THE 23rd MEETING
OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN
LINGUISTICS SOCIETY

SEALS23

May 29 - 31, 2013

Faculty of Arts,
Chulalongkorn University,
Bangkok, Thailand.

ABSTRACTS

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FOREWORD

The Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society is a proud tradition cherished by our community of linguists sharing an interest in the languages of Southeast Asia. It aims to promote academic exchanges as well as to foster the network among scholars working on the languages of Mainland and Insular Southeast Asia. The 23rd Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society (SEALS23) in Bangkok is a timely event that coincides with an important transition for the Southeast Asian linguistics community. Firstly, SEALS23 is the first meeting to be held after the decision at the 2012 meeting to move toward becoming a formal non-profit organization. The organization of SEALS23 has taken as its mission the design of future meetings that will ensure high academic standards and the collegiality that our community has always valued. Secondly, this year's meeting is a witness to rapid social and political changes in Southeast Asian countries. A renewed interest in Southeast Asia by neighboring regions as well as nations further away, the swift political reform in Myanmar, and the on-going preparation for the 2015 ASEAN integration brings about both new possibilities and challenges for research on Southeast Asian languages and for the languages themselves. Last but not least, SEALS23 marks a celebration of the 36th anniversary of the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, which since its founding has been an active part of the Southeast Asian Linguistics community. This timely event is thus a promise that we will continue to contribute actively to the languages of Southeast Asia and the Southeast Asian linguistics community.

On behalf of the SEALS23 organizing committee, I would like to express my gratitude to Theraphan Luangthongkum for her advice and unceasing support. I would also like to thank Wirote Aroonmanakul, Chair of the Department of Linguistics as well as all the faculty and staff for their enthusiasm and help in organizing this event. I would also like to express a special thanks to Chawadon, Jakrabhop, Junyawan, Kamolchanok, Karnthida, Nakrob, Napasri, Nida, Niwoot, Pattanida, Sujinat, Sumintra, Teeranoot, Waradon, Wilasinee and many other students, without whom this conference would not have been possible. I would also like to thank the following units for their collaboration: the Institutes of Asian Studies; the Humanities Information Center, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University; and the Typological and Historical/Comparative Research on the Languages of the Japanese Archipelago and their Environs, the National Institute of Japanese Language and Linguistics, Japan. Last but not least, I would like to thank the following units for their financial support: ASEAN Institute of Chulalongkorn University; Division of Research Development and Promotion, Chulalongkorn University; Center of Excellence Program in Language, Linguistics, and Literature, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University (CU Centenary Academic Development Project); and the Research Affairs Division, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

Pittayawat Pittayaporn
Chair, SEALS23 Organizing Committee

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Plenary 1

Phonetic and phonological field research in Vietnam and Cambodia

Marc Brunelle
University of Ottawa

In this contribution, I will address the three questions raised by the panel organizers while focusing on two perspective with which I am familiar: phonetics/phonology in the field and field research in Vietnam and, to a lesser extent, Cambodia.

To answer the first question, I believe that the phonetic and phonological research questions that are likely to become important in upcoming years are largely conditioned by technological advances, the topic of the second question. With the advent of highly portable equipment and the growing availability of computer resources in most of Mainland Southeast Asia, it is becoming increasingly possible to record fine-grained phonetic data or to run perceptual experiments on large number of speakers. This opens up the possibility of conducting studies on problems that were difficult to tackle until recently, like phonologization and the sociophonetic underpinnings of contact induced change. Such research is likely to resound beyond Southeast Asian linguistic circles and to have a lasting impact on linguistic theory. However, for these exciting questions to be properly addressed, a new emphasis will have to be put on the development of new skills that are not part of the traditional training of Southeast Asian fieldworkers: statistics, computational modeling, management of natural speech databases and sociolinguistic techniques. Further, collaboration with local researchers is crucial as the collection of large datasets is better conducted by teams than by individuals. This in turns could create training opportunities from local graduate students and could strengthen linguistics at the regional level. The specific examples I will discuss are the microphonetic and sociolinguistic factors that underlie tonogenesis and tone change and the study of intonation in tone languages.

I will then address the third question in two ways. First, I will raise the question of language obsolescence and loss in ethnic minority languages in light of better communication technologies and of the better penetration of the national state in traditionally remote areas. More specifically, I will discuss some issues that arise from the fact that it is often difficult to determine if language consultants are semi-speakers or native speakers of languages that undergo a dramatic influence from large national or regional languages. Second, I will discuss issues related to government control over field research in authoritarian countries and show how an increased exploitation of natural resources and commercialization of ethno-cultural specificities not only impact the stability of ethnic minority languages, but also affect data collection and set limits on the type of research questions that can be raised by researchers (especially foreign scholars).

I will finally argue that there is a lot to be gained from increased cross-pollination between Southeast Asian national linguistic communities and will try to launch a discussion on the cultural, institutional and socio-political reasons behind the relatively limited nature of collaborations between researchers from different ASEAN countries.

Stable principles of linguistic fieldwork

N. J. Enfield
Radboud University

In this presentation, I would like to address the issue of linguistic fieldwork in Southeast Asia today and in the near future by raising the point that there are certain fundamental principles of fieldwork that should always apply, regardless of the state of technology, and regardless of the sociocultural, political, and economic situation. I will give two examples.

1. **Human relationships**. Success or failure in linguistic fieldwork depends on the quality of the human relationships that are established and maintained throughout the project and beyond. Most fieldwork entails making an imposition on members of the language community. From the first day, the fieldworker depends on the generosity, tolerance, and trust of the hosts. This must not only be reciprocated, but special attention must be given to the fact that the essential investment of fieldwork is in mutual and enduring interpersonal relationships with those who are helping you to collect and understand linguistic data.

2. **Research questions**. Field research is pointless unless your work is guided by explicit research questions. All fieldwork is selective, and so it is crucial to be able to say in advance why you plan to collect certain facts and not others, and what you plan to do with the data afterwards. Equally important, however, is to be flexible once you are in the field, and to be able to respond flexibly to opportunities and observations that you had not anticipated.

These two principles are examples of some important considerations for fieldwork that are entirely independent from the historical, technological, or political conditions; The main message of this presentation is that when focusing upon the changing techniques and conditions of fieldwork, it is essential not to overlook the basic principles.

New challenges in fieldwork in a changing Southeast Asia - languages of Myanmar

Mathias Jenny
University of Zurich

Myanmar, for a long time difficult for foreign researchers to access and with restricted possibilities for tourists, has been receiving large numbers of travelers from around the world for a couple of years. With the fast opening of the country come new opportunities, but also new challenges for linguists involved in fieldwork in the area.

With over a hundred languages and idioms spoken in the country, belonging mainly to three distinct language families, Myanmar offers a vast ground for linguistic investigation. Communication and transport within Myanmar was difficult for many decades though, resulting in a high degree of isolation both from the outside world and within the country. Although Burmese as sole official language was spread to most areas, in earlier centuries by state officials, more recently also by education and state media, the actual use of the language remained restricted in most ethnic areas. This led to substantial numbers of L2 speakers with imperfect knowledge of Burmese, which in turn brought about a number of local varieties of Burmese, alongside the widely spoken minority languages.

In the past few years transportation as well as communication infrastructure has improved in most parts of the country, leading to increased mobility of the population. Increasing numbers of private media, both printed and broadcast, bring standard Burmese closer to the people, also far away from the urban centers.

The outcome of this development in infrastructure has two effects on the linguistic landscape of Myanmar which are relevant to fieldwork. The first is positive: many areas previously off-limits are now accessible to researchers. It is thus now possible to produce original material in many languages that were until now only poorly described, if descriptions were available at all. This enables us not only to gather more and better language material, we are also in a position now to discover and describe contact scenarios. One example is the long forgotten Lao communities, migrants from NE Thailand probably around 200 years ago, in southern Myanmar (Kayin and Mon States). Though Burmese is spoken by everyone, Lao language and culture has survived to the present day in eleven villages, which have their own Lao speaking community temples.

The second important effect of modernization is that with improved infrastructure, standard Burmese is gaining ground in more domains, possibly replacing local Burmese varieties and ethnic languages. Similarly, with increased mobility within the regions ethnic languages may develop new standard (or better 'leveled') varieties, as can be seen in urban centers of Mon State, where the variety of semi-formal Mon as used in popular media (songs, videos) is considered 'good' Mon, as opposed to local village varieties which in some cases diverge among each other to the extent that mutual intelligibility is reduced markedly.

Field work in Myanmar thus can profit from easier access, including fewer obstacles in doing audio and video recording, but the linguistic diversity is in danger of being lost in the not too far future.

Methods for electronic dissemination of fieldwork

Daniel Kaufman
Endangered Language Alliance

I talk here about two populist strategies for disseminating field data as well as documentary material through the internet. I exemplify these strategies with material gathered during an intensive documentation workshop in Kupang, West Timor during July 2012. The first strategy employs an online interface to an XML database which itself is the output of a Fieldworks Explorer (FLEx) database. This constitutes a small but searchable collection of texts that are linked to a lexicon in the familiar fashion of FLEx. While this may be the ideal form to present data to linguists and other academics, it is not a friendly, or particularly useful interface for the wider public. I argue that public repositories such as YouTube are currently the most effective means for disseminating work to the public for communities that have web access. Recent tools adopted by YouTube allow for linking transcripts to media, a goal which has heretofore eluded some of the best funded language archives. Populist electronic platforms should be taken seriously but limitations should not be ignored nor should such platforms be taken as a replacement to archives. I demonstrate our efforts on the database side as well as the media side, discussing strengths, weaknesses and future directions.

Plenary 2

Linguistic evidence relates languages, archeological evidence relates cultures, genetic evidence relates populations: Implications for STAN and related hypotheses

Zev Handel
University of Washington, Seattle

Proposals for higher-order genetic affiliations among the five recognized major language families of Southeast Asia (Sino-Tibetan aka Tibeto-Burman, Hmong-Mien, Tai-Kadai, Austronesian, Austroasiatic) remain highly contested. Because of the time depths and complex migration histories involved, proving higher-order affiliations based on traditional methods of linguistic comparison is methodologically fraught. Recent attempts to integrate genetic and archeological evidence have raised intriguing new hypotheses, but these must be viewed skeptically. Linguistic spread and divergence are not necessarily correlated with cultural and genetic dispersal patterns. While hypotheses about the historical relationship among languages must be rejected if they are incompatible with other historical evidence, it is conversely true that linguistic evidence must be primary in evaluating such hypotheses. Yet the existence of fundamental weaknesses in the accepted methodologies of historical linguistics (e.g. the difficulty of distinguishing early layers of borrowed vocabulary from commonly inherited cognates), combined with challenges inherent in the typologies of many of the languages involved (e.g. scarcity of inflectional paradigms), makes evaluation of the linguistic evidence inherently problematic. This paper evaluates the Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian [STAN] hypothesis of Laurent Sagart within this challenging methodological context.

Sagart's STAN hypothesis makes the claims that (a) Sino-Tibetan and Austronesian are genetically related to as two major branches of a larger family; (b) Tai-Kadai is a branch within Austronesian. The hypothesis is accompanied by proposed associations between linguistic communities and major archeological sites in China.

The primary linguistic evidence adduced by Sagart is a set of proposed cognates, including basic vocabulary, argued to exhibit regular sound correspondences and to reflect some shared derivational morphology. This data is further buttressed by proposed cognates referring to the two major cereals that were cultivated by the Proto-STAN speakers. The strengths of Sagart's hypothesis are balanced by a number of weaknesses: the absence of pronouns and numerals among proposed cognates and contested claims concerning morphological affixes and processes. Moreover, Sagart's hypothesis fails to grapple with potentially crucial questions concerning the internal structure and homeland of Sino-Tibetan which have been raised by other scholars.

While this paper does not seek to definitively affirm or refute the STAN hypothesis, it will clarify the methodological issues involved and their implications for the plausibility of the hypothesis. These methodological questions have broader implications for other questions of language affinity in the region, including the internal subgrouping of Sino-Tibetan and other macro-phylum hypotheses such as Austric and Proto-East Asian.

Unorthodox methods for evaluating macro-families

Daniel Kaufman
Endangered Language Alliance

The statistical difficulties inherent to long distance comparisons are immense as many factors are at play. Not only must we evaluate the number of proposed cognates, the evaluation must take into account the proportion of predicted segmental (and super-segmental) correspondents for any given cognate. More importantly, this must be weighted against the number of examined forms, as comparing two languages with richly documented vocabularies will obviously yield more convincing evidence than comparisons from poorly documented ones. Early loans, a problem which has been discussed amply in the literature, is a relatively trivial problem in light of these larger challenges, which have gone largely unexamined. As a result, the strength of long distance relationships has generally been evaluated by mere intuition rather than formal comparisons against chance.

In this talk, I use two methods for evaluating long distance relationships with Austronesian that may help us circumvent the statistical nightmares alluded to above. The first is to take the brash move of putting aside all lexical correspondences in order to focus solely on functional (derivational, inflectional, pronominal) morphology. The second method involves comparing proposed long-distance relationships with comparisons to far-flung families that are outside the realm of rational phylogenetic relatedness (e.g. PIE, Proto-Afro-Asiatic, etc.). The latter technique has been applied with interesting results by Thiel (2006) in reconsidering the relation of Omotic to Afro-Asiatic and can put many recent proposals about Austronesian's outside relations in better perspective.

Grammatical features shared by Austronesian and Hmong-Mien

Martha Ratliff
Wayne State University

Over the past several years, linguistic similarities across pairs or sets of East and Southeast Asian language families have given rise to a number of well-known proposals for a closer relationship between one pair or set of families than others. This work has primarily involved comparing small portions of the lexicon, supported by hints of sound correspondences, but has also involved comparing some closed word sets and grammatical features. In every case, we are challenged to provide a historical explanation for the best of this evidence, such as the similarity between the numeral systems of the TK language Buyang and AN (Sagart 2004). I do not find the idea of the late Stanley Starosta (2005)—that Sino-Tibetan, Hmong-Mien, Tai-Kadai (Kra-Dai), Austronesian, and Austroasiatic may all somehow be connected at a great time depth—too daring as a working hypothesis. One advantage of this hypothesis is that it allows us to remain open-minded about all three major proposals: Austric, Austro-Tai, and STAN, as well as "Yangzian" (AA-HM). As a contribution to work on the East Asian complex, I would like to present some grammatical similarities between the centrally-located (and thus historically significant) HM languages and AN.

At the 2004 SEALS meeting in Bangkok I presented the idea that the stability of individual basic lexical items is idiosyncratic, and the stability of phonologically-similar roots for the same basic concepts in two sister-candidate families, in conjunction with more conventional evidence, can point to a higher-level relationship. HM and AN share a few of these stable roots. In this presentation, I would like to present complementary evidence from grammar to suggest that HM and AN may have had a period of shared history. In particular, I will review and extend my earlier work on (1) the stative and causative prefixes of AN and HM (both appear in the identical AN/HM words for 'die' and 'kill'); (2) the AN and HM personal pronouns; and (3) the AN and HM spatial deictic systems. A person-based, three-way contrast ('this near me', 'that near you', 'that neutral') is typical for AN, but is relatively unusual for languages spoken on the mainland. The lexical and grammatical evidence taken together is slight in quantity but is strong in specificity, and requires an explanation.

Austro-Tai revisited

Weera Ostapirat
Mahidol University

In this talk, I revisit the Austro-Tai hypotheses in its narrow sense and examine the linguistic connection between Kra-Dai and Austronesian in more details than earlier presented (Ostapirat 2005). Assuming that the hypothesis is valid, I discuss whether Kra-Dai is a sister language to Austronesian or a branch of Austronesian closer to Malayo-Polynesian (per Sagart 2004). From phonological point of view, Kra-Dai appears to show some features that cannot be explained from the currently established Proto-Austronesian inventories. The nature of the relationship between Kra-Dai, Austronesian and Chinese in the Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian hypotheses (Sagart 2005) will be reviewed.

Session presentation

Grammatical functions in Mon-Khmer morphology

Mark J. Alves
Montgomery College

This presentation will summarize typology categories of morphology in Mon-Khmer, provide some samples of these along with geographic distribution, and suggest how this data can be used to better understand the linguistic history of the language family. Mon-Khmer is best known for expressing causation, nominalization, and semantic expansion through reduplication. These functions are non-grammatical functions (with the exception of reciprocity) which are widespread enough to be reconstructable to the Proto-Mon-Khmer level (Sidwell 2008). However, a review of available grammars of Mon-Khmer languages from all sub-branches (see below) shows many grammatical functions are also expressed through morphology, both affixation and reduplication, throughout the language family though rarely geographically concentrated. These functions include agreement, marking of case roles/subject agreement, aspect, voice, and plurality, among other grammatical features. They are not reconstructable in the entire language family, though some may be reconstructable within sub-branches. Some common categories are seen in entirely different geographic regions. They are mostly minimally productive, but in some languages, the productivity of these is surprisingly high. While most of the morphology is derivational, there is some inflectional morphology. This data adds complexity to the overall picture of morphology in Mon-Khmer and sheds light on the historical development of the sub-branches.

The degree of definiteness in noun phrases in Iu Mien

T. Daniel Arisawa

La Trobe University (CRLD) and Chiang Rai Rajabhat University

This paper discusses the general structure of noun phrases in relation to their definiteness in Iu Mien. Unlike European languages, Iu Mien does not have articles whether definite or indefinite. Nevertheless, it is possible to express various degrees of definiteness-indefiniteness distinction, e.g. indefiniteness, numerical specification, definiteness, and identifiability. Devices employed to indicate them include classifiers (e.g. *dauh* <person/animal>), numerals (e.g. *yietc* 'one'), demonstratives (e.g. *wuov* 'that'), and the identification particle (*dongh* 'same'):

(1)   *Yie*   *buatc*   *mienh*   (highly indefinite)
      1SG   see   person
       'I see people.'

(2)   *Yie*   *buatc*   ***dauh***   *mienh*   (indefinite)
      1SG   see   CLF   Person
       'I saw a person.'   (Tense is contextually determined.)

(3)   *Yie*   *buatc*   ***yietc***   ***dauh***   *mienh*   (numerical indefinite)
      1SG   see   one   CLF   person
       'I saw one person.'

(3)   *Yie*   *buatc*   ***wuov***   *dauh*   *mienh*   (definite)
      1SG   see   DEM   CLF   person
       'I saw the/that person.'

(4)   *Yie*   *buatc*   ***dongh***   *wuov*   *dauh*   (*mienh*)   (identification+definiteness)
      1SG   see   IDTF   DEM   CLF   person
       'I saw the/that very/same person.'   (IDTF = identification)

To form complex noun phrases, the possessive particle *nyei* is employed as in (5):

(5)   *Yie*   *buatc*   *meih*   ***nyei***   *dorn*
      1SG   see   2SG   POSS   son
       'I saw your son.'

In fact, *nyei* is highly multifunctional, being a marker for the possessive, relative clauses, aspect, and adverbial phrases. (6) shows a complex noun phrase (in the square brackets) using *nyei* as the relativise marker; and more complex as (7).

(6)   *Yie*   *buatc*   [*meih*   *gorngv*   *taux*   ***nyei***   *mienh*]
      1SG   see   2SG   speak   about/CVB   REL   person
       'I saw the person whom you talked about.'

(7)   *Yie*   *buatc*   [*dongh*   *meih*   *gorngv*   *taux*   (*nyei*)   *wuov*   *dauh*   (*mienh*)]
      1SG   see   IDTF   2SG   speak   about/CVB   REL   DEM   CLF   person
       'I saw that very/same person whom you talked about.'

Court (1986:193-4) only briefly mentions the omission (indicated by the round brackets above) of *nyei* and of the noun head (e.g. *mienh* 'person') (each in less than one page). Building upon his observations, the present study attempts to explain the omission of these elements in terms of definiteness and identifiability of noun phrases.

Grammar sketch: Mlabri

Kevin Baetscher

The Mlabri (or Yellow Leaf People) are an Austroasiatic minority of a few hundred people in the border region between Northern Thailand and Laos. Their language is notable for its simplicity in structure: it is mostly isolating, and complex structures such as relative clauses or comparatives seem to be rare or completely absent. As has been noted before (Rischel 1995, Theraphan 1992) Mlabri numerals are not very specific, which could be a result of their simple material culture. On the phonological level, however, Mlabri is very conservative, and features complex consonant clusters and various manners of articulation.

The Mlabri language shows some typical Austroasiatic patterns, like a sesquisyllabic word structure, reduplication and derivational affixation. At the same time, some of its structures seem foreign to the area, like the presense of possessive pronouns and a definite article. Yet, resources on Mlabri are too scarce for an in-depth analysis of those structures. In fact, even the relationship to its close neighbours is subject of an ongoing debate (cf. Rischel 2007). Pronominal forms need further investigation, as well. From a socio-linguistic perspective, it is remarkable to see how a small tribe of only a few hundred people can maintain its linguistic identity despite the powerful economic and political influence that forces them to modernize their lifestyle.

Undoubtedly, Mlabri has to be documented much more extensively for a well-grounded analysis. This study presents novel data from the field gathered in a trip to Nan province and a 5-week stay in Phrae province. A short trip to the more traditionally living Mlabri on the Laotic side also shed light on the shift of lifestyle in a modernizing society and its influence on language.

Rather than providing an in-depth analysis of one specific aspect of the Mlabri language, this study provides an insightful overview of morphological structures and grammatical relations, and demonstrates how these tie in with other members of the Austroasiatic family.

Vaiphei relative clauses

George Bedell[a] and Khawlsonkim Suantak[b]
[a]Payap University and [b]North-Eastern Hill University

Vaiphei is a Kuki-Chin language primarily spoken in southern Manipur State, India. According to *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) the total speaking population is 27,800. Some of the examples discussed are taken from *Pathian Lekhabu Thiangtho* (The Holy Bible in Vaiphei, 2006) and cited in the orthography used there.

Sentence (1) is a simple Vaiphei transitive clause.

(1) *Jack in in   a sa'i.*
     Jack by house 3 build-this
     'Jack built a house'

The same clause is used in (2) as a relative to characterize a certain house.

(2) *[Jack in   sak]   chu*
      Jack house build   that
      'the house [that Jack built]'

The form taken by this clause in (2) differs in several respects from that in (1).

(i) In (1) the subject *Jack* is accompanied by a postposition *in* 'by' which does not appear in the relative (2).

(ii) In (1) the verb *sa* 'build' is accompanied by a particle *a* showing agreement with the third person singular subject *Jack*, which does not appear in (2).

(iii) In (1) the verb *sa* takes its so-called Stem1 form, but in (2) it takes its so-called Stem2 form *sak*.

Since the semantic head *in* 'house' appears within the clause in both (1) and (2), it is clear that the relative clause in (2) belongs to the head-internal type. (3) contains (2) as object of a clause, and (4) contains it as an adverbial.

(3) *[Jack in   sak]   kha ka mu'i.*
      Jack house build   that 1   see-this
      'I saw the house that Jack built'

(4) *[Jack in   sak]   ah chu'n   ka cheng hi.*
      Jack house build   in that=p   1   live   this
      'I live in the house that Jack built'

This paper will explore differences like (i) to (iii) above and attempt to explain relative clauses in Vaiphei.

Time ordinals in Tibeto-Burman

David Bradley
La Trobe University

Many Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages have two-syllable lexical time ordinals (yesterday, today, tomorrow; last year, this year, next year and so on) for up to a maximum of nine days and years in the past and in the future. These are usually compounds with one bound lexical ordinal element followed by one analyzable element meaning 'day' or 'year'; some languages also allow some or all of 'morning', 'evening' and 'night' to occur in the second slot, especially for the time ordinals closest to the present. For time ordinals closest to the present, the forms are often less analyzable; this is particularly true for 'tomorrow' and 'next year'.

These time ordinals may contain fossilized cognate lexical material otherwise absent from a language or subgroup of TB, but otherwise widespread across TB. For example, Lisu has [ni^{35}] in year ordinals, cognate with Proto-TB **s-nik/s-ning**; otherwise, Lisu has [k^{h}o̱^{21}] for 'year' as elsewhere in Ngwi (Loloish) languages. In some subgroups of TB, some of the bound time ordinal forms resemble numerals, but are not identical in form; this presumably reflects their compound origins. In other subgroups, the bound forms do not resemble numerals.

Phonological sound correspondences seen in nominal and verbal stems are not followed as regularly in the bound elements of these time ordinal forms. This may be due to sandhi effects within these two-syllable compounds, and to paradigmatic effects from adjacent items in the day or year ordinal paradigms.

While some TB languages can also form lexical time ordinals with 'month' in the second slot, this is much less widespread. Time ordinals based on other more recently-introduced units of time (7-day weeks, etc.) are absent; these can of course be expressed with transparent compounds or periphrastic forms. Days of the 7-day week, where this exists, tend either to be borrowed or formed with compounds using numerals. Of course it is also possible to use periphrastic constructions for the day and year time ordinals, and this is the only way to express days or years in the past or future beyond the range of the lexicalized time ordinals in a particular language.

It is also interesting that TB languages spoken by large and culturally dominant and expanding groups, such as Burmese, have fewer day and year time ordinals than closely related languages, and may lack cognates even for the most widespread lexical ordinal forms in those languages.

Teaching Thai as a second language to Patani Malay speaking children in the Southern border provinces of Thailand

Mirinda Burarungrot
Mahidol University

Teaching Thai to primary school students whose mother tongue is not Thai requires an innovative model because it is not the same as teaching Thai to students whose mother tongue is Thai or foreign students from other countries. This paper presents such a model, developed for Patani Malay-speaking students in the southern border provinces of Thailand.

This model is being implemented in 15 government schools in the Patani Malay-Thai Bilingual/Multilingual Education (MLE) Program. This model is based on applied linguistics, including a comparative study of Standard Thai and the Patani Malay language, an assessment of the basic Thai skills of preschool children whose mother tongue is Patani Malay, the selection of words from the same or related semantic domains for teaching Thai by using the Total Physical Response (TPR) technique, the selection of words in 'minimal pairs' for practicing listening skills for tone and final consonant sounds, and sorting Thai letters by comparing Patani Malay phonemes and Thai phonemes. Finally, the encouraging results of this approach to teaching Thai as a second language in the southern border provinces will be presented.

Universal and language-specific experience in the perception of Thai lexical tone

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Tone vs. non-tone language experience, and experience with particular tone inventories is known to shape perception of lexical tones. We present 2 experiments on the perception of Thai tones by tone language speakers (Thai, Cantonese, Mandarin), a pitch accent (Swedish), and a non-tonal (English) Language. In each word pairs differing only on tone were presented for classification as 'same' or 'different'.

Experiment 1 investigated Auditory-Only (AO), Visual (Face)-Only (VO) and Auditory-Visual (AV) tone perception with or without acoustic noise. In noise there was augmentation by visual information (AV>AO) in all 5 language groups, showing that visual information for tone exists and can be used even in the absence of tone language experience. AO and AV tone perception was best for native Thai, then non-native tone, then pitch accent then non-tone language speakers. VO tone perception showed the opposite – non-tone language speakers were better than tone or pitch accent language speakers, suggesting that (i) visual tone information is available but not used by tone language speakers, and (ii) visual information for tone may be useful for tone language adults with Hearing Impairment or children with language impairments.

Experiment 2 focused on *processes* in cross-language tone perception. Perceptual discrimination of tones was examined in 3 F0-equivalent auditory contexts*:* speech, filtered speech, and violin sounds, with phonetic vs phonemic) processing manipulated via inter-stimulus interval (500ms vs 1500ms). As in Experiment 1, there was an effect of language experience. In addition, tone (Thai, Cantonese) and pitch-accent (Swedish) language participants showed equivalent discrimination across all 3 contexts, but non-tone language (English) listeners had significantly better discrimination for violin than for filtered speech, and in turn, for speech. Moreover, tone and pitch-accent listeners' processing speed was facilitated at the phonemic (ISI = 1500ms) level of processing.

Together, results show there is a range of information available for tone perception including visual (face) information, and acoustic, phonetic and phonemic information; and that language background determines how this information is used –AV by speakers from all language backgrounds, VO by non-tone language perceivers, and linguistic phonemic information by native and non-native tone and pitch-accent language speakers. Tone perception is determined by both universal and experiential factors.

Plant-based classifiers in Tai Dam

Somsonge Burusphat
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Inanimate entities are basically classified into different categories based on their physical form. The geometric shapes themselves are drawn from naturally occurring forms. They refer to plants, in their component parts (Conklin 1981). This paper aims to study classifiers which are plant-based lexemes in Tai Dam spoken in Nakhonpathom province, Thailand. The result of this study shows that classifications of inanimate objects are based on various parts of plants, namely, stalk/stick, leaf, fruit, seed, flower, tuber, and shoot. The extension of plant classes to other semantic domains is evident in the classifications of similarly shaped objects.

When diachrony is helping for a synchronic study: The case of the Mo Piu tones from the Hmong-Mien family in Northern Vietnam

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The aim of our study is to describe an unknown branch of the Hmong-Mien family of languages which is unwritten and endangered. The Mo Piu ethnic minority lives in a remote area of the Northern Vietnam mountains. Since 2009, 4 recording sessions have been conducted. Studies have been carried out in two domains, in phonetics/phonology and "tonetics"/tonology. The present study focuses on the problem of Mo Piu tones. Previous studies [Caelen-Haumont, 2010, 2012] presented a former description of their nature and shapes. However, due to the context and speaker variability, the tone contours of the prototypes still remain an unsolved problem. Our goal is thus first, to check 2 methods of annotation relying on 2 annotation tools and also to improve on our former results on the Mo Piu language, by describing more precisely the tones contours.

The corpus used was recorded at the MICA Institute in November 2012 by 2 male speakers selected for their strong knowledge of the Mo Piu language. The present study uses a list of 175 words or compound words uttered 3 times by 1 speaker (525 items), extracted from the Calmsea list (extended), and grouped according to 1-8 prototones [Martha Ratliff, 2010]. Though on the basis of this corpus a diachronic and a synchronic studies can be achieved, the focus here is on the synchronic perspective.

To check the objectivity of the annotations, 2 automatic and semi-automatic tonal annotation tools were used: Praat-Momel-Mistral+ [Weber and al., 2012] and Prosotran [Bartkova and al., 2012], enabling a comparison of the tonal annotation results. The first part of this study presents the comparison of the tonal annotations yielded by these 2 tools, and the second part, in the frame of the words of the prototones lists, presents the mean values and standard-deviations of the patterns of the Mo Piu tones. In the semi-automatic (i.e. semi-manual) procedure, at the step of the xls files, a correction was made if necessary, concerning the threshold effect: ± 5 Hz around the threshold was granted. The conclusion is that the automatic and manual procedures are mostly in concordance.

Our study allows also for a reduced number of different tone patterns and gives more precision about them, bringing to light a bidirectional pattern for falling tones /54/ (/544/) and /43/ (/433/), and a one direction pattern for /41/ (and of course for the plateau /33/). Concerning the prototones study, from these limited data restricted to only 1 speaker and containing an unbalanced number of items among the types of prototones, some new hypotheses can only put forward: the 2, 3, 5, 8 ones seem to have merged into the same tone /43/, while the prototone 1 seems to mostly correspond to the tone /54/. As for the other prototones, other data are needed to confirm whether 6 is split up in two tones /43, 41/, and whether 4 leads to the plateau /33/.

Prohibitives in Southeast Asian languages

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This paper aims to explore both the synchronic variation and diachronic change in prohibitives, i.e. neutral(-ised), conventional(-ised) constructions that are used to encode the pragmatic force of prohibition, such as English *Don't V$_{INF}$!*, especially prohibitives in the languages of Southeast Asia (henceforth SEA). SEA prohibitives are chosen as the case study here because little typological and historical work has been done on them, and the little that has been done generally suffers from omissions and inaccuracies.

Data on the prohibitives of 97 SEA languages were collected and analysed in accord with a newly proposed model of synchronic typology. In this model, prohibitives are classified into four types according to two parameters: compositionality [±COMP] and specialisedness [±SPEC]. It is found that the majority of SEA languages belong to type C [−COMP, +SPEC], in which prohibitivity is non-compositionally realised by a specialised marking strategy. Type C prohibitives are found in every language family in SEA, but most dominantly in Austro-Asiatic and Hmong-Mien, and in many of the Kra-Dai and Austronesian languages. Type A prohibitives [+COMP, −SPEC], which make use of a morphosyntactic strategy that combines a general sentential negation strategy and an ordinary command-related verbal construction, are also found, especially in the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Indochinese buffer zone. Of equally less frequency are prohibitives of type B [+COMP, +SPEC], which also employ a compositional morphosyntactic strategy with a general sentential negation strategy, but its command-related verbal construction is dedicated to the prohibitive context. Type B prohibitives are found in most Sinitic languages and a small number of Kra-Dai languages. Least frequently occurring are type D prohibitives [−COMP, −SPEC], whose distribution is limited to just a few languages in the Oceanic branch of Austronesian. Morphosyntactically, this last type of prohibitive relies only on a general sentential negation strategy in order to encode the pragmatic force of prohibition.

Further, data on synchronic variation and historical data are analysed to postulate possible pathways of change in prohibitives. To illustrate, one major tendency in Tibeto-Burman languages can be discerned: the development of type A into type C, either directly or via type B. Specifically, some of the Tibeto-Burman languages still preserve the reflexes of the general sentential negator *ma* with ordinary command-related verbal constructions in their prohibitive constructions, like Tibetan. However, in some others, like Burmese, the reflexes *ma* begin to be used with special verbal constructions (hence type B), and might eventually lead to the reanalysis of this whole construction as a single specialised prohibitivity-marking strategy (hence type C). In still others, like Lahu, a non-compositionally specialised prohibitive marker *taˇ* has developed, probably from a lexical verb meaning 'stay, remain,' hence a direct link between types A and C.

The interaction of modals and temporal markings in Squliq Atayal

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In the sense of Condoravdi (2002), two notions of the temporal interpretation of modals, *temporal perspective*, the time at which the modal background is accessed, and *temporal orientation*, the relation between the temporal perspective and the time of a proposition embedded under the modals, can be distinguished. This paper investigates how the modals in Atayal (Squliq dialect), one of the Austronesian languages spoken in northern Taiwan, interact with various temporal markings to express the two types of temporal interpretation. Atayal lexicalizes both types of modal base, epistemic vs. circumstantial, and quantificational strength, necessity vs. possibility, in the sense of Kratzer (1981, 1991). Temporal references of sentences are made between morphologically marked future and unmarked non-future; Past and present can be disambiguated by the presence/absence of the past auxiliary and perfective marker (Huang 1995; Zeitoun et al. 1996).

Our findings are two-fold in light of the temporal orientation and the temporal perspective. First, Atayal endorses the cross-linguistic tendency for circumstantial modals to be inherently future-oriented, and to differ in this respect from epistemic modals (Enç 1996, Werner 2006, Van de Vate 2011 among others). This is evidenced by the absence of the past auxiliary *wal* (1) and the obligatory futurity without the future markings (2) for the circumstantial modals.

(1) siki   (*wal*)   m-usa'   bnka'.
     CIRC.NEC   PAST   AV-go   Taipei
     'He had to go to Taipei.'

(2) siki   (*musa'*)   *p*-/s-kut =su   kacing.
     CIRC.NEC   FUT   FUT.BV/BV-kill=2S.ERG   bull
     'You must kill a bull.'

Second, both types of modals allow shifting the temporal perspective to the past via different markings. The irrealis marker *aki* is only compatible with the ability modal rather than the epistemic one, yielding counterfactual meaning. However, the epistemic modals can still have the past perspective, though it is covertly marked. They are evidenced by uses in designated contexts, which will be illustrated in the paper.

The two findings together indicate that the modals are neutral temporally and the two temporal interpretations exclusively rely on the temporal marking system.

A sketch of high adverbials in Amis

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Chang (2010) argues that there are probably no adverbs in Formosan languages. It has also been widely reported that adverbs serve as verbs in many Formosan languages (Starosta, 1988; Chang, 2006, 2009; Liu, 2003; Yeh and Huang, 2009, to name a few) or as functional heads (e.g. Holmer, 2006), and this adverbial verb construction (AVC) has been an interesting research area for linguists working in Formosan languages. Specifically, manner and frequency are two types that have been more extensively analyzed. High adverbials, or so-called 'speaker-oriented adverbials', have been less studied, except epistemic ones. This abstract aims to present high adverbials in Amis.

It is not clear whether these high adverbials are adverbials or verbs in Amis. Most high adverbials (speech-act 'honestly' *su'elinay*, evaluative 'fortunately' *atay hani*, evidential 'allegedly' *matengil i* or *katengilan*, epistemic 'probably' *alatek*) share certain characteristics and as such do not resemble verbs. First, the lexical verb following the adverbial is not subject to AV restriction or atemporal restriction (see (1)). Second, forms of these adverbials are fixed; these adverbials do not take a voice marker or imperative form. The only one having an overt voice marker is *ma-tengil i* or *ka-tengil-an*, derived from 'hear'. However, except for the epistemic *alatek*, other high adverbials do not occur freely, as presented in (2). In addition, a construction similar to copy raising is allowed. In (3), a nominative NP can appear between the adverbial and lexical verb, leaving a correspondent pronoun behind within a finite clause led by the lexical verb.

(1) Atay hani   ma-palu'-ay   tu   n-i   aki   ci   panay
     Fortunately   UV-beat-Fac   Asp   Gen-PPn   Aki   Nom-PPn   Panay
     'Fortunately, Aki has beaten Panay.'

(2) (alatek)   ma-palu'-ay   tu   (alatek)   n-i   Aki
     (probably)   UV-beat-Fac   Asp   (probably)   Gen-PPn   Aki
     Ci   Panay   (alatek)
     Nom-PPn   Panay   (probably)
     'Probably, Panay has been beaten by Aki.'

(3) Ka-tengil-an   ci   Aki   ma-palu'   n-i   panay   cingra
     Allegedly   Nom-PPn   Aki   UV-beat   Gen-PPn   Panay   3s.Nom
     'Allegedly, Aki has been beaten by Panay.'

Finally, their order seems to correspond to Cinque's (1999) universal hierarchy, in which speech act adverbials precede evaluative, evidential, and epistemic ones.

Can a language with millions of speakers be endangered?

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Anderbeck (2012) raises the question of whether there are languages that are "too big to fail". As Anderbeck discusses, this question is particularly relevant in the Indonesian context, where roughly 10 percent of the world's languages are spoken (Ethnologue) with speaker populations ranging from single digits to tens of millions of speakers. This paper considers the current linguistic situation in Indonesia and the role of size in determining the fate of these 700 languages, in light of the highly successful development of Indonesian as the national language following the founding of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945.

The dialogue on language endangerment worldwide has largely focused on languages with very small speaker populations and decreasing numbers of young speakers. Yet, Krauss (1992) predicts that any language with a speaker population of less than 100,000 is at risk. Given this definition 90% of Indonesia's languages are already at risk (Anderbeck 2012). In addition, rapid changes to intergenerational transmission patterns suggest that even the largest regional languages in Indonesia may be at risk, raising the question of whether a language with millions of speakers can be endangered.

We investigate this question by taking Javanese, the most widely spoken regional language of Indonesia (roughly 80 million speakers and the 11th most widely spoken language in the world, Ethnologue) as a case study. We consider the shift away from use of Javanese by younger speakers. First, there has been a dramatic decrease in use of High Javanese (Krama) (as discussed by Errington 1998 and G. Poedjosoedarmo 2006 among others). There has also been a rapid shift away from Low Javanese (Ngoko) to Indonesian, especially as used as the primary home language, with a number of sociolinguistic factors playing a role in this shift. Kurniasih (2006) documents the effect of class and gender, and Smith-Hefner (2009) highlights the role of social attitudes. Both show middle class girls leading the shift to Indonesian as a first language. Additional factors include the role of English in "globalizing" Indonesia (Zentz 2012). As Indonesian takes over in more and more domains of communication and intergenerational transmission of Javanese breaks down, we are led to conclude that even a language with over 80 million speakers can be at risk, a trend that has serious implications for all of the local languages of Indonesia.

The case of Javanese and other large regional languages in Indonesia suggest that size alone is not a reliable factor for predicting vitality. Although there are a number of possible predictors that may be related to larger speaker population size (including a greater likelihood for official recognition, a greater likelihood for previous documentation, and a more diverse speaker population that may be less likely to simultaneously shift away from the L1), size alone cannot predict whether robust intergenerational transmission is occurring. Thus a clearer understanding of the demographic, sociolinguistic, and attitudinal factors that lead to individual and community decisions about intergenerational transmission are essential for assessing risk of endangerment.

Word stress in Laotian, an OT analysis

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Metrical phonology (Hayes, 1980; 1995; Selkirk 1981) uses hierarchical structure to represent stress assignment in language. The issue of whether certain SE Asain languages utilize metrical foot structure is unclear. Because Lao lacks traditional characteristics of stress – vowel duration, pitch change, increased amplitudes, etc. – it is not apparent whether metrical phonology has any explanatory power for such a language. However, Hayes (1995) argues that stress is not a specific feature of language but rather a "linguistic manifestation of rhythm." And Bennett (1995) makes a strong case that other non-canonical linguistic properties, specifically syllable weight for the languages Thai and Kayah Li, can reveal underlying metrical structure. I use evidence from the Lao to show how metrical foot structures, along with an abstract concept of stress can explain both a glottal stop alternation and vowel shortening in compounds and reduplication.

(1)	*kâʔ*	'expect'	(2) *pɔ̄ː*	'father'
	ka.kiàm	'prepare'	*pɔ̄.tûː*	'old man'

The theoretical claim of this paper is that metrical theory can explain seemingly disparate phonological alternations in Lao. Peyasantiwong (1986) gave an ordered set of linear rules for word stress in Thai, but without the benefit of metrical theory, the glottal stop alternation and vowel shortening remain unrelated processes. More recently Bennett (1995) and Tumtavitikul (1998) have shown that metrical theory can be useful in analyzing Thai word stress. I will argue that it is equally powerful at explaining related alternations in Lao. Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky, 1993/2004) is an ideal theoretical framework to analyze these phenomena. The focus on syllable well-formedness, rather than the ordering of linear rules, is clearly the cause of the observed alternations in Lao. Specifically, I claim that Lao has high-ranking foot well-formedness constraints that allow the attested candidates to surface. These constraints account for word-final glottal stop epenthesis as well as vowel shortening in compound words. Additionally, the constraints used in this analysis explain similar alternations in Thai (Bennett 1995) and Cupeño (Crowhurst 1994).

(2)   Rhythm-type Iambic foot constraint enforcing glottal stop epenthesis.

/kâ/	RH-TYPE:I	ID-WEIGHT-V	DEP-C
☞a. [(kâʔ)]			*
b. [(kâː)]		*!	
c. [(kâ)]	*!		

Three-way voiceless plosive contrast in Burmese

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In Modern Burmese, it is generally accepted that plosives contrast three ways based on laryngeal settings: aspirated, voiceless (or "plain"), and voiced (Watkins 2001; Wheatley 2003). However, there are discrepancies regarding the final category, "voiced". Shiwarungarote (2000) calls it partially voiced. However, "initial in a group,"Armstrong & Pe Maung Tin (1925:12) note, "it appears to be voiceless," claiming it "is not fully voiced unless intervocalic." They further describe [b] saying, "less effort is used in bringing together and separating the articulating organs" than for [p], a claim similar to recent findings on Korean fortis/lenis distinctions (Son et al. 2012).

In this paper the results of an acoustic investigation into the nature of the contrast between the three sets of plosives in Yangon Burmese are presented. The first significant finding is that none of the tokens spoken in isolation contain voiced plosives. In an intervocalic frame, "voiced" plosives are rarely (0 to 7% of tokens per speaker) realized as voiced plosives. Additionally, "voiceless"plosives were also realized as voiced plosives at nearly the same rate. The conclusion is that the contrast between these two types of Burmese plosives is not based on whether the vocal folds vibrate or not.

Rather, the contrast seems to lie in the tension of the vocal folds. Thus the authors henceforth use the terms stiff voice and slack voice (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996; Halle & Stevens 1971) to refer to the Burmese segments traditionally called "voiceless" and "voiced," respectively. Acoustic evidence points to two important signatures of contrast between stiff and slack plosives: the pitch at the onset of the following vowel and the closure duration of the plosive. The F0 of the vowel onset is higher after stiff plosives than after slack ones across all tone/phonation and vowel types, while generally being highest after aspirated plosives. Closure duration is longest for stiff plosives, shortest for slack plosives, and mid-range for aspirated plosives. Additionally, breathiness on the following vowel correlates to slack consonants, however this is a qualitative finding.

The investigation reveals contrasting aspirated – stiff – slack Burmese plosive phonemes. The results are comparable to Javanese (Brunelle 2010). The consonant-pitch interaction revealed in the study has important ramifications for studies of Burmese phonology and tone sandhi, which need to take depressor consonants into consideration. Further studies are needed to confirm and quantify breathiness on the vowels following slack segments and to explore the kinematic supralaryngeal articulatory signatures of the three consonant types. The results of this study can be useful for improving the accuracy of instructional materials for speakers of other languages learning Burmese and native Burmese speakers learning other languages.

A case for an IPA symbol for the dental plosive:
The example of Modern Burmese

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Instigated by the observation that Burmese students of English have problems producing the English "th" sounds, this paper investigates the articulatory nature of Burmese, traditionally labeled a dental fricative. While the sound has been most often classified as a fricative, additional descriptions abound: an affricate (Watkins 2001), preaffricated (Bradley 2011), a weak plosive (Armstrong & Pe Maung Tin 1925), and a plosive (Shirawungarote 2000). These descriptions would suggest wide variation among speakers that has not been previously noted.

The results of an acoustic and articulatory investigation of Yangon Burmese speech reveal consistent articulation of a dental plosive. This includes occurrences in intervocalic frames, as displayed in Figure 1. The plosive may also be observed in the narrative sound files for the Illustration of the IPA (Watkins 2001). Palatogram and linguogram evidence shows the sound is usually realized laminally with contact in the dental and alveolar areas.
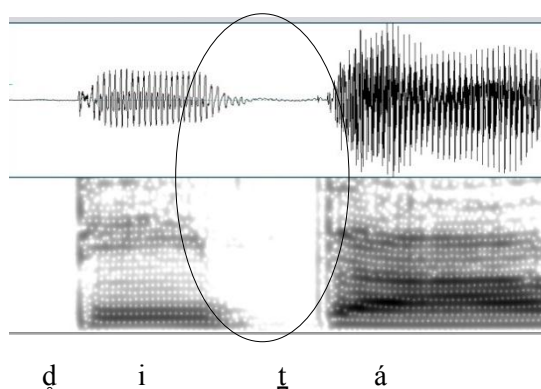
Figure 1.
Waveform and spectrogram of /diθá/ [d̪it̪á] 'this son' in Burmese.

d̪   i   t̪   á

After illustrating the dental plosive's phonemic status in Burmese in contrast to the alveolar plosive and fricative, other Tibeto-Burman and Austronesian languages reporting such a contrast are considered. In light of the dental/alveolar plosive contrast not only in Burmese but also in a dozen diverse language families worldwide, the authors propose the Greek letters *tau* [τ] and *delta* [δ] as diacritic-free alternatives to the currently available symbolization to distinguish /t̪ d̪/ from contrastive alveolar /t d/.

It is hoped that clear phonetic symbolization will aid accurate transcriptions of these sounds for all pertinent languages in the future, in addition to facilitating discussion of historical phonetic changes. The findings of the study also have implications for Burmese-English instructional materials and dictionaries, which often advise readers that the English fricatives [θ] and [ð] are the same as Burmese plosive and its phonologically conditioned slack (lax) allophone.

Basic oral language documentation in the Philippine context

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Linguists have long acknowledged the urgency of language documentation. They acknowledge that languages die faster than they are documented, and that there are not enough linguists to accomplish the task (Reiman 2010). Traditional forms of documentation are painstaking, costly and cannot keep up with the rate of language death. Himmelmann (1998) then proposes a distinction between description, whose main concern is the production of grammars and dictionaries, and documentation which treats data as its primary product, and description as its byproduct. Woodbury (2003) proposes a purely oral approach to transcription, through the native speaker's careful "re-speaking" of recorded texts, which can be transcribed later as needed. The Basic Oral Language Documentation (BOLD) method developed by a team of SIL researchers makes this idea feasible. It decreases the time spent in the field by using a simple, completely oral method of collecting data with minimal budget and training required.

The Philippines has around 170 languages, many of which are yet undocumented and a number of which are shifting precariously towards the moribund stage. At present very few serious efforts are being made to preserve these languages, although there is a growing interest in doing so. In this paper I describe briefly each stage of the BOLD method and how it was adapted in the Philippine context, particularly among two language groups: Ayta Abellen in Tarlac Province and Klata Bagobo in Davao City. For Ayta Abellen, in 2010, I recorded 34 communicative events and one word list from Ayta people in two villages using digital recorders, in a span of 3 weeks. The following year, for Klata Bagobo I recorded 25 communicative events and a wordlist from different people in three villages. The original recorded texts in both languages were later orally transcribed (re-spoken clearly and slowly) and orally translated by a different native speaker. The output of each project is an archive-ready corpus containing an index of items with metadata, evidence of informed consent, and the audio files. Such audio files include the original recording of a speech event, the oral transcription, and the oral translation into Filipino, the national language.

Although both projects followed the same process, there were differences in how the method was applied due to differences in situation, technology and available personnel. For example, with the Ayta Abellen, I used two recorders for oral annotation, while with the Klata Bagobo, I used Saymore, language documentation software. This paper discusses the different approaches used in each project and the reasoning behind them. It also determines what worked and what didn't work in the two projects. Overall, we found that the BOLD method facilitated the task of documentation and will be used as a basis for language documentation projects in the future, not only in the Philippines but also in other parts of Southeast Asia.

The phonetics and phonology of focus marking in Bodo

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We address the question of how tone assignment operates as a function of Focus in a tone language. How does Focus make a difference in the overall tonal pattern of succeeding tones and affect the phrasing of the sentence? Tone languages are known to have F0-based intonation, including H and L intonational tones (Gussenhoven 2004). In a production study we examined the prosodic expression of Focus in Bodo with and without the presence of the morphological markers for Focus. Bodo lexically distinguishes L and H tones. The tone bearing unit is the syllable, only the second syllable may employ the lexically significant tone, restricting disyllabic words to only one tonal assignment. The first syllable always takes the default mid tone (Sarmah 2004). The exact details of stress in Bodo remain unclear but it may have default left edge stress in a word. We devised an production study in which all combinations of LL and HH were present in the carrier SOV structure. Focus was either on the Subject or the Object (henceforth PrF). There were three sentence types – Subject Focus, Object Focus and Neutral Focus and four iterations of 8 sentences of these 3 types were recorded for 10 people. To see the effect of morphological markers, there was another set of the same sentences where the target words in Subject and Focus positions occurred with the two Focus morphemes {sɯ´, nɯ´} (henceforth MF) which indicate in-situ Focus in Bodo (Bhattacharya, 1977). Our predictions are that at a postlexical stage, downstep processes lead to additional tonal levels.

Furthermore, Focus in Bodo may not be delimited to morphological additions but may be signaled by pitch level modifications, too. In PrF, the syllable bearing Focus was significantly higher than the non Focus syllables (t =21.5, p=0.00). Prosodic Focus manifests itself in two different ways given its position in a sentence. If the Subject is under Focus (in a H tone word), the F0 peak or the pitch accent lodges itself on the second syllable, just like the broad Focus sentence, but only with a higher F0. In the cases where the Object receives PrF, the manifestation of Focus shows a marked difference. When the Object receives Focus, the entire phonological phrase of the Object and the Verb appears with a raised register. Results showed that the presence of high tones does not change the underlying tonal assignment of the tone in a following syllable. However, there was a significant difference between the F0 (calculated at vowel midpoint) of successive H tones (in MF) in for instance, /hatʰái/ (t = 33.5, p=0.00). This experiment shows that the phonetic changes confirm that at the phrasal level, Bodo H tones are realized as H in the presence of the morphological Focus markers {sɯ´, nɯ´}. The addition of a morphological Focus leads to the addition of more segmental material to the sentence; hence, morphological Focus markers also trigger a F0 peak which is higher than the peak associated with high tones. This ascertains that the morphological Focus marker is specified with its own High tone which signifies Focus. Therefore at the phrasal level, Bodo shows that it accommodates intonational information in the form of the pitch accent H* and also shows downstepping in the presence of MF. We will argue that these pitch accents are inserted at the level of intonational register of the Bodo tonal phonology.

Rhythmic variability in South-East Asian languages: A novel method based on measurements of syllabic amplitude peak points

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Rhythmic variability between and within languages is a well-supported auditory phenomenon but we lack an understanding of the phonetic correlates. In the present study we investigated the variability of speech rhythm in the South-East Asian languages Cantonese, Mandarin and Thai (L1 and L2 speech) with newly developed rhythm measures based on durational intervals between syllabic amplitude peak points (peak-to-peak measure). Previously rhythmic variability was widely measured in terms of durational characteristics of consonantal and vocalic intervals. This approach, however, is problematic as it is unclear to what degree such interval durations are perceptually salient in terms of speech rhythm. In the present study we demonstrate our newly developed peak-to-peak measure and show first results for between and within language rhythmic variability. The syllabic peak points are extracted by low-pass filtering a half-wave rectified version of the signal with a cut-off frequency at 10 Hz and identifying the peak points within each vocalic unit (as a correlate for syllabic nuclei). We argue that such points are more relevant in terms of perceptual salience compared to previous methods based on consonantal and vocalic intervals. We will show an acoustic comparison of peak-to-peak rhythmic results for within and between language variability for some South-East Asian languages (Cantonese, Mandarin, Thai). Additionally we will discuss experiments with which the perceptual salience of the acoustic variability can be tested.

Ruma'ai glottalized vowels in an historical context

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Until recently, the phonological history of the Palaungic branch of Austroasiatic appeared relatively uneventful. Even the vowel systems, the crux of AA phonological history, seemed to be quite manageable. For the Western sub-branch of Palaungic, consisting mainly of Ta-ang ("Gold Palaung"), Pale ("Silver Palaung"), Ruma'ai and Riang, Mitani reconstructed only ten proto-vowels (Mitani, 1977, 1979). Diffloth (1991) concurred, adding that the system seemed to consist phonetically of four short and six long proto-vowels. However, data on Ruma'ai recently collected in Burma by Badenoch shows phonation contrasts in the vowels, and suggests a richer historical picture.

The early studies showed that Ruma'ai had undergone dramatic changes compared to the rest of West-Palaungic, including many of the final stops merging to a glottal stop. The new Ruma'ai data confirmed this, but the surprise was the presence of a glottal stricture occurring about two-thirds of the way through vowel-duration in a large number of lexical items, contrasting with its absence in others. This affected the autonym, and is our reason for spelling it "Ruma'ai".

Historically, Ruma'ai, like Ta-ang and unlike Pale, has preserved the older voice contrast of initial stops. In addition, it displays a redundant phonation feature in the vowels: modal voice after voiceless initial consonants, and breathy voice after voiced ones. To this predictable feature is superposed another phonation feature in the vowels: plain vs. glottalized, which is independent of the clear vs. breathy one, and has no obvious conditioning as far as we can tell. Phonetically at least, Ruma'ai has a system that is typologically similar to what we find in Iduh (Eastern Khmuic) and in most Pearic languages, where four phonation types are in phonological contrast. The presence of four voice-registers then has to be counted as one of the typological features endemic to Austroasiatic. Another dialect of Ruma'ai, spoken on the Chinese side of the border, is described (Yan Liu, 2012) as having clearly audible glottal stricture half-way through its falling-rising tone, possibly confirming what we are describing here.

Our concern is to find a historical accounting for the glottalization contrast in Ruma'ai vowels. One possibility is the nature and place of articulation of the final consonants, especially when most of the reconstructed final stops have merged to glottal in Ruma'ai. But this does not correlate consistently with occurences of glottalization in the vowels. Ruma'ai, and with it the Palaungic branch, must, for the moment, be added to the growing list of AA branches - Khmuic, Pearic, Katuic, Bahnaric, Vietic, and possibly South-Munda branches - where glottalized rimes are not accounted for historically. The unexplained tone systems found in the newly described Pakanic branch (Mang, Paliu, Pakan) may also fit into this picture. Ruma'ai adds one more piece of evidence for the possible presence of glottalized vowels at the earliest historical stages of Austroasiatic.

An analysis of topics in Prinmi: In a cross-linguistic perspective

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Prinmi is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Yunnan and Sichuan provinces of southwest China. It demonstrates a high degree of topic prominence, as discussed in Li and Thompson (1976). Topic prominence is a typological characteristic of Sino-Tibetan languages, cf. Chao's (1968) analysis of spoken Chinese. It probably represents an areal feature of South-East Asia, which, as a linguistic area, embraces mainland South-East Asia and south China. Furthermore, topic prominence is also observed in such Sino-spheric languages as Japanese and Korean.

This paper presents an analysis of topics in Prinmi, based on first-hand data collected for a large scale typological study of information structure. A variety of topics are found in Prinmi in the study; Table 1 shows how they may be encoded.

Function	zero	*ggi* Topic; Accessible Ref.	*bbo* Contrast; Frame-setting	*ggi bbo* Contrastive topic
Aboutness Topic (AbT)	√	√		
Frame-setting Topic (FsT)	√		√	
Contrastive AbT		(√)	√	√
Contrastive FsT			√	
Implicational AbT			√	√
After-thought Topic		√		

Table 1: The four basic ways for expressing topics in Prinmi

The topic-comment construction can be used to convey complex information, such as:

(a) *Chained comment construction*:
Topic + Comment$_1$ + Comment$_2$ (+ … + Comment$_n$)
(b) *Contrastive topic-comment construction*:
Topic$_1$-Comment$_1$ + Topic$_2$-Comment$_2$ (+ … + Topic$_n$-Comment$_n$)
(c) *Recursive topic-comment*:
Hanging Topic$_S$ + Comment
//
Topic$_{S1}$-Comment$_1$ (+ … + Topic$_{Sn}$-Comment$_{Sn}$)

I will discuss the function of the variety of topics in Prinmi. Their encoding as well as the syntactic structure of topic-comment construction will be investigated in detail.

The quality of text structure and texture to determine the strength of language performance of children: A study of children's language development

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The paper discusses the quality of language exploitation performed by bilingual children with a command of Javanese and Indonesian to determine which language is their mother tongue. Twenty children in year 4-5 of Indonesian elementary school were selected as subjects for the study. They are Javanese and have grown up in a Javanese speaking environment—and as such, presumably they are native Javanese speakers. The subjects were asked to tell a story in two versions - one in Javanese and the other in Indonesian. The story telling was guided by a 'wordless' story book entitled *frog, where are you?*. The stories were then analysed related to text structure and text texture. The former sees the discourse units which are selected and arranged to build the narrative texts, while the latter is about the grammatical construction and word choice for the texts. The results show that all of the children performed perfectly in choosing discourse units and in arranging them to build story texts both in Javanese and in Indonesian. However, related to the quality of grammatical construction and word choices, the children demonstrated stronger skills in Indonesian than in Javanese—their ethnic language and the language used in the environment where they have grown up. The stronger skill in using Indonesian in this activity may suggest that they find it more convenient to use the national language than Javanese; and the condition suggests a shift in the children's mother tongue from Javanese toward Indonesian.

Psycho-collocations in Thai

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This paper presents an analysis of psycho-collations (PCs) that contain the word *caj* – 'heart' in Thai. Psycho-collocations are polymorphemic expressions referring to a mental process, quality or state (Matisoff, 1986). One of the constituents of psycho-collocations is a psycho noun which is a noun with explicit psychological reference such as *heart*, *mind*, *soul*, or *temper*. This paper classifies PCs with *caj* and proposes the mechanism to analyze PCs with the framework of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG).

This paper investigates which perspective to take between lexicographic and phraseological traditions for both syntactic and semantic analyses of psycho-collocations. Syntactically, PCs containing the word *caj* can be categorized structurally into two groups: (I) Psycho-collocations in which *caj* occurs first as the head noun. For example, *caj dii* heart-good 'kind', *caj sĭa* heart-lose/spoil 'worried', *caj dam* heart-black 'unsympathetic.' (II) Psycho-collocations which have V-N constructions such as *sĭa caj* lose/spoil-heart 'sad/sorry', *tòk caj* fall-heart 'startled/frightened.'

The above examples can be viewed as partially lexically filled constructions (with *caj*). Structurally, *caj* occurs as the head noun in the PCs in (I) and the head noun can be modified by an adjective, noun or verb. In (II), *caj* occurs in PCs that have V-N constructions (or in some cases, ADJ-N constructions depending on whether adjectives and verbs in Thai are considered distinct). It should be noted, however, that the meanings of the PCs in (I) and (II) are not transparent but idiomatic; that is why they are considered collocations and not simply compound nouns.

Semantically, according to Sethaputra (1965, 1972) when *caj* occurs in a V-N (ADJ-N) construction, this indicates temporary state-of-mind or feeling, as in *khăw dii caj* 'he is/was glad/happy.' When *caj* occurs as the head noun followed by an adjective, this indicates a more-or-less permanent quality of the heart, mind, spirit or disposition, as in *khăw pen khon caj dii* 'he is kind (kind-hearted) person.'

However, this argument does not always hold, as in the cases of *sĭa caj* meaning 'sad/sorry' vs. *caj sĭa* meaning 'be frightened, worried, be disheartened.' Based on the previously mentioned observation, *sĭa caj* should refer to a temporary condition and *caj sĭa* should refer to a somewhat permanent state of mind. However, it turns out that both *sĭa caj* and *caj sĭa* can be interpreted as temporary feelings or states of mind.

In the analysis of psycho-collocations in HPSG, both syntactic and semantic properties of PCs are taken into account. PCs are considered as 'bound collocations' or decomposable idioms since they are not totally frozen syntactically, although they are highly semantic based. In other words, PCs are treated as idiomatic constructions (Copestake, 1994) whose lexical parts are dependent.

The sexagesimal cycle, from China to Southeast Asia

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Many countries in East Asia use a sexagesimal cycle of Chinese origin for numbering units of time: years, months, days and hours, depending on periods and needs. This cycle is formed by the combination of a decimal cycle, and a duodecimal cycle, named in Chinese *tiāngān* '(ten) Heavenly Stems', and *dìzhī* '(twelve) Earthly Branches'.

The origin of these cycles is a matter of controversy. According to Chinese tradition, the sexagesimal cycle was created by the Yellow Emperor, Huangdi, in 2637 BCE, when he was sixty. It is said that it was to cover precisely an average lifespan of sixty years: but this is a later explanation. In the West, the duodecimal cycle is generally set in relation to the twelve signs of the zodiac. None of the hypotheses put forward to date is really satisfactory.

The earliest evidence of the sexagesimal cycle appears in Chinese, but the phonetic reconstruction leads us to attribute its invention to an Austroasiatic speaking population located in the center of China.

In the Han period, the original terms of the duodecimal cycle whose meanings had become opaque to users, were clearly associated with the specified names of animals, but with some modifications. These designations were translated into the languages of the historical peoples of South-East Asia: Vietnamese, Khmer, Mon, Lao and Thai.

I propose the hypothesis that the decimal and duodecimal cycles were formed from the primitive numbering systems of base 'ten' and 'twelve'. It will be shown that the expressions 'Heavenly Stems', and 'Earthly Branches', function as a kind of code preserving the key to the origin of the sexagesimal cycle.

Investigating the mental representation of Thai prepositions: A case of *naj* and *bon*

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The conceptualization of movements in relation to locations in language reflects basic human experience and an understanding of location in space, and this basic speculation entails how we as humans segment our concepts of the world into spatial scenes. There is a growing interest in exploring human conceptual systems and it is possible to note that this phenomenon can be observed through one linguistic entity in language. This entity is a preposition which adds a spatial scene to an event; thus, it specifically indicates a subject of a sentence (Trajector) with reference to a location (Landmark). In this preliminary study, the main purpose of the study is to investigate the mental representation of Thai prepositions *naj* and *bon* using the framework of cognitive grammar. A data-driven approach is also employed in this study to capture an overall explanation of the Thai prepositions *naj* and *bon*. Particularly, the Trajector-Landmark (TR-LM) configuration is used to examine the Thai prepositions *naj* and *bon*. The Thai prepositions *naj* and *bon* may have their own equivalence in English but the representation of concept is relatively different. Lexical prepositional meanings of *naj* and *bon* subsume three sub-categories: location in space or locative marker, location in time or time marker, and metaphorical and abstract uses in which the meaning of each preposition is rather extended from typical spatial meanings to broader senses. *Naj* and *bon* encapsulate spatial meanings for they express the most common meaning which exhibits the mental representation of one entity (Trajector) in conjunction with another entity or a physical surface (Landmark). They (the prepositions *naj* and *bon*) exemplify a Motion Event of a certain Figure whereby the Figure is moving or staying in place, displaying its direction or Path to a Landmark or point of reference. In brief, it is possible to note that the Thai prepositions *naj* and *bon* denote three basic lexical meanings: spatial (locative or physical) meanings, time relations, and metaphorical or abstract meanings. The Thai prepositions *naj* and *bon* can also be interpreted in terms of true-physical contact and pseudo-physical contact.

Language attitude in multilingual context: The Chabacano case

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Among the many languages in danger of disappearing in the Philippines is Chabacano—a language which started as a pidgin, then turned into a creole in selected areas of the country such as Zamboanga, Cavite City, Ternate, Ermita and Davao. In the studies conducted by Lipski (1987) and Genuino (2004), Chabacano was reported dead in Davao and Ermita, dying in Cavite City and Ternate, yet surviving but threatened in Zamboanga.

The current study is concerned with the major factors that contributed to the extinction process of Chabacano. Generally, the study focuses on the overt language attitude of the Zamboangeños, the Caviteños and the Ternateños towards Chabacano. Specifically, it will describe: (1) how the native speakers of Chabacano treat their language now; (2) the domains where they use the language; and (3) the amount of conversation carried out in Chabacano.

Data were obtained through participant observation, surveys, interviews, and dyadic conversations which were recorded overtly. The survey and interview participants were 36 natives of the three areas (12 in each area) under study whose ages ranged from 5 to more than 70 years old. The nine recorded dyadic conversations were done at random in different settings like a fast food restaurant, parlor, market, and school.

Results revealed that the native Chabacano speakers treat their language as less useful compared with Filipino (the national language in the Philippines) and English (which is considered as a second language to the Filipinos). To the question how they see Chabacano 10 years from now, the participants believed that it would soon die because it is no longer spoken by the younger generation and it lacks intergenerational language transmission. When asked why this is happening, the primary reason given was employment. They claimed that during job interviews, no employer would use Chabacano (rather interviews were done in either English or Filipino). Some answered that in the work place and in a school setting, conversations with their colleagues were also done in Filipino or English. When they get out of their areas, they would rather use English or Filipino so as not to be identified as Chabacano speakers. Others reported that they feel embarrassed to use Chabacano particularly when there are other people around them.

As to the domains where the language is used, data revealed that it is only within the family that Chabacano is frequently used when the older people are the participants in the conversation. In Cavite City and Ternate, older subjects revealed that though they know Chabacano, they only use the language when they know that their interlocutors are knowledgeable in Chabacano.

Hence, the amount of conversation carried out in pure Chabacano in Zamboanga is only approximately 60 percent, whereas in Cavite City and Ternate, it appeared to be around 10 to 15 percent.

Based on these findings, it can be said that in multilingual settings, languages that seem to be more useful economically are favored by the speakers.

Topological relations in White Hmong: Description and typology

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The paper describes the expression of topological relations in White Hmong, a Hmong Mien language, from the perspective of syntax and semantics. Melding linguistic description with comparative typology, I compare Hmong with other languages as described in *Grammars of Space* (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006). The original data used in this paper has been collected using the Bowerman and Pederson (1992) Topological Relations Picture Series.

Topological relations have not yet been fully described in White Hmong but preliminary analysis shows that White Hmong behaves in an unexpected way cross-linguistically. For example White Hmong seems to violate the 'Implicational hierarchy across topological space' put forth by Levinson and Wilkins (2006: 519). This hierarchy describes how semantics influence the choice of which grammatical construction will most likely be used in certain contexts.

By comparing the semantic maps developed for other languages found in Levinson and Wilkins (2006: 553-562) we begin to see where White Hmong fits in the bigger picture. Where typically languages express topological relations using constructions which may include adpositions and locatives, White Hmong and Kilivila (an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea, described in Senft 2006: 206-229) frequently do not. In White Hmong and Kilivila, there are expressions of figure ground relationships which make extensive use of verbs and avoid locatives, although they can do so in different ways. The White Hmong example below shows a topological relationship which is expressed with the use of a single verb, *nkaug*, 'poke through'.

(1) *Tus xib xub nkaug lub txiv ev.paum*
CL arrow poke.through CL fruit apple
'The arrow is poking through the apple.' (White Hmong)

The second example shows how Kilivila treats the same spatial relationship.

(2) *Ekausi keyala esuvisi miyana bovada ebasisi*
e-kau-si keyala e-suvi-si mi-ya-na bovada e-basi-si
3.-take-PL spear 3.-enter-pl DEM-CP.-flexible-DEM pumpkin 3.-stab-PL
'They take a spear, they enter this pumpkin (with it) they spear (it)' Kilivila (Senft 2006: 216)

Dialect perception and language development in Pasil

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Pasil is one of the eight municipalities of Kalinga province, Cordillera Administrative Region in the northern Philippines. Pasil has 14 barangays or villages belonging to seven Kalinga sub-tribes, and each of them claims that they, to some extent, speak differently from one another. Each also thinks that they speak the best Kalinga and would want written materials in their own variety. In addition, two of these villages are thought to be different by the rest because they are related to tribes outside Pasil. Nevertheless, Gieser and Busenitz (1974) identified the languages spoken in the areas of Pasil, Lubuagan Municipality and Balbalasang (a village in Balbalan Municipality) as the Guinaang-Balbalasang group of languages based on their inherent intelligibility with each other. Thus, it was expected that materials written in the Lubuagan variety of Kalinga could also be used in Pasil. In the Ethnologue, these Kalinga varieties are listed as dialects of Lubuagan (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013).

In 2010, a sociolinguistic survey was conducted in Pasil to determine (1) the language vitality of Pinasil, (2) extensibility of Lubuagan materials to Pasil, and (3) the possibility of language development in Pasil, if Lubuagan materials were not acceptable. If any language development would happen, a standard variety of Pinasil should be chosen. Thus, a dialect perception study was conducted using a participatory tool called Dialect Mapping, developed by Hasselbring et al. (2011). This tool was used in six villages representing five of the seven sub-tribes in Pasil and in Balbalasang to identify perceptions on similarity, language use, levels of understanding, comprehension, and materials extensibility. The tool was used with a group of 8-15 people from different sectors of the community. This participatory approach not only provided data on language attitudes and identity, but also gave an opportunity to each community visited to discuss their language perception in relation to language development in a broader sense. Other participatory tools were also used along with sociolinguistic questionnaires and group Recorded Text Test (RTT) of Lubuagan to validate the data.

The study found out that the use of written materials produced in Lubuagan could not be extended to Pasil, as Lubuagan was perceived to be different from Pinasil by most communities. Five out of six villages, to varying degrees, chose the Guinaang variety as the written standard. Among those who chose Guinaang was Balbalasang. This could mean that the Banao speakers in Balbalasang would be able to use Guinaang materials. However, the extensibility of Guinaang materials to other Banao areas in Balbalan and Abra province needs further inquiry.

The use of participatory approaches in sociolinguistic studies in Southeast Asia makes the communities aware of their language and its relation to other languages. It also respects the rights of minority ethnolinguistic communities and empowers them to make informed decisions for their languages. This can have real implications on their language development goals especially on endangered languages and for any sustainable effort for revitalization and documentation.

Challenges for acoustic analysis of a laryngeally-complex tone system: An example from Burmese

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Lexical tone in Southeast Asia is frequently a suprasegmental contrast carried by multiple phonetic properties operating alongside pitch distinctions, such as voice quality, intensity, glottal constriction, vowel quality, and more. Voice quality in particular overlaps with pitch in the phonologies of many languages which could be placed on a continuum between Tone and Register systems. This paper examines the suitability of acoustic analysis for the phonetic investigation of voice quality within such a complex of features, focusing on the case of Burmese.

Acoustic analysis of voice quality is necessarily an indirect measure of the laryngeal configurations responsible for creaky, breathy, and other patterns of voicing. While used successfully to differentiate voice qualities in many languages (Hmong in Huffman 1987, !Xóõ in Traill and Jackson 1987, Jalapa Mazatec in Silverman *et al*. 1995, Cham in Brunelle 2005, Gujarati in Pennington 2006), the acoustic measures of spectral tilt have had difficulty being reliably associated with the production of Burmese tones (see Thein Tun 1982, Watkins 1997). To this end, recent studies have demonstrated the utility of electroglottographic and aerodynamic instrumental methods for investigating laryngeal distinctions in Burmese and other tone systems in the region (Michaud 2005, Watkins 2005, Brunelle 2010, Gruber 2012). However, the instruments required for these studies, while non-invasive, are expensive, not easily mobile, and not conducive to collecting conversational or spontaneous speech data.

This paper has two goals which address this situation. The first is to provide an enriched understanding of the interplay between direct articulatory and indirect acoustic measures of voice quality phenomena common in Southeast Asia, which may inform and refine acoustic phonetic methodologies. The second is to offer a more complete picture of the complex laryngeal properties used in the production of the Burmese tones.

Data used to inform this understanding were recorded from ten native speakers of Burmese reading aloud a script of three syllables in three contexts: (i) citation form utterances in isolation, (ii) phrase-medially between *low* tones, and (iii) final in a long phrase, thus placing the tone-bearing syllable in a position subject to low respiratory power and dampened F0 range due to declination. Subjects read the script once with EGG electrodes measuring the opening of the glottis and a second time while wearing a mask connected to a pneumotachograph measuring the rate of oral airflow during speech.

The results of the study suggest that H1-H2 is not suitable for the study of voice quality in Burmese or for similar laryngeally-complex tone systems. Rather, the strategic employment of H1-A1 and H1-A3 metrics, according to vowel quality and whether more constricted or more lax glottal settings are under investigation, can successfully reflect voice quality contrasts in Burmese and potentially beyond.

The intonation of repair initiations in Northern Vietnamese: Evidence from multi-word utterances

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Recent work on Vietnamese prosody has shown that intonation plays an important role in conveying pragmatic functions in the language (Brunelle et al. 2012). One of these functions is repair initiation, signalling trouble hearing and understanding utterances (Hạ 2012, Hạ to appear). One-word repair initiations containing (1) open-class initiators (Drew 1997) such as question words *hả* "pardon?", *gì* "what?" or polite particles *dạ* "pardon?", and (2) specific repair initiators (Sidnell 2010) such as *ai* "who?" were found to have a rise at the end of the utterances. This intonation pattern has been analysed within the framework of autosegmental phonology as a high boundary tone, H%. This tone appears to be able to override the lexical tone of the word in fast speech, whereas in slow or more careful speech it occurs together with the lexical tone, resulting in a final rise (see Hạ and Grice 2010).

The current paper expands the analysis of the intonation of repair initiations in Northern Vietnamese by looking at multi-word utterances using speech materials based on a telephone corpus of about one hour duration (see Hạ 2012). Target utterances involve both open-class initiators such as (a) *cái gì cơ* "what/pardon?" as well as specific repair initiators such as (b) *ghi hoàn cảnh của ai* "write down the situation of whom?" or (c) *tô đậm các gì* "emphasise what?" Examples containing other repair initiators, for example, the alternative question word hay "or" like in *số di động hay số nhà?* "mobile number or landline number?" were also found. Results from an auditory and acoustic-phonetic analysis reveal that the rising intonation used to initiate a repair is also present in multi-word utterances, regardless of the lexical tone of the final syllable: the particle *cơ* in (a) (used to indicate intimacy or a close relationship between participants) has a high-level lexical tone as does *ai* "who" in (b); the word *gì* "what" in (c) has a low-level/falling lexical tone. The autosegmental analysis of the interaction between the intonation and the lexical tone of the last words/syllables, which are for the most part different from those investigated before, provides further evidence for formalising the melody at the edges of utterances in Vietnamese as a sequence comprising the lexical tone of the final syllable and a boundary tone used for pragmatic purposes.

This study contributes to the growing research on repair initiation across languages, in particular those dealing with prosody. Apart from exceptions found in Icelandic, Cha'palaa (one of the Barbacoan languages of northern Ecuador) and Lahu (Tibeto-Burman), as reported in Enfield et al. (in press), the rise used in Northern Vietnamese open-class repair initiations appears to correspond to the pattern found in a large number of languages, such as German (Selting 1996, Egbert et al. 2009), English (Egbert et al. 2009, Enfield et al. in press), Mandarin Chinese and French (Enfield et al. in press)

An analysis of Muak Sa-aak tone

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Muak Sa-aak is a tonal Angkuic language spoken in Eastern Shan state of Myanmar, belonging to the Eastern Palaungic branch of Mon-Khmer. Angkuic languages do not appear to develop tone through the loss of an initial consonant voicing distinction, as they had developed instead a shift where proto-voiceless initial stop consonants became aspirated and voiced consonants became voiceless (Svantesson 1988). Tone in Angkuic languages may arise from a loss of vowel length contrast, also affected by final consonants (Svantesson 1988, Diffloth 1991). However, apart from stop-final syllables Muak Sa-aak preserves the vowel length contrast despite the development of tone.

Muak Sa-aak has three contrastive tones: a falling tone, a low tone, and a constricted tone with two allotones according to overall syllable length. Minimal sets for tone in sonorant final syllables include *raŋ¹* 'rich', *raŋ²* 'fallow field', *raŋ³* 'shining'; for open syllables, *ci:¹* 'sap', *ci:²* 'point', and *cu:¹ci:³* 'make a hole'; for stop final syllables, *kʰa:p¹* 'chin' and *kʰap²* 'enough'.

Syllable structure and tone are closely linked, with restrictions on the occurrence of tones with certain syllable structures; tone is most closely related to final consonant type (stop or non-stop consonant final) and to overall syllable length, rather than simple vowel length. Short syllables with constricted tone 2 pattern like short stop-final syllables because they are realized phonetically with a surface-level glottal stop. These final consonant findings are similar to U, where Svantesson found the distinction to be between voiceless obstruents and voiced sonorants (1988). Because of the relationships between syllable structure and tone, Muak Sa-aak might almost be analyzed as having two tones or registers rather than three tones, except for nasal final syllables and open syllables, which occur with all three tones. Furthermore, if the impact of words borrowed from the surrounding tonal language Tai Lue were ignored, pitch would be predictable according to syllable structure, thus not phonemic. Therefore tonogenesis appears to be related not only to vowel length contrast and the loss of some final consonants, but also to borrowing from a neighboring tonal language.

Loanwords in Youle Jino

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Youle Jino is a Lolo-Burmese language of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic family and is spoken in Sipsongpanna Autonomous State of Yunnan Province, China. This area was governed by Tai Lue people till the 1950s, after which Han Chinese influenced various aspects of local cultures and languages. The Jino language has also been influenced by Tai Lue (L) and the local dialect of Chinese (Ch) for many years. This paper aims to describe the phonology and morphology of loanwords in Youle Jino.

The phonological inventories of Youle Jino can be summarized as follows (Hayashi 2009); Syllable Structure: C1 C2 V1 V2 C3/ T, Consonants: /p, ph, t, th, k, kh; ts, tsh, tʃ, tʃh, tɕ, tɕh; m, m̥, n, n̥, ɳ, ɳ̥, ŋ, ŋ̥; l, l̥; f, v, s, z, ʃ, r, ç, j, x, ɣ, (w)/, Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, ø, œ, a, ə, ɔ, ɤ, o, ɯ, u/, Tonemes: /55, 44, 33, 35, 42/.

As for onsets, /r/ and /w/ can be found in Chinese loanwords only, such as **ran35** 'to dye' <Ch., **wai35ko33** 'foreign country'<Ch., etc. Besides, there are some diphthongs found only in loanwords, like /ua/, /ue/, etc., e.g.) *tjen55xua55pan33* 'ceiling' <Ch.

In Youle Jino cognates, the combination of onset + medial like /pj, phj, mj, m̥j, kj, khj/ can be found, while in loanwords, /tj, thj, lj/ can be found as well, for example, in **thj**ao35vu33 'to dance' <Ch. The coda can be also attested only in loanwords. There are two codas, namely /-n/ and /-ŋ/, such as *pan35fa33* 'way, etc.

Generally much more attention has been paid to semantic mapping of loanword lexicons. It is common for loanwords to relate to the new things and concepts. The words for internal organs like *we35* 'stomach', *fe42* 'lungs', etc., and those for political and economic issues are borrowed from Chinese. Some words for fruits like *ma55khɛ55nɛ55* 'pineapple', *ma55mi42* 'jackfruits, etc., are borrowed from Tai Lue.

Even basic lexical items have been borrowed from Chinese and Tai Lue, such as the words *tje55tje55* 'father' and *sa42* 'to wash (feet)', etc. The words for 'easy' *a55ŋai44* and 'difficult' *a55ja44* are Tai Lue loanwords, but it is interesting to note that both have an 'a-' prefix which is a sort of Youle Jino adjectival marker not found in Tai Lue.

The study of loanwords in Youle Jino should reveal what has been introduced to the Youle Jino people and support the historical and anthropological study of the Sipsongpanna area.

Punctuation and other text-category indicators in written Thai text: Issues and implications for Thai L2 reading instruction

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Punctuation generally refers to graphical characters that indicate the structure and organization of elements of a written text. Thai is a language that is known to use minimal punctuation marks in writing, i.e., words are written contiguously and spaces are only used to indicate the end of sentences or statements, despite the many punctuation marks and usage guidelines suggested by the Royal Institute of Thailand.

This is one of the important challenges facing learners learning to read Thai as a second language. This issue of the apparent lack of punctuation is typically not addressed in the literature on strategies in second language reading because of the assumption based on English and most western languages that the text presented to the reader is already pre-analyzed into words, clauses and sentences by the punctuation marks.

I will examine the issue of punctuation and other "text-category indicators" (as defined by Nunberg 1990) in Thai. This presentation discusses the use and characteristics of text-category indicators in Thai in relation to the information structure of written Thai text and how they can be incorporated as reading strategies for second language learners of Thai.

Though addressing issues specific to Thai writing conventions and the characteristics of Thai written discourse, some of these proposed reading strategies can be applied to languages that share similar characteristics of writing and discourse conventions.

The Gelao languages: Preliminary classification and state of the art

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The Gelao languages constitute the most diverse group of the Kra branch in the Kra-Dai (or Tai-Kadai) language family (Edmondson n.d.). No more than 6,000 Gelao speakers are scattered across the southwestern Chinese provinces of Guizhou, Guangxi, and Yunnan, as well as Hà Giang province, northern Vietnam, despite there being approximately half a million ethnic Gelao living mostly in Guizhou. New data of various Gelao varieties from the past several years has now made it possible to classify the Gelao languages much more precisely, owing mostly to recent fieldwork carried out by Li Jinfang 李锦芳 and his graduate students. Lexical evidence from my comparative database of about 100 vocabulary items of 15 Gelao varieties suggests that there are three main branches of Gelao, namely (1) Red Gelao (including A'ou, Mulao, and Vandu), (2) White Gelao (Telue), and (3) Central Gelao (Hakei and Qau).

Red Gelao has the most internal diversity, while White Gelao displays the least internal variation. Central Gelao consists of the two closely related varieties Hakei (Green Gelao) and Qau (Sinicized Gelao), as suggested by Yumay Shen (2003). Historical and linguistic evidence strongly indicates a Gelao homeland in western Guizhou, where ethnic Gelao lived alongside speakers of the divergent Austroasiatic languages Bolyu and Bugan, as well as the little-known Caijia and Longjia languages.

However, further fieldwork remains highly urgent for all Gelao languages, especially Red Gelao, for which some varieties are now at the very brink of extinction. In August 2012, I discovered only one living speaker of Houzitian 猴子田 Red Gelao, namely Guo Yunxiu 郭云秀 (88) of Langdai Township 郎岱镇, Liuzhi Special District, Guizhou. Houzitian, of which I had seen data of only several words prior to my field trip, is distinct enough to be mutually unintelligible with all other Gelao varieties, and is most closely related to Hongfeng Red Gelao and Mulao. I was also only able to locate one speaker of Red Gelao each in the townships of Shajing 沙井乡, Qianxi County 黔西县, Guizhou, and Tiechang 铁厂乡, Malipo County, Yunnan.

Periphrastic causative constructions in Patani Malay

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This paper examines the periphrastic causative constructions in Patani Malay, focusing on the pattern and semantics of each construction. It then compares Patani Malay periphrastic causative constructions to their correspondents in Standard Thai and other Malay dialects. Data were collected from existing materials and native speakers using non-elicitation and elicitation methods (stimuli and grammatical judgment of the author's sentences).

The result shows that Patani Malay has three causative constructions: *waʔ* 'do' construction, *wi* 'give' construction and *waʔ wi* 'do-give' construction. These constructions contrast in terms of patterns and semantics as illustrated in (1) to (3).

(1) *adɔ   s-ɔɣɛ   waʔ pasu   ɟatoh*
     exist   INDF-human   do   vase   fall
     'Someone caused the vase to fall (unintentionally).'

(2) wi   *krəbɛ   anɔʔ   jɔ   tu-la   namɔ   ismaʔɛ*
     give   qurban   child   3SG   FOC   name   Ismail
     '(Allah) had (Ibrahim) sacrifice his son named Ismail.'

(3) *aŋin* waʔ wi   *ɣumɔh   punɔh*
     wind   do   give   house   collapse
     'The storm made the house collapse.'

The *waʔ* construction is used in cases of direct causation in which the causing event is unintentional. In contrast, the *wi* construction is used in cases of indirect causation in which control over the caused event and indirect causation are the main features. Lastly, the *waʔ wi* construction is used in cases where inanimate causers may be found.

Perhaps not coincidentally, the contrasts among these three constructions resemble Standard Thai periphrastic causatives very closely. In particular, Patani Malay *waʔ*, *wi* and *waʔ wi* constructions are semantically very similar to Standard Thai *tham[1]* 'do', *haj[3]* 'give' and *tham[1] haj[3]* 'do-give' constructions respectively. Furthermore, the auxiliaries used in the Patani Malay constructions are also equivalent to those used in the corresponding Standard Thai constructions. When compared to other Malay dialects, however, the causative constructions in Patani Malay are markedly different from their corresponding constructions. The causative constructions in Patani Malay can thus be viewed as a manifestation of convergence toward Standard Thai.

Lexical variation and distribution in Perak Malay: A GIS approach

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Most geographical dialect studies in Malaysia used a traditional manually drawn map in determining dialect boundaries or isoglosses. For instances, based on phonological and lexical variations, Ajid (1985) illustrates the isoglosses of local sub-dialects of Kelantan Malay spoken in Pasir Mas, Kelantan, and Rohani (1986) exhibits the isoglosses of Malay dialects spoken in Kuala Kangsar, Perak. This impression-based drawing method is scientifically not appropriate because the isoglosses produced are unclear and ambiguous. Recently, an interdisciplinary approach supported by a modern technological tool has become a breakthrough to account for this problem. A Geographical Information System (GIS) using an interpolation technique which can store big volumes of spatial data, performing analysis and producing cartographic map results proves to be more reliable in constructing an accurate line of isogloss for lexical variations and spatial distribution. Teerarojanarat, S. & Tingsabatdh, K. (2011) have demonstrated that GIS manages to produce reliable dialectal boundaries for central and non-central Thai based on 170 semantic units. The present study attempts to adopt the same interdisciplinary approach in examining the variation and distribution of Malay dialects spoken in Perak. By involving linguists, a geographer, demographer and data miner, we aim to propose a new map demonstrating the distributions and dialectal boundaries of Malay dialects spoken in Perak. A purposive sampling ranging from four categories of age and gender are chosen from the native Malay speakers. Interviews and questionnaires are our useful tools to gather data. In our early findings, the state of Perak, which is bordered by Kedah to the northwest, southern Thailand to the north and Kelantan to the northeast, has a mixture of Malay dialects, especially in the northern part. Different Malay dialects from the neighboring states have great influence on the Perak Malay dialect. Perak Malay normally uses 'deme' and 'mike' to refer to 'they'; however, another lexical variant 'depa' has been spotted in the northwest region. Interestingly, the migration of southern Siamese people, especially Moslems, from Pattani to Malaysia before independence has created a significant dialectal variation in Perak. These people in the northern and northeastern part of Perak use 'demo' instead. Another interesting observation is that this community has created some new variants such as 'ha' instead of 'hang' to refer to 'you' and 'muha' that is a combination of 'mu' (you) and 'ha' (you) for plural form. The variant 'mu' is used in the northeastern region, whereas 'hang' occurs in the northwestern part of Perak. It is obvious that the topography of Perak acts as one of the contributing factors in determining lexical variation and distribution in the state. For instance, the range of highlands has dissected Perak Malay into different dialects. Nevertheless, so-called Perak Malay is obviously dominant in lowland areas.

Accounting for a generalization about quantifier float and word order in Southeast Asia

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Many SE Asian languages, such as Thai, have a phenomenon of rightward "quantifier float" (Q-float) wherein a quantifier, often including a classifier appears discontinuously from the noun it is associated with:

(1) ***nákrian*** [$_{VP}$ *kin khâaw lɛ́ɛw*] ***thúk-khon***

    student   eat rice   already every-CLF

 'Every student has eaten already.'

Previous work has observed that Q-float in Thai is quite general, as quantifiers can float from all argument positions. Similar rightward Q-float phenomena have been studied in Japanese, Korean, and Burmese, but the full extent of this phenomenon is unclear.

This paper proposes a generalization regarding the predictable distribution of quantifier float among East and Southeast Asian languages:

(2)Rightward quantifier float (of Q-Clf) only occurs in classifier languages which allow the noun phrase-internal order N-Q-Clf.

N-Q-Clf order is one of two variants for Japanese and Korean, and the only order allowed for Burmese and Thai, all of which have well-studied Q-float. Additionally, Q-float occurs in Karen, Kayah-Li, Lahu, Nuosu/Yi, Moken, and Khmer, all of which, like Burmese and Thai, only allow *N-Q-Clf* order. Additionally, Q-float is unattested in languages with only the *Q-Clf-N order*, such as Vietnamese, Mandarin, which express quantification with verbal operators. In the absence of compelling counterexamples, I conjecture that this generalization extends to all classifier languages.

What explains this generalization? One potential explanation is historical: Q-float may be a remnant of head-final word order in Tibeto-Burmese languages. But no such explanation is available in Moken, Thai, or Khmer, from stably head-initial families, casting doubt on a purely historical explanation.

I propose a synchronic explanation for the generalization based on the interaction of focus and syntax. I show that Q-float in Thai and other languages is driven by information focus on the quantifier, and that information focus is crosslinguistically marked on the right, either immediately before the verb (head-final languages) or at the right edge of the VP (head-initial languages). With these ideas in place, the explanation for the generalization comes from the observation, also cross-linguistically valid, that rightward displacement tends to be order preserving, an idea which I formalize within a Minimalist model of syntactic linearization.

'New Situation' (NSIT) - Southeast Asian languages and aspect theory

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Traditional aspect theory makes a basic distinction between lexical aspect (aktionsart) and grammatical aspect. Lexical aspect is an inherent part of the semantics of a verbal predicate, grammatical aspect expresses the temporal structuring of an event by means of morphological (synthetic or periphrastic) aspect markers. A number of tests have been proposed to classify verbs in terms of durativity/punctualness and telicity/atelicity. The major distinction made within grammatical aspect is between perfective and imperfective (see e.g. Smith 1997; Timberlake 2007), with perfect added by some authors (e.g. Comrie 1976); others see perfect as tense, rather than aspect. The perfective aspect typically describes a situation as bounded, often completed, with no internal structuring. It is mainly used to propel the storyline. Imperfective, on the other hand, describes a situation as ongoing, unbounded, not completed, and is typically used to provide background information to the storyline.

Many Southeast Asian languages use secondary verbs to express aspectual notions. These V2s not only express grammatical aspect, but are also used to specify lexical aspect. Many verbs in SEA languages are underspecified in terms of aktionsart, and this underspecification may, if felt necessary by the speaker, remedied by means of secondary verbs. One frequent aspect (or aspectoid) marker, found with similar functions in most SEA languages, origins in a verb usually translated as finish and is, in its grammatical function, variously glossed as 'perfective', 'perfect', 'past' or 'currently relevant situation'. Xiao & McEnery (2004) use the label 'actual aspect', which is given as a subcategory of the perfective aspect, for one of two similar morphemes in Mandarin Chinese (post-verbal le), while the other one (clause final le) is labeled 'change-of-state'. Neither of these labels captures the real function of the morpheme under discussion. The morpheme in question may occur in perfective situations 'he ate an apple'), but it also commonly occurs in imperfective situations, often combined with progressive or continuous markers ('he is eating now'). Though a change of state is necessarily involved in situations described by this morpheme, it is not the change, but rather the ensuing situation that is in focus. In this study, I propose the label 'new situation' (NSIT) for the morpheme in question, based on a close investigation of its use in a number of languages from SEA, including languages of Myanmar. The data used include corpora (where available), published primary and secondary material, as elicited data. The analysis of the NSIT marker in SEA languages has implications not only for grammaticalization and areal linguistics, but also for aspect theory in general, as the SEA data suggest that the proposed categories for other languages and regions are not adequate or sufficient to describe the aspect systems of SEA languages, and that the perfective-imperfective dichotomy is less universally valid than the literature suggests. Though the morpheme in question has been individually described for a number of languages and in a comparative way in some cases (mostly involving the comparison of Mandarin Chinese with some SEA language), there is no general overview of the phenomenon, and the findings are rarely connected to the broader typological picture of aspect and aspect theories.

Lexicalization of profanity in Cebuano and Bahasa Sug

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Profanity, in its different manifestations, is always frowned at and can be labeled as taboo in various societies. In this paper, we attempt to analyze the profanity used in Cebuano and Bahasa Sug. The linguistic varieties of these languages are those spoken in Davao Region in the Philippines. Cebuano speakers, who are also called Cebuano, are generally self-professed Christians, while the Bahasa Sug speakers, called Tausug, are believers of Islam. As seen from the data, religious aspects play an immense role in the lexicalization of profanity in both languages. The paper includes more examples of cursing and swearing in these languages and are analyzed using eclectic approaches as expounded in the Neuropsychosocial Theory of Speech (Jay, 2000), Cultural Approach to Interpersonal Communication (Monaghan, Goodman, & Robinson, 2012), and Theory of Lexical Semantics (Geeraerts, 2010).

One dominant feature is found, among others, in the profanity used in these languages – source languages of Spanish for the Cebuanos and Arabic for the Tausugs. Spanish and Arabic languages play a role in the lexicalization of swearing and cursing. Thus, the Cebuanos may use these clauses for cursing as seen in (1) and (2) below:

1. Gabaan   unta ka   sa   Dios
    Curse-OBL;INF hope 2S   Prep God
    'May God curse you'

2. Demonyo   ka
    Demon   2S
    'You are a demon'

The Cebuano words *Dios* in (1) and *demonyo* in (2) are Spanish loanwords which mean God and demon, respectively.

Cursing in Bahasa Sug, the Tausug speakers may utter the example below in (3):

3. Syaytan kaw!
    Devil   2S
    'You are the devil'

The word *Syaytan* in (3) is an Arabic loanword referring to the evil entity. Swearing to emphasize truth in Bahasa Sug may have this example seen below in (4):

4. M<iy>atay   na   hi   Jared. Bukun ku puting.   La   ilaha illallah!
    <PF>die   already DET Jared   NEG 1S lie IMP.   NEG god but-god
    Jared died. I am not lying. There is no god but God.

The immediately preceding example in (4) is composed of two languages, namely, Bahasa Sug and Arabic. While the first two sentences are in Bahasa Sug, the last sentence is from Arabic and is used in the *adthan* 'call for prayer' of the Muslims and forms part of the *Kalimatuh Shahadah* 'Profession of Faith' which is one of the five pillars of Islam.

Ancient links between Thai and Vietnamese: Evidence from cognates, Sukhothai inscriptions, and traditional calendrical terms for animals

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Evidence of several kinds points to ancient links between peoples now situated in Thailand and Vietnam. This paper focuses on the nature of links that must have occurred many centuries ago before the availability of widespread written historical sources. Research at this time depth requires instead other techniques, including comparative-historical linguistic analysis.

An important lexical set taken up comprises the 12 calendrical terms for animals in Thai. These Thai terms are generally thought to be loanwords from Khmer because Khmer also uses almost exactly the same terms: - /chûat/ "mouse", /cha-lǔ:/ "ox", /khǎ:n/ "tiger", /th̀/ "rabbit", /ma-ro:ŋ/ "dragon", /ma-sěŋ/ "snake", /ma-mia/ "horse", /ma-mɛ:/ "goat", /wɔ̂:k/ "monkey", /ra-ka:/ "cock", /cɔ:/ "dog", /kun/ "pig". But like Thai, Khmer uses these terms only as the names of the astrological years of the 12- year cycle. In other contexts, native Khmer words are used to call the 12 animals in their present day language.

Cognates for these terms are also used by the Vietnamese and the Muong of North Vietnam, but to refer to animals in general in their present-day language. In addition to these calendrical terms for animals, Thai and Vietnamese share a large number of cognates from earlier periods, e.g.., words for "rice"/khâ:w/, "curry" /kɛ:ŋ/, "village' /bâ:n/, "community" /ba:ŋ/, "shaman" /mɔ̌:/, "big" /to:/.

Some of this vocabulary suggests extensive cultural contact. This is also evident in the Muong style of houses, with construction raised on poles/stilts; also in Muong women's clothing styles, the same as those of the Thai and Tais in Vietnam, Myanmar, and Assam, India.

Naming also seems to point to contact. In Vietnam, many Muongs share the same last name, Lɨang, with Black Tais in Vietnam. Of particular interest is the fact that this last name, Lɨang, also appears in an early and important Sukhothai inscription, recording an oath of allegiance of early Thai leaders. Lastly, the names of the early Sukhothai kings such as Li Thai and Li Le Thai are the same as those of early Vietnamese kings and leaders.

The paper calls attention to a parallelism in dynastic relationships. The ancient Vietnamese dynasties, Early Li(Ly) (504 – 602 AD) and Early Le (980 – 1009 AD), ruled Vietnam before the time of the Sukhothai kingdom (1249 – 1438 AD?). They faded from the Vietnam kingdom while Sukhothai was on the rise. On the other hand, just as Sukhothai was fading during the period that the Ayudhya kingdom was becoming dominant, the Later Le Dynasty (1428 – 1788 AD) ruled Vietnam once again. The paper probes this interrelationship.

Tonogenesis in Khmer: A cross-dialect comparison

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Unlike many languages of Southeast Asia, Khmer is not a tone language. Nonetheless, a nascent pitch-based contrast, which covaries with the loss of /r/, has been noted in several dialects since at least the 1960s (e.g. Noss, 1966). While tonogenesis is well-documented in languages of Southeast Asia, the manner by which it might be taking place in Khmer has not been reported for any other language (Wayland and Guion, 2005). Here, we compare acoustic and perceptual data on the emergence of F0-based contrast in two varieties of Khmer: the colloquial speech of the capital Phnom Penh (PP), and the dialect spoken in Giồng Riềng district, Kiên Giang province, Vietnam (KG). The results provide new data on the phonetic realization of this ongoing sound change.

Standard Khmer contrasts minimal triplets such as /ku:/ 'pair', /khu:/ 'venerable' and /kru:/ 'teacher'. In both PP and KG, however, several sources (Noss, 1966; Thạch Ngọc Minh, 1999; Wayland & Guion, 2005) report /r/ is deleted in /Cr/ onsets, accompanied by increased aspiration, falling-rising pitch, and/or breathy voice quality, e.g. /kru:/ > [kʰǔ:,kʰṳ:]. However, acoustic analyses of this phenomenon are limited (PP) or nonexistent (KG), and the extent to which these cues have become perceptually salient for listeners is not known.

To explore these questions, production and perception data were gathered from 40 native Khmer speakers (20 PP, 20 KG). Participants were recorded reading a wordlist of /CV(C), ChV(C), CrV(C)/ triplets in both careful and colloquial conditions. For the perception task, a 7-step [ku:~kǔ:] continuum was synthesized by varying drop in F0 midpoint, and used as the basis for two additional continua adding a fixed degree of aspiration [kʰu:~ kʰǔ:] or breathiness [ku:~kṳ:].

Analysis of the production data indicate that colloquial PP productions of forms like /kru:/ are characterized by deletion of /r/, a falling or falling-rising F0 contour, increased aspiration, and breathiness relative to reading productions. KG forms similarly differ with respect to F0, but not aspiration or breathiness. The same differences were also reflected in perception: mixed logit models fit to PP perceptual response data show the probability of a /kru:/ response depends significantly on the degree of F0 drop, and is increased by the addition of aspiration or breathiness. In KG, on the other hand, F0 was also a significant response predictor, but there was no additive effect of other cues.

These results suggest that while F0 has become a necessary and sufficient cue to this contrast in both dialects, it is primary in KG in a way that it may not be in PP, where additional cues appear to be active in both production and perception. To conclude, we propose a perceptual motivation, based on the frication and devoicing of /r/, that may have been responsible for this unusual sound change.

Stylistic variation in Thai Facebook status posting

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Nowadays social network sites (hereafter SNSs), such as Facebook, play an important role in modern societies as a novel channel of communication (Seargeant et al, 2012; Patient, P, 2012 ; Joseph P,M et al, 2009). Facebook encourages users to post their opinions, feelings, or regular updates through the feature so-called '*status update'*. Based on Joos (1961) and Prasithrathsint (2547, 2548), Klaisingto & Rhekhalilit (2012) found that Thai Facebook status posting is normally in-between casual and intimate styles. Consequently, this study examines the stylistic variation of Facebook status posting updated by Thai native users in two different age groups. We have hypothesized that the younger age group tends to use intimate style in writing their status updates, but the older age group prefers to use casual style. The data were divided into two different groups; i.e., 100 status messages from users who are younger than 18 years old, representing the teenagers, and another 100 status messages from those who are older than 25 years old, representing the working group.

The data analysis confirms the hypothesis; that is, the teenager group selects a more intimate style, indicated by 1) *informal final particles* such as /câa/ (จ้า) /bɤɤj/ (เบย), etc. 2) *exaggerative emphasising expression*s such as /khrá;p/ (คร้าบบบบบ) and /nîa:/ เนี่ยยยย3) *Onomatopoeia* such as กร๊ากๆๆ representing laughing and กรี๊ดดดดดดด, representing screaming, etc., and 4) *non-standard writing orthography* such as เสด, instead of standard variation เสร็จ for '*finish'*. In contrast, the working group is likely to use a casual style, indicated by 1) *formal final particles* such as /khrap/ (ครับ) and /khà/ (คะ) 2) *dialect lexicon* such as ข้าเจ้า /khâa.câo/, etc. and 3) *more standard writing orthography*. The researchers discuss how Facebook users employ different styles in order to construct different identities (Bucholtz, M. &Kira H., 2005). Those who are under 18 years old tend to use an intimate style to create a "*friendly and easy-going persona*", whereas those who are in the working group tend to use a more casual style because they are aware of the public nature of SNSs.

RWAAI, repository and workspace for Austroasiatic intangible heritage

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RWAAI, the Repository and Workspace for Austroasiatic Intangible Heritage (http://project.ht.lu.se/en/rwaai/) is a newly established digital multimedia resource that brings together analogue and digital research collections documenting the languages and cultures of Austroasiatic communities. As the first digital archive dedicated to a specific Southeast Asian language family in this diverse and dynamic region, we seek to provide a unique, persistent and highly accessible multidisciplinary resource. Our aim is to facilitate the dissemination of intangible heritage collections not only for fellow researchers, but also to community members and the wider public, by assisting depositors in the digitisation, cataloguing and presentation of their research collections. Central to RWAAI is the provision of a digital workspace where contributors are able to store, curate and reuse their research collections in an environment that offers state-of-the-art storage facilities and recognised best practice in language documentation and archiving technology. RWAAI is integrated into the pan-European Clarin Initiative, which offers integrated and interoperable infrastructure for languages and language technology, and The Language Archive, MPI, Nijmegen provides the software and technical expertise in this framework. Utilising this expertise, we undertake to provide capacity building in Mainland Southeast Asia to promote the documentation of intangible heritage, and sustainable archiving technology and data management. Furthermore, increased accessibility to digital communications in Southeast Asia affords exciting new opportunities in the delivery of archived resources to language communities.

In this presentation I will demonstrate the functionality of RWAAI, report on our progress to date, and outline future directions.

Noun cases in Nyishi

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Nyishi is the language of the Nyishi tribe, one of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh (India). It is a member of the Tibeto-Burman language family spoken by 118,111 speakers in India, according to the census conducted by the government of India in 2001. UNESCO marks Nyishi as one of the vulnerable languages. The vulnerable position of the language shows the reluctant attitude towards the language by its speakers. Mostly every Nyishi speaker knows Assamese (an Indo-Aryan language mainly spoken in a neighbouring state), influence of which can be found in Nyishi. Nyishi has not been much explored from a linguists' point of view. Hence this paper is a trial to explore the language Nyishi through its case system.

Based on the primary collected data (in 2008) the cases of this language have been described. The semantics of the case markers have been explored based on a cognitive framework. The use of a cognitive framework in this work makes it different from a primary work of writing a Nyishi grammar done by Abraham (2005). He follows Fillmore to describe the case system of Nyishi. A cognitive framework, unlike Fillmore, believes semantics is the core of language and not just a level or part of it. The cognitive approach says that there is one primary meaning to which various other meanings get embedded and thus form a polysemy network.

Nyishi perceives eight marked case relations which can be seen in the following table. These markers are mostly multi-functional in their usages.

	CASE	MARKINGS
1.	Genitive	-gə, -ge, ga
2.	Instrumental	-ləga, -galo
3.	Comitative	-galo
4.	Patient	-ne, -əm, -həm, -ŋəm
5.	Benefactive	-gabo
6.	Causative	-t̪olo
7.	Ablative	-t̪olo, -ga, -alo
8.	Locative	-alo, -si, -be, -a

The use of these markers can be witnessed beyond the sphere of their cases. One marker can be used to mark more than one case. Moreover, one case can be seen to get marked with different markers like the ablative case. As can be seen in the table, the ablative case can get marked by the genitive marker, the causative marker or the locative marker, but of course the use of the different markers depends on the various environments which are restricted. These restrictions of the markers are explored in the paper with the help of various schemas.

A study of Vietnamese adverbs

Giang Le

Unlike constituents making up the argument structure and forming the core of a sentence such as VP and DP, thus presenting a consistent linear ordering as either left-branching or right-branching in a language's syntax, adverbs are not as neatly ordered and so far have been a source of major debates in current linguistic theories. Two influential camps present rather opposing views about how to treat adverbs, with Cinque (1999) advocating a more syntax-based approach and Ernst (2002) supporting a more semantics-based approach. The former postulates that adverbs are located in specifiers of functional projections under a universal fixed ordering in his impressive work which studies adverbs across languages. The latter and other critiques (Bobaljik 2000; Cormack and Smith 2002; Nilsen 2004) reject the fixed, universal ordering and propose that adverbs instead are adjuncts freely adjoined to all categories, driven by lexicosemantics and FEO Calculus.

My study examines the distribution of adverbs in Vietnamese. While the focus of this study is thus far descriptive, it provides evidence for and against Cinque's fixed ordering proposal and Ernst's semantic approach and raises a possibility of reconciling both approaches, as is the case advocated in a recent study of Formosan languages (Holmer, 2010). What I have found is that in general, Vietnamese adverbs exhibit a major break between the higher sentential adverbs such as speaker-oriented, subject-oriented and the lower pre-VP adverbs. However, Vietnamese adverbs do not always conform to the ordering that Cinque proposed, especially in the case of lower pre-VP adverbs. In Cinque's work, these adverbs are more neatly ordered in Romance languages; however, Vietnamese lower pre-VP adverbs have a much freer distribution. They also exhibit scopal interactions. What is even more interesting is that Vietnamese subject-oriented adverbs have a wider distribution, with the possibility of subject-oriented adverbs coming in between the verb and object, depending on the weight of the object. These data possibly provide support for Ernst's incorporation of Weight Theory in the allocation of adverbs. Speaker-oriented adverbs have a more robust preference to be in sentence-initial positions, as has been found in other languages as well. Some adverbs also interestingly have a focussing function and do not always exhibit their semantic meanings as traditionally believed.

My study also looks at ordering of tense, mood, aspect, and voice in Vietnamese. These elements provide support for Cinque's model and Baker's Mirror Principle.

Proto-Tai reconstruction of "maternal grandmother" revisited： *naai A or *taai A ?

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This paper proposes an alternative Proto-Tai reconstruction to the word 'maternal grandmother', which has its modern forms *taai B1* in most Northern Tai (NT), *taai A1* in most Central Tai (CT), and *naai A2* in most Southwestern Tai (SWT). Li (1971) gives *naai A* as the proto-form of this word. He suggests that the Standard Thai form *jaai A2* is the result of contamination with words of paired semantic contents. He further proposes that the dental stop initial *t-* of the same word in NT and CT is caused by similar contamination from the word *taa A* 'maternal grandfather'.

While this paper agrees with Li's observation on the development of SWT *naai A2* to Standard Thai *jaai A2*, it considers the reconstruction of the proto-Tai form *naai A* to be doubtful. First, this hypothesis does not explain the tone difference of this word between NT and CT. Second, word contamination from SWT to Standard Thai does not mean the parallel process has occurred from Proto-Tai to the common modern forms in NT and CT.

Instead of Li's reconstruction *naai A*, this paper proposes an alternative Proto-Tai (PT) reconstruction *taai A* for the word 'maternal grandmother'. It is proposed that the irregularity of this word in NT, CT and SWT has resulted from preventing homophones with the word 'to die', for which Li (1977:119) gives its PT form *traaj A*, and Pittayaporn (2009:704) gives *p.ta:j A*. In both NT and SWT, the PT initials *t-* and *tr-* (or *p.t-*) merged into *t-*, causing these two words to become homophones. In order to prevent the taboo word 'to die', in NT the word 'maternal grandmother' altered its tone (PT) *taai A* > (NT) *taai B1*, while in SWT it altered the manner of articulation of its initial (PT) *taai A* > (SWT) *naai A2*. In CT the initials *t-* and *tr-* (or *p.t-*) did not merge, so that (PT) *t-* > (CT) *t-*, and (PT) *tr-* (or *p.t-*) > (CT) *th-/h-*. Therefore in most CT the word 'to die' becomes *thaai A1* (such as Tay)/ *haai A1* (such as Longzhou), while the word 'maternal grandmother' remains *taai A1*.

The Proto-Tai reconstruction of the word 'maternal grandmother' as *taai A* is further supported by historical evidence, which is denoted by the Chinese character 低 (Middle Chinese *tiei A*) in the 12th century book *Ling Wai Dai Da* 岭外代答 (Tai 2006).

Functions of reflexes of PAN/PMP *maR- in Philippine languages

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A number of linguists (Li 1995; Ross 1995; Blust 2009; Liao 2011; etc.) have noted some major morphosyntactic differences between Formosan languages and Philippine languages. One major area of discrepancy found between these two (geographical) groups of languages is in the morphosyntax of so-called "Actor Focus" verbs. Li (1995:664-665) states that '[t]he prefixes such as man, maŋ and mag are common in the Philippine languages, but totally lacking in most Formosan languages. What we do find in most Formosan languages is only the prefix ma.' A similar kind of observation is also made in Ross (1995:772). Ross (1995) notes that reflexes of PAN *maR- apparently only mark reciprocal verbs in Formosan languages, but they have "become an AG pivot marker" in many Philippine languages. On the basis of evidence from Formosan languages, Zeitoun (2002, 2010, 2012) reconstructs PAN *maCa-/*paCa- and *maR-/*paR- as reciprocal prefixes for dynamic verbs and for stative verbs, respectively. It is the purpose of this study to investigate functions associated with reflexes of PAN/PMP *maR- in Philippine languages and to address some of the issues raised in Ross (1995).

Although reflexes of PAN/PMP *maR- in Philippine languages also occur in verbs expressing reciprocal events, that is not the only function that they have. A preliminary study of Philippine data show that reflexes of PAN/PMP *maR-, like their corresponding forms in Formosan languages, can be used to form both reciprocal kin nouns/reciprocal social relationship nouns and reciprocal verbs in some Philippine languages. Moreover, they are commonly associated with the following functions in Philippine languages (but not in Formosan languages): (i) formatives for meteorological verbs; (ii) formative for verbs expressing spontaneous events; (iii) formatives for emotion middles; (iv) formatives for translational motion events; (v) formatives for verbs expressing a state or condition (physical or mental); (vi) formatives for grooming verbs; (vii) formatives for expressing 'to gather …' (when attaching to fruits and vegetables); (viii) formatives for verbs such as 'study', 'rest', etc.

Most, if not all, of the above-mentioned functions are associated with the notion of 'middle' discussed in Kemmer (1993). Kemmer (1993:2000) suggests a connection between reciprocal domain and the middle through the naturally reciprocal situation type. The reciprocal is considered to be a plausible source use for the middle. It will be interesting to look at data from Philippine languages to see whether non-reciprocal usages of reflexes of *maR- might have developed from reciprocal.

Tonal inflection and grammaticalization of demonstratives in Thai and beyond

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The paper analyzes the tonal inflection and grammaticalization of demonstratives in Thai and other Tai-Kadai languages. The complementary syntactic distribution of the Thai demonstratives has been noticed by some researchers (Haas, 1955; Noss, 1964; Prasithrathsint, 2000; Smyth 2002; Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005; Bo, 2006; Enfield, 2007). But tonal inflection and the grammaticalization process of demonstratives in Thai and other Tai-Kadai languages have not been addressed. As tonality of these languages in the area is mainly lexically rather than grammatically significant, investigation of the grammatical operations of tonal inflection of their demonstratives is necessary. Data from Thai and other Tai-Kadai languages are used in this paper.

In Thai, as in other Tai-Kadai languages like Lakya, Mulam, Zhuang, etc, grammatical properties of the demonstratives (rough equivalents of *this* and *that*) are distinguished by distinct tonal patterns, featuring two syntactically distinct groups: "demonstrative determiners" and "demonstrative pronouns", for example, the distinction of determiner vs. pronoun in Thai: *níi* vs. *nîi* (proximal), *nán* vs. *nân* (medial), *nóon* vs. *nôon* (distal); Zhuang: nai^4 vs. nai^3 (proximal), han^4 vs. han^3 (distal); Mulam $na:i^6$ vs. ni^5 (proximal) , ka^6 vs. hui^5 (distal) (Wang and Zheng, 1980); Lakya: ni^2 vs. li^2 (proximal), ηan^2 vs. $la:n^2$ (medial), nu^2 vs. lu^2 (distal) (Liu, 1999), etc. Tai-Kadai demonstrative determiners, as the term suggests, mainly behave as determiners modifying nouns or classifiers, while demonstrative pronouns function as pronouns, normally realized as nominal elements. So, demonstrative determiners, like the Thai *níi,* are used to modify a noun phrase, but demonstrative pronouns, like the Thai *nîi,* normally occur as a deictic pronoun or an anaphor, e.g. Thai: *van* (day) *níi* (this) "today", *khuuun* (night) *níi* (this) "tonight", but *nîi* (this) *khuuu* (be) *dɔ̀ɔk* (flower) *kù làap* (rose) "This is a rose", etc; Zhuang: $\eta ɔn^2$ (day) nai^4 (this) "today", hun^2 (night) nai^4 (this) "tonight", but nai^3 (this) εou^6 (just) tuk^8 (be) $\gamma a:n^2$ (house) kou^1 (1sg) "This is my house", etc. It is obvious that their syntactic properties are determined by internal alteration, i.e. tonal inflection.

Grammaticalization of the demonstrative determiners is the direct cause of the division of the demonstratives. Many studies show that demonstrative pronouns are rarely found in early literature of Tai-Kadai languages (Prasithrathsint, 1999; Wei, 1985). They are found to occur much later than their determinative counterparts. There is no lack of similar evidence in other adjacent languages, like the Mandarin demonstrative *zhè* (this), which shows that these determiners began to function as pronouns not earlier than the Chinese Tang Dynasty (618-907) or even as late as the Song Dynasty (960-1279) (Ye, 1988). This implies that the Tai-Kadai pronouns could have developed from determiners through grammaticalization and reveals that modern Tai-Kadai languages could have split from the protolanguage before the emergence of the demonstrative pronouns.

A view of Proto-Karen phonology and lexicon

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Even though the reconstruction of Proto-Karen (PK) has previously been attempted and presented in different ways by a few scholars: Haudricourt (1946, 1953), Jones (1961), Burling (1969), Benedict (1972, 1979, 1983), Solnit (2001) and Manson (2009); some serious disagreements among them on some major points are found. To offer another new look at PK based on fresh data collected by myself (except Bwe), the PK phonology and lexicon (341 entries) were reconstructed. Deliberately, available documented materials on the Karenic languages since 1799 onwards were not used for this reconstruction although they were consulted. Therefore, the reconstruction is based on the selected ten Karenic varieties spoken in Thailand, i.e. Northern Pa-O and Southern Pa-O (Northern branch, NK); Kayan, Kayah, Bwe (from Henderson 1997) and Kayaw (Central branch, CK); Northern Sgaw, Southern Sgaw, Northern Pwo and Southern Pwo (Southern branch, SK). A word list consisting of 2,000 items with English and Thai glosses was devised. For comparative purposes, only the obvious cognates found in the three branches (NK, CK, SK) or in at least two branches (NK&CK, NK&SK, CK&SK) were used. In following this method, most of the items in my field notes had to be eliminated. The correspondence patterns of the onsets, rhymes and tones were investigated and, then, the protoforms were reconstructed. The results were compared with previous PK reconstructions and with the PTB forms reconstructed by Benedict (1972) and Matisoff (2003). Some important points of the findings are discussed.

A cross-cultural study of conceptualizing internal body organs in SEA languages

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In the development of modern linguistics, 'cognitivism' has had a major influence in terms of both theories and applications. One of these is an attempt by linguistic scholars from various backgrounds to continue the tradition of W. von Humboldt in Europe, and E. Sapir and B. Whorf in America, who emphasized the relationship among language, thought and culture. Linguists often use the terms and expressions 'worldviews', and 'the ways in which speakers of different languages think differently'; that is to say, they conceptualize or categorize experience in different ways. This view has been supported by many empirical studies over the past two decades. In this area of research, a very interesting tendency is to understand how such conceptualizations are grounded in bodily cognition. From a cultural perspective, it is interesting to explore how those conceptualizations have their roots in culture and how they can be different from one language to another.

Good evidence is linguistic data referring to the different ways of conceptualizing inner body parts which function as 'container', 'seat' or 'locus' for human emotional and mental states or spiritual activities. In this paper, the chosen concepts relate to what is denoted in English by HEART and MIND. Particularly, conceptualizations of HEART, BELLY/ABDOMEN, STOMACH, LIVER, BOWELS/INTESTINES will be taken into consideration with a cross-cultural perspective and with examples from different language families and groups (as well as within these families and groups) in Southeast Asia, namely Austro-Asiatic, Austronesian, Sino-Tibetan, Hmong-Mien (Miao-Dao), and Tai-Kadai, which are represented in Vietnam.

To show clearer cultural and cognitive specificity these 'Oriental' linguistic data are compared with data from a 'Western' language - English. It demonstrates that if English maintains a Western cultural 'dualism' between rationality (MIND/HEAD) and emotions (HEART), SEA languages tend to reveal an Oriental 'monism': BELLY, or STOMACH, or BOWELS, or LIVER is primarily used in locating human feelings and thoughts. One difference within SEA languages in which an internal organ is chosen as the locus of emotional and mental life is: Vietnamese people, first of all, think of the 'inside abdomen', but the Hmong ethnic group the 'liver'.

The results of cognitive and cultural comparisons of the way of conceptualizing such inner body parts in SEA languages can make two relationships much clearer:
(i)   one between the ways of conceptualization and genetic features of those language families and groups;
(ii)   and another between the cognitive universality of human conceptualization and the cultural specificity of a language community.

Reexamination of coarticulative tones in Thai

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This paper aims to reexamine the acoustic phonetic characteristics of Thai tones from dynamic perspectives.

Tonal pitch is subject to "coarticulatory perturbation" when it occurs in running speech; a lexical word in running speech, affected by its tonal context, has a pitch contour different from that in a citation form.

Not many studies have been done concerning the tonal coarticulatory effects. Among them are Abramson (1979) and Gandour (1992). Abramson (1979) examined all possible two tone combinations of Thai's five tones embedded in two monosyllabic words in a carrier sentence franking the target sequence with the level tone, which he considered as the most "neutral" tonal context. His result shows that five tonal contrast is preserved in the above context, and that embedding a tone in running speech causes some perturbation by the preceding and following tonal context, as compared with that which appears as a citation form regarded as the standard. Gandour (1992) focused on the anticipatory effects between tones in bisyllabic noun compounds to suggest that we must take into account more than simply the offset and onset of adjacent tones. Both of the results show that while the middle part of each tone contour is well preserved, that of the beginning and the end portion is affected by its tonal context.

It should be noted that these examinations are based on the same assumption that could be called the "static" perspective; i.e., the tone in citation form reflects the ideal norm to serve as the target of the actual pronunciation, which could be imperfect or perturbed according to the tonal context in running speech. Although their normalizing both duration and pitch height has contributed to explicitly showing the tonal contour of each syllable, it has a drawback; due to the discontinuity of contours of each syllable, the transitional pattern of contour from one syllable to another is obscured.

We have attempted to focus on the tonal transitional patterns between two monosyllabic words in the "dynamic" perspective including anticipatory and carryover effects. All possible two tone combinations were recorded in a carrier sentence as in Abramson's examination and in citation form as well. Unlike Abramson, we have not normalized either duration or pitch height in order to capture the inclination patterns in pitch transition on the absolute scale as angle.

The method that we adopted would enable us to compare pitch patterns not only in Thai, which is a tone language without tone sandhi, but with other languages with tone sandhi like Chinese as well, where the citation form could not be regarded as an ideal realization of a tone.

Complex morphophonology in Jangkat Malay

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Jangkat is a group of Malay dialects spoken in the Barisan Mountains in far western Jambi Province (Sumatra, Indonesia). This area is one of the most remote regions in Sumatra, and the Malay varieties in this region have not been studied in any depth. We provide a preliminary report on the grammar of Jangkat Malay.

Our presentation focuses on unique morphophonological phenomena which set Jangkat apart from other known varieties of Malay. Many roots exhibit a secondary form when they appear with the 3rd person possessive pronoun *–ah*, e.g.: *badat* 'body' >> *badot-ah* 'his/her body', *matʊ* 'eye' >> *mato-ah* 'his/her eye', and *maŋga* 'mango' >> *maŋgoʁ-ah* 'his/her mango'.

In addition to triggering phonological changes in the final syllable of the base to which it attaches, the vowel in the 3rd person pronoun also harmonizes with the final vowel of the base in certain phonological environments. For example: *adeyʔ* 'younger sibling' >> *adɪʔ-ɪh* 'his/her younger sibling', *pileyh* 'to choose' >> *pilɪh-ɪh* 'his/her choosing', and *buʁowʔ* 'ugly' >> *buʁʊʔ-ʊh* 'his/her ugliness.'

Many words also exhibit 'tertiary' forms. These forms are phonologically similar to secondary forms, yet they exhibit an additional glottal or nasal sound in the final coda position. Tertiary forms exhibit diverse morphological functions, e.g. marking nominalization (e.g. *pileyh* 'choose' >> *pilɪh-ɪh* 'the choosing' >> *pilɪʔn* 'the choice'), causatives (e.g. *paɲʲak* 'long >> *paɲʲok-ah* 'its length' >> *paɲʲoʔŋ* 'to lengthen'), and iteratives (e.g. *ʁobus* 'to boil' >> *ʁobus-ah* 'its boiling' >> *ʁobuʔn* 'to boil many things).

Tertiary forms, like those in the previous paragraph, have diverse phonological manifestations, as illustrated by the examples below.

Base form		Secondary form		Tertiary form	
akal	'mind'	akol-ah	'his/her mind'	akoʔl	'rationalize'
abis	'finished'	habis-ah	'its finishing'	habisn	'to finish off'
taǰap	'sharp'	taǰop-ah	'its sharpness'	taǰoʔm	'to sharpen'
antu	'ghost'	antu-ah	'his/her ghost'	antuʔn	'haunted'

We argue that all tertiary forms can be accounted for by positing a single, polyfunctional suffix. The phonological rules which account for both the diverse surface manifestations of this suffix as well as the derivation of secondary forms follow from general phonotactic properties of the language. We consider what this synchronic analysis of Jangkat phonology tells us about the diachronic origins of Jangkat's unusual morphology.

Semantic characteristics of Thai basic verbs

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Thanks to the rapid development of information technology, digital data about languages are now among the most important resources for linguistics and language education. One such resource is the Thai National Corpus (TNC), available via the website of Chulalongkorn University, which provides lexical and syntactic information on Thai such as word frequency and collocation patterns as the basis for quantitative analyses.

Besides the quantitative analyses, however, qualitative research is also important. Analyzing basic collocation patterns, for example, such as argument structures, requires qualitative studies since they would not appear transparently in the corpus of running texts, especially in the case of pro-drop languages such as Thai.

This presentation examines the semantic characteristics of approximately three hundred Thai verbs. Based on the TNC word frequency list, we have been building a lexical database providing syntactic and semantic information on the most basic verbs. We will focus on the syntactic behavior of the verbs and semantic roles of the co-occurring nouns.

In Thai, a verb may follow a noun to form N_1V, or it may be franked by two nouns to form N_1VN_2, which is the basis for Thai to be regarded as a typical SVO language.

Semantically the single argument in N_1V may be human (abbreviated as [+H]) or things (abbreviated as [+T]), according to the inherent features of the co-occurring verb. Voluntary verbs typically occur with a human subject N_1 [+H], while motion verbs may naturally occur with N_1 [+H] or [+T].

As in many languages, N_1VN_2 in Thai denotes transitive actions. In the case of volitional actions, N_1 denotes a human subject, and N_2 the patient of the action, respectively. In the case of non-volitional, spontaneous activities such as perceptions and feelings, N_1VN_2 can be also used where N_1 denotes a human who is a recipient, and N_2, the location or source of perceptions and feelings, respectively.

Furthermore, N_1N_2V, which would be called "double subject construction", can be observed with stative or adjectival verbs, where N_1 denotes the topic of the sentence, and N_2 the subject-denoting part of N_1, and V the state of N_2, respectively.

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Grammatical change in North East India – the case of Tangsa

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Burling (2003) has described the linguistic situation on the India-Burma border as one of "massive heterogeneity and uncertainty". One thing that we can be reasonably certain of is that the two 'languages' called Tangsa or Tangshang (ISO 639-3:nst under the name 'Naga, Tase') and Nocte (ISO 639-3:njb 'Naga, Nocte') are reasonably closely related. In India the language names Tangsa and Nocte seem to be more connected with geographical rather than linguistic distinctions. Tangsa is the term used for otherwise uncategorised Tibeto-Burman languages in Changlang District of Arunachal Pradesh and in Tinsukia district in Assam, whereas Nocte is used for languages spoken in Tirap District. The term Tangsa was coined in the 1950s by some tribal leaders in consultation with the Indian bureaucracy to group together disparate but related communities.

70 subgroups have been identified within Tangsa in India and Burma combined. Each subgroup has a distinct linguistic form, sometimes mutually intelligible with others, and sometimes not. The linguistic diversity is in terms of sound change, different word structure, and differences in grammatical features.

In this paper, we will take as our data the feature known as 'agreement' or 'pronominalisation', the marking of information about tense /aspect/modality and person on verbs. This can be seen in the following example, from the Chamchang variety of Tangsa, where *tiikai* marks a 1st person plural continuous / habitual.

(1) jamlai wa   maiq   raq   phaq-siq-tiikai.
     ʒam²lai² βa²   maiʔ   raʔ   pʰaʔ-siʔ-təkai³
     what   person AG   eat-eat-CONT.1PL
     'And what things would we humans eat?'

The Tangsa varieties differ enormously in how they mark the categories of person and TAM on the verb. Some, like Chamchang, mark the actor / subject argument with one of five forms (1sg, 1pl, 2sg, 2pl, 3) and one of several TAM forms (future/irrealis; habitual; negative; past); some, like Champang, do not mark person at all but mark a range of TAM forms, while others, like Hakhun, mark not only actor but also undergoer / objects with different forms when an undergoer is higher on the animacy hierarchy than the actor (hierarchical agreement). In this paper we will examine these phenomena across a range of Tangsa varieties: Chamchang, Champang, Cholim, Hakhun, Lochhang, Maitai, Mueshaungx (Mossang), Mungray, Ngaimong and Rera, discussing how this variety may have arisen and what it might add to our knowledge of the processes of historical grammatical change.

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Ambiguity when Sundanese homonyms are used in an Indonesian context

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This paper attempts to report how homonyms in the Sundanese language create semantic ambiguities in the use of Bahasa Indonesia. According to Elston-Guttler and Frederici (2005, in Hu, Zhang, Zhao, Ma, Lai, & Yao, 2011), investigation of homonym processing in non-native speakers of a language is rarer than homonym processing in native speakers. Yet, learning and identifying homonyms is a problem not only for native speakers (Peters & Zaidel, 1980; Mazzocco, 1989 in Backscheider & Gelman, 1993) but also for non-native speakers. For instance, once the meanings of a homonym have a similar frequency of use ("unbalanced word"), the homonym behaves like non-ambiguous words in certain contexts. By contrast, a "balanced word" requires more processing apart from the context (Rayner & Frazier, 1989 in Hu, Zhang, Zhao, Ma, Lai, & Yao, 2011).

Trouble in identifying homonyms is also experienced by Sundanese[1] speakers in using Bahasa Indonesia. There are some words in Sundanese which have two or more distinct equivalents in Bahasa Indonesia. It is found that native Sundanese speakers fail to use the relevant meaning of Sundanese homonyms within an Indonesian context. This happens in certain conditions like when the meanings of a homonym show the same function, such as expressing an excuse. The word *punten* in Sundanese has two equivalents in Bahasa Indonesia which are *maaf* (apologize, forgive, or sorry) or *permisi* (ask permission). Sundanese participants in this study often used both words in a reverse context. For instance, when street musicians approached a Sundanese participant living in an Indonesian-speaking area, the participant said "permisi" to refuse to give them money. They should say "maaf" rather than "permisi" to apologize for not giving money to the singing musicians.

Data is taken through naturalistic observation of Bahasa Indonesia spoken by 30 native Sundanese speakers. Data is a list of homonyms with equivalents in Bahasa Indonesia used by participants and an analysis of why an equivalent is used in an appropriate or inappropriate context. Besides being caused by a similar function as explained above, ambiguity also occurs when equivalents of Sundanese homonyms in Bahasa Indonesia show a sense relation or are in the same word class. When a Sundanese homonym word has more than one word class, Sundanese people will use the more frequent equivalent as all word classes.

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[1]Sundanese is one of 719 indigenous languages (Lewis, 2009) spoken in west Java, Indonesia.

Mirative and a contrastive focus in Bih (Chamic)

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This paper studies two constructions in Bih (Chamic < Austronesian, Vietnam, SVO) which appear to be based on the same morpheme *mơh*. Using diagnostics in DeLancey (1997, 2001 & 2012) and Lambrecht (1994), I argue that *mơh* in Bih has two functions in two different constructions: as a sentential operator it expresses mirativity; on a NP it is a contrastive focus marker.

I present three arguments that the mirative *mơh* construction is different from a contrastive focus *mơh* construction both syntactically and pragmatically. Syntactically, a mirative *mơh* occurs in verb phrase final position (ex. 1), while a contrastive focus *mơh* occurs at the end of a NP (ex. 2). Pragmatically, *mơh* as a NP operator presents unpredictable information which contradicts with what hearers assumed or presupposed – i.e. contrastive focus defined by Lambrecht (1994) – while mirative *mơh* does not. In (3), it is Y-Bia (coded by the pronoun *arăng*) rather than the king's main wife, who is more beautiful. This is contradiction to the hearer's assumption that king's wives are most beautiful. In (1), it is surprising to hearers that Dông-krje uses a small knife that he carries in his hair bun to cut down and split bamboos to make tools for digging yams. However, his action is not contradicting to any expectation before the time of speech as it does with (3). The final piece of evidence shows that mirative *mơh*, but not a contrastive focus *mơh*, could be replaced by an anti-mirative particle *yơh* to indicate that an information should not be marked as unexpected.

(1) Nei   ma-khăt   alê   ma-blah   hŏng   dhŏng   năn   mơh.
     now   PRE-cut   bamboo   PRE-split with   knife   DIST   MIR
'Then he (to my surprise) cut down bamboos (there) and split the bamboo with that knife.'(PA011/136)

(2) Ăt   hia   kĭn   ama   mơh   ngă   ana.
     still   cry   DAT   father FOC   make   crossbow
'He wants (to the speaker's surprise) his father to make it for him.'(PA011/052)

(3) Mỗ   phŭn   ŏng,   palei   phŭn   ŏng,   ăt   siem   arăng   mơh.
     wife root   2   wife   root   2   again beautiful 3   FOC
'It is her (Y-Bia) who is more beautiful than your head wife.' (ND008/293)

On the person restriction on the agents in *di-* passives in Malay

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Prescriptive grammars of Malay/Indonesian dictate that the agent in *di-* passives should be third person and prohibit first and second person agents (e.g. Nik Safiah et al. 2008). While some researchers consider this restriction descriptively real (e.g. Arka and Manning 1998; Donohue 2007; Sneddon et al. 2010), others do not (e.g. Chung 1976; Asmah 1995; Mintz 2002; Abdullah 2006). Yet others identify two groups of speakers differing in the relevant restriction (Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis 1992). Given these divergent views, the question arises of whether/to what extent the alleged person restriction is real descriptively. This paper attempts to answer this question by examining various naturally occurring texts in Formal and Colloquial Malay (Malaysia).

Our data consists of (a) the DBP Corpus, (b) a collection of folktales, (c) the front page articles of *Utusan Malaysia* for the entire period of year 2011, (d) the Multilingual Corpora (Malay) and (e) web pages, including newspapers, blogs and message boards. We utilize these multiple data sources to ensure that our data is large and representative enough, and contains both Formal and Colloquial Malay sentences. We classify *di-* passives into three types according to how the agent is expressed: (i) those with overt agents introduced by the preposition *oleh* 'by' as in (1a), (ii) those with overt agents immediately following the verb as in (1b) and (iii) those with implicit agents as in (1c). We examine for each type the frequencies of the sentences with agents of different persons, using data sources (a)–(d). We test the generalizations thus obtained against data source (d), whose size is far larger than (a)–(d).

(1) a. Surat   itu   sudah   di-poskan   <u>oleh   kerani</u>   .
         letter that   already PASS-post   by   clerk
     b. Surat   itu   sudah   di-poskan   <u>kerani</u>   .
     c. Surat   itu   sudah   di-poskan   <u>   </u>   .
         'The letter was already posted (by the clerk).'

The results of our preliminary study show that the person restriction indeed exists. Most *di-* passive sentences have a third person agent rather than a first or second person one. Importantly, however, the restriction is not an absolute syntactic constraint but a strong tendency whose nature is largely non-syntactic. This is because the data contains a non-negligible number of sentences with first and second person agents.

We also discuss a methodological issue. In less-studied young national languages, including Malay, available corpora are neither huge nor annotated, and the largest corpus is built by the prescriptive language academy. These problems can lead a study based on a single corpus to a wrong generalization. We demonstrate that this kind of flaw actually happens if one studies the person restriction on the agents in *di-* passives, using only the DBP Corpus. It is therefore necessary to rely on more than one corpus/text if one intends to reveal the speakers' linguistic knowledge through a corpus-based study.

An introduction to Tai Laing: Phonology, orthography and sociolinguistic context

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Tai Laing is a Southwestern Tai language spoken in Kachin State and Sagaing Division of northern Myanmar. In Kachin State, Tai Laing is one of five officially recognised Tai groups – Tai Long, Tai Nuea, Tai Khamti and Tai Sa being the other four, although the Tai Sa actually speak a variety of Ngochang (Tibeto-Burman) but have adopted some aspects of Tai culture. The relationship between the Tai groups and the six Tibeto-Burman Kachin groups (Jingpho, Lacid, Rawang, Lhaovo, Zaiwa, Lisu) has not always been easy and it is perhaps due to this history that where language shift has occurred in Tai Laing communities, it is to the national language, Burmese, rather than to the regional language of Kachin State, Jingpho.

Tai Laing has been written for centuries but the written form fell into disuse, particularly during a period when literacy classes were prohibited. In recent years the Tai Laing Cultural and Literature Committee has begun to promote the use of the orthography by organising literacy classes during school vacations. Other important steps in Tai Laing language development include the inclusion of the Tai Laing script into the Unicode standard in 2011 and the development of a Unicode font (Hosken 2012).

Tai Laing has received little attention in the linguistics literature. Some distinctive features of Tai Laing phonology were noted by Edmondson (2008:192) in his wide-ranging study of Shan varieties. Tai Laing was one of his 'Northern Shan' varieties which have six tones in contrast to the 'Southern Shan' varieties which have five tones. The other reference to the language is by Sai Kam Mong (2004:82) who mentions 'Tai Leng' as one of the scripts that developed from 'Lik Hto Ngouk', the historic script used by the Tai Nuea of the Dehong region of Yunnan Province in China.

This paper presents an introduction to the sociolinguistic situation of Tai Laing. The current status of the language is assessed using the EGIDS scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). A phonological sketch of Tai Laing is given and compared with those features noted by Edmondson. The phonology sketch is used as a basis for describing the orthography. Knowledge of the historical development of phonetic features yields insights into spelling conventions.

Polyfunctionality in Khmer: The case of *daoy*

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The widely recognized *polyfunctionality* of a large number of items in Khmer (cf. Haiman, 2011) makes it difficult to give them a well-defined characterization. In this respect, the case of daoy can be considered a good example. Headley in his dictionary puts forward a partial inventory of these uses: a). predicate '*attached to*, *to follow*, *to obey*' as well as '*to love intimately, sexually* (ex. 1) ; b). preposition '*by, with, along*' (ex. 2) ; c). particle : indicator of an adverb : *in a …. manner* (ex. 3, 5) ; d). conjunction '*because*' (ex. 4).

(1) koon   nih   daoy   dɑmboonmien   nah

son   this   daoy   advice   very

This son complies rigorously with the advice (given to him)

(2) kaaɲie   nih   Cie   kaaɲie   daoy   day

work   this   to be   work   daoy   hand

This work is manual work

(3) koat   sɑmlap   monuh   nih   daoy   ʔaʔceɛtnaa

he   kill   person   this   daoy   unintentionnally

He killed that person unintentionally

(4) vie   niʔyiey   daoy   mien   ʔɑmnahʔamnaaŋ   trəmtrəv

he   say   daoy   to have   proofs   correct

He says that on serious evidence

(5) vie   tvəə   daoy   cət   vie

he   do   daoy   heart   he

He does that following what his heart dictates

Associated with the Mon-Khmer *cognate* t̥ɪuy ('*to follow*') in the Shorto dictionary, daoy presents quite a wide range of uses and values, most of them already occurring in Pre-Angkorian and Angkorian Khmer (Jenner, 2009a et b). At the syntactic level, the constructions with daoy come as: **X** daoy **Y**. When daoy is a predicate, **X** and **Y** are the two arguments of the verb. In other cases, **X** is a proposition and **Y** is a sequence which can be a N, a V or a proposition. It can therefore be argued that the uses and values of daoy depend first of all on the nature of the sequence corresponding to **Y**.

We put forward a unitary characterization of daoy following a generalization of its functioning as a predicate. As a predicate, daoy indicates that **X** matches up to the process just as **Y** matches up to it*:* when expressing a movement ('*to follow*') **X** moves in the same direction as that taken by **Y**; in the case of *to obey,* **X** acts in accordance with the prescriptions of **Y** or according to the rules that suggest how it should be done. When **X** is a preposition, the event expressed by **X** is meant to occur *according to* **Y** or *in the way that specifies* **Y** (daoy as preposition and particle). Finally, when **Y** is a preposition, the event corresponding to **X** takes place *according to* the event expressed by **Y**: the event **X** is put into the frame of the event **Y**.

Perception of lexical tones in Thai children of different age groups

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This study investigates the development of tone sensitivity (mid, low, high, falling, and rising lexical tones) in young children who speak Thai as their native language. Participants include 5 adults and 45 children from three different age groups (2–3;11, 4–5;11, and 6–7;11). A 2-choice identification task is carried out using pictures (corresponding to each word), e.g. a picture of a house stands for the word 'house'. In each trial, over headphones, participants hear a previously recorded monosyllabic word and are asked to identify which word they have heard by pointing at one of the two picture choices. The two words/pictures in each trial differ only in their tone. All target words are common in the language, e.g. [ja:-mid] 'drug' vs [ja:-falling] 'grass'. Every possible combination of tones is equally tested and balanced confusion matrices are obtained.

Preliminary results from 7 children show that the oldest group performs best (with 87.5% accuracy), followed by the middle group (82.5%), and the youngest (81.7%). Misidentification responses show that low and falling tones elicit the highest number of errors and that the children are more likely to identify them as mid tone. The findings suggest that by age 2, Thai children have already developed sensitivity to lexical tones and that they do not achieve mastery of these contrasts until after the age of 8.

Variationist study in Lanna Thai: The mixture of Northern Thai dialects' linguistic features with standard Thai dialect by local community radio anchors

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In Northern Thailand (NT), radio broadcasting is popular whilst varieties of media types have emerged nationwide. Certain local and community radio broadcasters in NT have attempted to conserve linguistic heritage by using their local dialects. These processes of sharing norms and producing engagement might be regarded as a community of practice (Wenger, 1998; Meyerhoff, 2002). Various linguistic features from standard Bangkok Thai appear in those conservative anchors' speeches to some extent. This paper aims to investigate the degree of dialect mixing of the standard/Bangkok Thai dialect used by local anchors who basically speak in the Kammuang dialect of Chiang Mai and Yong dialect of Lamphun. Results may shed light on the linguistic repertoires employed in mass media in the Northern provinces.

The independent variables in this study were (1) ethnicity by geographical origins, (2) gender and (3) topics of the speaking. The linguistic variables consisted of: (r), the consonant cluster (r) in the initial position of the word and negators of 'mai' and 'bor'. Data sampling was selected from the radio programmes which met benchmark. Linguistic occurrences were operationalized, according to the variationist linguistic approach (Labov, 2006; Macaulay, 2005). The number of samples was 8 people which were balanced in terms of social variables. The age range of the speakers was above 35 years old. Each recording data was around 10-15 minutes.

The research point out that anchors of both ethnicities tended to adopt Bangkok Thai dialect phonological characteristic a great deal, though the degree of adopting or accommodation in males tended to be lower than in Yong, particular in female anchors who might become a leader of linguistic change in this context (Labov, 2001). However, the other grammatical variables showed a different trend. This might result from that grammatical variables were used differently from phonological features in relation to level of consciousness. In short, the Northern Thai radio anchors were about to conform their vernaculars to the standard language usage.

Tone neutralization in Thai disyllables of the type CV(ʔ)-

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In citation forms and in formal speech, the vowel /a/ in the initial syllable of a Thai disyllabic word usually exhibits either a high (*tháʔlee* 'sea') or a low tone (*thàʔnŏn* 'road, avenue') depending on the consonantal shape (composition) and history of the disyllable. It is often assumed that this contrast is maintained consistently in formal speech, but in informal speech the glottal stop is often deleted and the vowel emerges as a centralized schwa [ə] that carries a mid tone (*thálee* > *thəlee* 'sea'; *thàʔnŏn* > *thənŏn* 'road, avenue'). (Mid tones are signified here by the absence of a tone mark.) In an early study, Gandour (1976) characterized the neutralization as occurring in informal use but did not define precisely what was meant by 'formal' and 'informal'. The neutralization is furthermore treated as being abrupt, and more recent studies have not challenged that characterization, although they have pointed out that tonal changes of various sorts are not uncommon in connected speech (Tingsbadth & Deeprasert 1997; Zsiga & Nitisaroj 2007). The present pilot study gathered data from some 30 native speakers of Thai while they pronounced disyllables in contexts with varying degrees of orthographic priming. The elicitation techniques included: 1) direct responses to orthographically primed words, 2) picture identification without orthographic priming, 3) delayed memory retrieval after orthographically primed words, and 4) a delayed retelling of a story that had been orthographically primed. The acoustic data were then analyzed using sound spectrograms.

Our analysis confirms that the loss of glottal stop occurs even when the expected high or low tone remains intact. The tone neutralization process, however, appears to occur in a gradient manner. We conclude tentatively that the neutralization of the contrastive high and low tones in this environment tends to be affected by orthographic priming, in part because the orthography provides the speaker with some cues as to the expected tone.

After studying the effects of one kind of formality (Thai orthography) on tone neutralization in disyllables, we conclude that greater orthographic priming appears to correlate with less neutralization of the tones in question. Although more research is needed especially on tone neutralization in connected speech, our results suggest very tentatively that speakers regularly neutralize these tones in speech, but maintain the tonal distinction in high register contexts where the influence of the written language is strong. It is possible that for most speakers of Thai the tonal distinction in question is now only artificial and for that reason is limited to high register use.

A transitivity analysis in a Thai Song Dam topographic procedure

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This paper reports on a preliminary analysis of the transitivity system of a register (genre) of the Thai Song Dam topographic procedure. The transitivity system is a resource for construing human experience of change or goings-on in the flow of events inside and around us. A quantum of change in the flow of events is construed as a configuration of a process, involving participant and attendant circumstances. The topographic procedure investigated is a funeral topographic procedure. It involves a spiritual procedure and an interaction between the funeral master and the dead person. In Thai Song Dam speech communities, regardless of where they reside in Thailand, one of the most important topographic procedures is the funeral chant giving directions to the deceased back to their original homeland — Muang Thaeng/Muang Dien Bien Phu in Northwest Vietnam. This paper draws on Systemic Functional Linguistics to investigate how the Thai Song Dam's experience of homecoming is construed grammatically in the transitivity system of Thai Song Dam language. The data was drawn from a funeral manuscript — a sacred text providing the dead person's spirit (soul) with directions back to their homeland. It was collected from a funeral master or 'kʰəːjˡ' living in Sa Phatana Sub-district, Kamphaengsaen District, Nakhon Pathom Province. The study reveals that there is a correlation between the circumstance configuration of the transitivity system that is construed by the language, and the spiritual action of the deceased walking along the funeral master's guided route.

Vowel chains in Vietnamese

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This paper compares the rhymal differences in the Quảng Nam dialect of Vietnamese with those in the Hanoi dialect, showing a number of vowel shifts in the Quảng Nam dialect. The rhymes in the Quảng Nam dialect present an interesting case of synchronic vowel chains. The rhymes in Quảng Nam dialect are very different from those in other dialects, particularly those involving the Hanoi /a/ vowel. Quảng Nam also has /ɑ/, a vowel that is not seen in any other dialect, that can also occur in open syllables. The paper addresses the following questions: How does the Quảng Nam dialect differ from the Hanoi dialect? Why is /a/ the vowel that most involves in vowel shifts, and appears with a very different quality in open syllables? Are these vowel shifts context-sensitive?

In the Quảng Nam dialect, only in closed syllables do vowels 'shift' around in the vowel chart. A vowel can move in frontness/backness and in height, or both, even skipping the immediate height, e.g., a low vowel can jump to a high vowel of the same frontness/backness skipping the mid vowel. Among those shifts of vowels, a few small chains, i.e., vowels shift around within the same context, are identified. Although the shifts first appear random, many processes are common in other languages, such as assimilation, dissimilation of identical adjacent features. Many shifts also involve simplification of the rhyme, especially when /a/ is followed by a glide.

Vowel shifts in the Quảng Nam dialect are not unique. Some similar shifts, e.g., final glide deletion, or fronting of /a/, are seen in other dialects in central and south central Vietnam, such as Bình Định and Phú Yên, although much less abundant. These vowel shifts show a picture of various stages of certain sound change in progress in Vietnamese, especially the instability of rhymes that consists of /a/ and final glides.

Some of these shifts seem to be sound relics from old Vietnamese, e.g., the vowel /o/ in old Vietnamese became /a:w/ in modern Vietnamese, which still occurs as [o] in the Quảng Nam dialect. The initial consonant cluster *tl from 17th century Vietnamese is still present in Tam Kỳ, Quảng Nam, and the Quảng Nam dialect is one of very few, including Hà Tĩnh and Bình Định, that still keep final palatals after /i/ and /e/, as does the Northern dialects. The Quảng Nam dialect, therefore, appears to be in a 'peripheral' area, in which old elements are retained, yet innovations are abundant. Patterns of immigration might explain certain features in sound change in progress in these dialects.

Towards a multi-purpose resource of language corpora: The case of Vietnamese

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In this presentation, we present the construction of two corpora of contemporary Vietnamese and the creation of statistical-semantic properties for the resulting Vietnamese lexicon. The corpora, a newspaper corpus and a film subtitle corpus, comprise 160 million words which have been tokenized/segmentized for compounds and tagged for part of speech. The resulting corpora can be a precious resource for lexicographers and reference grammarians. From an archival perspective, the data is stored in two different formats, plain text and XML, which can be recognized and imported into any corpus processing program. The raw corpora have been refined so that lexical information can be used for language teaching / learning, and language technology. For each word form in Vietnamese, we computed frequency, contextual diversity (also known as dispersion), Inverse Document Frequency, Gries's Deviation of Proportion (Gries, 2009), Latent Semantic Analysis (Landauer and Dutnais, 1997), Hyper Analog to Language (Burgess and Lund, 1997), and High Dimensional Explorer (Shaoul and Westbury, 2006). The above measures are all frequency-based measures, with the first four measures using lexical frequency (statistical measures) and the last three using co-occurrence frequency of words in the corpora (statistical-semantic measures). This information has been combined into a single data-frame. The complete set of corpora comprises three parts: the raw data, the segmentized and tagged version, and the statistical-semantic data-frame. These components reflect linguistic characteristics of contemporary Vietnamese. The parts of the corpora can be used in compiling dictionaries, reference grammars, teaching and learning Vietnamese, among other linguistic research fields. The statistical-semantic database has been used for psycholinguistic research, and may also be used for natural language processing, to name a few possible applications. We present the methodology for creating this type of resource for other poorly documented languages. All of the tools/programs used in this study are open-source software that researchers can use and modify to meet their needs.

The emergence of classifiers from class term compounds in Vietnamese

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DeLancey (1986) shows that class term compounding is a productive intermediary stage in Thai for new classifier development. **Proposal:** class term compounds also allow classifier emergence in Vietnamese due to reanalysis of class terms, as well as their semantic bleaching in order to maintain a taxonomic relation in compounds.

Vietnamese generally requires classifiers for counting nouns (1a), though certain compounds can occur without classifiers for some speakers (1b - 1c).

(1a) ba *(con) cho   (1b) ba **cây chuối**   (c) ba **xe   đạp**
     3 CLF:ANI dog   3 tree banana   3 vehicle step
     'three dogs'   'three banana trees'   'three bicycles'

Class terms can sometimes license NP-ellipsis of their modifiers (i.e. *chuối* in (1b)), which Alexiadou and Gengel (2011) claim is always licensed by a classifier. However, these compounds also behave like bare nouns: specifically in being underspecified for number, and allowing generic interpretations, which are possible with bare NPs but not ClfPs. This partial reanalysis of the class term as a classifier shows evidence of compounding as an intermediate stage between a lexical source noun and new classifier.

Class terms have a taxonomic relationship to the compounds they derive. Semantic bleaching of class terms occurs to maintain this taxonomic relationship as more compounds are created. Sufficiently bleached class terms can then emerge as classifiers for independent nouns – such as loanwords – based on whatever general semantic meaning is left; this can leave traces of a word as it is used as a lexical noun, class term in compounds and as a classifier:

(2a) ba cái cây   (2b) ba **cây đàn**   (2c) ba cây   bút
     3   CLF tree   3 tree play.music   3 CLF:THIN pen
     'three trees'   'three instruments'   'three pens'

Vietnamese ClfPs and compounds share a general-specific relationship between their elements, allowing for (partial) reanalysis of the class term as a classifier. That is, while *con* in (1a) refers generally to an animal, *chó* specifies it is a dog-type animal; similarly, in (1c), *xe* refers generally to trees/plants and *đạp* specifies it is a bicycle-type vehicle.

The relatively general lexical meaning of classifiers compared to these relatively more specific source words is predicted by my analysis of semantic bleaching and reanalysis during class term compounding, explaining why classifiers are homophonous with semantically-related words of another category (generally nouns).

A possible tonal merger in checked syllables: The case of Mường Chỏi (A language of Northern Vietnam)

John D. Phan

The phonological history of Viet-Muong "checked tones" (occurring in syllables with voiceless stop codas) is unclear. Although orthographically represented as identical to B-type tones derived from final glottalization, Ferlus (1998, 2001) described their tonogenetic history as "apart" from the classic triad of tonogenetic codas described by Haudricourt (1954). A related synchronic debate over whether Vietnamese contains six or eight tones also persists today (see Pham, 2003), focusing on whether or not checked tones should be analyzed as merely allophonic realizations of non-checked tones in checked environments.

Checked syllables in Vietnamese are restricted to a two-tonal contrast (versus a 6-way contrast in non-checked syllables), a fact consistent with the tonogenetic loss of initial voicing in the proto-language, and confirming at least that they are not atonal or tonally underspecified. However, new evidence from a Mường language called Chỏi (original data collected by the author), suggests a complete or near-complete merger of tone on checked syllables.

	Tone	Chỏi	Gloss
(1)	D1	măt˨	eye
(2)	D2	măt˨	face
(3)	D1	bɔk˨	peel
(4)	D2	kɔk˨	stake

(In the examples above, D1 and D2 correspond to the two contrastive tone categories found in Vietnamese and most Muong checked syllables.) In this paper, I present results from a pilot study of checked syllable production in three Mường languages: Thàng, Trám, and Chỏi, based on f0 measurements at the beginning and the end of the readable pitch-track. Preliminary statistical analysis of these measurements suggest that contour is contrastive in Thàng and Trám—a picture consistent with Vietnamese, and expectations for the Viet-Muong family—but not contrastive in Chỏi, as expressed in the examples above. These findings suggest that the tonogenetic effects of devoicing were not uniform across the Viet-Muong language, and that different Viet-Muong languages innovated in response to loss of voicing separately.

Person shift in Thai pronouns: A feature-geometric approach

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This paper deals with the question why Thai pronouns can shift reference. Namely, the first person pronoun เรา /raw/ can refer to the addressee; the third person pronoun เค้า /kháw/ can refer to the speaker; the second person pronouns เธอ /thəə/, แก /kææ/ and ท่าน /thân/ can refer to a non-participant of a speech act; and finally the non-human pronoun มัน /man/ can be used to refer to a human. This process is called 'person shift' in this paper. Person shift is a phenomenon observed in speech in many languages. It is when a pronoun appears in a different context from its canonical use. Person shift in English is shown in the following example (taken from Harley and Ritter, 2002).

(1)   (Individual speaking to a close friend/spouse who is clearly not in a good mood)
      Uh-oh, we're in a good mood!
      Cf. Uh-oh, you're in a good mood!

An example of person shift in Thai pronouns is given below.

(2)   kææ   mai   hai   chǎn   pai   nai   loei
      2   NEG   allow   1   go   where   particle
      'He/she does not let me go anywhere.'

In (1), the pronoun 'we' is used to refer to the addressee. In (2), the second person pronoun 'kææ' is used to refer to a third person. The difference between Thai and English is that the person shift context is casual in English but in Thai the shift takes place in both casual and formal contexts. Under a feature-geometric approach (Harley and Ritter, 2002), person shift is analyzed as an insertion or deletion of person features, enabling the interpretation of a pronoun to be systematically shifted from its canonical use. For example, the second person pronoun 'kææ' has the features [[person[participant[addressee]]]] in its feature geometry in canonical use. I propose that Thai allows the features that are more marked to be deleted. Hence, when the features [participant] and [addressee] are deleted, the pronoun 'kææ' receives the interpretation of a third person pronoun from the feature [person] that is left. This analysis makes use of person features and other morphological features such as gender and formality in the pronoun system of Thai. These features may not be phonologically marked on verbal agreement; however, this study shows that morphological features are available even in an analytic language such as Thai.

The semantic domains of intensification: A cross-language perspective

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Intensification is a linguistic process that conveys attitudinal and emotive meanings of the speakers. There are several linguistic devices that can be used to intensify one's speech, from phonological to syntactic. The most interesting means is through a semantic device represented by lexical choices, such as emphasizing adjectives or adverbs of degree.

This paper, which is based on a parallel corpus of English and Thai, proposes that intensification involves the expressions of strong emotion and attitude, and the intensifying lexes are derived from the 6 human senses based on Buddhism, which are visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and mental. It suggests that expressions of intensification across languages are metaphorical in nature. The meaning of intensification is transferred from one semantic field to another. In some cases the transfer is so complete that the original meaning is no longer recognized, as in the case of the English *very*. To demonstrate how intensifying lexes are grounded in the human perceptions, examples are given not only from the English and Thai parallel corpora but also include some expressions of intensification in other languages such as French, Chinese, and Korean.

From the study, it is found that intensifiers tend to fall into the visual, tactile, and mental spheres of experience rather than the olfactory, auditory, and gustatory spheres.
The visual sphere can be divided into the domains of size and quantity. Since humans are generally intrigued by large quantity and enormous size, this area becomes a major source of intensifying expressions, for example, *beaucoup, considérablement*, *abondamment* in French; *mâakmaaj* 'abundantly' (as in *rák**mâakmaaj** 'love **abundantly**'*), *sɛ̌ɛn* 'hundred thousands' in Thai; 千万 'thousand-myriad' in Chinese; *heaps, loads, tons* in English (as in *Miss you **loads**!*).

The tactile sphere involves physical domains such weight, height, powerful force and action, while the mental sphere can be classified into the domains of truth, rejection, disbelief, and valuing. The domain of truth seems to be universal; to emphasize a message one often cites the truth of the utterance, hence the expressions such as *very* (from Old English *verray* 'truly'), Chinese 真, Korean 정말, Thai *ʨiŋ*, all meaning 'true'. Rejection can be explained in terms of the speaker's feeling of fear and disgust, and a number of intensifying words are found to originate in the domains that trigger such feelings, such as death, insanity, pain, as well as taboo topics (e.g. sex, excrement, epidemic, disaster). This can be seen from expressions such as English *to death*, French *à mourir*, Chinese 死了, Korean 죽겠다, Thai *ʨàtaaj* 'to death', to name a few .

Thailand's draft national language policy: Achievements and challenges in supporting language diversity and language rights

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A National Language Policy that supports language diversity and language rights is crucial in revitalizing and maintaining non-dominant or ethnic minority languages. This paper discusses the process of drafting the new National Language Policy of Thailand, which is a multi-pronged policy being developed by academics in the name of The Royal Institute of Thailand. The special focus of this paper is on the policy for ethnic minority languages which is the most controversial for its innovation. The committee makeup, supporting linguistic research (such as language situation survey, language development, language standardization and language revitalization), the reactions of language speakers and various sections of society at large, and comments and suggestions gathered from public forums and the mass media are all under consideration. The initial policy draft has been submitted and accepted by the authorities concerned and the strategic plan for implementation is being drafted. This paper discusses the measurable achievements and progress made in gaining support and recognition of the value of the mother tongue and the potential challenges for the future.

Bending rules in minority language bilingual lexicography

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In compiling and producing a dictionary, one might well begin by considering the standard principles of lexicography and the accepted practice of past lexicographers as described in standard handbooks (e.g., Atkins & Rundell 2008, Landau 2001, Svensen 2009) and as seen in the variety of dictionaries that have been published. However, in minority language lexicography the particular target readership and goals for the new dictionary to be produced will probably be different in some way, leading one to diverge from, or "bend," assumed principles and past practice in certain ways. This has been done in recent dictionaries for learners of English as an additional language, as for example the dictionary for advanced learners produced by Macmillan (Macmillan 2002) and dictionaries for specific purposes, such as described in Bergenholtz and Tarp (1994/95).

This paper will question the applicability of some of the principles recommended for the production of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries in major or national languages and consider how they can be deliberately altered for minority languages such as in Southeast Asia. Although most examples will be drawn from a new dictionary of Iu-Mienh (Yao) as spoken in Thailand and Laos, other dictionaries of Asian languages, such as Thai, Chinese, Lahu, and Sedang will also be cited.

Furthermore, this paper will propose that these departures from or alterations of general principles can be beneficial to the users, and that although they are done at some increase of volume, they are positive and promote the learning and use of the source language. Additionally, it will be proposed that these bendings are actually necessary as a type of documentation for minority languages that are non-endangered (so far) but are potentially at some risk. The paper will also point out that some helpful bending of rules has also been found in other bilingual dictionaries in the Asian area and elsewhere (e.g., McFarland 1944, Smith 2000).

Finally, some of the standard lexicographic principles and practices that could be considered candidates for bending when compiling a minority language dictionary include the following:

1. The intended users of the dictionary.
2. The goals of the dictionary.
3. The content of the entries and how it will be stated.
4. Having some entries in more than one place. Can this be useful, and if so, can it be done economically?
5. Including encyclopedic or ethnographic information. If so, what kind of information might be included and how?
6. Producing a minority language dictionary at a reasonable cost while including substantial semantic and encyclopedic information.

The polyfunctionality of the particle /dɨ/ in Dara-ang Palaung

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The Palaung group lives scattered in Shan State, Myanmar, in De-hong Dai-Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture of southern Yunnan, China, and in Chiang Mai Province, Thailand. The group as a whole speaks an Austroasiatic language of the Palaungic branch of the Mon-Khmer family. "Dara-ang" is the name by which the group living in Thailand identifies itself. The objective of this paper is to study grammatical functions of the particle /dɨ/ in Dara-ang. The data used in this study was based on three narrative texts and on elicitation data from speakers of Dara-ang Palaung at Noe Lae village in Fang District, Chiang Mai Province, Thailand. It is found that /dɨ/ syntactically occurs in various constructions: in verb phrases – before action verbs and state verbs, between two verbs, after bitransitive verbs 'to give', after verbs 'to say, to speak, to tell', before adjectival verbs; and in prepositional phrases – preceding locative words which can be noun, pronoun, place names, or deictic words. However, semantically, in a verb phrase /dɨ/ expresses a definite action which is in progress or will take place in the future. It intensifies the actual state when preceding an adjectival verb. Finally, /dɨ/ in a prepositional phrase certainly denotes either spatial or terminal locations. That is to say, in Dara-ang Palaung the word /dɨ/ has four functions – as an auxiliary in (1), as a preposition in (2), (3) and (4), as a linker in (5), and as an intensifier in (6).

(1) ʔăn   dɨ   hom   bom
    3S   PART   eat   rice
    'He will eat rice.'

(2) masuk   tauh   dɨ   ʔo
    proper.name   talk   PART   1S
    'Mae-suk talked to me.'

(3) ʔo   taih   khamun   dɨ   ʔalɔt
    1S   give   snack   PART   proper.name
    'I gave a snack to A-lot.'

(4) masim   gɔj   dɨ   he
    bird   stay   PART   tree
    'A bird is on the tree.'

(5) ʔo   bɤ̆t   dɨ   hom
    1S   gather PART   eat
    'I gathered (the fruits) to eat.'

(6) ʔo   gɔj   dɨ   khəj
    1S   stay   PART   fine
    'I am definitely fine.'

On the sources of suppletive SAY verbs in some Philippine languages

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Several Philippine languages in the Central Cordilleran group of Northern Luzon languages, particularly Bontok, Kankanay, Balangao, Ifugao and Kalinga, show suppletive variants for the verb 'say' occurring as the quotative index of quotation sentences, as in Central Bontok (1)

(1) Khinina-ang Bontok (Central Cordilleran, Northern Luzon)
  a. *Ya kanan=cha=ay mangwáni=en, "Linpas cha Tomag-ong."*
    and say=GEN.3PL=LIG saying=QUO finished PL Tomag-ong
    'And they said, "Tomag-ong and his companion finished it."' (Reid 1992: S09-66)

  b. *Kinwáni=na kano en, "Khawis tay inkali=yak, ..."*
    said=gen.3SG RPRT QUO good because call=NOM.1SG
    'She said, "It was good because I called out, …' (Reid 1992: S01-39)

The choice between the two forms is based on whether the form carries perfective aspect (*kinwani*) or not (*kanan*). Various other restrictions exist on the choice of form, such as only the former can occur as a gerundive nominalization, and only the latter can carry the meaning of 'mistakenly think'.

This paper will discuss the possible sources of the two forms, suggesting that they have developed as a result of lexicalization, as proposed in Güldermann (2008, 2010), rather than as the result of grammaticalization (Lord 1972, etc.). It will also place the topic within recent work on analogy as a source of suppletion (Juge To appear).

(Re-)visiting the principles of reflexivization: A study of reflexives in Khasi

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This paper aims to study the reflexives in Khasi (an Austro-Asiatic language spoken in Khasi and the Jayantia hills of North-East India).

Reflexives in Khasi appear in both nominal and verbal forms. They appear with both simplex and complex forms. The simplex from is *ya-lade* 'acc/dat-self'(1) and the complex form is *da-lade ya-lade* 'intr-self acc-self' (2). It also has a monomorphemic verbal reflexive *hi-* which is optional and occurs to the right of the verb (2). (Subbarao 2012).

(1) u-   hari u-   iaroh   ya- lade
    3 m.s- Hari 3 m.s-   praised acc- self
    Hari praised himself.

(2) u- lem_i u-   peit- (hi) (da- lade) ya- $lade_i$ ha- ka- yit
    3m.s- Lem   3m.s   look VR   intr- self   acc- self   loc- f-   mirror
    Lem looked at himself in the mirror.

Dimitriadis and Everaert (2004) suggest reflexivization of predicates occurs in three ways: first, via reflexive marking on one of the arguments through a special reflexive form (as in German) and via doubling of lexical elements (as in Malayalam), second, via reflexive marking of the predicate through adding an affix (as in Mundari), clitic (as in French), an auxiliary verb (as in Tamil) or zero affixation (as in English) and third, via a combination of (a) and (b) (as in Kannada)

Following Subbarao (2012), it can be said that Khasi belongs to the third category as far as reflexives are concerned. It has both nominal and verbal forms of reflexives (2-3). Following Lidz (2001), I claim here that Verbal Reflexive Markers (VRMs) in Khasi do not appear to have a single meaning or a single syntactic function. Rather, they are multifunctional both syntactically and semantically. They are often polysemous and function as a detransitivizer (anticausative), as a marker of passive, as a self-benefactive, as an emphatic and as an impersonal marker too.

My observations for reflexives in Khasi go against Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) anaphoric principles. In the theory of R&R, reflexivization can occur either through intrinsic reflexivizing or through extrinsic reflexivizing. But in Khasi it seems that (consider example (2)) both strategies are possible simultaneously and there is no reduction of any theta role from the predicate's theta grid even though intrinsic reflexivization occurs in Khasi.

Kathoey "imitation" of women's speech and the construction of gender identity

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The study investigates the linguistic construction of gender identity among kathoeys, male-to-female transgenders in Thailand. Kathoeys' speech is usually perceived by the Thai public, and is also claimed in academia (Winter 2003), as being the same as women's speech. However, results from previous studies such as Kongtrakool (1996) have shown that this is not the case.

Analyses are based on data drawn from postings to online web-boards and naturally occurring interactions. Preliminary results from the online dataset have revealed a different pattern in the use of self-reference terms among kathoeys and non-transgendered Thai women. Quantitative analysis of the 3,380 tokens of first-person personal reference terms found in the online dataset reveals that both kathoeys and women make use of five types of self-reference terms, including pronouns (74% for kathoeys, 88% for women), personal names (15% for kathoeys, 7% for women), kin terms (10% for kathoeys, 4% for women), and various combinations of the above (1% for each). Differences emerge, however, in the type of pronouns used where kathoeys show a significantly greater than expected use of female pronouns such as *dichan* and *nu:* ($\chi2$=214.1, p < 0.000) while women strongly prefer gender-neutral ones (such as *raw*; $\chi2$=98.8, p < 0.000). In particular, the female pronoun *dichan* is used as the default personal reference term by kathoeys while it is only ever used for emphatic purposes by women.

Based on these findings, it is hypothesized that kathoeys engage in a form of hyperadaptation (Trudgill 1986) of perceived feminine norms, in effect over-applying the distributional pattern found among women. These findings are meaningful because they demonstrate how kathoeys draw upon the gendered linguistic resources available to them and reinterpret their meanings in the construction and performance of identity.

In the presentation, data from naturally occurring interactions will be analyzed and compared with the online dataset. Other linguistic variables apart from self-reference terms will also be discussed. Findings of the current study are expected to contribute to questions of how kathoeys negotiate and authenticate their gender identity in different situations through linguistic means and how they make use of linguistic resources that are shared among other Thai speakers for their own purposes.

Notes on Kalanguya verbal phenomena

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Kalanguya is a Philippine-type language (PL) spoken in the Southern Cordilleran Region of the Northern Philippines. It has a very complex system of verbal morphology and demonstrates several features rarely found in other PLs. The purpose of this study is to provide a preliminary description and analysis of some verbal phenomena in Kalanguya. The first part of the paper introduces the Kalanguya language and its verbal system. In the second part, we will discuss the following verbal phenomena:

I. Unlike other PLs, the recent perfective aspect in Kalanguya demonstrates voice and morphosyntactic transitivity and is able to retain its valency.

(1) a. Akapambahak   ni   libdo   (intransitive)
        RPERF.read.AF=ERG   OBL   book

    b. Akabahak   i   libdo   (transitive)
       RPERF.read.PF=ERG   ABS   book

II. Kalanguya verbs are marked for an imperative mood with a third person nominal as the doer of the command. The nearest translation of (2) is 'Have Sarah bring salt'.

(2) Omla   lah   Sarah   ni   ahin
    3IMP.bring.AF   ADV-ABS   Sarah   OBL   salt

III. Interestingly, the 3IMP form of the verb is also used as the form of the second verb in compound sentences in the perfective aspect.

(3) Limaw   hi   Sarah   di   palengke   at   omlan   ahin
    PERF.go ABS   Sarah   OBL   market   CONJ   bring.AF-OBL   salt

IV. The imperfective aspect allows pronominal procliticization of both absolutive and ergative pronouns

(4) a. Nak kamanonggal   ni   mangga   di   Cebu
       1Sg.ABS=IMPERF.AF:buy   OBL   mango   OBL   Cebu

    b. Nak kapantonggalay   mangga   di   Cebu
       1Sg.ERG=IMPERF.PF:buy ABS   mango   OBL   Cebu

V. Kalanguya has a pretentative mode that expresses an action that is intended to make people believe that it is the case although in fact it is not.

(5) Kahinlalabah   hi   Pedro   di   abong   ni hi   Maria.
    PRET.pass   ABS   Pedro   OBL   house   POSS   Maria
    'Pedro pretended to pass by Mary's house.'

Some features are only found in Kalanguya and a few can be observed in some other PLs. This ultimately calls for a thorough investigation and documentation of other lesser-known PLs to further deepen our understanding of this Austronesian language group.

Some properties of Burmese script

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Indic script, assumed to be originally designed to write Prākrit, was adopted by people in Southeast Asia such as Malay, Cham, Khmer, Mon, and Pyu to write their own languages, which are non-Indo-Aryan. Burmese borrowed the script from Mon and accommodated it to Burmese language. In this presentation, I point out some properties of Burmese script viewed from the perspective of Southeast Asian Indic scripts.

1. Retention of *virāma*

Indic scripts for writing Southeast Asian languages in general took the strategy of sound segmentation, different from those for writing Prākrit (and Sanskrit). Whereas the latter divide it into *akṣaras* (((C)C)C)V, the former divide the sequence of sounds into syllable-based units. The shift from *akṣara* segmentation to syllable-based segmentation was accomplished by the use of *virāma* which has been seldom used in the notation of Prākrit/Sanskrit. Burmese script as well as Mon and Shan scripts retain *virāma* ့ in contrast with scripts such as Khmer, Thai and Tham.

2. Reinterpretation of the length opposition of vowel signs

Burmese has 3 tones, and Burmese script tried to encode the tonal opposition from its earliest stage. Indic script originally had a 5×2 system of vowel signs: {-a/-aa}, {-i/-ii}, {-u/-uu}, {-e/-ai} and {-o/-au}, each pair showing the 'short-long' opposition. But for Southeast Asian languages {-e/-ai} and {-o/-au} are never regarded as pairs. In Old Mon script, 'short' vowel signs notated rhymes with final -ʔ. Unpaired vowel signs ({-e}, {-o}) are regarded as 'long', and their 'short' counterparts were derived by adding အ့, the notation for -ʔ consisting of the vowel letter {a} with *virāma*, to the 'long' vowel notations. Burmese script inherited the system of 'short-long' distinction from Mon script, but reinterpreted the 'short' vowel signs (both inherent and derived) as notating the creaky tone, and the 'long' vowel sign as notating the non-creaky (i.e. level and heavy) tones. Later, two tone signs ့ (*auk-ka-myit*), and း (*wit-sa-pauk*), were introduced to complement the vowel signs. The somewhat complicated system of tonal notation in Modern Burmese script stems from the historical reason described above.

3. Class change of vowel letter အ

The fact that *virāma* can be attached to the vowel letter အ in Old Mon script means that အ acquired a property of consonant letter. It is unsurprising that အ in Burmese script it can take a vowel sign like other consonant letters to notate a syllable with initial ʔ-. It did not affect the status of vowel signs other than {aa}. Instances of အ+vowel sign are already attested in the oldest Burmese inscriptions, but အ+vowel sign did not replace its vowel counterpart at once, even in Burmese cognate words. Indo-Aryan loanwords never use အ+vowel sign strategy.

Creaky and glottalized syllables in Katuic languages: Analysis of the Huffman recordings

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In the late 1970s Frank Huffman received a Ford Foundation grant to do field data collection in Thailand. He collected a remarkable amount of data, including substantial lexicons of Katuic languages spoken in Thailand and Laos (the latter from speakers in refugee camps), including high quality cassette tape recordings. On the basis of these data he managed to sketch preliminary phonological analyses of the languages before he retired from his position at Cornell to take up a career in the diplomatic service in the mid-1980s. The boxes containing the notebooks and cassettes remained undisturbed until they were passed to me (Sidwell) in 2008. Subsequently the notebooks were scanned, and they are now available online as DJVU images at http://sealang.net/archives/huffman/.

More recently, the cassette tapes have been digitized and are now being analysed with PRAAT. Represented are seven languages: Kuy, Souei, Makong, Bru, So, In/Ir, and Katang, with lists ranging variously from approximately 1300 to 1700 words each spoken twice. Our analysis so far reveals three distinct register types are represented, breathy versus modal, creaky versus modal, and non-register systems. Especially interesting are the creaky type: the marked register is realized variously from creaky phonation to full glottal stops before continuant finals. For this paper I review spectrograms and wave forms, and discuss measurements and their statistical analysis. The result is a contribution to our understanding of the typology of creak/glottalization in Austroasiatic, including some speculations about the origins of the feature.

Anaphoric expressions in Indonesian narrative discourse

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Studies about anaphoric expressions have been conducted in a number of languages (Clancy 1980, Givón 1983, Hara 2001, Cole et al 2007, Liu 2010, to name but a few). However, so far there has not been much work devoted to the same work in Indonesian. This study aims to describe the anaphoric distribution of two protagonist animate referents in a silent six-minute film entitled *The Pear Stories* (Chafe 1980). A total of 82 undergraduate and graduate Indonesian students were asked to watch the film and then retell the story by writing a narrative about the film in Indonesian. Findings indicate that when the protagonist animate referents are mentioned for the first time, a classifier *seorang* 'a person' is always used before the NP. When they are reactivated, they are mostly expressed by pronouns *dia* or *ia* 'he', zero, clitic *–nya* 'his' or 'him', NPs with demonstrative determiners *ini* 'this' or *itu* 'that', NPs with determiner *tersebut* 'aforementioned', NPs with relative clauses, and NPs with definite articles *si* or *sang* 'the' which are often used in fables or tales. Unlike in spoken Indonesian (Sukamto 2003), anaphoric demonstrative pronouns are not found in this written narrative data. This study also demonstrates that choice of the anaphoric expressions of the protagonists is determined by factors such as referential distance and referential interference. Pronouns, zero, NP + determiners, and clitic *–nya* are used when the protagonist referent is continuous. When there is an interfering referent, the protagonist referents are often referred to as NPs with relative clauses or with *si* or *sang*. This study confirms other cross-linguistic studies about anaphoric choices – that there is a correlation between topic continuity and anaphoric expressions in discourse.

On the phylogeny of Hmongic languages

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The aim of this paper is to explore the phylogeny of the Hmongic languages, which constitute one of the branches of the Hmong-Mien language family. Several scholars have proposed family tree diagrams for this group, but most of them do not show evidence to support their trees. This paper will explore the phylogeny of this language group mainly based on lexical evidence, but also try to support the result with some phonological evidence.

In the first section, I will draw a tree based on lexical evidence, using a list of lexical data of Hmong-Mien, which are selected on the basis of the CALMSEA wordlist (Matisoff 1978). The data are from several sources, including Wang (1985), Mao and Li (1997, 2005), Mao and Meng (1986), and Meng (2001). Next, I go on to examine the phylogenetic status of the lexical data in each slot of the list in terms of cognacy and borrowing possibility, mainly based on Ratliff (2010). Finally I input them into an algorithm to find the best tree(s). In the second section, I will try to determine whether or not the phonological innovations that these languages are assumed to have undergone support the calculation result obtained in the previous section.

The main points of this study include: (1) we must propose a tree with many ranks for the Hmongic languages, in contrast to the flat trees that have been proposed, and (2) "the Miao language" in the previous classification, which includes Xiong (Xiangxi), Hmu (Qiandong), and Hmong (Chuanqiandian), is not tenable as a single monophyletic group, but each of these three languages belongs to different subgroups of the family.

Demonstratives in Cebuano: Referential and non-referential functions

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This paper investigates the uses of the demonstrative forms in Cebuano (see Table 1), in particular their extension from referential to non-referential functions. Cleary-Kemp (2007) identified four basic functions of demonstratives in many Austronesian languages, one referential and the other three non-referential, namely, the discourse deictic use, the "tracking" use, and the "recognitional" use. In addition to these commonly attested non-referential functions, other grammaticized uses of Cebuano demonstratives are identified, namely, the placeholder function in repair situations and weak stance use in hesitations, the latter of which is not commonly attested or reported in many languages. This paper thus has a twofold goal. First, to highlight the division of labor between the various forms of demonstratives in the acquisition of non-referential functions; that is, each of the demonstrative forms develops a distinct non-referential use, as shown in Table 1. For example, the recognitional use is served by the Distal *kato*, while the placeholder function is taken up by the Near-Hearer *kana'*, which pairs with the dummy word *ku'an* in the organization of repair. Second, to demonstrate the weak stance function as a metaphoric extension of the placeholder function; that is, where *ku'an* is deleted and the demonstrative form *kanang* (< kana' – ng 'this-Linker') alone remains, the latter serves as a stance marker, especially in instances where the speaker is uncertain and hesitates or is obviously weakly committed to the proposition expressed in the main clause. Actual spoken data will be examined and used to illustrate the syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of these forms.

Table 1. Demonstratives in Cebuano (and their extended non-referential uses)

	nominative	oblique
Near Sp (and Hr)	*(ka)ri* *(ki)ni*	*(ni)'ini* *(ni)'ani*
Near Hr	*(ka)na'* → placeholder	*(ni)'ana'* → extended argument
	→ hesitation marker	in EICs
Far	*(ka)tu* *(kad)tu* → recognitional use	*(ni)'atu* *(ni)'adtu*

A GIS-based comparative study of lexical and phonological variation in the Northern Thai - Northeastern Thai - Central Thai dialect transition area: A preliminary result

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Thai dialect surveys conducted to date have shown that in a certain area a lexical change tends to occur at higher speed than that of a phonological one. This study was established to investigate this phenomenon. The transition area of Central Thai, Northern Thai, and Northeastern Thai located in the upper central part of Thailand covering 5 provinces was chosen as the study location. The postal questionnaire conducted in 2011 at subdistrict level containing 15 semantic units for lexical testing and 5 CH-C-S correspondence set for phonological testing was used for the analysis. Different from previous research works in which the linguistics approach was applied alone, this study integrated the GIS-based approach to help examine the dialect phenomenon with emphasis on the spatial aspect. The comparison of the language differences conducted by the two methods applied - lexical and phonological studies - was examined and quantified spatially. The preliminary finding suggested that based on the same age group the speed of lexical change tended to be faster that than that of phonological change. Resultant maps are promising. This study also revealed the role of GIS in assisting linguistics to interpret and better understand the characteristics of dialect change phenomenon, especially in the spatial dimension as well as accomplishment in integrating two different fields of knowledge - linguistics and geographic tool.

Morphology and semantics of basic verbs in the Talaud language

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The Talaud language is an Austronesian language spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. Talaud verbs are divided into basic verbs which do not take derivational affixes and derivational verbs that take a derivational affix. This presentation will focus on the paradigm of Talaud basic verbs and semantic features of each voice form.

Talaud has a rich morphology with many affixes. Five verbal affixes are categorized as "voice-indicating" affixes. They include Actor Voice prefix *ma-/na-*, Actor Voice prefix *maN-/naN-*, Actor Voice infix *-um-/-im-*, undergoer voice past prefix *ni-*, Conveyance Voice prefix *i-*, and Goal Voice suffix *anna-*.

Talaud verbs, including basic verbs, can take up to three voices: Actor Voice (AV), Goal Voice (GV) and Conveyance Voice (CV). Some verbs take only AV, but many others take all three voices. There are also verbs which take AV and CV, and those which take AV and GV. There are correlations between the semantic roles of a subject NP and the voice forms. With respect to basic verbs, the AV form is selected if a subject NP possesses a semantic role of ACTOR or EXPERIENCER. In cases where an NP denotes a PATIENT, GOAL, or LOCATION in the subject position, the GV form is selected. The CV form is used when the semantic role of the subject NP is CONVEYED THEME, THEME, or INSTRUMENT. CONVEYED THEME is defined as the entity that is moved by the ACTOR, and THEME is defined as the information that is transmitted, including titles of a song or a story. There are, however, also cases which do not follow the above rules.

In principle, the inherent meaning of a verb base requires a certain set of semantic roles, and it determines the number of voice(s) the verb takes. For example, some verbs take PATIENT NP as the subject of GV (as in example 1), but other verbs take EXPERIENCER as the subject of GV (example 2). The paradigm of a verb, that is, the number of voice(s) it takes, will also influence the selection of voice and the semantic role of its subject. In this presentation, the correlation between the paradigm of a verb and the semantic feature of each subject NP will be described in detail.

(1)   *uwi*   *ana-nann*   *i-tou*
      cassava   eat-GV   GEN-3sg
      'Cassava was eaten by her/him.'

(2)   *i-ani*   *suete*   *ni-soʔoɾ-anna*
      NOM-Annie   already   PST-cough-GV
      'Annie has already suffered from coughing.'

A look at tone in Myebon Sumtu Chin: Polarity, deracination and dual flip-flop

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This paper presents some data on the phonology of tone in the Myebon dialect of Sumtu Chin. Sumtu is a Southern Chin language spoken by some 20-30,000 people in four townships (Ann, Myebon, Minbya and Kyaukphyu) in Arakan State, western Burma. Little has been written on Sumtu, and an analysis of the tones is confounded by the fact that tone varies considerably between dialects. The data in the paper is based on the speech of a 75-year-old male speaker from Myebon, gathered in Minbya in February 2013.

Lexical tone in Sumtu monosyllables distinguishes between high and low tone (1), and lexical compounds (2) permit sequences of lexical tones, apparently without restriction.

(1) lɔm\ 'dance' vs lɔm/ 'road'   hmu\ 'kite' vs hmu/ 'feather'

(2) ∫\.mi/-sɔ/   child-DIM   'child'
    ʔɔn/-yoŋ/   curry-plant   'curry plant'

However, certain grammaticalised morphemes may be 'deracinated', in which case they take the polar-opposite tone to the tone of the morpheme which is the head of the phrase, with polarity spreading to the right. thɛwʔ/ 'fruit' is high tone, but in compounds (3) may appear high or low:

(3) pan/siʔ\-thɛwʔ/ cucumber-fruit 'cucumber'
    pay/lom\thɛwʔ/ long_bean-fruit 'long bean'
    tat/-thɛwʔ\   *tat*-fruit 'monkey-head fruit'
    thei/-thɛwʔ\   fig-fruit 'fig'

A number of functional morphemes are toneless, their tone determined entirely by the root tone in the head-morpheme of the phrase, with alternating tonal polarity spreading to the right. In (4), the root tone is high-tone pek/ 'give'

(4) hyap\   ʔ-m\.-pek/–ba\–laʔ/–hni\–ay/
    fan   3-TR-give-again-must-PRF-IRR
    'He will have to give the fan back to me.'

In sesquisyllables, a pervasively frequent pattern in the language, the minor syllable has a tone which is determined by a root tone to the right, this time with polarity spreading to the left.

(5) ʔ\.thi/ 'blood'   p\.khɛw/ 'wildcat'

Verbal subject prefixes take the form of such minor syllables. The formation of the dual seems to flip the H.L contour in a low-tone verb si\ 'go', changing the root tone of siʔ\ from low to high, though this does not seem to apply to tones where the verb root is high tone.

Locus of marking on the clause level in Southeast Asia: Areal and genealogical patterns

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Locus of marking (also known as head/dependent marking since Nichols 1986) refers to the morphosyntactic marking of syntactic relations. On the clause level, the predicate is the head and the arguments are the dependents. Four basic locus types can be distinguished: head-marking (agreement, marked on the predicate), dependent-marking (case-marking on arguments), double-marking (both case-marking and agreement), no marking (neither case-marking nor agreement). However, many languages do not behave in a uniform way: for instance, only a subset of arguments (e.g. only pronouns) may be case-marked, while others (e.g. nouns) are not. Thus, instead of determining the locus of marking on the clause level for whole languages, it should be determined for individual construction types.

Southeast Asian languages (esp. those spoken on the mainland) have been claimed to be largely isolating, which means that they are supposed to lack morphosyntactic marking of syntactic relations (neither case-marking nor agreement). However, the whole picture is much more complicated, many SEA languages have some head-marking and/or dependent-marking in at least some constructions, and in some languages case-marking and agreement are prominent. The crosslinguistic distribution of the locus of marking on the clause level in SEA languages is not random. Rather, we can find clear areal and genealogical tendencies. Some of the more general observations are the following:

1. Sino-Tibetan (Myanmar and the northern highlands of SEA): some case-marking, agreement less prominent but not completely absent
2. Austroasiatic (without Munda), Tai-Kadai, and Hmong-Mien: both case-marking and agreement largely (but not completely) absent
3. Austronesian (insular SEA and some on the mainland): more complex picture: Philippines and Taiwan: case-marking prominent, agreement also present in many languages; Western Malay Archipelago: case-marking less prominent (but present in the majority of the languages in some constructions), agreement less prominent; Eastern Malay Archipelago: case-marking not prominent, agreement prominent

The present paper aims at drawing a more fine-grained picture, focusing on both language-internal patterns and the cross-linguistic distribution, and seeks to explain the current distribution in terms of what is known about the past of Southeast Asian languages.

The role of phonetics in loanword adaptation: A case study from Chinese loanwords in Bai

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Bai, like many other languages of the ethnic minorities in China, has borrowed a fair amount of lexical items from Chinese throughout the ages. Apart from the nativized vocabulary which came in Bai much earlier, there is also a significant number of modern loanwords from Chinese that show very clear Mandarin traits, such as 災荒 'natural disaster' [tsai xuɑŋ] → [tsɛ xuɑ̃], and 氣象站 'weather station' [tɕʰi ɕiɑŋ ʈʂan] → [tɕʰi ɕiɑ̃ tsɛ̃], etc. (examples of Bai in Jianchuan dialect). This paper discusses loanword strategies from Mandarin Chinese into Jianchuan Bai.

Among the recent literature on loanword phonology, there are generally two prominent but distinct models that are in competition with each other. One claims that loanword adaptation is overwhelmingly phonological, in which the first stage of adaptation is carried out by competent bilingual speakers, who have paid primary attention to the phonology of the L2 (donor language), instead of that of the L1 (recipient language) (LaCharite and Paradis 2005). The alternative account, sometimes referred to as the Phonetic Module, for loanword adaptation is that it is the phonetic output of the donor language that is taken into the borrower's perception, and this acoustic input, which carries the surface representations of the donor language into the recipient language, is faced with a conflicting set of faithfulness and markedness constraints, as well as other factors such as influences from the orthography (Peperkamp et al. 2008; Yip 2006). Through presenting evidence from the adaptation of Mandarin words into Bai, this paper argues for the second claim that phonetics is active and important in loanword adaptations.

For example, [a] in [an] and [ɑ] in [ɑŋ] are different surface representations of the same phoneme /ɑ/ in Mandarin Chinese (Cheng 1973). However, the corresponding loanwords appear to be mapped on distinct phonemes [ɛ̃] and [ɑ̃] respectively. More interestingly, Mandarin allophones [ɑ] and [ɛ] in [iɑŋ] and [iɛn] are borrowed as [iɑ̃] and [ĩ] in Jianchuan Bai, the latter of which resulted from post-nucleus glide (i.e. [ɛ] in this case) deletion in the phonology of Bai after borrowing (which also applies to other combinations like [yɤŋ] → [ỹ]). These data show strong evidence that Mandarin /ɑ/ as [ɑ], [a] and [ɛ] are perceived overwhelmingly phonetically and borrowed as different phonemes in Jianchuan Bai.

Transitivity of resultative verbs and word order typology

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Resultative Serial Verb Constructions (RSVCs) generally consist of an action verb (V1) and a resultative verb (V2). This paper focuses on the relationship between the transitivity of resultative verbs (V2) and word order typology. Mandarin Chinese and Yoruba are VO languages where V1 is followed by V2. (1a) differentiates itself from (1b) by the position of the internal argument. Both V2s are unaccusative but V2 in (1a) is argued to be shelled by a causative vP (Sybesma, 1999; Sybesma & Shen, 2006). Comparatively, V2 in Jingpo (or Kachin, an OV language in the Tibeto-Burman family) of (2a) is affixed by a causative morpheme *ja-*. The dropping of the morpheme leads to ungrammaticality (2b). Besides Jingpo, other OV languages such as Korean also select a transitive verb as their V2 (Lee, 1996).

(1) a. Mandarin Chinese

Zhāngsān	*tuī*	*dǎo*	*le*	*Lǐsi.*
Zhangsan	push (V1)	fall (V2)	ASP	Lisi

'Zhangsan pushed Lisi down.'

b. Yoruba (Lord, 1974)

Femi	*ti*	*Akin*	*subu.*
Femi	push (V1)	Akin	fall (V2)

'Femi pushed Akin down.'

(2) Jingpo (Peng & Gu, 2006)

a. *Palong*	*hkrut*	*ja-hpro*	*kau*	*sai.*
clothes	wash(V1)	CAUS-be.white(V2)	AUX	3SG.SBJ.PRF
b. **Palong*	*hkrut*	*hpro*	*kau*	*sai.*
clothes	wash(V1)	be.white(V2)	AUX	3SG.SBJ.PRF

'He made the clothes white by washing.'

We argue for the Principles of Resultative Verbs (PRV) shown in (3). (3a) shows the order of V1 and V2 in VO/OV languages remains the same (i.e. V1 ahead of V2). (3b) rules out the intransitivity of resultative verbs in OV languages. We further argue that V2 being transitive is a remedy to keep syntactic derivation away from crashing.

(3)   Principles of Resultative Verbs (*strong version*)

a. **Iconicity Condition**: the resultative verb (V2) always follows the action verb (V1) in VO and OV languages;

b. **Transitivity Constraint**: The resultative verbs can be unaccusative or transitive in VO languages, but only transitive in OV languages.

Island-saving strategies and the suffix –ge in Tapus Minangkabau

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Tapus, a variety of Minangkabau (Malayic) spoken in the far north of West Sumatra Province, has morphological properties which set it apart from other varieties of Minangkabau. Whereas in the variety which Moussay (1998) describes (PM), for example, verbs exhibit two applicative suffixes, *-an* and *–i* (cognates of Malay/Indonesian *–kan* and *–i*), Tapus exhibits only one such suffix, *-ge.* This suffix shows many of the same semantic functions as *–kan/-i,* such as marking causatives, applicatives, iteratives, etc. Although *–ge* shows some of the same semantic functions as *–kan/–i* in basic clauses, in certain syntactic constructions involving extraction, *-ge* appears in environments where the cognate suffixes *–kan/–i* are not possible in PM. For example, *-ge* occurs on phrasal predicates on which *–kan/-i* cannot occur in PM or Standard Indonesian (e.g. *karejo toruyh-ge* vs.*kerja teruskan* 'to make s.o. work continuously' and *putuyh aso-ge* vs. *putus asakan* 'to make hopeless').

(1) siapo   yaŋ   pərnah   diyã   [putuyh   aso]-ge _____?
    who   REL   ever   2SG   broken   hope-GE
    'Who is it that you once made hopeless?'
    [the corresponding sentences in Standard Indonesian and PM are ungrammatical]

Another interesting property of *–ge* is that, with the same predicate, it can exhibit a different function depending on the syntactic context.

Tapus does not permit extraction out of adjuncts. Two strategies exist for saving apparent extraction from an adjunct island. The first involves inserting a resumptive pronoun in the subject gap of the island and the second involves attaching the applicative suffix *–ge* to the matrix predicate (2). Notice that, unlike the example in (1), in (2) *–ge* does not function as a causative marker; rather, it exhibits a separate function which results in the saving of the adjunct island.

(2) Siapoᵢ yaŋ diyã putuyh aso-**ge** [deʔ __ monokoʔ adiªʔ   diyã]?
    who   REL 2SG broken hope-GE because ACT.hit younger.sibling 2SG
    'Whoᵢ is it that you became desperate [because _____ᵢ hit your younger sibling]?'

We propose that the island in (2) is saved via raising. Raising is possible in (2) because the suffix *–ge* plays the syntactic role of licensing the presence of an additional argument, in this case a clausal object. The question operator is then extracted from the (derived) object clause (by "Subject to Object Raising"), an extraction made possible by the "promotion" of the adjunct clause to argument status. Thus, while *-ge* can have a variety of semantic functions, it exhibits a consistent syntactic function of licensing an argument not otherwise licensed by the predicate. The precise semantic function of the suffix (e.g. as a causative, applicative, etc.) is predictable based on the syntactic context in which it occurs (along the lines proposed in Cole and Son (2004)).

On the grammaticalization of stative verbs into continuative markers: The case of Malay asyik 'desire' and Cantonese gwaazyu 'keep thinking about'

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Previous studies have shown that stative verbs can be grammaticalized into imperfective aspect markers (De Smet & Cuyckens 2005; Endo 2006; Endo & Tao 2009). In the present study, we examine the grammaticalization of two stative verbs expressing desire, longing or yearning that develop into continuative markers. One is the verb asyik 'desire' in Malay, and the other is the verb gwaazyu 'keep thinking about' in Cantonese. Diachronic data for our analysis come from several online corpora including The Malay Concordance Project and Early Cantonese Colloquial Texts: A Database, while synchronic data are obtained from the contemporary online source Google.

Our findings reveal that Malay asyik has been used both as a noun meaning 'desire' and as a stative adjective meaning 'to be infatuated' since the 14th century, with stative verbal usage in the sense of 'being deeply engrossed' attested from the mid-16th century, followed by continuative aspect usage from the mid-19th century onward, mainly with the meaning 'being engrossed in doing something and continuing to engage in this activity, usually to the exclusion of other activities'. In Contemporary Malay, this often gives rise to a negative attitudinal reading. Iterative uses of asyik yield a habitual reading, often with negative attitudinal reading as well. Our analysis points to the following two grammaticalization pathways: (i) lexical noun asyik > noun modifier asyik; (ii) stative adjective asyik > stative verb asyik > continuative marker asyik > habitual marker asyik.

Our diachronic analysis of Cantonese gwaazyu reveals that this stative verb was first attested in 1856 and was used to express a yearning towards a matter or an object, conveying the idea 'to keep on thinking about something'. Later, the verb was extended to express one's yearning towards a person that one loves, apparently an extension from a situation where one keeps on thinking about another person excessively. The use of gwaazyu was then extended to the temporal domain in the early 20th century, as a continuative aspect marker with a negative nuance in the sense of 'doing only one particular thing and disregarding all else'. Finally, it was further grammaticalized in the mid-20th century into a habitual aspect marker, a function that survives to this day. Interestingly, as aspect marker, gwaazyu is always associated with a negative attitudinal interpretation, and is often accompanied by adverbials such as zinghai 'only' or sengjat 'everyday, all the time, always'.

In sum, findings from this study show how stative verbs such as Malay asyik and Cantonese gwaazyu can extend their affective meaning and signal continuative and habitual aspects, often with negative emotional colorings which are incompatible with the original semantics of these psych verbs. By outlining their grammaticalization pathways, we show how temporal notions involving continuity can be extended from the psychological domain into the temporal one. We also show how internal mental states are further grammaticalized to express a speaker's attitudinal stance.

A cross linguistic study of "Increment-Supplement" notions by semantic map approach

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Researches on adverbs are mostly restricted to a single language, with few of them are based on cross-linguistic comparison. The following research, by taking the semantic map approach, tries to illustrate the relations among various notions of adverbs across different languages.

We choose *Increment* and *Supplement*, the two important conceptual domains of expressing changes, as the primary research objects. Statistics demonstrate that the two notions are often illustrated by one multifunctional gram across languages, like "mai" in Hakka dialect, "chung" and "tim" in Cantonese, and "bai[2]" in Ching-p'o language etc. The two notions and other related concepts always attaching to one gram among different languages is by no means an accident, actually, it reflects the universal concept spaces in human recognition, which enlightens us about the cross-linguistic comparison approach.

By the meaning-driven approach (Zwarts 2008), the paper analyzes the notions of *Increment*, *Supplement*, and eight other related notions (*Prolongation*, *Repetition*, *Sequence*, *Inverted Sequence*, *Greater Degree*, *Continuation*, *Decrement*, *Unexpectation*), followed by presenting the distinctive feature matrix of these notions. Based on these, a data-driven cross-linguistic comparison is made by investigating 46 languages, which is comprised of 29 Sino-Tibetan languages, 9 Indo-European languages, 3 Altaic languages, 2 Austro-Asiatic languages, as well as Japanese, Korean, and Saisiyat. In the light of the Semantic Map Connectivity Hypothesis which entails that the functions be arranged in such a way that all multifunctional grams occupy a contiguous area on the semantic map (Haspelmath, 2000), a conceptual space based on the "Increment-Supplement" notions could be drawn as:
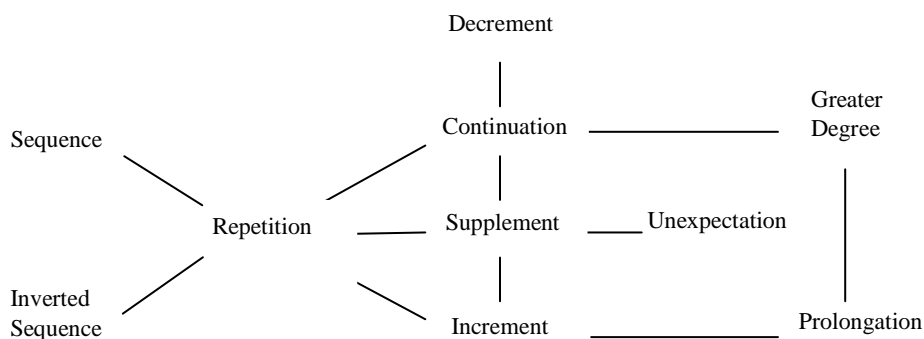

Fig1: Conceptual Space of "Increment-Supplement" and related notions

Negation in Bashiic languages

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The Bashiic group of languages occupies a unique position in the Philippine genetic subunit (Ross, 2004). This position offers linguists a plethora of problems ranging from issues in genetic relationship, macrohistory, and language contact and so on and so forth. One of the problems that these languages exhibit is their apparent disregard of the tendencies Austronesian (Klamer, Reesink, & van Staden, 2008) and Philippine (Zubiri, 2011) languages have in expressing the phenomenon of negation. Ivatan, as a representative of the Bashiic group of languages, is one of the few Philippine languages that reflect a post-verbal negation as seen below:

(1) Ma-rahem   ava   u   kawut
     ADJF-deep   NEG   DET   hole
     'The hole is not deep/The hole is shallow.'

This mode of expression can be attributed to retention, contact, or a previous innovation. This paper revisits how negation is expressed in Bashiic languages, and based on synchronic and diachronic evidence, determines which of the mentioned explanations is the most probable.

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