Pronominal Verb Morphology
in Tibeto-Burman

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1.0 Introduction

The most commonly proferred typological evaluation of
Tibeto-Burman (T-B) as a language family characterizes it as
consisting of monosyllabic roots strung together into higher
syntactic organizations in an analytic manner, there being
little if any derivational or inflectional morphology. It
is also characterized as semantically terse, expressing few
redundancies within its structure. Skirting the issue of
whether this description is synchronically accurate or not,
the proponents of this view have used it as a springboard
from which questions of wide relationship and diachronic de-
velopment have been launched. It certainly constitutes a
concise heuristic principle, and in early comparative lin-
guistic work proved useful in circumscribing the field of
T-B, separating it off from neighboring families such as
Austroasiatic with its disyllabic stems exhibiting a per-
vasive derivational morphology; Indo-Aryan with its complex
system of noun and verb classification seen in its various
declensions and conjugations, its syncretic inflections, and
its complicated *system of agreement and concord relations*;
and Altaic with multisyllabic roots, a multitude of agglu-
tinative affixes on both nouns and verbs some of which ex-
press agreement relations, and verb stem alternation assoc-
iated with tense distinctions.

In the pages to follow, a specific problem in T-B will
be examined, concerning the appearance in a minority of
languages of a very complex verbal morphology. Two con-
trasting opinions will be probed, each purporting to account
for the origin of this complexity. The dominant opinion, in
keeping with the spirit of the preceding typological assess-
ment of the family, proposes some non-native source from
which T-B borrowed this structure. The other, much less
advocated stance rejects this common stereotype of T-B,
proposing instead that the verb morphology in question re-
verts to a feature of the proto-language.

The type of verb structure under consideration shows
elaborate paradigms of person/number agreement with the
subject, and often object, of the sentence. The details
differ from language to language, but within this framework,
most languages will show agreement for singular, dual, and
plural numbers in all three persons, as well as for inclusive
and exclusive 1st persons in the dual and plural. For the

most part the affixes involved are suffixed either directly
to the verb stem or to some type of tense/aspect auxiliary.
In some languages prefixes are also used. The syntax of the
verb with respect to these affixes varies widely, some lan-
guages prefixing some markers, suffixing others; some splitting
subject from object affixes across a tense or aspect marker;
some prefixing for certain semantic relations, suffixing for
others; some allowing agreement only for certain tenses; etc.
This phenomenon has following Hodgson's[1] (1856) usage been
referred to as verb pronominalization or just simply as pro-
moninalization. I will continue to use this term since it
is solidly entrenched in over one hundred years of literature[1],
even though it is potentially confusable with certain recently
proposed transformational processes.

1.0   History of Thought Regarding Pronominalization

The next section sets itself the task of tracing the his-
tory of the pronominalization problem in the literature.
Bearing in mind the preceding statement of the overall sim-
plicity in which T-B was and is conceived, most of the early
explanations of pronominalization were allied to the first
position of finding some outside source on which these lan-
guages modeled their verb morphology. Brian H. Hodgson, how-
ever, was exceptional in seeing the feature as native, al-
though within a much wider network of relationship than can
be sustained today.

1.1   Brian H. Hodgson

Hodgson's[2] post as British Resident at the Court of Nepal
with the India Office for over 20 years (1821-1843) and his
later unofficial residence at Darjeeling for about 10 years
(1848-1857), provided him the opportunity of actively col-
lecting materials dealing with the native languages and cultures.
During this time, Hodgson collected many of the materials
that, up until the last few years, constituted our only
sources of information about several languages of the area.
It was apparent then and remains true today that in most
ways he was an accurate and thorough recorder of whatever
he heard[3]. His material consequently remains valuable.
Hodgson's linguistic interests ranged very widely and con-
sequently we have information on tribes extending from
northern Tibet to Ceylon and southern Burma.
Some publications under his name, however, are materials
submitted to him by other investigators of languages located
in Burma and eastern Assam (Hodgson 1849a, 1850, 1853a) and
in central and southern India (Hodgson 1848, 1849b, 1856).
All other materials were personally gathered from native
speakers of the languages. For some of these languages,
namely Bodo and Dhimal (1847) and Hayu and Bahing (1857-1858)
he supplied full grammatical sketches and extensive lexical

materials. For others only random grammatical notes and
partial vocabularies are available.

1.11 Classification of Tibeto-Burman

Hodgson's primary purpose in amassing such copious data
was to substantiate his contention that all of the aboriginal
population of British India including Nepal, Burma, Indo-
China, and China proper was ultimately related, though the
web of relationship was somewhat diffuse even in his own mind.
He conceived of three major "stocks" (1847, 1849c) into which
this population was subdivided: a Tibetan stock which in-
cluded many of the languages of the sub-Himalayas and northern
Assam; a Chinese stock to the east of this region, excepting
the languages of the Assam valley; and a Tamulian stock
comprising all the native languages of India including those
in the Assam valley and those of the forested Indian border
areas of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. These stocks merge
families now felt to be separate, such as Dravidian and
Munda within Tamulian, and also transect now recognized fam-
ilies, specifically T-B and Austroasiatic. The T-B languages
seen as Tamulian include many of the Barish[4] languages of
Assam as well as the East Himalayish group of Nepal; the
Tibetan members comprise Tibetan and its dialects as well as
the Gurung branch of central Nepal; and the Chinese stock
includes Chinese and the many T-B languages of Burma and
Thailand. Even though Hodgson does not state the reasons for
assigning one language or another to different stocks, it
would seem from the evidence available to him that he de-
pended most heavily on the syllabic structure of the word.
Tamulian, including the T-B languages considered as such,
shows words susceptible of a polysyllabic analysis, while
the root structure of Chinese type languages is decidedly
monosyllabic.[5] The Tibetan stock took in those languages
which were predominantly monosyllabic in root structure, but
which also evidenced more complicated morphological processes,
such as verb stem alternation. Hodgson yields a clue to his
reasoning in his opinion "that the Bodo and Dhimal languages
belong pretty evidently to the aboriginal Indian tongues
[i.e. Munda and Dravidian] and not to the Indo-Chinese or
monosyllabic" (1847:157).[6]

Several years later, however, Hodgson (1850) had corrected
his original subgroupings. Now he finds "one type of lan-
guage prevailing from the Kali to the Koladan, and from
Ladakh to Malacca, so as to bring the Himalayans, Indo-
Chinese, and Tibetans into the same family" (1850:28).
And, suggesting how he has arrived at this re-evaluation,
he points to "syntactic poverty and crudity and etymological
refinement and abundance [as] the characteristics of this vast
group of tongues" (1850:33). He also presumes that "gramma-
tical peculiarities" will not prove especially useful as

diagnostics of relationship since they are "apt to be excessively vague or else palpably borrowed" (1850:33). His methods of linguistic comparison had now channeled into a heavy reliance on lexical, as opposed to morpho-syntactic evidence, and neither he nor his successors have ever swerved too far from this course.[7] "A common stock of primitive roots and serviles...indicates unmistakably a common lineage and origin among the several races to which such stock belongs." (Hodgson 1853:33). It should also be noted, in reinforcement of an earlier argument, that Hodgson had in effect negatively christened his neonate Tibeto-Burman as possessing no interesting syntax or morphology to whet a comparativist's appetite. This view also persisted under his powerful influence, until Conrady (1896) partially dispelled it by demonstrating the archaic nature of the prefixes of written Tibetan along with some of the morphological categories they probably represented.

1.12 The Turanian Hypothesis

In spite of this hierarchical redistribution of language; and the postulation of T-B, Hodgson still firmly believed i1 the larger pattern which enclosed all of central and easteri Asia's languages, excepting those of Indo-European lineage. This hypothetical construct he called Turanian. "Tamulians Tibetans, Indo-Chinese, Chinese, Tangus, Modgols, and Turks are so many branches of another single family, viz., the Turanian" (1849d:3). This quote demonstrates his early position; his consistency is maintained seven years later after he had rearranged his subgroups. "Turanian affinities are not to be circumscribed by the Deccan, nor by the Deccan and Central India, nor, I may here add, by the whole continent of India, but spread beyond it into Indo-China, Himalaya, and the northern regions beyond Himalaya" (1856:127). In an earlier paper Hodgson (1853b) also attempted the demonstration of a relation between the languages of the Caucasus and Mongolian (intending mostly Tibeto-Burman) and, even farther afield, Pelasgian (intending Malay and Tagalog); though properly speaking he excluded these other groups from Turanian.

It was by this Turanian category that Hodgson chose to explain many of the apparent similarities between widely separated members of the family. In the last and most complete statement of his position, Hodgson (1856) lists a series of facts, one of these being verb pronominalization, which, from his point of view, seem to offer evidence of genetic relation between his Turanian languages, specifically those now thought to be separate and unrelated. From an explanatory standpoint, this wide stance allows him to explain characteristics at variance with the overall typologica. picture of the language subgroup as merely remnants of a more

archaic stage of the language, showing up in fuller or even
unaltered form at some other point within Turanian.

1.121 General Turanian Characteristics

Taking the position of T-B as central, rather than
Nilgirian (Dravidian) as Hodgson does, the following points
of resemblance with other language families within Turanian
are made:

1. Proliferation of sibilants in T-B and in Dravidian
    (1856:131);

2. Numeral classifiers in T-B and also in Dravidian
    (131);

3. Nominalization of adjectives by suffixation in
    Tibetan, Himalayish, and Dravidian (135);

4. Proliferation of gerundial or participial verb forms
    in Tibetan and Himalayish, but especially in Mon-
    golian and Manchurian (140);

5. A tendency toward double causative verbs in Himalayish
    and literary Dravidian[8] (141);

6. General absence of a passive construction in T-B,
    Altaic, Hill Dravidian[9], and Munda (141);

7. Low reliance on morphological tense distinctions
    with a correspondingly greater reliance put on
    temporal adverbs to distinguish relative time--a
    feature common to all Turanian languages[10] (141-2);

8. The presence of a transitive or intransitive sign
    following the verb root in Himalayish, Altaic, Finno-
    Ugric, and in remnant form in Dravidian[11] (137-8).

Besides these grammatical correspondences, and the
others described below, which Hodgson submits as demonstrating
his Turanian hypothesis, he also suggests that many lexical
correspondences provide confirmation. Here, however, as is
often the case when wide comparisons are attempted, the sound
laws for individual languages had not been worked out for
shallower time depths, which immediately makes any conclusions
suspect. Even so, much of Hodgson's grammatical evidence
remains intriguing, even that which submits to alternative
explanation, such as (2) the numeral classifiers which prob-
ably diffused westward out of Sino-Tibetan and Tai (Emeneau
1956, 1965); (6) the absence of a passive which may be im-
plicationally related to characteristics of ergative type
languages; (3) adjective nominalization, an expectation in
verb final languages; (5) double causatives which possibly
originate in Indo-Aryan (cf note 8); and (7) the relative
unimportance of tense distinctions which is possibly more
typical of the world's languages (with the exception of Indo-

European) than its opposite. I leave the significance of
these interlinguistic parallels an open question, however,
since other non-genetic explanations aside, the cumulation
of all these factors certainly could inspire the view that
there may have been historical connections between these
families. We may be observing traces of an older, now
deteriorating linguistic area, especially since most of
Hodgson's resemblances between T-B and other families occur
in the western border languages (most notably Himalayish).
Additionally, there existed the trading and cultural area
of northern Tibet and western China which included Indo-
European Tocharians and Khotanese, Mongolians, Turkic Uigurs,
Manchurians, and Sino-Tibetans, all presumably influencing
and being influenced by their neighbors.[12]

1.122 Pronominal Characteristics of Turanian

The remainder of Hodgson's evidence describes parallels
between the pronominal systems of his Turanian languages,
which overall are typified as "greatly developed."[13] These
are as follows:

9.   Separate forms for personal (independent) and
     possessive forms of pronouns (1856:135);

10. Separate inclusive and exclusive forms for 1st
     person pronouns (135);

11. Different sets of possessive pronouns: one used
     disjunctively (i.e. as a free form) and the other
     conjunctively (i.e. as an affix) (135);

12. Distinction between dual and plural number cate-
     gories (137);

13. Verb pronominalization[14] (128, 135, 139, 143);

14. Prefixation of noun possessive forms and suffix-
     ation of verb pronominal affixes[15] (136);

15. A prevailing verb structure consisting of root +
     transitive/intransitive marker + pronominal suffix[16]

16. The morphological conflation of 2nd and 3rd persons
     in T-B (Newari) and Dravidian in opposition to 1st
     person forms (140).

Most of these characteristics are associated with pro-
nominalized languages, but many other languages with simpler
verbs also show the categories. With regard to pronominal-
ization itself Hodgson notes that the Himalayish languages
and Munda show the feature in fullest form while the other
Turanian languages either lack it entirely or show much more
impoverished forms of it. Specifically intending Dravidian
he says, "Whether from non-development or from decomposition,
the pronominalization is very imperfect on the whole" (1856:

137); with reference to Altaic, "The Mantchuric and Mongolic
groups of tongues were long alleged to show no sign of
pronominalization. It is now known that that was a mistake"
(1856:139).

I have emphasized this section in part to counter a
possible interpretation that Hodgson regarded pronominaliza-
tion as perhaps due to the unidirectional influence of one
language on another. As we will see later the Munda group
of languages has often been proposed as a diffusional or sub-
stratal source of the pronominalization which appears in
Tibeto-Burman. However, Hodgson's only mention of both
groups, with reference to their jointly possessing the
feature, is the following: "Kiranti, Vayu, etc., of
Himalaya show a wonderful agreement with what Müller calls
the Munda class of languages in Central India. In all these
tongues alike not only the agents (singular, dual, and
plural, and inclusive and exclusive of the two latter), but
the objects are welded into the verb, thus showing the
maximum of pronominalization" (1856:135). Nowhere does he
propose a directionality of influence from one to the other.

1.2 The Linguistic Survey of India (LSI)

The period stretching from the last of Hodgson's lin-
guistic writings in 1857-1858 to the beginning of the LSI
in 1894[17] paralleled the development of more rigorous
approaches to comparison and reconstruction. The general
tenor of the times stressed scientific accuracy, and, as a
consequence, Hodgson's elaborate Turanian edifice became
neglected. Wide relations lacked the necessary materials
for an adequate scientific demonstration. Work in eastern
Asia became more descriptive, and what comparative work
there was, explored what would have been to Hodgson only
subgroups.

1.21 Konow's Assessment of T-B

It was in this climate of opinion that Sten Konow, who
had the task of editing all of the T-B materials received
by the Survey and assembling a coherent system of internal
classification, inherited the problem of Hodgson's pro-
nominalized languages. Also due to the efforts of the
Survey the number of pronominalized languages themselves
increased with the recognition that Kanauri and other lan-
guages in Almora and farther northwest also showed the
feature.[18] This created two main groups in the Himalayas
exhibiting this complex verb morphology and the associated
complexity in pronominal categories. The newly discovered
group became known as the Western Pronominalized branch and
Hodgson's original group in eastern and central Nepal as
the Eastern Pronominalized branch of Himalayan. The only
other recognized T-B language with similar morphology was

Namsangia Naga (cf note 35), a geographically far distant member of the Eastern Naga subgroup of southeastern Assam. A short sketch grammar appeared in 1849 by Robinson and was therefore known to Hodgson, who did not hesitate to include it as pronominalized (Hodgson 1856:178). The LSI however makes no mention of how this language would directly relate to the Himalayan group if at all, or how it might best be accounted for historically. The silence on this issue could partly stem from the inability of the Survey to collect any additional information from this area.

In any event Konow operating with a vastly increased corpus of T-B materials became convinced of how best the ancestor language might have looked morphologically and syntactically. Contrary to the procedure of simply abstracting from the synchronic language, however, he did take account (following Conrady) of the probable course of development in the historically attested languages, especially literary, Tibetan. This led him to put less reliance on the traditional view that T-B must have been monosyllabic since Written Tibetan, many of the Bodo-Garo languages, and Kachin showed evidence of an elaborate prefix system at an earlier stage of development. He also advocated the position that Chinese, Tibetan, and other tonal languages developed their tonal systems from loss of these prefixes.[19] He therefore viewed the proto-language as agglutinative rather than isolating and partly subgrouped on the basis of how the daughter languages respected or rejected these agglutinative affixes. His other important criteria for subgrouping were based on tones, classifiers, and the syntax of the negative marker.

Besides the many general T-B characteristics listed earlier, Konow suggested several more such as a decimal numeral system, absence of a relative pronoun, and syntactic methods of adjective comparison, which were clearly justified from his data. However, several other suggestions were certainly contrived, forced out of the common 19th century prejudice that tribal languages were not very capable of forming abstractions. "Most Tibeto-Burman languages further evince a difficulty in forming words for abstract ideas...It has been common to draw attention to the fact that languages such as Tibeto-Burman are unable to distinguish between form and substance, because they do not possess form words, i.e., words which do not denote any substance or any material conception but simply the different ways of forming and arranging them in the mind" (LSI 3(1):5). In less biased sounding terminology, this simply indicates that T-B lacked derivational morphology and relied instead on compounding type processes.

But taking an additional metatheoretical step from this platform, Konow emphasized that the class of nominal elements in T-B took precedence over verbal categories; in other words,

verbs and adjectives were only 'surface' syntactic phenomena;
at some underlying stage they were to be regarded as nouns.[20]
This point will be of some importance, since Konow used it
to explain away the phenomenon of verbal agreement for person
and number by prefixation, as seen especially in Kuki-Chin.
By treating the verb prefix as a possessive pronoun modifying
an underlying noun, he restricts the term 'pronominalization'
to only suffixal occurrences of such markers, and in effect
disassociates these languages from other pronominalized
groups. In a later part of this paper (cf sec. 4.324), this
view of affixation type as a critical factor in comparison
will be challenged.

1.22   The Munda Hypothesis

Returning now to the more central problem of accounting
for the appearance in certain T-B languages of pronominal
verb morphology in the face of a parent language which did
not exhibit it, Konow fell back on Hodgson's notice of the
similarity between Munda verb morphology and T-B pronominal-
ization and forged a causative link between the two by ap-
pealing to the very popular late 19th century notion of the
substratum. To quote his own statement:

> "In such characteristics [complexity of pronominal
> categories and pronominal related morphology] the dialects
> in question have struck out lines of their own, in entire
> disagreement with Tibeto-Burman, or even Tibeto-Chinese
> principles. They have accordingly become modified in
> their whole structure. It is difficult to help inferring
> that this state of affairs must be due to the existence
> of an old heterogeneous substratum of the population,
> which has exercised an influence on the language. That
> old population must then have spoken dialects belonging
> to a different linguistic family, and the general mod-
> ification of the inner structure of the actual forms of
> speech must be due to the fact that the leading prin-
> ciples of those old dialects have been engrafted on the
> languages of the tribes in question. Now it will be
> observed that all these 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 have left their stamp on the dialects
> there spoken at the present day" (LSI 3(1):179 and 1(1):
> 56).

It is this contention of a Munda substratum in T-B
to explain pronominalization, which has been sustained by a
majority of researchers. Consequently it is also the hypo-
thesis which will be given most comment, first by making a

detailed comparison of Munda and T-B pronominal verb morphol-
ogies and second by reviewing current opinion within Austro-
asiatic concerning the evolution of these structures in Munda.

1.3 Other Hypotheses

1.31 Morphological Borrowing from Indo-European

Besides Hodgson's view of pronominalization as progressing
without interruption back to a common Turanian ancestral
language and Konow's espousal of a substratal influence from
Munda, two additional hypotheses have been advanced. The
first of these professes the policy of <u>Les Langues du Monde</u>
(Meillet and Cohen 1952), built on the <u>detailed examination</u>
provided by Henri Maspero (1946). On the argument that the
underlying syntax of the verb differs significantly between
Munda and Himalayish, Maspero rejected the Munda hypothesis.
But, presumably not feeling the evidence strong enough to
warrant an internally motivated explanation, he instead
proposed an influence out of Indo-Aryan based on the analogy
of that family's conjugational system.

> Cet emploi des pronoms affixés au verbe diffère de celui
> des langues munda en ce que les pronoms sont toujours
> employés pour leur valeur propre, et non pour rappeler
> des notions précédemment exprimées dans la phrase par
> des noms. Plutôt qu'à l'influence d'un problématique
> substrat munda, c'est probablement à celle des parlers
> aryens environnants et de leur conjugaison qu'il faut
> attribuer ces faits qui éloignent fort ces dialectes
> de la norme des langues tibéto-birmanes. (Maspero 194 :
> 175-176; Meillet and Cohen 1952:560)

This position has also been affirmed by Egerod (1973)
who sees T-B pronominal verb morphology as "very reminiscent
of adjacent Indo-European," and suggests that "the probability
of an original close relationship of the two families must
be taken into account" (1973:503).

1.32 Hypothesis of Native Origin

The fourth and final position to be elaborated was, to
my knowledge, first suggested by Eugénie J. A. Henderson
(1957) in a short paper whose immediate purpose was the
demonstration that the term pronominalization, in the sense
of a packet of features typically found together in certain
languages, was appropriate to the colloquial (though not
literary) standard of Tiddim Chin. The actual data and points
of agreement with the Himalayan languages will be discussed
later; for now, however, it seems only appropriate to stress
that the feature had by this time been acknowledged in four
different groups of T-B languages:[21] Western Pronominalized
Himalayish, Eastern Pronominalized Himalayish, Eastern Naga,

and Kuki-Chin. The implication of such widespread occurrences is suggested by Henderson.

> It appears not unlikely that improved knowledge of the Chin languages and of others equally remote geographically from the so-called pronominalized groups will bring further similarities to light. In this event linguists may be obliged to conclude that, contrary to what has often been supposed, pronominalization is after all a genuine Tibeto-Burman family trait" (1957:327).

With this tentatively offered proposal that Proto-Tibeto-Burman may have exhibited complex verbal and pronominal morphology not usually attributed to it, all the bases are effectively covered. We have the competing ideas of native-ness within a network of very wide relationship, substratal influence, borrowing, and nativeness at the level of T-B. No other possibilities seem forthcoming, with the doubtful exception of independent innovation wherever the feature appears.

2.0 The Munda Substratum Hypothesis

In an attempt to establish a plausible connection between the Munda family and the T-B Himalayan languages, Kuiper (1962) indicates that "even now the distance between the most northern point where Santali [Munda] is spoken and the area of Limbu (a Himalayan language) is not greater than about 130 miles" (1962:42). Following the Indo-Aryan occupation of the Ganges valley which separates these two languages today, groups of Munda speakers in the northern hills of the valley became separated from their more southerly main contingent. Subsequently, Munda continued to be spoken there until its speakers finally "gave up their own language and adopted Tibeto-Burman dialects" (1962:42). Kuiper offers a set of potential cognates between Munda and T-B to substantiate his claim of earlier contact. However, since he employs a scatter approach to comparison, taking his items from very widely flung T-B languages, many of which are not Himalayish at all, no sound correspondences can be set up. His appeal to verb pronominalization as another indication only reiterates Konow's subjective impression, since he also provides no detailed comparison.

2.1 The Munda Pronominal System

In fact it seems that the only attempt at a non-super-ficial comparison of the two pronominalized families by Maspero (1946), led to the denial of any causative relation between them. Maspero's conclusion, quoted earlier, hinged on his finding that the Munda and T-B verb were syntactically dissimilar. In Munda, object pronouns are directly incorporated into the verb. In other words, object affixes

are not agreement markers, they are the only surface mani-
festation of the underlying semantics, while subject affixes
are simply agreement markers with an optionally deletable
independent subject pronoun. The situation in those T-B
languages with both subject and object affixes differs in
that both are agreement markers, with the possibility of
having the independent pronouns in preverbal position.

Perhaps to explain this difference, it might be relevant
to mention the absence of a true morphological system of case
marking in Munda (Bodding 1929) in contrast to its general
presence in T-B. In other words, since nominative and accu-
sative forms of the independent pronouns are not distinguish-
able in Munda, there would be potential confusion if both
occurred in indpendent noun phrases (assuming too that the
relative order of the noun phrases is more or less free);
disambiguation of role status has to be made in the verb.
In T-B, however, ambiguities (which indeed do arise in the
verb) are resolvable by different case markings on the
independent pronouns or noun phrases. The issue will be
re-aired shortly in discussing the probability of word order
changes in Munda. The difference between the two systems,
however, does seem to be significant, especially if it does
involve other deep-seated facts about the languages.

2.2 Comparison of Bahing and Santali

Even on other grounds, however, there exist indications
of important differences between the pronominalized verbs
of Munda and T-B. In drawing the comparison I will restrict
the discussion to one language from each family--Santali
for Munda[22] and Bahing for T-B.[23] Neither of these languages
would necessarily best represent the system of their respec-
tive proto-languages. Nevertheless, I feel that since they
exhibit to the maximum the number of distinctions possible,
any truly Munda influenced structures would very likely show
up in both.

2.21 Independent Pronouns

In Chart 1 on the following page, the independent pro-
nouns of both languages are compared. One of the striking
incongruities of these two systems, which the chart reveals
is the presence of an alternate stem for Bahing possessive
pronouns[24], which fits in with the typical presence in T-B
of a morphological system of case marking. (Hodgson very
early pointed out separate possessive stems as a Turanian
characteristic, partly on T-B evidence. Cf sec. 1.122.)
Munda, on the other hand, typically lacks case markings.
Therefore, to form the possessives in Santali the independent
pronoun simply precedes[25] the head noun. The fact of this
alternation in Bahing would seem to argue, therefore, that

		Santali	Bahing	
			Subj.	Poss.
1 sg		iñ	go	wa
1 dl incl		alaŋ	gosi	isi
1 dl excl		aliñ	gosuku	wasi
1 pl incl		abo(n)	go-i	ike
1 pl excl		alɛ	goku	wake
2 sg		am	ga	i
2 dl		abɛn	gasi	isi
2 pl		apɛ	gani	ini
3 sg	anim	uni	harem	a
	inam	ona		
3 dl	anim	unkin	harem dausi	asi
	inam	onakin		
3 pl	anim	onkɔ	harem dau	ani
	inam	onako		

Chart 1: Independent Pronouns of Santali and Bahing.

the pronominal categories in T-B would be of some age, and not copied from a Munda template. No reason is obvious for why a language would add two forms of a pronoun when the prospective model language makes do with only a single form.
Besides this one major difference, there is also the lack of correspondence between the presence of animate/inanimate gender of Santali and its absence in Bahing; the obvious number affixes for Bahing[26] (cf -si 'dual'; -ni 'plural') while only the 3rd person of Santali uses number affixes; and the non-1st person morphemes analyzable in the inclusive and exclusive forms of Bahing (cf -i 'inclusive' = i '2nd person, poss. stem'; -ku with probable 3rd person significance, as in go-su-ku '1st dual excl', go-ku '1st pl excl'. It is possible also that wa- the possessive exclusive stem is equivalent to the 3rd possessive root a. Its use then as the normal possessive of the 1st singular would represent the regularization of the paradigm, especially since closely related languages show a different root (cf Vayu (Hodgson 1857-1858) ang '1st sg poss' and wathi '3rd person').) The principles of constructing these forms are thus distinct, Santali being relatively unanalyzable while Bahing still shows the probable derivational path from some no longer productively used morphemes. In addition there are no obvious phonological correspondences between any of the forms.

2.22 Intransitive Verb Affixes

Even more indicative of the historical independence of
T-B from Munda are the verb affix systems themselves. The
following chart, of the intransitive verb paradigm, will be
presented first. In this chart a distinction is made between
neuter and intransitive affixes for Bahing. (The terms are
from Hodgson.) Neuter affixes are used with a small set of
intransitive verbs which from their structure seem to be
derived from old causatives. In any event it is a lexically
determined contrast.

		Santali	Bahing		
			pres/fut.		preterite
			intr.	neuter	
1 sg		-iñ	-gna	-u	-ti
1 dl incl		-laŋ	-sa	-isa	-tasa
1 dl excl		-liñ	-suku	-isuku	-tasuku
1 pl incl		-bon	-ya	-iya	-ntayo
1 pl excl		-le	-ka	-ika	-ktayo
2 sg		-em	-ye	-i	-te
2 dl		-ben	-si	-isi	-tasi
2 pl		-pe	-ni	-ini	-ntani
3 sg		-e	-∅	-a	-ta
3 dl		-kin	-se	-ise	-tase
3 pl		-ko	-me	-ime	-mtame

Chart 2: Intransitive Verb Affixes of Santali
and Bahing.

Syntactically, the Santali affixes are applied most
commonly to the word immediately preceding the verb or to
the final position in the verb following the "finite marker"
(Bodding 1929:49). These affixes are only used with animate
subjects in the active voice (however, Bodding also remarks
that the subject marker can appear if there is an underlying
animate subject not appearing on the surface, as even in a
passive sentence, for example). In Bahing a subject marker
will appear in a fixed position for every sentence.

A comparison of this chart with the independent pronouns
of both languages shows that the Santali affixes are all
easily derived from the free forms, showing typically the
loss of the initial vocalic element (or of the entire first

syllable of 3rd person forms), while the Bahing forms are
sometimes less obviously derived or even suppletive (cf
1st sg intr -gna [-ŋa] with 1st sg go; 2nd sg intr -ye
with 2nd sg ga; the 3rd person affixes have no relation to
3rd person free pronouns, since these latter have probably
only recently developed). In addition the Bahing forms show
a great deal of internal diversity. For example the neuter
set calls to mind the possessive set of independent stems
(cf -u '1st sg neuter' with -wa '1st sg possessive'; -i
'2nd sg neuter' with i '2nd sg possessive'; -a '3rd sg neuter'
with a '3rd sg possessive') and also duplicates the subject
affixes of transitive verbs used with 3rd person objects[27]
(cf sec. 2.23). Another complication is the presence of a
preterite set of affixes sometimes not easily relatable to
the present/future set, even allowing for the assuredly
temporal value to be assigned to the t- or ta- of these
forms (cf 1st sg preterite -t-i (< ta + i) with -gna [-ŋa]
or -u 1st sg affixes; 1st pl excl preterite -k-ta-yo with -ka
'1st sg intransitive' where there is a discontinuity around
the temporal element). It is quite probable then that
there was some interaction, presumably phonological, between
tense/aspect and pronouns which resulted in a morphological
syncretism for these affixes. The morphological details will
be explored at greater length in following discussions (cf
sec. 4.3131, 4.321).

2.23 Transitive Verb Affixes

The final comparison relates to the respective treat-
ments of transitive propositions. The Santali situation
includes the placement of an object affix, either direct
or indirect but not both, after the "verbal suffix" and
before an optional possessive affix.[28] These forms are
essentially identical to the subject affixes (however, the
2nd sg object affix is -me, cf 2nd sg subject affix -em);
it is their order with respect to the root which unambiguously
defines them as objects. Subject affixes, it will be recalled,
either precede the verb root or occur as the final element
of the verb phrase. The possessive affix functions as a
possessive pronoun, though its use is optional. Again, the
forms are phonologically identical to the affixal form of the
pronoun but with the addition of a prefixed element ta-
(for example, -taben '2nd dl possessive', cf -ben '2nd dl
affix'); morphophonemic changes are possible, however (cf
-tiñ '1st sg possessive' < -ta + iñ).
The Bahing data is much more complex than this relatively
simple situation. It is charted on the following page.
The most interesting aspects of this transitive conjuga-
tion are the identical forms for the 2nd and 3rd person
subjects with 1st person objects (2 → 1, 3 → 1)[29] and the
2nd person subjects with 1st or 3rd person objects (2 → 1,

Top half of cell: present/future form
Bottom half of cell: preterite form

(Each cell below is given as: present-future form / preterite form. Many entries on this hand-written, rotated chart are only partially legible; the readings are best-effort.)

Subj ＼ Obj	1 Sg	1 Di Incl	1 Di Excl	1 Pl Incl	1 Pl Excl	2 Sg	2 Dl	2 Pl	3 Sg	3 Dl	3 Pl
1st SS/Sg						-na / -n-ta-na	-na-si / -n-ta-na-si	-na-ni / -n-ta-na-ni	-ŋa / -t-toŋ	-ŋa-si / -t-toŋ-si	-ŋa-mi / -t-toŋ-mi
1st Dl Excl									-sa / -ta-sa	-sa-si / -ta-sa-si	-sa-mi / -ta-sa-mi
1st Dl Incl									-suku / -ta-suku	-suku-si / -ta-suku-si	-suku-mi / -ta-suku-mi
1st Pl Excl									-ya / -nta-yo	-ya-si / -nta-yo-si	-ya-mi / -nta-yo-mi
1st Pl Incl									-ka / -kta-ko	-ka-si / -kta-ko-si	-ka-mi / -kta-ko-mi
2nd Sg	-yi / -ti		-si-ki / -ta-si-ki		-ki / -k-ta-ki				-(s)i / -pt-e-u	-(s)i-si	-(s)i-mi / -n-ta-ni
2nd Dl	-yi-si / -ta-si		-si-ki-si / -ta-si-ki-si		-ki-si / -k-ta-ki-si				-si / -pt-e-u-si	-si-si / -ta-si-si	-si-mi / -nta-ni-si
2nd Pl	-yi-ni / -ti-ni		-si-ki-ni / -ta-si-ki-ni		-ki-mi / -k-ta-ki-mi				-ni / -pt-e-ni	-ni-si	-ni-mi / -n-ta-mi
3rd Sg	-yi / -ti	-so / -ta-so	-si-ki / -ta-si-ki	-so / -ta-so	-ki / -k-ta-ki	-ye / -t-e	-si		-u / -ta	-u-si / -ta-si	-u-mi / -ta-mi
3rd Dl	-yi-si / -ti-si	-so-si / -ta-so-si	-si-ki-si	-so-si / -ta-so-si	-ki-si / -k-ta-ki-si	-ye-si / -t-e-si			-se / -ta-se	-se-si / -ta-se-si	-se-mi / -ta-se-mi
3rd Pl	-yi-ni / -ti-ni	-so-mi / -ta-so-mi	-si-ki-ni	-so-mi / -ta-so-mi	-ki-mi / -k-ta-ki-mi	-ye-mi / -t-e-mi			-me	-me-si	-me-mi / -nta-me-mi

2 → 3); the appearance of forms without any correspondents
in the set of intransitive affixes, such as -na in '1 → 2' or
-ka '1 pl excl → 3'; in the preterite forms, one of several
consonants preceding the preterite marker -ta; and the seem-
ingly reversed syntax of some forms, with the order subject-
object varying with object-subject in the affixes. It would
appear that some affixes are capable of shuffling some of
their semantic features in different occurrences; for example,
the suffix -ni has the meaning 2nd person plural object or
2nd person plural subject, but it confusingly also appears
in preterite 2 → 3 pl forms making for complicated homophony,
such that 'we saw you (pl)', 'you (pl) saw them', and 'they
saw you (pl)' would share identical verb structure.[30] There
are many other instances.

It would appear also that some rule of semantic priority
operates to mark 1st person whether it occurs as subject
or object in preference to 2nd person, and, in turn, 2nd
person takes priority over 3rd. There are many problems
with this hypothesis, but whether it eventually holds up or
not the very complexity of the conjugation sets it strongly
apart from the relative straightforwardness of the Santali
conjugation.

In evaluating all of the above data, from independent
pronouns to affixes of transitive verbs it is apparent that
the burden of accounting for the evolution of the Bahing
system falls on the back of the Tibeto-Burmanist. In all
points Bahing seems either equally or more complex than
Munda, not only in the total number of morphological dis-
tinctions, but also in its highly involved and elaborate
syntax. But to round out the arguments, we can also con-
sider the impressive work by Pinnow in reconstructing Munda
ve bal morphology (1966) and the Austroasiatic pronoun
system (1965).

2.   Munda and Austroasiatic

It would seem that the contention of a Munda influence
on T-B verb morphology would itself revert back to earlier
stages of the language, most likely being itself a feature
of the ancestral Proto-Austroasiatic. This presupposition
is necessary because the time depth of the postulated contact
with T-B must be fairly early, predating the Aryan invasion
and the split of early T-B dialects. However, on gross com-
parative evidence alone, it might be expected that the nearer
we approach Proto-Austroasiatic the more we will have to
accomodate the simpler morphological structures of the
majority of the family.   On the whole, Austroasiatic ex-
hibits much the same overall pattern as T-B; a definite
minority of its members show the complex pronominalization
at issue, the majority are decidedly analytic in structure.
Pinnow suggests the following explanation to account for

this discrepancy in Austroasiatic between Munda on the one
hand and Khmer-Nicobarese on the other.

> This difference between the two branches...has its
> origin mainly in the fact that the two Austroasian
> groups belong to distinct linguistic leagues (Sprach-
> bunde): The synthetic structure of Munda was strength-
> ened by the proximity of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan lan-
> guages, while the analytic structure of the Khmer-
> Nicobar languages was favored by the contiguity of
> the Thai, Kadai, Indonesian and also Burmese languages
> (1966:183).

2.31 The Proto-Austroasiatic Pronominal System

Pinnow then proceeds along regular lines of comparison
to point out the probable archaic status of the three person
categories, three number categories, and the inclusive/
exclusive distinction for the independent series of pronouns,
even successfully demonstrating the cognation of many of the
phonological forms, thereby arriving at a set of probable
reconstructions.

However, he feels the affixal forms along with the at-
tendant morphological system, to be a secondary development
within Munda. "In proto-Munda...the pronouns proper were
independent, isolable free forms. The affix character of the
pronouns, which were incorporated into the verb complex as
subject or object respectively, is of more recent date"
(1966:183). He also attempts a rationale for the syntax
of the incorporated pronoun object of the verb, supposing
an original SVO word order which is still mimicked by the
order of affixes, the subjective pronoun immediately pre-
ceding the verb and the object pronoun following. At the
stage of development where the word order changed to the
present SOV pattern, the pronouns had already assumed af-
fixal status and consequently did not participate in the
general object phrase reorientation. Pinnow has found in-
dependent support for this hypothesis in a dialect of Kharia
which maintains SVO word order in some circumstances. Going
even further he expresses confidence in the assumption that
the affixal realization of indirect objects and possessives
as in Santali, which is very restricted over the entire
Munda area, is not traceable to Proto-Munda.

In one last previously unmentioned particular, Pinnow
records no instance of a special reflexive pronoun. In this
respect again Eahing shows both a means of forming an in-
dependent set of reflexive pronouns (wa-diato 'I myself') as
well as a verbal affix to express self-inflicted action
(-si-gna 'I verb myself'). This verb suffix then is in
addition to the regular pronominal terminations described
earlier.

From this summary of Pinnow's analysis of Austroasiatic

pronouns and verb morphology, Munda again seems to offer
no promise of unraveling the problem of the T-B pronominalized
verb. All of the arguments taken collectively, from the
detailed typological comparison of the two families to the
internal evidence for mophological innovation within Munda
itself, seem to inescapably force some other explanation.

3.0 Morphological Borrowing and Indo-European Influence

The question of a morphological influence on T-B of the
order necessary to produce the complexity of the Bahing verb
is debatable from several lines of argument. For one reason,
there has been, to my knowledge, no well documented example
from any part of the world of such an influence. As is
perhaps intuitively obvious, languages more often than not
tend to simplify their morphological structures in contact
situations. Examples to the contrary exist, of course, but
the overall concensus holds that there is a resistance to
borrowing at the more formally structured levels of the
grammar (Whitney 1882, Haugen 1950). The adoption of a
morphological mechanism, then, procedes generally by one of
two routes.

In the first a word may be borrowed from one language
into another as an unanalyzable whole. After a period of
time and perhaps on analogy with other similarly constructed
borrowed words, a secondary analysis is made by the borrowing
language, so that the word is now recognized to consist of
morphemic elements. Then according to its own principles
of word formation, one of the elements may generalize to
other environments, therby becoming grammatically productive.
Meillet (1918) stresses that , "it does not necessarily follow
that such a grammatical form is, properly speaking, borrowed"
(1918:14).

The second pathway turns on the relative compatability
of languages in contact, emphasizing that a certain degree
of commonality in structure is necessary for one language
to borrow from another. Even Schuchardt who generally
approved of the notion off morphological borrowing, uncon-
strained by any qualification, held to the view that, "fre-
quently the influence of a foreign language works together
with a prevailing tendency (herrschenden Tendenz) in another
language." (1884:11). Whitney states the principle unequi-
vocally by denying the doctrine that a language can learn
from another "a grammatical distinction, or a mode of
expression, formerly unknown" (1882:19). In the same vein,
Sandfeld (1938) speaks of "points of receptability" between
a donor and a recipient language, and Jakobson (1938) of a
"collective tendency" between languages, if a change in
linguistic structure is to be copied from one to the other.

The implication of this wide concensus of opinion has
important bearing on the origin of pronominalization, since
it would direct us to look for such structures, or 'pre-

dispositions' to add such structures, first in T-B, before
trying to match it with those of Indo-European or any other
family which is a presumed model. What the preceding brief
discussion makes clear is that complexities on the order of
what we have seen in Bahing are not likely to have been totally
borrowed, though the possibility cannot be ruled out tha
particular aspects of the system may have been borrowed, given
a certain native framework on which to place them.

Since this line of argument would be impossible to carry
through without having first assembled the comparative data
and attempted to push it back internally as far as possible,
the question of Indo-European, Munda, or other outside dir-
ection on T-B is best postponed to a later point. However,
I would safely assume even now that Indo-European, like
Munda, has not been an important influence for the reason
that its contact with T-B has been of relatively recent date
and that at the time of contact the family had probably
already split off into branches which today still maintain
pronominalization. A more compelling reason is that Indo-
European, even less than Munda, has structures comparable
to those seen in Bahing. In every case Indo-European is much
less complex or organized according to different norms of
complexity, as seen in its subject agreement affixes syn-
cretic for person and number or in its use of gender dis-
tinctions.[31]

4.0 Hypothesis of Native Origin

4.1 T-B Sources

Since the writings of Hodgson and Konow when the problem
of pronominal verb morphology in T-B was first described
and an attempt was made to draw a plausible picture of its
origin, some additional languages have been recognized as
exhibiting similar complexity. In a few cases the inves-
tigator attempted to place the new data within the framework
of the earlier hypotheses. In some small subset of these
languages the fit was facilitated by the geographic proximity
of the language to others already recognized as pronominalized.
For example, Chepang's (Cp) nearness to one center of pronom-
inalization farther east in Nepal created no special problems
for subgrouping it together with these languages. Parallel
arguments could then easily be provided for the genesis of
the complex verb structure in terms of a Munda substratum
(Caughley 1971),[32] without necessitating complex explanations
for migration or diffusion of the structure. For languages
in greater or lesser isolation from the two recognized nuclei
of pronominalization (in Eastern Nepal [Eastern Pronominalized]
and in Northwest India [Western Pronominalized]), two different
courses were taken: 1. The verb morphology is simply de-
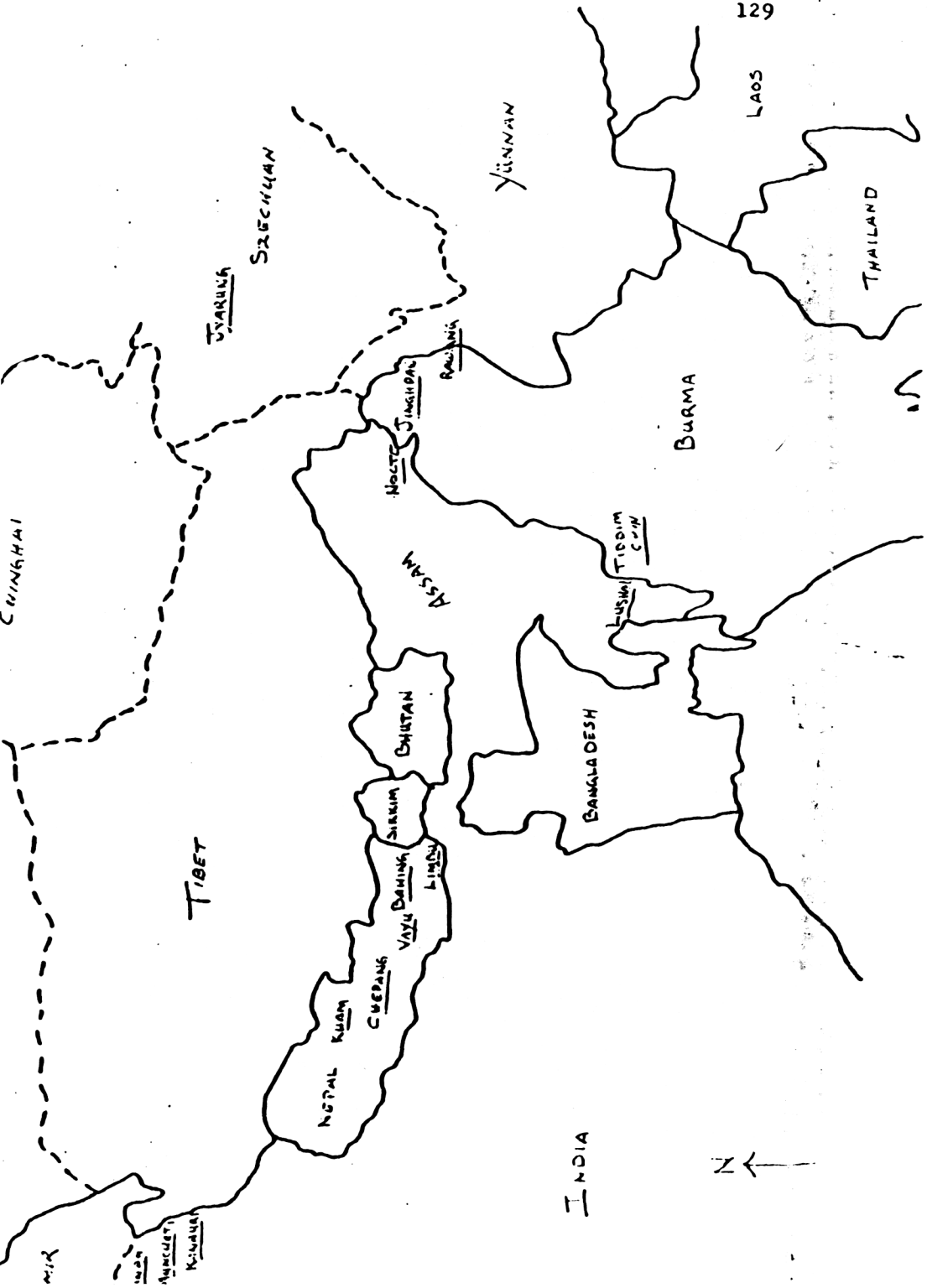scribed with no mention of its being "pronominalized', as with

Jinghpaw (Jg) (Hanson 1896, Hertz 1935, Wolfenden 1929),
Jyarung (Jy) (Chin 1949, 1957-1958)[33], Rawang (Ra) (Barnard
1934)[34], Nocte (No) (Das Gupta 1971)[35], and Lushai (Lu)
(Shaha 1884, Lorrain and Savidge 1898); or 2. The language
is recognized as pronominalized but explanations of outside
influence are rejected, as for Kham (Kh)(Watters 1971) and
Tiddim Chin (Td) (Henderson 1957, 1965; cf sec. 1.32).

In this section these languages will be systematically
compared with several languages of the two nuclear pronom-
inalizing groups; from the Western branch: Kanauri (Ka)
(Ba_ley 1909), Bunan (Bu) (Francke 1909), and Manchati (Mn)
(Francke 1909) and from the Eastern branch: Bahing (Ba)
(Hodgson 1857-1858), Vayu (Va) (Hodgson 1857-1858, Michael-
ovsky 1974), and Limbu (Lm) (LSI 1909). This list, of
course, does not exhaust the possibilities (see Shafer
1950 and 1966 for fuller lists), but, very importantly
it effectively covers most of the T-B linguistic area (see
map next page) and includes most of the major recognized
subgroups of T-B.[37]

4.2 Method of Comparison

In the sections to follow the pronominal systems from
the languages mentioned above will be compared point by
point with a view to demonstrating the integrity of the
hypothesis that pronominalization was a trait native to T-B.
Such a demonstration, I realize, raises questions of what
happened to this complex pronominal verb morphology in
languages which do not exhibit it synchronically--those, of
course, being the great majority of the family. While it
seems beyond the capabilities of our present data to suc-
cessfully answer this question for all cases, it does appear
that individual examples can be cited where remnants of
pronominal verb morphology are still apparent in various
non-pronominalized languages. One of the critical problems
to be solved in effectively supporting this contention is
the demonstration of cognation between these so-called rem-
nants and the true pronominal roots of the proto-language.
However, any cursory glance at comparative pronoun data[37]
points up the difficulty with identifying a single unequivocal
set of roots for the original language, whether those be
independent pronouns, in the ostensibly simpler case, or the
touchier situation of pronominal verb affixes.

To compensate for this apparent lack of comparability,
I have adopted the policy of viewing parts of a total pro-
nominal system in abstraction from the narrower confines
of a particular paradigm within that system. A pronominal
system is here understood to encompass the entire person
and spatial deictic apparatus of a language--formally ap-
parent in the subsystems of independent personal pronouns;
person/number verb affixes; demonstratives; relative, in-

te:rogative, and indefinite pronouns; numerals; and kinship
an1 status terms. Even within one of these subsystems it
may be possible to further characterize various component
patterns or structures. For example, the independent pro-
nouns may be looked at from the standpoint of the case func-
tions they carry out; very often the genitive or possessive
pronoun is formally distinct from the nominative/objective
(ergative) pronoun, not just in the case marker, but also
in the stem itself. Compare for Kanauri: 1 sg erg g̱ṳ and
1 sg poss an̊.

This sort of complexity within subsystems naturally
provides more information for comparative purposes, if the
methodology that I have advocated is subscribed to. For
Kanauri, therefore, I would factor out the person infor-
mation from both of these 1 sg forms, ignoring for the
time their different semantic/syntactic usages, and compare
one or both with 1 sg forms in other T-B languages, in any
subsystem that they may occur. Again, I hope by such pro-
cedures to demonstrate not that there is less than the
usually conceived of diversity in the number of pronominal
roots, but that the diversity is patternable and ultimately
explicable within the framework of an original complex mor-
phological system.

Since my ultimate goal is a morphological rather than a
lexical reconstruction, I plan to take some liberties with
the phonological comparison of the pronominal roots. Rather
than provide exact phonological reconstructions of different
roots (which necessarily presupposes that the historical
phonologies of all the compared languages are sufficiently
well understood, which they are not) I will, instead only
require that a form realized by comparison approximate the
original proto form.39

The task of reconstructing a morphological system for
Proto-Tibeto-Burman, which can account for the complexity
we have seen in Bahing, can only procede slowly over a long
course of time, with very careful sifting of a multitude of
data. This task thus necessarily lies beyond the foundation
laid in this paper. Essentially what I am attempting to
demonstrate here is only the plausibility of the nativeness
hypothesis and the justification for a more detailed inves-
tigation.

In the immediately following sections, some of the factors
that must eventually be considered are listed so as to con-
stitute a typological assessment of the problem. What I
intend by this survey of some dozen or so languages is to
show how different pronominal complexities cross-cut lex-
ically established subgroup boundaries, to show that the
solution must circumscribe all of T-B and not isolated min-
orities within the family.

In a few cases the actual verbal syntax of various
languages will be described and compared, even though our

poor kn ledge of the developmental histories of the indiv-
idual languages complicates the problem. In applying such
comparisons it would seem dangerous to simply take the most
elaborate synchronic morphology to serve as the model for
the proto-language. Recall Pinnow's contention that the
complexity of the Munda verb will not reconstruct to Proto-
Austroasiatic (cf sec. 2.31). Pinnow proposes instead that
it developed as an areal influence from surrounding Dravidian
and Indo-Aryan languages. In the case of T-B many indiv-
idual languages may have accrued complexities due to similar
areal pressures. The transitive verb affix system is es-
pecially troublesome since it is manifested in more than one
typological format (cf sec. 4.311), one of which is perhaps
secondarily derivable from the components of the simpler in-
transitive affix system. The special problems to be met
with in this area will, therefore, simply be acknowledged,
without presenting any thorough treatment. In any event,
though, the very existence of these complexities in the
transitive verb assuredly points back to some type of his-
torically retrievable morphological structures serving as
a template. It will be primarily the intransitive verb
paradigm which will be examined for direct evidence of this
structure.

4.3 Typology of T-B Pronominal Systems

4.31 Verb Affixes

It is the presence or absence of a verbal affix system
for person-number agreement which is criterial for desig-
nating a language as pronominalized or not. However, within
this broad assessment it is possible and desirable to pa -
ticularize various parameters of this morphology. and ra k
individual languages as to their behavior. This procedu e
can be very useful in delineating language subgroups and these
subgroups, in turn, can be valuable aids for tracking the
chronology of development from earlier stages of the lan-
guage.

4.311 Transitive Affixes

The primary distinction of pronominal affixation which
suggests itself from the briefest look at the data is that
between intransitive and transitive affixes.[40] Some lan-
guages have mechanisms for only subject agreement (intran-
sitive) while others require agreement for both subject and
object (transitive). Within the transitve category two sub-
types can be recognized. One of these has a set of object
agreement affixes phonologically and morphologically dis-
tinct from the subject agreement set (the Discrete subheading
of Table 1), while the other has a set of affixes which
simultaneously indicate the subject and object roles in a

"single" phonological form (the <u>Syncretic</u> subheading of Table 1). The latter is typified by the Bahing system presented earlier (cf sec. 2.23). Within the languages with separable object and subject affixes it is further possible to specify different syntactic arrangements of the affixes with respect to one another and to the verb. Compare, for example, the situation in Kham:

<div align="center">

1 sg → 2 sg   nga <u>verb</u> ni
3 sg → 1 sg   <u>verb</u> na- -o
1 sg → 3 dl   nga-ni <u>verb</u>

</div>

where prefixation and suffixation are differentially used to express the various possible role interrelationships. There are additionally several other characteristics of the transitive verb which will not be charted. These typically involve verb stem alternations and/or the insertion of epenthetic consonants at particular points of the paradigm. I have only been able to speculate about the possible functions these processes serve.

4.312 The Reflexive Affix Category

A distinct type of verb affix expressing a reflexive meaning occurs in some languages. This usage is absent in other languages, which use instead pronoun based reflexive constructions. Compare:

<div align="center">

Kh   nga-<u>verb</u>-si   'I <u>verb</u> myself'
Jg   ngai-<u>hkum</u>   'I <u>myself</u>'

</div>

It is possible, though, for a language with a reflexive verb affix to also make use of a pronominal reflexive; for example, Kham can reduplicate the pronominal root to form a reflexive (although this can not occur with singular roots).

<div align="center">

Kh   gin gin   'we 2 ourselves'

</div>

Languages exhibiting a verbal reflexive affix are indicated in Table 1, subdivided according to affixation pattern.

4.313 Affixation Patterns

As indicated above the affixation patterns of the language to be treated can be fairly complex. To simplify the chart somewhat, advantage will be taken of the fact that any prefixing language also exhibits suffixing mechanisms. Therefore, such a language will be indicated only once--in the prefixation row.

4.314 Concord Relations

Table 1 also includes information relative to whether a particular language engages in one or both of two types of "concord" relations.

4.3141 Tense/Aspect-Mood Concord

The more important of the two concerns the phenomenon of pronominal affixes, transitive and intransitive, having different forms agreeing with the tense/aspect marker of the verb. In what seems to be a related phenomenon, a separate set of affixes is used for what are variously called "potential","subjunctive", "conditional", or "subordinate" clauses. These contrast with the set(s) used in independent clauses. Both the tense/aspect and this modal concord are treated together under the former label. For instance, Hanson (1896) describes the following suffixes in Jinghpaw[42]:

-nng	'I am verbing'
-ring ng	'I will verb'
-ni	'I have verbed'
-li	'may I verb'
-se	'I verbed'
-rĕ	'I will have verbed'

The comparative analysis of this type of system will form an important aspect of a later study, though for now only the number and general nature of the distinctions which each language makes will be considered.[43]

4.3142 Negative Concord

A second type of pronominal concord occurs in a few languages for the negative marker. The details differ from language to language. In a simple case, for example Cp, the negative set of affixes seems to be morphophonemically related to the positive set.

Cp	1st sg positive	-ng
	1st sg negative	-nga

However, in other languages, such as Nocte, the root itself can change.

No	1st sg positive	-ang
	1st sg negative	-mak [-m is the negative marker]

A further peculiarity of Nocte is that the separate negative forms occur only in "present" type tense/aspects. Unfortunately this phenomenon cannot be systematically examined at present since relevant data is missing in most languages. Table 1 will simply indicate the presence of some form of this negative concord for languages where it has been described. In languages with transitive affixes, the same concord distinctions are made as for intransitive affixes, so there is no need to separately indicate this on Table 1.

| | | Affixation Type | | | |
| | | Intransitive | Transitive | | Reflexive |
			Discrete	Syncretic	
Affixation Pattern	Prefixing	Kh Lm Jy Lu Ra (2 only) Id	Kh Lu (1 only)	Lm Jy Ra	Jy Lu
	Suffixing	Bu Mn Ka Cp Ba Va No Jg	Bu (1 only) Jg	Cp Ba Va No	Ka Kh Ba Va Ra
Concord	Tense/ Aspect	Bu (pres, fut, imperf, perf) Ka (pres/fut, past) Ba (pres/fut, past) Va (pres/fut, past) Lm (pres, past) Jy (only vestiges) No (pres/fut, past/subord) Ra (pres, imperf, fut/imperf, potential) Jg (pres/fut, past, optative) Lu (independent, subord) Id (pres, fut, conditional)			
	Negative	Cp (morphophonemic) No (separate stems) Id (morphophonemic)			

Table 1: Typology of Pronominal Verb Affixes

4.32 Typological Assessment of Pronominal Verb Affixes

4.321 Occurrence of Tense/Aspect Concord

Table 1 yields a few significant generalizations, probably the most striking of which is the statistically high occurrence of tense/aspect concord in the languages sampled (11 out of 14). It has only not been reported in Kham, Chepang, and Manchati, although Manchati exhibits a system of verb stem alternation for tense/aspect which may be historically related. There is further support in view of its most closely related sister languages--Kanauri and Bunan--exhibiting the concord; although Kanauri itself seems to have partially leveled out the complexity also. Chepang has as yet not been fully described and final judgment on its actual behavior in respect to tense/aspect concord should be withheld.

Kham seems to be a true exception at this point. An interesting feature of its verb morphology, however, is the inclusion of a tense marker following the verb which can interpose itself between the subject and object affixes. This marker, in line with all affixes generally, seems to maintain its phonological and semantic discreteness. Kham thus seems to approach more than any other language considered a true agglutinative structure. Perhaps, then, the morphophonemic processes which in earlier times may have led to the concord system were inoperative in Kham. On the other hand, if the system of tense/aspect concord was original to Proto-Tibeto-Burman (as the cross linguistic data would support), then Kham has probably innovated. This second hypothesis will eventually carry more weight in view of a great many other peculiarities in Kham's structure. It more than any other language seems to overstep the norms.

4.322 Co-occurrence of Transitive with Intransitive Paradigms

Another significant finding is the high positive correlation between the presence of transitive with intransitive affixes. Again only three languages do not exhibit the correlation. Two of these, Kanauri and Manchati, are closely related in the Western Pronominalized group. Bunan, the third representative of this group, can almost be included as lacking transitive affixes, since only a single object suffix, -ku 'me, for me', is used, and this only in imperatives and in the imperfect with 3rd subject. These three languages would together constitute a particular subgroup which presumably lost object agreement at an earlier stage of development.

The other language without object agreement is Tiddim Chin which, however, on the evidence of closely related

Lushai, may be supposed to have originally possessed a set
of discrete object affixes. Lorrain and Savidge (1898)
report that the object affixes of Lushai are not used ob-
ligatorily so we may suppose that forces are at work to
eliminate the distinction entirely. Lushai would then
pattern with Tiddim Chin.

4.3221 Parallels between Lushai and Jinghpaw

If Bunan is eliminated from consideration of possessing
object agreement for the reasons above and if Kham is elim-
inated by reason of its exceptional agglutinative approach
to affixation, then only Lushai and Jinghpaw are left as
representatives of the discrete type of object affix. An
attempt to account for this coincidence, by comparing the
object affixes in these two languages (which are usually
not considered as especially close geographically or gene-
tically) revealed an interesting association, with possible
implications for subgrouping.

	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl
Lu	min ~ mi' (prefix)	min ~ mi' (prefix)	che ~ chi-a (suffix)	che-u ~ a-che-u (suffix)
Jg	mi	mi	de ~ di	ma-de-ga ~ ma-de

Chart 4: Lushai and Jinghpaw Object Affixes

In addition Jg has two 3rd person object forms which have no
correspondents in LU. It is, of course, fairly apparent that
the 1st person forms in *mi are cognate (in spite of their
being prefixed in Lu). The 2nd sg forms are almost as easily
related, the ch- of Lu simply being the palatalized variant
of the dental stop of Jg. What makes this even more ob-
vious is the occurrence of the same vocalic alternation, \ \
-e ~ -i , in both languages. The 2 pl forms keep the 2nd
person root but make use of different plural markers: ma
in Jg (cf -we-ai '3 sg obj'; -ma-we '3 pl obj (dial)') and
u in Lu (cf verb-imperative-u 'imperative pl'; cf also
Td - u?-tε? '2 pl').

4.3222 Parallels between Tiddim Chin and Jinghpaw

The object affixes of Jg taken together with their
corresponding subject agreement members form a particular
pattern within the total pronominal affixation system of
the language. Hanson (1896) described this set as the
"descriptive present" although he states that it may be
used to convey any temporal notion. It simply does not vary
with the tense/aspect markers of the sentence as does the
other major set of affixes. What the determining variables
are which select one set or the other is not made entirely
clear, but it seems possible that it may be similar to a

stylistic affixal variation found in Tiddim Chin. Td has
a set of prefixed forms used only in the literary language
and a contrasting set of forms used in colloquial speech.
This second set shows variation for tense/aspect concord,
while the literary set is invariable. It seems, therefore,
that the "descriptive" set of Jg would functionally pattern
with the literary set of Td.

4.3223 Morphological Links between Jinghpaw and Kuki-Chin

If now the Jg, Td, and Lu systems are viewed concur-
rently, a certain pattern of development suggests itself.
The following chart provides forms for the 1st person agree-
ment affixes only.

	Pronominal Agreement Affixes			
	Colloquial		Literary	
	Present	"Subordinate"	Subject	Object
Jg	-nng	-li	-we	-mi
Td	-\iŋ	-\lɛŋ	kă-	
Lu		-ila	ka-	min-

Chart 5: 1st Person Agreement Affixes of Lushai,
Tiddim Chin, and Jinghpaw

In clarification it should be mentioned that Lu has
only a single set of affixes, making no distinction between
'literary' and 'colloquial', though it seems fair to surmise
that it did possess this distinction earlier, as seen in
its 'subordinate' reflex of the "old" colloquial set. (In
Lu and Td this affix lends a conditional meaning to the
clause; in Jg the meaning is "optative" 'may I...'.)
The major characteristic distinguishing the two Chin
languages from Jg is their innovation of the subject agree-
ment prefix ka-, which along with the respective 2nd and 3rd
person forms constitute a diagnostic feature of the Kuki-
Chin languages. The remaining parallels would seem to
suggest some previous stage of common development.

4.3224 Morphological Links from Jinghpaw to other Pronom-
        inalized Languages

An additional idiosyncrasy of Jg provides a possible
bridge to the languages with syncretic transitive affixes.
Should this structure bear the weight of a phonological
comparison, then the continuity of all the languages could
be traced in regard to their handling of transitive affixes
--all of them presumably initiating in a syncretic system.

The relevant data are found in certain of the descriptive subject agreement affixes. For instance, the 1 pl subject marker has two forms: -ga used with sg objects and -gaw used with pl objects. The 3rd pl object marker likewise has two forms -nme used with 1st sg subject and -mu used with 2nd or 3rd sg subjects. In other words Jg shows remnants of syncretic affixes within this particular subsystem.[44]

The morphological complexity of the paradigm itself may lend further support. In the preceding discussion of the Bahing transitive paradigm (cf sec. 2.23), the phenomenon of homophonous affixes expressing different role relationships (for example, 2 → 1 = 3 → 1) may be recalled. The same homophony is found in Jg in what is ostensibly a discrete affix marking system. (Cf, for example, 3 sg descriptive subject -wu = 2nd sg descriptive subject -wu and 1 sg descriptive subject -we = 3 sg descriptive object -we.) This role homophony is certainly less understandable as deriving from a basically discrete system of agreement. For instance, no purely intransitive paradigm in any of these languages exhibits any similar homophony. Why there should be any syncretic affix homophony of this sort at all is still an unexplored area,[45] however, given its occurrence in a language, such as Jg, with discrete agreement markings, it would seem that referent ambiguity would be a persistent problem. In view of this, the system might prove unstable, and eventually be eliminated or leveled, as perhaps occurred in Td and Lu.

4.323   Occurrence of Reflexive Affixes

The languages which have a suffixed reflexive marker (cf Table 1) provide an additional isolated bit of evidence toward the verification of the nativeness hypothesis of pronominalization. These five all show forms which are undoubtedly cognate as seen in their verb internal syntax (verb-reflexive-subj affix) as well as their phonological form.

Ba	-si
Va	-chi
Ka	-shi
Kh	-si
Ra	-shi

Since our information regarding other languages is incomplete it might be expected that this reflexive affix is even more widespread than here indicated.

The two languages with prefixed reflexive markers also show correspondences in their internal syntax and phonological shape.

Jy   pronoun-i + nə + (prefix)-verb [-i — genitive
                                      case marker ?]

Lu   subj prefix-in-verb

Again, the behavior of the other prefixing languages is not
known. However, it appears that the Lu form may have arisen
from some sort of periphrastic reflexive construction, as
Jy points to.

4.324 Prefixation vs Suffixation

The final point to be made from the configurations of
Table 1 concerns the methodological value of maintaining
the separateness of prefixing and suffixing languages for
comparative purposes. I have reserved this discussion for
last since I would appeal to the preceding arguments to
further argue that the dichotomy should be ignored for in-
vestigating deep levels of relationship. In the first place,
no prefixing language is exclusively prefixing. Of the
languages listed, Lu and Td have already been discussed with
a view to demonstrating *their innovative behavior* in regard
to prefixing. Of the others, Lm, Ra, and Jy show certain
commonalities with Cp, a strictly suffixing language, which
certainly suggest that they have rearranged their own in-
ternal verb syntax.

	Cp	Ra	Jy	Lm
1 sg	-ng	-ng	-ŋ	-a
1 dl	-tayh-ca (incl)	-shi	-t	a-verb-chi (incl)
1 pl	-tayh-i (incl)	-i	-i	a-verb (incl)
2 sg	-te	è-	tə-verb-n	k'-
2 dl	-te--ja	è-verb-shi	tə-verb-nʧ	k'-verb-chi
2 pl	-te--y	è-verb-ning	tə-verb-ŋ	k'-verb-i

Chart 6: Intransitive Verb Affixes of Chepang, Rawang,
          Jyarung, and Limbu

Although a detailed analysis of the roots is beyond the
task at hand, it can be seen that the morphological pat-
terns of affixations share much in common. Compare the
palatal element in all dual forms, especially in 2nd person
which is always separated from some overt marker of 2nd
person status by some additional form--usually the verb,
but in Cp, the tense marker. The -i ~ -ni marker of the
pl shows a similar pattern.

In considering data from other languages not presented
here it would seem that the affixation pattern displayed by
Cp was original and that the other three languages have in-
novated--Ra and Jy perhaps together, as can be seen in their
overall similarity in roots, but both definitely in isol-
ation from Lm. The relevant data will be considered in a
follow-up study.

The one remaining prefixing language of Table 1 then
is Kham which resists explanation on this as on other
criteria.

The affixation patterns of a language are certainly
not to be dismissed. There are undoubtedly historical
reasons for why a language will undergo a shift from suffix-
ing to prefixing behavior. To a certain extent we can
say that each type of behavior is associated with or implied
by other syntactic facts of the language (Greenberg 1961).
It is, however, beyond the goals of this paper to examine
these reasons, even assuming them to be retrievable from
our generally impoverished data. The critical point at
issue here is that these syntactic changes do not consti-
tute a primary division of the proto-language. The various
languages which have undergone such syntactic changes, in
whatever direction this may have been, have done so inde-
pendently or as members of recognized subgroups (such as
Kuki-Chin). The pronominal categories and roots, then,
can and should be studied in abstraction from the particular
syntactic network in which they are embedded.

4.32 Pronominal Categories

In this section, the analysis will continue by in-
specting some variables which hopefully will bridge the gap
between the pronominalized and non-pronominalized languages.
It is essential that the continuity of the proto-system of
verb morphology, suggested in the preceding pages, be
traced to its loss in many members of the family. We must
be sure that the geographical range of the pronominalized
verb is still not the result of any complex process of dif-
fusion from one T-B language to another from some original
source outside of the family. The groundwork necessary to
demonstrating this continuity of development will be pre-
sented here, by completing the broad characterization of
the pronominal systems of the pronominalized languages.

Essentially all this will consist of is presenting in
Table 2 a list of those languages which maintain an in-
clusive/exclusive distinction and/or a number distinction.
Rather than simply providing a checklist, these distinctions
will be made more apparent by providing the incl pl forms
and the dl forms for both the free pronouns and intransitive
agreement affixes. It can be taken for granted that all
the languages distinguish three persons and have a pl form,
although the details will not be presented here.

Pronominal Categories				
	Inclusive		Dual	
	Pronoun	Affix	Pronoun	Affix
Bu	erang+ji	---	+nyispi	---
Mn	ngena+re	---	+ku	-shi
Ka	ki<u>sh</u>ŏ̃a'	-e'	+<u>shi</u>	-ic
Kh	---	---	+n-+ni	+n-+ni
Cp	ngi	-tayh-i	+ci	-ca
Va	go khata	-ke	+nakpu	-chhik
Ba	go-i	-ya	+si	*-si--sa*
Lm	ãnī̃	ã̄-	+chi	-chi
Jy	jo [yo]	-i	+ndʒ	-tʃ
Ra	---	---	+ni	-shi
No	---	---	---	---
Jg	---	---	+n	---
Lu	---	---	---	---
Td	/ei	Y- (coll)	---	---

Table 2: Pronominal Categories

of the affix forms (allowing for phonological alterations) and some of the free pronoun forms. The pronouns which use some dual indicator other than *ši generally have a form in n or ni (perhaps related to the numeral 'two' *g-nis). Kham has extended this form to the affix also.

An incl marker can, with slightly more effort, be recognized, again, in all the affix forms, but in only some of the pronouns. This root very likely will reconstruct to a simple high front vowel (*i).[46] The free pronouns which do not use this root, however, show no obvious similarity in the substituted form (cf Bu erang, Mn ngena-, Ka ishûñʔ', Va khata).

This predominant pattern of the affixal forms showing a higher degree of retention than the free pronouns within a particular category is a feature which characterizes other forms also. It suggests first that a reliable picture of the early pronominal roots of the family may be achieved by looking at affixal forms, as these seem to be generally more conservative to change. Secondly it suggests that the free pronouns are themselves susceptible to more rapid changes, entailing problems for comparison.

A possible reason for the rélative instability of the free pronouns might lie in their syntactic optionality. In the grammars which mention such details, it appears that the verb or the context itself is *sufficient to carry the* brunt of referent identification. This is also the case with non-pronominalized languages. Any agreement marker, however, appears to be obligatory, which perhaps accounts for the integrity of the roots in pronominalized languages through what must be very long spans of independent development. A later study will make clear that this instability of the pronouns in conjunction with the collapse of the incl/excl and dl categories has led to certain roots changing categories, for example from incl to 2nd person significance (as one particular instance, cf *i 'incl'; Lu i- '2 sg'; Ba -i (--ye) '2 sg').

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Summary

Previous hypotheses advanced to explain the occurrence in some Tibeto-Burman (T-B) languages of very complex paradigms of pronominal agreement markers in the verb (pronominalization), have usually invoked some other language family as providing either a substratal base or a directing influence on T-B to account for it. The viewpoint of this work has been that the hypothesis of native origin, although generally dismissed due to the stereotype of T-B as a morphologically simple family, actually has the best chance of

of verification. The evidence involves comparisons of a
pronominalized T-B language with a Munda language, the most
frequently postulated contact influence, and then a typo-
logical assessment of the pronominal systems of fourteen
pronominalized languages. These languages cover a very
substantial range of the T-B geographic area and represent
most of the major subgroups of the family. This work is
considered both justification and preparation for a full
scale reconstruction of the morphological system of the
proto-language.

Notes

[1]The dates for Hodgson's work will be given as for their
original publication in the <u>Journal</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Asiatic</u> <u>Societ</u>
<u>of</u> <u>Bengal</u>. The page references, however, will be given
from the reprinted and corrected versions of these works
in either the <u>Miscellaneous</u> <u>Essays</u> (1880) or <u>Essays</u> <u>on</u> <u>the</u>
<u>Languages</u>, <u>etc.</u> <u>of</u> <u>Nepal</u> <u>and</u> <u>Tibet</u> (1874), wherever this is
applicable.

[2]The biographical materials on Hodgson which are inter-
spersed through this section were found in a short preface
to Mitra (1882) and in a full, booklength portrayal by
Hunter (1896).

[3]The editors of <u>JASB</u> in a short preface to Hodgson's (1849c)
"A brief note on Indian ehtnology", suggest strongly that
other workers in the area should submit themselves to
following a single model in order to maintain a certain
unity in the field, "and if we are to be guided in this
matter by the experience and judgment of any one man in
India, surely none are entitled to higher respect than
those of Mr. Hodgson" (1849c;238).

[4]This and other names for subgroups follow Shafer's (1966)
terminology.

[5]It will be recalled that Hodgson was only possessed of
secondary information on these languages, entirely con-
sisting, as far as the published information indicates of
vocabulary lists. A true picture of the complexity of the
Burmese verb would not then have been available to sugges
a closer approximation to say the structure of the Bodo
verb (initially classified by Hodgson as Tamulian) with
which it does show many parallels.

[6]In a footnote to a later paper, Hodgson (1853b;31) resta es
his position with regard to Bodo and Dhimal by reposition ng
them within the Tibetan and Himalayan stock, rather than
the Tamulian.

4.321 Correlations between Categories

Certain overall conclusions may be drawn from Table 2.
One of the most apparent of these is the high correlation
between the presence of each distinction in both free pro-
noun and agreement affix forms, this in spite of the fact
that the two forms are not necessarily closely related
phonologically (cf Va, Mn, and Ra dual forms). The excep-
tions to this statement are Bunan and Manchati which cur-
rently appear to be leveling out their entire affix system
(for instance, all Bu agreement markers in 1st person are
-g, no distinction is made for number or incl/excl; Mn
maintains no person distinction between 1st and 2nd dl
and pl) and Jg which is also undergoing similar processes
(cf note 42).
     Another interesting association is the general presence
of a dual distinction with the incl/excl. Two different
interpretations might be given to this fact. In the first,
the parallel might involve a semantic reinforcement between
the two concepts, in that an incl notion in most cases will
apply to the speaker and one hearer, i.e. two persons. The
incl/excl distinction might then 'predispose' a language
to also maintain a dual. There is some indication in the
data presented that the inclusive form is probably of longer
standing in T-B than the dual form simply in the greater
range of phonological shapes which it exhibits; in spite
of the fact that it appears in fewer languages. The only
language which goes contrary to the expectation that a dl
will be present if there is an incl/excl opposition is Td,
but this seems to be linked to its loss of the dl in con-
formity with the other languages of the area. The Td incl
forms seem to be related to those in the other languages
(cf Td ɣ-, Jy -i, Cp -tayh-i, Ka -e').
     An alternate explanation for the dl-incl/excl parallel
might contend that the majority of the languages which lack
one or both of these distinctions are located in the southern
end of the pronominalized verb range, i.e. in the general
area of northern Burma (see map). As such, the drive to
level out ne distinctions might be part of a larger areal
configuration, which includes Lolo-Burmese and Barish with
their fewer oppositions and simpler verb morphology. The
major exception to this interpretation is Kham in west-
central Nepal. Its loss of the incl/excl would constitute
an innovation.

4.322 Proto-Categories

     In judging the relative antiquity of both the dl and
the incl/excl categories, notice can be taken of the degree
of phonological resemblance between the forms. The dl marker
can fairly easily be traced back to some sibilant plus
high front vowel (*ši). Such an element is present in all

[7]Compare for example Hunter's (1868) Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia, which assembled Hodgson's lexical materials for about 200 roots from over 100 languages, and the vast Linguistic Survey of India which faithfully maintained many of Hodgson's subclassifications. Shafer (1966) and Benedict (1972) have similarly maintained an emphasis on lexical comparison.

[8]Hodgson intends by this term the phenomenon of an intransitive verb undergoing a transitivizing or causativizing process with the possibility of the resultant verb undergoing an additional causativization. His example, from Vayu: dun 'become', thun 'to cause to become', thun-ping-ko 'to cause to cause to become'. He does not note that this process of double causativization is quite common in Indo-Aryan (cf Kellogg 1938:252ff) and that this family could have provided the model for what might be independent borrowing in Dravidian and Himalayish.

[9]Hodgson remarks that the passive construction of literary Dravidian "is clearly factitious and suggested by contact with Arianism" (1856:142).

[10]Hodgson does not approach the question of the distinction between tense and aspect markers in languages such as Tibetan, still a tricky problem. Therefore, he makes claims that, in some languages, where two "tenses" are distinguished, the present and future will be conflated. It might be better to discuss such a system as aspectual rather than temporal, especially since in the same languages the 'past tense' marker often equates to the transitive marker. This occurs in Himalayish, Dravidian, Turkic, and Finno-Ugric.

[11]Hodgson professes to see in this transitive marker an association with 3rd person object markers, implied in the transitive imperative suffixes of strictly monosyllabic T-B languages such as Lepcha and Burmese. Many languages show a variety of forms for these affixes, a particular verb uniquely requiring one of them, thus setting up a system of implicit verb classification.

[12]A wealth of literature exists dealing with these languages. One of general merit which, I believe, largely succeeds in unraveling the tremendous complexity of the T-B languages of the area is Thomas (1948).

[13]Hodgson reminds us that this pronominal complexity "when viewed in connection with the paucity of true conjugational forms [recalls] the fine remark that 'rude people think much more of the actors than of the action'" (1856:135).

[14]As far as I know this paper contains the only reference to the term 'pronominalization' in all of Hodgson's linguistic corpus. From his casual use of the term, however, I would doubt that it was his own innovation.

[15]There are exceptions to this generalization among the pronominalized languages which Hodgson dealt with, such as Limbu with verbal prefixes, though he does not discuss these. He does, however, mention that Altaic and Finno-Ugric have noun possessive suffixes.

[16]Hodgson's examples for this construction, taken from many different languages, all show the transitivizer with some type of dental stop. However, in his Dravidian examples this morpheme is some sort of past/perfective marker. He implies thereby a historical development in Dravidian of this transitivizer into a tense/aspect marker.

[17]Information on the history and procedures of the survey can be found in Grierson's preface to the completed work (LSI 1(1):17-24). The project was originally conceived in 1886, organized from 1894-1897 when requests for data were issued, and edited beginning in 1898. Volume 3 in three parts, dealing entirely with T-B was completed and published in 1909. The introductory volume 1(1) did not appear until 1927; it was the last to be issued.

[18]Earlier published reports of Kanauri, some of which would have been accessible to Hodgson, apparently did not comment on its grammatical characteristics. Hodgson himself never seems to have discovered the fact, in spite of his probable earlier contact with speakers of the Almora languages, while he served as assistant to the Commissioner of Kumaon in 1819-1820.

[19]The details of tonogenesis in T-B are certainly more complex than this (cf Matisoff 1973), but the overall picture of initial consonants affecting tone is certainly correct.

[20]"The Tibeto-Burman verb is properly a noun" (LSI 3(1):8). Konow acknowledges Max Müller for the original formulation of this idea.

[21]Neither Henderson or Maspero makes mention of Namsangia Naga as pronominalized. The information on this language, admittedly very poor for comparative purposes, seems to have been generally passed over.

[22]Sir̄ali is spoken closest to the T-B area of eastern Nepal and Sikkim. It shows more pronominal complexity than other Munda languages and has been rather fully described by Bodding (1929).

[23]While Bahing is not the nearest language to Munda geographically, it seems to show the eastern Nepal type of pronominalized verb structure at its most elaborate. It has also been generally better described (by Hodgson 1857-1858) than its sister languages. Finally it seems to have fewer morphophonemic alternations than a language like

Vayu. I would caution though that these characteristics of Bahing are not necessarily being attributed to the original system.

[24]An independent possessive pronoun equivalent to 'mine', etc. is formed with the possessive root with the suffix -ke; cf wake 'mine'.

[25]There may be a gender suffix attached to the pronoun to concord with the animate or inanimate gender of the following noun.

[26]I have adopted the convention of indicating affixal forms by means of a hyphen: -affix indicating a suffix and affix-, a prefix. Languages with discontinuous affixes are indicated as: affix- -affix for an intervening verb, -affix- -affix for two suffixes around another intervening suffix, or affix- -affix- for two prefixes around some intervening prefix (although this situation has never arisen). Independent pronouns do not use any special mark.

[27]This chain of relationship seems to stem from the original distinction of a transitive subject affix distinct from an intransitive subject affix (an ergative distinction). The set which duplicates the possessive series is still used with transitive verbs. The neuter verbs, which seem to have been originally a set of causative verbs which became strictly intransitive syntactically at a later stage of Bahing development, also require them. This is indicated by the suffix -t an old causative morpheme present in their finite conjugation. This points to an earlier ergative distinction where the subject of an intransitive verb would be marked differently from the subject of a transitive or causative verb. It would appear then that the possessive stems of the independent pronouns derived from this set of transitive subject affixes or vice versa, but for what reason or by what semantic route is still not clear.

[28]The verbal suffix is a syncretic affix including the semantic notions of time, transitivity, and intentionality of the action. Bodding summarizes the componentry of the verb as follows:

Base word + verbal suffix + object affix + (possessive

infix) + finite marker a + subject pronoun

The object affix must be animate and in the active voice. Bodding uses the term 'infix' to describe a suffix which is interposed between other suffixes.

[29]By convention, an arrow linking two pronoun forms indicates a transitive relation of subject acting on or for object (subject → object).

[30]The sentences can be disambiguated in the noun phrases, if it is not possible to do so from the context.

[31]Since the structure of Indo-European is more widely known than Munda, I will leave off any detailed examination of it.

[32]Caughley draws a comparison between Chepang and Mundari concluding that the two show many parallels in their "pronominalising systems". It appears though that the comparison was not sufficiently detailed to uncover the fundamental differences in the syntactic structures of the verb between the two languages. On comparison with other far-removed T-B languages, moreover, Cp very clearly reveals a much neater structural (cf sec. 4.324).

[33]I am indebted to Chang Kun for the information that Jyarung was indeed pronominalized.

[34]Merse (1965) describes Rawang as pronominalized although this specific article does not provide detailed information.

[35]Nocte is an Eastern Naga language (Benedict's Konyak Naga; Voegelin and Voegelin's Tangsa) which if not identical to is at least dialectally extremely similar to Namsangia Naga, originally described by Robinson (1849). Das Gupta gives no reference to this earlier work, however, and makes no attempt to subclassify Nocte within T-B. The actual name 'Nocte' appears nowhere else in the literature.

[36]The early literature, including the LSI, makes no mention of this language of west-central Nepal. David Watters (personal communication) has suggested that the Kham tribes were formerly ethnically identified with the Magars and that their language, which differs considerably, was simply hypothesized to be Magari (non-pronominalized of Shafer's West Central Himalayish section). Watters, as yet, has not to his own satisfaction been able to subclassify Kham within T-B, partly because he is not convinced by the Munda substratum hypothesis.

[37]Using Shafer's (1966) classification there are 1) in the Bodic division: Bunan (North-northwest branch of West Himalayish section), Manchati and Kanauri (Northwest branch of West Himalayish section), Vayu and Chepang (West Central Himalayish section), Bahing (Western branch of East Himalayish section), Limbu (Eastern branch of East Himalayish section), Jyarung (Jyarung section) and Kham (unclassified, see note 36); 2) in the Burmic division: Rawang (Nungish section), Jinghpaw (Kachinish section), Lushai (Central branch of Kukish section) and Tiddim Chin (Northern branch of Kukish section); 3) in the Baric division: Nocte (Nagish section). Benedict's (1972) main divisions sometimes cross-cut with Shafer's. For instance Shafer's Bodic division

is separated into two groups: Tibeto-kanauri and Bahing-
Vayu. This would have the effect of splitting off the
Western Pronominalized group from the Eastern, suggesting
1) that, if true, an outside influence would have to have
been independently exerted in both groups or 2) that any
commonalities in the verb structure between these two groups
must revert to a common stage predating their separation
from Proto-T-B, in which case non-pronominalized languages
such as Tibetan and Gurung (Tibeto-Kanauri) would also
have been pronominalized at earlier stages or 3) that both
groups have innovated independently of one another. Voegelin
and Voegelin (1973), in a different view, group together
all of Shafer's pronominalized subgroups into a category
called Gyarung-Mishmi which also takes in non-pronominalized
languages (including the Abor-Miri-Dafla group) in a separate
subgroup, but excludes Tibetan entirely. (Voegelin and
Voegelin are in error in remarking that Jyarung is non-
pronominalized and that it is spoken around the Darjeeling
area of India (near Sikkim). They no doubt based these
conclusions on Hodgson's (1848b) Jyarung data which were
collected in Darjeeling from a traveler. Hodgson did not
collect sufficient data to recognize it as pronominalized.
Another error is the assertion that Monpa is equivalent
to Limbu. The two are entirely distinct, Monpa, for ex-
ample, being non-pronominalized; cf Das Gupta 1968.)

[38]Hunter's (1868) compendium of lexical correspondences in
some 140 Asian languages (about half being T-B) based on
Hodgson's life work, is a good source for initial comparison,
as it suggests appropriate ways to continue investigation.

[39]In most, but not all, cases it will be the vocalic element
of the proto-root which is in doubt. Consonants generally
seem more conservative, though even here, very common phono-
logical processes such as palatalization can operate to con-
fuse the issue. I would stress that data from any language
used to establish the root can be disallowed by showing that
its phonological history would make the segments on which
the comparison was based inappropriate to earlier stages
of its development. Hopefully the relatively large number
of languages compared will level out some of this uncer-
tainty.

[40]These terms are not as closed to controversy as might be
hoped. In some languages such as Bahing a division is
made within the so-called intransitive category between
"true" intransitives and a set of verbs without objects
which nevertheless require affixes more appropriate to
"true" transitive verbs (cf sec. 2.22). The inclusion of
a verb in one category or the other seems to be lexically
determined.

[41] The true situation is again oversimplified. For numbers other than singular it is sometimes possible to set off the subject from the object. Michaelovsky (1974) presents a detailed account of the semantic and morphological complexities involved in Hayu (Vayu) transitive verb agreement which puts the issue in sharper focus.

[42] It seems to be mainly the southern dialect of Jinghpaw that Hanson is describing, although it is difficult to be certain of this. In any event the dialect described by Hertz (1955), which seems comparable to Hanson's Cowrie dialect on a comparison of certain pronominal affixes, does not appear to exhibit these distinctions.

[43] Not considering the total system of this morphological type can perhaps lead to difficulties when examining pronominal roots across languages. Some seemingly arbitrary decision will have to be made to select one of the tense/aspect concord forms in languages which exhibit this peculiarity, to compare with the roots in a language lacking the distinction. The solution adopted has been to compare only the present(/future) set of roots, which in most situations seems to represent the "unmarked" category.

[44] It is very difficult to establish unequivocal cognates in the transitive paradigm without having first performed the basic spadework on identifying the pronominal roots in simpler systems. However, a case can possibley be constructed for considering Vayu 3 pl → sg -gno-me and 3 pl → 3 sg -me as resembling the two respective Jg 3 pl forms.

[45] The phenomenon is not restricted to T-B however. It occurs in many North American languages, for example.

[46] The basic phonological shape of this root indicates a distinction on an equal par with the person distinction and not subordinated to a 1st person category as the incl/excl is usually conceived. In other words the original situation would have had a person distinction consisting of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, incl, and excl, mumber distinctions not being possible in 1st person. The comparative evidence, which could not be considered here, supports this contention by showing no plural marker reconstructable for 1st person although such an affix can be set up for 2nd and possible even 3rd persons. The demonstration of this view is currently in progress.

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