TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES AND CLASSIFICATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages are the principal languages of the Himalayan region, spoken from Kashmir in the west, across the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan regions of India, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Tibet and China, and into Southeast Asia across Burma, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam. There are several hundred languages known, and doubtless some others yet to be identified.

Various maps of the TB languages have been produced recently. For those in Southeast Asia, see Wurm and Hattori (1981/1983); concerning China, see Wurm et al. (1987/1991). A relatively comprehensive picture of TB and other languages in Burma is given in Moseley (1994). The TB languages which are used as languages of wider communication are discussed and mapped in Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Tryon (forthcoming), and those which are dying are found in Wurm (1996). Van Driem (forthcoming) deals with the languages of Nepal, and van Driem (1992) those of Bhutan. However, detailed maps of the TB languages of the rest of South Asia are provided here for the first time, as well as an appendix showing the names and approximate 1995 populations of all TB groups.

Hale (1982) is a recent and extremely useful bibliographical summary for all TB languages. A fuller bibliography of linguistic studies of all the TB and other languages of Nepal by Toba (1991) provides an excellent resource for languages of this area, including some which extend outside Nepal. In the discussion and references below, the major recent studies of TB languages of the Himalayan region, especially in South Asia, are cited. Two excellent recent compilation volumes for the TB languages of China, Sun (1991) and Dai (1992), have provided further data on some of these as well as many other TB languages.

There are two main classifications of TB languages in use; one is that of Shafer (1974), which splits it into four main parts: Bodic, Baric, Burmic and Karenic; the other is that of Benedict (1972), with eight subgroups plus an 'other' category. These nine subgroups have been reclassified by Benedict (1976) into three groups. For a comparison of these and earlier classifications, see Hale (1982).

With additional data on languages of China and north-eastern India, it has become clear that some revisions are needed; specifically, some of Benedict's 'other' languages, classified tentatively as Burmic by Shafer, form an additional group called the Qiang group by Sun (1983b), some of the Rong languages by Thurgood (1985), and here the North-eastern TB

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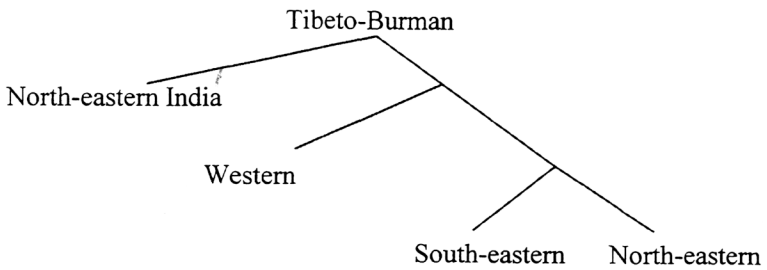
languages. Shafer's classification of a number of specific languages and language groups has proven doubtful; for example, most languages of his Burmic group are here included in the Burmese-Lolo or Kuki-Chin subgroups of the South-eastern TB group, but some others such as Jinghpaw are in the North-eastern India TB group and others such as Qiang are in the North-eastern TB group.

The classification of some languages is uncertain, in most cases due to very extensive contact: Bai and Tujia with Chinese, the Nungish languages with Burmese-Lolo languages, Lepcha with a variety of TB languages and so on. It appears that the overall pattern can be summarised as below:



The North-eastern India group includes Shafer's Baric group, also known as Benedict's Bodo-Garo-Konyak group, now usually known as the Sal group from a name suggested by Burling (1983b); plus the Jinghpaw (Kachin) and Sak or Luish group; it has some lexical peculiarities not shared with other TB languages; most languages have some morphology including parts of that reconstructed for Proto TB by Wolfenden (1929), but relatively simple tonal systems. This group and others have been linked geographically by Matisoff, in his Kamarupan group.

The Western group corresponds mainly to Shafer's Bodic group and Benedict's Tibetan/Kanauri plus Himalayan, with a few additions. In this classification the Western group is divided into Bodic (including Tibetan), and Himalayan. Bodic has four subgroups: Tibetan proper; Western Bodish (Gurung or Tamang) subgroup, Eastern Bodish or Monpa, and eastern Bodic or Tshangla subgroup, and the Kanauri subgroup, also known as West Himalayish. Himalayan falls into the relatively homogeneous Kiranti or Rai subgroup and the more disparate western subgroup, which includes various languages not classified as Bodic by Shafer, including Newari and Chepang. Most of these languages have extensive secondary morphology, especially on verbs; many have word rather than syllable tone systems, often involving phonation as well, while some are non-tonal.

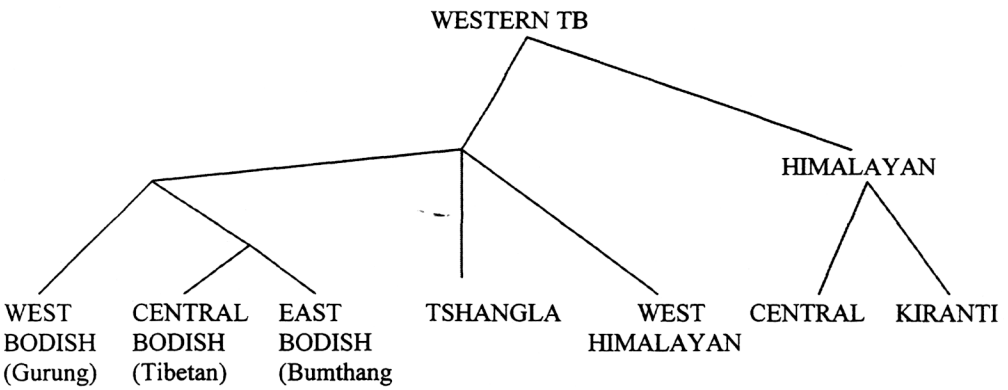
The North-eastern India group includes the Central subgroup (languages of the border between north-eastern India and Tibet, also northern Burma and adjacent areas of China); some scholars such as Thurgood have linked this with the core North-eastern or Qiang subgroup. The latter languages have substantial shared verb morphology; most are tonal. Some of the southern North-eastern group languages are lexically transitional to South-eastern, but are phonologically and morphologically more typical of North-eastern. These include the Nungish and Naxi languages.

The South-eastern group includes Shafer's Kukish/Benedict's Kuki-Chin-(Southern) Naga; the Burmese-Lolo subgroup; and the Karen subgroup. Apart from Kuki-Chin, which

is typologically similar to the adjacent North-eastern India languages in having some preserved and some innovative morphology and relatively simple tonal systems, these languages tend to have very little morphology and complex tonal systems typical of the *northern South-east and southern East Asian linguistic area. Of all the TB languages, the* Karen subgroup is the only one to have SVO syntax; but even Karen retains various verb-final syntactic characteristics. Bai also shows SVO as an alternative possibility; it has been heavily influenced for millennia by SVO Chinese. All other TB languages are SOV.

2. WESTERN TB OR BODIC

This group comprises two main branches: Tibetan and other closely related languages on the one hand, and the TB languages south of the main Himalayan range, from north-western India across Nepal and Sikkim. The relationship between these languages can be shown as follows.



2.1 BODISH

This subgroup includes Tibetan proper. Apart from literary Tibetan with its long history and continuing use as the liturgical language of a variety of Buddhism, there are many regional and local varieties which serve as the spoken Low corresponding to the literary High in a diglossic pattern. Some of these regional Lows have more widespread use; this includes the Low of Lhasa, the traditional capital of Tibet, which is used as a spoken lingua franca among Tibetans in South Asia and elsewhere. In much of central and eastern Tibet a variety of Kham spoken Tibetan is used as a lingua franca by herdsmen, and is thus known as Brokpa, literally 'herdsman'.

Many TB groups on the margins of Tibet have adopted Tibetan Buddhism, and some of these speak languages which are also Bodish, while others speak North-eastern TB languages. Those in more intimate contact with Tibetans may tend to become Tibetanised, with their languages showing this process. One such example is Baima, the northernmost North-eastern Tibetan language, which some scholars prefer to regard as a variety of Tibetan; see for example Nishida and Sun (1990) who support this view.

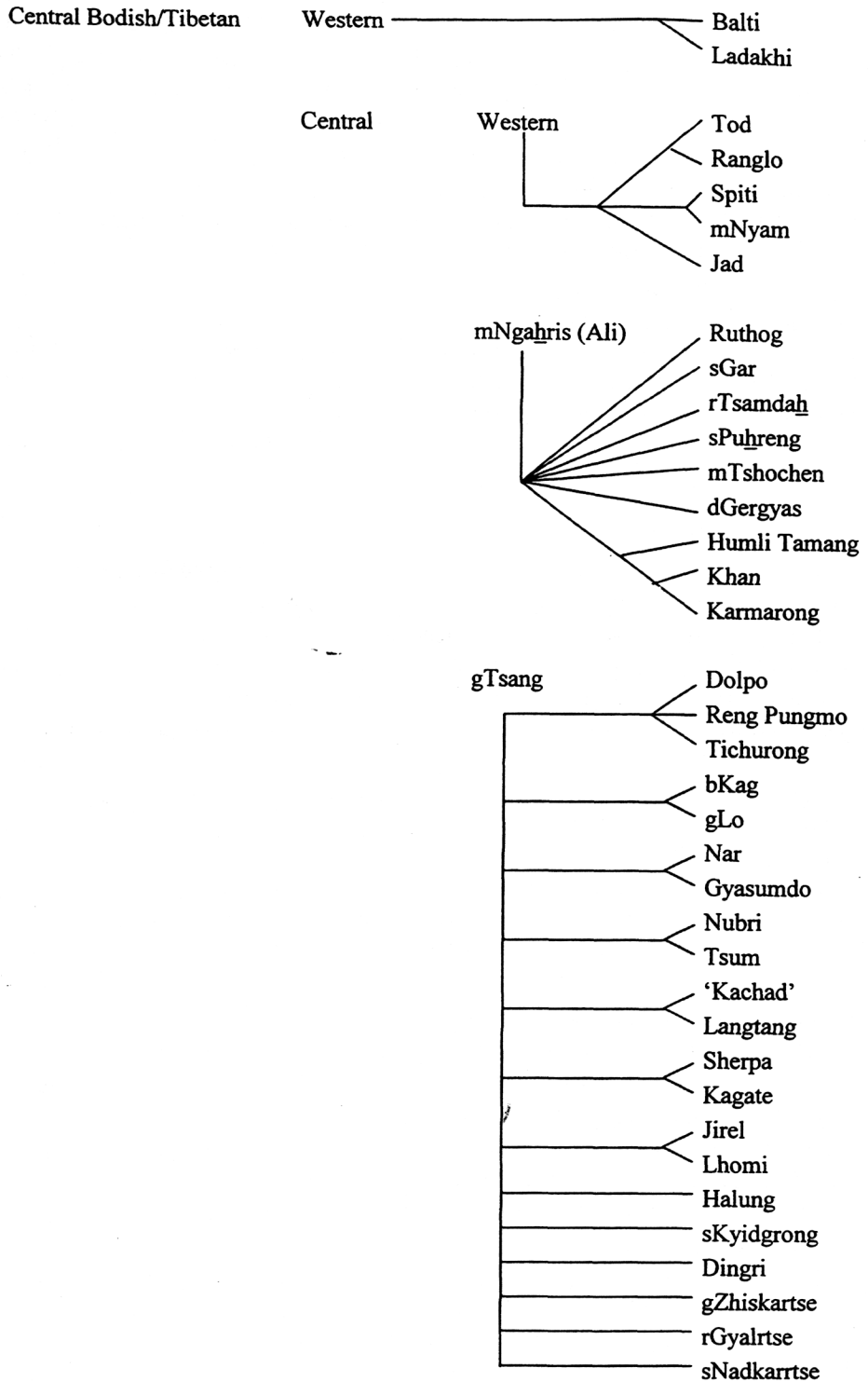
There are two non-Tibetan subgroups of Bodish. One is West Bodish, also sometimes known as the Gurung group or the Tamang group from the two languages with the largest number of speakers. This includes Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Manang, Kaike and Ghale; the last two are close to Tibetan linguistically, and thus perhaps transitional between West Bodish and Tibetan. The other is East Bodish, which includes the large Tshangla group.

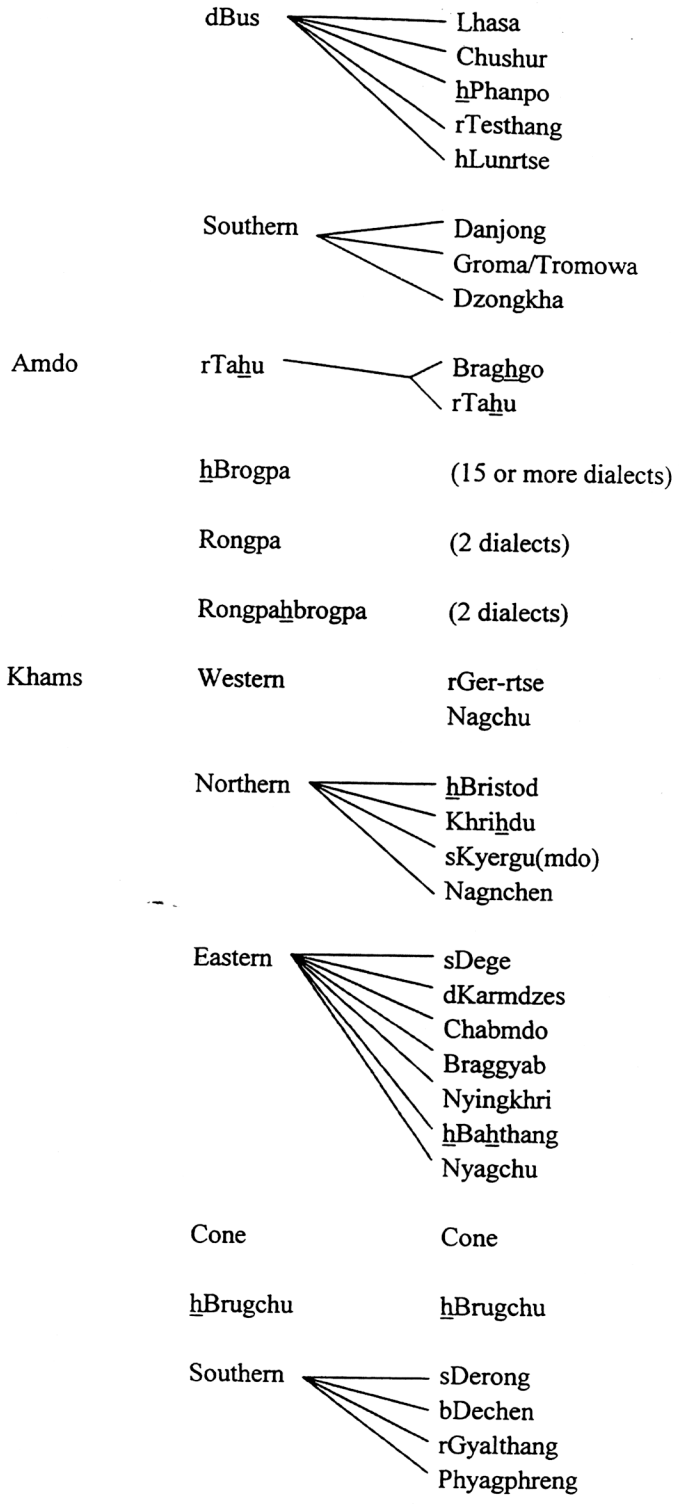
2.1.1 CENTRAL BODISH (TIBETAN)

Some sources suggest as many as 6.5 million speakers of Tibetan, but this is an overestimate; the actual total is probably less than five million. Also very close to Tibetan but linguistically distinct are the Monpa group of eastern Bhutan and adjacent areas of India and Tibet to the east. Within 'Tibetan' itself there is a vast range of varieties, nearly all of which are linked by sharing Tibetan Buddhism and thus literary Tibetan as a koine. Scholars tend to divide this range into Western, Central, Southern, Amdo (mostly north-eastern) and Khams (mostly eastern) subgroups. In India and Nepal most Tibetans are pejoratively called Bhotia, and in China they are called Zang [tsaŋ^{51}]. Apart from its role as the language of Tibet, varieties of Tibetan are or were the official language of various kingdoms, from Ladakh in the west to Mustang in north central Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and so on.

The Tibetan-speaking area has been divided among various provinces in China, including the 'Tibetan Autonomous Region', north-western Yunnan, western Sichuan, much of Qinghai and parts of Gansu. Tibetan Buddhist influence formerly spread even further, into the Mongol areas to the north-east. The events of 1959 added substantial numbers of 'standard' Lhasa speakers to India and Nepal as refugees. Closure of the Indian-Tibetan border in 1965 further disrupted traditional trading relationships and left small 'Bhotia' populations speaking divergent Central and Southern Tibetan varieties cut off. In Nepal, the northern quarter of the country is inhabited mainly by Central and Southern Tibetan speakers, with large post-1959 refugee groups around Kathmandu and elsewhere. Apart from the speakers of Nepali, nearly all the population of Bhutan and Sikkim speak some variety of Tibetan or Monpa. Tibetan is also spoken by a few in northernmost Burma. A conservative total is nearly 4.9 million speakers. This total does not include the West Bodish (Gurung, Tamang) Group with nearly 800,000 and the East Bodish, Bumthang or Monpa Group with nearly 150,000 speakers. More distant are the Tshangla Group, three languages with nearly 150,000 speakers in Bhutan. Not included are the rGyarung and several other groups of western Sichuan who are within the cultural orbit of Tibetan Buddhism but speak distinct languages of the North-eastern TB Group. These latter groups, however, are included within the Tibetan nationality in China; hence the total population of the Tibetan nationality in China, 4.6 million in 1990, is higher than the number of Tibetan speakers there, approximately 4.3 million.

I am grateful to George van Driem and Warren W. Glover for some of the information in this section. It should be noted that the names of many Tibetan varieties include the suffix *-pa/-po* 'people' or the suffix *-sKad/-kad/-kat* or *-ka/-kha* 'speech'. The following indicates the names and relationships within Central Bodish.


Central Bodish/Tibetan
Western
Balti
Ladakhi
Central
Western
Tod
Ranglo
Spiti
mNyam
Jad
mNgahris (Ali)
Ruthog
sGar
rTsamdah
sPuhreng
mTshochen
dGergyas
Humli Tamang
Khan
Karmarong
gTsang
Dolpo
Reng Pungmo
Tichurong
bKag
gLo
Nar
Gyasumdo
Nubri
Tsum
'Kachad'
Langtang
Sherpa
Kagate
Jirel
Lhomi
Halung
sKyidgrong
Dingri
gZhiskartse
rGyalrtse
sNadkarrtse


dBus
Lhasa
Chushur
hPhanpo
rTesthang
hLunrtse
Southern
Danjong
Groma/Tromowa
Dzongkha
Amdo
rTahu
Braghgo
rTahu
hBrogpa
(15 or more dialects)
Rongpa
(2 dialects)
Rongpahbrogpa
(2 dialects)
Khams
Western
rGer-rtse
Nagchu
Northern
hBristod
Khrihdu
sKyergu(mdo)
Nagnchen
Eastern
sDege
dKarmdzes
Chabmdo
Braggyab
Nyingkhri
hBahthang
Nyagchu
Cone
Cone
hBrugchu
hBrugchu
Southern
sDerong
bDechen
rGyalthang
Phyagphreng

2.1.1.1 WESTERN TIBETAN

These languages are spoken in Kashmir, and are non-tonal. They are in various other ways phonologically conservative, for example reflecting the written Tibetan *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, *r-* and *l-* prefixes directly.

Balti is spoken by a Moslem population of over 300,000 in the Baltistan area of northern Kashmir around Skardu and Khappalu, and written in an Arabic script. In the Indian-administered area around Kargil is the Purik dialect of Balti. There are about 45,000 speakers in the Indian-controlled area, and over 250,000 in the Pakistan-controlled area.

Ladakhi is the local Tibetan variety of the Ladakh area around the town of Leh in Indian-administered north-eastern Kashmir; it is also known as Ladwags from its local name. The most recent description is Koshal (1979). As the lingua franca of the area, it is also spoken by some Sh(r)ina (Dardic) speakers and others. As a first language, it has about 75,000 speakers. In the Zangskar valley to the south-west there is a distinct dialect with about 5,000 speakers.

2.1.1.2 CENTRAL TIBETAN

2.1.1.2.1 WESTERN SUBGROUP

Some of these varieties, spoken by about 25,000 people in India, are included in the Western Group by other scholars; this includes the varieties of Tibetan spoken in Lahul, sometimes incorrectly lumped into a category 'Lahuli' along with several West Himalayish languages of the lower valleys in the same area. Nishi (1986) calls these 'Western Innovative' and hence suggests a closer grouping with Ladakhi, Purik and Balti to the north-west.

Several closely related varieties of Tibetan locally known as Tod and Ranglo are spoken in Lahul, and are sometimes also called 'Lahuli'; these should be distinguished from the other TB languages of Lahul, Pattani, Tinan and Bunan. Tod (Tibetan for 'upper') is spoken in the Tod valley by about 1,700; and Ranglo (also sometimes known as Khoksar from the name of the largest village) to the north of the Rohtang Pass by some 1,000 in four villages. These and other varieties of Tibetan indigenous to northern India are often classified as Bhotia in census and other Indian sources.

Known to its over 12,000 speakers as Piti from the local placename Spiti, mNyam is spoken in the Spiti valley. To its south in Kanaur is mNyamskad or Nyamkat, with fewer speakers. Spiti can be divided into four dialects, Tod ('upper'), Bhar, Pin and Sham.

The Jad variety of Tibetan is underenumerated; census data suggest only a few hundred 'Bhotia' speakers in the area, but this is incorrect. They are locally known as Garhwal Bhotia, but should not be confused with the Rangpa or Marchha people to the east, who are also sometimes classified as 'Bhotia' but speak the West Himalayish language Rangkhas.

The mNgahris subgroup of Central Tibetan is mostly found in Ngari (Chinese Ali) Prefecture in western Tibet. It also extends into north-western Nepal, where it includes the so-called 'Humli Tamang' (who of course are not Tamang), Khan, and Karmarong varieties. There are seven varieties in Tibet, named from the principal towns of each: Ruthog, sGar (Gartok), rTsamdah, sPuhreng, mTshochen and dGergyas are six varieties, with a seventh

in the western part of adjacent Shigatse Prefecture. However, the north-eastern part of Ngari is inhabited by speakers of a Western Khams variety, sGer-rtse. For more details on these varieties, see Qu and Tan (1983); the total number of speakers is about 40,000.

2.1.1.2.2 GTSANG

This subgroup of Central Tibetan includes most of the Tibetan varieties in northern Nepal as well as those of the large towns of Shigatse and Gyantse. There is more detail available on the subvarieties of Nepal. The total 'Bhote' population of Nepal in 1981 was enumerated at about 74,000; this figure is too low, as the Sherpa total alone for Nepal is nearly 50,000. Most other varieties have a few thousand speakers each, for a total of about another 50,000, as well as some 460,000 in China or over 560,000 in total.

In some valleys of northern central Nepal, there are various gTsang varieties spoken. The Dolpo, Reng Pungmo and Tichurong varieties are sometimes collectively known as Dolpo, and are spoken in the Dolpo region of north-western central Nepal. The bKag and gLo varieties are spoken in the Mustang area; gLo or Lo in Mustang itself, and bKag or Kag to the south. The four varieties known (from west to east) as Nar, Gyasumdo, Nubri and Tsum are spoken to the north of the Gurung area. Webster (1992) surveyed the eastern part of this area and reports a population of about 3,200 Nubri and about the same number of Tsum speakers. Kachad and Langtang 'Bhotia' are spoken to the north of Kathmandu.

The Sherpa group of over 70,000 with some 50,000 speakers is well known for its mountaineering exploits. It is found mostly in north-eastern Nepal but also in China (about 800) and in the Darjeeling area of India (about 20,000, but many do not speak Sherpa). Its name means 'eastern people'. Closely related is Kagate, spoken to the south of the eastern Sherpa area by a small group.

The Jirel, Lhomi and Halung varieties are spoken in north-eastern Nepal. Jirel lies between the two main Sherpa areas and is spoken by about 3,000; Lhomi (hLomi, Kath Bhotia) is spoken by over 4,000 to the east of Sherpa; and Halung is spoken further east, north of the Limbu. See Vesalainen and Vesalainen (1980). Jirel and Lhomi are particularly similar.

2.1.1.2.3 GTSANG VARIETIES OF TIBET

In south-western Tibet various local varieties are spoken, including sKyidgrong, Dingri, gZhiskartse (Shigatse), rGyalrtse (Gyantse) and sNadkarrtse. In China, the total number of speakers is nearly 460,000.

2.1.1.2.4 DBUS

This is 'central' Central Tibetan, with about 900,000 speakers including most Tibetan refugees. It includes Lhasa (hLasa), Chushur, hPhanpo, rTsethang and hLunrtse varieties, among others, and extends into north-western and north-eastern Bhutan with about 50,000 speakers there. There are over 150,000 speakers among the various Tibetan refugee communities around the world, mainly in India and Nepal.

The local speech of Lhasa is the 'standard' variety of Tibetan spoken in and around the traditional capital; it is more generally known as 'central' dBus (transliterated from the written name) or Ü ([y], from the spoken version of the same word). It has diglossia between a literary variety used mostly for religious purposes but also for other reading-related activities, and a spoken variety. The literary diglossic 'High', which is phonologically conservative, is used throughout the Tibetan Buddhist area, but the spoken Lhasa variety was mainly limited to the central area until it was spread by education. Educated people from other areas of Tibet traditionally retained their local variety and learned the literary variety, which also served as a koine. The Lhasa variety has about 450,000 first-variety speakers, including most of the nearly 150,000 Tibetan refugees in Nepal, India and most Western countries. A classic description of this is found in Yu and Chao (1930); for more recent spoken materials, see Chang and Shefts (1978-1981).

2.1.1.2.4.1 SOUTHERN TIBETAN

These groups speak a slightly divergent type of Central Tibetan; most of the approximately 500,000 speakers live in Sikkim and Bhutan.

Tromowa or Gromo is the speech of the Chumbi valley between Sikkim and Bhutan. Danjong(ka), the language of the Sikkimese court, is spoken by over 70,000 people in Sikkim and adjacent areas and used in education in Sikkim; a slightly modified version of the Tibetan script is in use.

Dzongkha, the language of the fort (dzong), also sometimes known as Drukpa, is the Tibetan variety of the western third of Bhutan, with about 225,000 first-language speakers. For details of Tibetan varieties in Bhutan, see van Driem (1992). Recent language policy activities have developed a slightly modified Tibetan script for Dzongkha, and have spread Dzongkha as the national language throughout Bhutan, to speakers of Bumthang and Tshangla among other languages.

2.1.1.3 AMDO (NORTH-EASTERN) TIBETAN

These varieties are archaic in some ways, for example in the retention of nasal prefixes including h- (known in the Tibetan orthography as h-chung). Included is the frequently cited Golok (mGolog) variety among many others. Chinese sources divide Amdo into four subgroups: hBrogpa (nearly 540,000), Rongba (nearly 100,000), Rongba-hBrogpa (113,000) and the isolated southern rTahu (60,000); they suggest a total of about 810,000 speakers, which may be underenumerated. Within rTahu, Nishi (1986) identifies Braghgo and rTahu varieties. Various sources give fifteen or more named varieties within hBrogpa. Rongba includes two or more varieties, and Rongba-hBrogpa is transitional between them, with two or more varieties. One variety is described in Sun (1986).

2.1.1.4 KHAMS (SOUTH-EASTERN) TIBETAN

Not all scholars agree with the Chinese in attributing rGer-rtse (spoken in north-eastern Ngari Prefecture in western Tibet) to the Khams group, but if this is accepted then Khams is the most widespread subtype of Tibetan, extending from fairly far west to the furthest east

and south of all Tibetan traditional territory. Chinese sources suggest nearly 1.5 million speakers; there are also eight villages in northernmost Burma. Khams is also the lingua franca of Tibetan herdsmen over an even wider area.

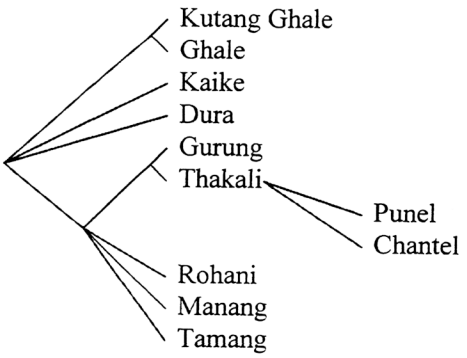
A Western Khams variety known as rGer-rtse is spoken in Ngari Prefecture, with very sparse population in a band to the north-east and extending to the north of almost the entire Central Tibetan area, with Nagchu among other varieties included. These varieties account for about 160,000 speakers.

The largest group of Khams varieties is Eastern Khams, with nearly 960,000 speakers; this includes at least ten varieties including sDege, dKarmdzes, Chabmdo, Braggyab, Nyingkhri, hBahthang, Nyagchu and others. Northern Khams has about 91,000 speakers in a sparsely settled region; this includes hBristod, Khrihdu, sKyergu(mdo) and Nangchen varieties. All of the Tibetans in Yunnan Province and some of those in south-westernmost Sichuan Province speak Southern Khams varieties; speakers number about 135,000, with varieties being sDerong, bDechen, rGyalthang and Phyaphreng.

The Cone variety of Khams, with about 77,000 speakers, along with the hBrugchu to their east, are separated from the rest of Khams by much of the Amdo-speaking area. The hBrugchu type of Khams, spoken by about 30,000 people, is the easternmost of all Tibetan groups.

2.1.2 WEST BODISH (GURUNG, TAMANG) GROUP

Many members of these groups have moved away from traditional areas, and now speak only Nepali. Within some groups such as the Gurung there is a cultural and religious continuum from north (Buddhism) to south (Hinduisation). Transitional between the core Gurung Group and Tibetan are Ghale and Kaike. Some scholars prefer to call this the Tamang Group, after the language with the most speakers. The following shows the relationships within West Bodish. As noted below, there is very substantial dialect diversification within Gurung and Tamang.



Kutang Ghale was first reported in Webster (1992), and is the north-easternmost West Bodish language, spoken between the Tibetan varieties of Nubri and Tsum. Kutang is a local name for the area; the 1,300 speakers call themselves Bhotte and are culturally Tibetan and in close contact with the adjacent Nubri and Tsum; however, what they speak is linguistically closer to Ghale. Hence Webster (1992) coins the name Kutang Ghale for the language.

The Ghale language, with about 15,000 speakers in 33 villages, and Kaike are culturally closer to Tibetan than to the rest of this group; they also show the linguistic effects of contact with Tibetan. Some 'Gurung' actually speak Ghale, and some 'Ghale' speak Gurung; the map shows the linguistic situation.

Kaike is spoken by the 'Magar' of three villages, a total of about 2,000 people; it is also sometimes known as Tarali Kham though it is quite different from Kham, a Himalayan language of western Nepal.

In the eastern part of the Gurung range, there are small numbers of Dura speakers; the language is being replaced by Gurung and Nepali, but is still spoken by some older people. No linguistic description is available, but it is said to be quite distinct from Gurung.

Gurung, with over 200,000 members of the ethnic group and perhaps 150,000 speakers, has two major dialects, west and east, which are so different as to lead to lack of mutual intelligibility. There are subdialects within each variety. There is a recent tendency to call this group by its autonym, Tamu.

The Thakali are a numerically small but economically important group of about 5,000 speakers. They are also known as Thaksya, or by the autonym Tapaang. Usually included in the Thakali are the closely related Panchgaon ('five village') people to the north, including Punel (Marpha village), Syangtani (Syang village) and Chhimtani. The Thakali are vigorous and successful traders throughout Nepal, and traditionally into Tibet. The Chantel to the south-west of the Thakali are concentrated in Myagdi and Baglung villages. Linguistic data is limited, but de Sales (1993) suggests that Chantel is a variety of Thakali spoken by part of a composite group of former copper miners in Myagdi. The Chantel of Baglung, she claims, have always spoken Nepali.

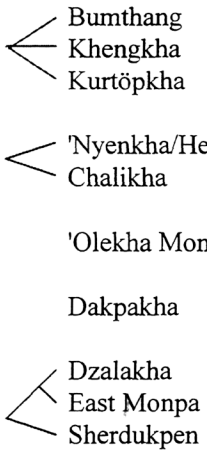
Rohani is a small TB-speaking group to the south of the Thakali and west of the Gurung. Due to lack of linguistic data it is not clear whether or where it fits into the Gurung Group.

Manang is spoken by a strongly Buddhist group of about 3,000 also known as Nyishang or Nyeshang. Their language shows Tibetan influence and is in close contact with nearby varieties of Tibetan.

Tamang was formerly known as Murmi, Ishang or Sain, and is widely spoken in the hills around the Kathmandu valley; there are very large dialect differences among the approximately 600,000 speakers. Tamangs are scattered throughout Nepal and into India, but many of these no longer speak Tamang. Webster (1992) reports a small group of 3,000 to 4,000 Tamangs, who refer to themselves (in Nepali) as Gurung, at the north-western end of the Tamang area, adjacent to the Ghale in north-eastern Gorkha District.

2.1.3 EAST BODISH GROUP

This subgroup is considerably divergent from other varieties of Tibetan, and appears to form a further subgroup of Bodish. It includes some 80,000 speakers of Bumthang, Khengkha and Kurtöpkha in central Bhutan, and also the smaller 'Nyenkha or Henkha (10,000), 'Olekha Monpa, Chalikha and possibly Dakpakha languages (1,000 each) of eastern Bhutan, as well as the Dzalakha/Central Monpa/Cuona Menba and related languages or dialects. The following are the relationships within East Bodish.



This subgroup is sometimes known as the Bumthang group from the westernmost members of the cluster. The best described language in this group is known to its speakers as Dzalakha and is spoken in extreme north-eastern Bhutan by some 15,000, in Tawang District of north-western Arunachal Pradesh, India by over 30,000 where it is known as Central Monpa, and in adjacent areas of Tibet around Cuona by a further 7,000 where it is included in the Menba nationality and known as the Cuona Menba dialect. For descriptions, see Lu (1986), Das Gupta (1968) and Sun et al. (1980). Further east in north central Arunachal Pradesh and in adjacent areas of Tibet there is a smaller group of about 5,000 'East Monpa' (Indian term) or 'Motuo Menba' (Chinese term) speaking a variety similar to but distinct from Dzalakha; see Zhang (1986) for a description. In addition, there is a small group in the south-eastern part of West Kameng District; this is usually collectively known as Sherdukpen from two large villages of this group, Shergaon and Rupa (Tukpen). This group of about 4,000 is sometimes subdivided according to other village names, such as the Bot subgroup centred on Bot village, and the Lish subgroup. Their autonym is Mei.

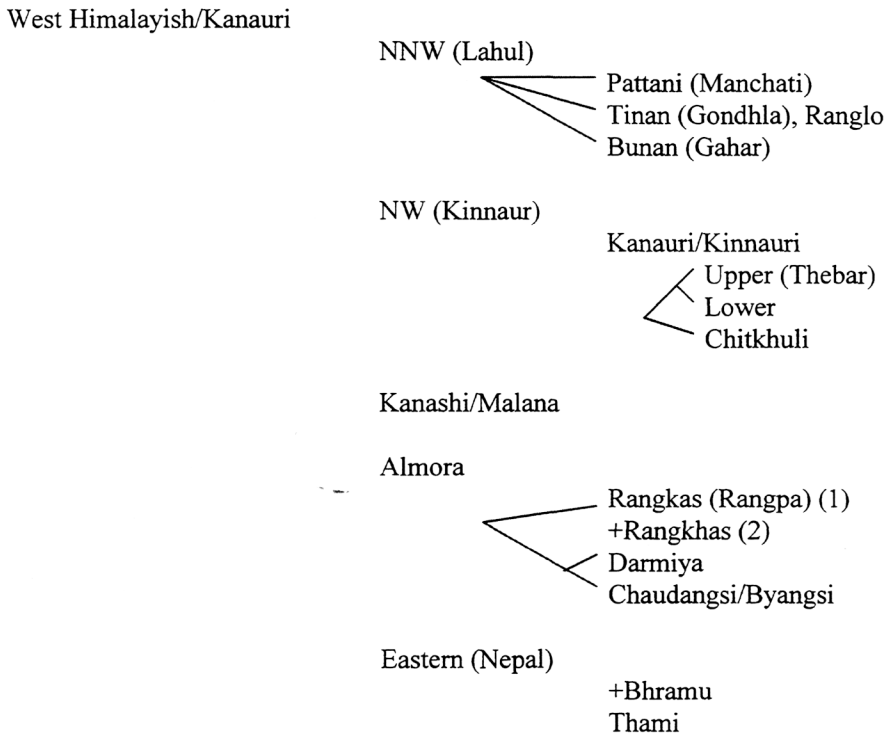
2.1.4 TSHANGLA AND EAST BODIC

The Tshangla group lives in south-eastern Bhutan and western West Kameng District of Arunachal Pradesh; in this area, Tshangla was the traditional lingua franca among the various 'Monpa' groups. Another name for the Tshangla is Sharchop 'eastern people', which refers to their geographical position in Bhutan. They are sometimes also called Southern Monpa in the literature, especially in India, and they are thus sometimes confused with the Dzalakha and other groups.

Two other small groups of Bhutan speak non-Tibetan varieties of East Bodic. These are the Lhokpu (in Dzongkha, Lhobikha) of south-western Bhutan and the Gongduk (in Dzongkha, Gongdubikha) of south central Bhutan. Van Driem (1992) suggests that these may have been the autochthonous groups of the area, prior to the migration southwards of the various Tibetan groups. The exact classification of these two groups is not yet certain.

2.1.5 WEST HIMALAYISH

Influenced by contact with Tibetan to its north but still quite distinct, various languages of Lahul, Kinnaur, Almora and western Nepal are grouped by Benedict (1972) under the term Kanauri (the former spelling of Kinnaur); earlier classifications link them instead with the TB languages of central and eastern Nepal.



These groups are Hinduised residents of the valleys of northern Himachal Pradesh and northern Uttar Pradesh. At the northern edges of this region they are in contact with the local Tibetans, and on the southern edge there is also a much larger Indic-speaking population in the lower valleys. The names for them which appear in the early literature are based mainly on Indic placenames. Some of these groups have winter villages lower down in the valleys and summer pastures and houses higher up; others are more sedentary.

The term 'Lahuli' is sometimes used to refer generally to the non-Tibetan languages of Lahul, including Pattani, Tinan and Bunan, but is not used in this way locally. What is now known in the literature as Pattani or PaTani [paṭṭani] was formerly called Manchati. It is spoken along the Chandra (upper Chinab) River by about 20,000 people who are Hindu, and shows extensive lexical influence from Indic. What is sometimes known in the literature as Chamba Lahuli is a variety of Pattani spoken by about 6,000 people in what was formerly north-eastern Chamba, along the Chinab (Chandra) River at the eastern edge of the district; this area has now been transferred administratively to Lahul. Pattani has recently been described by Devidatta Sharma (1989a), by Suhnu K. Sharma, and most recently and thoroughly by Anju Saxena, some of whose results are reported in this volume.

Tinan, Tinani or Gond(h)la is spoken by about 2,500 people south of the Chandra (upper Chinab) River just above (to the south-east of) its junction with the Bhaga River, east of Pattani. Ranglo ('near the pass') is spoken by about 1,000 people further to the east; as noted above, this is a variety of Tibetan. Tinan is closely related to Pattani. Again, much improved recent descriptions for Tinan and the adjacent varieties of Tibetan have been provided by Devidatta Sharma (1989a).

The Bunan or Ga(h)ri language is spoken along the Bhaga River in western Lahul by about 5,000 people; it shows more Tibetan influence than Pattani. Devidatta Sharma (1989a) has also described this language. To its immediate north is a variety of Tibetan locally known as Tod.

Kanauri, now also known as Kinnauri (from the modern Indian spelling of the area's name) is the non-Tibetan language of the Kinnaur area. It is spoken by about 60,000 people, and includes closely related lower and upper Kanauri (with the latter also known as Thebor or Thebar) and a divergent variety, Chitkhuli, spoken in two south-eastern villages. Again, recent descriptive work by Devidatta Sharma (1988, 1992) and Anju Saxena (1992), and further comparative work by Saxena, have greatly improved our knowledge of this language. Varieties of Tibetan are spoken further up the same valleys; in this case, Nyam and Spiti.

The Kanashi language, spoken in Malana village near Kulu by about 1,100 people, is a separate subgroup within West Himalayish. There is no recent description of this language; most scholars continue to use the hundred-year-old *Linguistic survey of India* materials; see Grierson (1903-1909). Devidatta Sharma (1992) summarises and updates these, with some additional lexical material gleaned from recent non-linguistic sources.

The Rangpa people, formerly known as March(h)a, whose language Rangkhas has recently been well described by Zoller (1983) and also by Devidatta Sharma (1990), live in north central Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh. Zoller estimated about 5,000 speakers in 1983; a current estimate would be some 7,500 speakers. In addition to being used to refer to this group, the term Rangpa has come to be used as a collective term for all of the Hinduised non-Tibetan TB groups of north-eastern Uttar Pradesh, in place of the Indic term Bhotia which is both somewhat pejorative and also does not distinguish them from the local Buddhist Tibetans further up the same valleys. The adjacent Indic-speaking Tolcha group intermarry with the Rangpa; Zoller suggests that they were also formerly speakers of a TB language.

The Darmiya are a small group in northern Almora; to their east are the Chaudangsi, and to the north-east are the very similar Byangsi. The Byangsi also live in north-eastern Nepal; sources such as Devidatta Sharma suggest that Chaudangsi and Byangsi are varieties of one language. Another group, known by the placename Johar or by the term Rangkhas (but not to be confused with the Rangpa who speak Rangkhas further to the west), live to the west of the Darmiya, but their TB language has recently been completely replaced by the local Indic language; Devidatta Sharma (1989b) summarises the available data. The total number of speakers of the three remaining languages is about 12,000, mostly in India. Recent descriptions in Devidatta Sharma (1989b) have greatly improved our knowledge of these languages.

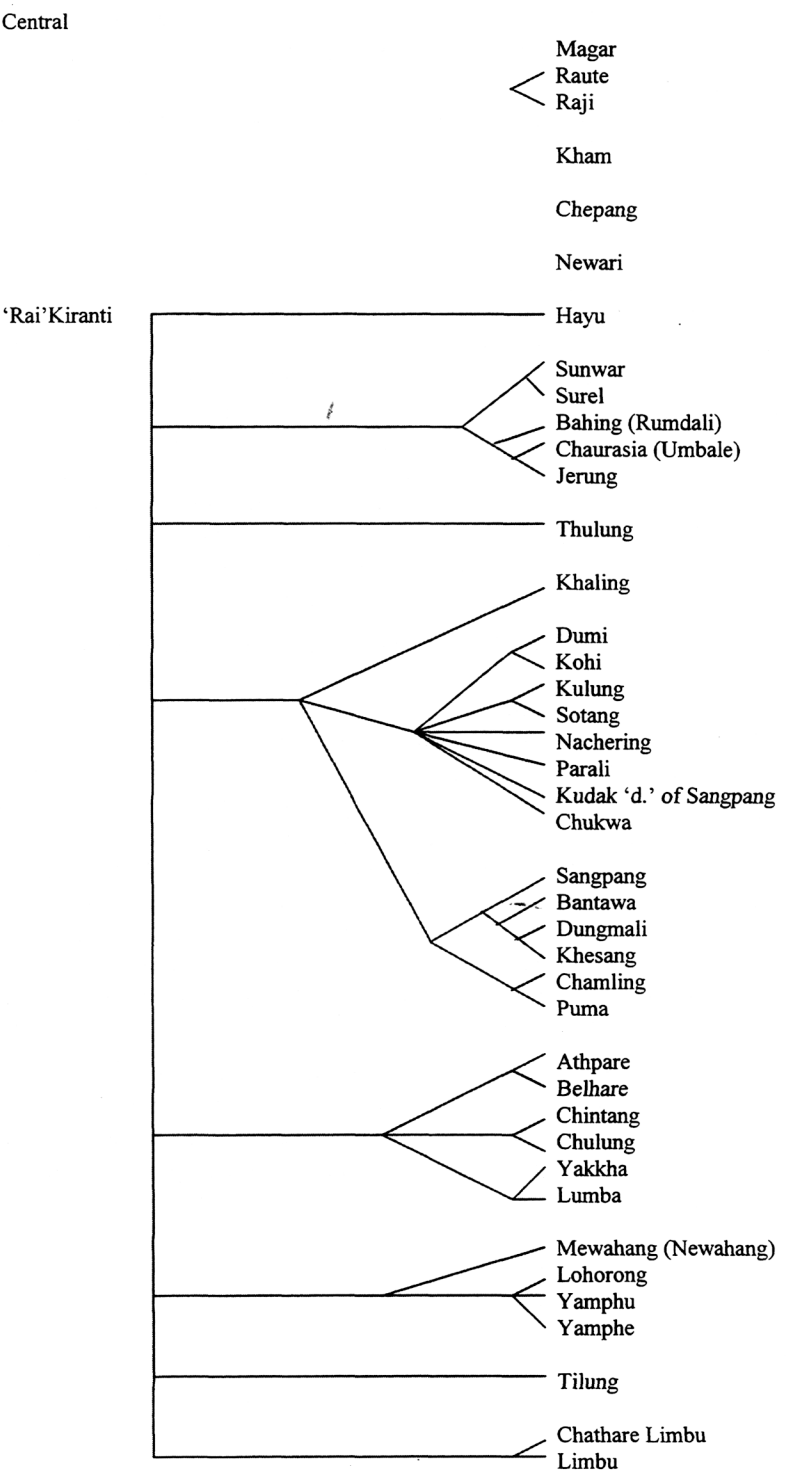
The Bhramu or Baram language was spoken to the north-west of Kathmandu; but existing descriptions date from the 1850s and the language is probably now dead. It is poorly described. The Thami language in eastern Nepal is spoken by about 14,000; it is the easternmost of what Shafer classifies among the West Himalayish (Benedict's Kanauri) languages. Toba (1990) is a dictionary of this language, which is unfortunately not yet published.

2.2 HIMALAYAN

These languages appear to form a group within TB, but some of the relationships are remote and obscured by contact. They comprise nearly all the non-Tibetan TB languages of Nepal. In general Tibetan-derived groups inhabit the northern quarter of Nepal; and Indic groups inhabit the southern quarter, the plains of the Terai. In addition there has been extensive migration which has spread Nepali, the Indic national language, northward and eastward throughout the country and into north-eastern India; and to a lesser but still substantial extent eastward migration of TB groups who retain their ethnic identity outside their traditional areas but mostly speak only Nepali. I am most grateful to George van Driem for the detailed information in a preliminary version of his forthcoming volume, on which much of this map is based. Another important source is Hansson (1991).

Grierson's (1903-1909) division into pronominalised and non-pronominalised Himalayan languages has been shown by Bauman (1975) and Caughley (1982) to be based on secondary and independent morphological developments. Shafer (1974) divides these languages into West Himalayish, West Central Himalayish and East Himalayish sections of Bodic, with Newari less closely and clearly linked. Benedict (1972) prefers to connect the West Himalayish or Kanauri languages more directly to Tibetan in his Tibetan-Kanauri, with Magar intermediate between this and his Bahing-Vayu which comprises the rest of the languages here. Glover (1974) does not consider the West Himalayish/Kanauri languages, but the rest he divides on lexical grounds into East Himalayish (Limbu plus the 'Rai' languages) and Central Himalayish, which includes the rest as well as Tibetan and its outliers. This last classification accords with the traditional classification in Nepal, which groups the 'Rai' or Kiranti TB languages of eastern Nepal as opposed to the others.

What are not included here, contra Glover, are the Bodish languages of western central Nepal: Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Manang, Ghale and Kaike; nor the numerous Tibetan dialects along the northern borders; the best known of these is Sherpa in the north-east, but virtually every northern valley in Nepal has one. Also not included are the numerous post-1959 Tibetan refugees.


Central
Magar
Raute
Raji
Kham
Chepang
Newari
'Rai'Kiranti
Hayu
Sunwar
Surel
Bahing (Rumdali)
Chaurasia (Umbale)
Jerung
Thulung
Khaling
Dumi
Kohi
Kulung
Sotang
Nachering
Parali
Kudak 'd.' of Sangpang
Chukwa
Sangpang
Bantawa
Dungmali
Khesang
Chamling
Puma
Athpare
Belhare
Chintang
Chulung
Yakkha
Lumba
Mewahang (Newahang)
Lohorong
Yamphu
Yamphe
Tilung
Chathare Limbu
Limbu

2.2.1 CENTRAL HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES

The Magar are a numerous and widely scattered group, found throughout the lower hills in western Nepal; this was formerly the language of a major kingdom in the area. The language was underenumerated at 212,681 by the 1981 census; van Driem (forthcoming) estimates 290,000 speakers. Many more Magar no longer speak the language, and some people classified as Magar speak other TB languages such as Kham.

Raute and Raji are two names for small nomadic groups of western Nepal and adjacent areas of India. Devidatta Sharma (1990) provides some data on Raji as spoken in the Kumaon region of north-eastern Uttar Pradesh in India, derived from recent work by Shobha Ram Sharma and from Grierson. His conclusion is that Raji is a Munda language with extensive contact lexicon from TB and from Indic sources. Some sources have suggested that the Raute and Raji speak Magar; more fieldwork is needed to determine whether Raute and Raji are the same or not, and if not what the linguistic position of Raute may be.

The Kham group is usually included with Magar, but speak the quite distinct language Kham (with various dialects) and call themselves Buhda. There are about 40,000 speakers, with dialects Mhai and Takale. Extensive descriptive work has been carried out by Watters.

The Chepang group calls itself [tʃjoʔbaŋ], hence its Nepali name Chepang. There are about 17,000 speakers, including some 2,000 Bujheli (autonym Gharti) in the north-west; a few hundred nomadic Bankariya in the east may also be included. Excellent descriptive work has been carried out by Caughley, with a grammar in print and a dictionary in press. This volume also contains a paper on Chepang by Caughley.

Newari is the traditional language of the Kathmandu valley, where it was the vehicle of a high civilisation using an Indic script; the earliest dated manuscript is from 1113 AD. The status of Newari has gone down since the Gurkha (Nepali-speaking) conquest of Nepal over two centuries ago, but the language is still very widely used in the Kathmandu valley and in the low hills to the east. Of its approximately 600,000 speakers, nearly all are bilingual in Nepali. Dialect differences are major; the Dolakha dialect described by Genetti is very distinct, and even between the three traditional centres of the Kathmandu valley, Kathmandu, Patan/Lalitpur and Bhaktapur, there are some differences. There has been a recent flowering of Newari literature, using the modern Devanagari script instead of the traditional Newar script, and monolingual dictionaries and grammars as well as several Newari-English dictionaries have appeared. Malla (1985) is a useful English-language grammar. A major long-term effort to produce a dictionary of classical Newari under the direction of Kamal P. Malla is also about to bear fruit. Another centre of Newari language studies is the Newari Department of the Lalitpur campus of Tribhuvan University, headed by Professor Sunder Krishna Joshi.

2.2.2 KIRANTI OR 'RAI' LANGUAGES

Apart from Limbu and Yakkha in the east and Thami (and sometimes Sunwar) in the west, all the TB languages of eastern Nepal are grouped in the category 'Rai', also known as Kiranti (or Kirat) from the former kingdom of this area. In 1981 the 'Rai' mother tongue total thus defined was 221,353; provisional 1991 results indicate about 400,000 Rai, but many do not speak their traditional languages. Some Rai languages are nearly extinct, being replaced by Nepali or by other Rai languages. For example, Bantawa is replacing some of

the smaller adjacent languages to its east. Virtually all of the Rai languages are endangered; they are being replaced by Nepali. Few of the Rai outside eastern Nepal can speak anything but Nepali. Linguistically Sunwar, Yakkha and Limbu form part of the Rai group; the total of speakers of all these languages is over 400,000. The Linguistic Survey of Nepal, a detailed survey of eastern Nepal, was undertaken with German support and directed by Werner Winter some years ago, and preliminary results (Hansson 1991) have recently become available. Some Rai languages have been well described; many still need further research, which is very urgent as most of these languages are dying. Several other Rai languages were studied by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, notably Toba's work on Khaling and that of Schulze and Bieri on Sunwar. More recently, Ebert has studied Chamling, Athpare and other languages, and a variety of studies by van Driem and his students have greatly enhanced our knowledge and understanding of Rai languages, especially verb morphology. In the following discussion, these languages are listed starting from the west.

The Hayu or Vayu language is virtually extinct, with only a small number of older speakers; it has recently been excellently described by Michailovsky (1988).

Sunwar (Nepali names Sunuwar or Bahrathar 'twelve clans') was enumerated at 10,650 in the 1981 census, but is estimated by van Driem (forthcoming) to have about 20,000 speakers, while Hansson (1991) estimates up to 25,000. Schulze and Bieri have pubished a number of descriptive studies.

Bahing is also known as Rumdali; the language is closely related to Sunwar and Chaurasia. Chaurasia is also known as Umbale; the language is extremely closely related to Jerung. The Jerung language is known to its speakers as [ɟero mala].

With about 8,000 speakers, Thulung forms a separate subgroup within the Rai languages. It has been described by Allen (1975).

With about 12,000 speakers, Khaling also constitutes an independent subgroup within Rai. Some scholars suggest that it is mutually intelligible with Dumi. This language has been extensively described by Toba.

The Dumi language is spoken fluently mainly by older people; this group has about 8,000 members by some estimates, but very few speakers, all of them old. A grammar (van Driem 1993) has recently appeared.

The Kohi or Koi group speaks a language very similar to Dumi; the two are closest to Kulung and Nachering.

Kulung, also known as Kulunge, is spoken by about 9,000 people. Sotang, also known as Sotange and centred around the village of Sotang, is said to be a dialect of Kulung. The combined total for the two is 15,000 speakers. Ongoing studies by Tolsma include the article which appears in this volume.

Nachering is the language of a fairly small group; another group, Dimali, is sometimes separated from it. The Parali dialect of Nachering is almost undescribed; it is spoken by only a very small group.

Chukwa is another independent subgroup of Rai, close to Kulung-Nachering but not part of it.

One dialect of Sangpang (or Sangpahang), spoken at Kudak is actually closer to Kulung-Nachering, but other dialects form a subgroup of Rai close to but distinct from Bantawa; this may be due to recent contact with Bantawa.

The large and dialectally diverse Bantawa Rai group is widely scattered outside its traditional area, and was also used as a lingua franca at an earlier period. Various named subgroups exist, including Pangduwali, Amchoke, Arthare, Dilpali, Wahitpang and probably others. Lambichong or Mugali is a small but distinct group whose language is being replaced by Bantawa and Nepali. Novel Kishore Rai (1978) is a pedagogically oriented grammar.

The Dungmali and Khesang language forms a subgroup of Rai fairly close to Bantawa; on the map both are shown together.

Chamling, also known as Rodong, is fairly numerous and widely scattered. Ebert has worked and published extensively on this language.

The Puma are a small Rai group whose language is similar to Chamling. Of the other Rai subgroups, Chamling and Puma are closest to Bantawa.

The Athpare language is in the Athpare-Yakkha subgroup of Rai along with Lumba, Lambichong and Chulung. Not suprisingly given its location, it shows some affinities with Chattare Limbu as well. Elbert has also worked with this language.

Belhare is the language of Belhariya village in the Athpare area, the most recently recognised of the Rai languages; it was formerly thought to be a variety of Athpare. There is substantial recent descriptive work on this by Bickel, including a paper in this volume.

Chintang is a small language in the process of being replaced by Bantawa; it is closest to Chulung. Both form part of the Athpare-Yakkha subgroup of Rai.

The small Chulung Rai group speaks a language close to Chintang.

The Yakkha are a fairly large group not usually included within the 'Rai' category, but the language is closest to Rai languages such as Athpare.

Lumba is another of the Athpare-Yakkha subgroup of Rai.

Mewahang, also referred to as Newahang, is a large language with eastern and western dialects. Several other extinct or nearly extinct Rai languages are very closely related to it; these include Saam, Sambya, Bungla and Pongyong.

With two dialects, northern and southern, the Lohorong or Lorung language forms part of the Lohorong-Yamphe group.

The Yamphu language occupies an intermediate position in its subgroup between Lohorong, Yamphe and southern Lohorong.

Yamphe is a small Rai group whose language is also known as Yakkhaba and sometimes included in Newahang/Mewahang.

The Tilung Rai group speaks a quite distinct language; it probably includes the so-called Dorungkecha Rai and Choskule Rai.

The Limbu group is divided into four subgroups, of which the south-western Chathare ('six clans') Limbu speak a distinct language. The south-eastern Panchthare ('five clans') dialect extends into India (Darjeeling and Sikkim); central Phedappe and northern

Tamarkhole varieties are spoken only in eastern Nepal. Overall, there are nearly 200,000 speakers, with over 20,000 Limbu (but fewer speakers) in India. The traditional 'Kiranti' (Limbu) script is being brought back into use, both by Limbu literati in Nepal and in the education system of Sikkim State in India. There are now published grammars of the Panchthare dialect by Weidert and Subba (1985) and of the Phedappe dialect by van Driem (1987), with an unpublished study by Michailovsky of the Tamarkhole dialect still to appear.

The Dhimal in the south-eastern corner of Nepal speak a language which is also spoken by a group known as Toto in Jalpaigiri District of West Bengal in India, just south of the south-western corner of Bhutan. Ongoing studies by Toba provide recent data on this language. Though the Dhimal themselves believe that they are closely related to the Limbu and are thus Kiranti, there appear not to be historical linguistic grounds for this belief. The language also does not fit with the reconstructions of Sal in Burling (1983), nor with those of Sun (1993) for the Adi-Mising-Nishi, Misingish or Tani portion of Central TB. Dhimal/Toto may thus form a separate subgroup within TB, or it may fit in some as yet undetermined way within Himalayan or Central TB.

3. NORTH-EAST INDIA/SAL

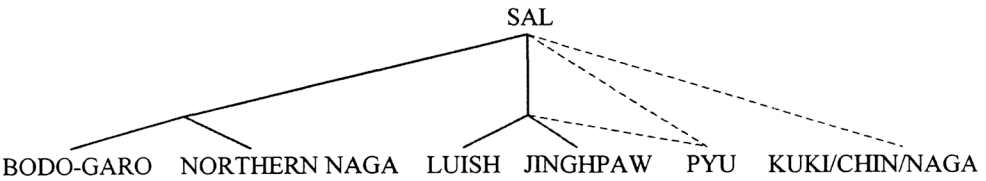
This subgroup was named by Burling (1983) from the distinctive etymon for 'sun' **sal* found in most such languages; it is characterised by numerous other innovative etyma, such as **war* 'fire', **s-raŋ* 'sky' **wa* 'father' and **nu* 'mother'. It was first proposed as a subgroup in Benedict (1976), and comprises:

(1) Shafer's Baric group (Benedict's Bodo-Garo-Northern Naga), which covers the plains of north-eastern India as well as a large area of the hills to the east of this;

(2) Jinghpaw (Kachin), the central nucleus of TB according to Benedict (1972), a part of Burmic according to Shafer;

(3) Luish (Shafer, another part of Burmic), also known as the Sak group;

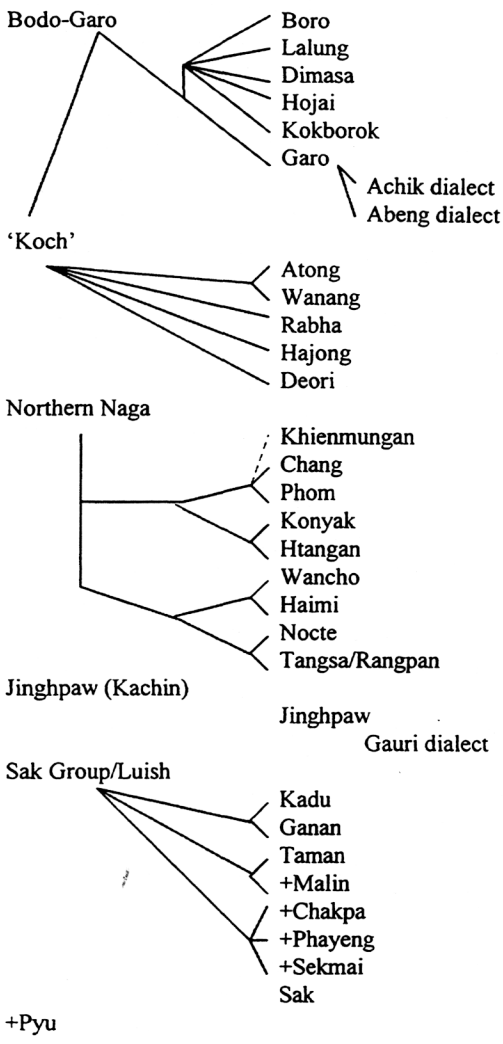
(4) Pyu, an extinct language of central Burma, also known as Tircul.



All these languages are SOV, with substantial prefix and suffix morphology. The Luish or Sak group is scattered and moribund but formerly covered a much wider area; for one view see Luce (1985). Jinghpaw is the core group in the Kachin cultural system, which also includes several Burmish and a few other groups which fit elsewhere linguistically. Baric includes Boro (Bodo, Bara, Bårå [bɔrɔ], or 'plains Kachari'), formerly the main language of the upper Brahmaputra valley in north-eastern India, with very closely related languages such as Dimas(h)a ('hills Kachari'), Kokborok (Tripuri), Lalung and so on covering the plains and low hill areas to the south, and fairly closely related Garo in the hills to the south-west; also the 'Koch' languages such as Atong, Rabha, Wanang and so on generally in the plains

to the west, with the still rather closely related Northern Naga languages of northern Nagaland, Tirap District of Arunachal Pradesh, and adjacent areas of Burma to the east. Jinghpaw is spoken in a large area immediately to the south-east of the latter, with the Sak group scattered (in an area mainly inhabited by speakers of other TB languages) to the south. Löffler (1966a) has suggested that Chakma (spoken in Bangladesh and India) and its dialect Tongcengnya (Daingna, Daingnet, Doingnak, Dengnak, Tunzunnya, spoken in Bangladesh and Burma) should be included with the Sak group, but whatever the historical facts, linguistically these are now divergent dialects of Bengali spoken by Buddhists.

BODO-GARO-NORTHERN NAGA



3.1 BODO-GARO LANGUAGES

It has recently been suggested that the large and widely-distributed Boro group has over four million members, though many of these now speak mainly or exclusively Assamese. According to All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) (1987) the total is 4,104,000, of whom most live north of the Brahmaputra in Assam, with smaller numbers south of the river, in adjacent states and into Bhutan, Nepal and Bangladesh. In some areas, such as Nepal, they are known as Mech or Meche; this is now viewed as a pejorative name in India. Another general term is Kachari; the 'plains Kachari' are Boro. The number of speakers is much smaller. 1971 census figures give over 600,000 speakers, though this is an underenumeration; a more plausible current estimate is about a million speakers. The language has a roman orthography and a Devanagari one, and is used as a medium in some primary and secondary schools.

Though 1971 census data shows only 10,650 Lalung speakers, ABSU (1987) claims 200,000 members of the Lalung group. Intermingled with Boro to its north and Garo to its south-west, this group has a language very close to Boro; though again most of the group now speaks mainly or exclusively Assamese.

Centred in the North Cachar Hills, the Dimasa or Dimasha group is also known as 'hills Kachari'; it is also scattered in adjacent areas. Census data from 1971 give nearly 38,000 speakers, ABSU (1987) claims 150,000 group members. There is an Assamese-based orthography in which a recent dictionary, Baruah (1992), has appeared; also an older but little-used roman orthography. The language has some dialect diversification.

The Hojai language of the Nowgong area in central Assam is claimed to be used by a group of 20,000 (ABSU 1987); only very limited linguistic data are available.

Kokborok is better known as Tripuri and is the indigenous language of the former princely state 'Hill Tipperah' (Tripura) in north-eastern India. It has a roman orthography as well as an earlier Indic orthography; Pai (1976) is a recent grammar. The current name Kok-borok means 'language – people'; the word for 'people' is of course related to the name of the Boro. Officially there are about 350,000 speakers, with substantial numbers in Bangladesh but concentrated in Tripura; ABSU (1987) estimates 700,000. The main dialects include the standard Debbarma (western), also Riang (Reang, south-eastern), Noatia or Tipra (eastern), plus various smaller dialects: Jamatia and Darlong (north-eastern), Aiang, Dahula, Karpong, Koloi, Laitong, Muslung and Rupini. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, the Kokborok are often known as Mrung from the Arakanese name for this group. Recent descriptions of Kokborok by Pushpa Pai have been published in India.

Garo, the language of the Garo Hills in western Meghalaya, has about half a million speakers; about ten per cent live in Bangladesh. The standard dialect, Achik, is to the east in two-thirds of the area, and the other main dialect, Abeng, is in the west. Between the two in the south is the Matabeng or Matjanchi dialect. Within Achik there are Gara and Ganching; Matchi and Dual; Chisak; and Awe or Akawe subdialects from south to north. Some 'Koch' languages (Atong, Wanang, Hajong) are also officially (but incorrectly) regarded as dialects of Garo. There is a well-established roman orthography which has replaced a former Indic orthography.

Spoken to the south-east of Garo and included in Garo census figures, Atong is a 'Koch' or 'Konch' (Western Bodo-Garo) language; available linguistic data are very limited.

Another such language is Wanang, spoken by small groups of 'Garo' at the western edge of the Garo area and by a smaller group in Jalpaiguri District of West Bengal; Burling (1961) prefers to classify it as a dialect of Rabha. The major 'Koch' group is the Rabha, immediately to the north of the Garo in the Brahmaputra valley with a number of dialects including Tintikia and possibly Wanang. ABSU (1987) claims 400,000 members, but even if there are this many Rabha, most of them now speak only Assamese. A more conservative estimate would be about 50,000 speakers. A roman orthography exists.

Hajong is another small 'Koch' language spoken to the north-west of Garo and scattered elsewhere. Burling (1961) reports another 'Koch' language, Ruga, to the south of the Garo, and other names appear elsewhere in the literature. All are poorly known; one estimate of the total number of speakers of 'Koch' kanguages (other than Rabha and Atong) is 35,000, centred around Cooch Behar.

Also known as Chutiya or Deori Chutiya, the Deori group is scattered along the Brahmaputra, and acording to Saikia (1976) is still spoken only by the Dibongiya subgroup. Figures from the 1971 census show 14,937 speakers, though ABSU (1987) suggests 150,000 members of the group. This is the most divergent of the core Bodo-Garo languages according to Benedict.

3.1.1 NORTHERN NAGA

This subgroup is Shafer's Nagish portion of Baric, where Benedict and more recently Burling also place it. Its subgrouping has been the subject of French (1983); Marrison (1967) independently separates it from the other Naga languages as his Naga A. I am very glad to acknowledge personal communications from G.E. Marrison and J. Morse in preparing this portion of the map and text. The names of 'Naga' groups are notoriously confusing and confused; Assamese or other names of villages, rivers or towns where contact occurred, clan names for the very numerous subgroups of each group, names used by other 'Naga' groups to refer to a group, autonyms and descriptive names are all used.

The Khienmungan are known in the anthropological literature as 'Kalyokengnyu' from their stone-roofed houses, this large group is the southernmost Baric 'Naga' group. About one-sixth of the group is in India but most are in Burma where parts of it are known as Nok-aw or Nauk-o (a clan name), Ponyo (a village name), Para or Paya (a Burmese name of uncertain origin) and so on. In India the Sema call them Tukhemmi and the Chang call them Aoshedd; many alternative representations of the autonym also are seen: Khiamngan, Khemungan and so on. The language is virtually undescribed, but is probably closer to the adjacent groups, that is the southern Nagish Chang, Konyak and so on, than to the northern Nagish groups.

The Chang, a small group of northern Nagaland, has nearly 20,000 speakers; a roman orthography exists, but little recent linguistic data. The Ao and Konyak name for the group is Majung, Mojung or Manjung, and the Sangtam name is Machongrr.

Phom is another relatively small group with over 20,000 speakers and a roman orthography but little linguistic data. Their former autonym was Chingmengnu, and they appear as Assiringia (a village name) and Tamlu in the literature.

Konyak is the largest 'Naga' group in India, with over 90,000 speakers and a roman orthography. It is at the northern tip of Nagaland, with a small number of speakers in adjacent areas of Burma as well. The 'standard' dialect is spoken at Wakching; in older sources this is also referred to as Tableng, Mulung, Kongon or Angwangku. Various sources list over thirty current clan or village names or varieties.

In Burma to the east of the Konyak and south of the Wancho are the Htangan; Marrison (1967) suggests that it is closely related to Konyak, if not a dialect of it; but no current linguistic or population information is available.

The Wancho are a substantial group of about 40,000, mainly at the southern tip of Tirap District of Arunachal Pradesh and extending into Burma. A roman orthography exists but is not in use. This group was formerly known as Banpara, Mutonia, Joboka or Jokoba, with subgroups Khulung-Muthun, Bor-Muthun and Horu-Muthun. It has two main subgroups: Changjan and Tangjan. Its genetic position is not agreed: French tentatively links it with Chang and attributes lexical similarities with northern Nagish to contact, while others regard it as part of northern Nagish.

Haimi is a large group in Burma with nearly twenty named clan-dialects. No linguistic data are available, but it appears to be a northern Nagish language as its speakers are developing a shared roman orthography based on the Moshang clan dialect of Rangpan.

Nocte is a large group of about 40,000, about half in India and half in Burma. There is a roman orthography in India as well as the new shared orthography in Burma. Formerly known as Namsangia (a village), Borduria (another village) or Jaipuria (a town which many Nocte visit), it has six main dialect groups: Hawajap, Japejap, Kapajap, Lazujap, Photungjap and Tangjap.

In one case, a group has two names: Tangsa in India and Rangpan in Burma. They number about 15,000 in India and somewhat more in Burma, for a total around 40,000. Again a multitude of clan and other names appear in the literature; Moshang (Mawshang) and Shangge are two such. There is a roman orthography for Tangsa and a new orthography based on the Moshang clan dialect in Burma, to be used by Rangpan/Tangsa, Nocte, Haimi, and Wancho there. This orthography is a considerable improvement on most such, as it indicates the tones.

3.2 JINGHPAW

Known in India as Singpho, in China as part of the Jingpo nationality, and in Burma as Kachin, this group (whose own name is [tʃiŋ^{31} phɔʔ^{31}]) forms the core of the Kachin culture complex in northern Burma, with minor extensions into China and India. The official 1983 population of 'Kachin' in Burma was 465,484. This includes a large number of Burmish language speakers: Maru, Atsi, Lashi and Ngochang, but is certainly an underenumeration for the wider 'Kachin' group. In China there were nearly 93,000 members of the Jingpo nationality, but only a bit over 20,000 speak Jinghpaw as their first language. In India the total is about 2,000, plus some former speakers of Thai languages who now speak Jinghpaw. A conservative current estimate of the 'Kachin' population is 0.9 million, of whom over 600,000 speak Jinghpaw as a first language, with the rest speaking it very fluently or bilingually as a second language and using it as the medium of literacy; less-fluent second-language speakers include many Rawang, Shan, Lisu and Khamti in Burma. The

Jinghpaw roman orthography is very widely used, but unfortunately does not indicate tones. Separate roman orthographies are now being developed for some Burmish 'Kachin' languages.

Within Jinghpaw there are some divergent dialects, most notably the Gauri (Kauri, Hkauri) dialect of the area just north of Bhamo in Burma. Sometimes other clan names are cited as if they were also dialect names.

3.3 SAK OR LUISH GROUP

The Kadu appear in the history of Burma as the former dominant group of the Tagaung kingdom in Upper Burma, under the name Kantu; they should of course not be confused with the eponymous Mon-Khmer group in Vietnam. Their language is moribund, surviving with only about 20,000 speakers in the hills north of Mandalay; the group's autonym is [ɑsaʔ].

Closely related to Kadu and now spoken to its immediate west, Ganan has some 7,000 speakers in about 20 villages. Both Kadu and Ganan are poorly described.

Taman is reported in one village north of Homalin in western Burma. It has fewer than a thousand known speakers, though others may be scattered nearby. The probably extinct language Malin was very close to Taman, and very small groups in adjacent areas of Manipur in India which formerly spoke closely related languages, known in the literature as Andro or Undro; Sengmai; and 'Chairel' (the last is a village name), and more recently reported under the names Phayeng, Sekmai and Chakpa. None of these languages is well described.

The Sak group is often known from the Burmese form of its name, Thet, or Arakanese That. Their autonym is [atsaʔ]; they should not be confused with the Bengali-speaking but Buddhist Chakma. The best source is Bernot (1967), but see also Luce (1985). They total about 7,000 speakers, with several thousand each in Burma and Bangladesh.

3.4 PYU

The Pyu kingdom of the central plains of Burma used a TB language probably related to the Luish group, though available data is limited. Stargardt (1990) suggests that the Pyu kingdoms were based on irrigated agriculture in side valleys of the central plain of Burma from the second century BC, with major centres at Halin (near modern Shwebo), Beikthano and later a capital at Sriksetra (near modern Prome) which developed from the fifth century AD and was probably formally established as capital in 638 AD; this date is the basis for the present Burmese era. The Pyu came into direct contact with the Chinese court in 800 AD and were conquered by the Nanzhao kingdom of western Yunnan in 832 AD and again by Burmans in the tenth and eleventh centuries AD, and fully incorporated into the Burmese Pagan kingdom from about 1050 AD. Presumably the Pyu language survived for several centuries thereafter; Luce (1985) notes a Burmese inscription as late as 1369 AD mentioning Pyu villages.

Luce (1985) suggests that the Pyu name for themselves was Tircul; Chinese sources call them Piao, and suggest an autonym Tuluozhu (probably pronounced [thuət la tɕju] in late Tang times). The Burmese name Pyu is clearly related to the Chinese and Nanzhao terms.

The language is extinct, but survives in some inscriptions; the best-known is from 1112 AD and is quadrilingual with Burmese as well as Pali and Mon. Other inscriptions from the seventh to eleventh century AD also survive; some are bilingual with Pali. Earlier inscriptions (from the fourth century AD) use the same script for Sanskrit/Pali Buddhist texts. Thus, the Pyu script is the earliest script developed for a TB language, slightly antedating Old Tibetan.

4. KUKI-CHIN

This subgroup is relatively cohesive, both geographically and linguistically, and has been extensively investigated by Shafer, who classifies it as part of Burmic. Benedict likewise links it to Burmese-Lolo. Both include here all of the 'Naga' groups apart from those in the Sal group (Northern Naga or Nagish languages). However it shows substantial lexical and morphosyntactic similarities with the adjacent Sal group, and may be more appropriately linked with it.

Names for these groups are much more numerous than distinct languages. Firstly, there are overall names: in India those who live in Nagaland and northern Manipur are often called Naga, those who live in southern Manipur and points west are usually still called Kuki, while the largest group in Mizoram has lately renamed itself Mizo (formerly Lushai). In Burma all are linked under the Burmese category Chin. For example, the Thado (or Thadou) are usually called Kuki or sometimes Thadou Kuki in India, but form part of the northern Chin group and are thus called Chin or sometimes (more specifically) Thado in Burma. One group of eastern Manipur, the Anal, decided a few years back to reclassify themselves as Naga rather than Kuki. Secondly, there are more specific names for subgroups; in many cases former names and names used by outsiders as opposed to autonyms. For example, the Arleng were formerly known as Mikir, and are now officially known by an alternative autonym, Karbi. Thirdly, some of these groups have recently been amalgamating and new names have been coined to refer to these larger groups; for example the Zeme/Nzeme (also formerly called Empeo), Liangmai (formerly called Kwoireng) and Nruanghmei (formerly called Kabui, including the Puiron dialect often referred to as a separate language) now refer to themselves as Zeliangrong, although some Zeme prefer to remain Zeme; previously, before the addition of the Nruanghmei, the term Zeliang was coined to refer to Zeme plus Liangmai, and this is still used as well. An older cover term for these three groups, Kachha Naga ('bad Naga'), for obvious reasons is no longer used. Fourthly, geographical names are sometimes used instead of the more specific subgroup names; for example, Tiddim Chin instead of Kamhau Chin.

Some of the languages included are more divergent; the foremost example is Arleng (Mikir, Karbi) which has long been in contact with Sal Group TB languages as well as non-TB languages; it has even been suggested that there may be a connection between Kuki-Chin and Lepcha, with Arleng as the link (Bauman 1976). Also somewhat different is Meithei (Manipuri), which has long been the language of a Hindu civilisation in the Manipur valley and thus shows more Indic influence. Most of the other languages are spoken by hill groups, some extremely small.

Linguistically the Kuki-Chin languages are characterised by tones (mostly unrecorded and not indicated in orthographies), extensive verb morphology involving tonal alternations and extensive suffixing with some prefixes. There is a widespread **ni* ergative suffix on NPs;

the basic word order is SOV. I am grateful to various colleagues for information on Kuki-Chin languages and populations: F.K. Lehman, L. Löffler, G.E. Marrison and others.

4.1 SOUTHERN NAGA

The Ao language, with roman orthography based on the Chungli dialect, has about 110,000 speakers, including some eastern dialects, such as Yacham-Tengsa, which show contact effects with Phom and Chang.

The Sangtam language is found in three main locations, with some dialect differences; the 'standard' basis for the roman orthography of the northern Lophomi dialect. There are about 30,000 speakers.

The Rengma group, perhaps formerly more widespread, lives in various locations. Though regarded as one group, it probably includes three languages: Western, for which Tseminyu is the basis for the orthography; Northern or Ntenyi; and Eastern or Meluri (with the autonym Anyo); the three total about 15,000 speakers. Ntenyi and Meluri are genetically closer to Lhota and Yimchungrü than to Western Rengma, which fits with Maram and Zeliangrong according to Marrison (1967).

The Lhota total about 60,000 speakers; Wokha is the 'standard' dialect, basis for the roman orthography.

The Yimchunger language has some 30,000 speakers in two areas; the roman orthography represents the Yachumi dialect.

Tangkhul are also known as Luhupa or 'savages' to the Manipuri. This large group is almost as numerous in Burma as in India; there are probably about 100,000 speakers. The 'standard' written dialect is that of Ukhrul.

The small Maring group of about 15,000 lives to the south of the Tangkhul; until the Anal declared themselves 'Naga' it was the southernmost 'Naga' language.

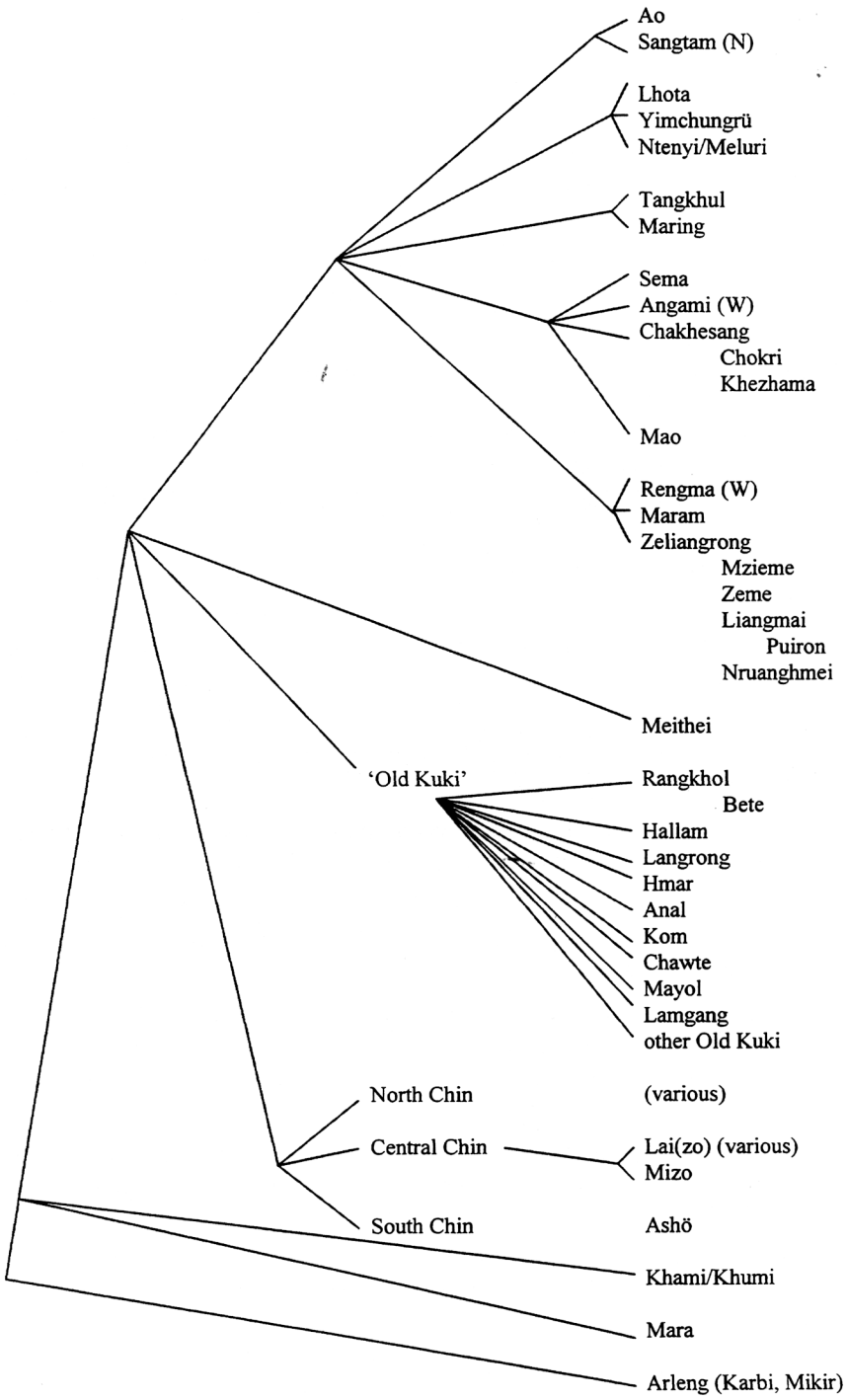
The Sema are a large group of about 100,000, with a roman orthography. Ntenyi and Meluri 'Rengma' are linguistically close to Sema rather than Lhota and Yimchungrü according to some Indian sources.

Formerly included in 'Angami' were most of the Chakhesang and the Mao; what is now known as Angami is only the western part of this larger group. Altogether it numbers about 60,000, of whom about 35,000 speak the western dialect and are still called Angami. Their writing is based on the Tengima dialect.

Chakhesang is the new name for a composite group of eastern 'Angami': the Chokri (about 15,000) and the Kezhama (about 10,000). It also includes a few Sangtam, who live to the north and south of the eastern edge of this group.

The town of Mao (known to its inhabitants as Sopvoma) is the largest village of the Mao group; the language is close to Angami and Chakheseng, and has about 60,000 speakers. There is a roman orthography.

Maram again is named from its main village; the language has over 5,000 speakers. Linguistically it is similar to the Zeliangrong languages.


Ao
Sangtam (N)
Lhota
Yimchungrü
Ntenyi/Meluri
Tangkhul
Maring
Sema
Angami (W)
Chakhesang
Chokri
Khezhama
Mao
Rengma (W)
Maram
Zeliangrong
Mzieme
Zeme
Liangmai
Puiron
Nruanghmei
Meithei
'Old Kuki'
Rangkhol
Bete
Hallam
Langrong
Hmar
Anal
Kom
Chawte
Mayol
Lamgang
other Old Kuki
North Chin
(various)
Central Chin
Lai(zo) (various)
Mizo
South Chin
Ashö
Khami/Khumi
Mara
Arleng (Karbi, Mikir)

The Zeliangrong group represents the amalgamation of three distinct 'Naga' groups: in the west and north-west, the Zeme, Mzieme or Nzeme (about 35,000; old exonym Empeo); Liangmai (about 10,000; old exonym Kwoireng, also referrred to as Liyang, Lyeng, etc.) in the north-eastern area; and Nruanghmei (about 40,000; older name Kabui, including the Puiron dialect) to the east and south. A former pejorative term for these three groups, Kachha Naga ('bad Naga'), is no longer used. The small Khoirao group (several thousand) has also been included here, so the overall total is about 90,000 speakers. Roman orthographies exist for Zeme, Mzieme, Liangmai and Nrunghmei.

Also known as Manipuri, the Meithei language has a Bengali-based Indic orthography which does not indicate the tones. It is spoken by about a million people, mostly in the Manipur valley but also by small numbers in Burma and other parts of north-eastern India. So-called Bishnupriya 'Manipuri' is not a TB language; it is an Indic language spoken by former Bengali slaves, with some Manipuri lexicon and reduced morphology; most speakers of Bishnupriya 'Manipuri' now live elsewhere. Many non-Meithei Kuki-Chin and other people in the valley also speak Meithei; some of their languages (especially Sak group and some Old Kuki languages) are being replaced by it. In August 1992 Manipuri became the first TB language to receive recognition as a Schedule VIII official language of India.

4.2 KUKI

The term 'Old Kuki' was coined for the *Linguistic survey of India* to refer to various small Kuki groups around the Manipur valley and to the west. It includes some of the Kuki groups of Tripura and nearby parts of Bangladesh and Cachar, for example Rangkhol and Bete, Hallam, and Langrong. These have a total of well over 20,000 speakers. It also includes the strongly Mizo-influenced group Hmar (about 30,000 speakers); the Anal group of south-eastern Manipur and into Burma (about 12,000 speakers); the Chawte (Chote, Chaw, Kyaw) group of eastern Manipur and into Burma (about 1,000); the nearby Mayol (Moyon, 'Mon'; about 1,000) and Lamgang (about 2,000); the Kom of south central Manipur (about 7,000); and various other groups whose languages are nearly extinct, having been replaced by Meithei: Aimol, Kolhreng, Purum, Tarao and so on. Roman orthographies have been created for some 'Old Kuki' languages, but are not widely used. Some groups classified as 'Old Kuki' in Indian sources fit better in Northern Chin, and so are discussed there: Chiru, Gangte, Pawi, Simte, Thado(u) and so on.

4.3 CHIN

4.3.1 NORTH CHIN

This group includes what is perhaps the largest 'Kuki' group in India, the Thado(u), with over 50,000 speakers, as well as such other 'Kuki' groups as Chiru (5,000), Gangte (7,000), Pawi (10,000) and Simte (5,000). Its speakers are very widely scattered throughout Manipur and adjacent areas to the north-west, but concentrated in southern Manipur; some also live in Burma. Along with the North Chin languages of Burma, spoken by about 135,000 people concentrated in the Tiddim area of northern Chin State and along the western edge of Sagaing Division, there are well over 250,000 speakers in all. The local variety of Tiddim has been described in Henderson (1965). In Burma some of the named subgroups

included here are Thado; Siyin, Paite and Vuite; Sokte; Kamhau and so on. There are roman orthographies in use for most of these.

4.3.2 CENTRAL CHIN

The Central Chin are sometimes collectively known as Laizo ('central people'); this includes a very large number of dialects, some of which are so different as not to be mutually intelligible. In fact Mizo (formerly Lushai) is another variety of Central Chin, but with a separate literary tradition. The group includes the western varieties Bawm (formerly Banjogi, 6,000 speakers) as described by Reuchle (1981) and Paangkhua (formerly Pankho, 3,000 speakers) in Bangladesh; northernmost Zahao or Laizo in Burma and extending into India; also Tashon, Ngawn, Zanniat, Zophei, Lawtu, Lailen, Senthang, Tawr and many other groups. They inhabit the central area of the Chin State, including Falam, Haka and parts to the south. For Burma, the population is about 400,000, with a further 10,000 in Bangladesh; in Mizoram they are included as dialects within Mizo. A couple of roman orthographies exist and are in use.

The Mizo, formerly known as Lushai, is the largest Chin group with various dialects; it is also known as Hualngo where it is spoken in Burma. There are about 400,000 speakers in all, including nearly 2,000 in Bangladesh and substantially more in Burma. Some other Kuki-Chin groups are gradually becoming assimilated to the Mizo, culturally and linguistically; these include the Hmar ('Old Kuki') in the north and the Mara (Lakher or Maram) in the south. In India, Mizo is widely used in its roman orthography.

Some Chin nationalists have taken to using the new term Zomi from the North and Central Chin term *Zo* 'Chin' plus *mi* 'person'. This is intended to refer to all the Chin, including the Mizo. It would certainly be more politically correct to call the Kuki-Chin by some such autonym, rather than the somewhat pejorative exonyms (Naga, Kuki, Chin) now in use.

4.3.3 SOUTH CHIN

Again, this group has many different names. In Bangladesh there are more than 1,000 speakers under the name Khyang. In Burma there are roughly 250,000 group members, but some of those living in the plains no longer speak Chin. Northern subgroup names include Zolamnai ('on the trail'); Welaung and Matu (placenames; the latter call themselves Ngala). In the central part are M'kang, Ng'men, Nitu (or its new name Daai, about 30,000 speakers), Hngizung, Utpu (a large subgroup, called Chinbon by the Burmese); and to the south the Chinbok or Saingbaung Chin (Burmese names), also known as Ashö Chin from the South Chin form of the word for 'person'.

4.3.4 OTHER CHIN GROUPS

The Khami/Khumi group includes several diverse dialects which fall into two subgroups: Khami versus Khumi. In Burma there are about 50,000, with several thousand more in Bangladesh; a roman orthography exists.

Mara is better known as Lakher from the Lushai name for the group. It is also known as Maram from their Central Chin name. They total about 20,000 speakers, mostly in India but

some in Burma. There is a roman orthography, but the language is being replaced by Lushai. The best description is Lorrain (1951).

4.4 ARLENG/KARBI/MIKIR

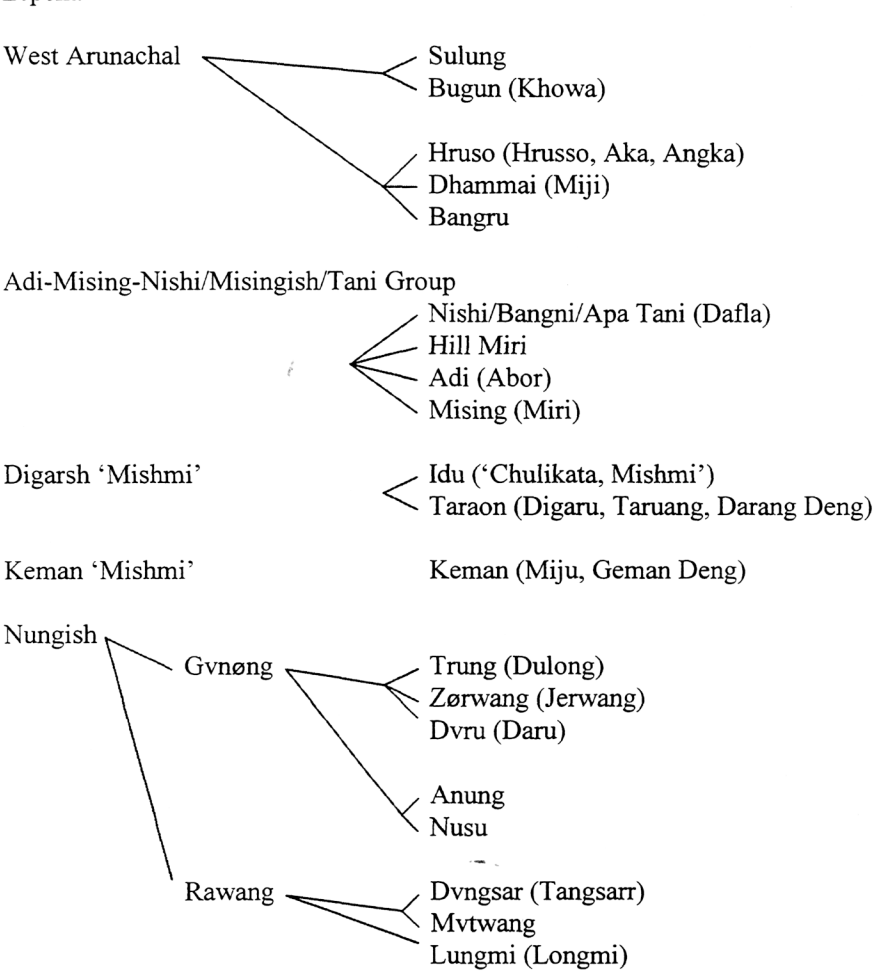
Arleng is a very widespread language with various dialects: Amri (western), Bhoi (south-western, with Khasi influence), Rengkhang (southern) and so on. All Bodo Students' Union (1987) suggests 600,000 members of the group, while underenumerated census data suggest about 200,000 speakers. The reality is between the two figures; many Arleng have become Assamese speakers. Formerly known as Mikir and now known officially as Karbi (which is one autonym), this group's main autonym is Arleng. The language is rather divergent from the other Kuki-Chin languages, and is well-described in Grüssner (1978).

5. CENTRAL TIBETO-BURMAN

The classification of these languages has not been finally determined, mainly because good data have until very recently been lacking. The subgroup includes most of the languages spoken along India's north-eastern border, the northern tip of Burma, and the adjacent border area of north-western Yunnan and south-eastern Tibet. More or less recent intrusions by Tibetan from the north and Assamese from the south-west have influenced some of these languages more than others. My thanks are due to G.E. Marrison and to members of the Morse family for detailed comments on these languages.

There are five main clusters of languages, which may form a subgroup within TB: the West Arunachal languages; the Adi-Mising-Nishi, Misingish or Tani languages of much of northern Arunachal Pradesh, extending slightly into adjacent parts of Assam and Tibet; the rather diverse 'Mishmi' languages of India's extreme north-east and into Tibet, forming two subgroups, Digarish and Miju/Keman; and the Rawang or Nungish group of northern Burma and adjacent border regions of China. Benedict (1972) classifies the first as the Abor-Miri-Dafla subgroup of TB, does not mention the second, and classifies Nungish as a link between Burmese-Lolo and the rest of TB. Shafer (1974) calls the first Misingish, breaks the second into two groups, Digaru and Miju (but omits Idu), and includes Nungish in Burmic. He is uncertain of the position of these groups within TB, tending to group them with Bodic or Burmic. It is clear from new data that they do not form part of the Sal group, Burling's (1983) name for Benedict's (1976) extension of Shafer's Baric to include part of Burmic. Marrison (1989) provides comparative data on some eastern Adi-Mising-Nishi languages, and J. Sun (1993) is a detailed comparative study of the same subgroup. All these languages are verb-final; many are tonal, but some sources do not indicate these tones.

Another language which may fit here is Lepcha. Its genetic position is debated; while clearly TB, it has been put with the TB languages of Nepal in the *Linguistic survey of India* (Grierson 1903-1909), with Ao and thus in Kukish by Shafer, and recognised as aberrant for its geographical location by Benedict. Bauman (1976) notes some similarities with the aberrant (and geographically nearest) Kukish language, Mikir (Karbi, Arleng). Most recently, Bodman (1987) suggested a fairly close connection with Adi-Mising-Nishi and Nungish, and a more indirect one with Jinghpaw; he also casts doubt on the Austroasiatic connection suggested in Forrest (1962).



5.1 LEPCHA

Lepcha, known to its speakers as Rong, was the traditional language of much of Sikkim and parts of Darjeeling District of West Bengal in India and of south-western Bhutan, but not many speakers remain; probably as few as 4,000. In terms of ethnic group population, this is approximately 26,000 in India (of whom over 22,000 are in Sikkim) and 2,000 in Bhutan. Lepcha has a traditional script; see Sprigg (1983) and Sprigg in this volume for details. In 1977 it was made one of the official languages of Sikkim; since then a substantial effort has been made to teach the script in schools. See Sprigg in this volume for a discussion of changes in this script over the last two centuries. Mainwaring (1876) provided an early description of this language.

5.2 WEST ARUNACHAL LANGUAGES

The Sulung, a small group who were formerly slaves of the dominant groups (especially Bangni) around them, speak a distinct and poorly described language. Their autonym is Puroik, and they have recently been resettled in separate villages. The 1961 Indian census gives 1,516 as the population, but this is too low; there are also some speakers in Tibet. According to the Kho(w)a, autonym Bugun, who are a Monpa group, the Sulung are closely related to them.

The Bugun group of about 1,700, better known as Khoa or Khowa, are under the cultural influence of the Monpa, but they claim close relationship with the Sulung. Limited linguistic information is available in Simon (1976).

The Hruso (autonym; also spelled Hrusso in the literature) are better known by the exonym Aka or Angka; their language, spoken by about 4,000, is poorly described.

The Dhammai [ðɯmmai], better known by the exonym Miji and not to be confused with the Keman (Geman Deng or Miju) far to the east, is a group of over 5,000 culturally similar to the Hrusso, but only limited linguistic data are available. Some early descriptions have also called them Aka, which led to some confusion.

The smallest group of this area is the Bangru (the Bengni name for this group); their autonym is [lə^{31}væ^{55}]; they number only about 1,000 in Tibet and in Arunachal.

Shafer (1974) and J. Sun (1993) point out that these languages are quite different from the Adi-Mising-Nishi languages to their east.

5.3 ADI-MISING-NISHI (ABOR-MIRI-DAFLA), MISINGISH OR TANI GROUP

The Nishi, Bangni and Apa Tani group was formerly known collectively as Dafla, a name no longer used as it is pejorative. They are now more commonly referred to by various subgroup names such as Bangni (Bengni in Chinese sources) in the west, Apa Tani (Apa Tanang) around Ziro, Tagen or Tagin in the north-east, and elsewhere as Nishi, Nyishang or Nishang. They total about 170,000, of whom only a few hundred (Bangni) live in Tibet (Ouyang 1985). Outside India, officially they (along with all other non-Tibetan non-Buddhist groups of south-eastern Tibet) are included in the Luoba nationality whose name is derived from the Tibetan 'Hlopa', a pejorative word for 'savages' in this area. J. Sun (1993) prefers to use the word for 'person' in these languages, Tani, to refer to the group. Other terms used include Shafer's Misingish. Das Gupta (1969) describes Nishi. J. Sun (1993) has undertaken a detailed reconstruction of this subgroup.

Hill Miri is a small and scattered group in central Arunachal Pradesh; their language is closely related to Nishi and less closely to Miri or Mising. There are several thousand speakers, but census information includes them with the Miri or Mising.

Adi, formerly known as Abor, is now divided into a large number of named subgroups all speaking very similar dialects. It includes Gallong (autonym Galo) in the south-west as described by Das Gupta (1963), Bokar (Bogar in Chinese sources) in the north-west, Pailibo, Bori and Ashing in the north central area, Tangam and Shimong (Simong) in the north-east, Minyong at the centre (including the Karko subgroup), Milang to their east, Pasi and Panggi at the south centre, and Padam in the south-east. These groups total over 125,000 speakers. Bokar extends into Tibet, where there are a few hundred speakers.

Formerly known as Miri, the Mising group is scattered over the upper Brahmaputra valley and into the hills to the north. It may have as many as 500,000 members, but not all speak the language. A romanisation has been developed but not yet approved for use in education. The language, with dialects, is particularly closely related to Adi.

5.4 DIGARISH 'MISHMI'

Idu is one of three 'Mishmi' groups; the Idu were formerly known as Chulikata (crop-haired) Mishmi. The language is spoken by about 20,000, of whom two-thirds live in Arunachal Pradesh and the rest in Tibet. In Tibet they are included with the Luoba nationality.

The Taraon 'Mishmi' group, autonym [ta^{31}ɹuɑŋ^{55}], is also known as Tain, Taying or in China Darang Deng; they were formerly called Digaru Mishmi. There are some 12,000 speakers, most in India, less than half in Tibet and a few in northernmost Burma.

5.5 KEMAN 'MISHMI'

The Keman 'Mishmi' group, autonym [kɯ^{31}mɑn^{35}], is the third 'Mishmi' group; other names include Kaman, Geman Deng and formerly Miju Mishmi. They total about 20,000, two-thirds in Arunachal Pradesh and the rest in Tibet.

5.6 RAWANG/NUNGISH

I am glad to acknowledge personal communications from many members of the Morse family, especially Stephen, Joni and Nangsar, in preparing this map and discussion. Morse and Morse (1966) provide some historical background, Morse (1965) describes the standard dialect in Burma, and Morse (1989) is a brief survey of the dialects in Burma. The Jinghpaw name for this group is Nung, which is the source for the terms used by Benedict and Shafer, and should not be confused with the Central Thai group of north-eastern Vietnam and adjacent areas of Guangxi, China. Former Chinese names include Nuzi, Luzi and Jiuzi. It includes a very large number of subgroups with rather different languages and many subdialects. In Burma, where there are nearly 150,000 speakers, the term Rawang (which fomerly referred only to the largest supergroup in Burma) is now used for these groups as a whole. In China speakers are included in two nationalities, Dulong and Nu; there they total about 25,000 speakers. Sun (1982) describes Dulong; Sun and Liu (1986) describes Nusu, one of three varieties within Nu. In Burma the Mvtwang clan dialect of the Mvtwang clan cluster in the Rawang supergroup has been chosen as the standard, and a romanisation implemented among Christians; in China a Dulong pinyin orthography exists, and a roman script was devised for Anung and used in a New Testament; but it is unclear how widely either is known. Among Nungish groups there are various levels of self-classification: by clan, of which there are probably nearly two hundred; by clan cluster (as shown on the map); by supergroups of several clan clusters; or recently by the overall exonymic collective terms Rawang, Dulong or Nu.

The Dulong nationality in China, plus about 6,500 of the northernmost members of the Nu nationality, form the Trung [tɯ^{31}ɹuŋ^{53}] clan cluster, the northernmost Nungish group. The total number of speakers is thus about 11,000. This should not be confused with the

Taraon/Digaru Mishmi/Darang Deng group. Even within Dulong there are substantial differences between eastern and western dialects.

In Burma, the Zørwang clan cluster is also known as Jerwang or Tvluq; it forms part of the Gvnøng supergroup including Dulong, which is quite distinct from the Rvwang (Rawang) supergroup. A rough estimate is 15,000 speakers. The clan cluster known as Dvru or Daru is also part of the Gvnøng supergroup, and has approximately 35,000 speakers in Burma. The Anung clan cluster, living mainly in China, numbers about 6,000 there, plus a few in Burma. Its autonym is [ɑ^{31}nuŋ^{53}]. They form part of the Nu nationality, which includes several different types of Rawang/Nungish groups.The Nusu group of over 8,000, found in China, has northern [nu^{35}su^{35}], central [nu^{55}su^{55}] and southern [nu^{31}ʃu^{31}] dialects with substantial tonal and other differences. They are also of Nu nationality.

The Dvngsar clan cluster, also known as Tangsarr, forms part of the Rvwang (Rawang) supergroup. It has roughly 15,000 speakers. The Mvtwang clan cluster is the largest, with about 50,000 speakers; it is the main part of the Rvwang supergroup, and its Mvtwang clan dialect forms the basis for standard Rawang orthography. The Dvmang clan cluster is included within Mvtwang as well. Many Rawang in Burma who have a different first dialect can also speak Mvtwang as this has been used as the literary dialect.

Lungmi, also known as Longmi, is the southernmost clan cluster, and has undergone considerable Jinghpaw influence. With nearly 30,000 speakers it is rather different from both Rvwang and Gvnøng supergroups.

6. NORTH-EASTERN TIBETO-BURMAN

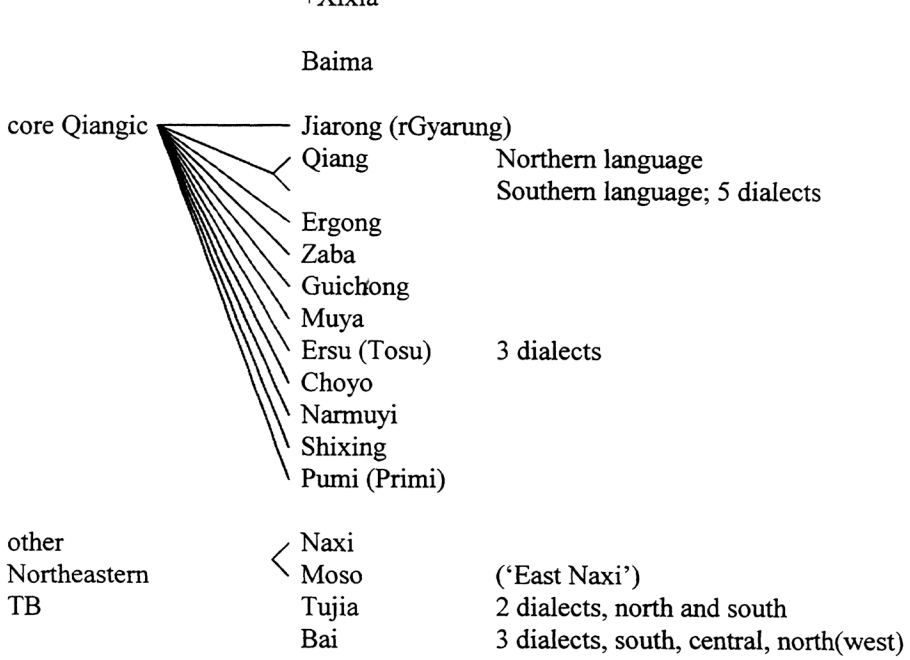
While virtually all scholars agree that all the languages here are TB, the exact grouping is not generally agreed. One proposal by Sun (1983b) is that most of them (except Bai, Naxi, Baima and Tujia) form a subgroup which he calls Qiangic. Another by Nagano and by Thurgood is that at least some of these languages (Jiarong, Qiang) can be grouped with the Central TB group. Indeed there are some similarities between languages of this group and the adjacent Central TB Rawang/Nungish languages; these similarities are transitional and may be contact-induced.

The standard classification in China is to group Bai, Naxi and Tujia with the Loloish languages, with Pumi and Qiang more distantly related, and not to recognise the others in western Sichuan as separate languages from Tibetan, since the speakers are classified as members of the Tibetan nationality; all this is clearly incorrect.

Some scholars, such as Nishida and Sun (1990), prefer to classify Baima as a variety of Tibetan, which is arguably correct; or Baima may be transitional between North-eastern TB and Tibetan.

Another language, the furthest north of any TB language, was Xixia; this is now extinct, but survives in numerous manuscripts of the eleventh to thirteenth century AD. Mention should also be made of two TB languages recorded in early Chinese sources: Bailang, for which some songs appear in Later Han history (second century AD); and Nam. Both are rather inaccurately represented using Chinese characters. From their geographical location it is most likely that these were NE TB languages. It is not clear which if any of the modern languages are the modern descendants of Bailang and Nam.

I am glad to acknowledge the assistance of Liu Huiqiang, who has done extensive research on the core Qiangic languages.



Like nearly all TB languages, the Qiangic languages are SOV. Unlike most other subgroups (and all adjacent subgroups), they have extensive verb morphology which can be reconstructed for this subgroup. Nearly all are tonal.

6.1 CORE QIANGIC

An older Chinese name for this group was Xifan 'western barbarians'. All these languages fall into the Tibetan cultural orbit, and most speak some Tibetan and use Tibetan as the medium of literacy. Apart from the Qiang and the Pumi, which are recognised as separate nationalities in China, all are simply classified as Tibetan, despite their languages. Qiang is another old Chinese name for an ethnic group of this area, but it is unlikely that it has always had only its current referent. These languages are quite diverse, but probably more closely related to each other than to anything else in TB. A pinyin (roman) orthography has recently been developed for Qiang, but no other core NE TB language has an orthography. Qiang includes two 'dialects' which are clearly distinct languages; the northern 'dialect' is non-tonal, unlike the southern one, which has substantial internal diversity.

Population figures for these languages are quite uncertain, as most of them are not recognised. There are probably 20,000 Baima, 150,000 Jiarong, 45,000 Ergong (with three dialects), 8,000 Zaba, 7,000 Guichong, 20,000 Ersu, 7,000 Choyo, 5,000 Namuyi, 15,000 Muya and 2,000 Shixing. For both Qiang and Pumi, the census figures are substantially too low: the census gives just over 24,000 Pumi, but scholars estimate over 55,000 speakers,

most of whom are members of Tibetan or other nationalities; for Qiang, scholars estimate over 195,000 speakers, which is substantially greater than census figures for the Qiang nationality. As is frequently the case in China, the Qiang nationality includes quite distinct languages; in this case, northern is non-tonal and southern is tonal; other differences are also very substantial. Some recent descriptions of these languages have appeared in China, notably Sun (1981) for Qiang, Nagano (1983) for Jiarong, and Lu (1983) for Pumi.

6.2 OTHER NORTH-EASTERN TB LANGUAGES

Naxi, often written as Nakhi in the western literature, appears to be transitional between Qiangic and Burmic; it shares lexical material with both subgroups, but like Bai and Tujia lacks the extensive morphology of core Qiangic. Its two main western dialects are mutually intelligible. The 'eastern dialect', Moso, is a distinct language spoken around Luhu Lake in Yunnan and Sichuan. The traditional Naxi pictographic writing system, extensively studied by Rock, is not widely used now; it is a mnemonic for religious texts known by heart; there is also a related syllabic system which can be read without knowing the text. About 210,000 of the Naxi nationality speak Naxi, and about 40,000 speak Moso. A romanisation for Naxi has recently been developed and put into use; but the Moso do not use this. He and Jiang (1985) provide a recent description of both Naxi and Moso; Bradley (1975) shows that it is not Burmese-Lolo, as it is sometimes classified in China.

Tujia is a very large nationality, with several million recognised members; but only about 170,000 of them speak Tujia. This nationality and language were 'discovered' after the Chinese Revolution, before which they were regarded as Han Chinese. The language has very numerous Chinese loanwords, and is mostly spoken by older people even in its remaining core area on the borders of Sichuan, Hunan and Hubei. It is not written, but has recently been described in Tian (1986).

By contrast Bai has a long and distinguished history, as the main language of the Nanzhao kingdom of western Yunnan. Due to more than a millennium of Chinese contact, with extensive borrowings from various Han dialects at various stages in their development, it is extremely difficult to determine the exact position of Bai within TB. Some linguists have even suggested that Bai has by now become a Chinese dialect. Its syntax is sinicised and shows SVO order. The widespread Chinese idea that it is a Loloish language is incorrect. A roman orthography based on the central dialect has recently been developed, but the speakers have long been accustomed to use Chinese for writing. The three dialects have substantial differences, but not such as to lead to mutual unintelligibility; they are described and compared in Xu and Zhao (1984). Over a million members of the Bai nationality speak Bai; mainly those who still live in the traditional area of north-western Yunnan.

6.3 XIXIA

The Xixia also appear in the literature (according to the Wade-Giles romanisation of Chinese) as Hsi-hsia. Another term for the same group is Tangut, the Turkic and Mongol term for this group. The Xixia kingdom with its capital at what is now Ningxia was founded about 990 AD; the Chinese histories date it from 1032 AD. Though the Xixia state was conquered in 1227 AD, with Genghis Khan dying during the siege and his forces later destroying the city and massacring its inhabitants, Marco Polo (1938:1/150) reported that in

the 1280s the city (which he calls Suçio, a good approximation of a Yuan period Chinese pronunciation of Xixia) existed, and its people (whom he calls Tangut) had their own language.

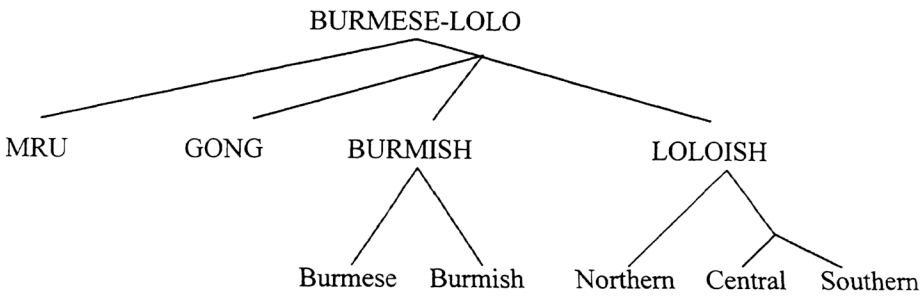
The writing system is said to have been devised in 1037 AD by Li Yuanhao, a Xixia scholar literate in Chinese. It thus antedates the Burmese script and the old Newar script which are both from the early eleventh century. The meanings of the numerous surviving Xixia texts, mainly translations from Chinese, are usually clear, due to an 1190 Xixia-Chinese dictionary. However the exact phonetic value of Xixia is uncertain. There are various competing hypotheses: a Russian theory; a Chinese theory; and the work of Nishida forming a third alternative. The claims by Kwanten that Xixia was not TB and his rather different ideas about the phonetic value of the script appear to be wrong.

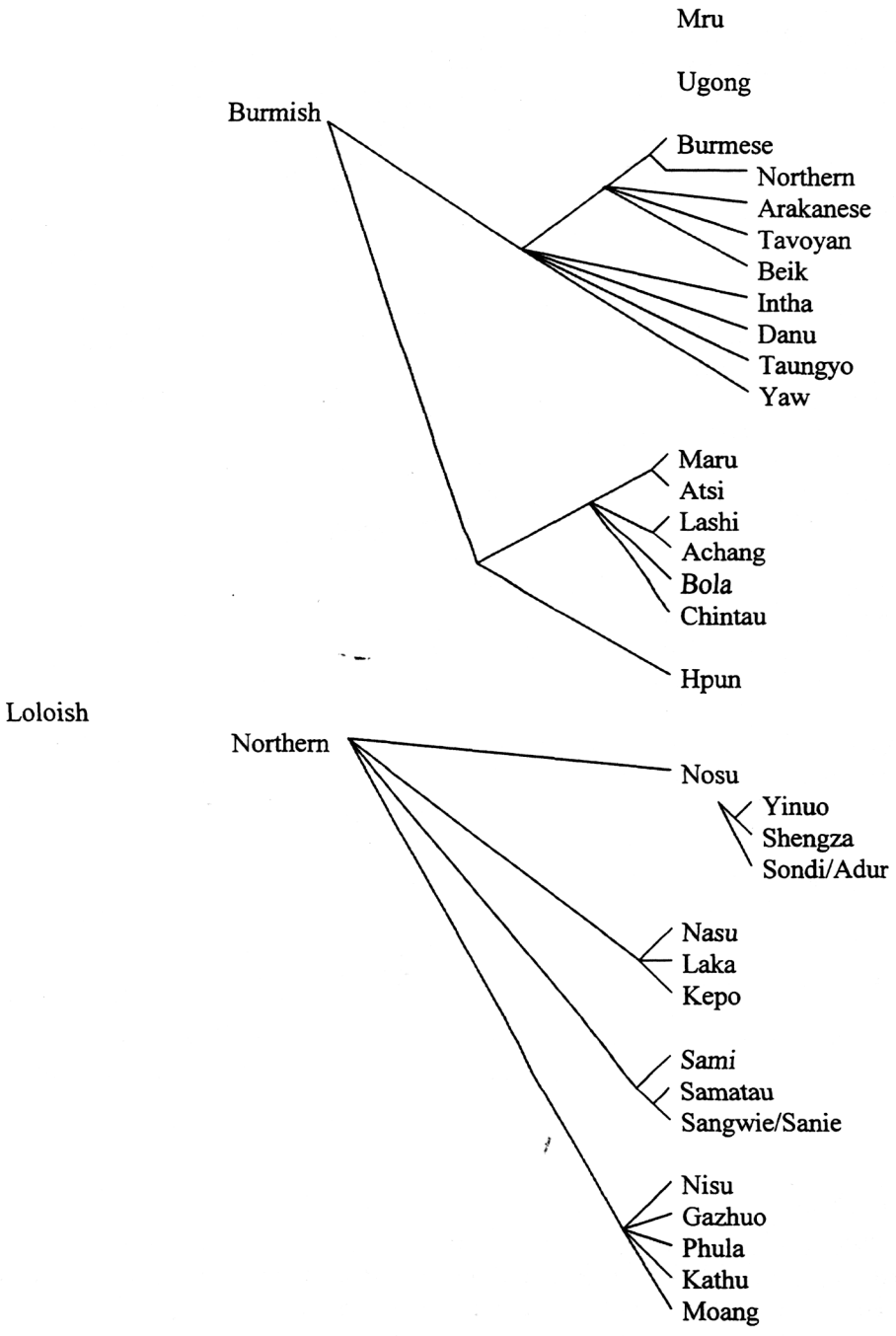
Some aspects of Xixia phonology (such as **a* > */i/*) and lexicon suggest that it was part of the North-eastern TB group.

7. SOUTH-EASTERN TB

7.1 BURMESE-LOLO

Burmese-Lolo (BL; also more recently known as Lolo-Burmese, or as Burmese-Yipho with Yi (a modern Chinese term) plus the Northern Loloish form of the TB male human suffix) is a large and diversified part of TB; it can be subdivided into two main subgroups, Burmish (including Burmese) and Loloish. A third subgroup, Ugong, appears to be intermediate between the two. For details see Bradley (1979a). The Mru language of western Burma may also be a remotely related part of the Burmese-Lolo group, though some scholars suggest otherwise. All BL languages are verb-final, with complex tonal and initial consonant systems but little or no morphology




Mru
Ugong
Burmish
Burmese
Northern
Arakanese
Tavoyan
Beik
Intha
Danu
Taungyo
Yaw
Maru
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Lashi
Achang
Bola
Chintau
Hpun
Loloish
Northern
Nosu
Yinuo
Shengza
Sondi/Adur
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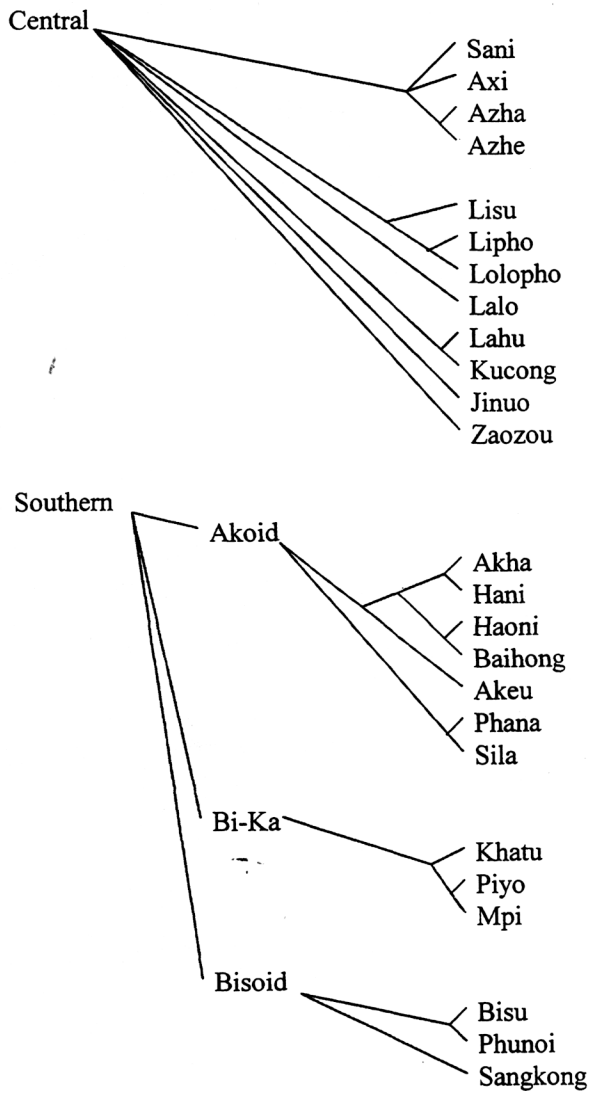


7.1.1 MRU

This language is spoken by about 40,000 people, most of them in Arakan State of Burma and some in Bangladesh. Its exact position in TB is not certain, but it shows various layers of contact vocabulary from Kuki-Chin and from Burmese. According to Löffler (1966b) it is not Kuki-Chin as sometimes suggested, but may be remotely related to the Burmese-Lolo group; this is also Shafer's view.

7.1.2 UGONG

The Gong language is spoken by a small and diminishing population of some 300 Ugong (*u* 'person') in western central Thailand. All speakers are to some degree bilingual in some variety of Thai; younger members of the group tend to be semi-speakers of Gong. The language is no longer spoken in most of its former locations.

7.1.3 BURMISH

7.1.3.1 BURMESE

Burmese is the national language of Burma, with about 32 million speakers of the standard dialect as a first language, usually known as Burmans, and over ten million speakers as a second dialect or language; most of the latter speak another Burmese dialect or a TB language as their first language. Some members of other nationalities, especially many Mons and some Shans, are also monolingual in Burmese. It has a long literary history, with the earliest dated inscription from 1112 A.D.; there are diglossic high and low varieties, with the former used mainly in written or other formal contexts. The preferred variety is as spoken in Mandalay; the most divergent, and in some ways conservative, variety is spoken in the north. Distinct dialects include Arakanese in the west, with about 1.8 million speakers; this is also spoken in south-eastern Bangladesh and adjacent areas of India, where it is usually known as Mogh or Magh. Arakan was reconquered by the Burmans about two centuries ago, and at that time much of the Arakanese court fled to what is now Bangladesh, where they now call themselves [mərəma] but are better known as Marma. Other dialects are south-eastern Tavoyan (400,000) and Beik (250,000); east central Intha (90,000, around Inle Lake), Danu (100,000) and Taungyo (40,000); and west central Yaw (20,000). All the regional dialects are in some ways more conservative phonologically than standard Burmese; for example, Arakanese retains the distinction between [r] and [j], Tavoyan keeps medial [l], and so on.

Since 1990 the government of Burma has changed the English name of the country to Myanmar; this is the name of the country in literary Burmese. The English name of Burma is derived from the spoken Burmese name for the country. The government distinguishes those who are Burman by race, now calling them Bamar, as opposed to members of other indigenous races of Burma, who are now called Myanmar; the Burmese language is also called Myanmar. This new terminology has not been accepted outside Burma, except by those who view the SLORC military government as politically acceptable.

7.1.3.2 OTHER BURMISH LANGUAGES

To the north-east of the Burman area is a hill area with some inhabitants speaking closely related languages. There are four main groups, all to some degree integrated into the Kachin or Shan cultures of the surrounding majorities. These groups go by different names as shown below:

Autonym	Jinghpaw name	Burmese name	Chinese name
Lawngwaw	Maru	Maru	Langsu
Tsaiwa	*Atsi*	*Zi*	*Tsaiwa*
Lachik	Lashi	Lashi	Lachi
Ngochang		Maingtha	Achang

Of the main four, the most scattered is the Achang, with about 30,000. In China the bulk of this group formed a separate Shan-like valley state and are recognised as a separate nationality, but in Burma most are mingled with the Lashi; a few, known as Tai Sa, are blacksmiths scattered in Shan villages over a wide area of the southern Kachin State in Burma (Jerry Edmondson, personal communication). The Lashi number some 30,000, mostly in Burma. The 100,000 Maru are widely dispersed, as are the 150,000 Atsi. For most purposes the Atsi, Maru, Lashi and some Achang operate as clans within the Kachin culture complex, bilingually speaking Jinghpaw as their literary language and intermarrying. Even smaller clan-based groups, Bola and Chintau, are found only in China among the Atsi and Achang respectively; there may be others. Roman orthographies for Atsi, Maru and Achang exist but have just started to be used. Within each group the regional differences are substantial; perhaps even as great as those between different Burmish groups living together and intermarrying. Maru and Lashi are characterised by the addition of final stops to some syllables; these are absent in Atsi and Achang. In China, most members of the 'Jingpo' nationality are Atsi, with smaller numbers of Maru, Lashi, Bola, and Chintau as well as some speakers of Jinghpaw; in Burma the proportion of the 'Kachin' who speak Burmish home languages is smaller, but still substantial, especially in the Northern Shan State and the south-east of the Kachin State. There are also very small communities in Thailand. Xu (1984) describes Atsi, Dai (1985) describes Achang.

The final Burmish language is Phun (Hpun, Hpon, Hpön), spoken in the gorges of the upper Irrawaddy north of Bhamo; it has two dialects, north and south. Both are extremely moribund, and may be nearly extinct; at the most there are a few hundred speakers left. It is phonologically more conservative than the 'Kachinised' Burmish languages.

7.1.4 THE LOLOISH LANGUAGES

For details of the phonological and lexical subgrouping of these languages, see Bradley (1979a). Basically, all share an innovative two-way tonal contrast in original stop-final syllables; the Northern Loloish languages have mostly reversed phonetic values for these two tones compared to other Loloish languages. Central Loloish is characterised by extensive tonal splits leading to complex tonal systems including contour tones.

In China, the 'Yi' nationality includes six languages, three of which (Nosu or Northern Yi, Nasu or Eastern Yi and Nisu or Southern Yi) are closely related to each other and form Northern Loloish. The remaining three, South-eastern Yi (including the Sani, Axi, Azhe and Azha), Central Yi (Lipho and Lolopho) and Western Yi (including Lalo and others), form part of Central Loloish. None of these six languages is spoken outside China (apart from a few Southern and South-eastern Yi in northernmost Vietnam), but most other Loloish languages are.

7.1.4.1 NORTHERN LOLOISH

The three languages in the Northern Loloish group have a traditional autonym derived from **ni*, with various forms according to sound changes; they also have a more recent group name derived from **nak su* 'black people'. All three, as well as the South-western Yi, had a character-based traditional script known to traditional religious practitioners. Revised versions of these scripts are now being disseminated; for details see Bradley (forthcoming).

Nosu is the largest group speaking a Loloish language; there are about two million speakers in the Liangshan (cool mountains) area of southern Sichuan province, and about 250,000 more, mainly in the Xiaoliangshan (small cool mountains) area of north-western Yunnan province, but also a few in north-eastern Yunnan. It has three main dialects: northern, with subdialects Tianba (north-western) and Yinuo (north-eastern); central Shengza; and south-eastern Sondi with subdialects Sondi and Adur; the Sondi subgroup is fairly distinct from the other two, which are more closely related. The largest group, over half of the total, is the Shengza, and the local variety of Shengza spoken at Xide county (a Chinese placename) has been selected as the standard, with a new syllabic orthography based on the traditional Nosu characters in extensive use since 1978; a romanisation is used occasionally.

Very closely related to Nosu but not mutually intelligible, the Nasu group is spread throughout western Guizhou and north-eastern Yunnan, with about 6,000 in north-western Guangxi. Of approximately 850,000 speakers, more than half are in Yunnan; there are several hundred thousand more non-speakers, mostly young people in all three provinces, who are members of the group. Dialect differences are very substantial and complex; there are three main subgroups, south-eastern (known also as Panxian from the county in south-western Guizhou where they are concentrated; about 150,000 speakers); north-eastern (most of the other Nasu in Guizhou, and some in extreme north-eastern Yunnan and south-eastern Sichuan; with subdialects named after the four traditional Nasu kingdoms of the area, Shuxi, Wusa, Mangbu and Wumeng, about 300,000 speakers); and western (all in north central Yunnan, about 250,000 speakers with two subdialects: Black and much less numerous Red). The traditional characters are being brought back into use in Guizhou; separate Pollard (missionary) scripts existed for Black Nasu, Laka and Gepo, and these still enjoy some very limited use. In Guizhou the traditional script is being promoted; in Yunnan a new combined Yi script has been created and is starting to be used by the Nasu, Nisu and South-eastern Yi groups. In addition to the Nasu there are several small groups speaking closely related but distinct languages including about 30,000 Laka (sometimes known to the Chinese as Gan Yi), about 90,000 Kepo (found in the western missionary literature as Köpu), Sami (known to the Chinese as Samei, and spoken just south-east of Kunming by about 10,000, mainly older speakers). The moribund language Sangwie or Sanie is spoken by older members of the Bai Yi (White Yi) to the west of Kunming; there are about 20,000 members of the group, with perhaps half this number of speakers. There are probably other moribund related languages in this area.

The Nisu or Southern Yi are also rather diverse; in addition to about 600,000 speakers (including 3,200 in Vietnam where they are still known as Lôlô), there are several hundred thousand non-speaker members of the group. Only very limited descriptions are available.

Smaller related groups speaking distinct languages include the Phula, with over 100,000 speakers scattered over south-eastern Yunnan and 6,500 in north-eastern Vietnam; the

Gazhuo, spoken by about 4,000 members of the Mongol nationality just north of Tonghai county in Yuxi, south of Kunming; the Kathu of Guangnan county in extreme eastern Yunnan; and the 5,000 Mo'ang [mɯaŋ^{51}] of Funing county in south-eastern Yunnan and a few in adjacent areas of Guangxi.

7.1.4.2 CENTRAL LOLOISH

The first subgroup of Central Yi comprises four named groups, Sani, Axi, Azha and Azhe, speaking very similar dialects; the Chinese offical classification groups these as 'South-eastern Yi'. They number about 400,000 in south-eastern central Yunnan. The best described is Sani with about 200,000 speakers south-east of Kunming; see Ma (1951). A new Sani syllabary based on traditional characters was recently introduced in Lunan County. This is in competition with the newer Yunnan-wide Yi script. There are some 150,000 Axi, mainly in Mile county south-east of Lunan. The 100,000 Azhe are further south, with about 50,000 Azha to the south-east.

The Lisu are a large and widely dispersed group totalling about 850,000, with 575,000 in China (most in Yunnan, especially the north-western part, but about 13,000 in southern Sichuan as well); nearly 250,000 in Burma, mainly in the north; about 25,000 in Thailand, and a couple of thousand in north-eastern India, where they are known as Yobin from the former Burmese name Yawyin. Dialect differences are substantial; the Thailand dialect as described in Hope (1974) has extensive Chinese loans. Various orthographies exist; those now used include the 'Fraser' script, devised by a missionary of that name, which uses upper-case roman letters, upright and inverted, and punctuation marks for tones; and the new Chinese romanisation, which uses numerous digraphs, as well as consonants after the vowel to indicate tones. Use of the latter is on the decline.

The names Lipho and Lolopho are used to refer to groups classified by the Chinese as 'Central Yi' who speak a language which is linguistically very close to Lisu; some scholars have even regarded them as an eastern dialect of Lisu. There is a total of about 450,000 speakers and some non-speaker group members, mostly young people, in north-western central Yunnan, surrounded by Nosu or Northern Yi on the north, Nasu or Eastern Yi to the east, Nisu or Southern Yi to the south, and Lalo or Western Yi to the west; hence their designation as 'Central Yi'. Some of the Lipho use a Pollard (missionary) script; there was no traditional Lipho/Lolopho script.

The Western Yi subgroup includes Lalo and various other named groups, with a total of about 300,000 speakers. No full description of any variety is available, and in many areas the language is being replaced by Chinese.

The Lahu total about 650,000, with 360,000 in China, over 200,000 in Burma, 60,000 in Thailand, and about 10,000 in Laos; there is also a small group of about 1,000 refugees from Laos in the United States. The main dialect difference is between Black Lahu (Lahu Na) and Yellow Lahu (Lahu Shi), but there are extensive smaller differences within each; for details see Bradley (1979b). This is one of the best described TB languages, mainly due to the work of Matisoff, for example Matisoff (1982).

There are about 55,000 Kucong (Chinese name), mainly scattered south of the Red River in southern central Yunnan, who call themselves Lahu but speak a rather distinct language. In Vietnam they are sometimes known as Cosung and sometimes as Lahu. The Kucong were

officially amalgamated into the Lahu nationality in China in mid-1989. There are nearly 50,000 in China and 5,400 in Vietnam.

The Jinuo group of about 20,000 speakers, who live in one area of south-western Yunnan, was recognised as a separate nationality in China only in 1979, the most recent 'new' nationality in China. It is described in Gai (1986). On its position in Central Loloish, see Bradley (1983). There is no orthography.

The Zauzou group of about 2,500 is classified as part of the Nu nationality in north-western Yunnan, China; but their language is Loloish. Based on limited available data it appears to be Central Loloish.

7.1.4.3 SOUTHERN LOLOISH

As for the Northern Loloish 'Yi' nationality, there is a Southern Loloish 'nationality' in China that includes a variety of distinct languages: Hani. Chinese linguists break this into three main subgroups: Hani-Akha, Haoni-Baihong, and Biyue-Kaduo. The first two are fairly closely related within the Akoid subgroup of Southern Loloish, but the third forms a separate cluster of languages.

7.1.4.3.1 AKOID

In the Akoid group are the 550,000 Akha – about 35,000 each in northern Thailand and northern Laos, some 250,000 in southernmost China, and about 220,000 in Burma; it is well described in Lewis (1968). Dialect differences within Akha are fairly minor, apart from the few thousand Akeu whose language is quite different from Akha. According to Akha traditions, in which the ritual group name is [$za^{21}ni^{21}$], they migrated from the north-east; to the north-east, the roughly 520,000 Hani [$xa^{21}ni^{21}$] in southern central Yunnan and another 12,500 in Vietnam speak a cluster of very similar varieties, more or less mutually intelligible with Akha. To the north-west of the Hani (upriver) are about 120,000 Haoni [$xɒ^{21}ni^{21}$] who speak a variety quite similar to Hani, and further north some 60,000 Baihong, whose language is somewhat less similar. Some of the most northerly 'Hani' in China no longer speak anything other than Chinese. Within this cluster there are also several smaller groups: the Phana of Laos (about 500) and the Sila or Sida of Laos and Vietnam (about 2,000). For Akha there are three competing romanisations: Catholic, Baptist and a third based on the Hani romanisation. The Hani script now used in China is a romanisation using the principles of pinyin. For Hani, this was first proposed in 1957 but introduced (in revised form) only in 1984.

7.1.4.3.2 BI/KA

This subgroup is named from the first syllables of the Chinese terms for its two main components: Biyue (autonym Piyo) and Kaduo (autonym Khatu). Nearly 300,000 of these are included in the 'Hani' nationality of southern Yunnan; a small number of Khatu live in northernmost Laos as well. There is a third related group of 1,500, the Mpi, who live in a village just east of Phrae in northern Thailand; their tradition reports that they were brought as war captives from the north about 200 years ago – presumably from the Piyo area. Mpi is

described in Duanghom (1976). All Mpi are now bilingual in Northern Thai and culturally assimilated, but the village maintains the language.

7.1.4.3.3 BISOID

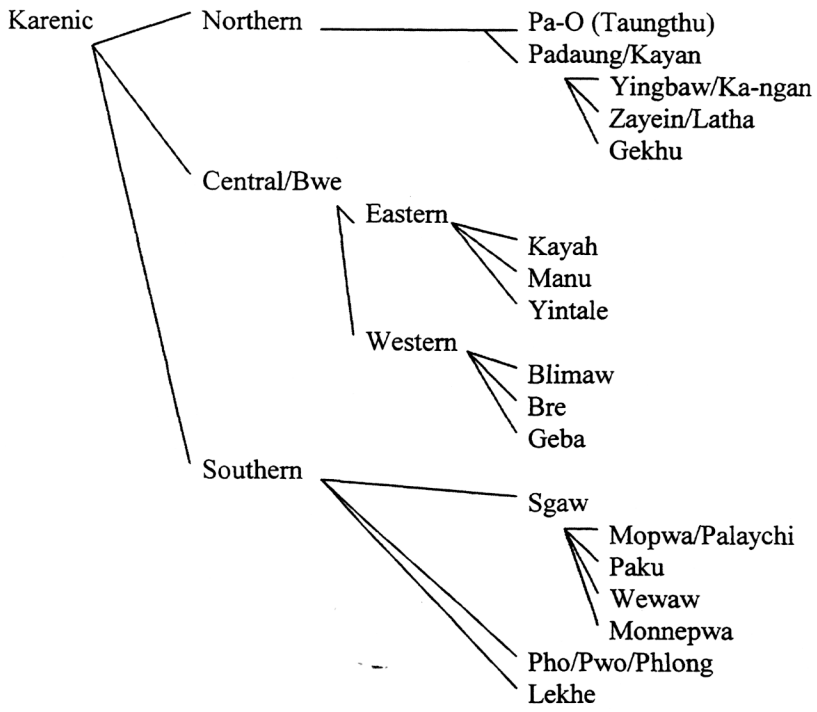
The two well-known Bisoid languages, Bisu of northern Thailand and Phunoi of northern Laos (also known as Công in north-western Vietnam), share the development of voiced stops corresponding to some initial nasals in other TB languages; by contrast, they are the most conservative Loloish languages for finals including nasals. Dialect differences within Bisu and Phunoi are substantial; among the 500 or so Bisu in Thailand there are distinct dialects for each of the four villages, and five dialects within Phunoi are reported. About 6,000 Bisu live in south-western Lancang county in south-western Yunnan, whence the Bisu of Thailand were probably brought in about the 1850s. A language called Pyen was moribund when last reported in the 1931 census in the Shan State of Burma, and may now be extinct; from the limited data available, it appears that it was another dialect of Bisu. Công is one of the smaller nationalities of Vietnam, with only about 1,300 people; linguistic data is virtually unavailable, but it appears to be quite similar to Phunoi. There are over 28,000 Phunoi in Laos, so the total Phunoi/Côông population is about 30,000. A distinct Bisoid language, Sangkong, was recently described by Li (1992); it is spoken by about 2,000 people of Hani nationality in Jinghong county.

7.2 KAREN

The Karen languages, mostly in Burma but extending into western Thailand, are clearly TB but have a number of distinct characteristics. The main one is that all are SVO, the only such languages in TB. Extensive data and a reconstruction are provided in Jones (1961). There is also a substantial non-TB element in the lexicon, as demonstrated in Luce (1985). Benedict (1972) treated Karen as a coordinate subgroup with TB and Sinitic within Sino-Tibetan, but has more recently (Benedict 1976) stated that Karen appears to be within TB, and indeed close to the Burmic portion of TB. Shafer (1974) places Karenic within TB as a separate group coordinate with Burmic, Bodic and Baric.

I am most grateful to R.B. Jones, F.K. Lehman and D.B. Solnit for extensive personal communications which have been essential to the preparation of the information on Karen languages. There is considerable disagreement on the subgrouping of Karen, which includes a number of languages, many with several alternative names.

Karen population was reported at 2,122,825 in Burma in 1983 and 292,814 in Thailand in 1992; Kayah are separately counted at 141,028 in Burma. All of these figures are substantially underenumerated; many Karens try to pass for members of the majority group, Burman or Thai, and many in Burma live in areas not directly controlled by the central government. Moreover many of the smaller central and northern Karen groups are not included in these totals. The Karen who are scattered in the Lower Burma delta region, enumerated at about 1.5 million, are mostly Sgaw with a smaller proportion of Pho; many of these are in the process of becoming Burmanised. The 'official' balance in Burma, about 0.8 million, may safely be doubled, with several hundred thousand Pa-O, Padaung and others giving a total well over three million for Burma, or close to four million including Thailand. There is also a small Karen community in the Andaman Islands.



Jones (1961) suggests a subgroup which includes Pa-O, Pho and Lekeh versus the rest, which he divides into Sgaw and its dialects versus a central group with three subgroups: Padaung, Eastern Bwe and Western Bwe. Solnit and Lehman share the classification as shown above, linking Pa-O and Padaung in Northern and Sgaw with Pho in Southern. Lehman differs from Solnit and Jones in grouping Gekhu with Bwe rather than Padaung.

The Pa-O were formerly called Taungthu (Burmese for 'hill people') and Shan Tonghsu; these names are now regarded as pejorative. This group probably totals over half a million speakers.

The Padaung are the group whose women traditionally wear neck and knee rings. The new autonym (replacing somewhat pejorative Padaung) is Kayan; also included here linguistically are Yinbaw (autonym Ka-ngan), Zayein (Latha), Gekhu ('upper', also seen as Gheko, Geko, Gekho, etc.) and probably Sawntung, with a total of about 85,000 speakers.

Sometimes still known as Karenni or Red Karen, the Kayah group has substantial dialect differences between east and west. It is a separate nationality with a separate state in Burma; there are some speakers in north-western Thailand as well. Officially it has over 140,000 speakers in Burma, but this is underenumerated (and probably includes Manu, Yintale and perhaps some other Karen langages within the Kayah State). Including Thailand, there are probably a quarter of a million speakers.

For the small western subgroup Manu, the Burmese name is Manumanaw, the Kayah name is [pɯnɯ]. This means 'western' (dialect of Kayah); it may have 10,000 or more speakers. The name of the subgroup Yintale has been folk-etymologised into the Burmese Yin-Talaing or Mon Karen. It is a south-western variety of Kayah, with perhaps 10,000 speakers.

The Blimaw subgroup of Karen is sometimes simply known as Bwe 'central' Karen. There is a dictionary, Henderson (forthcoming), and it has about 20,000 speakers.

Known to its speakers as [brɛʔ] and hence Bre or Brek, this Central Karen group now prefers the autonym Kayaw [kəjɔ]; it probably totals about 25,000 speakers. Geba is another Central Karen group, with about 10,000 speakers.

Sgaw, in the Southern Karen subgroup, is the largest Karen language, known to its speakers as [sɣɔʔ] from the word for 'person'; it has about 1.6 million speakers, with just under half in the delta region of Lower Burma and nearly two-thirds of the Karen in Thailand. It is fairly well described in Gilmore (1898). There is a Burmese-based orthography devised in the mid-nineteenth century using extra vowel and tone symbols, and a traditional 'chicken track' orthography not widely used anymore. Various divergent dialects have appeared in the literature as separate Karen languages; for example Mopwa (also known as Palaychi from one of the villages where it is spoken; studied by Jones) in the north-west, Paku [pakɯ], which is the Kayah word for Sgaw and also refers to a north-eastern dialect of Sgaw, as well as Wewaw, Monnepwa and probably others.

Briefly reported by Jones, the Lekeh language also has a traditional orthography derived from Burmese but not widely known or used. The number of speakers is unknown; some at least live in the delta region around Rangoon.

To its speakers known as Sho, to the Sgaw as Pwo or Pho, and in Thailand (from the word for 'person' there) as Phlong, Pho Karen has about 1.4 million speakers, with nearly one-third of these in the delta region, and about one-third of the Karen in Thailand. This language extends quite far to the south, virtually to Burma's southern extremity, and onto some adjacent islands. There are very substantial dialect differences; the standard dialect has an orthography derived from Burmese, devised shortly after the Sgaw orthography and using different conventions for the vowels and tones of Pho. Duffin (1913) provides a good description.

8. CONCLUSION

Altogether there are nearly 250 known TB languages, with about 65 million speakers. Doubtless some others remain to be 'discovered', especially in China and Burma. Many others are already dead; in some cases there are written records of these dead languages, but others have completely disappeared. Quite a large number are endangered; so salvage work is urgent.

Of all TB languages, the one with the largest number of speakers is Burmese, which is about half the total; another ten million people use it as a second language. The following table shows the top ten TB languages in terms of number of first language speakers.

	Language	Speakers	Official status	Location
1.	Burmese	32 million	Burma	Burma
2.	Tibetan	4.6 million	Tibet, Bhutan	Tibet, India, Nepal, Bhutan, etc.
3.	Karen	3.9 million	Karen/Kayah states	Burma, Thailand
4.	Nosu	2.25 million	Liangshan	China
5.	Lisu/Lipo	1.3 million	Nujiang	China, Burma, Thailand, India
6.	Bai	1.1 million	Dali	China
7./8.	Meithei	1 million	Manipur	India
7./8.	Bodo	1 million		India
9.	Nasu	800,000		China
10.	Lahu	650,000	Lancang	China, Burma, Thailand, Laos

The totals for Tibetan and Karen include speakers of a very wide variety of languages and dialects who feel a cultural unity. In the case of Tibetan this is founded on Tibetan Budhism and the written Tibetan language. For the Karen, this unity is more tenuous; 3 million Karen speak either Sgaw or Pho Karen, each of which has a long-standing Burmese-based orthography, and the rest speak a variety of distinct languages in the Kayah State and to the north.

The development of orthographies for TB languages has been going on for well over a millenium. On the one hand, some scripts are based on an Indic model. These include the Pyu script (seventh century AD), the Tibetan script (eighth century AD), the Burmese script (1112 AD) and the old Newari script (1113 AD). Those based on a Chinese model, and thus using the character principle, include Xixia (1037 AD), Nasu/Nosu (undated but probably at least 600 years old) and Naxi. During the last century, roman scripts have been devised for many TB languages; initially by missionaries, and since the 1950s in China following the principles of pinyin, the official romanisation for Chinese. Indic models continue to be used for new scripts in the South Asian region, alongside roman scripts.

Another fascinating phenomenon is language contact and language shift among related TB languages. Many non-Tibetan TB languages of the northern and eastern Himalayas are in close contact with and are influenced by Tibetan; all TB languages of Burma are influenced by Burmese; and so on. Some languages are being or have been absorbed into others; notably in the Rai area of eastern Nepal and the Kuki-Chin-Naga area of north-eastern India.

Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Tryon (forthcoming) summarise the use of TB languages as lingua francas; in many areas speakers of various TB languages use another TB language for interethnic communication. Such languages include Tibetan (literary High, Lhasa spoken, Khams, Dzongkha), Burmese, Lahu, Mizo and others. Speakers of TB languages in many countries use non-TB languages for this purpose: Nepali in Nepal, Darjeeling and Sikkim, Nagamese in Nagaland, English in Meghalaya and elsewhere in the hills of north-eastern India, and the national languages in Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, China, India and Pakistan.

Another interesting sociolinguistic phenomenon is the development of diglossia in several TB languages. The two principal examples are Burmese and Tibetan. In each case the literary High is more archaic, and is used in some formal spoken contexts as well as nearly all written contexts. The spoken Low shows a great deal of dialect diversity in Tibetan, and somewhat less in Burmese.

Official policy or indigenous unification movements have resulted in the amalgamation of a variety of more or less closely related TB languages into new ethnicities, sometimes with a standard written language. This has happened in several cases in south-western China (the Yi, the Hani and the Lahu among others), in north-eastern India (various Naga groups, the Mizo and so on), and may be starting among the Rang of northern Uttar Pradesh in north-western India. Conversely recent political considerations have divided some TB groups, such as the Balti and Purik in Kashmir, or various groups which live across the borders of China and adjacent countries, such as the Kucong, the Bisu/Phunoi/Công and numerous others.

The politics of language and language policy is another fascinating issue for many TB groups. In Burma and Bhutan, TB languages have national-level official status. Tibetan is the official language of the Tibetan government in exile and is widely used in the portions of Tibet under Chinese control. Manipuri has long been a state language in Manipur, and has recently achieved Schedule VIII status in the constitution of India, conferring on it official status at the national level. Newari was the court language of the Malla kingdoms of the Kathmandu area until they were conquered in the late 18th century by the Nepali speakers of Gorkha. At a much earlier stage, some now-extinct TB languages such as Xixia in what is now western central China, and Pyu in what is now central Burma, had a similar status.

Recent changes have led to a broadening in the use of TB languages in education. In China, most minority languages are used to some extent in education and administration, especially in designated 'autonomous' regions, prefectures and counties of that minority. In Sikkim state, the indigenous Lepcha and Limbu as well as the Danjong variety of Tibetan are used in education up to matriculation. Most other states of India with a large TB-speaking population have chosen to use English for official purposes; but education and public life using TB languages is widespread in Meghalaya, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. In Bhutan, official and educational status have been accorded to Dzongkha, another variety of Tibetan. Since political liberalisation a few years ago, Nepal has again begun to use some TB languages such as Newari on radio, reversing the previous policy of Nepali for all purposes. Burma has accorded some status to the languages of its seven states including Arakanese (a dialect of Burmese) as well as TB Chin, Kachin (Jinghpaw), and the Kayah and (Sgaw/Pho) Karen along with non-TB Shan and Mon; however education and public life continues to be in Burmese.

Political movements and rebellions seeking independence or autonomy for certain TB groups have flared into violence continually since the 1950s. These movements include the Naga and Mizo in India, and the Kachin, Karen, Arakanese and many others in Burma. In north-eastern India over the last ten years there has been agitation, sometimes violent, for official status for Bodo. Similar tension, mainly caused by competition for increasingly scarce land and other resources, has arisen between TB groups such as the Naga and Kuki in Manipur and Nagaland. Tension between indigenous Kokborok and migrant Bengalis also simmers in Tripura, parallel to the more extreme levels of conflict between the Bengalis and indigenous TB and non-TB groups of Meghalaya and Assam. Recent movements of Rohingya (Bengali Moslem) refugees out of Burma back to Bangladesh and of Nepalis back from Bhutan and north-eastern India to Nepal, Darjeeling and Sikkim are a direct result of indigenous hostility to encroachments by Indic language speakers into traditional TB territory. Sometimes these conflicts also have a religious aspect; many hill dwellers in north-

eastern India and Burma are now Christian, while the Nepali migrants are Hindus and the Bengalis or Rohingyas are Moslems in Hindu Assam and Buddhist Burma.

In China the process of achieving recognition for one's ethnic group is also political, but usually non-violent; groups may apply for recognition as a separate national minority, and one TB group, the Jinuo, successfully did so in 1979. Other groups in China have been less successful; the Kucong also applied, but were instead amalgamated with the Lahu in 1989. Other applications are pending. It is also possible to change one's nationality in China. Because of advantages for minorities, many people did so between the 1982 and 1990 census, and so the population for many nationalities increased substantially due to these additions as well as natural increase. Sometimes the changes are because of previous misclassifications; thus, a substantial number of Lipo changed from Yi to Lisu nationality in the mid-1980s.

There are still some unresolved problems in the classification of TB languages. At the more macro level, issues such as the position of Kuki-Chin-Naga are not fully resolved; and the exact status of Central TB is uncertain. Sun (1993) casts doubt on the position of Keman in this group, and Lepcha has long been a bone of contention. The other West Arunachal languages also need more classificatory research. Some of the outliers of North-eastern TB are also of somewhat uncertain status: is Naxi closer to Burmese-Lolo, as some of its lexicon indicates, or to NE TB? Where do Bai and Tujia fit? Is Baima a Tibetanised NE TB language or a variety of Tibetan?

In general, there remains a great deal of linguistic research to be done on TB languages: basic descriptive work; sociolinguistic studies of the process of language contact, convergence, shift and death; and comparative work.

APPENDIX

NAMES, SPEAKERS AND LOCATIONS OF TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES

1. INTRODUCTION

Names shown in the left column are the usual names found in the recent literature and referred to in the classification above. Where the group has an autonym which is different, this is given next. Other names which have been used for the group are given immediately prior to the population; some of these are names used by other groups or geographical names. These different names are discussed in the text above.

Population totals are 1995 estimates based on census and other information; totals given in bold are for speakers of languages. In many cases this is fewer than totals for members of the corresponding ethnic group due to language shift. For various groups in China, it is fewer than census figures for nationalities, due to misclassification of part or all of a group as members of another nationality, mainly as Tibetan. Where data on the number of speakers of dialects is available, totals for speakers of dialects are given in non-bold.

Countries where the languages are spoken are listed in order of population for each group.

B	Burma
Ba	Bangladesh
Bh	Bhutan
C	China
L	Laos
N	Nepal
P	Pakistan
r	refugees in Western countries
T	Thailand
Ti	Tibet (traditional area, including Qinghai and parts of Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan)
V	Vietnam

The numbers given with each heading below correspond with the sections in the paper in which the languages/dialects are discussed.

2. BODIC

2.1 BODISH

2.1.1 CENTRAL

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Balti		sBalti	**300,000+**	PI
Purik d		Purki	45,000	I
Ladakhi		Ladwags	**75,000**	I
Zangskar d.			5,000	I
Tod		'Lahuli'	**1,700**	I
Ranglo		Khoksar	**700**	I
Spiti	Piti		**12,000**	I
Nyam		mNyam	**3,000**	I
Jad			**1,500**	I
mNgahris	(numerous varieties)	Ngari	**50,000**	Ti N
gTsang	(numerous varieties)		**600,000**	Ti N I
dBus	(numerous varieties)	Ü	**900,000**	Ti I r Bh
Southern	(several varieties)		**550,000**	Bh I Ti
Amdo	(numerous varieties)		**900,000**	Ti
Khams	(numerous varieties)		**1,600,000**	Ti B

2.1.2 WESTERN (GURUNG, TAMANG)

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Kutang Ghale			**1,300**	N
Ghale			**15,000**	N
Kaike			**2,000**	N
Dura			few	N
Gurung	Tamu		**150,000**	N I
Thakali	Tapaang	Thaksya	**5,000**	N
Chantel			**2,500**	N
Rohani			few	N
Manang		Nyishang	**3,000**	N
Tamang			**600,000**	N I

2.1.3 EASTERN (BUMTHANG, MONPA)

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Bumthang			**30,000**	Bh
Khengkha			**40,000**	Bh
Kurtöpkha			**10,000**	Bh
'Nyenkha/Henkha		Mangdebikha	**10,000**	Bh
'Olekha Monpa			**1,000**	Bh
Chalikha			**1,000**	Bh
Dakpakha			**1,000**	Bh
Dzalakha		Cuona Monpa/Central Monpa	**52,000**	I Bh Ti
Eastern Monpa		Motuo Monpa	**5,000**	I Ti
Sherdukpen	Mei		**4,000**	

2.1.4 TSHANGLA

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Tshangla		Southern Monpa	**140,000**	Bh
Lhokpu		Lhobikha	**2,500**	Bh
Gongduk		Gongdubikha	**2,000**	Bh

2.1.5 WEST HIMALAYISH

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Pattani		Lahuli, Manchati	**14,000**	I
Tinan		Gondhla	**2,500**	I
Bunan		Gahar, Gahri	**5,000**	I
Kanauri		Kinnauri	**60,000**	I
Chitkhuli d.			**1,000**	I
Kanashi		Malana	**1,100**	I
Rangkhas		Marchha	**7,500**	I
Darmiya			**4,000**	I
Chaudangsi/Byangsi			**8,000**	I N
Bhramu			**extinct**	N
Thami			**14,000**	N

2.2 HIMALAYAN

2.2.1 CENTRAL

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Magar			**300,000**	N
Raute/Raji			**500**	NI
Kham			**40,000**	N
Chepang			**17,000**	N
Newari			**600,000**	N

2.2.2 KIRANTI

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Hayu			**100**	N
Sunwar (incl. Surel d.)			**25,000**	N
Bahing		Rumdali	**10,000**	N
Chaurasia		Umbale	**5,000**	N
Jerung			**2,000**	N
Thulung			**25,000**	N
Khaling			**12,000**	N
Dumi			**2,000**	N
Kohi		Koi	**300**	N
Kulung		Kulunge	**9,000**	N
(Sotang d.)			**6,000**	N
Nachering (incl. Parali d.)			**2,000**	N
Chukwa			**100**	N
Sangpang		Sangpahang	**7,000**	N
Bantawa			**70,000**	N
Lambichong		Mugali	**1,000**	N
Dungmali/Khesang			**5,000**	N
Chamling		Rodong	**30,000**	N
Puma			**3,000**	N
Athpare			**2,000**	N
Belhare			**1,000**	N
Chintang			**100**	N
Chulung			**1,000**	N
Yakkha			**10,000**	N
Lumba			**1,000**	N
Mewahang		Newahang	**4,000**	N
Lohorong (N vs. S dialects)			**15,000**	N
Yamphu			**5,000**	N
Yamphe	Yakkhaba		**5,000**	N
Tilung			**1,000**	N
Chatare Limbu			**30,000**	N
Limbu			**200,000**	NI
Dhimal/Toto			**10,000**	NI

3. NORTH-EASTERN INDIA/SAL

3.1 BODO-GARO

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Boro		plains Kachari	**1,000,000**	I N Ba Bh
Lalung			**20,000**	I
Dimasa		hills Kachari	**50,000**	I
Hojai			**10,000**	I Ba
Kokborok		Tripuri	**400,000**	I Ba
Garo			**500,000**	I Ba
Atong			**10,000**	I Ba
Wanang			**15,000**	I Ba
Rabha			**50,000**	I
Hajong			**10,000**	I
Deori			**15,000**	I

3.1.1 NORTHERN NAGA

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Khienmungan	Kalyokengnyu		**50,000**	B I
Chang			**25,000**	I
Phom			**25,000**	I
Konyak			**90,000**	I B
Htangan			**20,000?**	B
Wancho			**40,000**	I B
Haimi			**60,000**	B
Nocte			**40,000**	I B
Tangsa/Rangpan			**40,000**	B I

3.2 Jinghpaw		Kachin, Singpho	**600,000**	B C I

3.3 LUISH/SAK

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Kadu			**20,000**	B
Ganan			**7,000**	B
Taman			**1,000**	B
Sak		Thet	**7,000**	B Ba
Chakpa		Chairel	**extinct**	I
Phayeng		Andro	**extinct**	I
Sekmai		Sengmai	**extinct**	I

3.4 PYU			**extinct**	(B)

4. KUKI-CHIN

4.1 SOUTHERN NAGA

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Ao			**110,000**	I
Sangtam (N)			**30,000**	I
Lhota			**60,000**	I
Yimchungrü			**30,000**	I
Rengma			**15,000**	I
Tangkhul			**100,000**	I B
Maring			**15,000**	I B
Sema			**100,000**	I
Angami (W)			**60,000**	I
Chakhesang			**30,000**	I
Mao			**60,000**	I
Maram			**5,000**	I
Zeliangrong			**90,000**	I
Meithei	Manipuri		**1,000,000**	I B

4.2 KUKI

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Rangkhol			**8,500**	I Ba
Hallam			**12,000**	I Ba
Langrong			**1,000**	I
Hmar			**30,000**	I
Anal			**12,000**	I B
Kom			**7,000**	I
Chawte		Chote, Chaw, Kyaw	**1,000**	I B
Mayol		Moyon, Moyol	**1,000**	I
Lamgang			**2,000**	I

4.3 CHIN

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
North Chin			**250,000**	B I
Central Chin			**400,000**	B I Ba
Mizo			**400,000**	I B Ba
South Chin			**225,000**	B Ba
Khami/Khumi			**55,000**	B Ba
Mara		Lakher, Miram	**20,000**	I B

4.4 ARLENG

Arleng	Karbi	Mikir	**350,000**	I

5. CENTRAL

5.1 Lepcha	Rong		**4,000**	I

5.2 WESTERN ARUNACHAL

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Sulung	Puroik		**3,000**	I Ti
Bugun	Khowa, Khoa		**1,700**	I
Dhammai		Miji	**5,000**	I
Hrusso		Angka, Aka	**4,000**	I
Bangru			**1,000**	I Ti

5.3 ADI-MISING-NISHI/ABOR-MIRI-DAFLA/TANI GROUP

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Nishi/Bangni/Apa Tani	Dafla		**170,000**	I Ti
Hill Miri			**25,000**	I
Adi		Abor	**125,000**	I Ti
Mising	Mishing	plains Miri	**500,000**	I

5.4 DIGARISH 'MISHMI'

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Idu		Chulikata Mishmi	**20,000**	I Ti
Taraon	Digaru	Taruang	**12,000**	Ti I B

5.5 KEMAN 'MISHMI'

Keman 'Mishmi'		Miju	**20,000**	I Ti B

5.6 RAWANG/NUNGISH

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Trung		Dulong	**11,000**	C Ti
Zørwang	Jerwang	Tvluq	**15,000**	B
Dvru	Daru		**35,000**	B
Anung			**8,000**	C B
Nusu			**8,000**	C
Dvngsar			**15,000**	B
Mvtwang			**50,000**	B
Lungmi		Longmi	**30,000**	B

6. NORTH-EASTERN

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Xixia		Tangut	**extinct**	(C)
Baima			**20,000**	Ti
Jiarong	Karu	rGyarung	**150,000**	Ti
Qiang (N)			**75,000**	Ti
Qiang (S)			**120,000**	Ti
Ergong			**45,000**	Ti

Continued on next page

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Zaba		Zhaba	**8,000**	Ti
Guichong	Yutong, Guquo		**7,000**	Ti
Muya			**15,000**	Ti
Ersu		Tosu, Lusu	**20,000**	Ti
Choyo		Queyu	**7,000**	Ti
Namuyi			**5,000**	Ti
Shixing	Xumi, Shihin		**2,000**	Ti
Pumi	Primi		**55,000**	Ti/C
Naxi		Nakhi	**210,000**	C
Moso		'East Naxi'	**40,000**	C
Tujia			**170,000**	C
Bai		Minchia	**1,100,000**	C

7. SOUTH-EASTERN

7.1 BURMESE-LOLO/BURMIC

7.1.1 Mru		**40,000**	B Ba
7.1.2 Gong	Ugong	**1,000**	T

7.1.3 BURMISH

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Burmese			**32,000,000**	B
Arakanese		Mogh/Magh	**1,800,000**	B Ba I
Tavoyan			**400,000**	B
Beik		Merguese	**250,000**	B
Danu			**100,000**	B
Intha		Angsa, Inle	**90,000**	B
Taungyo			**40,000**	B
Yaw			**20,000**	B
Hpun		Hpon, Phun, Phon	**50 ?**	B
Achang	Ngochang	Maingtha	**30,000**	C B
Lashi	Lachik		**30,000**	B C
Atsi	Tsaiwa	Zi	**150,000**	B C
Maru	Lawngwaw	Langsu	**100,000**	B C
Bola			**1,000**	C
Chintau			**1,000**	C

7.1.4 LOLOISH

7.1.4.1 NORTHERN

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Nosu (northern Yi)			**2,250,000**	C
Nasu (eastern Yi)			**800,000**	C
Shuxi, Wusa, Mangbu, Wumeng			300,000	C
Hei Yi, Hong Yi (Black, Red)			250,000	C

Continued on next page

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Panxian			150,000	C
Laka			30,000	C
Gepo			90,000	C
Sami			10,000	C
Samatau			50	C
Sangwie/Sanie		Bai Yi	10,000	C
Gazhuo			4,000	C
Nisu (southern Yi)			600,000	C V
Phula			100,000	C V
Kathu			1,000	C
Mo'ang			5,000	C

7.1.4.2 CENTRAL

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Sani	Ni	'Gni Lolo'	200,000	C
Axi		'Ahi Lolo'	150,000	C
Azhe			100,000	C
Azha			50,000	C
Lalo ('western Yi')			300,000	C
Zaozou			2,500	C
'Central Yi'/ Eastern Lisu	Lipho, Lolopho		450,000	C
Lisu		Yawyin, Yobin	850,000	C B T I
Lahu		Lohei, Muser	650,000	C B T L
Kucung		Cosung	55,000	C V
Jinuo			20,000	C

7.1.4.3 SOUTHERN

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Baihong		Mahei	60,000	C
Haoni		Putu/Budu	120,000	C
Hani			520,000	C V
Akha		Ikaw, Kaw	550,000	B C T L
Akeu			5,000	C B T
Phana		Bana	500	L
Sila		Sida	2,000	V L
Khatu		Kaduo	180,000	C L
Piyo		Biyue	120,000	C
Mpi			1,500	T
Bisu		mBisu, Misu	6,500	C T (B)
Phunoi		Công	30,000	L V
Sangkong			2,000	C

7.2 KAREN

Name	Autonym	Other names	Population	Location
Pa-O		Taungthu	**500,000**	B T
Padaung	Kayan		**85,000**	B
Kayah		Karenni	**250,000**	B T
Manu	Punu	Manumanaw	**10,000**	B
Yintale		Yangtalai	**10,000**	B
Blimaw		Western Bwe	**20,000**	B
Bre	Kayaw	Brek	**25,000**	B
Geba			**10,000**	B
Sgaw			**1,600,000**	B T
Pho		Pwo	**1,400,000**	B T
Lekeh			?	B

In preparing the Map 1 to 8, I have benefited from the assistance and advice over many years of a very large number of colleagues in India, Nepal and elsewhere. Both the language data and language map of Bhutan have been taken from George van Driem's writings on Bhutan (e.g. van Driem 1992), and parts of the Nepal language map and the Nepal language data have been reproduced here from George van Driem's yet-to-be published handbook on the languages of the Himalayas (van Driem forthcoming), a preliminary version of which he kindly sent to me at my request. Many other sources have been useful, including various volumes of the Census of India (1981), Hansson (1991) concerning eastern Nepal, Webster (1992) concerning north central Nepal, Brauns and Löffler (1990) concerning south-eastern Bangladesh, Zoller (1983) and Sharma (1982, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990, and 1992) concerning northern Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh in India, Moseley (1994) concerning areas adjacent to Burma, the various other sources cited above, as well as personal communications from colleagues too numerous to mention. Naturally any misinterpretations and inaccuracies are my own responsibility.

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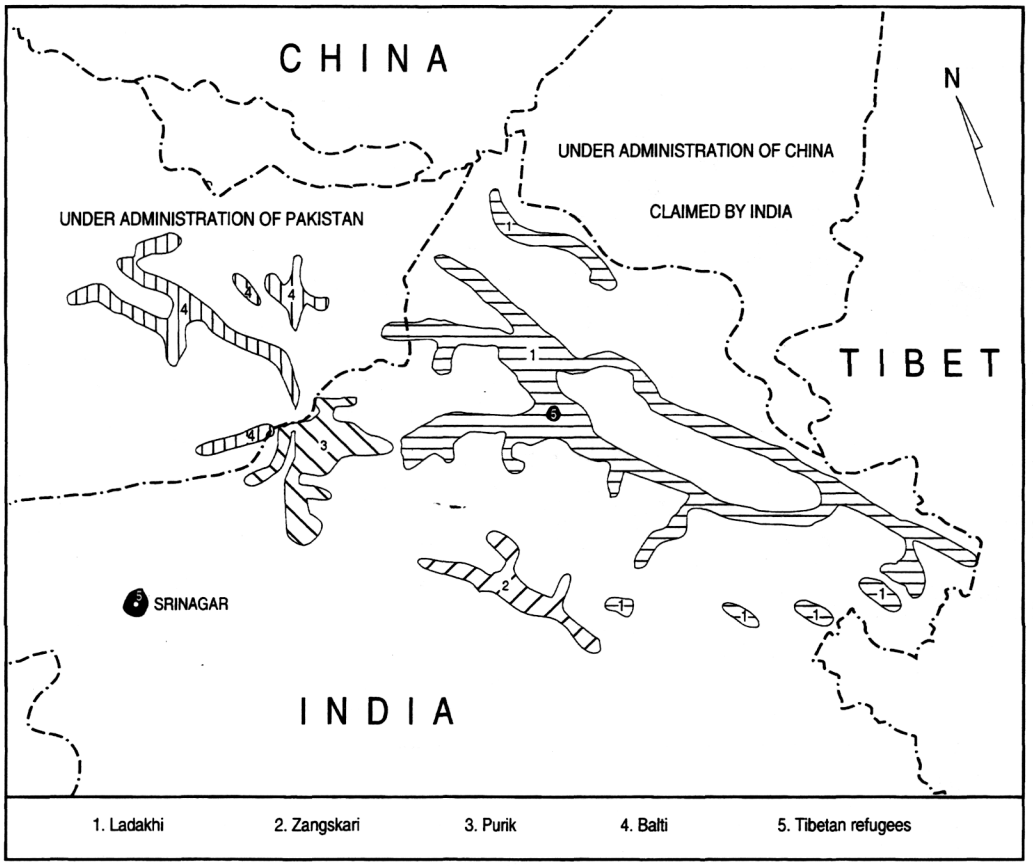
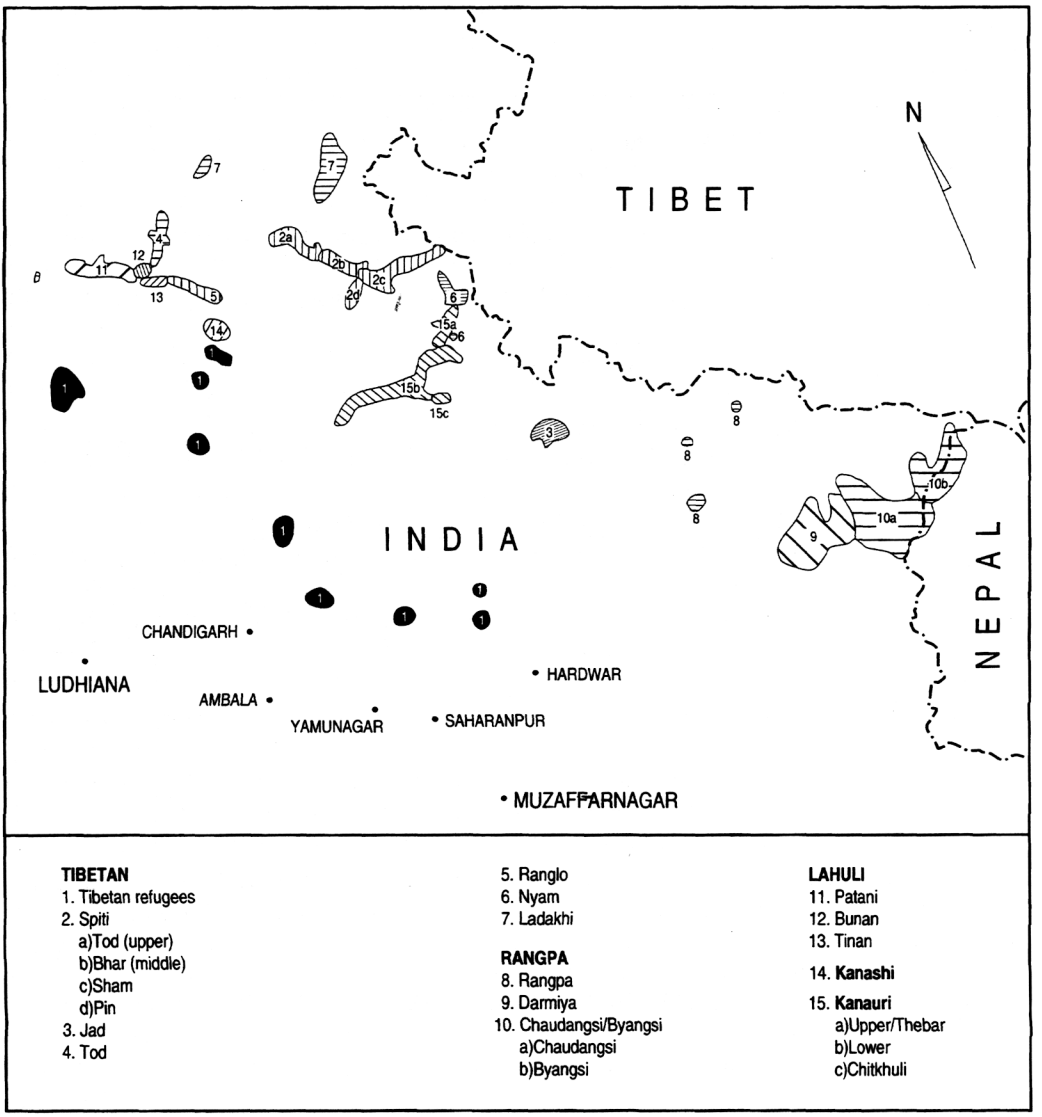
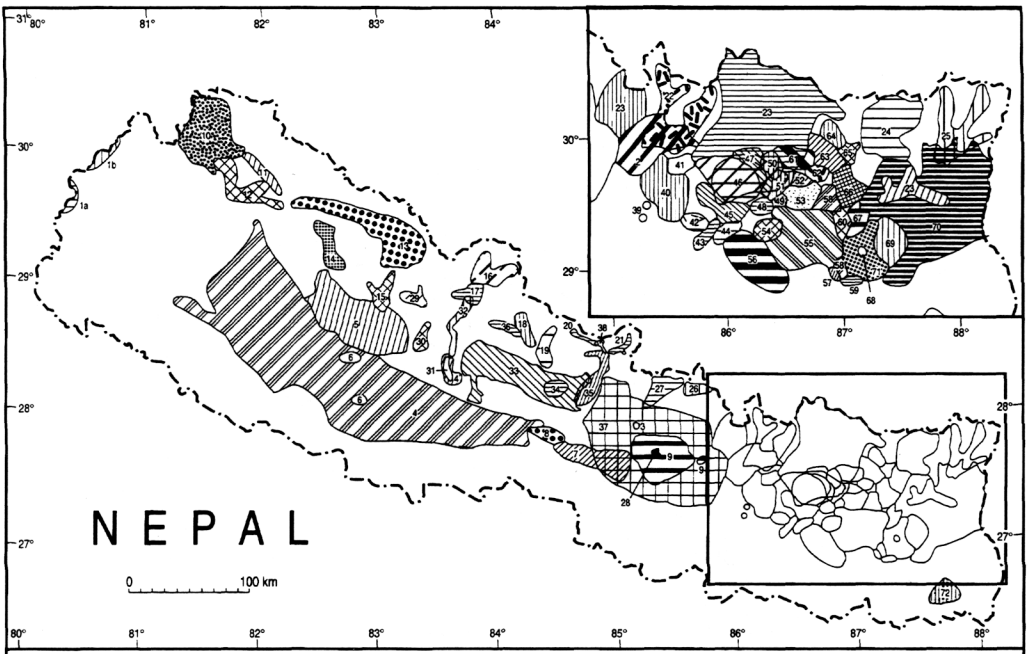


MAP 2: TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF KASHMIR



MAP 3: TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF HIMACHAL PRADESH AND UTTAR PRADESH



W. HIMALAYISH
1a. Chaudangsi
1b. Byangsi
2. Thami
3. Bhramu

C. HIMALAYISH
4. Magar
5. Kham
6. Raute/Raji
7. Chepang
8. Gharti/Bujheli
9. Newari

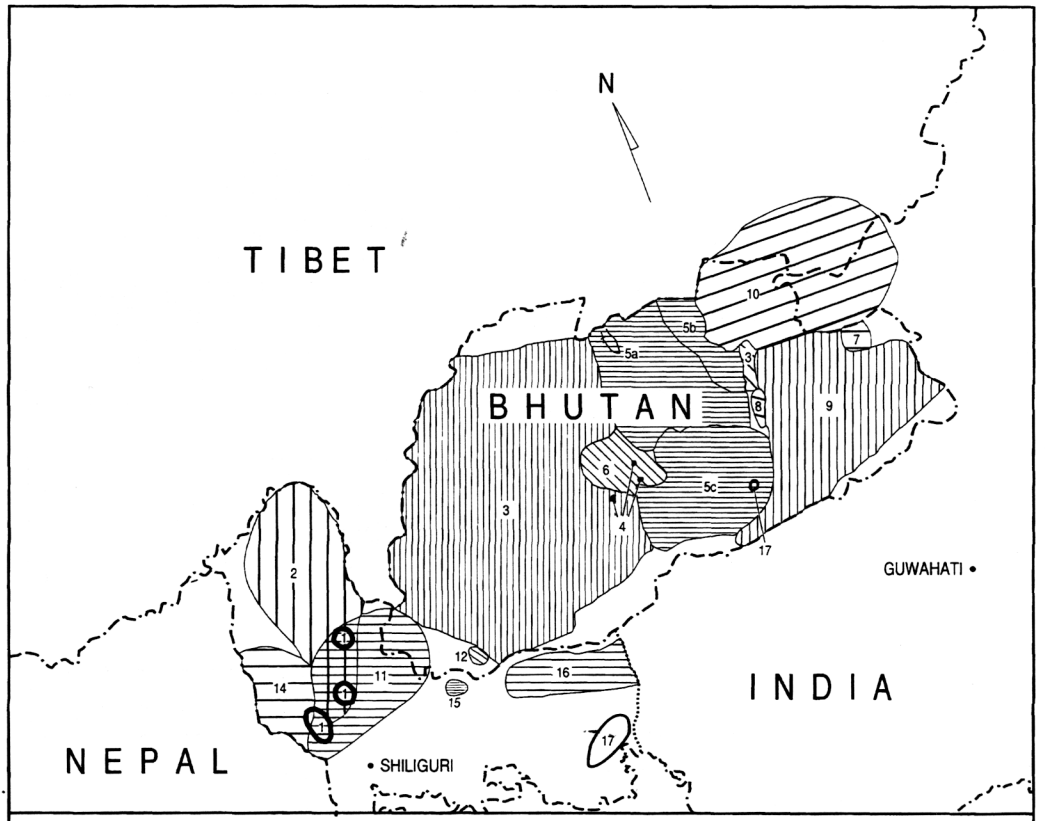
TIBETAN
10. Humli Tamang
11. Khan
12. Karmarong
13. Dolpo
14. Rengpungmo
15. Tichurong
16. Lo
17. Kag
18. Nar
19. Gyasumdo
20. Nubri
21. Tsum
22. Jirel
23. Sherpa
24. Lhomi
25. Halung
26. Langtang
27. Kachad
28. Tibetan refugees

W. BODISH
29. Kaike
30. Chantel
31. Rohani
32. Thakali
33. Gurung
34. Dura
35. Ghale
36. Manang
37. Tamang
38. Kutang Ghale

KIRANTI
39. Hayu
40. Sunuwar
41. Surel
42. Jerung
43. Chaurasia
44. Tilung
45. Bahing
46. Thulung
47. Khaling
48. Dumi
49. Kohi
50. Sotang
51. Nachering
52. Chukwa
53. Sangpang
54. Puma
55. Bantawa
56. Chamling
57. Chintang
58. Lohorong
59. Chulung
60. Dungmali Khesang
61. Kulung
62. Parali
63. Mewahang
64. Yamphe
65. Yamphu
66. Yakkha
67. Lumba
68. Belhare
69. Chatthare Limbu
70. Limbu
71. Athpare

DHIMAL
72. Dhimal

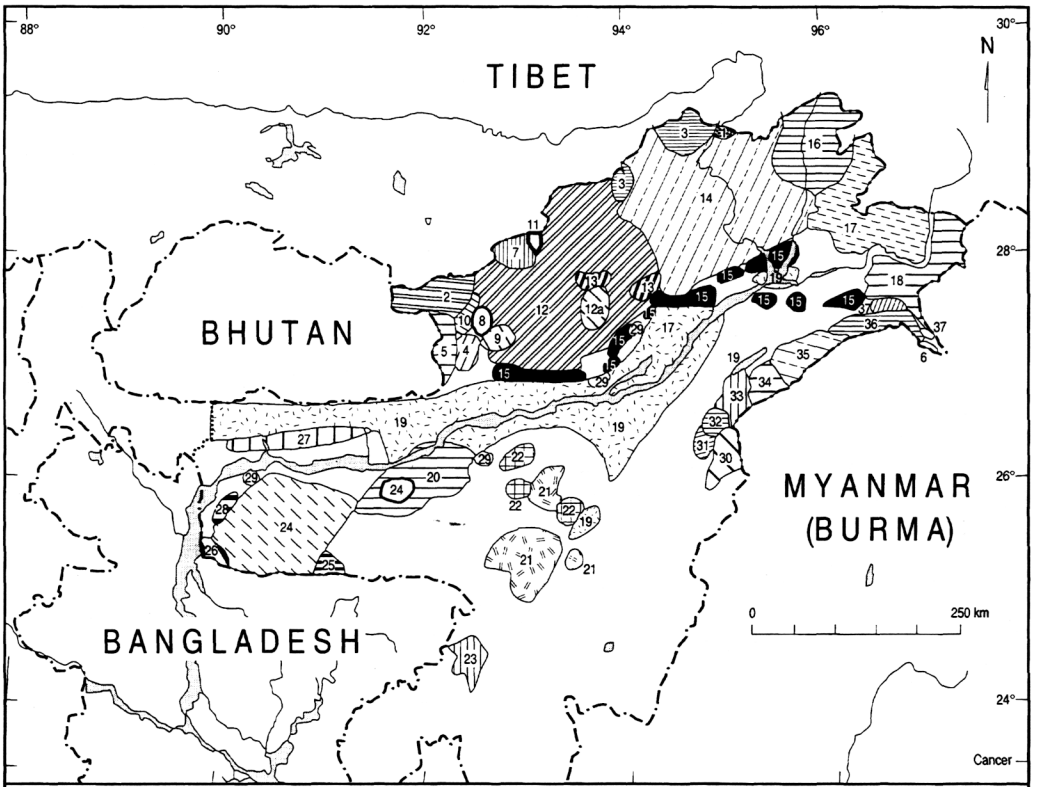
MAP 4: TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF NEPAL



BODIC
1. Tibetan refugees
2. Danjong
3. Dzongkha
4. Olikha Monpa
5. Bumthang
   a) Bumthang
   b) Kurtopkha
   c) Khengkha
6. 'Nyenkha
7. Dakpakha
8. Chalikha
9. Tshangla
10. Dzalakha
11. Lepcha
12. Lhokpu
13. Gongduk
14. Limbu
15. Toto

SAL
16. Bodo
17. Rabha

MAP 5: TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF WEST BENGAL, SIKKIM AND BHUTAN



BODIC
A. Central
1. Kham

B. Eastern
2. Dzalakha
3. Eastern Monpa
4. Sherdukpen

C. Tshangla
5. Tshangla

BURMESE-LOLO
6. Lisu

CENTRAL
A. West Arunachal
7. Sulung
8. Bugun
9. Hruso
10. Dhammai
11. Bangru

B. Adi-Mising-Nishi
12. Nishi
12a. Apa Tani
13. Hill Miri
14. Adi
15. Mising

C. Digarish
16. Idu
17. Taraon

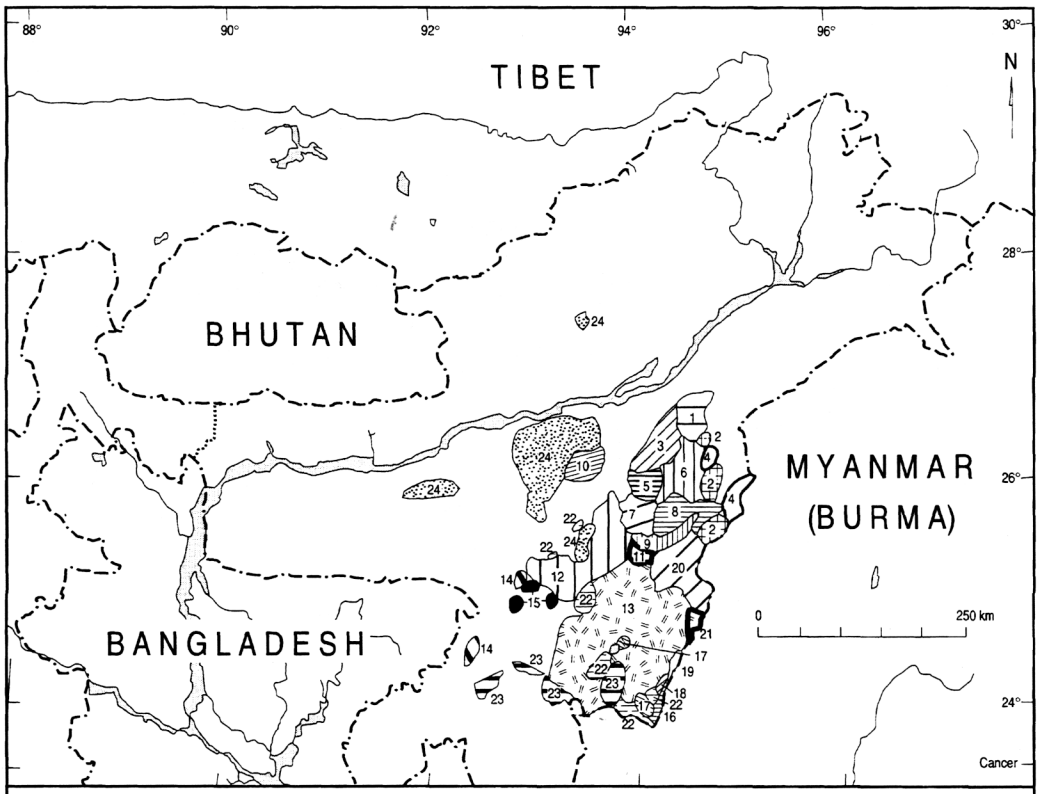
D. Keman
18. Keman

SAL
A. Bodo-Garo
19. Bodo
20. Lalung
21. Dimasa
22. Hojai
23. Kokborok
24. Garo
25. Atong
26. Wanang
27. Rabha
28. Hajong
29. Deori

B. Northern Naga
30. Khienmungan
31. Chang
32. Phom
33. Konyak
34. Wancho
35. Nocte
36. Tangsa

C. Jinghpaw (Kadian)
37. Jinghpaw (Kachin)

MAP 6: TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH, NORTH ASSAM, NORTH NAGALAND AND MEGHALAYA



KUKI-CHIN-NAGA

A. Southern Naga
1. Ao
2. Sangtam
3. Lhota
4. Yimchingru
5. Ntenyi/Meluri
6. Sema
7. W. Angami
8. Chakhesang
9. Mao
10. W. Rengma
11. Maram
12. Zeliangrong

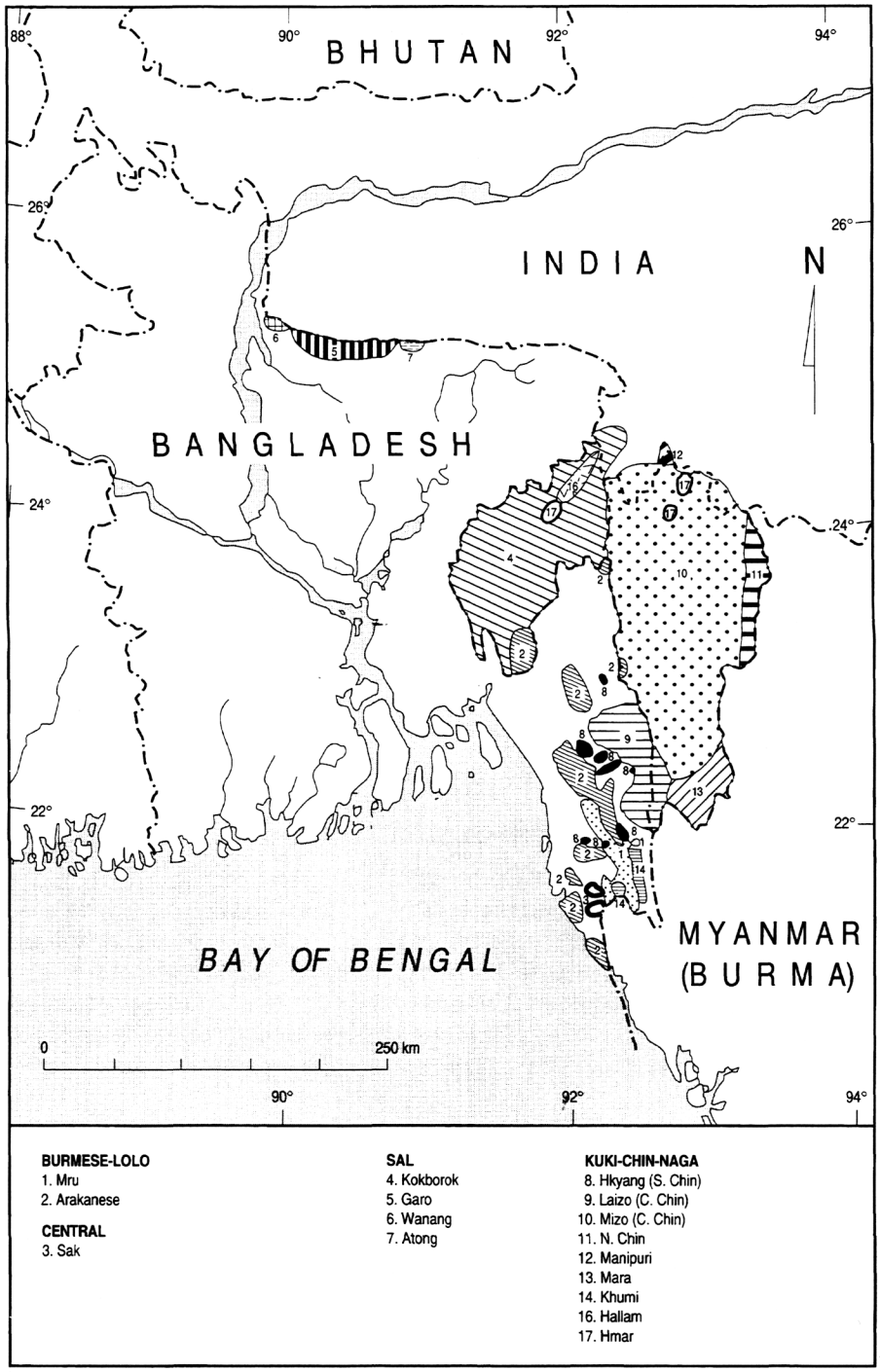
B. Meithei (Manipuri)
13. Manipuri

C. Old Kuki
14. Rangkhol/Hallam/Langrong
15. Hmar
16. Anal
17. Kom
18. Chawte
19. Mayol
20. Tangkhul
21. Maring

D. Chin
22. N. Chin
23. C. Chin/Mizo

E.. Arleng (Karbi,Mikir)
24. Arleng

MAP 7: TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF SOUTH ASSAM, SOUTH NAGALAND AND MANIPUR



MAP 8: TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF BANGLADESH, TRIPURA AND MIZORAM