

## Typological similarities between Munda and (Sub-)Himalayan languages

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October 2004  
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Note: none of these variables have yet been surveyed on a world-wide scale. At this point we cannot determine whether the similarities are due to an area or an enclave effect.

### 1. Finite verb compounds (Steever 1993, Ebert 1999)

Athpare (Ebert 1999)

rikt-u-ŋ-des-u-ŋ-e.  
chase-3P-1sA-move.away-3P-1sA-PST  
'He chased it away.'

Limbu (van Driem 1987:123)

mε-bəŋ-ε mε-ghεʔr-ε.  
3nsS-get.up-PST 3nsS-RESULTATIVE-PST  
'They've all gotten up and left.'

Santali (Neukom 2001: 176)

sea daka sea mənɖi-ŋ em-a-m cal-a-m-kan-a-ŋ.  
rotten rice rotten food=1sS give-APPL-2sP hand.over-APPL-2sP-IPFV-IND=1sS  
'I am giving you rotten rice, rotten food.'

Parengi (Gorum) (Ebert 2001:1532)

silay-ing ta'y-ing!  
sow-1s give-1s  
'Sow for me!'

Kurux (=Dhangar; N. Dravidian) (Krishnamurti 2003 reconstructs this to PDr)

ukki-as ker-as.  
sit.PST-3sm go.PST-3sm  
'He has sat down'

### 2. Person-marked converbs (Ebert 1993, 1999)

Athpare (Ebert 1999; CVB = finite form minus final -e 'PST')

khad-a-uŋ meruba in-u-e. (cf. *khad-e* < *khad-a-e* 'he went')  
go-PST-[3sS]-CVB goat buy-3P-PST  
'He went and bought a goat'

Santali (Neukom 2001:188; CVB = finite form minus -a 'indicative')

nui iə sala-də oka-khən cə=e oɖok-got'en-te  
DEM.ANIM PTCL scoundrel-TOP where-ABL ever=3sS come.out-V2-PST.MID-CVB  
iŋ bəhu-də=e ɔr-ruəŋ-ed-e-kan-a.  
1sPOSS wife-TOP=3sS pull-return-IPFV.ACT-3sP-IPFV-IND  
'This dirty scoundrel came out from who knows where and is pulling my wife back.'

Kurux (Gordon & Pike 1973; Ebert 1993)

Mankhu-s huŋ taŋ-io-hi baat-an khaŋdi-as-k  
M.-3sm also 3REFL.POSS-mother-GEN word-ACC cut.PST-3sm-SEQ  
cala-ker-as  
go-go.PST-3sm  
'Anyway, Mankhu did not obey his mother's words and went away.'

### 3. Partitional agreement

Belhare (Bickel 2000)

- a. sa-ti khar-e-i-ga?  
who-ABS go-PST-p-2  
'Who of you went?'
- b. sip-paŋ khar-e-i-ŋa.  
two-HUM go-PST-p-e  
'Two of us went.'

Hakka Lai (Chin, Tibeto-Burman; Bickel 2000)

a-háw da? nà-n-ra:?  
3-who Q 2-p-come  
'Who of you came?'

Santali (Neukom 2001:175)

- a. əkœ=bon cala-k'-a?  
 who=1pIS go-MID-IND  
 'who of us will go?'
- b. adəm hɔŋ-dɔ=le cala-k'-a.  
 some person-TOP=1peS go-MID-IND  
 'Some of us should go.'

Kharia (Peterson 2004:61)

botoŋ-ta-pe ho-ki lutui su kon...  
 fear-MID.NPST-2p DEM-p clothes put.on SEQ  
 'Those of you who are afraid, you put on your clothes and...'

#### 4. WITH-Adverbialization (manner adverbs)

Written Tibetan

dal-gyis ḥgro  
 slow-INSTR go  
 'go slowly'

Belhare

khan-lo ce-akt-he  
 nice-COM [3sS-]say-IPFV-PST  
 'He talked nicely'

Santali (Neukom 2001:27)

alga-te poṭag-ok'-a  
 easy-INSTR peel-MID-IND  
 'it will easily be peeled'

Mundari (Osada 1992: 132)

mani-te  
 slow-INSTR  
 'slowly'

Korku (Nagaraja 1999: 84)

kha:ʈ-ʈen  
 loud-INSTR/ABL  
 'loudly'

Nepali bistāri-le jānu

slow-INSTR go  
 'go slowly'

Oriya (Neukom & Patnaik 2003:75)

səhɔʝo-re  
 easy-INSTR  
 'easily'

#### 5. Attributive articles (agreeing with head; and/or DEF or SPEC semantics)

Athpare (Ebert 1997:130) "nominalizer"

- a. aniya des-ni-na raja  
 1pe country-LOC-ART.SG king  
 'the king of our country'
- b. nahī-ga yapmi-ci  
 here-ART.NSG person-NSG  
 'the local people'

Limbu (van Driem 1987:39, 43) "definite absolutive/ergative/genitive etc."

- a. kəm-ba-rɛ-n ku-bo:den hɛn?  
 2sPOSS-father-GEN-ART 3sPOSS-status what  
 'What's your father's position (in society)?'
- b. phe:nda-re ku-yumlakpe-n ke-dzo:i:?  
 tomato-GEN 3sPOSS-pickle-ART 2-eat.3P=Q  
 'Do you eat tomato acār?'

Belhare (Bickel 2003)

- a. un-naha ei?na khim  
 3s-GEN big=ART.SG house  
 'his/her big house'
- b. ei-kha khim  
 big-ART house  
 'a big house'

Santali (Neukom 2001:32, 58f, 203) “nominalizer”

- a. gɛt'-ic'  
cut-ART.ANIM.SG  
'the one who got cut'
- a'. gɛt'-ko  
cut-ART.ANIM.PL  
'the ones who got cut'
- b. turuiy-ic' gidrə  
six-ART.ANIM.SG child  
'the sixth child'
- c. haɾam-ak' jaŋgra  
old.man-ART.INAN.SG foot  
'the old man's foot'
- d. onko-ak' sik  
DEM.PROX-ART.INAN.SG method  
'their method'

Mundari (Osada 1992:48)

- a. oɾaʔ-raʔ parkom  
house-GEN.INANIM bed
- b. oɾaʔ-ren hon  
house-GEN.ANIM child  
'a child of the house (i.e., of the family)'

Maithili (mostly “rustic” Maithili; Burghart 1992:94; also Jha 1958: 284f, 360)

- a. baɖ-ka bhaiyā (vs. *baɖ bhaiyā*)  
big-MASC brother  
'eldest brother'
- b. baɖ-ki bhaujī (vs. *baɖ bhaujī*)  
big-FEM wife  
'eldest brother's wife'

Brahui (Elfenbein 1998:398, 411), but not in Kuṛux or Malto (!)

- a. ball-ō inām-as  
large-INDEF award-INDEF  
'a large award'
- b. hullī-as jwān-ō  
horse-INDEF good-INDEF  
'a good horse'

- c. pīyun-a hullī  
white-DEF horse  
'the white horse'