中缅印景颇语借词比较:语言接触受限的结果

A comparative account of the Jinghpaw lexicon in China, Myanmar and India

Evidence of the limited effects of language contact

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Jinghpaw

- Jinghpaw is a continuum within Tibeto-Burman, belonging to the Sal group within TB. Jinghpaw-Asakian forms the easternmost branch, with Northern Naga (Wancho, Konyak etc) as the central branch, and the Boro-Garo languages in Northeast India.
- Spoken in NE India as Singpho and Turung, in China as Jingpò 景颇语, and in Myanmar, where it is also referred to as Kachin*
- For simplicity, the term "Jinghpaw" will be used to refer to all of the above.

^{*} Not included are non-Jinghpaw languages spoken by Kachins such as Zaiwa, Lhaovo, Lacid, Rawang, and Lisu. Asakian varieties are also not included.

Research question

To what extent are national-language loanwords found in Jinghpaw which may contribute to issues of mutual intelligibility and cross-border communication? Are these differences phylogenetically useful?

- Jinghpaw covers a large geographical area split between three nations, each with distinct languages.
- A large number of Tai loans are shared across borders.

Context: A phylogeny of Sal

This work was conducted as part of a larger study on Sal diversity and the creation of a Bayesian phylogeny of Sal following the methods of Sagart et al (2019).

Word list of 500 terms, built upon CALMSEA (Matisoff 1978). Primarily "basic" vocabulary for phylogenetic purposes, thus lacking many recently introduced concepts where loans are more frequent.

Jinghpaw is represented with roughly two dozen doculects among the total Sal sample.

Special attention paid to borrowing events.

Expected outcome

In terms of non-Tai loans in the basic vocabulary one would expect:

- Singpho and Turung to show a greater number of Indic loans
- Myanmar-based varieties having greater influence from Burmese
- Varieties spoken in China to have more Mandarin loans

In general, this is not the case.



A note on Tai loans

Tai has had considerable influence in the region not only on Jinghpaw, but also other Sal varieties. Widespread across Jinghpaw varieties, indicating a very early borrowing period. Often old enough to not be easily differentiated from native vocabulary.

See Kurabe (2017) for a more complete account.



In Duleng 杜连 Jingpo, Yuè (2006) gives 驮 > tho³ and 称 > ʃen³³ as Sinitic loans.

Burmese loans are also cited, e.g. $p\check{a}^{55}$ lin⁵⁵ < ပုလင်း palin: 'bottle' and a^{33} lan³³ < အလံ alan 'flag'. Yuè specifically states most Duleng loans are from Burmese:

"外来词杜连话中的外来词,主要来自缅甸语…"

However, Sinitic loans are minimal in older vocabulary.

"[v]ery few Chinese terms have been incorporated, although the Kachins for centuries have been in close contact with their powerful and intelligent neighbours." (Hanson 1913:29)

Note however that Sinitic loans are also found in Myanmar, e.g. "opium" yăhpyen (Puzitskij 1968), indicating contact between the communities across political borders in past centuries.

cut	剪	jiǎn	zèn
scissors	剪刀	jiǎndāo	zendau
calculate	算	suàn	sawn
chopsticks	筷子	kuàizi	khodzè
mule	骡子	luózi	lawze
eel	黄鳝.	huángshàn	hkàngshan

"Scissors" also found in Singpho in India as jen₄dau₅.

Unlike Yuè, Dài & Xú (1995) name Sinitic as the largest source of loans in Jingpo. In some cases these are non-basic terminology with alternate forms of basic components:

- ko ŋjen < 过年 *guònián* vs "year" more generally *niŋ*
- la ʒu < 腊肉 *làròu* but "meat" elsewhere is *ʃan*.

Other loans are cultural items (马掌、柜子), culinary dishes (包子、豆腐...), titles (皇帝、老板、主席...) or other more recent concepts (电话、政治、发展...).

There is **very little overlap with basic vocabulary** items.

Other loans such as 碗、盘 are possibly regional wanderwörter (Shan on 気, waan₂; Ahom vff ban, wff p^han; Tangsa k^haʔ₄βan₃, pan₂)

Dài (2011) provides a word list comparing 400 terms between Dehong 德宏 Jingpo and neighbouring Burmish languages, marking multiple loans from Chinese in Zaiwa (e.g. $xai^{22} tse^{22} <$ 鞋子) but none for Jingpo.

Note potential false positives such as $t \int au^{33}$ for 早 "early" (Liú 1984). However see $t \circ 2^2$ in Hlepho Phowa, $c \hat{a} u$ in Pa-O, etc. (STEDT)

Some Chinese traditional units of measure (两、斤、斗、升) are loans, to be expected.

Few other obvious loans are found.



Myanmar

Generally few Burmese loans among Burmese Jinghpaw varieties in terms of basic vocabulary terms. Many more for non-basic terms.

However, Gauri shows one potential loan in basic vocabulary:

• jung "sharp, acute" < အချွန် *achun* vs. Jinghpaw *#dai* (cognate with PKC *tay)

Myanmar

More recent Burmese loans into Jinghpaw which are not found in Shan include:

zun	spoon	ဇွန်း
lak hpoi	amulet	လက်ဖွဲ့
lun bu	auger	လွန်းပူ
те	ballot	è
туи	city	မြို့
tuk kui	dengue	တုပ်ကွေး
saboi	desk	စားပွဲ
sa ik	envelope	စာအိတ်
dat shin	movie	တိတ်ရှင်
yenan	oil	ရေနိ



India

Singpho as lingua franca in much of Upper Assam & Arunachal Pradesh (Morey 2020).

Creolisation led to loss of features such as sentence final markers. Modern Assamese loans, but uncommon in basic vocabulary.

High prestige, widespread adoption of Singpho tradition among non-Singpho communities (e.g. dress, naming systems among Tangsas).

Also lacking some widespread Indic loans, e.g. "ocean" < Sanskrit समुद्र samudrá instead using paŋ₄lai₁ (Burmese ပင်လယ်, Shan ပၢင်ႇလၢႆႇ, Jinghpaw pang lai)

India

In Turung, Morey (2010) points to a handful of Indic loans, such as

"spider" mukura < মকৰা mokora, "loincloth" lengtih < লেঙ্গটি lengoti,

however these are not used in Singpho. Spider, for example, is gin₄dii₄dam₁

Turung shows very few Indic loans, but of course a high degree of Tai influence, greater than the high level elsewhere in Jinghpaw varieties.

Indic loans across Jinghpaw

Most Indic loans are wanderwörter, passing from Pali/Sanskrit into Tai and then into TB varieties of the region.

In Burmese Jinghpaw as well, most Indic words are wanderwörter passing from Pali/Sanskrit into Burmese, then into Jinghpaw and/or other TB varieties,

e.g. nammukdăra < သမုဒ္ဒရာ samuddarā < Sk समुद्र samudra

nam = water < Tai, e.g. Shan ဆမ်. compare Tangsa səm₂muk₄ tə₀ra₂

Indic loans across Jinghpaw

Kurabe (2017) provides a list of Indic loans found in Jinghpaw, such as "almond" বাদাম badam, Burmese ৬০ওঁ badam < Sanskrit ০ী০০ ভূ / বারাদ vātāma.

Many of these are shared elsewhere in Sal, possibly borrowed from Jinghpaw. In nearly all cases the terms are also found in Burmese and this is the likely source of their presence in Jinghpaw, rather than being direct borrowings.

"clock" nayi / nari, Burmese နာရီ na ri, Shan ဆျ,ရီ, naa2 ri2, Thai นาฬิกา naa lí gaa, Lao ນາລິກາ náː lī kaː, Khmer នាឡិកា nieleʔkaa



- Despite Jinghpaw lexical diversity, many external borrowings are shared across the continuum – in particular with words borrowed from Tai, borrowed early.
- Sinitic borrowings are few and recent*, and are not widespread within the family, being limited primarily to varieties within China.
- Jinghpaw shows a surprisingly stable vocabulary in comparison to other branches of the Sal group within Tibeto-Burman.
- Tai loans are widespread across varieties but also in central Sal

^{*} Sinitic also has older substratum, but often by way of Tai, e.g. 双 shuāng, 象 xiàng etc

Geographically disparate varieties spoken in the former Sadiya Tract, Myitkyina and Duleng show a high degree of similarity in their vocabularies.

Differences tend to be phonological (see Kurabe 2016:§1.6), in the realisation of affixes,

Duleng Sadiya Dehong Singpho Singpho Mvitkvina Gauri Ndhm 1889 Dai 2011 Yue 2006 Morey 2010 CCO 1838 CCO 1838 n'rûng n³zun³³ lun³³ salung horn nrung run₄ tung gahtawng; məreen₁; mă³1len³³ village ma'rêng kă³thon³ mareng mbat kəthon₁ mare pai³nam³³ pa³man³⁵ takhyeu goat bainam bai'nam bai₄nam₄ painam

or a choice between multiple extant forms.

	Myitkyina	Gauri	Sadiya Ndhm 1889	Dehong Dai 2011	Duleng Yue 2006	Singpho Morey 2010	Singpho CCO 1838	Jilí CCO 1838
two	lahkawng	ləhóŋ	n'khong	lă⁵khong⁵	khoŋ³³	ŋ₁khoŋ₅	_	_
old	dingsa		ningʻsâ		tiŋ³ʃa³	niŋ₄saa₁		
cow	dumsu		ken'sû, kin'sû	tum³su³³	ŋa³	kin₁suu₁	kansú	tangá

Solution for phylogenetic work:

- Larger data sets (1000 words as a possible minimum)
- Incorporation of morphosyntactic / phonological variation in addition to character-based cognacy judgements, e.g. agreement marking, negation, partial cognacy...

Both options introduce significant complications



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