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# Review of *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction*

By James A. Matisoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.*

Nathan W. Hill
*School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

Proposing many new cognate sets and building on many decades of his own previous research, Matisoff (2003) represents a major contribution to Tibeto-Burman linguistics. Unfortunately, Matisoff's use of Tibetan is marred by errors of fact and analysis, which together undermine confidence in his reconstructions.

Key words: Tibeto-Burman, Old Tibetan, reconstruction

## 1. Preliminary remarks

Matisoff's study represents a milestone in Tibeto-Burman historical linguistics. The organizing principle of the work is the reconstructed Tibeto-Burman syllable. For each position in the syllable—initials, medials, rhymes, finals—Matisoff presents the reconstructed inventory, with some evidence from daughter languages, and frequently discusses in detail the respective syllable position in one or more languages. Hundreds of etymologies and sound laws are proposed in the course of the work. A study treating so many and so varied languages presents a formidable object for review. Systematic evaluation of the sound laws and etymologies proposed would require an undertaking of a scope rivaling Matisoff's own work, and will doubtless be the task of ensuing decades for various researchers. My own expertise lies exclusively in Tibetan, and consequently this review is limited to that domain. In keeping with the importance of this work for future studies of Tibeto-Burman historical linguistics, and the importance of the Tibetan language in the reconstruction of Tibeto-Burman, I attempt to be thoroughgoing in pointing out potentially contentious claims.

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* This review makes use of the Wylie transcription system with the exception that ར་ is transliterated as *v* rather than as an apostrophe. Citations from Matisoff (2003) follow his transliteration scheme, and as in the original are in bold type. I would like to thank Guillaume Jacques and Randy J. LaPolla for their helpful advice on a draft of this review.

## 2. Sesqui-syllables

On several occasions Matisoff seeks to analyze Old Tibetan initial clusters as sesqui-syllables (97, 102, 151, 154). The fullest statement of this idea appears on page 97:

> We cannot be sure from the W[ritten]T[ibetan] orthography how the Tibetan combinations of prefixes and initials were pronounced in ancient times; but judging by their excellent state of preservation in W[ritten]T[ibetan], we may surmise that they were pronounced with a following unstressed schwa-type vowel, which served to protect them from too close contact with the root-initial. (97)

First a terminological objection must be raised: in mainstream linguistics 'initial' refers to the first (not the second or third) consonant in a word or syllable, and 'prefix' is used to describe a morpheme attached to the beginning of a word. The initial of a consonant cluster ought not be dubbed a 'prefix' until it has been shown to have a morphological function.

Regarding the pronunciation of Tibetan in ancient times, Matisoff gives the pronunciation of *sbrul* 'snake' as [səbrul] as an example of his supposition. In Balti[1] this word is pronounced [ʁbul] or [ɾbul] (Sprigg 1968:365, 2002:58).[2] Sprigg argues that the rhoticization of the initial has led to the loss of the medial *r*. In Japhug rGyalrong, the Tibetan loanword *sbrul-lo* 'snake year' is pronounced as [zbri lu] (Jacques 2004:106). Such attested pronunciations suggest an Old Tibetan pronunciation *[zbrul], which reflects perfectly the Tibetan spelling *sbrul*.[3] There is no evidence internal to Tibetan for supporting the analysis of Old Tibetan cluster initials as sesqui-syllabic known to this reviewer.

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[1] Matisoff occasionally treats Balti and Ladakhi as if they were not direct descendants of Old Tibetan, but rather closely related languages (e.g. 323 note a). This view, although rather widespread, is untenable. Ladakh and Baltistan were inhabited by Dardic speakers before the rise of the Tibetan Empire, and Petech (1977:5-13) argues the Tibetanization of the region began only after 900.

[2] In Sprigg (1968:365) this word is mistakenly labeled as Golok dialect. In his later dictionary Sprigg's entry reads "gbul (vul. rbul) s serpent, snake [T. sbul] (U. 317)" (2002:58); the IPA version I have provided based upon his introduction. The IPA transcriptions given by Sprigg (1968:365) are [ʁbul] and [rbul].

[3] The interpretation of <s> as [z] may seem to conflict with the voicing implied by the use of the character <s>, rather than <z>. However, voicing is not a phonemic contrast in the *sngon-vjug* position. The voicing of an initial Tibetan cluster is indicated by the *ming-gzhi* and the entire cluster agrees in voicing (cf. Sprigg 1974:261).

## 3. Morphology

On occasion, Matisoff sees a morphological significance to syllable initials or finals where the morphological role posited is not demonstrated sufficiently by the examples he cites. For instance, Matisoff suggests that the initial *s-* is an inchoative prefix in the verbs *smin-pa* 'ripen', *sngo-ba* 'become green', *sbo-ba* 'become swollen', and *sbrid-pa* 'become numb, torpid' (101). This claim is not sufficiently demonstrated by these examples. The adjectives *smin-pa* 'ripe, mature' and *sngo-po* 'blue' maintain this initial and cannot be analyzed as inchoative. The verb *sbo-ba* 'swell' must be linked with *vbo*, *phos*, *dbo*, *phos* 'pour' and *vbo*, *bo* 'overflow', which however do not make the inchoative meaning of *s-* any clearer.

According to Matisoff, the most obvious example of "the opposition between inner-directed or stative verbs on the one hand, signaled by the nasal prefix ***m-**, and transitive or outer-directed or causative verbs on the other, marked by the sibilant prefix ***s-**" (89, cf. also 117), is the Tibetan example *mnam* 'to have a smell, be odorous' (v.i.) and *snam* 'sniff something' (v.t.). Matisoff does not define the categories these morphemes are meant to indicate. The traditional definition of 'transitive' makes reference to the term 'accusative'; hence, it is unclear to this reviewer what the term 'transitive' means when applied to Tibetan, an ergative language (cf. Hill 2004:85). Less traditional terms such as 'inner-directed' are even more in need of careful definition. Whatever this example may exemplify, many counterexamples exist. The English translation of Tibetan verbs beginning with *m-* are transitive as often as intransitive. Snellgrove draws attention to such transitive examples as *mthong* 'see', *mchod* 'honor', *mdzad* 'do' (1954: 199). One could add other examples: *mkhyud* 'conceal', *mkhyen* 'know', *mgar* 'smith, forge', *mthud* 'join, connect', *mthol* 'confess'. If *m-* has any morphological function in such examples it remains obscure.

In the same paragraph Matisoff writes: "Often, however, the only traces left by the proto-prefix are oppositions in the manner of the initial consonants in verb-pairs" (89). Tibetan is a language with clear use of prefixes, and voicing opposition in the verbal system. Therefore voicing opposition cannot simply be credited to the loss of prefixes where it is found. If this is not what Matisoff intends to claim his position deserves further elaboration.

Matisoff adds his voice to those who see a transitivizing suffix *-d* at play in Tibetan verbal morphology (457-458). Berthold Laufer appears to be the first to propose a *-d* suffix causative. He writes "we observe that there is an affix *-d* forming transitive verbs from intransitive or nominal roots" (1915:62). Róna-Tas (1985:178) reiterates this suggestion. Beyer (1992:113, 176) affirms the causative function of *-d* and serves as the immediate source of Matisoff's examples. When restricting the examples to the present

stem, as Matisoff does, the evidence for a transitivizing *-d* suffix is compelling; when entire verb paradigms are compared, it becomes less so.

The examples Matisoff gives are: *vdzu* 'enter,' *vdzud* 'insert'; *vgye* 'be divided', *vgyed* 'divide'; *vbye* 'be seperated', *vbyed* 'open something', *skye* 'be born', *skyed* 'produce'; *rgyu* 'move', *rgyud* 'transmit'; *nu* 'suck', *nud* 'suckle' (458). Beyer includes an additional *vgag* 'is hindered', *vgegs* 'hinders'; *vgas* 'is cleft', *vges* 'cleaves': *vchas* 'is split', *vches* 'splits'; *vbab* 'descends', *vbebs* 'lowers'.

Here are the full paradigms of the examples of this transitivizing *-d* suffix given by Beyer and Matisoff, in alphabetical order.[4]

*skye*, *skyes*, *skye*, — 'be born'
*skyed*, *bskyed*, *bskyed*, *skyed* 'beget, produce'

*vgag*, *vgags*, *vgag*, — 'be hindered'
*vgog (vgegs)*, *bkag*, *dgag*, *khog* 'hinder'

*vgas*, *gas*, *vgas*, — 'be cleft'
*vgas (vges)*, *bkas*, *dgas*, *khos* 'cleave'

*vgye(s)*, *gyes*, *vgye*, — 'be dispersed'
*vgyed*, *bkyes*, *dgye*, *khyes* 'disperse'

*rgyu*, *rgyu*, *rgyu*, — 'go'
*rgyud*, *brgyud*, *brgyud*, — 'transmit'

*vbab*, *babs*, *vbab*, — 'descend'
*vbebs*, *phab*, *dbab*, *phob* 'lower'

*vbye*, *bye*, *vbye*, — 'open' (intr.)
*vbyed*, *phye(d/s)*, *dbye*, *phye(d/s)* 'open' (tr.)

*vdzu*, -, -, — 'enter'
*vdzud*, *btsud*, *gzud*, *tshud* 'insert'

The forms *vgegs*, and *vges* are not known to the indigenous lexicographical tradition. Neither is the verb *vdzu* 'enter' for which Jäschke's source is the problematic Schroeter

[4] Dictionaries invariably disagree about the stem forms of Tibetan verbs, these paradigms are my responsibility after consulting nine sources.

(1826).[5] I am unable to confirm the existence of the verbs *vchas* 'is split', *vches* 'splits' cited by Beyer (1992:176). Matisoff's example *nu* 'suck', *nud* 'suckle' (458) is an error. In fact the two relevant verbs are *nu(d)*, *nus*, *nu*, — 'suckle (intr.)', *snun*, *bsnund*, *bsnun*, *snund* 'suckle (tr.)', which shows no transitive *-d* suffix. In the remaining examples other contrasting elements of the paradigm may be equally credited with the difference in meaning. In three examples there is voicing alternation in the past stem: *gyes* 'be dispersed,' *bkyes* 'disperse'; *babs* 'descend,' *phab* 'lower'; *bye* 'open (intr.)', *phye(d/s)* 'open (tr.).' The final two cases (*skye*, *skyed* and *rgyu*, *rgyud*) are the only instances where the *-d* suffix remains throughout the paradigm. In these examples the presence or absence of *b-* in the past and future stems also serves to differentiate the meanings of these verbs.

A few examples mentioned in previous literature have been overlooked by Matisoff. Following the proposal of Coblin (1976:52-53) that an ablaut *e* or *i* in the present stem is due to a former *-d* suffix, Róna-Tas gives these two examples, where differences of voicing and prefix use also occur.

*gas*, *gas*, *gas*, — 'be split'
*vges*, *bkas*, *dgas*, *khos* 'split' (Róna-Tas 1985:178)

*vbyung*, *byung*, *vbyung*, — 'come out'
*vbyin*, *phyung*, *dbyung*, *phyung* 'cause to come forth.' (Róna-Tas 1985:178)

Two additional examples include an *s-* prefix in the member showing the supposed *-d* suffix.

*vdu*, *vdus*, *vdu*, *vdus* 'assemble (intr.)'
*sdud*, *bsdus*, *bsdu*, *sdus* 'assemble, gather (tr.)' (Laufer 1915:62).

*na*, *na*, *na*, — 'be ill'
*snad*, *bsnad*, *bsnad*, *snod* 'harm, hurt'

Finally, an example that shows a suppletive paradigm and differing uses of prefixes:

*vgro*, *phyin / song*, *vgro*, *song* 'go'
*vgrod*, *bgrod*, *bgrod*, *bgrod* 'walk, travel'

[5] In fact this work was compiled by F. Francesco Orazio della Penna (1680-1745) as a Tibetan-Italian glossary. Schroeter, who had no knowledge of Tibetan, had the Italian portion translated into English and saw the work through publication (cf. Simon 1964).

The evidence for a transitivizing suffix *-d* is unconvincing. The suffix *-d* is only retained in the entire paradigm in three examples (*skyed*, *snad*, *vgrod*), and even in these examples other features also distinguish the paradigms of the paired verbs.

## 4. Etymology

One may occasionally find reason to disagree with Matisoff concerning a few specifc proposed etymologies. The Tibetan word *khol-po* 'servant' is as convincingly connected to Old Turkic *qul* 'id.' as to Written Burmese *khywan* and Lahu *cè* (261). Matisoff reconstructs Written Tibetan *thor-bu* 'fragment' to a Tibeto-Burman root **twar* 'single, one, whole, only' (262). This word is perhaps better analyzed as a noun derived from the verb *vthor* 'scatter, strew'. Matisoff cites a word *khri* 'chair' (189) and reconstructs it to a root meaning 'foot'. The word *khri* does not mean 'chair' but rather 'throne'. In its oldest attestation it is a royal title. More evidence is needed to make such a semantic shift plausible. Matisoff derives the *-ning* of Tibetan *na-ning* 'last year' from Tibeto-Burman **s-niŋ* 'year' (283). However, since the Tibetan word *na* alone means 'year of life', it seems more likely that *-ning* should mean 'last, previous'. Schiefner, noting the parallel form *na-rnying* 'last year', proposes to relate this *-ning* to *rnying* 'old' (1852:371). This *-ning* is perhaps to be connected to the *-ning* of *da-ning* 'these days', and *ma-ning* 'hermaphrodite'. The word *pad-ma* 'leech' (332) is not a genuine Tibetan word. Bielmeier suggests that "In *srin-bu pad-ma* 'leech,' quoted by Benedict (1972:24) *srin-bu* is the usual word for 'worm' and *pad-ma* 'lotus' the attribute" (Bielmeier 1988: 16 n.1). The alternate form *pad-pa* 'leech' perhaps complicates Bielmeier's explanation. Whether or not these words originate from Sanskrit, the unaspirated voiceless initial is indication enough that they are loanwords into Tibetan.

## 5. Over-reliance on Jäschke (1881) and Beyer (1992)

Taken as a whole, Matisoff's treatment of Tibetan material suffers from an over-reliance on Jäschke's (1881) dictionary, and Beyer's (1992) grammar. Because this criticism could be made of many contributions to Tibeto-Burman linguistics, the limits of these two works deserves some stress.

As a work of careful lexicography Jäschke's dictionary was unrivaled among Tibetan dictionaries until publication began recently on *Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache* (Franke 2005-). However, Jäschke's work includes words from all periods of Tibetan literature and all dialects available to him. In particular, it generously covers spoken forms of West Tibet, and makes no use of Old Tibetan. For historical

linguistics Old Tibetan is more appropriate than Written Tibetan, not only because it is older, but because Written Tibetan is a cover term for the written language over a millennium of use anywhere in the Tibetan cultural region, often including spellings of no historical value.

A variety of lexicographical resources are now available for Old Tibetan; these include two glossaries of the Imperial inscriptions (Richardson 1985, Li & Coblin 1987), a complete index to the Shangshu paraphrase (Coblin 1991), a dictionary of Old Tibetan (Ngag dbang tshul khrims 1997), and several complete indices to collections of Old Tibetan texts (Choix III, Choix IV, Takeuchi 1995, 1997-1998).

Beyer's grammar is insufficient in various respects: it should be avoided. Since this work was positively reviewed when published (Behr 1994, Davidson 1996, Eimer 1993, LaPolla 1994, Miller 1994), this dissenting evaluation is in need of some justification.

Beyer cites neither his predecessors nor his textual examples. Without a mastery of the secondary literature one is simply invited to trust his analysis, which is frequently erroneous. Consider Beyer's explanation of the semantics of the Tibetan verb stems. He explains: "the future expresses an event specified as anticipated but not as yet completed, [...] and the imperative expresses an event specified as expected to be completed" (1992: 261). This description is based entirely on morphology (suffix *-s* showing completion with past and imperative stems) and the distribution of negation (*ma* showing anticipation with future and imperative stems). Aside from the fact that without recourse to textual examples the occurrence of morphemes across a paradigm is insufficient to explain the meaning of the members of such a paradigm, the distribution underlying Beyer's analysis is simply false. The imperative stem is not negated in Written Tibetan, and instead the present is negated with *ma* to form prohibitions.[6]

If we consider a point even Miller, generally Beyer's most negative reviewer, singles out for praise, it too is seen to be wanting. Miller writes: "A long section on the socio-linguistic parameters of the personal pronouns (pp.208ff) is replete with new data, brilliantly set forth" (1994:67). Beyer summarizes his analysis of the personal pronouns with the following chart (1992:208).

[6] For a survey of this misconception and its corrections see Zeisler (2004:344-346). Snellgrove (1954:199) can be added to her list of authors who have correctly explained prohibitions. Here is an example of a prohibition formed with the present stem preceded by *ma* from my own reading: "*pha ma gnyis na re | « nged gnyis rgas pas ma shi bar du rgya gar du ma vgro ! » zer* [My two parents said, "Because we are getting old, do not go to India until we have died!]" (Nam mkhav bsam grub rgyal mtshan 1996:5).

| Person | Unmarked | Honorific | Elegant |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *nga* | *nged* | *bdag* |
| 2 | *khyod* | *khyed* | *nyid* |
| 3 | *kho* | *khong* | - |

In fact, *nga* and *khyod* are singular whereas *nged* and *khyed* are plural. Beyer has simply noticed the *pluralis majestatis*. Here are three examples from the *Mi la ras pa rnam thar* (1490) of Gtsang smyon he ru ka rus pavi rgyan can (1452-1507), the same text which Beyer pulls his examples from, showing that the plural use of *khyed* is more basic than the honorific. In the first example, Bla ma Khu lung pa Yon tan rgya mtsho greets Mi la, still a child, and the son of Bla ma Gnyag g.yung ston khro rgyal on their arrival: ***khyed*** *gnyis la mthuvi gdams ngag cis kyang ster ba yin pas* 'I will give to you two whatever curse instructions [I have]' (de Jong 1959:41 line 16-17). In the second example, Bla ma Gnyag g.yung ston khro rgyal congratulates Mi la and his lion-strong friend on their success: *bla mavi zhal nas « **khyed** gnyis la khar rje* [sic *kha rje*] *chen po rang cig byung ang » gsung* 'The lama said: "Congratulations to you both"' (de Jong 1959:49 line 20-22). Both Lamas typically address Mi la with *khyod*. In the third example Mi la's friend, while pretending to be Mi la, taunts and threatens a group of villagers. It would be most peculiar to threaten someone using an honorific: ***khyed*** *tsho sgugs shig sgugs shig* 'You guys wait, just wait!' (de Jong 1959:49 line 9).

I must admit ignorance as to what Beyer means by 'elegant' as opposed to 'honorific'. The word *bdag* 'I, me' is used to show the low status of the speaker with respect to the listener; Mi la uses *bdag* consistently to refer to himself when addressing lamas. Beyer makes no mention of the inclusive plural first person pronoun *rang-re*, nor of other under-researched pronouns such as *vo-skol*, or *vu-cag*. Miller's praise for Beyer's data and analysis are unwarranted. Tibeto-Burmanists are commended to the use of any of the several more reliable Tibetan grammars, including Inaba (1954), Hahn (1994), Bskal bzang vgyur med (1981, 1992), and Schwieger (2006).

## 6. Typographical errors

Mattisoff's work is unfortunately marred by a number of transcription errors and occasional ghost words, which however trivial are worth pointing out. He informs us (xxxviii) that he will transcribe the letter ཝ *v* as **h̯**, but fails to mention that when used as a final he does not transliterate it at all, and indeed treats its occurrence equivalently to open syllables (e.g. *mdav* 'arrow' as **mda** p.50, 486). In a number of places Matisoff transliterates ཇ j as **ǰ** rather than **dź** as indicated in the preface (xxxviii). This leads, for example, to the single word མཇེ *mje* 'penis' being transliterated as **mdźe** on page 49 but

**mǰe** on page 153. The reader should be aware that there is no significance to such variation.

Matisoff writes: "The ordinary W[ritten]T[ibetan] word for 'horse' is unrelated **rta**, but Beyer (1992:85) cites an archaic Tibetan form **rmaṅ**, with a final palatal nasal" (268 note b). In Beyer's transcription system (1992:3) the velar nasal ང *ng* is transliterated as ñ whereas the palatal nasal ཉ *ny* is transliterated with the rather unfortunately similar looking ñ. It is difficult to tell whether the diacritic over the 'n' in Beyer's (1992:85 note 16) citation is a macron or tilde. Under magnification it looks to me somewhat more like a macron; Matisoff clearly saw it as a tilde. The diacritic should be a macron. Without doubt Beyer's source for this word is Coblin (1974), who transcribes the word *rmang*. Matisoff also cites Coblin's article and correctly renders this word into his own transliteration scheme as **rmaŋ** (177).[7]

The word *sgro* 'feather' Matisoff transcribes as **s-gro** (173 note c). He gives no account for his use of a hyphen in this transcription.

A few ghost words, or words of unlikely Tibeto-Burman significance, are also worth pointing out. The word *spre* 'monkey' (102) Matisoff has backformed from *sprevu* 'monkey,' by removing the diminutive suffix -*vu*. The word *sprevu* in fact derives from *spra* 'ape'. The word *lags-pa* 'good, elegant' (51) also does not exist. Perhaps Matisoff was thinking of the honorific copula verb *lags*, which can be used to mean 'I understand, that's fine, yes, etc.' or the word *legs-pa* 'good'. The verb *sta* 'put, place' (113) is no more real. Here it is *stad* which is intended. Matisoff cites a nonexistent verb *ring-pa* 'be long' (100); he probably intended *vdring* (< **vring*), *rings* 'be distant' (cf. Li 1959). Matisoff twice cites the quite impossible word **rnyap-pa** 'seize' (355, 507). He cites **byiu** meaning 'alpine hare', as a cognate with Burmese *yun* 'rabbit' and Jingpho *yu/yun* 'rat'. The word *byivu* in fact means 'small bird' and derives within Tibetan from *bya* 'bird'. He should perhaps instead cite *ri-bong* 'rabbit'. Two words although indeed found in Jäschke's dictionary, are very likely not of Tibeto-Burman provenience: *vjag-po* 'good' (51) and *bra-ba* 'much, many' (80). The first, *vjag-po* 'good' Jäschke gives as '*vulgo* = yag-po', indicating that this spelling represents a dialect pronunciation of *yag-po*, and is by no means a separate lexeme, or of any Tibeto-Burman consequence. Jäschke gives *bra-ba* as a verb 'to be or have in great plenty, abound'. The only dictionary independent of Jäschke to give a verb *bra* at all gives it with a very different definition "To be able, to withstand, endure" (Tsan chung 1979). This word is of dubious value for Tibeto-Burman. Neither of these words occur in the currently indexed Old Tibetan texts.

[7] Matisoff also believes there is a word *rmang* 'dream' (425, 521). This ghost word rests again solely on the authority of Jäschke, who derives it from the unreliable Schroeter (1826).

Matisoff analyzes the morpheme breaks in *khri-le-ba* 'fear' (462) as falling where the script indicates syllable breaks. In fact, marking morpheme breaks, this word becomes *khril-e-ba* (cf. Uray 1953).

Here is an inexhaustive list of additional mistranscriptions:

for **ḥkor** read *vkhor* 'turn around' (100)
for **de-lta** read *da-lta* 'present stem' (131)
for **hlod-pa** read *lhod-pa* 'loose, relaxed' (202 note 51, 332, 371 *et passim*).
for **ḥtsag** read *vtshag* 'cause to trickle' (329 note i).
for **khu-tsor** read *khu-tshur* 'fist' (365)
for **bhag-leb** read *bag-leb* 'bread' (377 note b).
for **k'ol** read *khol* (425 note k)
for **kha-tha** read *kha-ta* 'crow' (447)
for **śa-ba** read *shwa-ba* 'deer' (448)
for **spros-ba** read *spros-pa* 'business, activity' (468)
for **gyag** read *g.yag* 'yak' (523)

## 7. Concluding remarks

Matisoff's work is completed with an index of semantic glosses and of reconstructed forms, but there are no indices of words from relevant languages (other than Chinese). Ideally there would have been an index of every language employed, but at least of Written Tibetan and Written Burmese. An index of Written Tibetan forms appearing in the work is appended to this review.

Containing uncountable provocative hypotheses, this work will no doubt be profitably consulted for decades to come, and represents the pinnacle of Tibeto-Burman comparative linguistics to date.

# Tibetan Index to Matisoff (2003)

All verb stems have been indexed under the present stem.

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klung ‘valley’ p. 287, 524
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dkrog-pa ‘rouse, scare up’ p. 329 n. 2, 377
bkres ‘hungry’ p. 437 n. c
rkang ‘leg’ p. 283, 293, 311 n. e
rku ‘steal’ p. 127, 441, 445
rkun-ma ‘thief’ p. 441, 445
rke ‘be lean’ p. 455
rked-po ‘waisr’ p. 455
rko ‘dig’ p. 461
rkod-pa ‘dig’ p. 380, 461
rkon-pa ‘fowler’s net’ p. 451
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skyabs ‘protection’ p. 466
skyi-ba ‘borrow’ p. 191, 443 n. 10, 471 n. a
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**KH**
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khu-tshan ‘uncle and nephew’ p. 447, 450
khu-tshur ‘fist’ p. 365
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khugs ‘corner’ p. 358, 530
khung ‘hole’ p. 468
khungs ‘mine’ p. 468
khol-po ‘servant’ p. 261
khyags-pa ‘frozen’ p. 72, 325, 521
khyi ‘dog’ p. 62, 96, 146, 196, 448
khyim ‘house’ p. 273, 498, 531
khrag ‘blood’ p. 313, 323 n. h, 328 n. c, 329 n. v
khrang ‘hard, solid, firm’ p. 267, 304 n. r
khrab ‘shield, coat of mail’ p. 342 n. b
khrab ‘weep’ p. 336
khram ‘tally sticks’ p. 253 n. b
khri-le-ba ‘fear’ p. 462
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Department of China and Inner Asia
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London
Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square
London WC1H 0XG, UK
nh36@soas.ac.uk

# 書評

# Handbook of *Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction*.

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Nathan W. Hill
倫敦大學亞非學院

馬蒂索夫 (2003) 憑藉數十年的研究，提出許多新的同源詞，給藏緬語語言學作出了重要的貢獻。然而，馬蒂索夫引用藏語時出現不少事實及分析的謬誤，削弱其各項重構的可信性。

關鍵詞：藏緬語，古藏文，重構