THE MTSHO-SNA MONPA LANGUAGE OF CHINA
AND ITS PLACE IN THE TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

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The town of *mTsho-sna* 'Cuona' lies in the southern part of the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China close to Bhutan. The Monpa language spoken in the area of this town was described by Professor Sun Hongkai and his associates several years ago.[1] It is certain that this Monpa language belongs to the Tibetan group, and it is presumed to be based on some language derived from Proto-Tibetan though its lexicon also includes an upper stratum of borrowed vocabulary from Modern Central Tibetan.[2]

1. Shared vocabulary

Therefore, although the vocabulary of the upper stratum has word forms extremely similar to those of Central Tibetan, it is inferred that the basic lexical items are shared with a language called Tak-pa, or that they are related to some language of north-east Bhutan. In fact, Monpa includes many words which are found in Burmese and contains a good number which are unusual for Tibeto-Burman languages.[3] This language has a vigesimal numeral system, including numeral items obviously related to Burmese forms along with the main numerals corresponding to Written Tibetan, namely 'four' to 'ten' (M - Mama dialect; W = Wenlang dialect):

four	M *pli53*	W *bli35*	eight	M *cen13*	W *get35*
five	M *le31ŋe53*	W *le35ŋa55*	nine	M *tu31ku53*	W *du35gu55*
six	M *kroʔ53*	W *grok35*	ten	M *tɕi53*	W *tɕi55*
seven	M *nis55*	W *ɲi55*			

It could possibly be said that the words 'five' and 'nine' reflect, respectively, WT *lnga* and *dgu,* and that they are expanded derivatives for we can find vowel harmony between thematic vowels and prefixes. M *pli53* W *bli35* 'four' corresponds to Burmese *lei2* < *liy2* (*p*- shows a relationship with Chin and Naga languages), and M *kro?53* W *grok35* 'six' corresponds to Written Burmese **khrok**. M *nis55* W *ɲi55* 'seven' also correspond to the second morpheme of Written Burmese **khu-hnac** Kachin *sănit31*.

It might be though at first sight that M *cen13* 'eight' is an aberrant form, but it is a form which is composed of the stem *ce-* followed by -*n;* it corresonds to Written Tibetan **brgyad**.[4]   The Wenlang form *get35* indicates this relation.   It can also be said that these numerals of Cuona Monpa are more or less close to those of the Trung language, except for 'eight':

Trung (Trung River dialect[5])

four	*a31bli53*	six	*kru?55*	eight	*çăt55*	ten	*ti55tsăl55*
five	*puɯ31ŋa53*	seven	*suɯ31ɲit55*	nine	*duɯ31guɯ53*		

In addition to these, Cuona Monpa has a number of words which may be considered cognate to Burmese:

	Mama	Wenlang	Burmese
bear	*ɔm13*	*wom35*	**wam**
tooth	*wa53*	*wa55*	**swa2**
canine tooth	*tɕhe55wa53*	?	**cway swa2**
and	*neŋ55*	?	**hnang3**
to press	*nep53*	*nøn55*	**hnip-**
arrow	*bla53*	*mla35*	**hmya2**
bow	*li35*	*li35*	**lei2 <*liy2**
to exchange	*ple?53*	*ple55*	**lai2-**
knee	*pu55moŋ53*	?	**pu-chac6**

In Cuona Monpa, 'heaven' and 'rain' have an identical form. This semantic relation is also found in Written Burmese, although the actual word forms are different:[7]

	Mama	Wenlang	Burmese
heaven	*nam53*	*nam55*	**mo2**
rain	*nam53*	*nam35*	**mo2**

This Monpa word *nam53* is obviously cognate to the Written Tibetan **gnam** 'heaven', though this semantic concept is divided into the separate words **gnam-kha** 'heaven' and **char-pa** 'rain' in later stages of Tibetan. It remains possible that Proto-Tibetan represented 'heaven' and 'rain' by a single form. The Trung forms for 'heaven' and 'rain' also contains the morpheme of Tibetan origin *nam* and the cognate to Burmese **mo2**:

	Trung River dialect	Nujiang dialect	Written Burmese	Written Tibetan
heaven	*mǐ?55*	*mǔ?55*	*mo²*	*gnam-kha*
rain (N.)	*năm53dza?55*	*năm53za?55*	*mo²rwa*	

Since Trung *năm53dza?55* or *năm53za?55* also means 'it rains' *dza?53* or *za?55* is cognate to Cuona Monpa M *tsho?53* W *tsho55*, and both of them probably correspond to Burmese *rwa* (*mo²rwa* 'it rains'). In that case, this word is also composed of elements cognate to both Tibetan and Burmese.

In this way, Cuona Monpa has compound word forms corresponding to Tibetan and Burmese, even though they are few in number. For instance, in M *pu35-sa53* W *bu35tsa55* 'child', M *pu35* W *bu35* corresponds to Tibetan *bu,* while M *sa53* W *tsa55* corresponds to Burmese *sa²*. In the case of M *li55po53* W *liu55 < *li-bu* 'heavy', *li55* corresponds to Burmese *lei² <*liy²,* and *-po53* corresponds to a Tibetan affix added to adjectives. In the compound M *tham53pla53* 'ashes of the oven', *tham53* corresponds to Tibetan *thab* 'oven', while *pla53* corresponds to Burmese *pra* (cf. Trung *a31pla55* 'ash'). I shall return below to the rules of correspondence.

2. Verbal morphology

Strong evidence for considering the basic component of Cuona Monpa to be extremely close to Tibetan is found in the morphemes used to express tenses. As I have reported in another article on the development of Tibetan tense morphology (Nishida 1987), the usage of auxiliaries for tense expressions shows a split between first and second/third persons in many spoken Tibetan dialects. On the other hand, Cuona Monpa (Mama dialect) shows a split between first/second and third persons. On this point Cuona Monpa agrees with the *mNgah-ris* Tibetan dialect. Wenlang dialect does not have such a split.[8] It can be said that this fact is one of the main peculiarities of the south dialect of Cuona Monpa. Let us take an example of the future tense:

Cuona Monpa (Mama dialect) *pri35*

1st/2nd person	(affirmative)	—	*pri35cu?53jin35*	I/You) will write.
	(negative)	—	*pri35cu?53men35*	(I/You) will not write.
3rd person	(affirmative)	—	*pri35cu?53ne?35*	He will write.
	(negative)	—	*pri35cu?53min35te31*	He will not write.

pri35 'to write' corresponds to Wr. Tibetan *hbri-ba,* and *cu?53* corresponds to Wr. Tibetan *rgyu* 'indication of future':

Lhasa dialect

1st person	(affirmative)	—	*tṣi13ki·jǐː13*	(I) will write.
	(negative)	—	*tṣi13ki·mẽː13*	(I) will not write.

| 2nd/3rd person | (affirmative) | — | *tṣi13ki·re?13* | (You/He) will write. |
| | (negative) | — | *tṣi13ki·ma1 1re?13* | (You/He) will not write. |

The past tense shows the same splits:[9]

Cuona Monpa (Mama dialect)

1st/2nd person	(affirmative)	—	*pri35wo53jiŋ35*	(I/You) wrote.
	(negative)	—	*pri35wo53men35*	(I/You) didnt write.
3rd person	(affirmative)	—	*pri35wo53ne?35*	(He) wrote.
	(negative)	—	*pri35wo53min35te31*	(He) didnt write.

Lhasa dialect

1st person	(affirmative)	—	*tṣi13pa·jī13*	(I) wrote.
	(negative)	—	*ma1 1tṣi53*	(I) didnt write.
2nd/3rd person	(affirmative)	—	*tṣi13pa·re?13*	(You/He) wrote.
	(negative)	—	*ma1 1tṣi53pa·re?13*	(You/He) didnt write.

The present tense shows the same splits again (negatives are omitted):

Cuona Monpa (Mama dialect)

| 1st/2nd person | — | *ji35ci53pri35ri53nem35* | (I/You) write (am/are writing) a letter) |
| 3rd person | — | *ji35ci53pri35ri53ne?35* | (He) writes (is writing) a letter. |

Lhasa dialect

| 1st person | — | *ji11ki53tṣi13ki·jö13* | (I) write (am writing) a letter. |
| 2nd/3rd person | — | *ji11ki53tṣi13ki·tu?13* | (You/He) write(s) (are/is writing) a letter. |

In the case of Lhasa dialect as well as other dialects of the Central Tibetan area, both the future and the past tense are expressed by linking the equative (copulative) verb to the verb-stem by means of a particle. Usually, *-yin* is added to the first person, and *-red* is added to the second/third person: *-gi-* (occasionally *-rgyu-*) is used for the future tense, and *-ba* (including its allomorphs) is used for the past tense, as the linking particle.

On the other hand, in the case of the present tense, **-yod** and **-hdug,** the existential verbs, appear with the first person and the second/third person, respectively, linked to the stem by the particle *-gi.*

In the case of Cuona Monpa (Mama dialect), since *-nem- ~ -ne?* is the existential verb and *jin* is the copulative verb, it happens that the copulative verb and the existential verb coexist in the same paradigm for future tense formation, besides the fact that it splits the paradigm differently with respect to persons, as mentioned above. Therefore, these forms do not accord exactly with those of Central Tibetan.

It seems that these forms are quite characteristic of Cuona Monpa. In addition to this, it is possible that the existential verb *-ne* is not a cognate of Tibetan **hdug** but rather corresponds to Burmese **-nei-** <*niy* 'stay, live' - (used for the progressive aspect; Nashi *-ne21* is also cognate). Since the form *-ne?* contains a glottal stop, it might also be inferred that it corresponds to WrT *gnas-pa* and that *-m* in the first/second person form *nem* is the trace of some affix.

	Lhasa dialect	Cuona Monpa	(Mama dialect)	(Wenlang dialect)[10]
[Future/Past tense]				
	Equative Verb		Equative/Existential Verb	
1st person	*-yin*	1st person	*-jin13*	*-ju55*
2nd person	*-red*	2nd person	*-jin13*	*-ju55*
3rd person	*-red*	3rd person	*-ne?13*	*-ju55*
[Present tense]				
	– Existential verb		– Existential verb	
1st person	*-yod*	1st person	*-nem13*	*-do55*
2nd person	*-hdug/tu?*	2nd person	*-nem13*	*-do55*
3rd person	*-hdug/tu?*	3rd person	*-ne?13*	*-do55*

Linking particle

	Lhasa dialect		Mama dialect	Wenlang dialect
Future	*-gi /ki, rgyu /cu*	*-cu?55*		nothing
Present	*-ba /wa*		*-wo53*	nothing
Past	*-gi /ki*		*-i53*	nothing

The perfective aspect in the Cuona Monpa (Mama dialect) is expressed by adding an auxiliary verb *tshar55*. This form corresponds to the verb phrase of Lhasa dialect [past stem] + *tsha55* (WrT *tshar*) e.g.:

Cuona Monpa (Mama dialect)   WrT

za35tshar55	have eaten	**zas-tshar**
pri35tshar55	have written	**bris-tshar**
ja35tshar55	have achieved	**byas-tshar**

On the other hand, Cuona Monpa has several characteristic phenomena that we cannot find in Tibetan, at least in the dialects of the Central Area.

3. Grammatical words

As for the personal pronouns of Monpa, the form of the first person is cognate to other Tibetan languages; those of the second and third persons are idiosyncratic, and obviously relate to forms in the Naga languages (Ao *pá*, Sema *pa*, Angami *puô*, Lhota *npō*, etc.):[11]

	Mama	Wenlang		Mama	Wenlang
Singular			Plural		
I	ŋe35	ŋe35	we	ŋa35ra?53	ŋa35ra55
you	?i53	i55	you	?e53ra?53	?e55ra55
he	pe35	bi35	they	pe13ra?53	be35ra55

The element *-ra?53 ~ ra55* corresponds to WrT *-cag* (cf. WrB **kra³** and Japanese *-ra*).

The possessive case of the pronoun is indicated by adding the particle *ko31* (cognate to WrT *-gi*, Nashi *-gə33*, etc.), and it is also characteristic of this language that the thematic vowel of the first person changes from *ŋe13* (< *ŋa*) to *ŋu13*, and that the particle of the plural changes from *ra?53* to *ru?53*.

	Mama	Wenlang		Mama	Wenlang
my	ŋu35ko31	ŋu35ku55	our	ŋu35ru?53ko31	ŋa35ra55ku55
your (pl)	?i53ru?53ko31	?i55ku55	their	pe35ru?53ko31	bi35ra55ku55

The case particle *te31* added to the agentive form indicates a subject, and is similar to the 'instrumental' subject of other Tibeto-Burman languages. This might be due to the fact that *te31* reflects a former ergative construction, e.g.:

Mama   *thoŋ55ɕø:55te31...*   'with a wooden plough' (cf. Japanese noun + de)

Among the case particles there are some forms that correspond to Tibetan and others which may be considered cognate to Burmese.

In the Mama dialect, the dative particle *-le31* added to the patient corresponds to WrT *-la:*

?a55-tɕe53-te31	ŋe35 le31 ... /	W ŋe35le35 ... (T **nga-la**)
My brother	for me ...	brother I ...

The particle of comparison *-le31*, which is the same form as the dative particle, corresponds to WrT *-las*, but in the Wenlang dialect, the ablative case *ge35* is used instead of *le35*.

M   *ta31 niŋ55 na31 niŋ55 le31 ...*
W   *da35 niŋ55 ni35 niŋ55 ge35 ...*
    This year is ... than last year

The ablative case *ge35* of the Wenlang dialect is a cognate of Mama *-ki31* and both of them correspond to WrB *-ka³*:

M   *pe55tɕiŋ55 ki31 ...*   from Beijing ...
W   *pe55tɕiŋ55 ge35 ...*   from Beijing ...

M *ka31* 'inside' in M *tshi53 ka31 ɲa35 ne?35* W *tshi55 ka55 ɲa35 nou35* 'There are fish in the water' is cognate to Yi *-ko33*, and this is also expressed as M *neŋ35 ka31* W *neŋ35ŋa35*. As *neŋ35* is cognate to WrT **nang** 'in' (*-a > -e), if *ka31* or *ka55* is cognate to WrB **a-kra²** 'intermediate

space', then we can say *neŋ13 ka31* or *neŋ35ŋa35* <**neŋ35ka35* is composed of a Tibetan form and a Burmese form.

4. Semantics

There is a semantic split in the 'transfer' verb 'to borrow' which arouses our interest. While only a single word ***g-yar-ba*** is used for 'borrow' in Tibetan (but cf. Batang dialect)[12] it is split into two forms in Cuona Monpa (Mama): *ɲar35* is used for borrowing in which one must return the original object, and *cir55* is used when the original object need not be returned. This form *ɲar35* is probably a cognate to the Tibetan ***g-yar-ba,*** which is mentioned above.

It is very interesting that the split in Cuona Monpa accords to the two forms for 'to borrow' found in Burmese and Atsi:

Burmese	Atsi	
hnga2-	*ŋo31*	borrow (when one must return the original object, such as a sword, a wheel, a cow, etc.)
khyei2- < *khiy2-*	*tʃi31*	borrow (when one need not return the original object, such as string, oil, money, etc.)

The latter form is etymologically related to Cuona Monpa *cir* (and WrT ***skyi-ba***). Burmese ***hnga2*** is cognate to Tibetan ***(b)rnya-ba:***

Cf.	fish	to borrow
WrB	***nga2***	***hnga2***
WrT	***nya***	***rnya-ba***

Kachin also has the same kind of dichotomy. However, as the word forms themselves do not correspond to Cuona Monpa, the latter language is closer to Burmese and Atsi in this respect:

	Monpa	Burmese	Atsi	Tibetan	Kachin
to borrow 1	*ɲar35*	***hnga2***	*ŋo31*	***(rnya-ba) g-yar-ba***	*hkoi [khoi31]*
to borrow 2	*cir53*	***khyei2-***	*tʃi31*	***(skyi-ba)***	*shap [ʃap31]*

5. Loanwords versus native vocabulary

Returning to the problem of vocabulary, it can be found that Cuona Monpa has some word forms which are extremely close to Tibetan, e.g. 'flute' M *tʂhi55liŋ55* W *peŋ55tɕa55juŋ55* WrT ***phred-gling*** (Lhasa *chif lingf*);[13] 'wooden boat' M *tʂu35* W *doŋ35dʐu55* WrT ***gru*** (Lhasa *chuv*); 'saw' M *so55li53* W *so55li55* WrT ***sog-le*** (Lhasa *soof lef*); 'hemp string' M *so55ma53kut55pa53* W *so55ma55kut55pa55* WrT ***(g)so-mahi skud-pa*** (Lhasa *sof maf guf bacf*), etc. However, even though 'one who limps' M *kaŋ55cɔ?53* W *tɕok55pu55* corresponds to WrT ***rkang kyog*** (Lhasa *gangf gyoh*), and *kyog-po,* Cuona Monpa does not use *kaŋ55pa* for 'leg' but uses M *le35mɛ?53* W *li35min55*. The first morpheme of this word *le35mɛ?53* is probably cognate to Burmese

khrei < *khriy* (the latter morpheme *mɛʔ53* might correspond to Burmese *mat-* 'stand upright'). Therefore, I would like to assume that while Cuona Monpa M *kaŋ55cɔʔ53* is a loanword, the latter *le35mɛʔ53* is an inherited form from a common ancestor. Trung also reflects a similar state of affairs 'one who limps' *kăŋ55dʐa55* (Trung River dialect) *kăn31ʐa55* (Nujiang dialect) : 'leg' *xrăi55* (Trung River dialect), *xre55* (Nujiang dialect). The form for 'one who limps' is a loanword, and that for 'leg' is an inherited form, which is cognate to Burmese *khriy*. *lek53* 'iron', which might at first sight be regarded as a loanword from Tai, is probably a cognate to Tibetan *lcags*. The borrowed form for this can be found in the following compounds:

	Mama	Wenlang	WrT
pen	*tɕak55ɲu53*	*ɲu55gu55*	**lcags-smyug**
plow	*tɕak53ɕø55*		**lcags-gshol**

Similarly I would like to regard *mø55ja35* (*ja35* 'to do')[14] as the original inherited form in opposition to the loanword *cø55* 'plow'. However *mø55* is etymologically related to WrT **rmon-pa** 'to plow, to cultivate'. 'Tongue' M *le53* W *le55* WrT **lce** is an instance of the correspondence Monpa *l-* : WrT *lc-*.

6. Phonological correspondences

Is it not possible to distinguish these two vocabulary strata (i.e. loanwords vs. inherited words) by the criterion of phonological correspondences? For instance:

	Cuona Monpa				WrT
	Mama		Wenlang		
1	*-eʔ*	:	*-eʔ-i*	:	**-ag**
2	*-ak*	:	*-a*	:	**-ag**
3	*-eŋ*	:	*-eŋ*	:	**-ang**
4	*-aŋ*	:	*-aŋ*	:	**-ang**

May we not infer the following? 1 and 3 represent cognate forms transmitted from a proto-language, while the words which show the correspondence of 2 and 4 are recently borrowed from Central Tibetan or are reformed under its influence as the standard dialect.

For instance:

1	Monpa *-e, -ek*		WrT	**-ag**
	Mama	Wenlang		WrT
blood	*ceʔ53*	*ki55*		**khrag**
to leak out	*zeʔ35*	*ze35do35*		**zag-pa**
rope	*thek55pa53*	*thek55pa55*		**thag-pa**
to weave	*theʔ53*	*the55ga55*		**hthag-pa**

2	Monpa -a?, -ak		WrT	-ag
	Mama	Wenlang		WrT
pig	*pha?53*	*pha55*		**phag**
beast	*ri35tak53*	?		**ri-dwags**
tiger	*ta?53*	*ta55*		**stag**
sheep	*la?53*	*la55*		**lag**

In addition to these examples, 'snot' M *nep53* W *nep55* WrT **snabs**; 'clothes' M *pe?53* W *pe55* WrB **a-wat**, etc. belong to the former series, while 'tobacco' M *tha55ma?53* W *tha55ma55* WrT **tha-mag** are obviously recent loanwords. However, although a form like 'master' M *tak35po53* (W *ne55po55*) corresponds to WrT **bdag-po**, it is difficult to consider it as a loanword. There is a possibility that the vowel -e changed into -a under the influence of the Central Tibetan form **tak-po**, even though Monpa had the inherited form **te?13po53* originally.

Is this later reformation ascribable to the fact that many basic lexical items of Monpa already showed forms close to Central Tibetan, alongside the pure loan words? This might be indicated by the fact that the second morpheme in words like 'pockmark' M *par13tsa?53* (WrT **hbar-tshags**) includes an unaspirated sound.

While 'to see' M *te55* W *te-u55* WrT **lta-ba**, and 'horse' M *te53* W *te55* WrT **rta** include the same vowel -e as the numeral 'five' mentioned above[15], 'eat' M *za35* W *za35* has the vowel -a. This might be ascribed to the fact that the latter has been remodelled.

In the same way:

3	Monpa -eŋ		WrT -**ang**
	Mama	Wenlang	WrT
inside	*neŋ35*	*neŋ55ŋa35*	**nang**
spinning	*pheŋ53*	?	**hphang-lo**
copper	*zeŋ35*	*zeŋ35*	**zangs**
plain	*peŋ55theŋ55*	?	**spang-thang**

4	Monpa -aŋ		WrT -**ang**
	Mama	Wenlang	WrT
wolf	*ɕaŋ55ku53*	*pha55ra55*	**spyang-ku**
chest	*praŋ35*	*braŋ55to55*	**brang-kha**
room	*khaŋ55mi?53*	?	**khang-mig**
green	*dʑaŋ35ku53*	?	**ljang-khu**

Not only do phonemic forms show simple and regular correspondences, but the tones also correspond clearly, in the case of vocabulary of Tibetan origin. Since we can set up a relation of the same kind between words of Burmese origin and Written Burmese, it is possible to decide that a given word in Monpa is cognate to Tibetan or to Burmese according to the tone correspondence.

Let us illustrate here the basic correspondence which we can postulate between Tibetan and Monpa.

Syllable of Cuona Monpa (Mama) Initials of WrT.	CV#, CVC		CV?	
	Mama	Wenlang	Mama	Wenlang
1. Voiceless or nasals with pre-consonant, etc.	53, 55	55	?53	55
2. Voiced	35	35	?35	35

Forms which correspond to WrT forms in *br-*, *gl-*, etc., are treated as belonging to category 1.

1. Voiceless series (High tone)   2. Voiced series (Low tone)

CV#, CVn type

	Mama	Wenlang	WrT		Mama	Wenlang	WrT
water	*tshi53*	*tshi55*	*chu*	goat	*ra35*	*ra35*	*ra*
salt	*tsha53*	*tsha55*	*tshawa*	mountain	*ri35*	*ri35*	*ri*
who	*su53*	*su55*	*su*	person	*mi35*	*mi35*	*mi*
open	*phe53*	*phe55*	*phye-*	in	*neŋ35*	*neŋ35ŋa35*	*nang*
three	*sum53*	*som55*	*gsum*	cloth	*ra35*	*re35*	*ras*
five	*le31ŋe53*	*le35ŋa55*	*lnga*	bird	*tɕa35*	*ʐa35*	*bya*

CV? type

	Mama	Wenlang	WrT		Mama	Wenlang	WrT
eye	*me?53*	*me55*	*mig* (high)	Tibet	*pø?35*	?	*bod*
say[15]	*ɕat53*	*ɕat55pu55*	*bshad*	brass	*ra?35*	?	*rag*
dragon	*bru?53*	*bruk53*	*hbrug*	rye	*na?35*	*ne35*	*nas*
read	*khlok53*	*khro55ga55*	*klog*	mule	*kre?35*	*dʑe35*	*drel*

In the case of the tone of syllables which began with voiceless sounds, there is another type in Monpa (Mama) besides the type with the 53 tone. For instance, 'see' *te55* (WrT *lta-ba*) stands in opposition to 'horse' *te53* (WrT *rta*). The conditioning for this 53/55 split is still unclear.

	Mama	Wenlang	WrT
gold	*ser55*	*ser55*	*gser*
silver, money	*ŋy:55*	*ŋy35*	*dngul*
mature	*men55*	?	*smin*

In addition to these, we can find the 55 type in the following word pairs:

	Mama	WrT		Mama	WrT
to be burnt	par35	*hbar-*	burn	par55	*spar-*
to be attached	dʑar35	*hbyar-*	attach	dʑar55	*sbyar-*

That **sby-** is treated as belonging to the voiceless sound series in the last instance should be regarded as a change caused by the function of the causative construction in a later stage of this language.

In the case of two-syllable words, several types of tone combinations might occur, but there is a tendency for them to be integrated into two main patterns, that is, a 55-53 type and a 35-53 type. There is, especially, a strong tendency for the combinations of both the 53-53 type and the 53-35 type to be altered to the 55-53 type:

	Mama	Wenlang	WrT
new	se55ro53	se55ru55[16]	*gsar-ba*
axe	tha55ri53	te55wan55	*sta-ri*
thing	tɕa55la?53	(no35tsaŋ55)	*cha-lag*
tree	ɕen55ma53	ɕeŋ55	*shing*
white	cher55po53	khe55ru55	*dkar-po*
hot	tshe55po53	tshat55pa55	*tshwa-po*
life	tsho55wa53	?	*htsho-ba*
cold	chek55pa53	tɕhak55ɲi55	*hkhyag-pa*
all	tsaŋ55ma53	(ge35ka35)	*tshang-ma*
climate	nam55ɕi53	?	*gnam-gshis*

35-53 type

letter	ji35ɕi53	ji35gi35	*yig-ge*
summit	ri35tse53	?	*ri-rtse*
long	riŋ35po53	riŋ35ko55	*ring-po*
many	maŋ35po53	(ge35ba35)	*mang-po*
dance	ɕap35ro53	?	*zhabs bro*

In regard to this type, we are unable to tell whether it can be distinguished from the 35-55 type or not:

last year	na31niŋ55	ɲi35niŋ55	*(zla-nyin)*
this year	ta31niŋ55	da35niŋ55	*da(-lo)*

(Central dialects other than Lhasa have the form *na1 1niŋ55* for 'last year').

In addition to these, the 53-55, 53-35, and 35-35 types sometimes reflect the exact tone types that can be deduced from Tibetan orthography, and there is a strong possibility that they have been introduced under the influence of Written Tibetan spelling:

	Mama	Wenlang	WrT
53-55 type			
barrack	mak53kar55	?	*dmag-sgar*
iron plow	tɕak53ɕø:55	?	*lcags-gshol*

53-35 type

| soldier | *mak53mi35* | *ma55mi55* | **dmag-mi** |
| cargo | *tshoŋ53zoʔ35* | ? | **tshong-zog** |

35-35 type

| coffin | *ro35gam35* | ? | **ro-sgam** |
| race | *mi35rik35* | *mi35rik55* | **mi-rigs** |

'Fish' M *ɲa35* W *ɲa35* corresponds directly not to Burmese **nga²** (high tone) but to Tibetan **nya** (low tone). 'To write' M *pri35* W *bri35* corresponds not to Burmese **rei²** <*riy² (high tone) but to Tibetan **ḫbri-ba** (low tone); 'fire' M *me35* W *me35* also corresponds directly not to Burmese **mi²** (high tone) but to Tibetan **me** (low tone). However , 'four' M *pli53* W *bli35* corresponds directly not to Tibetan **bzhi** (low tone) but to Burmese **lei²** <*liy² (high tone). 'Tooth' M *wa53* W *wa55* also corresponds to Burmese **swa²** (high tone).

In the case of 'child' M *pu35sa53* W *bu35tsa55* above, the first syllable corresponds to Tibetan **bu** (low tone), while the second corresponds to Burmese **sa²** (high tone). Therefore the tone type also follows the rule.

When we make a general survey of the etymology of Cuona Monpa lexical items in the same way as in many other languages belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language group, we find many words related to Written Tibetan but also a number of idiosyncratic forms as well as forms corresponding to etyma in the Lolo-Burmese language group (with of course some overlap among these classes). For instance, 'yesterday' M *daŋ35* W *daŋ35*; 'to be rotten' *ri:13*; 'you' *ʔi53*; 'milk' *jo13*, etc.[17]

As for the word forms belonging to the last set, we can expect to clarify their etymological relationship in the future when more forms from other Tibeto-Burman languages become available.

NOTES

1   The data on Monpa were first presented in Sun et al. (1980), and were published later as two 1986 monographs, Lu Shaozun (1986) and Zhang Jichuan (1986). The Cuona Monpa language, which was described in Sun et al. (1980), is equivalent to the southern dialect (Mama dialect) in Lu Shaozun (1986), where data on the northern dialect (Wenlang dialect) were appended. The language which was named Motuo Monba in Sun (1980) was designated as Cangluo (Tshangla) Monba in Zhang Jichuan (1986) where it was indicated that this Monpa language is close to the Central Monpa cited by Das Gupta. All these are valuable data indeed, and every Monpa form treated in this paper is based on these books. Cangluo Monba is also a most intriguing language, and the writer plans to discuss its characteristics in another paper.

2   The writer has placed Cuona Monpa in the Tibetan language group as follows (Nishida 1987):
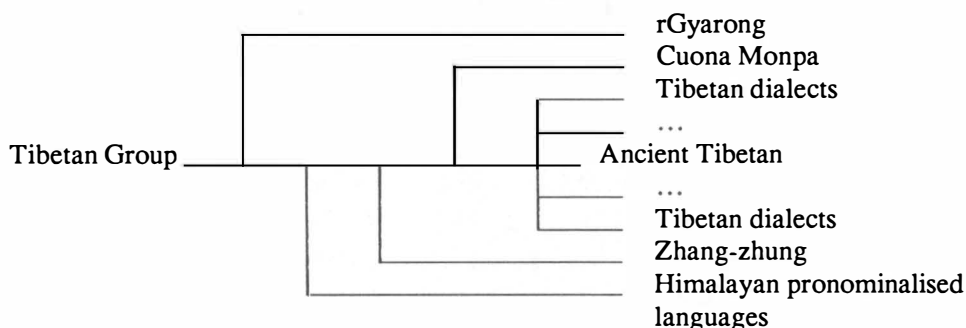
3   Among such idiosyncratic forms we may cite: 'language' M *man55* W *mat55;* 'tail' M *khlɛ?53* W *khrek55,* etc.

4   In the Wenlang dialect a development **gy->g-** occurred, while **gy- > c-**, and **rgy- > f-** in the Mama dialect:

	Mama	Wenlang	WrT
to wear	*cen35na35*	*ge35ɲu35*	**gyon-pa**
to stretch out	*ɟaŋ35*	*gaŋ35*	**rgyang-pa**

Palatalisation occurred in both examples of Monpa, and there also exist some examples of a M c- : W *ʑ-, dʑ* correspondence:

intestines	*cu35-mo53*	*ʑu35u35mo55*	**rgyu-ma**
back	*ca35*	*dʑap35*	**rgyab**
China	*ca35*	*dʑa35*	**rgya**
nation	*cɛ:35khap53*	*dʑa35khap55*	**rgyal-khab**

5   Trung words are cited from Sun Hongkai (1982).

6   Cf. Proto-Tibetan **bugs-mo* 'knee'. In addition, there are instances of *ra35* 'root' corresponding to WrB *mrak,* and *tsa55* to WrT **rtsa-ba** (Tsangla *tsa55*). (Cf. 'muscle' M *tsa53* W *tsa55* Ts. *tsa55* : WrT. **rtsa**).

There also exist some instance of Tsangla Monpa corresponding to WrB in contrast to those in which Cuona Monpa corresponds to WrT:

hair   M *khra55* W *khra55* → WrT *skra*
                      Ts *tsham55* → WrB *cham*
sleep   M *ɲɛ:35* W *ŋeu < kŋe-u* → WrT **nyal-ba**
                      Ts *jip13* → WrB *'ip-*

7   'Heaven' and 'rain' are entirely identical forms in the data of Sun et al. (1980), however, a tonal opposition ('heaven' 53 : 'rain' 35) is set up in Lu (1986).

8   When we make a general survey of verb phrase structure, we may conclude that Mama dialect is close to the Central dialect of Tibetan, and that the Wenlang dialect preserves more conservative forms. In contrast to this, Tshangla Monpa shows a different general structure but it also partly includes some properties close to Tibetan.

9   New information is appended to Lu Shaozun (1986): Mama dialect, past tense, third person *wo53ne?13* There is also an unusual form *wo53de?13*, alongside the usual form. In the case of the present tense, *-ri53-* appears only with verb stems which end in a vowel or *-r*. In addition to this, *-ni53-* occurs with stem final *-m, -n,* and *-ŋ,* and *-k'o53* appears with *-k* or *-?*. Thus assimilation occurs between this particle and the final consonant of the verb stem.

10   Wenlang dialect has no split due to person, but shows oppositions like: 'to eat' *za35-ju55* (future), *za35do55* (present), *zeu35* (past). There are no linking particles, and these forms might be assumed to be derived from: future **V-yin*, present **V-hdug*, past **V-yod* respectively.

11   The form M *pe35* W *bi35*, might be cognate to WrT **kho**. A similar example is 'foot' Tshangla *pi35* Central Monpa *bi* WrB **khrei** < ***khriy²**. On the correspondence of TB ***kh**: Lahu *ph* see Nishida (1968:22).

12   The Batang dialect of Tibetan has a similar kind of distinction between *jar-* (WrT **g-yar-ba**) and *tɕi-* (WrT **skyi-ba**) (Prof. **sKal-bzang hgyur-med**, pers. comm.).

13   Editor's Note: Here the author follows his Chinese source in using the Central Institute for National Minorities' system of transcription for Lhasa Tibetan.

14   'To do' *ja35* corresponds to WrT **rgyag-pa**, and is used in verb constructions in the same way as in Tibetan: ex. M *tsi53ja35* WrT **rtsis-rgyag-pa** 'to count', M *tshø?53ja35* WrT **tshos-rgyag-pa** 'to dye'.

15   Verbs in the Wenlang dialect often end in *-u* or *-pu*. These may be verbal particles corresponding to WrT-*pa* ~ *-ba*, e. g. 'to pull' M *khri?53* W *khri-u55* (Ts. *rik13*) WrT **khrid-pa**; 'to buy' M *ɲer35* W *ɲe-u35* WrT **nyo-ba** (cf. Ts. *ŋo13*); 'to fry' M *ŋo35* W *ŋø-u35* WrT **rngo-ba**, etc.

16   Both Mama and Wenlang dialects have a tendency to alter original monosyllabic words into two-syllable words:

	Mama	Wenlang	WrT.
yellow	*si55ru53*	*ser55pu55*	**ser-po**
to be new	*se55ro53*	*se55ru55*	**gsar-ba**
summer	*tɕa55re31*	*ʐar35ke55*	**dbyar-kha**
to sit	*zuk35*	*ʐu35ga35*	**bzhugs-**

17   In addition to this, there exist some strange forms which can be found in the Wenlang dialect, e.g. 'to ask' M *bri35* W *ŋre-u35* WrT **hdri-ba**. 'To be thin' shows the same correspondence: M *dʐa35mo53* W *ŋra35pu55* WrT **srab-mo** < ***sdrab-mo**. Each is an instance of W *ŋr-* corresponding to Tibetan *dr-*. This might indicate a correspondence between WrT *dr-* and W *gr-*: 'to be warm' M *kro35po53* W *gro35ɲi55* WrT **dro-ba**. (cf. 'six').