

East Bodish reconstructions in a comparative light¹

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1. Introduction

1.1. Aims

- Present latest East Bodish (EB) reconstructions
- Separate EB retentions from innovations
- Compare EB with Tibetan, Tangut, Qiangic, rGyalrongic, Nungic, Burmish, to
 - aid the reconstruction as appropriate; and
 - possibly identify shared EB/Tibetic innovations; and
 - ultimately forward our understanding of the placement of EB and Tibeto-Burman² phylogeny more broadly

1.2. Data and methodology

- Tibetan: as cited
- Tangut (STEDT 3.1)
- Qiangic (STEDT 3.2)
- rGyalrongic (STEDT 3.3)
- Nungic (STEDT 4)
- Burmish = Nisoic = Lolo-Burmese (STEDT 6 Lolo-Burmese-Naxi)
- Note that I am not consistently accepting the proposed PTB reconstructions and their proposed reflexes (to be refined later); rather, I am using them as a guiding point to consider possible relationships.
- I only list potential cognates. A ‘-’ indicates that no potential cognate was found (either because no word was reported or the words found were too different to be included here)

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² I am using the term Tibeto-Burman here to be interchangeable with Sino-Tibetan or Trans-Himalayan and do not mean to make any claims about the groupings within the family.

2. Overview of East Bodish

Language	Other names	Estimated # of speakers
Dakpa	Dwags, Tawang/Northern Monpa	50,000
Dzala	Kurtöp, 'Yangtsebikha, <i>i ga brok</i>	20,000
Chali	Chalipakha	1,000
Upper Mangdep	Hengke, Phobjikha, Mangdep	3,000
Kurtöp	Zhâke, <i>au gemale</i>	15,000
Bumthap	Bumthang, Bumthabikha, Monpa	30,000
Khengkha	Kheng	40,000

Table 1: East Bodish languages (adapted from Hyslop 2013a)

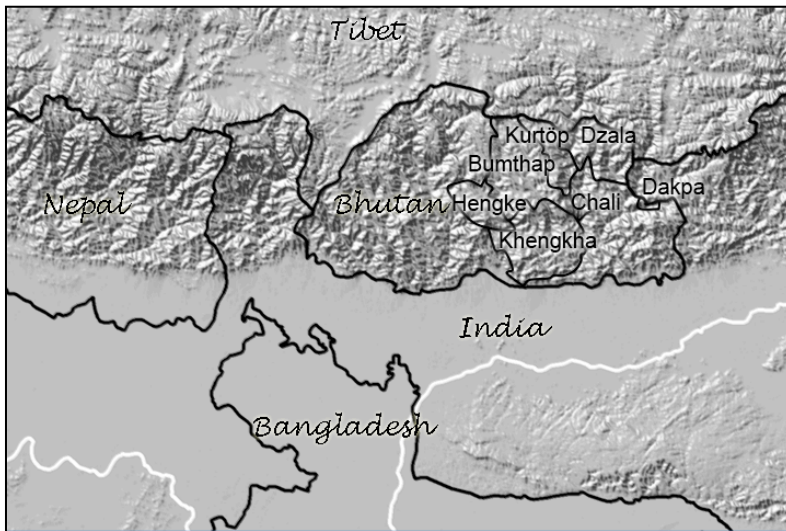


Figure 1: Approximate geographic location of East Bodish languages (Hyslop 2013a)

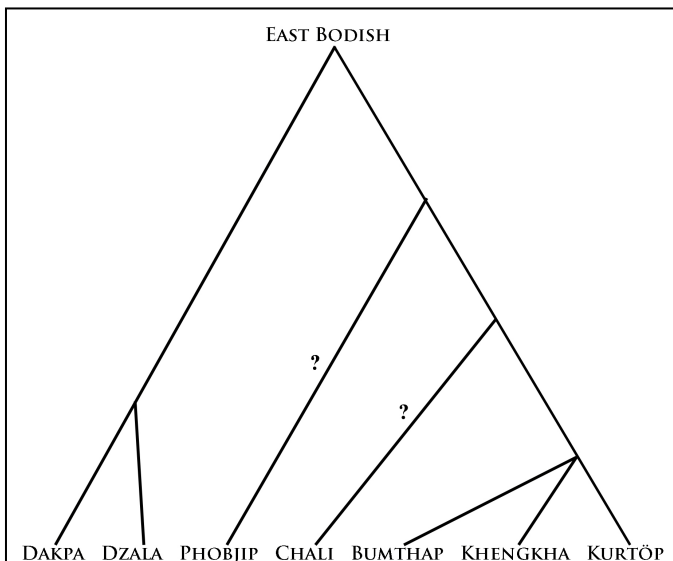


Figure 1: Approximate geographic location of East Bodish languages (Hyslop 2013a)³

³ An updated version of this tree would have 'Upper Mangdep' instead of 'Phobjip'.

- Hyslop (2015) provides some further evidence in favor of the above phylogeny, including a list of some sound changes, shown in Table 2. Further support of the above phylogeny has also recently been given in Bosch (2016).

Sound change	Conditioning environment	Da	Dz	Ku	Bu	Kh	Ch	UM
l > j	all/unknown			x	x	x		
a > e	unknown	x	x					
e > i	unknown	x	x					
e > i	preceding coronals							x
a > æ	preceding coronals							x
o > ø	preceding coronals							x
u > y	preceding coronals							x
k ^h w > ∅	Syllable onset					x		
kr, k ^h r, gr > t, t ^h , d	Syllable onset/unknown		x	x				
krV, kwV > rV _{+H} , wV _{+H}	Syllable onset/unknown	x	x	x	-	-	x	x
gj > j	Syllable onset/unknown	x	x					
kj, k ^h j, gj > c, c ^h , ʃ	Syllable onset			x	x	x		
kjV, k ^h jV, gjV > kjV _{+front} , k ^h jV _{+front} , gjV _{+front}	Syllable onset							x
u > o	unknown	x	x					

Table 2. Some sound changes within East Bodish (Hyslop 2015: 281)⁴

- In terms of placement within TB, it is assumed that EB languages are closely related to Tibetic, but not direct descendants of Old Tibetan (e.g. Michailovsky and Mazaudon 1994, Bradley 1997, DeLancey 2008, *inter alia*) but this has never been convincingly established. For example, Hyslop (2013, 2014) points out that many apparent similarities with Tibetan are borrowings, rather than shared innovations.
- The internal diversity of East Bodish is not terribly great. The largest differences are probably in the grammar, especially the verbal morphology. See Table 3 for some examples of the internal diversity.

Gloss	Da	Dz	Ku	Bu	Kh	Ch	UM
'maize'	<i>ufom</i>	<i>aʃam</i>	<i>bak^hukpa</i>	<i>ɛʃɛm</i>	<i>ɛʃɛm</i>	<i>ahamar</i>	<i>geza</i>
'paddy'	<i>dep</i>	<i>dep</i>	<i>mras</i>	<i>mras;</i> <i>mrat</i>	<i>mras</i>	<i>teŋbu</i>	<i>sem</i>
'husked rice'	<i>depzi</i>	<i>depzi</i>	<i>c^huŋ</i>	<i>t^huŋ</i>	<i>t^huŋ</i>	<i>te^huŋza</i>	<i>te^hum</i>
'cooked rice'	<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ipa</i>	<i>zama</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>zumala</i>	<i>to</i>
'broomcorn millet'	<i>c^hoŋ</i>	<i>c^hoŋ</i>		<i>N/A</i>	<i>jon</i>	<i>jon</i>	
'finger millet'	<i>k^hre</i>	<i>k^hre</i>	<i>t^he</i>	<i>koŋbo</i>	<i>koŋko</i>	<i>koŋpu</i>	<i>t^he</i>
'foxtail millet'	<i>món</i>	<i>món</i>	<i>ran</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>ran</i>	<i>ran</i>	

⁴ An 'x' indicates we have evidence that the sound change has happened in the language while an '-' indicates we have evidence that the sound change has not happened in the language. If a cell is left empty that indicates we are lacking the necessary data to know one way or the other.

‘wheat’	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>kar; zē</i>
‘barley’	<i>ná ~ ne</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>nat</i>	<i>na:</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>nes</i>
‘bitter buckwheat’	<i>brem</i>	<i>brema</i>	<i>brama</i>	<i>branma</i>	<i>brama</i>	<i>brama</i>	<i>brem</i>
‘sweet buckwheat’	<i>kjabre</i>	<i>kjabre</i>	<i>cara</i>	<i>carae</i>	<i>cere</i>	<i>teara</i>	<i>gere</i>
‘sun’	<i>plaŋ</i>	<i>praŋ</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>tʰanman</i>	
‘water’	<i>tsʰi</i>	<i>tsʰi</i>	<i>kʰwe</i>	<i>kʰwe</i>	<i>φe</i>	<i>kʰwe</i>	<i>kʰō</i>
3.SG	<i>be</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>kʰit</i>	<i>kʰit/gon</i>	<i>gon</i>	<i>kʰi</i>	<i>kʰi</i>
‘red’	<i>liu</i>	<i>leu</i>	<i>çinti</i>		<i>ʃindi</i>	<i>ʒiŋolà</i>	<i>ʒiŋtʰ</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>-si</i>	<i>-(g)i</i>	<i>-li, -gi, -i</i>	<i>-le ~ -i</i>	<i>-gi, -i</i>		
GENITIVE	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-gi, -i, -li, -ci</i>	<i>-le (-gi)</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-e/ge/de/le/me/ye</i>
EGOPHORIC PERFECTIVE	-	-	<i>-çaŋ</i>	-	-	-	-

Table 3. Examples of comparative EB data

3. Pronouns

Gloss	*PEB	Tibetic	rGyalrongic	Qiangic	Nungic	Burmish	Tangut
‘1.SG’ (PTB * <i>ŋa</i>)	* <i>ŋa</i>	WT <i>nga</i>	Daofu <i>ŋa</i> (Huang and Dai 1992)	Mianchi <i>ŋà</i> (Evans 1999)	Anong <i>ŋa</i> (LaPolla 1987)	Proto Lolo-Burmese <i>ŋa</i> ¹ (Weidert 1987)	<i>ŋa</i> (Li 1997)
2.SG/2.PL (PTB * <i>na-ŋ</i>)	* <i>nVn</i>	-	Daofu <i>ŋi</i> (Huang and Dai 1992)	Taoba Pumi <i>ŋi</i> ⁵ (Sun 1991)	Anong <i>na</i> (LaPolla 1987)	Mile Yi <i>ni</i> ³³ (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	<i>nya</i> (Li 1997)
2.SG/2.PL (Not a reflex of PTB)	* <i>i</i>	WT <i>khyot</i> (??)	-	-	-	-	-
3.SG/3.PL (NO *PTB)	* <i>kʰi</i>		-	Namuyi <i>tchi</i> ⁵⁵ (3.SG) (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	-	PN <i>khi</i> ² (Lama 2012)	<i>tshji</i> (3.SG) (Li 1997)
3.SG/3.PL (NO *PTB)	* <i>bV</i>	-	Maerkang <i>məŋe</i> (3.PL) (Huang and Dai 1992)	Muya <i>wə</i> ²⁴ <i>nə</i> ³³ (3.PL) (Huang and Dai 1992)	-	-	-

Table 4: Personal pronouns

- First person **ŋa* and second person **nVn* are clearly cognate with PTB forms found throughout the family.
- Second person **i* might be unique to EB while **kʰi* and **bV* may reflect something older.

4. Agricultural economy

Gloss	*PEB	Tibetic	rGyalrongic	Qiangic	Nungic	Burmish	Tangut
‘milk’ (not a reflex of *PTB)	* <i>gju</i>	Archaic <i>zho</i> ‘yogurt’ (Btshan Lha 1997)	-	-	Trung <i>gut</i> (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	Bisu <i>kjū</i> (Matisoff 1972)	<i>khju</i> (Li 1997)

‘buttermilk’ (no *PTB)	* <i>tarpa</i>	Archaic <i>darba</i> (Btshan Lha 1997)	-	-	-	-	-
‘cheese’ (no *PTB)	* <i>p^hrum</i>	WT ⁵ <i>phrum</i> (Zhang <i>et al.</i> 1984)	-	-	-	-	-
‘barley’ (PTB *nas)	* <i>nas</i>	WT <i>nas</i>	-	Nanping Pumi <i>na</i> ¹³ (Huang and Dai 1992)	-	-	-
‘Bitter buckwheat’ (PTB *bra)	* <i>branma</i>	WT <i>brabo</i>	Braofu <i>breṽə</i> ‘buckwheat’ (Huang and Dai 1992)	-	-	-	-
‘Sweet buckwheat’ (PTB *bra)	* <i>kyabra</i>	WT <i>rgyabra</i>	Braofu <i>breṽə</i> ‘buckwheat’ (Huang and Dai 1992)	-	Dulong <i>jam</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ɓai</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	-	-

Table 5: Agricultural economy terminology

- ‘Milk’ **gyu* appears to be shared with Nungic, (some) Burmish and Tangut, with Tibetic ‘yogurt’ probably also being a reflex of the same root. Perhaps a borrowing rather than a shared innovation?
- ‘Buttermilk’ and ‘cheese’ appear to be unique to EB and Tibetic, therefore perhaps a truly ‘Bodish’ form.
- The buckwheats and ‘barley’ are also found in Tibetic and other languages.

5. Body parts

Gloss	*PEB	Tibetic	rGyalrongic	Qiangic	Nungic	Burmish	Tangut
‘tooth’ (PTB *s-ŋya ‘tooth/fang’)	* <i>kwa</i>	WT <i>swa</i>	-	Queyu <i>ku</i> ⁵³ (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	Trung <i>sgu</i> ⁴⁴ (Matisoff 1987)	Ugong <i>ka</i> (Bradley 1993)	<i>kuo</i> (Dai 1989)
‘waist’ (*PTB krya-(t/n))	* <i>k^hrat</i>	WT <i>rkedpa</i>	-	-	Trung <i>sui</i> ³¹ <i>ɹāt</i> ⁵⁵ <i>dām</i> ⁵⁵ (Sun 1991)	-	<i>kjir</i> (Li 1997)
‘blood’ (PTB *krak)	* <i>kak</i>	WT <i>khvak</i>	-	-	-	-	-
‘bone’ (PTB *s/m/g-rus)	* <i>rOs</i>	WT <i>rospa</i>	Caodeng <i>fě-ru</i> (Sun 1997)	Namuyi <i>ša</i> ⁵⁵ <i>qa</i> ⁵⁵ (Sun 1991)	Dulong <i>aŋ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ɹuu</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PLB * <i>rəw</i> ² (Matisoff 2003)	<i>rir</i> (Nishida 1964)
‘eye’ (PTB *s-myak)	* <i>mE-</i>	WT <i>mig</i>	Rangtang Puxicun <i>mek</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Ersu <i>mia</i> ⁵⁵ (Sun 1991)	Dulong <i>mje?</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PLB <i>s-myak</i> ¹¹ (Matisoff 2003)	<i>mε</i> (Nishida 1964)
‘hair’ (PTB *s-kra)	* <i>kra</i>	WT <i>skra</i>	-	-	-	WB <i>khrañ</i> (Hansson 1989)	-
‘hand’ (PTB *lak)	* <i>lak</i>	WT <i>lagpa</i>	Daofu <i>ɣa</i> (Huang and Dai 1992)	Ersu <i>le</i> ³³ <i>phe</i> ⁵⁵ (Sun 1991)	Anong <i>la</i> ³¹ (Sun 1988)	PLB * <i>g-lak</i> ¹ (Matisoff 2003)	<i>ta</i> (Nishida 1964)
‘head’ (PTB *m/s-gaw)	* <i>gO-</i>	Dzongkha <i>guto</i> (Hyslop <i>et al.</i> to	Ergong <i>huə</i> (Dai 1989)	Jiulong Pumi	Rawang <i>ə gɔ</i> ³³ (LaPolla 2003)	Noesu <i>ŋu</i> ³³ <i>ŋgo</i> ⁵⁵	<i>yu</i> (Li 1997)

⁵ Note is not used in any spoken variety I am familiar with but does also appear in Btsan Lha’s (1997) dictionary of archaic terms.

		appear)		<i>qhuo</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)		(Chen 1986)	
‘knee’ (PTB *put-s)	*pOskOm	WT <i>pus-mo</i>	Maerkang Ribu <i>tə'xpom</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Zhaba <i>pu</i> ¹³ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Dulong <i>paŋ</i> ³¹ <i>pu</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PLB * <i>put</i> (LaPolla 1987)	-

Table 6: Body parts

- EB forms appear to all be retentions of older PTB forms, with possible cognates found in all the branches considered here – for all but one word.
- ‘blood’ is possibly unique to EB and Tibetic.
- The story for ‘tooth’ is potentially interesting. There are velar initials in other branches of TB; is the Tibetic *s*- innovative?
- Note also the similarity between EB and Tibetic ‘hair’ – innovative *s*- in Tibetic?

6. Animals

Gloss	*PEB	Tibetic	rGyalrongic	Qiangic	Nungic	Burmish	Tangut
‘bear’ (PTB *d-wam)	*wam	WT <i>dom</i>	rGyalrong <i>towam</i> ‘Himalayan bear’ (Nagano 1997)	Yajiang Queyu <i>wua</i> ³⁵ (Sun 1991)	-	PLB <i>wam</i> ¹ (Weidart 1987)	<i>dow</i> (Li 1997)
‘barking deer’ (PTB *d-kəy)	*k ^h aça	Dzongkha <i>kafa</i> (Hyslop <i>et al.</i> to appear)	Daofu <i>khaca</i> (Huang and Dai 1992)	Muya <i>khæ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>çæ</i> ⁵³ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Rawang <i>fəri</i> ³¹ (LaPolla 2003)	WB <i>khje</i> ² (Huang and Dai 1992)	<i>kji</i> (Li 1997)
‘dog’ (PTB *d-k ^w əy-n)	*k ^h wi	WT <i>khyi</i>	Maerkang Japhug <i>khuna</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Guiqiong <i>khū</i> ⁵³ (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	Dulong <i>du</i> ³¹ <i>gui</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PN * <i>k^hwu</i> ¹ (Lama 2012)	<i>khjwi</i> (Li 1997)
‘hen’ (PTB *kak ‘chicken’)	*k ^h a-	-	Daofu <i>yra</i> ‘chicken’ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Lyuzu <i>yua</i> ³⁵ ‘chicken’ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Dulong <i>ka?</i> ⁵⁵ ‘chicken’ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PLB * <i>k-rak</i> ^H (Matisoff 2003)	-
‘horse’ (PTB *r-ta)	*ta	WT <i>rta</i>	Daofu <i>sta teha</i> ‘horse feed/fodder’ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Zhaba <i>ta</i> ⁵⁵ <i>teha</i> ⁵⁵ ‘horse feed/fodder’ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Trung <i>ta</i> ⁵⁵ (Sun 1982)	-	-
‘otter’ (PTB *sram)	*kram	WT <i>sram</i>	Daofu <i>ssam</i> (Huang and Dai 1992)	Lanping Pumi <i>skhē</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Rawang <i>faram</i> ³¹ (LaPol la 2003)	Northern Nusu <i>kɿ?</i> ³¹ (Sun and Liu 1986) ⁶	-

Table 7: Animals

- EB animals also appear to be quite stable across the family, other than an innovative word for ‘hen’ in Tibetic and a few others.
- The form for ‘otter’ is potentially interesting. Note again the *k* : *s* correspondence between EB and Tibetic, but also the presence of a *k*- in Northern Nusu.

⁶ But note the reconstruction of PLB **sram*¹ (Matisoff 2003)

7. Natural world

Gloss	*PEB	Tibetic	rGyalrongic	Qiangic	Nungic	Burmish	Tangut
‘stone’ (PTB * <i>kwar</i> ‘hole/orifice/innards’)	* <i>gor</i>	WT <i>sgor-sgor</i> ‘round shape; halo’ (Zhang <i>et al.</i> 1984)	Daofu <i>rgama</i> (Huang and Dai 1992)	Qinghua Pumi <i>sgø</i> ¹³ (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	-	-	-
‘water’ (PTB * <i>tsyu</i>)	* <i>k^hwe</i> * <i>ts^hi</i>	WT <i>chu</i>	Maerkam Soman <i>tə-fī</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Ersu <i>kua</i> ⁵⁵ (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	Rawang <i>thi</i> ³¹ (LaPolla 2003)	Achang <i>kjau</i> ⁵⁵ (Dai and Cui 1985) ⁷	<i>kiwe</i> ‘irrigate’ (Li 1997)
‘snow’ (PTB * <i>kyam</i>)	* <i>ka</i>	WT <i>khawa</i>	Rangtang Puxi <i>k^hava</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Xinlong Queyu <i>kha</i> ⁵⁵ <i>wa</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	-	WB <i>khyàm</i> (Benedict 1972)	-
‘rain’ (PTB * <i>r/s/g-wa</i> ‘water/rain’) ⁸	* <i>joj</i>	-	Queyu Gala <i>hu</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Guiqiong <i>wi</i> ³⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	-	PLB * <i>ywa</i> ¹ (Weidert 1987)	-
‘soul’ (PTB * <i>m-lha</i>)	* <i>p^hla</i>	WT <i>bla</i>	rGBenzhen <i>tə-hlə</i>	Muya <i>læ</i> ²⁴ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Nung <i>phu</i> ³¹ <i>la</i> ³¹ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PN * <i>ri’sla</i> ¹ (Lama 2012)	-

Table 8: Natural world

- It looks as though EB, (some) Tibetic, rGyalrongic and Qiangic share an innovative use of PTB **kwar* for ‘stone’ – Tibetan borrowing?
- Other EB forms are more clearly retentions and similar throughout the sub-families.
- ‘rain’ is slightly more interesting – similar to rGyalrongic, Qiangic, and/or Burmish forms? Or more along the lines of Tamangic?

8. Material culture

Gloss	*PEB	Tibetic	rGyalrongic	Qiangic	Nungic	Burmish	Tangut
‘arrow’ (PTB * <i>m-da</i>)	* <i>m^hla</i>	OT <i>m^hlah</i> (Hill 2012)	Ganzi Danba Dandong <i>mda</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Taoping Qiang <i>lə</i> ³³ (Sun 1991)	Rawang <i>thə m^ha</i> ⁵³ (LaPolla 2003)	Rangoon Burmese <i>hmja</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	-
‘bow’ (PTB * <i>d/s-ləy</i>)	* <i>liu</i>	OT * <i>glju</i> (Hill 2012)	Ergong <i>hə lzi</i> (Sun 1991)	Queyu <i>vi</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	-	Bola <i>li</i> ³¹ (Huang and Dai 1992)	<i>lhji</i> (Li 1997)

Table 9: Material culture

- So far, PEB forms are also quite conservative.

⁷ But note the reconstruction of PLB **rəy*¹ (Matisoff 2003)

⁸ Note, however, that reflexes of PTB **s/?-yuk* ‘descend’ are found as *ju* in some Tamangic languages, such as Prakaa Manang *ʔju-*, Tanglung Tamang *ju-ba* and Thakali *ʔju* ‘bleed/rain’ (Mazaudon 1994).

9. Numerals

Gloss	*PEB	Tibetic	rGyalrongic	Qiangic	Nungic	Burmish	Tangut
‘one’ (PTB *tyak)	* <i>thek</i>	WT <i>gcig</i>	Maerkang Longerjia <i>ci</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Ersu <i>te</i> ⁵⁵ (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	Rawang <i>thi</i> [?] (LaPolla 2003)	PLB * <i>C-tik</i> (Matisoff 1972)	<i>tshjij</i> (Li 1997)
‘two’ (PTB *g/s-ni-s)	* <i>nej</i>	WT <i>gnyis</i>	Lavrung <i>nas</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Ersu <i>ne</i> ⁵⁵ (Sun <i>et al.</i> : 1991)	Rawang <i>a ni</i> ⁵³ (LaPolla 2003)	PLB ?- <i>nit</i> □ <i>ni</i> ² (Matisoff 2003)	<i>nji</i> (Li 1997)
‘three’ (PTB *g-sum)	* <i>sum</i>	WT <i>gsum</i>	Daofu <i>xsu</i> (Huang and Dai 1992)	Muya <i>sō</i> ⁵³ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Rawang <i>aʃum</i> ³¹ (LaPolla 2003)	WB <i>sùm</i> (LaPolla 1987)	<i>gju</i> (Li 1997)
‘four’ (PTB *b-ləy)	* <i>ble</i>	WT <i>gzhi</i>	Ergong <i>wzε</i> (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	Lanping Pumi <i>ʒε</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Trung <i>bli</i> ⁵³ (LaPolla 1987)	PLB <i>b/2-ləy</i> ² (Matisoff 2003)	<i>kwej</i> or <i>ljir</i> ?? (Li 1997)
‘five’ (PTB *l/b-ŋa)	* <i>langa</i>	WT <i>lnga</i>	Ergong <i>wɣue</i> (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	Guiqiong <i>ŋa</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Dulong <i>pu</i> ³¹ <i>ŋa</i> ⁵³ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PLB <i>ŋa</i> ² (Matisoff 2003)	<i>ɣwə</i> (Li 1997)
‘six’ (PTB *d/k-ruk)	* <i>grok</i>	WT <i>drug</i>	Maerkang <i>kə</i> <i>ʃok</i> (Huang and Dai 1992)	Guiqiong <i>khɔ</i> ³³ (Sun <i>et</i> <i>al.</i> 1991)	Trung <i>kru</i> ²⁵⁵ (LaPolla 1987)	PLB <i>C-krok</i> ^L (Matisoff 1978)	-
‘seven’ (PTB *s-ni-s)	* <i>nis</i>	-	Jinchuang Lavrung <i>sní</i> (Nagano and Prins 2013)	Zhaba <i>ʃne</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Dulong <i>su</i> ³¹ <i>ŋit</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PLB <i>snit</i> (Matisoff 1972)	-
‘eight’ (PTB *b-r-gyat)	* <i>gyat</i>	WT <i>brgyad</i>	Caodeng <i>ká-rkjet</i> (Sun 1997)	Mawo Qiang <i>khar</i> (LaPolla 1987)	Dulong <i>ʃat</i> ⁵⁵ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PL <i>C-yet</i> ^L (Bradley 1979)	-
‘nine’ (PTB *d/s-kəw)	* <i>dOgO</i>	WT <i>dgu</i>	Daofu <i>ngə</i> (Huang and Dai 1992)	Muya <i>gu</i> ⁵³ (Huang and Dai 1992)	Rawang <i>dəgu</i> ³¹ (LaPolla 2003)	PLB <i>gəw</i> ² (Matisoff 2003)	<i>gji</i> (Li 1997)
‘twenty’ (PTB *m-kul)	* <i>khal</i>	Written Dzongkha <i>khal</i>	-	-	-	-	-

Table 10: Numerals

- PEB numerals are also quite conservative.
- We can clearly see that Tibetic is innovative compared to EB with its word for ‘seven’.
- ‘Five’ (PEB **langa*) may be a good candidate for a ‘Bodish’ innovation.

10. Verbs

Gloss	*PEB	Tibetic	rGyalrongic	Qiangic	Nungic	Burmish	Tangut
‘go’ (No PTB)	* <i>gal</i>	Lamjung Yolmo <i>kàl</i> (Gawne to appear)	-	Mawo Qiang <i>kə</i> (Sun <i>et al.</i> 1991)	Rawang <i>khat</i> ‘times’ (Lapolla 2003) (?)	Lancang Lahu <i>qat</i> ³³ (Huang and Dai 1992) ⁹	-
‘sleep’ (No PTB)	* <i>dot</i>	WT <i>sdod</i> ‘sit’	-	-	-	-	-

⁹ Note that STEDT proposes this to be reflex of PTB *m/s-ka-y ‘go/stride/span’.

‘give’ (PTB *s-bəy-n/k)	*bi	WT <i>sbyin</i>	Caodeng <i>kə-nbi?</i> (Sun 1997)	-	Dulong <i>bi</i> ⁵³ (Huang and Dai 1992)	PN * <i>bjj</i> ² (Lama 2012)	-
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Table 11: Verbs

- Note PKC **kal* ‘go/pace/walk’ (Van Bik 2009); it seems the PEB form is quite old.
- ‘Sleep’ is perhaps another place where we can identify ‘Bodish’ shared innovations, though cf. Boro *dó* ‘sleep (for children) (personal fieldnotes).

11. Summary and conclusions

- Some aspects of EB are obviously quite conservative.
- Possibly useful as diagnostic of ‘Bodish’ (i.e. EB/Tibetic): ‘sleep/sit’, ‘blood’, ‘five’, ‘cheese’, ‘buttermilk’.
- Terms for ‘barley’ and buckwheats are possibly borrowed across several subgroups. Is ‘milk’ original to EB and subsequently borrowed into other language?

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