

Word Order in Tibeto-Burman Languages¹

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This draft is deficient or incomplete in that (1) the examples cited have not been proof-read and probably contain errors that hopefully will be caught when they are proof-read; and (2) the location of a few languages on the maps may not be accurate, since I was not able to get good information on the location of all languages.

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0. Introduction

Word order, both at the clause level and even more at the phrase level, varies among Tibeto-Burman languages. In this paper, I will describe some of this variation and examine it in the light of word order tendencies found among the languages of the world as a whole. I will argue that when one compares word order in Tibeto-Burman languages with word order in other language families in Asia, both families with OV order (Altaic, Japanese, Korean, Indo-Iranian within Indo-European, Dravidian), and families with VO order (Chinese, Daic, Mon-Khmer, and Miao-Yao), one can get a distorted picture of the ways in which word order in Tibeto-Burman languages is typical and ways in which it is atypical, and a rather different picture emerges when one compares it to word order in languages outside of Asia. Although Asia constitutes the largest continent in the world in terms of land mass, fewer than 15% of the world's languages are probably spoken in Asia (if we exclude Indonesia and the Philippines from Asia, treating them as part of a Pacific area). And as I have discussed elsewhere (Dryer 1988, 1992), the OV languages of Asia outside of Tibeto-Burman are in many ways atypical of OV languages in the world, so that, as I will argue below, while OV languages in Tibeto-Burman often exhibit word order properties that are different from other OV languages in Asia, they are actually more typical in many ways of OV languages in the world as a whole.

To summarize briefly the overall picture, most of the OV languages in Asia outside of Tibeto-Burman tend to be head-final at all levels of syntactic structure, not only placing most clause constituents before the verb, but also placing most if not all modifiers of nouns before the

noun and modifiers of other elements before the modified element. This widespread tendency in Asia has led many linguists to conclude that these patterns are normal for OV languages. However, as I have demonstrated in detail in Dryer (1992), based on a sample of 625 languages, this tendency for all modifiers to precede modified elements is generally not found in OV languages outside of Asia. It is true that there are certain types of dependents which tend to precede their heads in OV languages, but for many other types of dependents, no such tendency is found. Within Asia, the OV languages within Tibeto-Burman are mostly an exception to this tendency within Asia for OV languages to place all dependents before their heads: in the majority of OV Tibeto-Burman languages, at least some modifiers of nouns, for example, typically follow the noun. Tibeto-Burman languages thus look somewhat exceptional from an Asian perspective, but turn out to be quite normal when viewed from the perspective of languages as a whole.

I will focus on six word order parameters in this paper other than the order of object and verb, the majority of them involving order between the noun and various modifiers of the noun, namely (descriptive) adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, and relative clauses, but also the order of adjective and modifying intensifier (adverb) and the order of negative and verb. All of these are ones in which there is considerable variation among the OV languages of Tibeto-Burman. Furthermore, except for the order of relative clause and noun, these are all word order characteristics which do not correlate with the order of object and verb (Dryer 1992). The order of relative clause and noun does correlate with the order of object and verb only in the sense that RelN order (with the relative clause preceding the noun) is far more common in OV languages than it is in VO languages. However this difference arises because the order RelN is very rare in VO languages (in fact it is not attested as a basic order in VO languages outside Sino-Tibetan, as discussed in sect. 4 below). But the orders RelN and NRel are approximately equally common among OV languages, and hence the distribution of these two orders among OV Tibeto-Burman languages is worth examining.

The Tibeto-Burman languages I have examined include most languages for which I have been able to locate descriptions containing information about word order. Questions arise about the reliability of some of these sources, but I will assume for purposes of discussion that all of them are accurate. Some of the sources are less reliable in terms of their phonological accuracy, but probably more reliable in their statements about word order, since such information is easier to determine. Even here, however, some of the sources are probably inaccurate. Some contain apparently contradictory information about word order. For example, Hutton (1929: 15; 1987: 11) says that in Chang “the adjective follows the noun which it qualifies” but later (1929: 43; 1987: 47) says “the adjective ordinarily precedes the noun”. Some of the languages I list separately here are probably dialects of the same language by some criteria; my criterion for treating languages separately is largely based on whether they have their own description.

I do not have information on all characteristics for all languages mentioned in this paper. For example, I did not find sufficient information in Ebert (1997) to classify Camling according to the order of adjective and noun. For many languages, only some characteristics are provided by the available descriptions. In general, I depend on explicit statements in my sources regarding particular characteristics. In some cases, where there is no explicit statement in my source, but one order is found in many examples in different parts of the source, I conclude that this order is the normal order in the language. In a few cases (e.g. Sherpa, Dumi), I have examined texts to determine the normal order. In a few other cases (e.g. Bwe Karen; Henderson 1997), I have used dictionaries as a source of information, analysing examples cited in the dictionary entries and where many examples exhibit the same order and I find no instances of the opposite order, I conclude that this is the normal order in the language.

My general practice is to classify languages for various word order parameters into one of three categories. For example, as far as the order of adjective and noun is concerned, a language could be AdjN (adjective before noun), NAdj (adjective after noun), or AdjN/NAdj (both orders

occur and no evidence that one order is the normal or preferred order). If both orders occur in a language, but there is evidence for one order being the preferred order, I code it according to the preferred order, and this coding does not distinguish a language in which only one order is allowed from one in which both orders are allowed, but one is preferred. For example, I code Meithei as AdjN/NAdj because both orders occur, and there is no indication in Chelliah (1987) that one of these orders is more common than the other. In contrast, I code Rawang as NAdj, following the statement by Barnard (1934: 9) indicating that this is the preferred order: “Adjectives generally follow the nouns they qualify, except when followed by the verbal affix *è*, when they precede nouns”. It should be noted that where two languages are coded differently, say one as ‘AdjN/NAdj’, the other as ‘NAdj’, it is possible that the facts of the two languages are the same and that this difference in coding simply reflects how the languages are described: a language with both orders in which NAdj is preferred might be described as allowing both orders without any indication of NAdj being preferred (in which case I would code it as AdjN/NAdj), or it might be described as preferring NAdj (in which case I would code it as NAdj). Some of the differences among closely related languages that may show up in the data below may be artifacts of this.

Most of the claims made in this paper about crosslinguistic word order tendencies throughout the world as a whole are supported in detail in Dryer 1992. They are based on a large typological database containing data on typological characteristics for over 940 languages. While the size of the database is now larger than that on which the 1992 paper was based (625), the patterns remain the same. Other crosslinguistic claims that are not discussed in Dryer (1992) are discussed by Greenberg (1963) or Hawkins (1983).

The Tibeto-Burman languages which I have examined, and the classification that I will assume in this paper, along with the sources I have used, are given in Table 1.

BODIC

Newari: Malla (1985), Genetti (1994)
 Central Monpa: Das Gupta (1968)
 Gyarung: Lin (1993)
 Tamang: Taylor (1973), Mazaudon (1976)
 Gurung: Glover (1974)
 Thakali: Georg (1996)
 Tibetan (Modern Literary): Goldstein (1991)
 Lhomi: Vesalainen and Vesalainen (1980)
 Ladakhi: Koshal (1979)
 Purki: Rangan (1979)
 Balti: Read (1934)
 Jad: Sharma (1989)
 Nyamkad: Sharma (1992)
 Sherpa: Schottelndreyer and Schottelndreyer (1973)
 Sikkimese: Sandberg (1888)
 Magari: Shepherd and Shepherd (1973)
 Kham: Watters (1973, 1998)
 Hayu: Michailovsky (1989)
 Chepang: Caughley (1982)
 Marchha: Sharma (1989)
 Gahri: Sharma (1989)
 Tod: Sharma (1989)
 Kinnauri: Sharma (1988)
 Pattani: Sharma (1982, 1989)
 Tinani: Sharma (1989)
 Darmiya: Sharma (1989)
 Chaudangsi: Sharma (1989)

Byansi: Trivedi (1991)
 Johari: Sharma (1989)
 Camling : Ebert (1997)
 Thulung: Allen (1975)
 Dumi: Van Driem (1993)
 Khaling: Toba (1984)
 Athpare: Ebert (1997)
 Limbu: Weidert and Subba (1985), Van Driem (1987)
 Bugun: Dondrup (1990)

LEPCHA

Lepcha: Mainwaring (1876)

BARIC

Deuri: Goswami (1994), Brown (1895)
 Bodo: Bhattacharya (1977)
 Kachari: Endle (1884)
 Dimasa: Dundas (1908)
 Kokborok: Karapurkar (1976)
 Garo: Burling (1961)
 Tangsa: Das Gupta (1980)
 Jugli: Rekhung (1988)
 Lungchang: Rekhung (1988)
 Nocte: Das Gupta (1971)
 Chang: Hutton (1929/1987)

MIRISH

Gallong: Das Gupta (1963)
 Bori: Megu (1988)
 Mising: Prasad (1991)
 Milang: Tayeng (1976)
 Nishi: Hamilton (1900), Tayeng (1990)
 Apatani: Abraham (1985)
 Sulung: Tayeng (1990)
 Idu Mishmi: Pulu (1978)
 Digaro Mishmi: Pulu (1991)

KUKI-CHIN-NAGA

Meithei: Chelliah (1997)
 Mikir: Grüssner (1978), Jeyapaul (1987)
 Lotha: Acherya (1983)
 Ao: Clark (1893), Gowda (1975), Mills (1926)
 Mao Naga: Giridhar (1994)
 Sema: Sreedhar (1980)
 Angami: Giridhar (1980)
 Tangkhul Naga: Arokianathan (1987), Pettigrew (1918)
 Kachcha Naga: Soppitt (1885)
 Tiddim Chin: Henderson (1965)
 Siyin Chin: Naylor (1925)
 Thadou: Krishan (1980)
 Mizo: Chhangte (1989), Lorrain and Savidge (1898)
 Lai Chin: Hay-Neave (1953)
 Bawm: Reichle (1981)
 Lakher: Lorrain (1951), Savidge (1908)

JINGHPAW

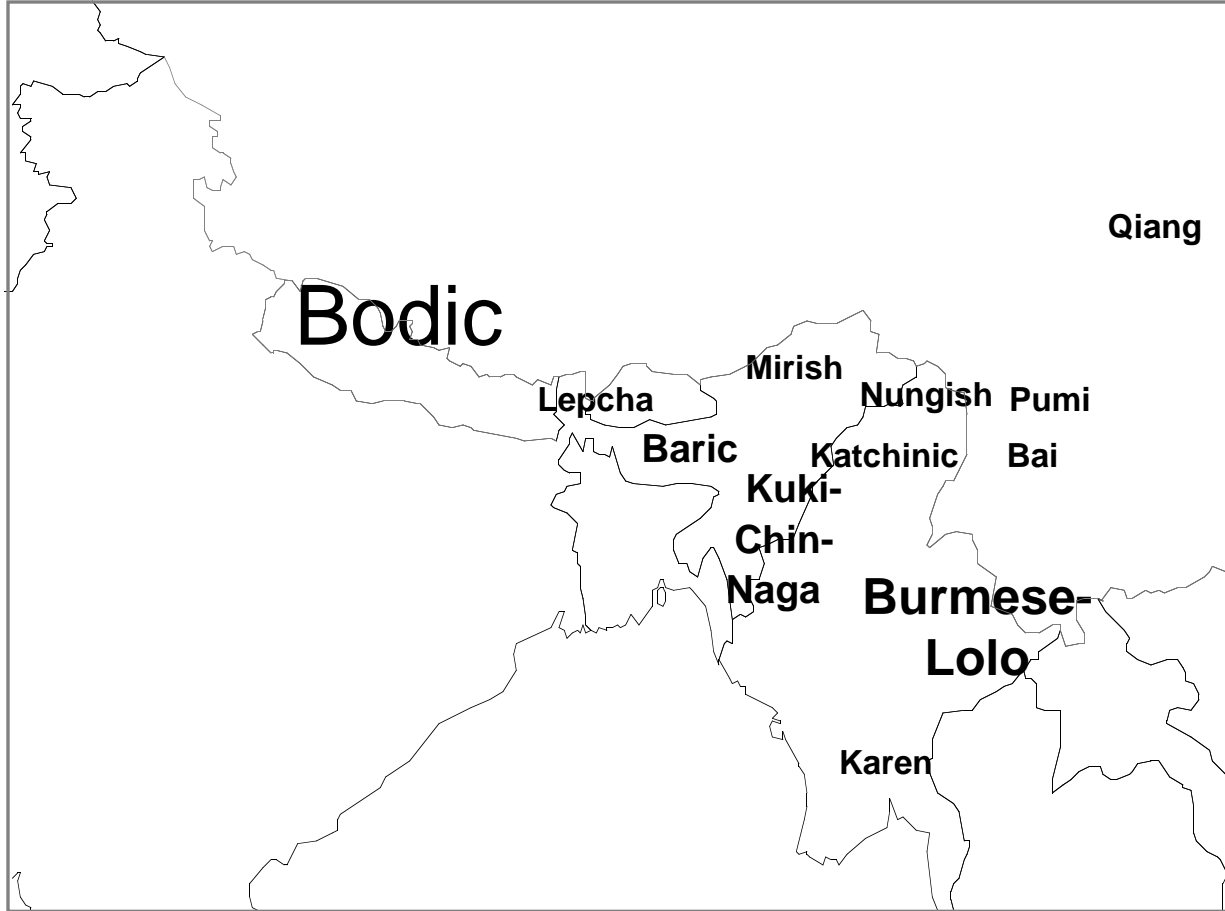
Jinghpaw: Hertz (1917)

NUNGISH	Trung: Sun (1982) Rawang: Barnard (1934)
BAI	Bai: Fitzgerald (1941), Hsu (1984)
PUMI	Pumi: Lu (1983), Ding (1998)
QIANG	Qiang: Sun (1981)
BURMESE-LOLO	Naxi: Ho (1985) Achang: Tai (1985) Maru: Abbey (1899), Clerk (1911) Burmese: Cornyn and Roop (1968), Okell (1969), Stewart (1955), Wheatley (1982) Nusu: Sun (1986) Lisu: Hope (1974) Yi: Ch'en (1985) Jino: Kai (1986) Akha: Dellinger (1969) Hani: Lewis and Bibo (1996), Li (1990) Lahu: Matisoff (1973)
KAREN	Eastern Kayah: Solnit (1986) (published version, Solnit (1997) not examined) Bwe Karen: Henderson (1997) Sgaw Karen: Jones (1961)

Table 1: Tibeto-Burman languages examined with classification assumed in this paper

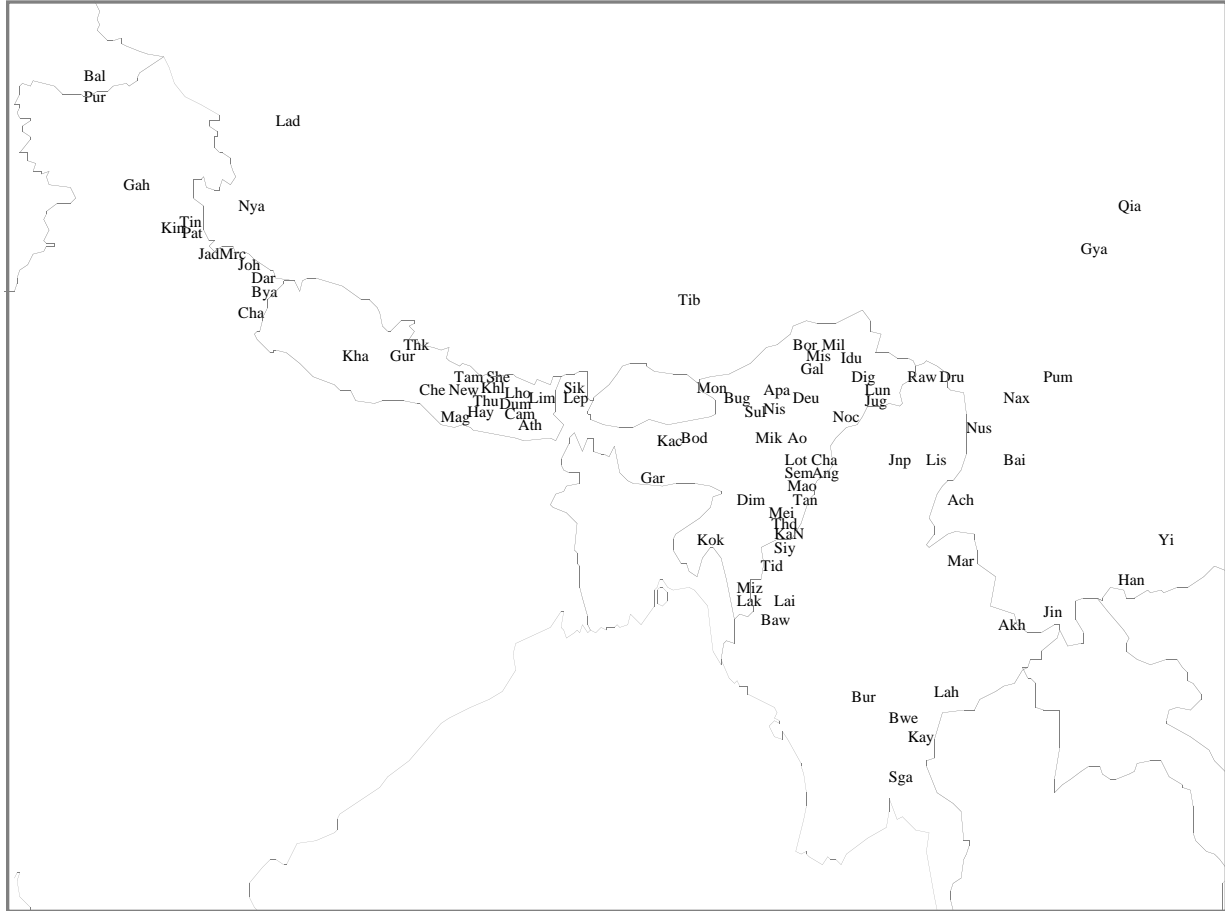
This classification is intended to be conservative in the sense of leaving unclassified within Tibeto-Burman a number of languages or groups, such as Lepcha, Bai, Pumi, and Qiang, whose classification has been controversial. My treating these as distinct groups at the outer level is intended as a position of agnosticism regarding their classification rather than a positive claim about their not belonging to one of the larger groups. The classification assumed differs from that proposed by Bradley (1994) in treating Gyarung as Bodic and Naxi as Burmese-Lolo (Bradley puts both of these in his Northeast Tibeto-Burman), and in treating Nusu as Lolo (Bradley puts it in Nungish).

Since one of the primary things I will be discussing in this paper is the geographical distribution of word order characteristics within Tibeto-Burman, I provide Map 1 showing the approximate location of the subgroups of Tibeto-Burman that I assume in this paper.



Map 1
Assumed Subgroups of Tibeto-Burman

Map 2 shows the specific Tibeto-Burman languages included in this study.



Map 2
Location of Tibeto-Burman Languages Discussed

Ach	Achang	Idu	Idu	Miz	Mizo
Akh	Akha	Jad	Jad	Mon	Central Monpa
Ang	Angami	Jin	Jino	Nax	Naxi
Ao	Ao	Jnp	Jinghpaw	New	Newari
Apa	Apatani	Jug	Jugli	Nis	Nishi
Ath	Athpare	Kac	Kachari	Noc	Nocte
Bai	Bai	KaN	Kachcha Naga	Nus	Nusu
Bal	Balti	Kay	Eastern Kayah	Nya	Nyamkad
Baw	Bawm	Khl	Khaling	Pat	Pattani
Bod	Bodo	Kha	Kham	Pum	Pumi
Bor	Bori	Kin	Kinnauri	Pur	Purki
Bug	Bugun	Kok	Kokborok	Qia	Qiang
Bur	Burmese	Lad	Ladakhi	Raw	Rawang
Bwe	Bwe Karen	Lah	Lahu	Sem	Sema
Bya	Byansi	Lai	Lai Chin	Sga	Sgaw Karen
Cam	Camling	Lak	Lakher	She	Sherpa
Cha	Chaudangsi	Lep	Lepcha	Sik	Sikkimese
Che	Chepang	Lho	Lhomi	Siy	Siyin Chin
Dar	Darmiya	Lim	Limbu	Sul	Sulung
Deu	Deuri	Lis	Lisu	Tam	Tamang
Dig	Digaro Mishmi	Lot	Lotha	Tan	Tangkhum Naga

Dim	Dimasa	Lun	Lungchang	Thd	Thadou
Dum	Dumi	Mag	Magari	Thk	Thakali
Gah	Gahri	Mao	Mao Naga	Thu	Thulung
Gal	Gallong	Mrc	Marccha	Tib	Tibetan (Modern Literary)
Gar	Garo	Mar	Maru	Tid	Tiddim Chin
Gur	Gurung	Mei	Meithei	Tin	Tinani
Gya	Gyarung	Mik	Mikir	Tru	Trung
Han	Hani	Mil	Milang	Yi	Yi
Hay	Hayu	Mis	Mising		

Key to Map 2

In section 1, I will discuss the distribution of OV and VO order within Tibeto-Burman. Section 2 deals with word order characteristics that correlate with OV word order. Sections 3 and 4 deal with two groups of Tibeto-Burman languages which are VO, Karen and Bai, respectively. Section 5 discusses Tibeto-Burman with respect to six pairs of elements whose order is not predictable for OV languages: adjective and noun, relative clause and noun, demonstrative and noun, numeral and noun, intensifier and adjective, and negative particle and verb.

1. Order of object and verb

The distribution of OV and VO order among Tibeto-Burman languages is fairly clearcut and easy to describe. VO order is found only in two groups, namely Karen and Bai, and the remaining languages are all not only OV but generally fairly rigidly verb-final. At most, some OV languages are described as allowing postverbal elements only as afterthoughts (e.g. Chepang; Caughley 1982: 40), and text data for most languages tends to be fairly consistently verb-final. The VO languages are all more specifically SVO (rather than verb-initial). The OV languages are all SV and appear to be more specifically SOV, though this cannot be determined with confidence for all the languages I have examined. The examples in (1) illustrate SOV order in Qiang and Kham and the examples in (2) illustrate SVO order in Bwe Karen and Bai.

(1) a. Qiang

uang ³¹	su ⁵⁵ tci ¹³	tcai ¹³ sau ¹³	tie ³³	Er ³¹ sia ³¹
Wong	secretary	recommendation	CONT	write
	S	O		V

‘Secretary Wong is writing a recommendation letter’ (Sun 1981: 162)

b. Kham

bahadur-e	o-bənduk	ap-ke-o
Bahadur-ERG	3SG-gun	shoot-PERF-3SG

‘Bahadur shot his gun’ (Watters 1998: 523)

(2) a. Bwe Karen

fɛ	ní	dòkhí	tə-dó
trap	catch	barking.deer	one-CLSFR
S	V	O	

‘the trap catches a barking deer’ (Henderson 1997: 258)

b. Bai

ŋa⁵⁵ ju⁴⁴ pɛ̃³³
 1SG eat dinner
 ‘we eat dinner’ (Hsu 1984: 76)

The distribution of OV and VO order within Tibeto-Burman conforms loosely to an east-west dimension that we will see is useful for understanding the distribution of a number of word order characteristics. Both of the groups exhibiting VO order, Karen and Bai are towards the east. When we look at the distribution of word order outside Tibeto-Burman, we see that the languages to the east are VO, namely languages within Chinese, Daic, Mon-Khmer, and Miao-Yao, while those to the west and southwest are OV, namely Indic languages within Indo-European. Karen represents the most southeastern of the Tibeto-Burman languages, the ones closest to Daic and Mon-Khmer languages. Bai is spoken in an area of China east of Myanmar (Burma), though Loloish languages are also spoken in the general area. The other Tibeto-Burman languages in this area are all OV. Bradley (1994: 178) describes the syntax of Bai as “Sinicized”, so I assume that the VO order reflects contact influence from Chinese.

2. OV characteristics in OV Tibeto-Burman languages

In 2.1, I will look at ways in which OV Tibeto-Burman languages conform to characteristics associated with OV order; in 2.2, I will look at one respect in which some OV Tibeto-Burman languages fail to conform, in the position of manner adverbs.

2.1. Predicted OV characteristics in OV Tibeto-Burman languages

Although I have argued (Dryer 1992) that a variety of word order characteristics often claimed to correlate with the order of object and verb can be shown not to correlate when we examine a large and diverse enough sample of languages, there are still many characteristics which do correlate, where one order tends to be found in OV languages and the reverse order in VO languages. Tibeto-Burman languages do generally conform to these correlations.

I will illustrate this with examples from Lai Chin (Hay-Neave 1933). The SOV word order of Lai Chin is illustrated in (3).

- (3) mipa nih rawl a chuan
 man ERG food 3SG cook
 S O V
 ‘the man cooked the food’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 26)

The third person singular pronominal marker *a* in (3) is represented as a separate word by Hay-Neave, but behaves like an agreement prefix in the sense that it co-occurs with the separate noun phrase subject *mipa* ‘man’. All of the examples cited below include such agreement pronouns immediately preceding the verb. The examples in (4) through (14) illustrate a variety of word order characteristics of Lai Chin that are typical of OV languages. The example in (4) illustrates the genitive preceding the possessed noun.

- (4) raalkaap fa-le
 soldier child-PLUR
 ‘the soldier’s children’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 90)

Question particles occur at the end of the sentence, as in (13).

- (13) hi na duh maw
 this 2SG want Q
 ‘do you want this?’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 25)

Finally, interrogative phrases in content questions do not have to be placed at the beginning of the sentences, as in (14).

- (14) mah lam hi khuazeiahdah a kal
 DEM road this where 3SG go
 ‘where does this road go?’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 37)

In all these respects, Lai Chin exhibits characteristics we would expect of it as an OV language, and other OV Tibeto-Burman languages are similar.

A number of the examples above illustrate a future particle in Lai Chin that follows the verb. Examples of other words indicating tense or aspect following the verb are given in (15).

- (15) a. ruahpi a sur lio
 rain 3SG rain CONTIN
 ‘it is raining’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 14)
- b. ka kal cang
 1SG go PAST
 ‘I have gone’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 15)
- c. sia nih a rawl an ei lengmang
 mithun ERG 3SG food 3PL eat CONTIN
 ‘mythun have been eating his crops’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 15)

As discussed in Dryer (1992), the position of words indicating tense-aspect relative to the verb correlates with the order of object and verb only if these words are themselves verbal (i.e. if they are auxiliary verbs), in contrast to nonverbal tense-aspect particles whose position does not correlate with the order of verb and object. Because of the generally isolating nature of Lai Chin, it is difficult to determine on the basis of superficial evidence whether these tense-aspect words in Lai Chin are verbs or not. However, other OV Tibeto-Burman languages with more extensive morphology have clear examples of auxiliary verbs, and these follow the main verb, as illustrated in (16) for Modern Literary Tibetan.

- (16) Tibetan (Modern Literary)

sobə-tso-ô nāmdru chī soshintu yɔ̀ð-reè
 worker-PL-ERG airplane one make PRES.COMPL-NONFIRST
 ‘the workers are making an airplane’ (Goldstein 1991: 57)

2.2. Order of manner adverb and verb in OV Tibeto-Burman languages

There is a strong crosslinguistic tendency for manner adverbs in OV languages to precede the verb. Most OV Tibeto-Burman languages conform to this tendency, as illustrated in (17).

(17) a. Lai Chin

duhsan-tein a chim
 slow-ADV 3SG speak
 ‘he speaks slowly’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 49)

b. Purki

kh^ho-s šoqsmo šoqsmo sila-t
 3SG-ERG fast fast read-PRES
 ‘he reads very fast’ (Rangan 1979: 110)

Outside of Tibeto-Burman, the majority of exceptions to this tendency are languages in which adverbial elements in general, including prepositional or postpositional languages, follow the verb, in contrast to objects, which precede (a type found, for example, in a number of groups in west Africa, including Mande languages). And in languages in which the object and postpositional phrase must precede the verb, individual adverbs, including manner adverbs, typically must precede the verb as well. However, six OV Tibeto-Burman languages, all of them Kuki-Chin-Naga languages, are exceptions to this, allowing manner adverbs, but not objects or postpositional phrases, to follow the verb. In Tiddim Chin, in fact, the preferred position for manner adverbs is after the verb (Henderson 1965: 67). The OV and PP-V orders in Tiddim Chin are illustrated in (18a) and (18b) respectively.

(18) Tiddim Chin

a. bui in khuang tum ...
 bamboo.rat PTCL drum beat
 O V

‘now the bamboo rat was beating his drum ...’ (Henderson 1965: 5, sentence 30)

b. Dahpa [a-khuang tawh] [inn ah] a-ciah a
 Dahpa 3-drum with house at 3-return.home PTCL
 PP PP V

‘Dahpa went home with the drum’ (Henderson 1965: 5, sentence 20)

The examples in (19) illustrate a manner adverb following the verb.

(19) a. zu beel tung khat in lup sim a
 beer pot over one PTCL fill secretly PTCL
 V Adv

‘he secretly filled an upright beer pot’ (Henderson 1965: 4, sentence 4)

b. ‘Hawi’ ci in dawng zel zal a
 hello say PTCL answer loudly PTCL
 V Adv

‘he called out loudly, as if answering someone.’ (Henderson 1965: 4, sentence 5)

This is also described as the preferred order for Angami (Giridhar 1980: 85), as illustrated in (20).

(20) Angami

rī rêli-liê
 drive slow-IMPER
 ‘drive slowly!’ (Giridhar 1980: 85)

In addition, both orders of verb and manner adverb are reported common in four other Kuki-Chin-Naga languages: Mizo (Chhangte 1989: 114-118), Lakher (Lorrain 1951: 52-53), Mao Naga (Giridhar 1994: 416-420, 458), and Mikir (Grüssner 1978: 88-89). Examples from Mizo illustrating VAdv order are given in (21).

(21) Mizo

- a. a thou2 rang2
 3,SUBJ arise fast
 ‘(s)he gets up quickly’ (Chhangte 1989: 114)
- b. a tlaan2 per per3
 3,SUBJ run small,fast
 ‘(s)he (small) ran smoothly and rapidly’ (Chhangte 1989: 116)

The two examples in (21) actually involve two distinct constructions. Chhangte (1989: 114, 116) argues that the word *rang2* ‘fast’ in (21a) is an adverb (it could also precede the verb), while the expression *per per3* ‘small, fast’ is not a true adverb, but distinct from true adverbs in a variety of ways.

The examples in (22) illustrate each of the two orders in Mao Naga, AdvV order in (22a) and VAdv order in (22b).

(22) Mao Naga

- a. cako caki-teo pe
 Chakho cleverly-very speak
 ‘Chakho spoke very cleverly’ (Giridhar 1994: 416)
- b. ai rü ma-zhü le
 1SG write ADV-good FUT
 ‘I will write well’ (Giridhar 1994: 418)

Similarly, in Mikir (Grüssner 1978: 88-89), there are two constructions for expressing manner, one in which the word expressing manner follows the verb, as in (23).

- (23) loséy ingplòng serák-ló
 horse run fast-TA
 ‘a horse runs fast’ (Grüssner 1978: 136)

However, in the construction in (23) in which the manner expression follows the verb, it is not clear whether the word *serák* ‘fast’ is really modifying the verb *ingplòng* ‘run’, as opposed to being a second verb in some sort of serial verb construction. The presence of a tense-aspect marker on *serák* ‘fast’ in (23) could be evidence of its being a main verb, though this also might just be a particle that cliticizes onto an adjacent word. If this is a type of serial verb construction, something like this might be the origin of the unusual position of manner adverbs in the other languages cited.

I will return to discussion of word order in OV Tibeto-Burman languages in 5, where I examine the distribution of characteristics whose position does not correlate with the order of object and verb. I first discuss the two subgroups of Tibeto-Burman that exhibit VO order, Karen and Bai.

3. Karen

Karen languages exhibit a number of characteristics that are expected of VO languages, though also a number of characteristics which are less expected. The example in (24) illustrates the VO order in Bwe Karen.

- (24) yə-ca dəyo ɓ
 1SG-see picture PTCL
 ‘I’m looking at a picture’ (p. 39)

The examples in (25) to (30) from Bwe Karen illustrate some characteristics which we would expect to find in a VO language. (25) illustrates a preposition preceding its object with the resulting prepositional phrase following the verb.

- (25) yə-ɔ ɗó London
 1SG-live LOC London
 ‘I live in London’ (Henderson 1997: 417)

The example in (26) illustrates a complementizer, a word marking a complement clause, introducing that clause (rather than following it, as in the Lai Chin example above in (11)).

- (26) yə-bòdá mɪ yə-cɛ ɸe-nu lémə thó
 1SG-think COMP 1SG-book CLSFR-that lost PERF
 ‘I thought that my book was lost’ (Henderson 1997: 379)

The example in (27) illustrates an adverbial subordinator introducing an adverbial clause.

- (27) yə-khó ge kó yə-dɛ-mɛ wá ɓ
 1SG-FUT go.back when 1SG-NOMIN-do complete DECL
 ‘I shall go back when my work is done’ (Henderson 1997: 395)

In (28), a manner adverb is following the main verb.

- (28) gə-θí pwá ...
 1PL-die quickly
 V Adv
 ‘we die quickly’ (Henderson 1997: 187)

In (29), an inflected auxiliary verb precedes the main verb.

- (29) cə-ɗó mɪ jə-khó phɪ má nɔ
 3-say be 3-FUT take what
 Aux V
 ‘what did he say he would take?’ (Henderson 1997: 187)

In (30), a nominal predicate follows a copula verb.

- (30) yə-pa mɪ θo khwi θərà lɔ
 1SG-father be doctor DECL
 Cop Pred
 ‘my father is a doctor’ (Henderson 1997: 240)

In contrast to the example above in (27) with an apparent clause-initial subordinator, (31) has a clause final subordinator *kha lé* ‘if, when’ (in addition to a separate conditional word preceding the verb). This is quite unusual for a VO language.

- (31) nə-dé ɔ kha lé, yə-khó ɔ kó
 2SG-if stay if 1SG-FUT stay then
 ‘if you stay, I will stay’ (Henderson 1997: 78)

Words meaning ‘able’ typically precede the main verb in VO languages, as in English *We can go*. However, this follows the main verb in Bwe Karen, as illustrated in (32).

- (32) a. yə-le ja pwə’é
 1SG-go able certainly
 ‘I can go’ (Henderson 1997: 142)
- b. kə-pwa phá dó ə-kháchi də-ja-nɔ
 1PL-build granary village POSS’D-near NEG-able-NEG
 ‘we can’t build our granaries close to the village’ (Henderson 1997: 142)

The example in (32b) shows that the verb meaning ‘able’ not only follows the verb but follows its complements as well. While this is rather unusual among VO languages, it is something found in a number of VO languages in other families in southeast Asia, including Daic (e.g. Nung; Saul and Wilson 1980: 47-48, 55), Mon-Khmer (e.g. Chrau; Thomas 1971: 97), and Miao-Yao (Hmong Njua; Harriehausen 1990: 179-180).

The example in (32b) also illustrates what appears to be a postposition *kháchi* ‘near’, following its object. Morphologically, it is a head noun in a genitive-noun construction, bearing the prefix *a-* that occurs on head nouns in possessive constructions. Whether this element should be considered a postposition is partly a matter of definition, and partly a question of whether it has grammaticized at all from its original role as a noun. Eastern Kayah is similar in having both prepositions and postpositional-like elements, illustrated in (33).

- (33) a. ʔa cwá dʒ vɛ hi
 3SG go to 1SG house
 Pr NP
 ‘he went to my house’ (Solnit 1986: 74)
- b. he khu
 ground on
 NP Po?
 ‘on the ground’ (Solnit 1986: 308)

Solnit (1986: 307) is quite explicit in denying that elements like *khu* ‘on, upper surface’ in (33b) are postpositions, though, as noted, the issue is partly terminological. Judging from his examples, most of the postpositional-like elements will co-occur with one of the prepositions, reflecting their nominal nature, as in (34).

- (34) d̥ hi kɿ5
 at house behind
 ‘behind the house’ (Solnit 1986: 309)

The Karen languages are GN, as illustrated in (35)

- (35) a. Bwe Karen
 əbòmú ə-hi
 girl POSS'D-house
 ‘the girl’s house’ (Henderson 1997: 24)
- b. Eastern Kayah
 PhāΛ hi
 Pha’a house
 ‘Pha’a’s house’ (Solnit 1986: 284)

While the order of genitive and noun correlates with the order of object and verb, with GN order associated OV and NG order with VO, GN order is not really an unexpected characteristic in Karen because, as discussed in Dryer (1991), the two orders of genitive and noun are about equally common in SVO languages. In other words, although SVO languages pattern with verb-initial languages for most word order characteristics where there is a correlation, they pattern between verb-initial and verb-final languages as far as the order of genitive and noun is concerned. The order GN is most common in SVO languages that are at the boundary between OV and VO languages, a property of Karen languages since they are between OV languages in other branches of Tibeto-Burman and VO languages in Daic and Mon-Khmer.

Other modifiers of the noun follow the noun in Karen languages. This is illustrated in (36) for Bwe Karen: (36a) illustrates NAdj order; (36b) illustrates NDem order; (36c) illustrates NNum order; and (36d) illustrates NRel order.

- (36) a. hi ə-d̥o
 house NOMIN-big
 ‘big houses’ (Henderson 1997: 297)
- b. pho b̥wɛ-nu
 child CLSFR-that
 ‘that child’ (Henderson 1997: 14)
- c. b̥aya nwé ʃi θó θU d̥ə-b̥wɛ
 person seven ten three pair one-CLSFR
 ‘seventy-seven men’ (Henderson 1997: 266)
- d. ʃidi [d̥ó cə-í-yɛ] m̥é-yo
 egg REL 3-give-1SG CLSFR-this
 N Rel
 ‘the egg he gave me’ (Henderson 1997: 86)

It might be thought that these various ways in which modifiers follow the noun in Karen languages simply reflect the fact that they are VO. However, as shown in Dryer (1992), except for relative clauses, the modifiers that follow the noun in Karen languages do so no more in VO languages than they do in OV languages. The explanation for this feature of Karen languages appears to be areal: Daic and Mon-Khmer VO languages typically place adjectives and demonstratives after the

noun, and the more westerly of the languages in these groups, which are the languages immediately to the east of Karen languages, typically place numerals after the noun as well, such as Thai (Anthony, French and Warotamasikkhadit 1968: 48-50) within Daic and Mon (Bauer 1982: 360) and Khmu (Smalley 1961: 23) within Mon-Khmer. As we move further the east, the numeral typically precedes the noun, as in Yay (Hudak 1991: xxvii) and Nung (Saul and Wilson 1980: 14, 21) within Daic and Chrau (Thomas 1971: 127) and Katu (Costello 1969: 22, 34) within Mon-Khmer. (See Dryer 19?? for discussion of similar issues as they apply to Mon-Khmer languages.) In short, the Karen languages belong to a geographical area in southeast Asia in which languages put adjectives, demonstratives, and numerals all after the noun. Karen differs from these languages primarily in placing genitives before the noun; in this respect, they are behaving more like the OV languages to the west and north of them. The place of Karen in the areal patterning is discussed further in section 6 below.

4. Bai

The second group of VO languages in Tibeto-Burman is the single language Bai. My primary source for Bai is Hsu (1984), though I have also examined a short grammatical sketch in Fitzgerald (1941). The SVO order of Bai is illustrated in (37).

- (37) a³¹tj³³ tshi⁵⁵ tchi⁵⁵
 grandpa add fertilizer
 ‘Grandpa add(ed/s) fertilizer (to the field).’ (Hsu 1984: 77)

Bai also allows SOV order, with the object marked with a postposition *no*³³, as in (38), though Hsu (1984: 76) describes this order as less common than the SVO order in (37).

- (38) a³¹ne⁴⁴ suã⁵⁵ xo⁴⁴ no³³ li⁵⁵ ko²¹ lu³³
 grandma grandchild PL,INDEF OBJ also love DECLAR
 ‘Grandma loves grandchildren.’ (Hsu 1984: 77)

Hsu (1984: 78) reports that the order SOV is commonly used in interrogative and negative clauses.

Bai word order is in many ways atypical for an SVO language, though in some respects it is atypical in ways that are reminiscent of the Chinese languages and it is plausible that much of the word order of Bai reflects the influence of Chinese. The existence of an alternative SOV word order with the object marked by an adposition-like element, as in (38), is at least vaguely reminiscent of the *ba*- construction in Mandarin. Perhaps a more convincing example of word order reminiscent of Chinese is the use of prenominal relative clauses, as in (39).

- (39) [vẽ⁴² tse²¹tse⁴² no³³] sɣ⁵⁵ xã⁵⁵ ɣo⁴²
 write tidy LINK word read easy
 ‘words that are written tidily are easy to read.’ (Hsu 1984: 73)

This RelN order is extremely unusual among VO languages. In fact, the only VO languages in which RelN is attested as a basic order are Bai and the Chinese languages.

A linking word *no*³³ connects the relative clause with the noun modified, as in (39). This word is also used as a linker in a variety of other constructions in Bai, including an manner adverbial use illustrated in (40).

- (40) a. si⁵⁵ɣu³³ lu³¹ tsu³¹ xɛ̃⁵⁵ no³³ tuĩ⁵⁵
 willow this CLSFR grow LINK straight
 ‘this willow has grown straightly.’ (Hsu 1984: 53)
- b. xu³³tsi³³ lu³¹ suã⁵⁵ tshu⁴⁴ no³³ xã⁵⁵tce⁴²
 pear this CLSFR red LINK good-looking
 ‘the plums are red and beautiful.’
 (literally ‘red in a beautiful way’) (Hsu 1984: 54)

The linker *no*³³ is homophonous with the object postposition illustrated above in (38). I am not sure if this is a coincidence or whether these two morphemes are related.

Bai has both prepositions and postpositions. Examples with prepositions are given in (41).

- (41) a. pi⁵⁵si⁵⁵ sa³⁵ na²¹ tsho⁴⁴ ɣu³⁵
 wind from south blow come
 ‘the wind blows from the south.’ (Hsu 1984: 45)
- b. ŋo³¹ li⁵⁵ pu³¹ nu⁵⁵ no³³ ɕi³¹xuã⁵⁵
 1SG also for you obj happy
 ‘I am also happy for you.’ (Hsu 1984: 44)

Note that the prepositional element *li*⁵⁵ in (41b) co-occurs with the object postposition *no*³³. In addition to the object postposition *no*³³, there is a benefactive postposition *ŋɣ*, as in (42).

- (42) mo³¹ sɣ³¹ a³¹ne⁴⁴ ŋɣ⁵⁵ tu²¹po²¹
 3SG comb grandmother BENEF head
 ‘he combed grandmother’s hair’
 (literally: ‘he combed the head for grandmother’) (Hsu 1984: 54)

Adpositional phrases (prepositional or postpositional phrases) sometimes precede, sometimes follow the verb. Both precede the verb in (41), while the benefactive phrase in (42) follows the verb. As noted above, the object postposition is used for objects preceding the verb. The example in (43) illustrates the object postposition with a recipient (indirect object) in a ditransitive clause following the verb.

- (43) ŋa⁵⁵ si³¹ nu⁵⁵ no³³ pe²¹xo⁵⁵ ku⁵⁵
 1PL give 2SG OBJ flower CLSFR
 ‘we gave you a flower.’ (Hsu 1984: 51)

Manner adverbs similarly occur on either side of the verb, as in (44).

- (44) a. tɕi⁴²tsua⁴² pe⁴⁴
 quick go
 ‘go quickly’
- b. pe⁴⁴ tɕi⁴²tsua⁴²
 go quick
 ‘go quickly’ (Hsu 1984: 41)

In expressions of ability, both orders are apparently found of the word for ‘able’ relative to the main verb, as in (45), though different words are involved.

- (45) a. na⁵⁵ lia⁴² kho³¹ji³¹ tsu⁵⁵
 2PL this able do
 ‘you can do it this way’ (Hsu 1984: 41)
- b. a⁵⁵na⁴⁴ li⁵⁵ ηε²¹ ta⁴²
 where all go able
 ‘I can go anywhere’ (Hsu 1984: 22)

While the normal order for VO languages is AbleV, the opposite order is common among VO languages of southeast Asia.

The genitive precedes the noun in Bai, as in (46).

- (46) lu³⁵tçī³³po⁵⁵ mu⁵⁵ tsɿ̃²¹ sɛ̃⁴²
 LuJin 3SG,POSS hoe CLSFR
 ‘Lu Jin’s hoe’ (Hsu 1984: 71)

As noted above in the discussion of Karen, this order is less common among VO languages than NGen order, but among SVO languages in particular, the two orders GenN and NGen are both common, so this order is not an atypical characteristic in Bai.

Bai employs sentence-final question particles, as in (47).

- (47) jī⁵⁵ ā³³ ηo³¹ nε⁵⁵
 2SG find 1SG Q
 ‘are you looking for me?’ (Hsu 1984: 76)

Again, this is something that is more common in OV languages, but, as discussed in Dryer (1991), both sentence-initial and sentence-final question particles are common among SVO languages. Furthermore, they are especially common among SVO languages in southeast Asia, in Mandarin, in Daic (e.g. Nung; Saul and Wilson 1980: 116), in Mon-Khmer (e.g. Chrau; Thomas 1971: 63, 180), and in Miao-Yao (e.g. Mjen; Court 1985: 83).

One characteristic that is illustrated by examples in Hsu (1984), but which may not be the only order possible, is the order of copula and predicate; Hsu cites a number of examples with the order CopPred, as in (48).

- (48) ηo³¹ tsu³³ nu⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵
 1SG COP 2SG,POSS sister
 ‘I am your sister’ (Hsu 1984: ??)

If this is the normal order in Bai, it is a characteristic expected of it as a VO language.

In summary, Bai exhibits few characteristics that are expected of it as a VO language. The prenominal position of relative clauses is highly unusual for a VO language, and for a variety of characteristics, we find two orders, one associated with OV and one associated with VO. Its word order resembles that of the Chinese languages in some respects, and it is not clear to what extent its “mixed” word order reflects a residue of a former OV order or whether the mixed characteristics are themselves due to influence from Chinese languages. It should be noted, however, that with respect to a number of characteristics that do not correlate with the order of object and verb, Bai has different orders from the Chinese languages: it apparently has both orders of adjective and noun, and both demonstratives and numerals follow the noun. Hsu (1984) does not appear to comment on the order of adjective and noun, and the examples he cites seem to all be AdjN.

Fitzgerald (1941) says that both orders occur. These characteristics are illustrated in (49): AdjN order is illustrated in (49a), NAdj order in (49b), and both NDem and NNum order in (49c).

- (49) a. kã⁵⁵ tsur³¹
 tall tree
 ‘tall tree’ (Hsu 1984: 41)
- b. sur a kuai ga
 mountain one CLSFR high
 ‘a high mountain’ (Fitzgerald 1941: 233)
- c. ke⁴² lu⁵⁵ ŋ³³ pe³¹
 bowl this five CLSFR
 ‘these five bowls’ (Hsu 1984: 24)

With respect to these characteristics, Bai word order is much more like Tibeto-Burman than Chinese. As we will see in the next section, we find considerable diversity of orders of modifiers with respect to the noun among Tibeto-Burman languages. In fact, these particular characteristics are highly reminiscent of word order in Loloish languages, which are spoken in the same general area as Bai. Lahu, Lisu, and Hani are, like Bai, NDem and NNum and they employ both orders or adjective and noun.

5. Distribution of six nonpredictable word order characteristics

In the next six sections, I will discuss six pairs of elements whose order is, at least in some cases, not predictable from the order of object and verb, and discuss the distribution of the different orders within Tibeto-Burman. In 5.1, I discuss the order of adjective and noun; in 5.2, the order of relative clause and noun; in 5.3, the order of demonstrative and noun; in 5.4, the order of numeral and noun; in 5.5, the order of intensifier and adjective; and in 5.6, the order of negative and verb. Unlike the characteristics discussed in section 2 above, these are pairs of elements whose order is not predictable, at least for OV languages. Five of these six pairs of elements exhibit considerable variability within Tibeto-Burman, and I describe this variability both in terms of different subgroups and in terms of geography.

5.1. Adjective and noun

The first pair of elements I discuss is adjective and noun. I should emphasize that, following the tradition in word order typology of Greenberg (1963), I use the term ‘adjective’ here is a semantic sense, without any assumption as to the word class in each language of the words in question. In a number of the languages I discuss, the words in question may actually be verbs grammatically, and in some of my sources, they are described as such. In such cases, what I refer to as an “adjective” modifying a noun may really be a case of a relative clause modifying a noun. For example Burling (1961) refers to the order of “substantive verb” with respect to the noun in Garo, and this includes words that correspond in meaning both to verbs and to adjectives in English, including, for example, words meaning ‘sit’ and ‘big’. Since Burling describes Garo as more often placing substantive verbs after the noun, I code it as NAdj (noun before adjective), as well as NRel. Garo allows both orders, but, as discussed above in section 0, I classify languages according to the dominant order if there is evidence that one order is dominant.“

As noted above, and as discussed in greater detail in Dryer (1988, 1992), most OV languages in Asia outside of Tibeto-Burman place adjectives before the noun, but outside of Asia, both AdjN and NAdj order are common, and in fact NAdj order is about twice as common. Both

orders are found among OV Tibeto-Burman languages. The examples in (50) illustrate each of these orders, from two languages within the Bodic subgroup, AdjN order from Byansi in (50a) and NAdj order from Modern Literary Tibetan in (50b);

(50) a. Byansi

chiṭṭi hyukte kin
 more deep pit
 Adj N
 ‘a deeper pit’ (Trivedi 1991: 52)

b. Tibetan (Modern Literary)

traba sāāba de-e
 monk new that-LOC
 N Adj
 ‘that new monk’ (Goldstein 1991: 36)

Table 2 lists my data for the order of adjective and noun in Tibeto-Burman languages. As discussed in section 0, classifying a language as AdjN does not mean that this is the only order, only that it appears to be the dominant order. Languages that are listed as AdjN/NAdj allow both orders and there is no indication in my sources that one order is dominant.

BODIC

AdjN: Newari, Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Purki, Balti, Kham, Hayu, Chepang, Marchha, Kinnauri, Pattani, Tinani, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byansi, Johari, Thulung, Dumi, Khaling, Athpare, Limbu.
 NAdj: Gyarung, Tibetan (Modern Literary), Ladakhi, Jad, Nyamkad, Sherpa, Sikkimese, Gahri.
 AdjN/NAdj: Central Monpa, Bugun

Lepcha: NAdj

BARIC

AdjN: Deuri
 NAdj: Dimasa, Kokborok, Garo, Nocte.
 AdjN/NAdj: Bodo, Kachari, Jugli, Lungchang, Chang

MIRISH

AdjN: Gallong, Mising, Milang, Nishi, Idu.
 NAdj: Apatani, Digaro Mishmi.
 AdjN/NAdj: Bori

KUKI-CHIN-NAGA

NAdj: Lotha, Ao, Mao Naga, Sema, Angami, Tangkhul Naga, Kachcha Naga, Tiddim Chin, Thadou, Mizo, Bawm, Lakher.
 AdjN/NAdj: Meithei, Mikir, Siyin Chin, Lai Chin

Jinghpaw: NAdj

NUNGISH

NAdj: Rawang

AdjN/NAdj: Drung

Bai: AdjN/NAdj

Pumi: NAdj

Qiang: NAdj

BURMESE-LOLO

NAdj: Naxi, Maru, Burmese, Nusu, Yi, Jino, Akha.

AdjN/NAdj: Achang, Hani, Lahu

KAREN

NAdj: Eastern Kayah, Bwe Karen, Sgaw Karen.

Table 2
Order of Adjective and Noun

The pattern of distribution of the two orders of adjective and noun within Tibeto-Burman is complex. There are three subgroups that contain at least one language in which AdjN order is dominant and at least one language in which NAdj order is dominant (Bodic, Baric, and Mirish). In none of the other subgroups are there any languages in which AdjN order is dominant; however, in four of these other subgroups, there is at least one language which I classify as AdjN/NAdj (Kuki-Chin-Naga, Nungish, Bai, and Burmese-Lolo). In the five remaining subgroups (Lepcha, Jinghpaw, Pumi, Qiang, and Karen), all of the languages are NAdj, though four of these subgroups consist of a single language. Karen is the only subgroup containing more than one language in which all of the languages are the same with respect to the order of adjective and noun. There is thus striking variation across the family in terms of the order of adjective and noun.

Some generalizations can be made about the variability within particular subgroups. For example, within Bodic, the NAdj languages tend to be ones that are more closely related to Tibetan, though Gahri (Bunan) is an exception to this. The examples in (51) contrast NAdj order in Gahri with AdjN order in another West Himalayish language, Kinnauri.

(51) a. Gahri

pyaci phecei-ti
bird small-one
'a small bird' (Sharma 1989: 224)

b. Kinnauri

id gatoc pyac
one small bird
'one small bird' (Sharma 1988: 114)

Within Baric, I code only one language, Deuri, as having AdjN as the dominant order. Bradley (1994: 174) notes that Deuri is in other respects the most divergent of the Baric languages. The AdjN order in Deuri is illustrated in (52a), while NAdj order in Nocte is illustrated in (52b).

(52) a. Deuri

shu áshi
 high hill
 ‘a high hill’ (Deuri 1895: 13)

b. Nocte

leta a-san
 boy ADJ-good
 ‘good boy’ (Das Gupta 1971: 11)

The pattern within Mirish is less clear. AdjN order in Mising is illustrated in (53a), NAdj order in Apatani in (53b).

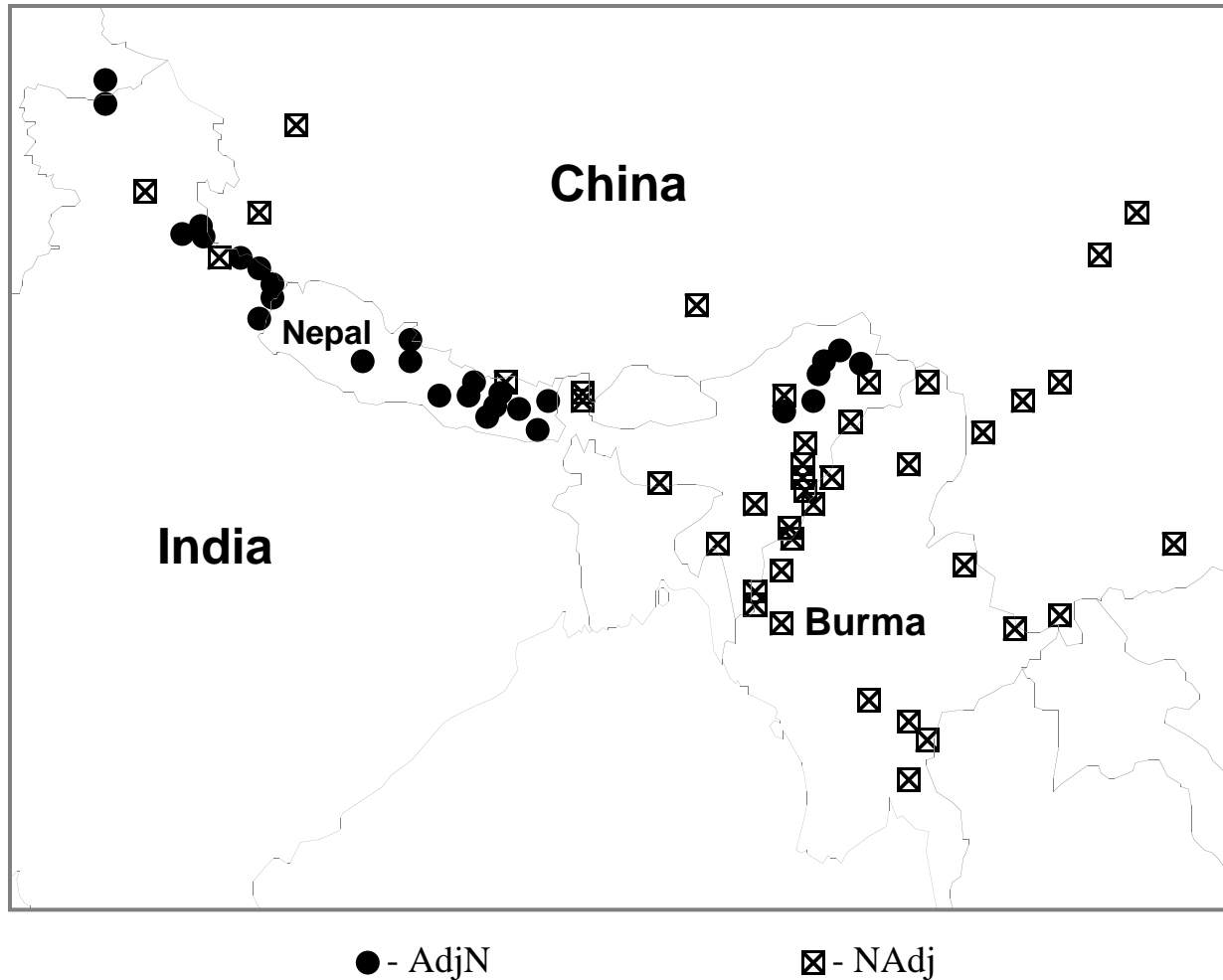
(53) a. Mising

azóně dóluj
 small village
 ‘small village’ (Prasad 1991: 69)

b. Apatani

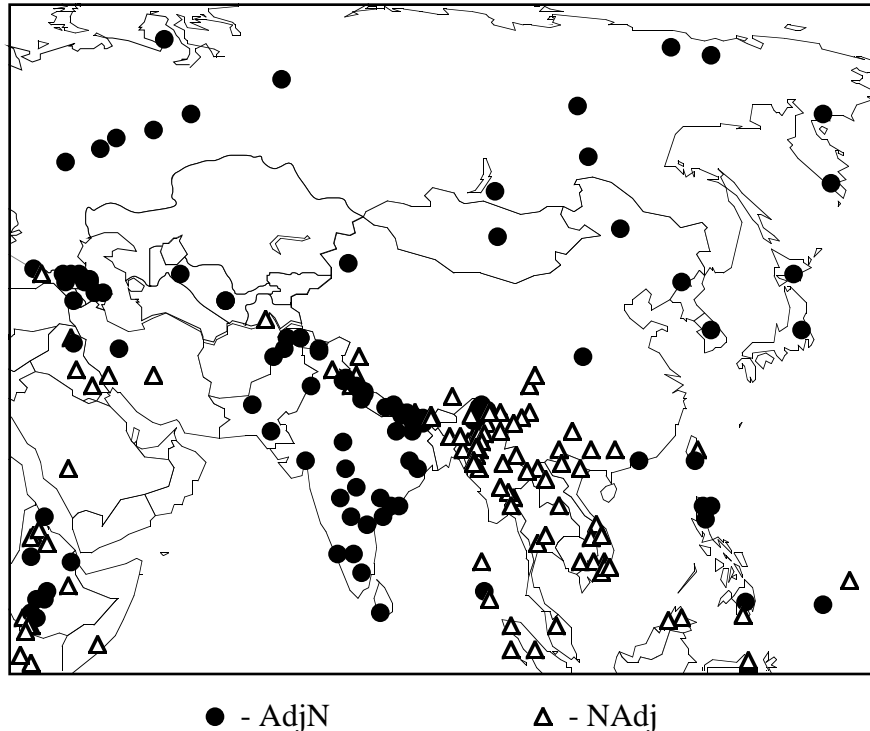
aki atu
 dog small
 ‘the small dog’ (Abraham 1985: 23)

Map 3 shows the geographical distribution of the two orders of adjective and noun within Tibeto-Burman. This map includes only those language for which I was able to ascertain a dominant order. When we examine this map, a clear overall pattern emerges: NAdj order is more common towards the east while AdjN order is more common towards the west. West of the eastern border of Nepal, the only NAdj languages are the minority of Bodic languages mentioned above. Conversely, east of this border, the only AdjN languages are in the northeastern extreme of India, the AdjN Mirish languages and the one AdjN Baric language, Deuri.



Map 3
Order of adjective and noun

This distribution makes sense in the context of non-Tibeto-Burman languages surrounding Tibeto-Burman, namely languages towards the east are closer to Daic and Mon-Khmer languages, which are NAdj, while languages towards the west are closer to the large area stretching from northern Asia down into India, including Indic languages within Indo-European, which are almost entirely AdjN. This is shown in Map 4, which gives the order of adjective and noun in a larger area of Asia that includes both Tibeto-Burman languages and surrounding languages.



Map 4
Order of adjective and noun in Asia

The map shows a large area of NAdj order in southeast Asia, including eastern Tibeto-Burman, Daic, Mon-Khmer, and Miao-Yao languages, and extending down into Austronesian languages in western Indonesia. To the west of this is a large area of AdjN order, including most Bodic languages, plus Indic, Dravidian, and Munda languages. It must be emphasized that although for the non-Tibeto-Burman languages in this larger area the order of adjective and noun is predictable from the order of object and verb, it is clear from the broader worldwide pattern that this is simply a coincidence, since outside of Asia OV languages are no more likely than VO languages (and if anything less likely) to place the adjective before the noun. In other words, the order of object and verb and the order of adjective and noun are two independent typological parameters that distinguish southeast Asia from south Asia and from northeast Asia. Tone is a third such parameter. The fact that the VO languages of southeast Asia tend to be tonal while VO languages in India and northeast Asia tend not to be does not represent any typological connection between VO word order and tone: rather, tone, VO, and NAdj order are simply three typologically independent parameters that are areal characteristics of southeast Asia. The exact boundaries vary for different typological parameters, however, in that the eastern Tibeto-Burman languages other than Karen and Bai are outside the boundary of VO in southeast Asia, but within the boundary of NAdj order and tone.

A systematic exception to the general pattern of OV Tibeto-Burman languages towards the west being AdjN is that a number of the languages in my database in the Tibetan subgroup of Bodic (Tibetan (Modern Literary), Ladakhi, Jad, Nyamkad, Sherpa, Sikkimese, Gahri) are NAdj despite being towards the west. If we take the location of Tibetan itself as representative of this group, then it is to the north of other languages. Note that Balti and Purki are Tibetan languages which are AdjN. However, they are further west than the NAdj Tibetan languages in my database,

at the western extreme of Tibeto-Burman, and are likely to have been more subject to contact influence from non-Tibeto-Burman AdjN languages.

5.2. Relative clause and noun

The order of relative clause and noun contrasts with the order of adjective and noun among the Tibeto-Burman languages in that most of the OV Tibeto-Burman languages are RelN, placing the relative clause before the noun. The order of relative clause and noun, unlike the order of adjective and noun, does correlate with the order of object and verb. However, this correlation arises because RelN order is much more common among OV languages than it is among VO languages. In fact, as already noted, RelN order in VO languages is exceedingly rare crosslinguistically; the only attested instances are Bai and Chinese languages, both Sino-Tibetan. We thus find NRel order in Karen languages, as illustrated in (54) from Sgaw Karen.

(54) Sgaw Karen

pya [lɔ̃ ʔəʔ ʔóʔ lɔ̃ pyàlákłá]
 man REL 3SG be.at PREP forest
 ‘the man who lives in the forest’ (Jones 1961: 34)

Although VO languages are almost exclusively NRel, the two orders RelN and NRel are about equally common among OV languages. The fact that the OV Tibeto-Burman languages are overwhelmingly RelN is thus not something that is expected of them just because they are OV.

Table 3 lists the OV Tibeto-Burman languages for which I have data on the order of relative clause and noun.

OV & RelN:

BODIC: Newari, Tamang, Gurung, Tibetan (Modern Literary), Purki, Balti, Sikkimese, Kham, Hayu, Chepang, Byansi, Camling, Thulung, Khaling, Athpare, Limbu.
 BARIC: Dimasa, Nocte, Chang.
 MIRISH: Mising, Apatani, Digaro Mishmi.
 KUKI-CHIN-NAGA: Meithei, Ao, Mao Naga, Tangkhul Naga, Siyin Chin, Lai Chin, Bawm.
 Jinghpaw.
 NUNGISH: Rawang.
 Pumi.
 BURMESE-LOLO: Achang, Maru, Burmese, Akha, Hani, Lahu.

OV & NRel:

BARIC: Garo
 MIRISH: Angami

Table 3
 Order of relative clause and noun in OV Tibeto-Burman languages

The examples in (55) illustrate RelN order in three OV Tibeto-Burman languages.

(55) a. Byansi (Bodic)

[bayirā toci-de] came
 song sing-PTCPL girl
 Rel N
 ‘the girl who sings songs’ (Trivedi 1991: 151)

b. Rawang (Nungish)

[nga alaw nga am i] hpe
 1SG buffalo hire PAST PAST male
 ‘the man who hired my buffalo’ (Barnard 1934: 9)

c. Akha (Burmese-Lolo)

[mínaq ngà ner máw ow] ghà
 yesterday 1SG by see PTCL person
 ‘the man I saw yesterday’ (Dellinger 1969: 112)

The only OV Tibeto-Burman languages I code as NRel are Garo (Baric) and Angami (Kuki-Chin-Naga). Examples illustrating this are given in (56).

(56) a. Garo

mande [ason-a-ko] dok-bo
 man sit-NOMIN,INDEF-ACC hit-IMPER
 ‘hit a man who is sitting down!’ (Burling 1961: 32)

b. Angami

têfó [â m êkîkêwâ]-ù
 dog 1SG bite-DEF
 ‘the dog that bit me’ (Giridhar 1980: 92)

Contrast the NRel order in these examples with the Rel N order in two other languages in the same subgroups as Garo and Angami, namely Dimasa (Baric) in (57a), and Tangkhul Naga (Kuki-Chin-Naga), in (57b), respectively.

(57) a. Dimasa

[bô-khe wai-yâ-ba] sisha
 3SG-ACC bite-REL-PAST,PERF dog
 ‘the dog which bit him’ (Dundas 1908: 9)

b. Tangkhul Naga

[aiyā kha-rā] mī chi
 yesterday REL-come man that
 ‘the man who came yesterday’ (Pettigrew 1918: 24)

On the other hand, in one Kuki-Chin-Naga language fairly closely related to Angami, namely Sema, the evidence from my source (Sreedhar 1980) is not sufficient for me to determine with confidence the order of relative clause and noun, but the two examples I have found are both NRel, like Angami, as in (58).

(58) Sema

akì [kikhi isi ileqi-we kew] ti-ye
 house REL today fall-PAST PTCPL that-FOCUS
 ‘the house which fell today’ (Sreedhar 1980: 157)

The fairly consistent RelN order among the OV Tibeto-Burman languages is rather surprising, since the order of relative clause and noun is something that often varies considerably across single language families. Within the Cushitic branch of Afro-Asiatic, for example, some languages (e.g. Afar) are RelN, while others (e.g. Somali) are NRel. It is also the one modifier of nouns that occasionally follows the noun in the large OV area of Asia stretching from Japanese to the northeast, north and west of Sino-Tibetan around and south to Dravidian in which modifiers otherwise always precede the noun: for example in Brahui (Dravidian), Pashto (Iranian), and Chaladsch (Turkic), modifiers precede the noun, except for the relative clause, which follows the noun. A number of languages around the world with prenominal nonfinite relative clause constructions have borrowed a postnominal finite relative clause construction from other languages, typically from Indo-European. A number of sources on Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Trivedi 1991 on Byansi) describe, in addition to the prenominal relative construction, a correlative construction apparently borrowed from Indic languages (cf. Keenan 1985), but none that I am aware of have borrowed a postnominal construction, perhaps due to the absence of such in relevant contact languages. For example, alongside the prenominal relative construction in Byansi illustrated in (55a) above is the correlative construction in (59).

(59) Byansi

jì ge nhā ge halau se jayi lukso,
 1SG GEN mother GEN friend ERG which told
 ati kathāmaṅ shyarcimo nā yin
 those matters trustworthy are
 ‘those matters which my mother’s friend told are trustworthy’ (Trivedi 1991: 160)
 (literally: ‘what my mother’s friend told, those matters are trustworthy’)

In addition to RelN order (and correlative constructions apparently borrowed via contact with Indic), some of the Tibeto-Burman languages also have internally-headed relative clauses (cf. Keenan 1985). This is illustrated in (60) for Tiddim Chin and Bawm.

(60) a. Tiddim Chin

[ka sial gawh] a vom thau khat a hi
 1SG mithan kill PTCL black fat one PTCL INDIC
 ‘the mithan that I killed was a fat black one’ (Henderson 1965: 88)

b. Bawm

mipâ nih chabu a hawng ka pêk mi chu
 man ERG book 3SG 1SG give REL that
 ‘the book that the man gave me’ (Reichle 1981: 93)

In discussing the order of relative clause and noun in this section, I will ignore correlative and internally-headed relative clauses. Both of these are rarely found in VO languages, so they are associated with OV order, and their occurrence in OV Tibeto-Burman languages is not unexpected.

The consistent ReIN order among the OV Tibeto-Burman languages is also surprising in light of the number of these languages which place the adjective after the noun. There are four possible language types in terms of the order of adjective and noun and of relative clause and noun: AdjN&ReIN, AdjN&NRel, NAdj&ReIN, and NAdj&NRel. The figures in Table 4 give the frequency of these four types among the languages in the entire world in my database for which I have the relevant information.

AdjN&ReIN	65 (16%)
AdjN&NRel	62 (15%)
NAdj&ReIN	25 (6%)
NAdj&NRel	<u>258 (63%)</u>
Total	410 (100%)

Table 4
Order of adjective and noun and order of relative clause and noun
for entire world by number of languages in database

The figures in Table 4 show that crosslinguistically, the type NAdj&NRel predominates, accounting for 63% of the languages for which I can assign a value for each of these parameters. The rarest type, found in only 6% of the languages, is the type NAdj&ReIN. Table 5 shows the distribution of these language types in Tibeto-Burman.

AN&ReIN

BODIC: Newari, Tamang, Gurung, Purki, Balti, Kham, Hayu, Chepang, Byansi,
Thulung, Khaling, Athpare, Limbu.
MIRISH: Mising.

AN&NRel

No attested examples in Tibeto-Burman

NA&ReIN

BODIC: Tibetan (Modern Literary), Sikkimese.
BARIC: Dimasa, Nocte.
MIRISH: Apatani, Digaro Mishmi.
KUKI-CHIN-NAGA: Ao, Mao Naga, Tangkhul Naga, Bawm.
Jinghpaw.
NUNGISH: Rawang.
Pumi.
BURMESE-LOLO: Maru, Burmese, Akha.

NA&NRel

BARIC: Garo.
KUKI-CHIN-NAGA: Angami.
KAREN: Eastern Kayah, Bwe Karen, Sgaw Karen.

Table 5
Order of adjective and noun and relative clause and noun
in Tibeto-Burman languages

Bai: NDem

Pumi: DemN

BURMESE-LOLO

DemN: Naxi, Maru, Burmese

NDem: Achang, Nusu, Lisu, Yi, Akha, Hani, Lahu

KAREN

NDem: Eastern Kayah, Bwe Karen, Sgaw Karen

Table 6
Order of Demonstrative and Noun

As illustrated in Table 6, only DemN order is found as the dominant order in Baric, Mirish, Nungish, Jinghpaw, Lepcha, and Pumi. Only NDem order is found as dominant in Karen and Bai. And within each of the three subgroups Bodic, Kuki-Chin-Naga, and Burmese-Lolo, we find some languages where the dominant order is DemN and other languages where the dominant order is NDem. We thus find considerable variation across Tibeto-Burman in terms of the order of demonstrative and noun, analogous to what we found with adjectives.

A few Tibeto-Burman languages are notable in that the normal construction with demonstratives is for demonstrative elements to simultaneously precede and follow the noun, indicated in Table 6 by the notation ‘DemNDem’. This is true in three Kuki-Chin-Naga languages (Mizo, Lakher, and Lai Chin) and two Mirish languages (Nishi and Milang). The examples in (62) illustrate this for Lai Chin.

(62) Lai Chin

- a. mah lam hi khuazeiahdah a kal
 DEM road this where 3SG go
 ‘where does this road go?’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 37)
- b. mah mipa khi keimah nakin a no-deuh
 DEM man that 1SG than 3SG young-more
 ‘that man is younger than I am’ (Hay-Neave 1933: 44)

Note that the pronominal demonstrative *mah* in Lai Chin is a general demonstrative morpheme that does not distinguish proximal from distal, this distinction being represented by the postnominal demonstratives *hi* ‘this’ and *khi* ‘that’. In Milang, in contrast, the same demonstrative word simultaneously precedes and follows the noun, as in (63).

(63) Milang

- yo miu yo
 this boy this
 ‘this boy’ (Tayeng 1976: iv)

In Nishi, the pronominal demonstrative is one that also functions as a demonstrative adverb, either one meaning ‘here’ or one meaning ‘there’, as illustrated in (64).

(64) Nishi

- a. sɑ nyem sî
 here woman this
 ‘this woman’ (Hamilton 1900: 20)
- b. hɑ nyî ha
 there man that
 ‘that man’ (Hamilton 1900: 21)

This construction is somewhat analogous to the English expression ‘this woman here’, except that the position of the two types of demonstratives with respect to the noun is the opposite from English.

There are some other languages in which one finds a construction with a demonstrative simultaneously preceding and following the noun, but in which it is also possible to get a single demonstrative, as in Bawm (Kuki-Chin-Naga, like Mizo and Lai Chin), illustrated in (65).

(65) Bawm

- hi Pathian biakin hi râwk u le!
 this God temple this break.down 2PL IMPER
 ‘break down this temple of God!’ (Reichle 1981: 136)

Since it is also common in Bawm to get just a postnominal demonstrative, as in (66), I treat NDem order as basic in Bawm.

- (66) Rêtâi hi lal a si le
 Retai this king 3SG be LINK
 ‘this (man called) Retai was a king’ (Reichle 1981: 137)

The situation in Meithei is similar: one can get a prenominal demonstrative, but when one does, one also gets a postnominal one, as in (67).

- (67) ə-si ləy-si
 ATTR-this child-this
 ‘this child’ (Chelliah 1997: 83)

Turning to the subgroups in which we find some languages with dominant DemN and others with dominant NDem, most of the Bodic languages are DemN, but Modern Literary Tibetan and Lhomi are NDem. The examples in (68) illustrate DemN order in Balti and Chepang, while (69) illustrates NDem order in Lhomi.

(68) a. Balti

- de rgom
 that box
 ‘that box’ (Read 1934: 23)

b. Chepang

- ʔow? manta
 that person
 ‘that person’ (Caughley 1982: 45)

(69) Lhomi

čhačujma 'uko
 bird that
 'that bird' (Vesalainen and Vesalainen 1980: 13)

The variation between DemN and NDem is more evenly split within Kuki-Chin-Naga languages. Geographically, the more southern languages tend to be DemN (with Bawm being an exception, though, as noted above, it also allows demonstratives simultaneously preceding and following), while the more northern ones tend to be NDem (with Mikir as an exception, though this might be due to contact with DemN Indic languages). Each of the two orders are illustrated in (70).

(70) a. Tiddim Chin

'tu ni
 this day
 'this day' (Henderson 1965: 120)

b. Tangkhul Naga

shim hi
 house this
 'this house' (Pettigrew 1918: 16)

The split within Burmese-Lolo follows genetic lines to the extent that all the Lolo languages are NDem. The fact that the Lolo languages are NDem may reflect the fact that they are generally geographically closer to Thai languages, which are also NDem. However, the Burmic language Achang is also NDem. Naxi, whose classification as Burmese-Lolo is controversial, is DemN, like Burmese and Maru. However, it is not adjacent to the Burmic languages and its DemN order probably reflects its northern location. Examples illustrating the two orders within Burmese-Lolo are given in (71).

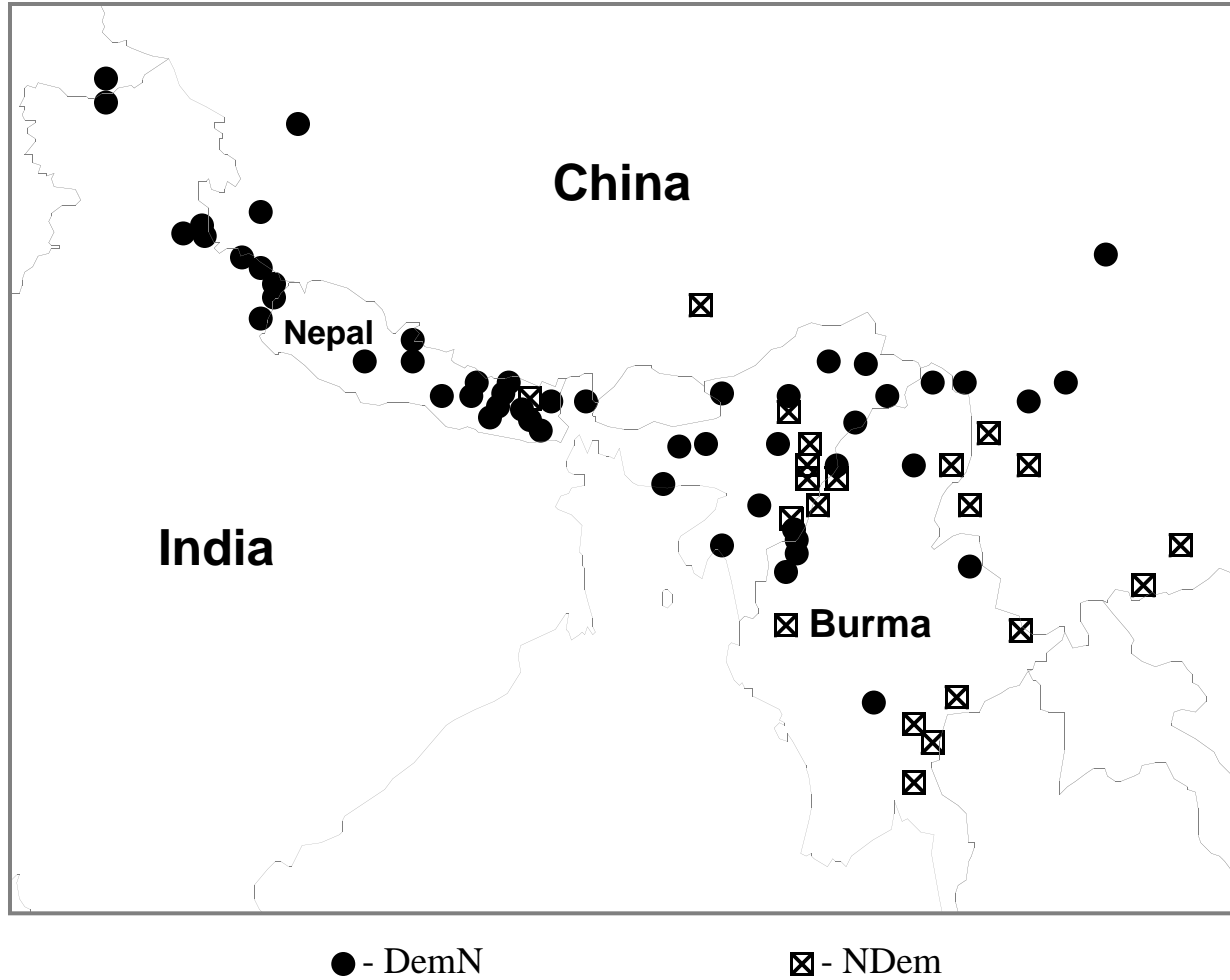
(71) a. Maru (Burmic)

chè yauk
 this man
 'this man' (Clerk 1911: 11)

b. Lisu (Lolo)

làthyu nó ma
 person that one
 'that person' (Hope 1974: 84)

The overall geographical pattern is shown in Map 5.



Map 5
Order of demonstrative and noun

Although the distribution of the two orders of demonstrative and noun in Tibeto-Burman languages is quite complex, there is something of an east-west pattern, similar to the pattern observed with the order of noun and adjective, though not as marked. Except for Modern Literary Tibetan and Lhomi, DemN is dominant in all of the more westerly languages, including Bodic and Baric languages and Lepcha. To the east, we find both orders, but DemN order is common towards the northeast, while NDem order is common towards the southeast.

It is also worth commenting on the interaction of the order of demonstrative and noun with the order of adjective and noun. There are four possible types: DemN&AdjN, DemN&NAdj, NDem&AdjN, and NDem&NAdj. Crosslinguistically, three of these four types are common, while the fourth is rare. The three common types are DemN&AdjN, DemN&NAdj, and NDem&NAdj, while the infrequent type is NDem&AdjN. We can describe this crosslinguistic pattern by saying that if the demonstrative and adjective occur on different sides of the noun, it is generally the case that it is the demonstrative that precedes the noun and the adjective that follows. Tibeto-Burman conforms to this in that the three types that are common cross-linguistically are also common within Tibeto-Burman, while the the fourth type is not attested, as shown in Table 7.

AdjN&DemN

BODIC: Newari, Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Purki, Balti, Kham, Hayu, Chepang, Marchha, Kinnauri, Pattani, Tinani, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byansi, Johari, Thulung, Dumi, Khaling, Athpare, Limbu
 MIRISH: Mising, Idu

NAdj&DemN

BODIC: Gyarung, Ladakhi, Nyamkad, Sherpa
 Lepcha
 BARIC: Dimasa, Kokborok, Garo, Nocte
 MIRISH: Apatani
 KUKI-CHIN-NAGA: Kachcha Naga, Tiddim Chin, Thadou
 Jinghpaw
 NUNGISH: Rawang
 Pumi
 BURMESE-LOLO: Naxi, Maru, Burmese

NAdj&NDEM

BODIC: Tibetan (Modern Literary)
 KUKI-CHIN-NAGA: Lotha, Ao, Sema, Angami, Tangkhul Naga, Bawm
 BURMESE-LOLO: Nusu, Yi, Akha
 KAREN: Eastern Kayah, Bwe Karen, Sgaw Karen

Table 7

Order of Adjectives and Demonstratives with respect to Noun

Note that the type in Table 7 that occurs in the largest number of subgroups is NAdj&DemN, with the two modifiers on opposite sides of the noun.

5.4. Numeral and noun

As discussed in Dryer (1992), the order of numeral and noun exhibits a weak correlation with the order of object and verb that is sufficiently weak that it may be accidental. The direction of this correlation is the opposite of what one might expect, given the distribution of different orders in Asia, in that NumN order is somewhat more common crosslinguistically among VO languages, while NNum order is slightly more common among OV languages. For the purposes of this paper, I will assume that this distribution is not significant and that the order of numeral and noun does not correlate with the order of object and verb.

In describing the order of numeral and noun in a language with numeral classifiers, I classify the language according to the position of the numeral plus classifier with respect to the noun, ignoring the order of numeral and classifier. Greenberg (1963) and Hawkins (1983) appear to base their characterization, in at least some cases, on the order of numeral and classifier. For example, they classify Burmese as NumN, apparently basing this on the order of numeral and classifier, while I classify Burmese as NNum, based on fact that the numeral plus classifier follows the noun, as in (72).

(72) Burmese

qahkan: hcáu'-hkan:
 room six-CLSFR
 'six rooms' (Cornyn and Roop 1968: 228)

As with the order of adjective and noun and the order of demonstrative and noun, we find both orders of numeral and noun among Tibeto-Burman languages. The distribution of the two types is shown in Table 8.

BODIC

NumN: Magari, Kham, Chepang, Marchha, Kinnauri, Pattani, Tinani, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byansi, Johari, Camling, Thulung, Khaling, Athpare, Limbu

NNum: Newari, Central Monpa, Gyarung, Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Tibetan (Modern Literary), Ladakhi, Purki, Balti, Jad, Nyamkad, Sherpa, Sikkimese

NumN/NNum: Hayu, Dumi

Lepcha: NNum

BARIC

NNum: Kachari, Dimasa, Kokborok, Garo, Chang

NumN/NNum: Nocte, Deuri, Bodo

MIRISH

NNum: Gallong, Mising, Nishi, Apatani, Idu, Digaro Mishmi

KUKI-CHIN-NAGA

NNum: Meithei, Lotha, Ao, Mao Naga, Sema, Angami, Tangkhul Naga, Kachcha Naga, Tiddim Chin, Siyin Chin, Thadou, Mizo, Lai Chin, Bawm, Lakher

NumN/NNum: Mikir

Jinghpaw: NNum

NUNGISH

NNum: Drung, Rawang

Bai: NNum

Pumi: NNum

Qiang: NNum

BURMESE-LOLO

NNum: Naxi, Achang, Maru, Burmese, Nusu, Lisu, Yi, Akha, Hani, Lahu

KAREN

NNum: Eastern Kayah, Bwe Karen, Sgaw Karen

Table 8
Order of Numeral and Noun

Although both orders of numeral and noun are found among Tibeto-Burman languages, the distribution is less variable than it is for adjectives or demonstratives in that NNum order is much more common and languages with dominant order NumN are found only in Bodic. Examples of NNum order in various subgroups are given in (73).

(73) a. Pumi

qüa xüé
 pig eight
 ‘eight pigs’ (Ding 1998: 191)

b. Rawang

mahka hti sel
 bead one ten
 ‘ten bead’ (Barnard 1934: 41)

c. Lotha

ōkì mhōm ēnì
 house good three
 ‘three good houses’ (Acharya 1983: 152)

d. Lepcha

maró nyum
 person two
 ‘two persons’ (Mainwaring 1876: 27)

The only subgroup of Tibeto-Burman in which there are languages with dominant order NumN is Bodic, and, as shown in Table 8, both types of languages are common within Bodic. The example in (74a) illustrates NNum order in Ladakhi, the example in (74b) NumN order in Byansi.

(74) a. Ladakhi

mi ñis
 man two
 ‘two men’ (Koshal 1979: 62)

b. Byansi

nishi rhitishā maṅ
 two wife PLURAL
 ‘two wives’ (Trivedi 1991: 149)

Although Bodic is the only subgroup with languages in which NumN order is dominant, there are three Baric languages (Nocte, Deuri, and Bodo) which I code as NumN/NNum, where both orders occur and where there is no evidence from the source for one order being dominant. The two orders are illustrated in (75) from Nocte.

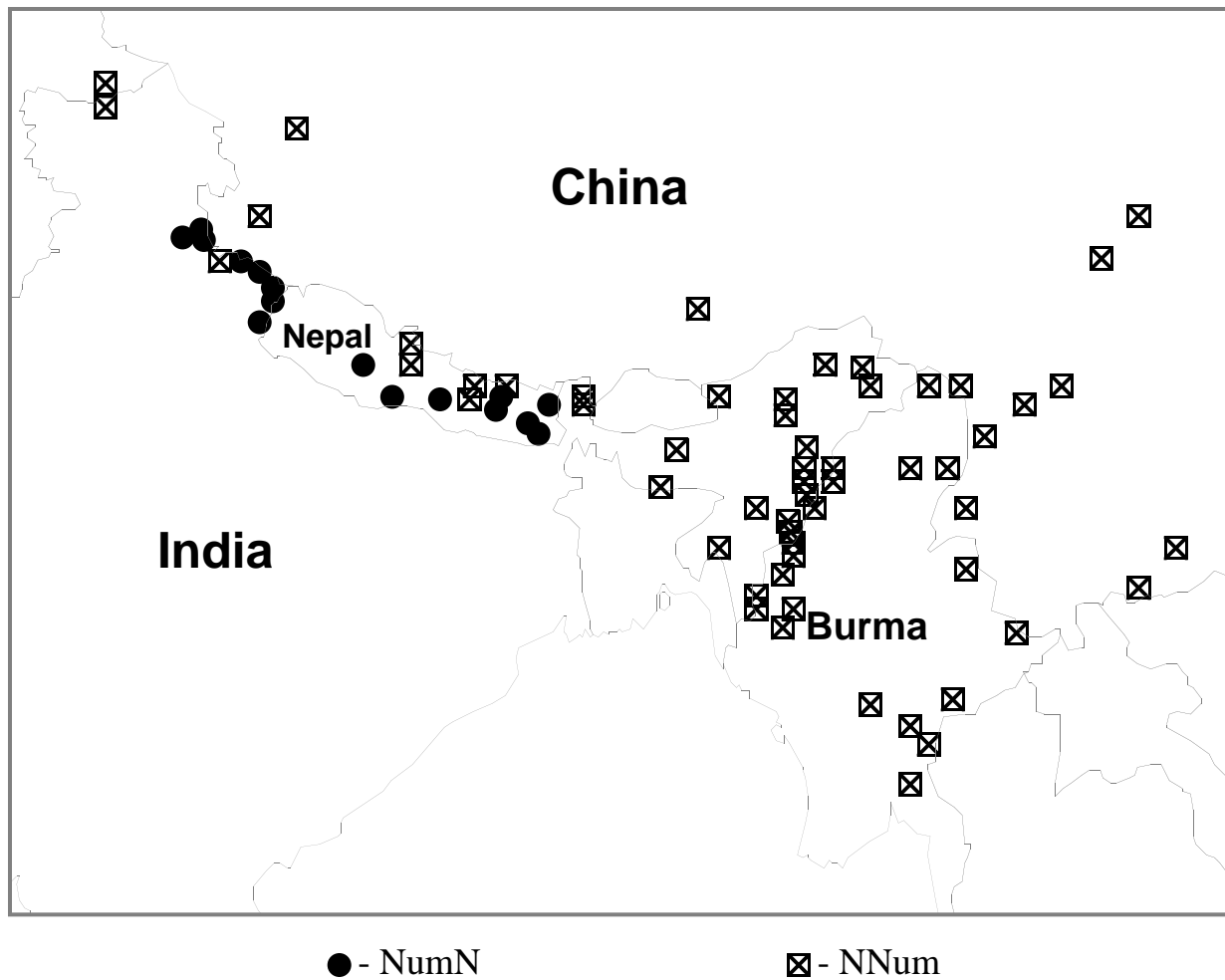
(75) Nocte

- a. la-nyi wa
 CLSFR-two bamboo
 ‘two bamboos’ (Das Gupta 1971: 13)

- b. wan kha-banga
dish CLSFR-five
'five dishes' (Das Gupta 1971: 14)

NumN order is found as a possible word order in a number of languages in other subgroups (e.g. Qiang, Jinghpaw), but in all cases, the order NNum seems to be dominant.

Although postnominal position for numerals is dominant among Tibeto-Burman languages in a way that is not the case for adjectives or demonstratives, the geographical distribution of the two orders within Tibeto-Burman displays the same overall pattern we saw with these other two noun modifiers, as shown in Map 6.



Map 6
Order of numeral and noun

Namely the prenominal position is only found in the most westerly of the Tibeto-Burman languages, among Bodic languages. On the other hand, the geographical distribution of the two orders within Bodic conforms to this pattern only slightly. The most westerly Tibeto-Burman languages for which I have data, Purki and Balti, are NNum, as illustrated for Balti in (76).

(76) Balti

chuli bji
 apricot four
 ‘four apricots’ (Read 1934: 77)

However, the more southern of the western Bodic languages are generally NumN (Kinnauri, Pattani, Tinani, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byansi), as illustrated in (77) for Byansi.

(77) Byansi

nishi rhitishā maŋ
 two wife PLURAL
 ‘two wives’ (Trivedi 1991: 149)

Similarly, within Nepal, NNum order tends to be found to the north, in languages closer to Tibet. This tendency may reflect influence of Tibetan.

The order of numeral and noun interacts with the order of adjective and noun in a way that is similar to what we saw with demonstratives. Namely, of the four possible types, three are common (namely AdjN&NumN, NAdj&NumN, and NAdj&NNum), while the fourth (AdjN&NNum) is much less common. However, there are a number of Tibeto-Burman languages of the least common AdjN&NNum type. In fact, 9 of the 25 languages I am aware of which are this type are Tibeto-Burman:

(78) AdjN&NNum Tibeto-Burman languages

BODIC: Newari, Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Purki, Balti
 MIRISH: Mising, Nishi, Idu

Examples illustrating this property are given in (79) for Purki and Newari.

(79) a. Purki

rđamo bomo ŋis
 beautiful girl two
 ‘two beautiful girls’ (Rangan 1989: 122)

b. Newari

tho ji-gu nhu:-gu saphu: ni-gu:
 this 1SG-MOD new-MOD book two-CLSFR
 ‘these two new books of mine’ (Malla 1985: 70)

5.5. Intensifier and adjective

We turn now to the first of two word order characteristics which I will examine in detail and which do not involve modifiers of nouns, namely the order of intensifier with respect to adjective. As in previous discussion, the term ‘adjective’ is used here in a purely semantic sense; in many languages, these words are arguably verbs. By ‘intensifier’, I intend words with meanings like ‘very’ or ‘more’ which are traditionally called adverbs and which indicate the degree denoted by the adjective. I include words that might more properly be called “de-intensifiers”,

with meanings like ‘a bit’ in English *a bit cold*. I have data on this characteristic for a smaller number of languages than for the other characteristics I have discussed, primarily because it is something that is mentioned in fewer grammatical descriptions.

Both orders of adjective and intensifier are represented among Tibeto-Burman languages. Examples illustrating AdjIntens order for two intensifiers in Bwe Karen, *lèdù* ‘most’ and *ó* ‘very’, are given in (80).

(80) Bwe Karen

- a. θ abwe lèdù
old most
‘oldest’ (Henderson 1997: 84)
- b. wɪ ó
beautiful very
‘very beautiful’ (Henderson 1997: 130)

Examples illustrating the opposite order, IntensAdj order, for two intensifiers in Burmese, *thei'* ‘very’ and *ne:ne:* ‘a little’, are given in (81).

(81) Burmese

- a. hsaun: qahka-hma thei' ma-hcan:-bu:
cold.season-at very NEG-cold-NEG
‘it isn't very cold in the cold season’
- b. ne:ne: qei:-de
a.little cool-NONFUT
‘it's a little cool’ (Cornyn and Roop 1968: 160)

In many languages, intensifiers do not function together as a well-defined class of words, and the position of intensifiers may depend on the particular intensifier. For example, in Digaro Mishmi, the intensifier *dìgyõ* ‘more’ precedes the adjective, as in (82a), while the intensifier *grag* ‘very’ follows, as in (82b).

(82) Digaro Mishmi

- a. dìgyõ syî-yà
more fair-PRES,3
‘is fairer’ (Sastry 1984: 101)
- b. tháyg grag
poisonous very
‘very poisonous snake’ (Sastry 1984: 170)

Because of this variability across intensifiers within a single language, there may be languages that I have coded one way because I have found evidence for the order of one intensifier with respect to the verb, but where other intensifiers behave differently.

Some languages use constructions in which one intensifier precedes the adjective and another follows in the same phrase, as in the examples in (83) from Akha and Hani.

(83) a. Akha

ádzèr ghaq dzów
 very hard too
 ‘too hard’ (Dellinger 1969: 140)

b. Hani

hal meeq zeiq
 most good more
 ‘best’ (Lewis and Bibo 1996:15)

Kachcha Naga and Yi use a construction where the adjective is repeated in intensifying constructions, with the intensifying morpheme suffixed to the first occurrence, as in (84).

(84) a. Kachcha Naga

ai jingbâng hu-sâng hu-dâ
 this tree tall-very tall-NONFUT
 ‘this tree is exceedingly tall’ (Soppitt 1885: 30)

b. Yi

va⁵⁵ dzr³³ va⁵⁵
 good very good
 ‘very good’ (Ch’en, Pien, and Li 1985: 101)

Except in Table 9 below, my discussion excludes morphemes with the same sorts of meaning that are represented in my sources as attached to the adjective, as in (84a) above from Kachcha Naga and in Lotha (85), although it is often unclear whether there is a good linguistic reason to treat them as suffixes rather than separate words and I suspect that with some grammatical descriptions, there is in fact little linguistic significance associated with the orthographic representations used.

(85) Lotha

səp^hō-kātà
 tall-more
 ‘taller’ (Acharya 1983: 124)

The data on this characteristic is given in Table 9. For languages where my sources indicate an intensifying morpheme that is represented as bound to the adjective, the notation ‘(B)’ is placed after the name of the language. These languages are ignored in the subsequent discussion.

BODIC

IntensAdj: Newari, Central Monpa, Gyarung, Gurung, Balti, Nyamkad, Sikkimese, Kham, Kinnauri, Pattani, Tinani, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byansi, Khaling, Limbu, Bugun

AdjIntens: Jad

BARIC

IntensAdj: Lungchang

AdjIntens: Bodo (B), Garo (B)

MIRISH

IntensAdj: Mising, Apatani

IntensAdj/AdjIntens: Digaro Mishmi

KUKI-CHIN-NAGA

IntensAdj: Ao

AdjIntens: Lotha, Siyin Chin, Mizo, Lai Chin, Bawm, Lakher, Mikir (B), Lotha (B), Mao Naga (B), Angami

IntensAdj/AdjIntens: Sema

Jinghpaw: IntensAdj

Pumi: IntensAdj

BURMESE-LOLO

IntensAdj: Maru, Burmese, Nusu

AdjIntens: Lahu

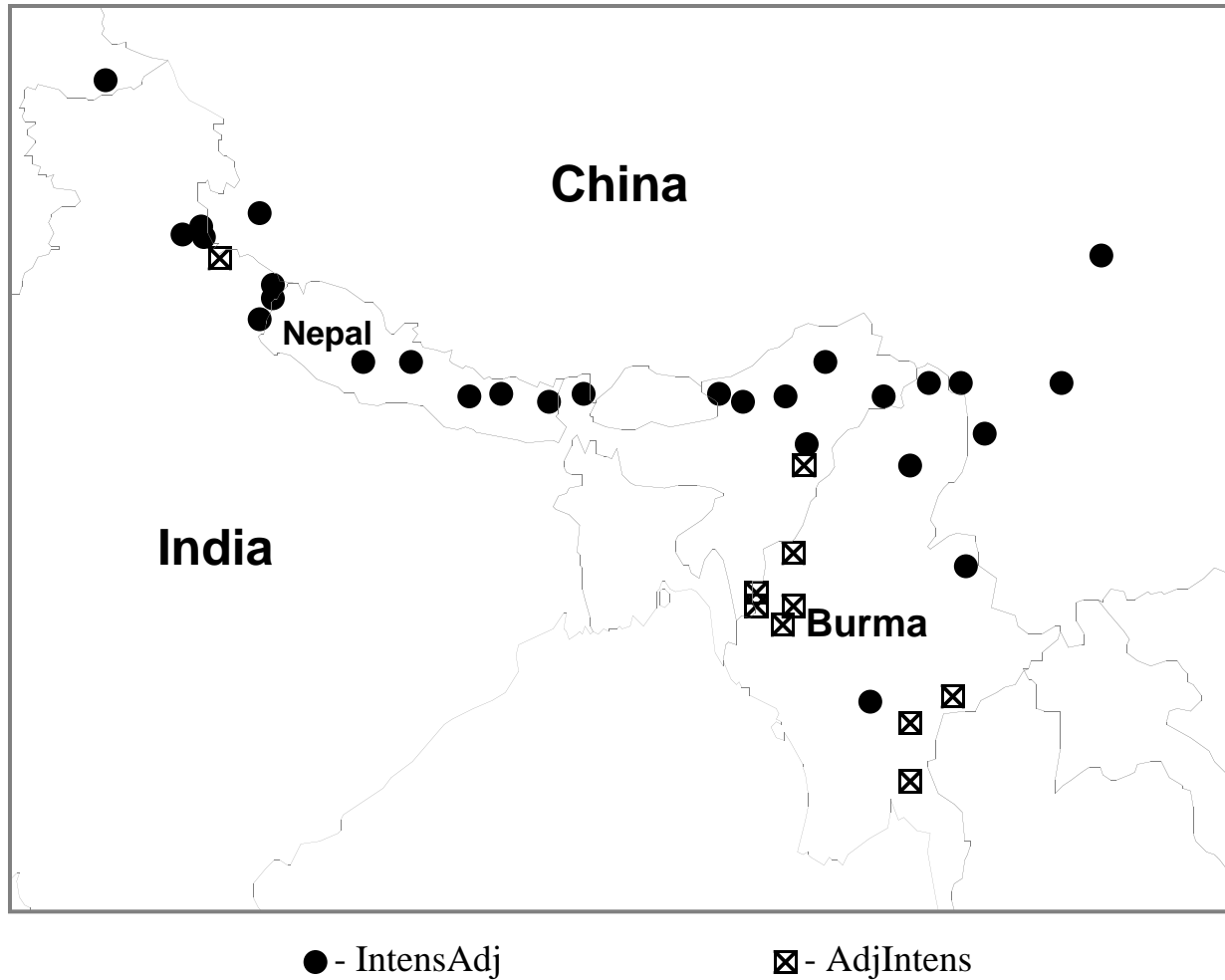
IntensAdj/AdjIntens: Akha, Hani

KAREN

AdjIntens: Bwe Karen, Sgaw Karen

Table 9
Order of Intensifier and Adjective

The distribution for intensifier and adjective follows a fairly clear geographical pattern, as shown in Map 7.



Map 7
Order of intensifier and adjective

The dominant order within Tibeto-Burman is IntensAdj, with AdjIntens order found towards the southeast, in Kuki-Chin-Naga, Karen, and one Burmese-Lolo language (Lahu). At a crude level, this conforms to the general pattern we have seen with modifiers of nouns, where orders with modifiers preceding their heads occur more often to the west, while orders with modifiers following their heads occur more often to the east. However, the pattern differs from that for adjective and noun in that towards the eastern part of the Tibeto-Burman area AdjIntens order is found only in the southern part of this area, in Kuki-Chin-Naga and in Karen. The reverse order is found to the north, for example in Mirish, Jinghpaw and Pumi, and is also found further south, in Burmic (Burmese and Maru).

It is striking that the Bodic languages, which show inconsistency with respect to a number of other word order characteristics, are almost consistently IntensAdj. I code only one Bodic language, Jad, as AdjIntens. The AdjIntens order in Jad is illustrated in (86a), the IntensAdj order found more commonly in Bodic languages is illustrated in (86b), from nearby Pattani.

(86) a. Jad

nagpo məŋpo
 black very
 ‘very black’ (Sharma 1989: 44)

b. Pattani

mhəss roki
 very black
 ‘very black’ (Sharma 1989: 68)

It is again worth examining the interaction of this word order characteristic with other characteristics, most notably the order of adjective and noun. It is again the case that crosslinguistically, three of the four possible types are common (AdjN&IntensAdj, NAdj&IntensAdj, and NAdj&AdjIntens) while the fourth type (AdjN&AdjIntens) is uncommon. Tibeto-Burman languages overall conform to this pattern: the three patterns that are common crosslinguistically are all common among Tibeto-Burman languages, while the less common fourth type is not attested. The distribution of these three types in Tibeto-Burman is given in Table 10.

AdjN&IntensAdj

BODIC: Newari, Gurung, Balti, Kham, Kinnauri, Pattani, Tinani, Darmiya,
 Chaudangsi, Byansi, Khaling, Limbu.
 MIRISH: Mising.

AdjN&AdjIntens

No attested examples in Tibeto-Burman

NAdj&IntensAdj

BODIC: Gyarung, Nyamkad, Sikkimese.
 MIRISH: Apatani.
 KUKI-CHIN-NAGA: Ao.
 Jinghpaw.
 NUNGISH: Rawang
 Pumi.
 BURMESE-LOLO: Maru, Burmese, Nusu.

NAdj&AdjIntens

BODIC: Jad
 KUKI-CHIN-NAGA: Lotha, Angami, Mizo, Bawm, Lakher.
 KAREN: Bwe Karen, Sgaw Karen.

Table 10
 Order of Adjective and Noun and of Intensifier and Adjective
 in Tibeto-Burman languages

The type represented by the most subgroups of Tibeto-Burman languages is the type NAdj&IntensAdj: it is attested in seven subgroups while the other two are found only in no more than three subgroups. Crosslinguistically, this type is actually less common than the two orders AdjN&IntensAdj and NAdj&AdjIntens, which are consistent in their order of head and modifier. Examples illustrating the NAdj&IntensAdj type are given in (87) and (88): (87a) illustrates the

NAdj order in Pumi, while (87b) shows the intensifier preceding the adjective; the examples in (88) are analogous examples from Jinghpaw.

(87) Pumi

- a. miâbbu dai
 eyelid big
 ‘big eyelids’ (Ding 1998: 194)
- b. lealián ggáo
 very deep
 ‘very deep’ (Ding 1998: 107)

(88) Jinghpaw

- a. sanat galu
 gun long
 long gun (Hertz 1917: 11)
- b. grai htat
 very thick
 ‘the jungle is very thick’ (Hertz 1917: 30)

The examples in (89) and (90) illustrate the two other combinations: (89) illustrates AdjN&IntensAdj order from Kinnauri while the two examples in (90) illustrate NAdj&AdjIntens order from Bawm.

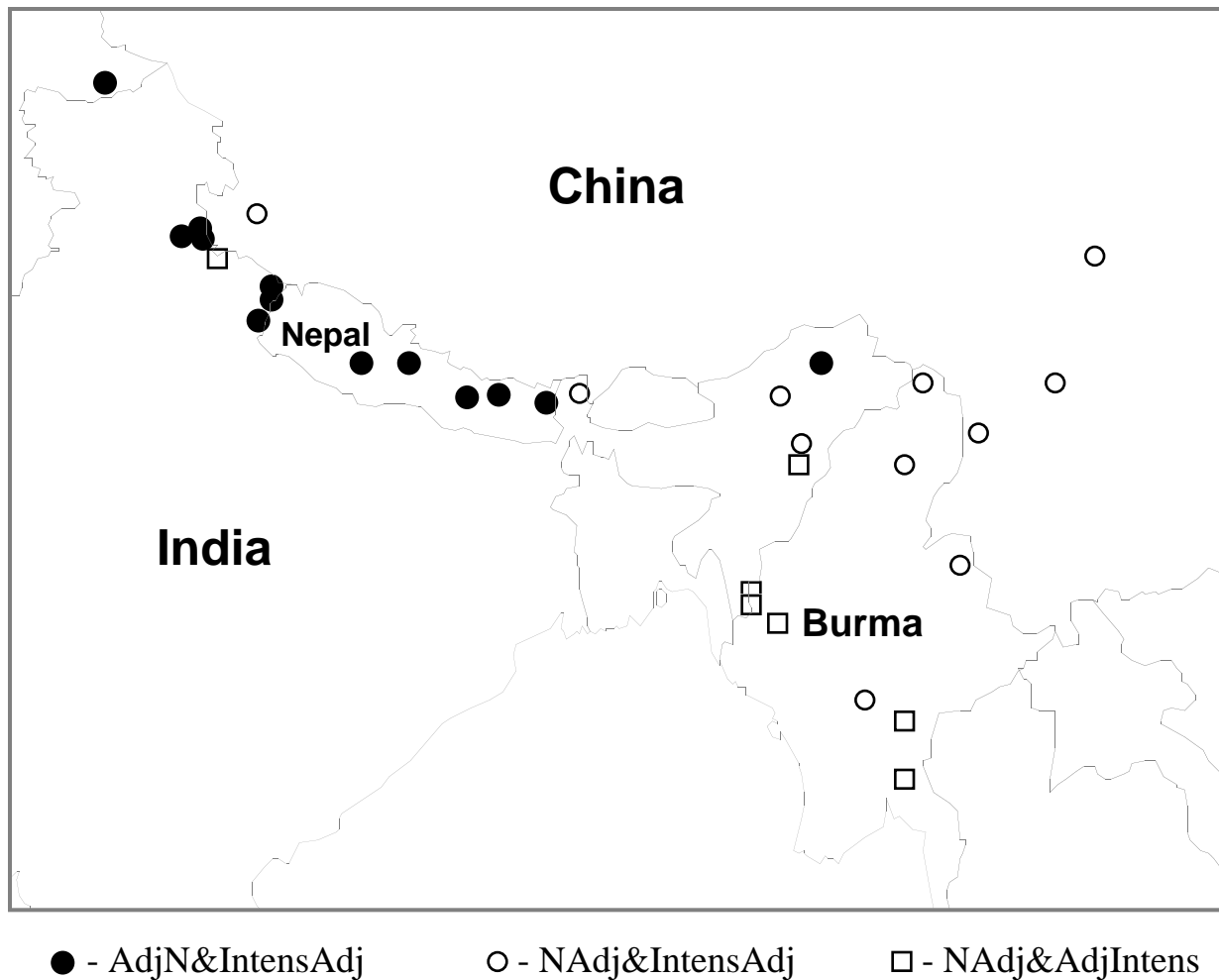
(89) Kinnauri: AdjN, IntensAdj

- id kəttəi rək kui
 one very black dog
 ‘a very black dog’ (Sharma 1988: 114)

(90) Bawm: NAdj, AdjIntens

- a. in tē
 house small
 ‘small house’ (Reichle 1981: 42)
- b. tha thlo
 good very
 ‘very good’ (Reichle 1981: 66)

The distribution of the three combinations of these orders follows a clear geographical pattern, with the premodifying languages to the west, the postmodifying languages to the southeast, and the mixed type, NAdj&IntensAdj, occurring in between. This is shown in Map 8.



Map 8
Order of adjective and noun and of intensifier and adjective

5.6. Negative and verb

The final word order characteristic I will discuss is the order of negative morphemes with respect to the verb. Crosslinguistically, we need to distinguish three sorts of negative morphemes: negative affixes, verbal negative words (i.e. negative auxiliaries), and nonverbal negative words (i.e. negative particles). The distinction between verbal negative words and nonverbal negative words depends on whether the negative word is itself a verb or not, whether it exhibits grammatical properties associated with verbs. The only candidate for a verbal negative word within Tibeto-Burman that I am aware of is Mao Naga, in which the habitual suffix attaches to verbs and to negative words, as illustrated in (91).

(91) Mao Naga

- a. camaikho cars-li vu-we
 Chamaikho church-to go-HABITUAL
 ‘Chamaikho goes to church’ (Giridhar 1994: 382)

- b. camaikho cars-li vu mo-we
 Chamaikho church-to go neg-HABITUAL
 ‘Chamaikho does not go to church’ (Giridhar 1994: 382)

Similar facts are exhibited with a number of other verbal suffixes in Mao Naga. It is possible, however, that these suffixes ought to be viewed as particles and that the negative is also a nonverbal particle and that morphemes like the habitual morpheme simply cliticize onto the negative morpheme.

Otherwise, negative morphemes in Tibeto-Burman languages are either affixes or particles, as illustrated respectively in (92).

- (92) a. Central Monpa

jang ma-lem-ba
 1SG NEG-dance-FUT
 ‘I shall not dance’ (Das Gupta 1968: 53)

- b. Tiddim Chin

lo a-kuan nawn kei hi
 field 3-go anymore NEG INDIC
 ‘he did not go out to work any more that day’ (Henderson 1965: 4)

As discussed in Dryer (1992), the three different sorts of negatives behave differently with regard to whether their order with respect to the verb correlates with the order of object and verb. Namely, verbal negatives and negative affixes tend to follow the verb or verb stem in OV languages more often than they do in VO languages, but the position of negative particles does not correlate with the order of object and verb. What this means is that we might expect negative affixes in the OV Tibeto-Burman languages to be suffixes, and but we should have no expectation as to whether negative particles that are not attached to the verb should precede or follow the verb. However, it is in general not clear that much significance should be assigned to whether grammatical descriptions of negative morphemes are written as separate words or not, particularly given the nature of many of the sources. Unlike the word order characteristics discussed in the preceding sections, in discussing the clausal negative, we are often discussing the same morpheme in different languages, a common form of which is *ma*. It is also often difficult to determine on the basis of superficial evidence whether a negative word is a verb or not. The primary criterion I have used is the possibility of verbal morphology, but in languages which are fairly isolating, with little or no verb morphology, the absence of morphology on the negative word does not provide a basis for concluding that it is not a verb. For this reason, it is difficult to determine whether the negative word *ma* in (93) from Nusu is a verb or not.

- (93) Nusu

nga³⁵ ma⁵⁵ su³⁵ du
 1SG NEG understand still
 ‘I still don’t understand’ (Sun 1986: 53)

For these reason, I will ignore the distinction between the three types of negatives in the following discussion. While this makes it impossible to determine the extent to which different languages conform to crosslinguistic generalizations, we can still examine the variability across the family.

As in common in other language families, a number of Tibeto-Burman languages use constructions involving double negation, where one negative morpheme precedes the verb or verb stem while the other follows. The examples in (94) illustrate this both for negative affixes and for negative particles. The example in (94a) from Limbu (Van Driem 1987) illustrates a simultaneous prefix and suffix, and the example in (94b) from Bwe Karen shows a negative prefix co-occurring with a negative particle at the end of the clause.

(94) a. Limbu

allɔ nam mɛ-sɛ-k-nɛn
 now sun NEG-shine-NEG
 ‘the sun is not shining now’ (Van Driem 1987: 91)

b. Bwe Karen

dɛ ə-mu dəlâ-yo yə-də-θá'ɛ ə-mi nɔ
 thing POSS'D-plant PLUR-this 1SG-NEG-know POSS'D-name NEG
 ‘these plants, I don't know their names’ (Henderson 1997: 247)

The discussion in the rest of this section excludes languages like these in which negation normally involves simultaneous preverbal and postverbal negation, though I list these languages under the designation NegVNeg in Table 11 below.

Negation in some languages is sometimes a prefix, sometimes a suffix, as in the Ladakhi examples in (95).

(95) Ladakhi

a. rgyəlpo-gun-ni khər rtsigge-mə-nok
 king-PLUR-ERG palace build-NEG-HISTORICAL.PRES
 ‘kings do not build palaces’ (Koshal 1979: 243)

b. ŋə bənərəs-lə mə-soŋ-pin
 1SG.ABS Banares-to NEG-go-PAST
 ‘I did not go to Banares’ (Koshal 1979: 245)

The apparent historical explanation for this (Honda 1994) is that the prefixal negative is the original negative and the suffixal negative arose because it was a prefix on auxiliary verbs that became attached as suffixes to the main verb. This seems fairly transparent in some languages, like Pumi, in which there is a negative prefix on the verb, as in (96a), but which attaches as a prefix to certain postverbal words, as in (96b).

(96) Pumi

a. ma-ku
 NEG-want
 ‘not want’ (Ding 1998: 199)

b. jiân ma-dûu
 see NEG-EXPERIENTIAL
 ‘not see’ (Ding 1998: 200)

Note, however, how in Byansi, the negative prefix still occurs as a prefix on the main verb, even when there is an auxiliary verb, as in (97).

(97) Byansi

in nī mī seī phashī ma-raṅ-de lhi-nye
 1PL two person ERG musk NEG-sell-PTCPL be-1PL
 ‘we two were not selling musk’ (Trivedi 1991: 112)

Table 11 shows the data for the order of negative and verb in Tibeto-Burman languages. Map 9 shows the geographical distribution. Languages with negation on both sides of the verb are not shown on this map.

BODIC

VNeg: Purki, Sikkimese, Chepang, Athpare
 NegV: Newari, Central Monpa, Gyarung, Tamang, Gurung, Nyamkad, Sherpa, Magari,
 Kham, Hayu, Gahri, Kinnauri, Pattani, Darmiya, Byansi, Khaling, Bugun
 VNeg/NegV: Lhomi, Ladakhi, Balti, Dumi
 NegVNeg: Tibetan (Modern Literary), Thulung, Limbu

Lepcha: NegVNeg

BARIC

VNeg: Deuri, Bodo, Kachari, Dimasa, Kokborok, Garo, Nocte
 NegV: Chang

MIRISH

VNeg: Gallong, Bori, Mising, Nishi, Apatani, Idu, Digaro Mishmi

KUKI-CHIN-NAGA

VNeg: Meithei, Mikir, Mao Naga, Sema, Angami, Kachcha Naga, Tiddim Chin, Siyin
 Chin, Mizo, Lai Chin, Bawm, Lakher
 NegV: Lotha, Ao, Tangkhul Naga

Jinghpaw: NegV

NUNGISH

NegV: Trung, Rawang

Bai: NegV

Pumi: NegV/VNeg

Qiang: NegV

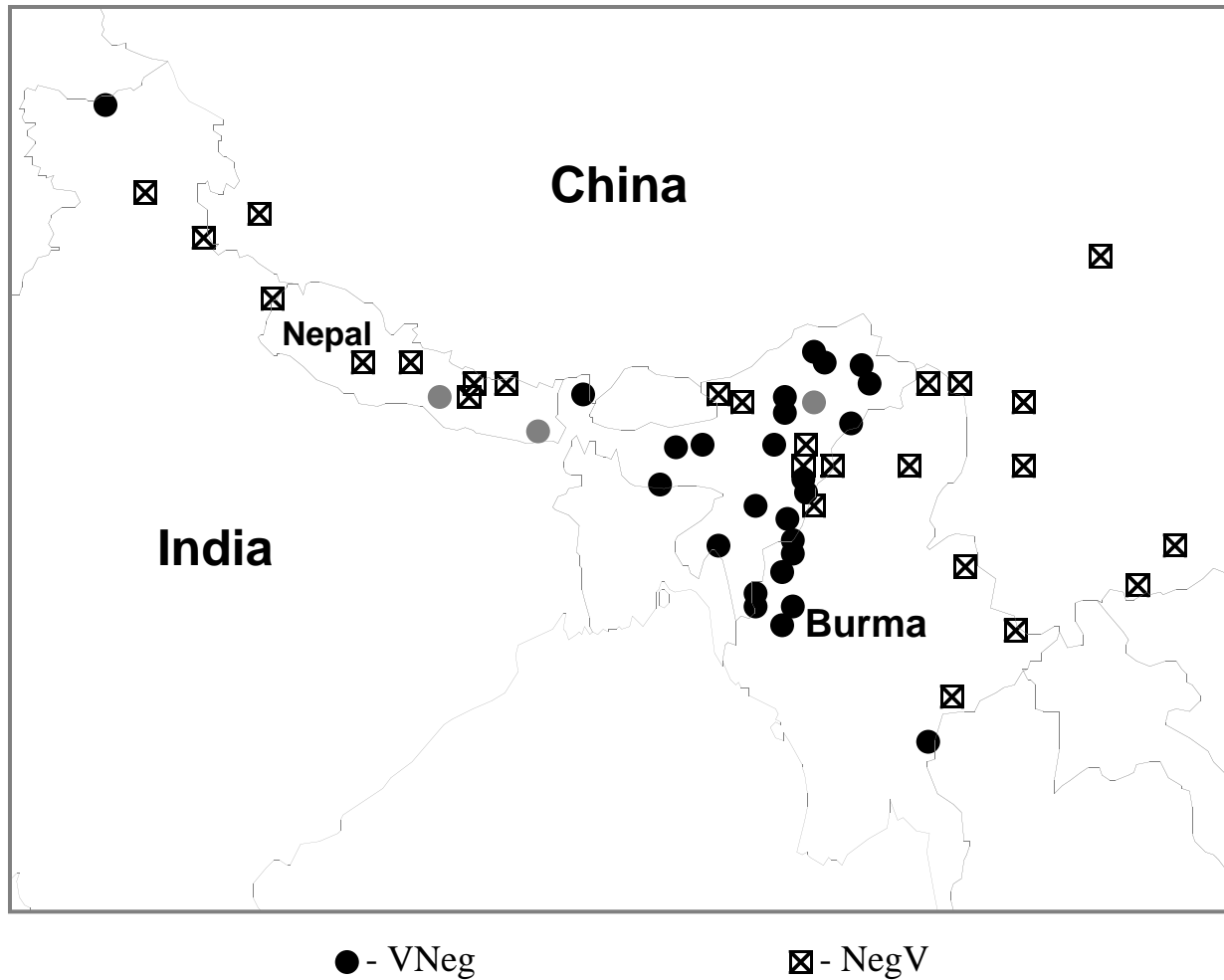
BURMESE-LOLO

NegV: Naxi, Maru, Lisu, Yi, Akha, Hani, Lahu
 NegVNeg: Burmese

KAREN

VNeg: Eastern Kayah
 NegVNeg: Bwe Karen, Sgaw Karen

Table 11
 Order of negative and verb



Map 9
Order of Negative and Verb

The overall pattern of the position of negative morphemes in Tibeto-Burman can be summarized as follows. VNeg order is dominant in a central area including Baric, Mirish, and Kuki-Chin-Naga, while NegV order is dominant in two areas, one to the west, in Bodic, and one to the east, in Nungish, Jinghpaw, and Burmese-Lolo.

Despite this overall pattern, we find different positions of the negative within single subgroups. Within Bodic, NegV order is dominant, though some languages are VNeg. The example in (98) illustrates NegV order in Hayu.

(98) Hayu

ma jē-kuŋ
NEG see,1SG,3SG
'I did not see him' (Michailovsky 1988: 161)

At the geographical extremes of Bodic, we find VNeg order, in Purki, to the west, as illustrated in (99a), and in Sikkimese, to the east, as in (99b).

(99) a. Purki

k^hoŋ ŋi k^haŋma yon-č̣a:-men
 3PL 1SG.POSS house come-FUT-NEG
 ‘they will not come to my house’ (Read 1934: 94)

b. Sikkimese

kho so tap mi ong
 3SG bite NEG, NONPAST FUT
 ‘he will not bite’ (Sandberg 1888: 48)

In Kuki-Chin-Naga, the dominant order is VNeg, as illustrated in (100) from Meithei.

(100) Meithei

Manipur-tə un ta-tə-e
 Manipur-LOC snow fall-NEG-ASSERTIVE
 ‘it hasn’t snowed in Manipur’ (Chelliah 1997: 228)

A minority of Kuki-Chin-Naga languages are NegV, as in (101) from Ao.

(101) Ao

pá ma-l^hu
 3SG, MASC NEG-come
 ‘he did not come’ (Gowda 1975: 69)

Most Baric languages are VNeg, as is the Bodo example in (102a), but Chang is NegV, as in (102b).

(102) a. Bodo

²aŋ-¹ō ²ga²mi-³aw ¹thaŋ-⁰a
 1SG-SUBJ, DEF village-LOC go-NEG, NONPAST
 ‘I do not go to the village’ (Bhattacharya 1977: 191)

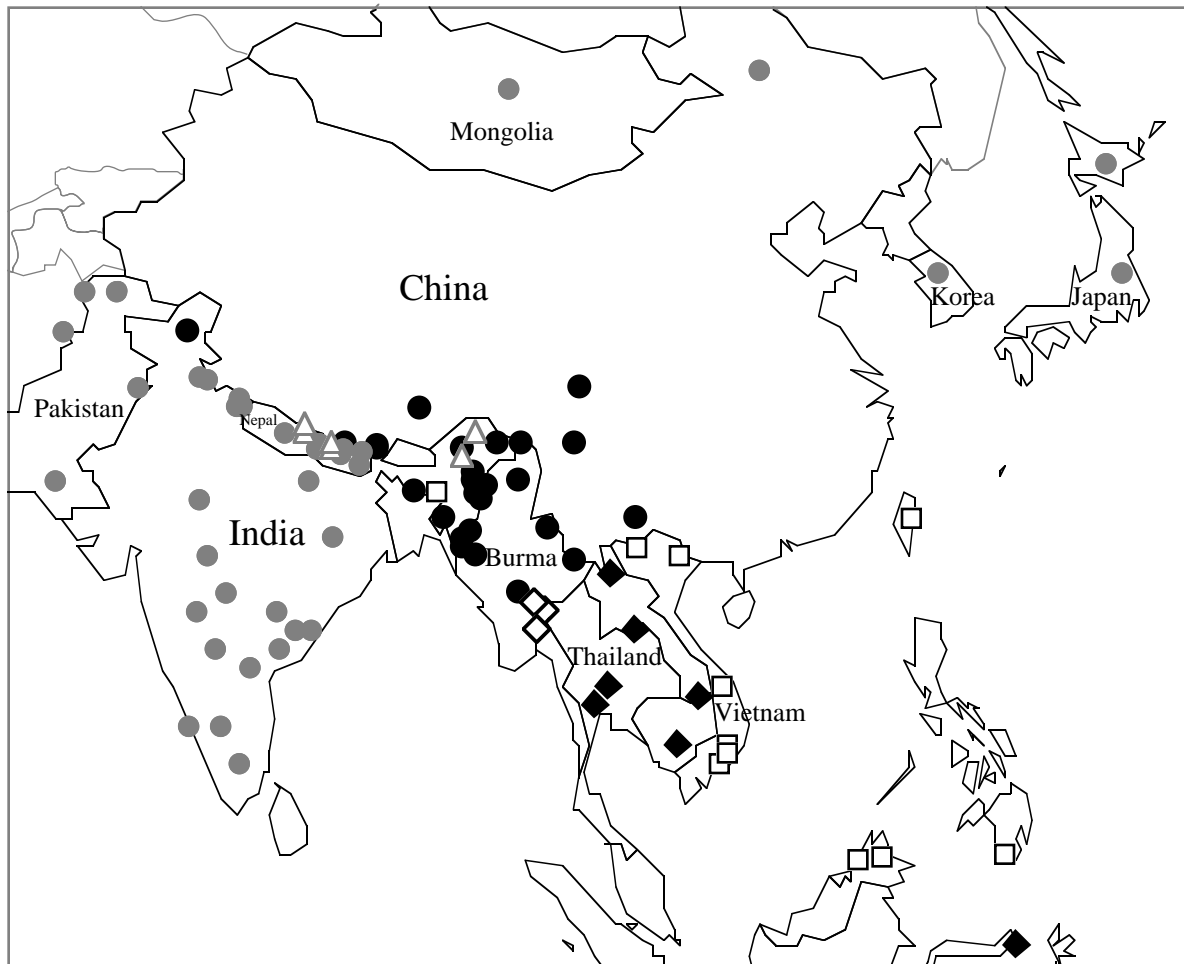
b. Chang

nge k̄a-to ta-ngam-po
 1SG, ERG 2SG-ACC NEG-strike-FUT
 ‘I will not strike you’ (Hutton 1987: 41)

6. Summary

The overall tendency for prenominal modification to occur more often as one moves west within Tibeto-Burman and the way in which this fits into a pattern that includes non-Tibeto-Burman languages to the east and to the west can be seen in Map 10, in which we can see a gradual progression as we move from east to west (cf. also Masica 1976). The black circles on the map, in an area centered in Burma and to the northeast and northwest of Burma, represent

languages which are $OV\&GenN\&NA\&NNum$, i.e. OV languages with the genitive preceding the noun and the adjective and numeral following the noun. The languages of this sort include languages in most of the subgroups of Tibeto-Burman: Burmese-Lolo, Kuki-Chin-Naga, Baric, Nungish, Pumi, Jinghpaw, Lepcha, and some languages in Mirish and Bodic. To the southeast of this area are the Karen languages in southern Burma, represented on the map by white diamonds; they differ from the preceding type only in being VO rather than OV. To the east of these are $VO\&NGen\&NAdj\&NNum$ Daic and Mon-Khmer languages in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia, which differ from Karen in being NGen; these are represented on the map by black squares. To the east of this, in Vietnam, are $VO\&NGen\&NAdj\&NumN$ Daic and Mon-Khmer languages represented on the map by white squares, which differ from the preceding type in being NumN. (This type is also found in Austronesian languages to the east of Vietnam, in Taiwan, the Philippines, and the northern part of the island of Borneo.) Looking now in the opposite direction, the type that differs in one respect from the $OV\&GenN\&NAdj\&NNum$ type in and to the north of Burma are languages which are NumN. This type is represented by a small number of languages on the map by white triangles in the extreme northeast part of India and some languages in Nepal; they do not represent a well-defined geographical area since they are located in areas where other types are common. But to the west of this are the $OV\&GenN\&AdjN\&NumN$ languages, represented on the map by white circles. These differ from the preceding type in being AdjN. This type is the dominant type of most of India and Pakistan, represented by Indo-European, Dravidian, Munda and many of the more western Bodic languages. It is also the type to the north of Chinese, shown on the map for Mongolian, Tungus, Korean, Japanese, and Ainu. Note that there are two minor language types not shown on this map, namely $VO\&GenN\&AdjN\&NumN$ (Chinese languages) and $OV\&NGen\&NAdj\&NumN$ (Tajik). The other logical possibilities are not found in languages in the area shown on the map.



- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| ● - OV&GN&NA&NNum | ◇ - VO&GN&NA&NNum |
| △ - OV&GN&AN&NNum | ◆ - VO&NG&NA&NNum |
| ○ - OV&GN&AN&NumN | □ - VO&NG&NA&NumN |

Map 10
A continuum of types in Tibeto-Burman and surrounding languages

The most salient overall generalization about word order within Tibeto-Burman is that where one finds differences among languages, the different languages tend to be more similar in word order to adjacent non-Tibeto-Burman languages. I have pointed out the resemblances of western and southern Bodic languages to Indic and the fact that the more eastern Tibeto-Burman languages more closely resemble Daic and Mon-Khmer languages to the east. We see this latter pattern in its strongest form with the Karen languages, which are VO, like languages to the east. We also see it in the overall tendency for postmodifying order for various sorts of modifiers to be more common towards the east of Tibeto-Burman, in Lolo, Qiang, Bai, and Pumi. However, even towards the east, we find GenN order everywhere, even in Karen, as well as RelN order, except in Karen.

On the other hand, except in the case of Bai, we do not find much evidence of Tibeto-Burman languages geographically closer to Chinese resembling Chinese more than languages further from Chinese. In fact, the greater tendency to have postnominal modifiers as one moves eastward in Tibeto-Burman means that, if anything, the Tibeto-Burman languages geographically closer to Chinese tend to be more different from Chinese, since modifiers of nouns in Chinese are consistently prenominal. While the more southern of the eastern Tibeto-Burman languages are further from Chinese, the most northeastern Tibeto-Burman languages, Qiang, Gyarung, and Pumi, follow the tendency for more eastern Tibeto-Burman languages to have postnominal modifiers, at least with respect to adjectives and numerals. Furthermore, Tibetan and the Bodic languages most closely related to it are arguably geographically closer to Chinese than other Bodic languages, yet these also tend to have postnominal modifiers more than other Bodic languages.

Although we can discern overall geographical patterns, the details are much more complex than these overall patterns might suggest. We have seen that for a number of modifiers, such as adjectives modifying nouns, there is considerable diversity, even within subgroups of Tibeto-Burman. In addition, Tibetan, and the Bodic languages closest to it, do not fit the overall east-west pattern within Tibeto-Burman, since they are towards the west, yet they tend to place modifiers after the noun.

Nor, surely, should all the geographical patterns be understood in terms of non-Tibeto-Burman languages influencing Tibeto-Burman languages rather than the other way round. It is precisely because we find such variation within Tibeto-Burman, compared to most adjacent families, that it is possible to see how the variation within Tibeto-Burman can be understood in terms of languages within Tibeto-Burman resembling adjacent groups of languages. In some cases, it may be that the direction of influence may have gone from Tibeto-Burman to non-Tibeto-Burman, but where that might be the case is not clear.

Footnotes

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