

BRILL *Over three centuries of scholarly publishing*

Ethnolinguistic Prehistory of the Eastern Himalaya

Editors: Mark W. Post, Stephen Morey, and Toni Huber

The Eastern Himalaya holds perhaps the highest levels of ethnolinguistic diversity in all Eurasia, with over 300 languages spoken by as many distinct cultural groups. What factors can explain such diversity? How did it evolve, and what can its analysis teach us about the prehistory of its wider region?

This pioneering interdisciplinary volume brings together a diverse group of linguists and anthropologists, all of whom seek to reconstruct aspects of Eastern Himalayan ethnolinguistic prehistory from an empirical standpoint, on the basis of primary fieldwork-derived data from a diverse range of Himalayan Indigenous languages and cultural practices.

Contributors are: David Bradley, Scott DeLancey, Toni Huber, Gwendolyn Hyslop, Linda Konnerth, Ismael Lieberherr, Yankee Modi, Stephen Morey, Mark W. Post, Uta Reinöhl, Alban Stockhausen, Amos Teo, and Marion Wettstein.

Readership

All those interested in the languages and prehistory of the Himalayan region, and in empirical methods in anthropology and linguistics.

For more information see brill.com

Order information: Order online at brill.com

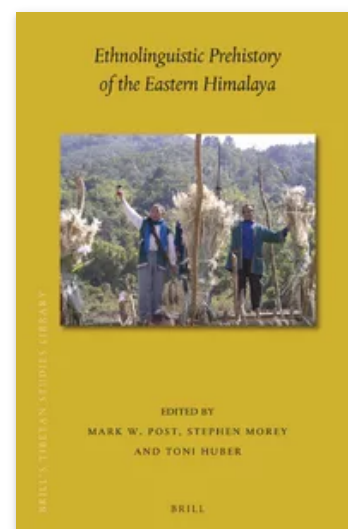
The Americas: 1 (860) 350 0041 | brillna@turpin-distribution.com

Outside the Americas: 44 (0) 1767 604-954 | brill@turpin-distribution.com

Submission information: brill.com/authors

Titles published by Ferdinand Schöningh, Wilhelm Fink and mentis:

+49 (0)7154 1327 10 | brill@brocom.de



Language: English

Subjects: [South Asia](#), [Asian Studies](#), [Tibet](#), [Asian Studies](#), [Historical and Comparative Linguistics & Linguistic Typology](#), [Languages and Linguistics](#), [Uralic, Altaic & East Asian Languages](#), [Languages and Linguistics](#), [Asian Studies](#), [Social Sciences](#)

Publisher: Brill

Series:

[Brill's Tibetan Studies Library](#),
Volume: 52

E-Book (PDF)

Publication date: 11 Aug 2022

ISBN: 978-90-04-51804-9

List price

~~EUR~~ €130.00 / ~~USD~~ \$156.00

Hardback

Publication date: 11 Aug 2022

ISBN: 978-90-04-51313-6

List price

~~EUR~~ €130.00 / ~~USD~~ \$156.00

Ethnolinguistic Prehistory of the Eastern Himalaya

Brill's Tibetan Studies Library

Edited by

Henk Blezer (*Leiden University*)

Alex McKay (*University of London*)

Charles Ramble (*École pratique des hautes études (EPHE, Sorbonne), Paris*)

VOLUME 52

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/btsl

Ethnolinguistic Prehistory of the Eastern Himalaya

Edited by

Mark W. Post
Stephen Morey
Toni Huber



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: On left: 'Kaagoo Zwrdo [ka:gò: dzirdó:], late 'Xibo [ɲibò], or ritual specialist, of Cwsww [tɕɿ́:ɿ:] Village in Arunachal Pradesh. On right: late Tooyom Aadaa of Iigoo Rwwjoo [i:gó: ri:dzó:] Village, acting as 'Boo [bò:], or assistant ritual specialist. Shown here leading Togu Panam, a multiple-day ritual of the Galo tribe, sponsored on this occasion by the late Ywmmoo 'Rwbaa [ji:mó: ribà:] of Iigoo Rwwjoo Village, in 2007. Photo by Mark W. Post, used with permission from the families.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Post, Mark, editor. | Morey, Stephen, editor. | Huber, Toni, 1956- editor. | International Consortium for Eastern Himalayan Ethnolinguistic Prehistory (3rd : 2017 : Melbourne, Australia)

Title: Ethnolinguistic prehistory of the Eastern Himalaya / edited by Mark W. Post, Stephen Morey, Toni Huber.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2022] | Series: Brill's Tibetan studies library, 1568-6183 ; volume 52 | "The volume arose out of the third meeting of the International Consortium for Eastern Himalayan Ethnolinguistic Prehistory (icehep 3) held at La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia, between 8th and 10th February 2017" | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022018233 (print) | LCCN 2022018234 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004513136 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004518049 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Anthropological linguistics--India, Northeastern--Congresses. | Anthropological linguistics--Himalaya Mountains Region--Congresses. | Ethnology--India, Northeastern--Congresses. | Ethnology--Himalaya Mountains Region--Congresses. | India, Northeastern--Languages--Congresses. | Himalaya Mountains Region--Languages--Congresses. | LCGFT: Conference papers and proceedings.

Classification: LCC P35.5.I44 E84 2022 (print) | LCC P35.5.I44 (ebook) |

DDC 306.440954/1--dc23/eng/20220708

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022018233>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022018234>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1568-6183

ISBN 978-90-04-51313-6 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-51804-9 (e-book)

Copyright 2022 by Mark W. Post, Stephen Morey and Toni Huber. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

Koninklijke Brill NV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

List of Tables, Figures and Maps vii

- 1 Ethnolinguistic Prehistory of the Eastern Himalaya: Diversity and Its Sources 1

Mark W. Post, Stephen Morey and Toni Huber

PART 1

Cultural Practice and Prehistory

- 2 Rethinking “Zomia” from an Eastern Himalayan Perspective 25
Mark W. Post

- 3 Pangwa Tangsa Prehistory—Evidence from Traditional Stories and Songs 65
Stephen Morey

- 4 Ethnographic Comparison and Prehistory? A Comparison of the Chamdam Status Rituals among the Dumi Rai of Eastern Nepal and the Feasts of Merit among the Ao Naga of Northeast India 88
Marion Wettstein and Alban von Stockhausen

- 5 Using Human Proper Names to Reconstruct Cultural Prehistory: A Case Study from the Tibetan Borderlands in the Eastern Himalaya 129
Yankee Modi

- 6 Puroik Sago Terminology 157
Ismael Lieberherr

PART 2

Language and Prehistory

- 7 Phylogeny of Tibeto-Burman from Plants and Animals 173
David Bradley

- 8 Pre-modern Language Contact in Nagaland 211
Amos Teo

- 9 Locating Kera'a (Idu Mishmi) in Its Linguistic Neighbourhood: Evidence from Dialectology 232
Uta Reinöhl
- 10 First Person Pronominals in Kuki-Naga 264
Scott DeLancey
- 11 On the Phylogenetic Status of the Northwestern Subbranch of South-Central ("Kuki-Chin"): A Case Study in Historical Phonology 294
Linda Konnerth
- 12 Kurtöp Verbal Morphology in the East Bodish Context: A Case Study in Ethnohistorical Morphosyntax? 323
Gwendolyn Hyslop
- Subject and Name Index 363
- Language and Ethnolinguistic Group Index 365
- Index 367

Tables, Figures and Maps

Tables

3.1	Dangkam Maitai's Wihu song—crossing the Tanai river	74
3.2	Dangkam Maitai's Wihu song—fighting with the Shamsa	74
3.3	Lukam Cholim's Naga story: Summary	76
5.1	Basic Tani word formation processes	133
5.2	Basic Tani name formation	134
5.3	Semantic domains of Tani naming	137
5.4	Sibling name formatives referencing birth order (Lower Adi)	138
5.5	Adi Names based on reproductive organs	140
5.6	Adi Deterrence names	144
5.7	Names describing circumstances of birth	145
5.8	Percentage of native versus non-native names in upland Tani, lowland Tani, Bodo-Garo and Meithei villages	146
5.9	Mising names from Mer village	149
5.10	Some common Tibetan names	150
5.11	"Unusual names" in sKyid grong	151
5.12	"Unusual" names in Amdo Tibetan	152
5.13	Chinese-influenced Tibetan names	152
6.1	Names of sago varieties in Puroik and Miji	161
7.1	Proto-Sino-Tibetan crops and domestic animals	178
7.2	Proto-Sinitic crops and domestic animals	179
7.3	Proto-Tibeto-Burman crops and domestic animals	181
7.4	Proto-Burmic crops	183
7.5	Traditional Burmese crops	183
7.6	Burmic domestic animals	184
7.7	Proto-Naish crops	185
7.8	Proto-Naish domestic animals	185
7.9	Ersuic crops	186
7.10	Ersuic domestic animals	186
7.11	Tibetan crops	188
7.12	Tibetan domestic animals	188
7.13	Newari crops	189
7.14	Newari domestic animals	189
7.15	Jinghpaw crops	190
7.16	Jinghpaw domestic animals	191
7.17	Tangsa small grain crops	191

7.18	Proto-Karenic domestic animals	193
8.1	Example of overcounting numeral systems in Ao/Central Naga and Angami-Pochuri	217
8.2	Proto-Tibeto-Burman *s-/sy- > th- in Kuki-Chin and “Naga” languages	219
8.3	Correspondences between Sümi velar fricatives and Angami-Pochuri alveolar rhotics	223
8.4	Correspondences between Sümi and Angami-Pochuri bilabial stop consonant clusters	225
8.5	Correspondences between Sümi and Angami-Pochuri labio-dental affricates	225
8.6	Correspondences between Sümi uvular stops and Angami-Pochuri velar stop clusters	226
8.7	Correspondences between alveolar/post-alveolar obstruents in Angami-Pochuri	227
9.1	k- before -a	246
9.2	h- before -a	246
9.3	Bilabials before -a, -e, -i	246
9.4	y- before -a	246
9.5	k- and bilabial onsets	250
9.6	‘Dog’ and ‘chicken’	250
9.7	Three-way distinction	250
9.8	Overlaps between Midu and Tawrä	251
9.9	Consonantal codas in Tawrä	254
9.10	Examples for preservation and loss of codas	255
9.11	Some core lexemes in Kera’a and Tawrä	255
9.12	Comparison with Kman	257
10.1	Pronominal forms in Bodo-Garo, Jinghpaw, Northern Naga, and Burmish languages	270
10.2	Proto-Trans-Himalayan pronominal roots	271
10.3	Japhug Rgyalrong proclitic and independent pronouns	271
10.4	Turung pronouns	272
10.5	Tangkhul pronouns	272
10.6	South Central pronouns	275
10.7	Pronominal forms in Northwestern, Central and Southern Chin	275
10.8	Koireng and Chothe pronouns (NWSC)	275
10.9	1st and 2nd person pronouns in selected Naga Belt languages	276
10.10	Inclusive and exclusive in NW and NE South Central, Karbi, and Ao	277
10.11	Conservative 1st person singular forms in Angami-Pochuri, Ao, and NWSC	278
10.12	Independent and proclitic 1st person proniminals	279

10.13	Exclusive # <i>ka</i> and Inclusive # <i>i</i> in Kiranti	284
11.1	Northwestern languages	296
11.2	Proto-South-Central (Proto-Kuki-Chin) consonant inventory including onset clusters according to VanBik (2009); consonants in bold also occur as codas	300
11.3	Sound changes from PSC to P-Peripheral-sc	301
11.4	Sound changes from PSC to P-Northeastern-sc	302
11.5	Sound changes from PSC to P-Central-sc	302
11.6	Summary of sound changes at the levels of P-Peripheral-sc, P-Northeastern-sc, and P-Central-sc according to VanBik (2009) (cells left blank if unknown)	303
11.7	Innovations in the Northeastern subbranch	304
11.8	Correspondence Set A: PSC *hr- > P-NW-SC *hr-	305
11.9	Correspondence Set B: PSC *hr- > P-NW-SC *hr-	305
11.10	Correspondence Set A: PSC *r- > P-NW-SC *r-	306
11.11	Correspondence Set B: PSC *r- > P-NW-SC *r-	306
11.12	Correspondence Set A: PSC *-r- > P-NW-SC *-r	307
11.13	Correspondence Set B: PSC *-r- > P-NW-SC *-r	307
11.14	Correspondence Set A: PSC *hm-, hn-, hŋ- > P-NW-SC *hm-, hn-, hŋ-	307
11.15	Correspondence Set B: PSC *hm-, hn-, hŋ- > P-NW-SC *hm-, hn-, hŋ-	308
11.16	Correspondence Set A: PSC *hl- > P-NW-SC *hl-	308
11.17	Correspondence Set B: PSC *hl- > P-NW-SC *hl-	308
11.18	Innovations in the Central subbranch	309
11.19	Correspondence Set A illustrating PSC *θ- > P-NW-SC *dz-	310
11.20	Correspondence Set B illustrating PSC *θ- > P-NW-SC *dz-	310
11.21	Correspondence Set A illustrating PSC *ts- > P-NW-SC *ts-?	311
11.22	Correspondence Set B illustrating PSC *ts- > P-NW-SC *ts-?	311
11.23	Correspondence Set A illustrating PSC *kr- > P-NW-SC *t-	312
11.24	Correspondence Set B illustrating PSC *kr- > P-NW-SC *t-	312
11.25	Correspondence Set suggesting PSC *khr- > P-NW-SC *t ^h -	312
11.26	Correspondence Set A suggesting PSC *phr- > P-NW-SC *t ^h -	313
11.27	Correspondence Set B suggesting PSC *phr- > P-NW-SC *t ^h -	313
11.28	Correspondence Set A illustrating PSC *khl- > P-NW-SC *khl-	314
11.29	Correspondence Set B illustrating PSC *khl- > P-NW-SC *khl-	314
11.30	Correspondence Set A illustrating PSC *y- > P-NW-SC *y~dz-	315
11.31	Correspondence Set B illustrating PSC *y- > P-NW-SC *y~dz-	315
11.32	Reconstructed forms of PSC, P-Northeastern-sc, P-Central-sc, as well as P-Northwestern-sc	316
12.1	East Bodish languages and estimated number of speakers	327
12.2	Some comparative East Bodish basic vocabulary and reconstructions	329

- 12.3 Some comparative East Bodish basic grammatical morphology 330
- 12.4 Structural analysis of Kurtöp verbal affixes, with proposed etymologies.
Bolded forms will be discussed in greater detail. 336
- 12.5 Kurtöp verbal suffixes and their probable diachronic sources 357

Figures

- 2.1 Upper portion of Moobuk (Pəki Modi), a Milang village in the mid-Eastern Himalaya 32
- 2.2 Tani social organization 48
- 2.3 The burning of Kebang village 51
- 2.4 Mixed swidden and terraced cultivation in Daring, a Galo village in the mid-Eastern Himalaya 54
- 3.1 Map showing locations of Tangsa / Tangshang subtribes, late 19th century, with plains areas shown cross-hatched 67
- 3.2 Map showing 'original villages' of Cholim, Longri, Jiingi and Maitai 68
- 5.1 Root and word levels in the Galo lexicon 133
- 5.2 Classificatory structure of the Tani patrilineal naming system 140
- 5.3 The progression of patrisyllable and autosyllable and the interplay with prefixes in Milang proper names 140
- 9.1 Kera'a-Tawrä (aka "Digarish") based on selected phonological evidence 256
- 11.1 Peterson's (2017) South-Central ("Kuki-Chin") stammbaum 298
- 11.2 VanBik's (2009) model of South-Central ("Kuki-Chin") 298
- 12.1 Internal phylogeny of East Bodish (Bosch 2016: 27) 328
- 12.2 Proposed grammaticalisation pathway of Kurtöp *-ta*, *-na*, *-ki* 345
- 12.3 Proposed grammaticalisation pathway of Kurtöp mirative imperfective 347
- 12.4 Proposed grammaticalisation pathway of Kurtöp mirative perfective 348
- 12.5 Proposed grammaticalisation pathway of Kurtöp hortative 349
- 12.6 Proposed grammaticalisation pathway of Kurtöp perfective *-pala* and future *-male* 352
- 12.7 Proposed grammaticalisation pathway of Kurtöp perfective *para* 353

Maps

- 1.1 The Eastern Himalaya, broadly construed 2
- 2.1 van Schendel's (2002) and Scott's (2009) *Zomia*, construed as roughly isomorphic with the Mainland Southeast Asian massif 27
- 2.2 The "mid-Eastern Himalaya" 30
- 2.3 Approximate distribution of language groups within the Eastern Himalaya 41
- 2.4 Riga, a Minyong village in the mid-Eastern Himalaya, showing location of granaries in relation to roads and houses 55
- 8.1 Map showing the geographic distribution of the Sümis during Hutton's time 221
- 9.1 Lower Dibang Valley and Dibang Valley in Arunachal Pradesh and (Northeast) India 235
- 9.2 Kera'a and its neighbours 241
- 12.1 Location of the East Bodish languages 326