What typology can tell us about the linguistic prehistory of Southeast Asia: a look at morphosyntactic patterns

Keywords: typology, areal linguistics, historical linguistics, morphosyntax

The examination of current geographical patterns of typological features can be used as a tool to unravel linguistic prehistory. This paper does this by examining the distribution of morphosyntactic features in the languages of Southeast Asia.

Mainland Southeast Asia (MSEA) is a remarkable linguistic area, characterized by the prevalence of isolating morphology and many other features (see e.g. Enfield 2005, Comrie 2007, and chapters in Enfield & Comrie 2015). The languages within this area converged over time and reached a high level of structural similarity. In fact, Dahl (2008) found that genetically unrelated languages of the area such as Thai and Vietnamese are typologically more similar to each other than the closely related West Germanic languages English and German are to each other.

Further south, the western Malay Archipelago is dominated by the spread of Malayic languages, which are morphologically slightly more complex than the MSEA languages but much less complex than their Austronesian (AN) sister languages further northeast in the Philippines, Taiwan, parts of Borneo and Sulawesi. The latter largely preserve the morphosyntactic profile reconstructed for Proto-AN (multiple voices, case marking, obligatory TAM marking).

However, within and adjacent to these areas, some languages are typologically aberrant. Here are some examples:

(1) While verb-medial word order is the dominant pattern for MSEA, and verb-final word order for most Sino-Tibetan languages of Myanmar, several Austroasiatic (AA) languages of different subgroups and spoken in non-continuous areas exhibit verb-initial patterns.

(2) The Sino-Tibetan languages in hilly western Myanmar are morphosyntactically much more complex than the ones of the rest of MSEA.

(3) The interior of the Malay Peninsula (i.e. Aslian) and Northwest Sumatra and nearby islands host languages that are morphologically more complex than the surrounding AN languages.

(4) The AN languages spoken in the southeastern Malay Archipelago are characterized by a high degree of linguistic diversity; they abandoned the Philippine-type morphosyntactic profile when they spread southwards and adopted new structures such as verb-medial word order and (in many instances) agreement.
All these deviating structures demand explanations. They are especially interesting since they can give us some ideas about the linguistic past, as these languages exhibit some patterns that must be presumed to have been preserved from ancient times, but have been lost in all the other surrounding languages. Preservation of patterns can be the result of direct inheritance from earlier stages of the languages. For instance, Jenny (2015, 2016) suggests that the presence of the comparatively uncommon and hard to adopt verb-initial word order in those few AA languages (cf. (1)) indicates that this pattern was already present in Proto-AA but lost in the vast majority of the family. Preservation of patterns can also be the result of substratum influence, when structures of originally spoken languages remain in place after language shift, which happened when speakers of Papuan languages adopted AN languages in the vicinity of New Guinea (and further west, cf. Schapper 2015).

Thus, tentatively, we can say that the river basins of MSEA and the large islands of the western Malay Archipelago are dominated by a few large languages exhibiting relatively little diversity and complexity (areas termed 'spread zones' by Nichols 1992, 1997), whereas we find more diversity, increased complexity and preservation of ancient patterns in languages spoken by small communities in remote or fringe areas (accretion zones in Nichols’s terms), where smaller languages are less under the pressure of being simplified or leveled by large and dominant languages. This suggests that geography (primarily) and social factors (secondarily) play crucial roles in the way how languages are shaped, i.e. how they change or preserve their structures.

References
WORKSHOP

Geolinguistic Method and Southeast Asian Linguistics

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This workshop aims at applying the geolinguistic method to the study of Southeast Asian languages. This discipline, which is also called word geography, dialect geography, linguistic geography, or areal linguistics, has a long tradition of over hundred years in European and Japanese dialectology.

There are two sessions: Introduction and case studies. Firstly, we will overview previous geolinguistic studies on Asian languages, and survey future tasks. Next, geolinguistic methods and principles will be outlined based on the tradition of European and Japanese dialect geography. Further, how to draw dialect maps using concrete language data will be discussed. This practical part leads participants to draw maps by themselves according to the manual which will be distributed.

The second half will consist of case studies, dealing with vocabulary, phonology, as well as script. The first presentation will deal with the contribution of geolinguistics to historical linguistics, through the cases of "rice" and "iron" in Tibetic languages. The second will be a case study on phonology based on field investigations of Vietnamese dialects. Lastly, the geolinguistic method will be applied to the study of the Yi script, which is known to show great diversity in terms of geographical distribution.

1. Introduction
1.1. Theoretical part
Asian geolinguistics: Sofar and beyond, Mitsuaki ENDO (Aoyama Gakuin U.)
Methods and principles of geolinguistics, Chitsuko FUKUSHIMA (U. of Niigata Prefecture)
1.2. Practical part
How to draw linguistic maps using Arc GIS Online, Mika FUKAZAWA (Chiba U.)

2. Case studies
2.1. How a geolinguistic approach can contribute to a study of Tibetic languages: Examining the cases of 'wind' and 'rice', Hiroyuki SUZUKI (Oslo U.)
2.2. Vietnamese dialect maps on phonology, Masaaki SHIMIZU (Osaka U.) & Mika KONDO (Kyoto U.)
2.3. Dialect maps of Yi (Lolo) script, Kazue IWASA (Kyoto U.)
References
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Types and Functions of Reduplication in Palembang

Keywords: Reduplication, Palembang, Morphosyntax

Palembang is a Malayic language spoken in the Palembang region in South Sumatra that is known for its extensive use of reduplication. Palembang’s reduplication can be applied to a wide variety of lexical words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and creates a wide range of semantic effects particular to each word class. There are two patterns of Palembang reduplication: 1) full reduplication and full reduplication of affixed stems, 2) full reduplication and affixation of the reduplicated root. Basically, there are two functions of reduplication in Palembang: inflectional reduplication (plurality), and derivational reduplication.

Nouns in Palembang are not specified for number. However, when a noun is reduplicated, it can only be interpreted as plural; reduplication of nouns also indicates diversity as well. Second, verb reduplication adds the iterative meaning to the action indicating that it has occurred repeatedly, or it can also have the pluractionality of the agent interpretation; some verbs are also reduplicated to signal the delimitative aspect of the verb. Third, adjective reduplication results in different functions among which is the distributive function in which the reduplicated word distributes the characteristics of the adjective over more than one entity. Another function of adjective reduplication is the intensification function. There is also the adverb of manner derivation function which enables the adjective to modify verbs. Moreover, there is also the concession function in which the reduplicated stem has to initiate the utterance, and the rest of the utterance must be contrary to what is expected. Palembang depends heavily on context; therefore, some instances of reduplications are interpreted based on context which may represent two different functions: either pluractionality or iterativity. Verbs and adjectives share some reduplication functions in common: marking the frequency of the predicate.
Clustering the Malayic dialect network of western Borneo

Keywords: Malayic; dialectology, statistical

The Malayic dialect network is one of the world's largest. The western Bornean subset alone is approximately the size of the United Kingdom, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Austria and Switzerland combined, and contains over 100 named dialects including Sarawak Malay, Iban and Kendayan. Yet how diverse is this dialect network, how different are these dialects from each other, and where are the centers of diversity? Attempts so far to answer these questions have been hampered by a serious lack of data.

The ISO 639-3 code set for languages (http://www.sil.org/iso639-3/) can be understood as hypotheses about linguistic diversity and resulting problems in intelligibility. If these codes are to be trusted for western Borneo, Malayic linguistic diversity is most concentrated in Sarawak, Malaysia.

Using the broadest Malayic database assembled to date, this study tests the implicit hypotheses inherent in the ISO code set. Specifically, it simulates intelligibility by the calculation of Levenshtein or string edit distances (Heeringa 2004) and lexical distances (lexicostatistics or calculation of shared cognates), then applies cluster analysis to the distances. The number of clusters is adjusted until the cluster sizes roughly match outer limits of reported intelligibility as obtained from participatory dialect mapping (Truong & Garcez 2012) conducted in speech communities throughout western Borneo.

The study concludes that, from a strictly linguistic/structural standpoint, the ISO codes and related maps for western Borneo require substantial revision; linguistic diversity has been understated by perhaps 50%, and the 'center of gravity' needs to move much further south. These findings have implications for the ISO language registry and language maps, but are also important for agencies which consider language development for educational or other purposes.

References
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Definite Marking Strategies in Standard Indonesian

Keywords: Definiteness, Marking Strategies

The focus of this paper is on discussing the definite marking strategies in Indonesian. Although Indonesian does not have a special form that can be exclusively used to mark the definiteness of a noun phrase, this language has a number of words that behave syntactically and semantically as definite markers. Those words include the demonstratives and two frequently used expressions used for anaphora; tersebut ‘has been mentioned’, tadi ‘earlier’.

We will apply the theory explaining the use of the English definite article proposed by Lyons (1999) to Indonesian; the main point we employ is the distinction of two types of definiteness, namely textual-situational and so-called bridging cross-reference or associative use (Lyons 1999: 4, 7, 161, and 198).

The data for the analysis was taken from written texts and some elicited examples. The result of the analysis showed that (a) the demonstratives and anaphoric expressions tersebut and tadi cover textual-situational type, (b) non-textual-situational definiteness, which is obligatorily marked in English, is not marked in Indonesian.

References
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A Split-S Active Analysis of Tagalog’s Case and Voice System

Keywords: case typology; Tagalog (ISO 639-3: TGL)

This study examines Tagalog and argues for an analysis that presents the language as having a split-S active-stative case (and associated voice) system. The paper classifies basic, underived clauses as either active or stative, based on the voice inflection in the verb, and offers empirical evidence that: (i) at the intra-clausal or morphological level, S = A takes the same form as A in active clauses, while O takes a different form. S = O takes the same form as O in stative clauses, while A takes a different form; and (ii) at the inter-clausal or syntactic level, S = A pivots with A in active clauses and S = O pivots with O in stative clauses. Both (i) and (ii) are maintained in all instances, without exception. This shows that Tagalog not only exhibits properties of being split-S active, but is, in fact, the perfect example of such a language—being perfectly split-S active both morphologically and syntactically.

Whereas Tagalog accusativity and Tagalog ergativity are both bogged down by long-standing, seemingly unanswerable arguments against them, none of those contentions apply to the proposed split-S active analysis.

Philippine ergativity forced a rethinking of the whole structure and morphosyntax of Tagalog. Analyzing Tagalog as an active-stative language may also lead to something similar. Even now, there is already a need to reassess the function and purpose of even the most common affixes like -in-, for example, here taken as the passive voice inflection. This paper also poses the possibility of examining, in future studies, whether other Philippine-type languages can also be classified as active-stative.
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Suprasegmental contrast in Philippine languages

Keywords: phonology, stress.

Phonemic stress has been described a distinctive feature of Philippine languages (e.g. Zorc 1972, Blust 2013). Related Austronesian languages in the North (Taiwan) and South (Indonesia) mostly have predictable stress patterns. In general, phonemic stress is rather rare in the Austronesian language family. Yet, there has been disagreement (or often uncertainty) over whether phonemicity lies in stress or in vowel length (e.g. Forman 1971, Schachter & Otanes 1972, Zorc 1979).

In this study, I present evidence from different Philippine language branches – mostly Ilokano, Kapampangan, Tagalog, and Hiligaynon – to argue that vowel length is in fact the underlyingly contrastive feature, with stress being predictively dependent on it. My evidence falls into the categories of a) phonological patterns of longer words, b) native speaker judgment, c) indigenous writing systems, and d) phonetic measurement. For the last, I measured vowel length in an experimental setting, which confirmed that vowels show a clear-cut difference between long and short, and that this dichotomy correlates neither with stress placement nor with syllable structure. I conclude that vowel length is indeed phonemic, and argue further that this analysis can explain certain restrictions on stress placement.

Phonemic length is less marked than contrastive stress within the Austronesian family (paralleled e.g. in Oceanic languages). However, the historical origin of the length distinction in Philippine languages is another question. Since languages from different sub-groups show agreement in length placement, the common parent language must be reconstructed with this feature (Zorc 1986, Blust 2013). However, I demonstrate that although noun cognates usually show cross-linguistic agreement, verb cognates often do not. I argue that this disagreement is due to morphological length placement alternations and support this with synchronic data. Thus, this analysis adds to the understanding not only of modern Philippine languages, but also of the evolution of the Proto-Philippine language.

References
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A reconstruction of Proto-Western Kho-Bwa

Keywords: historical reconstruction, Kho-Bwa, Tibeto-Burman

The Kho-Bwa languages (Van Driem 2001) are a group of little-known, poorly described and highly endangered languages that are generally considered to belong to the Tibeto-Burman (Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan) language family (e.g. Post and Burling, forthcoming 2016; Genetti, in press 2015 and the online language encyclopaedias Ethnologue and Glottolog).

The Kho-Bwa languages are spoken in several districts of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in India. Recent analysis of cognate basic vocabulary (Lieberherr and Bodd, forthcoming 2017) has shown that within the Kho-Bwa languages, a clear distinction can be made between Puroik (a.k.a. Sulung), Bugun (a.k.a. Khowa) and the ‘Western’ Kho-Bwa languages. The latter subgroup includes Duhumbi (a.k.a. Chugpa, 600 speakers), Khispi (a.k.a. Lishpa, 1,500-2,000 speakers), Sartang (a.k.a. But Monpa, with four varieties and 2,000 speakers) and Sherdukpen (with two varieties and 4,500 speakers).

This presentation will concisely present the outcomes of an analysis that follows the comparative method of historical linguistics to identify sound correspondences and underlying regular patterns of phonetic change between the eight varieties, focusing on both lexical and morphological data. Because of the regularity of many of the correspondences, it has been possible to reconstruct a considerable number of Proto-Western Kho-Bwa roots. This presents the first concrete evidence of the internal coherence of the Western Kho-Bwa languages as a subgroup. The results presented in this conference are based on what is possibly the most extended database of original field data for this language group, containing triple-repeated recordings of at least 550 lexical entries from a minimum of two speakers from each of the eight recognised varieties of Western Kho-Bwa languages, in addition to morphological and grammatical data.

References
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Reflexives in Bodo

Keywords: reflexives, Bodo, morpho-syntactic

Bodo, a Tibeto-Burman language is spoken in Goalpara, Baksa, Chirang, Kokrajhar, Sonitpur and Udalguri districts of Assam. The present paper aims at describing the morpho-syntactic features of the nominal and verbal reflexives in Bodo.

The nominal reflexive is morphologically a reflexive particle gao. For instance,

1. bi-jw muli lwng-na gao-khwu pw-thwi-nw naza-dwng-mwn
   3SG-NOM medicine drink-NF REF-ACC CAU-die-PRF try-AUX-PST
   ‘He tried to kill himself by drinking medicine’

Bodo also employs the nominal reflexive gao-gao for plural nouns as shown below;

2. biswr-jw muli lwng-na gao-gao-khwu pw-thwi-nw naza-dwng-mwn
   3.PL-NOM medicine drink-NF REF-ACC CAU-die-PER try-AUX-PST
   ‘They tried to kill themselves by drinking medicine.’

The verbal reflexive lang is suffixed to the verb stem in Bodo. For instance,

3. or-a nang-lang-bai
   fire-NOM catch-REF-PST
   ‘Fire caught.’ (by itself)

4. gab-phwr-a nangla-lang-bai
   colour-PL-NOM amalgamate-REF-PST
   ‘Colours got amalgamated.’ (by itself)

The etymology of the verbal reflexive lang is associated with the verb stem lang meaning ‘take away’. Thus, the present paper is an attempt to analyse the reflexive structure in Bodo along with its etymological information.
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Asymmetry of Glides in Shan

Keywords: Shan, glides

Glides are often ambiguous segments, with properties of both consonants and vowels, which has prompted a wide array of theoretical approaches to their representation. The glides of the Tai-Kadai language Shan cast doubt on standard accounts of glides, as they behave asymmetrically—that is, different glides behave differently in their patterning and sonority.

Data from a native speaker was recorded and analyzed in Praat to examine both phonological and phonetic properties of the glides. Though Shan has previously been reported to have three glides (/j/, /w/, and /ɰ/), the consultant's dialect appeared to have only two, /j/ and /w/. Both are phonemically distinct from vowels, and have co-occurrence restrictions with consonants and not vowels. However, like all vowels, /w/ is often preceded by an epenthetic glottal stop when word-initial (regardless of whether the tone is glottalized), but /j/ is not. Word-initial /j/ is often fricated, while /w/ is not. In coda position in fast speech, /w/s are subject to shortening and even occasional deletion, while /j/s are preserved. Both glides, on average, are realized with durations equal to rather than shorter than those of vowels of corresponding height and roundness, and a substantial portion of that duration is steady-state; by contrast, other consonants, even sonorants, do not have consistent durations.

This suggests representational differences that separate the glides not only from both vowels and consonants, but also from each other. /j/ may be more fully specified than /w/, in a way that excludes it from processes acting on vowels. It is not sufficient, for Shan, to distinguish glides from vowels simply by some feature like [+consonant] or [-syllabic]; the asymmetry between the glides motivates a new approach to their representation.
Gender marking system in Liangmai

Keywords: Gender in Liangmai, A Tibeto-Burman language

This paper is an attempt to discuss the gender marking system in Liangmai (ISO 639-3 njn), a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by 70,000 speakers in Manipur and Nagaland in Northeast, India. The language is called Lianglad which literally means ‘Liangmai language’. Gender is not a grammatical category in Liangmai, but the lexicon distinguishes gender for humans, animals, birds and insects etc. The animate nouns in Liangmai are morphologically marked for masculine and feminine genders. In Liangmai, different markers are used to express gender distinction in animate nouns, for instance: in human nouns, gender is indicated by -piu ‘male’ and -pui ‘female’ respectively. In non-human animate nouns, gender is marked by suffixing kiu ‘male’, ŋi ‘female’ to the nouns and for birds -reŋ and liu are used to indicate masculine and feminine gender. All insects are considered to be female and therefore they are marked with the feminine suffix -pui. Inanimate nouns have no gender in this language.

In Liangmai, gender-marking directly follows the head noun. Like other Tibeto-Burman languages, Liangmai does not show any gender in 3 person personal pronoun i.e., /pa/ refers to both ‘he/she’. The paper aims to examine the various gender marking strategies in Liangmai language.

References
The semantics of future marking in Atayal

Keywords: future, tense, modal, Atayal, Austronesian

Like many other morphologically tenseless languages, Atayal (Formosan, Austronesian) does not possess any overt tense marker. Yet, future time reference has been described to be overtly marked (Egerod 1965, 1966, 1980, Huang 1993, Zeitoun et al. 1996), according to which the future is expressed by affixation in the actor voice (i.e., substituting the actor voice morpheme with the affix p-), or by Ca- reduplication in a non-actor voice (i.e., reduplicating the first consonant and vowel of the stem); moreover, these markers can alternate with the auxiliary musa’ grammaticalized from a going verb (Huang 2008). Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether prefixation and Ca- reduplication are simply the alternating strategies conditioned by voice, and whether the morphological marking is semantically equivalent to the auxiliary musa’, namely, whether the two forms are freely exchangeable (and if not what conditions their use).

Building upon the previous work, this paper takes a further investigation on the semantics of these strategies marking future time reference. I argue that both answers to the two questions posed above are negative, contra the earlier description or implication. I first show that for aspectually unmarked sentences, the p- form alternates with a zero form depending on whether the verb is in the actor voice or not. I then explore the meaning difference between the morphological marking and the auxiliary musa’ by conducting context-induced elicitation on different types of modality; the result shows that musa’ is only used for future prediction, whereas the morphological forms are compatible with a range of future modality. Another difference between them is temporal: While the use of musa’ extends to present inference, the p-/zero form is obligatorily interpreted as forward-shifted. Last, both p- for actor-voice sentences and zero form for non-actor-voice sentences can undergo reduplication, which asserts either certainty of prediction or immediate futurity. I provide a modal analysis that explains the meaning of the three forms.

The finding of this paper not only contributes to discovering variations in the semantics of future marking but also to the debate on the analysis of the future. It also has an important implication on the temporal system of the language: the futurity of the zero form in non-actor-voice sentences suggests that future reference is not systematically marked in Atayal.
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An initial analysis of Amis desire verb construction

Keywords: Austronesian languages, Amis, syntax

This study investigates and presents the construction of desire verb 'want' in Amis. Previous studies of the desire verb ‘want’ indicate ‘want’ can be a raising verb and is light syntactically (e.g. Polinsky & Potsdam, 2008). However, this is not the case in Amis, a Formosan, Austronesian language. First, unlike many other Austronesian languages (e.g. Indonesian), Amis 'want' can take voice (ma- must appear, see (Wu, 2006)), TAM markers, and be passivized. Secondly, the integration of 'want' matrix clause and its complement is loose. It allows an independent temporal specification and negation for its complement clause. This loose complementation is also reflected on its case assignment. 'Want' only determines the case assignment in the matrix clause but it does not have full control for case assignment of argument(s) in the complement clause (1a). Thirdly, Raising to Trigger (RtoT), termed by Liu (2011), is possible in 'want' construction in which only the nominative NP of complement clause can appear as the 'raised' NP in the matrix clause (1b). According to Liu (2011), RtoT is not a real raising and the 'raised' NP is not raised. Instead, Liu (2011) claims that the 'raised' NP is base-generated and co-indexed with the gap in the complement clause via null operator movement. However, this requires further examination. Overall, the initial analysis concludes that in Amis, the desire verb 'want' behaves similarly to factive verbs, instead of raising or modality verbs.

(1) a. ma-ngalay-ay ci aki (a) ma-luramud ci panay
   Neut-want-Fac Nom.PPn Aki (LNK) Neut-marry Nom.PPn Panay
   ‘Aki wants to marry Panay.’

b. ma-ngalay-ay ci aki ci panay-an (a) ma-luramud
   Neut-want-Fac Nom.PPn Aki PPn Panay-Dat (LNK) Neut-marry

References
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Amfo'an Consonant Insertion
Keywords: Consonant Insertion, Phonology, Optimality Theory

I present a phonological account of the consonant insertion in Amfo'an (Austronesian, Indonesia). Amfo'an displays a regular process of word final consonant such that underlyingly vowel final words emerge with a coda phrase-finally. An example is /fatu/ 'stone' which emerges as [fatug] phrase-finally, and as [fatu] elsewhere.

Consonant insertion has been accounted for as the output of the interaction of markedness and faithfulness constraints. Previous accounts have asserted that cases of consonant insertion employ the most unmarked candidates, making [ʔ] and [h] the best candidates due to their lack of place feature (Lombardi 2002). Other accounts have examined consonant insertion with the assumption that epenthetic consonants can bear place features as long as those features are as faithful as possible to the features of an adjacent vowel, and that a particular consonant may not be inserted if a more faithful alternative is allowed by the language (Vaux 2002).

Although Amfo'an attests unmarked [ʔ]in certain word positions in which no lexical consonant is found, this otherwise optimal choice does not occur word finally. Consider the pattern of consonant insertion as conditioned by the final vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘banana’</th>
<th>‘house’</th>
<th>‘stone’</th>
<th>‘bird’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phrase-medial</td>
<td>uki</td>
<td>ume</td>
<td>fatu</td>
<td>kolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase-final</td>
<td>ukidʒ</td>
<td>umel</td>
<td>fatug</td>
<td>kolog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While which consonant is inserted is predictable based on the quality of the final vowel, there is not always an obvious relationship between the features of the two, as would be expected from a highly ranked faithfulness constraint. While /g/ shares the feature [+back] with the vowels /u/ and /o/, and /dʒ/ shares the feature [+high] with the vowel /i/. Surprisingly, however, /dʒ/ is not inserted after /e/ and instead /l/ occurs, it is not immediately clear why this is so.

This talk describes and analyses the Amfo'an data and discusses its typological implications the discipline of phonology more broadly.

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Intonation of L2 Assamese by L1 Boro speakers
Keywords: Intonation, L2 prosody.

This paper examines the intonation structure of Assamese produced by speakers of Boro, a two tone language spoken in North-East India. Assamese is spoken in the same region and its prosody is characterized by L*H* melody recurring with each successive phonological phrase (p-phrase) (Twaha and Mahanta, 2016). Previous studies (Ueyama and Jun, 1998) have shown that not all L1 features directly shape L2 intonation and advanced L2 speakers are better at grouping words into phrases. This paper presents the results of a production experiment involving four Boro speakers belonging to two levels of proficiency in Assamese. The participants read out forty sentences written in Assamese script. Each iteration of the sentences is analysed by extracting its pitch contour using the software- Praat 5.3.04_win32 (Boersma and Weenink, 2012). Results show that F0 specifications for lexical tones are not transferred to L2 in Assamese sentences containing words corresponding to Boro words having contrastive lexical tones. For simple statements the degree of accuracy in L2 intonation correlates with proficiency level. Less advanced learners transfer L1 Boro system of prosodic phrasing to L2 intonation. All the participants could phonetically realized the typical L2 L*H* contour for p-phrases. Speakers have shown greater amount of accuracy in realizing the L*fH* for wh-question than using this pitch accent for corrective focus marking. Instead, compression of duration of all the syllables is calculated to be the dominant phonetic cue for L2 corrective focus marking for Boro speakers. Although L2 intonation for statements and questions is marked by greater amount of accuracy, variations depending on proficiency level also constitute an important aspect of the intonation structure of L2 Assamese spoken by Boro speakers. In this way this paper tries to throw some light on the way the speaker of a tone language acquire a non-tonal language.

References
**Title: The Austroasiatic Consonant Shifts: Causes and Analogues**

**Keywords:** consonant shift, Austroasiatic, perceptual optimization

So-called ‘Germanic-style’ consonant shifts have taken place within several branches of the Austroasiatic phylum (primarily in Khasian, Pearic (Chong), and Angkuic; Sidwell 2015:188, Sidwell and Rau 2015:302, and Svantesson 1988:76). These shifts have in common that plain voiceless stops became aspirated, suggesting that the parallel development of aspiration in different branches of Austroasiatic may have a common trigger.

Using the well-documented shift of voiceless stops in Khasian as a point of departure, I suggest that aspiration in Proto-Khasi first arose in sesquisyllabic sequences of *k* + plain voiceless stop. That is, when an unaspirated (-)*k-* in an (unstressed) minor syllable was immediately followed by a plain voiceless stop (*p, *t, *k*) that formed the initial consonant of a following (stressed) major syllable (abbreviated as (-)k. 'Ci-), this sequence resulted in aspirated ph-, th-, kh-. The aspirates then generalized given their greater perceptual distance from other consonant series. The triggering minor syllable consonant *-k-* was lost when sequences of two voiceless stops became phonotactically disfavored in later stages of Khasi.

(Alternatively, this change may have gone through a debuccalization phase: -*k C- > -*h' C- . > *h'Ch > 'Ch.) Analogous changes are known from the history of the Austronesian languages (Lobel & Hall 2010), and might also help to explain the shifts that took place in other Austroasiatic branches.

**References**


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Vowels and stress in three East and Central Manobo languages.
Keywords: Austronesian, comparative method.

This paper casts a critical eye over a comparative analysis of three East and Central Manobo languages done by the author as an MA student in Linguistics, confronting it to authoritative work done by experts of Philippine languages (e.g. Elkins 1974). From this it draws recommendations on applying the comparative methods, but also highlights open questions on the Manobo languages regarding particularly the actual chart of phonemes (vowels) and the role of supra-segmental features (stress).

In a first phase the author had compared Ata Manobo (atd), Dibabawon Manobo (mbd) and Agusan Manobo (msm), using a 372-word list from Reid (1971), completed with Gelacio et al.’s (2000) dictionary. Proto-East and Central Manobo cognates had been reconstructed, and a set of realization rules for the proto-phonemes inferred to account for the actual language reflexes. In a second stage, this work was compared with Elkins (1974)’s reconstruction of Proto-Manobo (12 languages, 197 cognates). It was found that the reflexes of vowels of the two word lists for atd or mbd did not match – we hypothesize that the interpretation of field workers may have been influenced by the prevalent discussion of the Philippine “pepet” sound (e.g. Conant 1912), or that several Manobo dialects are fast changing due to strong influence of many Cebuano speakers settled in Mindanao. Also msm and mbd share the common innovation of the *l# deletion that justifies their grouping in a different branch than atd, but only mbd changed the attributes of the preceding vowel which is difficult to interpret for the apprentice comparatist. Finally while little reference is made by Elkins (1974) to the stress patterns, stress is contrastive in msm, and several cognates do not have stress on the same syllable in mbd and msm – we look at a possible correlation between sound changes and stress.

References
Class term doubling in Tai Khamti: reanalysis, reinforcement, and sesquisyllables

Keywords: Tai languages, morphology, phonology

Like most languages in the Kra-Dai family, Tai Khamti [ISO 639-3: kht] is primarily a monosyllabic and isolating language, and makes heavy use of compounding. Haas (1964) used the name ‘class term’ to describe a type of semantic classifying head that occurs frequently in Thai noun compounds, and is commonly found throughout the family, including in Tai Khamti. In such compounds, this obligatory morpheme gives the semantic class that the noun belongs to, and is obligatory. The class term is in an unstressed position, and as a result many undergo phonological reduction, which involves tone bleaching and vowel centralization, resulting in what looks like a classic Southeast Asian sesquisyllable (e.g. Matisoff 1973, Butler 2014). These reduced forms not only exist in variation with the full forms, but in many cases the sesquisyllabic form is reanalyzed as monomorphemic, and once again paired with the unreduced class term, as a form of morphological reinforcement. The result is three variants that coexist in the Tai Khamti lexicon with apparently identical semantics, as ween in (1) and (2):

(1) a. paa4 lung1 fish large
   b. pa-lung1 fish-large
   c. paa4 pa-lung1 fish fish-large
   ‘freshwater fish sp.’

(2) a. maak6 mong2 fruit mango
   b. ma-mong2 fruit-mango
   c. maak6 ma-mong2 fruit fruit-mango
   ‘mango’

The process also occurs in less noun-like contexts, or in the verb complex, as in (3), (4):

(3) a. mu2 ngaa4 when yesterday
   b. ma-ngaa4 when-yesterday
   c. mu2 ma-ngaa4 when when-yesterday
   ‘yesterday’

(4) a. kaa6 taa2 go IMPER
   b. ka-taa2 go-IMPER
   c. kaa6 ka-taa2 go go-IMPER
   ‘Go!’

This talk examines the coexistence of these competing forms, and also presents cases in which the minor syllable of the resulting sesquisyllable is becoming semantically bleached. Comparing sesquisyllable development in action against similar processes in the family and region, we can identify the morphological direction this trend may ultimately go.

References
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Extraction and licensing in Toba Batak

Keywords: Austronesian, syntax

I investigate patterns of preverbal extraction in Toba Batak (Austronesian; Indonesia). Contrary to previous descriptions, I show that simultaneous extraction of multiple constituents is grammatical, albeit in very limited configurations.

Background: Toba Batak clauses are predicate-initial, with a two-way Austronesian “voice” alternation, here called ACTIVE and PASSIVE, depending on the choice of “subject” DP. The subject can be topicalized, wh/focus-fronted, or relativized; in contrast, Schachter (1984) and Cole and Hermon (2008) show that non-subject DPs (PASSIVE agents and ACTIVE themes) cannot be moved. Non-DPs do not interact with voice. Toba Batak has no morphological case distinctions.

Key data: As noted by Cole and Hermon (2008), it is not possible to wh/focus-front one DP and also front another DP argument, regardless of the choice of voice. However, two DPs can be fronted if they are both formally focused—see the wh and holan ‘only’ DPs in (1). Such examples have never been documented before.

(1) Ise *(holan) buku-on di-jaha?
who only book-this PASS-read
‘Who read *(only) this book?’

In the talk, I present additional data on the patterns of grammatical and ungrammatical multiple fronting. I argue that this behavior is explained by (a) the availability of C and T with their traditional division of labor (wh/focus-probing by C and subject licensing and fronting by T) together with (b) the ability of bundling C and T on a single head (CT), probing for the joint satisfaction of their probes. Further evidence for this organization of C and T comes from the distribution of the particle na in two varieties of the language.

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Malagasy as a Window into the Linguistic History of Southeast Asia

Keywords: Borneo, Austronesian

Some 1500 years ago, people speaking a South-Barito language left Borneo and crossed the Indian Ocean to Madagascar. Today, comparing contemporary Malagasy to its close stay-behind relatives in Borneo provides a window into the linguistic history of Southeast Asia and the spread of Austronesian languages into the Indonesian archipelago.

Gil (2015) proposes 17 linguistic features characteristic of the Mekong-Mamberamo linguistic area, stretching from Mainland Southeast Asia through the Indonesian archipelago and into Western New Guinea. Crucially, Taiwan and the Philippines lie outside the Mekong-Mamberamo area; thus, when Austronesian languages spread south from the Philippines into Indonesia, they acquired these Mekong-Mamberamo features from the now-extinct non-Austronesian languages already there.

Examining Malagasy with respect to the 17 Mekong-Mamberamo features reveals a differential pattern. Some Mekong-Mamberamo features are shared by Malagasy; e.g. the passing gesture, repeated dental clicks expressing amazement, 'eye day' > 'sun' lexicalization, and d/t place-of-articulation asymmetry. These features, absent from proto-Austronesian, were picked up somewhere in the Indonesian archipelago by a language ancestral to Malagasy and then brought across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar. However, other Mekong-Mamberamo features, generally pertaining to morphosyntax, clause structure and word order, are absent from Malagasy; with respect to these, Malagasy bears a greater resemblance to the languages of Taiwan and the Philippines than to its closer relatives in Borneo. Presumably, at the time of the migration to Madagascar, the South Barito languages had not yet acquired these features from the surrounding Mekong-Mamberamo languages.

Thus, the distribution of Mekong-Mamberamo features in Malagasy suggests that, in Southeast Borneo at least, the spread of Austronesian languages and the acquisition of Mekong-Mamberamo features from the non-Austronesian substrate was not a single event but rather encompassed at least two distinct stages, the first prior to and the second subsequent to the departure of Malagasy from Borneo. More generally, it suggests that the spread of Austronesian throughout the Indonesian archipelago was a process that played out over an extended period of time, involving multifarious situations of language contact across time and space.

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Reconstructing Allative-to-Future Grammaticalization in Malayic

Keywords: Grammaticalization, Malayic

The grammaticalization of allative markers to express future tense represents a cross-linguistically attested path of grammaticalization (Grossman & Polis 2014). Here we propose a reconstruction of allative-to-future grammaticalization of markers of the form \((a)kV(n)\) in the Malayic subgroup of Austronesian, based on a sample of nearly 60 Malayic varieties. A large majority of the varieties in the sample have a \(kV\) allative; we reconstruct an allative form \(*ka\) for proto-Malayic. Futures of the form \((a)kV(n)\) are less widespread, belonging to three distinct groups: (a) \(kV\) futures, occurring in a swathe of Malayic varieties in Sumatra, e.g. Central Minangkabau \(ka\); (b) \(kVn\) futures, occurring in Borneo, e.g. Iban \(ka\?\); and (c) \((a)kVn\) futures, occurring sporadically throughout Malayic, e.g. Bangkinang Kampar \(kan\), Brunei Malay \(kan\). On purely internal distributional grounds, it is not obvious whether these three groups of future markers are related, and if so how. Nevertheless, we argue that these three groups do indeed derive from a common future form \(*(a)ka(n)\) reconstructible to proto-Malayic.

In support of this reconstruction we offer three independent arguments. First, cognate markers with both allative and future functions occur in Austronesian languages outside of Malayic, e.g. Kenyah \(ka\), Malagasy \(h(u)\) (\(k\geq h\) is regular in Malagasy). Secondly, within Malayic, the distribution of \((a)kan\) futures is actually more widespread in negative contexts, e.g. Papuan Malay \((a)kan\) — in general, futures tend to be more conservative in negative contexts than in positive ones (Poplack and Turpin 1999, Grossman et al. 2014). Thirdly, the reconstruction of allative and future \(*(a)ka(n)\) in proto-Malayic provides a diachronic source for similar forms with other related functions, such as the causative-applicative-transitivizer marker, e.g. Siak Malay \(=kan\), and the cognitive oblique marker, e.g. Ternate Malay \(akan\). We conclude therefore that all of the future markers of the form \(kV(n)\) occurring in Malayic languages are the product of a single process of allative-to-future grammaticalization that took place in an Austronesian language ancestral to proto-Malayic, and that by the time of Proto-Malayic, \(*(a)ka(n)\) was already associated with both allative and future functions.

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Sentence-final particles in Hokaglish

Keywords: Hokaglish language; sentence-final particles

Hokaglish or Salamstam-oe is a mixed variety primarily resulting from contact among Hokkien, Tagalog, and English, mainly spoken by Filipino-Chinese in Manila. This study investigates its sentence-final particles (SFPs) and their etymologies to prove that Hokaglish is a mixed language and not a codeswitching phenomenon as previously argued. While some SFPs like nga (from Tagalog) are easily identified, others like ba, la, o, pa, lo, and a are difficult to be traced. Take, for example, the interrogative ba in (1):

(1) I ule tsiah rice ba?
    3SG have eat rice SFP
    ‘Does s/he eat rice?’

The Hokaglish SFP ba may cursorily be sourced to Tagalog; however, the ba used in the same context in Tagalog (2) is not a SFP. This led me to hypothesize that ba might have been influenced by the grammars of Hokkien, Mandarin, and Cantonese, where interrogative particles are always sentence-final.

(2) K<um>akain 1 ba siva ng kanin?
    <ACTFOC>IPFV~eat PRT 3SG PRT rice
    ‘Does s/he eat rice?’

In order to systematically analyze the sources of the SFPs, I first outline the language ecology of Manila across time. I then identify the relevant languages for different time periods that contributed to Hokaglish’s feature pool. Finally, I compare Hokaglish SFPs with the SFPs of the relevant languages (Chu 2010, Tan 1993). My investigation reveals that the selected SFPs demonstrate varying degrees of contact between the languages involved. It showed that English exhibited no observable influence on Hokaglish SFPs because it gained its sociopolitical significance in the Filipino-Chinese community later than the other relevant languages. Based on these, I conclude that Hokaglish SFPs do not only source from one language, but many since there are source-language overlaps that appear to confuse even native speakers. This ultimately suggests that Hokaglish is already becoming an established language of its own.

1 Words that are underlined are clearly Tagalog in origin.

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GOPE, Amalesh, BARBORA, Madhumita, BRAHMA, Sansuma, SINHA, Nupur

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Tones in Hruso-Aka: An Acoustic Approach

Keywords: tone, ANOVA, f₀, Hruso-Aka

This paper examines the tonal property of Hruso-Aka, a language belonging to the Hrusish family of the greater Sino-Tibetan language family. 4 native speakers (all male), aged between 25 to 56 years, participated in the acoustic experiment. A dataset comprising a list of 60 words (with two-way or three way tonal contrasts) were recorded in two different contexts: in isolation, and in a fixed sentence frame of ‘I X say’, (X being the target word). For the subjects to be able to maintain the tonal contrast between the words with distinct meanings, a method of priming was used. In order to avoid inter/intra-speaker and token variations, we adopted the z-score normalization procedure (Disner 1980, Rose 1987). The results confirm the presence of (at least) three lexical tones- viz, falling tone, mid tone and low tone. Subsequently, one-way repeated measure ANOVA was conducted to validate the findings of the production experiment.

Figure 1 and Figure 2 represent non-normalized, averaged pitch tracks for [drj] and [vej] series respectively (n= 32 (4 speakers * 4 repetitions, 2 contexts).

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ABSTRACTS: SEALS XXVII, 11-13 May 2017 Padang (West Sumatra)

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The Bajo maritime diaspora in Indonesia: loanwords and migration stages

Keywords: Sama-Bajau languages, maritime diaspora

The Sama-Bajau villages are scattered along the coasts of Eastern Indonesia, Southern Philippines (Sulu archipelago) and Sabah (Malaysia). For unknown reasons, the Sama-Bajau fled their territory of origin more than 1000 years ago. Their migration or dispersion did not leave archaeological evidence, therefore only linguistics and genetics can help tracing it back. Pallesen (1985) has shown that the Sama-Bajau settled in Sulu centuries ago, where language contact led to a reciprocal influence with Tausug (a displaced language from Mindanao). However, as Sama-Bajau languages are not Philippine-type languages, Pallesen concluded that their ancestors must have migrated from elsewhere in insular Southeast Asia.

In this paper, I argue that only Indonesian Bajos borrowed Bugis words, along with some South Celebes cultural traditions. For their part, the Sama-Bajau languages of the Philippines retain no trace of Bugis, while no loanwords from Tausug are found in Indonesian Bajo. Recent genomic studies show a very long cohabitation of Indonesian Bajos with the Bugis, but also a surprisingly diverse gene flow, resulting from intermarriages which illustrate the Bajo tradition of openness and mobility. This leads to believe that after the initial dispersion, the diaspora did not follow a linear path via Sulu, but spread from two separate foci: South Sulawesi → Makassar Strait, Sulawesi (except North) and Eastern Indonesia; and another focus from Sulu Archipelago → North Sulawesi, Sabah and North Kalimantan.

But before their initial dispersion, where did the Sama-Bajau people live? It has been shown by Blust (2007) that their language share a few lexical innovations with the South-Barito group (Central & South Kalimantan). A more precise linguistic area can now be delineated. Finally, I will propose a broad scenario of the Sama-Bajau lengthy dispersion, from downstream Barito (South Kalimantan) to the shores of Eastern Indonesia, Sabah and the Sulu nowadays.

References
The study of Classifier of Kuy Language in Thailand

Keywords: Kuy Language; Classifier

The classifiers of Kuy language in Thailand can be divided into general classifiers and individual classifiers. While, from the source, the classifiers of Kuy language can be divided into native classifiers and loan classifiers. The native classifiers of Kuy language come form the content words through the grammaticalization, and the loan classifiers come from Thai language (or dialects of Thai language). And the basic function of Kuy classifiers is to count things and express the quantity of things. In addition, the classifiers of Kuy language is often combined with numerals to form the structure of " numeral + classifier ", or combined with nouns and numerals to form " noun + numeral + classifier " structure, playing various components of the sentence, such as subject, object, etc. The factors that lead Kuy language to generate classifiers can be divided into internal factor and external factor; the internal factor is the requirement of accurate expression of the language, the external factor is the language contact.

Literature
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Verbal Agreement In Chiru, A Kuki-Chin Language

Keywords: Chiru, Kuki-Chin, preverbal agreement paradigm

The aim of this paper is to describe the verbal agreement system of Chiru, (ISO 639-3cdf) a Kuki-Chin language spoken in Manipur, India. Chiru is a Kuki-Chin language of the Tibeto-Burman group of the Sino-Tibetan language family, spoken mainly in Kangpokpi, Churachandpur and Tamenglong districts of Manipur by 7000 speakers. One of the distinctive features of the Kuki-Chin languages is a verb agreement system consisting of preverbal pronominal elements indexing subject and sometimes object arguments. In most languages, these also function as possessive pronominals. Chiru shares this typological feature with the prefixal verb agreement paradigm.

It is observed that Chiru, like other Kuki-Chin languages, have a prefixal verb agreement paradigm based on a set of pronominal prefixes: ka- ‘first person’ naŋ- ‘second person and a-‘third person’. Verbal agreement patterns shows distinction in the inclusive versus exclusive first person. ka- ‘first person exclusive’ na- ‘first person inclusive’. With intransitive verbs, the verb agreement is always with the subject person irrespective of person and number.

However, with transitive verbs, the verb agreement is not also with the subject. Chiru exhibits the hierarchical agreement pattern, where the verb indexes a 1 or 2 arguments in preference to 3, regardless of which is subject or object. The paper aims to investigate the nature of verb agreement in different environments.

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Thai or English?: Language choice and language attitude in Thailand's educational domain

Keywords: language choice, language attitude, education

English has been the major foreign language of Thailand and today included as part of the country’s Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551 (A.D. 2008). Since Thai, the national language of the country, has been used in all of the major domains for a very long time, Thai people in general do not consider English necessary for everyday life. Its role has been limited to the educational domain as a foreign language. However, as a result of the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2015, of which the single market system has begun and English is designated as the lingua franca, English has become more significant in Thailand providing access to better educational and job opportunities, yet remaining a foreign language. The increasing influence of English has been recognized by the Thai government which has allocated over 500 million baht to educational institutes to be invested in improving students’ English skills (Chongkittavorn 2014). The government also aims to increase the EPI English Proficiency Index of the country (Peat 2014), 56th out of 72 countries in 2017.

This study investigates the arising competition between Thai and English in university level and the educators’ response to the government’s inclination towards English. The choice of language used in teaching materials, theses, and the medium of instruction itself was recorded during the fieldwork in major state and private universities in Bangkok conducted as part of a larger project on language choice in ASEAN countries. The results reveal the continuous dominant of Thai. Yet, further in-depth interviews with educators reveal their positive attitude and inclination towards English as the medium of instruction. The findings are meaningful as they show the increasing recognition of English and the possibility of the language to overcome the use of the long-standing national language in the educational domain.

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Reverse engineering of plural personal pronouns in Penang Hokkien

Keywords: Contact linguistics, morphophonology

Penang Hokkien (PH) is spoken mostly among the Chinese population in Penang, the only Malaysian state with a Chinese majority (42%), where a myriad of languages are spoken, including Mandarin, English, Malay, Tamil, etc. PH has a three-person pronoun system that is marked for number, but not case and gender. Beside the 1st person plural inclusive pronoun, plurality is indicated by compounding lan3 ‘people’ to the respective singular personal pronouns. These compounded pronouns are often contracted into one syllable by dropping the onset of lan3, and changing the overall tone to T1, as exemplified below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Penang Hokkien</th>
<th>Quanzhou</th>
<th>Zhangzhou</th>
<th>Shantou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ua3</td>
<td>gua3</td>
<td>gua3</td>
<td>ua3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>lu3</td>
<td>lu3</td>
<td>li1</td>
<td>lu3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>i1</td>
<td>i1</td>
<td>i1</td>
<td>i1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL (incl.)</td>
<td>laŋ3</td>
<td>lan3</td>
<td>lan3</td>
<td>naŋ3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL (excl.)</td>
<td>ua3-laŋ2 / uan1</td>
<td>gun3</td>
<td>gun3/ guan3</td>
<td>uan3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>lu3-laŋ2 / laŋ1</td>
<td>lin3</td>
<td>lin3</td>
<td>niŋ3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>i1-laŋ2 / ian1</td>
<td>in1</td>
<td>in1</td>
<td>iŋ3/ i1-naŋ3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While PH has been regarded as an overseas Southern Min dialect (Lim 2010), the morphology and phonology of its plural personal pronouns are unlike any of its Southern Min counterparts, including Quanzhou, Zhangzhou and Shantou dialects. This paper aims to explain the discrepancy from a contact perspective. Upon comparison with other languages spoken in Penang since her founding, this paper proposes that PH personal pronoun system is a hybrid between the Southern Min and the Baba Malay system that forms plural personal pronouns by compounding orang ‘people’ to respective singular personal pronouns (see Lee 2014). Adding to other features previously discussed (see Hing 2017), this paper calls for a reanalysis of the grammar of PH and subsequently of other “Chinese dialects” spoken in Malaysia before jumping into conclusion on the classification of these languages, potentially overlooking diachronic linguistic influences from local contexts.

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Phonetic realisation of a Schwa like vowel “x” in Santali
Keywords: Santali, Vowel, Acoustics

Santali has seven peripheral and one central vowel schwa (Ghosh, 2008). Examining recent Santali speech data revealed that some Santali speakers tend to produce a schwa like vowel “x” that appears as an intermediate vowel produced between the vowels schwa and /a/ e.g. sanam vs. sxnam “all”. While the phonological motivation for such emergence is unexplored, this study examines the phonetic realization of “x” in Santali. In this study, 369 words are recorded from six Santali speakers (3 males & 3 females of 22-25 years) from East Singhbhum District of Jharkhand using Olympus L10. The study is based on acoustic analysis of the “x”, schwa and /a/ whereby formant frequencies correlating to vowel height and backness (F1 and F2) are extracted using a script in Praat. Average formant frequencies suggest that, schwa and “x” are identical in their backness feature but differ significantly in their height feature. On the other hand, /a/ is significantly distinct from schwa and “x” in height as well as in backness feature. These results suggest that an intermediate vowel “x” is produced between the vowels schwa and /a/ in Santali. A one-way ANOVA test of the formant frequency (F1), correlating to the height feature of the three vowels, suggest that the difference is statistically significant. A two-way Euclidean distance between the three vowels also suggest that, while the perceptual distance between /a/ and schwa is 142 Mel, the distance between /a/ and “x” is 95 Mel and the distance between schwa and “x” is 49 Mel. Hence, it is probable that “x” is a compensatory articulation of schwa in Santali and it is likely that paralinguistic features such as age and gender are influencing the compensatory articulation. However, such influences can be examined only with the inclusion of more data and participants in subsequent studies.

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The Syntactic, Semantic, and Pragmatic Study of two Interrogative words in Kavalan

Keywords: interrogative words, interrogative verbs, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic functions

In Kavalan, an endangered Austronesian language spoken in eastern Taiwan, three types of interrogative words can be identified: (i) nominal interrogative words, (ii) adverbial interrogative words, and (iii) typologically unusual interrogative verbs (cf. Hagège 2008; Cysouw 2004; L. Huang et al. 1999; Lin 2013). Of all the interrogative words in Kavalan, two particularly intriguing interrogative words, i.e., quni, and manna, attract our attention. The interrogative word quni is a verb, while manna is an adverbial interrogative word. That quni is a verb can be evidenced by the following facts: (i) it behaves syntactically as a verbal predicate with various voice markers; (ii) it “both functions as predicates and questions the semantic content of this predicate” (Hagège 2008:3); (iii) it is a “morphologically simple root that not only serves as a verbal predicate but also encodes an interrogative sense” (ibid.). This particular interrogative verb, quni, is of intriguing significance in that it can be used to ask a wide range of content questions: ‘do.what’; ‘do.how’; ‘do.why’; ‘do.when’; ‘where.to’; and ‘what.happen’. Moreover, it may cause ambiguities. On the other hand, manna ‘why’ is used to ask hearers to search for the information “REASON” in their knowledge store. However, manna can be used to ask ‘what.happen’. In this regard, manna appears to overlap the functions of the interrogative verbs quni in that quni can also be used to initiate a search for the information ‘REASON’ and ‘what.happen’.

The present paper therefore aims to investigate (i) the grammatical properties and semantics of the typologically unusual and multifunctional interrogative verb quni; and (ii) the pragmatic functions differentiating quni and manna. This study may contribute insights to typological studies of interrogative verbs.

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Bridging constructions in White Hmong narratives

Keywords: Hmong-Mien, bridging constructions, discourse cohesion

This paper describes bridging constructions in White Hmong narrative discourse. A bridging construction is a discourse cohesion strategy involving two discourse units, often though not always immediately adjacent. The final clause of the first unit is referred to as the ‘reference clause’ and initial clause of the second unit, as the ‘bridging clause’. The bridging clause refers back to the reference clause by repetition and/or anaphora (Guérin and Overall, In Preparation: 1).

Bridging constructions occur in genetically and typologically diverse languages, and are referred to by a range of terms, including ‘tail-head linkage’ (e.g. De Vries, 2005), ‘head-tail linkage’ (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2003: 578), and ‘recapitulation clauses’ (e.g. Genetti, 2007: 438). They work to foster cohesive relations in discourse through reference and conjunction (in the sense of Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 13).

The paper focuses on the function of White Hmong bridging constructions in two text types: myths and personal narratives (first and third person). All instances of bridging constructions in a corpus of six texts (totalling approximately 13,000 words) were examined to ascertain frequency, type and function.

The investigation found that bridging constructions occurred in all the texts examined, with the frequency and type varying considerably according to both narrator and text type. In terms of broad function, however, the constructions were highly consistent. In almost every instance, the bridging construction worked in some way to progress the sequence of events in the narrative. Within this broad function of progressing narrative sequence, three main sub-types occurred: (1) simple temporal sequence of events; (2) sequence in which the second event occurred as a consequence of the first; and (3) sequence in which the second event was an outcome of either intentional action (same subject) or directive speech (different subject).

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Introduction to Birhor (BirhoR) verb morphology
Keywords: Verbal templates, Kherwarian languages

Present work is introductory description of the verbal morphology of Birhor, a highly endangered language of India, spoken in small enclaves in central India, but primarily in Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Singhbhum districts and other small pockets of Jharkhnd and adjacent parts of Odisha, Chhattisgarh and West Bengal. This work is first in-depth grammatical analysis of this language. In this study we offer some data drawn from our field notes and also works of Osada (1993), Grierson’s (1906 Vol. IV) and ethnographically oriented study of (Roy 1925). Like all Kherwarian languages, Birhor has a nominative-accusative alignment of argument indexing and a complex templatic verb structure. Different templates are found in both positive and negative conjugations contrasting polyvalent vs. monovalent imperfective, perfective and imperative forms. Several authors have claimed a Mundari-esque orientation of Birhor in the Kherwarian language-dialect continuum, grammatically it is clear that it belongs at least as much together with Santali as it does Mundari. However, in our study we found that Birhor’s verbal system is sufficiently distinct to consider the possibility that it might occupy a third intermediate node between Mundari-Ho and Santali, along with a small number of other ‘minor’ Kherwarian languages like Turi, Korwa-Koraku and Koḍa.

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Coda – Condition on Tone in Paite

Keywords: L – Tone deletion, Tone Neutralization, H – Tone.

This paper argues that coda – condition on tone cannot restrict both CVT and CVVT syllables solely to L – tone as found in Kuki – Thado language. The language under description allow merger of two constraints: coda – condition and coda – condition on tone which licenses consonants in coda position. By virtue of Coda – Condition on tone a laryngeal stop /ʔ/ receives the status of coda because it generates L – tone. In violation of coda – condition on tone, H – tone is found in both CVT and CVVT syllables and evidentially conditioned by stem₁ and stem₂ formation. Epenthesis of stop coda consonant /t, k/ triggers phonological processes such as: L – Tone Deletion and Tone Neutralization to derive both CVT and CVVT syllables with H – tone.

Paite belongs to Northern – Kuki – Chin sub – group of the Tibeto – Burman of the Great Sino – Tibetan languages. There are five tonemes in Paite namely: M – tone, L – tone, H – tone, L – H rising tone and H – L falling tone. The segment inventory also constituted of the following obstruents as coda consonant: /p, t, k, ʔ/ inclusive of the class of sonorants: /m, ɳ, η, l/.

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Production and perception of Vietnamese tone by L2 Khmer speakers

Keywords: Vietnamese, Khmer, tone

The relationship between production and perception in second language (L2) acquisition remains hotly debated. Flege (1995) suggests that (segmental) L2 production accuracy is limited by perception, while Strange (1995) argues that perceptual difficulties may persist even after production is mastered. Work on the acquisition of lexical tone in L2 (e.g. Yang, 2015) appears to support the latter position: learners often produce tones more accurately than they perceive them. However, studies of L2 tone acquisition have focused mainly on Chinese languages, and have generally assessed tone production accuracy on the basis of native speaker judgments. While informative, more objective measures of tone production may also be helpful in understanding the acquisition of L2 tone.

We studied the relation between tone production and perception in advanced Khmer learners of Southern Vietnamese, a language with 5 lexical tones. 10 native speakers of Southern Vietnamese (NV) and 16 native speakers of Khmer with knowledge of Vietnamese (V2) completed tone production and discrimination tasks. NV tone contours were compared to those of each V2 individual by measuring the dynamic time-warping (DTW) and Fréchet distances (Efrat, Fan, & Venkatasubramanian 2007) between the pitch tracks. The NS productions were also used as a baseline to synthesize perceptual stimuli for a speeded AX discrimination task.

V2 speakers who produced two tones incorrectly, but distinctly, were found to be better at discriminating those tones, irrespective of their acoustic similarity in native speech. As such, V2 tone perception was sometimes quite good even when production accuracy was objectively poor. This suggests that advanced L2 learners’ tone perception may be mediated by their own production representations. We conclude that consideration of the internal structure of L2 tone systems, in addition to their similarity to those of native speakers, may prove helpful in understanding the production/perception relationship in L2 tone.

References
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The problem of ‘adjectives’ in Vietnamese

Keywords: transitive, adjectives

The status of the category of adjectives in Vietnamese is questionable. Most of the grammarians regard adjectives as an independent class of words. They argue that adjectives distinguish from other lexical category in semantic, syntactic aspects. First, adjectives prototypically express property concepts. Second, adjectives can combine some special markers, such as rất ‘very’, khá/khá ‘very’, hơi ‘rather’, lâm ‘very’, quá ‘too/excessively’. Third, they function as attributive in noun phrase or/and predicative in sentence. Of the status of category of adjectives in Vietnamese, however, some linguists argue that Vietnamese lacks this category (Hengeveld 1992; Rijkhoff 2000, etc.). Some Vietnamese grammarians share this point of view (Lê Văn Lý 1948; Trương Văn Chính, Nguyễn Hiến Lê 1963; Cao Xuân Hạo 1991, etc.). The basis of the similarity is the fact that adjectives and verbs can share some markers (some verbs can combine rất ‘very’, khá/khá ‘very’, hơi ‘rather’, lâm ‘very’; some adjectives can combine đang ‘continuous’, đã ‘anterior’, sẽ ‘will/shall’ – the markers of verbs); they can be used as unmarked syntactic predicatives. Apart from above similarities, in the paper, I supplement two other criteria: (i) some adjectives and verbs can behavior as transitive ones; (ii) adjectives and verbs can be heads of argument structures. In other words, in Vietnamese adjectives should be classified as a subcategory of verbs.

References
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The acquisition of number and definiteness: The case of Vietnamese pluralizers

Keywords: Vietnamese, acquisition, number, definiteness, pluralizers

This paper reports a comprehension study of three Vietnamese noun phrase (NP) types: [Cl(assifier)-N(oun)], and Cl-phrases preceded by two pluralizers nhụng/các which refer to a definite plural set in most contexts.

Predictions: Many studies have shown the acquisition of pluralizers in classifier languages is protracted (Zhang, 2006; Munn et al., 2006; Nakano et al., 2009) because they encode more information than just number and are optional and not as frequent. We thus predict Vietnamese children acquire nhụng/các later than their English peers master the plural marker -s. They may master number before definite feature which is hard in all languages.

Methods: 49 children aged 2;7-6;5 (mean 4;11) and 20 adults from Vietnam were asked to pick out a set of identical toys next to either the tree or the house corresponding to the three NP types.

Results: Vietnamese children master bare Cl phrases (singular, definite) around 4 years old but do not comprehend the pluralizers, particularly their plural feature, until 6. Nhụng patterns with các in both adults’ and children’s performance.

Conclusion: Vietnamese children show a clear developmental pattern over time in their comprehension of these NP types. While the status of nhụng is a controversial issue in the literature, my results offer some empirical observations that nhụng, like các, is treated as a definite.

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**Negation Assimilation between Hlai and Chinese**

Keywords: Hlai, negative structure, language contact

Through a syntactic comparison, especially negative forms, this paper argues that a Chinese language is syntactically influenced by a Tai-Kadai language. Hlai is a language spoken on Hainan Island and it belongs to Tai-Kadai language family. There are very limited previous studies on Hlai (e.g. Ostapirat 2008). According to the findings of my fieldwork, the negative form in Hlai is vei\(^{11}\), and it is almost the only negator used in Hlai. Vei\(^{11}\) can perform five functions: (i) vei\(^{11}\) can precede the verb to negate the verb; (ii) vei\(^{11}\) can convey the subject’s intention; (iii) vei\(^{11}\) is used in perfective aspect; (iv) vei\(^{11}\) can occur in the future activities; and (v) vei\(^{11}\) can be used in imperatives.

The syntactic behaviours in Hlai negative structure rarely occur in Chinese, which normally employs several negators to express various meanings. Hainan Min is the Chinese dialect spoken on Hainan Island. The negative system in Hainan Min behaves very differently from most Chinese dialects, but similarly with Hlai. Hainan Min simply employs one negator to express seven meanings. We assume that language contact influences the syntactic assimilation between Hlai and Hainan Min, since the two languages have been contacted with each other for centuries.

This paper demonstrates the commonalities and divergences of the negative forms in the two languages. The linguistic issues on language typology and language contact will be discussed in the paper.

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How to be impolite in polite society: The case of triple-pronged insults in Balinese

Keywords: linguistic insults, Balinese, discourse analysis

Generally in studies of language and (im)politeness, most studies focus on either their semantic domains or their users and/or their targets (Allan and Burridge 2006, Brown and Levinson 1987, Gao 2013). Of course, examinations of semantic domains of taboo words alone present quite a diverse field. However, the functional ranges of taboo words may be highlighted even further by languages which explicitly exploit extensive features of politeness in their grammars. This happens to be the case for the Austronesian language of Balinese (Malayo-Sumbawan subbranch), which is justifiably famous for its socially-stratified lexicon and use of speech styles. However, Balinese also presents some diverse options for offensive language, as illustrated in examples (1)-(3):

1. Nas keleng ci! Peta gen ci!
   head.LOW penis 2.LOW say.LOW only 2.LOW]
   “You dickhead!”
   “You’re just talking (low)/That’s bullshit!”

2. la pules.
   3.LOW sleep.LOW
   “S/he sleeps [with not much respect from speaker].”

As illustrated in the examples above, Balinese speakers may use an explicitly taboo word (*keleng* ‘dick’ in (1)), or they may use a number of marked low-speech-style items such as *peta* ‘say.LOW’ or *pules* ‘sleep.LOW’, i.e., seemingly innocuous items to outsiders that most Balinese listeners would ultimately find insulting if they are found to be the targets of such items. Through an examination of a corpus of internet-based Balinese language, I argue that even though either option is quite potentially offensive in itself, it is the combination of these two strategies which lends the greatest degree of offense for Balinese speakers. Thus, the use of offensive language takes on an incisive edge which is only evident when languages with explicit “levels of politeness” (such as Balinese) are considered.

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ABSTRACTS: SEALS XXVII, 11-13 May 2017 Padang (West Sumatra)

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Translating Second Person Address Form from English into Malay

Keywords: second person address form, subtitle, translation

Malay and English provide an interesting contrast with respect to non-vocative address systems. English no longer makes a distinction between formal and informal address pronouns, and avoids direct nominal address. In contrast, second person address in Malay is more complicated and involves pronominal and nominal forms. As a result, address forms in Malay can be confusing for non-native speakers, as there are multiple potential equivalents for English ‘you’ but also because address forms in spoken Malay are often ellipsed leaving only a bare verb. It is in this context that, this study examines the subtitled translation into Malay of English ‘you’ in the popular American medical drama series Grey’s Anatomy. Our results show that second person address expressed through ‘you’ in English appears in different ways in the subtitled Malay including Malay 2nd person pronoun, title (T), title with name (TN), kinship term (KT) and other expressions. In episode one, we identified 130 interactions with 209 instances of address use of an explicit 2nd person pronoun dominates (95%) with the rest divided amongst other possibilities (e.g. substitution, deletion). We consider the implications of these data for an understanding of translation effects from English into Malay in the specific context of address. We argue that observed address strategies in subtitling do not align with normal patterns of address in spoken Malay.

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Word classes of White Hmong - a machine-learning approach

Keywords: White Hmong, automatic word class induction, machine learning

This study takes on the task of categorizing the lexicon of White Hmong using a machine-learning approach (Harrington 2012). The author designed and engineered an automatic discovery procedure for word classes, and applied it to an unannotated text corpus of White Hmong. Motivated by the distributional hypothesis that similar words occur in similar environments (Harris 1954), the procedure represented words as objects in a space defined by their co-occurrence with each other (Gärdenfors 2000; Salhgren 2006), measured their pairwise grammatical similarity as their spatial proximity (Lakoff & Johnson 1999), according to which they were finally clustered into a hierarchical taxonomy (Jain & Dubes 1988).

Grammatically meaningful word classes were detected. For example, common-noun-phrase substitutes were grouped together, which were subcategorized into first and second person pronouns, third person pronouns, and kin terms and proper names; the latter two subclasses were more similar to each other than each was to the first subclass. One of the factors to explain this subcategorization structure is that first and second person pronouns were more likely to occur as Agents of transitive verbs (Dixon 1979), which were another distinct word class detected by the discovery procedure. The hierarchical taxonomy and the grammatical information that it revealed are new empirical findings about White Hmong. Importantly, the taxonomy was constructed by an automatic discovery procedure developed here, which is a useful model for solving linguistic categorization problems in general.

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Phonetic and phonological properties of Madurese stops

Keywords: Madurese, phonetics, phonology

Madurese, a Western Malayo-Polynesian language spoken on the island of Madura, exhibits a typologically and areally atypical three-way laryngeal contrast, distinguishing voiced, voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated stops. Madurese also possesses an unusual consonant-vowel co-occurrence restriction: voiceless unaspirated stops are only followed by non-high vowels (1), while voiced and voiceless aspirated stops are always followed by high vowels (2-3).

(1) /paːtɛ/ ‘coconut milk’, /tɔrɔt/ ‘let’, /cerɛt/ ‘kettle’
(2) /phɔtɛ/ ‘profit’, /thuka/ ‘angry’, /chilɔ/ ‘tongue’
(3) /bɔtɔʔ/ ‘lift up’, /duri/ ‘thorn’, /jikar/ ‘cart’

The fact that voiceless aspirated stops pattern with voiced stops (rather than with voiceless unaspirated stops) is unexpected, and raises the question of what phonological feature they might share. Both [ATR] and a feature ‘lowered larynx’ [LL] have been suggested as possibilities (Trigo, 1991; Cohn, 1993), but previous phonetic studies of Madurese have so far provided limited support for either hypothesis (Cohn, 1993ab; Cohn & Lockwood, 1994). In this paper, we provide new acoustic data on the realisation of Madurese stops from a sample of 15 native speakers, examining various acoustic correlates of voice quality in addition to pitch (f0) and Voice Onset Time. Our data indicate that while the voiced and voiceless aspirated stops are similar in at least one voice quality measure, they differ on other measures, including f0, contra Cohn & Lockwood (1994). Synchronously, the phonological patterning of Madurese stops appears to involve a phonological feature with a rather abstract relationship to its phonetic realisation. Diachronically, however, we suggest that a hypothetical stage of breathy voicing, together with loanword evidence, may be able to explain both the phonological patterning and the synchronic phonetic facts.

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A Sketch of Pyu Synchronic Phonology

Keywords: Tibeto-Burman, historical, phonology

Pyu is an extinct Tibeto-Burman language spoken in what is now Burma. It survives directly only in inscriptions written in an Indic script and indirectly only in Middle Chinese transcriptions.

Using a corpus of all known Pyu texts gathered during the research of Griffiths et al. (forthcoming), I compiled a database of all possible Pyu onsets and rhymes. After working out distributional patterns, I produced a first approximation of Pyu syllable and word structure.

Pyu superficially resembled its unrelated neighbor Mon. Pyu was a sesquisyllabic language with prefixes, presyllables, complex consonant clusters, seven vowels /a ā i ī u ē o/, a limited set of codas /k ṵ t ṵ p m/, and an incipient registral or tonal system.

On the basis of internal alternations, external comparisons, Indic loanwords, and Chinese transcriptions, I propose possible phonetic values for the phonemes that I reconstruct for Pyu.

This paper is the first in a series describing the Pyu language in unprecedented detail from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. A subsequent paper will trace the prehistory of Pyu phonology using internal and comparative reconstruction.

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Allotonic variation of the glottalized tone of a Mường dialect, as compared with the two glottalized tones of Hanoi Vietnamese

Keywords: experimental phonetic study, glottalized tone, Vietic languages

The proposed presentation deals with one of the many hitherto undocumented Mường dialects of Việt Nam. The exact location of the considered dialect is Kim Thương commune, Tân Sơn district, Phú Thọ province, hereafter KTM, for ‘Kim Thương Mường’.

The tone system was brought out using distributional analysis. Focus is placed here on one of the five tones: Tone 4, which is glottalized. Audio and electroglottographic recordings allow for the measurement of fundamental frequency and for an estimation of the glottal open quotient, a parameter that offers indications on phonation type. This study addresses challenges linked to the quantitative study of glottalization in terms of fundamental frequency ($F_0$), duration, and phonation types ($Oq$).

Glottalization makes Tone 4 well-distinguished from the other tones in the system. The diversity of realizations is a matter of great interest from an experimental point of view. This presentation is based on a research that brings out clear evidence of constriction at the glottis (pressed voice) with the open quotient values below 40%, at the bottom of the speaker’s range. Besides, another characteristic of this glottalized tone is complex-repetitive patterns on DEGG signal, a telltale indication of creaky voice.

Relating to Vietnamese, the closest language to Mường, it can be realized that: since Tone 4 is the only glottalized tone in the KTM system, its glottalization can be expected to show a larger field of allophonic variation than in Hanoi Vietnamese tone system which has a contrast between two glottalized tones (Brunelle et al. 2010). This comparison helps to highlight the salient characteristics of the KTM glottalized tone. Moreover, one of the ultimate goals of this investigation is to contribute to the study of glottalization as a topic of general phonetics.

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**Unifying correction and skepticism in Vietnamese cα**  
Keywords: sentence-final particle, focus-sensitivity, wh-question, discourse moves  

This paper presents the first unified formal semantics for the Vietnamese sentence-final particle cα, appearing in corrective focus declaratives and in wh-interrogatives conveying skepticism. I observe that corrective cα is focus-sensitive whereas skeptical cα is associated with a wh-question, which opens up the possibility of the unification of the two uses given the parallelism between Rooth's (1992) semantics of focus and Hamblin's (1973) semantics of questions. Moreover, I show that both corrective cα and skeptical cα are subject to the same distributional constraints, namely, the existence of a contrasting, previously mentioned proposition which the speaker believes to be false.

(1) No contrasting previously mentioned proposition  
B: Minh thích gì (cα)? (discourse-initial)  
   Minh thích cat Cα  
   ‘Minh likes WHAT?’  
C: ‘He likes rabbits.’

(2) No appropriate belief of the speaker  
A: ‘What does Minh like?’  
B: ‘Minh likes rabbits.’  
C: Đúng. Minh (cùng) thích mèo (cα).  
Correct Minh also like cat Cα  

**Proposal:** Using Roberts’ (1996) organization of discourse structure into a set of moves and Rooth’s (1992) alternative approach, I propose that the expression α cα has the at-issue content α and introduces a not-at-issue meaning. The not-at-issue meaning reflects the existence of a proposition p containing three components. First, p is a statement or an alternative in the set of propositions denoted by a polar question in the set of previous discourse moves (Roberts, 1996). Second, p is an alternative in the set of all interpretations obtained by replacing all the focused constituents in α (Rooth, 1992) and wh constituents in α (Roberts, 1996) with contextual alternatives. Lastly, the speaker believes that p is false.

The proposal can predict the distribution of cα, deriving the contrasts documented in (1-2). Furthermore, it provides an account for the formal enrichment of discourse moves through conversational implicature.

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Title: The Saek Language: the first dialect and the second dialect

Keywords: Saek language’s dialects; Language documentation; Phonology

The proposed presentation will first mention two lexicons of Saek compiled by Paul Macey and Antonin Baudenne, at the time of that language’s discovery by French administrators in the early years of the 20th century. These lexicons, both included in a collection belonging to the École française d’Extrême-Orient (henceforward EFEO)'s library, the “manuscrits européens” (ME), have never been mentioned in the literature concerning Saek. Could André-Georges Haudricourt, who made an extensive use of EFEO’s linguistic questionnaires and various word lists in his research about the languages of Mainland Southeast Asia, have possibly missed Baudenne’s corpus in the ME collection (ME 406 in EFEO’s library)? And, if Haudricourt (1960: 168) refers to Macey’s 1905 and 1907 articles, he never mentions his lexicon and notes in the ME collection (ME 398-399, ME 402, ME 405, ME 405A-405B), which are undoubtly their preparatory documents.

On the basis of their lexical features, the Saek varieties represented in Macey and Baudenne’s lexicons can be ascribed to the Saek dialect documented by William J. Gedney (Hudak 1993, and 2010), as it is the case for all Saek corpuses made available so far by linguists as well as non-linguists. When it comes to other Saek dialects, the only distinct Saek dialect identified so far is “the dialect of Khamkeut”, which “emanates from the village of Na Kadok in the Subdistrict of Nam Veo” (Chamberlain 1998: 32). James R. Chamberlain is the first who mentioned the existence of that dialect, but has not provided “any phonological descriptions” for it (Hudak 2010: 252).

This presentation, based upon the researcher’s interactions with speakers of the Saek spoken in Ban Na Kadok, will propose a tone system of that dialect and discuss, among various phonological, lexical and syntactic particularities, initial consonants in cognates shared by the two main dialects.

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An initial sketch of Rengmitca morphosyntax

Keywords: morphosyntax, Tibeto-Burman, field report, endangered language

Rengmitca is a severely endangered South-Central Tibeto-Burman (Kuki-Chin) language spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Southeastern Bangladesh. Existing accounts of Rengmitca’s morphosyntax (Löffler 1960, Peterson 2013) have relied almost exclusively on isolated sentence elicitation. In contrast, the present study is based primarily on naturalistic data collected in recent years from some of the last remaining competent speakers of the language. We will provide as exhaustive an account of Rengmitca morphosyntax as possible.

The talk will cover all major domains of morphosyntax, providing examples from the naturalistic data corpus for illustration. The focus will be on nominal marking (i.e., elicit case postpositions) and major elements of the verbal complex, including tense/aspect/mood markers, directionals, and valence-affecting morphology. Rengmitca also has clear manifestations of Kuki-Chin verbal stem alternation, although it is unclear whether a full account is feasible at this time. Time permitting, we will also discuss markers for major types of clause combination.

The talk will further consider Rengmitca’s derivational and inflectional morphology from a comparative perspective, both in a wider Kuki-Chin sense, as some elements are of a clearly more archaic provenance, and from a more recent perspective, taking into account parallel phenomena in other Khomic languages, such as Khumi, Mro-Khimi, and Lemi. As a number of grammatical elements are also clearly borrowed from the non-Kuki-Chin Tibeto-Burman language, Mru, which is in intimate contact with Rengmitca, the Mru origin of such non-Kuki-Chin elements will be elucidated.

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Active or passive sentences sound more natural in Vietnamese – a case study in Vietnam

**Keywords:** translation of English passive sentences into Vietnamese, evaluation of translation naturalness

The strategies for translating English passive sentences into Vietnamese have been pointed out in some studies. In addition, the rendering of English passive sentences into Vietnamese active ones is claimed to suit the Vietnamese communicative preferences, i.e., the active sounds more natural to the Vietnamese ears than the passive (see Bùi Thị Diên, 2005, and so on). When comparing and analyzing the five Australian original texts (taken from the collection *Australian Short Stories*) and their Vietnamese translation texts, we have found that English passive sentences have been transformed into both active and passive sentences in Vietnamese. A question is raised here: Do the Vietnamese active sentences which had been translated from the English passive ones, sound more natural than the Vietnamese passive sentences?

In order to evaluate the naturalness of those Vietnamese active sentences, this study used one of the methods proposed by Nida & Taber (1969). A questionnaire, consisting of 41 items, was developed. Each item included two options: (i) an active sentence taken from the Vietnamese translations of the Australian short stories, and (ii) a passive sentence written by the researcher. The questionnaire was then delivered to 300 native readers, who were asked to choose the option that, in their opinion, sounded more natural in Vietnamese.

The findings show that although active sentences are preferred by the Vietnamese (with just over 73% of the active sentences being chosen as more natural by over 50% of the respondents), passive constructions are still in use, (with nearly 27% of the passive sentences being chosen as more natural). The study also attempts to analyze the contexts in which the passive was selected, confirms previous findings on the Vietnamese preferences of the active, and shows that the passive is also employed. In terms of research methods, Nida & Taber’s way to evaluate a translation’s naturalness proves to be highly applicable.

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Title: The phonologization of a vowel – Quang Nam Vietnamese

Keywords: phonologization, sound change, Quang Nam Vietnamese

This paper examines the origin of the Quang Nam low back vowel /ɑ/ and argues that this vowel is an innovation that originated from the speech of early immigrants from the Hen and Kê Chay villages of Hà Tĩnh province, north central Vietnam, 300 miles north of Quang Nam province. The original vowel was then phonemized in Quang Nam, a restructuring that was motivated by allophonic variations, gap filling, and feature preservation. Evidence includes acoustic properties, distribution and phonological processes.

In the Hen and Kê Chay dialects, /a/ and /ɔ/ merge in open syllables, leaving a gap of /a/ in these vowel systems. The resulting vowel surfaces as [ʔɑ], [ɑ] or [ɔ] in Kê Chay, and as [ɑ] in Hen. From the 14th to 18th centuries immigrants from north central Vietnam migrated to Quang Nam, and, along with settlers from other locations, created a new dialect. /ɑ/ reappears in all syllable types, and contrasts with /a/ and /ɔ/ in open syllables: ca /ka上调/ ‘mug’, cay /ka下调/ ‘spicy’, co /ko下调/ ‘to shrink’. Two processes are involved in the phonologization of /a/. The first process, final glide deletion, restores the /a/ in CV (/kaj/ => /ka下调/ ‘spicy’). The second process involves feature preservation: Hanoi initial clusters, consisting of a consonant followed by /w/, are simplified to single segments in Quang Nam dialect, e.g., [tɕwa上调] ‘be shocked’ => [can下调]. The feature [back] of /w/ was realized on the vowel and provided another source for /a/, in addition to the back vowel realization of original /a/ as [ɑ] introduced by the Hen and Kê Chay speakers who migrated from the north.

The discovery of two sub-dialects in Hà Tĩnh sheds a new light on a long-standing argument between researchers regarding the identification of a vowel within the Quang Nam dialect.

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Laryngeal contrast in the Tai dialect of Cao Bằng

Keywords: voicing, phonologization, Tai

In tone languages, loss of voicing contrasts can trigger a tone split that doubles or triples the number of tones. Voice quality has long been thought to play an important role in mediating this process (Haudricourt, 1954; Thurgood, 2002). However, it remains unclear whether a voice quality stage is a strictly necessary condition for a tone split, nor is it clear precisely how the system of laryngeal contrasts comes to be restructured. This lack of understanding is due in no small part to the fact that ‘intermediate’ languages which retain their original complement of laryngeal distinction are extremely rare.

The Tai dialect spoken in Cao Bằng, Vietnam (CBT) is that rare specimen of a language caught in the middle of a tone split. In most Tai languages, the three-tone system of Proto-Tai split into six tones following the collapse of the voicing contrast, but CBT is said to retain a four-way laryngeal contrast between voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, modal voiced, and breathy voiced obstruents (Haudricourt 1949; Hoàng 1997; Pittayaporn 2009). This makes it an important language for our understanding of tonogenesis and tonal evolution.

This paper presents the first instrumental analysis of CBT obstruents, with special attention to fundamental frequency (f0), voice onset time (VOT), and voice quality. We find that these three cues pattern differently, but consistently, across speakers in signaling the laryngeal contrast. Crucially, it appears that breathy voice may either be tightly linked to pre-voicing or decoupled from it. We discuss how this variation might help explain the divergent outcomes of the tonal register split in the Tai family.

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Temporal Expressions in Balinese—Focused on Temporal Adverbials

Adject-

Keywords: temporal adverbials adjunct, temporal semantic function

This paper focuses on explaining temporal markings in Balinese language. The discussion of these temporal markings is based on the theories of temporal semantic functions proposed by Comrie-Smith (1977), Haspelmath (1997), Dixon (2010), and Pan (2010). These theories are synthesized in order to find out the complete semantic functions of the temporal adverbial in Balinese.

The result showed that Balinese temporal expressions can be classified into four semantic functions which can be further classified into several sub-classifications. A definit marker is an important feature in marking Balinese temporal adverbials. Another feature which also plays an important role in deciding the appropriate words for temporal adverbials function is the speech level.

Another significant result showed that some lexical time words in Balinese can be marked morphologically and can function as a manner adverbial adjunct. It shows the manner of the situation rather than the referent time of the situation.

I Made teka nyanja-nyanjaang dogen jani  
ART NAME come N-evening-N-evening-CAUS only now

‘Recently, Made comes getting late in the evening.’

Adverbial verb nyanja-nyanjaang is derived from lexical time word sanja ‘evening’.

This adverbial verb expresses the manner of verb teka ‘come’ while the temporal function is expressed by word jani ‘now’.

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Tonal patterns in Biate

Keywords: tone, Biate, Tibeto-Burman, North-East India

Biate (ISO 639-3: biu) is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language of North-East India. Identified as a Northern Kuki-Chin language, it is grouped with other languages for which very little linguistic description is available: Hmar, Hrangkhol, and Sakachep. Although Biate has a writing system and a Bible translation, the orthography does not mark tone. While two clear tones can be distinguished in speech, some words are apparently underspecified for tone. This is similar to what is found for the neighboring TB language Karbi (Konnerth 2014; Konnerth and Teo 2014), where tone seems to carry a low functional load. This paper breaks new ground by providing an initial auditory and acoustic study of Biate tone, and raises questions for further study of this language in its environment and in comparison with other TB and SEA languages (see Morey 2014; Brunelle and Kirby 2016).

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A closer look at the Pangasinan verbal affixes maN-, mangi- and on
Keywords: subcategorization, verbs, verbal affixes

Verbs are considered as one of the most important lexical categories along with nouns. In constructing grammatically and semantically acceptable sentences, the verb helps determine the types of arguments that are required in the construction. However, the types of arguments required by the verb do not only depend on the action or event described by the verb root itself. The verbal affix used along with the root contributes to the meaning of the derived form, as well as the selection of argument types in the syntactic level. In this paper, I aim to present a description and discussion of the semantic and grammatical functions of the Pangasinan verbal affixes maN-, mangi-, and oN- when used with 350 Pangasinan roots. I also aim to determine the semantic features of these roots that make them compatible with certain verbal affixes and differentiate the meanings the verbal affixes give to verbs that can take at least two of these verbal affixes. This paper aims to contribute to the existing works on Pangasinan linguistics, particularly on verbs and verbal affixes, which may give both the native and non-native speakers some insights on the features of the Pangasinan language.

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Classifiers in Tai-Khamyang

Keywords: classifiers, Tai-Kadai, Khamyang

The paper aims to be the first comprehensive work illustrating a typological framework of the numeral classifiers in Tai-Khamyang, a language spoken along the Dihing Valley in the North eastern state of Assam in India. The urgency of the work can be furthered by the near extinct status that has been accorded to the language, (8b, EGIDS). Such a work could throw insights into the cultural view of categorization. Basically two types of numeral classifiers are distinguished: sortal and mensural classifiers. More than twenty sortal and mensural classifiers have been recorded in Khamyang.

1. \( kóī¹ \ hōiŋ⁴ \)
   banana.N   box. CLF
   A/The banana.

2. \( kóī¹ \ tek³ \)
   banana.N   CLF
   A/The box of bananas.

Here we see bananas taking both the count and mass interpretations, respectively. Definiteness in Khamyang is marked by the presence of an adjective or a demonstrative. The paper would further explore the morpho-syntactic patterns, its semantic features and functions, folk taxonomies within the use of classifiers and repeaters, to account for the parameters involved in the choice of classification in the language. The work relies on Primary data collected from Powaimukh, the only Khamyang village in India.

References
On the phonological status of minor syllable vowels in Vietic
Keywords: Vietic, minor syllable, monosyllabisation

The problem of minor syllables and their phonological shape is one of the most discussed issues in the research of mainland South-East Asia. In the majority of published papers devoted to different branches of the Mon-Khmer languages minor syllables are treated as having no distinct vowel but just a mid-central “schwa”-type vowel. The absence of the vocal central in minor syllables is usually considered one of the adherent traits of the sesquisyllabic languages.

However, recent studies of conservative Vietic languages of Central Vietnam convened by the joint Russian-Vietnamese academic team have shown that in some of them the minor syllable vowels have distinct phonological differences and should be treated as separate phonemes. Some of them still play an important part in the grammar distinction (e.g., verbal actant derivation). Minimal pairs distributed exclusively by a minor syllable vowel are easily identified in May, Malieng and sometimes Ruc languages in Vietnam.

This report is to demonstrate this archaic feature and its development as the stage in the process of monosyllabization.
The Tense Suffix -lei in Maram

Keywords: tense suffix, Maram, tones

This paper describes the tense suffix -lei in Maram, a language spoken by a Naga community who lives in the Senapati district of Manipur. It belongs to the Kuki-Chin subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman family and is spoken by around 37,000 people spreading across Senapati. The data is collected from Rajaimai village of Senapati.

The paradigm of tense markers consists of only one tense marker -lei in different tones. In a sentence, which expresses non-progressive event, the tense marker directly follow the verb base, as illustrated in (1). The morpheme -lei with a level mid tone codes events which are either taking place at the time of speech or takes place habitually. The morpheme -lei with a high falling tone codes events which are located in the past relative to the time of speech, as illustrated in (4). The morpheme -lei with a low falling tone suffixed to a morpheme taŋ- expresses a future event, as in example (3).

Events which are expressed as completed relative to a given point of time have a different morpho-syntactic structure. The verb complex consists of a lexical verb and a multi-morphemic particle which follows the lexical verb. The post-verbal particle consists of the progressive event marker tak-, followed by the temporal morpheme -lei, as illustrated in (2).

1)  
   i        tinʃfoi    atak       ŭu          lei
   1sg      morning   rice       eat          pres
   ‘I eat rice in the morning.’

2)  
   akau-nə      aməi-go    ŭu          tak-lei
   tiger-subj     man-obj    eat          perf-past
   ‘The tiger has eaten the man.’

3)  
   i        tinʃfoi    ama        kuʒoi    ni   ta   taŋ-lei
   1sg      morning   things     selling   place   go     fut
   ‘I will go to the market in the morning.’

4)  
   i        tinʃfoi    atak       ŭu          lei
   1sg      morning   rice       eat          past
   ‘I eat rice in the morning.’
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Development of Bodo-Garo vowel systems: Evidence from Rabha

Keywords: Bodo-Garo, vowel system, Rabha

The sixth vowel in the Bodo-Garo languages is intriguing for several scholars working in the area. While the Bodo Garo languages have a common vowel inventory of 5 vowels namely, /a, i, u, e, o/, there is high variability among these languages regarding the phonetic realization of the sixth vowel (Burling, 2013). It never occurs as a front or rounded vowel but it moves from mid-central to high back position across the Bodo-Garo languages (Burling, 2013). He also posits that the sixth vowels in Bodo, Rabha and Garo definitely are cognates while Tiwa totally lacks a sixth vowel and the sixth vowel in Dimasa does not share its origin with Bodo, Rabha and Garo. Burling (2013) also characterizes the Rabha sixth vowel as high, back, unrounded and quite tense. As far as historical reconstruction is concerned, Benedict (1972), has reconstructed a five vowel system for Proto-Tibeto-Burman: /a, e, i, o, u/, which appear in both medial and final positions. Matisoff (2003) claims that in many Tibeto-Burman languages the Proto-Tibeto-Burman /*a/ has developed into a back unrounded vowel: /ɔ, ɔ, o, ɯ, ɯ/. Thurgood and LaPolla (2003), mentions the high back unrounded vowel to be a characteristic feature of many of the TB languages of NE India.

The interest in the sixth vowel in the Bodo-Garo languages has prompted us to look more closely into the Rabha vowel system and specifically investigate vowels in two varieties of Rabha, namely Rongdani and Maitori. We collected speech data from 17 speakers of each of the two varieties reading a list of words that had contrasting vowels, resulting in the analysis of 2286 vowels. We examined the first two formant features of the vowels in the two varieties of the Rabha and came to the conclusion that while the two varieties share 5 vowels i.e. /a, i, u, e, o/, the realization of the sixth vowel in the two varieties is different. The high variability in the realization of the sixth vowel among the Bodo-Garo languages may be due to the fact that it is still a developing feature in the languages. It can also be posited that the sixth vowel in these languages actually appeared due to the phonologization of the vowel in the minor syllables of the sesquisyllables in the Bodo-Garo languages.

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Symmetrical verbal voice morphology with asymmetrical transitive alternations: Evidence from Borneo

Keywords: Symmetrical Voice, Borneo

Symmetrical voice is a relatively understudied phenomenon. The primary criteria for a symmetrical voice languages are largely comprised of two elements. Foley (2007) states that symmetrical voice languages should have voice marking on verbs in both voices, while only one voice will be morphologically marked in asymmetrical voice alternations. The second major criterion associated with symmetrical voice is what Himmelmann (2002) calls, “valency neutral alternations,” that is, a voice alternation which does not amount to a change in transitivity (transitive symmetry).

Evidence for languages with both morphologically symmetrical voice alternations and symmetrically transitive voice alternations is widely attested within Austronesian (Foley 2007, Himmelmann, 2002, McDonnell 2015, Otsuka 2011, Chen 2016), and even reported in at least one non-Austronesian language of Africa (Erlewine et al., to appear). However; there has been no attention in the literature to languages which display morphological symmetry but lack syntactic symmetry. Borneo offers a crucial typological piece, in that many of the languages of Borneo have lost the Philippine-type symmetrical voice system, but many of them still use verbal voice morphology for both active and passive sentences.

This new typological piece suggests an implication hierarchy in regards to symmetrical voice, similar to the one observed between morphological ergativity and syntactic ergativity. It has been widely observed that for a language to be syntactically ergative it must also be morphologically ergative, but morphological ergativity does not entail syntactic ergativity (McGregor 2009, Bickel 2011, etc.). Similarly, for a language to have valency neutral voice alternations (transitive symmetry) it must have morphological voice symmetry, but morphological voice symmetry does not entail valency neutral voice alternations.

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Proto Nicobarese phonology: contact conditioned restructuring

Keywords: historical phonology, restructuring, contact

The Nicobarese languages have commonly been regarded as isolated, exotic, and typologically challenging. Scholars have speculated that they hold some special importance for comparative-historical studies, possibly even clues to ancient common origins of SEAsian and Pacific languages.

A summary of proto Nicobarese (PN) was recently presented in Sidwell & Rau (2014), reflecting this author’s (Sidwell) progress at early 2014. Since then, an extensive comparative Car-Nancowry vocabulary has been compiled, plus a modest amount of data from other Nicobar lect, using standard published sources (which are substantial but problematic), unpublished manuscript materials, and insights from more recent fieldwork (shared by V. R. Rajasingh). On the bases of these data one is able to reach a number of conclusions about PN which will be presented and discussed. In particular, PN had restructured phonolog converging to some extent on patterns found in Austronesian languages, although not without parallels elsewhere in Austroasiatic.

Apparently a shift in word structure eliminated consonant clusters, simplified the vocalism, and contributed to a proliferation of affixal morphology. Such changes share some structural parallels in Munda, but with very different specific outcomes. In the wider perspective, it is apparent that outside of the SEAsian Linguistic Area, the strong tendency is for languages to restructure away from the familiar SEAsian type broadly following wider areal trends.

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Language awareness in the multilingual context of political borderlands of MSEA
Keywords: Katuic minorities, sociolinguistic language awareness, bi- and multilingualism

While political borders can be drawn quite sharply the languages spoken in political borderland areas do not differ from each other in the same clarity. Analyzing the political borderlands of Thailand, Laos and Cambodia this paper adds to the sociolinguistic study of multilingual speech communities exemplary. When focusing on the contact situation of Central Mainland Southeast Asia one might ask whether and to what extent the great variety of minority languages spoken in this area is influenced by the major national languages Thai, Lao and Khmer.

By studying (1) Khmer, Lao and Thai comprehension abilities of Katuic minority language speakers and (2) the latter’s awareness of their actual language usage as well as their shifting behavior during discourse. This paper argues that socio-cultural factors play an important role for the choice of either the native minority language or one of the majority languages within different discourse situations. As a result, it is argued that the choice of language that multilingual speakers make is not only made due to their language competence and preference but also for the reason of social prestige in different contexts.

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A Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language as an alternative for measuring language vitality: The case of Ngaju [nij], an LWC in Central Kalimantan

Keywords: language vitality, GPFOL, EGIDS, community-based language planning

Many languages with large speaker populations in Indonesia are facing the serious problem of becoming endangered (Abtahian et al. 2016) as their vitality gets weaker and weaker. One of the reasons for this language shift is perceived to be the pervasiveness of the national language or other dominant LWCs. This appears to be the case with Ngaju [nij], an LWC spoken by most people living in Central Kalimantan. Recent research and community-based language planning efforts among Ngaju speakers made use of a community discussion tool called A Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language (GPFOL) (Hanawalt et al. 2015). Ngaju, once spoken by around 500,000 people before the 1990s (Mihing 1990) and now soaring up to around 890,000 speakers is placed at EGIDS level 3, Wider communication in the Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2016; cf. Lewis & Simons 2015). Our survey results reveal, however, that intergenerational transmission patterns in Ngaju are more like EGIDS level 6b, Threatened, despite the use of Ngaju as an LWC. What has happened? And how does GPFOL help us come to this conclusion? This paper will address these two questions.

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Kinship Terminology in Manipuri, Tangkhul and Kabui

Keywords: Kinship Terminology, Pronominal Prefixes, Formative Prefixes.

Manipuri is used as the lingua franca among the 29 different ethnic groups present in Manipur, India (Singh). Tangkhul is spoken by the Tangkhul-Naga Community of Manipur, Kabui is spoken by the Kabuis/Rongmei, a naga tribe in Manipur. Genetically all three languages belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. The paper in concern discusses kinship relationships in three major languages of Manipur: Manipuri, Tangkhul and Kabui. It highlights the kinship terminology that plays a vital role in the lexicon of the three languages of Manipur. The kinship system found in Manipuri, Tangkhul and Kabui are bilateral in nature, i.e. both maternal and paternal relationships are equally important and taken in account. Kinships terminology found in these three languages of Manipuri are bound in nature, meaning they usually attach a pronominal prefix to the root kinship term to form a free word. Three pronominal prefixes: -i- ‘first person’ nə- ‘second person’, mə- ‘third person’ are usually attached to the root kinship term otherwise no sensible meaning can be formed of the root term. In Tangkhul a Formative Prefix: ə- is attached to the root kinship term. Also in Kabui Formative Prefix ə- is widely used as an addressing terminology as well as in reference. While Manipuri has four ascending and three descending generation kinship terminology, Tangkhul has four ascending and two descending generation kinship terms. Kabui on the other hand has three ascending and five descending generation kinship terminology. The paper also throws light on the role of the maternal uncle- and paternal aunty terminology in the three language.

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Barito is a linkage, not a subgroup: new phonological evidence

Keywords: historical linguistics, Borneo

Since Hudson (1967) published his classification of the Barito “family”, it has been widely accepted that the Barito languages form a discreet linguistic subgroup, despite the fact that Hudson did not present any supporting evidence for a Barito family. Blust (2007) expanded Barito to include Sama-Bajaw languages, creating a “Greater Barito” subgroup and this definition has been accepted in many general classifications. New expanded wordlists and phonological data, gathered in 2015 and 2016, suggest that the Barito languages form a linkage, not a subgroup. The new linkage hypothesis is based on the identification of eight sound changes which are found in some but not all Barito languages, and the observation that no single sound change is found in all of the languages. The proposed sound changes supporting the linkage hypothesis are based on reflexes of *R, *φ, *z, *b, *d, and *l, many of which were not discussed in Hudson (1968), as his Swadesh lists did not contain adequate lexical data on relevant phonemes. The new linkage model accepts lower-level subgroupings, including Northwest Barito, Southwest Barito, Sama-Bajaw, Southeast Barito, Central-East Barito, Northeast Barito, and Tunjung (“Barito-Mahakam in Hudson 1968), but does not assume that any of these lower-level subgroups can be further grouped together nor does it assume that there was ever a true “Proto-Barito” language. Rather, the data suggests that Barito was at one time a complex dialect network where sound changes spread from multiple centers of dispersal. The result is a large and loosely-related group of languages that share no single sound change in common, but cannot be non-arbitrarily separated due to the presence of overlapping reflexes. All relevant data for this proposal will be presented, and full vocabulary lists of each Barito language where primary data were gathered will be made available as requested.

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What has to be Punan? Preliminary data of Punan Aput, a minority language of Kalimantan

Keywords: Punan languages, Language classification in Borneo, minority languages.

Punan Aput is the language of one of the many groups of hunter-gatherers spread over a large territory in Borneo, both in the Indonesian and Malaysian part. Punan is a term that until this very day includes languages that are unintelligible, yet the speakers feel strong the belonging to this category. Punan Aput is spoken by around 1000 speakers in two villages in Kalimantan in the District of Malinau and has its only directly related language in the Punan Vuhang of Sarawak (Chan 2007). No linguistic data have so far been published and the language is endangered lacking, as many languages in Borneo a standardized writing system, a literature and most of all, a support for its use. As elsewhere in Indonesia the pressure of the national language is slowly marginalizing the language. This paper reports a very preliminary study of the language and tries to address few issues related to the main question that is: What has to be Punan?

The study of the languages of the Punan, generic name given to the former hunter gatherers of Borneo, has always been an interesting topic of research since these people have long been in extensive linguistic contact with the adjacent agriculturalists like the Kayan and the Kenyah. As a linguistic term it still represents an unresolved problem. This paper has a twofold objective, from one side to provide a preliminary description of phonological features of this language and at the same time to lay the foundation for its classification within the other languages of Borneo. From the analysis of the phonological system of the language based on a very preliminary and limited amount of data, Punan Aput will be compared to the other Punan languages of which more material has been collected, mainly Penan Benalui (Soriente, in press) Punan Tuvu’ (Césard, Guerreiro and Soriente, 2015), Ma’ Pnaan and finally the languages of the Muller Schwaner (Sellato, Soriente 2015) and to propose features that allow us to classify the languages within a branch of Borneo languages, or on the contrary, the Punan terminology can only be used as a socio-anthropological one.

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Negation in Vaiphei
Keywords: Negation, Vaiphei, Kuki-Chin languages

Negation is a grammatical form that expresses a contradiction of fact. The opposite pole of negative is affirmative or positive. However, the presence of negations in a sentence does not mean that an action did not take place; it might still be carried out. In the light of this, this paper attempts to discuss the different types and functions of negative particles in Vaiphei, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Kuki-Chin subgroup. The type of negation found in Vaiphei is post-verbal negation. There are two types of major negations: ‘lɔ’ and ‘pu’ and three minor negations: ‘ki’, ‘da’ and ‘mɔ’. Negation in Vaiphei can also reflect the mood, attitude or opinion of the speakers. The negations found in Vaiphei are mostly similar to other languages of Kuki-Chin. However, in this paper I argue it to be slightly different supported on the description of negation in Vaiphei.

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COME and GO in Hmong-Mien
Keywords: Hmong-Mien, deictic verb, reconstruction

Many Hmong-Mien lects have two kinds of deictic locomotion verb denoting a movement approaching the speaker (hereinafter COME). Some of them in addition have two kinds of deictic locomotion verb denoting a movement away from the speaker (hereinafter, GO). The difference of the two kinds is based on the nature of goal: one of them designates a locomotion to the original place (or home position) for the moving entity, the other a locomotion to somewhere other than the home position (see an example in Lan Hmyo below). This paper explores the etymology of these verbs from the perspective of historical linguistics. First, this paper tries to indicate that the ancestral forms of the two sets of COME and GO can be reconstructed at the stage of Proto-Hmong-Mien. Second, by describing the semantics of these verbs in some modern lects, this paper tries to show that the proto-language probably had the same type of distinction in deictic locomotion verbs. The paper also describes the change occurring in these sets of verbs in the course of development from Proto-Hmong-Mien to each major lect.

Example:

\[ ronA \text{ mu}_A \text{-} \text{zan}_C \text{ lu}_B \text{-} \text{ja}_A, \text{ kan}_B \text{-} \text{na}_B \text{ ngh}_A \text{ da}_A \text{-} \text{wa}_C \text{ -li}_A. \]

'If you do not come back, we will come down to you.'
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A Comparative Study of the Attitudes of Minangkabau People Towards Minangkabau and Indonesian Language

Keywords: Language Attitudes, Ambivalent Responses, Minangkabau

The study of language attitudes is important in Sociolinguistics, because a positive or negative attitude can influence linguistic behaviour in a community. In some societies, it is important for them to have the language as a part of society and for some other societies language is less important. Smolicz (1992: 280) in Thamrin (2015:92) argues that the cultural groups differ in the extent to which they emphasize their native tongues as core values.

This paper examines the attitudes about Minangkabau language (MIN) and Indonesian (BI). The data were collected in the form of questionnaires and in-depth interviews with the sample of 400 respondents. They were divided into two groups: adults (200) and youth (200) age 11 to 18 years from six different areas in West Sumatra. There are twelve questions on the questionnaire pertaining to the attitudes of youths and adults. A general attitude can be calculated by comparing the results between the youths and adults in order to compare the attitudes of these two groups towards MIN and BI.

The study reveals interesting data where the respondents mainly chose the “uncertain” option and expressed their feeling in both positive and negative comments in the same utterance when answering the questions related to MIN. For these responses, it is seen that there is a mixed feeling held by respondents where they use “but” or “although” after expressing their positive feelings thereby countering their first statement. The evidence of the ambivalent and mixed feelings from both of respondents is shown. This means that Minangkabau people tend to avoid the conflict of having negative opinions; they tend to say what they mean in more indirect ways. On the other side, there is a positive attitude from both groups in response to the questions about BI. Majority of respondents have very strong positive attitudes towards BI.

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Some notes on Dusun Malang of East Barito, Central Kalimantan

Keywords: Grammar, Kalimantan, Indonesia

Dusun Malang is a Barito language, classified under Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Greater Barito, East, Central-South, South, with the total population around 4,500 people (Lewis et al, 2015). It is spoken in the Central Kalimantan Province, North Barito regency, Indonesia. Villages that speak the language are ordered from Muara Teweh, the capital of the regency, up northward or upstreamward of Barito river. A minor lexical difference exists between the villages, e.g. leweu’ (Ipu) vs. rabaru’ (Karamuan) ‘lake’, rarap (Ipu) vs. kepek (Karamuan) ‘fan’.

Dusun Malang has a lexical similarity of 90% with Bayan (Lewis et al, 2015). Both variants are mutually intelligible, with some minor lexical differences that can be understood contextually by the speakers. A salient difference is found on the vowel harmony system. Different from Dusun Malang, Dusun Bayan does not perform a vowel harmony system.

This paper describes some sociolinguistic and grammatical features of Dusun Malang, a language that is still understudied. As the research of the language is under progress, the current description is hoped to present us with some refreshing contribution to our knowledge with the languages of Kalimantan.

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The Pragmatic Functions of “Wa”, “Jamo”, and “Wa Jamo” in the Conversation among Boholano Speakers

Keywords: Pragmatic Markers: Discourse Analysis

This study aimed to determine and analyze the pragmatic functions of ‘Wa’, ‘Jamo’, and ‘Wa Jamo’ among Boholano speakers in their daily conversation. Qualitative and Quantitative methods were used in this study. The respondents were from the municipalities of Valencia, Garcia, Jagna, Dauis, and Panglao in the Province of Bohol, Philippines. It was found that the pragmatic markers ‘Wa’ is frequently used in the conversation compared to ‘Jamo’ and ‘Wa Jamo’. The pragmatic marker ‘Wa’ is used as an adverb expressing unawareness, it also means none, and is used to denote expression of negation and disagreement. ‘Jamo’ on the other hand means none but it doesn’t express disagreement and unawareness. While ‘Wa Jamo’ is used as an adverb expressing double negation and complete disagreement, and intensifies the denial of something.

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Kado orthographies in Lao and Latin scripts: Using tone marks for vowel quality and length
Keywords: orthography, digraphia, tone marks

Kado is a dialect of Pacoh, a language of the Katuic sub-branch of the Austroasiatic language family in Laos and Vietnam. Because Kado speakers live on both sides of the Lao-Vietnamese border, they have chosen to use two separate writing systems based on their respective national languages for ease of transfer from literacy in the language of schooling to literacy in Kado. This paper presents preliminary orthographies for Kado in the Lao script and the Latin script. The orthographies are based on the Lao and Vietnamese writing systems, with influence from the Lao-script orthography for Eastern Bru and the Latin-script orthographies for Eastern Bru and Pacoh.

Kado has no phonation contrast, but it does retain vowel length contrast. It also has four back vowel positions and two sets of diphthongs, exceeding the standard vowel inventory of Lao and Vietnamese. Of particular interest for those involved in orthography development, both Kado orthographies adapt tone marks in the Lao and Vietnamese writing systems for use in distinguishing either vowel quality or vowel length respectively.
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Grammaticalization and Phonetic Reduction in White Hmong

Keywords: grammaticalization, typology, Hmong-Mien

Bisang (2015) discusses the nature of grammaticalization patterns in the languages of East and mainland Southeast Asia, arguing that evidence for a primary vs. secondary grammaticalization distinction in these languages is often inconsistent and mostly lacking in the area of the “dynamic coevolution of meaning and form” of Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 20). Ansaldo & Lim (2004) also point out that some phonetic reduction associated with grammaticalization is found in Sinitic, of a variety where syllabicity of morphemes is maintained.

The current paper analyzes grammaticalization in White Hmong (Hmong-Mien, Laos) as it pertains to the primary vs. secondary grammaticalization distinction and its connection to phonetic reduction. Three grammaticalized morphemes are considered: 1) puas~pes in the context of puas tsaawg ‘how many?’, 2) pheej~pej ‘continue to’, and 3) ntshai~ntshe ‘maybe’. All three exhibit optional phonological reduction of the rhyme to –e with maintenance of the original tone. The morphemes reflect differing stages of grammaticalization, suggesting that phonetic reduction of these morphemes in White Hmong is not consistently connected with secondary grammaticalization.

The data show that the phonetic reduction patterns found across Sinitic are paralleled in White Hmong, confirming that this form of reduction is in fact an areal phenomenon. In addition, the primary vs. secondary grammaticalization distinction does not show a clear correlation with phonetic reduction in White Hmong, though grammaticalization more generally bears some correlation.

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**Word-medial schwa deletion in Paiwan**

Keywords: schwa deletion, consonant cluster, stress

This study examines the factors that influence the process of deleting a word-medial schwa, and focuses on the location of stress, the medial consonant cluster formed after deletion, and the shape of a prosodic word. It is shown that these factors play a part in word-medial schwa deletion. First, a stressless schwa, compared with a stressed one, is easier to undergo deletion based on the data from two dialects with dissimilar stress pattern. Second, except for the legal word-medial coda—nasals and glides, schwa deletion is more likely to happen when a medial coda /s/ or /ts/ ends a syllable. Moreover, the deletion of schwa is preferred if it converts a trisyllabic word into disyllables.

In many Austronesian languages, medial vowel syncope deletes schwa in the environment VC__CV (Blust 2007:28). Paiwan, an Austronesian language spoken in southern Taiwan, displays discrepancy in schwa deletion due to different assignment of stress: stress is regularly penultimate in most dialects, but in some central dialects the penultimate stress shifts to the ultima to avoid schwa. A schwa without stress easily disappears in central dialects, e.g. ʎusəpť–ʎuspit ‘thin’ in central dialects, and ʎusəpıt in other dialects. Other than stress, the formed medial consonant cluster determines the rate of schwa deletion. It is fine if deletion creates a nasal/glide medial coda since they are legal medial codas in Paiwan (e.g. pajsu ‘coin’, vaŋsaʀ ‘handsome’). However, more possibilities are observed in central dialects. The clusters with over 80% deletion rate mostly contain a voiceless sibilant /s, ts/ (e.g. sp, sq, ts, pt, ks) or a stop (e.g. kt, qc, pc).

Finally, a disyllabic form, also the canonical shape of the Austronesian lexicons (Blust 2007), is a favourable result after deletion. Disyllables are not the main trigger but converting trisyllables into disyllables through schwa deletion are preferred over disyllables to monosyllables—the rate of the latter are far less. This study clarifies the interaction between word-medial schwa deletion and the resulted cluster, showing that the three factors investigated have an apparent influence.

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The Distribution and Variation of Discourse Particles in Colloquial Indonesian

Keywords: Particles, Distribution and Variation, Colloquial Indonesian

In this paper, I investigate the distribution of discourse particles dong, deh, sih, eh, kok, lho, kan, and nih/tuh that commonly appear in colloquial Indonesian as well as their socio-pragmatics variation that I assume to grow more productive in recent years. By looking thoroughly into the behaviour of discourse particles in four Teenlit novels, my analysis reveals that these particles are very restricted to certain distribution. The particles dong, deh, and sih can only occur at the sentence final position, eh is at the sentence pre-position only, while kok, lho, kan, and nih/tuh can appear in both positions but with a different syntactic and pragmatic behaviour. In regards to their variation, my finding attempts to enrich Sneddon’s (2006) study in the way that he focuses on the pragmatic aspects of particles, but rather I also scrutinize how these particles index different age groups and other social aspects.

Literature