Rgyalthang Tibetan lexicon and an appraisal of a Southeast Asian wordlist[1]

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1. Introduction

This paper is aimed at presenting a list of core vocabulary words in Rgyalthang, a variety of Kham Tibetan spoken in Zhongdian, Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, NW Yunnan, PRC. Another major objective of the study is to evaluate CALMSEA, the main questionnaire used in gathering basic words in Rgyalthang. To me, vocabulary not only reveals cultural presuppositions encoded in language but is also a key to the understanding of its grammatical structure. Examples of selected items discussed in the paper will clearly illustrate the benefit of studying lexicon for the purpose of better understanding grammar.

Among the few questionnaires available for collecting basic words in Southeast Asian languages, such as the SIL Southeast Asia Wordlist (Miller 1994), I chose "CALMSEA" (Culturally Appropriate Lexicostatistical Model for SouthEast Asia) or "The Matisoff 200-word List" (Matisoff 1978) as the main questionnaire in collecting basic words in Rgyalthang. The primary reason for choosing this wordlist is that it seems to be most applicable to Tibeto-Burman languages. Also, I would like to find out to what extent core vocabulary items in Tibetan are similar to those in other languages in Southeast Asia (SEA). In other words, do what Matisoff claims to be basic words in this region hold true for Tibetan, a distant relative of mainland SEA languages? Another reason for choosing CALMSEA is that it is suitable for this variety of Tibetan, which is spoken in Yunnan, one of the multilingual and multicultural areas of Southeast Asia. Unlike most Tibetan dialects, Rgyalthang has a lot of contacts with other languages spoken in NW Yunnan such as Pumi, Naxi, Yi, Lahu, and Lisu.

2. General problems of using CALMSEA

CALMSEA was developed from the more well-known Swadesh 200 Lexicostatistical Wordlist (hereafter Swadesh), which has been around for decades and much used among historical linguists. Among Matisoff's main criticisms of Swadesh are (1) the inclusion of non-basic words for languages spoken in tropical climate, such as *ice* and *snow*, and (2) its lack of SEA cultural words, such as *rice*, *banana*, *village*, and the verb *cut*, which usually takes more than one word depending on the kinds of objects being cut and the kinds of instruments used for cutting. Moreover, Swadesh contains some grammatical morphemes, such as *ye* (the more formal *you*), and the masculine pronoun *he*, which are, generally speaking, non-existent in SEA languages. That is, most SEA languages do not make a distinction between the singular and plural or the formal and informal second person pronoun, and between the third singular masculine and feminine pronoun.

Among the 200 CALMSEA words classified according to semantic categories, 110 are derived from Swadesh. The remaining are mainly cultural words which Matisoff claims to be basic in this region. These words are, for example, *monkey, poison, mortal,* and *breath /life.* The questionnaire is accompanied by reconstructed forms in Proto-Sino-Tibetan. But as my main focus in this paper is not a reconstruction of a proto language, I will not discuss this issue in detail. In any case, the data presented in this paper can be easily used for reconstruction of a proto language, and especially for comparisons among Tibetan dialects and related languages.

CALMSEA is useful for a field linguist who wants to collect basic words in an unknown SEA language, but there are a few practical problems involved. For example, certain items in the list are not suitable to SEA languages in general. A number of CALMSEA words are presented in pairs as if they are etymologically related. Such items in question are, for example, *medicine/juice, river/valley, hand/ arm, scratch/scrape, cook/boil, fear/frighten, run/flee, long/tall,* and *drive/hunt.* For many SEA languages the word for *medicine* is not always identical with *juice,* and the word for *river* is not always related to *valley.* This is especially clear in Thai in which many of these words are strikingly noun compounds. Note that a Thai verbal compound lâilâa (lâi 'to drive' + lâa 'to hunt') is indeed common, but it does not make a reference to the act of hunting. Instead, it simply means 'to chase'. In order to make CALMSEA more applicable to a wider range of languages, I think these items should be listed separately.

Actually, some of the vocabulary items which Matisoff claims to be basic to this region turn out to be quite universal; that is, the phenomenon does occur in other language areas of the world. In this regard Matisoff suggested the item #30 *vagina* or *breast/milk* in the list, hoping to find cognates for PST *nuw, which means *breast* in some daughter languages and *vagina* in others. A clear example of this cognate is nuı in Sgaw Karen, which means both *breast* and *milk* (Ratanakul 1986). Classical Tibetan *numa* 'breast', on the other hand, has nothing to do with the word milk: ʒɕ (honorific term; curd), or fioma (general term).[2] In Hongladarom (1998), I have

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[2]I would like to thank Christopher Beckwith for explaining to me about the word 'milk' in Old and Classical Tibetan. Interested readers should consult his work (Beckwith 1996), which provides several points of insight regarding Proto-Tibetan lexicon.

shown that the situation in which the etymon *breast* is related to milk is not unique only to SEA languages, but it is common among languages of various families around the world. For this reason, I opt to investigate these three terms (i.e., *vagina*, *breast*, and *milk*) separately.

Another problem of CALMSEA is that certain items in the list are ambiguous. For example, informants often mistook the item *ashamed* for *embarrassed*. Actually the concept of being ashamed for Asian people does not convey the idea that someone has committed a bad thing and is punished by feeling ashamed or embarrassed for what he or she has done. Instead, an (especially female) Asian can be ashamed upon being looked at, when having to present a speech in public, or even when finding oneself in an awkward situation, such as at a big party in which one feels out of place among strangers. The difficulty associated with this item arises from the fact that all the words in the questionnaire are given in English. It may be more useful and clearer for field linguists if, together with the gloss, a metalanguage like that in Wierzbicka's work (1997) is given when abstract words like this or words that have several meanings are involved.[3] Interestingly, Sun (1993), in his investigation of Tani, chose the word *shy* to replace this item. Instead, I chose to remove it from my list, not merely because of, elicitation problem, but also because I do not think that this word is a common vocabulary item in Tibetan.

3. Problems of applying CALMSEA to Tibetan

Certain words in CALMSEA are excluded from the present wordlist for three major reasons: (1) they are non-cultural (they do not exist in Rgyalthang), (2) they either confuse informants or are too abstract if elicited without proper contexts, and (3) they are culturally sensitive (non-basic). Following Rosch et al. (1976), basic words (or "basic-level categories," in their terminology) are defined as words that are shortest, most commonly used, and culturally neutral. Culturally sensitive words are those that have several shades of meaning, such as the verb *cut* mentioned earlier. According to Rosch et al., basic words are also those first learned by children and the first to enter the lexicon. It will be interesting to test in further research if the majority of words presented in the present wordlist are first learned by Rgyalthang children. However, the term basic applied in this study is relatively general compared to that suggested by Rosch et al. Basic words in this paper also cover those denoting common or cultural objects such as *bamboo* (#103) or *arrow* (#109).

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[3]Wierzbicka (1997) describes the meaning of a word by using a set of semantic primitives expressed in what she calls "natural semantic metalanguage." For example, the metalanguage of the word *friend* in contemporary English, which carries the sense of "enjoyment," "pleasure," and "fun" is as follows:

friend
(a)　　everyone knows: many people think about some other people like this:
(b)　　I know this person well
(c)　　I want to be with this person often
(d)　　I want to do things with this person often
(e)　　when I am with this person, I feel something good
(f)　　I think this person thinks the same about me
(g)　　I think like this about this person

Several CALMSEA items do not exist in the Rgyalthang lexicon. These items truly reflect the culture of mainland SEA languages. As Rgyalthang (Zhongdian) lies on the Qinghai plateau (at an altitude level approximately 3,400 meters), it is cold most of the year. The native people raise cattle and do some basic farming for a living. The basic crops are potato, buckwheat, and barley, and the unique vegetables found in the area are wild asparagus and mushroom. As expected, there are no Rgyalthang words for *swidden, irrigated paddy field, water leech, various kinds of rice*, and even a SEA common fruit like *banana*. In addition, Rgyalthang possesses only one native word for rice: ṇgūī. This is different from many SEA languages such as Vietnamese which has several etyma for rice. To refer to *banana* and many other kinds of fruits, Rgyalthang resorts to neighboring languages. For example, it borrows the word xiāng jiāo from Chinese for *banana* and the word cēlā 'pear' from Naxi.

Another non-cultural word in Rgyalthang is *fowl* (#64 in CALMSEA). When asked to provide an equivalent term for this item, after some pause and puzzled look, my informant gave the word tchūņdẓā meaning a *domestic hen*, as can be seen in the following example. Note that this word is a compound of tchūņ 'house' and tchā 'hen'. The initial consonant of the second syllable is voiced in medial position.

(1)   tchōnàta   tchūņdẓā   sūə-ra   ʔa-jŷ
       2P-LOC   domestic hen   keep-IMPF   Q-EXIST[4]
       'Do you keep a hen at home?'

As the concept is unknown in Rgyalthang lexicon, it is removed from the present wordlist.

Words that are too difficult to elicit are, for example, *ashamed* (as mentioned earlier), *dove* (CALMSEA #68), and *drive/hunt* (CALMSEA #200). The reason for excluding *dove* is because I am not certain if it is a common kind of bird in Rgyalthang culture. Such a word will be difficult to elicit unless one shows the informant a picture of the bird or points at a real instance in the field. Also, there are several words such as *sparrow* that are also as good candidates. *Dove* may be classified as a common word if it can be shown that it is the best example of the category *bird* in the language.

It is nearly impossible to elicit a word for *drive/hunt*. The best I can get is as follows:

(2)   sūī   gūə   dzŷ   dūŋ   lā   sè   tshăŋ   tēn
       gold   dig   tail   chop   deer   kill   buttock show
       'You can always kill (musk) deer, but you cannot become rich'

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[4]Abbreviations used in this paper: 2D second person dual pronoun; 2P second person plural pronoun; 2S second person singular pronoun; AUX auxiliary verb; CLF classifier; COP copula; EXIST existential verb; IMPER imperative; IMPF imperfective; LOC locative; NEG negative; PF perfective; POSS possessive; Q interrogative. SELF and OTHER refer to orientation towards the speaker and other speech act participants, respectively.

This sentence is a proverb used in a situation when the speaker wants to describe people who have no vision for the future. Note that in order to express the concept of hunting the speaker has to resort to a compound word, lā sè 'to kill deer'.

Matisoff criticizes Swadesh for ignoring a vocabulary item like 'to cut' which in many Southeast Asian languages has several forms depending on what types of objects are being cut and the direction in which the cutting takes place. However, like Miller (1994), I chose to remove this word from the list. It is hard to determine which of the following words is more basic: tsè 'cut (life (= to kill), tree, hair, thread)'; tùi 'cut (meat, wood); and ɲà 'chop (meat, vegetables)'.

In addition, several words in CALMSEA are reorganized. CALMSEA contains a lot of words that are supposed to be synonyms or etymologically related such as the words for *breast/milk* as mentioned earlier. But most of these words in Rgyalthang are not identical or even related; therefore, I opt to present them separately. For example, CALMSEA's *nail/claw* becomes *nail* (# 27) and *claw* (# 28) in this present wordlist. Anther similar example is *river/valley*, which is presented as two separate words (see #86 and #87 in the appendix).

I did not exclude taboo words from my list. These are words for private parts of the human body, namely *penis* (#31), and *vagina* (#32), but it is worth mentioning how they cause difficulty in elicitation. It was hard for me to elicit these words, not only because I am a woman, but also because the informants who can converse with me in Lhasa Tibetan are all male. It took me nearly two years to get acquainted with one of them until I was brave enough to ask him what the terms for these words were. Even then, I did not dare to ask about them directly. What I did was I showed him the terms in written Tibetan from a dictionary (Jäschke 1987) and asked for the equivalent in Rgyalthang. The method worked. The informant knew what I wanted, but he himself was too embarrassed to utter them in front of me. He asked if the phonetic symbols he used were correct for each uttering sound which combines the whole word. So that is how these items were obtained. Although I understand why these words should be included in the CALMSEA wordlist, I do not think it is felicitious to elicit them when the fieldworker just has one or two sessions with an informant.

4. Methodology and results

Despite the few problems mentioned above, I made use of CALMSEA during my fieldwork in April-May 1996 and rechecked the data in January and November 1997. For me, CALMSEA and Swadesh are not totally different from each other, as my purpose of using these lists is to collect linguistic items for a primary analysis of the language. I needed a tool which enabled me to get access to the language in a systematic way, and which broke the ice between the informant and myself. CALMSEA proved useful during the initial stage of my research. It not only made it possible for me to obtain basic words in the language, but it also led me to gather cultural and grammatical data. After having obtained the words, I asked the informant to give examples in which these words appeared. Some of the examples are common utterances in everyday life such as "What are you eating?," "I'll go to the market;" others are proverbs, old sayings, or excerpts from songs. However,

once my project proceeded, I had to construct additional questionnaires which better suit specific grammatical features in question.

To ask informants to make up sentences out of the words given is not an easy exercise. Native speakers are not used to constructing a sentence out of actual context. Besides, some of the words, though they are common vocabulary items, hardly appear in elicitation. My informant had difficulty making up an example for the word *navel* .the only sentence that occurred to him at that moment is shown below.

(3)   tūa nǎ-tçi nə
        navel sick-PF COP: OTHER
        'I have a stomachache'

Though the informant guaranteed that this sentence could be uttered for the meaning 'I have a stomach ache', I know too well that he probably never uses it himself.

Although there are some disadvantages of asking the informant to construct examples in which the words in question appear, I found that there were more benefits than limitations. Several times I got hold of insightful data this way. The example for the word *squeeze* which I obtained through elicitation demonstrates the way of living of the Rgyalthang speakers.

(4)   də tsūa thū tʂî lò mǎ-r̀i nə
        that grass bundle (CLF) squeeze way NEG-proper COP: OTHER
        'The way of squeezing that bundle of grass is not proper'

The common activity of the Rgyalthang folks in autumn is to dry grass that has been cut to keep it as food for animals in winter. The activity of cutting grass requires labor throughout the village and generally takes 5 days. After being cut, the grass is squeezed and then dried. Therefore, cutting and squeezing grass are important activities for people in the village who both raise cattle and do farming for a living. Had I relied only on a questionnaire designed to elicit grammatical contstructions, I would never have obtained a sentence like (4). Most of my examples may simply be translations of what I have put on the questionnaire.

Asking for sentences in which cardinal numbers appear is also an incidental way of collecting what I call cultural data. For example, Rgyalthang people believe that number 20 brings bad luck, as can be seen in the following proverb:

(5)   ɲǐʂə̄ tā ʂə̄ gā tʂhà
        twenty horse die saddle break
        'Twenty, a horse dies, a saddle breaks'

This proverb clearly illustrates the belief that twenty is an inauspicious number. Rgyalthang folks do not organize any ceremony on the 20th. Even a man or a woman when reaching the age of twenty will not be allowed to get married.

(6) is an excerpt from a song. The informant recited this song to me when I asked him to provide an utterance in which the number *one* appears. The song

reflects the fact that Tibetan pilgrims used to leave home for pilgrimage alone and faced lots of difficulty on the way.

(6)   lǎ tçi çāŋ
       pass one AUX: SELF
       lǎtsēn tçi çāŋ
       prayers flag on Mani stone one AUX: SELF
       tʂhɔ̄ tçi çāŋ
       river one AUX: SELF
       dzǒmbā tçi çāŋ
       bridge one AUX: SELF
       '(Like) a single pass, a single prayer flags on Mani stone, a single river, a
       single bridge, I'm by myself'

When asked to provide contexts for the words *blood, child,* and *person/ human being*, the informant gave me the following examples. (7)-(9) not only give me the linguistic forms for the words in question but also illustrate how CALMSEA helps reveal grammatical peculiarities of the language.

(7)   khō lǎkā-go tçhà nāŋ
       3S arm-LOC blood EXIST
       'There is blood on his arm'

(8)   tçhỳ çǐ ʔā-ndô
       2S child Q-EXIST
       'Do you have a child?'

(9)   tçhūŋ-nə ngǔə tçi ndô re
       house-LOC person CLF one EXIST
       'There is one person inside the house'

All of the above sentences are existential constructions. ndô is used in a second person question (as the subject in the question will become the speaker in a response), whereas ndô re is used in a third person construction (both in a statement and a question). (7) differs from (8) and (9) in that it conveys what DeLancey (1991) calls mirativity--marking the speaker's new information. nāŋ is perhaps derived from *snang* in Classical Tibetan which means 'to appear; to have a certain appearance; to be in a certain state or condition' (Jäschke 1987). It should not be confused with the copula nə, which also functions as an auxiliary in a non-first person or "other-oriented" construction.

Other than ndô, ndô re, and nāŋ, Rgyatlhang existentials also convey animacy contrasts. If the entity in possession is inanimate, jǐ or jǐ re must be employed (the former for "self-oriented" construction; the latter for other-oriented). The following dialogue in (10) and (11), as well as an example in (12) will clearly demonstrate how jǐ differs from nāŋ and from jǐ re.

(10)   tɕhĭni tɕhūŋ-nə jĭke ?a-jɣ̂ tɕ̀i tā tɕi
        2S-POSS house-LOC book Q-EXIST a while look IMPER
        'Is (my) book at your house? Please look'

(11)   nāŋ-?o
        EXIST-UFP
        (After looking) 'Yes, it is!'

(12)   rɜ̌-go ?ūbūŋ jɣ̂ re
        mountain-LOC wild asparagus EXIST
        'There is wild asparagus on the mountain'

        So we see that existential verbs in Rgyalthang differ in person marking as
well as in animacy. The difference in terms of certainty is a secondary matter, and
this, in my opinion, is a major distinction between Rgyalthang and Lhasa existential
verbs.

5. Conclusion

        To advance research on grammar and lexicon of Tibetan dialects, this paper
presents a wordlist in Rgyalthang, a Kham Tibetan spoken in NW Yunnan, PRC.
This wordlist is based on CALMSEA, which contains 200 basic words of distinctive
semantic categories. Problematic items in CALMSEA are excluded and reorganized
resulting in 210 words in the Rgyalthang wordlist. The paper also evaluates
CALMSEA and assesses its usefulness in terms of data collection. In particular, it
addresses the question of to what extent core vocabulary words in Tibetan are similar
to those in other Southeast Asian languages. Fieldwork methodology and examples
collected in the field which reveal grammatical subtleties and cultural information are
discussed. It is expected that the Rgyalthang wordlist will facilitate the work of field
linguists in China and the Himalayas and makes it plausible to compare and contrast
core vocabulary words in Tibetan dialects in a systematic way.

APPENDIX
Rgyalthang Tibetan Wordlist

1.	'belly (exterior)'	ʔăpō	2.	'blood'	tçhà
3.	'bone'	rîpā	4.	'ear'	nātʂɔ̄
5.	'egg'	gûa	6.	'eye'	ɲĭ
7.	'fat/grease'	tçhɔ̄	8.	'foot'	kāmā
9.	'guts'	tçēlɛ̀	10.	'hair (head)'	tçā
11.	'hair (body)'	pɔ̄	12.	'arm'	lăkā
13.	'hand'	lăwā	14.	'head'	ngūə
15.	'heart'	ɲĭ	16.	'horn'	rŭa
17.	'liver'	tʂhĭmbā	18.	'mouth'	khā
19.	'neck'	tçɔ̄pà	20.	'nose'	ŋā
21.	'skin'	pɔ̄rɛ̀	22.	'spit'	lĭnà
23.	'tail'	dzɹ̆wàŋ	24.	'tongue'	tʂɔ̄
25.	'tooth'	sūə	26.	'wing' *	dŏbà
27.	'nail'	çĭmɔ̄	28.	'claw'	tshɔ̄
29.	'finger/toe'	ndzĭ	30.	'palm'	lăthĭ
31.	'penis'	dzɔ̄	32.	'vagina'	ʐāŋ
33.	'breast/ (breast) milk'	nŝipɔ̀	34.	'brain'	rĭpā
	'breast'; nŝi 'milk'				
35.	'navel'	tūa	36.	'shit'	tçāwā
37.	'piss'	dzĭŋ	38.	'sweat'	ŋūĭtʂhɔ̄
39.	'snot'	nà	40.	'vomit'	tçɔ̀çə
41.	'marrow'	kŭrɛ̀	42.	'breath/life'	sù
43.	'person/human being'	nɔ̆	44.	'thou'	tçhỳ
45.	'I'	ŋă	46.	'child'	çĭ
47.	'son'	pɔ̆shā	48.	'grandchild (nephew)'	tshŭ
49.	'son-in-law'	pɔ̆sɔ̄	50.	'name'	ɲăŋ
51.	'peas/ beans'	sēŋwāŋ	52.	'poison (antifood)'	tô
53.	'mushroom/ fungus'	ʂŭŋ	54.	'liquor'	tʂhāŋ
55.	'plantain/ banana'	xiāng jiāo	56.	'medicine/ juice'	m̥ēŋ
57.	'rice'	ngūī	58.	'meat/animal'	ʂā
59.	'bird'	çỹi	60.	'dog'	tshɔ̄
61.	'fish'	ɲă	62.	'louse'	çĭ
63.	'cow'	pă	64.	'snake'	ʐŷ
65.	'frog'	bĭwā	66.	'insect, bug'	nbɔ̄

67.	'bee'	măndō	68.	'monkey'	ʔătçhȳ
69.	'pig'	phà	70.	'otter'	sāŋ
71.	'horse'	tā	72.	'ant'	tŏmā
73.	'bear'	tŏŋ	74.	'leech'	ndā
75.	'ashes'	thĭa	76.	'cloud'	çĩŋ
77.	'earth'	sā	78.	'flower'	mĭndù
79.	'fruit'	çȳithù	80.	'grass'	tsūa
81.	'leaf'	ʔălūə	82.	'bark'	ʂĩŋpē
83.	'moon'	dăwā	84.	'mountain'	rɜ̌
85.	'rain'	tʂhɜ̌wā	86.	'river'	tʂhɔ̄
87.	'valley'	rŭŋ	88.	'road'	lăŋ
89.	'root'	tsā	90.	'salt'	tshā
91.	'sky'	nāŋ	92.	'smoke'	tĭwā
93.	'star'	kuĩwāŋ	94.	'stick'	jūpā
95.	'stone'	ndŭə	96.	'sun/day'	ɲĩwāŋ
97.	'tree'	ʂĩŋphūŋ	98.	'wood'	ʂĩŋ
99.	'water'	tʂhɔ̄	100.	'wind'	lōŋ
101.	'branch'	jĕnlà	102.	'silver'	ŋēi
103.	'bamboo'	ɲĩwàŋ	104.	'shade/shadow'	tʂĭnà
105.	'thorn'	tshɜ̌wàŋ	106.	'night'	tsēn
107.	'iron'	tʂà	108.	'field'	ʂĭŋ
109.	'arrow'	ndā	110.	'needle'	khɔ̀
111.	'house'	tçhūŋ	112.	'bow'	dā
113.	'boat' •	wă	114.	'mortar'	tēin
115.	'village'	ɲĭtsūə	116.	'leftside'	jɔ̄là
117.	'rightside'	dɔ̄la	121.	'far' (v.)	tçāŋrĩŋ
122.	'near' (v.)	thàthāŋ	123.	'year'	lûə
124.	'twenty/score'	ɲĭʂɔ̄	125.	'one'	tçĭ
126.	'seven'	dēn	127.	'ten'	tʂhɔ̄
128.	'hundred'	dʑā	129.	'two'	nɔ̄i
130.	'three'	sūŋ	131.	'four'	zɜ̌
132.	'five'	ŋā	133.	'six'	tʂŏ
134.	'nine'	gɔ̄	135.	'(be) many' (v.)	mŭ
136.	'be born'	tçɔ̄	137.	'sleep/lie down'	jŏu
138.	'weep'	ŋɜ̌	139.	'laugh'	ngă
140.	'die'	ʂɔ̄	141.	'awaken'	sè
142.	'cough'	lĭ	143.	'stand'	lăŋ
144.	'sit'	ndô	145.	'fall (from a height)'	sâ

146.	'climb, ascend'	ʔǔ ngǔə	147.	'descend'	şǔ ngǔə
148.	'fly'	dǐŋ	149.	'hide'	bǎ
150.	'run/flee'	çy̌	151.	'emerge'	dūi
152.	'fear'	tçà	153.	'know'	çî
154.	'ashamed'	khî	155.	'forget'	dz̦ǔ
156.	'dream'	ɲî	157.	'see'	thōŋ
158.	'smell'	ŋāŋ	159.	'thin'	şěgāŋ
160.	old 'old (person)'; ɲîbā 'old (thing)'	gēbà	161.	'alive'	lȳ
162.	'ill'	nǎ	163.	'fat'	tçābà
164.	'itchy'	çihò	165.	'full'	kǎŋ
166.	'long'	rǐŋ	167.	'tall'	gāŋrǐŋ
168.	'sweet'	ŋū	169.	'cold'	tçhā
170.	'bitter'	khǎ	171.	'sour'	tçō
172.	'red'	mūmū	173.	'heavy' •	dzɨ̂
174.	'warm'	tşǔə	175.	'round'	gūgū
176.	'ripe/well-cooked'	mî	177.	'soft (to touch)'	ɲî
178.	'white'	kūīkū	179.	'black'	nâ
180.	'thick'	thōbà	181.	'new'	sūīwā
182.	'sharp'	nāmɔ̄	183.	'lightweight'	jǎŋ
184.	'eat'	tşhǎ	185.	'drink'	thǎŋ
186.	'give'	sîŋ	187.	'tie'	pĩao
188.	'steal'	kɔ̄	189.	'lick'	çǔ
190.	'bite'	tşā	191.	'scratch/scrape'	ngǔ
192.	'cook'	zǔə	193.	'boil'	tsūə (tr.); khūi
194.	'grind'	tà	195.	'wash'	tçhə
196.	'dig'	gua	197.	'let go; set free; loosen'	şū
198.	'extinguish'	sē	199.	'blow'	pū
200.	'buy'	ɲy̌ə	201.	'sew'	dzų̂i
202.	'kill'	sè	203.	'weave'	tà
204.	'rub'	tēi	205.	'squeeze'	tşî
206.	'shoot'	dzô	207.	'kick'	dǒthɔ̄ lò
208.	'sell'	tsōŋ	209.	'put, place'	zâ̦
210.	'burn'	tçhǐ			

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