Sangkong 桑孔 of Yunnan:

Secondary "verb pronominalization" in Southern Loloish

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The Chinese linguist Li Yongsui has described (1991) a newly discovered language called Sangkong (sangŋ55qhonŋ55), that evidently belongs to the "Bisoid" subgroup of Southern Loloish, close to Bisu, Phunoy, and Mpi.1 Aside from the intrinsic value of the new lexical material Li provides, Sangkong has an extremely interesting syntactic property: a rudimentary system of "verb pronominalization", where the verb-phrase may contain either of two morphemes that refer to the person of the subject. In the case of the first person, this agreement morpheme is phonologically identical to the independent personal pronoun, ṭaŋ55 'I'. The etymology of the non-first person marker, ṭeŋ55, is not so transparent, though we offer a theory about its origin below.

1.0 SANGKONG PHONOLOGY

1.1 Initials

p pj t ts tʂ k q ʔ
ph phj th tʃh kʰ qʰ
mb mbj nd ŋ
m mj n ŋ

s ʂ x h
w l z

—Note the absence of a simple voiced series.
—Note the single voiced fricative p̥, which represents the merger of several sonorant and fricative proto-phonemes. (See below 5.1.)

1 This paper was presented orally on September 18, 1993, at the 26th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Osaka, Japan. It has since been published in the proceedings of that conference: Hajime KITAMURA, Tatsuo NISHIDA, and Yasuhiko NAGANO, eds. (1994). Current Issues in Sino-Tibetan Linguistics, Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology, pp. 588-607. It is reprinted here by permission of the editors.

1 The Sangkong people number fewer than 2000. They live in Jinghong County of Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, and were formerly grouped with the Hani nationality.
1.2 Rhymes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>-VN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constricted</td>
<td>-v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopped</td>
<td>-VS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 Tones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.0 Sangkong (SK) and Proto-Lolo-Burmese

2.1 Initials

(a) PLB *voiceless obstruents > SK voiceless aspirates

(b) PLB *preglottalized obstruents > SK voiceless aspirates

(c) PLB *voiced obstruents > SK plain obstruents

   *b > SK p
   *d > SK t
   *g > SK k
   /same as Bisu, Lahu, Burmese/

(d) PLB *prenasalized obstruents > SK plain obstruents

   *ŋg > SK k (ka31 ‘desiderative’)
   *mb > SK p (pɔ33 ‘satiated’)

(e) PLB *simple nasals > SK prenasalized voiced stops

   *m > SK mb
   *n > SK nd
   *ŋ > SK ŋŋ
   /cf. Bisu: PLB *nasals > Bisu voiced stops/

(f) PLB *complex nasals > SK simple nasals

   *ʔm/hm > SK m
   *ʔn/hn > SK n
   *ʔŋ/hŋ > SK ŋ
   /same as Bisu/
2.2 Some Loloish Manners of Articulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PLB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>Luquan</th>
<th>Lisu</th>
<th>Lahu</th>
<th>Akha</th>
<th>Bisu</th>
<th>Sangkong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*p</td>
<td></td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>p/ph</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*?b/?p</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ph(?)</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mb/*mp</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>mph</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*m</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>mb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*?m/*hm</td>
<td>hm</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From top to bottom, these reflexes range from more stop-like down to more nasal-like. This arrangement is satisfying because identical reflexes of different *manners are contiguous in any vertical column (i.e. for any given language).

As these manner-developments show, Sangkong definitely belongs in the "Bisoid" subgroup of Southern Loloish.

2.2 Rhymes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PLB</th>
<th>Sangkong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*-ak</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-vak</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>-о</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-ok/-uk</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>-о</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-ik</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-at</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-wat</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>-e / -ә [FLOWER]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-ap</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>-ap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3 For a similar arrangement of the Tai consonantal series with respect to tonal developments, see Gedney, 1970/1989. It should also be noticed that the order in which the consonantal mutations (a) through (f) are listed reflects the presumed actual sequence of changes: first I (a/b), then II (c/d), then III (e), then (IV) f.
*-am > -am
*-an > -an or -e (see below)
*-*an > -aŋ
*-*oŋ > -oŋ (?)
*-*uŋ > -uŋ (?)
*-*um > -em

*-*ey > -m
*-*ew > -ø

*-*a > -a
*-*ya > -ja
*-*wa > -o
*-*u > -u
*-*ul > -w

*-*i > -e
*-*ay > -e
*-*ey > -i

2.3 Tones

PLB *1 > SK 55
PLB *2 > SK 31
PLB *3 > SK 33
PLB *HS > SK 33c
PLB *LS > SK 31c

Sangkong has the Loloish tonal split in stopped syllables (see Matisoff 1972), despite the relative well-preservedness of syllable-final consonants: more proof, if any were needed, that this split was conditioned by the syllable-initial consonant group.

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4 SK contrasts -oŋ and -uŋ, though this has not been firmly established for PLB; maybe SK data will prove crucial here, e.g.: "finger" lə31 nuŋ55 vs. "belly" u31 poŋ33.
5 Words in this tone are sometimes pronounced with constriction, e.g. "egg" u33.
3.0 BISOID PRONOUNS AND SINO-TIBETAN PRONOMINAL ALLOFAMY

3.1 Sangkong personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>བ་55</td>
<td>བ་33 la 33 7</td>
<td>བ རི་31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excl: a 55 naṣ 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incl: ho 33 naṣ 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers.</td>
<td>naṣ 55</td>
<td>naṣ 33 la 33</td>
<td>naṣ 55 ni 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naṣ 33 kun 33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers.</td>
<td>thang 55</td>
<td>thang 55 la 33</td>
<td>thi 55 ni 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thi 55 kun 33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Bisu personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>ḡa</td>
<td>ḡaj</td>
<td>ḡu</td>
<td>ḡuhmù - ḡuṛí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers.</td>
<td>na - naṣ</td>
<td>naṣ</td>
<td>ṇo - ṇoŋ</td>
<td>ṇoŋhmu - ṇoŋṛí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers.</td>
<td>ja - jaṣ</td>
<td>jaṣ</td>
<td>jọ - jọŋ</td>
<td>jọŋhmu - jọŋṛí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Open, palatally-suffixed, and nasal-suffixed variants of pronouns in Sino-Tibetan

Evidence from these Bisoid languages, when added to data from other branches of ST, suggests that the pronouns for all three persons have been suffixable by palatal and/or nasal elements at various times and places in the family. Even if the basic allomorph of the 2nd person pronoun was *naṣ, this final nasal seems to have been treated as a separable element by many languages. It is tempting to set up a quasi-paradigm as follows, though it must be admitted that the semantic increment provided by the "suffixal" elements is unclear and inconsistent across languages:

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7 The accusative particle la 33 is optional with object pronouns.
8 Adapted from Beaudouin 1991:1.82.
1st Pers.  
*ŋa  
*ŋay  
*ŋan

2nd Pers.  
*na  
*nay  
*nan

3rd Pers.  
*ta  
*tan

(PLB)
*za  
*zan × *yaŋ

Exemplifications in selected languages

**Chinese**
1st person:
Open:  
我  ngâ/ngâ  
吾  ngo/nguo  
[GSR 2a]

With -N:  
印  ngâŋ/ŋâŋ  
[GSR 699a]

3rd person:
Open:  
他  t'â/t'â  
[GSR 4c'] 'another'

**Mirish**
1st person:

With -N:  
Mishmi  naŋ; Miji  naŋ

**Jingpho**
1st person:

With -y:  
ŋâi

2nd person:

With -N:  
naŋ

With velar stop:  
nak (Northern usage); naŋ 'your' (< naŋ â?)

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9 No single root for '3rd person' may be reconstructed for PTB or PST. As in other language families, ST/TB 3rd person pronouns are related to demonstratives and deictic words like 'other'.

10 My colleague Ting Pang-Hsin has kindly supplied me with a quote from the Shi Jing:  "My friend (Mand.  人 xǔ wǒ yǒu) 'I'm waiting for my friend.'"

11 This word is now the ordinary 3rd person pronoun in Mandarin.

12 Personal communication, Jackson Tianshin Sun.

13 I now believe that this same morpheme underlies the unique Jingpho form for the numeral 'one', with secondary falling tone: 1ŋâi. See Matisoff, to appear.
Written Burmese
3rd person:
With -N:  sān ~ yān 'that'

Lahu
3rd person:
From -N:  yô 'he/she' < PLB *zaŋ² ~ *yan² ¹⁴

Sangkong
2nd person:
Open:  na₅⁵ ni₃¹ 'you two'
With -N:  naŋ₅⁵

3rd person:
With -N  thap₅⁵ 'he/she' (pronoun);
'that' (demonstrative)

Bisu
1st person:
Open:  ga
With -y:  gaj (dual)

2nd person:
Open:  na
With -y:  nai (dual) ¹⁵
With -N:  naŋ

3rd person:
Open:  ja
With -N:  jaŋ

4.0 Sangkong "verb pronominalization" and the markers ṇa₅⁵ and ṇθ₅⁵

Li Yongsui's article contains some 23 sentences containing a person-
marker in the VP. ¹⁶ If the subject of the sentence is first person, the marker
ṇa₅⁵ appears in the predicate (1); otherwise, the marker ṇθ₅⁵ is used (2):

(1) ṇa₅⁵ na₃³ la₃⁵ pōŋ₃¹ tɕʰ₅⁵ ti₃¹ thap₃₃ pʰ₃¹ la(n)₃⁵
I you OBJ sugar one packet give come

1P
'I'll give you a packet of sugar.'

¹⁴ This latter reconstruction is preferred in Bradley 1993. LaPolla (p.c. Sept. 1993) suggests
an allofamic relationship with PLB *tsaŋ² 'person'.
¹⁵ It seems possible that the palatal suffix in the Bisu 1st/2nd dual pronouns is a cliticized
reduction of the syllable *n₁ (as in the Sangkong duals), which must ultimately derive from
the numeral 'two' (*ŋ-n₁-s).
¹⁶ They are presented here in a different order than in the article.
If the verb is negated, the agreement markers are \( \eta e^{55} \) for first person (3) and \( \eta i^{55} \) otherwise (4): 17

(3) \( \eta a^{55} \) han\(^{31} \) a\(^{31} \) tsa\(^{31} \) sw\(^{31} \) \( \eta e^{55} \)
I rice NEG eat YET 1P/NEG
'I haven’t eaten yet.'

(4) thi\(^{55} \) kun\(^{33} \) a\(^{31} \) tsa\(^{31} \) sw\(^{31} \) \( \eta i^{55} \)
they NEG eat YET non-1P/NEG
'They haven’t eaten yet.'

As (1) and (2) illustrate, in the absence of an overt aspect/mood morpheme in the VP, the sentence tends to be interpreted as expressing a future intention 18, as also in (5) and (6):

(5) \( \eta a^{55} \) na\(^{33} \) la\(^{33} \) son\(^{31} \) la\(^{55} \) le(\( \eta \))\(^{33} \) \( \eta a^{55} \)
I you OBJ seek come 1P
'I'll come to look for you.'

(6) a\(^{55} \) na\(^{33} \) han\(^{31} \) tsa\(^{31} \) \( \eta a^{55} \)
we rice eat 1P
'We're going to eat.' /Wômen yào chī fán.

These person markers themselves have nothing to do with aspect, since they are equally compatible with various aspectual morphemes, including pi\(^{55} \) 'perfective' (as in Exs. 7-10), na\(^{31} \) 'progressive' (11), and la\(^{55} \) or le\(^{55} \) 'come; inchoative; change-of-state' (12-14):

(7) \( \eta a^{55} \) na\(^{33} \) la\(^{33} \) mja\(^{55} \) pi\(^{55} \) \( \eta a^{55} \)
I you OBJ see PERF 1P
'I have seen you.'

(8) wa\(^{31} \) than\(^{55} \) tsha\(^{31} \) la\(^{31} \) la\(^{33} \) mja\(^{55} \) pi\(^{55} \) \( \eta e^{55} \)
pig that tiger OBJ see PERF non-1P
'That pig saw a tiger.'

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17 Somehow the \( \eta \) - of the 1st person form seems to have infected its paradigm-partner.
18 Li Yongsui (p.17) refers to this as jiāngxíngtì.
(9) na₅⁵/hon³³naŋ³¹ py³³ tsə³³ pi⁵⁵ na₅⁵
I/we hit middle PERF 1P
'I/we hit the mark.' / wǒ(men) dǎ zhòng le.

(10) than⁵⁵/thi⁵⁵kun³³ py³³ tsə³³ pi⁵⁵ ze⁵⁵
s/he/ they hit middle PERF non-1P
'S/he/they hit the mark.' / tā(men) dǎ zhòng le.

(11) than⁵⁵ pɔ³¹lo³¹ ky³³ nan³¹ ngy⁵⁵ ze⁵⁵ 19
he book read PROG COP non-1P
'He's reading a book.'

(12) hon³³naŋ³¹ mbw³¹ la⁵⁵ na₅⁵
we good COME 1P
'We're going to get better.'

(13) qa³³ si⁵⁵ le⁵⁵ ze⁵⁵
millet yellow COME non-1P
'The millet is getting yellow.'

(14) na₅⁵/than⁵⁵ maŋ³¹ la⁵⁵ ze⁵⁵
you/ he old COME non-1P
'You/he are/is getting old.'

Combinations of more than one aspectual morpheme seem freely to co-occur in the VP before a person-marker, e.g. EXPERIENTIAL + PERFECTIVE (15, 16), or INCHOATIVE + PERFECTIVE (17, 18):

(15) na₅⁵ han³¹ tsə³¹ sa³³ pi⁵⁵ na₅⁵
I rice eat EXPER PERF 1P
'I've already eaten.'

(16) thi⁵⁵kun³³ han³¹ tsə³¹ sa³³ pi⁵⁵ ze⁵⁵
they rice eat EXPER PERF non-1P
'They've already eaten.'

(17) na₅⁵ mbw³¹ tsə⁵⁵ le⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵ na₅⁵
I good pass COME PERF 1P
'I'm better already.'

19 Notice that a newer copula, ngy⁵⁵, may now co-occur with the older one (ze⁵⁵), now bleached of copular meaning.
(18) aŋ³³si³¹ miŋ³³ tse⁵⁵ le⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵ ze⁵⁵
fruit ripe pass COME PERF non-1P
'The fruit is ripe already.'

So far all these examples have contained an explicit personal pronoun in
a NP which shares with the person-marker in the VP the function of pointing to
the subject of the sentence. However, the presence of a person-marker in the
VP often makes subject pronouns redundant, so they are omissible without
loss of clarity, as in (9a) and (10a), which are pronounless (indeed NP-less)
variants of (9) and (10) above:

(9a) pỳ³³ tsɔ³³ pi⁵⁵ ηa⁵⁵
hit middle PERF 1P
'I/we hit the mark.' / Wǒ(men) dā zhòng le.

(10a) pỳ³³ tsɔ³³ pi⁵⁵ ze⁵⁵
hit middle PERF non-1P
'S/he/they hit the mark.' / Tā(men) dā zhòng le.

Even when an object-noun is present in sentence initial position, it often
cannot be misinterpreted as the subject if a person-marker occurs in the VP, as
in (19):

(19) va³¹ la³³ la⁵⁵ pi³¹ ηa⁵⁵
pig fat COME CAUS 1P
'I let/made the pig get fat.'

The most interesting cases demonstrate that these person-markers are
not simple "agreement" morphemes, but rather have evidential significance.
The two markers can each occur in a sentence having a third person subject,
but with a concomitant difference in evidential value. If the "normal" non-1P
morpheme ze⁵⁵ is used, the sentence has an impersonal, general declarative
sense:20

(20) laŋ⁵⁵ca⁵⁵ me³³ laŋ⁵⁵tɕho³¹ ze³³ ze⁵⁵
paddyfield LOC water have non-1P
'There's water in the paddyfield.'

20 Called yì-bān chénshù by Li Yongsui (p. 32).
If, however, the 1P morpheme _eta is used, the sentence is still grammatical, but there is an evidential increment of meaning: there is a claim that the statement is based on firsthand, personal knowledge:21

(21)  laŋ55 ça55 me33 laŋ55 tɕʰo31 qo33 ʑa55
    paddyfield  LOC  water  have  1P
    'There's water in the paddyfield [and I see it with my own eyes].'

Similarly:

(22)  ʑa31 lɔŋ33 ʑe33 ten55 ɲe55 tɕaŋ55 ʑa55
    fishpond  inside  fish  exist  1P
    'There are fish in the fishpond.'
    /personal knowledge: qǐn zhī/

(23)  than55 tʰi31 thɑ55 ʑi33 tɕe55 pʰ55 ʑa55
    s/he  one  time  come  EXPER  PERF  1P
    'S/he has already come once.'
    /personal knowledge: qǐn zhī/

5.0 ETYMOLOGY OF SANGKONG ʑe55

5.1 Sources of SK initial ʑ-

Sangkong ʑ- reflects several different PLB resonant and sonorant initials:22

(a)  SK ʑ < PLB *y-

| HOUSE   | ʑim55 | *yim1 |
| TAKE    | ʑu55  | *yu1  |
| SLEEP   | ʑu31  | *yupL |
| SEED    | aŋ33ʑə31 | *yəw2 |

/cf. Lahu ʑ̍i̍ŋ/

POTATO  ʑən31ʑi35
/cf. Lahu ʑàʔ-ʑí-ɕi (DL 1269) and Bantawa ɣåk 'taro'/

21 Called qǐn zhī, qǐn jiàn, or què zhī by Li Yongsui (ibid.).
22 Cf. the discussion of Loloish resonantal reflexes in Mattiolo 1969:171-9. The Lahu reflexes of PLB *y, *r, *v, *C-ʑ, and *z/ʑ are /y, ɣ, v, ʃ, and 阂/, respectively.
(b) SK z < PLB *r-

BONE \( \alpha n^{33} \)z\( ^{31} \) < *r\( ^{ev^{2}} \)
/cf. Lahu '5/
STAND z\( ^{31} \) < *\( ^{?} \)rap\( ^{L} \) [TSR #175]

(c) SK z < PLB *w-

BLOOM/FLOWER z\( ^{31} \) < *\( ^{s} \)-vat\( ^{H} \)
ELDER SIBLING a\( ^{31} \)z\( ^{31} \) a\( ^{31} \)n\( ^{55} \) 'relatives'
/lit. "older and younger siblings"; cf. Lahu a-vi-a-ni, 5-vi-5-ni/

(d) SK z < PLB *c-\( 5 \)

EASY/CHEAP z\( ^{a55} \) < *\( ^{c} \)-sa\( ^{1} \)
/cf. Lahu \( ^{\dot{s}} \)a/

(e) SK z < PLB *z or *ž

EXCREMENT/RUST/BLIGHT z\( ^{31} \) 'excrement' < *z/ža\( ^{2} \)
/cf. Lahu '5 'rust; rot; blight'; cognate to WT 9šaŋ, bšaŋ
'shit' < PTB *\( ^{g} / \)b-šaŋ/

5.2 Sources of the Sangkong rhyme -e

Sangkong -e (similarly to Lahu -e\( ^{23} \)) has several sources, including *-at (with constriction of the vowel), *-i, *-ay, and perhaps *-an\( ^{24} \):

PLB *-at > SK -e (>-\( ^{o} \) after a SK palatal)

| HUNGRY | *mvat | SK mbe\( ^{31} \) |
| BITE | *tsat | SK tshe\( ^{31} \) |
| SPIRIT | *nat | SK nde\( ^{31} \) |
| KILL | *sat | SK se\( ^{31} \) |
| ALIVE | *dat | SK te\( ^{31} \) |
| FLOWER | *s-vat | SK z\( ^{31} \) |

\(^{23}\) See Matisoff 1985, passim.
\(^{24}\) SK does have the rhyme -an, but the two best examples, LOUSE and DOHOLE (see Appendix) descend from etyma in *-ar and *-al, respectively. If ordinary *-an really became SK -e, perhaps we will have to claim that the rhymes *-ar and *-al survived into Proto-Loloish after all. The interesting etymon *san \( ^{x} \) sat 'pour, spill, scatter (as seed)' also appears with SK -an [see Appendix].
PLB *-an > SK -e

STIR/MIX *pan > SK phe\textsuperscript{31}

PLB *-i > SK -e

RED *ni > SK ne\textsuperscript{55}

PLB *-ay > SK -e

TEN\textsuperscript{25} *tsyay > SK tshe\textsuperscript{55}
GO *ay > SK e\textsuperscript{55}
RELATIVIZER *way > SK e\textsuperscript{55}

5.3 The copular etymon *vay \& *ray as the source of Sangkong e\textsuperscript{55} and ze\textsuperscript{55}

Among its other functions, the Lahu particle ve is a nominalizer and a relativizer. I have shown (1985) how ve descends from a copular morpheme, PTB *vay, that has an equally well-attested allofamic variant *ray.

The Sangkong relativizer e\textsuperscript{55} appears directly cognate to Lahu ve, and the two particles show identical syntactic behavior:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
ln\textsuperscript{55}ca\textsuperscript{55} & thai\textsuperscript{33} e\textsuperscript{55} mba\textsuperscript{33} \\
field & plow REL person \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textquote{the person who plows the field}'

\textquote{/cf. Lahu: ti-mi th\textacute{a}y ve cho/}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
qha\textsuperscript{55} tsa\textsuperscript{31} mbw\textsuperscript{31} e\textsuperscript{55} a\textsuperscript{33}si\textsuperscript{31} \\
mast eat tasty REL fruit \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textquote{the fruit that tastes the best}'

\textquote{/cf. Lahu: a-ći câ mè ve í-šî/}

This finally gives us the clue to the etymology of the SK non-3rd person marker ze\textsuperscript{55}. We have seen that SK z- can come from *r-, and that one of the sources of SK -e is *-ay. I wish to claim that ze\textsuperscript{55} is from the abstract copular morpheme *ray, which seems semantically quite appropriate for sentences where the 1st person is out of the picture. This use of an abstract

\textsuperscript{25} For a discussion of this "still puzzling etymon", which shows vowel gradation, see Matisoff 1985 #73.
copula-like element ensures that the verbal event is stated in its most
evidentially neutral, declarative aspect—\(^{26}\)—in sharp contrast to those utterances
where the 1st person is elevated to the center of attention by the copying of a
personal pronoun onto the verb-phrase.

It is interesting to note that both allofams of the copula have distinct
reflexes in both Sangkong and Lahu:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sangkong} & \quad ^*\text{vay} & \times & ^*\text{ray} \\
\text{Lahu} & \quad \text{ve} & \quad \text{yì}^{27} & \text{'bunch; group (Clf)'}
\end{align*}
\]

6.0 The Akha Evidential System

In an illuminating series of articles in the early 1970’s, Søren Egerod
analyzed a system of Akha sentence particles that encode such dimensions of
meaning as “1st person prime mover” vs. “non-1st person prime mover” and
“visual knowledge” vs. “non-visual knowledge”. The 1st person particle
indicating visual knowledge is ṇà (with some tonal variants), obviously related
to the independent pronoun ṇà – ṇà ’I’, which contrasts with the non-visual
particle njà, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gà ṇà} & \quad \text{'he loves her (I have seen signs)'} \\
\text{gà njà} & \quad \text{'he loves her (I have heard/felt signs)'}^{28}
\end{align*}
\]

A more detailed treatment of Sangkong sentence particles than is to be
found in Li Yongsui’s article would undoubtedly reveal many more points of
similarity with the Akha evidential apparatus.

7.0 The Lahu Benefactive System^{29}

Lahu has a systematic dichotomy between 3rd and non-3rd person
beneficiaries of verbal actions (as opposed to the Akha/Sangkong 1st vs. non-
1st person marking). The basic distinction here is outer-directed vs. inner-

---

\(^{26}\) Cf. the use of Lahu ve in non-embedded sentential nominalizations.

\(^{27}\) As explained in Matisoff 1985:59, synchronic Lahu does not tolerate the syllable *ve, so
the regular reflex of *-ay after *r- is ü. See also *s-ray > Lh. hsz ‘pluralizer’.

\(^{28}\) The Akha verb gà ‘love’ is cognate to SK ka^{31} and the Lahu desiderative particle gà (see
Appendix).

\(^{29}\) See Matisoff 1973:325.
directed action, as is obvious from the full verbal meanings of the grammaticalized markers of the distinction:

3rd person marker: \( p \hat{\text{i}} \) (Vv) /'give' as full verb/
non-3rd person marker: \( 1 \hat{\text{a}} \) (Pv) /\( \times \) 1 \( \hat{\text{a}} \) (V) 'come'/

See Figure I below.

Figure I. The Lahu Benefactive System

8.0 Conclusions

A controversy has been simmering in Tibeto-Burman circles as to whether the pronominal agreement systems that have achieved great complexity in, e.g. the languages of E. Nepal reflect an original TB/ST feature, or whether (as I believe) they have developed secondarily and independently in various branches of the family. The fact that the germs of pronominalization
have been found in a Loloish language (a branch of TB that had hitherto been thought to be free of the phenomenon) does not, in my view, constitute evidence for the existence of a reconstructible system of pronominal concord at the PTB level—in fact quite the contrary! It shows that the marking of agreement in the verb is something which can evolve naturally and independently through the operation of certain information-packaging strategies in verb-final languages.

In fact the Sangkong "agreement markers" do not necessarily refer narrowly to the agent of the sentence, but may have a more general evidential value. If, e.g., the speaker is making a statement that reflects his own personal knowledge, he may use the 1st-person marker even though the sentence may contain a 3rd-person subject. This makes Sangkong "verb pronominalization" look much more like the person-based evidential system of particles described for Akha (Egerod 1973, 1974; Hansson 1976), or the person-based benefactive morphemes found in Lahu (see above, 6.0, 7.0).

The origins of this rudimentary system of verb pronominalization are perhaps to be sought in "evidential afterthoughts", sentence-tags like ".,. I know or ".,. I guess" for first person involvement, vs. ".,. [and that's the way he/it/you] is/are" for neutral, objective statements.

9.0 Appendix: Some Interesting Sangkong Cognates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PLB</th>
<th>Written Burmese</th>
<th>Lahu</th>
<th>Sangkong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'be in a place/be there/existential copula'</td>
<td>*dzaŋ¹</td>
<td>cò</td>
<td>tcaŋ⁵⁵</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wolf/dhole/wild dog'</td>
<td>*kywavl</td>
<td>vè</td>
<td>hau⁵⁵</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/see Matisoff 1985, #17; the -n in the SK form might be due to rhinoglotterophilia after the initial h-; cf. 'four' wn⁵⁵ - xwn⁵⁵ (Lahu 5 - 5n)/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'louse'</td>
<td>*sar</td>
<td>sän (Tone²)</td>
<td>še (*1)</td>
<td>san⁵⁵ (*1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'snow/ice/frost'</td>
<td>*hp⁻⁻</td>
<td>nə</td>
<td>nə⁵⁵</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/firm cognate, but proto-vocalism uncertain/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"weave"

\*g-rak \^l \,rak \,y\, à? (< *rak) \,ŋa\, 31 (< *\,ŋak)

/this complicated root had an unstable initial; even the four allofams set up in TSR #192 do not tell the whole story; Bisu has  \,g\, ā\, also < *\,ŋak/

"teach"

\*?\,m\, a\, 1/2 \,h\, m\, a\, (< *1) \,m\, ā\, (< *2) \,m\, a\, 21 (< *2)

"field"

\*h\, y\, a\, 1 \,y\, a \,h\, ē \,l\, a\,ŋ\, 55 \,g\, a\, 55

/ the 1st syll. of the SK form means 'water'; the Bs. and Lh. forms refer to non-irrigated swiddens/

"temporal"

\*t\,a\, 1/2 \,t\, h\, ā\, (< *2) \,th\, a\, 55 (< *1)

/ the Lahu form is an unrestricted particle and nominalizer, meaning 'when; the time that'; the SK cognate is a time-classifier/

"love/desiderative"

\*N\,g\, a\, 2 \,g\, ā\, (Pv) \,k\, a\, 31 'love; want'

"send (things)"

\*s\, a\, 2/3 \,ś\, ā\, (< *2) \,s\, a\, 33 (< *3)

/Akha [ILH] s\, j\, ā\, (< *3); contra Matisoff 1988:1173, this is NOT a Tai loanword, and has nothing to do with Tai s\, d\, ŋ 'send' [miscited as s\, ŋ [ibid.]]/

"dry in the sun"

\*\,p\,-\,r\, a\,p\, 1 \,h\, ū \,h\, a\,p\, 31

/ both Lahu and SK reflect a preglottalized prototype; contrast STAND/

"stand"

\*\,p\,-\,r\, a\,p\, 1 \,r\, a\,p \,h\, ū \,z\, a\,p\, 31

/ see TSR #175; WB and SK both reflect an allofam with plain liquid, \,r\, a\,p/

"easy"

\,ś\, a \,z\, a\, 55

/Akha s\, ā\, ; why voicing in SK?/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>PLB</th>
<th>WBs</th>
<th>Lahu</th>
<th>Sangkong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>shit</em></td>
<td>*zaŋ²/<em>žaŋ²</em></td>
<td>y⁵</td>
<td><em>zaŋ³¹</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/the Lahu form means 'rust; rot; blight'; cognate to WT <em>gśaŋ</em>, <em>bšaŋ</em></td>
<td>'shit'/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>scatter seed</em></td>
<td><em>svan¹/²</em></td>
<td><em>svan/svān</em></td>
<td>ʂē</td>
<td><em>san³¹</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Lahu ʂē? 'spill, pour' reflects the allofam <em>sat</em>. Chinese has cognates of both the nasal- and stop-finalled allofams: OC <em>sān</em> and <em>sāt</em> (see Matisoff 1985:#40); the proto-variation in the final may account for SK -an rather than -e/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>go</em></td>
<td><em>aŋ¹</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>e (Pv)</td>
<td>e⁵⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/see Matisoff 1990/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*****
REFERENCES


(to appear) "Watch out for number one: Jingpho ᶽѣi 'I' and ᶽѣi 'one'." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 17.1.