

ORIGIN OF DUHUMBI NON-NATIVE AND MARGINAL PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES

Accompanying ZIP files: DZ.zip; LH.zip; TR THR DR.zip

As is explained shortly in §2.2 of the Duhumbi grammar, Duhumbi has a number of non-native and marginal phonemes and allophones whose attestation in the language is largely restricted to loan lexemes. This section discusses these phonemes and their respective origins. Lexemes with accompanying recordings are shaded grey.

ORIGIN OF THE NON-NATIVE RETROFLEX CONSONANT PHONEMES

Table 1 presents a list of all attestations of the retroflex consonant phonemes in the lexicon and their source lexemes and forms. In addition to the lexical items in Table 1, there is also a large number of lexical items where Duhumbi has an alternative lexeme or an alternative pronunciation without the retroflex consonant, and these have not been included in this list. The zip file TR THR DR.zip contains recordings of the shaded examples.

TABLE 1. NON-NATIVE CONSONANT PHONEMES AND THEIR ORIGIN LEXEMES.

lexeme		gloss	origin	gloss
tr [ɽ]				
batro	ba:ɽo:	parrot	AS ভাটো bhatou, TSB baɽo:	parrot
gotrap	gɔ:ɽap	armour	Tib. go-krab	armour, coat of mail
maktro	makɽo:	war	Tib. dmag- hkhrug	war
metrom	meɽom	matchbox	Tib. me-sgrom	fire box
ngosumtrimme	ŋɔ:sumɽimme	really	Tib. ño-so	result, response, reaction
potrang	pɔ:ɽaŋ	incense stick	TT pəɽaŋ	incense sticks
trak	ɽak	truck	ENG truck	truck
tra	ɽa:	obedience	Tib. phra	phra subtle, minute
tra shi {da}	ɽa: ei {da:}	be obedient	Tib. phra-ma byed-pa	to cheat, to make malicious gossip, to slander
trashiyangcho ☸	ɽa:eijaŋɽeʰɔ:	auspiciousness and prosperity	Tib. bkraḥ-śis g.yaŋ-chags	auspiciousness and prosperity
tre	te (nat. [pɽiw])	year of monkey	Tib. sprel	monkey, year of monkey
tring	ɽiŋ	Corrugated Galvanised Iron sheet	HIN टीन trīn 'tin'	Corrugated Galvanised Iron sheet
truktru	ɽukɽu	heavy woollen blanket	Tib. btsugs-sgrug	lit. 'pierce-pluck'
thr [ɽʰ]				
kangthri	kaŋɽʰi	chair	Tib. kaŋ-khri	chair
ngangthruk	ŋaŋɽʰuk	goose chick	Tib. ñaŋ -phrug	young of a goose
thrim {da}	ɽʰim {da:}	convict (v.tr.)	Tib. khriims-pa	rule, law, regulation
thrim	ɽʰim	law, rule, regulation	Tib. khriims	rule, law, regulation
throdata ☸	ɽʰɔ:ba:ɽa:	fearful mask	Tib. khro ba kra	fearful mask
thrungthrung	ɽʰuŋɽʰuŋ	black-necked crane	Tib. khruŋ-khruŋ	crane

thrung {da}	[^h uŋ] {da:}	be born (H)	Tib. ḥkhrūns-pa	born, give birth, arise (H)
zhukthri	zukt ^h i	throne (H)	Tib. bźugs-khri	chair (H)
dr [d]				
cakdrom	tcak'dɔm	steel box	Tib. lcags- sgrom	iron box
dra	ɖa	enemy	Tib. dgra	enemy
dra chak {ta}	ɖa: tɛ ^h akta:	be disciplined	Tib. dgra	enemy
drandrin	ɖandɿn	reception	Tib. mgron- ḥdren	invite guests
drangbu	ɖaŋbu	honest	Tib. drañ-po	honest, straightforward
dramze ☸	ɖamze	Brahmin	Tib. bram-ze	Brahmin
drangnga	ɖaŋŋa	urinary tract infection	Tib. grañ-nad	gonorrhoea
drangdu le {da}	ɖaŋdu le {da}	steam raw cotton for purification	TT ʎaŋɖu ~ ɖuɖu	steam cotton thread to increase its' strength
dre ☸	ɖe	demon	Tib. ḥdre	ghost, demon, evil spirit
dri	ɖi	yak cow	Tib. ḥbri	female yak
dribu ☸	ɖibu	devotion	Tib. ḥgri-ba	attachment, devotion
dribu ☸	ɖibu	fruition	Tib. bras-bu	effect, fruition, result, goal/aim
drinlam ☸	ɖinlam	karmic debt	Tib. drin-lan	repaying or returning kindness, gratitude, showing gratitude, repay a favour
dringdring	ɖiŋɖiŋ	healthy	TT ɖiŋɖiŋ	healthy
dripa	ɖipa	central warp rod	Tib. gril-ba	wrap (v. tr.)
drok ☸	ɖɔk	support (in rel. sense)	Tib. grogs	friend, companion, assistant, helper
droma	ɖɔ:ma:	bulrush	Tib. gro-ma	bulrush
druba ☸	ɖuba:	religious practitioner	Tib. sgrub-pa	siddha, accomplished master
drukpa	ɖukpa:	sixth	Tib. drug-pa	sixth
drup {ta} ☸	ɖup {ta}	achieve, practice	Tib. sgrub	achieve, accomplish, complete; do, perform, cultivate, practice
drupzhi	ɖup'zi	door frame	Tib. gru-bźi	square
jikdra	ɖzikɖa:	fear	Tib. ḥjigs-skrag	fear
khandro(ma) ☸	k ^h aŋɖɔ: (ma)	fairy	Tib. mkhaḥ- ḥgro	fairy, dakini
lamdro ☸	lamɖɔ:	luck	Tib. lam-ḥgro	luck
ledripa ☸	leɖipa:	karmic obscuration	Tib. las-kyi grib- pa	karmic obscuration
lejumdre ☸	ledzumɖe	karmic cause and effect	Tib. las-rgyu- ḥbras	causality of actions, principle of cause and effect
mandro	mandɖɔ:	medicament	Tib. sman-sgrub	various medicines
namdru	namɖu	airplane, helicopter	Tib. gnam-gru	airplane
ngodrup ☸	ŋɔ:ɖup	accomplishment	Tib. dños-grub	accomplishment, achievement, siddhi
ngonedrangne	ŋɔ:ne:ɖaŋne:	truthfully	Tib. dños-gnas drañ-ñes	'actually, really, truly' and 'genuine, provisional'
tsondru ☸	tɕɔŋɖu	effort	Tib. btson- ḥgrus/btson- sgrus	strong effort, vigour, diligence

As is clear from the semantic fields that the lexemes of Table 1 belong too, mainly religious terms, relatively modern tools and technologies, and more complex feelings, emotions etc., these terms represent rather recent loans into Duhumbi from the source languages. They occur most frequently in narrations of Bodish origin, such as the Ling Gesar and Khandro Drowa Zangmo stories: the source language is thus mainly Tibetan, whether directly or indirectly through Brokpa or Chocangaca. Older Bodish loans into Duhumbi with clusters have largely preserved their original pronunciation, even in those lexemes where Central Tibetan varieties now pronounce a retroflex phoneme. The only lexeme for which a loan origin could not yet be found is *trimba* [ʈimba] ‘red sky’.

ORIGIN OF MARGINAL CONSONANT PHONEME /lh/

The marginal consonant phoneme /lh/ appears to occur only in two native lexemes, namely *beylhap* ‘flame’ and *knowlhap* ‘wave’, although there is a Tibetan noun *rlabs* ‘wave, billows’ that may be the root of these compounds. Some speakers will also use the phoneme /lh/ in *lhanga* [ʎaŋpa:] ‘water vapour’, although the native lexeme appears to be *hangpa* [haŋpa:], cf. Tibetan *rlan-pa* ‘vapour, steam’. The lexemes *lhak* {*da*} [ʎak̄ ~ ʎaʔ] ‘to exceed’, *lhaken* [ʎa:kɛn] ‘slightly in excess’ and *lhakma* [ʎakma:] ‘left-over’ also have clear Bodish cognates, namely the Tibetan lexemes *lhag-pa* ‘to be left, remain’, *lhag* ‘exceeding, more, beyond, excellent, surpassing, left-over, more than’, and *lhag-ma* ‘leftovers and remainders, excess, remaining portions, extra, surplus’. Probably related is also Duhumbi *lhakta zej* {*da*} [ʎakta: zɛj] ‘to make up something’. The zip file LH.zip contains recordings of the shaded examples.

There are several instances where the alternation between onsets /l/ and /h/ in modern Western Kho-Bwa varieties has prompted the reconstruction of an onset cluster /hl/. In that same section, it is also observed that many of the instances that attest to this alternation, Khispi, Duhumbi, Khoina /h/ vs. other /l/ have a written Tibetan spelling with a superscript syllable {ka, ga, ba, ra, sa} stacked on the syllable *la*. The cluster occurs exclusively before vowels /a/ and (marginally) /u/. Also, some of these instances have a modern Tibetan pronunciation with a voiced lateral approximant [ʎ]. The root of the Duhumbi lexemes ‘flame’ and ‘wave’, and perhaps also ‘to be in excess’ may perhaps be added to this list. The exact ramifications that this observation may have for the reconstruction of Tibetan roots where in the spelling the syllable *la* is superscribed by another syllable, and roots with the spelling *lha*, is yet to be determined.

Religiously educated speakers realise an unvoiced lateral fricative /lh/ in those lexemes of Bodish origin where other speakers realise a lateral approximant /l/, such as *la* [la: ~ ʎa:] ‘deity’, cf. Tib. *lha* [ʎa:] ‘deity’ and compounds that contain it, e.g. *lhakhang* [lak^haŋ ~ ʎak^haŋ] ‘temple’, cf. Tib. *lha-khan* [ʎak^haŋ] ‘temple’, and *lhabrujpa* [labrujpa: ~ ʎabryjpa:] ‘painter of religious images’, cf. Tib. *lha-bris-pa* [ʎaʈjpa:] ‘painter of religious images’. This is also observed in Standard Bhutan Tshangla (Bodt 2014: 401). Finally, some Duhumbi lexemes with a lateral approximant have an alternative realisation with a lateral fricative, such as *lakpulikpi* [lakpulikpi ~ hakpuhikpu ~ ʎakpuʎikpi] ‘feckless’ and *lo* [lɔ: ~ ʎɔ:] ‘South’, cf. Tibetan *lho* ‘South’.

ORIGIN OF NON-NATIVE CONSONANT ALLOPHONE /dz-/

The non-native consonant allophone /dz-/, occurring exclusively in onset position in a limited number of loan lexemes, is realised only by religiously educated speakers. Though this affricate may have been part of the original Proto-Western Kho-Bwa phoneme inventory, it has since been palatalised to /dz-/ in Khispi and Duhumbi. In loan lexemes, however, the voiced alveolar affricate

is commonly realised as voiced fricative /z/ by uneducated Duhumbi speakers: a similar observation can be made in Standard Bhutan Tshangla (Bodt 2014: 402). Some attestations of the voiced alveolar affricate with their source lexemes include *zong* [zɔŋ ~ dzɔŋ] ‘fortress’, cf. Tib. *rdzoni* ‘fortress’; *zakazoko* [za:ka:zɔ:kɔ: ~ dza:ka:dzɔ:kɔ:] ‘messy’, cf. Tib. *dza-dzor* ~ *dza-re dzo-re* ‘messy, untidy, junk’; *zambuling* ~ *zamling* [zambuliŋ ~ dzambuliŋ ~ zamliŋ ~ dzamliŋ] ‘world’, cf. Tib. *hdzam-buglin* ‘world’ and *zane* [za:ne: ~ dza:ne:] ‘smallpox’, cf. perhaps Tib. *hbar-tshag-nad* ‘pockmark-disease’. Examples on record where, on basis of the Chöke spelling, would expect the affricate /dz-/, can be found in the zip file DZ.zip, and include *zong* [zɔŋ ~ dzɔŋ] ‘fortress’, cf. Tib. *rdzoni* ‘fortress’ and *zo* and *zomo* [zɔ: ~ zɔ:mɔ:] ‘male/female yak-cow crossbreed’, cf. Tib. *mdzo* and *mdzo-mo*.

ORIGIN OF NON-NATIVE VOWEL ALLOPHONES /ö, ü/

The close-mid, front rounded vowel /ö/ is sometimes realised in loan lexemes in which the original lexeme, as reflected in the written Tibetan spelling, has rime {-on} and marginally also rimes {-ot, -os, -or}. In many varieties of Central Tibetan and related Bodish languages such as Dzongkha, Brokpa and Chocangaca, these rimes are realised as [-ø:], and this is mirrored among some Duhumbi speakers. These speakers often have a Brokpa or Chocangaca-speaking family background, a long exposure to Brokpa speakers, or a religiously educated background. Other speakers realise these lexemes with the open-mid, back unrounded vowel /o/ [ɔ] if the coda consonant is preserved or a long, close-mid, front, unrounded vowel e [e:] if the coda consonant is elided. Examples include *bulon* [bulɔn ~ buløŋ] ‘loan’, cf. Tib. *bu-lon* ‘loan’; *chos* [tʰɔs ~ tʰe ~ tʰø:] ‘religion’, cf. Tib. *chos* ‘religion’ and compound nouns containing this lexeme such as *cheyok* [tʰe:ɔk̄ ~ tʰø:ɔk̄] ‘religious duty’, cf. Tib. *chos g.yog* ‘religious duty’; *chorten* [tʰɔɽten ~ tʰøɽten] ‘stupa’, cf. Tib. *mchod-rten* ‘stupa’; *lonpo* [lɔnpɔ: ~ lɔnpɔ:] ‘minister’, cf. Tib. *blon-po* ‘minister’; *gonpa* [gɔnpa ~ gønpa] ‘temple’, cf. Tib. *dgon-pa* ‘temple’; *lon* {*da*} [lɔn ~ løn] ‘come’, cf. Tib. *lon-pa* ‘reach, arrive’; *pon* [pɔn ~ pøn] ‘chief’, cf. Tib. *dpon-po* ‘chief, master’; *zhon* [zɔn ~ zøn] ‘youthfulness’, cf. Tibetan *gzhon* ‘youth’, *bot* [bɔt ~ be: ~ bø:] ‘Tibet’, cf. *bod* ‘Tibet’, *chutshe* [tʰutsʰe: ~ tʰutsʰø:] ‘time’, cf. Tib. *chu-tsod* ‘time, hour, watch’.

In addition to those lexemes that have clear Bodish cognates, among those speakers that realise the rounded vowel /ö/ in these phonotactic conditions, this phonological change is expanding into lexemes that have no clear attested Bodish cognates yet. Examples include *con* [tɔɔn ~ tøŋ] ‘crook’ and *con* {*da*} [tɔɔn ~ tøŋ] ‘to be harmed’; and *thon* {*da*} [tʰɔn ~ tʰøŋ] ‘to take’.

The close-mid, front, rounded vowel /ö/ can also be found as allophone of the open-mid, back, unrounded vowel /o/ [ɔ] in native lexemes with an off-glide /j/. Here, it is less obvious what the phonotactic or sociolinguistic factors that trigger a realisation of the rime -oj [-ɔj] with a close-mid front rounded vowel [-øj] are, but Khispi speakers tend to favour the realisation as [-øj] whereas Duhumbi speakers tend to favour the realisation as [-ɔj]. Examples include *choy* [tʰɔj ~ tʰøj] ‘this side’; *doy* {*da*} [dɔj ~ døj ~ duj] ‘look’; and *shoj* [ɔj ~ øj] ‘bull’.

A similar rounding of the vowel can be seen in the alternation between realisations with a close, back rounded vowel *u* [u] and a close, front rounded vowel *ü* [y] in borrowed lexemes with rimes {-un, -ud, -ul, -us}. An examples for rime -ut includes: *dut* [dut ~ dyt] ‘demon’, cf. Tib. *bdud* ‘demon’. Examples for rime -un include *tun* {*da*} [tun ~ tyn] ‘to join; plan’, cf. Tib. *stun-pa* ‘to agree, be accordant with, rely on’; *thun* {*da*} [tʰun ~ tʰyn] ‘to match’, cf. Tib. *mthun-pa* ‘to agree with’; *tsunmo* [tsunmɔ: ~ tsynmɔ:] ‘queen’, cf. Tibetan *btsun-mo* ‘queen’. Examples for rime -us include *ruypa laj* {*ta*} [rujpa: laj ~ ryjpa: laj] ‘to exert’, cf. Tib. *hgrus-pa* ‘exertion, effort, diligence, zeal, endeavor, industry’ and *blan-ba* fut. of *len-pa* ‘receive, accept’; *shuj* {*da*} [ɔuj ~ øj] ‘to make a copy’, cf. Tib.

bśus-pa ‘to copy’; *dus* [dus ~ dys ~ dy ~ dyj] ‘time’, cf. Tib. *dus* ‘time, period’; *dujma* [dujma: ~ dyjma:] ‘shortcut’, cf. Tib. *hdus-pa* ‘condensation, conglomeration, aggregate’. Finally, examples for rime -ul include *bruj* [bruɯj ~ bɯɯj ~ bɯul ~ bɯɯl] ‘year of snake’, cf. Tib. *sbrul* ‘snake’; *dujpa* [dujpa: ~ dyjpa:] ‘dust’, cf. Tib. *rdul-ma* ‘dust’; *pruj* {*ta*} [pɯɯj ~ pɯɯj] ‘to transform’, cf. Tib. *sprul-ba* ‘to juggle, to make phantoms, appear, to change, to transform’; *phuj* {*da*} [p^hɯɯj ~ p^hɯɯj] ‘to offer’, cf. Tib. *hbul-ba* ‘to give, offer’; *thuy* {*da*} [t^hɯɯj ~ t^hɯɯj] ‘to subdue’, cf. Tib. *btul-ba* ‘to subdue’; *ngoy* [ŋɔj ~ ŋɯj ~ ŋɯj] ‘silver, money’, cf. Tib. *dnul* ‘silver, money’ and *yul* [jul ~ jyl] ‘region’, cf. Tib. *g.yul* ‘land, area’.

Again, in those speakers that realise the rounded allophone, this phonological change is expanding into lexemes that have not yet been attested to have Bodish cognates, such as *achun* [atɕ^hun ~ atɕ^hyn] ‘younger paternal uncle, stepfather’, cf. TSD *achun* [atɕ^hun] ‘younger paternal uncle’. The rounded allophone is also sometimes realised in lexemes with the off-glide /y/, as in *bruy* {*da*} [bruɯj ~ bɯɯj] ‘to write’, cf. TSD *bruj* {*bo*} [bruɯj], but Tib. *hbri-ba* ‘to write’.