BENEDICT'S WORK: PAST AND PRESENT

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A generation only produces a handful of scholars who set themselves apart through the brilliance of their intellect and the breadth and scope of their imagination. This collection honors one such man: Paul K. Benedict--- anthropologist, Orientalist, linguist extraordinaire. Although the editors' first thought was to assemble a volume with contributions on psychiatry, ethnopsychiatry, anthropology, and linguistics--the fields Paul has worked in, this plan was quickly dismissed; not only would the editing of such a diverse volume be a Herculean task but finding a publisher would also be difficult. The actual volume, instead of being characterized by diversity, has an underlying unity provided, in part, by its focus on the languages of the three great superstocks of Southeast Asia and, in part, by the unifying thread of Paul's own work.

Of the generations of scholars who have worked on and puzzled over the relationships of the hundreds of mainland and insular languages and dialects of Southeast Asia no one has had more influence on our linguistic picture than Paul Benedict. Now we are in the midst of a period of feverish scholarly activity and creativity, a period in which no scholar is in complete agreement with any other scholar. Under these circumstances, the strongest indicator of the highly influential nature of Benedict's thought is that, whether or not it is being expanded, modified, or attacked, it is his conceptual framework and general overview that by and large we are working in. This framework, developed over the last forty years, divides the languages of mainland and insular Southeast Asia into three great superstocks: Austro-Tai, Sino-Tibetan, and Austro-asiatic. Scholars neither agree on the composition of the superstocks themselves, nor agree on the details of the lower-level subgrouping. Nonetheless, our understanding is growing---a clearer picture of the genetic relationships coupled with a broader acceptance of certain groupings is beginning to emerge.

Austro-Tai

Austro-Tai studies are the sphere in which Paul's influence has been to date most prominent. This is hardly surprising since, in a significant sense, Benedict 'invented' Austro-Tai. In his massive work Austro-Thai, Benedict shows

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[1] I shall be astonished if all my errors should prove minor, and I will be grateful to readers for their corrections. This introduction has benefited significantly from the comments of Julian Wheatley. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. BNS-8203882.

more than just his training and skill as an anthropologist and Orientalist; indeed, he demonstrates a range of interests that extend far beyond the narrow, strictly linguistic aspects of subgrouping. In particular, Austro-Thai does more than just outline an Austro-Tai superstock consisting of Austronesian, Kadai, and Miao-Yao; in this work, Benedict goes further suggesting that contrary to previous thought, the strongest cultural influence in the earliest contacts was that of the Southeast Asians on the Chinese, not the converse.

Austro-Tai is the one of the two great linguistic superstocks posited for Southeast Asia by Benedict. It was first suggested in 1942 in his "Thai, Kadai, and Indonesian: a new alignment in Southeastern Asia," an article which presented evidence for taking the Tai languages out of the Sino-Tibetan phylum, placing them with what Benedict then called the Kadai languages, and then relating these to the Indonesian languages. Surprisingly, other scholars added little to his suggestions and they remained essentially unaltered until some twenty-five years later when Benedict himself returned to the topic with a series of articles originally published in Behavorial Science Notes (BSN) (1966-7), in which he brought forth a greatly-expanded body of evidence in support of his Austro-Tai superstock. Then, almost another decade later, this series of three Notes formed the core of Benedict's Austro-Thai (1975), a (ATLC) volume reprinting the original 1942 article (Appendix I), the three BSN articles, and a revised version of "Austro-Thai and Austroasiatic" (1973), a paper expressing Benedict's view that the correlations found between Austro-Tai and Austroasiatic are the result of an earlier substratal influence of Austro-asiatic and Austro-Tai (Appendix II). In addition, the Austro-Thai volume contains a "Glossary" of Austro-Tai 'roots,' and an important "Introduction to the Glossary," in which Benedict's original bifurcation of Austro-Tai into Austronesian and Kadai becomes, with the addition of Miao-Yao to the super-stock, a tripartite division. Finally, with the recent addition of Japanese-Ryukyuan, Austro-Tai has become a four-part superstock.

Evaluations of something as complex as Austro-Tai is at best difficult and, given the provisional nature of much of the evidence, it is not surprising that marked differences of opinion exist. However, the very amount of evidence that Benedict brings forth in Austro-Thai led Goodenough to write in the "Foreword" (p. ix):

> That so much more evidence could be produced is itself an important fact in support of Benedict's earlier thesis. There can be no question that the Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian phylum (including Indonesian) is itself part of a larger phylum, Benedict's Austro-Thai, which includes the Thai and Kadai languages and apparently, as Benedict now suggests, the Miao and Yao languages as well. There is room for all kinds of argument about the details, but not about the fact of relationship. [underline added].

Others have been more conservative in their judgements, expressing views much like the one expressed by Jerry Norman in this volume where, although he cautions that "not everyone agrees entirely with Benedict's formulation of the Austro-Thai theory," he goes on to note that Benedict has opened up "the whole question of early Southeast Asian influence on Chinese." Certainly, recent archaeological finds, especially in Thailand, support Benedict's basic hypothesis about the direction of early cultural influences (e.g. cf. Solheim 1971).

The heart of Benedict's contribution is found in the first part of his

Austro-Tai family tree (see Figure 1B below) in which he relates the four main branches of Austro-Tai: Miao-Yao, Kadai (Tai, etc.), Austronesian, and Japanese-Ryukyuan. It is in the recognition of a genetic relationship between these language groups that his contribution has been greatest.
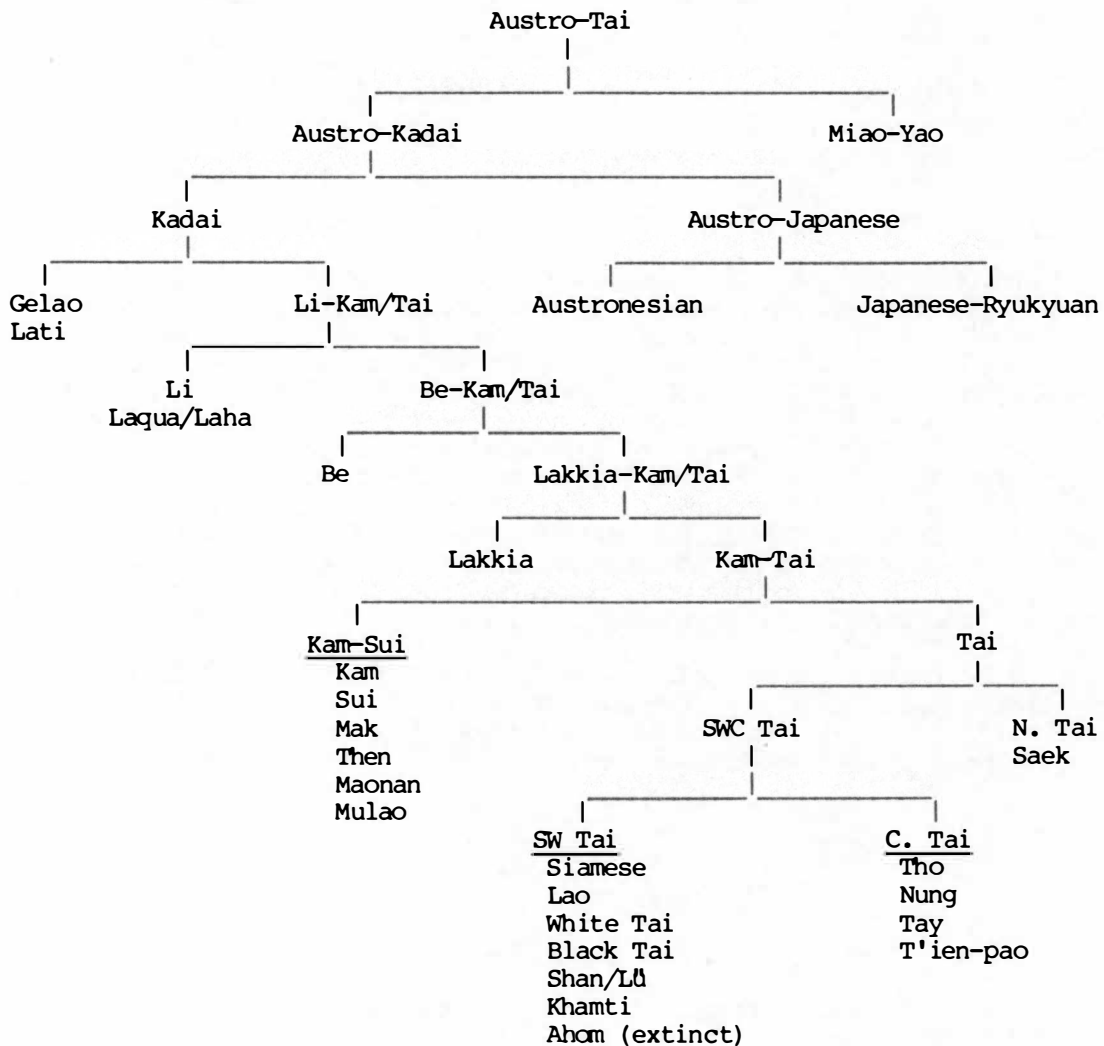
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                              Austro-Tai
                                  |
               _____|_____
              |                                            |
         Austro-Kadai                                   Miao-Yao
        _____|_____
       |                               |
     Kadai                       Austro-Japanese
    ___|_____        _____|_____
   |                      |       |                               |
 Gelao               Li-Kam/Tai  Austronesian          Japanese-Ryukyuan
 Lati                     |
                 _____|_____
                |                     |
               Li                Be-Kam/Tai
           Laqua/Laha                 |
                            _____|_____
                           |                        |
                          Be                 Lakkia-Kam/Tai
                                                     |
                                            _____|_____
                                           |                 |
                                        Lakkia            Kam-Tai
                                                     _____|_____
                                                    |                                    |
                                                 Kam-Sui                                Tai
                                                  Kam                                    |
                                                  Sui                          _____|_____
                                                  Mak                         |                   |
                                                  Then                      SWC Tai            N. Tai
                                                  Maonan                       |               Saek
                                                  Mulao               _____|_____
                                                                     |                 |
                                                                  SW Tai            C. Tai
                                                                   Siamese           Tho
                                                                   Lao               Nung
                                                                   White Tai         Tay
                                                                   Black Tai         T'ien-pao
                                                                   Shan/Lü
                                                                   Khamti
                                                                   Ahom (extinct)
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Figure 1: The Austro-Tai Languages.

Notes: The essential classification above is that found in ATLC (see page 135 and chart there). Benedict accepted Haudricourt's idea of using Kadai for the larger group, with Tai under it. In a more recent Mulao paper in CAAAL, he gives a further classification within Kadai, but it is admittedly impressionistic and subject to revision. And, of course, he has now added Japanese (JR = Japanese-Ryukyuan).
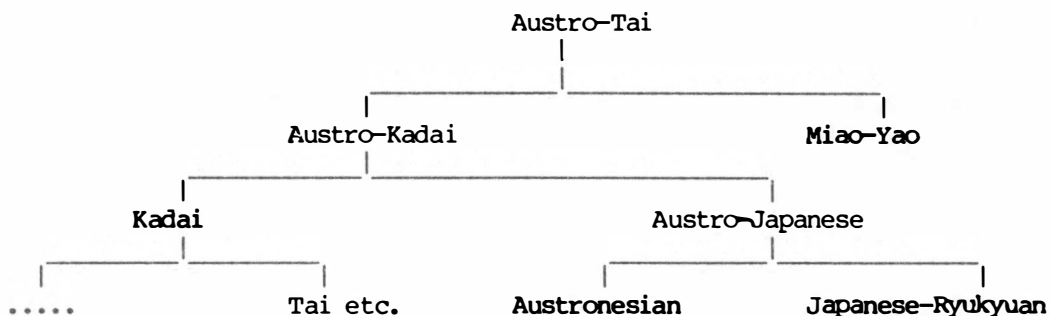
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                              Austro-Tai
                                  |
               _____|_____
              |                                       |
          Austro-Kadai                            Miao-Yao
         _____|_____
        |                           |
      Kadai                    Austro-Japanese
    ____|_____            _____|_____
   |             |          |                         |
  .....      Tai etc.   Austronesian          Japanese-Ryukyuan
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Figure 1B: The four main branches of Austro-Tai.

Linguistic evidence also continues to emerge supporting the existence of a basic genetic relationship between the four basic components of Benedict's Austro-Tai. The large number of cognate words found in each of the major branches establishes that we are dealing with historical rather than chance resemblances; the distribution of the cognates throughout every semantic area of the lexicon as well as throughout the whole of the core vocabulary argues that these forms are the result of a genetic relationship rather than the result of massive borrowing. It is unlikely for two language groups to have that kind (as well as amount) of lexical items in common without being genetically related. Even in the case of Japanese and Austronesian——the most recent addition to Austro-Tai and thus presumably the least widely accepted--- the number of clearly cognate words common to Proto-Austronesian and Japanese-Ryukyuan (cf. Benedict's Japanese/Austro-Tai) dwarfs the number common to Japanese and Korean (cf. Martin 1966; Miller 1967, 1968, 1970, 1980; Street 1973; also compare Chart 1, which shows only some of the bilabial stop correspondences) and their distribution throughout all parts of the lexicon argues against borrowing as an origin, a finding that strongly suggests that the Japanese-Korean forms represent borrowings either from each other or from a

	Austro-Tai	Japanese
(1)	**Initials**	
	PAT *p-	Japanese h-
'god/sun'	*(m)pili (PAK)	hi < Fi 'sun; day' < '(sun-)god'
'cheek'	*pipi (PAT)	hi- < Fi- in hige < Figě 'beard'
'one; one of a pair'	*pitrong (PAJ)	hito < Fitö
'two; pair'	*putša (PAJ)	huta- < Futa
'leaf'	*paGpaG (PAK)	ha < Fa < *FaFa also. (Mod. Jp.) happa < *paGpaG
'beat; wing; feather'	*ka(m)pak(m)pak (PAT)	ha < Fa 'feather'
'leg; stalk'	*paqi (PAT)	hagi < Fagi 'shank (=lower leg)'
'mother'	*papa (PAK)	haha < FaFa
'navel'	*putsxj (PAJ)	hozo < Foso; also heso < Feso (DS)
'open'	*pilak (PAJ)	hirak-i
'field (dry); plain; clearing'	*pa(n)dang (PAJ)	hata < Fata '(dry) field'

'squirt; eject'	*piRpiR, (PAJ) *(m)biR(m)biR	hir-i 'evacuate, eject, void (fart, excrement)'
'wood (chips)'	*pa(ny)cang (PAJ)	hota < Fota 'chips, piece of wood; firewood'
'tooth'	*(N)Gi(m)pan (PAK)	ha < Fa
'wide; level; shore'	*(m)pang(m)pang (PAK)	hama < Fama 'beach; shore'

	PAT *b-	Japanese h-
'board, beam'	*bali[ɣ,R] (PAJ)	hari < Fari 'beam; girder'
'wide'	*bangbang (PAK)	haba < Faba 'width; breadth' cf. 'wide' above
'belly'	*ba/r/ang (PAT)	hara < Fara
'body'	*ba(n)trang (PAK)	hada < Fada 'body, skin'
'flower'	*bangal (PAT)	hana < Fana
'fast (blow)'	*baɣat (PAJ)	haya- 'fast'
'earth; mud; field'	*buna > *bxna (PAK)	hena < Fena 'earth, mud' (DS)
'penis; vagina'	*botoq (PAJ)	hoto 'vagina'
'room; stall'	*baɣa (PAJ)	heya < Feya 'room'
'star'	*buxis (PAJ)	hosi < Fosi (RS)
'stem; trunk spread'	*ba(n)tang (PAK)	heta < *Feta 'calyx, stem'
'spread; flat'	*(m)bilaj (PAK)	hira < Fira
'strip; rip; split'	*bak(bak) (PAK)	hag-i < Fag-i

	PAT *-p-	Proto-Japanese-Ryukyuan *p- > h-
'fire'	*śa(m)puy (PAK)	hi < Fɨ < *Fui
'side; border'	*txpi (PAJ)	-he < -Fe < *-Fi-a 'side; shore'

Medials and finals

(2)	PAT *-p-	Japanese -b-
'steep; slope'	*sipal (PAJ)	soba (DS)
'break, tear'	*rapuq (PAJ)	yabuk-i, yabu-ri

	PAT *-b-	Japanese -b-
'beat; fly'	*txb(txb) (PAT) 'beat, strike, flap (wings)'	tob-i < *tobtob < *txbtxb 'fly, spring, jump'
'bind, bundle'	*ta(m)bat (PAK)	taba 'bundle; bunch; sheaf'
'bush; shoot'	*rabung (PAJ)	yabu 'bush, thicket'
'opening; anus, vagina'	*tu(m)bung (PAK)	tubi < tubɨ < *tubui < *tubun < < *tubung
'swell(ing)'	*kx(m)bung, (PAT) *kx(m)pung	kobu 'swelling, tumor, wen, lump'
'wide'	*bangbang (PAK)	haba < Faba 'width; breadth'
'ribs'	*qa-bara (PAJ)	abara
'wide open'	*labak (PAK)	abak-i 'open (grave)' haka < Faka 'grave'

'clan; fellowship'	*kabal (PAJ)	kabane 'family (clan) name' < kaba- + -ne 'name'

(3)	PAT *-b-	> OJ -F- > Mod. Japanese -w- /a___a
'skin'	*kaba (PAJ)	kawa < kaFa
'swamp; field (wet)'	*tsabaq (PAJ)	sawa < saFa 'swamp'
'millet'	*(n)/ts,s/abak (PAJ)	awa < aFa

(4)	PAT *-p-, -b-	OJ -F- > Mod. Japanese -ø- /v___i
'wash'	*ʔaRap (PAK)	ara-i < araF-i
'small/thin'	*tipits (PAJ)	tiisa < tiFisa < *tiFis-a 'small'
'shell'	*kapi/ts,tš/ (PAJ)	kai < kaFi
'speak'	*qibu (PAJ)	i-i < iF-ʔ < *iFu-ʔ
'night'	*/ɣ,R/abiʔi (PAJ)	yoi < yöFi

(5)	PAT *p- , -p-, -b-	OJ w /___o > Mod. Japanese ø-
'ten'	*poḷoxo/t,c/ (PAK)	o < -wo
'tail/hind-part'	*(m)po(ng)kor (PAK)	o < wo
'hill; summit'	*po(ng)krak (AJ)	oka < woka (OJ o < wo reduced form)
'reed; sugarcane'	*txbos (PAK)	ogi < wogi < *[tx]bos + -ki 'tree'
'hair'	*(n)tsa(m)bo/t,C/ (PAT)	sao < sawo

Chart 1: Austro-Tai/Japanese bilabial correspondences.

Notes: Correspondence patterns: In the first group of initial correspondences Austro-Tai bilabial stops regardless of voicing become F- in Old Japanese and h- in Modern Japanese. The next four groups of medial correspondences are more complicated with both voiced and voiceless PAT medials corresponding to several Old Japanese and Mod. Japanese reflexes depending on conditioning factors. In the second group, both voiceless and voiced PAT medials correspond to Japanese -b-. In the third group, the PAT medial *-b- and in the fourth group, both the medials *-p- and *-b- correspond to Old Japanese -F-; subsequently, this OJ medial -F- went to Mod. Japanese -w- between /a/ and /a/ but disappeared before /i/. In the fifth and final group, PAT initial *p- and the medials *-p- and *-b- went to OJ w before /o/; subsequently, this w disappeared in Mod. Japanese.

Minor problems: In light of the time depth involved in the separation of Japanese, most of these correspondences are remarkably straightforward; nonetheless, certain minor problems do exist. Not only do some instances of intervocalic *-p- go to OJ -b- while others go to -F-, but, in a parallel way, some instances of *-b- between /a/ and /a/ correspond to OJ -b- while others correspond to OJ -F-. The data examined suggests that the solution lies in the variable position of Pre-Japanese penultimate stress with respect to these

medial segments: when penultimate stress fell on the vowel immediately before the medial, both the medial and the stressed vowel were in different syllables and the reflex was OJ -F-, but when penultimate stress fell on the vowel immediately after the medial, both the medial and the stressed vowel were in the same syllable and the reflex was OJ -b-.   Without additional data and further examination, this solution must remain speculative.

Transcription conventions: PAT = Proto-Austro-Tai, PAK = Proto-Austro-Kadai, PAJ = Proto-Austro-Japanese (see Figure 1 above). Corresponding to the tree branching of Figure 1, reconstructions lacking an identified Miao-Yao reflex are labelled PAK, and those also lacking an identified Kadai reflex are labelled PAJ; thus far, however, these distinctions appear to be of little import.   OJ is an abbreviation for Old Japanese. F is used to transliterate the bilabial fricative found in Old Japanese. x between two consonants indicates a shwa; however, x adjacent to a vowel indicates the expected voiceless velar fricative. /C_1,C_2/ indicates it is unclear which of these two consonants should be reconstructed for the form in question. ( ) indicate the appearance of the consonant in question varies within AT. C indicates any consonant; v indicates any vowel; C- indicates an initial consonant; -C- indicates a medial consonant. /a___a should be read as 'between two /a/ vowels, the first of which at some point carried stress'; /v___i should be read as 'after any vowel and preceding /i/'; /___o should be read as 'preceding /o/'. (DS) as used in the above list indicates that the initial vowel in the form gives evidence of being unstressed or 'destressed' at some earlier stage; that is, at some stage, the stress was on the second syllable.

Sources: All the material and most of the analysis---with some minor modifications---is directly from from Benedict's forthcoming Japanese/Austro-Tai.

common source. Comparisons of the Austronesian and the Tai lexicons reveal similar albeit not quite so transparent lexical similarities, which require a similar hypothesis of genetic relatedness to explain them.[2]

On the other hand, it is far easier and requires far less understanding to establish the fact of genetic relationship than it does to establish anything definite about the precise nature of the genetic relationship. In Indo-European, for example, the membership of the family is fairly well agreed upon, but even after a hundred and fifty years of scholarly work, the details of subgrouping are still far more controversial. From a historical perspective an examination of the data in Benedict's Austro-Thai and in his Austro-Japanese papers suggests a similar situation. Once the crucial data had been assembled by Benedict the genetic relationship became essentially undeniable; indeed, it seems clear that all the languages under the Austro-Kadai node of Figure 1 are genetically related.[3] However, it is far from clear that the tree diagram of

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[2] This evaluation is mine and mine alone. Elsewhere in this volume (pp. 19-20), Matisoff is far more cautious and skeptical questioning whether we yet have a sufficient data base for such conclusions.

[3] As an outsider with an extensive background in historical work but with an areal interest in Tibeto-Burman not Austro-Tai, only the membership of Miao-Yao was not obvious to me at first; even here, however, a less cursory and more detailed look at the evidence made its Austro-Tai affiliation clear.

Figure 1 accurately represents the phylogenetic relationships between the various related languages; in fact, given the state of our knowledge it would be most surprising if it did so.

While the very existence of Austro-Tai remains a question for some, it is unquestionably true that Benedict's Austro-Tai hypothesis has significantly changed our view of the history of the languages and the cultures of Southeast Asia.

Sino-Tibetan

Sino-Tibetan studies are another sphere in which Paul's influence has been extremely pervasive. Under the impetus of the annual Sino-Tibetan conferences, which have been held each year since 1968, new life and new direction has been brought into the field through the resurrection of Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus (1972), a manuscript originally written by Benedict in 1942-3 and brought up to date by Benedict and the contributing editor James A. Matisoff. The amount of interest generated is indicated by the existence of eleven different reviews of the Conspectus.

The Conspectus does provide a diagram of the relationships among the various language subgroups (see Figure 2 below), but Benedict's diagram represents not so much an attempt at schematically specifying the precise nature of genetic relationship as an attempt at avoiding the premature and thus arbitrary choices that a tree diagram and its higher-level subgroupings would require. Shafer in contrast to Benedict did set up higher-level subgroupings for Tibeto-Burman viz., Bodish [=Tibetan-Kanauri, Bahing-Vayu, and Abor-Miri-Dafla], Burmish [=Kachin, Burmese-Lolo, and Kuki-Chin-Naga], and Barish [=Bodo-Garo]. Of these, the grouping of Kuki-Chin-Naga together with Kachin and Burmese-Lolo to form a Burmish subgroup can safely be disgarded and Shafer's basis for the other subgroups remains unknown. Benedict in the Conspectus (p. 11) takes a more conservative and more realistic position:

> Supergroups within Tibeto-Burman cannot safely be set up at the present level of investigation.

He continues, "For the present, then, we must operate with nuclear or sub-nuclear divisions and with independent units," recognizing the following seven basic 'nuclei':

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

The understanding of subgrouping relationships, however, is frequently a much more sophisticated and difficult problem than the recognition of family membership, and the understanding of higher-level subgrouping relationships is even more difficult. Consequently, there is nothing in Benedict's lack of higher-order subgroupings that causes us to question the integrity of the
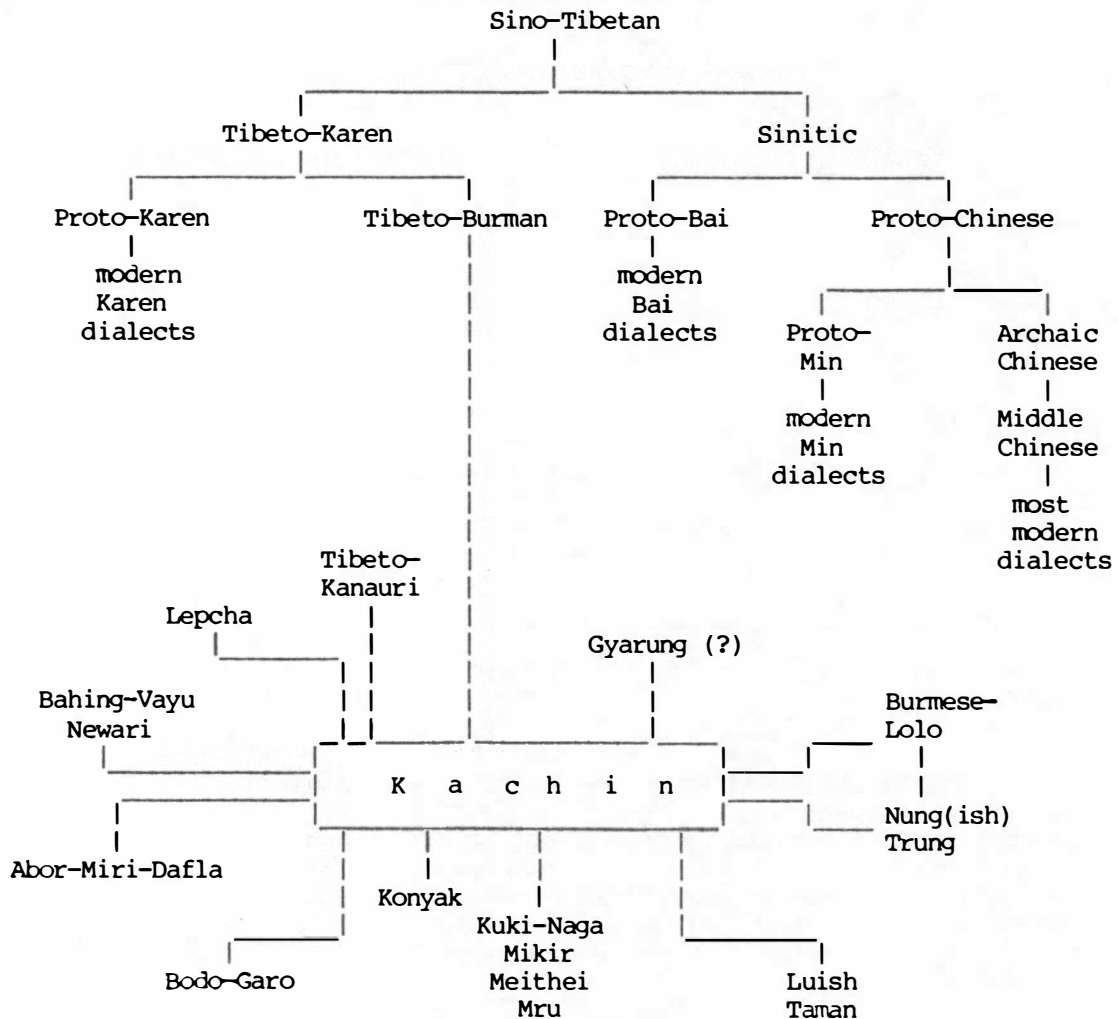
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                              Sino-Tibetan
                                   |
                 _____|_____
                |                                     |
          Tibeto-Karen                             Sinitic
         _____|_____                      _____|_____
        |               |                    |                 |
   Proto-Karen    Tibeto-Burman          Proto-Bai        Proto-Chinese
        |               |                    |                 |
     modern             |                 modern        _____|_____
     Karen              |                  Bai          |             |
     dialects           |                 dialects    Proto-       Archaic
                        |                              Min          Chinese
                        |                               |             |
                        |                             modern        Middle
                        |                              Min          Chinese
                        |                             dialects        |
                        |                                          most
                    Tibeto-                                        modern
                    Kanauri    |                                   dialects
             Lepcha      |      |
                         |      |          Gyarung (?)
    Bahing-Vayu          |  |   |               |             Burmese-
    Newari               |  |   |               |             Lolo
                        _|__|_  |               |                |
                       |      |                                  |
                       | K  a  c  h  i  n |                      |
                       |                   |               Nung(ish)
    Abor-Miri-Dafla     |   |   |   |                      Trung
                        |   |   |   |
                        | Konyak |   |
                        |        |   |
                   Bodo-Garo  Kuki-Naga   Luish
                              Mikir       Taman
                              Meithei
                              Mru
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Figure 2: Schematic representation of Sino-Tibetan groups.

family as a whole, cf. the many still-remaining questions about Indo-European subgrouping.

Sino-Tibetan itself is now a well-established language family. The relationship of Tibeto-Burman and Chinese is largely accepted and most of the argument involves the affiliation of other languages and language subgroups within this core. Thus, for example, Miao-Yao despite a heavy layer of early loans from either Chinese or related languages must be excluded from membership (Benedict 1976). And, of course, although well-established and widely-accepted as a whole, the higher order subgroupings within Sino-Tibetan, including
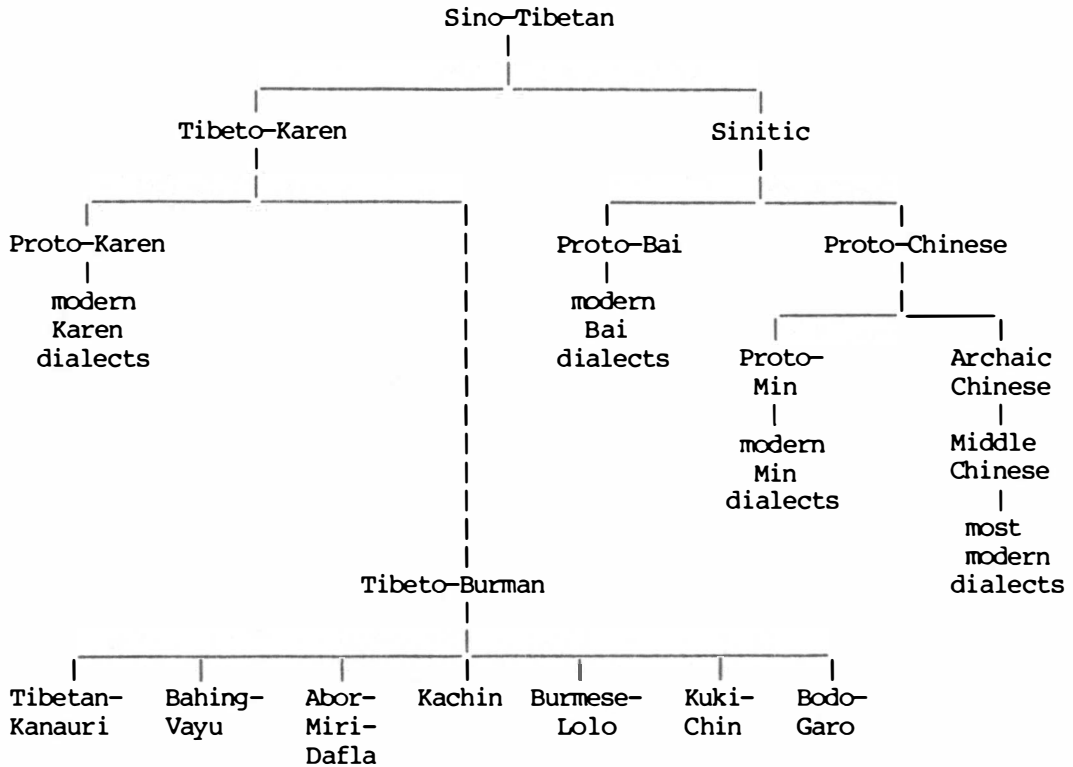
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                        Sino-Tibetan
                             |
         _____|_____
         |                                       |
    Tibeto-Karen                            Sinitic
         |                                       |
    _____|_____           _____|_____
    |                         |           |                   |
Proto-Karen                   |       Proto-Bai          Proto-Chinese
    |                         |           |                   |
  modern                      |         modern         _____|_____
  Karen                       |          Bai           |            |
  dialects                    |         dialects     Proto-       Archaic
                              |                       Min         Chinese
                              |                        |            |
                              |                      modern       Middle
                              |                       Min         Chinese
                              |                      dialects       |
                              |                                    most
                              |                                   modern
                              |                                   dialects
                              |
                        Tibeto-Burman
                              |
    _____|_____
    |        |          |          |         |         |           |
Tibetan-  Bahing-    Abor-      Kachin   Burmese-   Kuki-        Bodo-
Kanauri   Vayu       Miri-               Lolo       Chin         Garo
                     Dafla
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Figure 2b: Sino-Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman subgrouping.

Notes: The Tibeto-Burman 'subgroupings' in the above figure should be
interpreted as provisional; that is, the figure does not represent
the claim that Tibeto-Burman simultaneously broke into seven separate
branches as much as it represents that claim that we do not know what
the higher-level branching is. Several speculative subgroupings are
discussed in the text.

(despite Figures 2 and 2b) the position of Karen,[4] are still indeterminate.

    With the caveat that our knowledge of higher-level branching is at present
inadequate for definitive conclusions, Benedict (1972:11) speculatively
suggests a 'Burmic' supergroup which would include Kachin,

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[4] The unique position of Karen in the Sino-Tibetan family tree is due at least in
part to Karen's SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) word order, a pattern strikingly at
odds with the SOV word order commonly found in Tibeto-Burman. However,
Wheatley's recent recognition and explication of a quite similar shift toward
SVO among northern Loloish Tibeto-Burman languages not only makes the path of
such SOV > SVO shifts relatively clear but it also establishes that despite the
apparent magnitude of the change the time depth required for such a
reorientation need not be that long. Partially parallel incipient changes are
also found in dialects of Angami and of Kham.
    An obvious bonus from Wheatley's analysis is that it provides the
mechanism needed for the early Chinese shift from *SOV > SVO.

The writer has suggested (Benedict, 1940, pp. 108-9) that a supergroup named 'Burmic', including Burmese-Lolo, Nung, and Kachin, be recognized, ...

but he also recognizes other affiliations for Kachin,

...but further research into Kachin has brought to light unexpectedly intimate lexical contacts with Konyak and the Bodo-Garo group. It may be that all these, perhaps together with Abor-Miri-Dafla, will ultimately be brought together under a single supergroup, as contrasted with the Kuki-Naga nucleus, but at the moment any unifying concept of this kind would be mere speculation. [underlines and bold face added]

Later Benedict gives further support for his Kachin-Konyak-Bodo-Garo-Chairel group with a lexicostatistical study (1976:178), which leads him to conclude:

The scores as a whole do strongly indicate...that a basic cleavage line must be recognized within TB between B/T/L on the one hand and K/G on the other, the latter ('Kachin-Garo' supergroup) probably also including the Konyak ('Naked Naga') languages as well as the obsolete Chairel." (cf. STC 6-7).

Burling (1983) provides confirmation for this latter grouping.

Austroasiatic

In contrast to Austro-Tai and Sino-Tibetan, our view of Austroasiatic has not been specifically formulated by Benedict--only strongly influenced. Earlier writers talked vaguely about a connection between Vietnamese and Mon-Khmer, but this was superseded by Maspéro's (1912) conclusion that Vietnamese is related to Tai, an opinion based largely on their common monosyllabic structure and the presence of a large shared lexical component which included tonal correspondences. Maspéro's reputation coupled with the evidence of the agreement in tonal systems had the effect of making this position almost dogma. But as early as 1924 in Les Langues du Monde Przyluski broke with Maspero's position by classifying Annamite (=Vietnamese) with Mon-Khmer. Similarly in 1942, Benedict in the influential paper "Thai, Kadai, and Indonesian: a new alignment in Southeastern Asia" concludes, "The overwhelming majority of basic roots...are of Mon-Khmer rather than Thai origin. ...there can be no question as to the genetic nature of the Mon-Khmer-Annamite relationship." In a 1947 paper on the Vietnamese kinship system, Benedict gives a complete analysis of the language noting the core of Mon-Khmer basic roots and elements and attributing the tones and some lexical items to Tai influence. Belief in the genetic connection of Vietnamese and Tai was finally laid to rest by Haudricourt's famous paper on the origins of tones in Vietnamese (1954b). Much earlier Maspéro had not only noted the effect of voicing of initials on pitch height but had also worked out the origin of one pair of tones from final *-h (and *-s); in this paper, Haudricourt completes the analysis by pointing out the origin of the two last pairs of tones, one pair from final *-? and the other pair from open finals. Despite the questions that still remain about final *-? as an origin, the lucidity and the explanatory power of Haudricourt's paper effectively destroyed the argument that existence of tones per se denied a Mon-Khmer affiliation for Vietnamese by demonstrating how such a tonal system

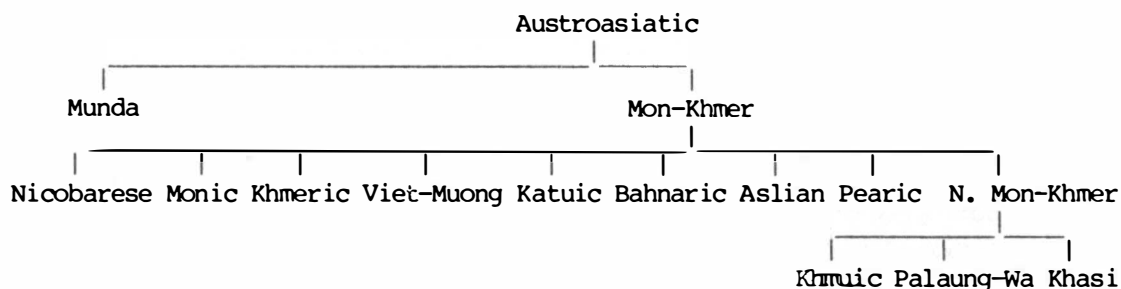could evolve diachronically from non-tonal origins.

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                              Austroasiatic
                                    |
        ┌───────────────────────────┴───────────────┐
        |                                            |
      Munda                                      Mon-Khmer
        |                                            |
   ┌────┴────┬───────┬─────────┬────────┬────────┬───────┬───────┬──────────┐
   |         |       |         |        |        |       |       |          |
Nicobarese Monic Khmeric Viet-Muong Katuic Bahnaric Aslian Pearic N. Mon-Khmer
                                                                      |
                                                           ┌──────────┼──────────┐
                                                           |          |          |
                                                        Khmuic Palaung-Wa   Khasi
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Figure 3: The Austroasiatic languages.

"Austric"

In 1906, Wilhelm Schmidt (1906) proposed an 'Austric' superstock, which connected Austroasiatic with Austronesian; transposed into Benedict's framework, this 'Austric' would be an Austroasiatic connection with Austro-Tai. In 1942, Benedict wrote (1975:461, fn. 55):

> The writer accepts Schmidt's postulation of an Austric superstock including Mon-Khmer and Austronesian, even though this relationship has not yet been thoroughly demonstrated. In the present instance, the Austric hypothesis is useful in interpreting certain roots which Thai and Mon-Khmer have in common...

Later based on the groundwork provided by a flurry of scholarly activity on Austroasiatic languages along with the results of his own work on Austro-Tai, Benedict did a preliminary survey to   re-evaluate "the Austroasiatic

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                          Austro-Tai
                              |
          ┌───────────────────┴───────────────────────────────┐
          |                                                    |
     ┌────┴────┐                                           Miao-Yao
     |         |
   Kadai       ┌─────┴─────┐
               |           |
          Austronesian  ┌──┴──────────────────┐
                        |                      |
                   Austro-Tai               ...
                   substratum
                       ⋮
                       ⋮
                   Austroasiatic
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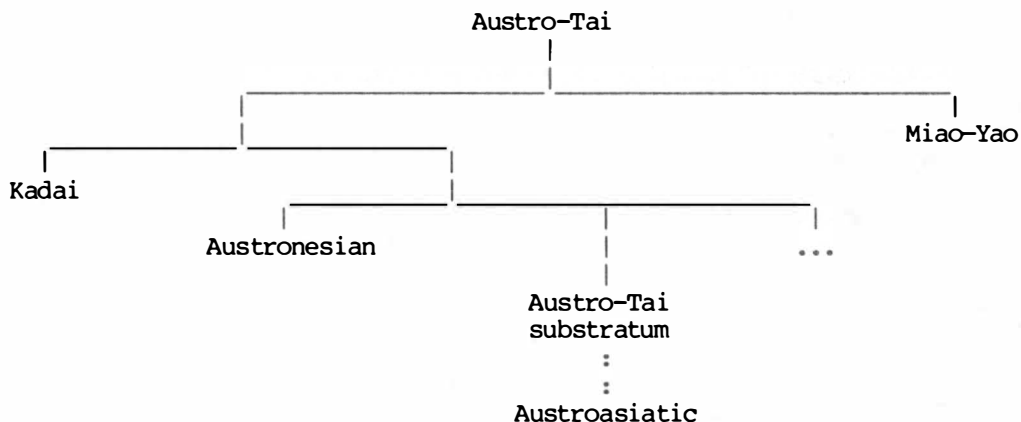
Figure 4: Austroasiatic and Austro-Tai interaction.
(Benedict 1975:485)

stock as a whole from the very special point of view of comparing the phonological framework with that of Austro-Tai and of uncovering any basic

lexical agreement that might exist" (1975:465). In short, Benedict was re-examining his earlier conclusion on the basis of more recent evidence. Benedict's new conclusion was (1975:484):

> ...AT and AA do not have a core vocabulary in common, despite the morphological similarity of the two language stocks, hence the idea of an "Austric" superstock must be abandoned. There are a number of lexical agreements, however, and these are best explained by postulating that a mainland branch of AT, now extinct, became "substratumized" by AA, yielding up certain roots in the process.

The above diagram represents the relationship involved (Figure 4).

However, Benedict is certainly not committed to the substratum explanation of lexical resemblances between Thai and Austroasiatic. More recently as our understanding of the forms in question has expanded, he has increasingly leaned toward analyzing the limited number of resemblances as nothing more than what Matisoff has termed 'comparabilia' or 'look-alikes'.

Methodology

Methodological innovation is an area in which Benedict's pioneering work has not received full recognition, perhaps because nowhere is his approach laid out explicitly. The comments in the literature either tend to point out minor deficiencies or, less charitably, suggest the absence of a 'legitimate' methodology. In particular, two objections are raised frequently, although more often informally than formally. One objection is to his use of "the principle that inexact, though close, semantic equivalence and a perfect phonetic correspondence is preferable to an exact semantic equivalence and a questionable phonetic correspondence" (Egerod 1973), a principle spelled out in Benedict's first paper "Semantic differentiation..." (1939). Although both Shafer and Chang have complained that this procedure amounts to 'relaxing the methods of comparative grammar', Egerod has criticized their position, noting that this principle was of help to Benedict in setting up Austro-Tai.

The second frequently-raised objection has to do with Benedict's failure to start at what is perceived as the proper starting point. Here Haudricourt's (1973) characterization, although it fails to capture the full essence of his method, does manage to establish a useful contrast between the two extremes by contrasting Shafer's 'analytic' approach with Benedict's 'synthesizing' approach.

Shafer's analytic approach is the widely-accepted, traditional approach to reconstruction (cf. Haas 1969 for a lucid and definitive description). And Shafer applied it closely, working first "from the local subgroupings, even dialects, to broader and broader supergroupings" (Benedict 1975b:89), eventually reaching the most chronologically-distant level of relationship. Benedict, of course, also uses the reconstruction of a subgroup rather than direct comparisons with languages within the subgroup as the basis for broader reconstruction, when such a reconstruction is available. The difference in approach, however, comes when no such reconstruction is readily attainable. Among some linguists, in fact, the belief in working up subgroup by subgroup to the higher level reconstruction is so strong that this is not just the preferred method of reconstruction but is the only method of reconstruction. An

obvious consequence of this belief would be to view Benedict's tentative reconstructions of Austro-Tai and of Sino-Tibetan as unsound in principle. This is, at least in part, the basis for Shafer's objections to Simon's direct comparisons of Tibetan and Chinese. For similar reasons, Benedict's 'teleo-reconstruction' would also cause many linguists to object in principle, for 'teleo-reconstruction' is a heuristic technique in which a provisional reconstruction is reached without the benefit of the various normally-prerequisite intermediate stages of reconstruction (see Benedict 1973; also Mazaudon's article in this volume).

More disturbing than the theoretical consequences of an insistence on a subgroup-by-subgroup approach are the practical consequences. A quick examination of the scope of the task of reconstructing of one language family, Tibeto-Burman, illustrates this. Matisoff (1980), "The languages and dialects of Tibeto-Burman", an alphabetic listing of the various names of Tibeto-Burman languages and dialects runs to 72 pages excluding prefatory remarks. Conservatively estimating only ·20 names per page, the number of language names totals 1,440; even should the language list be exhaustive and fully two-thirds of the list be alternate names for already listed languages, we are still facing some 480 languages. These 480 languages comprise only the non-Chinese component of Sino-Tibetan; the Chinese-Bai component with its incredibly complex problems of analysis and evaluation is not included. Similar descriptions of Austro-Tai and Austroasiatic could also be put forth. And, in addition to the very size and complexity of the data bases involved, two other factors present obstacles to a painstaking and meticulous subgroup-by-subgroup reconstruction. Complementing the dearth of competent, complete synchronic dictionaries and grammars let alone comparative works is not only a tremendous lack of interested, trained manpower but also of the manpower available few--if any--of the workers have the luxury of devoting more than a fraction of their time to comparative work. This, of course, is coupled with time constraints. In short, a rigid insistence on the 'analytical' approach as the only approach does more than just label work such as Benedict's as 'premature'; its actual consequence is to make the task not just formidable but in practical terms virtually impossible.

Benedict's reaction to these problems is at once a measure of the man and his genius. Faced with a methodology whose pragmatic constraints would force him to abandon any attempt at reconstructing the superstocks of Southeast Asia, Benedict responded by adjusting the methodology rather than the task. He devised a new, more 'practical' approach. 'Practical' is not a casual choice here; it characterizes the conceptual focus controlling much of Paul's organization and motivating much of his methodology. It is in terms of his own cultural background of 'Yankee' practicality in the sense of optimization of effort e.g., in his works, patterns are not documented beyond what is absolutely essential nor once established are the more obscure reflexes worked out without a purpose. His work displays a fine sense of precisely what contributes to the solution of the task at hand coupled with the ability to spot 'crucial' data.

The technique itself is characterized by Benedict as (1975b:90) the "setting up of a series of provisional frameworks, then working within these frameworks to modify them as need be," an approach which accounts for the liberal sprinkling of 'contra Benedict's' in Benedict's work. As an illustration of the process, consider the evidence given in the Conspectus for a subset of the PTB vowels (adapted from page 62):

PTB	Tibetan	Burmese	Lushei	Kachin	Garo	Dimasa
*-aw	-o	-au	-ou	-au	-o	-au
*-a:w	-o, -u	-au	-au	-au	-o	-au
*-ow	-o	-u	-ou	-u, -au	-o	-au
*-ay	-e	-ai	-ei	-ai	-e	-ai
*-a:y	-e	-ai	-ai	-ai	-ai	-ai
*-ey	-e	-i	-ei	-i	-ai	-ei
	Tibetan-Kanauri	Burmese-Lolo	Kuki-Chin	Kachin	Bodo-Garo	

Chart 5: 'Synthetic' reconstruction of several proto-Tibeto-Burman vowels.

In addition to the information provided in the above chart, a small number of sets illustrating each correspondence is given. Two characteristics of this chart not specifically commented on are of considerable importance: (1) of Benedict's seven basic Tibeto-Burman nuclei, five are represented in the chart, and (2) this part of the proto-system is typologically sound. In this case, the intimate, often intricate details of subgroup-by-subgroup reconstructions does not need to be worked out before a fairly reasonable tentative reconstruction of the proto-system is made. On the basis of this very carefully selected data, the analysis has managed to bypass the task of reconstructing the various subgroups involved, while providing insight into the structure of the proto-system and establishing a provisional reconstruction. When this technique works, it has certain obvious advantages over a more meticulous approach.

Finally, an entirely different type of objection is sometimes raised to the provisional nature not just of Benedict's but of any pioneering work--an objection that frequently reveals as much about the psychology of the objector as about the merits of the particular piece of work. It seems to me that two distinct ways of viewing publication exist. The one—the more traditional and at the same time more conservative view--sees it as the final step, as the presentation of a completed, fully-developed, fully-worked-out piece of thought i.e., publication is seen as the endpoint and the culmination of the whole process. This position was epitomized in the well-known advice of Alexander Pope to lesser poets, "Keep your piece nine years!" The other---much less cautious and conservative---sees publication not as a final but as an intermediate step, as the presentation of ideas to a broader public forum i.e., as a stage in the on-going process of its growth and development. It is in this latter spirit that Paul Benedict has presented his works to the linguistic world, and it is in the same spirit that the essays in this volume are presented.