǎ-]	< [n ³¹ wa ³³]	ax
[num-]	< [lam ³³]	road			

Native speakers would therefore know the separate meanings of the constituents in disyllabic words with the above prefixes. But on the other hand, there are a few arguments for saying that even though words with a semi-prefix were once compounds, they are, synchronically speaking, compounds no more. In the first place,

15) Hanson (1906:702) has a different spelling for this word, i.e. 'wudik', equivalent to [wǎ⁵⁵tik⁵⁵] in the IPA transcription system used in Xu *et al.* (1983).

they are not so by definition. Crystal (1991) defines the term 'compound(ing)' as follows:

A term used widely in descriptive linguistic studies to refer to a linguistic unit which is composed of elements that function *independently* in other circumstances. Of particular currency are the notions of compounding found in 'compound words' (consisting of two or more *free* morphemes, as in such 'compound nouns' as *bedroom*, *rainfall* and *washing machine*) and 'compound sentences'... [p. 70, with emphasis for the first two italic words added]

A compound noun is made up of *free* morphemes, but Jinghpo words with a semi-prefix are not. Secondly, Jinghpo speakers may not know the origins of semi-prefixes whose weakened phonetic form is very different from the pronunciation of the original full morphemes. If the meaning of the first syllable is obscure, just like the word 'cranberry' in English, then the term 'compound' does not apply. Lastly, there exists a contrast between compounding and prefix word-formation in Jinghpo, as shown by the following examples:

[ŋa ³³]	cattle	[wǎ ³³ p ^h uŋ ³³]	cattle + group {= a herd of cattle}
[woi ³³]	monkey	[woi ³³ p ^h uŋ ³³]	monkey + group {= a group of monkeys}
		[wǎ ⁵⁵ ʃan ⁵¹]	cattle + meat {= beef}
[wa ²³¹]	pig	[wa ²³¹ ʃan ³¹]	pig + meat {= pork}
		[wa ²³¹ ʒum ⁵⁵]	pig + pestilence {= hog cholera, swine fever}
		[wǎ ⁵⁵ ʒum ⁵⁵]	cattle + pestilence {= cattle cholera}
[ŋa ⁵⁵]	tooth	[wǎ ⁵⁵ ʒum ⁵¹]	tooth + [ʒum ³¹] all fallen {= to have no teeth}

The bound forms [wǎ³³-] and [wǎ⁵⁵-], respectively reduced from [ŋa³³] 'cattle' and [ŋa⁵⁵] 'tooth', are prefixes, whereas the free morphemes [wa²³¹] 'pig' and [woi³³] 'monkey' are not. Orthographically, words like 'beef' and 'herd of cattle' are written as one word (*washan*, *wahpung*), but compounds like 'pork' and 'group of monkeys' as two (*wa shan*, *woi hpung*).¹⁶⁾

(7) The word-internal relationship between the semi-prefix and the following morpheme also deserves comment. A distinction can first be made between a qualifying and a non-qualifying relationship. For the former, there is a further distinction in the direction of the qualification. Take for example the word [wǎ³³maŋ³³] ox + corpse {= the corpse of an ox}, the second syllable is naturally the head of the word. This progressive qualification generally occurs when the second syllable is a noun. Then there are words like [wǎ³¹k^hje³³] 'fish + red', which is the name of a kind of fish, and [n⁵⁵sa⁵¹] grain + old {= grain of the last harvest}. This

16) This orthographic convention has not been strictly followed, however. For example, the Jinghpo compound *nga rung*, literally 'cattle + horn', is printed as two words as an entry in Xu *et al.* (1983:575), but as one word in an illustration under the entry *nhtau* 'bugle' in the same dictionary (p. 590): *ngarung nhtau* [ŋa³³ʒuŋ³³ n³¹t^hau³¹] 'bugle made from a cattle horn'.

regressive qualification occurs when the second syllable is an adjective. Interestingly enough, although the prefixes are the semantic head here, they are phonetically less prominent than the second syllable. There exists, therefore, an incongruity between the semantic and the phonetic level.

The two types of qualification just described parallel the relevant constructions in Jinghpo syntax. For example, nouns used attributively precede the qualified noun, such as [kum³¹p^hʒo³¹ lǎ⁵⁵k^hon⁵¹] silver + bracelet {= a silver bracelet} (Nhkum *et al.* 1981: 892) and [tsap⁵⁵ fǎ³¹kʒi³¹] bear + gall bladder {= the gall bladder of the bear} (Xu *et al.* 1983:740). On the other hand, an adjective by itself as a qualifier (i.e. without any function word) comes after the noun, such as [k^ha^{ʔ31} kǎ³¹pa³¹] literally 'river + big', but [kʒai³¹ fǎ³³ʒe³³ ai³³ mā³¹fa³¹] literally 'very brave <particle> person' (Xu *et al.* 1983:961).

In a small number of cases, the second syllable is a predicate. The semi-prefix, which always derives from nominal words, can then be either the agent or the patient involved. Examples for the former are:

[wǎ ³¹ kjik ⁵⁵]	fish + <onomatopoeia>	{= a kind of fish which squeaks like [kjik ⁵⁵]}
[wǎ ³¹ na ³¹]	fish + to sting	{= a kind of fish having a prickle at both ends of the mouth}
[wǎ ³¹ lun ⁵⁵]	fish + to rise	{= a school of fish swimming upstream to breed}

Examples for the latter are:

[n ⁵⁵ tat ⁵⁵]	grain + [tat ³¹] put down	{= sowing in the spring}
[wǎ ⁵⁵ taŋ ⁵⁵]	ox + to block	{= a fence for blocking out cattle}

Since almost all TB languages are SOV languages, it is not surprising that in a unit of 'noun + verb', the noun can be the agent or the patient.

(8) Some prefixes, such as the 'wa-' for 'bamboo', 'cattle' and 'fish', are very productive while others, such as the 'wa-' for 'ax', appear only in a few words. For example, there are about 70 entries beginning with the prefix 'wa-' qua 'cattle' in Xu *et al.* (1983: 859-77), including words like:

[wǎ ⁵⁵ k ^h ji ⁵⁵]	cattle + feces	{= cattle's excrement}
[wǎ ⁵⁵ kjip ⁵⁵]	cattle + [kjip ³¹] dried & sunken	{= a thin ox}

but excluding tetra-syllabic expressions such as:

[wǎ ⁵⁵ k ^h ji ⁵⁵ wa ^{ʔ31} k ^h ji ⁵⁵]	cattle's and pigs' excrement
[wǎ ⁵⁵ kjip ⁵⁵ wǎ ⁵⁵ kap ⁵⁵]	<generic n.> skinny cattle
([kap ⁵⁵] does not mean anything and is there only to make up the tetra-syllabic pattern.)	

There are two reasons, one linguistic and one social, for the productivity of some prefixes but not others. 1) Unlike English which has completely different names for different kinds of fish (as an example), ST languages in general use compounds for fish names which consist of a qualifier of some kind plus the word for 'fish'. In the case of Jinghpo, this latter component has further developed into a semi-prefix, for example:

[wǎ ³¹ k ^h je ³³]	fish + red	{ = a kind of fish }
[wǎ ³¹ lai ³³]	crucian carp	([lai ³³] meaning not clear)

2) It appears that the physical environment in which the Jinghpo people live, as well as their customs, explains why they have separate words for things related to bamboo and cattle, while other peoples do not, e.g., [wǎ³¹sum³³] bamboos that have died after flowering, [wǎ³¹k^hop⁵⁵] a 'split bamboo, used as stocks for prisoners', and [wǎ³¹lu³¹] a 'kind of bamboo, mostly used for joists' (Han., p. 45). (The meanings of the second syllable of these three words are all unknown.)

(9) The present section ends with a special case of semi-prefix, viz., the [n³³-] from [nan³³] 'you-*sing*'. Almost all kinship terms in Jinghpo, such as [nu⁵¹] 'mother' and [p^hu⁵¹] 'brother', 'decline' for person in the singular possessive pro-form, and some kinship terms as dual pronouns also decline for person. Look at the following words:

Direct address:	[nu ⁵¹]~[a ⁵⁵ nu ⁵¹]	mother
	[p ^h u ⁵¹]~[a ⁵⁵ p ^h u ⁵¹]	brother
General (= generic) use:	[kǎ ³¹ nu ³¹]	mother
	[kǎ ³¹ p ^h u ³¹]	brother
1st pers. poss. sing.:	[ŋai ³³ nu ³¹]	my mother
	[ŋai ³³ p ^h u ³¹]	my brother
2nd pers. poss. sing.:	[n ⁵⁵ nu ⁵¹]~[niŋ ⁵⁵ nu ⁵¹]	your mother
	[n ⁵⁵ p ^h u ⁵¹]~[niŋ ⁵⁵ p ^h u ⁵¹]	your brother
3rd pers. poss. sing.:	[kǎ ³¹ nu ³¹]	his mother
	[kǎ ³¹ p ^h u ³¹]	my brother
1st pers. dual:	[an ⁵⁵ nu ⁵¹]	my mother and I
	[an ⁵⁵ p ^h u ⁵¹]	my brother and I
2nd pers. dual:	[nan ⁵⁵ nu ⁵¹]	your mother and you- <i>sing</i> .
	[nan ⁵⁵ p ^h u ⁵¹]	your brother and you- <i>sing</i> .
3rd pers. dual:	[ʃan ⁵⁵ nu ³¹]	his/her mother and s/he
	[ʃan ⁵⁵ p ^h u ⁵¹]	his/her brother and s/he

Four of the seven prefixes above are pronouns by themselves, as shown by the paradigm below:

	Singular	Dual
1st pers. pron.	[ŋai ³³]	[an ⁵⁵]
2nd pers. pron.	[naŋ ³³]	[nan ⁵⁵]
3rd pers. pron.	[ʃi ³³]	[ʃan ⁵⁵]
3rd pers. pron. (colloq.)	[k ^h ʃi ³³]	[k ^h an ⁵⁵]

The other three prefixes that are not identical to independent pronouns include the [a⁵⁵-] used in addressing the relative directly, the [kã³¹-] in kinship terms used without specific reference and in the 3rd person singular possessive (perhaps related to the colloquial forms of the 3rd person pronouns [k^hʃi³³] and [k^han⁵⁵]), and the [n-]~[niŋ-] in the 2nd person singular possessive. While the first two morphemes are prototypical prefixes, the last one is a borderline case between the semi- and the prototypical prefix. On the one hand, it is clear that [n-]~[niŋ-] originates from the second person singular pronoun [naŋ³³] you. This is *the* trait of semi-prefix. But on the other hand, the second syllable in prefixed kinship terms is clearly the head of the word and the possessive meaning of the initial syllable leans away from the pure lexical meaning of semi-prefixes. These two factors make it not all unreasonable to classify [n-]~[niŋ-] as a prototypical prefix in a purely synchronic analysis of morphology in Jinghpo kinship terms.

1.3 Look-alike Prefixes

Roughly speaking, prefixes that are neither prototypical nor semi- are look-alike prefixes. ('Look-alike' is hereafter abbreviated to 'LA'.) This last type of prefix is different from the first two in several ways. To begin with, words having a semi-prefix are almost all nouns, whereas words containing a LA prefix belong to various parts of speech. Second, the origins of LA prefixes are not yet completely known. What is certain is that some of them did come from initial consonant clusters in PTB. Third, a LA prefix itself has no meaning at all. As for the other syllable in a word with a LA prefix, it may not have any meaning either. For example, both syllables in words like [mä³¹li³³] 'four', [num³¹la³³] 'soul', and [kã⁵⁵ʒa⁵⁵] 'hair on the head' lack a meaning of their own. If the syllable following a LA prefix does have meaning, then it is usually synonymous with the word consisting of the two syllables in question. Look at these examples:

[lä ⁵⁵ ŋa ⁵⁵] wild plantain	[ŋa ³¹ -] banana,	as in [ŋa ³¹ k ^h ʒon ³³] 'A variety of wild plantain' (Han., p. 509)
[n ³³ kjin ³³] cucumber	[kjin ³¹ -] 'Plants of the Cucurbitaceae family' (Han., p. 196),	as in [kjin ³¹ ʃau ³³] watermelon
[mä ³¹ ʒuŋ ³³] the spine	[ʒuŋ ³¹ -] the back,	as in [ʒuŋ ³¹ kuŋ ⁵⁵] hunchback

More importantly, the three prefixes above, i.e. [lä⁵⁵-], [n³³-] and [mä³¹-], do not qualify the second syllable in any way. Accordingly, while words with a prototypical prefix or a semi-prefix have a morphological head, words with a LA

prefix do not.

The LA prefix, however, shares the general attributes of Jinghpo prefixes as laid out at the beginning of this paper. In addition, the former was once a means to enlarge the Jinghpo lexicon, a function common to all three types of prefixes. The next few sections dwell on the free variation cases and origins of LA prefixes.

1.3.1 Free variation of Jinghpo prefixes

LA prefixes show more instances of free variation than semi-prefixes do. For the sake of presentation, three types of cases can be distinguished. They are as follows:

(1) In general, the form [n-], be it a semi- or a LA prefix, is in free variation with [niŋ-]:

[n ³¹ ko ³³]	~[niŋ ³¹ ko ³³]	~[t ^h iŋ ³¹ ko ³³]	household ([t ^h iŋ ³¹ -] house)
[n ³¹ ma ³¹]	~[niŋ ³¹ ma ³¹]		<n.> wound
[n ³¹ nan ³³]	~[niŋ ³¹ nan ³³]		new
[n ³¹ tat ³¹]	~[niŋ ³¹ tat ³¹]		to set up [an appointment]
[n ³¹ tsam ³³]	~[niŋ ³¹ tsam ³³]		<n.> slanting rain; <v.> to rain slantingly, as coming into the room

A major exception to the rule is the semi-prefix [n-] from [mam³³] 'the rice plant'. Words like [n⁵⁵p^hun⁵⁵] 'stem of the rice plant' and [n³³nan³³] 'grain of the new harvest' have no variant forms like [niŋ⁵⁵phun⁵⁵] and [niŋ³³nan³³] respectively in either Hanson (1906) or Xu *et al.* (1983).

(2) The prefix [n-] can also be in free variation with other prefixes, for example:

[n ³¹ p ₃₀ ³¹]	~[num ³¹ p ₃₀ ³¹]	~[lam ³¹ p ₃₀ ³¹]	crossroads ([lam ³³] road)
[n ⁵⁵ p ^h u ⁵¹]	~[num ⁵⁵ p ^h u ⁵¹]		dust, dirt
[n ³³ k ^h a ³³]	~[t ^h iŋ ³³ k ^h a ³³]		door
[n ⁵⁵ t ^h ut ⁵⁵]	~[fiŋ ⁵⁵ t ^h ut ⁵⁵]		corner, nook

All the words beginning with [n-] cited up to here, including those in Section 1.2, clearly show that the prefixes in free variation with [n-] usually have a nasal as the initial and/or final consonant in the syllable.

(3) Some LA prefixes are in free variation with zero prefix. That is to say, the other syllable in a word with a LA prefix can stand alone to convey the same meaning as the whole word, for example:

[a ³¹ man ³³]	~[man ³³]		face
[a ³¹ mun ⁵⁵]	~[mun ⁵⁵]	~[fiŋ ⁵⁵ mun ⁵⁵]	powder
[a ³¹ suŋ ⁵⁵]	~[suŋ ⁵⁵]		worth, use
[a ³¹ tsip ⁵⁵]	~[tsip ⁵⁵]		'nest, as of a bird' (Han., p. 673)

[a ³¹ soi ³³]	~[soi ³³]		peep at
[n ³¹ mai ³¹]	~[mai ³¹]	~[niŋ ³¹ mai ³¹]	tail
[n ³¹ zi ³¹]	~[zi ³¹]		spear
[n ³¹ ti ^{ʔ31}]	~[ti ^{ʔ31}]		pot
[n ³¹ tuk ⁵⁵]	~[tuk ⁵⁵]	~[niŋ ³¹ tuk ⁵⁵]	poison
[nam ³¹ lap ³¹]	~[lap ³¹]		leaf
[tum ³¹ pjon ³³]	~[pjon ³¹]		side by side
[fiŋ ³¹ tfoŋ ³³]	~[tfoŋ ³³]		to compete
[kǎ ³¹ kat ³¹]	~[kat ³¹]		to run

Several points should be noted here. First, the LA prefix does not change the meaning and part of speech of the following syllable. Second, since there is a general trend in ST languages toward disyllabification, the variant with a LA prefix should be more recent than the one without. Third, many disyllabic variants are used in literary writings, like lyrics, proverbs, and traditional stories, which pay more attention to rhythm and euphony. The most productive prefix used for this purpose is [a³¹-]. It can go before all monosyllabic nouns, such as [po³³]~[a³¹po³³] ‘head’ and [pum³¹]~[a³¹pum³¹] ‘hill’.

Literary variants are marked with the label <lit. use> in Xu *et al.* (1983). Look at the following pairs of synonymous words:

P. # in Xu *et al.* for the label

<lit. use>	Word pairs	Gloss
	[t ^h aŋ ³³]	‘v. To return; to revert, to turn around’ ‘adv. up side down; turned around’ (Han., p. 681)
p. 816	[sum ³¹ t ^h aŋ ³³]	‘To reverse, return’ (Han., p. 598); <i>n.</i> in Xu <i>et al.</i>
p. 449	[sum ³¹ tu ³³] [mǎ ³¹ tup ³¹ sum ³¹ tu ³³]	hammer (Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 816) hammer
p. 509	[ten ³¹] [mǎ ³¹ ten ³¹]	time (Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 830) time
p. 260	[mǎ ³¹ k ^h ʒun ³³] [k ^h ʒun ³³]	‘A path, track, made by small animals’ ‘A path;... (probably the original word for road)’ (Han., pp. 422 & 326)

Although it is the variant with a prefix that is usually marked with <lit. use>, occasionally it is the other way round, like the last pair of words quoted above.

1.3.2 Instances of LA prefixes originating from clusters in PTB

The WT cognates of some Jinghpo words with a prefix have an initial consonant cluster. Since WT reflects the ancient form of the Tibetan language (ca. 7th

century) and is, on the whole, closer to PTB than Jinghpo is, it may be assumed that the prefixes in those Jinghpo words are direct descendants from clusters in PTB (see Section 1.3.2.1). But it is also possible that a PTB cluster may have already been reduced to a single consonant in the ancient form of the Jinghpo language (or of the proto-language for the whole Jinghpo subgroup within TB) before the existing Jinghpo prefix was added (see Section 1.3.2.2). The actual assignment of examples to one of these two sections is based on educated guesswork, and there are a few double assignments.

1.3.2.1 The following is a list of Jinghpo words containing LA prefixes that have probably originated from initial consonant clusters in PTB. A question mark at the beginning of the line marks an uncertain set of cognates:

WT	Jinghpo	Other TB languages ¹⁷⁾	Gloss & remarks
bzi	[mä ³¹ li ³³]	Cuona M. [pli ⁵³] Gyarong [kə wdi] Queyu [bzi ¹³]	four
bla	[num ³¹ la ³³]	Queyu [bla ⁵⁵ so ⁵⁵] Dulong [pu ³¹ la ⁵³]	soul
brgjad	[mä ³¹ tsat ⁵⁵]	Alike T. [wdzat] Queyu [pfe ¹³]	eight ¹⁸⁾
? bjifu	[nam ³¹ tʃi ³³]	Muya [ndze ⁵⁵ fu ³³]*	little bird J.: [-tʃi ³¹] little, young * bird

17) Except for WB words, data under the column of 'Other TB languages' are from Huang (1992). Please refer to that book for the fieldworker(s) and exact fieldwork location involved for each language. The Zhaba language here is different from the language of the same name described in Lu Shaozun (1985), which is, according to Huang (1991:65), a dialect of the Queyu language. Abbreviations for languages are as follows:

Abb.	In <i>pinyin</i>	Other names of the language	Abb.	Full form
J.	=Jingpo	Jinghpaw, Kachin	D.	=Deng
L.	=Luoba	Lhoba	T.	=Tibetan
M.	=Menba	Monba	WT	=Written Tibetan
P.	=Pumi	Primi, Prunmi	WB	=Written Burmese
Y.	=Yi	Lolo		

The following languages are also known in other names (an asterisk means 'according to Anonymous 1991:368'):

In <i>pinyin</i>	=Other names	In <i>pinyin</i>	=Other names
Darang Deng	=Digaru*	Muya	=Minyuk
Geman Deng	=Midzu*	Namuzi	=Namuyi [also in <i>pinyin</i>]
Dulong	=Rawang*, Trung	Yidu Luoba	=Midu*, Chulikata*
Motuo Menba	=Tsangla*		

? sub~	[sop ³¹]*	Queyu [psə ⁵⁵]	wipe away
bsub~	[mä ³¹ sop ³¹]**	Shixing [bə ³³ su ⁵³]	* slightly stroke once
gsub		Namuzi [mi ³³ su ³⁵]	** stroke, touch
dgu	[tʃä ³¹ k ⁿ u ³¹]	Cuona M. [tu ³¹ ku ⁵³]	nine
		Qiang [zguə]	
		Dulong [dʉ ³¹ gu ⁵³]	
skra	[kä ⁵⁵ ʒa ⁵⁵]	Cuona M. [k ^h ra ⁵³]	hair on the head
ltag	[lä ³¹ t ^h a ^{ʔ31}]		uplands, higher place
ldzi ba	[wa ^{ʔ31} .k ^h ä ³³ i ^{ʔ33}]	Queyu [stʉ ¹³]~[ftʉ ¹³]	flea ¹⁹
		Daofu [zʃu]	
		WB [lhe ³]	
		Karen [t ^h ui ³¹ kli ⁵⁵]	
lɲa	[mä ³¹ ɲa ³³]	Gyarong [kə mŋo]	five
		Darang D. [ma ³¹ ɲa ³⁵]	
		Yidu L. [ma ³¹ ɲa ⁵⁵]	
rkaŋ pa	[lä ³¹ ko ³³]		foot
rku	[lä ³¹ ku ⁵⁵]		steal
sbrul	[lä ³³ pu ³³]	Alike T. [rbu]	snake
		Gyarong [k ^h a brɛ]	
		Yidu L. [ja ⁵⁵ bu ⁵⁵]	
fibu	([fiŋ ³³ tai ³³])		worm
p ^h rag pa	[kä ³¹ p ^h a ^{ʔ31}]	Gyarong [ta rpak]	shoulder
rdzen pa	[kä ³¹ tsiŋ ³³]	Geman D. [kuŋ ⁵⁵ dzam ⁵³]	raw, uncooked
rŋo(d)	[kä ³¹ ŋau ³³]	Zhaba [kə ⁵⁵ ŋu ³³]	stir-fry ²⁰
		Minyak [k ^h u ⁵⁵ ŋu ⁵³]	
rma k ^h a	[n ³¹ ma ³¹]		wound
	[n ³¹ ma ³¹ #k ^h a ³³]*		* scar
rɲa ma	[mai ³¹]~	Gyarong [te jmi]	tail
	[n ³¹ mai ³¹]~	Queyu [rnə ¹³]	
	[niŋ ³¹ mai ³¹]	WB [əmri ³]	
		Shixing [ŋæ ³³ tsü ⁵⁵]	
		Xiandao [ŋi ³¹ tʂ ^h ɔ ³¹]	
		Nusu Nu [ŋu ⁵⁵ pɲə ⁵³]	
rluŋ	[n ³¹ puŋ ³³]		wind
? rdo	[n ³¹ luŋ ³¹]	Motuo M. [luŋ]	stone ²¹
		Jiulong P. [guo ¹¹ lü ⁵⁵]	

18) But the Jinghpo word for ‘hundred’ has no prefix:

WT	Jinghpo	Other TB languages	Gloss
brgja	[tsä ³³]	Batang T. [dza ⁵³]	hundred
		Alike T. [wjjæ]	
		Queyu [bdzə ¹³]	

19) But the Jinghpo word for ‘heavy’ has no prefix:

ldzid po	[li ³³]	Cuona M.#[li ⁵⁵ po ⁵³]	heavy
		Queyu [qa ⁵⁵ rlə ⁵⁵]	

20) The parentheses in the WT form stands for optionality. That is to say, rŋo(d)=rŋo~rŋod.

rgja	[tʃä ³³ k ^h ji ³³]		barking deer ²²⁾
mt ^h ud	[mä ³¹ tut ⁵⁵]	Gyarong [kə mt ^h əp] Darang D. [mɑ ⁵⁵ t ^h o ⁵⁵] Yidu L. [mɑ ⁵⁵ t ^h o ⁵⁵] Zhaba [mda ⁵⁵ ~nda ⁵⁵]	to connect, join
mdafi	[n ³¹ tan ³³]		arrow J.: bow ²³⁾
smjug mdoŋ	[n ³¹ tum ⁵⁵] [n ³¹ tum ⁵⁵ n ³¹ təŋ ³³]*	Muya [tɕə ⁵⁵ ndo ⁵³]	bamboo tube as a container T.: bamboo + caddy J.: [tum ³³] storehouse * < generic n. > Muya: [tɕæ ²⁴] tea
mtɕ ^h u to	[n ³¹ kup ³¹]	WB [hnut-kham ³] Dulong [nui ⁵⁵ kəp ⁵⁵]	lips T.: also '(tea-pot) spout' J.: mouth Dulong: [nui ⁵⁵] mouth
? (star ga)	[n ³¹ pu ³¹]	Alike T. [k ^h æ mbe rta rgæ] Daofu [k ^h ə mbə]	walnut
spuŋ	[sum ³¹ pum ³¹]		to heap, stack
? stag	[fä ³¹ ʒo ³³]		tiger J.: < generic n. > tigers, leopards, & the like ²⁴⁾
skar ma	[fä ³³ kan ³³]		star
skas fidzeg	[fä ³³ kä ³³]	Queyu [hi ⁵⁵ ki ³³] Lüsu [hi ³³ ki ⁵³] WB [lhe ² -kä ³] Naxi [le ³³ dzi ²¹]	ladder T.: fidzeg 'to climb'
skam pa	[lä ⁵⁵ kəp ⁵⁵]		fire-tongs ²⁵⁾
sram	[fä ³¹ ʒam ³³]		otter

21) But the Jinghpo word for 'to beat' has no prefix:

rduŋ [tum³¹]

T.: to pestle, pound, hit

J.: to beat [the drum, gong]

22) But the Jinghpo word for 'intestine' has no prefix:

rgju ma [pu³¹] Karen [bui³³]

intestine

J.: {related to [lä³³pu³³]

'snake'??}

23) The Jinghpo word for 'arrow' [pǎ⁵⁵la⁵⁵] is related to its counterpart in Cuona Menba [bla⁵³].

24) Another generic noun for 'tigers, leopards, and the like' is [nam³¹zai⁵⁵]. Other Jinghpo words for 'tiger' are [ʒoŋ³¹pa³¹] and [n³¹pa³¹]~[niŋ³¹pa³¹].

25) But the Jinghpo words for 'dry' and 'speech, words' have no prefix:

skam po [kä³³] WB [khrok⁴] dry

Quiqiong [su⁵⁵tɕä⁵⁵]

skad tɕ^ha [ka³¹] WB [ca¹kä³] speech, words

zla ba	[[ǎ ³³ tǎ ³³]	Queyu [slǎ ⁵⁵ mnǎ ³³]	moon
(bdun)	[sǎ ³¹ nit ³¹]	Dulong [sw ³¹ lǎ ⁵⁵]	
		Gyarong [kǎ fǎns]	seven
		Daofu [zǎe]	
		Queyu [sǎ ⁵⁵]	
snom	[mǎ ³¹ nam ⁵⁵]	Anong Nu [sǎ ³¹ ni ⁵⁵]	
? sgo	[n ³³ k ^h a ³³]~ [tʃiŋ ³³ k ^h a ³³]	Zhaba [ŋǎ ³³ mni ⁵⁵ mni ³³]	to smell sth. ²⁶⁾
		Zhaba [ŋǎ ¹³]	door
		Lüsu [ŋǎe ³⁵]	
		Wuding Y. [ŋk ^h ü ²]	
{ fībibs	{ ([t ^h oŋ ³¹])	Jiulong P. [nǎ ¹¹ di ³⁵]	put up an umbrella T.: also 'put up a tent'
fīdegs	[mǎ ³¹ ti ³¹]	Namuzi [lu ³³ nk ^h i ³³]	prop up, support
ldag~fīdag	[mǎ ³¹ tǎ ⁵⁵]	Yidu L. [hǎ ⁵⁵ mǎe ⁵⁵]	to lick, lap
		Jinuo [mrǎ ⁵⁵]	
? fīdi	[n ³³ tai ³³]	Xiahe & Alike T. [ndǎ]	this
		Gyarong [ʃtǎ]	J.: [tai ³³] that
fīgebs	[mǎ ³¹ kap ³¹]	Xiahe T. [ŋǎp]	cover (up)
		Jiulong P. [nǎ ¹¹ kue ⁵⁵]	
		Dulong [kǎp ⁵⁵]	
fīts ^h ub	[mǎ ³¹ tsüt ⁵⁵]	Qiang [χtʃǎ]	block up, plug
		Muya [no ³³ dza ⁵³]	
fīdre ǎig	[[ǎ ⁵⁵ kzǎp ⁵⁵]	Alike T. [ydǎ xǎk]	bedbug
		Geman D. [mw ³¹ klǎp ⁵³]	T.: ǎig 'louse'
? fīp ^h jid	[kǎ ³¹ tsüt ⁵⁵]	Zhaba [ǎ ³³ (p)tʃǎ ⁵⁵]	wipe [the table]
		Wuding Y. [ntʃ ^h ǎ ²]	

1.3.2.2 It is also possible that the existing prefixes in some Jinghpo words are secondary. That is to say, they came into being only after the Jinghpo language (or subgroup) had become distinct from PTB. For the illustration of a semi-prefix, there are the following group of words:

WT	Jinghpo	Other TB languages	Gloss
pus mo	[[ǎ ³¹ p ^h ut ³¹]	Qiang [ǎɪ pǎχ]	knee
dpuŋ pa	[[ǎ ³¹ p ^h um ³¹]		T.: shoulder J.: upper arm
fīdom pa	[[ǎ ³¹ lam ³³]	Cuona M. [klam ³⁵]	fingertip to fingertip
		Karen [k ^h i ⁵⁵]	of out-stretched
		Dulong [lam ⁵⁵]	arms
rkaŋ pa	[[ǎ ³¹ ko ³³]		foot
lag pa	[tǎ ⁵⁵]~ [[ǎ ³¹ tǎ ⁵⁵]	WB [lak ⁴]	arm, hand
		Daofu [ʃǎ]	
		Shixing [li ³⁵]	

26) But the Jinghpo word for 'nasal mucus' has no prefix:
snabs [nep³¹] Batang T. [ŋǎu⁵³] nasal mucus
WB [nhap⁴]

It is probable that in the process of disyllabification, the Jinghpo reflex of the PTB etymon for 'hand, arm, (or even limb)', as indicated by the initial syllable in the WT form *lag pa*, got attached to some nouns of body parts in the same language, thereby producing words like [lǎ³¹p^hut³¹] 'knee', which should have, as shown by WT *pus mo*, only a simple consonant as the initial in PTB. The choice of 'arm/hand' as a semi-prefix in Jinghpo may have been triggered by the first element of the proto-clusters in the second to the fifth words quoted above (especially 'foot'), as reflected by the three WT forms in question.

According to this analysis, the initial [l] in WT *lag pa* 'arm, hand' then corresponds to *both* the initial [l] and the medial [t] in the Jinghpo cognate [lǎ³¹ta^{ʔ55}]. The etymology of the latter word started with a monosyllable in PTB probably of the form **lag*, which later turned into [ta^{ʔ55}] in Jinghpo. Afterwards, the semi-prefix [lǎ³¹-], also derived from the PTB word for 'arm/hand', was added to the root. There are two reasons for not saying that only the initial syllable in [lǎ³¹ta^{ʔ55}] came from **lag* and that the second syllable, of unknown origin, was added later. For one thing, it seldom happens that a root morpheme in a Tibetan word corresponds to a prefix in Jinghpo. For another, there is another example for the correspondence between WT [l] and Jinghpo [t], viz., the pair of cognates meaning 'moon': WT *zla ba* and Jinghpo [ʃǎ³³ta³³].

Even when the WT cognates of Jinghpo words with a prefix include a cluster, however, it is still possible that these prefixes do not originate from the clusters in PTB. There are at least two reasons for this. 1) The consonant(s) in the Jinghpo prefix is/are phonetically very different from the consonants in the WT cluster, for example:

ltçe (leb)	[ʃiŋ ³¹ let ³¹]	Gyarong [tə ʃmɛ]	tongue ²⁷
		Karen [ble ³³]	
		WB [lhyā ²]	
fidre ɕig	[ʃǎ ⁵⁵ kʒɛp ⁵⁵]	Alike T. [ɣdza xək]	bedbug
		Geman D. [mu ³¹ klap ⁵³]	T.: ɕig 'louse'

2) Cognates in other TB languages do not support the proposition that the Jinghpo prefixes in question descend directly from clusters in PTB, for example:

smjug ma	[kǎ ⁵⁵ wa ⁵⁵]	Queyu [lma ⁵⁵]	bamboo
	[wa ^{ʔ31} -]*	WB [wa ³]	*##Prefix for 'bamboo' ²⁸
(fik ^h ri(l) ɕiŋ	[ʒi ³³])	Karen [wa ³¹]	
		WB [anway ²]	vine
		Batang T. [ba ⁵³]	
		Muya [bæ ⁵³]	
		Karen [vi ³¹ bq ⁵⁵]	

27) The optional *leb* is a Tibetan morpheme meaning 'flat and thin', as in *leb leb* <adj.> 'flat and thin' (Yu 1983:961).

28) For example, [wa^{ʔ31} p^haŋ³³] 'A clump of bamboo' (Han., p. 704).

lɛb~lɛb	[kǎ ³¹ tʰap ³¹]	Gyarong [kɛ lɛp]	fold up [a quilt]
		Shixing [la ⁵⁵ tɕa ⁵⁵]	
		Dulong [mu ³¹ dɛp ⁵⁵]	
bla	[num ³¹ la ³³]	Queyu [bla ⁵⁵ so ⁵⁵]	soul
		Dulong [pu ³¹ la ⁵³]	
gsum	[mǎ ³¹ sum ³³]	Darang D. [ka ³¹ sun ³⁵]	three

The prefix in [mǎ³¹sum³³] ‘three’ is especially likely to be added in parallel to other Jinghpo numerals such as the following:

WT	Jinghpo	Gloss
bzi	[mǎ ³¹ li ³³]	four
brgjad	[mǎ ³¹ tsat ⁵⁵]	eight
lɲa	[mǎ ³¹ ɲa ³³]	five

The initial syllables in the second batch of Jinghpo words quoted in this section (starting from ‘tongue’) have unknown origins. They have no meaning at all. Their sole function seems to be to form a disyllabic pattern. They are therefore classified as LA prefixes.

1.3.2.3 The above section presented the case in which Jinghpo prefixes correspond to WT initial clusters. This section now deals with Jinghpo words which have a prefix while their Tibetan cognates have a simple consonant as the initial. There are two possible explanations for this. 1) The lack of prefix in Tibetan usually indicates that the prefixes in those Jinghpo words are secondary. 2) A minority of WT words may have dropped the prefixes in their PTB etyma, but traces of them can still be found in the Jinghpo reflexes. Evidence from other TB languages may lend help in deciding individual cases.

Examples for the first possibility are as follows:

WT	Jinghpo	Other TB languages	Gloss
(gnam)	[lǎ ³¹ mu ³¹]	Qiang [mu tup] Lanping P. [mv ⁵⁵] Queyu [mu ⁵⁵] Dulong [mu ^{ʔ55}] WB [mui ³]	sky
dug	[tyk ⁵⁵]~ [n ³¹ tyk ⁵⁵]~ [niŋ ³¹ tyk ⁵⁵]	Motuo M. [du ^ʔ] Qiang [duə] Gyarong [tɛk] Daofu [du]	poison But: Alike T. [yduk]
rus pa	[n ³¹ ʒa ³³]	WB [arui ³] Lanping P. [ʒa ⁵⁵ qa ¹³] Daofu [rə ra]	bone
rwa	[n ³¹ ʒuŋ ³³]	Cuona M. [ru ³⁵]	horn

		Motuo M. [wa rɔŋ]	But: Daofu [qrə mbə
		Gyarong [tə ru]	Geman D. [kɿŋ ³⁵]
		Bogaer L. [a rɔŋ]	
		Yidu L. [ɿu ⁵⁵]	
ram fidegs	[kǎ ³¹ ʒum ³³]	Motuo M. [rum]	to help
		Daofu [ro rəm və]/[ɿu]	

Examples for the second possibility are as follows:

tɕ ^h uŋ tɕ ^h uŋ	[kǎ ³¹ tʃi ³¹]	Qiang [χtʂɑ]	little, small
		Lanping P. [qa ¹³ tse ⁴³]	
		Gyarong [kə ktsi]	}
gug po	[mä ³¹ ko ³¹]	Gyarong [ka rgo rgo]	crooked, bent
		Daofu [(də) ryu]	
thigs pa	[n ³¹ thə ³¹]	Gyarong [nt ^h ɛk]	a drop [of oil]
		Queyu [ndzie ⁵⁵]	
		Lüsu [nt ^h ua ⁵³]	
		Lanping P. [st ^h a ⁴³]	

All the Jinghpo words quoted in this section have a LA prefix. It does not matter whether or not the initial syllables of these words originate from proto-clusters. As long as they do not derive from content morphemes or have any meaning, but *are* in the general phonetic format of Jinghpo prefixes, as typified by the [lǎ³¹-] in [lǎ³¹mu³¹] 'sky', they are LA prefixes.

What has been said in Section 1.3 up to now is about the correspondence of Jinghpo prefixes in Tibetan. To complete the picture, there should be two more types of cases where the absence of prefix in Jinghpo corresponds to the absence and presence of prefix in Tibetan. Note the following two words:

k ^h ji	[kui ³¹]	Qiang [k ^h uə]	dog
		Jiulong P. [k ^h i ⁵⁵]	
		Dulong [du ³¹ gui ⁵⁵]	
		WB [khwe ³]	
skad tɕ ^h a	[ka ³¹]	WB [cakā ³]	speech, words

1.3.3 Ambiguous Cases: Semi- or LA Prefixes?

For some instances of Jinghpo prefixes, it is not yet certain if they are semi-prefixes or LA prefixes. The first example comes from the three Jinghpo variant forms for 'seed' in Hanson (1906):

[mam ³³ li ³³]	'Seed-grain'	(Han., p. 390)
[n ³³ li ³³]	'Seed; grain used as seed'	(Han., p. 494)
[li ³³]	'Seed, any grain used as seed'	(Han., p. 344)

At first sight, it may be assumed that the initial syllable in the second form above is a semi-prefix derived from [mam³³] ‘grain’. However, the Queyu cognate of ‘grain’ begins with a consonant cluster the second element of which is also [l]:

WT	Jinghpo	Other TB languages	Gloss
(son)	[n ³³ li ³³]	Queyu [rlur ⁵⁵]	seed

There remains, therefore, the possibility that the prefix [n³³-] in Jinghpo originates from a consonant cluster in PTB.

Another case in point is [n³¹t^{hu}³³], the Jinghpo word for ‘knife’. Again, the nasal prefix in this word correlates to the initial syllable of the cognates in two dialects of the Yi language, as shown below:

(gri)	[n ³¹ t ^{hu} ³³]	Wuding Y. [be ⁵⁵ t ^{hu} ³³]	knife, sword
		Sani Y. [mi ⁵⁵ t ^{hu} ¹¹]	

But the Jinghpo prefix may also be a reduced form of [sum³¹-], a reflex of the PTB word for ‘iron’ (see Section 1.2(4) above). As for the second syllable of [n³¹t^{hu}³³], it has the meaning of ‘knife, sword’ as a bound morpheme in compounds such as [t^{hu}³¹noŋ³¹] a ‘sword, hilt and all of steel’ (Han., p. 691). Or [t^{hu}³³] is, by itself, a free morpheme meaning ‘to cut [for sap]’ (Xu *et al.*, p. 321). The same kind of uncertainty also holds for the prefix in the Jinghpo word for ‘ax’:

sta ri~	[n ³¹ wa ³³]~	Gyarong [ʃə rpa]	ax
sta re	[niŋ ³¹ wa ³³]	Daofu [lvi]	
		Geman D. [ɑ ³¹ wäi ⁵³]	
		Nusu Nu [va ⁵³]	

The third set of cases concerns the prefix [sǎ³¹-] in the Jinghpo names for three body organs. This prefix is very likely to originate from the free morpheme [sin³¹] ‘internal organs’, except that the cognates of these three words in other TB languages also have an initial syllable or a consonant cluster. Look at the following words:

sn.iŋ	[sǎ ³¹ lum ³¹]	WB [nhalum ³]	heart
		Anong Nu [ni ³¹ lum ³¹]	
		Geman D. [lum ³⁵]	
mk ^h ris pa	[ʃǎ ³¹ kzi ³¹]~	Daofu [skrə]	gall bladder
	[sǎ ³¹ kzi ³¹]*	Zhaba [ʃtʂΛ ¹³]	*(Han., pp. 608 & 638)
mk ^h al ma	[sǎ ³¹ te ⁵⁵]~	Qiang [ʃpəl]	kidney
	[sin ³¹ te ⁵⁵]		

Notice that in the case of ‘kidney,’ the prefix [sǎ³¹-] is actually in free variation with

[sin³¹-]. This group of Jinghpo words may be another case in which the forces of semi-prefix and of LA prefix have brought about the same result.

2. A DISAGREEMENT IN CLASSIFICATION WITH XU (1986)

This section argues against Xu's classification of a certain set of bound morphemes as semi-prefixes. First, a description of the data. The second syllable of some Jinghpo disyllabic words cannot separate from the initial syllable to stand on their own or combine with other morphemes to form new words, for example:

[mä ³¹ tsat ⁵⁵]	eight	[sä ³¹ nit ³¹]	seven
[mä ³¹ li ³³]	four	[lä ⁵⁵ pop ⁵⁵]	snail
[mä ³¹ lap ³¹]	forget	[n ⁵⁵ ta ⁵¹]	house; home
[mä ³¹ tat ³¹]	to listen		

But the second syllable in many other words with a prefix can do so, for example:

[lä ³¹ ko ³³]	leg	[ko ³³ k ^h jen ³¹]	puttee	[k ^h jen ³¹]	to wrap
		[ko ³³ sen ³¹]	<i>Han</i> Chinese women's bound feet	[sen ³¹]	a little sharply
[mä ³¹ kui ³³]	elephant	[kui ³¹ k ^h u ⁷⁵⁵]	domestic elephant	[k ^h u ⁷⁵⁵]	to tame
		[kui ³¹ koŋ ³³]	tusk	[koŋ ³³]	long, sharp tooth
		[kui ³¹ lam ⁵⁵]	wild elephant		
		[kui ³¹ noŋ ³³]	a herd of elephant	[-noŋ ³³]	a group
[n ³¹ puŋ ³³]	wind	[puŋ ³¹ ka ³¹]	fierce wind		
		[puŋ ³¹ li ⁵⁵]	cool wind		
		[puŋ ³¹ p ^h ji ⁵⁵]	breeze	[p ^h ji ³¹]	lightly, slowly
		[puŋ ³¹ tsin ³³]	cold wind	[tsin ³¹]	slowly, mildly
		[puŋ ³¹ soi ⁵⁵]	to cool off in a breeze		
[tum ³¹ su ³³]	<i>huangniu</i> cattle	[su ³¹ la ³¹]	a male <i>huangniu</i>	[la ³¹]	male
		[su ³¹ ji ³¹]	a female <i>huangniu</i>	[ji ³¹]	female
		[su ³¹ lam ⁵⁵]	a stray <i>huangniu</i>	[lam ⁵⁵]	stroll, be on the loose

The fact that the second syllable can separate from the first is also a factor that makes the latter look like a prefix, although mostly of the LA type.

Since the second syllables in the first column of words listed above can also appear word-initially elsewhere, a question arises as to whether they should be treated as prefixes. Xu (1986:322) also put them under the rubric of semi-prefix, but the present paper is against this classification.

Reasons for Xu's proposition are probably as follows: (a) these syllables are word-initial in the second column of words above, (b) each one of these syllables is initial in a *set of* words, and (c) these monosyllabic morphemes are listed as separate entries in Xu *et al.* (1983).

There are, however, several reasons to revise Xu's treatment. First, these

syllables are not in the general phonetic format of Jinghpo prefixes. They have in their rhyme sounds like [o] and [ui], and they can even end with a glottal stop. (See the Appendix for more examples of these morphemes.) In fact, there seems to be no general pattern that can be stated for their form. Second, generally speaking, prefixes form a closed class of words in a language. Crystal (1991) defines the term 'affix' as follows:

The collective term for the types of formative that can be used only when added to another morpheme (the root or stem), i.e. affixes are a type of bound morpheme. *Affixes are limited in number in a language*, and are generally classified into three types, ... (p. 11, emphasis added)

But in the case of Jinghpo, the number of the kind of monosyllabic morphemes in question is larger than all the three types of prefixes combined, and looks open to even further additions. Last but not least, the meanings of these syllables are clear to the native speakers.

It is therefore suggested that words beginning with this type of syllable be treated like compounds. In Jinghpo morphology, it can be stated that quite a number of words with a prefix (especially a LA one) will drop the prefix when they go into a compound. Naturally, it is possible that some of these syllables may turn into semi-prefixes in the future. In fact one qualified candidate can be found, viz., the second syllable in [n³³k^{ha33}]~[tʃin³³k^{ha33}] door. Its vowel is reduced to the schwa when it is word-initial in a compound noun, e.g., [k^hã⁵⁵tun⁵⁵] 'threshold' ([tun⁵⁵] floor) and [k^hã⁵⁵noi⁵⁵] 'lintel' ([noi⁵⁵] to hang up).

3. HISTORY OF PREFIX MORPHOLOGY IN JINGHPO: SAMPLE ETYMOLOGIES

This section outlines the etymologies of some Jinghpo words to highlight the different origins of the semi-prefix and the LA prefix. Since this is largely a reiteration of what has been said in Sections 1.2 and 1.3, the chosen word histories are presented in a schematic format. This format also serves to sharpen the concept of development through time.

(1) The semi-prefix [wã-] qua 'tooth'. The following are the words for 'tooth' in nine TB languages:

Qiang	[ʃuə]	WT	so	Jinghpo	[wa ³³]
Gyarong	[tə swa]	Motuo M.	[ca]	Cuona M.	[wa ⁵³]
Nusu Nu	[sua ⁵⁵]	Dulong	[sa ⁵³]	Shixing	[wu ⁵³]

Based on the first column of cognates above, it can be suggested that the PTB etymon for 'tooth' began with a consonant cluster, which later turned into an [s] in some TB languages, such as Tibetan, and a [w] in others, such as Jinghpo. The

Jinghpo reflex for 'tooth', i.e. [wa³³], then formed compounds with other free morphemes in the same language. The vowel in this initial [wa³³] was in time reduced to the schwa, thus resulting in these existing words:

[wǎ⁵⁵t^hap⁵⁵] tooth + layer {=overlapping teeth}
 [wǎ⁵⁵tap⁵⁵] tooth + [tap³¹] rise/protrude {=a tooth protruding outward}

The histories of [wa³³] and [wǎ⁵⁵tap⁵⁵] can then be delineated schematically as follows:

PTB: ([swa] as in Gyarong) 'tooth'
 ↓
 J. [wa³³] → [wa³³tap³¹] tooth + rise/protrude
 ↓
 Present day: J. [wa³³] tooth [wǎ⁵⁵tap⁵⁵] a tooth protruding outward

The parentheses around the Gyarong form signifies that the PTB word for 'tooth' will be something like it. (The present paper claims no systematic reconstruction for PTB.)

The diachronic process behind the semi-prefix is also reflected by the following set of existing words in the Jinghpo language:

[ma³¹#pau³³] [ma³¹] child + [pau³³] bring up, support {= foster child}
 [mǎ³¹ʒun⁵⁵] twins ([ʒun⁵⁵] side by side, abreast)
 [n³¹pja³³] child born in a miscarriage

(2) The etymology of [wǎ⁵⁵loŋ⁵¹] '(a) ox pen; (b) stable':

In the past: J. [ŋa³³] → [ŋa³³loŋ³¹] cattle + pen/stable
 ↓
 At present: J. [ŋa³³] cattle [wǎ⁵⁵loŋ⁵¹] an ox pen → [kum³¹ʒa³¹ wǎ⁵⁵loŋ⁵¹] horse + stable {= a horse stable}

The word [wǎ⁵⁵loŋ⁵¹] has had a further stage in its history, for it has been generalized to mean 'stable, as for horses'.

(3) The LA prefix in [lǎ³¹mu³¹] 'sky' and the synonymous derived semi-prefix [n³¹-]:

PTB: ([mu] as in Qiang)
 ↓
 J. [lǎ³¹mu³¹] [mu³¹p^hoŋ⁵⁵] sky + to be clear
 ↓
 Present day: J. [lǎ³¹mu³¹] sky [n³¹p^hoŋ⁵⁵] ~ [niŋ³¹p^hoŋ⁵⁵] sunny weather
 <LA prefix> <semi-prefix>

for causativization, and (b) reduced initial syllables in historical compounds of two free lexical morphemes. In the next stage of development, there must have been a proliferation of words with prefix in the Jinghpo lexicon. This was probably due both to a simplification of the consonant systems in the syllable-initial and -final positions and in the vowel system handed down from PTB, and to the accompanying trend for disyllabification. At the same time, some prefixes have also come to acquire the function of changing the part of speech of the root morpheme.

One by-product of this history of prefix morphology is synchronic variation in contemporary Jinghpo. Look at the following examples:

Semi-prefixes:

[lam ³¹ sun ³³]	~[num ³¹ sun ³³]	~[mä ³¹ sun ³³]	~[n ³¹ sun ³³]	trail ([lam ³³] road [sun ³³] {small road?}) ²⁹⁾
[lam ³¹ fe ⁵⁵]	~[num ³¹ fe ⁵⁵]	~[mä ³¹ fe ⁵⁵]		'A fork of a road' (Han., p. 339) ³⁰⁾
[lam ³¹ p3o ²³¹]	~[num ³¹ p3o ²³¹]		~[n ³¹ p3o ²³¹]	crossroads [p3o ²³¹] separate a level road in mountainous areas ³¹⁾
[lam ³¹ ta ²³¹]	~[num ³¹ ta ²³¹]			
			[mä ³¹ k ^h 3un ³³]	'path ... made by small animals' (Han., p. 422)
[luŋ ³¹ k ^h 3ut ³¹]	~[niŋ ³¹ k ^h 3ut ³¹]	~[n ³¹ k ^h 3ut ³¹]		whetstone ([luŋ ³¹ -] 'stone')

LA prefixes:

[fiŋ ³¹ ti ³¹]	~[niŋ ³¹ ti ³¹]	~[n ³¹ ti ³¹]		to assemble
[num ³¹ tfa ⁵⁵]	~[niŋ ³¹ tfa ⁵⁵]	~[n ³¹ tfa ⁵⁵]		'Gloss, brightness, luster; (comp. <i>ja</i> [tfa ³¹], gold)' (Han., p. 490)
[num ³³ tho ³³]		~[n ³³ tho ³³]		'A fire-brand; ... a stick kindled at one end' (Han., p. 506)
[num ³¹ 3ai ³³]	~[mä ³¹ 3ai ³³]			<class. for person> {No [n ³¹ 3ai ³³] in Han. or Xu <i>et al.</i> }
[num ³¹ zi ²⁵⁵]	~[mä ³¹ zi ²⁵⁵]			dew {No [n ³¹ zi ²⁵⁵]}

Utilizing the principle of synchronic variation as a reflection of diachronic process, the above words show that there are intermediate stage(s) to get to the [n-] form, such as [niŋ-] or [mä-]. In fact, there is still no variant form beginning with [n³¹-] for [num³¹3ai³³] <class. for person> and [num³¹zi²⁵⁵] 'dew' in either Hanson (1906) or Xu *et al.* (1983).

29) The Jinghpo word [lam³¹sun³³] 'trail, path' may be related to the Tibetan word lam sraŋ, which means 'side street' in contemporary Lhasa speech (Goldstein 1978:1118). Yu (1983:1012) has sraŋ sraŋ 'alley, tiny lane'. [sun³³] by itself does not mean anything related to 'road' in Xu *et al.* (1983:819) or Hanson (1906:598).

30) 'She, v. To cross; (an obsolete root;) see *numshe* and *māshe*.' (Han., p. 618)

31) The second syllable in [num³¹ta²³¹] is from [n³¹ta²³¹], which is glossed as 'horizontal' in Xu *et al.* (p. 562), but as 'level' <adj.> in Hanson (p. 485).

The above examples can also demonstrate another important point. Notice that a single phonetic form [n³¹-] is an instance of both the semi-prefix (from [lam³³] 'road' and [luŋ³¹-] 'stone' in this case) and the LA prefix. The reduction of two full content morphemes into the same form is an important step in the development of [n³¹-] toward a semi-prefix. More importantly, there is also the drive to let the same phonetic forms, such as [n³¹-] and [mǎ³¹-], serve the purposes of both the semi- and the LA prefix.

4. THEORETICAL FEASIBILITY FOR FORMING NEW WORDS WITH MEANINGLESS PREFIXES

The previous parts of this paper have presented many data and observations on Jinghpo prefixes. Part 4 is a further attempt to theorize on prefix morphology in Jinghpo. Specifically, it tries to pinpoint the underlying relation among the phonetic format of the initial syllable, prefix syllables that have no specific meaning or function, and the free variation of prefixes.

Two features of prefix morphology in Jinghpo command further theoretical discussion. First, LA prefixes have no meaning, and the meaning of some semi-prefixes are obscure to native speakers. Second, there has been a historical trend in Jinghpo to impose a phonetic format on, and thus reduce the number of possible syllables in, the word-initial position. There seems to be a relation between these two features and it will make more sense upon considering a rough figure of the possible syllables in the language.

Based on Liu (1984: 10-16), there are 31 consonant initials in the language, excluding [f], [ts^h], [tʃ^h] and [x], which are used in a limited number of recent loanwords from Chinese. With a total of 89 rhymes, there are $31 \times 89 = 2759$ combinations. This figure is close to the one given in Liu (p. 15), i.e. 2628, since not all initials can go with every rhyme. There are 4 tones in Jinghpo, but one of them, viz. [ʃ¹], is more of a sandhi tone and can thus be ignored in the present calculation. So the number of possible syllables is:

$$31 \times 89 \times 3 = 8277$$

Now, multiplying 8277 by itself gives the following number of possible disyllabic words:

$$8277 \times 8277 = 68\ 508\ 729$$

This amount is much more than any language needs. One way to reduce the total number of disyllabic words is to restrict the number of syllables in one of the two positions, initial or final. Jinghpo has opted for the former.

Two more figures pertain to the present discussion. They are the numbers of pages for entries beginning with [lǎ-] or [mǎ-] in Xu *et al.* (1983). The first entry

with [lǎ-] is [lǎ³¹pa³¹] ‘large’, which is at about the middle of p. 385, and the last entry with [lǎ-] is [lǎ³¹tsau³¹ lap³¹] ‘a kind of small leaves’ (cf. [lap³¹] ‘leaf’), which is at about the middle of p. 422. This means that entries starting with [lǎ-] have about $(421.5-385.5=)$ 36 pages. On the other hand, the first entry with [mǎ-] is [mǎ³¹a³¹] ‘to stutter; <n.> stutter’, which is at the end of p. 441, and the last entry with [mǎ-] is [mǎ³¹tsut³¹ mǎ³¹tsat³¹] ‘very coarse’, which is at about the end of p. 518. This means that entries starting with [mǎ-] have about $(518-441=)$ 77 pages. Taken together, entries starting with [lǎ-] or [mǎ-] amount to $(36+77=)$ 113 pages. This makes up $(113/913 \times 100=)$ 12.38 % of the total number of pages in the dictionary proper. Naturally, not all entries starting with [lǎ-] or [mǎ-] are disyllabic, but this percentage figure shows that many words in the Jinghpo lexicon indeed begin with a prefix.

Although a Jinghpo prefix may not have any meaning, it can still be contrastive. Both the state of having a prefix or not and which individual prefix there is make a difference. The following three sets of words respectively contain instances of prototypical, semi-, and LA prefixes:

[li ³³]	heavy
[fǎ ³¹ li ³³]	to make heavy (Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 753)
[tǎ ³³ li ³³]	‘Disappointment, hardships’ (Han., p. 96); <n.> the state of being heavy (Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 85)
[a ³¹ li ³³ a ³¹ t ^h i ³¹]	<adv.> fat & clumsily; very slowly (Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 24)
[li ³³]	‘Seed, any grain used as seed’ (Han., p. 344)
[n ³³ li ³³]	‘Seed; grain used as seed’ (Han., p. 494)
[mam ³³ li ³³]	‘Seed-grain’ (Han., p. 390)
[wǎ ³³ li ³³]	‘A bull kept for breeding’ (Han., p. 45) ³²
[lǎ ³¹ li ³³]	‘To be green, fresh, verdant’ (Han., p. 369)
[mǎ ³¹ li ³³]	four {cf. WT bǎi}
[niŋ ³¹ li ³³]	‘An example’, model (Han., p. 469, which also gives ‘nli’)
[num ³¹ li ³³]	‘Soot’ (Han., p. 475); smelling of fire (Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 645) {[num ³¹ -] < [wan ³¹] ‘fire?’}
[sum ³¹ li ³³]	‘To adorn; ... to dress, attend to the toilet’ (Han., p. 595)

There also exist occasional instances in which the prefix does not change the root’s part of speech and the meaning of the disyllabic word is related to that of the root, for example:

[koŋ ³¹]	body	[a ³¹ koŋ ³¹]	figure
[tup ³¹]	to hammer and forge; to thresh grain	[a ³¹ tup ³¹]	to pound an aching part of the body, as in massaging
[sin ³¹]	internal organs	[mǎ ³¹ sin ³¹]	heart <as related to emotions>

32) Hanson (1906:45) has ‘uli’ for this word, while Xu *et al.* (1983:867) has ‘wali’.

[kui ³¹]	dog	[mä ³¹ kui ³³]	elephant
[tum ³³]	storehouse; little house	[n ³¹ tum ⁵⁵]	bamboo tube as a container
[tʃut ⁵⁵]	corner, as of a table	[n ⁵⁵ tʃut ⁵⁵]	corner, nook
[sam ⁵⁵]	appearance; behavior	[n ³¹ sam ⁵⁵]	imposing or awe-inspiring posture ³³
[po ³³]	head	[niŋ ³¹ po ³³]	leader
[pat ⁵⁵]	to dam up [water]; to fill up [a hole]	[kä ³¹ pat ⁵⁵]	to take up space and block off the way
[si ³¹]	fruit	[lä ⁵⁵ si ⁵¹]	soybean

The two members of the word pairs above have the same part of speech and are related in meaning. This is possible because an extra syllable, which is meaningless, can make the distinction in Jinghpo morphology. For another illustration, Hanson (1906) has this set of words:

ulang	'(from <i>lang</i> , to handle.) A handle of an axe, spade or hoe; comp. <i>gunglang</i> .' (p. 45) {walang [wä ³³ laŋ ³³] in Xu <i>et al.</i> (p. 866)}
ginlang	'the handle, as of a hoe, rake or dipper' (p. 154) {[kin ³¹ laŋ ³³] the handle of an umbrella (Xu <i>et al.</i> , p. 193)}
gunglang	'the handle, as of an edge-tool; comp. <i>ulang</i> and <i>ginlang</i> ' (p. 169)

The LA prefix in Jinghpo demonstrates that it is feasible for a natural language to create new words with a small inventory of word-initial syllables which can be devoid of any meaning.

Seen in the new light of this theoretical feasibility, free variation implies that it does not matter which individual prefix is actually used. For example, there are a total of five words for the meaning of 'vine, creeper' in Hanson (1906:475) and Nhkum *et al.* (1981:651). They are *ru*, *namru*, *numru*, *sumru* and *shingru*. The former dictionary has *shingru* and *namru* as free variants of *numru*, while the latter gives *ru*, *numru* and *sumru*. Since these two dictionaries record the Jinghpo lexicon for two fieldwork locations, it means that in each of these two locations, there are at least three variants for 'vine; creeper'.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

There are three major aspects in the present study of prefix morphology in Jinghpo. They are synchronic description, diachronic development, and general

33) It is Hanson (1906) who indicated the link between the two words in question. But strangely enough, even though [sam⁵⁵] can, as specified under its own entry (p. 581), be either a verb ('to appear, seem') or a noun ('appearance, visage'), the [sam⁵⁵] in [n³¹sam⁵⁵] is said to mean 'to seem' (p. 502). The gloss in this paper for [n³¹sam⁵⁵] is based on Xu *et al.* (1983:632), and is slightly different from that of Hanson's.

morphology. For the first aspect, the classification of Jinghpo prefixes in this paper is more comprehensive than the one in Xu (1986), but there is still a need to double-check the details and individual cases. With respect to the second aspect, TB cognates found here will be of interest to Tibeto-Burmanists working on comparative linguistics. On the other hand, more information about word-internal structure in other TB languages will ensure a more detailed and accurate reconstruction of PTB morphology, which will in turn shed new light on the origins of more Jinghpo prefixes. As for the third aspect, prefix phenomena in other TB languages need further study, for semi-prefixes and LA prefixes may also be common there. Two examples of the former can be found in Lhasa Tibetan: [nə¹³ɿy:⁵¹] 'fish bone', literally [nə¹³] 'fish' plus [ɿy:⁵⁵] 'bone', and [kəŋ⁵⁵sum⁵⁵] 'tripod', literally [kəŋ⁵⁵] 'three' plus [sum⁵⁵] 'leg' (Yu 1983: 376 & 35). Examples of the latter are: the word for 'three' in Darang Deng [kə³¹suŋ³⁵], cf. WT gsum, and the Dulong word for 'elephant' [du³¹gwi⁵⁵]. Lastly, there is the contrast between the prefix and the suffix means for disyllabification towards which a ST language inclines. For example, Tibetan has nominal suffixes such as pa and ma, as in WT rus pa 'bone' and mts^he ma 'twins' respectively.

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Appendix Disyllabic Jinghpo words in which the second syllable is word initial elsewhere (see Part 2 of the paper)

[lə ³¹ juŋ ³³]		[juŋ ³¹ -]	finger
[lə ³¹ ko ³³]		[ko ³³ -]	leg
[lə ³¹ p ^h ut ³¹]		[p ^h ut ³¹ -]	knee
[lə ⁵⁵ ti ⁵¹]		[ti ³¹ -]	nose
[lə ³¹ pu ³¹]		[pu ³¹ -]	pants; skirt
[lə ⁵⁵ k ^h on ⁵¹]		[k ^h on ³¹ -]	bracelet
[lə ⁵⁵ kat ⁵⁵]		[kat ³¹ -]	banyan
[lə ³¹ kat ³¹]		[kat ³¹ -]	bee
[lə ⁵⁵ ŋa ⁵⁵]	wild banana	[ŋa ³¹ -]	banana
[lə ³³ ŋu ³³]	banana <generic n.>		
[lə ³³ pu ³³]		[pu ³³ -]	snake
[lə ⁵⁵ p ^h o ⁵⁵]	leaves for wrapping food	[p ^h o ⁵⁵ -]	leaf
[lə ⁵⁵ si ⁵¹]		[si ³¹ -]	soybean
[mə ³¹ jam ³³]		[jam ³¹ -]	slave
[mə ³¹ ju ³³]		[jum ³¹ -]	slave
		[ju ³¹ -]	throat

[mä ³¹ kui ³³]		[kui ³¹ -]	elephant
[mä ³¹ k ^h zai ³³]		[k ^h zai ³¹ -]	bridge
[mä ³¹ tai ³³]		[tai ³¹ -]	god of the sky
[mä ⁵⁵ t ⁱ ⁵¹]		[t ⁱ ³¹ -]	mushroom
[mä ⁵⁵ t ^f ap ⁵⁵]		[t ^f ap ³¹ -]	pepper, chili
[mä ³¹ ʒuŋ ³³]	the spine	[ʒuŋ ³¹ -]	the back
[n ³¹ kup ³¹]		[kup ³¹ -]	mouth
[n ³³ kjin ³³]	cucumber	[kjin ³¹ -]	gourd, melon, etc.
[n ³¹ kzau ³¹]	black monkey	[kzau ³¹ -]	gibbon
[n ³³ k ^h ʒaŋ ³³]		[k ^h ʒaŋ ³¹ -]	vegetable
[n ³¹ luŋ ³¹]		[luŋ ³¹ -]	stone
[n ³¹ pu ³¹]		[pu ³¹ -]	walnut
[n ³¹ puŋ ³³]		[puŋ ³¹ -]	wind
[n ⁵⁵ p ^h je ⁵¹]		[p ^h jeŋ ³¹ -]	satchel
[n ³¹ tum ⁵⁵]		[tum ³¹ -]	bamboo tube as container
[n ³¹ ʒuŋ ³³]		[ʒuŋ ³³ -]	horn
[n ³³ k ^h a ³³]		[k ^h a ⁵⁵ -]	door ³⁴)
~[t ^f iŋ ³³ k ^h a ³³]			
[n ³³ k ^h ʒaŋ ³³]		[k ^h ʒaŋ ³¹ -]	vegetable
~[t ^f iŋ ³³ k ^h ʒaŋ ³³]			
[n ³¹ k ^h ʒut ³¹]		[k ^h ʒut ³¹ -]	whetstone
~[luŋ ³¹ k ^h ʒut ³¹]			
[fä ³³ kʒui ³³]		[kʒui ³³ -]	carbuncle, boil
[fä ³¹ tai ³³]		[tai ³¹ -]	umbilical cord
[fä ⁵⁵ to ⁵⁵]		[to ^{ʔ31} -]	pillar, column
[fä ³¹ ʒo ^{ʔ31}]		[ʒo ^{ʔ31} -]	wild fire
[fä ³³ ʒu ³³]		[ʒu ³¹ -]	bamboo rat
[t ^f ä ⁵⁵ k ^h an ⁵¹]		[k ^h an ³¹ -]	crab
[t ^f ä ³³ ŋai ³³]		[ŋai ³³ -]	baby
[t ^f ä ⁵⁵ ʒu ⁵¹]		[ʒu ³¹ -]	alcoholic beverage
[t ^f ä ³¹ k ^h zai ³³]		[k ^h zai ³³ -]	orphan
[kä ³¹ puŋ ³¹]		[puŋ ³¹ -]	a type of Jinghpo dance
[kä ³¹ p ^h a ^{ʔ31}]		[p ^h a ^{ʔ31} -]	shoulder
[nam ³¹ t ^h un ³³]		[t ^h un ³³ -]	lime
[puŋ ³¹ sap ³¹]		[sap ³¹ -]	towel (or dishcloth) gourd
[p ^h un ³¹ tu ³¹]		[tu ³¹ -]	cogon
[pä ³³ k ^h ʒam ³³]		[k ^h ʒam ³¹ -]	hamadryad
~[pu ³³ k ^h ʒam ³³]			
[pä ³³ loŋ ³³]		[loŋ ³¹ -]	clothing
[pä ³¹ si ³³]		[si ³¹ -]	cotton
[sum ⁵⁵ pʒa ^{ʔ55}]		[pʒa ^{ʔ31} -]	caterpillar

34) As an entry on its own in Xu *et al.* (1983), the morpheme for 'door' has the pronunciation of [k^ha⁵⁵-] (p. 222), but it has the schwa when word-initial in other entries, such as [k^hä⁵⁵tun⁵⁵] 'threshold' (p. 223).

[tum ³¹ si ³³]		[si ³¹ -]	porcupine
[tum ³¹ su ³³]		[su ³¹ -]	huangniu cattle
[tsã ⁵⁵ mat ⁵⁵]		[mat ³¹ -]	nettle
[tʃiŋ ³¹ p ^h a ^{ʔ31}]		[p ^h a ^{ʔ31} -]	strap of a satchel, basket, etc.
[u ³¹ ko ^{ʔ31}]		[ko ^{ʔ31} -]	hornbill
[pai ³¹ nam ³³]	goat	[nam ³¹ -]	sheep, goat

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