Black Mountain Conjugational Morphology, Proto-Tibeto-Burman Morphosyntax, and the Linguistic Position of Chinese

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In the following, an account is given of Black Mountain verbal agreement morphology. The existence of conjugational morphology of the Black Mountain type in a Bodish language, the first and only language of Shafer's (1974) Bodish branch for which such a system has been described, has implications for our understanding of Proto-Tibeto-Burman morphosyntax.[1] It is in this context that Benedict's recent claims about agreement markers in Old Chinese are discussed and related to new insights into Chinese afforded by Baxter's (1992) reconstruction. Bodman's (1980) 'tentative new view' is reassessed.

1. THE BLACK MOUNTAIN MÖNPA

The Black Mountains are a southern spur of the Great Himalayas, which runs from north to south over a distance of some 200 km and separates western from central Bhutan. The range was allegedly so called by the British because of its dense vegetation and its formidable and precipitous, dark grey escarpments. In the Black Mountains, a small aboriginal group resides, locally called Mönpa. To distinguish this indigenous East Bodish group of central Bhutan from the many other ethnolinguistic groups in Central Asia which designate themselves as Mönpa, or which are so designated by others, I use the term Black Mountain Mönpa, or just Black Mountain. There is a distinct western and an eastern dialect of Black Mountain Mönpa. The western dialect, which appears to be more conservative, is spoken by a tribe known as the 'Ole,[2] and their dialect is referred to locally as 'Olekha[3] 'the 'Ole language'. First mention of the existence of a language by this name is by Sanggä Dôji (1990: i). Research on Black Mountain Mönpa and other languages of Bhutan is conducted by the author and his Bhutanese colleagues in the service of the Linguistic Survey of Bhutan, a research programme of the Royal

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1) This article is an elaborated version of a paper presented at the 26th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics at the National Museum of Ethnology, Ōsaka in 1993 (van Driem 1994).
2) ཨོ་ལེ་
3) ཨོ་ལེ་ཁ་

Government of Bhutan coordinated by the Dzongkha Development Commission in Thimphu.

Dzongkha is the national language of Bhutan and the native language of western Bhutan. Classical Tibetan, known in Bhutan as Chöke[4] 'language of the Dharma', has traditionally functioned as the literary exponent of the much evolved and indeed quite different vernacular language of western Bhutan. Therefore, both written Chöke and spoken Dzongkha exert influence on the other languages of Bhutan. In the following, Bhutanese names and Tibetan terms with a Dzongkha pronunciation are given in the system of romanization known as Roman Dzongkha. The system was officially introduced in 1991 and refined in 1994. Roman Dzongkha is a phonological transcription of the standard dialect of modern Dzongkha, which makes use of 22 of the letters of the Roman alphabet (F, Q, V and X are not used) and of three diacritics: the apostrophe, circumflex accent and diaeresis. Written at the beginning of a syllable, the apostrophe marks high tone in syllables beginning with a nasal, liquid or vowel. Following a letter or digraph representing an initial consonant, the apostrophe indicates a devoiced consonant followed by a low tone murmured vowel. The circumflex accent indicates vowel length. The diaeresis indicates a long, apophonic vowel. The initial consonant symbols are: k, kh, g, g', c, ch, j, j', t, th, d, d', p, ph, b, b', pc, pch, bj, bj', tr, thr, dr, dr', ts, tsh, dz, zh, z, zh', z', sh, s, y, 'y, w, 'w, r, hr, l, 'l, lh, ng, ny, n, m, 'ng, 'ny, 'n, 'm, h. The vowel sounds are a, â, ä, e, ê, i, î, o, ô, ö, u, ü. Roman Dzongkha is explained elsewhere by the author (forthcoming, a). Roman Dzongkha is not intended to replace the traditional script. The modern Bhutanese orthography in traditional script is provided in the endnotes.

The main 'Ole settlement is Rukha,[5] a village located on the western slopes of the Black Mountains. The younger and middle-aged generations have become linguistically assimilated to their Dzongkha[6] speaking 'Ngalop[7] neighbours to the west. There are six remaining speakers of 'Ole Mönpa in the village of Rukha. Three of these are blind: 'Ap Jag'a[8] and his wife 'Am Dröm,[9] both born in the year of the Earth Monkey, viz. 1908-1909, and their son Tekpa,[10] born in the year of the Water Bird, viz. 1933-1934. Two other speakers are Rindzi Phup,[11] born in the year of the Water Monkey, viz. 1932-1933, and Chödröm,[12] of the year of the Wood Dog, viz. 1934-1935. All 'Olekha data in the present study originate from

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4) ཆོས་སྐད་

5) རུ་ཁ་

6) རྫོང་ཁ་

7) སྤ་ལོང་པ་

8) ཨཔ་རྒྱ་གར་

9) ཨམ་སྒྲོལམ་

10) སྟེག་པ་

11) རིན་འཛིན་ཕུརཔ་

12) ཆོས་སྒྲོལམ་

Rindzi Phup and Chödröm, who worked with me during my two visits to Rukha in March 1992 and May 1993. The sixth speaker of 'Olekha in Rukha is 'Ap Sigä,[13] born of a Khengpa father and an 'Ole mother in the year of the Water Monkey, viz. 1932-1933. 'Ap Sigä claims not to speak 'Olekha because of having spent the whole of his youth in the Henkha speaking area to the north. Rindzi Phup and Chödröm report that 'Ap Sigä has always lived in Rukha, and his evasive attitude is a source of puzzlement to both of them.

There is a second 'Ole settlement of seven households, known variously as Reti,[14] Bäugang[15] or by the Nepali name of Goṅgkholã,[16] located on the eastern slopes of the Black Mountains. Whereas Rukha is situated within what is reported to be the traditional 'Ole area, the settlement at Reti was established by four brothers during the reign of the first hereditary monarch of Bhutan, king 'Ugä 'Wangchu[17] (*imperabat* 1907-1926). These four 'Ole brothers, originally from the Rukha area, fled to the site of the present settlement to escape forced labour as tea porters between the tea gardens of Devāngiri[18] (Dewathang[19]) and 'Wangdi Phodr'a.[20] All my Reti data are from Tandri[21] with whom I consulted in Trongsa[22] in May 1991 and who was then 45 years of age by Bhutanese reckoning, i.e., 44 years old. All the Western Black Mountain data cited in this study, however, are from Rukha.

The Eastern Black Mountain Mönpa live on the eastern slopes of the Black Mountains in the villages of Wang'ling,[23] Jâmbi,[24] and Phumz'ur,[25] all located in Trongsa District south of Trongsa, and in the village of Cunseng[26] in Zh'ämgang[27] District, near the 'Ole settlement of Reti. The Eastern Black Mountain Mönpa are fast linguistically assimilating to the larger neighbouring ethnolinguistic groups, who speak Henkha in the north, and Kheng in the south. Mönpa from settlements such as Berdi in Zh'ämgang District report that they no longer speak their language, although they evidently know the meaning of common Black Mountain words. Eastern Black Mountain data are from a lad named 'Namgä[28] of Cungseng, whom

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13) ཨཔ་སྲིད་ཅུལ་

14) རེ་ཏི་

15) སྦས་ཡུལ་སྒང་

16) गोङ्खोला

17) ཨོ་ཅུན་དབང་ཕྱུག་

18) देवानगिरि

19) བདེ་བ་ཐང་

20) དབང་འདུས་ཕོ་བྲང

21) ཏ་མགྲིན་

22) ཀྲོང་གསར་

23) ཨང་གྲིང་

24) སྦྱང་སྦྱིས་

25) ཕུམ་ཇུར་

26) ཅུང་སེང་

27) གཞལ་སྒང་ (recently also གཞལམ་སྒང་)

I consulted in Zh'ämgang in May 1991.

2. EAST BODISH

In Shafer's (1955, 1974) phylogeny, Bodish is divided into a West, Central (inc. 'South') and East Bodish branch. On the basis of lexical comparison, Shafer concluded that the East Bodish languages are the most conservative or archaic branch of Bodish, more conservative in fact than Central Bodish. Shafer's terminology is a bit misleading because for Central Bodish he also uses the name 'Old Bodish', since Tibetan, a Central Bodish language, has the oldest literary tradition of any Bodish language.

Northeast of Bhutan lies Tawang, a former Tibetan vassal state known in Tibetan sources as D'akpa Tsho'nga[29] 'The Five Hosts of the Dakpa' (Aris 1979a: xv). The language of Tawang identified as 'Northern Monpa' by Aris is Dakpa, and Hodgson's (1853) 'Tákpa' data are from the same language. Aris (1979a: xvi) points out that Hodgson's 'Tákpa' was confused by Shafer with 'Dwags',[30] a Tibetan dialect spoken south of the Tsangpo[31] and west of the Kongbo area.[32] Shafer's (1954, 1955, 1974) comparative work on 'Dwags' and 'proto-East Bodish' should therefore be read as applying to Dakpa and, by consequence, to the languages of the Bumthang group, which Aris (1979a) first identified as 'East Bodish'. In fact, with the exception of Dakpa, all modern East Bodish languages are native to central and northeastern Bhutan. East Bodish can be divided into Archaic and Mainstream East Bodish. The Archaic branch consists of the (1) Western and (2) Eastern dialect of Black Mountain Mönpa. Mainstream East Bodic includes (1) the diverse dialects of Henkha, known variously as Henkha, Mangde, 'Nyenkha, 'Adap and Phobjikha, (2) the three languages comprising the 'Greater Bumthang Language', viz. Bumthang, Kheng and Kurtöp, (3) Chali, (4) Dzala, and (5) Dakpa. It deserves to be stressed that the subgrouping of East Bodish outlined here is mere impressionism based on gleanings from what little is known about the lexicon and grammar of these languages. Future research could demonstrate that the 'Archaic East Bodish' grouping, which has been posited here on the basis of a combination of archaic phonological traits and the retention of a verbal agreement system cognate with other Tibeto-Burman conjugations, might prove to be fallacious, as if, whilst lacking historical data on the Germanic languages, we were to preliminarily classify modern Icelandic and Faeroese as 'Archaic Germanic' and the remaining modern Germanic languages as 'Mainstream Germanic' whereas the actual phylogeny of Germanic is more complex. In fact,
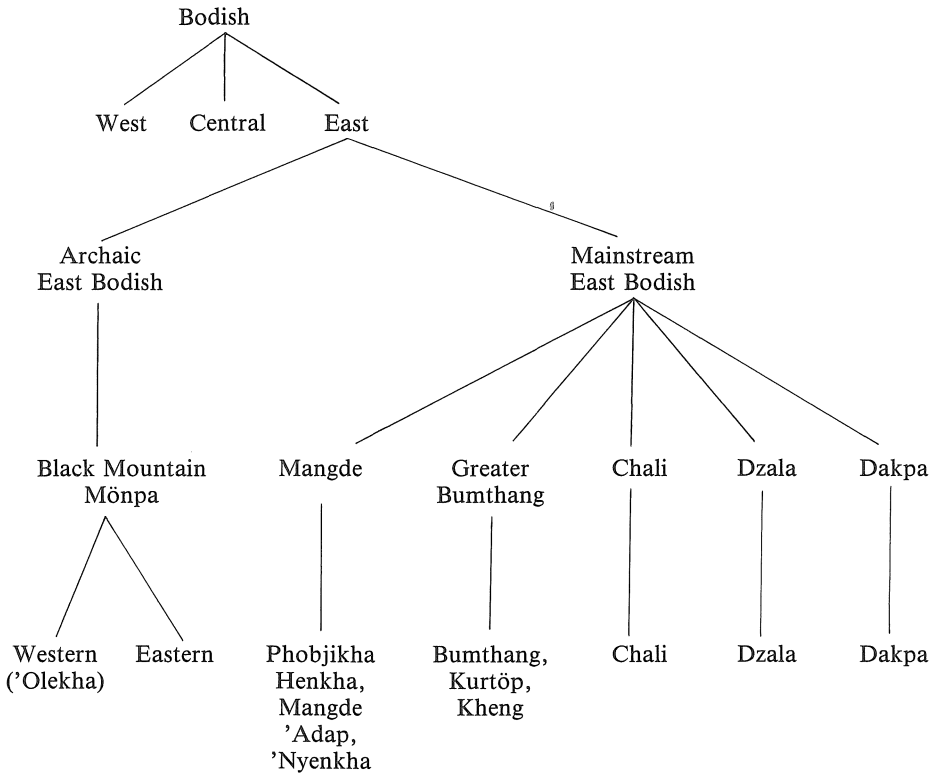
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28)   རྣམ་རྒྱལ་

29)   Aris (1979a: xv) lists དག་པ་ཚོ་ལྔ་ , but in Bhutan the spelling དགས་པ་ is used.
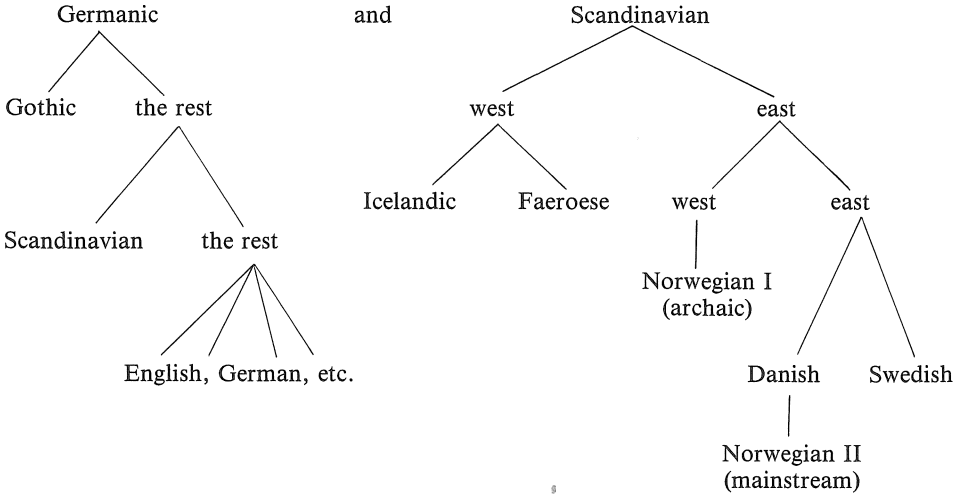
30)   དགས་པོ་

31)   གཙང་པོ་

32)   ཀོང་པོ་

comparative work by Michailovsky (1994a) suggests that the deeper split within East Bodish may lie elsewhere and that Dakpa might be the odd man out.

Bodish

West   Central   East

Archaic
East Bodish

Mainstream
East Bodish

Black Mountain
Mönpa

Mangde

Greater
Bumthang

Chali

Dzala

Dakpa

Western   Eastern
('Olekha)

Phobjikha
Henkha,
Mangde
'Adap,
'Nyenkha

Bumthang,
Kurtöp,
Kheng

Chali

Dzala

Dakpa

Diagram 1   Tentative Family Tree of East Bodish

Although the genetic relationship of Bodish languages might not be thoroughly understood for some time to come, the idea underlying the tentative tree presented above is a widespread historical linguistic phenomenon, well illustrated, for example, by the currently accepted classification of Germanic.

Germanic   and   Scandinavian

Gothic   the rest   west   east

Icelandic   Faeroese   west   east

Scandinavian   the rest

Norwegian I
(archaic)

English, German, etc.   Danish   Swedish

Norwegian II
(mainstream)

Diagram 2   Currently Accepted Phylogeny of Germanic

These schematic representations of the phylogeny of Germanic reflect a historical development whereby stable eddies whirl about in deep pools which lie out of reach of the torrent. Relict areas are like calm backwaters which lie tranquilly aside from the mainstream.

proto-language

archaic   mainstream

archaic   mainstream

archaic   mainstream

archaic   mainstream
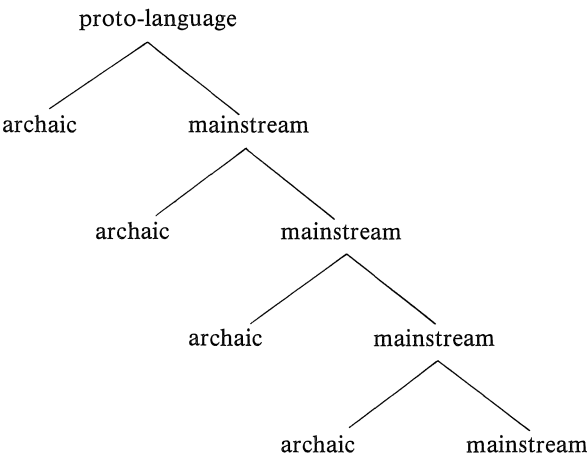
In terms of language change, even if not in other respects, the fluvial metaphor furnishes a more suggestive analogy than the traditional arborescent one. Agard's (1980) *Stammbaum* illustrates how the same principle holds in the evolution of Romance.

3. SOME REMARKS ON BLACK MOUNTAIN PHONOLOGY

Before embarking on our discussion of Black Mountain conjugational morphology, some phonological observations are in order. Black Mountain distinguishes fourteen vowel phonemes. The rounded back vowels /ü/ and /ö/ are long in duration and have the phonetic realisations [yː] and [øː] respectively. The remaining twelve vowel phonemes can be arranged in six pairs, each consisting of a long and a short vowel. The long and short members of each such pair differ not only in length but also in timbre: Long /î/ is realised as a long unrounded closed front vowel [iː], whereas short /i/ has various realisations [i~ɪ~e]. Long /ê/ has a rather open phonetic realisation [æː~ɛː], and short /e/ is realised as half-open [ɛ]. Long /â/ is a long open vowel [aː], and short /a/ has more central realisations [ə~ɑ]. Long /ɔ̂/ and short /ɔ/ are realised as the rounded half-open back vowels [ɔː] and [ɔ]. Long /ô/ and short /o/ are realised as the rounded half-closed back vowels [oː] and [o]. Long /û/ and short /u/ are realised as the rounded closed back vowels [uː] and [u]. The use of the circumflex accent to indicate long vowels is in accordance with a convention used in Roman Dzongkha.

i	î		ü		u	û
	e	ê	ö		o	ô
		a	â		ɔ	ɔ̂

As in Bumthang and Dzongkha, high and low register tone is distinctive in syllables beginning with vowels, voiced nasals, voiced liquids and semivowels. In such syllables high tone is indicated by an apostrophe, as in Roman Dzongkha, e.g. high tone *'ma* vs. low register *ma*. Syllables with voiced initial plosives, affricates and sibilants are automatically in low register tone, and syllables with voiceless initial plosives, affricates, sibilants and liquids are in the high register tone.

4. BLACK MOUNTAIN CONJUGATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Black Mountain personal pronouns, particularly those of the first person, are not as 'Bodiform' as those of Bumthang, which here are juxtaposed to the Dzongkha pronouns. Lepcha is spoken in Sikkim, Darjeeling district and in an enclave in southwestern Bhutan. Gongduk is a Tibeto-Burman language with an elaborate conjugational morphology spoken in a relatively inaccessible area in the Kheng district of central Bhutan. The first singular pronouns of Black Mountain, *kö* 'I', and Gongduk, *za* 'I', appear to be related, i.e. if we may assume that the Gongduk initial is the result of palatalisation. It should be pointed out that the Gongduk third person pronoun *gon* is cognate with the Bumthang deictic pronoun *gon* 'he, she, the other one', comparable in meaning to Dzongkha *zhenmi*.[33] The

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33) གཞན་མི་

Lepcha pronouns are listed as given by Mainwaring (1876), whereby I use a circumflex accent for the flourish in the native Lepcha script known as a *ṛân*. Mainwaring (1876: 5), who retains the native diacritic in his Roman transliteration of Lepcha, describes it as 'a sort of circumflex sign', which is used in combination with Lepcha orthographic *a* and *i* to represent two pairs of distinct vowels.

Table 1   Personal Pronouns

Lepcha (Mainwaring 1876)

	singular	dual	plural
1	go	ka-nyî	ka-yú
2	hó	a-nyî	a-yú
3	hu	hu-nyî	hu-yú

Black Mountain (Rukha)   **Gongduk**

	singular	plural		singular	plural
1	kö	ɔŋdat, ɔŋnak [inc]; anak [exc]		za	ziŋ
2	iŋ, andat	iŋnak, iŋ		gi	giŋ
3	hoʔma [m] hoʔmet [f]	hoʔoŋ, hoŋnak		gon	gonmat

Bumthang   **Dzongkha**

	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	ŋat	ŋet	nga[34]	ngace[35]
2	wet	yin	chö[36]	chä[37]
3	khit	bot	kho[38] [m] mo[40] [f]	khong[39]

In Rukha, the plural suffix <-nak> in plural pronouns may be replaced by the collective suffix <-chachap>, a loan suffix from Dzongkha.

Each cell in tables 2 and 3 lists the ending of the future form of the verb and, below it, of the plain or non-future form. Agreement endings of negative future and negative plain forms are the same as those of the affirmative forms. Negation is indexed by the negative prefix <mâ->, which has the form <man-> before verb stems with initial /y/.

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34) ང་
35) ང་བཅས་
36) ཁྱོད་
37) ཁྱད་
38) ཁོ་
39) ཁོང་
40) མོ་

Table 2 Endings of the Black Mountain Intransitive Conjugation

	s	p
1	-ŋam- ŋa	-yam -ya
2	-kim	-nakkim
3	-ka	-nakka

Table 3 Endings of the Black Mountain Transitive Conjugation

		p a t i e n t		
		1	2	3
a	1s		-ŋam -ŋa	
g	1p		-yam -ya	
e	2s	-yam -ya		-kim -ka
n	2p	-sâŋkim -sâŋka		-nakkim -nakka
t	3s	-yam -ya	-kim -ka	
	3p	-sâŋkim -sâŋka	-nakkim -nakka	

Table 4   Tense and Agreement Morphemes
in the Black Mountain Indicative Verb,
and Functional Positions

sf1 number and person	sf2 person	sf3 tense
<-ŋa> 1sAS	<-ya> 1	
<-sâŋ> p→1	<-ka~-ki> n1AS	<-m> FUT
<-nak> n1p		

The morpheme[41] <-ŋa> (1sAS) indexes first singular agent or subject and occurs in intransitive verb forms with a first singular subject and in transitive 1s→2/3 forms. The suffix <-ŋa> occurs in the person and number slot, suffixal slot sf1. The morpheme <-ŋa> has the allomorph <-na> after verb stem final /t/ and /n/ and <-ma> after final /p/ or /m/.

The *portemanteau* morpheme <-sâŋ> (p→1) indexes the transitive relationship between a plural agent and a first person patient and occurs in 2p→1 and 3p→1 forms in suffixal slot sf1, preceding the suffix <-ka~-ki> (n1AS).

The morpheme <-ya> (1) marks the involvement of a first person actant in all forms in which first person actant is not indicated by another morpheme, viz. by the first singular agent/subject morpheme <-ŋa> or by the p→1 *portemanteau* morpheme <-sâŋ>. The suffix <-ya> occurs in intransitive verb forms with a first plural subject and in transitive 1p→2/3, 2s→1 and 3s→1 forms. First person involvement, indexed by any one of the three morphemes <-ŋa> (1sAS), <-sâŋ> (p→1) and <-ya> (1), is obligatorily marked in the Black Mountain verb.

The morpheme <-nak> (n1p) indexes plural number of a non-first person

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41)   Abbreviations used in morpheme glosses are as follows:

1	first person	A	agent of a transitive verb
2	second person	P	patient of a transitive verb
3	third person	S	subject of an intransitive or reflexive verb
n1	non-first person	→	marks the direction of a transitive relationship
s	singular	ERG	ergative marker on a nominal constituent
d	dual	PAT	patient marker on a nominal constituent
p	plural	EV	evidential
ns	non-singular	PRG	progressive
Q	question marker	GER	gerund
NEG	negation morpheme	FUT	future tense marker

agent or subject and occurs in intransitive forms with a non-first person plural subject and in transitive 2p→3 and 3p→2/3 forms in suffixal slot sf1, preceding the morpheme <-ka~-ki> (n1AS). The suffix <-nak> is cognate with the suffix <-nak> in the plural personal pronouns. The suffix <-nak> does not occur in 2p→1 and 3p→1 verb forms where plurality of agent is indexed by the *portemanteau* morpheme <-sâŋ> (p→1).

The morpheme <-ka~-ga~-ki~-gi~-ta~-ti> (n1AS) indexes a non-first person agent or subject. The morpheme occurs in intransitive forms with a non-first person subject and in transitive 2→3, 3→2/3, 2p→1 and 3p→1 forms. The suffix has the allomorphs <-ki~-gi~-ti> before the future tense suffix <-m>, the allomorphs <-ga~-gi> following a vowel, and the allomorphs <-ta~-ti> after stem final /t/. The non-first person agent/subject morpheme does not occur in 2s→1 and 3s→1 forms, which are formally indistinct from 1p→2/3 forms and intransitive first plural forms. Occurrence of the first person morpheme <-ya> in suffixal slot sf2 precludes the occurrence of the non-first person agent/subject suffix. The vowel /a/ in the non-first person agent/subject morpheme <-ka~-ga~-ta> (n1AS) becomes /e/ in yes-no questions.

The Black Mountain future tense in <-m> expresses some future event, whether it be a potential future, a factual or scheduled future event or a present future of immediate realisation. There is a Black Mountain evidential suffix <-go>, which is similar in meaning to the Dzongkha ending <-bä~-wä>[42] and expresses a recently acquired insight, or a deduced or recently observed phenomenon. The evidential does not occur in the future tense and is not attested in forms with a first person agent or subject. The full form of the evidential suffix <-go> occurs after the ending <-ya> in 3s→1 forms, e.g. *ho?me-se kö-ŋa baheya-go* (he-ERG I-PAT give-PRG-1 EV) 'he is giving it to me'. In other forms, the evidential fuses with the non-first person agent/subject suffix <-ka~-ga~-ta> to give the ending <-ko~-go~-to>.

Table 5   Endings of the Imperative

2→1	(mâ)-Σ-sâŋ-lo
2s→3	(mâ)-Σ-lo
2p→3	(mâ)-Σ-nak-lo

Other Black Mountain person and number agreement markers are found in the imperative and in the perfect gerund. A morpheme <-sâŋ> marks 2→1 imperative forms and is evidently related to the suffix <-sâŋ> (p→1), which indexes transitive relationships between a plural agent and a first person patient in

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42)   པས་ ~ པས་

indicative forms. The non-first person plural morpheme <-nak> (n1p) marks 2p→3 imperative forms and renders them distinct from 2s→3 imperatives. All imperative forms take the imperative suffix <-lo> and, in the negative, the negative prefix <mâ->.

The Black Mountain perfect gerund translates into Dzongkha as the past participle in <-di>[43] and into Nepali as the gerund in <-era>. The gerund expresses an action or event preceding the situation denoted by the main verb or an activity adverbially modifying the situation denoted by the main verb. The Black Mountain gerund has the form <-ga> (GER/1s) when the subject or agent is a first person singular actant, and the form <-sa> (GER) when the subject or agent is not a first person singular actant, e.g. *Kö-löse hô-ga ba-ŋa* (I-ERG wash-GER/1s give-1sAS) 'Having washed it, I gave it [to him]'. *Dirik kö-ŋa hô-sa ba-sâŋ-ga* (today I-PAT wash-GER give-p→1-n1AS) 'Today, having washed it, they gave it to me', *Kö shä-ga gö-ŋa-m. Iŋ yä shä-sa mâ-gö-ge?* (I wander-GER/1s go-1sAS-FUT. you too wander-GER NEG-go-n1AS/Q) 'I am going a-wandering. Aren't you going a-wandering too?'

5. EAST BODISH VERBAL AGREEMENT AND PROTO-TIBETO-BURMAN MORPHOSYNTAX

The Black Mountain first person singular agent/subject suffix <-ŋa> (1sAS) is cognate with the first person singular ending *<-ŋ~-ŋa> (1s) in my reconstructed model of Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement (van Driem 1993a, modified in forthcoming, b). The velar initial of the distinct Black Mountain first person singular gerund <-ga> (GER/1s), as opposed to the general gerund ending <-sa> (GER), may also represent the reflex of the interaction of some older segment with the Proto-Tibeto-Burman first person singular morpheme *<-ŋ~-ŋa> (1s). The Black Mountain p→1 *portemanteau* <-sâŋ> appears both to reflect the first person singular proto-morpheme *<-ŋ~-ŋa> (1s) and to embody some reflex /s/ of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman dual morpheme *<-si> (d), reanalysed as a marker of plural meaning. The Black Mountain morpheme may in its entirety be cognate with the Hayu preterite first person singular patient/subject morpheme <-suŋ> (1sPS/PT), which, to our present state of knowledge, may or may not be compatible with an etymological relationship with the Proto-Tibeto-Burman dual morpheme *<-si>.

The Black Mountain first person ending <-ya> (1) appears to be a reflex of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman first and second person plural marker *<-i> (1p/2p), widely reflected both in Kiranti languages and in Tibeto-Burman conjugations outside of the Himalayan region. Whereas the first person singular and the dual proto-morphemes, *<-ŋ~-ŋa> (1s) and *<-si> (d), occupy anterior positions in the suffixal chain of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman verb, the first and second person

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43) ཇི་ ~ ཇི་ ~ དི་

plural proto-morpheme *<-i> (1p/2p) is located at the end of the suffixal chain. This ancient element order is reflected in the relative position of the Black Mountain agreement markers.

The Black Mountain non-first person agent/subject marker <-ka~-ga~-ki~ -gi~-ta~-ti> (n1AS) appears to be cognate with the Dumi second and third person subject morpheme <-a> (n1S) and the Dumi second/third person singular suffix <-a> (s2/s3). If this is the case, it would necessitate revamping earlier speculations concerning the provenance of these Dumi suffixes to bring them, and perhaps the Bahing 3s→3 *portemanteau* <-a>, into line with the Qiāng, Nocte, Jinghpaw and Primi reflexes of the posited Proto-Tibeto-Burman third person suffix *<-a>. Benedict (personal communication, 7 July 1994) feels confident about identifying these verbal affixes with a Proto-Tibeto-Burman third person pronominal source *a, which Benedict (1972: 121ff.) reconstructed much earlier, and which constitutes one of the corners of his (1983) 'deictic triangle' set up for Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

The Black Mountain non-first person plural suffix <-nak> (n1p) does not seem to have any obvious cognate in the flexional systems of other Tibeto-Burman verbs. The fact that this suffix also occurs in Black Mountain pronouns suggests that the morpheme, and the incorporation of this suffix into the Black Mountain conjugation, may have been a recent or local development.

Black Mountain has preserved no reflex of either the Proto-Kiranti non-preterite tense suffix *<-k> or the Proto-Tibeto-Burman preterite tense suffix *<-tɛ>. The Black Mountain future morpheme <-m> appears to be a reflex of the same ancient copula which underlies the Hayu assertive marker and nominalising suffix <-mi> (<-m> after vowels), the Dumi nominalising and imperfective aspect suffix <-m> and the Newar relativiser <-mhɔ>, suffixed to verbs which are used adnominally to singular animate referents. A modern full reflex of this ancient copula is the Dumi fourth conjugation copula used with animate referents <-moː-/-mɨ-/-mu->.

It is a novel discovery that a conjugation which reflects the hypothetical Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system has been retained in an archaic representative of East Bodish, which itself is held to be a conservative branch of Bodish. The likely implication is that loss of conjugational morphology was a secondary development in Bodish. Not only do the agreement affixes of the Black Mountain conjugation match reconstructed proto-morphemes in form and meaning, the sequential order of elements in the East Bodish verb also appears to match that of the periphrastic agreement model reconstructed for the Proto-Tibeto-Burman verb (van Driem 1993a, modified in forthcoming, b). The effects of analogical processes are more likely to have made themselves felt in richly inflecting Tibeto-Burman languages than in languages of the isolating Lolo-Burmese type which lack comparable morphological patterns. Yet the East Bodish evidence lends strong support to the hypothesis that the tongue ancestral to the modern Bodish languages possessed a verbal agreement system, reflected in modern Archaic East

Bodish and cognate with other Tibeto-Burman conjugational systems. The
implication for the historical status of verbal agreement in Tibeto-Burman is that
common conjugational morphology existed at the Tibeto-Burman level, or that a
common morphosyntactic system expressing verbal agreement was operative at
the Tibeto-Burman level which led to the genesis of the observed modern verbal
agreement systems.

The Mainstream East Bodish languages, which have not retained any
conjugational morphology, are spoken by population groups whose ancestors were
involved in the early spread of Buddhism in central Bhutan in the eighth and ninth
centuries. The spread of the Greater Bumthang Language into the Kheng and
Kurtöp areas may, in fact, have been contemporaneous with the introduction of
Buddhism into these areas. Black Mountain, on the other hand, is spoken by a
people who until recent historical times—at least on the western slopes of the Black
Mountains—led a semi-nomadic existence, inhabiting a village site for a few
generations before moving on to clear land elsewhere. Only now are the Western
Black Mountain Mönpa gradually adopting traditional Bhutanese architecture, and
many houses are still built in the style of temporary dwellings. The ancestors of
Black Mountain speakers appear to have lived largely beyond the bounds of
traditional, mainstream Bhutanese culture and, until recent times, to have remained
relatively unstirred by many of the developments which led to the formation of this
culture.

In the historical-comparative study of morphological systems, it is essential to
distinguish between cognate systems and secondarily innovated systems. This
essential distinction was observed in Indo-European historical linguistics from the
very outset: 'Noch jetzt sind sehr viele Spuren dieser aeltern Sprachform im
Deutschen, im eigentlichen Deutschen mehr, als im Englischen und in den
skandinavischen Mundarten uebrig; wenn aber im Ganzen hier das Princip der
neuern Grammatik, die Conjugation vorzueglich durch Huelfsverba, die
Declination durch Praepositionen zu bilden, herrschend ist, so darf uns dieß um so
weniger irre machen, da auch die saemmtlichen aus dem Lateinischen
abstammenden romanischen Sprachen, wie nicht minder alle hindostanische
Mundarten, wie sie jetzt noch gesprochen werden, die sich zum Sanskrit etwa eben
so verhalten, wie jene zum Lateinischen, eine aehnliche Veraenderung erlitten
haben. Es bedarf auch keiner aeußern Ursache, um diese ueberall gleichfoermig
sich zeigende Erscheinung zu erklaeren' (Schlegel 1808: 34-35). Indeed, the
development towards a 'Grammatik durch Huelfsverba und Praepositionen' was
seen by Schlegel as a natural process which had spontaneously taken place
independently in the various branches of Indo-European. Well aware of the
independent rise of similar morphosyntactic patterns in different branches of Indo-
European, Schlegel distinguished these patterns from inherited, cognate
morphology. Notably, for Schlegel (1808: 1) it was cognate morphology which
represented the strongest argument for establishing Indo-European as a language
family: 'Die Aehnlichkeit liegt nicht bloß in einer großen Anzahl von Wurzeln, die

sie mit ihnen gemein hat, sondern sie erstreckt sich bis auf die innerste Structur und Grammatik'. It is useful to recall that the fruitful comparison of cognate morphological systems in Indo-European by Schlegel, Bopp and other early researchers preceded the discovery of the first sound laws. According to Beekes (1990: 36-37), the first decisive proof of a genetic relationship between Sanskrit and Latin was provided by the French priest Cœurdoux in 1767 on the basis of morphological evidence, nineteen years before Sir William Jones' famous oration in Calcutta.

Just as a 'Grammatik durch Huelfsverba und Praepositionen' has developed in many Indo-European languages, evidential and conjunct-disjunct systems have arisen in many modern Tibeto-Burman languages. DeLancey (1992) has shown that these systems, although similar, are not cognate and appear all to have arisen independently. Matisoff (1994c: 603) is undoubtedly correct in concluding that the Sangkong verbal system does not 'constitute evidence for the existence of a reconstructible system of pronominal accord at the Proto-Tibeto-Burman level'. Neither does it constitute evidence for the opposing view, however. Evidential and conjunct-disjunct systems, by their very semantic nature, interact unevenly with the person categories, but such innovative systems are different in kind from the verbal agreement systems widely observed in Tibeto-Burman. Quite typically, the Sangkong evidential-type system is neither reminiscent of, nor cognate with the conjugations upon which Tibeto-Burman morphological comparisons have been based. This is why the case of Sangkong is hardly relevant to establishing the veracity of the hypothesis that cognate conjugational systems in Tibeto-Burman languages represent the retention of an ancient trait. In fact, it is no coincidence that one finds an innovative system of the type observed in Sangkong in the very branch of Tibeto-Burman in which, by virtue of its innovative character, particularly in the realm of morphosyntax, one would least expect to find the retention of a verbal agreement system of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman type.

6. PROTO-TIBETO-BURMAN AND CHINESE MORPHOSYNTAX

Karlgren (1920) presents decisive arguments that the Old Chinese dialect in which the Lúnyǔ was written preserves a Proto-Chinese distinction between what might be called a casus rectus (more precisely a 'nominatif-génitif') and a casus obliquus ('cas régime') in the first and second person pronouns. These pronominal forms are given in Table 6. These and other Old Chinese forms are given in Baxter's (1992) reconstruction.

Table 6   Old Chinese Pronouns according to Karlgren
(1920: 223), with Baxter's (1992) Reconstructions

	first person	second person
'nominatif -génitif'	吾 *nga	女 (汝) *njaʔ
'cas régime'	我 *ngajʔ	爾 *njajʔ

Occurrences of the pronouns of the upper tier correspond statistically to a nominative or genitive function more so than the forms of the lower tier. The forms in the lower tier occur clitically after verbs and prepositions, whereas the pronouns in the upper tier do not.

Recently, Benedict (1994: 633) proposed that the Proto-Sino-Tibetan first person pronoun *<ŋaᴬ> 'survived in 吾 ', *nga (Baxter 1992: 208), 'but had been largely supplanted by 余 ', *ljaʔ (Baxter 1992: 287), 'and 予 ', *ljaʔ (Baxter 1992: 805), by the time of the Shūjīng (cf. Benedict 1972: 160-161). According to Benedict (1994: 634), the Proto-Sino-Tibetan second person pronoun *<na(·)ŋᴮ> 'also survived but barely so, in 戎 ', *njung (Baxter 1992: 785). This, according to Benedict, was replaced in time by the Old Chinese verbal agreement form 汝 , *njaʔ (Baxter 1992: 453), which Benedict identifies with the second person verbal agreement marker *<-na> of Thurgood's Proto-Tibeto-Burman 'agreement system', which Thurgood (1985: 399) claims 'was common to *most if not all* of Tibeto-Burman at one time' [italics in the original]. Following Thurgood, Benedict (1994: 633) assumes 'the following Proto-Tibeto-Burman pronouns and two related functors':

Table 7   Tibeto-Burman 'Agreement System'
(Benedict 1994, after Thurgood 1985)

*<ŋaᴬ>	pronoun 'I, me'	*<na(·)ŋᴮ>	pronoun 'you'
*<-ŋa->	first person verbal agreement marker	*<-na->	second person verbal agreement marker

Alternatively, I propose that this agreement system is precisely what is reflected by Karlgren's diagram. Benedict (1972: 161) once considered the Old Chinese case distinction to be a secondary development, but Karlgren (1920) demonstrates that the pronominal declension in the dialect of the Lúnyǔ shows every sign of being a retention of a more elaborate flexional system and cannot be an innovation. However, the reflected system may not have been a declension, as Karlgren presumed. Instead, the distribution of pronominal forms studied by Karlgren may represent either the Old Chinese vestiges of the same verbal agreement system which

has been reconstructed for Proto-Tibeto-Burman or the persistence in Chinese of an original Proto-Tibeto-Burman tendency to pronominalize. In the dialect of the Lúnyǔ, the form 我 *ngajʔ still fulfills its original function as an agreement clitic following the verb, but it has already begun to occupy other syntactic positions which constitute a diversification of its original function. The agreement clitic 我 *ngajʔ was to gain in frequency and ultimately prevail above the pronoun 吾 *nga. This Chinese development is analogous to the Tangut situation whereby, as Kepping (1994) reports, verbal agreement markers are far more frequent than the pronouns with which they correlate.

The loss of morphology is a complex process. As a result of the interplay between phonological, morphological and analogical developments, 'present-day French and Provençal seem to be as wholly devoid of case in their substantives as are the Ibero-Romance varieties, Sardinian and Italian; but they have arrived at this state by a different route' (Hall 1980: 267). This is why the paucity of morphology in some Tibeto-Burman lects says little about the complex historical developments which may have led to this state. In Benedict's conception, the Chinese evidence pushes verbal agreement back to the Proto-Sino-Tibetan level, but this evidence also allows for an entirely different view. There happen to be other types of evidence that corroborate the idea that the Old Chinese pronominal system could vestigially reflect the Tibeto-Burman agreement system which is so well preserved in relict areas like the Black Mountains.

Benedict (1972: 197) sketched a scenario whereby the Zhōu were the bearers of Proto-Sinitic, who after their eastward migration to the North China plain adopted the script of the non-Sino-Tibetan Shāng who already inhabited the area. Unlike the Tangut who devised their own script in the early XIth century and fashioned special ideograms to represent conjugational desinences (Kepping 1985), the original Chinese of Benedict's scenario had to make do with a script originally devised by others. Of the alternations observed in Chinese doublets, particularly verbs, in final -k/-ng, -t/-n and -p/-m, Benedict (1972: 156-157) claims that 'we are justified in assuming that alternations of this type were the result of assimilation to verbal suffixes which had later been dropped (note the parallelism with verb paradigms in Bahing and many other Tibeto-Burman languages)'. Some such alternations indeed resemble the paradigmatic alternation between stems of a single verb in Kiranti languages, e.g. 摩 *·i̯ap~*·i̯am- 'grasp' (Benedict 1972: 156), perhaps cognate with Limbu <-ips-~-im-> 'press', but these Chinese doublets also resemble allofamic, distinct verbs in Kiranti, e.g. 散 *sât 'scatter' and 撒 *sân 'scatter' (Benedict 1972: 156) — for the latter Baxter (1992: 354) reconstructs *sanʔ — cognate with Limbu <-sɛr-~-sɛt-> 'scatter, be spilt, go in separate directions' and Limbu <-sɛnd-~-sɛn-> 'split up, disperse, break up; move out of one's parental home', respectively. In fact, it is conceivable that an ideogrammatic script, especially if adopted secondarily, could be used to represent derivational, lexical distinctions like 'to set' vs. 'to sit', but not to represent flexional distinctions like 'sit' vs. 'sits' vs. 'sat'. Nonetheless, some of the Chinese alternations may be

evidence that the script was used to represent the different stems of a single verb and that the script in this way directly, but perhaps incompletely, represented a still extant conjugation.

In this context, Benedict's use of the word 'dyschronicity' is telling. Many divergent features of Sinitic are likely to be secondary developments. There is every reason to believe that the apparently anachronistic nature of Chinese is a case somewhat analogous to Albanian. Albanian has been heavily infiltrated by Latin, Slavic, Greek and Turkish, and the native portion of the core lexicon is astonishingly limited. Albanian grammar is highly innovative, and its flexional morphology has evolved into a form which is almost beyond recognition as being Indo-European. The historical phonology of Albanian is complicated in the extreme. Rask (1834 I: 156-157)[44] classified Albanian as Indo-European, and Xylander (1835) clearly established that Albanian was Indo-European, but the Albanian lexicon has been so heavily influenced by other languages and the grammar exhibits so many innovative traits that, as Huld (1983: 12) reports, 'even in the nineteenth century serious scholars doubted the Indo-European affiliations of Albanian. As late as 1887 Pott still listed Albanian with the non-Indo-European languages', i.e. amongst the 'Nichtindogermanen' (Pott 1887: 10-38), although Pott himself provided a highly detailed assessment of all the linguistic literature to date on the topic. This is reminiscent of Chinese which, for example, Sagart (1990) claims to be genetically related to Austronesian rather than, or more so than, to Tibeto-Burman.

Sino-Tibetan comparitivists are still generally at a loss to distinguish with confidence between loan words, the results of sound laws and the effects of analogical processes. In Spanish, one is able to distinguish between inherited words which have undergone the sound changes which brand them as natively Spanish and cognate Romance loan words taken from early Italian, Provençal, mediaeval French, modern French and Latin. This degree of refinement has not been attained in Sino-Tibetan lexical comparison by any stretch of the imagination, as Matisoff (1994a) is apt to point out, whereas we have every reason to suspect that the historical situation in individual Sino-Tibetan languages may be at least as complex as in Spanish. Yet if Chinese is in essence a more complex puzzle for the historical linguist, something analogous with, say, Albanian, then there is all the more reason to appreciate the considerable achievements in Sino-Tibetan comparison made by Benedict, Bodman and Matisoff.

With this in mind, it is astounding how intimately Baxter's (1992) reconstruction of Old Chinese resembles Tibeto-Burman, far more so than Karlgren's pioneering reconstruction. Other recent Old Chinese reconstructions, such as that of Starostin (1989), Schuessler (1987), Coblin (1986), and Pulleyblank's (1984, 1991) reconstructions of Middle and Early Middle Chinese, had already contributed

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44) This appeared in a posthumous collection of his writings. Rasmus Kristian Rask was born in 1787 and died in 1832.

to making Chinese look less outlandish from the Tibeto-Burman point of view. With reference to the received opinion as formulated by Benedict (1972: 2) that the relationship between Tibeto-Burman and Sinitic 'is a distant one, comparable with that between Semitic and Hamitic, or between Altaic and Uralic', Baxter (1994: 25-26) provides us with the important, new insight that, 'if we take advantage of improvements in Old Chinese reconstruction, the relationship of Chinese to Tibeto-Burman may turn out to be closer than we thought'. Baxter's suggestion is presented cautiously, but the comparisons which he makes and, more so, the comparisons which his Old Chinese reconstruction render possible suggest a more far-reaching conclusion.

A distinct Sino-Tibetan level may turn out to be as moot an entity as did the Tibeto-Karen construct, whereby Karen was once thought to be a superordinate (Benedict 1972), largely on the basis of syntactic element order, but was later demoted to a subordinate status (Benedict 1976). As Matisoff (1978: 75) stressed, mere gross word order is a criterion of little phylogenetic relevance. Chinese and Karen are SVO languages, whereas other Tibeto-Burman languages are SOV. The development of Chinese and Karen from an SOV to an SVO language had long been widely presumed, and recently much attention has been paid to the mechanisms involved in this development, e.g. Matisoff (1994b).

Like gross word order, the lack of verbal agreement in Chinese earlier seemed to underscore the separate status of Sinitic vis-à-vis Tibeto-Burman. Now, it appears that traces of conjugational morphology may have been retained in Chinese in the remnants of agreement markers. If this is true, it would be compatible with a Tibeto-Burman status for Chinese. Aside from cultural prejudices which have favoured according separate status to a language which ultimately became the vehicle of one of the world's great civilisations, there seem to be increasingly few linguistic grounds for treating Chinese as something other than a Tibeto-Burman language. The enigmatic complexity of Albanian never warranted positing an Indo-Albanian language family consisting of Indo-European on one hand and Albanian on the other. In fact, Albanian is considered to be the 'most central' Indo-European language, sandwiched inbetween Germanic, Italic, Greek, Armenian and Balto-Slavic. Perhaps the Sino-Tibetan language family is an analogous construct. Baxter's reassessment of the relationship between Chinese and Tibeto-Burman appears to obtain *a fortiori* for Tibeto-Burman languages of the Bodic branch.

7. BODIC AND CHINESE

Bodman (1980: 39) once tentatively proposed a closer relationship between Tibetan and Chinese: In comparisons with Chinese, 'most cognate sets involve Chinese and Tibetan, and this is partly attributable to the intensity of the work done on these two languages and our good knowledge from historical sources of a large lexicon and good documentation for older stages of these languages. However, the fact

that we can identify more cognates between Old Chinese and Tibetan could be attributed to a particularly close relationship between Old Chinese and Tibetan (and Tibetan's closest linguistic relatives) as well as to the conservatism of Tibetan and Old Chinese.' Bodman goes on to say that if this tentative new view 'should eventually prove to be true, the term Sino-Tibetan could still be used to refer to a subgroup comprising Old Chinese and Tibetan, but it could no longer apply to the "ultimate construct" in the way the term Sino-Tibetan is generally used today, and new terminology would have to be devised, such as "Sino-Himalayan" to replace the traditional "Sino-Tibetan".'

**Diagram 3**   Bodman's (1980) 'Tentative New View'
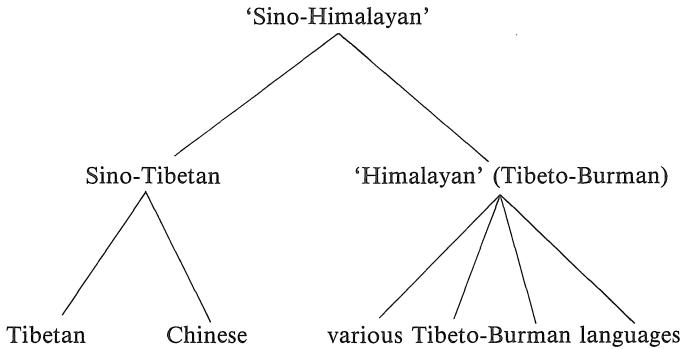
Bodman (1980: 40) did 'not regard the "tentative new view" as very probable, however.' Instead, he prefers an explanation whereby 'the numerous correspondences with Tibetan can be explained as due partly to genetic relationship and partly to widespread borrowings from a Pre-Tibetan source. These borrowings may not all have entered Chinese at the same time, since there may have been several waves of invaders speaking similar varieties of the Pre-Tibetan language. Some of the numerous doublets found in Chinese can be accounted for by their common Sino-Tibetan origin, and some by borrowings of words in their pre-Tibetan form. Many doublets of course arose in later times because of dialect divergences.' Bodman's 'hypothesis attempts to explain the numerous resemblances of Chinese and Tibetan while recognizing the unlikelihood that there is a closer relationship between Tibetan and Chinese than there is between Tibetan and the Tibeto-Burman group'.

Many correspondences between Tibetan and Old Chinese are undoubtedly

attributable to the antiquity of the historical stages which the oldest written forms of these languages represent, and some may be attributable to borrowings from Bodman's hypothetical Pre-Tibetan source language, but the extensive comparative material which Bodman musters also allows for a modified version of his 'tentative new view'. Some correspondences generally held to be unique to Tibetan and Old Chinese are in fact also reflected in other Bodic languages. Comparisons rendered possible by what Baxter modestly describes as 'improvements in Old Chinese reconstruction' also begin to point towards a closer relationship between Chinese and Bodic.[45)]

Benedict (1972), Bodman (1980) and Baxter (1994) adduce a number of Old Chinese etyma which characteristically correspond to forms in Bodic and in the group which Bradley (1994) calls 'Northeast India' (i.e. Baric, Burling's 'Sal', Matisoff's 'Kāmarūpan'), e.g. 泣 *khrjip 'weep' cf. PTB *krap 'weep'; 年 *nin 'year' cf. PTB *s-niŋ 'year'; 血 hwit 'blood' cf. PTB *s-hwiy 'blood'; 織 *tjɨk 'weave' cf. PTB *tak 'weave'; 涼 *g-rjang 'cold' cf. PTB *graŋ 'cold'; 立 *C-rjip 'to stand' cf. PTB *g-ryap 'stand'; 鹽 *rjam 'salt' cf. Proto-Kiranti *rum and PTB *g-ryum 'salt'; 稙，特 *dɨk 'single' cf. PTB *tyik 'one', cf. Limbu <-thik-> 'one, single' (< Proto-Kiranti *tik, in accordance with Michailovsky's (1994b) law for Kiranti initial plosives). Some etyma reflected in Old Chinese show specific affinity with the 'Northeast India' group, e.g. 負 *ɦpjɨ(k)ʔ 'carry on one's back' cf. PTB *buw 'carry on back or shoulders'. The existence of such correspondences are compatible with Bradley's (1994a: 168, 1994b: 60) new phylogeny for Tibeto-Burman, which assumes that the earliest split was between 'Northeast India' vs. the rest, based on Bradley's assessment of 'additional data on languages of China and northeastern India', which have been made available in recent years.

Diagram 4   Bradley's (1994b) Subgrouping of Proto-Tibeto-Burman
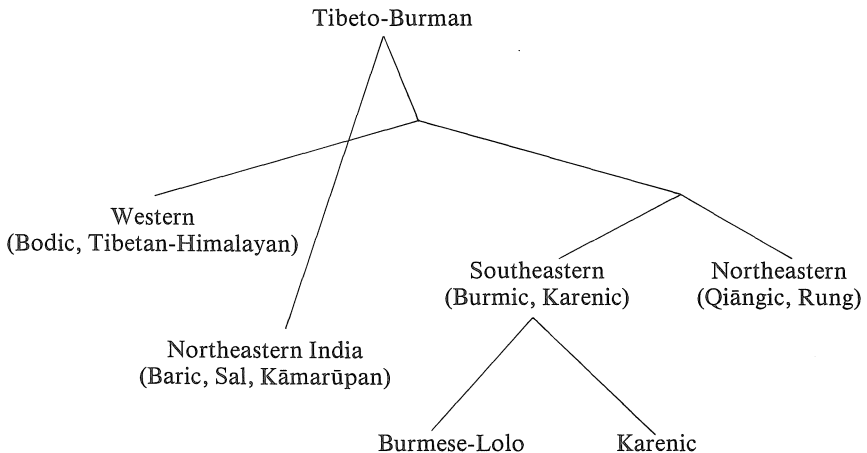
A virtue of Bradley's phylogeny lies both in its simplicity and in the explicit claims it makes about the chronology of splits in Tibeto-Burman. Bradley's family tree embodies a number of testable hypotheses. For example, the once superordinate Karen has become incorporated within the 'Southeastern' branch of Tibeto-Burman.

Correspondences which might have been interpreted as pointing towards a specific affinity between Chinese with Bodic and 'Northeast India' languages have been reported before. On the basis of Karlgren's Archaic Chinese reconstruction, Benedict (1972) relates 悉 *sjĕt 'know, understand' with PTB *syey 'know', and 見 *kian~*kien 'see', Baxter's *kens, with PTB *(m-)kyen 'know'. Both etyma are particularly well reflected in Bodic, and the former also in the 'Northeast India' group. Bodman (1980), Coblin (1986) and Baxter (1992) relate 巷 *grongs 'lane, crossroads' to Tibetan groñ 'house, village', but cognate forms also occur in East Bodish, e.g. Bumthang kroŋ 'village'. Coblin (1986: 65-66) relates 支, 枝 *kje 'branch, separate; branch of a tree' to Tibetan ḥgye-ba~gyes-pa 'to be divided, separate; to part' and ḥgyed-pa~bgyes~bkye 'to divide'. Limbu <-khɛːr-~-khɛːʔ-> 'split bamboo or wood lengthwise along the grain' (< Proto-Kiranti *kɛːr~*kɛːʔ, Michailovsky's law) may, like the second of the two Tibetan verbs, preserve a *-t directive derivative of the same etymon. Coblin (1986: 149-150) identifies 結 *kik 'tie' and 髻 *kiks 'knot in hair, chignon' with Tibetan ḥkhyig-pa 'to bind', cf. PTB *kik 'tie' and Limbu <-kheːks-~-kheːŋ-> 'tie' (< Proto-Kiranti *keːks~keːŋ, Michailovsky's law).

To be sure, the array of correspondences between Old Chinese and Tibetan adduced by Bodman is impressive, and there are more such specific correspondences. Bodman (1980), Coblin (1986) and Baxter (1992) relate 塈 *tsjik 'masonry' and *tsjik 'coaled part of a burning torch; to burn or scorch earth which is to be placed around a coffin as grave lining' to Tibetan rtsig-pa 'to build, to wall up; a wall, masonry' and ḥtshig-pa 'to burn, destroy by fire; to glow (of the evening sky); to be in rut; to be inflamed, feverish'. Coblin (1986: 138) identifies 呂 *g-rjaʔ 'backbone' with Tibetan gra-ma 'the awn, bristles or the ears of cereals (which often have a symmetrical arrangement); the bones or skeleton of a fish (which has the appearance of layered, symmetrical bristles); a lattice, trellis, frame', and Baxter (1992: 473) identifies 副 *prɨk~*phrjɨk 'split, cut open' and 副 *phrjɨk 'cleave, divide' with Tibetan phrag 'intermediate space, interstice, interval'.

Yet many of the Old Chinese etyma adduced by Bodman can be related to Bodic languages other than Tibetan, and Bodman does so explicitly in some cases,

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45) Unless otherwise indicated, Old Chinese forms are cited in Baxter's (1992) reconstruction and with Baxter's English glosses, and reconstructed Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms are those given by Benedict (1972). The latter are marked with the conventional asterisk and preceded by the abbreviation PTB. The Proto-Kiranti form *rum 'salt' is Benedict's (1972: 57). Other Proto-Kiranti forms have been extrapolated from modern Limbu forms on the basis of Michailovsky's law (1994b).

e.g. 甜 'sweet', for which Bodman (1980: 99) provides the reconstruction *lim, cf. Tibetan *žim-pa* 'sweet, delicious' (which Bodman derives from *lyim), Manang *lim* 'sweet, delicious', Thulung *lem* 'sweet'. To this could be added Dumi <-liːm-~-lɛm-> 'be sweet', Limbu <-limd-~-lim-> 'taste sweet' and cognate forms from other Bodic languages preserving initial *l- or *ly-.

Some of these correspondences involve not only Bodic languages other than Tibetan but also languages of 'Northeast India'. Bodman (1980: 103) relates 屎 *xJij 'dung' (Bodman's *hlyiː) to Tibetan *lci* 'dung', Jinghpaw *khyí,* Thulung *khli,* Proto-Tamang *kli and to PTB *kliy 'excrement', which is widely reflected by Bodic and 'Northeast India' languages. Bodman (1980: 70) relates Old Chinese 黑 *hmɨk 'black' and 墨 *mɨk 'India ink' to Tibetan *mog-pa* 'dark-coloured', *smag* 'dark, darkness' and *smug-po* 'dark bay, purple-brown'. The same etymon is also reflected in other Bodic languages, e.g. Limbu <-mak-> 'black', and such reflexes contrast with the forms having initial /n-/ attested elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman which appear to be cognate with Tibetan *gnag* 'black, wicked' and *snag* 'ink', which Bodman relates to Old Chinese 慝 *hnɨk 'evil, wrong'. The etymon underlying Chinese 飛 *pjɨj 'fly' corresponds to the PTB *pur~*pir 'fly'. This etymon is again widely reflected in Bodic and 'Northeast India', where final *-r has been retained, as in Bodman's (1980: 75) Old Chinese *pùr. It should be noted that Baxter has done away with Old Chinese final *-r altogether and that Baxter's 'coda *-j generally corresponds to Karlgren's *-r and to Li Fang-Kuei's *-r or -d' (1992: 293). To PTB *śrik 'louse' Benedict (1972: 170) relates the Chinese 蝨 'louse', for which Bodman (1980: 157) reconstructs *sryik 'louse' and which Bodman compares with Tibetan *śig* 'louse'. This etymon too is widely reflected in Bodic and 'Northeast India'. Bodman (1980: 121) relates 芒, 茫 *mang 'obscure, confused' to Jinghpaw *ʔmām* 'dimmed, blurred (of eyesight)' and Lepcha *tŭr-môm* 'hazy (of atmosphere)', and the Limbu verb <-maːks-~-maːŋ-> 'be far away' is apparently also cognate. It is of phylogenetic significance that Old Chinese, which represents the earliest known stage of Sinitic, reflects finals which are well preserved in Bodic and 'Northeast India'.

Phedāppe Limbu is a modern Kiranti language in the eastern Himalayas which has preserved finals well, in many cases evidently because root finals have been shielded from erosion by flexional suffixes. Verb roots are a case in point where vocalic suffixes, such as Limbu preterite <-ɛ>, have facilitated the retention of final clusters which elsewhere, due to the rise of phonological restrictions in syllable structure, have become simplified at the end of monosyllabic words. Baxter's (1992) reconstruction of Old Chinese brings to mind a number of possible correspondences with Limbu, e.g. 避 *bjeks 'go away from, avoid' cf. Limbu <-peːk-> 'go' (< Proto-Kiranti *beːk, Michailovsky's law); 登 *tɨng 'ascend' cf. Limbu <-thaŋ-> 'come up' (< Proto-Kiranti *taŋ, Michailovsky's law); 手 *hjuʔ 'hand' cf. Limbu <huk> 'hand, arm' vs. PTB *lak~*g-lak 'arm, hand'; 當 *tang 'match, equal' cf. Limbu <-tɔŋ-> 'match, be equal, fit'; 王 *wyang 'king' cf. Limbu <haŋ> 'king'; 玷 *temʔ 'flaw, defect' cf. Limbu <-thɛm-> 'criticize,

point out someone's bad points' (< Proto-Kiranti *tɛm, Michailovsky's law); 酒 *tsjuʔ 'wine' cf. Limbu <thiː> 'millet beer'; the pair 暨 *gijH (in Baxter's Early Middle Chinese notation) 'arrive, attain' and 既 *kjɨts 'finish, complete' cf. Limbu <-kɛʔr-~-kɛt-> 'arrive', and <-kɛtt-> 'get to a place, fulfill', respectively; 卒 *tsjut 'finish, end, exhaust' cf. Limbu <-sur-~-sut-> 'complete, finish'; 悖 *buts 'be disorderly, silly' cf. Limbu <-poːtt-> 'err, lose one's way' (< Proto-Kiranti *boːtt, Michailovsky's law) and <-phoːtt-> 'make someone lose his way, make a fool of someone' (< Proto-Kiranti *poːtt); 游 *ju 'float; swim; wander, ramble' cf. Limbu <-iːr-~-iː-> 'wander, loiter, stroll about; (of birds) fly about aimlessly'; 撮 *tshot 'pinch with the fingers' cf. Limbu <-cutt-~-cut-> 'add a pinch off'; 背 *pɨks 'the back, posterior' (with the alternative reading *ɦpɨks 'to turn the back', apparently allofamic with 負 *ɦpjɨ(k)ʔ 'carry on one's back') cf. Limbu <phok-> in <phoktaŋ> 'shoulder' (< Proto-Kiranti *pok, Michailovsky's law); 蓋 *kaps 'cover, conceal' cf. Limbu <-khaps-~-kham-> 'cover oneself with bedclothes' (< Proto-Kiranti *kaps~*kam); 蓋 *ɦkap 'to thatch, cover' cf. Limbu <-khapt-~ -khap-> 'to thatch, cover with bedclothes' (< Proto-Kiranti *kapt~*kap); 會 *gops 'collect, unite, assemble; jointly; combine' cf. Limbu <-kupt-~-kup-> 'take one's chicks under one's wings, stand alongside one's pup or whelp' (< Proto-Kiranti *gopt~*gop); 愛 *ʔɨts 'to love; to grudge' cf. Limbu <-iːtt-~-iːt-> 'think, remember'; 割 *kat 'to injure, to harm' cf. Limbu <-khɛʔr-~-khɛʔ-> 'afflict with disease (said of the water nymph); cause to be ill (of foodstuffs due to non-observance of a taboo)' (< Proto-Kiranti *kɛʔr); 顔 *ngran 'face, countenance' cf. Limbu <na, nara> 'face, countenance'; 莫 *mak 'there is not' cf. Limbu <-mɛk-> 'run out (of a supply), become depleted'; 有 *wjɨʔ 'there is; possess' cf. Limbu <-way-~-waː-> , existential 'to be'; 使 *srjɨʔ 'send, employ, cause' cf. Limbu irregular verb <-sa-~-s-> 'deliver, escort'.

Finals which are reflected in Chinese and which have mutated elsewhere are retained not only in the conservative Phedāppe dialect of Limbu, but are preserved more generally in Bodic. For example, Chinese 畀 *pjits 'give' is cognate with Limbu <-piːr-> 'give' but also with Lohorung <-pit-~-piʔ-> 'give'. Bodman (1980: 101) relates 易 *ljeks 'easy' and *ljek 'change' to Tibetan *legs* 'good, happy, comfortable', Tibetan *rje* 'to barter, exchange' as well as to Benedict's PTB *(r-)ley. Because of the loss of finals outside of Bodic, the final cluster retained in Chinese and Tibetan does not appear in Benedict's reconstruction. Yet the final cluster of this Tibeto-Burman etymon has not only been retained in Tibetan and Chinese, but can also be found intact in other Bodic languages, e.g. Limbu <-lɛks-~-lɛŋ-> 'turn over, flip over'. Bodman (1980: 138) relates 簸 *pajʔ/s 'to winnow, sift' to Proto-Lolo-Burmese *pwa·y² 'husks, chaff', Benedict's PTB *pwa·y, but the final *-s in Baxter's reconstruction is supported by Limbu <-phoːs-> 'stir about grain which is drying in the sun' (< Proto-Kiranti *poːs).

Undoubtedly, some of the correspondences proposed above between Old Chinese and Limbu may prove to be as coincidental as Greek θεός and Latin *deus*, but often a Limbu correspondence seems at least as promising as some Tibetan or

other correspondences which have previously been proposed. For example, Chinese 沒 *mut 'disappear, sink, be exhausted, be eliminated, die', which Bodman (1980: 116) relates to Tibetan ḥbub 'be overthrown, destroyed', might more likely be cognate with the Limbu verbs <-maːr-~-maːt-> 'be used up' and its transitive counterpart <-maːnd-> 'use up'. Bodman (1980: 147) relates 半 'half', for which he gives the forms *prals, p(r)ans, puân, to Tibetan ḥphral 'to separate, to part', but a relationship with Limbu <-mphrɛːŋ-> in <kumbhrɛːŋ> 'half' (< Proto-Kiranti *(m)prɛːŋ) also seems plausible. It is not implausible that Chinese 亡 *mjang 'not have, not exist; die; be gone' and 喪 *smangs 'lose' could be related to the Limbu verbs <-mɔy-~-maː-> 'be or get lost' and transitive <-maːs-> 'lose', but then Limbu would have, somewhat uncharacteristically, lost final *-ŋ, although the 'post-final' causative *-s suffix is retained.

In summary, Bodman's 'tentative new view' should be modified to reflect a closer relationship between Sinitic and Bodic as a whole, not just Tibetan, a view which I shall call the Sino-Bodic hypothesis. More data from hitherto undescribed languages in China, the Himalayas and northeastern India as well as continuing refinements in Old Chinese reconstruction may in future lend further support to this view. If this hypothesis is translated into the terms of overall phylogeny, Sinitic may be called the 'Northeastern' branch of Tibeto-Burman, which would be an offshoot of Northern Tibeto-Burman. The Sino-Bodic hypothesis entails that Sino-Tibetan is what Benedict (1991) calls an 'extinct proto-language', not in the sense of a hypothetical genetic relationship which turns out never to have existed, but in the sense of a supposedly remote genetic relationship proving to be a more intimate one, in this case conferring a lower-order status upon Chinese. The resultant *Stammbaum* for Tibeto-Burman is given in Diagram 5, in which 'North-Eastern India' has been relabelled 'Western'. Northern Tibeto-Burman is Sino-Bodic.

Diagram 5   Tibeto-Burman and the Linguistic Position of Chinese
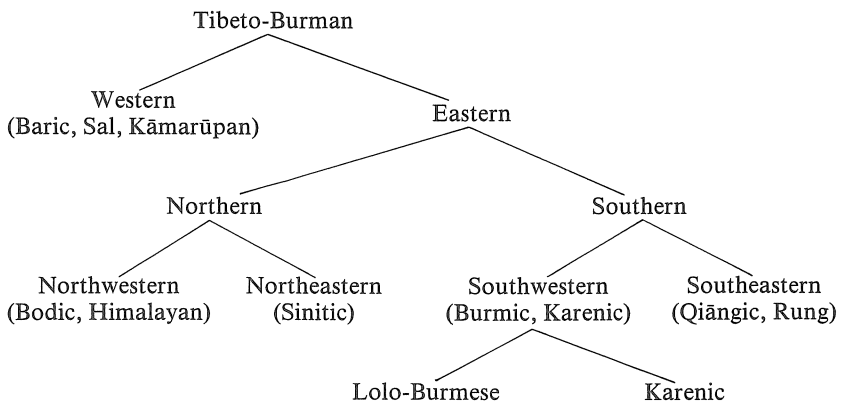
Matisoff (1994a: 55) estimates the time depth of Proto-Sino-Tibetan to be sixmillennia.[46] If instead we assume this time depth for Proto-Tibeto-Burman, Chinese would have had plenty of time to split off from the Northern branch of Tibeto-Burman, whether we assume Benedict's scenario whereby the Zhōu were the bearers of Sinitic to the Yellow River basin in the XIth century BC or assume, more conventionally, that the Shāng were already Chinese.

The longevity of the Sino-Bodic hypothesis will be determined by future findings. At first glance, Sino-Bodic appears to be more immediately inspired by common retention than by common innovation, and common retention is only a significant classificatory criterion if there is some other supporting feature, e.g. geographical contiguity. Some major subgroupings are, in fact, largely based on shared retention and geographical proximity, e.g. Northern and Central Dravidian. On one hand, archaic traits shared between Sinitic and Bodic may just represent a case of Bàrtoli's *norma dell'area meno esposta,* whereby ancestral features are retained in more stable linguistic communities in the periphery without there necessarily being a special phylogenetic link between such peripheral groups, like kentum Indo-European.

On the other hand, the hypothesis posits a Sino-Bodic unity at some point after the break-up of common Tibeto-Burman. Sino-Bodic would have had to have left some traces such as lexical isoglosses, and this is precisely what is suggested by the lexical data presented and by the possible vestiges of a pronominal agreement system in Chinese. In addition to Bodman's impressive list of specific Tibetan-Chinese cognates, more than a score of striking cognate pairs between Kiranti and Old Chinese have been adduced which suggest that there may indeed exist a significant number of specific Sino-Bodic lexical isoglosses.[47] Whereas Bodic

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46)   Because of a misprint in my article on the Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system (1993a: 331), where a paragraph opens incorrectly with the words 'In his view, ...' rather than with 'In this view, ...', it appears that I am ascribing a vision to Matisoff which, in fact, he may or may not share.

47)   Recently, after I had submitted this paper to the publishers in Japan, Sergej Anatol'-evič Starostin adduced a 'small but significant list of lexical isoglosses' between Kiranti and Chinese, which evidence he believes points either to a special relationship between Kiranti and Sinitic or to an early trifurcation of the Sino-Tibetan language family into a Proto-Kiranti, a Proto-Chinese and a Proto-Tibeto-Burman branch (Starostin 1994). Starostin kindly provided me with the following list of cognate Proto-Kiranti and Old Chinese forms, given here in his reconstructions: (1) Proto-Kiranti *qùn 'smoke' cognate with Old Chinese 熏 *xun, (2) Proto-Kiranti *mùn-ti 'flying ant' and Old Chinese 蚊 *mən, (3) Proto-Kiranti *thok~*thuk 'ripen, cook' and Old Chinese 熟 *d(h)uk, (4) Proto-Kiranti *nam 'man' and Old Chinese 男 *nə̄m, (5) Proto-Kiranti*cík 'bird' and Old Chinese 雀 *ćekʷ, (6) Proto-Kiranti *sìŋ 'ask' and Old Chinese 請 *shēŋʔ, (7) Proto-Kiranti *saŋ 'star, ray' and Old Chinese 星 *shēŋ, (8) Proto-Kiranti *jòŋ 'melt' cognate with Old Chinese 溶 *loŋ, (9) Proto-Kiranti *ghlàm 'deep' and Old Chinese 深 *ƛhəm, (10) Proto-Kiranti *ghàl 'sweat' and Old Chinese 汗 *gāns, (11) Proto-Kiranti *phùl 'flour' and Old Chinese 粉 *pənʔ. At our present state of knowledge, Starostin's evidence can also be interpreted as lending support to the Sino-Bodic hypothesis.

groups like Kiranti preserved antique traits behind the lofty shield of the Himalayas, Chinese was plunged into a maelström of innovations on the dynamic cultural stage of the North China plain, although at the time of the Zhōu dynasty Chinese too still retained many of the same antique traits.

Sino-Bodic is a hypothesis about the chronology and tangled history of ancient population movements in the Tibeto-Burman area, made explicit in the labels given to the various branches of the family tree in DIAGRAM 5. The early split-off of Western Tibeto-Burman is not an essential component of the Sino-Bodic hypothesis, but I have tentatively adopted this view too as highly compatible with the Sino-Bodic hypothesis. Benedict once wrote that Kachin, Konyak and Bodo-Garo make up a group, 'perhaps even the earliest to split off of common Tibeto-Burman' (letter of 7 June 1992)[48], and it is basically the same view which Bradley incorporates in his Sino-Tibetan *Stammbaum*. Recently, Sun (1993) has analysed Tani (Mirish) data which may lend support to this view.

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48)   I have quoted Benedict's letter more extensively elsewhere (van Driem 1993d: 49).

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49)   དུག་ཕོས་སང་ས་རྒྱས་རྡོ་རྗེ།

50)   རྫོང་ཁའི་བཤའ་གཞུང་གསར་པ།

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