
§1. Introduction

The Sino-Tibetan linguistic stock, as delineated in the present work, comprises Chinese, Karen, and the various Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken over a wide area in China, Indochina, Siam, Burma, South and Southeast Asia.^{1,2} A number of problems relating to this stock have been studied in some detail, yet no comprehensive review of the whole field has hitherto been attempted. The best known sketches, by Grube, Lacouperie, Trombetti, Przyluski, Schmidt and Li,³ are superficial and, in some respects, altogether misleading. It is hoped that the present survey will help fill this gap in Far Eastern studies.⁴

1 The number of speakers, including over four hundred million Chinese, must be placed at approximately half a billion. In this respect, therefore, Sino-Tibetan ranks second to Indo-European among the language-stocks of the world.

2 The astronomical growth of the Chinese population since 1940 (1969 est. eight hundred million) still does not displace Indo-European from its number one position (JAM).

3 W. Grube, *Die sprachgeschichtliche Stellung des Chinesischen*, Leipzig, 1881; Terrien de Lacouperie, *Languages of China Before the Chinese*, London, 1887; A. Trombetti, *Elementi di Glottologia*, Bologna, 1923, pp. 153–67; J. Przyluski, 'Le Sino-Tibétain', in A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde*, Paris, 1924, pp. 361–84; W. Schmidt, *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde*, Heidelberg, 1926, Chap. 3, 'Die Sprache Ost- und Südasiens'; Fang-kuei Li, 'Languages and Dialects', in *The Chinese Year Book*, 1936–7, pp. 121–8.

4 Although much has been written on one or another aspect of Sino-Tibetan comparative linguistics since 1940, nothing in my opinion has surpassed this *Conspectus* as the best general overview of the entire subject. For an exhaustive catalogue of materials on ST languages through 1957, see R. Shafer, *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan Languages*, Wiesbaden, 1957. A more recent summary of ongoing research is T. Nisida's *Short History of Comparative Research into the Sino-Tibetan Languages (Sina-Tibetto syogo hikaku kenkyuu ryaku-si)*, Azia Ahurika Bunken Tyoosa I-inkai, 1964. Where germane to a particular point, references to post-1940 works are found in the notes below, applied to the topics as they arise in the text (tones, vowels, Bodo-Garo, Karen, etc.); others are listed in the supplementary bibliography at the end of the work. General reference works on Sino-Tibetan since 1940 include, first of all, Shafer and Benedict's monumental 13-volume unpublished typescript (in the Library of the University of California, Berkeley), 'Sino-Tibetan Linguistics (STL)', ca. 1939–41, a distillation of material from all older sources and the prime source of information for the *Conspectus* itself (see n. 38); and Shafer's *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*, Wiesbaden, 1966 (part I), 1967 (part II) (JAM).

Shafer's general classificatory scheme has now received some lexicostatistical support; see W. Glover, 'Cognate Counts via the Swadesh List in some Tibeto-Burman Languages of Nepal', *Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics*, Vol. III (Ed. F. K. Lehman), Dept. of Linguistics, Univ.

Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus

§2. Taxonomy (general)

Two great taxonomic problems must be considered in connection with Sino-Tibetan, viz. the nature of the affiliations of the three primary groups, and the classification of the multitudinous divisions within Tibeto-Burman itself.⁵ The former of these problems has been resolved in the following manner. Tibeto-Burman and Karen are regarded as constituting a superfamily (Tibeto-Karen) standing in opposition to Chinese. The relationship between Tibeto-Karen and Chinese is a distant one, comparable with that between Semitic and Hamitic, or between Altaic and Uralic. Karen, on the other hand, stands in relation to Tibeto-Burman much as Hittite stands in relation to Indo-European, i.e. Tibeto-Karen is on the same taxonomic level as Indo-Hittite.⁶ On the negative side, Sino-Tibetan must be kept distinct from all other linguistic stocks.

The writer has recently attempted to show that Thai is related to Indonesian rather than to Chinese, and that the traditional view of a Chinese-Thai relationship must be abandoned.^{7,8} A number of students, including Ramstedt, Donner, Lewy, Bouda, and Findeisen,⁹ have sought to connect Yenisei-Ostyak (Ket) with Sino-

of Illinois, Urbana, 1970. This recent publication contains extensive word-lists on these languages, the material on Chepang confirming the author's original impression of this language as a key link between northern and southern groups within TB, e.g. the rare TB root **hus* 'moisture; wet' is represented in Chepang (*hus* 'dew') as are both TB roots for 'leech' (*pyaat* 'land leech', *lit* 'water leech'); even the seemingly isolated B *krwak* 'rat' has an apparent Chepang cognate in *rok-yu* 'rat', indicating an analysis **k-rwak* (with **k*- 'animal prefix') for the former (Chepang -*yu* apparently from TB **b-yəw*).

5 On the problems of subgrouping, see R. Shafer, 'Classification of the Sino-Tibetan languages', *Word* 11 (1955) (JAM).

6 For the Indo-Hittite hypothesis, see E. H. Sturtevant, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Philadelphia, 1933, pp. 29-33.

7 'Thai, Kadai, and Indonesian: A New Alignment in Southeastern Asia', *American Anthropologist* n.s. 44 (1942), 576-601.

8 Recent studies, aided greatly by F. K. Li's uncovering of the Kam-Sui languages of south-central China, have led to the setting up of an Austro-Thai language stock comprising Thai, Kam-Sui, Ong-Be, the Kadai languages and Austronesian; see Benedict, 'Austro-Thai', *Behavior Science Notes* 1 (1966), 227-61; 'Austro-Thai Studies: Material Culture and Kinship Terms', *ibid.* 2 (1967), 203-44; 'Austro-Thai Studies: Austro-Thai and Chinese', *ibid.* 2 (1967), 275-336. All three articles plus a glossary of Austro-Thai (AT) roots will appear in book form under the title *Austro-Thai* (New Haven: HRAF Press, scheduled for 1972).

9 G. J. Ramstedt, 'Über den Ursprung der sog. Jenisej-ostjaken', *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, 24 (1907), 1-6; K. Donner, 'Beiträge zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Jenissei-ostjaken', *ibid.* 37 (1930), 1-21; E. Lewy, 'Zum Jenissei-

Taxonomy (general)

Tibetan, and this view has gained some favor (Schmidt, Trombetti), yet a critical examination of the evidence strongly indicates that the two stocks have nothing in common. Sporadic attempts to connect Sino-Tibetan with Caucasian (Hodgson, Bouda),¹⁰ Mon-Khmer (Conrady),^{11,12} or other linguistic families have been equally unsuccessful.^{13,14}

§3. Taxonomy (Sino-Tibetan)

The Sino-Tibetan stock outlined above has been set up on the basis of a series of monosyllabic roots shared by Tibeto-Karen and Chinese. As shown below, certain Ostyakischen', *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 13 (1933), 291–309; K. Bouda, 'Jenisseisch-tibetischen Wortgleichungen', *ZDMG* 90 (1936), 149–59; H. Findeisen, 'Die Keto', *Forke Festschrift*, Frankfurt a. M., 1937, pp. 52–68.

¹⁰ B. H. Hodgson, 'On the Mongolian Affinities of the Caucasians', *JASB* 22 (1853), 26–76; K. Bouda, 'Die Beziehungen des sumerischen zum baskischen, westkaukasischen und tibetischen', *Mitt. der Altorient. Gesell.*, Bd 12, Hft 3, Leipzig, 1938.

¹¹ A. Conrady, 'Eine merkwürdige Beziehung zwischen den austrischen und den indochinesischen Sprachen', *Kuhn Festschrift*, München, 1916, pp. 475–504; 'Neue austrisch-indochinesische Parallel', *AM* 1 (1922), 23–66. The direct comparisons suggested by R. Shafer, 'Annamese and Tibeto-Burmic', *HJAS* 6 (1942), 399–402, are not convincing.

¹² See also K. Wulff, 'Über das Verhältnis des Malay-Polynesischen zum Indochinesischen', *Det Kunglige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, 27 (1942), ii (JAM).

¹³ Shafer himself has made extremely far-flung (and far-fetched) connections of ST with other language families: 'Eurasial', *Orbis* 12 (1963); 'Athapaskan and Sino-Tibetan', *IJAL* 18 (1952); 'Note on Athapaskan and Sino-Tibetan', *IJAL* 35 (1969) (JAM).

¹⁴ The Miao-Yao (MY) languages have also at times been linked with Sino-Tibetan. J. Greenberg ('Historical Linguistics and Unwritten Languages', in *Anthropology Today*, ed. A. L. Kroeber, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953) has categorically affirmed the reality of this relationship; also R. Shafer, an extravagantly ST-centric advocate, has presented some correspondences ('Miao-Yao', *Monumenta Serica* 22 (1964), 398–411) but these appear to involve loans from ST or TB, e.g. the numerals above '5' (see Benedict, 1967 bis) and 'look-alikes', notably the MY roots for '4' (this also led Benedict astray – see Benedict, 1967 bis), 'tongue' and 'moon'. The evidence from comparative AT studies now makes it clear that MY is simply another major branch of the huge AT stock; see Benedict, 'Austro-Thai and Sino-Tibetan' (mimeographed), read at *First Conference on Sino-Tibetan*, Yale University, October 1968. As noted in the same paper, Minchia^a (Yunnan, China) is probably (originally) also an AT language, but it has been

^a 民家

Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus

phonetic generalizations regarding these roots can be laid down, and we have no reason to distrust the genetic implications of this material. Both branches of Sino-Tibetan are characterized by the use of monosyllabic roots and the development of tonal systems, yet neither of these features is of 'critical' value, since each is shared by other stocks (Thai, Miao-Yao). As for syntax, Chinese and Karen place the object after the verb, while all Tibeto-Burman languages, without exception, place the object before the verb. In view of the generally archaic nature of Tibeto-Burman morphology, it is suggested that the Tibeto-Burman arrangement is the original one, whereas the Chinese and Karen word-order has been influenced by that of contiguous stocks (Thai, Miao-Yao, Mon-Khmer), all of verb + object type. The agreement in syntax between Karen and Chinese thus appears to be of secondary origin, and in any event is quite overshadowed by the preponderant lexical agreement between Karen and Tibeto-Burman. In general, lexical considerations are here of primary importance, morphological and syntactical considerations of secondary importance.¹⁵

§4. Tibeto-Burman classification

The Tibeto-Burman languages, over one hundred of which have been recorded, make up the linguistic 'center of gravity' of the Sino-Tibetan stock. This family, with a diversification roughly comparable with that of Indo-European, presents numerous problems of classification. Several large divisions or 'nuclei' can be distinguished, but a number of smaller units resist all efforts at taxonomic reduction. Some of these residual languages have been poorly or fragmentarily recorded, and it is not unlikely that fuller data in the future will enable us to fit many of them into a broader scheme of classification. For the present, however, the writer prefers simply to list them as distinct units, with a note as to their most probable affiliations.

The seven primary divisions or nuclei of Tibeto-Burman are listed below. 'overwhelmed' or 'invaded' by Chinese at an early (Ancient Chinese) period (Greenberg, *op. cit.*, simply relates it to Chinese).

¹⁵ It was precisely undue emphasis on general features such as monosyllabism and tonalism that led to the all-inclusive 'Indo-Chinese' classifications of the past, in which Thai, Miao-Yao, and sometimes even Mon-Khmer, were lumped together with Tibeto-Burman, Karen and Chinese. It should be noted, however, that the lexical evidence itself must be critically gauged, e.g. the traditional Chinese-Thai hypothesis rested for the most part on comparisons drawn from a superficial level (see the writer's paper cited above).

Tibeto-Burman classification

Immediate genetic relationship must be inferred for the several languages within each nucleus, and somewhat less immediate relationship for other languages mentioned in connection therewith.

1. Tibetan-Kanauri (Bodish-Himalayish); perhaps also Dzorgai, Lepcha, and Magari.
2. Bahing-Vayu (Kiranti); perhaps also Newari.
3. Abor-Miri-Dafla (Mirish); perhaps also Aka, Digaro, Miju, and Dhimal.
4. Kachin; perhaps also Kadu-Andro-Sengmai (Luish) and Taman.
5. Burmese-Lolo (Burmish); perhaps also Nung.
6. Bodo-Garo (Barish); perhaps also Konyak and Chairel.
7. Kuki-Naga (Kukish); perhaps also Mikir, Meithei, and Mru.

The seven divisions above range in diversity from the complex Tibetan-Kanauri, Burmese-Lolo, and Kuki-Naga supergroups, each with a multitude of languages and dialects, through the fairly compact Bahing-Vayu, Abor-Miri-Dafla, and Bodo-Garo groups, down to Kachin, which consists only of the modern dialects of the language and one aberrant extinct dialect, Jili, recorded over a century ago by N. Brown (1837). Kachin, however, stands at the linguistic 'crossroads' of Tibeto-Burman, thus occupying a linguistic position comparable with its geographical setting (Northern Burma). Both lexically and morphologically, Kachin ties in with Tibetan, Bahing, and other northern languages as well as with Burmese, Bodo, Lushei, and other southern languages. From Kachin at this linguistic center of diversification, transitions are afforded by Nung to Burmese-Lolo on the east, and by the Konyak or 'Naked Naga' languages to Bodo-Garo on the west. The Kadu-Andro-Sengmai or Luish group, first recognized by Grierson,^{16,17} shows special affinity for Kachin, as does Taman (R. G. Brown, 1911), but none of these languages is sufficiently well known to justify further classification.

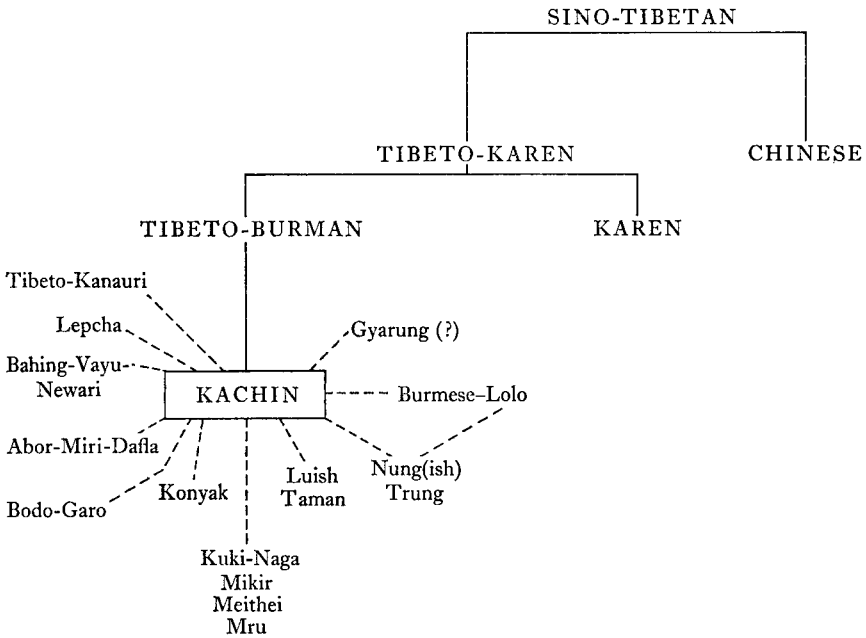
Bahing-Vayu, Abor-Miri-Dafla, and Bodo-Garo are relatively compact units. Bahing is the best known of a number of little differentiated languages and dialects of Nepal – the Kiranti languages of Hodgson (1857–8). Two subtypes can be recognized, viz. Bahing (including Sunwari, Dumi, Khaling, Rai) and Khambu (including Sangpang, Nachereng, Rodong, Waling, Rungchengbung, Lambichong, Chingtang, Limbu, Yakha). Vayu and Chepang (Hodgson, 1848) stand fairly close to this Kiranti nucleus, whereas Newari, the old state language of Nepal, shows many points of divergence and cannot be directly grouped with

¹⁶ G. A. Grierson, 'Kadu and its Relatives', *BSOS* 2 (1921), 39–42.

¹⁷ The scanty material on the Luish group has now been supplemented by Bernot (1967), which includes a vocabulary of some 500 words of Cak as well as comparisons with other languages of the group.

Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus

Bahing and Vayu. Abor-Miri and Dafla make up the nucleus of the (so-called) ‘North Assam’ group of Konow¹⁸ and the *Linguistic Survey of India (LSI)*. Aka (or Hrusso) has the most points of contact with this nucleus, and Dhimal (in Sikkim) the fewest.¹⁹ The Mishmi tribes of North Assam show a fundamental linguistic cleavage, not recognized in the *LSI*, into Digaro and Miju (Needham,



Schematic chart of ST groups

s.a., Robinson, 1855), both with rather vaguely defined resemblances to Abor-Miri-Dafla and Aka. Bodo (including Dimasa) and Garo are subtypes of a well-differentiated nucleus which includes also the moribund and phonetically aberrant Deori Chutiya language of North Assam (W. B. Brown, 1895).^{20,21} The ‘Naked Naga’ (Konyak) languages of the northern Assam–Burma frontier region (Banpara, Namsang, Tableng, Tamlu, Moshang, Chang) are most profitably compared with Bodo-Garo, though some of the easternmost members of the

¹⁸ S. Konow, ‘Note on the Languages spoken between the Assam Valley and Tibet’, *JRAS* (1902), 127–37.

¹⁹ Note that Toto, listed as ‘Non-Pronominalized Himalayan’ in the *LSI* (Grierson, 1909), is hardly more than an aberrant dialect of Dhimal (Hodgson, 1847a).

²⁰ Garo shows an interesting division into two subtypes, which we have named

Tibeto-Burman classification

group (Moshang and Shangge, in Needham, 1897) show points of contact with Kachin. Chairel, an extinct speech of Manipuri preserved only in a word-list by McCulloch (1859), is best grouped with Bodo-Garo and Konyak. Especially striking is the Kachin-Konyak-Bodo-Garo-Chairel distribution of distinctive roots for 'sun' and 'fire' (contrast general TB **niy* and **mey*):

	Kachin	Namsang	Moshang	Garo	Chairel
sun	<i>dʒan</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>ʃar</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>sal</i>
fire	<i>ʔwan</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>waʔl</i>	<i>phaʔl</i>

Tibeto-Kanauri includes two subnuclear groups, viz. Bodish and Himalayish. 'Tibetan has been combined with a number of 'Tibetanoid' languages on the eastern and southern borders of Tibet (Gyarung, Takpa, Tsangla, Murmi, Gurung) to form the Bodish group, which in itself is considerably diversified. The Bodish group thus constituted shows intimate ties with the Himalayish languages of the western Tibet-India frontier area, yet the two groups are distinct and no transitional types occur. A major subtype of Himalayish, typified by Kanauri, includes also Chitkhuli, Thebor, Kanashi, Rangloi (or Tinan), Bunan, Manchat, and Chamba Lahuli, while a minor subtype is made up of four little-known languages of the state of Almora (Rangkas, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byangsi). Zhang-zhung, an extinct language known only from a Tun-huang manuscript,²² appears to have been an early representative of the Kanauri subtype. Konow has suggested, largely on the basis of the complex pronominal system of Kanauri and other Himalayish languages, that a Munda substratum must be postulated for this area, but the argument is not convincing.²³ Dzorgai (western Szuchuan), Lepcha (Sikkim), and Magari (Nepal) all appear to be closer to Tibetan-Kanauri than to any other nucleus. Lepcha (or Rong),²⁴ which exhibits many of the transitional 'Garo A' (Rabha, Ruga, Atong) and 'Garo B' (Abeng, Achik, Awe), the latter spoken by the dominant political divisions of the tribe. This distinction is partially recognized in A. Playfair, *The Garos*, London, 1909.

²¹ See R. Burling, 'Proto-Bodo', *Language* 39, 3 (1959) (JAM).

²² See F. W. Thomas, 'The Žaň-žuň Language', *JRAS* (1933), 405-10.

²³ See S. Konow, 'On some facts connected with the Tibeto-Burman dialect spoken in Kanawar', *ZDMG* 59 (1905), 117-25. The vigesimal system of numeration, attributed by Konow to Munda influence, appears in several other Tibeto-Burman areas, e.g. among the Nung (see C. H. Desgodins, *La Mission du Thibet*, Paris, 1872, p. 260) and in the Assam-Burma area (Mikir *ij-kol* > *ij-koi*, Garo *kol*, Meithei *kul*, Kachin *khun* < *khul* 'score').

²⁴ R. A. D. Forrest ('Lepcha and Mon-Khmer', *JASOS* 82, 1962) has marshalled impressive evidence for the view that there is a Mon-Khmer substratum in this language, as shown especially by lexical correspondences for key items such as 'dog', 'water' and 'excrement'. The same paper includes an attempt to demonstrate a relationship between Lepcha infix -y- and a hypothetical equivalent in

Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus

qualities of Kachin, might equally well be regarded as a separate nucleus linking Tibetan-Kanauri with Bahing-Vayu and groups on the south. Magari (Beames), which, like Newari, has been extensively influenced by Indic, shows interesting lexical agreements with Bahing-Vayu (especially Vayu and Chepang), and might be regarded as a Bodish-Bahing link. Dzorgai, the 'Outside Man-tze' of Lacouperie (*Languages of China*), is not sufficiently well known for more detailed classification.

Burmese-Lolo takes the form of a vast net of languages and dialects spread over a wide area in China (Szuchuan and Yünnan), Burma, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam. Three main subtypes can be distinguished, viz. Burmese-Maru (including Phön, Lashi, Atsi, Achang), Southern Lolo (including Phunoi,²⁵ Akha, Lahu, Black Lolo, White Lolo, Müng), and Northern Lolo (including Lisu, Ahi, Nyi, Lolopho, Chöko, Phupha, Ulu, Independent Lolo). Distinct residual subtypes are represented by Kanburi Lawa of northern Siam (Kerr), Moso (or Nakhi) of western Yünnan (Bacot),²⁶ and the so-called Hsi-fan^a languages of western Szuchuan, including Manyak and Horpa (Hodgson, 1853 bis), Menia (Davies), and Muli (Johnston). Nung (or Nu-tzü^b),²⁷ spoken in the upper reaches of the Nmai Kha valley (northern Irrawaddy drainage), stands fairly close to the Burmese-Lolo nucleus, yet has numerous points of contact with Kachin.

Three extinct languages of Burmese-Lolo type are known. Hsi-hsia,^c spoken in northwestern China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is related not simply to Moso and Lolo, as recognized by Laufer,²⁸ but to Burmese-Lolo as a nucleus.

Chinese, but Forrest has now (personal communication, 1969) abandoned that theory in favor of the simpler explanation offered by Benedict (1943) which had escaped his attention (see §22).

²⁵ T. Nisida has recently discovered a 'new' Loloish language (spoken in Chiengrai Province, Thailand), called Bisu, with a conservative final consonantism which seems to place it in the Phunoi-Pyen branch of the family; see his 'Bisu-go no kenkyuu', *TAK* 4, 1; 'Bisu-go no keitoo (zoku)', *TAK* 4, 5, 1966-7 (JAM).

²⁶ See J. Rock, 'Studies in Na-khi literature', *BEFEO* 37 (1937); *A Na-Khi-English Encyclopedic Dictionary*, Serie Orientale Roma xxvii, Part I, Rome, 1963 (JAM).

²⁷ See Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *A Preliminary Report of the Trung Language of Kung-Shan* (Kunming, Yünnan, 1942) (in Chinese), and the briefer version, 'A preliminary study of the Trung language of Kung Shan', *HJAS* 8, 3-4 (1945) (JAM). The Nung forms cited in the text are from Rāwang (Barnard). The Mutwang dialect of Rāwang has been described in two studies by R. H. Morse: 'Phonology of Rāwang', *Anthrop. Ling.* 5, No. 5, May 1963; 'Syntactic Frames of the Ruwàng (Rawang) Verb', *Lingua* 15 (1965), 338-69. Rāwang and Trung are separate languages in a Nungish group which includes still other (poorly known) members.

²⁸ B. Laufer, 'The Si-Hia Language: A Study in Indo-Chinese Philology', *TP* 17 (1916), 1-126. This study is based on the material assembled by A. I. Ivanov,

^a 西番 ^b 契子 ^c 西夏

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Tibeto-Burman classification

The Hsi-hsia material, despite the not inconsiderable body of recent research,^{29,30} has not yet received definitive treatment and the Burmese-Lolo affinities of the language have not been properly evaluated. It is not unlikely that Hsi-hsia is ancestral to at least some of the Hsi-fan languages, as suggested by the geographical factors involved. Pai-lang,^a which appears in the form of short texts in the *Hou Han Shu* (third century A.D.), must take precedence over Tibetan and Burmese as the earliest recorded Tibeto-Burman language. Pai-lang presents formidable problems of interpretation, which have been only partially solved.³¹ The Burmese-Lolo characteristics of the language, noted by Wang, are sufficiently clear, but the numerous and striking phonetic peculiarities demand further attention. The resemblances between Hsi-hsia and Pai-lang are of a generalized rather than specific nature. The third of this group of extinct languages is Pyu, the speech of a pre-Burmese people of Burma, probably to be identified with the P'iao^b of the Chinese annals. The extremely fragmentary nature of the Pyu inscriptions, which have been studied by C. O. Blagden,^{32,33} discourages any attempt at precise

'Zur Kenntnis der Hsi-hsia Sprache', *Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St Pétersbourg* 3 (1909), 1221–33. As pointed out independently by P. Pelliot in *TP* 24 (1926), 399–403, and E. von Zach in *OLZ* 30 (1927), 4–5, Laufer's failure to note that Ivanov had reversed the order of the Chinese characters used in transcription led to a number of serious errors.

29 N. Nevsky, 'A Brief Manual of the Si-Hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions', *Research Review of the Osaka Asiatic Society*, No. 4, Osaka, 1926; A. Dragunov, 'Binoms of the type^c in the Tangut-Chinese Dictionary', *Akademiia Nauk, Doklady, Series B* (1929), 145–8; S. N. Wolfenden, 'On the Tibetan Transcriptions of Si-Hia Words', *JRAS* (1931), 47–52; 'On the Prefixes and Consonantal Finals of Si-Hia as evidenced by their Chinese and Tibetan Transcriptions', *JRAS* (1934), 745–70; Wang Ching-ju,^d 'Hsi-hsia wên han tsang i yin shih lüeh'^e ('Notes on the Chinese and Tibetan Transcriptions of Hsi-hsia'), *CYYY* 2 (1930), 171–84; 'Hsi-hsia yen-chiu'^f ('Hsi-hsia Studies'), *CYYY Monographs*, A-8 (1932), A-11 (1933).

30 See also T. Nisida, *Sei-ka-go no kenkyuu*, 2 vols., Zauhoo Press, 1964 (JAM).

31 See Wang, *art. cit.* (1932), pp. 15–55.

32 'A Preliminary Study of the Fourth Text of the Myazedi Inscriptions', *JRAS* (1911), 365–88; 'The "Pyu" Inscriptions', *JBR* 7 (1917), 37–44 (reprinted from *Epigraphia Indica* 12).

33 A comparative sketch of Pyu (by Benedict) is included in STL, Appendix VI to Vol. 12. R. Shafer ('Further Analysis of the Pyu Inscriptions', *HJAS* 7, 1943, 313–66) attempted a direct comparison of the limited Pyu lexical material with Karen, but the evidence as a whole would appear specifically to exclude any special Pyu-Karen relationship, although one interesting correspondence of 'loan-word' type does exist: Pyu *tha* 'iron' (we should expect **thaʔ*), Karen *thaʔ*, *id.* (probably ultimately of AT origin); note also Ch. *t'iet*,^g *id.*

^a 白狼 ^b 驪
^f 西夏研究

^c 尼卒
^g 鐵

^d 王靜如

^e 西夏文漢藏譯音釋略

Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus

classification. The material brought to light thus far suggests a rapprochement with Nung rather than with Burmese-Lolo proper.

Kuki-Naga, the last of our seven primary nuclei to be considered, is of the same taxonomic order as Burmese-Lolo, i.e. it is made up of a long series of closely related languages and dialects with numerous cross-ties in all directions. A core of Kuki languages proper, in the southern Assam–Burma frontier region, must be recognized, as well as four subtypes within this core, viz. Central Kuki (incl. Lushei, Lai or Haka, Lakher), Northern Kuki (incl. Thado and Siyin), Old Kuki (incl. Bete, Rangkhoh, Anal, Lamgang, Purum, Aimol, Kyaw), and Southern Kuki (incl. Sho, Yawdwin, Chinbok, Khami). The Old Kuki languages are spoken by ‘marginal’ tribes which have been driven out of the Chin and Lushei Hills by the more vigorous Kuki peoples, notably the Lushei. They represent a somewhat archaic variety of a fundamental Kuki type which has given rise to the Central and Northern Kuki languages. The Southern Kuki group, especially Khami, stands somewhat apart from this basic type.

The above classification of the Kuki languages agrees essentially with that of Konow³⁴ and the *LSI*. The *LSI* further sets up a distinct Naga family and a transitional Naga-Kuki group. Actually, however, no sharp (linguistic) distinction between Kuki and Naga can be maintained, and the two must be placed together under a single rubric (Kuki-Naga). The languages of the Naga tribes proper fall into two main subtypes, viz. Northern Naga (incl. Ao and Lhota) and Southern Naga (incl. Angami, Sema, and Rengma). Sopvoma (or Mao), in the latter group, exhibits some Kuki features, but the real transition here is afforded by the Western Kuki languages of Cachar and western Manipur (Empeo, Kabui, Kwoireng, Maram, Khoirao). The Tangkhul (or Luhupa) language of northern Manipur, several dialects of which have been recorded, stands somewhat closer to the basic Kuki type. Maring and Khoibu, in northeastern Manipur, are of transitional Tangkhul-Kuki type. Poeron, in the western Kuki area, approaches Tangkhul in some respects, but its correct classification remains in doubt.

Mikir (Assam), Meithei (Manipur), and Mru (Chittagong Hills Tract) all show numerous Kuki-Naga correspondences, yet are sufficiently distinct to be listed as separate linguistic entities. Mikir was originally listed as ‘Naga-Bodo’ by the compilers of the *LSI*, and it was left for an amateur linguist, Sir Charles Lyall,³⁵ to point out the basic Kuki affinities of the language. Meithei, the state language of Manipur, shows significant points of contact with Kachin as well as with Kuki-Naga, though its affinities are predominantly with the latter. Mru has obvious

34 ‘Zur Kenntnis der Kuki-Chinsprachen’, *ZDMG* 56 (1902), 486–517.

35 See E. Stack, *The Mikirs* (edited by Lyall), London, 1908.