DE GRUYTER

*Austin Hale*

# RESEARCH ON TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES

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# Research on Tibeto-Burman Languages

# Trends in Linguistics

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# Preface

It is not the purpose of this book to summarize what is known about the Tibeto-Burman language family. The purpose is rather to provide a brief survey of the literature, focusing particularly upon works that are likely to be most helpful to someone who wishes to familiarize himself with work that has been done in the field. This book is written not for the specialist in Tibeto-Burman studies but for students new to the field and for those who have specialized in other fields of linguistic research. This survey is primarily concerned to provide an overview of synchronic descriptions of Tibeto-Burman languages and of comparative diachronic studies and their results in terms of genetic classification as well as of the more substantive introductions and conspectuses which, unlike the present survey, do attempt to summarize what is known about Tibeto-Burman. It is marginally concerned with philological-literary research and the contributions made thereby to the history of various cultures.

The book is divided into three parts: a review of research that has been done in Tibeto-Burman linguistics, a discussion of problems of major current interest, and a bibliography critically selected to cover the major areas of interest within the field as well as to supplement other well-known bibliographies. Since the audience for works on Tibeto-Burman is widely scattered and very small, much valuable work appears in obscure places often missed by the standard bibliographies. This survey is far less concerned with earlier works already accessible through Shafer's bibliography (1975a, 1963a) than it is with later works for which no convenient bibliography analogous to Shafer yet exists.

This review was written while I served as linguistic consultant for the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Nepal and the Philippines. I wish to express my gratitude for the facilities and time granted me for the completion of this work. I would also like to express my deep appreciation to N.C. Bodman, J.A. Matisoff, Y. Nishi, U. and B. Kölver, R.K. Sprigg, M. Hari, S. Toba, T.R. Kansakar, A. Kelkar, N.J. Allen, A.W. Macdonald, A.-G. Haudricourt, J.G. Harris, R.S. Pittman, and K.L. Pike for sending me copies of relevant articles and monographs on Tibeto-Burman. I would like to thank

Boyd Michailovsky for a good deal of bibliographical help, and for the loan of his copy of R.C. Nigam. I am grateful to D. Watters for sending me xerox copies of many important items during his year at Berkeley, and for reading the manuscript through several versions and offering many helpful comments. Many thanks are due to Nadine Lyman and Carl DuBois for making available to me text editing facilities that made it possible to complete the project in the time available. To my father, C.B. Hale, I wish to express my deep gratitude for obtaining innumerable copies of essential items over the past six years, and for being my one long-term link to library facilities unavailable in Nepal or the Philippines.

# Contents

# 1 Review of research

## 1.1 *Global surveys of Tibeto-Burman linguistics*

Tibeto-Burman has not always been recognized as a designation for a natural grouping of languages. According to Grierson (1909: 12) B.H. Hodgson was the first to recognize the unity of the Tibeto-Burman languages. In 1828 he published the first of a series of papers dealing with Tibeto-Burman languages. Grierson credits Max Müller (1854) with having attempted the first classification of Tibeto-Burman languages. Benedict's (1975a: 91) nominee for the title "first of the Tibeto-Burmanists" is Stuart N. Wolfenden, who published his *Outline of Tibeto-Burman linguistic morphology* in 1929. Robert Shafer, however, was never convinced, and in his influential classification of Sino-Tibetan languages he vigorously attacked the rubric, Tibeto-Burman, as an artifact of scholarly division of labor (1955: 94-99).[1] Despite such occasional expressions of doubt, the growing edge of productive research continues to operate fruitfully on the view that there is a group of genetically related languages for which the designation 'Tibeto-Burman' is appropriate.

The family encompasses a great deal of linguistic diversity and the geographic area over which these languages are spoken does not coincide with any conveniently designated geographic or political area.[2] The most extensive surveys of Tibeto-Burman languages that we have thus are only parts of larger surveys which cover not just Tibeto-Burman languages but usually some more inclusive grouping of languages.[3] The treatments of Tibeto-Burman given by Shafer (1966-1970), Voegelin and Voegelin (1964-1966), and Benedict (1972a) form parts of works that attempt to cover the whole of Sino-Tibetan, while Grierson (1903-1928) and Konow's treatment of Tibeto-Burman in the *Linguistic survey of India* forms part of a geographically defined survey which includes other language families as well. Even the shorter introductions tend to cover more than just Tibeto-Burman languages. We will consider the shorter surveys that can be used with profit to gain an overall perspective and then we will proceed to the more exhaustive treatments.

### 1.1.1 Brief surveys

There are a few studies that provide a very helpful overview of the field as a whole. Søren Egerod's article in the 1974 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* entitled "Sino-Tibetan languages" is an excellent starting point. He presents a classification of Tibeto-Burman languages which seems to owe its highest level groupings to Shafer 1955 [Bodic, Burmic, Baric] while conforming more closely to Benedict 1972a at the next lower level in his classification, though these latter have been renamed in some instances. Egerod's treatment is extremely lucid, broad in coverage, shows a fluent conversance with current research and allows an easy transition to other major works in the field.

Henri Maspero (1952) has given us what many consider to be the most definitive brief overview of Sino-Tibetan. Although a great deal has been learned about Tibeto-Burman languages since 1952, Maspero's brief linguistic sketches of major languages and groups within and at the borders of Tibeto-Burman succeed in highlighting certain salient characteristics of the family in a more striking manner than any of the other brief surveys referred to here.

Roy Andrew Miller (1969) reviews work published on Tibeto-Burman between 1947 and 1967. Miller is especially helpful in bringing to our attention works written by Chinese and Japanese scholars not available in European languages. His article takes as its outline a classification of Tibeto-Burman languages based on Shafer's classification (1955), but modified for sections involving Tibetan, Lolo, and Karen to reflect the work of Uray, Róna-Tas, and Nishida. For a more comprehensive picture of work carried out during that period, Miller's article is to be read in conjunction with Wylie 1967 and Cornyn 1967 which appeared in an earlier volume of the same series. Wylie deals with Tibet, and Cornyn with Burma.

Another relatively brief introduction is that of Fang-kuei Li, 'Languages and dialects of China' (1937, reprinted in condensed form, 1973). Li's article was quite influential. Voegelin and Voegelin (1965c: 2-3) indicate that Li's classification was still widely accepted by Chinese scholars, and Teresa M. Chang's editorial comment which introduced the 1973 version of the paper supports this impression. Kratochvil (1968) follows Li's highest level groupings within Sino-Tibetan. Li is acknowledged by Voegelin and Voegelin (1977: viii) as a consultant and his classification may again have had some influence here. Benedict credits Li's 1937 article with ensuring the establishment of the Sino-Thai hypothesis as fact in the minds of many scholars (1976b: 61). For a look at Li's article in the light of more recent research, however, see Matisoff 1973e.

R.A.D. Forrest (1973: 19-35) provides a brief and very readable intro-

duction to the linguistic context in which Chinese has developed over the centuries. Forrest accepts Tibeto-Burman as a valid grouping and accepts the view that the center from which Sino-Tibetan languages spread to their present geographic areas was a point north of Tibet in the upper Yangtsze River valley. He reviews the basis for comparative work in linguistics and illustrates it with examples from Archaic Chinese and Tibetan.

Complementary to Forrest's survey, which centers on China, is S.K. Chatterji's more lengthy treatise (1950) which centers heavily on India. Chatterji's main concern is to show how from extremely diverse ethnic origins (Nordics from south of the Urals, Dravidians from the Mediterranean, Austrics from the east Mediterranean, Negritos from Africa, and Mongoloids from northwest China) there has arisen a synthesis of races and cultures, a composite Indian people united in ideals and aspirations acceptable to all mankind (1950: 146). In the process he provides an interesting overview of possible patterns of migration and cultural interaction between speakers of Sino-Tibetan languages and other groups on the Indian subcontinent. Chatterji follows Grierson in accepting the Austric substratum as the explanation for pronominalization in Himalayan languages. He identifies the area of "North-west China, between the head-waters of the Huang Ho and the Yangtsze rivers" as the most likely point of origin for Sino-Tibetan migration into India (1950: 158). He presents a modified version of Grierson and Konow's classification of Sino-Tibetan languages (1950: 159-160) and supplements this with a summary of Shafer's embryonic (1940b: 306, footnote 14) classification.

Chatterji 1950 is supplemented for Nepal by the account of Rana and Malla (1973: 4-8) in which the waves of migration are seen from a Nepalese perspective. The original inhabitants of Nepal were Austric according to this account, followed by those groups which ended up speaking pronominalized Himalayan languages, a state of affairs that they attribute to the influence of an Austric substratum. These then were followed by the Tibeto-Himalayans, whose speech betrays no Austric features. Several lines of argumentation are advanced to support the view that all of this took place, at least in Kathmandu Valley, before the Aryan infiltration took place.

Among the better known older sketches of Sino-Tibetan are Grube 1881, de Lacouperie 1887, Trombetti 1923, J. Przyluski 1924a, 1924b, and W. Schmidt 1926. Benedict (1972a: 1) characterizes these as "superficial and, in some respects, altogether misleading."

### 1.1.2 Extensive surveys

Although we are very fortunate in having brief surveys such as that of

Egerod (1974a), which constitute excellent brief introductions for non-specialists who wish to gain a quick overview of Tibeto-Burman languages and which provide easy access to key works in the field, among the more extensive surveys there is still no ideal next step in such a reading program. The extensive surveys are either very demanding of the reader or must be used with caution or both. The better-known surveys in this category are mostly outgrowths of large-scale research projects.

The Linguistic Survey of India culminated in a series of eleven volumes bound in nineteen parts which appeared between 1903 and 1928. Five of the parts deal with Tibeto-Burman languages (Grierson 1903, 1904, 1909, 1927, and 1928). Grierson, with Sten Konow as principal contributing linguist, has given us an overall classification of Tibeto-Burman, discussions of the general characteristics of the family and its major subgroups, a standard set of word lists, and brief descriptions of about a hundred languages including not only grammatical comments but texts with both word-by-word and free translations. Grierson and Konow drew on a wide variety of sources, of uneven quality, and of this they were quite aware. Despite their best efforts the data are not always to be relied upon and the view of language adopted is prestructural in approach and vaguely colonial in attitude. Languages are compared for better or worse with the Indo-European languages more familiar to the reader. Certain languages are found to be primitive because they lack single words for certain abstract ideas. Parts of speech tend to be defined in ways familiar within Indo-European and this leads to some nonsense about verbs in Tibeto-Burman being basically nominal in character. Nothing of comparable scope, however, has ever replaced it as a compendium of information for Tibeto-Burman languages in South Asia, and it still constitutes the basic frame of reference for language classification for the Census of India (Nigam 1972: xi-xii). For better data one must go to works of much narrower scope.

A.L. Kroeber's Sino-Tibetan lingustic project, a venture funded by the WPA from 1935 to 1941 as a relief project was begun under the supervision of Robert Shafer and completed under that of Paul K. Benedict.[4] Employing a staff of as many as thirty-six people (mainly nonlinguists) of diverse backgrounds and abilities, this experiment in mass research took as input the available literature on Sino-Tibetan and produced as output fifteen volumes (bound as fourteen) of unpublished typescript of which Kroeber predicted in his editorial foreword to *Sino-Tibetica* 1 (cf. Shafer, 1938a):

> This ordered mass of data is a collocation [sic] which should greatly lighten the labors of all future students of comparative Sino-Tibetan philology. It will render possible the determination of sound shifts, of semantic as well as phonetic equivalences, the degree of likeness and unlikeness of the languages, and therefore of their relationship and presumable comparative history. (Shafer, 1938a)

The sources drawn upon were of uneven quality and difficult to use. R.A. Miller (1974: 195, footnote 1) provides a brief description of the document, as does Shafer (1950a: 147). Working further with these and other materials, Shafer published numerous articles on Sino-Tibetan, leading eventually to his five-volume *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan* (1966-1973) in which he attempts to establish his classification of Sino-Tibetan languages on the basis of phonological comparison and reconstruction.

Shafer's *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan* is written primarily for specialists in the field and makes few concessions to the nonspecialist. Within the first four parts of this work there is neither an index nor a table of contents. (The reviewer has not seen the fifth part.) Judging from the way references are made to lexical sets and to items of bibliography, it appears that the book is to be read in conjunction with Shafer's bibliography (1957a, 1963a) and with a comparative dictionary that seems never to have appeared. There is very little explanatory text, much of which is more critical than helpful, and in some chapters the book consists primarily of a series of putative cognate charts illustrating phonological correspondences.

The book begins with a classification of Sino-Tibetan languages which is basically that of Shafer, 1955. At most levels in the classification indentation is the only indicator of hierarchical grouping. This becomes difficult to follow at page breaks and there are errors in the indentation which are annoying. Some kind of numbering system would have been helpful. Chapters 2 through 5 deal with phonological developments in Sino-Tibetan prefixes, initial consonants, vowels, and final consonants. The remainder of the work deals with phonological developments in the various subgroups of Sino-Tibetan, proceeding roughly from Tibetan in the north to Burmese in the south, though in doing so he does not follow the outline suggested by his classification closely enought to allow it to serve as a table of contents.

Shafer is constantly complaining about the phonetic inconsistencies of his sources and to combat this in his transcriptions he makes valiant, though sometimes wild, attempts at phonetic consistency. His unorthodox phonetic symbols and prestructuralist phonetic terminology ('sonant' for 'voiced', 'surd' for 'voiceless', 'aspirated' at times for 'breathy voice') take time to get used to.

Brilliant and eccentric, Shafer is one of the very few who have sifted single-handedly through the descriptive sources on Sino-Tibetan in an effort to establish the sound correspondences upon which a valid genetic language classification could be built. Benedict (1975a: 91) sees him as "the first 'Sino-Tibetanist' ever". Still, Shafer's work has never received a very enthusiastic following. Though basically conservative in insisting on working dialect by dialect in constructing the larger framework and in generally refusing to countenance semantic shifts in his putative cognate sets, his methods have

generally been considered inadequate and his handling of materials, lacking in insight and discrimination (Egerod (1973a: 498), Lehman (1975b: 219), R.A. Miller (1968a)). Perhaps the most impressive of Shafer's pioneering efforts in linguistic comparison is his work on Lolo, where he had reliable materials to work from (R.A. Miller (1969: 439)).

A much more exciting outcome of Kroeber's project, Paul K. Benedict's *Sino-Tibetan, a conspectus,* was completed in 1942 or 1943 and then set aside in unpublished form. In 1968 it was discovered by James A. Matisoff, who recognized its importance for the field and who, in the role of contributing editor, was instrumental in seeing it through to publication in 1972. The *Conspectus* is a rather overwhelming book, studded with insightful observations. The text was left very nearly in its 1942 state (archaic phonetic terminology and all) and was updated by the use of footnotes: the regular numerals for Benedict's footnotes and italic numerals for Matisoff's. The advantage of this is that the 1942 formulation remains clear and intact, while the later views of Benedict and Matisoff are highlighted against that background. The disadvantage of this is that it makes for difficult reading, and it is not always easy to piece together a coherent picture of this later view. Revising the whole text was felt to be too difficult a task for the author and editor, and for many readers it may likewise be too difficult a task to construct a coherent picture from the text and modifying footnotes.

Critical reactions have ranged from vitriolic (Miller, 1974) to enthusiastic (Egerod, 1973a). It is easily the best book of its kind that we have, one that marks in many ways a kind of renaissance in Tibeto-Burman studies.

The book consists of forty-eight chapters, the first twenty-nine of which deal with Tibeto-Burman. Chapters 1-6 deal with taxonomy, language classification and reconstruction in general terms. Chapters 7-12 deal with Proto-Tibeto-Burman phonology and Chapters 13-29 deal with Proto-Tibeto-Burman morphology and morphological processes. Chapters 30-38 are devoted to Karen and 39-48, to Chinese.

Apart from the observation that the book is hard to use (Lehman (1975b), Bodman (1975), Miller (1974)) in that it lacks indices, cognate tables, is short on synoptic tables of correspondences, and has many footnotes that are difficult for the reader to integrate with the text (Miller (1974: 196)), the book has drawn fire on methodological grounds.

As Benedict (1975a: 90) has pointed out, he is a radical in choosing to work with general genetic frameworks as hypotheses, revising them as the evidence may require. Shafer was a conservative in this regard, choosing to work pair-wise, dialect by dialect in building up a general framework. Both approaches are ultimately responsive to the data. The difference between the two is the order in which hypotheses are posed at the various levels. Benedict has drawn fire from R.A. Miller (1974: 209) and Kun Chang (1973: 336)

who see the rigorous step-wise comparison of forms as the only defensible approach. A more balanced assessment is that of Bodman who notes that Benedict does follow step-wise comparison where the data are sufficient to support such an undertaking (1975: 91).

Must a protolanguage constitute a homogenious invariant system or can it manifest homophony, alternation, fluctuation, and the like, much as any living language does? Benedict allows his protolanguages to behave like natural languages in these respects and draws the ire of Miller thereby (1974: 197).

What are the minimal qualifications for a candidate cognate pair? Ideally such pairs should correspond in full accordance with precise phonological rules and should also be fully synonymous. In Tibeto-Burman languages, however, if one discards all pairs that do not meet the ideal criteria, there may not be much left to work with. Furthermore, in languages for which we can document word histories, words often shift semantically as well as phonologically over time. Benedict holds that a candidate cognate pair that is in accord with the phonological rules but entails a plausible semantic shift is still admissible, and far preferrable to a candidate pair which shows phonological irregularities even though it might be a perfect match semantically. Shafer (1966a: 10) and Miller (1974: 207-208) both attack this. Shafer does so unjustly, as Egerod (1973a: 499) points out, and Miller does so on the basis of badly chosen examples as Matisoff (1975b: 166-167) points out.

This is a difficult book, yet an extremely important one. We can heartily agree with Bodman (1975: 96) that

> linguistic research in the Sino-Tibetan area is still in its rather early stages and one cannot expect all the problems to be solved with the scientific rigor we demand in an older, well worked language field like Indo-European. Indeed what we need is a book like Benedict's to stimulate interest and controversy.

A third such project was C.F. and F.M. Voegelin's Languages of the World File, an NDEA Office of Education project aimed at making reliable information regarding the languages of the world more accessible to administrators and legislators in Washington. The results were published in nineteen fascicles in *Anthropological Linguistics* from 1965 to 1966. Five fascicles were devoted to Sino-Tibetan, of which three deal with Tibeto-Burman (1964, 1965c, 1965d). An index to the nineteen fascicles was published (1966a, 1966b) which was eventually reworked as an index to Voegelin and Voegelin's revised classification of languages of the world and published as a single volume (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1977).

Voegelin–Voegelin 1964-1966 was forced into print by a contract deadline and their consultants were thus unable to comment on the final version

of the report. Voegelin and Voegelin see the report as "a very preliminary rather than as a polished publication on the state and scope of Sino-Tibetan." (1964: 4) Lack of polish does limit the usefulness of the survey as a starting point for further research. Charts on language classification referred to in the text fail to appear in the published version of the report. The bibliography presupposed by the short references in the text (author, sometimes accompanied by date) is also missing, making it extremely difficult for any nonspecialist to trace source material or refer to an original where the summaries given arouse one's suspicion or one's interest in further details. Though it has the virtue of being written for a nonspecialist readership, opaque references to the sources upon which it is based make it difficult to move from this survey to the rest of the literature.

Considerable space is devoted to discussions of language classification. Information as to geographic distribution, census figures, variant language names, phoneme inventories, syllable patterns, lists of grammatical features (presence or explicit marking for gender, number, tense, voice, mode, aspect, honorifics, and the like) are given for many languages. There is relatively little actual language exemplification. Sample sentences are given for Tibetan and Burmese, but in general, discussion of specific languages is carried on in the abstract with English glosses and grammatical or phonological labels. Very few actual forms are cited for the languages concerned.

There are slips in the report which probably would have been weeded out had Voegelin and Voegelin been able to send the final draft to their Sino-Tibetan consultants. As it stands, the consultants suggested bibliographical items which a staff of a dozen graduate students then excerpted, abstracted, and filed. Voegelin and Voegelin organized and summarized the abstracts and circulated them to the consultants for comment. The final draft was then composed. This survey is worth reading (and what it has to say about Tibeto-Burman can be read at one sitting) but should be read with caution and checked against other sources.[5]

### 1.2 *Bibliographies and sources*

The most comprehensive bibliography dealing with Tibeto-Burman languages is the two-volume work of Shafer (1957a, 1963a). The bibliography provides selective coverage for the whole of Sino-Tibetan:

> Something about every language or dialect of the Sino-Tibetan family, but not always everything about every language or dialect has been the objective. If very little was known about a language, almost anything was welcome, even texts which can be analyzed by a scholar if he is sufficiently interested. (1957a: viii)

The work is organized alphabetically according to language or language group. The names used are those of Shafer's classification (1955) and variant names are given in an index to the first volume. Both volumes have author indices. Coverage starts with a few works published as early as the 18th century and extends up to about 1961.

Wolfenden (1929b: 203-216) has a good brief bibliography of older sources, and Grierson (1909-1928) identifies numerous sources, some of which are not found in Shafer.

For post-Shafer coverage of Tibeto-Burman bibliography, a great deal of work can be traced through the U.S. Library of Congress accessions lists for India and Nepal. The *Bibliographie Linguistique* has an annual listing of publications relating to Sino-Tibetan, broken down into Shafer's subgroups: Bodic, Burmic, and Baric, in addition to Karenic, Daic, and other groups at the borders of Tibeto-Burman within Sino-Tibetan. This source is especially helpful for locating reviews of major works that might otherwise escape attention. Appearing more promptly, but with less comprehensive, and slightly less reliable coverage is the annual Modern Language Association linguistic bibliography. In addition to this, the Linguistic Society of India issues occasional supplements to *Indian Linguistics,* entitled *Bibliography of South Asian Linguistics,* which are useful in citing works missed by other sources. For Nepal some help can be had from Wood (1959) and from the Royal Nepal Academy bibliography (1975). More extensive is the bibliography of Hugoniot (1970) which gives an alphabetical listing of the minor languages of India and Nepal, cross-referenced to an author index of bibliographical sources dealing with these languages. Also very helpful for Nepal is the bibliography of Boulnois and Millot (1969).

More specific bibliographical coverage is also available for subgroups of Tibeto-Burman. Miller praises Richter (1964b, 1965) and A. Róna-Tas (1966: 219-227) as having excellent selective bibliographies for the field of Tibetan studies. A fairly comprehensive listing of work done by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in languages of Nepal can be found in Hargrave and M. Hale 1973 and Hargrave 1975. The periodical *Resarun,* published in Shillong by the Research Department of the Arunachal Pradesh Administration, is a good on-going source of information on the languages of Arunachal Pradesh (see the unsigned review in *Kailash* 3.2 (1975): 186-188). Kohima has also been the site of intense recent linguistic production under the impetus of Braj Bihārī Kumār and the Nagaland Bhasha Parishad (see Michailovsky 1975c and works listed in the bibliography under Braj Bihārī Kumār). Sprigg 1972 has a useful bibliography on Tibetan, as does Matisoff 1972c, 1973c, 1978a for Lolo-Burmese.

There are also bibliographic sources useful for the study of various topics of special relevance for Tibeto-Burman. For an extensive listing of recent

work on tonogenesis, see Mazaudon 1976 (107-123) and the bibliographies in Hyman 1973. For recent studies on tone in Tibetan, see Hari 1977. For studies on Tibeto-Burman morphology, see Bauman 1975.

## 1.3 *Language classification*

### 1.3.1 The affiliation of Tibeto-Burman

Tibeto-Burman is generally regarded as a subfamily of Sino-Tibetan, though there have been those who doubt this classification. Maspero (1938), in his review of Shafer 1938b, objected to the use of the term Sino-Tibetan to refer to a genetically related group of languages. Shafer (1940b: 302, footnote 1) responded that it was even too early to use Tibeto-Burman for a genetic grouping and, having said that, proceeded to use both terms. Maspero (1952), though willing to recognize Tibetan and Burmese as members of a single family, was hesitant to endorse any classification on the level of Sino-Tibetan. He speaks disparagingly of enormous groupings such as that of Logan (1859) and is unwilling to follow Conrady (1896) in uniting Chinese, Tibeto-Burman, and Thai within a single family. As recently as 1973, Kun Chang, in his review of Benedict (1972a: 336) states, "Despite the assiduous efforts of many scholars, a genetic relation for Tibeto-Burman and Chinese is still to be established." For those who are only inclined to admit the evidence of a micro-linguistic approach (detailed reconstruction on the basis of pair-wise comparison of languages) in support of genetic affiliation, such reactions are certainly understandable.[6]

In defining the scope of the present survey, the view of Benedict (1972a), Matisoff (1978a) and others has been followed: Tibeto-Burman is coordinate with Karen within a grouping labeled 'Tibeto-Karen', and Chinese and Tibeto-Karen are in turn coordinate members of Sino-Tibetan.

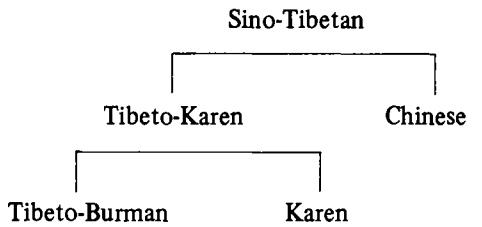



Figure 1. Affiliation of Tibeto-Burman, after Benedict (1972a: 6).

Relationships at this level are approachable at present primarily in terms of a macro- or megalo-linguistic approach. Benedict 1975b is a prime example of work at this level. Entailed by Figure 1 is a rejection of the Sino-Thai hypothesis in favor of the Austro-Thai hypothesis according to which Miao-Yao, Kam-Sui, and Thai are seen as members of Austro-Thai rather than of Sino-Tibetan (Benedict (1972a: 3-11)). For further discussion of the Austro-Thai vs. Sino-Thai debate, see especially Søren Egerod's excellent discussion (1976: 51-60). The basic work by Benedict (1942a, 1975b) is well worth reading and useful further discussion can be found in Haudricourt 1976, Benedict 1976b, 1976c, 1976d, 1976e, 1976f, and Matisoff 1976a. In support of opposing views see Gedney 1976, Fang-kuei Li 1976 and Shorto 1976. For background see the basic work of Wulff (1934, 1942) and Maspero (1934).

A further issue entailed by Figure 1 is the position of Karen. Forrest (1973: 21-22) feels that Karen could just as well be a Mon language imperfectly assimilated to Tibeto-Burman rather than a Sino-Tibetan language which suffered Mon influence. Egerod (1974a) places it within Sino-Tibetan as in Figure 1, but with links to Austroasiatic. Gleason (1961) and Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) place Karen within Tibeto-Burman proper. Luce (1959a: 9) had no doubts whatever that Karen is a Tibeto-Burman language, an opinion not to be lightly set aside.

### 1.3.2 The subgroupings of Tibeto-Burman

Those who wish to gain an overview of Tibeto-Burman will want to know what languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman family and how these languages are related to one another within the family. The alphabetical language index given at the end of this volume is an attempt to answer the first of these questions in some detail, and the harmony of classifications given in this section is an attempt to answer the second question from the viewpoint of several leading scholars in the field.

Beyond this kind of practical answer, one may wish to know what counts as evidence in deciding what the answers to these questions should be. Obviously, languages may be classified in many ways. They may be classified typologically, as tone languages, monosyllabic languages, or subject-object-verb languages, according to observable structural characteristics, an approach that is quite fruitful in studies of language universals (Greenberg 1963, 1974, Seiler 1977) but precarious as a basis for genetic grouping. Emeneau (1956, 1965) and Masica (1975) provide us with tantalizing characterizations of the Indian linguistic area, which show that there are numerous linguistic characteristics which are shared even across language family boundaries, and which

can be used to define a linguistic area. Areal characteristics of this sort are often contact phenomena, spreading like waves across an area, and producing a convergence of language patterns that often make inherited similarities of syntactic structure and semantic organization of the lexicon extremely difficult to distinguish from similarities that result from areal pressures (Gedney 1976: 66-68).

When one asks what languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman family, however, the question is neither one of typological classification nor is it one of areal classification. If the notion of a Tibeto-Burman family is valid in any normal sense, the question is one of genetic relationship, in which the languages so classified are claimed to have descended from a single ancestral language, Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

What counts as evidence in determining genetic relationships of this kind?[7] Haudricourt (1966: 44) states the problem well:

> Distinguishing between families of languages, and ascertaining to what family a given language belongs are both done more easily in Europe than in eastern Asia. In Europe the morphology and the grammatical structure make it easy to distinguish between an Indo-European language and a Finno-Ugric or a Semitic language. Because the languages of eastern Asia have neither regular nor irregular inflections, and because the syntax of these languages is often the same, comparative linguists must work almost entirely with vocabulary.

Matisoff (1976a: 256) paints a similar picture:

> The linguistic complexity of Southeast Asia (SEA)—which one is free to appreciate ("luxuriant") or bemoan ("messy"), according to one's temperament—makes the region an ideal laboratory for the refinement of certain key concepts in diachronic linguistics. SEA is one of the world's great "linguistic areas," where prolonged cultural contact among diverse peoples, both migratory and sessile, has led to massive convergence in all areas of linguistic structure: phonology, lexicon, morphology, syntax, and semantics.

Matisoff goes on to point out (1976a: 276-278) that some resemblances are accidents, others result from universal tendencies, and still others result from contact between unrelated languages. We do not know enough about language universals to distinguish clearly between accidental resemblances and resemblances arising from tendencies inherent to human languages. Worse yet, long standing contact or early loans may not be distinguishable from true genetic cognates. Although extensive sets of patterned resemblances involving many independent variables such as one finds in large cognate sets are not likely to be the result of accident or of universal tendencies, they can well result from contact.

Where do we look for solid evidence of genetic relationship? Matisoff (1976a: 259-260) offers the following:

If historical linguistics has taught us anything, it is that no aspect of linguistic structure is totally immune to change even in the absence of pressure from outside languages. From pidgin and creole studies we have learned that just about any aspect of linguistic structure may be borrowed from, influenced by, or combined with something in another language.

What is the area of a language's structure that is least subject to internal change or outside influence, and is therefore the best guide to its true genetic position? Paradoxically as it might seem, a language's syntax and morphology are not particularly resistant to change, at least on the superficial level. What about the lexicon, the traditional focus of comparative/historical linguistics? Here everything depends on what *semantic field* one is dealing with.

Least stable are vocabulary items of 'culture contact' type: words for technological processes and artifacts (weaving, trading, agriculture, metalworking), foodstuffs and spices, exotic or economically exploitable animals, useful plants, etc. Coca-Cola has passed into all the languages of the world, and fɛ̀ɛb (from English *Fab*) has become a generic designation for 'detergent' in Thai. ...

Presumably much less subject to change are items of 'core vocabulary'—words that stand for concepts that are universal to human experience, independent of cultural variables. The idea of core vocabulary underlies the method of *glottochronology,* where linguistic relationships are tested by means of a list of 100 or 200 basic words, the same list being used no matter what languages are to be compared. ...

One of my objections to the standard Swadesh lists is their semantic heterogeneity. While the 200 words are all more or less 'basic', they are drawn from a hodgepodge of semantic areas: numerals, kinship terms, animal names, simple activities, body-parts, logical relations like conjunction and negation, natural phenomena, etc. In VSTB [Matisoff 1978a] I have proposed a different approach to the lexicon, suggesting that the comparativist investigate *one particular semantic area at a time,* in as much detail as possible. [Emphasis Matisoff's.]

In Matisoff 1978a the semantic area of body-part terminology is examined in considerable detail for a number of languages of the Tibeto-Burman family in a study that is of very great methodological significance, a key contribution to what continues to be a prime theoretical issue in Tibeto-Burman linguistic studies. Matisoff undertook the study in the first place in order to come up with a clearer picture of genetic relationships that exist among Tibeto-Burman languages. Benedict (1972a) organized the Tibeto-Burman family into seven nuclei, a helical model as represented in Figure 2, which Matisoff picturesquely characterizes as "an interlocking network of fuzzy-edged clots of languages, emitting waves of mutual influence from their various nuclear ganglia" (1978a: 2). Matisoff had hoped to improve on that picture.

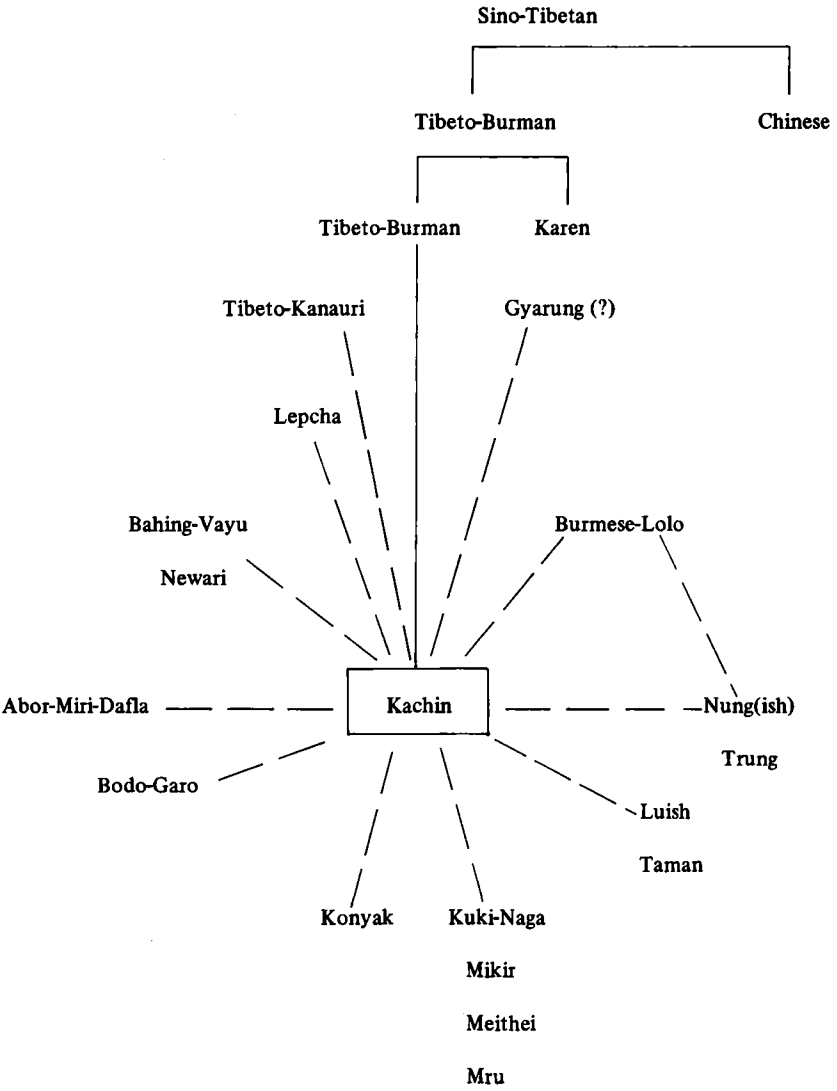



Figure 2. Sino-Tibetan groups from Benedict (1972a: 6).

But instead of coming up with a taxonomically more detailed and explicit classification, Matisoff gives us a methodological approach for working on such a classification, and a glimpse of what such a classification will have to account for in order to be adequate.

What Matisoff is centrally concerned with is the basic theory of language classification, with the principles of and criteria for such a classification. After reviewing evidence from phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, he found that the available evidence failed to support anything like a unique, clear tree structure. What does appear to be supported is a wave model of mutual influence in which word families (rather than individual lexical items) play the leading role.

Matisoff was not the only recent Tibeto-Burman scholar to question the adequacy of the family tree. Its appropriateness in representing the relationships among the subgroups of Tibeto-Burman has been questioned repeatedly in the literature. The results of Konow and Grierson (1909) have been interpreted in terms of a family tree by various authors (Chatterji (1950: 159, 160) and Hale (1973c IV: 3), among others) and the results of such an attempt can be presented as in the harmony of language classifications given below. Yet the qualifications with which their views are presented do not strongly support the appropriateness of the tree as a model for the relationships involved. Konow and Grierson say,

> On the whole it is impossible to classify the Tibeto-Burman dialects satisfactorily. They must have split up into many different forms of speech at a very early period, and there are numerous crossings and intercrossings. The remarks which follow do not pretend to be more than a provisional attempt at a classification based on the facts brought to light in this survey. (1909: 10)

Much of what they say in what follows is difficult to represent in the form of a family tree. They continually speak of "intermediate dialects" and of language groups as forming "links" between other language groups. It is thus intriguing to consider Konow's classification as a network of such linking relationships, part geographic and part genetic, running from Tibetan in the north to Burmese in the south.

Voegelin and Voegelin (1964: 9) have expressed the view that the family tree model is more appropriate for the constituent families of Sino-Tibetan than for Sino-Tibetan itself. Even Shafer was forced at times (1966a: 3, footnote 2; 1966a: 5, footnote 6) to abandon the tree in picturing relationships.

There are relatively few detailed classifications of Tibeto-Burman languages. There is Konow–Grierson 1909-1928, Shafer 1955, 1966a, Benedict 1972a, Egerod 1974a, and Voegelin–Voegelin 1964, 1977. Chatterji 1950 is a modification of Konow–Grierson. Miller (1969) updates Shafer 1955

with later findings of Uray, Róna-Tas, and Nishida. Egerod (1974a) distributes the major nuclei of Benedict among the three major divisions of Shafer, effecting a significant harmony of classifications in very compact form. Voegelin and Voegelin go their own way in many instances, while preserving some features of the classification of Li (1937, 1973). Trager (1945) follows Grierson (1909-1928) but substitutes his own labels for the subgroupings. Brief classifications can be found in Bloomfield 1933, Gleason 1961, and Ruhlen 1975.

For population figures and geographic distribution, B.F. Grimes 1978 is one of the best sources, giving very extensive listings of languages and dialects on a country-by-country basis for each area of the world. It attempts to group languages and dialects by genetic affiliation and to set mutual intelligibility as the working definition of what constitutes a language, to the extent that this is possible on the basis of available sources. Grimes has travelled extensively and has drawn upon many sources in first-hand contact with the language situations throughout the world – sources often independent of what is available elsewhere in the literature. A revised, corrected, and updated edition of this work is projected to appear every four years. Though it has no alphabetical index of languages, and is not keyed to any single coherent scheme of classification, it supplements Voegelin–Voegelin 1977 as a geographic listing of languages of the world and represents more closely the knowledge of workers active in field research at the present time.

In addition to the global classifications of Tibeto-Burman, there are classificatory works which treat various subgroups in greater detail. R.C. Nigam (1972) goes through the Indian Census for 1971 alphabetically on a language-by-language basis, providing linguistic affiliations, population figures and general information on geographic distribution. For additional detail on geographic distribution of language names returned in the 1971 Census of India, see D.P. Pattanayak 1973.

For languages of the Bodic division we have a number of classificatory works. Nishida (1970: 165) provides a concise summary of six different classifications of the Tibetan dialects (Roerich 1931, Uray 1949, Shafer 1966, and Róna-Tas 1966) in addition to proposing one of his own.

Glover (1974: 5-14) provides some lexicostatistical results bearing on languages of the Bodic division spoken in Nepal. Yoshio Nishi (1972, 1978) discusses the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali group of languages.

For languages of the Burmic division we have a great deal of very excellent work as a basis for classification. Nishida (1972: 226-241) summarizes Shafer's (1966a) classification and discusses his subgrouping of languages. Matisoff (1972c) is an excellent piece of work bearing upon the classification of languages within the Burmese-Lolo subgroup. Burling's earlier work (1967) was a pioneering effort in this area, building upon controlled phone-

mic data, while some of Shafer's best work (1952a), building upon older sources, also related to the Lolo group.

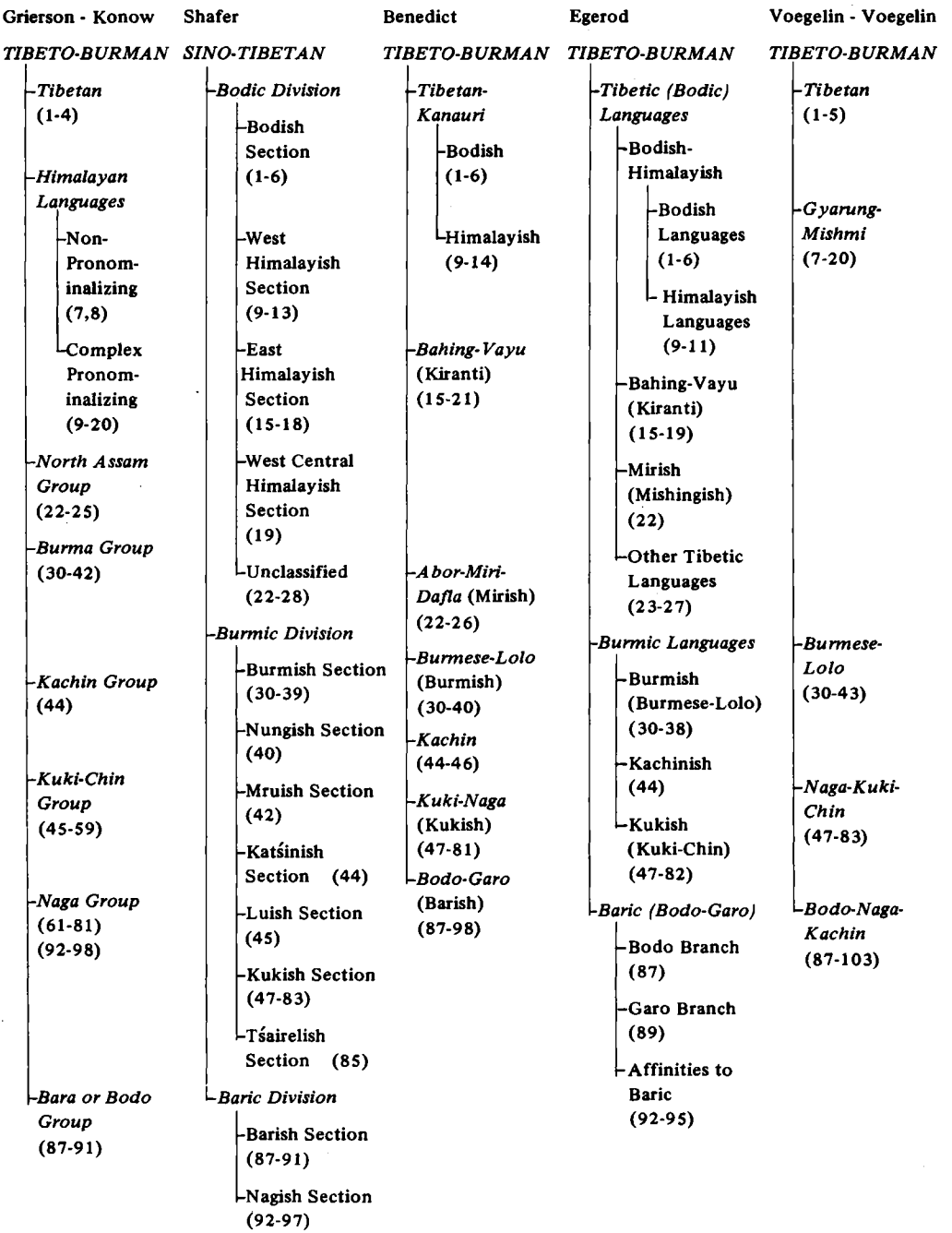
Spreading across the dividing line between Burmic and Baric is a group of languages often referred to geographically or politically as 'Naga' languages. Marrison's (1967) classification of the Naga languages is invaluable for its index of language names; its detailed treatment of the characteristics of the various Naga languages, phonologically, morphologically, lexically, and to some extent syntactically; for its maps; and for its index of village, tribe, and subtribe names, which is of very great help in making sense of the terminological chaos of language designations in this area.

For languages of the Baric division we have not only Marrison, as he deals with the Naga languages of the division, but Burling 1959a, a study highly valued by Miller (1969: 445). For another account of the Naga languages, their locations and subgrouping, M.V. Sreedhar (1974b: 11-33) can also be recommended.

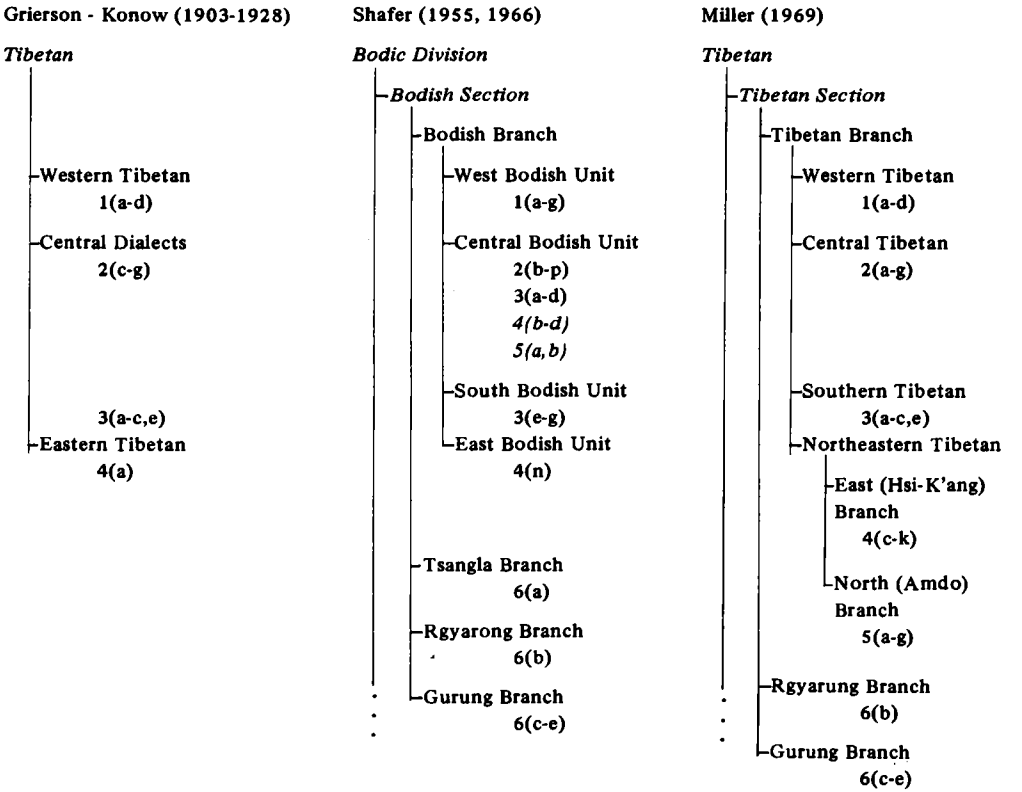
In the following pages an attempt has been made to harmonize the major classifications while still retaining whatever tree structure can be attributed to the original classifications. The alternative classifications are given in the upper portion of each two-page spread. These are keyed to language names at the bottom of each spread by way of line numbers. The language index has an alphabetical listing of language names which gives access to the harmony of classifications, also by way of line numbers. Line numbers run consecutively from the beginning of the harmony to the end, and where a given language has been variously classified by different authors, it may appear under more than one line number.

This harmony is an attempt to correlate the major classifications in the field. The same language referred to by two different names in two different classifications will often be assigned two different line numbers. A given language classified differently in the various classifications will occur with more than one line number. Where two classifications refer to the same line number, however, it is thereby claimed that they refer to the same language, or set of closely related languages. That two names occur with different line numbers does not necessarily imply that they are different languages. An attempt to equate alternative names for a given language has been made in the language index.

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Overview* (keyed to lines)



*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 1-6*




*Line 1*

a. Balti
= Sbalti
b. Purik
= Burig
c. Ladak
= Ladwags
d. Lahul
e. Leh
f. Rong
≠ Lepcha
g. Sham
h. Hanu
i. Khams
= 2(b), 4(a)

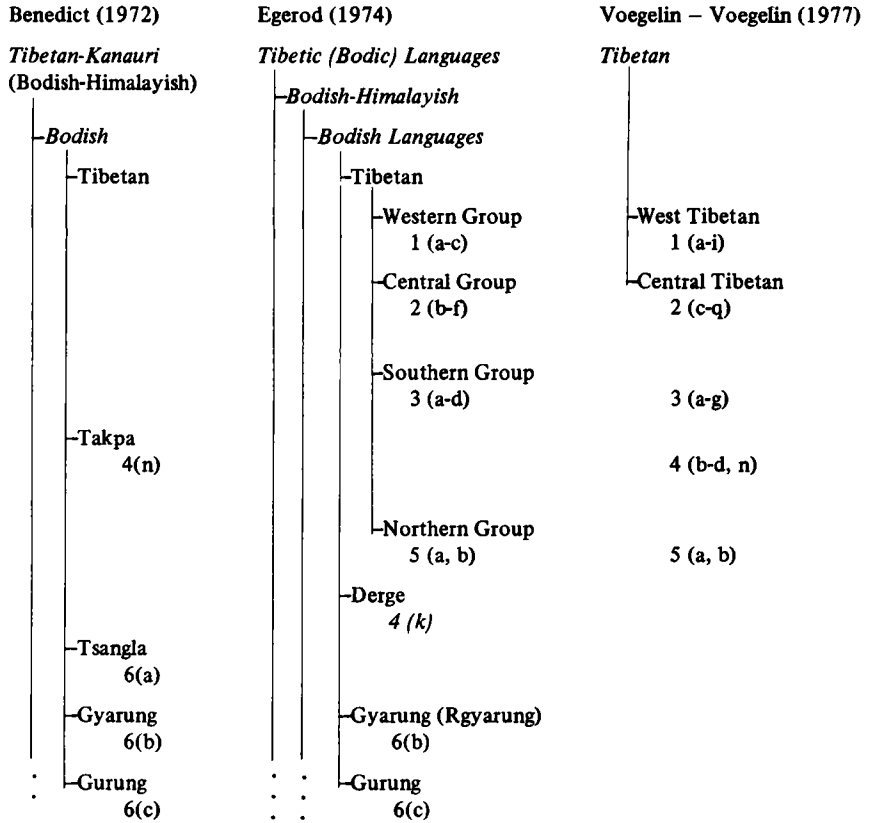
*Line 2*

a. Koiné
b. Khams
= Kham
≠ Kham, Nepal
c. Lhasa
= Ü
= Dbus
d. Nyamkat
= Mnyamskad
e. Jad
f. Kagate
g. Garhwal
h. Dru
i. Gtsang
= Tsang
j. Nyarong
= 5(i)
k. Panakha
l. Panags
m. Paurong
n. Sotati-po
o. Tseku
p. Hanniu
q. Kumaun
r. Shigatse

*Line 3*

a. Sherpa
= Sharpa
b. Spiti
c. Lhoke
= Lhoskad
= Hloka

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 1-6*




d. Sikkim
e. Danjongka
= Denjonke
f. Sikkimese
g. Groma (upper and lower)
= Tromowa
h. To-mo
= Chumbi

*Line 4*

a. Khams
= 2 (b), 1 (i)
b. Ãba
= Batang
c. Dartsemdo
= Tatsienlu
= K'ang-ting
d. Anshuenkuan
= Nganshuenkuan
e. Hsi-K'ang
f. Old Hsi-K'ang
g. Tao-fu
= lTaḥo
h. Tsuku
i. Kantzu
= dKar-mjes
j. Chamdo
= Chab-mdo

k. Derge
= sDe-dge
l. Tsharong
m. Li-thang
n. Takpa
= Dwags

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 1-6*

**Roerich (1931)***

*Tibetan*

- Dialects of Western Tibet 1(a-c)
- Dialects of Central Tibet 2(c,i)
- Dialects of Southern Tibet 3(h)
- Dialects of East & Southeast Tibet 4(a,j-m)
- Archaic Nomad Dialects 5(a,c,h,i)

**Uray (1955)***

*Tibetan*

- Western Archaic Group 1(a,b)
- Western Transitional Dialects 1(c,e-g)
- Central Group
  - Central Subgroup 1(d) 2(c,f,i)
  - Southern Subgroup 3(c,e)
  - Southeastern Subgroup 4(c,h,k)
  - Northeastern Dialects 4(a,d) 5(d)

**Nishida (1970)****

*Tibetan*

- Western Tibet 1(a-g)
- Central Tibet 2(c,i,r)
- Southern Tibet 2(d,f) 3(a-c,e,g)
- Southeastern Dialects 4(a-c,g,j-m)
- Northeastern Dialects 5(a,c,e,f)

*rGya-rong* 6(b)

*Via Nishida (1970)

**Translated by Takashi Fukuda

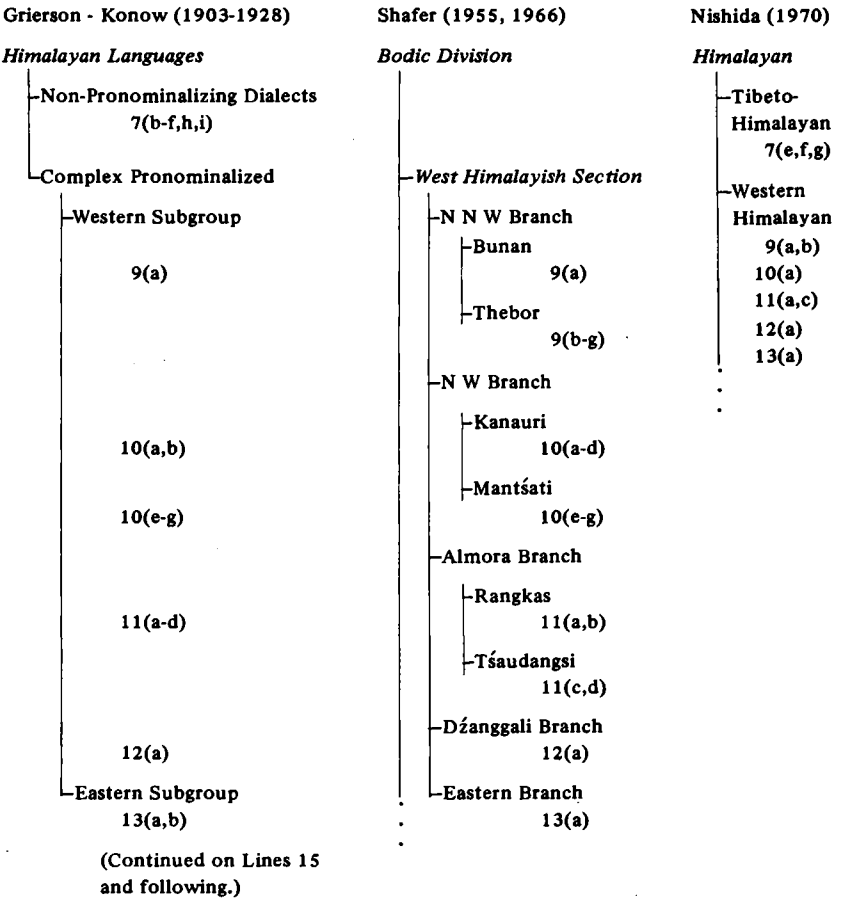
*Line 5*

a. Amdo
   = Ngambo
b. Chone
   = Choni
c. Golok
   = Ngolok
   = mGo-log
d. Dpa-ri
   = dPal-ri
   = dPa-rus
e. Reb-kong
f. Banag
   = Banang
   = sBa-nag
g. Wayen
h. Hor-ke
i. Nyarong
   = 2(j)

*Line 6*

a. Tsangla
b. Gyarung
   = Rgyarong
   = Jyarung
   (Pati, Wassu)
c. Gurung
d. Tamang
   = Murmi
   = Ishang
   = Sain
e. Thakali
   = Thaksya

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 7-14*




*Line 7*

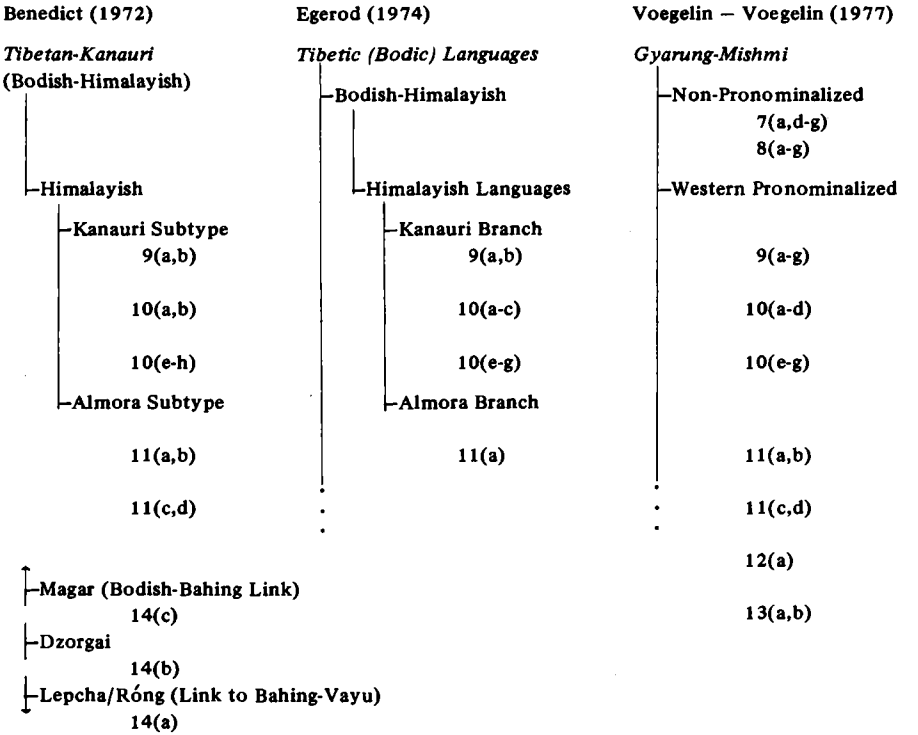
a. Gyarung
= 6(b)
b. Magar
= Magari
= 14(c), 19(c)
c. Lepcha
= Róng
= 14(a), 82(a),
= 99(a)
d. Newari
(Pahri)
e. Gurung
= 6(c)
f. Tamang
= Murmi
= 6(d)
g. Thakali
= Thaksya
= 6(e)
h. Sunwar
= Sunwari
i. Toto

*Line 8*

a. Abor-Miri
= Mishing
= Adi
b. Dafla
c. Yano
d. Hruso
= Aka
= Tenae
e. Digaro
= Taying
= Midu
f. Chulikata
= Idu
g. Miju
= Kaman

*Line 9*

a. Bunan
b. Thebor
c. Kanam
d. Lippa
e. Sumtśu
f. Sungnam
g. Źangram




*Line 10*

a. Kanauri
= Kanawari
= Kanawi
(Lower, Upper, Malhesti, Milchang, Minchhang)
b. Kanashi
c. Chitkhuli
d. Tukpa
e. Manchāti
f. Chamba Lahuli
g. Rangloi
= Tinan
= Gōndlā
h. Zhang-zhung

*Line 11*

a. Rangkas
= Saukiya Khun
b. Darmiya
c. Chaudāngsi
d. Byāngsī

*Line 12*

a. Jang(g)alī

*Line 13*

a. Thāmi
b. Bhrāmu

*Line 14*

a. Lepcha
= Róng
= 7(c), 82(a)
= 99(a)
b. Dzorgai
= "Outside Man-tze"
= 28(a)
c. Magar
= Magari
= 7(b), 19(c)
d. Kham-Magar

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 15-29*

**Grierson - Konow (1903-1928)**

*Himalayan Languages*

- Complex Pronominalized
  - Eastern Subgroup (Cont'd.)
    - 15(b)
    - 15(c)
    - 15(d)
    - 16(a-c)
    - 17(a-d)
    - 18(a-i)
    - 19(a,b,d)
    - Dhimal 20(a)

*North Assam Group*

- 22(a-b)
- 23(a)
- 24(a,b)
- 25(a)

**Shafer (1955, 1966)**

*Bodic Division*

- *East Himalayish Section*
  - Western Branch
    - Bahing Unit 15(a,b)
    - Thulung 15(c)
    - Tśaurasya 15(d)
    - Dumi Unit 16(a-c)
  - Eastern Branch
    - Khambu Unit 17(a-d)
    - Bontawa Unit 18(a-f, h,i)
- *West Central Himalayish Section* 19(a-c)
- *Unclassified* (Bodic/Burmic)
  - -Miśingish 22(a-c)
  - -Hrusish 23(a)
  - -Digarish 24(a)
  - -Midźuish 25(a)
  - -Dhimalish 26(a,b)
  - -Newarish 27(a)
  - -Dzorgaish 28(a-f)

**Nishida (1970)**

*Himalayan*

- Eastern Himalayan
  - 15(a-d)
  - 16(a-c)
  - 17(a,d,f)
  - 18(a,b,h)
- Central Himalayan
  - 19(a-c)

*Chiang*

- Southern Dialects
  - 29(a-e)
- Northern Dialects
  - 29(f-j)

*Line 15*

a. Sunwar = 7(h)
b. Bahing
c. Thulung
d. Chaurāsya

*Line 16*

a. Dumi
b. Khaling
c. Rai = Jindā

*Line 17*

a. Khambū
b. Sangpang
c. Kulung
d. Nacherēng
e. Kiranti
f. Bontawa

*Line 18*

a. Rōdōng = Chāmbling
b. Waling
c. Dungmali
d. Rungchhenbung
e. Lohōrōng = Balali
f. Lāmbichhong
g. Chhingtāng
h. Limbu = Tsong = Chang =Monpa = Yakthūngbā
i. Yakha = Yakthomba = Rōī

*Line 19*

a. Vayu = Hayu
b. Chepang
c. Magar = 7(b), 14(c)
d. Kusunda
e. Kham-Magar
f. Raute

*Line 20*

a. Dhimal
b. Toto = 7(i)

*Line 21*

a. Newari = 7(d)

*Line 22*

a. Abor-Miri = Mishing = Adi = 8(a)

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 15-29*

**Benedict (1972)**

*Bahing-Vayu (Kiranti)*

- Bahing Subtype (nuclear) — 15(a,b); 16(a-c)
- Khambu Subtype (nuclear) — 17(b,d); 18(a,b,d,f-i)
- Vayu-Chepang (near nucleus) — 19(a,b)
- Newari (further from nucleus) — 21(a)

*Abor-Miri-Dafla (Mirish)*

- North Assam Group (nucleus) — 22(a,b)
- Aka (close to nucleus) — 23(a)
- Mishmi
  - Digaro — 24(a)
  - Miju — 25(a)
- Dhimal (further from nucleus) — 26(a)

**Egerod (1974)**

*Tibetic (Bodic) Languages*

- Kirantish (Bahing-Vayu)
  - Eastern (Bahing) Branch — 15(a,b); 16(a); 17(a); 18(a,b,e,f,h,i)
  - Western (Vayu) Branch — 19(a-c)
- Mirish (Mishingish) — 22(a,b)
- Other Tibetic Languages — 23(a); 24(a); 25(a); 26(a); 27(a)

**Voegelin – Voegelin (1977)**

*Gyarung-Mishmi*

- Eastern — 15(a-d); 16(a-c); 17(a-e); 18(a-i); 19(a-d); Dhimal 20(a,b)

b. Dafla
= Nyising
= Bangni
(Apa, Tagen, Tanang)
= 8 (b)

c. Yano
= 8(c)

*Line 23*

a. Hruso
= Hurso
= Aka
= Tenae
= 8(d)

*Line 24*

a. Digaro
= Taying
= Midu
= Methun
= 8(e)

b. Chulikata
= Idu
= 8(f)

*Line 25*

a. Miju
= Kaman
= 8(g)

*Line 26*

a. Dhimal
= 20(a)

b. Toto
= 20(b)

*Line 27*

a. Newari
(Pahri)
= 7(d), 21(a)

*Line 28*

a. Dzorgai

b. Thotsu
= Thochu (?)

c. Kortse

d. "Outer Mantse"

e. Pingfang

f. Ch'iang

*Line 29* (Listed by Nishida (1970))

a. Tach'ishan
b. T'aop'ing
c. Lung hsi
d. Miench'ih
e. Heihu
f. Yatu
g. Weiku
h. Tz'umulin
i. Mawo
j. Luhua

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 30-43*

**Grierson - Konow (1903-1928)**

*Burma Group*

- Burmese, Arakanese — 30(a,b)
- Hybro-Burmese Languages
  - Shan-Burmese — 30(n,o)
  - Kachin-Burmese — 31(a-d)
  - Lihsaw Subgroup — 32(a,b); 33(d,i)
- Ungrouped Languages — Lolo, Yao
- Mru — 42(a)

**Shafer (1955, 1966)**

*Burmic Division*

- *Burmish Section*
  - Burma Branch
    - Southern Unit — 30(a-g)
    - Northern Unit — 31(a-e)
  - Lolo Branch
    - Southern Unit — 32(a-l)
    - Central Unit — 33(a-f)
    - Northern Unit — 34(a-i)
    - Tonkin Unit — 35(a-c)
    - Unclassified — *33(g,i)*; 37(c); *38(b,c)*
  - Hor Branch — 37(a)
  - Hsihsia Branch — 39(a)
- Nungish Section — 40(a-e)
- Mruish Section — 42(a)

*Line 30*

a. Burmese
b. Arakanese
c. Tavoy
= Dawé
d. Taungyo
e. Intha
f. Danu
g. Yaw
h. Rangoon
i. Mergui
= Merguese
j. Yanbye
k. Chaungtha
l. Inle
m. Yabein
n. Kadu
= 41(a)
o. Danau
= Danaw of Mon Khmer?

*Line 31*

a. Maru
= Lawng
= 101(a)
b. Lashi
= Letsi
= 101(b)
c. Atśi
= Asi
= 101(d)
(Tsaiwa, Szi)
d. Phun
= Phön
= Hpön
(Megyaw, Samong)
e. Achang
(Ngatśang, Maingtha)
= 101(c)

*Line 32*

a. Akha
= Kaws
b. Ako
c. Asong
d. Kui
= Kwi
e. Menghwa
f. Phana
g. Woni
h. Lahu
(Lahuna, Lahushi)
i. Phunoi
j. Pyen
k. Khaskhong
l. Hwethom
m. Bisu
n. Müng
o. White Lolo
p. Black Lolo

*Line 33*

a. Nyi
= Gni
= I
b. Ahi
c. Lolopho
d. Lisu
= Lishaw
(Kesopho, Kosopho, Lipha Lipho)
e. Chöko
f. Weining
g. Phupha
h. Independent Lolo
i. Moso
= Musu
= Nachi
= Nakhi
(Dion)

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 30-43*

Benedict (1972)

*Burmese-Lolo (Burmish)*

- Burmese-Maru
  - Burmese 30(a)
  - Maru 31(a-e)
- Southern Lolo 32(a,h-i,m-p)
- Northern Lolo 33(a-e, g,h) 34(a)
- Residual Subtypes *33(i),* 37(a-e)
- Extinct Burmese-Lolo 39(a-c)
- Nung(ish) 40(f,g)

Egerod (1974)

*Burmic Languages*

- Burmish (Burmese-Lolo)
  - Burma Branch
    - Burmese 30(a-i)
    - Maru 31(a)
    - Lashi 31(b)
    - Atsi 31(c)
  - Lolo Branch
    - Southern Group 32(a,h)
    - Northern Group 33(a-d)
  - Relations to Lolo not clearly defined 33(i) 38(a)

Voegelin – Voegelin (1977)

*Burmese-Lolo*

- Burmese 30(a-g,i-m)
- Lolo-Moso
  - Southern Lolo 32(a-g,i-l)
  - Lolo Proper 33(a-c,e,f)
  - Northern Lolo 34(a-i)
  - East Lolo = Tonkin 35(a-c)
  - Minchia 36(a-d)
  - Lolo-Moso Ungrouped
    32(h)
    33(a,d,g,i) 41(a-f)
    37(c) 42(a)
    38(b,d) 43(a,b)
    39(a)

*Line 34*

a. Ulu
b. Thongho
c. Pakishan
d. Kangsiangying
e. Kiaokio
f. Nee
g. Laichau
h. Tudza
i. Nuoku

*Line 35*

a. Mung
b. White Khoany
c. Black Khoany

*Line 36*

a. Tali
b. Hoking
c. Eryuan
d. Minchia
   = Minkia

*Line 37*

a. Hor
   = Horpa
b. Muli
c. Manyak
   (Menia)
d. Kanburi
e. Lawa

*Line 38*

a. Ch'iang
b. Duampu
c. Nameji

*Line 39*

a. Hsi-hsia
   = Sihia
b. Pai-lang
c. Pyu
   = P'iao

*Line 40*

a. Rawang
b. Metu
c. Melam
d. Tamalu
e. Tukiumu
f. Nung
   = Nu-tzu
g. Trung

*Line 41* (= Line 45)

a. Kadu
   = Asak
   (Ganan)
   = 30(n)
b. Andro
c. Sengmai
d. Sak
   = That
e. Hani
f. Taman

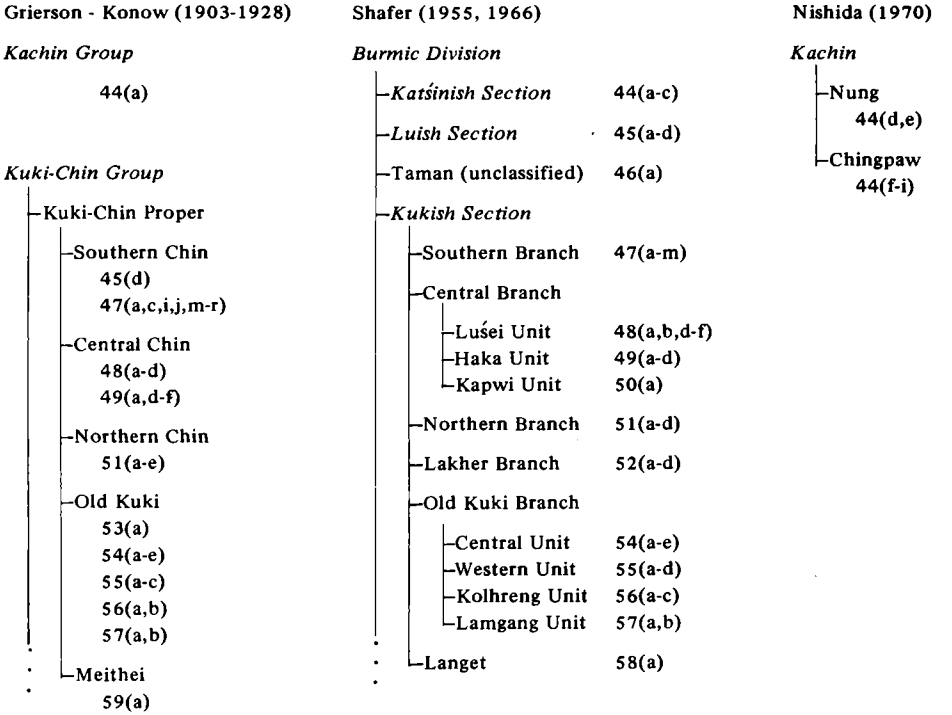
*Line 42*

a. Mru
   = Mro

*Line 43*

a. Chairel
b. Daignet

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 44-60*




*Line 44*

a. Kachin = Jinghpaw
b. Kauri
c. Jili
d. Rawang
e. Daru
f. Myitkyina
g. Duleng
h. Bhamo
i. Gauri = 44(b)
j. Tsasen
k. Kha-hku
l. Htingnai

*Line 45* (= Line 41)

a. Kadu
b. Andro
c. Sengmai
d. Sak

*Line 46*

a. Taman

*Line 47*

a. Sho
b. Sandoway
c. Chinbon
d. Thayetmyo
e. Minbu
f. Chittagong
g. Lemyo
h. Yawdwin
i. Chinbok
j. Khami (Northern, Southern)
k. Khimi
l. Matu
m. Yindu
n. Chinme
o. Welaung
p. Anu
q. Kun
r. Pallaing

*Line 48*

a. Lushei (Dulien, Ngente)
b. Zahao
c. Tashōn
d. Pankhu
e. Bom
f. Hmar = Mhar

*Line 49*

a. Haka = Lai
b. Shonshe
c. Taungtha
d. Banjōgi = Zotung
e. Tlantlang
f. Lakher = Mara (Hawthai, Tlongsai)

*Line 50*

a. Kapwi
b. Bwel
c. Hsemtung
d. Haulngo
e. Khualringklang
f. Kwalshim
g. Kwangli
h. Laizo
i. Lawthve
j. Lente

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 44-60*

**Benedict (1972)**

*Kachin*

- Kachin 44(a)
- Jili 44(c)
- Luish 45(a-c)
- Taman 46(a)

*Kuki-Naga (Kukish)*

- Kuki Proper
  - Southern Kuki 47(a,h-j)
  - Central Kuki 48(a) 49(a,f)
  - Northern Kuki 51(a,b)
  - Old Kuki 54(b,c,e) 55(a,b) 57(a,b)

**Egerod (1974)**

*Burmic Languages*

- Kachinish 44(a)
- Kukish (Kuki-Chin)
  - Kuki Branch
    - Southern Kuki 47(a,h-k)
    - Central Kuki 48(a) 49(a,f)
    - Northern Kuki 51(a,b,f)
    - Old Kuki 54(b,c) 55(a,b) 57(a,b)

**Voegelin – Voegelin (1977)**

See Bodo-Naga-Kachin, Lines 100 - 103

*Naga-Kuki-Chin*

- Chin
  - Southern Chin 47(a-m)
  - Central Chin 48(a-f) 49(a-e) 50(a-q)
  - Northern Chin 51(a-g)
- Lakher 52(a-d)
- Old Kuki 54(a-e) 55(a-d) 56(a-c) 57(a,b)
- Langet 58(a)
- Hor 60(a)

k. Lomban
l. Senthang
m. Tawr
n. Vamtu
o. Yokwa
p. Zanniat
q. Zokhaoh

*Line 51*

a. Thado
b. Siyin
= Shiyang
= Sizang
c. Paite
= Vuite
d. Rāltē
e. Soktē
f. Kamhau
= Kamhow
g. Yos

*Line 52*

a. Lakher
= 49(f)
b. Sabeu
c. Shandu
= Shendu
d. Zeuhnang

*Line 53*

a. Hmar
= Mhar = 48(f)

*Line 54*

a. Chiru
b. Aimol
c. Purum
d. Langrong
e. Chaw
= Kyau
= Kyaw

*Line 55*

a. Bete
= Biate
b. Rangkhol
= Hrangkhol
c. Hallam
d. Southern
Luhuppa

*Line 56*

a. Kolhreng
= Kolrēn
b. Kom
c. Tarao

*Line 57*

a. Lamgang
= Hiroi-
Lamgang
b. Anal

*Line 58*

a. Langet

*Line 59*

a. Meithei
= Meithlei
= Manipuri
= 83(b)

*Line 60*

a. Horpa
= Hor
= 37(a)

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 61-75*

Grierson - Konow (1903-1928)

*Naga Group*

- Naga-Kuki Subgroup
  - 61(a,b)
  - 62(a,c,g)
  - 64(a)
  - 65(b,c)
  - *71(a,d)*
- Naga-Bodo Subgroup
  - 66(c)
  - 67(a)
  - 68(b,c,e)
  - 69(a)
- Western Subgroup
  - 70(a,h,i)
  - 72(a)
  - 73(b)
  - 74(a,d)
  - 75(a,c,e,h,k,m)

Shafer (1955, 1966)

*Burmic Division*

- *Kukish Section*
  - Luhupa Branch
    - Maring Unit
      - 61(a,b)
    - Tangkhul Unit
      - 62(a,b,g,i)
    - Kupome Unit
      - 62(d-f)
  - Western Branch
    - 64(a)
    - 65(b,c)
    - 66(c)
    - 67(a)
    - 68(b,c)
  - Eastern Branch
    - Rengma
      - 70(a,b,e,f,j)
    - Simi (Sema)
      - 71(a,d)
      - 72(a)
      - 74(a,b,d,f)
    - Angami
      - 73(b)
      - 75(a,c,e,h,m)

Benedict (1972)

*Kuki-Naga (Kukish)*

- Transition to Naga
  - Tangkhul-Kuki Type
    - 61(a,b)
    - 62(a)
  - Tangkhul-W. Kuki (?)
    - 63(a)
  - Western Kuki
    - 64(a)
    - 65(b)
    - 66(c)
    - 67(a)
    - 68(c)
- Naga Proper
  - Southern Naga
    - 70(c)
    - 71(a,d)
    - 74(a)
    - 75(a)

*Line 61*

a. Maring
b. Khoibu

*Line 62*

a. Tangkhul
b. Champhung
c. Khangoi
d. Khunggoi
e. Kupome
f. Luhupa
g. Phadang
h. Somra
i. Ukhrul

*Line 63*

a. Poeron

*Line 64*

a. Maram

*Line 65*

a. Liangmai
b. Kwoireng
c. Liyang
d. Lyengmai
e. Quoireng

*Line 66*

a. Nruanghmei
b. Impuiron
c. Kabui
d. Kapwi
e. Maruongmai
f. Puiron
g. Rongmei
h. Songbu

*Line 67*

a. Khoirao
b. Kolya
c. Mayangkhang
d. Miyangkhang
e. Ngari
f. Takaimi
g. Thanggal -Khoiral

*Line 68*

a. Zeme
b. Arung
c. Empui = Empeo
d. Jeme
e. Kachcha = Kutcha
f. Mezama
g. Mzieme
h. Sangrima
i. Sengima

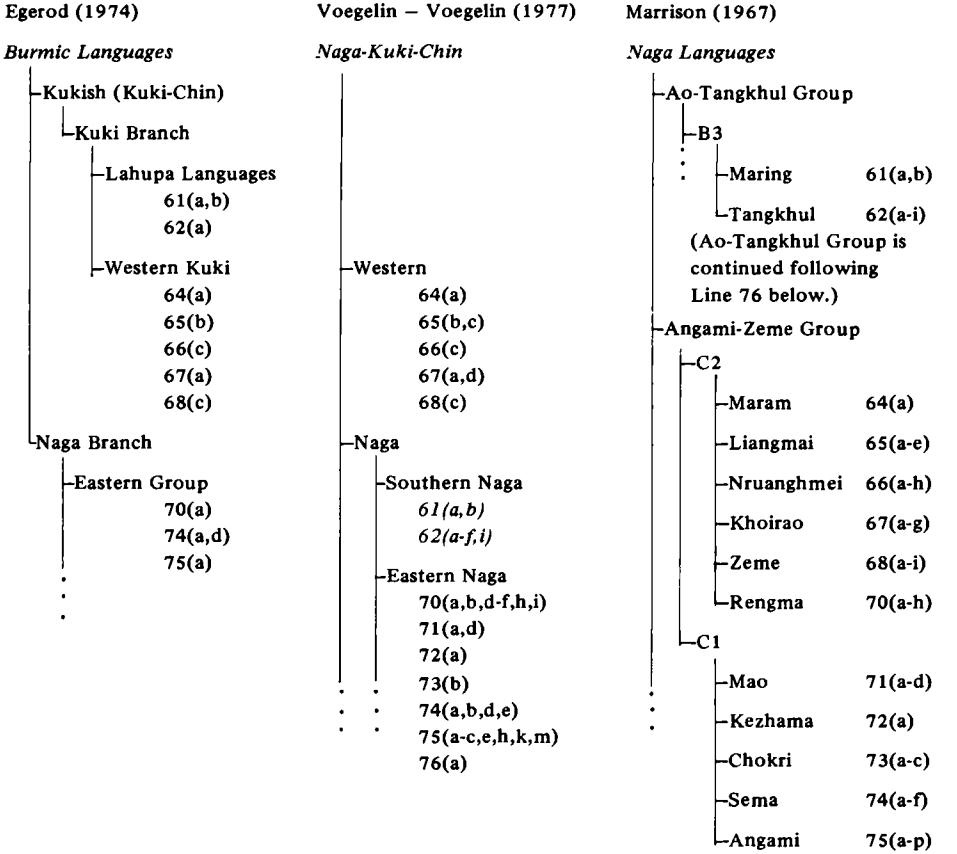
*Line 69*

a. Mikir

*Line 70*

a. Rengma
b. Anyo
c. Injang
d. Kotsenyu
e. Nzong

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 61-75*




f. Nzonyu
g. Tseminyu
h. Unza
i. Māyi

*Line 71*

a. Mao
b. Maikel
c. Memi
d. Sopvoma

*Line 72*

a. Kezhama

*Line 73*

a. Chokri
b. Chakrima
c. Chakrü

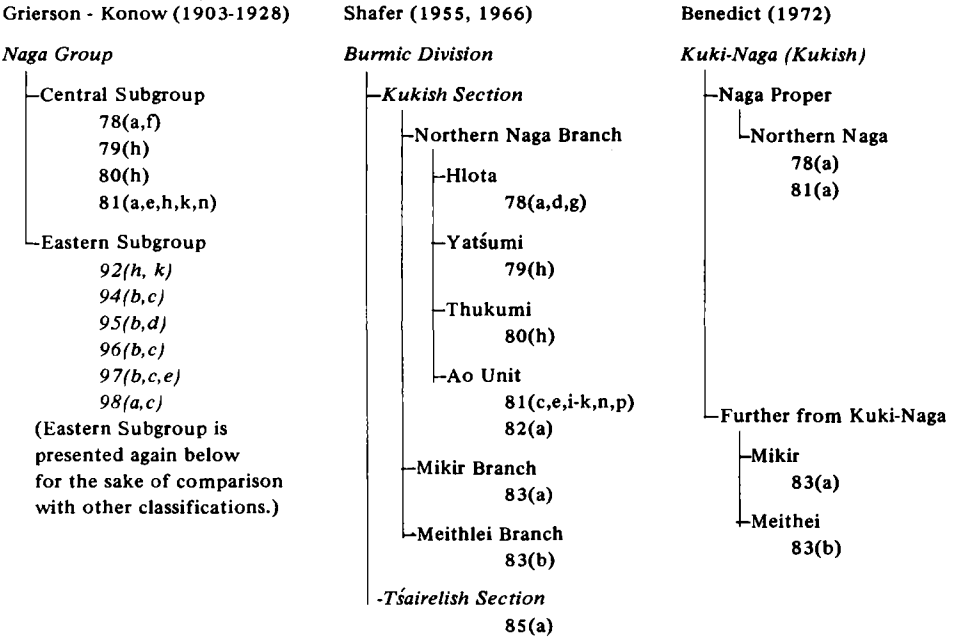
*Line 74*

a. Sema
b. Dayang
c. Lazemi
d. Simi
e. Zhimomi
f. Zuomomi

*Line 75*

a. Angami
b. Chakroma
c. Dzuna
d. Gnamei
e. Kehena
f. Khonoma
g. Kohima
h. Mima
i. Monr
j. Mozome
k. Nali
l. Ngami
m. Tengima
n. Tsangho
o. Tsoghami
p. Tsugumi
= Tsungümi

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 76-86*




*Line 76*

a. Ntenyi

*Line 77*

a. Meluri
= Muluory

*Line 78*

a. Lotha
= Hlota
b. Chizima
c. Choima
d. Kyo
= Kyon
= Kyong
= Kyontsü
= Kyou
= Kantsii
e. Liye
f. Miklai
g. Ndreng
h. Tsindrr
i. Tsontsü

*Line 79*

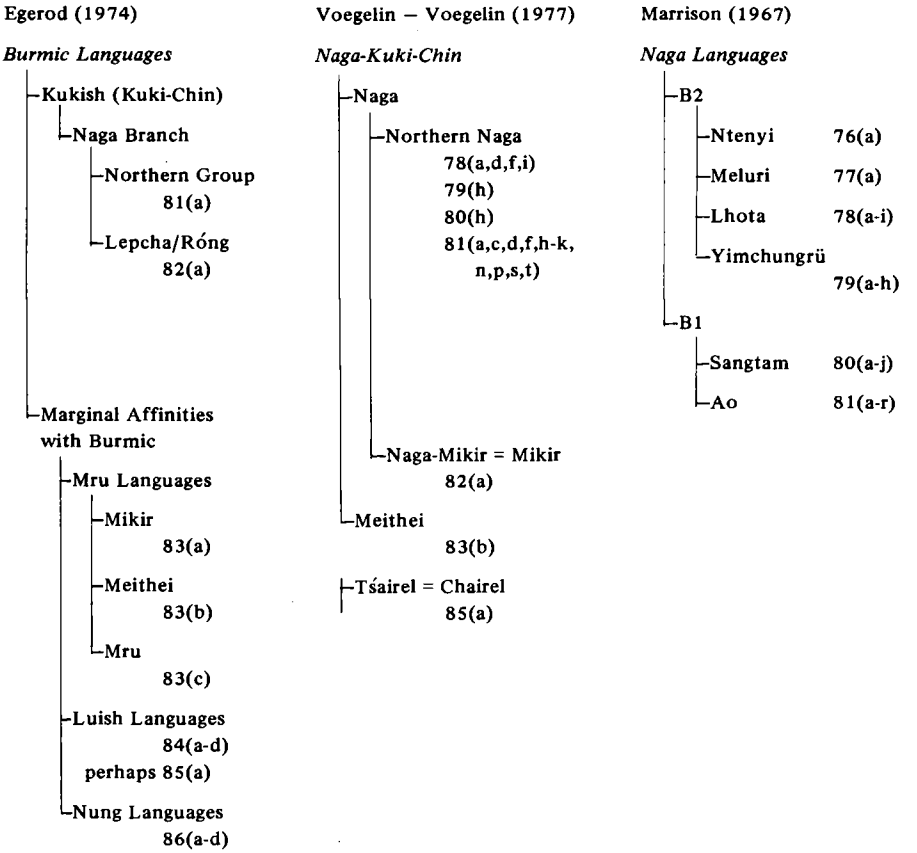
a. Yimchungrü
b. Chirr
c. Minir
d. Pherrongre
e. Tikhir
f. Toshuma
g. Wui
h. Yachumi
= Yimtśurr

*Line 80*

a. Sangtam
b. Lophomi
c. Photsimi
d. Phelongre
e. Pirr
f. Pochuri
g. Purr
h. Thukumi
i. Isachanure
j. Kizare

*Line 81*

a. Ao
b. Aorr
c. Changki
d. Cholimi
e. Chungli
f. Dopdoria
= Dopdor
g. Haimong
h. Hatigoria




i. Khari
j. Longla
k. Mongsen
l. Nowgong
m. Paimi
n. Tengsa
o. Uri
p. Yacham
q. Yachamsha
r. Zungi
s. Tungsen
t. Tunli

*Line 82*

a. Lepcha
= Róng
= Rongpa
= Nünpa
= 7(c), 14(a),
= 99(a)

*Line 83*

a. Mikir
b. Meithei
= Meithlei
= 59(a)
c. Mru
= Mro
= 42(a)

*Line 84*

a. Kadu
= 41(a), 45(a)
b. Andro
= 41(b), 45(b)
c. Sengmai
= 41(c), 45(c)
d. Sak
= 41(d), 45(d)

*Line 85*

a. Chairel

*Line 86*

a. Nung
= 40(f)
= 102(a)
b. Rawang
= 40(a)
= 103(a)
c. Trung
= 40(g)

*A Harmony of Tibeto-Burman Language Classifications, Lines 87-103*

**Grierson - Konow (1903-1928)**

*Bārā or Bodo Group*

- Bāṛā
  - 87(a-h)
- Garo = Mande Kusik
  - 88(a-d)
  - 89(a-e,g)
  - 90(a)
  - 91(a)

*Naga Group*

- Eastern Subgroup*
  - 92(h,k)
  - 94(b,c)
  - 95(b,d)
  - 96(b,c)
  - 97(b,c,e)
  - 98(a,c)

*Repeated here from above for the sake of comparison.

**Shafer (1955, 1966)**

*Baric Division*

- Barish Section
  - Western Branch
    - 87(a-c, e-h)
  - North Central Branch
    - 88(a-d)
  - South Central Branch
    - 89(a-g)
  - Jalpaiguri Branch
    - 90(a)
  - Eastern Branch
    - 91(a)
- Nagish Section
  - 92(h,k)
  - 94(b,c)
  - 95(b,d)
  - 96(b,c,aa)
  - 97(b,e)

**Benedict (1972)**

*Bodo-Garo (Barish)*

- Bodo Subtype
  - 87(a,c)
- Garo Subtype
  - Garo A
    - 89(a-c)
  - Garo B
    - 88(a,b,e)
- Deori Chutiya Languages 91(a)
- Konyak Languages
  - Moshang 92(h)
  - Namsang 94(c)
  - Banpara 95(d)
  - Tableng 96(b)
  - Tamlu 97(b)
  - Chang 98(a)

*Line 87*

a. Bodo
   =Boro
   =Bāṛā
   =Plains Kachāri
b. Mech
   = Mes Bara
c. Dimasa
   = Hills Kachari
d. Kachari
e. Hōjai
f. Tipura
g. Lalung
h. Moran

*Line 88*

a. Standard Garo
   = Achik
b. Abeng
c. Dacca
d. Kamrup
e. Awe

*Line 89*

a. Atong
   = Ating
   = Kuchu
b. Rabha
c. Ruga
d. Tintekiya
e. Cooch Behar
f. Kontś
g. Koch

*Line 90*

a. Wanang
   = Garo of Jalpaiguri

*Line 91*

a. Chutiya

*Line 92*

a. Tangsa
b. Have
   = Hewa
c. Khemsing
d. Longphi
e. Lungchang
f. Lungri
   = 93 (d)
g. Moklum
h. Moshang
   = 93(f)
i. Ponthai
j. Rong-Rang
   = Ronrang
k. Shangge
   = Sanke
   = 93(h)
l. Taipi
m. Tikhak
n. Yugli
   = Yogli

*Line 93*

a. Rangpan
b. Gashan
c. Langshin
d. Longri
   = 92(f)
e. Mawrang
f. Mawshang
   = 92(h)
g. Myimu
h. Sangche
   = 92(k)
i. Sangtai
j. Saukrang
k. Tulim

*Line 94*

a. Nocte
   = Borduria
   = Paniduria
b. Mohongia
c. Namsangia
   =Namsang
d. Jaipuria
e. Banchang
   = Bansang

*Line 95*

a. Wancho
   = Joboka
b. Banpara
c. Changnoi
d. Mithan
   = Muthun
   = Mutonia

Egerod (1974)

*Baric (Bodo-Garo) Languages*

- Bodo Branch 87(a,c)
- Garo Branch 89(a-c,g)
- Affinities to Baric
  - Moshang 92(h)
  - Namsang 94(c)
  - Banpara 95(b)

Voegelin – Voegelin (1977)

*Bodo-Naga-Kachin*

- Bodo
  - Bodo 87(b-d)
  - Garo 88(a)
  - Koch 89(g)
    - Atong 89(a)
    - Wanang 90(a)
- Naga = Northern Naga
  - Tangsa 92(a-k) 94(c) 95(b,d) 96(b,c,aa) 97(b,e) 98(a)
  - Lepcha 99(a)
- Kachin = Jingpaw = . . .
  - Jinghpaw 100(a-d) 101(a-e)
  - Nung 102(a,b)
  - Rawang 103(a-d)

Marrison (1967)

*Naga Languages* (Cont'd)

- Konyak Group
  - A1
    - Tangsa 92(a-n)
      = Rangpan 93(a-k)
    - Nocte 94(a-e)
    - Wancho 95(a-d)
  - A2
    - Konyak 96(a-ac)
    - Phom 97(a-f)
    - Chang 98(a-d)

*Line 96*

a. Standard Konyak = Wakching = Wanching = Jaktung = Kongon
b. Tableng = Tablung
c. Angwanku
d. Gelekidoria
e. Angphang
f. Aopao
g. Changnyu
h. Chen
i. Chingkao
j. Chinglang
k. Choha
l. Jakphang
m. Longmein
n. Longwa
o. Mohung
p. Ngangching
q. Sang
r. Shanlang
s. Shengha
t. Sowa
u. Tamkhunghyuo
v. Tang
w. Tobunyuo
x. Tolamleinyuo
y. Totok
z. Sima = Chima
aa. Mulung
ab. Longkhai
ac. Mon

*Line 97*

a. Phom
b. Tamlu
c. Assiringia
d. Merinokpo
e. Chingmegnu
f. Yongyasha

*Line 98*

a. Chang
b. Machongrr = Mochumi = Mochungrr
c. Mojung
d. Changyanguh

*Line 99*

a. Lepcha = Rǒng = Rongpa = Nünpa = 7(c), 14(a) = 82(a)

*Line 100*

a. Kachin = Jinghpaw
b. Hkaku
c. Kauri
d. Jili

*Line 101*

a. Maru = Lawng = 31(a)
b. Lashi = Letsi = 31(b)
c. Ach'ang (Maingtha, Ngatśang) = 31(e)
d. Tsaiwa = Atśi = Szi = 31(c)
e. Tangsarr

*Line 102*

a. Nung
b. Nora

*Line 103*

a. Rawang
b. Krangku
c. Lòngmi = Lùngmì
d. Zithúng = Zitung

## 1.4 *Description*

### 1.4.1 In-depth studies of particular languages

One kind of introduction to a language family that one might hope to be able to obtain from the literature would consist of clear, contemporary global accounts of the structure of each of several strategic languages within the family. One could wish for treatments comparable in clarity, scope, theoretical awareness, and organization for ease of reference that one finds in works such as Quirk–Greenbaum–Leech–Svartvik 1972 for English, or in Schachter–Otanes 1972 for Tagalog. Unfortunately such accounts are rare. Pedagogical grammars are usually hard to use as reference grammars. Analysis is often left implicit in drills and examples, and hard to ferret out. The order of presentation is often dictated by pedagogical considerations, and adequate indices and bibliographies are rarely included. Simplified drill material often distorts the natural patterns of the language, and simplified explanations are often adequate only for the lesson in hand, and are modified as things progress. Theoretically oriented grammars are also typically difficult to use for this kind of introduction. They tend to be organized along lines dictated by the argument in hand, and are often severely limited in scope, or are narrowly focused upon some specific theoretical thesis.[8] They also tend to demand that the reader have detailed control of a rather specific theoretical background if he is to follow the argumentation. For those who wish simply to get an idea in some depth of the structure of certain strategic languages, phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, lexically, and semantically, from phoneme to discourse, there is relatively little that can be used without some degree of frustration. And if one demands that all one might wish to know about a given language appear between the covers of a single volume, the picking is very slim indeed. In this section an attempt will be made to review some of the more global works that can be made to serve as introductions to the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family.

There are some brilliant exceptions to the gloomy picture just projected. For Lahu, a southern Lolo language, we have Matisoff 1973c. Not only is it clear, broad enough in scope to give a very substantial treatment of phonology as well as of morphology and syntax, studded with insights of theoretical relevance not confinable within any standard linguistic paradigm, and organized in a way that makes it easy to use as a reference work, it also has the even rarer virtue of being written in an engaging prose style and with humor. Though this is primarily a synchronic description of modern spoken Lahu, Matisoff maintains a diachronic and comparative perspective that makes this work extremely stimulating throughout. The work is fairly technical and heavy use is made of symbols and abbreviations. The reader

may wish to xerox a copy of pages xxviii-xxxvii to save himself the bother of constantly turning back to them while reading. When we supplement this with other works by Matisoff on Lahu (1969b, 1969c, 1969e, 1970a, 1972c, 1972e, 1975a, and 1976b), the global coverage available for Lahu is extremely impressive, and were it not for the current (hopefully temporary) lack of an adequate published dictionary, the coverage would certainly be unequalled among the nonliterary languages of Tibeto-Burman.

Less technical, less alive to theoretical issues, but very useful as a global description of spoken Burmese is Okell 1969. Where Matisoff was writing to an audience of linguists, Okell writes to a nontechnical audience and succeeds in giving a clear account of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of spoken Burmese within a relatively nontechnical, somewhat taxonomic framework. The work consists of two volumes, the first of which is concerned with the forms and their combinations and the second of which is concerned with the meaning and use of particles and grammatical function words. Part II is arranged alphabetically and could be considered an extended dictionary of spoken Burmese functors. It has the great merit of being global, easy to consult as a reference work, clearly written, well illustrated, and beautifully printed. Examples are given in Burmese script, as well as in phonological transcription. Okell's account of spoken Burmese can be usefully supplemented by that of Cornyn (1944), a very concise, global account of spoken Burmese within a Bloomfieldian framework, which also provides a good concise survey of earlier works on Burmese.[9]

For those wishing to learn Burmese, the pedagogical grammars of Cornyn and Roop (1968) and of Stewart (1955) should not be overlooked. Jones and U Khin (1953) provide a good introduction to the script, and Roop (1972) provides good pedagogical material for learning it.

Lisu is another language of Lolo-Burmese for which a good global picture can be obtained. The work of E.R. Hope (1971, 1973a, 1973b, 1974) constitutes an excellent treatment of Lisu from a transformational point of view. Hope (1974) gives some very useful evaluations of earlier work on Lisu. Hope (1974: 3) characterizes Fraser 1922 as

> . . . an outstanding work, albeit a rather unsystematic one. The brief description of the phonology, and the orthography Fraser invented, present a slightly over-differentiated, but valid, phonemic analysis which is based on excellent phonetic perception. This section is followed by a short, rather latinate description of the major grammatical categories, but rather than manipulate Lisu too much to make it fit into the Latin mould, Fraser had the good sense to add a highly illuminating section on 'particles and miscellaneous idioms', in which most of the more interesting aspects of Lisu structure can be found. . . . The major omission of this grammar is the lack of any description of the process of topicalization. . . . Despite this omission, Fraser's monograph remains one of the most illuminating and trustworthy of the descriptions produced to date.

Roop 1970 is yet another global description of Lisu, mentioned by Hope (1974: 3-4) as "a full-scale structuralist description of the Thailand dialect of Lisu as spoken in Tak province", having an unusual, though valid, phonemic analysis. It is based on a collection of texts and does a good detailed job of handling surface structure within a structuralist frame of reference.[10]

There is also a good deal of recent work on Akha, a Southern Lolo language, much of which was unfortunately not available for this survey. See especially works by Dellinger, Egerod, and Lewis in the bibliography.

Another set of global descriptions can be pieced together for Tibeto-Kanauri, the nucleus of languages which includes Tibetan. For those who wish a theoretically informed reference grammar for the purpose of obtaining a global overview of language structure, nothing has been written for any language of the Tibeto-Kanauri nucleus that can compare with what Matisoff has done for Lahu of the Lolo-Burmese nucleus. Tibetan has long been the object of philological study, and the tradition of philological grammars is well represented by Lalou 1950, and Bacot 1946-1948, solid works of great usefulness to those versed in the European traditions of classical grammar. The works of Das (1915), Jäschke (1929), and Read (1934) represent the Latinate tradition.

For a succinct synchronic description of classical Tibetan from an American structuralist point of view, R.A. Miller 1970b should not be overlooked. Miller discusses phonology, form classes, and morphological alternation, and presents two texts with analyses thereof. Miller escapes the Latin mould, but does not attempt anything like a contemporary description of syntax.

Pedagogical grammars of Tibetan can be used to obtain an overview of the structure of Tibetan with various degrees of frustration. Chang–Shefts 1964 is an excellent pedagogical grammar of Lhasa Tibetan, based on good analysis. It deals primarily with spoken Tibetan, though there is a brief appendix listing certain written counterparts for the phonemically transcribed spoken forms found in the main body of the book. Tone is represented on all examples throughout the book in terms of a system which recognizes a two-way contrast (high vs. low) for syllables with single vowels, but a four-way contrast (high-high, high-falling, low-low, low-falling) for syllables with geminate vowels or with vowels followed by velar or labial nasal consonants (1964: 1). A set of tapes is available with the book. The book, however, was obviously not intended for use as a reference grammar. It contains far less descriptive and analytic discussion than one would hope for in a reference grammar of comparable size.

Roerich–Lhalungpa 1957 is divided into three parts of approximately equal length: I. Grammar, II. Conversational exercises, and III. Vocabulary. Part I concentrates on phonology and morphology within a somewhat

Latinate mould. Syntax and semantics are not dealt with extensively and do not constitute a systematic component for the basic description. The script is taken more seriously than in Chang–Shefts 1964 and the examples appear in very small, but reasonably clear Tibetan characters, as well as in a Roman transliteration and a phonological representation. The relationship between the written form and its pronunciation is discussed, and tone is treated in terms of a six-term system (high-rising, high-even, high-falling; low-rising, low-even, low-falling) (1957: 23). A phonographic recording is also said to be available for certain marked portions of the book, certainly a necessary accessory to the book, since so little is done with tone otherwise.

Although Goldstein and Nornang's *Modern spoken Tibetan* (1970) was not available for this survey, Goldstein and Kashi's *Modern literary Tibetan* (1973) was obtained and probably represents the most useful of the pedagogical works inspected. Goldstein does not presuppose a background in classical languages. His descriptive comments are couched in clear contemporary linguistic terminology, and are not highly technical in their demands upon the reader. He deals with phonology in relation to the script, and includes a fair bit on tone in a framework recognizing four contrastive tones in a syllable-tone system (1973: 12). There is enough explicit analysis to make it well worth reading for the sake of the description.

For Amdo, Roerich (1958b) provides a clear, concise account of phonology, in addition to some texts with translations and a vocabulary.

For a description of Tibetan script, Egerod (1974a) recommends Miller 1956b as the best description available, although the opening chapter of Goldstein–Kashi 1973 should also rate favorable mention.

The Tibeto-Kanauri nucleus has been the subject of a great deal of excellent phonological work, but the best work is not represented in the one-volume treatments of Tibetan grammar. We have an interesting phonological situation in Tibetan. Languages that on independent grounds can be shown to stand in close genetic relationship differ from one another in that some, like Lhasa Tibetan and Balti, have contrastive pitches or tones, while others, like Purik, Golok, Banag, and Amdo, do not. The question then arises as to whether proto-Tibetan was a tone language or not, and immediately we are in the midst of a theoretical issue with potentially significant ramifications for language classification and for our understanding of diachronic phonological processes, the problem of tonogenesis. We return to this in part II.

Lhasa Tibetan has been studied from a number of different points of view by a number of competent scholars. Sedláček (1959b) set himself the task of determining the phonetic realization of various sequences of initial Written Tibetan characters, regardless of whether or not such combinations occurred in the speech of the informant. Forms thus had to be drawn from Written Tibetan and from other dialects of Tibetan and do not represent any single

coherent dialect so far as sequential constraints on phonological segments is concerned. It is a careful study, but the results need to be used with caution in view of its unusual goals. Richter (1964b) in a study admired by Miller (1966c, 1967) worked from tape recorded examples of reading pronunciation in Lhasa Tibetan, without direct access to the native speaker. Again, a careful study, but one potentially somewhat different from other studies based upon the natural spoken language. The results must be understood in this light and used with caution.

The contribution of R.K. Sprigg to the study of Tibetan phonology (1954, 1955, 1961, 1963a, 1967, 1968b, 1968c, 1970a, 1970b, 1972) is of particular significance. Sprigg has worked with live informants not only in Tibetan, but in numerous other languages of the Tibeto-Burman area as well. His approach is sensitive not only to the phonetics of the given sound system, but also to the impact of grammatical class and phonological system upon phonological regularities. Sprigg's golden ear is justly famous and his use of prosodic analysis in a polysystemic approach is a model for the field, in both diachronic and synchronic description. Sprigg is not always easy reading, but his work can be recommended without reservation.

Other recent work on Tibetan phonology includes detailed phonetic studies by Betty Shefts Chang (1968a-g, 1971), Chang–Chang 1968, work by Kjellin (1974, 1975a) calculated, among other things, to show that Lhasa Tibetan is not yet a tone language, but is fast becoming one, and work that draws upon a background gained from detailed phonetic study of the tone languages of Nepal (Hari, 1977). Kjellin (1976a) offers a review of the literature. Hari (1977) also provides a good overview of recent work on Tibetan tone. A phonemic analysis of the Ü-Tsang dialect may be found in P.M. Miller 1951, and a phonemic survey of Central Khams is available in Olson 1974.

For a brief history of Tibetan dictionaries and a very helpful evaluation of Csoma 1834a, Schmidt 1841, Jäschke 1881, Desgodins 1899b, and Das 1902, as well as for a review of Tibetan-Sanskrit, Tibetan-Tibetan, Tibetan-Mongolian, and Tibetan-Chinese Dictionaries, see W. Simon 1964. Some of the same ground is covered, more polemically, more entertainingly, but less helpfully by Miller's (1970c) review of Buck 1969.

A great deal of interesting work comparing Tibetan with Chinese has been done by N.C. Bodman (1969a, 1973 and STCP papers). Róna-Tas has given us an important study of the Tibetan loan words in Monguor, the results of which are well summarized in Róna-Tas 1966 (217-218).

Of the nonliterary languages of the Tibeto-Kanauri nucleus, the most extensive recent description is that of D.B. Gurung and the Glovers (W.W. Glover 1969b, 1970a, 1970b, 1974; Glover–Glover 1972; and W.W. Glover–Glover–Gurung 1977). This, together with the earlier phonological studies of

Burton-Page (1955a), the dialect survey of Glover and Landon (1975), and the ethnographic study of Pignède (1966), makes Gurung an unusually well described Tibeto-Kanauri language. Supplementing these descriptive materials is a very practical language learning guide (Glover–Gurung, 1979). The best brief review of Gurung studies is W.W. Glover 1974: 14-18. Though Glover (1974: 5-14) reports the results of a lexicostatistical study of some thirty languages of Nepal, Gurung included, and the work of the Glovers has contributed to two significant comparative studies (Pittman 1970, Pittman–Glover 1970), the description of Gurung has thus far been primarily synchronic.

The descriptive coverage of closely related languages within the Gurung-Tamang-Thakali group is perhaps less than global, but includes some very important work on tone. Tamang has attracted a great deal of phonological attention. Tamang is a language with a four-term tone system of a type that is quite frequently encountered in Nepal, involving a contrast of register or pitch (high (or tense or clear) versus low (or lax or breathy)) intersecting with a contrast of pitch contour and the domain of these contrasts is generally the morpheme or word rather than the syllable. Mazaudon 1973b is the major work in this area, dealing extensively with the Risiangku dialect. Substantial work has also been done on the Sahu dialect of Tamang (Hari–Taylor–Pike 1970, Hari 1970a, Taylor 1969b, 1970a). For the closely related Thakali, Hari has written a phonemic summary (1969, 1970b) and a good account of Thakali tone (1970c, 1971a). For Gurung, the Glovers' analysis of Gurung tone (W.W. Glover 1970a, Glover–Glover 1972) diverges somewhat from the usual four-term system and involves a kind of pitch-accent system with certain sequential constraints on the occurrence of accent. Glover's analysis of contrastive pitch and breathiness in Gurung has received spectographic support in a study by Hinton (1970). Yoshio Nishi has also contributed some interesting comparative studies on the Gurung-Tamang-Thakali group (1972, 1978). For an account of how Tamang tone developed into its present four-term system, see Mazaudon 1976: 54-57 and for an alternative view, rejected by Mazaudon (1976: 88-89) but not yet to be discarded, see Pittman 1973, Glover 1971a and references cited therein. Taylor (1973) has given us a description of Tamang clause and both Taylor (1978) and Hepburn (1978) have dealt with Tamang discourse.

More closely related to Tibetan than the Gurung-Tamang-Thakali group are Sherpa, Jirel, and Lhomi, each of which has been the subject of recent description of nearly global extent. Description of Sherpa can be found in the work of Sprigg, Gordon, and the Schöttelndreyers. Sprigg includes some material on Sherpa phonology, illustrative of his very useful approach to phonological comparison, in Sprigg 1963a and 1972. Gordon (1969, 1970), Gordon–Schöttelndreyer (1970), B. Schöttelndreyer (1971a, 1971c, and

1975b), and H. Schöttelndreyer (1971) describe Sherpa phonology, with regard to both tone and segmentals, within a phonemic frame of reference. B. Schöttelndreyer (1975a) deals extensively with clause types and B. Schöttelndreyer (1978) discusses narrative discourse.

A parallel picture of Jirel, a language quite closely related to Sherpa, can be obtained from the work of Strahm and Maibaum. For phonology see Strahm–Maibaum 1971a; for clause structure see Strahm 1975 and for studies on discourse see Strahm 1978 and Maibaum 1978.

Lhomi, another language with a close affinity to Sherpa, is dealt with by the Vesalainens. Their 1976 monograph deals both with tone and segmentals in Lhomi phonology from a phonemic point of view, and the 1975 manuscript deals extensively with clause patterns.

Magar (related to the Tibeto-Kanauri nucleus, but proposed by Benedict (1972a: 8) as a possible Bodish-Bahing link) receives extensive treatment in Subba 1972, a work not available for this review. Work by G. Shepherd and B. Shepherd (1971) provides an account of the phonology which supplements older work by Beames (1869).

Kham (or Kham-Magar, not to be confused with Khams of the Tibeto-Kanauri nucleus) has been discovered too recently to be recognized by any of the major classifications. According to Watters (personal communication) it would probably constitute a Bodish-Magar link in Benedict's system (and is thus listed on line 14d) but lexically would fit better into a "Magar branch," along with Magar, Chepang, Raute, and Raji, and could thus be assigned to line 19e in Grierson's or Shafer's system of classification. This language has been given excellent coverage, nearly global in extent, by Watters. Kham is seen to have a tone system with complex perturbations within the word (Watters 1971a, 1971b) and even across word boundaries, with features reminiscent of the terrace tones found in African languages. Kham appears currently to be "at a midway point in its evolution from a 'typical' TB monosyllabic tone language to a 'typical' Himalayish word-tone language."[11] On the basis of comparative studies in a dozen or so dialects of the language, Watters has succeeded in reconstructing the steps by which the language evolved from a Kanauri-like system in which subject affixes occur on the verb, to its present status as a complex pronominalized system in which objects and indirect objects are likewise represented by verbal affixes (Watters 1975). Watters 1973 provides an extensive description of Kham clause structure and Watters 1978 is a fascinating account of discourse distinctions marked in verbal morphology which identify certain presuppositions as to the role of speaker and hearer in a given speech act. In addition to this, Watters–Watters 1973 provides us with a good basic glossary.

Though we do not yet have global coverage for Chepang, it is one of the

more interesting of the pronominalized languages of Nepal. Caughley (1971a, 1971b, 1971c, and 1978) has dealt with pronominalization in an interesting and insightful way. Chepang is also one of those languages, spoken by a group who are even yet to some extent hunters and gatherers, in which special use is made of whistle talk, a phenomenon described in Caughley 1976.

For Bahing-Vayu languages we have some worthwhile recent contributions of a global nature. Allen 1975 is a very competent, readable, and instructive account of Thulung grammar, including not only a description of the grammar in the narrow sense, but also a chapter on phonology in addition to sample texts and a glossary. Allen does not claim to have arrived at a stable analysis of Thulung tone.

For Khaling we have S. Toba 1979 which is remarkable for its brevity, dealing in thumbnail sketch fashion with the phonology and grammar of Khaling within the confines of a 40-page pocket-sized manual. This relatively nontechnical sketch can be fleshed out with a description of the phonology (Toba–Toba 1972b), a description of the Khaling verb (I. Toba 1973), a paper on narrative discourse (S. Toba 1978), a study of the origin of tone in Khaling (Michailovsky 1975a, 1975e), a glossary (Toba–Toba 1975) and a study of plant names in Khaling (S. Toba 1975).

Although Hodgson's account of Bahing grammar (1858b: 393-442) left us without an adequate account of Bahing phonology, Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1973: 138-152) give us an interesting phonological sketch of Hayu phonology which supplements Hodgson's extended account of Hayu grammar (1857d). Hayu is seen to be nontonal, in contrast to the neighboring Bahing-Vayu languages, Sunwar and Khaling. To this we may add a very useful treatment of Hayu verbal morphology (Michailovsky 1974).

For the closely related Sunwar language we have a good description of the phonology (Bieri–Schulze 1971a, 1971c), and some interesting discussions of Sunwar discourse (Bieri 1978, Schulze 1978, Schulze–Bieri 1973, and Bieri–Schulze–Hale 1973).

Newari, a language that resists easy classification, but has been identified by Benedict (1972a: 7) as a distant satellite of the Bahing-Vayu group, has been the subject of a considerable literature, both philological and linguistic. Its status as a literary language has attracted the philological attentions of various scholars, especially Jørgensen (1931, 1939) and Lienhard (1963, 1974). Conrady has given us a start on a grammar (1891). Jørgensen (1928, 1936b) has contributed further to our knowledge of the Newari lexicon, and Jørgensen 1936a, 1941 make a further contribution to our knowledge of the grammar, all based on written sources.

For the spoken language we have phonological analyses by Modi (1967), Hale and Hale (1969), Hale (1970b, 1970c, and revised in 1973c IV: 28-30),

Kansakar (1977), and a generative phonology by Kansakar (1979). A language learning course has been published by Sresthacharya, Maskey, and Hale (1971). Noun morphology has been treated in Hale 1971b, but more extensively and with greater attention to the diachronic aspects of the system in U. Kölver and B. Kölver 1975. The best account of nominalization and the noun phrase is that of U. Kölver (1977, 1978). Verb morphology has been dealt with by Hale (1970d, revised in 1971c, 1973a), and by Sresthacharya (1963, 1976). Hale (1971a) describes an interesting system of person markers which is sensitive to certain performative functions in Newari and Bendix (1974) presents a fascinating study of Newari verb tenses. For the classical language the best account of verb morphology is Kölver–Kölver 1978. For Newari clause structure and verb subcategorization, we have U. Kölver 1976, a most illuminating, well-argued description which places heavy priority on morphological form and takes the view that Newari is an ergative language. For a more semantically oriented description of clause, see Hale–Manandhar 1973. Jośi 1955-56a, b is the most adequate dictionary, though the classified vocabularies of Hashimoto (1977b) and Hale (1973c IV) may be more useful to those who cannot read Nepali. The glossaries of Lienhardt (1974), and of Sresthacharya and Tuladhar (1976) should not be overlooked.

For languages of the Abor-Miri-Dafla nucleus some works not available to this survey are listed in Shafer 1957a, 1963a. The major dictionary of Abor-Miri is that of Lorrain (1907). Hodgson 1847 contains a sketch of Dhimal. Barooah 1949 contains a sketch of Abor grammar. Hamilton (1900) has written an outline grammar of Dafla. Needham 1886a is an outline grammar of Miri. Morgenstierne (1959) has done some work on phonological comparison of consonants for Abor-Miri. Of work that was available to this survey, Ray (1967) has given us a brief account of Dafla phonology and morphology; vocabularies of Apatani, Nishi, and Hill-Miri have been published by B.B. Kumār, et al.; and the Philology Section of NEFA (no date) has published a Taraon dictionary which also contains a very brief sketch of the grammar. Das Gupta 1969 is a phrase book which also gives thumbnail sketch treatment of phonology and morphology.

The Kachin nucleus, a group consisting of a single language, Jinghpaw, and its dialects, geographically situated at the crossroads of the Tibeto-Burman family and, according to Benedict (1972a: 5) at the linguistic crossroads as well, has been the subject of a number of older treatments not available for this survey (Hanson 1896, Hertz 1911 in addition to others listed in Shafer 1957a, 1963a). Robbins Burling's (1971) discussion of the historical position of Jinghpaw within Tibeto-Burman in some ways anticipates both Benedict's (1972a) views on Kachin, as well as Matisoff's published doubts as to the viability of the family tree (1978a). After comparing Jinghpaw with neighboring languages phonologically, lexically, and with

respect to kinship terminology he wonders (1971: 46-47):

> Does this example not suggest that phonology and lexicon can have rather separate histories? . . . Do we need to insist on a single stammbaum relationship in which all aspects of the language cling together in a coherent bundle with unambiguous historical continuity, never merging with aspects from other languages? . . . Conceivably even the dreadful old notion of "Mischsprache" is not totally inapplicable to a language like Jinghpaw, though one cannot even entertain such a notion without calling into doubt our faith in the simple stammbaum model.

The major recent contributor to our knowledge of Jinghpaw is a native speaker of that language, La Raw Maran. Maran's study of Burmese and Jinghpaw tone systems (1971b) argues convincingly for a representation of tone in terms of a small set of distinctive features that are not exclusively "suprasegmental" in nature. The presentation is relatively technical, presupposing familiarity with recent studies in generative phonology. Maran (1973) uses, among other things, evidence from Jinghpaw in constructing a model for tonogenesis. Maran and Clifton (1976) describe the Jinghpaw causative construction. Though Maran and Clifton's study is primarily synchronic, they do seek to account for certain anomalies in the current causative construction in terms of historical syntactic developments within the language.

Matisoff has also given us two substantial studies (1974a, 1974b). The first was originally written about ten years earlier, and foreshadows his later and more extensive work on verb concatenation in Lahu (1969c). The second compares the tone systems of Jinghpaw and Lolo-Burmese in a study involving more than 400 cognate sets. Matisoff's treatment of the problems involved in determining the relationships between Jinghpaw and Lolo-Burmese is very instructive, and relates to much larger issues. It may well be that tonal correspondences are not very useful in determining fine degrees of genetic relatedness. It raises questions as to the nature of the process by which a language becomes contrastively tonal, and as to whether or not Proto-Sino-Tibetan was a tone language.

Probably the best global introduction to a Kuki-Naga language is that of Henderson (1965a). In the process of analyzing two texts of Tiddim Chin, Henderson gives a very interesting, clear, and convincing account of the phonology (including both intonation from sentence on down, and tone), of the grammar (from sentence on down to pronominal and verbal affixation), and of two distinct styles, narrative and colloquial, in addition to a vocabulary listing of well over 1000 entries. This is no run-of-the-mill account. It integrates its description of style, grammar, and phonology in a way rarely encountered in transformational or structural descriptions. It is humbling to realize that this contribution was made on the basis of about six weeks of

work with informants under circumstances that make interesting reading (see Luce, 1959b).

Henderson (1957) highlights pronominalization in Tiddim Chin; one of its more exotic features.

Lorrain (1951) offers a brief latinate pedagogical grammar, together with a fairly extensive dictionary of Lakher, a Central Kuki language.

The Central Institute of Indian Languages has been active in the Kuki-Naga group, having published phonetic readers for Lotha (Acharya 1975), Ao-Naga (Gowda 1972), Thaadou (Thirumalai 1972), Angami (Ravindran 1974), and Manipuri (Singh 1975) as well as a grammar for Ao (Gowda 1975), a thumbnail sketch that provides surprisingly broad coverage in just 76 pages.

Marrison 1967 is the best survey of work done on languages of Nagaland. M.V. Sreedhar (1974) gives us an interesting sociolinguistic account of Naga Pidgin, and in the process not only gives an account of the phonology and lower level grammar of Naga Pidgin, but struggles with the dynamics of linguistic interaction in Nagaland, building on the work of Grierson and Marrison.

For comparative purposes, Lushai of the central group of Kuki-Naga is of particular importance, as Matisoff (1972b) points out, since Lushai preserves many archaic features and is both well and fully recorded (Lorrain–Savidge 1898, Lorrain 1940, Bright 1956, 1957a, 1957b). For Tankhul we have Pettigrew 1918 which Matisoff characterizes as phonetically respectable in spite of some awkward orthographic choices, and Bhat 1969 which can serve as a check on Pettigrew and as an additional source of raw data.

The Nagaland Bhasha Parishad has been extremely active in producing dictionaries of Kuki-Naga languages. (See dictionaries by B.B. Kumār, et al. and by R.K. Kumār, et al., for Gangte, Mizo, Lotha, Angami, Sema, Liangmai, Yimchungrü, Kabui, Maring, Tripuri, Manipuri, Mao, Kuki, Pochury, Mikir, Sangtam, Chakhesang, and Rengma.)

The coverage that Burling (1961) gives for Garo and that Bhattacharya (1977) gives for Boro both represent good global treatments. Much more compact than Bhattacharya's extended treatment is the grammatical sketch in Bhat 1968. It is interesting to note that both Burling and Bhattacharya make use of a kind of network grammar presentation for the lower levels of grammatical structure. Burling 1959a is a most important comparative study for this group. Burton-Page (1955) describes segments and tones in Boro.

Even though we have taken Karen to be outside the scope of this study, Jones 1961b should be mentioned as the best global treatment currently available.

### 1.4.2 Cross-language studies of particular systems

Another kind of introduction to a language family that one might hope to be able to obtain from the literature would consist of clear contemporary accounts of various linguistic systems and how they vary across languages within the family. What range of variation do we find in the phonological systems of the language family, in the morphological systems, in sentence structure, in the lexicon? The global surveys discussed in Section 1.1. do give us a start in answering these kinds of questions, but there are a number of more specific works of narrower scope that come into view in this section.

There are a number of phonological surveys for Tibeto-Burman languages. For the Naga languages, Marrison (1967 II: 330-374) surveys the orthographic systems of twenty-nine languages[12] and gives phonemic interpretations of each. For the creole and pidgin languages of Nagaland, Sreedhar (1974: 69-89) has compared the consonant phoneme inventories of nineteen pidgins and one creole.[13] For the languages of Nepal, Hale (1970a) treats the phonologies of seven languages[14] and is updated with five additional languages, and later findings in the original seven languages in Hale 1973c IV: 1-37.[15] Voegelin and Voegelin (1965c, 1965d) summarize a number of phonological systems, though sources are not always easy to trace. The phonologies of four Karen dialects are surveyed in Jones 1961b: 61-78[16] and phonemic inventories for five Tibeto-Burman languages can be found in Ruhlen 1975.[17]

The classic statement for morphology is that of Wolfenden (1929b), a study that touches languages from five of Benedict's seven primary Tibeto-Burman nuclei (only Bahing-Vayu and Abor-Miri-Dafla seem not be be represented), though within Tibeto-Kanauri, Himalayan languages are largely missing. Starting with an extended discussion of Written Tibetan, which in his view has the most conservative morphology, closest to Proto-Tibeto-Burman of all the languages surveyed (1929b: 12), Wolfenden moves on to give parallel discussions of Kachin, the languages of Assam and Burma, touching many languages from both Kuki-Naga and Bodo-Garo nuclei, and concludes with a short section on Burmese.

A more recent survey of more restricted scope is that of Bauman (1975). Bauman investigates the phenomenon of 'pronominalization' in Tibeto-Burman languages, in which pronoun-like formatives are affixed to the verb to indicate agreement or cross-reference not only to the subject of the verb, but also to objects, and in many cases to indirect objects as well. Traditionally, the feature of pronominalization has been viewed as a Munda substratum phenomenon since it is also characteristic of Munda languages. Bauman's study tends to indicate that it may be much more likely that pronominalization was a feature of the protolanguage (1974: 108), a view supported by

Henderson (1957: 327). At the same time, complex pronominalized verbal morphology has also arisen independently in at least one Tibeto-Burman language as demonstrated in a comparative study by Watters (1975) which reconstructs actual stages by which Kham has evolved from a Kanauri-type subject agreement system to a complex pronominalized system.

For clause structure, Hale–Watters 1973a surveys eight Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal[18] from the point of view of the nine-box tagmeme. The survey is concerned not only with clause-type systems, but with systems of roles and their markers, and with discourse-relevant derivations by which clauses are stativized, eventivized, causativized, and by which various constituents are brought into thematic focus. It is also concerned with systems of roles and their markers, a tagmemic adaptation of the same basic insight that motivates the more familiar case and role systems of Fillmore (1968) and Grimes (1975: 112-138). As a result it deals to some extent with both noun and verb morphology from the perspective of the functions marked within the clause. This survey serves to help fill the Himalayan gap in Wolfenden, but from a radically different perspective.

### 1.5 *Texts*

For those with a more serious interest in some particular language, texts can be a source of insight which goes potentially well beyond what is provided in most descriptions. Two types of texts can be distinguished, (1) those of historical and cultural value, recognized as valuable for their content as well as for their contribution to the literature of the language concerned, and (2) those that represent ordinary natural language, of no particular value for the content they convey but valuable to the extent that they exemplify clearly conceived speech acts effectively performed with respect to a particular audience. The first type is exemplified by texts such as those published by Lienhardt (1963, 1974), Macdonald (1967, 1972), and Snellgrove (1967a, 1967b). These are significant, painstaking contributions of a philological nature. The second type is exemplified in works such as Sresthacharya–Tuladhar 1976. Many such texts are listed in the bibliography for the convenience of those who wish to explore them.

# 2 Discussion of current problems and desiderata

What is the state of the field and what goals should it pursue? Battles waged in the major linguistic journals and in the plenary sessions of linguistic society meetings are generally not argued out in terms of examples from Tibeto-Burman languages. One still finds relatively few references to Tibeto-Burman in the major theoretical journals. The field of Tibeto-Burman has traditionally been the province of those interested in the history of South and Southeast Asian cultures and the kind of philological study that goes along with it. It has not been the bailiwick of those whose main concern has been to define the form of grammar for natural languages since arguments based on languages spoken natively by those one hopes to convince have more leverage for this purpose.

Nonetheless, there seems to be a widespread feeling among scholars in the field that Tibeto-Burman studies are undergoing a renaissance after many years of stagnation. A number of factors have contributed to this. Benedict's resumption of an active role in the field after having forsaken it for psychiatry in the 1940's is credited by Matisoff (1973a: 152) with having motivated Samuel Martin, Roy Andrew Miller, and Hugh Stimson to host The First Meeting on Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction at Yale in 1968. This has since developed into an annual affair, indeed, the most significant international forum there is for testing ideas, for mutual interaction and stimulation with reference to things Tibeto-Burman. From contacts established at these meetings, the *Occasional papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman linguistics* came into being, perhaps the only journal devoted exclusively to Tibeto-Burman studies. Matisoff (1973a) and Hashimoto (1975) give a very good picture of the meetings that took place during the first six years and contribution of these meetings to the discipline. A number of papers from the first eight years appear in the bibliography simply as an indication of the topics which have excited interest within Tibeto-Burman.

Benedict and his *Conspectus* (1972a) provided a number of issues to stimulate papers and discussion at the annual meetings as Egerod indicates (1973a: 499) but this is not the only factor responsible for the growing interest we now see in Tibeto-Burman studies. There has also been an

upswing in first-rate field research over the past fifteen years, and there is a great deal more in progress. This review has been limited almost entirely to works in print or which are complete in one way or another. Yet one could write of major global coverage, major dictionaries on the verge of completion that, barring unexpected tragedies, will make a totally new survey of Tibeto-Burman studies necessary in a very few years.

Not only is there a great deal more fresh research going on, but much of it is being reported in clear, exciting prose, which allows the reader to enjoy the insights without being reminded on every page that he lacks the erudition to join the intended audience. The issues that excite discussion can be understood in general terms by the nonspecialist, and several of the central issues are nicely summarized at the end of Matisoff's (1973a: 158) review of the first five years of the Sino-Tibetan conference:

> For us Tibeto-Burmanists, it is not so much a question of revitalizing a well established field of study—what we are trying to do is to create a new field altogether. From our point of view the most important accomplishment of these conferences has been the elevation of Tibeto-Burman studies to the status of a full-fledged sister discipline to Sinology. At the first couple of meetings some people still did not seem convinced about the genetic relationship of Chinese to Tibeto-Burman at all. After five years the voices of skepticism have been stilled, utterly. Certain problems have been identified which are common to us all, and which cry out for a unified pan-Sino-Tibetan solution: how did tones arise in our languages? did they exist already in the proto-language? how systematic was the morphology of the proto-language? was there once an elaborate, regular system which fell into decay at an early date, or did the system crumble before it had ever had a chance to come into full flower? what can we say about the syntax of the proto-sentence? did the object come before the verb or vice versa? . . .
>
> Nobody is likely to write a table in Proto-Sino-Tibetan for quite a while (as Schleicher did for Proto-Indo-European)—but we face the future with confidence and a growing sense of excitement.

The same sense of anticipation comes through in Egerod's review of the *Conspectus* (1973a: 499):

> It is, I think, a general feeling among specialists in the field that a real breakthrough is on its way, certainly partly aided by the clarity of thought exhibited by the *Conspectus*, and by such exemplary fieldwork as that carried out by Matisoff in Burmese-Lolo and speedily made available to the scholarly world.

We select for consideration three problem areas for Tibeto-Burman for which very significant work has been done: 1) Phonology: how languages acquire tone, 2) Morphology: how languages acquire complex affixation, and 3) Theory of linguistic comparison: how to determine degrees of genetic relatedness. Each of these problem areas has interfaces both in synchronic and diachronic linguistics and makes new demands for fresh

field work, as well as being of potentially great theoretical significance for the larger field of linguistics. This list of exciting problem areas is by no means complete, and our treatment of each will be more a review of work done than a substantive discussion, but it should at least open the door for further reading and research for any who wish to pursue them in greater detail.

## 2.1 *Phonology: on becoming a tone language*

Certain languages of the world make use of pitch in one form or another to distinguish between words that would otherwise be homophonous. Pitches used in this way may contrast in relative height (high vs. low, or high vs. mid vs. low, etc.) or in contour (level vs. rising vs. falling, etc.) or in some combination of these (high-level vs. high-rising vs. low-level vs. low-falling, etc.). In some cases pitch differences are associated with differences in voice quality or phonation type, so that a high pitch may be referred to as 'clear' or 'tense' in contrast with a low pitch which may be referred to as 'breathy' or 'lax'.[19]

The domain of tone also differs from language to language. In some languages tone is a feature of the syllable (as in Lahu and Karen) whereas in others it is a feature of morphemes (as in Tamang and Kham) while in still others it may be characteristic of whole words (see Sprigg's (1955) treatment of tone in the Lhasa Tibetan nominal phrase).

What is the significance of tone for language classification? If it could be demonstrated that tone languages never lost their contrastive tonal systems and that nontone languages never acquired contrastive tonal systems, the fact that a given language is a tone language would have great significance for genetic classification and for comparative linguistics in general, and the degree to which two tone systems displayed correspondences would have a great deal to say about the degree of genetic relatedness among the languages involved. But is tone that conservative? If it can be demonstrated that there are regular processes at work in natural language whereby a nontone language can acquire a contrastive tone system or whereby a tonal language may lose its tonal contrasts, then the presence or absence of tonal contrasts in and of itself is less significant as evidence for or against positing a genetic relationship for a given pair of languages. As it turns out, study in this area is making it increasingly clear that it is not at all uncommon that tone gain or lose contrastive status within a given language with the passage of time. As a consequence, the mere fact that a language has tonal contrasts is being given much less weight in current classificatory schemes than it was a century ago.

As Matisoff (1973b) points out, Haudricourt's classic (1954) article which explained how Vietnamese acquired a six-tone system had definite classifi-

catory consequences. Before Haudricourt's account of tonogenesis, Vietnamese had been classified as a member of the Tai family, whereas now it is recognized as a Mon-Khmer language in spite of the fact that Tai languages are typically tonal, while Mon-Khmer languages are not.

Haudricourt's work on tonogenesis has been of very great significance for the field and the best introduction to it (Haudricourt 1961) is available (in English translation, developed by Christopher Court and reviewed by the author) in Harris–Noss 1972 (p. 58-86).

How is it that a language can gain a system of contrastive pitches where it had none before? One version of the process can be described as follows: Stage 1: The language starts as nontonal but with noncontrastive phonetic pitch differences among syllables. These pitch differences are conditioned by differences among the consonants which begin or end the syllables involved. Thus, a syllable beginning with a voiced consonant may have a lower phonetic pitch than one beginning with a voiceless consonant. A syllable ending with a glottal stop may have a rising pitch or a higher pitch than one that has no final consonant. Such noncontrastive pitch differences are quite common in nontonal languages. For good introductions to the physiology of tone see Ohala 1973, Lea 1973, and references contained therein. Stage 2: The language may lose the consonantal contrast upon which some noncontrastive pitch difference depended, without, however, losing the pitch difference itself. Thus, voiced and voiceless initial stops may merge, leaving only a pitch difference to distinguish the words involved. A language may lose its final glottal stops, leaving only the pitch difference to distinguish what would otherwise have become complete homophones.

This process is most entertainingly portrayed in the prologue to Matisoff's highly readable introduction to tonogenesis (1973b), an article which is probably the best starting point for a reading program on the subject:

> In the Beginning was the Sino-Tibetan monosyllable, arrayed in its full consonantal and vocalic splendor. And the syllable was without tone and devoid of pitch. And monotony was on the face of the mora. And the Spirit of Change hovered over the segments flanking the syllabic nucleus.
>
> And Change said, 'Let the consonants guarding the vowel to the left and the right contribute some of their phonetic features to the vowel in the name of selfless intersegmental love, even if the consonants thereby be themselves diminished and lose some of their own substance. For their decay or loss will be the sacrifice through which Tone will be brought into the world, that linguists in some future time may rejoice.'
>
> And it was so. And the Language saw that it was good, and gradually began to exploit tonal differences for distinguishing utterances–yea, even bending them to morphological ends. And the tones were fruitful and multiplied, and diffused from tongue to tongue in the babel of Southeast Asia. (1973b: 73)

The best recent survey of the development of tone systems within Tibeto-

Burman languages is Mazaudon 1976. Mazaudon covers the field of Tibeto-Burman tonogenesis typologically, tracing in some detail the different kinds of developments by which various Tibeto-Burman languages have acquired their tonal systems. Three major types of development are treated: 1) developments involving the mutation of syllable-initial consonants, 2) developments involving the mutation of syllable-finals, and 3) developments leading to word-tone systems. Clear, readable, and quite conversant with the often overlooked Himalayan languages of Tibeto-Burman, this survey can be highly recommended as a more detailed sequel to Matisoff 1973b in gaining an overview of this problem area.

The development of a tone system by languages that formerly lacked tonal contrasts is in no way unique to Tibeto-Burman. As A.-G. Haudricourt (1972b) has pointed out, even Indo-European languages have developed tone systems, whether by syllabic contraction (as in Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish) or by the loss of old laryngeals (as in Lithuanian and Slavic) or by the loss by merger of a series of initial consonants (as in Punjabi). The latter, Punjabi-type development, of course, is the one most common in the languages of Southeast Asia. It is not as common a phenomenon in Indo-European, however, and for that reason is less likely to become an issue in genetic classification. What makes Tibeto-Burman one of the best laboratories for the study of tonogenesis, is the fact that tonogenesis is such a prevalent phenomenon. Closely related languages, such as the Tibetan dialects, may differ in that some are tonal, others marginally so, still others, not at all, and many feel that even if Proto-Sino-Tibetan was a tone language, Proto-Tibetan was probably not one (Mazaudon, 1976: 48).

## 2.2 *Morphology: on developing complex affixation*

Morphology was the basis for von Humboldt's structural typology of languages in which languages were characterized as either predominantly *isolating* (analytic), like Chinese, with invariable words, typically monomorphemic and without paradigms, and with word classes established almost entirely upon the basis of syntactic function; or *agglutinating,* like Turkish, in which words typically consist of strings of morphemes, to each of which can be assigned a clear grammatical function; or *inflecting* (fusional), like Latin, in which words also consist of strings of morphemes, but the functions of these morphemes are complex, often involving more than one category.[20] From this point of view, Tibeto-Burman languages are generally portrayed as isolating, "monosyllabic" languages in which words are classified according to syntactic function rather than according to the affixes that can or must occur. This stereotype is perhaps more accurate for languages of the south-

eastern end of the linguistic area than it is of the northwest, but it is a sufficiently faithful picture in general to mark out in bold relief a certain scattered set of languages, mostly spoken in the Himalayas, which have very complex verbal paradigms. Such languages, generally referred to as pronominalized languages, may either be predominantly agglutinating, like Kham, or fusional, like Chepang, Limbu, or Bahing. The big question that arises is the question as to how these languages became so complex morphologically, and of what significance this morphological complexity has for their genetic classification.

If pronominalization is a structural feature that is highly resistant to change, not likely to be borrowed, and not likely to be the result of independent developments, then any genetic classification must take serious account of it. Maspero (1952: 526) viewed it seriously enough to remark:

> On a pris l'habitude, suivie encore dans le présent ouvrage, de rattacher au tibéto-birman un groupe himalayen. Mais les rapports remarqués ne semblent pas indiquer une parenté proche; on les a expliqués par l'influence d'un substrat qui aurait assez fortement modifié des parles tibétains: on peut se demander si au contraire il ne s'agit pas de parlers non tibétains qui auraient emprunté différents traits au tibétain.

The reference Maspero makes to a substratum hypothesis to account for these divergent characteristics is the following, attributed to Konow (Grierson (1909: 179)).

> Now it will be observed that all those features in which the Himalayan dialects differ from other Tibeto-Burman languages are in thorough agreement with the principles prevailing in the Munda forms of speech. It therefore seems probable that Mundas, or tribes speaking a language connected with those now in use among the Mundas have once lived in the Himalayas and left their stamp on the dialects spoken at the present day.

Are the complex pronominalizing languages basically Munda but betraying heavy Tibeto-Burman influence, or are they Tibeto-Burman languages betraying heavy Munda influence? The major work addressing this question is that of James Bauman (1975), which constitutes a fairly exhaustive survey of pronouns and pronominalized verbal affixation in the available literature on the topic and attempts to determine what correspondences can be drawn among the languages represented, and what characteristics of Tibeto-Burman languages could plausibly be attributed to a Munda substratum. Bauman concludes that neither of the two options suggested by Maspero will do, but that pronominalization is best understood as a natively developed feature. The absence of detailed correspondences between the Munda systems and those of Tibeto-Burman seem to rule out the view that pronominalization

could plausibly be attributed to contact between the two groups. Among the pronominalized Tibeto-Burman languages, however, Bauman finds a great deal of consistency. So much so in fact, that for some of them he feels it would be possible to construct a morphological prototype, which would have its place somewhere within Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

One of the Tibeto-Burman languages that consistently went its own way in the material Bauman had access to was Kham (of Nepal, not Khams Tibetan). For this language David Watters (1975) has taken us a step further, in reconstructing the process by which Kham evolved from a Kanauri-like subject agreement language to a full-fledged pronominalized language, based upon a morphological survey of a dozen different dialects of the language. It shows, among other things, how free pronouns came to be attached as bound morphemes to the verb stem, and how it is still possible to distinguish by tone analysis between the old affixes and the more recently affixed forms. This kind of study, depending upon theoretically oriented synchronic field work is an example of the new and exciting possibilities that become available as fresh field work is done. The ramifications for genetic classification are fairly obvious, and are quite parallel to those which have come out of studies on tonogenesis. Pronominalization as an independent innovation is entirely possible, and should not be allowed to obscure true genetic affiliation.

## 2.3 *The theory of genetic comparison*

In the literature on Tibeto-Burman one encounters a great deal of irate criticism in which leading scholars in the field attack one another with accusations of failing to understand or properly apply the basic methods of genetic linguistic comparison.[21] In many such cases the critic seems to assume that the comparative method is perfectly clear (at least to the critic and his reader), and that no real theoretical problems exist in applying the method properly in the study of Tibeto-Burman languages. The fact that those involved have been the leading scholars in the field, however, suggests strongly that the basic principles are not all that well understood and that what we have been missing until recently is an awareness of the inadequacy of our general theoretical framework for the comparative study of Tibeto-Burman languages. What we really need is not a call for a return to a received orthodox method, but rather, some articulate, irenic exploration of the theory of linguistic comparison with special reference to the problems of the Tibeto-Burman language family. We can agree with Bodman (1975: 96) that it is simply too early to expect the rigor that we find in Indo-European studies, but we may also suggest that Tibeto-Burman presents problems

sufficiently different *in kind* that the theory which proved adequate for Indo-European may require substantial refinements if we are ever to achieve rigorous results that will command a consensus among leading scholars in the field.

Though a theoretical concern with the goals of the field is less common in Tibeto-Burman studies than in many other areas of linguistics, it does exist. Probably the most extensive and articulate recent expression of this concern is to be found in Matisoff 1978a, a study which comes to grips with the theory behind criteria for positing genetic relationships within the Tibeto-Burman context.

A genetic classification rests on claims regarding the inherited status of shared features or characteristics among languages. Such claims are weakened when it is shown that the shared features can be explained as the result of either universal tendencies or areal pressures. The strongest evidence for genetic classification (apart from actual historic documentation) appears to stem from shared irregularities or exclusively shared innovations of replacement or addition which run counter to natural tendencies, counter to areal pressures, and counter to the regularizing pressures internal to the grammars of the particular languages under consideration. Also important as confirmation of genetic relationship is the detailed demonstration of regular sound-meaning correspondences involving a core vocabulary of items judged to be relatively resistant to the pressures of borrowing and replacement. Much of the discussion generated by conflicting classifications within Sino-Tibetan revolves around what is to be included within the basic core vocabulary for comparative purposes.

Matisoff (1978a) allows that in principle any aspect of linguistic structure may contribute evidence of genetic affiliation, and his discussion covers phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, and semantics.

Within phonology, typologies of segmental inventory and tone are of no help since such systems tend to converge as a result of universal tendencies, diffusion or chance to such an extent as to render them useless for comparative purposes. Of the strictly phonological criteria that might be proposed, exclusively shared innovative phonological rules linking protoforms of morphemes to their respective reflexes in the various daughter languages are the most likely to constitute relevant evidence. The problem Matisoff sees with this, however, is that shared innovations do not line up with one another. Rule sharing patterns criss-cross and overlap in such a way that almost any grouping at all can be supported by some shared innovations. The interpretation of this kind of evidence is an art. "There is no mechanical way to assign relative weight to the conflicting patterns of innovative rule sharing." (1978a: 12)

Within the realm of morphology, Matisoff observes that although Sino-

Tibetan has always been characterized by monosyllabic morphemes, both Chinese and the Tibeto-Burman languages have shown a steady development in the direction of polysyllabic words. This has occasionally been accomplished by suffixation but the major processes involved have been prefixation and compounding. These two processes have worked together in various ways so that in any given language we can find large assortments of variant morphemes which have descended from much smaller sets of protoforms. Variants which show both phonological and semantic resemblance can be viewed as members of a single word family. The doublets 'royal' and 'regal' would constitute English counterparts for this kind of word family. There are also compound families consisting of compounds which more or less share the same meaning, but need not share any phonological resemblance. Matisoff assumes further that the same kind of variation observed in the contemporary languages was present in the protolanguage. Cognates, then, are pairs of words in related languages that can be shown to derive regularly from the same variant of the same word family in the protolanguage.[22]

Matisoff not only allows for variation within word families, he goes one step further and distinguishes between variational patterns that are frequently found within Tibeto-Burman word families and which may thus be considered likely to reflect genuine variation within the protolanguage on the one hand and the less frequent patterns which remain suspect. By surveying what happens in clear examples of word families he is able to establish to some degree the limits of acceptable variation, and thus begins to build up a picture of the kinds of differences that can be expected among closely related variants and to distinguish these from the kinds of differences which virtually rule out a close relationship among the forms involved.

Matisoff finds syntax the least useful of all aspects of structure when it comes to establishing degrees of genetic relatedness. The options of word order, for example, are too few to be of significance. Word order is heavily under pressure from universal tendencies so that differences of ordering, say, of object and verb is not entirely independent of the ordering of modifier and head. Syntactic characteristics are no more difficult to borrow than other kinds of traits, and syntactic characteristics are no less prominently represented in the characterizations of a linguistic area than are other kinds of features. The order, Object + Verb, [OV], for example, is cited by Masica (1971: 29) as a pattern which typifies not only the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia, but also the Tibeto-Burman, Iranian, and Dardic languages at the Indian borders. There is a large area including a block of languages extending to the Hamitic and Semitic languages of Ethiopia; to Turkish, Ossetic Armenian, and Kurdish to the west; to Burushaski and the Tai-related Kamti languages and to Korean, Japanese, Eskimo, and the Paleoasiatic languages in the east and north. Outside this

area OV languages stand as exceptions within a block of predominantly VO languages, just as Kashmiri stands as an exception within the OV area. If Masica's picture is a valid reflection of areal pressures on synchronic word order, such syntactic characteristics should be used only with the greatest caution in any argument designed to support claims of genetic affiliation. Furthermore, few Tibeto-Burman languages have been described in sufficient detail to make meaningful syntactic comparisons possible.

The lexicon, of course, has been depended upon more than any other aspect of linguistic structure and has been viewed as the most crucial area in which to establish degrees of genetic relatedness among languages. But if one adheres exclusively to a family tree model of relatedness, and ignores the effects of diffusion, one runs into serious problems even in this area. It is often difficult to distinguish a core vocabulary, resistant to change, from other kinds of vocabulary easily borrowed or replaced.

While recognizing the weaknesses of lexicostatistics,[23] Matisoff feels that it is better to attempt to improve the approach than simply to discard it. He proposes a 200-word list of terms culturally and typologically appropriate to Southeast Asia complete with Benedict's protoforms and organized according to semantic domains. He advocates a graduated system of scoring cognates, taking semantically skewed cognates into account along with all the other semantically and phonologically related forms that cluster about a given listed form, allowing for degrees of correspondence both phonologically and semantically.

On the basis of evidence from this study, Matisoff does battle against certain theoretical constraints that have been imposed by other scholars upon the relationships between forms in a protolanguage and forms in the daughter languages. He argues that forms in a protolanguage need not be invariant or unique. No language available for synchronic analysis is without coexisting alternate forms, and thus it seems unreasonable to demand that there be no alternating forms in a reconstructed protolanguage.

He also argues that it is unrealistic to insist on invariantly identical meanings among daughter forms of a given protoform. Semantic shifts do occur in languages we are able to observe through written sources, so it is only reasonable to allow for some semantic shifts in daughter forms. In this he follows Benedict's view that a pair of putative cognates that are perfect cognates with respect to the phonological correspondences involved but which manifest a semantic shift that can be plausibly accounted for are better evidence for the proposed protoform than a pair of forms that are semantically perfect, but phonologically irregular (Benedict (1975a: 90; 1939: 214)).

Matisoff takes the semantic field of body-part terminology as a significant domain for comparative purposes, and one that is more likely to resist borrowing and change than most such fields. Detailed study of this semantic

field across the vocabularies of Tibeto-Burman languages reveals tremendous complexity, and the semantics of a semantic field as such is seen to play a more crucial part than has commonly been recognized in comparative studies. Buck 1949 is taken as a model for a historical thesaurus. This kind of thesaurus is given a central role to play in picturing genetic relations within the language family. In addition to the sound laws and phonological correspondences that provide the kind of evidence required for a family tree (which, hopefully, will not be totally lost), each word will be allowed its own history within the relevant semantic fields. The prospects are breath-taking (or bewildering, according to one's predispositions), and go far beyond simply reminding us of the old debate between Schleicher and others who advocated trees on the one hand and Schmidt and others who advocated waves on the other.[24] Matisoff's illustration in terms of body-part terminology shows that these prospects are being realized in a very significant and enlightening way. What Matisoff has given us is the kind of articulate discussion that could eventually bring about a wider consensus in both practice and critique of what constitutes the most enlightening application of the comparative method to Tibeto-Burman languages.

NOTES

1. In spite of all this Shafer still makes reference to 'Tibeto-Burmic' languages in his *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan* (1966: 4, footnote 5).
2. About the best that has been done is to designate the area in terms of the language family, as has been done in the name of one very significant journal *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman area.*
3. One reason for this, of course, is that there has been a good deal of uncertainty within the field as to what languages should be included within Tibeto-Burman. Maspero (1952), for example, placed Himalayan languages on the borders of the family along with Karen and Miao-tseu. Miller (1969) would apparently include Karen within Tibeto-Burman. Voegelin and Voegelin (1964: 9) want to avoid controversy by omitting higher level groupings such as Tibeto-Burman. They do include it in their later classification (1977: 328), though not without questioning its validity. The Voegelins include the Himalayan languages and Karen within Tibeto-Burman. Benedict (1972a) and Egerod (1974a) include the Himalayan languages but exclude Karen from Tibeto-Burman proper. On their view Tibeto-Burman is coordinate with Karen within a grouping labeled 'Tibeto-Karen', and Chinese and Tibeto-Karen are in turn coordinate members of Sino-Tibetan.
4. Shafer's account of the division of responsibility for various volumes can be found in Shafer 1940b: 306, footnote 14. Benedict's reminiscences relating to the human side of the project (1975a: 81-91) also provide interesting insights into basic differences in the approaches of the two men who directed the project.
5. Some examples: Voegelin and Voegelin give the figure of 7,873 as the number of Newars living in Kathmandu Valley in 1909 (1965c: 53). They were bothered by

the fact that current estimates run around 400,000. Something slipped here in the process of abstracting the sources. The figure 7,873 is the one Grierson (1909: 214) gives for the Newar population of Bengal and Assam from the Indian Census of 1901, and does not include the population of Kathmandu Valley, where the vast majority of Newars lived. The phoneme inventories are of uneven reliability, and the sources for these are not always possible to trace from the published report. They could not, of course, have known that Hodgson was right and Grierson wrong in regard to the classification of Sunwar. Recent work proves Sunwar to be a complex pronominalizing language (Bieri 1975).

6. For a discussion of the differences between micro-, macro-, and megalo-linguistic approaches, see Matisoff (1976a: 258-259), and for one example of a micro-linguistic study within Tibeto-Burman, see Matisoff 1978b.
7. Another clear statement as to the kinds of evidence that constitute good support for claims of genetic relationship is found in Hamp 1976:

   ". . . lexicostatistics can never be a substitute for comparison proper. Nor can it precede true comparison, for it depends crucially on the latter." (1976: 423) "In the absence of much characterizing word morphology, which has formed the backbone of the basis of Indo-European comparative study, we would appreciate arguments from syntax . . . But to avoid the pitfalls of the trite . . . and of possible universals . . . we must seek particularly skewed and idiosyncratic configurations–cranky rules–and these may be hard to find." (1976: 424) "We know that the surest and essential basis for subgrouping is that of *exclusively shared innovations of replacement or addition.*" (1976: 425, emphasis Hamp's)
8. Global grammars have not been fashionable since the late 1950's and writers sensitive to the linguistic climate have felt the need to apologize for or attempt to justify the decision to write a work of broad scope (cf. Matisoff 1973c: xliv). The recent appearance of *Lingua descriptive studies,* a series devoted entirely to global descriptions, is, however, an encouraging sign that the climate may be moderating to some extent.
9. Cornyn had access to Stewart 1936a but found that it contributed little to his own analysis beyond confirming his part-of-speech analysis. Cornyn's comments on earlier works (1944: 5-6) are pithy and worth quoting. Concerning Brown (1910): "This little book is charmingly written and sanely conceived. It pays no attention, however, to the problem which I have here attacked, that of syntax." Concerning H.O. Reynolds (1933): "the book merely tries to fit Burmese forms into English categories." Of Taw Sein Ko (1939): "a useful grouping of Burmese phrases. The attempt at syntactic analysis is based on the literary language." Regarding A. Judson (1888): "suffers from the author's attempt to force Burmese into the Indo-European pattern." Listed as not useful for syntactic analysis were Bridges 1906, Davidson 1889, Gordon 1886, Sloan 1876, and St. John 1936.
10. Hope faults Roop on three counts: 1) failure to mention the tense-lax contrast on mid-tone syllables, a phenomenon of great comparative significance (cf. Matisoff (1970a, 1971)); 2) failure to understand the function and meaning of certain particles; and 3) failure to distinguish adequately between the semantics of topic and focus.
11. Watters, letter to Matisoff, 1 March 1980.
12. Included are the following: Angami, Ao, Chang, Chokri, Kalyokengnyu, Keshama, Khoirao, Konyak, Liangmai, Lotha, Mao, Maram, Maring, Meluir, Mzieme, Nocte, Nruanghmei, Ntenyi, Phom, Puiron, Rengma, Sangtam, Sema, Tangkhul, Tangsa, Wancho, Yacham-Tengsa, Yimchungrü, and Zeme.

13. Included are the following: the pidgins of the Southern Nagas, the Zemis, the Liangmeis, the Rongmeis, the Rengmas, the Semas, the Kheshas, the Chokris, the Maos, the Northern Nagas, the Konyaks, the Changs, the Sangtams, the Phoms, the Khiamngans, the Central Nagas, the Lothas, and the Aos; the Yimchunger pidgin, and the creole of the Kacharies.
14. Included are Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Chepang, Newari, Sunwar, and Sherpa.
15. Added to the original seven languages are Magar, Kham, Kaike, Jirel, and Khaling.
16. Included are Sgaw, Pho, Taungthu, and Palaychi.
17. Included are Burmese, Dafla, Garo, Rawang, Central Tibetan, and Lhasa Tibetan.
18. Included are Newari, Chepang, Magar, Kham, Sunwar, Jirel, Sherpa, Tamang, and there is brief reference to Chantel as well.
19. In some languages voice quality is independent of pitch, so that it is possible to have contrast between high and low within breathy syllables as well as within clear.
20. For a good discussion of structural typology see Robins (1964: 331-338).
21. Shafer (1966a: 9-10) dismisses Karlgren's use of the comparative method as one which could lead only to error and accuses Benedict of having relaxed the methods of comparative grammar in a way that would preclude the possibility of success in Sino-Tibetan comparative work. Miller (1968a) in his review of Shafer 1966a, 1967 attempts to demonstrate that Shafer never really understood the basic tenets of the comparative method and in his review of Benedict 1972a, Miller (1974: 198) claims that the relationship between Benedict's method and that of orthodox comparative reconstruction is obscure. Matisoff (1975b) in his rejoinder to Miller's review questions Miller's understanding of lexical diffusion.
22. Matisoff develops his own special terminology to talk about this. A variant of a word family is an 'allofam'; that of a compound family is an 'allocomp'. The relationship that obtains among variants of a word family is terms 'allofamy' and that which obtains among the variant compounds of a family of compounds is termed 'allocompy'. Where a word family is construed as being confined to a single language, these relationships are referred to as 'intra-lingual allofamy' and 'intra-lingual allocompy' respectively. Where a word family is construed as extending across related daughter languages within a genetic group, these relations are termed 'inter-lingual'. Matisoff's defining context for the relation 'is cognate to' then reads as follows:

    "an allofam in language X is cognate to an allofam in Language Y if the two forms can be shown to derive regularly from the same proto-allofam." (1978a: 17).
23. Languages with a high percentage of shared vocabulary can be genetically unrelated (Chinese and Japanese). It is hard to distinguish cognates from early loans. True cognates may have no superficial resemblance to one another while more recent loans may have. It is highly unlikely that the rate of replacement or core vocabulary is at all uniform. Borrowing between languages is very often quite one-sided over long periods of time, thus there is no guarantee that two languages have the same rate of replacement. Lexicostatistical method discourages the search for displaced, skewed cognates, and concentrates on usual words in current use.
24. For an excellent brief discussion of the relationship between the family tree model of August Schleicher (1863) which pays attention primarily to inherited characteristics that survive along the time axis and serve to unite a genetic group on the one hand and the wave model of Johannes Schmidt (1872) which paid attention to characteristics acquired by diffusion and borrowing within a geographical area on the other, see Winter (1973).

# 3 References

*Abbreviations used in reference to periodicals and serials*

| | |
|---|---|
| *AAS* | Asian and African Studies, Bratislava. |
| *AcOr* | Acta Orientalia, ediderunt Societates Orientales Danica Norvegica Svecica (Le Monde Oriental), København. |
| *AfO* | Archiv für Orientforschung. Internationale Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient, Graz. |
| *AKM* | Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wiesbaden. |
| *AL* | Acta Linguistica Hafniensia. International journal of structural linguistics, København. |
| *ALH* | Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest. |
| *AM* | Asia Major, New Series, London. |
| *AmA* | American Anthropologist, Menasha, Wisconsin. |
| *AnL* | Anthropological Linguistics, Bloomington, Indiana. |
| *Anthropos* | Anthropos. Revue internationale d'ethnologie et de linguistique/Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachenkunde, Fribourg (Switzerland). |
| *AO* | Archiv Orientální, Praha. |
| *AOH* | Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae, Budapest. |
| *ArchV* | Archiv für Völkerkunde, Wien. |
| *BEFEO* | Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris. |
| *BHIP* | Zhōngyāng yánjiuyuàn lìshǐ yǔyán yánjiusuǒ jìkān/ Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei (Taiwan). |
| *BJRL* | Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. |
| *BL* | Bibliographie linguistique publiée par le Comité International Permanent des Linguistes/Linguistic bibliography for the year . . . published by the Permanent |

International Committee of Linguists (Utrecht-Anvers).

*BMFEA* Bulletin of The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. (Östasiatiska Samlingarna), Stockholm.

*BSL* Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, Paris.

*BSOAS* Bulletin of The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London.

*BSOS* Bulletin of The School of Oriental Studies, University of London, London.

*BT* The Bible Translator, United Bible Societies, London.

*CAAAL* Computational analyses of Asian and African languages, National Inter-University Research Institute of Asian and African Languages and Cultures, Tokyo.

*CAJ* Central Asiatic Journal, Wiesbaden.

*CFS* Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure, Genève.

*CG* Chūgokugogaku [Chinese linguistics], Tokyo.

*CKYW* Chung-kuo yü-wen [Chinese language and writing], Peking.

*CNS* Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Journal of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

*Erasmus* Erasmus. Speculum scientiarum. International Bulletin of Contemporary Scholarship, Wiesbaden.

*FL* Foundations of language. International journal of language and philosophy, Dordrecht, The Netherlands.

*GK* Gengo Kenkyū [Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan], Tokyo.

*GTN* Guide to tone in Nepal, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kathmandu.

*HJAS* Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge, Mass.

*Homme* L'Homme. Revue française d'anthropologie, Paris.

*IF* Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Berlin.

*IIJ* Indo-Iranian Journal, The Hague.

*IJAL* International Journal of American Linguistics, Baltimore, Chicago.

*IJDL* International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum, India.

*IL* Indian Linguistics. Journal of the Linguistic Society of India, Poona.

*JA* Journal Asiatique, Paris.

*JAOS* Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut.

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|---|---|
| *JASB* | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. |
| *JASt* | The Journal of Asian Studies, New York. |
| *JBRS* | Journal of the Burma Research Society, Rangoon. |
| *JCL* | Journal of Chinese Linguistics, Berkeley, California. |
| *JL* | Journal of Linguistics, London. |
| *JRAS* | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London. |
| *Kailash* | Kailash. A journal of Himalayan studies, Kathmandu. |
| *Kratylos* | Kratylos. Kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionsorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Wiesbaden. |
| *KSINA* | Kratkie soobščenija Instituta nardov Azii, Moskva. |
| *Lg* | Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore. |
| *Lingua* | Lingua. International Review of General Linguistics, Amsterdam. |
| *Linguistics* | Linguistics. An international review, The Hague. |
| *LTBA* | Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman area. Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. |
| *MIO* | Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Berlin. |
| *MK* | Minzokugaku kenkyū [The Japanese Journal of Ethnology], Tokyo. |
| *Monatsberichte BAW* | Monatsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München. |
| *MSer* | Monumenta Serica, Los Angeles. |
| *Muséon* | Le Muséon. Revue d'études orientales, Louvain. |
| *NAA* | Narody Azii i Afriki. Istorija, ėkonomika, kul'tura, Moskva. |
| *NBP* | Nagaland Bhasha Parishad, Kohima. |
| *NCGH* | Nippon Chūgoku Gakkaihō [Bulletin of the Sinological Society of Japan], Tokyo. |
| *OL* | Oceanic Linguistics, Honolulu, Hawaii. |
| *OLZ* | Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Berlin. |
| *OPWS* | Occasional papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics. |
| *Orbis* | Orbis. Bulletin international de documentation linguistique, Louvain. |
| *Oriens* | Oriens. Milletlerarası Şark Tetkikleri Cemiyeti Mecmuası Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research. Leiden. |
| *RENLO* | Revue de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales. |

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|---|---|
| | Structures des langues et civilisations du monde contemporain, Paris. |
| *RO* | Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Warszawa. |
| *SbBAW* | Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, München. |
| *SbÖAW* | Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien. |
| *SILP* | Summer Institute of Linguistics publications in linguistics and related fields, Norman, Dallas. |
| *Sinologica* | Sinologica. Zeitschrift für chinesische Kultur und Wissenschaft, Basel. |
| *SJA* | Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Albuquerque, New Mexico. |
| *SL* | Studia Linguistica. Revue de linguistique générale et comparée, Lund. |
| *SO* | Studia Orientalia, edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica, Helsinki. |
| *SovV* | Sovetskoe vostokovedenie, Moskva. |
| *TAK* | Tōnan Ajia Kenkyū [Southeast Asia Studies], Kyoto, Japan. |
| *TBPS* | Tibeto-Burman phonemic summaries, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kathmandu. |
| *Tōhōgaku* | Tōhōgaku [Eastern Studies], Tokyo. |
| *TP* | T'oung Pao. Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie et les arts de l'Asie Orientale, Leiden. |
| *TPhS* | Transactions of the Philological Society, Oxford. |
| *Tribus* | Tribus. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie und ihre Nachbarwissenschaften vom Linden-Museum, Stuttgart. |
| *TUJ* | Tribhuvan University Journal, Kathmandu. |
| *UAJb* | Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, Wiesbaden. |
| *UCPL* | University of California Publications in Linguistics, Berkeley and Los Angeles. |
| *UZLU* | Učenye zapiski Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni A.A. Ždanova, Leningrad. |
| *VJa* | Voprosy Jazykoznanija, Moskva. |
| *Word* | Word. Journal of the International Linguistic Association, New York. |
| *WVM* | Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, Wien. |
| *WZKM* | Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien. |
| *WZUB* | Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität, Berlin. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe. |

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|---|---|
| *WZUL* | Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität, Leipzig. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe. |
| *YYYC* | Yü-yen yen-chiu [Linguistic researches], Peking. |
| *ZDMG* | Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden. |
| *ZEthn* | Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Organ der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, Braunschweig. |

*Abbreviations for papers presented to the Annual Sino-Tibetan Conference.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *1st STCP* | Paper presented at The First Meeting on Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction, Yale University, 1968. |
| *2d STCP* | Paper presented at The Second Meeting on Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction, Columbia University, 1969. |
| *3d STCP* | Paper presented at The Third Conference on Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction, Cornell University, 1970. |
| *4th STCP* | Paper presented at The Fourth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Language and Linguistic Studies, Indiana University, 1971. |
| *5th STCP* | Paper presented at The Fifth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Language and Linguistic Studies, University of Michigan, 1972. |
| *6th STCP* | Paper presented at The Sixth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, University of California, San Diego, 1973. |
| *7th STCP* | Paper presented at The Seventh International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, George State University, 1974. |
| *8th STCP* | Paper presented at The Eighth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, 1975. |

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# Language index

Numbers following language names refer to the line numbers of the harmony of Tibeto-Burman language classifications in Section 1.3. The symbol, #, appears before names used to refer to language groups. Numbers following abbreviations of sources are page numbers in the sources cited. Numbers following the abbreviation, Pop, are population figures from the 1971 Census of India, or, where indicated, from the 1971 Census of Nepal. Place names which follow population figures are the places from which the larger returns were reported and are listed in descending order of the returns.

In order to keep the harmony from growing unmanageable, a number of language names have been excluded from the harmony proper and are to be found only in the index. These names are cross referenced to the harmony by line number alone. For example, the index contains some nineteen language names that are closely associated with Rawang (line 103a in the harmony) such as Agu, Ch'opa, Dămalo, Hkanung, Hpungsi and Htiselwant, and cross reference to the harmony is made in each case by the number, 103a, alone.

It is not the purpose of the harmony to present an exhaustive list of language names, but rather it is to provide a correlation among major classifications of Tibeto-Burman languages. The function of the index is that of spreading these classifications to the extent possible to a more nearly exhaustive list of language names. Where possible, cross reference is to specific line numbers. Failing this, cross reference has been made to more general language groups, such as # Luish. Thus, while it has not been possible to relate Angku to a specific line number, it is possible to identify it as a member of the # Luish group of languages. Since the location of groups within the harmony is sometimes complex, the reader is referred to the group entry within the index for a determination of line numbers. Thus under # Luish we find that Shafer puts Luish languages on lines 45 a-d, Benedict puts them on lines 45 a-c, but that Egerod places them on lines 84 a-d. For the instances where not even this has been possible, whatever was available has been given, on the assumption that a little was better than nothing at all.

The reader should also be warned of several ways in which the material

given here can be misinterpreted:

(1) There are a number of names which are used both to identify specific languages and to identify groups of languages. Group names that occur in the harmony are prefaced with the symbol #, but group names used outside the harmony by authors such as Nigam have not been so distinguished, since these groups do not correlate easily with line numbers and are thus difficult to define. Nigam uses Abor/Adi as a *group* name. Abor occurs as a *language* name on lines 8a and 22a. The reader should be careful not to assume that Ashing, Milang, Minyong, Pailibo, Pangi, Pasi, Ramo, and Simong are simply alternative names for Abor, or that the major classifications, were they to be so extended, would place these names on line 8a or 22a.

(2) Where a language name or line number is prefixed with 'cf.', only a possible relationship or close similarity is claimed. Line numbers occurring with parenthesized material attributed to other authors is to be construed as interpretation of the author cited, with respect to the harmony. Thus the index does not directly claim that Marma is 30b, but rather than Matisoff identifies it as similar to Arakanese, which, in turn, is 30b. Similarly, Tiddim Chin is not directly identified with a line number, but rather is interpreted via Henderson 1965 as equatable with Sokte (which is 51e) as well as with Kamhow and Kamhau (which are 51f). (That language names appear on different lines is not necessarily a claim that they are distinct languages.)

(3) The lack of a line number within an index entry is an indication that some doubt exists as to how the entry relates to the lines of the harmony. In many cases it is possible to work from name to name and arrive at tentative line number assignments for such entries, but the lack of a number is an invitation for the reader to participate in evaluating the relationships involved.

*Abbreviations used for sources*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| B | P. K. Benedict (1972a) | N | T. Nishida (1970) |
| Bista | D. B. Bista (1967) | Nig | R. C. Nigam (1972) |
| E | S. C. Egerod (1974a) | R | G. N. Roerich (1931) |
| Eth | B. F. Grimes (1978) | RAM | R. A. Miller (1969) |
| GK | Grierson (1903-1928) | S | R. Shafer (1955, 1966a) |
| Glo | W. W. Glover (1974) | Toba | S. Toba, survey reports |
| JAM | J. A. Matisoff (1974c) | U | G. Uray (1955) |
| L | Fang-kuei Li (1973) | VV | Voegelin – Voegelin (1977) |
| LSI | Linguistic Survey of India (=GK) | Watters | D. Watters, personal communication. |
| Mar | G. E. Marrison (1967) | | |

*Other Abbreviations*

| | |
|---|---|
| cf. | compare (similar to, possibly closely related to the language cited) |
| dial | dialect |

Ãba, 4b
Abeng, 88b
Abengya, (Eth 253: dial of Garo, 88a)
Abhaypurya, (JAM = Banpara, 95b)
Abor, 8a, 22a
Abor/Adi, (Nig 1 "Mother tongue named after the tribe of the same name. Abors (now known as Adi) are the most numerous tribals of the Siang Division of NEFA. . . . During the Census of 1961, however, major returns were in the name of sub-tribes of Abor/Adi indicating different speeches all of which can conveniently be clubbed under Abor/Adi." Pop 19, NEFA)
# Abor-Miri, 8a, 22a
Achang, 31e, 101c
Ach'ang, 31e, 101c
Achi, 31c, 101d (JAM=Atsi; Tsaiwa)
Achik, 88a, 101c (Nig 1 = Standard Garo, Pop 4, Assam)
Achung, (Eth 240 = Ach'ang, 31e, 101c)
Ac'ye, 101b = Lashi = Letsi
Adi, 8a, 22a
Adibhasha-Bhotia (Nig 2 "Tibeto-Chinese–Bhotia group" Pop 26 West Bengal)
Agu, 103a
Ahi, 33b
Ahraing, (JAM = dial of Khami, 47j)
Ahsi, (JAM = Ahi, 33b)
Aimal, (VV = 54b)
Aimol, 54b (Nig 7 Pop 108, Manipur)
Aka, = Hruso, 8d, 23a, 32a (Eth 240, 327 = Akha, 32a)
Aka/Hrusso, 8d, 23a, 32a (Nig 7 Pop 2302, NEFA, Assam)
Aka Lel, (Eth 252 = dial of Dafla, 8b, 22b)
Akha, 32a
Akö, 32b
Ako, 32b
Amdo, 5a
Amri, (JAM = dial of Mikir, 69a, 83a) (Eth 260 = dial of Mikir)
Anal, 57b (Nig 8 Pop 4875, Manipur)
Anal Naga, (Eth 261 = Anal, 57b)