

Keynote Talks

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Two birds with one stone: the aerodynamic voicing constraint and the languages of Borneo

A hallmark of any good scientific theory is its ability to derive two or more superficially unconnected phenomena from a single unifying principle.

A classic example is Newton's gravitation theory, in which Kepler's laws of motion for the planets orbiting the sun and Galileo's laws of motion for objects falling on the earth ---- both of which had previously been recognized as valid but unconnected statements about physical processes ---- were shown to reflect the same fundamental force (gravity). This talk draws attention to the identity of a basic phonological process that has taken divergent paths in the history of particular languages or language groups. In particular, it is argued that the historical development of true voiced aspirates [bph], [dth], [gkh] in the Kelabit-Lun Dayeh languages of Borneo, and the replacement of word-final voiced stops by the homorganic nasals in a number of languages in Borneo are outcomes of the same phonetic limitation, namely the aerodynamic voicing constraint (AVC).

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Establishing Genetic Relationship between Language Families in Southeast Asia on a More Solid Linguistic Basis

I shall review various hypotheses concerning the genetic relationships between the language families in Southeast Asia. These include Sino-Tibetan, Sino-Tai, Austro-Tai, Austric, Sino-Austronesian, and Sino-Miao-Yao. Which ones are reliable? How can we establish genetic relationship on a solid linguistic basis?

Vocabulary gets borrowed easily; for example, a whole set of numerals can be borrowed from one language to another, such as the Japanese loans from Chinese. However, it is much more difficult to borrow a whole set of personal pronouns, which manifest a grammatical paradigm. We may be able to identify very few true cognates between distantly related language families, as in the case of Austronesian and Austroasiatic. Vestiges of morphological resemblance can provide a much better clue for a linguistic genetic relationship (Sapir 1921).

The genetic relationship between Chinese and Tibeto-Burman languages is very well established. The Austric hypothesis is fairly well established, but it can still be further strengthened. There is a good chance for Austro-Tai or Austro-Kra-Dai. There is not much chance for Sino-Tai or Sino-Austronesian, and perhaps even less chance for Sino-Miao-Yao.

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Internal and external history of the Central branch of Tibeto-Burman/Trans-Himalayan

After over a century of research, the subclassification of the Trans-Himalayan or Sino-Tibetan family remains uncertain and controversial, from the highest level (is there a Tibeto-Burman clade?) to the lowest (is there a subgroup which includes Ao and Angami?). This is

partly a result of external historical events, as many languages and branches have been subject to intense contact of one kind or another, resulting in pervasive creolization (DeLancey 2014a).

I have recently presented evidence that the Trans-Himalayan languages spoken from western Yunnan across northern Myanmar and Northeast India constitute a distinct Central branch of the family (DeLancey 2015). The conservative Central languages – Jinghpaw, Northern Naga, and South Central or Kuki-Chin – share a typologically unusual verbal construction which is reconstructable as a defining Central innovation (DeLancey 2014b, 2015).

This is not a new suggestion, but is difficult to demonstrate due to the chaotic patterns of correspondence among the various languages, and the dramatic typological innovation of the languages of the Naga Belt – a region of the Indo-Myanmar borderland, about 350 km north to south, bordered by conservative Northern Naga languages to the north and the conservative Northwestern (“Old Kuki”) and Northeastern (“Northern Chin”) Kuki-Chin languages. The Naga Belt languages have never been shown to form a clade, but all share the transparent, shallowly-grammaticalized morphological profile of Bodo-Garo to the west and Burmese to the east, in sharp contrast to their morphologically complex relatives to the north and south.

In the first part of this talk I will review the kinds of evidence which support the unity of the Central branch, and the ways in which the distribution of corresponding forms across the languages and groups makes it difficult to construct a tree for the internal genetic structure of the branch. In the second part I will suggest that these languages are better seen as “linkage”, in the sense of Ross 1988 and François 2014. Finally I will argue that while the patterns of correspondences which link the Central languages appear chaotic and inexplicable in purely linguistic terms, they make sense in terms of the external history of the languages, particularly the rise and fall of the Pyu and Chin city-states in Burma during the 1st and early 2nd millennium CE.

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Reconstructing Disyllabic Kra-Dai

I have earlier presented a reconstruction of Proto-Kra (Ostapirat 2000), which contains several sesquisyllabic or iambic etyma. Some modern Kra languages, such as Buyang and Laha, have retained direct evidence of such iambic forms. It has become clear, however, that we also need to reconstruct complex forms side by side monosyllabic forms in all major Kra-Dai branches (Proto-Hlai, Proto-Kam-Sui and Proto-Tai). In my proposed Proto-Hlai system (Ostapirat 2004), I have further reconstructed the distinct vowels, *i, *u, *a, in the first syllable of the complex forms.

Evidence of these first-syllable vowels can be found in Tai and Kam-Sui as well (Ostapirat 2005, 2013a, 2013b). In a number of cases, we thus in fact have to reconstruct the fully disyllabic Kra-Dai forms, not simply sesquisyllabic forms of the Mon-Khmer type. In this talk, I will elaborate and put together various evidence in reconstructing Proto-Kra-Dai disyllabic forms.

A Description of the Nominal Phrases of Southern Alta

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Southern Alta belongs to the Meso-Cordilleran group of languages and is spoken by approximately 1000 people. They live in the mountain ranges of Sierra Madre connecting the provinces of Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and Quezon. Despite their remote habitat, they are one of the less documented and endangered Philippine Negrito languages. Aside from the phonological, lexical, and morphological study of Reid (1991), there has been no published study on the other aspects of the language. This paper addresses this gap by describing the structure of nominal phrases of Southern Alta. The corpus consists of oral and written texts from collected elicitations and oral tradition, and some biblical commentaries published in the 70s. The paper describes the nominal markers, and the structure of noun phrases in of Southern Alta. It also investigates the different ways of pluralizing nouns which are: vowel lengthening, affixation, reduplication, and the addition of the plural marker *pala* before the noun.

Early Sino-Vietnamese Lexical Data and the Relative Chronology of Chinese Tonogenesis

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Current understanding of the chronology of Chinese tonogenesis both clarifies and is supported by data in Vietnamese. Haudricourt's original hypothesis (1954b) of Vietnamese tonogenesis after the loss of final *-h and *-ʔ has been well supported, and that hypothesis was also instrumental in understanding Chinese tonogenesis (cf. Haudricourt 1954b). Relative timing of the development of tones after the loss of final *-s (and *-h) and *-ʔ from the period of Late Old Chinese (LOC) to Middle Chinese (MC) has become clearer. Pulleyblank (1962) provided evidence showing OC *-s was lost first, while *-ʔ was lost later. These developments in Chinese are evident in Early Sino-Vietnamese (ESV) vocabulary (i.e. Chinese loanwords borrowed colloquially from LOC and Early Middle Chinese (EMC) in the first millennium CE prior to the formation of formal Sino-Vietnamese (SV), which correspond to pronunciations of MC proper).

These hypotheses and additional lexical data clarify the chronology of the borrowing of ESV words based on the tone categories of Chinese loanword doublets in Vietnamese, namely, doublets in which (a) the *qusheng* (Category C) and *shangsheng* (Category B) tone categories (the correlates of the Vietnamese *sắc/nặng* and *hỏi/ngã* tones respectively) are seemingly reversed between ESV and SV (cf. Mei 1970) and (b) the *pingsheng* (Category A) and *qusheng* (Category C) tone categories (the Vietnamese *ngang/huyền* and *sắc/nặng* tones respectively) are reversed (cf. Alves 2016). The stages are further clarified by instances of triplets (e.g. *lãn* 'to confuse' (OC *[r]ʰo[n]-s), *loàn* 'rebel' (EMC era), *loạn* 'confusion' (MC era) from Chinese 亂 *luàn* 'confusion/upheaval'). Thus, it is possible to determine approximately when ESV words were borrowed, thereby providing a diagnostic tool for assessing Sino-Vietnamese ethnolinguistic history.

ESV vs SV Categories	Examples	Chronological Implications
shangsheng B vs qusheng C	ESV muộn 'late' SV vãn (Ch 晚 wǎn)	Retention of *-s/h through the Han Dynasty c. 200s BCE to 200s CE
pingsheng A vs qusheng C	ESV cưa 'a saw' SV cù (Ch. 鋸 jù)	Loss of final *-s/h from the Jin to Tang Dynasties c. 300s CE to 600s CE
qusheng C vs shangsheng B	ESV kéo 'scissors' SV giảo (Chinese jiǎo)	Retention of *-ʔ from the Han to Tang Dynasties c. 200s BCE to c. 600s CE

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A Comparative study of the “emic” Iu Mien orthography (1956) and the “etic” version (1980): Toward a language lesson for Thai people to learn Iu Mien

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This study compares two writing systems that utilise Thai graphemes to express Iu Mien. Recently as cases of intermarriage between Iu Mien and Thai increase, a Thai spouses' desire for learning Iu Mien seems to be growing in some parts of northern Thailand. For such a purpose, however, no pedagogical material including a functional orthography has been developed except for Chob Khacha-anant's Conversation Lessons in Yao [Iu Mien] published in 1980 for Thai officials working for social welfare in the highlands. Earlier, some Iu Mien had started using the 1956 version of Thai-based Iu Mien orthography (Callaway and Callaway 1976, Smalley 1994) devised for triple purposes: phonetic accuracy, phonological functionality (Purnell 1987, 2002), and transfer value for them to learn Thai (Arisawa 2011). Thus, the 1956 version is an “emic” system (Sgall 1987) whereas the 1980 version, “etic”.

Results of the comparison show the former's accuracy in representing all phonemes, eight tones, the functionality especially the treatment of tone sandhi, and the high transfer value. They also suggest its possible amendments/additional diacritics by the latter in expressing /e/ as in /mei/ '2nd person, sg. pronoun' written mei in Iu Mien instead of the deviated [ə] influenced by Thai spelling, e.g., mei /nəj/ 'butter', and the predictable preglottalised items, i.e., [ʔm], [ʔn], [ʔl], [ʔw] and [ʔj]. The reason for the departure from /e/ to [ə] and the phonetically lost items of preglottalisation despite their predictability is due to the etic reading of the emic version of 1956 by the young Iu Mien who have lost accuracy in the original phonology. The purpose of the suggested amendments is to provide didactic cues for both Thai and the young generation Iu Mien who have lost some phonemes to (re-)learn literacy in the emic Iu Mien orthography securing the phonetic precision.

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Maintaining objectivity in radio broadcast news interviews in Zamboangueño Chabacano

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Maintaining objectivity in the news interview is the difficult balance between simultaneously appearing to be neutral and adversarial (Clayman & Heritage, cited in Hoff, 2013). This study proposes to examine the question of footing and neutrality observed by selected professional broadcast journalists in Zamboanga City, Philippines. Using audio recordings of Radio Mindanao Network covering the first few days of the siege that took place in the heart of the city in 2013, this study will highlight the interviewing styles employed by local journalists during the most extraordinary time in the city, the first of its kind in the whole Philippines where a month-long siege staged by the Moro National Liberation Front against military forces takes place in an urban center of commerce. It will also feature the use of Zamboangueño Chabacano, a variety of Philippine Spanish-based Creole spoken in and around the Zamboanga peninsula in the western part of Mindanao. The study will use Clayman's (1992) framework on footing and neutrality in the news-interview discourse. The analysis will focus specifically on how interviewers (IRs) shift footings to achieve neutrality and manifestations of an IR's non-neutrality either toward the issue or to the interviewee. Data analyses may reveal footing shifts from 'author' to 'animator' and quoting of controversial statements from third parties. IRs may also manifest non-neutrality to issues by direct remarks and interruptions.

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An Investigation of Daily Language Use within the Chinese Community in Malaysia

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Different ethnic groups speak different languages as a way of maintaining their culture and identity. When languages are lost, this symbolises a loss for humanity as well. By the end of the 21st Century, it is estimated that approximately 90% of the world's languages will be endangered or will have disappeared (UNESCO, 2003). Many children from smaller communities are increasingly speaking languages of wider communication and less of their community languages. This situation is alarming and thus, language maintenance efforts are needed to protect such languages from dying.

In Malaysia, the Chinese community is shifting from their community languages to Mandarin Chinese (Ting, 2006; Wang, 2016) due to influences of globalisation and the economic value Mandarin Chinese offers. As a result, there is a decline of Chinese community language use in many Chinese families. This situation leads to questioning the role played by Chinese community languages in daily life in comparison to that of Mandarin Chinese.

In search of answers, our study employs Haugen's (1972) notion of language ecology to investigate how the Chinese community uses Chinese community languages, together with Mandarin Chinese in their daily life in Penang, a city that has a long history of Chinese settlement. The findings, based on interview transcripts, demonstrate that Chinese community languages are used in daily activities involving various domains whereas Mandarin Chinese is used as a language for goal-achievement. Based on these findings, our study provides a barometer for the importance of both Chinese community languages and Mandarin Chinese in the Malaysian-Chinese community.

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Reflexives in Adult and Child Tagalog

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We explore the relative effect of voice, case, and word order cues in the interpretation of Tagalog sentences involving reflexives by Tagalog speaking adults and children. We focus on whether children can correctly identify acceptable sentences with reflexives, and whether they exhibit a preference for using one cue over another. We predict that while Tagalog adults are strongly dependent on voice and case cues, children may rely more on word order cues, which may lead them to incorrectly accept ungrammatical sentences with reflexives.

We administered a sentence completion task and a felicity judgement task (adults and children), testing the 8 patterns in (1). These patterns cross voice (PV/AV), word order (lexical agent-reflexive and reflexive-lexical agent) and case marking (pivot/non-pivot).

(1)

- (a) AV *aŋ*-Agent_i *naŋ*-Reflexive_i
 Nag-kamot *aŋ* lalaki *naŋ* sarili niya.
 AV-scratch PIV boy NPIV self 3SG.NPIV
 ‘The boy scratched himself.’
- (b) AV *naŋ*-Reflexive_i *aŋ*-Agent_i
- (c) *AV *naŋ*-Agent_i *aŋ*-Reflexive_i
- (d) *AV *aŋ*-Reflexive_i *naŋ*-Agent_i
- (e) PV *naŋ*-Agent_i *aŋ*-Reflexive_i
 K<in>amot *naŋ* lalaki *aŋ* sarili niya.
 <PV>scratch NPIV boy PIV self 3SG.NPIV
 ‘The boy scratched himself.’
- (f) PV *aŋ*-Reflexive_i *naŋ*-Agent_i
- (g) *PV *naŋ*-Reflexive_i *aŋ*-Agent_i
- (h) *PV *aŋ*-Agent_i *naŋ*-Reflexive_i

The results revealed that: (i) adults rarely produce ungrammatical patterns, but children do commit some case marking errors; and, (ii) while the Tagalog adults strongly prefer a PV pattern with lexical-agent before reflexive, the children showed a preference to word order only in the sentence completion task. We interpret this to mean that children have a weak isomorphic preference: i.e., a preference to patterns in which the surface word order matches the underlying structural properties of a sentence.

GLOSS: 3SG = third person singular, AV = agent voice, NPIV = non-pivot, PIV = pivot, PV = patient voice

A Regional Variation of Basic Kinship Terms of Tai Dam and Other Tai Languages

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This research aimed 1) to study the variation of Tai Dam basic kinship terminologies in Thailand, Lao, and Vietnam and 2) to compare basic kinship terminologies and system between Tai Dam and other Tai languages as well as between Tai Dam and standard languages in Thailand, Lao, and Vietnam. Tai Dam kinship terms were collected from native informants in Thailand, Lao, and Vietnam. Other Tai kinship terms, including northern Tai languages (northern Zhuang and Bouyei) and south-western Tai languages (Tai Daeng, Tai Lue, Tai Yuan, Tai Kalom, and Tai Yai), were gathered from secondary sources and native informants in Thailand, Lao, Myanmar, and China. All data were analysed using the componential analysis approach.

The results of the study found that the numbers of basic kinship terms of Tai Dam in three countries and other Tai languages were different, whereas the basic kinship systems of all languages were similar. They contained five dimensions of contrast: generation, lineality, age, gender, and parental side. The standard languages in Thailand, Lao, and Vietnam have not influenced Tai Dam kinship terms.

The basic kinship terms of Tai languages shared the following common features: 1) they made no distinction in terms of lineality, age, gender, and parental side for the third generation above ego (G+3) and the second and the third generation below ego (G-2, G-3); 2) most of them were only differentiated by lineality for the first generation below ego (G-1); 3) the basic kinship terms for the first, second and third generation below ego (G-1, G-2, G-3) were similar in all Tai languages. They were Luke / Lu, Laan, Leen, respectively; 4) for ego generation, most of Tai kinship terms were differentiated by gender in the older relatives, whereas the younger speakers made no distinction in gender; 5) four dimensions of contrast (lineality, age, gender, and parental side) were found in the first generation above ego (G+1); and 6) for the second generation above ego (G+2), most Tai kinship terms made a distinction in gender and parental side.

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Productivity of Minor Syllables and Reduction in Burmese

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Burmese is often described as a sesquisyllabic language because of its minor syllables, which are toneless, non-final, and restricted to the form /Cə/, such as in /t^hə.mì:N/ “rice.” In several respects, however, they don’t fit the prototype for a sesquisyllabic language. Words frequently contain multiple adjacent minor syllables (/t^hə.mə+je:/ “rice water”, and monomorphemic words such as /jə.tə.na:/ “treasure”), and major syllables can be reduced to minor ones by several processes, including compounding as above. Previous accounts have concluded that whether and how compounds reduce must be lexically specified, but I make the claim that reduction can be triggered by productive processes and is partially predictable, as lexical specification fails to account for data like the following:

- (1) wò:N.kwè:+ə.mə → wò:ŋ.kwè: .ə.mə cousin+older.sister
(2) wò:N.kwè:+ji:.mə → wò:ŋ.wə ji:.mə cousin+younger.sister

The same word, /wò:N.kwè:/ “cousin”, remains unreduced when compounded with “older sister,” but its second syllable reduces to a minor syllable when compounded with “younger sister.”

This can be accounted for as the influence of phonological structure and metrical constraints. I depart from previous analyses in positing a syllable structure where high and level tone syllables are bimoraic, creaky and checked tone are monomoraic, and minor syllables are nonmoraic, which I justify with a consideration of vocalic material and duration in native speaker pronunciations. Along with metrical structure, morphological structure and part of speech are also found to reliably influence reduction.

Other patterns of reduction and their interaction with syllable structure are also examined, including a common reduction where minor syllables collapse into onset clusters for the following major syllable. All of this together suggests that Burmese is in the process of shifting away from a sesquisyllabic system and, possibly, toward an iambic system.

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The Tone Atlas, Step2: Perceptual Salience of Thai, Cantonese, Beijing and Singaporean Mandarin Tones for Tone and Non-Tone Language Listeners

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This project involves collecting data on the relative perceptual salience of South-East and East Asia lexical tones. From these data a Tone Atlas will be constructed that will assist in the design of experimental studies in first and second language speech perception and language development, the interpretation of cross-language and second language training studies, and the construction of comprehensive theories of tone perception development. Five groups of listeners are tested – four groups of tone language listeners (Thai, Cantonese, Beijing Mandarin and Singaporean Mandarin) and one group of non-tone language listeners (English). Each of these groups is tested for their ability to discriminate pairs of tones in four stimulus sets – Mainland Mandarin (4 tones, 6 tone pairs), Singaporean Mandarin (4 tones, 6 tone pairs), Thai (5 tones, 10 tone pairs), and Cantonese (6 tones, 15 tone pairs), a total of 37 tone pairs.

Tones are presented on Consonant-Vowel syllables and two discrimination tasks are given – AX ('Are the two tones same or different?') and AXB ('Is the middle tone more similar to the 1st or 3rd tone?'). Preliminary results for the AX task with Thai participants show that Singaporean Mandarin tone contrasts are the most discriminable and Cantonese the least discriminable. Over languages, contrast pairs involving rising vs falling contours are the most discriminable, and contrast pairs with relatively static contours are the least discriminable. In this paper these results are compared with the results for other tone language listener groups, and with the English language listener group, inexperienced in lexical tone perception. Together the results will contribute to the 4 x 5 (language sets and listener groups) matrix of the relative salience of tone distinctions that will comprise a South-East and East Asian Tone Atlas.

On the Mid Vowels of Maga Rukai

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Rukai is the Austronesian language spoken by the indigenous people residing in the southern part of Taiwan. The focus in this paper is the Maga dialect of Rukai. Although Maga has been established as one of the Rukai dialects, there are some disparities in the literature concerning the vocal system in Maga. Li (1975a-b, 1977) proposes that the mid vowels /e, o, i/ in Maga Rukai are phonemic in the underlying representation. Hsin (2003), on the other hand, suggests that the mid vowels /e, o, i/ are derived through vowel coalescence processes, i.e. Vowel Coalescence (V.C.) and Nucleus Incorporation (N.I.), and should be surface variants of high vowels. The study thus set out to test if Hsin's (2003) proposal is feasible under the framework of Optimality Theory (OT) and to investigate the vocalic system in the Rukai language from a new perspective. According to Li (1977), Maga underlying mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are derived historically from three sources in Proto Rukai: diphthongs, vowel sequences and high vowel due to the loss of the low vowel. Under the framework of OT, the three types of mid vowel derivation can be generalized in one OT constraint ranking: NODIPHONG, ONSET, *ABRUPT >> MAX-IO >> Ft-Form, Parse-Syllable >> NOCODA, *COMPLEX, UNIFORMITY, NOHIATUS. The ranking can correctly predict the occurrence of mid vowels /e/ and /o/ in Maga Rukai. Therefore, the present study agrees with Hsin's (2003) proposal that the two mid vowels in Maga are predictable. Historically, all Rukai dialects developed from proto Rukai, which has only four reconstructed vowels /*i, *u, *a, *ə/. Therefore, the vocalic system of Maga should be consistent with other Rukai dialects, including only four vowels /i, u, a, ə/.

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On the Status of *sua* in Kanakanavu

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The present paper offers empirical evidence in exploring the status of adnominal marker *sua* in Kanakanavu, a critically endangered Formosan language spoken in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. It is argued that counter to descriptions and/or glossing conventions observed in recent literature on the language (c.f. Tsuchida 2003, Wu 2006, Zeitoun and Teng 2016), the behavior of *sua* as observed in naturally occurring speech does not indicate a case-marking function; instead, the prototypical function served by *sua* is to mark a nominal expression as denoting a referent whose identification relies on prior discourse, context-driven inference, or knowledge shared between the interlocutors.

As a grammatically optional adnominal marker, *sua* does not show a categorical distribution vis-à-vis the semantic roles of the nominal expressions it occurs with (including the A, S, or P argument in actor voice construction, and the P (but never the A) argument in undergoer voice construction). The conditions for its occurrence are instead tied to the information status of nominal expressions in discourse. On the one hand, *sua* is found to serve an anaphoric function in marking a shift of discourse topic onto referents that have already been introduced into the discourse but is not within the interlocutors' current focus of attention. On the other hand, *sua* also serves to mark first-mention referents that are new to the discourse. Nevertheless, these referents are accessible to the hearer through context-driven inferences or mutually shared knowledge.

Crosslinguistic evidence has shown that definiteness markers commonly develop from adnominal anaphoric demonstratives (Greenberg 1978, De Mulder and Carlier 2011). The formal resemblance of *sua* to the distal demonstrative *isua* 'that', and the observation that the latter is inherently anaphoric in discourse, therefore point to the hypothesis that *sua* is an emerging definiteness-marking device currently undergoing grammaticalization to become a full-fledged definite article.

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About *ni* in Old Khmer

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The Old Khmer syntax gave rise to no more than a very few works (S. Pou, Ph. Jenner, J. Jacob, Ch. Sak Humphry). The *Old Khmer Grammar* by Philipp Jenner and Paul Sidwell is the first one to give an overall view of the Old Khmer grammar. One of the main difficulties stems from the use of a series of grammatical markers (usually referred to as "particles"), such as *ta*, *man*, *gi*, *nu*, *pi*, *ni* etc. opening a wide range of various values (for a detailed inventory, Jenner & Sidwell, 2010). This is confirmed by the notable divergences in the characterizations, and even in the translations of those words. Their description usually comes down to a structured listing of local uses, and in the adopted translations their semantic value dissolves in the context.

Phillip Jenner puts forward a systematic analysis of the uses of *ni* in Preangkorian and Angkorian Khmer. He makes out ten sets of data. He characterizes *ni* as a verb and gives the following characterization of *ni* :

1. (intr.) to hold sway, exercise power.
 - (a) to be in authority, in office, in service
 - (1) to serve, function
2. (tr.) to sway, affect, touch; to concern;
 - (a) [to concern →] concerning, regarding
 - (b) to reach, go (all the way) to; to meet, encounter
 - (c) [to go (forward) to be directed, addressed to (the ears or care of), be destined for (the use of), assigned responsibility for;
 - (1) [directed toward →] (with a view) to; (in order) to.
 - (2) [to go forward, go on →] on; further more.

In the formulation given of those various values, the role of the context is not clearly distinguished from that of *ni* proper.

This communication, in continuation with Jenner's work, aims at giving *ni* a characterization accounting both for its semantic identity and for its variation according to the context, such as described by Jenner.

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Tone Mapping in Thai: The Khmer Sesquisyllabic Loans

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The present paper examines how Old (and perhaps Middle) Khmer sesquisyllables were nativized during an earlier stage of Central Thai. One group of these sesquisyllables ($*s^1b^2a:\dot{a}i$, $*t^1p^2i:r$ > Thai *sàbaai* ‘to be well’, *thábiian* ‘list, register’) has a tone pattern in the main syllable (in these cases a mid tone) that matches the general pattern of Thai words in which the initial consonant in the syllable determined the tone of the vowel in that syllable. A different pattern of tone assignment developed, however, in another group of Khmer sesquisyllables whenever the first consonant of the old presyllable was an obstruent (C1) and the first consonant of the main syllable was a sonorant (C2), as exemplified in ($*t^1l^2ok$ > *tàlòk* ‘funny’ (where the main syllable has a low tone), and $*s^1n^2a:m$ > *sàṅm* ‘field’ and $*t^1n^2al$ > *thàṅn* ‘road, avenue’ (where the main syllables have a low rising tone). Thus, in this group of borrowings, the initial consonant of the old presyllable determined the tone in the main syllable.

Using earlier research as a point of departure (Gedney 1947:84-5; Yip 1982:91-2), the present paper considers how contact between Khmer speakers and speakers of an older stage of Central Thai might have resulted in different tonal assignments in these loan borrowings. Given the differing length and phonetics of the transition vocoids (schwa-like vowels) in the two types of Khmer onsets, various aspects of which have been described by Huffman (1986), Kirby (2014), and (Butler 2015), we conclude that Thai speakers could indeed have perceived Khmer onsets as clusters when the initial obstruent was followed by a sonorant. This caused differences in the initial mapping of tone onto these loan borrowings before they came into use by the wider population of Central Thai speakers.

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Philippine-type focus systems of five Manobo languages

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Scholars are still debating whether the argument realization of the "Philippine-type focus system" is ergative, split-ergative/accusative or symmetrical but not ergative (Himmelmann 2005). Major languages of the Philippines and of Taiwan are often the source for examples in these discussions, but minor languages (Reid 1971) are seldom considered. In this study we compare the argument realization systems of five of the fifteen Manobo languages spoken in the South Philippines, with the one of Tagalog.

We found that while Tagalog has nine types (functions or roles) of arguments which can be pointed to as "topics" by verbal affixation, the lower number often found in Manobo grammars may be more a question of different grammatical frameworks used by their authors than the consequence of a reduced set of verbal affixes. We also found that while Paiwan or Tagalog show three differentiated case markers for non-personal core arguments, several of the Manobo language descriptions show four sets of case markers or pronouns.

But the specific functions even of the three most used sets do not necessarily match those of the Paiwan or Tagalog ones, which differ from each other anyway as well in their distribution (Ross 2002:22); furthermore, some of the Manobo languages use one unique marker for at least 2 or even 3 of the four types, leading to more potential ambiguities, which is we believe the reason why the usage of demonstratives to complement the "determiner" role of the markers seems much more frequent in Manobo texts than in Tagalog.

While this study is not likely to bring any breakthrough in the ergativity debate, it may contribute, by analysing lists of cognate particles, affixes and pronouns, to summarize data for the diachronic studies to decide whether Proto-Austronesian was already of the Philippine-type, or was accusative.

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Negative Polarity Items in Santali

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The paper discusses the licensing conditions of Negative Polarity Items (NPI) in Santali. The sentential negation *baŋ/ba* occurs as a free morpheme preceding the verb as in the data below. In a tree structure, the NegP (sentential negation) occurs below Tense Phrase. The licensing conditions of NPIs are analysed, keeping in view the distribution of NPIs. The distribution is as follows. An NPI occurs in a subject position as well as in an object position as in (1). A negative licenses Multiple NPIs as in (2). There are three types of NPIs: wh-element as in (1b), quantifier as in (1a) or an idiomatic expression (3). The NPI is mostly attached with a clitic *ho* indicating ‘inclusiveness’. The complex clauses show that the long distance licensing of NPIs is not possible as in (4). An NPI in a yes-no question is not suffixed with *ho* ‘even’, but it is suffixed with a plural marker *ko* as in (5). In a tree structure, the negative *c*-commands the NPI immediately after the NPIs base-generate vP-internally. In the process of licensing, the negation and the NPI undergo feature interaction, where the negation is a goal and the NPI is a probe. The NPI has uninterpretable features such as active alternative scale with a threshold. In the feature checking, only the alternatives lesser than the threshold are quantified.

- 1a. *kaŋi’ ho* *banu-a*
little even.NPI NEG.be-FIN
 ‘There is nothing.’
- 1b. *baha okoy-ho* *baŋ dal-akat-ko-a-y*
 Baha **who-even.NPI** NEG beat-PRES PERF-PL-FIN-SM
 ‘Baha did not beat anyone.’
2. *okoy ho_i* *okat ho* *ba-ko_i* *calav-e-n-a*
who also.NPI **where even.NPI** NEG-PL go-PST-INTR-FIN
 ‘Nobody went anywhere.’
3. *iny miŋit’ kaŋa tamba ho* *baŋ emam-a-ny*
 I **one blind copper coin even.NPI** NEG give.FUT-FIN-SM
 ‘I will not give you a red cent.’
- 4a. **baha noḍe [miŋit’ kaŋa tamba ho* *agu-ketet’]* *baŋ hec-e-n-a-y*
 Baha here **single penny even.NPI** having not come-PST-INTR-FIN-SM
 *‘Baha did not come here with a single penny.’
- 4b. *baha [miŋit’ kaŋa tamba ho* *baŋ agu-kate]* *noḍe hec-e-n-a-y*
 Baha **one blind copper coin even.NPI** not having here come-PST-INTR-SM
 ‘Baha came here without a single penny.’
5. *rum re* *okoy ko* *banu-ko-ge-a*
 that room in **anybody.NPI** NEG-OM-be.PRES-FIN
 ‘Is anybody there in that room?’

Aspect marking in Niesu, a Tibeto-Burman language in Sichuan, China

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This research is a description and typological study of the aspect marking of Niesu, a Tibeto-Burman language in Sichuan, southwest China. Niesu is a dialect of Nuosu; both Niesu and Nuosu are classified under Nuosu proper, which is at the level of language (Lama 2012). However, Niesu and Nuosu are not fully mutually intelligible (Bradley 2001, Lama 2012).

Niesu is spoken by about 550,000 Yi people (彝族) (exonym), residing in mountainous regions in Liangshan (literarily ‘Cool Mountains’), Sichuan. Niesu [ŋe³³ su³³] is the autonym of the Niesu Yi people, with two sense-bearing morphemes, namely ŋe³³ ‘black’ and su³³ ‘people’, which means ‘black-worshipping people’.

Two mutual intelligible varieties are classified as Niesu vernaculars, i.e., Suondi and Adur (Lama 2012). The differences between Suondi and Adur are not so evident that some scholars (e.g., Bradley 1997, Chen 2010) label them as Suondi only.

The existing research on Niesu mainly focuses on its phonology (Chen 2010, Lama 2012, Lan and Pan 2015, Matisoff 2006); there is little literature about the grammar of Niesu. Therefore, the present research, based on a fieldwork in late 2017 to early 2018, will address the aspect marking of Niesu. Niesu has one perfective marker (do³³), one experiential (dzo⁵⁵ / ŋo⁴⁴), at most three duratives (dzz³³, ta³³, tu³³), two progressives (nu⁵⁵=ku³³, ko³³=po⁵⁵ / nu⁵⁵=ku³³ / ko³³=ŋi³³ nu⁵⁵=ku³³) and one marker for change of state (o⁴⁴). These markers are either enclitics or auxiliaries. Aspectual marking of the same category, if more than one, has different functions (e.g., modifying action vs. modifying event). Moreover, most of the features are different from and more complex than Nuosu. These aspectual features also differ between Suondi and Adur. Finally, I will compare Niesu aspectual features with other Tibeto-Burman languages and Southwest Mandarin in Sichuan and Yunnan.

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The Application of Corpus-based Contrastive Linguistics for Vietnamese

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With a tremendous progress of Information Technology in this age of Internet, Corpus Linguistics field is more and more popular and brings useful applications to researching popular languages in the world. Basing on corpora, contrastive linguists can draw easily the word usage frequency, the popular grammatical structures or discover the similarities and differences between two languages, and various other applications (Mikhail 2017). For the Vietnamese, however, such applications are still limited due to the availability of publicized corpora for Vietnamese. In this article, we will present the application of Vietnamese corpora in contrasting the similarities and differences between Vietnamese and English. This Vietnamese corpus-based approach is applied not only for contrastive linguistics but also for Vietnamese computational linguistics, Vietnamese language teaching, etc. In this work, we use two corpora provided by the Computational Linguistics Center, University of Sciences, Vietnam National University, HCM City (CLC 2018), they are:

The monolingual Vietnamese corpus (named VTB, its size is approx. 300,000 sentences, 7 million words) which was manually annotated with linguistic information e.g. Word Segmentation, POS (Part-Of-Speech), NER (Named Entity Recognition), etc.. From this VTB, we can search the word based on its POS. The statistics helps us build the popular vocabulary (for example, top-1000 words, top-2000 words, or top-3000 words), matching with each of the learner's level. As shown in the Frequency of statistical results in Vietnamese, only 10% of the most popular word (word type) will occupy 90% of the word token, appearing in Vietnamese texts.

The bilingual parallel English-Vietnamese corpus (named EVC, its size is approx. 2 million pairs of sentences, 80 million words) which was automatically annotated with linguistic information e.g. Word Alignment, Word Segmentation, Morphology, POS, NER, Semantic tags, etc. (Dien 2005). From this EVC, we can search the word based on its morphology, POS or Semantics and contrasting to its correspondent translations.

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Revisiting the Tai Khamti constituent order debate: new data from Myanmar

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The issue of basic constituent order in Tai Khamti (hereafter Khamti) has been a topic of debate for a half century, and now involves data from three separate centuries. Based on Needham's (1894) grammar, Greenberg (1963) cited Khamti as an exception to his Universal 4, as an SOV language that was prepositional instead of postpositional. Khanittanan (1986) used data from her own fieldwork to argue that SVO was all but gone from Khamti, and had fully transitioned to SOV from an original basic order of SVO, as the vast majority of Tai languages still are. Diller (1992) showed that the syntactic generalizations laid out by Needham do not always hold, and used data from other Tai languages of Northeast India to argue for pragmatically driven constituent order, rather than SOV as basic. Morey (2006) introduced extensive additional data from Northeast India, also arguing that Khamti's verb-final ordering is pragmatically driven.

The Khamti case presents an interesting opportunity to study language contact influence on basic constituent order, because it has speaker communities in two countries, India and Myanmar, in each country virtually all Khamti speakers are also native (or highly fluent) speakers of different SOV majority languages: Assamese in Northeast India and Burmese in Myanmar. This study updates the Khamti debate with data from a newly documented Khamti dialect spoken in the Upper Chindwin River Valley in northwest Myanmar, and gives the data sociolinguistic context. The data come from a corpus of texts and more than 1,000 elicited sentences gathered 2014-2017. Both constituent orders are present throughout the data, but the notion of Khamti having basic SVO ordering is a part of the linguistic identity of some community members. At the same time, speakers openly credit Burmese influence for what they see as an ongoing change. This raises the question of the time scale of this kind of change to basic constituent order, as if a change is indeed ongoing, it has been ongoing for well over a century, and across geographically disparate dialects. It also presents the opportunity for further focused study in order to examine whether the different SOV majority languages have influenced the Khamti dialects differently.

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Kinaray-a nominals and nominal marking system

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Kinaray-a is the native language of Antiquenos. It belongs to the Meso-Philippine languages, clustered with Kuyonon of Cuyo Islands in Palawan, Binisaya, and Aklanon under the North Bisayan subgroup. Like most Philippine languages, it is an ergative-absolutive language. Despite having around 1,000,000 Kinaray-a speakers, it is still one of the less documented languages in the Philippines. This paper addresses this gap by providing a description of its nominal markers (i.e. determiners and demonstratives), and the structure of its nominal phrases.

Kinaray-a noun phrases may contain a plural marker, a modifier, a genitive pronoun, a nominal marker, and a ligature aside from the minimum components – a determiner and a head noun. Determiners in Kinaray-a distinguish between common and personal noun phrases and have different forms depending on its case. Pluralization of common nouns is marked by plural marker *mga* while personal noun determiners have plural counterparts. Demonstratives or deictic pronouns, on the other hand, have different emphatic *amo-* and *ka-* forms depending on its case. It was also found that the co-occurrence of both determiners and demonstratives in a nominal phrase is considered grammatical in Kinaray-a. Lastly, Kinaray-a nominals reveal that there are at least four classifications of nouns. These are the bare nouns, affixed nouns, reduplication, and borrowed nouns. A more comprehensive description of Kinaray-a grammar requires further investigation.

Devoicing of Voiced Obstruents and Tonal development in Siamese

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Since the earliest printed grammar books on Tagalog, the verbs had always been described as difficult to categorize because of its rich system of morphological inflections. Various researches were done to do so, among them: Blancas de San Jose (1610), de Coria (1872), Santos (1950), Gonzales (1962), Silverio (1962), Cruz (1972), Shachter and Otanes (1972) and McFarland (1976). The latest attempt is *An Affix-based Subcategorization of Tagalog Verbs* by Endriga (2014) which categorizes 550 verbs according to the affixes they take when inflected for the following focuses: Agent, Patient, Locative, Benefactive, and Instrumental.

The previous works, although detailed and exhaustive, were not able to come up with a way to predict “which verb takes which affix for which meaning” or “which verbs can take a certain number of complements.” This current work aims to fill in the gap with an attempt to determine the regularity of verb formation through a complement-based subcategorization of 100-200 Tagalog verbs (initially). As proven in the study of Klimenko and Endriga (2016), there is a tendency for regularity in verb formation among those belonging to the same semantic class. Using the concept of valency, the objective is to categorize verbs into different classes predictive for anticipating complements; i.e., these classes of verbs have these number and type of complements.

With the proposition that Tagalog has a symmetrical voice system, this will also test the characteristics of the verbs in their ability to promote certain participants as the pivot. It will also complement the study on the affix-based subcategorization of verbs; that after knowing the number and type of complements a verb can have, the affix/es to be used to focus the complements will also be determined.

An Affix-based Subcategorization of Modality in Tagalog and Cebuano Verbs

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This paper is a study on the expression of modality in verbs through affixation. A survey of available literature reveals a dearth of studies about modality in the two languages and this work is a contribution in this field.

This study categorizes 100-200 verbs (initially) using the concept of modality. The main objective of the research is to classify which verbs take which affix to express modality. Other objectives are: (1) to define modality in the two languages; (2) to identify affixes used to express modality; and (3) to come up with groupings of verbs which could be modified for a certain number of modal affixes. The result will be a systematic listing of the verbs, what affixes they take to express modality, and which verbs accept a certain number of modal inflections.

Directional systems in Philippine languages

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This study presents a diachronic analysis of the terms encoding the four cardinal directions in 54 Philippine languages across various Philippine microgroups. The direction terms vary greatly in the languages, making it impossible to reconstruct a single directional system for the Philippines. However, commonalities in the directional systems are found in the languages. Four major fields of reference are generally used in encoding directions:

- i. *The path of the sun.* 45 of the languages examined encode *east* and *west* in reference to the rising/setting of the sun.
- ii. *The wind/monsoon systems.* PAn *qamiS ‘north wind’, *timuR ‘south/east wind’, *SabaRat ‘south wind’, and PWMP *salatan ‘south wind’ developed into various cardinal directions.
- iii. *Riverine terms.* Reflexes of PAn *daya ‘upriver, inland’ and PAn *lahud ‘downstream, toward the sea’ developed as local direction terms and subsequently cardinal directions, which vary on the geographical location of each speech community.
- iv. *Systems of location.* Reflexes of locational terms such as PMP *babaq ‘below, beneath, under’ and *(ma-)udehi ‘behind’ refer to *west* and *south* respectively, implying a conceptual orientation of the speaker toward the *east* and *north*.

Moreover, based on a typological classification of the terms (23 of the 54 languages exhibit a complete system, 29 have terms for only east and west, 1 only encodes east, and 1 does not have cardinal direction terms at all), certain implicational relationships in the lexical encoding of directions can be observed, i.e. the east–west axis tends to be encoded first before the north–south axis, given the contiguity of the former to the path of the sun, a feature that is naturally salient in all speech communities.

Typological and linguistic features of Philippine Hybrid Hokkien

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In this presentation, I investigate Philippine Hybrid Hokkien (PHH), a native oral Hokkien used by Chinese Filipinos – a community descended from immigrants from Southern China who, over several centuries of migration, made the Philippines their home. PHH is a Hokkien-lexifier variety, but unlike other Hokkien varieties, it incorporates aspects of Tagalog (italicized) and English (underlined) in its lexicon and structure (see 1 and 2), some of which I claim go beyond code-switching.

- (1) Antibiotic si para khun nga la.
Antibiotic COP for bacteria PRT PRT
'(I already told you that) antibiotics are for bacteria.'
- (2) Di si u pang- protect kha e ba?
2SG COP have INST- protect feet PRT PRT
'Do you have foot protectors (shoes)?'

Based on my fieldwork data, I first briefly outline the sociolinguistic background and language ecology of the Chinese Filipinos in metropolitan Manila. Then, I attempt to describe the linguistic features of PHH, particularly ones in the morphological and syntactic level. For morphology, I discuss nominal affixation; for syntax, I examine word order, conjunctions, plural markers, and clause-final particles.

Although this description reveals a relatively unequal distribution of Tagalog and English influences in PHH, which can be attributed to the Philippine language ecology, all features in PHH are can be traced back to either Hokkien, Tagalog, or English in a consistent and systematic manner. The implications are two-fold: first, it suggests that these features have gone beyond code-switching and have conventionalized; second, it reveals that this trilingual admixture shows some resemblance with the third class of contact languages according to Thomason (1997) – mixed languages – such as Sri Lanka Malay. A discussion on how this relates to studies of other contact varieties concludes the presentation.

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Preliminary Mok Phonology and Implications for Angkuic Sound Change

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Angkuic languages, spoken primarily in Myanmar and China, form a little-studied Palaungic subgroup. Languages for which data is available include U [uuu], Hu [huo] (Svantesson 1988, 1991), and Muak Sa-aak [ukk] (Hall 2010) among others. This study presents a preliminary phonological analysis of new Mok data collected in Thailand from five varieties spoken in Shan State, Myanmar, then compares them with existing Angkuic phonological inventories, i.e., those of U, Hu, and Muak Sa-aak. These particular languages exhibit unusual tonal developments, which are at least partially based on a former vowel length contrast (Ex. 1-2).

Across Angkuic, loss of the lateral coda results in a variety of reflexes: change to final /n/ in some Muak Sa-aak varieties and loss in others (Ex. 3-5). U also appears to be developing diphthongs from the velar nasal coda (Svantesson 1988). In Muak Sa-aak, diphthongs have developed from the long vowels /ɛ:, ɔ:/. The diphthong development in Shan State Mok varieties appears to go back to both sonorant-final (Ex. 3-5) and open syllables, i.e., the vowel /ɛ/ and former coda /-l/. The alveolopalatal stop onset /c^h/ has a sibilant alternant /s/ in some Mok varieties (Ex. 6).

Examples (U and Hu from Svantesson 1988, 1991):

Ex. #	Gloss	Mok A	Mok B	Mok C	Mok D	Mok E	Muak Sa-aak	Pa Xep U	Hu
1	die	[jém]	[ɲjém]	[jám]	[jém]	[jêṃ]	jám	jàp	jám
2	weep	[jà:m]	[jà:m]	[jà:m]	[jà:m]	[jà:m]	jâ:m	jám	jám
3	chicken	[ʔèa]	[ʔèa:]	[ʔia]	[ʔèa:]	[ʔèa:]	ʔêl	jé	
4	silver, money	[mûi]	[nèŋ]	[ŋèn]	[muí]	[p.sí muí]	mûl	mùn	mṃûl
5	fly (v.)	[t ^h à:ŋ]	[t ^h iaŋ / p ^h iaŋ]	[nt ^h íaŋ]	[mp ^h íang]	[nt ^h íaŋ]	p ^h .jûl	mp ^h è	phíɛ
6	louse	[síʔ] / [nsíʔ]	[síʔ] / [nsíʔ]	[nsíʔ]	[síʔ] / [nsíʔ]	[síʔ] / [nsíʔ]	c ^h íʔ	nchí	nsíʔ

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Symmetrical Voice in Northern Sarawak

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Western Austronesian languages are known for their typologically unusual systems of voice alternations in which changes in the verbal morphology indicate different mappings of arguments to functions, apparently without changes in syntactic transitivity (Himmelmann 2005). This has led some to describe the alternations as symmetrical (Riesberg 2014) and others to argue that Western Austronesian languages, particularly the more conservative languages in the Philippines and Taiwan, are better understood as ergative, highlighting semantic and morphological similarities between them and other cases of ergativity (Aldridge 2012).

This paper enters into the debate by analysing voice alternations in three closely-related languages of Northern Sarawak: Lun Bawang, Kelabit and Sa'ban. The systems differ in a number of ways. Firstly, Lun Bawang and Kelabit have a three-way system of alternations, whilst Sa'ban has two voices and reduced verbal morphology. Secondly, Lun Bawang preserves more conservative case-marking, whilst Kelabit and Sa'ban make fewer case distinctions (Clayre 2005). This suggests that the languages of Northern Sarawak fall at an important transition between the more conservative and more innovative Austronesian languages (Clayre 2005). Consequently, they make an interesting comparison.

Since distinguishing between an ergative analysis and a symmetrical analysis rests upon identifying whether or not the voice constructions are all equally transitive, this paper applies syntactic tests that identify core arguments to the three languages, including relativisation and raising/control for subjects and adverb placement and lack of fronting for non-subject core arguments. The tests suggest that the voice constructions are indeed equally transitive in all three languages, despite other morphosyntactic differences.

Consequently, symmetrical voice systems appear to be a common feature across typologically distinct Western Austronesian languages and languages can have more than one transitive clause independently of the number of alternations or case-marking patterns.

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Reciprocal Parameters in Thai

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This paper investigates the semantic parameters governing the choice between a number of alternative constructions in Thai, based on a special stimulus set that comprises 16 video clips. In doing so, it seeks to fill the descriptive and analytic gap surrounding reciprocal constructions in Thai, which have received little scholarly attention to date.

To describe a reciprocal situation, Thai speakers basically employ a *kan* construction, which allows reciprocants to be conjoined as a single subject argument followed by a transitive verb and a post-verbal marker *kan* (see Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005). Although this construction is applicable to most types of reciprocal situations, it would become a less preferable strategy when speakers encountering less prototypical reciprocal situations. They therefore select other strategies, including a decomposition (free-expression) strategy—to break the reciprocal situation into sub-events and express them through a sequence of non-specialized transitive clauses.

In this paper, prototypicality of reciprocals are reduced by the change in non-linguistics elements of the situation. These elements are called reciprocal parameters adapted from the work of Evans et al. (2011). In order to determine a semantic range of reciprocal constructions in Thai as well as to rank the reciprocal parameters by their effects to reciprocal strategy of speakers, three parameters are tested including (a) a number of reciprocants (dual-plural), (b) a temporal organization (simultaneous-sequential) and (c) an incorporated object of the verb (same-different).

Statistical data collected from video clips demonstrating four reciprocal situations (pointing, exchanging, pinching and wiping) reveals that the parameter that affects reciprocal strategy of Thai speakers the most is the temporal organization of the situation. On the other hand, the number of reciprocants is the parameter that speakers concern the least.

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A New Look at the Phonetic Inventory of Matu Chin

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This paper provides a phonetic documentation of Matu Chin, a language in the Kuki-Chin branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family, spoken in western Burma (Myanmar). Previously published documentation of the sounds of Matu primarily consists of four wordlists (Luce 1985, So-Hartmann 1988, Khoi Lam Thang 2001, and Shintani 2016), of which only Shintani (2016) lists more than 300 items. None of these sources provide detailed discussion of the sounds of Matu. The current research aims to clarify the phoneme inventories and transcriptions in the previous sources and to map out a detailed phonetic documentation of Matu. Using recently recorded data from five native Matu speakers (3 female, 2 male) living in the United States, the acoustic analysis includes several features of note: a description of three allophonic realizations of the rhotic consonant, a reconsideration of the Matu "voiceless nasals" as voiced aspirated nasals, and reanalysis of the high back unrounded vowel /u/ as a high mid vowel /ɨ/. This research adds to the scholarship on both Matu, as an understudied language, and Chin languages in general, through a detailed and updated phonetic analysis of Matu.

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Existential Constructions in Khmer and Thai

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In this investigation, we follow McNally (2011: 1830)'s definition: "The term 'existential sentence' is used to refer to a specialized or non-canonical construction which expresses a proposition about the existence or the presence of someone or something in a context."

It has been suggested in the literature that there seem to be two major types of existential constructions: existential-locative predications containing the verb 'be' and existential-possessive predications containing the verb 'have' (Lyons 1967; McNally 2011; Bentley et al 2013).

The prevalent existential constructions in Khmer and Thai are of the latter "have" type, with "verb-first" (VS) construction, a "non-canonical" construction for languages such as Khmer and Thai that can be characterized as SVO languages.

Creissels (2014:32) observed that this type of existential construction, which he called 'Trans.poss-existentials', "seem to be common among the languages of South East Asia."

In addition to the predicator "have", another predicator: "to be born": /kaet/ in Khmer, /kàət/ in Thai, is also common in existential predication construction in both languages. It should be noted that the Thai verb /kàət/ 'to be born' is one of the numerous loanwords from Khmer, dated back to as early as the 13th century, with appearance in inscriptions of that period. (Varasarin 1984: 154, 302; Huffman 1986: 200, 201).

We offer two speculations for the /kaet-/kàət/ existential construction: 1) a syntactic borrowing between Khmer and Thai, or 2) a Southeast Asia areal feature.

This is our preliminary investigation to address the first speculation.

In our presentation, we will 1) provide a comparative analysis of two types of existential constructions ('have' and 'born') with respect to their distribution/functions/conditions of use within each language and 2) provide a comparative analysis of these types of existential constructions as found in Khmer and Thai, with a focus on /kaet-/kàət/ as predicator.

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Time Conceptualization in Paiwan

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It has been fascinating for linguists to understand how humans and human languages construct such abstract concept as time. Cognitive linguists (Fauconnier and Turner 2008; Núñez and Cooperrider 2013; Lakoff 1993:218; Radden 2003, 2011; Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1990; Boroditsky 2000, 2011; among others) propose that most, if not all, languages maintain TIME-SPACE metaphoric relations; in other word, humans around the world are believed to conceptualize time as space. Such a universal view can be attested by the following quotes: “Time as Space is a deep metaphor for all human beings” (Fauconnier and Turner 2008: 55) and “it is virtually impossible for us to conceptualize time without metaphor” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:139). Nevertheless, Evans (2013) shows that time is directly experienced and that its manifestation is often independent of our experience of motion events in space. Moreover, recent studies, especially those on non-European languages, challenge the universality of SPACE-TIME linguistic mapping (Levinson and Majid 2013; Sinha et al. 2011), and maintain that linguistic SPACE-TIME mapping had better be situated in wider patterns of cultural context (e.g., Núñez and Cornejo 2012; Sinha et al. 2011; Sinha and Bernardez 2015:309; Bernárdez 2013). In addition, Hsieh’s (2017) study reveals that in two Formosan languages, Saisiyat and Kavalan, a day is not quantitatively segmented into hours, minutes or seconds, but rather is rather qualitatively segmented into events; time is therefore highly sensitive to events and activities.

This study therefore sets out to investigate the conceptualization of TIME in Paiwan, an Austronesian language spoken in Southern and Eastern Taiwan. This study proposes a metaphonymic model where the basic ontological domain in time meaning construction is events and actions, and time meanings emerge not only from time-space metaphorical mapping, but also from bodily experiences metonymically associated with events and actions that constitute our daily lives. The findings of this study may contribute theoretically to a better understanding of TIME-SPACE metaphoric mapping relations in Paiwan and may also contribute to a clearer picture of the emergence of time meanings from a cross-linguistic perspective.

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Wh-Relative Clauses in Tagalog

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This paper investigates the form and distribution of relative clauses with overt *wh*-words (wh-RCs) in Tagalog (Austronesian). Wh-RCs, as in (1), are one of two types of relative clauses in Tagalog, but are very understudied (but see Otsuka and Tanaka 2016), with most work in this area (see e.g., Aldridge 2004, Law 2016) focusing on the other type, gapped relative clauses, as in (2).

- (1) silid **kung saan** [nakita ng bata ang guro] (2) guro=**ng** [nakita ng bata]
 room if where saw.PV GEN child NOM teacher teacher=LK saw.PV GEN child
 ‘room where the child saw the teacher’ ‘teacher that the child saw’

Wh-RCs can be identified by the presence of the morpheme *kung* and an overt *wh*-word, resembling embedded *wh*-questions in this language. This contrasts with the linker morpheme *na/=ng* appearing with gapped relative clauses. Generally speaking, wh-RCs are used when relativizing certain adjunct-like or oblique clausal dependents, and, unlike gapped relative clauses, are not restricted by the Tagalog voice system. Compare (3-4) to (1-2).

- (3) silid **kung saan** [nakakita ang bata ng guro] (4)*guro=**ng** [nakakita ang bata]
 room if where saw.AV NOM child GEN teacher teacher=LK saw.AV NOM child
 ‘room where the child saw a teacher’ * ‘teacher that the child saw’

However, closer investigation reveals that wh-RCs have their own restrictions. First, some oblique elements, such as recipients, cannot be relativized in this way, as in (5). Second, the form of the *wh*-element cannot be complex, as in (6). Such restrictions are notably absent in surface-similar embedded questions.

- (5)*babae **kung kanino** [binigay ang pera]
 woman if who.OBL gave.PV NOM money
 * ‘woman to whom the money was given’
- (6)*giyera **kung tungkol saan** [nag-usap ang mga guro]
 war if about what.OBL spoke.AV NOM PL teacher
 * ‘war that the teachers spoke about’

This paper presents a detailed survey of different kinds of wh-RCs to illustrate and map out this behavior. Their relation to gapped relative clauses and other types of clause-like constituents headed by *kung*, as well as their semantic behavior are also discussed in the context of a preliminary analysis. As such, this paper represents initial work in addressing a major gap in the linguistic study of Tagalog.

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The syntax of LV2 as a family of constructions in Formosan languages

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Ross (2002) surveys the verbal and nominal uses of the various voice affixes for 13 Formosan languages and found that reflexes of the PAN locative voice suffix **-an* in daughter languages was often exclusively nominalizing. In this presentation I focus on what the locative voice construction is doing in natural discourse to show that there is a lot more to its grammatical function and that LV2 construction in particular represents in fact a family of constructions. I argue that six types of NAV voice forms must be distinguished to properly understand the multiple functions of the LV2 voice constructions. The six NAV voice constructions are PV1, PV2, LV1, LV2, CV1 and CV2. Of the six NAV voice forms, PV2 and LV1 in a language like Squliq are frequently accessible to nominalization, while LV2 is by far the voice construction that is most readily amenable to that process (Huang 2017).

In this study the LV2 construction in a number of Formosan languages is demonstrated to exhibit nearly the same range of syntactic functions ranging from the hypotactic to the lexicalized nominal structure. In Saisiyat discourse, both LV1 and VL2 occur nearly only in subordinate clauses as clausal nominals, and in Isbukun Bunun, a majority of the tokens of the LV2 constructions are found to occur in subordinate clauses, while a minority of tokens function as independent clauses. In the Squliq Frog corpus, a majority of the instances of the LV2 construction function as clausal nominals, although there are tokens of LV2 voice forms that arguably function as independent clauses. The LV2 construction also occur in a variety of other grammatical functions, some of which have rarely been recognized in the literature. LV2 as a gerundial construction is found in Squliq and Kavalan, and it also appears in a hypotactic structure in Kavalan and Bunun.

Given these results, a most natural inference is that the LV2 voice construction in FL is stored and processed at different levels of abstraction and schematicity and that lower-level constructions are associated with particular lexical items. Lexical items that participate in LV2 form that create lexicalized nominals and those that create gerundial constructions and hypotactic structures may well form a disjoint set. The LV2 construction thus represents a family of constructions whose functions range from the more lexicalized nominals to the more schematic or productive format. The syntax of LV2 thus provides compelling evidence that there are categories of grammar that are not distinguishable in a clear-cut fashion because change occurs over time in a gradual way, moving an element along a continuum from one category to another. Finally, the wide distribution of the syntactic functions of LV2 in many FL suggests that it was present at an early stage in the history of Austronesian languages, lending support to the contention that voice morphology in PAN had both verbal and nominalizing functions, just as it does in many modern Philippine-type languages (Blust 2009:452).

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Varieties of Cak dialects

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Cak (ISO 639-3 ckh) is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. It is known as Sak in Rakhaing State, Burma. The total number of native speakers is estimated to be around 3,000 in Bangladesh while 1,000 in Burma (Simons and Fennig eds.~2017). Although Cak and Sak are mutually intelligible as long as native words are concerned, it can be difficult due to Bangla loans in Cak and Arakanese/Burmese loans in Sak.

In Bangladesh, Cak is spoken in three major areas: Baishari, Naikhyongchari, and Dochari. Because these areas are off-limits for foreigners, it is hard to do extensive fieldwork therein. Still, it is possible to find some speakers from there in cities. As far as the available data are concerned, some phonetic varieties can be observed depending on areas, but not on generations.

In Burma, Sak is spoken in such townships of Rakhaing State as Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Rathedaung and Mrauk U, of which only Mrauk U is open for foreigners. Fortunately, however, Sak speakers in Mrauk U are basically migrants from other three townships. Thus it is possible to investigate regional varieties of Sak. Through the comparison of basic vocabularies, it became clear that in Sak, regional variety is almost negligible, while generational variety is remarkable. In older generations, the phonetic characteristics are more conservative and more similar to Cak in Bangladesh, while in younger generations, they are more innovative and influenced by Arakanese or Burmese.

In summary, Cak in Baishari is most conservative, followed by Cak in Naikhyongchari, Cak in Dochari, and Sak of older generation, while Sak of younger generation is most innovative.

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On the function of PAN *nu and its implication on the development of possessive NPs

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While there is a consensus that the *nu in possessive NPs is reconstructable in Proto-Austronesian (PAN), opinions are divided regarding its function, which is “genitive of common nouns” per Ross (2006) and Blust (2015) but a “non-referential noun” meaning “thing” per Reid (2007). This present study draws on new Formosan data to add further support for Reid’s reconstruction by looking beyond the possessor-possessum (POR-PUM) syntagm and into “absolute possession”.

Reid offers two pieces of evidence to support his proposal. One is that reflexes of *nu constitute the morphological base of interrogative words in many Austronesian languages. According to Blust’s Comparative Dictionary, however, the *nu in interrogative words is reconstructed as a “marker of uncertainty”, which is then homophonous with the genitive *nu, as reflected in Saisiyat, Paiwan, and Amis, all cited by Blust as evidence for his reconstruction. Nevertheless, two more Formosan languages, Tsou and Seediq, can be argued to reflect PAN *nu. The results in Table 1 show that if reflexes of PAN *nu are applicable to PUM-headed possession, it follows that they are also applicable to absolute possession, but not vice versa. This distribution suggests the original habitat of PAN *nu was in absolute possession, as is still the case for /nu/ in Tsou, and that it is only when reflexes of PAN *nu were later expanded to the modification context that they started to function like a genitive marker. The diachronic change thus proposed is essentially one from apposition to attribution. Moreover, the other piece of Reid’s evidence is that *nu “could have genitive clitics attached to it to signify nouns of absolute possession” (Reid 2007:250), which was exemplified with forms like *nu=maku* ‘mine’ in Amis. However, the person forms involved are independent nominals rather than clitics, and can function as nominal predicates regardless of the presence of /nu/. Similar forms are also attested in Seediq. Crucially, the long forms in both languages consist of PAN *nu, which denotes unspecified entities in both possessive NPs and interrogative words.

Table 1: Possessive NPs and interrogative words in some Formosan languages

	Absolute possession	PUM-headed possession	Interrogative words
Tsou	<i>nu</i> =[to + POR]	PUM=[to + POR]	<i>ne-nu</i> ‘where; which one’; <i>mai-ne-nu</i> ‘how, what kind’
Seediq	<i>n</i> =POR	PUM + (<i>n</i>)=POR	<i>i-nu</i> ‘where’; <i>ma-nu</i> ‘what’; <i>ka-nu-wan</i> ‘when’
Saisiyat	<i>'an</i> =(<i>noka</i> =)POR= <i>a</i>	PUM + <i>noka</i> =POR	<i>kay-no</i> ‘where’; <i>ka-no</i> ‘what’; <i>i-no-wan</i> ‘when’
Paiwan	<i>nua</i> =POR	PUM + <i>nua</i> =POR	<i>i-zai-nu</i> ‘where’

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A Comparative Study of Request Strategies in Thai by Chinese Learners of Thai and the Thai Native Speakers

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Interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) has gained research momentum since the 1990s (Bagherkazemi, 2016). In Thailand, most interlanguage pragmatic studies focus on Thai learners of English and the interlanguage characteristics of foreign learners of Thai is still under-researched. With a view to fill this research gap, this study investigates the interlanguage characteristics of Chinese learners of Thai compared to Thai native speakers with respect to the use of the speech act of requests. The Discourse Completion Test (DCT) including 12 scenarios comprising different degrees of social power, social distance and rank of imposition was used to elicit requests from the 66 native and the 51 non-native speakers in a university context.

Regarding the head-act types, the findings show that the native and the non-native speakers use the same strategies in requests, namely: conventional indirect strategy; direct strategy; hybrid strategy; withholding intentions; and non-conventional indirect strategy, respectively. When comparing the frequency of occurrences of each head-act type of both groups of speakers, the results suggest that the non-native speakers tend to overgeneralize the use of the conventional indirect strategy, whereas the native speakers prefer to use the direct strategy in the same situation. It is noticeable that even though the non-native speakers can perform the requests in conformity with the levels of directness, the data suggest differences in the modification types of the non-natives compared with the natives.

Anyway, this study discusses the request strategies relating to the different degrees of social power, social distance and rank of imposition. The findings are expected to provide some implications for teaching and learning Thai as a second/foreign language.

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**Actor/undergoer-voice asymmetry in grammar and discourse:
The case of Arta, A northern Luzon language**

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There has been a long history of debate over the nature of voice and alignment system in Philippine languages. The central issue seems to reside in the grammatical transitivity of actor-voice construction (AV) and undergoer voice construction (UV), based on which the alignment or case marking system could be identified (Liao 2004). This paper aims to provide empirical data from Arta, a northern Luzon language, implying that UV is transitive, but AV is intransitive in grammar and discourse.

First, AV in Arta is undoubtedly intransitive in terms of morphosyntax. As shown in the example (1a), The marking of the undergoer in AV is not identical with those of other core arguments (cf. *nanj* in Tagalog and *ti* in Ilokano). The undergoer role should be flagged by the preposition-like marker *ta* in AV, the same marker used to introduce adjunct phrases like *ta talun* ‘in the mountains’. These indicate that AV in Arta is clearly an intransitive construction.

(1) a. (actor voice)

<i>Maŋ-alap</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>arta=y</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bi:lat</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>talun.</i>
AV-get	DEF	person=SPC	OBL.INDEF	python	OBL.INDEF	mountain
‘The person will get python(s) in the mountains.’						

b. (undergoer voice)

<i>Alap-ən</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>arta=y</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>bi:lat=i.</i>
get-PV	GEN.DEF	person=SPC	DEF	python=SPC
‘The person will get the python.’				

Second, the discourse analysis conducted in this study implies that UV is the dominant vehicle for encoding two-participant events. Two-participant events were overwhelmingly encoded by UV (AV: 38 instances, 16% vs. UV: 200 instances, 84%). The undergoer argument in AV is mostly indefinite (34/38, 89.5%), indicating AV encodes an object with a lower individuation in the sense of Hopper and Thomson (1980).

In summary, UV is the dominant vehicle for encoding two-participant events in Arta, implying the language leans towards an ergative alignment. The present study suggests that there is a remarkable variation among the languages studied under the rubric of “Philippine-type languages” and more empirical and comparative research is needed.

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Documenting the Vanishing Indigenous Placenames: the Value of Moken Toponyms

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Working with community members of endangered languages in collaborative language documentation often involved with the native community members' training and capacity development in documenting their own heritage language and oral knowledge. One evidence of successful training is that the community members are able to initiate and document their heritage by themselves with less assistant from the linguist. During my language documentation fieldwork in 2015, the native speakers in Surin Islands Moken community were trained to record and document their own language. As a result, from this collaborative documentation, they were able to document various sets of their heritage oral knowledge; one of them is their indigenous placenames. Over 90 placenames around Surin Islands together with the narratives were recorded in 27 minutes long. As a discussion with the community members, these Moken placenames have been completely replaced with Thai names which officially named by the Thai government. Most of native speakers, especially the new generations, call these places by using Thai names. As predicted, these placenames in Moken language would be vanishing in the near future. The native placenames are not just only the names but some value is often behind them. In this research, the value and importance that behind these Moken toponyms were studied. Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) framework was adopted to study Moken people' perspectives and values through the toponyms. The results showed that the Moken toponyms reflect the relationships between the geography, the history, the biodiversity, and the way of life. This study can reveal the whole of picture of Surin Islands placenames and the culture of Moken people in this area.

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Some notes on Nanwang Puyuma *pi-/pu-* verbs

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This study reexamines Puyuma *pi-/pu-* verbs and raises concerns about treating them directly as verbs of “causative of location/movement”. In light of predicate decomposition, we argue in favor of Blust (2003) and Teng (2008) that Puyuma *pi-* is not a reflex of Proto-Austronesian causative **pi-*, but a morphological variant of *mi-*.

The predicate decomposition approach has proven useful in some analyses of Formosan *pi-/pu-* causative verbs. Li (2010), for example, argues that Saaroa exhibits *p-i-√* and *p-u-√* verbs compatible with the semantic representations of location/locatum verbs. Similarly, Kavalan uses distinct prefixes *pi-* and *pu-* and selects different roots $\sqrt{\text{Location}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{Locatum}}$, respectively.

Puyuma is among the Formosan languages where *pi-* and *pu-* have been employed productively as verbalizers. It is thus tempting to propose a similar analysis based on the same rationale (Cauquelin 2008). This study urges caution against a parallel treatment of Puyuma *pi-/pu-* verbs as location/locatum verbs. First, the presence of Puyuma *pi-/pu-* verbs accommodating the same root renders this dichotomy unlikely, as their interpretation difference cannot simply be explained by predicate decomposition. Second, unlike *pu-* verbs, *pi-* verbs do not necessarily involve “causativization” in the sense that they do not change the valency (i.e. add a new causer) of the counterparts.

The lack of complementary distribution of $\sqrt{\text{Location}}/\sqrt{\text{Locatum}}$ in Puyuma *pi-/pu-* verbs suggests an alternative analysis, such as the grammaticalization approach. For example, the fact that *pi-* in Puyuma allows locatum roots can be readily explained by the development of predicative possessive marker *mi-* (< PAn **Si-*, as in Teng 2014). Saaroa and Kavalan *pi-* verbs take a different path, involving presumably the incorporation of the locative marker (< PAn **i*) into the predicate, thereby maintaining its restriction on the root (i.e. $\sqrt{\text{Location}}$ only).

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A re-evaluation of the discourse basis of ergativity based on a GRAID-annotated Jinghpaw corpus

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Since the seminal paper of Du Bois (1987), the unity of S and P in discourse has been claimed based on the equally high lexicality of S and P as opposed to the low lexicality of A. This constitutes the “discourse basis of ergativity.” More recent studies, however, have shown that the ergative alignment in discourse is not empirically supported (Haig & Schnell 2016, Brickell & Schnell 2017).

The purpose of this paper is to reassess the hypothesis against a corpus of Jinghpaw, a Tibeto-Burman language of Burma, which consists of 1,221 fully annotated clauses compiled by the author. The corpus is annotated based on GRAID (Grammatical Relations and Animacy in Discourse), designed to facilitate quantitative typological research on discourse structure and referentiality (Haig & Schnell 2014). My findings drawn from the Jinghpaw corpus show that there is no significant clustering of S and P as opposed to A in terms of lexicality, supporting the position of recent studies.

(1) Proportion of lexical expressions within each of A, S, and P

A 23.3% (74 of total of 317 A); S 33.9% (228 of total of 673 S); P 58.4% (250 of total of 428 P)

Haig & Schnell (2016) further show a split of S, where the nonhuman S tends toward P in contrast to the human S, which tends toward A in lexicality. Based on this, they formulate a more general tendency: A and S, if they refer to human referents, are seldom lexical. Our data given in (2) also show the split of S, thus confirming the position of the recent study.

(2) Proportion of lexical expressions within each of A, S [+hum], S [-hum], and P

A 23.3%; S [+hum] 23.3%; S [-hum] 64.9%; P 58.4%

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Some problems in defining Burmese (Myanmar) word

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Abstract There are five grammatical units which are sentences, clauses, phrases, words and morphemes in Burmese grammar. Therefore 'word' is definitely a grammatical unit in Burmese grammar. But it is necessarily important to define a word as a grammatical unit out of the other grammatical units because Burmese language is an analytic language i.e. it allows many kinds of word types and phrase types. It is very interested in classifying Burmese words in terms of their length; short or long. In this paper, Burmese words are classified in terms of their length, such as phonological word, lexical item, lexeme, orthographic word, grammatical word, content word, function word, insert, morphemic/morphosyntactic/ grammatical word, idiom, multi-word lexical unit, collocation , lexical bundle, etc. After that, some problems in defining 'Burmese (Myanmar) word' are presented.

The Dual ‘When’ in Selected Philippine Languages: Its Nature, Distribution, and Potential Implications

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This research investigates the nature, distribution, and potential implications of the dual ‘when’ in selected Philippine languages. Based on preliminary data, there are Philippine languages like Cuyonon, Bikol and Ilokano that have two corresponding words for ‘when’ but such idiosyncrasy has received no attention in the literature so far. Initial findings reveal that the duality results from the *wh*-word ‘when’ interacting with the grammatical aspect of the verb in the clause. This finding is significant because it makes a case for the role of grammatical aspect in the general account of *wh*-extraction in the Philippine languages. Existing analyses have mainly focused on the role of Case agreement in the asymmetries between DP and non-DP *wh*-extraction in simple finite clauses as well as on the (im)possibility of long-distance *wh*-extraction of non-DPs in complex finite clauses (Rackowski & Richards [2005] and to some extent, Aldridge [2002, 2005]). Additional data from Tagalog reveal that the grammatical aspect has some role to play in allowing long-distance extraction of non-DPs, including ‘when’.

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Giving Verb in Hlai

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This paper focuses on the giving verb in Hlai, a language spoken on Hainan Island. Hlai is assumed to belong to the Kra-Dai language group (Ostapirat, 2008). There are five dialects of Hlai. This paper studies Gei dialect, the second biggest dialect in Hlai. The giving verb in Hlai is *dıuu*³³, which is exemplified as in (1). The verb *dıuu*³ can also perform a dative function as in (2).

(1) *Na*³³ *dıuu*³³ *tsien*³³ *hou*³³.
3SG give money 1SG
'He gave me money.'

(2) *Hou*³³ *pat*⁵⁵ *u*⁵⁵ *tuum*⁵⁵ *thiep*⁵⁵ *dıuu*³³ *muu*³³.
1SG take one pair chopsticks give 2SG
'I took a pair of chopsticks to you.'

In addition to the giving verb and dative functions, *dıuu*³³ also expresses the causative function. The meaning of *dıuu*³³ can express 'allow' and 'make,' shown in (3) and (4).

(3) *Hou*³³ *vei*¹¹ *dıuu*³³ *na*³³ *thai*⁵¹.
1SG NEG give 3SG hit
'I do not allow hime to hit me.'

(4) *Lau*⁵⁵-*Geeng*¹¹ *siio*⁵⁵ *gam*¹⁵ *dıuu*³³ *pa*¹¹ *lau*⁵¹.
MAS-Red hold meat give dog eat
'Red holds meat to make the dog eat. (Red feeds the dog with meat.)'

The fact that a giving verb is also used as a causative verb is often found in Chinese dialects, such as Mandarin, Hakka, Southern Min and Hainan Min. Moreover, the giving verbs in Mandarin and Southern Min also function as passive verbs. The passive function of the giving verb also holds in Hlai, as in (5).

(5) *Lau*⁵⁵-*Geeng*¹¹ *dıuu*³³ *o*⁵¹-*Li*⁵¹ *thai*⁵¹.
MAS-red give FEM-Li hit
'Red was hit by Li.'

To sum up, the giving verb in Hlai can serve as a ditransitive verb, a causative verb and a passive verb. This paper explores the multi-functions of the giving verb in Hlai. We also study the development of the verb *dıuu*³³ from a lexical verb into two functional verbs. Moreover, we examine the syntactic distribution of the ditransitive structure, along with the structures of causatives and passives. The syntactic and semantic restrictions of the three structures are also shown in the paper. Hale & Keyser's (2002) "central coincidence" assumption is adopted to account for the three structures.

Hlai is not a widely surveyed language and its syntax is unclear to linguists. This paper provides the ditransitive, causative and passive structures through the giving verb of Hlai.

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Address Terms in Colloquial Indonesian: A case study in Lampung, Sumatra

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Indonesian is a national language of Indonesia which is used in education, broadcasting, and in other formal occasions. Whereas formal variety of Indonesian is supposed to be homogenous, regional varieties are found when it comes to the colloquial language used in the everyday life (cf. Sneddon 2010). Variation is found in lexical items, especially items which are selected according to the participants' social status and the distance between them. The choice of address terms, as well as that of pronouns, is important to use the language properly (cf. Hassal 2012). This paper focuses on address terms in Lampung which is located in the southern tip of Sumatra Island. It is a good example of multi-ethnic society in which Indonesian language is necessarily used as a common language. The population consists of Javanese (63.84%), Lampung (13.51%), Sunda (9.58%), people from other areas of Sumatra (9.35%) and also Chinese descendents (0.53%) (BPS Lampung 2010), and the data were taken from people with several different ethnic backgrounds.

In Lampung, there are three features for the speaker to determine an adequate address term toward the addressee: formality, generation or age, and addressee's ethnic background. The most formal address terms such as Bapak for men and Ibu for women are used nation widely, regardless of ethnic identity of the addressee. S/he should look around 40 or older, except for the very formal situations such as interaction within governmental offices in which case people in 20s can also be called Bapak/Ibu. Javanese address terms Mas/Mbak are used towards younger generation. When the addressee seems to have a certain ethnic background, special terms are used: Uda/Uni towards Minangkabau people, Abang/Bang for other Sumatran, Koh/Cik towards Chinese descendents. Terms from Lampung language and their usages (cf. Fattah 1998) will also be referred to in the paper.

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Preliminary phonology of Dimawso Kayan, Myanmar

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The Northern Karen language Pekong Kayan has been described in-depth by Manson (2003, 2007, 2010). A broad phonological comparison of a Kayan variety spoken in Wanbanbalo village, Dimawso township, Myanmar, with earlier descriptions of three other Kayan varieties reveals differences in consonant, vowel, and tone inventory.

Dimawso Kayan has 23 consonants, 12 vowels only two of which occur nasalized or with final nasals. Depending on the point of view, it has either 3 tones with contrastive voice quality, or six tones. Some of the Pekong Kayan (Manson, 2007) nasalized vowels correspond to oral diphthongs in the presented data, a phenomenon also observed for Pwo Karen (Phillips, 2018). While most of the vowels are realized with a slight offglide, there is clear contrast between those diphthongs.

Phonological processes include retraction of open central vowel /a/ [a] to [ɑ] when accompanied by breathy voice, or lowering of /i/ [i] to [ɘ] with high constricted tone. There also is an interaction of voice quality and pitch; glottalization of the low mid and mid tone is accomplished by final glottal stops, while the degree of constriction for the high tone is very subtle, seen in compounds formed with *si*³ ‘water’ (such as *si*³*na*¹ ‘rice paddy’ vs. *ble*¹*si*³ ‘saliva’ vs. *si*³*ɬəi*¹*k*^h*i*² ‘boat’). Since the high unconstricted tone is clearly breathy, the main distinguishing features for the high constricted tone appears to be creaky voice, modal voice, or modal voice with final glottal closure.

Some features of the presented Dimawso Kayan phoneme inventory resemble Manson’s (2007) Pekong Kayan, others confirm Luangthongkum’s (2013), Khammuang’s (1998), and Kauffman’s (1993) analysis of Kayan data recorded in Northern Thailand. Further study to harmonize and elaborate the different analyses is recommended.

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Functions of *ka-* in Isbukun Bunun

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Bunun is an Austronesian language spoken primarily in central and southern Taiwan. This study focuses on the Isbukun dialect spoken in the Tumpu village, Nantou.

According to Austronesian Comparative Dictionary, **ka-* has three functions in Proto-Austronesian (PAn): (i) marking past time in temporal expressions; (ii) functioning as a stative marker (abbreviated as STAT) in irrealis constructions and as a counterpart of STAT *ma-* in realis ones; (iii) marking abstract nouns of quality. In Isbukun, only the second and the third functions that were retained from PAn are found, as shown in (1) and (2). Note that (i) Isbukun STAT *ka-* appears in non-AV verb forms, alternating with STAT *ma-* in AV verb forms and (ii) the *ka-* for abstract nouns should be distinguished from the stative marker *ka-* in which the former *ka-* is present in the nominalizations even for verbs that do not exhibit *ma-~ka-* alternation.

- (1) a. *ma-salpu* 'to be sorrowful (AV)'
 b. *ka-salpu'-un* 'to be sorrowful (UVP)'
 (2) a. *ka-i-husbu-an* 'weight; heft' (< *ma-husbu* 'to be heavy (AV)')
 b. *ka-i-naskal-an* 'happiness' (< *ma-naskal* 'to be happy (AV)')

Aside from the above two functions, other innovated functions of Isbukun *ka-* are also found: (i) expressing an action or a state by verbalizing a noun that is encoded by the nominal base (3); (ii) conveying an adversative event (4); (iii) describing a state of fact denoted by a reduplicated noun (5); (iv) marking a resultative state (6); (v) denoting opaque semantics in AV verb forms, where it should also be distinguished from STAT *ka-* in non-AV verb forms (7).

- (3) a. *ka-lumah* 'to build a house' (< *lumah* 'house')
 b. *ka-busbus* 'to drizzle' (< *busbus* 'drizzle')
 (4) a. *ka-nanah* 'to abscess' (< *nanah* 'pus')
 b. *ka-takbu'* 'to callus' (< *takbu'* 'callus')
 (5) *ka-ludun~ludun* 'i-sia tumpu-daingaz tu 'asang.
 KA-RED~mountain LOC-LOC place.name-old LNK village
 'The old Tumpu village is located in (several) mountains.'
 (6) *ka-ning'av danum tu hudan-an.*
 KA-sea water LNK rain-UVL
 'The rainwater becomes a pond.' (Lit, 'The water of raining becomes a sea.')

- (7) *ka-mananu saia tangis 'aupa 'asa maun kamasia.*
 KA-originally NOM.3SG cry[AV] because want[AV] AV.eat candy
 'S/he cries/cried on purpose because (s/he) wants/wanted to eat candies.'

These innovated functions in Isbukun seem to diverge from those reconstructed for PAn. This study thus aims to (i) investigate the morphosyntactic properties of each *ka-* (e.g., the syntactic category of a base and its resulting form); (ii) discuss the co-relation of the innovated and retained functions; and (iii) elucidate the developments among these different functions through synchronic and diachronic accounts.

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Puzzles in Ilongot Phonology (and Lexicon)

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Ilongot (or Bugkalut/Bugkalot), an under-described Austronesian language spoken in the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Quirino, and Aurora in the northern Philippines, belongs to the Southern Cordilleran branch of the Northern Luzon (or Cordilleran) subgroup of Malayo-Polynesian languages (Reid 1979, Zorc 1986, Himes 1998). In a one-page brief sketch of Ilongot phonology in *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life*, Rosaldo (1980:235) recognizes the existence of fifteen consonants in Ilongot, including seven stops /p, t, k, ʔ; b, d, g/, two fricatives /s, ɣ/, three nasals /m, n, ŋ/, one liquid /l/, and two glides /w, j/. Similarly, in a four-page description of Ilongot diachronic phonology, Himes (1998:135-139) recognizes the same fifteen consonants in Ilongot.

A careful study of the diachronic phonology of Ilongot shows that their treatment of [t] and [s] as two distinct phonemes is not free of problem. More specifically, PAn/PMP *C/*t/*s merged as Ilongot /t/, which is phonetically realized as [s] only before the high front vowel /i/ but as [t] elsewhere. Moreover, whether or not [l] should be considered as a phoneme of Ilongot also deserves special attention. More specifically, PAn/PMP *R (= the “RGH Law”) merged with PAn/PMP *l and changed to PSCC/PSC *l, which in turn changed to Ilongot /ɣ/ or sometimes be further elided in some environments.

This study examines Ilongot vocabulary with a focus on forms containing the segment *l*. A comparison between Ilongot forms with forms in Philippine languages that reflect PAn/PMP *R or PAn/PMP *l as *l* suggests that many of the forms are possibly results of borrowing from Ilokano, Isinay, and other Northern Luzon languages. Results of this study question the validity of some PSCC (Proto-South-Central Cordilleran) reconstructed forms in Himes (1998:148-149) and might shed some light on contact history of the Ilongot.

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A study of Kaxabu pronouns

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Kaxabu is a Formosan language spoken in Central Taiwan. It is an endangered language as speakers mainly use Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) in daily conversation. The aim of this paper is to examine Kaxabu pronouns, and in particular focus on the formation of two possessive sets.

Kaxabu pronominal system includes five sets, neutral – they occur to refer to a participant in subject or object position – genitive (I & II) – with dual functions, as in other Formosan languages, the first being to encode a non-subject actor in UV clauses and the other to refer to a possessor – and possessive (I & II), as follows:

Table 1: Kaxabu pronominal system

	Neu	Gen I	Gen II	Poss I	Poss II
1S	yaku	naki	naki=a	yaku=a	yaku=é
2S	ĩiw		ĩiw=a	ĩiw=a	ĩiw=é
3S	ĩiwĩiw			ĩiwĩiw=a	
1PI	ita		ita=a	ita=a	
1PE	yasi		ĩiwasi=a	yasi=a	
2P	ĩiw		ĩiwĩiw=a	ĩiwĩiw=a	
3P	ĩiwĩiw			ĩiwĩiwĩiw=a	

There are three ways to express possessive in Kaxabu, for instance: (1) naki=a ‘Gen II’, as in naki=a aba ‘my father’; (2) yaku=a ‘Poss I’, as in yaku=a aba ‘my father’; (3) yaku=é ‘Poss II’, as in yaku=é aba ‘my father’. Only (1) has been reported in previous studies (Ferrell 1970, Lin 2000, Li & Tsuchida 2001), though (2) and (3) are found in texts collected by us.

There is a discrepancy among speakers on the use of the two genitive and possessive sets. The ‘Poss I’ set is the most commonly use to encode possessive though elder informants tend to use more ‘Gen II’ set and ‘Poss I’ set, and younger informants ‘Poss I’ and ‘Poss II’ sets.

While the Kaxabu pronominal system has been greatly influenced by TSM, it has not directly borrowed these morphemes. Rather, borrowing has been gradual and this paper capture this change in progress.

When Stress Interacts with Segments: a case study of Cebuano stress

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This paper investigates how stress interacts with segments in Cebuano from a corpus-based approach. Cebuano is an Austronesian language spoken in the Central Philippines. The stress pattern of Cebuano is twofold: final or penultimate (Wolff 1962, Newton 1991, Shryock 1993, Lin 2017). According to Lin (2017), who has established a corpus by utilizing Luzares's (1979) verb list, 73% of the corpus examples have penultimate stress. Other 27% of the corpus examples have final stress.

To look into the stress pattern in Cebuano from the interaction of stress and segments, this paper uses Lin's (2017) corpus without examples of reduplication. In total, 1032 examples are used in this paper, which targets three segmental differences between the positions of stress (penultimate vs. final) in different syllable types (CV vs. CVC), and focuses on the sequence of CV + CVC. In particular, this paper explores whether the codas in CVC and vowels in a disyllabic word are significantly different.

The results are as follows. First, the codas in the CVC of CV + CVC with penultimate and final stress are compared, and Chi-square tests are conducted. The result suggests that there is no significant difference in the codas. Second, the vowels in the sequence of CV + CVC in penultimate and final stress are also compared. The results of Chi-square tests suggest that there is a significant difference between the penultimate and final stress in the vowel of CV syllable in CV + CVC, while there is no significant difference in the vowels of CVC syllable. It is concluded that vowels play a more crucial role than consonants do in Cebuano phonology, especially the vowels of CV syllable.

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Representations of the sea disputes in the Philippine and Chinese news media

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Tensions have steadily increased within the region and concerns have been raised in the international community on the territorial claims of the different nations in the South China Sea. Such strain has been compounded by China's militarization of the area and the Philippines filing of a historic international arbitration procedure against China. As it is a known fact that media representations shape insights that bring about public perception, media discourse serves as a relevant platform where beliefs, notions and values in a society are generated. In particular, this study examined a cross-cultural perspective on how the top popular press in the Philippines and China portray an evaluative stance as regards the current South China Sea tensions. Anchored on the constructs of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the study set out to reveal the news writers' positions through examining Martin and White's (2005) three interacting domains of the appraisal framework: engagement, evaluation and graduation.

The analysis of the media reports from the two countries culled from a period of three years (January 2013- December 2016) focused on how the writers construed their attitudinal judgment and constructed their positions. Findings showed that majority of the lexical expressions used by both countries were attitudinal appreciation under valuation subcategory indicating that both cultures highlight the significance of the event or phenomenon. In relation to the respective socio-cultural and political contexts in which the news reports are written, it can be said that the attitudinal expressions used in the news reports reflect the political and historical happening and atmosphere in the said cultures. It was further revealed that the attitudinal expressions employed in the news reports provide subtle expressions of behavioral judgment by highlighting impersonal evaluative expressions that focus on the value or significance of the dispute in the region.

The grammaticization of morality: *nak e* ('the person') as a marker of detached outside morality in Balinese online discourse

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The issue of marking stance has recently been of keen interest in language and interaction studies. Englebretson (2007) notes that despite stance having an indeterminate definition, it encompasses the emotional, moral, and attitudinal positions that interactional participants constantly inhabit any discourse. Shoaps (2007) demonstrates morality as a primary evaluative force for the use of irony in Sakapultec discourse. This study will demonstrate another way to mark a morality-supported stance, i.e., via a single lexicalized definite construction, in asynchronous internet-based discourse, namely a Balinese-language online forum.

In Balinese (Austronesian, Malayo-Sumbawan), the construction *nak e* historically comes from (*a*)*nak* 'person' with the definite suffix *-e/-ne*, literally 'the person':

- (1) *susuk anake uliang kone*
nail **person-DEF** return-TRZ1 possibly
"Perhaps (you) can tag the person and return with him here." (wayanris, 19/02/13)

However, this construction has recently acquired additional functions such as mitigating commands and politely countering another's position, as (2) and (3) show:

- (2) *mai nake lanjuuut*
come.here **person-DEF** continue
"Come here (and) continue." (TeliKup, 02/03/13)
- (3) *Sekenan nake dek*
seriously **person-DEF** NAME
"Are you serious, Dek?" (REAL MADRID, 08/04/14)

This study will illustrate how a simple definite-marked NP (*a*)*nake* 'the person' has become grammaticized in Balinese as a marker of an outside source of morality, i.e., Watanabe's (1992) sense of "moral personhood". The Balinese discourse data investigated here will demonstrate that rather than a morality being administered covertly via irony (per Shoaps 2007 and 2009), the mere mention of (*a*)*nake* 'the person' without any activity suggests a more detached morality, one where observers are simply noting the presence of a "principal" participant without any commentary about that participant's activity or state of mind. Instead, a simple token of (*a*)*nake* is enough to appropriately administer the flow of morality from the speaker. This is evident only when this item is observed in environments other than its original referential context.

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Wh-in-situ Nino and Predicate Relation in Tagalog

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This paper analyzes the wh-in-situ nino in different constructions: transitive, unaccusative passives and possessives. Various literatures (Chung & Polinsky, 2009; Rackowski & Richards, 2005; Aldridge, 2002) have established that in Tagalog the ang-marked phrase (ABS) is the only DP argument that can be extracted for wh-movement; however, in the case of (1) "kinain nino ang mangga?" the ng-marked (GEN) is extracted at the LF. In fact, fronting the wh-in-situ nino, unlike ano and sino makes the construction grammatically incorrect as in *nino ang kinain ang mangga.

The paper takes up from Gerassimova & Sells (2008) analysis which hypothesizes that question formation in Tagalog is not extraction and question particles are predicates in canonical cleft wh- question. It is further hypothesized that unlike nino, sino has characteristics which enables it to become a predicate and in order for it to express a predicate relation with the semantic implication of possession, kay has to be added which further results to kanino fronted question particle.

Production and Perception of Marginal Contrast: Length Contrast in Thai Mid Vowels

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Vowel length is contrastive for all monophthongs in the Thai vowel system. However, short and long open-mid vowels, /ɛ-ɛ:/ and /ɔ-ɔ:/, are not fully contrastive for length. There are very few minimal pairs, their distribution is partially predictable, and they show a high degree of variability within and across speakers (Pittayaporn 2015). This is a result of emerging contrast through a split. Similar phenomena are usually referred to as 'marginal contrast'. This phenomenon has challenged the traditional definitions of *contrast* and *allophony* (Hall 2013).

This paper center on the consequences of marginally contrastiveness on the production and the perception of the open-mid vowels. I conducted a production study and a perception study. In both studies, the open-mid vowels /ɛ-ɛ:/ and /ɔ-ɔ:/ were compared with fully contrastive low vowels /a - a:/ to emphasize the difference of marginal contrasts from full contrasts.

Acoustics study: 10 Thai native speakers were asked to read existing words and nonce words presented in Thai orthography, in a map task and a reading task. The result shows that the durational proportion of the low and the open-mid vowels in syllable rimes are both categorical. However, the open-mid vowels are more widely distributed and two categories overlap more than the low vowels.

Perception study: 15 Thai native speakers were asked to discriminate continuum sets of short and long vowel stimuli. The result shows that the listeners have more difficulty in discriminating the short and long open-mid vowels than the low and high vowels, as they have significantly higher reaction time.

This paper proposes that the realization in production and perception of marginal contrast and emerging contrast through a split is distinct from full contrast. It also yields insights into phonological theories and theories of sound change.

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Description of vowel phonemes and consonants phonemes of Retta in Alor district of Eastern Southeast Province

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Retta language is one of the regional languages in Alor district. This language includes Non Austronesian languages. This language is also grouped in the Timor-Alor-Pantar group. Alor-Pantar is part of the Papuan group. Retta language is used by the living and spreading community of speakers in the villages of Southern Pura, Maru, Southern Ternate, and Ternate sub-district of Alor Barat Laut. The number of Rt-speaking language speakers in Northwest Alor District 3644 (Alor in Figures, 2003) In social function, Retta language is used as an interpersonal communication tool. Retta language is generally used as a language of everyday social and language of instruction in the family. The Retta language is also used as a medium of instruction in buying and selling activities in markets (especially in villages). In the Alor culture, the Retta language is used as an introduction to activities related to customs, such as in traditional ceremonies of marriage, birth, death, building houses, making and drawing graves, and others. The Retta language is also used when people perform ritual ceremonies. In addition to the two functions above the Retta language is also used at the time of worship in the church, the activities of the government apparatus relating to counseling. Retta language has five vowels: i, e, a, o, u, and The Retta language has sixteen consonant phonemes, namely /b/, /b/, /p/, /p/, /m/, /d/, /t/, /j/, /s/, /n/, /r/, /l/, /g/, /k/, /ŋ/, /h/. Seventeen consonant phonemes that exist are distributed completely and some are not distributed complete. Completely distributed phonemes, ie /b, b, d, t, s, g, k, l, r, h /.

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A First Look at Pyu Grammar

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The extinct Pyu language once spoken in Myanmar in the first millennium CE remains barely explored. Nearly all research to date has focused on only a handful of inscriptions out of a corpus of 170. Much work has been done on identifying the words in those few inscriptions, but to date there has been no study of how those words relate to each other. Knowledge of Pyu grammar has advanced little in the century that has passed since Blagden (1911: 379) wrote,

“On the whole the syntax [of Pyu] comes fairly close to the Burmese without, however, being actually identical with it.”

Blagden was certainly aware of exceptions to his generalization: e.g., he noted that Pyu verbs did not always follow their objects but did not look into specific instances of this phenomenon. Unfortunately, those exceptions have remained untouched until now.

This first look at Pyu grammar outlines the basic laws of Pyu morphosyntax while also examining exceptions from the entire corpus. Topics include:

- Chronological variation
- Stylistic variation: e.g., the specialized subset of Pyu grammar unique to the nissaya-like Pyu glosses of Sanskrit
- Pyu morphosyntax in comparative perspective
- The use of Pyu morphosyntax as an aid to decipherment

So little is known about Pyu grammar that it is still possible to fit all of the above into a single paper. We hope that situation will change in the future if our ongoing decipherment of the corpus uncovers more grammatical phenomena.

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Linguistic features of Javanese-Indonesian narratives of trauma

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In this paper I examine phonological and grammatical features in narratives of traumatic moments experienced by an *ex-tapol*. The speaker is a man (71 years old) who was arrested in 1965 October, and was interrogated and incarcerated as a *tapol* 'political prisoner' because he was a member of a university student organization supported by the Indonesian Communist Party. He remained in prison until 1978. This paper attempts to analyze and interpret this Javanese-Indonesian speaker's linguistic features in his description of the moments of his arrest and imprisonment.

Even while speaking in Indonesian (?) the speaker exhibits to a strong degree the phonological features of his native Javanese, i.e. 1. Rounding of post bilabial plosives: e.g. *banyak*- > *bwa:nyak*, 2. lengthening and stressing of certain (which?) vowels: e.g. *diajar*- > *diaja:r* and 3. lengthening of final trilled /r/: e.g. *dengar*- > *denga:rrr*

These phonological features, influenced by Javanese emphatic features, are observed when the speaker tries to narrate in vivid detail what happened, what he felt, and how overwhelmed he was at the time of his arrest.

The speaker's narratives also show frequent direct citations of his own utterances as well as those of friends' in Javanese, his own monologues in Javanese, and numerous instances of code-switching between Indonesian and Javanese, viz:

1. *pada* *Maret*,
in March
2. *aku* *malam-malam* *dipanggil*
I late night PASSIVE.be.called
At midnight I was called
3. *dipanggil* *banyak* (not *bwa:nyak*?)
PASSIVE.be.called lots
(I was called) many times.
4. *'Ini mau dibebaske,* *opo kita pindah,'*
this about.to PASSIVE.be.released, QM? we move
'Are we going to be freed, or be moved ???'
5. *tidak tahu.*
NEG know
'(I did) not know.'

In this sequence, the speaker uses a Javanese passive form, *di-bebas-ke*, and an interrogative marker, *opo*, then switches back to Indonesian, *kita pindah*?

This paper will discuss the frequency and environments of code-switching and direct citation. I also discuss the speaker's humorous expressions and examine the functions of humor in narratives of traumatic experiences.

Sentence-final particle *e* in Tagalog

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Sentence-final particles (SFPs) refer to invariable words that appear at the end of a turn with various communicative and interactive functions, such as expressing the speaker's attitude to what is being said and managing the flow and structure of discourse. A rich inventory of such particles is a prominent feature of Southeast Asian languages. Tagalog, an Austronesian language of the Philippines, is not an exception to this statement: this language has at least four morphologically simple SFPs and several complex ones (Schachter and Otnes 1972:461ff). In spite of the important roles they play in discourse, however, the precise nature of the functions of these particles is still unknown.

In this paper, I will provide a description and analysis of *e*, one of the SFPs in Tagalog, by examining 10 hours of recorded conversations. There are four major findings in this paper. First, the particle *e* is best analyzed as a marker of explanation with a wide of range of interpretations. For example, this SFP indicates that the proposition represented by the preadjacent clause supports the speaker's statement ('reason') or justifies the speaker's action ('excuse'), as in (1). It is almost obligatory when the speaker provides some reasons for saying something contrary to the hearer's expectations, as in (2). Second, *e* can occur in declarative sentences, but not in interrogative or imperative sentences. Third, *e* is pronounced with vowel lengthening and remarkable intonation contours. Lastly, attention is also drawn to the fact that *e* can be used as a sentence-initial interjection with much the same discourse functions. Discourse function is closely related to position in the discourse.

To conclude, although they have been receiving little attention in the literature, SFPs in Tagalog display complex and interesting grammatical phenomena. This paper will pave the way for further studies on this subject.

(1) A: *Kain ka nang kain dyan!*
eat 2SG.NOM ADV eat there
'You ate and ate and ate!'

B: *Masarap e.*
delicious SFP
'(I did so because) it's delicious.'

(2) A: *Mas mahirap yung sa iyo.*
more difficult NOM LOC 2SG.LOC
'Your (work) is more difficult (than mine).'

B: *Hindi e.*
NEG SFP
'No.'

Seventy five percent up lang yung binili- i-b<in>igay nila e.
seventy five percent up only NOM CV-give<RL> 3PL.GEN SFP
'(I said so because) they offered to increase my salary only by 75%.'

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Adjectives in Meiteiron

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Criteria on how to define adjectives vary from one language to another and depend on the approach and definition of word classes. Moreover, features and the morphosyntactic behaviour of describing property words, that is, adjectives, vary prominently from one language to another. (Dixon 1977: 2004.) Since the pioneering study of Dixon (1977, 1982), the adjective is the most controversial and problematic category for the definition of parts of speech systems. Some languages, like English, have open classes of adjectives, whereas others (Yoruba, Hausa, Mandarin, etc.) only have a few, and the category is closed. In addition, some languages do not make clear distinctions between nouns and adjectives or between verbs and adjectives. Meiteiron is of the latter type where we find adjectives and verbs are hardly separable; areas of similarity are examined. This paper argues that Meiteiron lacks a distinct, open category of Adjective.

Based upon several morphosyntactic criteria for adjectivehood what have been traditionally analyzed as adjectives are stative verbs. Like verbs these adjectives can have direct markers of the TAM categories. A closer look at Meiteiron verbal and relativization systems is likely to give a clue to these questions. It is therefore proposed in this paper that apparent noun-modifying adjectives in Meiteiron are predicates inside relative clauses as in Korean (Kim 2002). Taking a critical look at some words which have been erroneously called adjectives, it predicts that putative adnominal adjectives will only have intersective meanings, because they are predicates inside relative clauses.

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Changes of Vietnamese initial consonants /b/, /m/, /mp/, /t/, */b/ as evident in Quoc Ngu documents from the 17th to the early 19th centuries

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This paper presents the results of investigation and analysis of changes of the previous Vietnamese initial consonants /b/, /m/, /mp/, /t/, */b/ as evident in *quoc ngu* documents from the 17th to the early 19th centuries. Study of that data yields the following three conclusions.

In that period, Vietnamese had initial consonant clusters such as /b/, /m/, /mp/, and /t/; e.g. *blai* (boy, man, son), *mlón* (big), *mhâm* (mistake/mistaken), *tlánh* (avoid) and a series of corresponding alternate pronunciation with /m/ - /b/, /ml/ - /bl/; e.g. *mồ hôi* - *bồ hôi* (sweat), *mlón* - *blón* (big). All of these were reaching the completion of their changes to different extents, and each of them is still retained in different numbers of words recorded in *quoc ngu* documents from the 17th to the early 19th centuries.

By the end of the 17th century, the change of /mp/ to /p/ was complete. The merger of /t/ into /t/ was also complete by the end of the 18th century. In data between the 18th and the early 19th centuries /b/ still occurred in 15 words, and /ml/ in 7 words before /b/ completed its merger into /z/, and /ml/ merger into /p/ or /l/, depend on dialects.

The lexical pairs which alternate between /m/ - /b/ and /ml/ - /bl/ provides evidence of the existence of the initial consonant */b/ (a voiced implosive bilabial stop) once described by A. Rhodes in his *Dictionarivm Annamiticvm Lvsitanvm, et Latinvm* (1651): These include 12 alternate pronunciations of /m/ - /b/ in 9 words and 4 alternate pronunciations of /ml/ - /bl/ in 4 words; e.g. *mồ hóng* - *bồ hóng* (soot), *mồ hôi* - *bồ hôi* (sweat), *mlón* - *blón* (big), *mlâm* - *blâm* (mistake/mistaken), etc. This */b/ came from Proto-Vietic */b/ of which reflexes can be found as /m/ and /b/ in modern Vietnamese and Ruc (a conservative language of Vietic sub-branch).

Modern Vietnamese	Ruc Language	Proto-Vietic
măng (bamboo shoot)	ta ² bǎŋ ¹	tǎŋ

The final traces of */b/ can be found in Vietnamese of the early 19th century. After that period it merged with /m/.

Syntax and Semantics of Vietnamese Causative Constructions

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This paper will discuss Vietnamese causative constructions such as in 1a and 1b. Most Vietnamese researchers (e.g. Nguyen Thi Quy 1995, Diep Quang Ban 2005, Nguyễn Thị Thu Hương 2010) posit that both 1a and 1b are periphrastic causative constructions; that is, they are biclausal constructions in which main clauses express cause events and secondary clauses express result events. They differ only in orders of constituents. In this view, these constructions are the same in syntactic components and semantics but different in constituent orders, in which case, 1b is derived from 1a, or conversely, 1a is derived from 1b.

1. a) *Nó làm cái ly vỡ* b) *Nó làm vỡ cái ly*
3s mak CLSF glass broken 3s make broken CLSF glass
“He broke the glass.” “He broke the glass.”

However, besides cases in which constituent orders can be changed to establish two causative constructions mentioned in 1, there are cases which only have constructions like 1a as in 2a, or like 1b as in 3b.

2. a) *Nó làm bố mẹ buồn* *b) *Nó làm buồn bố mẹ*
3s make parents sad 3s make sad parents
“He made (his) parents sad.”
3. *a) *Nó đánh cái ly vỡ* b) *Nó đánh vỡ cái ly*
3s beat CLSF glass broken 3s beat broken CLSF glass
“He hit and broke the glass.” “He broke the glass.”

The variational hypothesis can't satisfactorily explain the data in 2 and 3. Based on Dixon's typological concept of causative constructions (2000), I argue that in terms of syntax, causative constructions of types 1a and 1b are not variations with different constituent orders. They are, in fact, causative constructions with distinctive syntactic features: 1a is a periphrastic causative construction, while 1b is a causative construction with a complex predicate. The formal features of these two types of causative constructions will be accounted for according to differences of semantic parameters of lexical verbs (stative vs. active), causees (have vs. lacking control, acting willingly vs. unwillingly), and causers (animate vs. inanimate, acting directly vs. indirectly, etc.), as posited by Dixon and other researchers.

Based on these data and claims, I draw the conclusion that in Vietnamese, in addition to lexical causatives, there are at least two other types of causative constructions which have different syntactic and semantic properties, namely, a periphrastic causative construction and a monoclausal causative construction with complex predicate.

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About *haəy*, Verb and Particle in Contemporary Khmer

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The word *haəy* means at first ‘to be finished’. It can be used as a single verb (ex. (1)) or else as the last verb in a serial verb construction (ex (2)). Besides, *haəy* has five types of ‘non-verbal’ uses. As particle *haəy* can be used as: **a.** taking into account some new (unexpected) event or fact (ex. (3)); **b.** specifying a fact as unquestionable or as being the good answer to a question (ex. (4)); **c.** finding that a process is already over or that a fact is already the case ; *haəy* is then often translated by ‘already’. (ex. (5)); **d.** combined with *niəj* (‘and’) *haəy* introduces the last item in a series (ex. (6)); **e.** in a series of propositions, *haəy* introduces the last one as meaning that the series must be interpreted as a whole (ex. (7)). It should be noted that in a., b. and c., *haəy* is in final position, whereas in d. and e. it introduces the item or the proposition working as its scope.

In this communication, we will show how these five non-verbal uses can be derived from the semantic basis of *haəy* as a verb (‘to be finished’).

- (1) *tvəəkkaa mɨn toan haəy*
“The work is not yet finished”
- (2) *tnam-doh-tmɨj cɨt ʔah haəy*
“This tooth paste is almost used up.”
- (3) *ʔoo kaŋ nih cah haəy*
“Oh this wheel is used / worn.”
- (4) *ʔaa chiem-cruuk nih sam haəy*
“(answer to the question: ‘What color my tie will match this dark blue shirt ?’) :
This brown one would be fine.”
- (5) *ʔee kraok laeŋ nəh! plii haəy*
“Hey get up! It’s late already.”
- (6) *kraoy pii nuh mien look-taa, look-yiey mday-thom haəy niəj mday-miəj tiət*
“(listing the members of a family) Besides, there’s Grandfather, Grandmother,
an older aunt and a younger aunt”
- (7) *kom tvəə bap koat, koat cah haəy sloot phaŋ*
“Don’t mistreat him, he is old and moreover he is kind”

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Inconspicuous Infixation in Seediq

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This paper introduces fossilized infixes in Seediq (Atayalic, Austronesian) by comparing two dialects Paran or Truku or by reconstructing an earlier forms in each dialects. Li (1985:258) discussed similar infixes such as <ya> or <in> in Atayal; however, no Seediq data was recorded there. With the purpose of filling this gap, the author investigates Seediq dialects either intra-dialectally or inter-dialectally.

As a result, more than ten Seediq words were found to hide infixes in itself. These infixes had four forms: <ər>, <əl>, <na> and <ra>. These forms two groups by the position of insertion: <ər> and <əl> is inserted right after a word-initial consonant (e.g., Paran *suruqemu* (earlier form is *s<ər>əqəmu*) and Truku *səqəmu* “corn”); while <na> and <ra> are inserted right before a word-final consonant (e.g., Paran *hupure* (earlier form is *hapu<ra>y*) and Truku *hapuy* “to cook”). For some words, intra-dialectal reconstruction shows reveals the infixation (e.g., Paran *berih* “to return” and *huri<na>h* “to require kindness with ingratitude”).

As far as these words are considered, it is likely that the infixation were sporadic changes happened to either of the Seediq dialects. The counterpart without infix is reconstructed for Proto-Seediq. In some cases, only Atayal shows infixation, while Seediq underwent no change (e.g., *sapa<ya>t* “four” in Atayal and *sepat* in Seediq). In other cases, only Atayalic—Atayal and Seediq—has the infix while other Formosan languages lacks it (e.g., Atayal *rəqi<ya>s*, Seediq *duqe<ra>s*, and Proto-Austronesian **daqis*).

The function of these infix is uncertain since there is little semantic coherence in the infixed forms. It appears to be solely phonological change. In order to identify this phonological change often hidden in fossilized manner, more comparative work between Formosan languages, as well as Formosan against Malayo-Polynesian languages, is necessary.

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The Saek spoken in Ban Na Kadôk: a “disappointing” dialect?

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The proposed presentation will focus on the Saek spoken in Ban Na Kadôk (Khamkeuth district, Bolikhamxay province, Laos). In that Saek dialect, there are no initial consonant clusters with [l] and [r], [l] cannot be found as a final consonant, and, if some specific treatments of Proto-Tai initials are worth mentioning, there are sometimes not enough examples to determine whether they are regular or isolated. Whereas loanwords from Vietnamese are numerous, one might be disappointed to find very few words borrowed from other Vietic languages.

James R. Chamberlain (1998: 32) is the first who mentioned the existence of a distinct Saek dialect in Ban Na Kadôk. It was documented by Sarinya Jitbanjong (2010) in a PhD dissertation where she studied it along with two Saek varieties belonging to the dialect described by William J. Gedney (Hudak 1993). Sarinya Jitbanjong (2010: 125-126) has proposed for the Ban Na Kadôk dialect a tone system with a 1-234 split in the C column.

The data obtained from more than 10 speakers of the Saek of Ban Na Kadôk however support a uniform 123-4 split in all the 5 columns of its tone system, representing a two-way split between ancient voiceless initials and ancient voiced initials, as in Vietnamese and in the Southwestern Tai languages in the environment of which that dialect evolved. Borrowings from Vietnamese having been integrated in its phonological system, a more complete picture of its tone system can be given by discussing the tones of Vietnamese loanwords in the speech of present-day speakers.

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Grammaticalization of Body Part Terms : Study on the grammaticalization of main body part terms in Thai in comparison to Korean

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Although multi-aspectual grammaticalization has been recognized in Thailand, a country rich in multifunctional polysemy, it was not too long ago that research on the linguistic phenomena, grammaticalization, started in earnest. In particular, research on the aspects of meaning extension of body part terms among basic vocabulary showing broad aspects of grammaticalization may furnish important linguistic clues that help one peek into the cognitive system of language speakers.

This article analyzes the meaning and grammaticalization of main body part terms in Thai, such as *head, face, back, hand, foot* etc. in comparison to those in Korean from a cognitive linguistic perspective. The language materials examined in this study were collected from the language Corpus and categorized by respective meanings. Based on those materials, this article aims to (a) explore the structure of polysemy by investigating how the meaning of the terms expands from the prototypical meaning-"nouns indicating a part of body" to other meanings and (b) analyzes the aspects of grammaticalization by navigating through the mechanism of conceptual metaphors and metonymies as cognitive motivations or mechanisms underlying this interesting broad meaning extension, functional extension and grammaticalization as well as the metaphorical concept that enables them.

This research can be a basis for contrastive analysis of aspects of meaning extension of other Thai body part terms, help comprehend the characteristics of Thai grammaticalization as compared to its counterparts in Korean, and also help grasp the trend of the grammaticalization and linguistic changes hereafter. Scholars and students may find this research helpful in various fields including Comparative Linguistics and Thai pedagogy as well as general Linguistics studies.

Morphological Effects in Reading Aloud Vietnamese Compounds

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This mega-study reports a word naming experiment addressing the production of Vietnamese compounds. Instead of considering as response variable only the naming latency, we also investigate as response variable the acoustic duration of the speech produced. Effects of compound frequency, word length, and constituent family size were present in both latencies and durations, but effects of constituent frequency were absent. This sets Vietnamese apart from languages such as English and Dutch, for which constituent frequency effects are well attested. We attribute the absence of constituent frequency effects to bisyllabic structures constituting the basic, unmarked phonological form of the Vietnamese word. Our data also challenge models of speech production holding that the onset of speech production would not be affected by the properties of non-initial syllables, as we observed naming latencies to be co-determined by the family size, tone, and syllable type of the second syllable. A remarkable convergence of the effects of frequency and family size for response latencies and acoustic durations validates the word naming task combining these two response variables as an excellent experimental paradigm for the study of phonological encoding in speech production.

On the effects of semantic transparency in Vietnamese compounds processing

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The aim of this paper is to identify linguistic transparency and opacity in Vietnamese compounds. Linguistic transparency and opacity analyses the degree to which the meaning of a compound word can be inferred from its parts. Compounding is a word formation process in which a lexical unit is made up of more than one word functioning as one, not only grammatically, but also semantically. Compounds and the meaning inferred by them may be: full, partial or idiomatic. Compound words reflect the properties both of linguistic representation in the mind and of grammatical processing.

Detailed analysis of the word classifies linguistic transparency or opacity as follows: two transparent constituents, transparent-opaque constituent, opaque-transparent constituent, two opaque constituents. As of the compositionality principle, constituents of compounds will be analysed separately and as a whole. Analysis will be illustrated with abundant examples of compound words collected from the Dictionary of Vietnamese. We explore the role of constituent properties in Vietnamese noun-noun compounds with corpus frequencies of the compounds and their constituents, productivity and ambiguity of the constituents and semantic relations between the constituents. The results show that the empirical and semantic properties of the compounds and the head nouns play a significant role.

Notes on Classifiers in Bahnar, Mandarin and Vietnamese

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This paper describes and propose an account for a number of cross-linguistic variations in distribution and interpretation of classifiers between Bahnar, Mandarin, and Vietnamese. The following table summarizes the observations to be accounted for (cf. Cheng & Sybesma 1999, 2005)

	Bahnar	Mandarin	Vietnamese
demonstratives requires numerals	yes	no	no
classifier-noun combinations can be arguments	no	no	yes
numeral-classifier-noun combinations can be definite	yes	no	yes
bare nouns can be definite	yes	yes	no

We adopt Trinh's (2013) account for the differences between Mandarin and Vietnamese, which is itself based on the proposal made in Chierchia (1998). Specifically, the following is assumed to hold in both of these languages. First, nouns denote cumulative predicates of type $\langle e, t \rangle$. Second, classifiers and numerals are of type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$. There is an operator, of type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle s, e \rangle \rangle$, which maps predicates to kinds.

The differences between Mandarin and Vietnamese are the following. First, there is an operator EXT, of type $\langle \langle s, e \rangle, e \rangle$, in Mandarin, which maps each kind K to the maximal individual which sums all instantiations of K. Vietnamese does not have EXT. This is the reason bare nouns can be definite in Mandarin and not in Vietnamese. However, in Vietnamese, there is a covert definite article, THE, of type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, e \rangle$, which maps predicates to individuals. Mandarin does not have THE. This is the reason classifier-noun combinations and numeral-classifier-noun combinations can be definite in Vietnamese but not in Mandarin.

We now turn to Bahnar. First, Bahnar has both THE and EXT. This is why both bare nouns and numeral-classifier-noun can be definite in this language. Second, classifiers in Bahnar are not of type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$, but of type $\langle n, \langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$, where n ranges over numbers and is the type of numerals in Bahnar. This means numeral-classifier-noun combinations in Bahnar should be bracketted as [[numeral classifier] noun] and not as [numeral [classifier noun]] as in Mandarin and Vietnamese. It also means that the classifier necessitates a numeral in Bahnar, which is consistent with what we observe.

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A first look at numeral classifiers in Northern Pwo Karen

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Northern Pwo Karen (N. Pwo) is a Karenic language of the Tibeto-Burman language family. Speakers reside in the northern Thailand provinces of Mae Hong Son and Chiang Mai. Like other languages in Mainland Southeast Asia, N. Pwo exhibits an inventory of numeral classifiers (Matisoff 2001; Enfield & Comrie 2015). Together, with a preceding quantifier, they can be used to indicate a time period or to enumerate a noun referent, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) *ʔo lə= nî tʰû' pōlō lə= dī ʔî ʔāteâ' pʰí*
 exist one CL.day pig be.round one CL.body this ask grandmother
 'One day, this one round pig asked grandmother...' (Folktale 7.18a)

In (1), the time classifier phrase, *lə=nî* 'one CL.day', functions as a time adverbial. The sortal classifier phrase, *lə=dī* 'one CL.body' is used with nouns that refer to four-footed animals and large baskets.

Besides the classification of nouns within noun phrases, classifiers can occur in other constructions, one of which is illustrated in (2).

- (2) *lî ué tʰâi jû' wé ué jû' ué jû'*
 go return shoulder 3.ABS CL.human shoulder CL.human shoulder

Lit. '(They) go return shoulder it, human shoulder, human shoulder.'
 '(They) went and returned shouldering it, each person shouldering (a load).'

In (2), *ué jû'* 'CL.human shoulder' indicates that both participants shouldered some branches.

While classifiers are primarily associated with entities in N. Pwo, they can also be associated with events. Other N. Pwo classifier behaviours include a change in order between the numeral and classifier for multiples of ten. Also, a classifier does not occur alone with a demonstrative, unlike Standard Thai.

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Tonal Geography of the Southern Thai Dialects

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This research aims to study tonal variation of Southern Thai dialects spoken in Southern Thailand. It focuses on tone patterns and characteristics, tone classification, and geographical distribution. The data were collected from 998 Southern Thai native speakers in 998 locations in Southern Thailand. The site selection was based on a geometric grid method using QGIS and Google Earth Pro softwares. A set of 80 monosyllabic words adapted from Gedney's (1972) checklist were used to elicit tonal data in this study. The data analysis was carried out with both auditory judgment and speech analysis instruments. The tone splits and mergers were generalized by auditory judgment and the tone characteristics were identified by Praat, speech software program.

The result revealed that tonal variations spoken in Southern Thailand were classified into nine main dialects according to the pattern of tone splits and mergers as: upper western southern Thai, upper eastern southern Thai, western southern Thai, northwestern southern Thai, eastern southern Thai, northeastern southern Thai, central southern Thai, lower western southern Thai, lower eastern southern Thai dialects. Each dialect was further classified into sub-dialects with regard to phonetic characteristics of tones in column A. Spatial distributions of the sub-dialects and dialect boundaries were shown in linguistic maps.

Subgroup structure of Southwestern Tai based on early phonological innovations

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Although Southwestern Tai (SWT) is the most studied branch of the Tai language family, its subgroup structure is still an unsettled matter. Many proposals (Brown 1985, Hartman 1980, Jonsson 1991, Chamberlain 1975) have been put forward, but none has been universally adopted. This is because they use radically different criteria that cannot be easily reconciled. The most-frequently cited subgrouping model is Chamberlain (1975), in which SWT languages are classified according to their reflexes of PSWT voiced stops and patterns of tonal splits and mergers.

Following Pittayaporn (2013) who shows that these criteria are either retentions or recent innovations, this paper proposes that the earliest phonological innovations be used as primary criteria for SWT subgrouping. Using Thai, Lao, and Tai Yuan inscriptional data as well as transcriptions of Yuan and Shan words in Sino-Foreign Glossaries (華夷譯語), it shows that 1) *k^{hr}- > k^h-, 2) *ɓl- > ɗ-, 3) *^{hr}- > h- are the oldest phonological innovations, and thus should be used as criteria for subgrouping. In this proposal, SWT languages is classified into two main branches. The Western branch, defined by *k^{hr}- > k^h-, consists of Shan varieties, Lue, Yuan, Lao, and Thai. Within this branch, a Southern group comprising Lao and Thai can be further set up using *ɓl- > ɗ- and *^{hr} > h- as criteria. In contrast to the heterogeneity of the Western branch, the Eastern branch consists of closely-related languages including Black Tai, White Tai, and Red Thai. The proposed subgroup structure provides new insights into the history of SWT migration.

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The genetic relationship between Sukhothai and Ayutthaya

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The Tai varieties attested in Sukhothai (13th - 16th centuries) and Ayutthaya (15th - 18th centuries) inscriptions are often assumed to be precursors of Modern Thai. However, the exact genetic relationship between these two languages is still uncertain due to lack of empirical study. Two opposing views are found in the literature. The first one assumes that Sukhothai is an earlier stage of Ayutthaya (e.g. Kullavanijaya 2008, Jaratjarungkiat 2012, Takahashi 2012). An alternative view is that the two varieties belong to different subgroups (Brown 1965). To determine the genetic relationship between these two medieval varieties, we examine whether they share significant phonological innovations. Analyses of correspondences between graphemes in Sukhothai (13th - 16th centuries) and early Ayutthaya inscriptions (15th - 16th centuries) and Proto-Southwestern Tai phonemes reveal seven common sound changes: (1) the merger of dorsal obstruents, (2) the merger of PSWT *au and *aj, (3) the merger of PSWT *ɲ-, *j- and *²j-, (4) the loss of voicing distinction in sonorants, (5) *ɓl- > d-, (6) *k^{hr}- > k^h-, and (7) *^hr- > h-. Moreover, the data show that each innovation occurs concurrently in Sukhothai and Ayutthaya, indicating that the two varieties were spoken by the same speech community. Therefore, we conclude, in contrast to the two views, that the language of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya inscriptions are in fact the same language.

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A Description of Maguindanaon Discourse Particles

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Maguindanaon is the name of a moro ethnic group and the language in Maguindanao area which means “people of the flood plain” because they primarily inhabit the broad Pulangi River valley and delta which occasionally flood (Ethnic Groups Philippines, 2017). Maguindanaon is an Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian language which has five dialects: Laya, Ilud, Biwangan, Sibugay, and Tagakawanan. This minor Philippine language is spoken by a population of 1,100, 000 (Ethnologue, 2017) that inhabit the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. Despite the number of speakers, studies about this language is scarce. This paper addresses the gap by describing its discourse particles. Discourse particles are known to be ‘catch-all’ terms for different sets of words and terminologies that lack a precise lexical definition. Using a 5000-word spoken data and translations from three native speakers of the language, the paper describes seven discourse particles in Maguindanaon utterance which are *den* (completion of action, urgency, wonder), *bun* (surprise, doubt, sarcasm, confirmation), *kun* (hearsay, request, challenge), *pan* (request, length of time, addition), *bu* (limitation), *besen* (wonder, surprise, realisation), and *mambu* (conviction, assertion) that add meaning to Maguindanaon speech.

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Factors determining the occurrence of classifiers in Vietnamese

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Research on the occurrence of classifiers in Vietnamese has a rather long history. It starts out from Emeneau (1951: 84), who did not provide any explanations but introduced the distinction between classified and non-classified nouns (examples (1a) vs. (1b)). Later on, Löbel (2000: 294) argued that the use of a classifier depends on the referentiality of the noun. Nouns in a non-referential context do not get a classifier. Phạm (2013) takes the perspective of class-term compounds, arguing that these structures can combine directly with numerals because they have the properties of classifier phrases. This paper tries to provide a more comprehensive account of classifier use that is based on a text corpus of written and oral narratives (cf. below) and integrates various features and their hierarchical order.

As will be shown, the presence of a classifier is significantly higher with [+protagonist, +animate] features (cf. Tables 1 and 2) and in the context of contrastive topics. As for interpretation, there is a general preference of using classifiers with definite nouns if they are identifiable in context (also cf. Simpson 2017 on anaphoric vs. unique definiteness in the Wu variety of Jinyun). If one combines the criterion of word order (preverbal/subject vs. postverbal/object) with animacy, it turns out that classifiers prototypically occur with definite animate nouns in the subject position (cf. Table 3). These findings fall in line with general criteria of prominence as they are reflected in discourse (protagonists, topichood, identifiability), semantics (animacy) and syntax (subjecthood).

The absence of classifiers is primarily determined by the semantic features of relationality and uniqueness (cf. Löbner 2011). Thus, [+relational] nouns and [-relational, +unique] nouns preferably occur as bare nouns (cf. Table 4). These features can also overwrite discourse features (e.g. [+protagonist]).

Example 1 from Emeneau (1951: 84):

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|-----|------|----|---------------|--------|
| a. | hai | cái | cổng | b. | hai | chuyện |
| | two | CL | gate | | two | story |
| | ‘two gates’ | | | | ‘two stories’ | |

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Course design and evaluation of an Indonesian MOOC integrating language documentation and cognitive linguistics

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This study reports how we developed and implemented an Indonesian MOOC (<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLQn99bzkJv9xAyiAWH4uFBiKHmWm469dL>) based on the theories of cognitive linguistics and language documentation. We also provide a systematic analysis and evaluation of the online interactions of course management and propose useful guidelines for running MOOCs in the future.

The teaching materials are based on eight Indonesian versions of the frog story, which has frequently been used in studies of cognitive linguistics. The eight texts contain reoccurring prefabricated constructions in Indonesian that can be used to teach morphology, syntax, pragmatics, and discourse structures of Bahasa Indonesia. The assignments were designed based on the theory of language documentation, using different free software to analyze the Indonesian language and produce teaching materials for self-instruction. For example, ELAN is useful for aligning the interlinear glossing with the video, TextStat is used to produce word frequency counts and display a concordance, Lexique Pro can be used to make an online dictionary with photos and sound files, and Wix can be used to publish an e-portfolio for the purpose of language documentation.

Online interaction management was crucial in maintaining the interest of the participants, who need great motivation to complete the free nine week course. The teaching assistant helped establish a community of practice for the participants to interact with one another, addressed all questions concerning the course contents and technical issues, graded the assignments, and provided incentives for continuous online interaction.

Finally, we present the results of the students who successfully completed the course, evaluating which course activities, assignments, and assessment methods were most effective, and provide pedagogical implications for future MOOC course design and management.

Calquing Structure: How to Say ‘the’ in Isinay, Philippines

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This presentation describes structures that were apparently calqued by missionaries on the basis of Spanish when they first translated church literature into the Isinay language, Nueva Vizcaya, the Philippines. The structure is a sentence-initial, determiner-first Spanish structure, not present in traditional Isinay. The form used as the initial determiner was copied from an Isinay enclitic determiner.

Isinay is distinct from other Central Cordilleran languages in requiring a definite enclitic attached to every nominative phrase and definite nominal predicate in the language (Scheerer 1918, Paz 1965). This enclitic is =*ad* (with phonologically defined variants =*d*, =*wad* and =*yad*) in the Bambang dialect of Isinay, and =*ar* (variants =*r*, =*war* and =*yar*) in the Aritao and Dupax del Sur dialects. The base forms =*ad* and =*ar* occur following consonants. The variants =*d* and =*r* occur following the vowel *a*; variants =*wad* and =*war* follow *u* and *o* (1)-(2); variants =*yad* and =*yar* follow *i* and *e*.

Definite nominal predicates or fronted nominative phrases which in most other Philippine languages are preceded by a pre-nominal definite specifier, such as Tag. *ang*, in traditional Isinay were pre-nominally unmarked, their definiteness being marked by the enclitic =*ad* or =*ar* (or one of their variants).

The Isinay area was one of the northern Philippine groups first visited by Spaniards in 1591, and a Dominican mission was established in 1609. One of the first works translated into Isinay was the Roman Catholic Catechism (which was copied and published by Rocamora, a priest in Dupax between 1830 and 1840), in which there are more than 160 lines which begin with the Spanish word *el* ‘the (masc. sg)’.

There is clear evidence that the form *Uar*, is a calque for Spanish *El* ‘the’, forming a new Isinay structure, and is copied from the most common of the Isinay enclitic variants for the definite article. Evidence will also be given that the calqued structure is now used by Isinay speakers, especially in titles of songs and other formal works.

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ABAMO: A Bayesian model of tone classification within and across languages

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Previous research has established that in second language (L2) learning, the relationship between the phonological and phonetic properties of the first language (L1) and those of L2 influences L2 perception and understanding (e.g., Best, 1995; Kuhl, 1991, 1992). The focus of this study is on the influence of the tone inventories of L1 speakers on their L2 tone perception. We describe a Bayesian model, ABAMO that can successfully approximate the tone classification behaviour of Thai, Mandarin, and Cantonese speakers when asked to classify each of the five Thai tones. In the experiment, Thai participants (n=36) were asked to choose the Thai word/nonword corresponding to the stimulus they had heard, Mandarin participants (n=36) were asked to choose from four Simplified Chinese characters (representing /fu/ with all four Mandarin tones), and Cantonese participants (n=36) were similarly asked to choose from six Traditional Chinese characters.

ABAMO uses Bayes' theorem to combine acoustic similarity and frequency of occurrence data. Similarity was estimated using a gaussian process classifier (Hernández-Lobato. et al., 2011) that took time-normalised f0 vectors (Teutenberg et al., 2008) from a corpus of either Mandarin or Cantonese /fu/ syllables, produced in citation form, and calculated probability of membership for each native tone category. Native tone and character probabilities were derived from various published corpora. The probabilities were then combined using Bayes theorem, similar to the approach taken by Norris and McQueen (2010) in their speech perception model. ABAMO's classification results provide a good fit to the categorisation data of the Mandarin speakers, with the model correctly predicting subjects' most common classification choice for all five Thai tones and their second most common classification for three out of the five. The results for Cantonese were somewhat less accurate, with the most common categorisation

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“Welcome Turis, We Spik English” : Scales of Linguistic Imperialism in Contemporary Indonesia

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This paper analyzes the politics of differentiation and unification through ideologies of language standardization and modernity as language ideology in Indonesian language policies and tourism campaigns. To illustrate these ideological projects of linguistic differentiation and unification of the nation-state and between the nation and the state, I use scaling and scale-making to demonstrate how a state ideology of internal linguistic unity and external differentiation is predicated upon metrics of distance acting upon scales of geographic space, temporality, and identity. I first draw upon cases of contemporary Indonesian language policies to approach linguistic imperialism from protectionist and expansionist perspectives. I argue that Indonesia’s 2009 “language law” restricting the use of written English in public spaces is imagined to protect Indonesian national language and identity, while the explicit fear of linguistic neocolonialism is visible in the threat of English domination.

Nevertheless, Indonesia’s closed-door policy toward English is contradicted by violations of the law. I conduct a semiotic analysis on aberrant signage to demonstrate how it indexes a parallel ideology of Indonesia’s self-perceived place within international modernity, in which English is necessary for participation in global networks of education and tourism. I analyze the Indonesian Language for Foreigners (BIPA) program to argue that Indonesian language policy is an ideologizing process that reproduces the hegemonic practices of Dutch imperialism. Relying on temporal deixis and ideological processes of recursion and erasure, I illustrate that BIPA circulates Indonesian within these global networks and simultaneously projects Indonesian back onto the nation by suppressing the Papuan separatist movement and ‘modernizing’ Papua for tourism. As languages are objectified and circulated through global cultural flows and into divergent linguistic economies, inequality is born. These linguistic hegemonies are [re]produced in the institutionalization of standardization of modernization through educational practices that reinforce privilege and politicize how conflicting ideologies collide within spaces of socialization.

Toward reconstruction of Austroasiatic syntax

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Syntactic reconstruction is typically attempted only for languages with long recorded linguistic histories. Unlike in lexical reconstruction, where the historical comparative method has contributed to the development of phylogenies worldwide, similar patterns of predictability are difficult to observe at the level of syntax for the majority of the world's languages. Exceptions to this general rule are found among families for which ancient texts can be compared with modern texts to observe structural changes over time (c.f. Indo-European: Eythórsson & Barðdal 2016; Sinitic: Mei et al. 1999; Akkadian: Deutscher 2000).

In order to reconstruct basic word order for the Austroasiatic phylum of languages spoken in South and South-East Asia, we take a comparative corpus linguistic approach, building a database of linguistic texts based on existing language descriptions and additional fieldwork. As noted by Jenny (2015), many of these languages show verb-initial structures that cannot be explained by language contact or other means, such as in Khasian (1) and Palaungic (2) languages.

- 1) tʃim u=bru ka=wait
 take M=person F=sword
 'The man took the sword.' (Pnar)

- 2) səm ʔɾʔ ʔɯp
 eat 1SG rice
 'I eat rice.' (Wa)

Since verb-initiality in language seems to be dispreferred both cognitively and typologically (Junge et al. 2015; Futrell et al. 2015; Sauppe 2016), we seek an explanation, hoping to understand how such structures developed in these languages to gain more insight into human cognitive function and contribute to theories about syntactic development and language processing. This talk outlines our project design and various approaches to dealing with these concerns.

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The role of language transfer in language variation and change: the case of Pangasinan and Filipino

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Language contact is a natural phenomenon experienced by all language users in different communities in the world. Speakers may be in contact with speakers of other languages directly or indirectly because of migration, language use in the media, and language policies in the educational system resulting in variation and changes in the language.

This study focuses on the variation in the use of the Filipino language spoken in Pangasinan, a province located in the northwestern region of the Philippines. Pangasinan, which also refers to the major native language spoken in the area, is used by almost 1.5 million speakers in the province. Filipino, the national language of the Philippines, is used for wider communication as this is used as medium of instruction in schools, and also in the media.

To explain this variation in the language, this study uses the concept of language transfer or the transfer of linguistic features between the languages in the speech repertoire of an individual who is at least bilingual. The data collected for this study include recordings of interviews and conversations in Filipino by Pangasinan speakers in different contexts. In order to establish the idea that language transfer occurs in the Pangasinan speakers' use of Filipino, contrastive analysis (CA) was used as an approach. The audio recordings were transcribed and analyzed using CA to identify and describe the distinct phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic forms in the Pangasinan speakers' use of the Filipino language. These innovations which are manifestations of language transfer – from Pangasinan to Filipino – result in linguistic variation, which eventually could lead to the development of a variety of the national language uniquely used and spoken in this part of the Philippines.

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Some phonetic and phonological notes on Dan Lai and Tay Poong – two Vietic languages in North-Central Vietnam

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The Dan Lai (DL) and Tay Poong (TP) are languages of the so-called Pong-Toum subgroup of Vietic languages (P. Sidwell, 2014), known in Vietnam as the Tho subgroup. These languages are not yet extremely monosyllabic as Vietnamese is. They still preserved some features of the sesquisyllabic languages. The current study is part of the Russian-Vietnamese project supported by Russian Foundation for Basic Research (№ 17-24-09001) and based on field trip data collected in 2017.

The sesquisyllabic units are rare in both languages, especially in Dan Lai (DL). The unique initial consonant in minor syllable is k- (DL $\text{tɕi}^1 \text{kazec}^1$ 'to limp', kadep^1 'lame', $\text{kæc}^1 \text{kæak}^1$ 'scratch, abrasion'; TP kæãm^1 'nail', cf. DL cãm^1 ; TP. kapɛu^1 'cheek', cf. DL $\text{pɛu}^1 \text{pɛu}^1$). The initial consonant clusters in DL and TP (pl-, p^hl-/p^hl̥-, kl-, k^hl-, bl-, ml-) are encountered more often, comparing with sesquisyllabic units. The component pa¹ 'much' in Dan Lai used to denote the plural is an independent element, not a presyllable, because it can be combined with two-syllable units: pa¹ $\text{ʔai}^1 \text{ʔɕi}^1$ 'they' (ʔai^1 'man', ʔɕi^1 'woman')

The tonal system of the Dan Lai and Tay Poong languages includes five tones, which differ in two registers (high and low), presence or absence of final laryngeal constriction, sometimes in contour.

Long vowels in Dan Lai language are realized sometimes with laryngeal constriction dividing the vowel into two parts ($\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{l}^{\text{v}}:\text{t}^1$ [$\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{l}^{\text{v}}\text{ʔ}^1$] 'skin'). Some vowels are pronounced with a diphthongoid. In the initial phase, the vowel is pronounced more open, in the final phase it is more closed: p^een¹ 'side' (cf. Vietnamese *bên* [pen]), t^aep¹ 'right [side]'.

Porohanon phonology: An acoustic description

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Porohanon is the endonym of a Bisayan variety spoken in Poro Island, Camotes Islands, Cebu, Philippines (Zorc 1977, Simons & Fennig 2017). Wolff (1967) classifies Porohanon ('the Camotes dialect') as a dialect of Cebuano Bisayan but notes several significant shibboleths that set it apart from the said lingua franca, and also from the neighboring Samar-Leyte varieties. These distinctive features include a [z] corresponding with [j] in most environments in other Bisayan dialects and languages (Zorc 1977, p.49). Witness the following examples:

tiyan : *tizan* 'belly'
layu? : *lazu?* 'far'
kalayu : *kazu* 'fire'
ayaw : *azaw* 'not'
babayi : *bazi* 'woman'
siya : *siza* 3SG.ABS
yawa? : *zawa?* 'devil/demon'

The present study is a synchronic phonological sketch of Porohanon using the methods of acoustic phonetics. Using Praat Speech Analyzer and JPlot Formants, the articulatory parameters of each of its purported three vowels are identified and plotted on a vowel space. Suprasegmental phenomena such as vowel length, pitch rise, and intensity are also examined and tested for their distinctiveness as correlates of syllable prominence in the Porohanon system. These findings are intended to provide an empirical basis for a more comprehensive description of the variety's phonological and grammatical systems.

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Towards a typology of extraction patterns in Austronesian symmetrical-voice languages

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Austronesian symmetrical-voice languages designate a noun phrase as pivot, which is selected by voice and has privileged status for extraction; in many of these languages, only the pivot may be extracted, whether in *wh*-fronting or relative clause gapping. In transitive sentences, the agent is the pivot of the actor voice (AV) clause, while the patient is the pivot of the patient voice (PV) clause. In intransitive sentences, the clause's pivot is the sole argument, the intransitive subject. Austronesian symmetrical-voice languages tend to have a preferred voice for intransitive constructions, with the majority using the actor voice (AV) for their intransitive sentences. This pattern has been observed across the Austronesian family in languages such as Subanon (Estoica p.c.), Ampenan Sasak (Schuelke m.s.), and Puyuma (Chen 2017).

The grouping of intransitive subject and transitive subject (transitive agent) in AV is a nominative-accusative pattern. A single language, Roviana, has been observed to use exclusively the patient voice (PV) for intransitive sentences; thus, the intransitive subject and the transitive object (transitive patient) may *wh*-front only in PV, while the transitive subject (transitive agent) alone may *wh*-front in AV. This grouping of intransitive subject and transitive object is a decidedly ergative-absolutive pattern. This talk proposes a framework with which to classify extraction patterns in symmetrical voice and demonstrates the presence of both accusative and ergative patterns.

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Austroasiatic deep chronology and the problem of cultural lexicon.

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Since the 1970s, scholars discussing Austroasiatic language history have offered radically diverse models of phylogeny and chronology, based on a variety of methodologies and assumptions. Experiments in computational phylogenetic modeling of Austroasiatic (conducted with Simon Greenhill and Russell Grey) have consistently supported a very deep chronology for proto-Austroasiatic of roughly 7000~8000BP, broadly consistent with Diffloth's (2005) reckoned estimation of family time depth. Yet the computational analyses lend support to a fairly flat tree structure, which is arguably inconsistent with a deep chronology.

The long time lines implied by statistical analyses cause special difficulties for the interpretation of Austroasiatic cultural vocabulary. Various terms related to agriculture are generally reconstructed to the proto-language, along with numerals, names of cultural artifacts, and such things as cannot be easily reconciled with the archeological profile of Indo-China 7000 years ago. The conventional work-around of localizing proto-Austroasiatic culture in, say, central China or northern India also creates fundamental difficulties and lacks evidentiary support. This writer (Sidwell 2015:180) has suggested that Austroasiatic is a very old family that diversified relatively rapidly once rice agriculture become established in Indochina from around 4000BP.

It is increasingly clear that we must stratify the Austroasiatic lexicon into early and late phases, reflecting the cultural evolution of Austroasiatic society. While there is little difficulty reconstructing the basic lexicon of body part terms, animal names, natural features, and even pronouns to the base of the family tree, the forms and distributions of important cultural items suggest a younger staturum. These issues can be addressed by modelling overlapping phylogenetic and areal groupings in 4th millennium BP Austroasiatic, with implications for localization and migration of individual branches.

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Full and reduced vowels in Proto-Land Dayak penultimate syllables: evidence for a Malayic substratum?

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Rensch et al. 2012 reconstructs a vowel length contrast in penultimate syllables for Proto-Land Dayak, the ancestor language of Bidayuh, Bekati', Benyadu, and Southern Land Dayak languages in western Borneo. Land Dayak languages are, however, stress-final, and a length distinction in unstressed penultimate vowels is unexpected. In this presentation, comparative data from all branches of Land Dayak are used to argue that only native vocabulary reflect reduced penultimate vowels, and that the reconstructed full vowels are evidence of a Malayic substratum.

With data from Rensch et al. (2012) and Smith (2017), I distinguish Malayic and native vocabulary in modern Land Dayak languages, focusing on distinct reflexes of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *R, *l, *ə, and the diphthongs *ay and *aw. It is argued that words with Malay-like reflexes of these diagnostic phonemes correspond to full-vowel reconstructions in Rensch et al. An example of these methods follows:

Example:

PMP *lahud 'towards the sea'

PLD *lāut/*lāwət 'sea' (Rensch et al. 2012:315)

Singai raut, Tringgus Raya rawət, Rara laut, Hliboi laut, Golik laut.

This word is straight-forwardly identified as Malayic, for two reasons. First, PMP *l shifted to /r/ in most Land Dayak languages, including Rara, as exemplified by Rara rubakŋ 'hole', from PMP *lubakŋ. The absence of *l > /r/ in Rara laut suggests borrowing. Second, most Land Dayak languages retain word-final voiced plosives unchanged. Hliboi, for example, reflects PMP *tuqəd 'stump' as toʔod. Reflexes of *lahud, however, have devoiced the final obstruent in every case. Word-final devoicing is a Malayic sound change, adding more evidence that this is part of the larger Malayic substratum.

Similar arguments are made for a large number of reconstructed vocabulary from Rensch et al. 2012, providing a strong argument for a Malayic substratum.

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Language contact in West Kalimantan: The case of Mali

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The Land Dayak subgroup consists of languages and dialects primarily found in West Kalimantan and southern Sarawak. Recent phonological and lexical evidence further divides this subgroup into two internal subgroups: Benyadu-Bekati and Bidayuh-Southern Land Dayak (Smith 2017). Benyadu-Bekati languages are primarily found in the Bengkayang Regency, near the border of Malaysia, while Bidayuh-Southern Land Dayak stretch further south, into the Sanggau Regency of West Kalimantan. However, data from a previously undiscussed language spoken in the Sanggau Regency indicates that Benyadu-Bekati languages may spread further than previously thought.

In this talk I present data from Mali, a language spoken along the Kapuas River in the Sanggau Regency of West Kalimantan. Mali shares several features with Benyadu-Bekati languages, despite being located in Southern Land Dayak territory; namely, shared phonological innovations ((i) PMP *-ay becoming -e and (ii) PMP *-aw becoming -o) and shared lexical innovations ((iii) replacements and (iv) borrowings from Central Sarawak) (as described in Smith 2017).

However, vowels in Mali seem to be inconsistent with other Benyadu-Bekati languages. In particular, Mali lacks the merger of *ə and *a in the penultimate syllable after labial stops, a feature of Bidayuh-Southern Land Dayak languages. I argue that, despite this fact, Mali should be classified as a Benyadu-Bekati language, and these discrepancies are a result of language contact and borrowing, as Mali is surrounded not only by Southern Land Dayak languages (Ribun), but by Malayic Dayak languages (Ope and Desa). Evidence for this comes from phonological changes like *a becoming i (*laŋit ‘sky’ to riŋit), which does not occur in Bidayuh-Southern Land Dayak, and borrowings from Malayic Dayak languages. This data may expand our knowledge not only on languages within the Benyadu-Bekati subgroup, but for language contact in West Kalimantan in general.

Lexico-Syntactical Features of Medicine Product Warnings in the Philippines

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In the Philippines, the increasing number of issues about medicine counterfeiting and medicinal hazards becomes an involuntary outrage since mass media exposed the tremors brought by chemical contents in medicine items. Under certain circumstances, even if business owners designed and manufactured the products as vigilant and watchful as possible, consumers are remained threaten with certain degree of risks associated in medicine product usage.

The practicability and viability of upholding consumer safety was made possible as this paper examined the linguistic landscape of medicine product warning texts in the Philippines. This work has taken a snapshot of investigating the lexical and syntactical features of 50 product warning texts specifically Philippine-manufactured medicines. Results disclosed that cautionary texts committed essential percentage on the usage of noun abstractness, synthetic personalization, field continuum, adjectives, and adverbs. Such investigation brought up the transparency of communicative features of safety texts.

Moreover, conditional sentences and syntactic elements as to the utilization of declarative and imperative sentences were pinned down and elicited minimal forecasting of future events. The end results display significant implications on the product liability law in the country and further bridge the consumers' vital access to safety, hence bringing to light the authentic purpose of product warning messages in the mainstream of Philippine market.

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The modality system in Cebuano and Tagalog

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Modality has been well-investigated in languages like English, but even so, it has not been touched upon as comprehensively in grammar descriptions and in textbook materials alike as other grammatical features which have well-defined boundaries and scopes. Modality markers involve the concepts possibility and necessity, as well as various stance and attitudinal situations, in various forms. In English, these markers may be modality adverbs, modality verbs, modality adjectives, and modality nouns. This study will investigate the modality markers in Cebuano and Tagalog, closely related Austronesian languages in the Philippines. Using spoken and written data, I will discuss the modality expressions involved in the conveyance of possibility and necessity in both languages and compare them with that of English or another well-studied language.

Philippine languages express modality primarily in the form of second-position clitic markers and clause-initially positioned verb forms called by various terms like initial adverbs, pseudo-verbs, and defective verbs. This study will mainly show that there is generally a correlation between form and the commitment of the speaker toward the proposition; that is, the more committed or certain a speaker is to the utterance, the more likely that a verb is used to convey the position, while a clitic form is employed if otherwise. Second, I will try to show the similarities and differences in the form (including word order) and meanings (including the semantics and pragmatics) of these modality markers in the two languages. This study will hopefully generate an interest in modality markers in Philippine languages and result in a Grammar of Modality in Philippine Languages.

Devoicing of Voiced Obstruents and Tonal development in Siamese as attested in Chinese sources

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Devoicing of Voiced Obstruents (DVO), followed by tonal split and mergers form a transformative series of sound changes that affected all Tai languages. Although previous studies show that they occurred before the 17th century (Harris, 1992; Pittayawat 2016), their precise dating is still unclear. While Brown (1965) and Chamberlain (1991) hold that DVO occurred prior to 13th Century, Shintani (1974) and Gedney (1989) place it around 14th-17th Century. To arrive at the chronology of the sound change, I examine transcriptions of Siamese words in two sets of Chinese materials, *Míng Shí Lù* and *Xiānlúoguǎn Zázì*.

With respect to DVO, an examination of MSL reveals that most cases of voiced stops in Siamese personal names were transcribed with Chinese characters with initial unaspirated stops prior to 1440, e.g. *Nài Sīwù Luózhě* for *Nāy Smut Rājā*. After 1470, this pattern was replaced by one that uses characters with aspirated onsets, e.g. *Kūn Tiē Xiětí* for *Khun Dēp Sēthī*, suggesting that DVO took place between 1440 – 1470. As for tonal developments, Siamese syllables with voiceless and voiced onsets from the same tonal categories show different preferences with respect to Mandarin tones. For example, syllables with Tone B and voiceless onsets are preferentially transcribed with Chinese characters with Tone 4, but those with voiced onsets are most often transcribed with Tone 2, e.g. 布 *bù* for *puuB ‘grandfather’ but 婆 *pó* for *boɔB ‘father’. This suggests that the binary tone split conditioned by voicing of the onsets had been completed by late 16th century. Moreover, this paper found that syllables with original Tone A and voiceless aspirated onsets are transcribed with Mandarin Tone 3 at a much lower proportion than syllables with other onsets. This suggests that the split of Tone A conditioned by aspiration had already occurred.

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Tonal Geography of Tai Yuan in Southeast Asia

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This study aims to analyze and compare the tonal features of Tai Yuan spoken in Thailand, Laos and Myanmar in order to subdivide the Tai Yuan dialects and produce a geographical map of Tai Yuan tones in Southeast Asia. The data were collected from 22 locations in 14 provinces in Thailand, three districts in Laos and one town in Myanmar, from 83 informants using an 80 item word list based on Gedney's tone box (1972). They were analyzed by using Praat software and the results were then compared by using the criteria of tonal split, tonal merger, and tonal features.

The result revealed that the tones of Tai Yuan dialects spoken in Thailand, Laos and Myanmar can be classified into five groups according to the split and merger of tones in columns A, B, C, DL, and DS. The first group, A12-34 and BCD123-4, was spoken by most speakers in Thailand, Laos and Myanmar. The second group, A12-34 and BCD123-4 (B4=DL4=DS4), was spoken in Bor Kaew, Laos. The third group, A12-34 and BCD123-4 (A34=B123=DL123), was spoken in Mae Jaem, Chiang Mai Province and Lab Lae, Uttaradit Province, Thailand. The fourth group, A12-34, BDL1234, and CDS123-4, was spoken in Tha Pla, Uttaradit Province and Xayaburi Province, Laos. The fifth group, A12-34 and BCD123-4 (A34=B123=DL123, B4=C4=DL4), was spoken in Ratchaburi Province, Thailand.

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Tonal Variation of Tai Dam in Southeast Asia

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In this research paper, we present an analysis of regional variation and change of Tai Dam tones, focusing on the directionality of tone change, in three Southeast Asian countries: Vietnam, Laos and Thailand, including the linguistic criteria used to determine Tai Dam subgroups.

The research found that most modern Tai Dam speakers have maintained the tone splits and coalescences, and the phonetic characteristics of tones of the Proto Tai Dam. However, drawing from synchronic studies of tonal variation, we show three mechanisms that govern the directions in which tones change: 1) peak sliding 2) contour reduction and 3) perceptual maximization, including language contact which affected the Tai Dam in Thailand has changed the highest than Laos PDR and Vietnam respectively.

Based on the development of proto Tai Dam tones and the changes of initial consonants and vowels, the Tai Dam in Thailand and Laos PDR shared the same subgroup.

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Interrogativity in Philippine Languages: Foregrounding the Facets of Itawis, Yogad, Catanduanes Bikol, and Tausug Wh-Questions

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This paper highlights the interrogativity of four Philippine Languages (PL) by delving into Northern Luzon languages and two Central PLs, namely: Itawis, Yogad, Catanduanes Bikol and Tausug, respectively. The primary purpose of this paper is to provide a grammatical sketch as regards manner of eliciting information, specifically the WH-questions, within and across the four PLs explored. Notably, Itawis, Yogad, Catanduanes Bikol, and Tausug have set of expressions intended solely to questions eliciting what, who (m), where, when, how, how many, how much, and why information. Further, exclusive terms are also used showing the ‘when question’ as either perfective or imperfective. Finally, evident commonalities and differences on interrogative features of the four PLs examined are presented and discussed.

Anteriority and Simultaneity in Vietnamese

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In Vietnamese, temporal anteriority can be expressed by the tense morpheme **đã**. In the "past-under-past" configuration, where **đã** is embedded under another **đã**, the backward-shifted reading is attested, while the simultaneous and the forward-shifted readings are not available. Note, however, that when a past tense attitude verb has a past tense sentential complement, what is required is that (i) the time at which the attitude obtains precedes the time of utterance, and (ii) the attitude holder subjectively locates the event described by the complement in his past. The actual temporal relation between the event time and the attitude time on the one hand and the utterance time on the other is irrelevant for the evaluation of the sentence. When **đã** is embedded under another **đã**, but the embedded **đã** is contained in a relative clause instead of a complement clause, both the backward-shifted and the forward-shifted readings are available, as is the simultaneous reading.

For matrix sentences without an overt tense morpheme, it has been claimed that they are compatible with past, present, and future interpretation. However, we observe that these sentences can describe a future event only if it is a planned event. Controlling for this factor, we observe that an MTC does not really allow a future reading. As for embedded sentences without an overt tense morpheme, we observe that when they are the complement of an attitude verb, they only have the backward-shifted and the simultaneous reading, but do not have the forward-shifted reading, but when they are relative clauses instead of complement clauses, all three readings are available.

We formulate our account for the facts presented above using the concepts and tools of the framework proposed in Abusch (1988), as interpreted by Heim (1994), making some simplifications in order to facilitate exposition. Specifically, we assume variables are of type *e* (individuals) or type *i* (time intervals). The set of time intervals are ordered by the relation $<$ where $t' < t$ means t' precedes t . There are two tense morphemes which occupy the T node: **đã** and the phonologically empty \emptyset , both bearing indices of type *i*. VPs are of type $\langle i, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$, and propositional attitude verbs are of type $\langle \langle i, t \rangle, \langle i, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$. Every embedded sentence combines with a distinguished binder λ_0 , perhaps realized as the complementizer **rằng**, which binds variables of type *i*. Thus, the structure of [John thinks ϕ] is $[_{TP} \text{John } [_T T \ [_{VP} \text{think } [_{CP} \lambda_0 \phi]]]]$. The lexical entry for **nghĩ** 'think,' **đã** and the empty tense \emptyset are as follows. The definedness conditions on the tense morphemes follow from the Upper Limit Condition proposed in Abusch (1988).

- (1) a. $[[\text{nghĩ}]]^{\text{g.c}}(p)(t)(x) = 1$ iff $p(t') = 1$ for every t' compatible with x 's belief at t , i.e. every t' at which x locates himself at t
- b. $[[\text{đã}_n]]^{\text{g.c}}$ is defined only if $g(n) < g(0)$, and when defined, $[[\text{đã}_n]]^{\text{g.c}} = g(n)$
- c. $[[\emptyset]]^{\text{g.c}}$ is defined only if $g(n) \leq g(n)$, and when defined, $[[\emptyset]]^{\text{g.c}} = g(n)$

We assume that the NP which contains relative clauses have the option of undergoing QR to a position above the matrix tense. This assumption explains the intuitions about relative clauses above. We have supporting evidence for at least two claims that have been made in the literature: (i) tenses are pronominal, and (ii) all clauses have a T node, even those that do not exhibit it phonologically.

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Mother tongue for language revitalization in Northern Khmer using several approaches: why? and how?

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Although 1.4 million people speak Northern Khmer in Thailand, they are aware that their language is still in decline - similar to other ethnic groups- due to globalization and other factors. To deal with this threat, native speakers have cooperated with linguists from Mahidol University to work on a community-based research project since 2007.

Teaching the language as a subject in the formal school system was the first project started in Northern Khmer at Ban Pho-kong school, Surin Province because the native speakers were familiar with the model from other ethnic groups such as Chong in Chanthaburi and Nyahkur in Chaiyaphum. They have been teaching Northern Khmer language at Grade 4 level and the teachers are reportedly satisfied and students happy.

Later, however, they realized that their language situation was different from those small groups so they wanted to teach their mother-tongue from kindergarten level because children can speak from that age and there were teachers available who could speak Northern Khmer fluently. However when they started the bilingual education program at kindergarten level, the children could not use Northern Khmer language to communicate with the teachers, and because of the rapidly changing language situation in this group, linguists tried another approach to increase the use of mother-tongue by applying a language nest pattern at the pre-kindergarten level.

Using mix methods combined with the language nest model has enabled teachers to prepare a strong foundation in the student's mother-tongue, before they go on to kindergarten and then school.

The Tonsawang Language’s Basic Morphology and Syntactic Features

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This paper describes morphology of the Tonsawang language spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. Tonsawang belongs to the Minahasan micro-group that in turn belongs to the Philippine subgroup within West Malayo-Polynesian languages. It has structural features of Philippine-type languages. Especially, most syntactic and morpho-syntactic features of Minahasan languages, as described in Sneddon (1978) and Brickell (2014), are found in Tonsawang, with few exceptions.

In Tonsawang, both subject–predicate and predicate–subject word orders are allowed. Additionally, there are four grammatical voices: Actor, Patient, Locative, and Conveyance. Tonsawang is neither ergative or accusative; rather, it displays a symmetrical voice system, as described in Himmelmann (2005).

The Actor voice marker is the infix *-um-*, and when combined with the dynamic verb prefix *pa-/pəN*, the resulting form is *ma-/məN-*. The suffix *-ən* indicates the Patient voice, and the suffix *-an* indicates the Locative voice. The Conveyance voice is marked by the prefix *i-*. This paradigm and affixes, shown in the table, are mostly shared among Minahasan languages.

Tonsawang has two tenses, the non-past, which is unmarked, and the past, which is marked by the prefix *i-* or the infix *-in-*. The past is found in other Minahasan languages, but the prefix *i-* as the past tense marker is not, for instance, in Tontemboan or Tondano. The Conveyance voice prefix is also *i-*, but ambiguity is normally avoided because the non-past requires the base’s first consonant to change to a glide or a fricative, such as *i-watuy* (Conveyance, non-past) in contrast to *i-matuy* (Actor, past), as shown in the table. Another past tense marker *be-* is attached to some undergoer voice verbs. Reduplication forms which indicate aspect and mood will be referred to, too.

Table: Basic morphology of Tonsawang Verbs

	non-past tense	past tense <i>i-</i> , <i>-in-</i> , <i>be-</i>
Actor voice with <i>-um-</i>	t- um -uluŋ “help”	i-t-um -uluŋ “helped”
Actor voice, Dynamic with <i>pa-/pəN + -um-</i>	ma -ŋapet “climb” ma -tuy “pour” mə -paʔ “put”	i-ma -ŋapet “climbed” i-ma -tuy “poured” i-mə -paʔ “put”
Locative voice with <i>-an</i>	kapet- an “is climbed” paʔ- an	k- in -apet- an “was climbed” be -paʔ- an
Patient voice with <i>-ən</i>	k-apet- ən “is climbed upon”	k- in -apet- ən “was climbed upon”
Conveyance voice <i>i-</i>	i -watuy “be poured”	p- in -atuy “be poured”

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Bolinao Pronominal System and Philippine Voice: A Preliminary Investigation

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This paper investigates the structure of the pronominal system of Bolinao, a Malayo-Polynesian language in Pangasinan, Philippines. Bolinao pronouns are used to mark the core arguments of the verb – a similar strategy first discussed in Mithun (1994) for Kapampangan. Bolinao, like Kapampangan, shows properties of ergative languages, i.e. it marks the subject of the intransitive clause (S), and the object of the transitive clause (O). However, there are cases in which coreference on the argument NP are not shown; hence, argument marking for this language is not obligatory. I will show that the argument marking strategy and co-referentiality in Bolinao are conditioned by the transitivity of the clause, which in turn, leads to the rise of its ergative properties. In addition, by examining the nature of argument marking and transitivity, I will attempt to arrive at a different view of the voice system of Philippine languages.

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Affixation in an isolating language? Wordhood and the case of Hmong

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Defining what constitutes a word continues to be a matter of debate for a number of so-called “isolating” languages, with “affixation” featuring in some analyses. As a typical isolating language (cf. Harriehausen 1990:42, *inter alia*), Hmong (Hmong-Mien, Laos) represents an excellent test case, with its widespread use of independent monosyllabic, monomorphemic words.

Following Dixon & Aikhenvald’s (2002) distinction between phonological and grammatical (=syntactic) word, I adopt empirically well-established language-internal criteria for the latter in Hmong: 1) lexically-specific tone melody alternations in “compounding” (q.v. Ratliff 1987, 1992 on the assignment of these patterns); 2) grammatical cohesion, of two varieties: 2a) absence of morpheme isolability (e.g., bound morphemes cannot occur alone), and 2b) absence of productive morpheme separability; and 3) reduplication patterns, as the domain of reduplication appears to be consistent with criteria 1 and 2.

Focusing on the associative-reciprocal morpheme *sib-*, this empirically-motivated category of grammatical word enables the recognition of the status of *sib-* as a grammatical affix, as in the following examples (where final consonant graphemes represent phonological syllable-based tones):

Criterion 1 Tone melody alternation in “compounding”:

(1) *cem* ‘scold’ *sib cem* ‘scold each other’

Criterion 2a Absence of morpheme isolability:

(2) **sib* cf. *xwb* ‘really’

Criterion 2b Absence of productive morpheme separability:

(3) i. *tsis* ‘not’ in *tsis cem* ‘not scold’

ii. *tsis sib cem* ‘not scold each other’

iii. **sib tsis cem/g*

Criterion 3 Reduplication:

(4) i. *hlub* ‘love’ *hlub hlub* ‘love a lot’

ii. *rau siab* ‘do one’s best’ *rau rau siab* ‘do one’s very best’
(Jarkey 2015:29)

iii. *sib hlub* ‘love each other’ *sib sib hlub* ‘love each other a lot’
(Cha 1994:147)

Taken together with data from other “isolating” languages such as Chinese (Packard 2000), Thai (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005), and Khmer (Haiman 2011), these data from Hmong confirm the the status of affixation in these isolating languages as an areal feature.

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The Semantic Network of Near-synonymous Spatial Prepositions *ti*, *tiam*, and *tua* in Taiwan Southern Min

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The current study aims to investigate the semantic networks of polysemous spatial prepositions *ti*⁷, *tiam*³, and *tua*³ in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM). Since all of them have the sense of ‘existing in a certain location’ as shown in example (1), it is an intriguing inquiry regarding how these three prepositions function and distribute in this language. This paper also investigates how their senses are motivated from a core meaning, leading to a discussion on the polysemous radial network model. Polysemy is a primary case of linguistic motivation by language-independent “motivational factors” related to the cognition (Radden & Panther, 2004). Owing to the spatial cognition, spatial prepositions display the motivated semantic extensions. The data of TSM prepositions *ti*⁷, *tiam*³, and *tua*³ are retrieved from the Taiwanese Concordancer established by Iunn and Lau (2007). Following the Principled Polysemy approach (Tyler & Evans, 2003), the prepositions *ti*⁷, *tiam*³, and *tua*³ are scrutinized as the proto-scenes and their extended distinct senses. The results show two main findings. Firstly, the underlying mechanisms of their extended senses are mostly through IMAGE SCHEMA (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Dewell, 1994), VANTAGE POINT and PROFILING (Langacker, 2008), and CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), each as categorized into experiential, perceptual, and cognitive motivations. These motivational factors as cognitive mechanisms induce the polysemous status of the three prepositions. Secondly, although these three prepositions are near-synonyms, they differ from each other in terms of their extensional directions and their use. Our findings thus revise and supplement Lien’s (2003) statement that the three prepositions are seemingly interchangeable in use. We further propose that the motivations, as well as their polysemy, emerge from the dynamic cognitive processes within TSM speakers’ spatial cognition.

Example:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------|--|--------------|
| (1) | 李小姐 | 佇/ 踮/ | 躡臺南 | 讀冊. |
| | Li sio2-tsia2 | ti7/tiam3/tua3 | tai1-nam5 | thak8-tsheh4 |
| | Li Miss | in | Tainan | study |
| | ‘Miss Li studies in Tainan.’ | | (Excerpted from Fuehrer & Yang, 2014: 115) | |

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A preliminary study of onomatopoeia in Tungho Saisiyat

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The present study examines the internal word structure of onomatopoeic words in Tungho Saisiyat. We have recorded different types of onomatopoeias, e.g. (1) **honghonghong** ‘sound of (a dog) barking’, (2) **koehkoehkoeh** ‘coughing sound’, (3) **shan-kelemkem** ‘sound when crunching a candy or gnawing a bone’. Examples (1) and (2) – which typically represent the triplication of a syllable – are not really interesting, except for their morphosyntactic behavior which will be slightly analyzed and compared to prototypical native words. The example given in (3), on the other hand, raises a challenging problem about how to analyze the structures of these types of words. First, we need to determine whether onomatopoeic words are made up through copying on the right of the consonant of the first syllable and the VC sequence of the second syllable as in **k₁e.lem₂.k₁em₂**, or whether the onomatopoeic word is made up of a monosyllabic root which occurs in word-final position on which the word is derived, as shown in **k<el>em-kem**. The first solution is to look at the data from left to right and posit a sound-pair correspondence; the second solution is to go from right to left and take as the base a monosyllabic root for which a meaning might be posited (some of these monosyllabic roots have been reconstructed by Blust 1988), consider that this root undergoes CVC-reduplication and <VI> or <Vr> infixation.

We will show that the second solution is more probable based on the fact that lexicalized reduplication with <ar> or <al> infixation is found in other Formosan languages, e.g. Siraya (Adelaar 2000). Adopting this solution requires, however, to look more into this pattern, determine the meaning of the <VI> and <Vr> infixes and decide whether they are allomorphs, and try to recognize roots that could be reflexes of those reconstructed at the PAN level. We also want to explain the occurrence of the different morphemes – either affixes as in **shan-kelemkem** (as opposed to ***kelemkem**) or reduplicated segments as in **ta-tiliktik** (as opposed to ***shan-tiliktik**) – and see how they interact in these onomatopoeic words. Last, but not least, many of the onomatopoeic words we have collected exhibit doublets and show that they have different morphosyntactic properties.

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Endangered Scripts and Languages in the Philippines: Realities, Challenges, and Prospects

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The prevalence of discussions and debates on inclusivity, diversity, and community empowerment across various disciplines has impacted the practice of linguistics. 'Language documentation' has become a trendy word not only in the Asia-Pacific region, but also countries that have traditionally prioritized a select few languages such as the Philippines.

There have been recent changes in language policies in the Philippines. Both macrolevel language policy (ex. MTBMLE) and microlevel language policy (ex. Ilokano Code) have been designed to protect and promote local languages and to establish the rights to use and maintain those languages. Some of these policies, by giving de jure status to local languages, can be used as an indicator to raise the vitality rating of these languages.

According to Ethnologue (2017), the vitality profile of the Philippines is that out the 183 extant languages in the country, fourteen are in trouble and eleven are dying. This is a conservative count as some linguists remarked that the Philippines has at least thirty endangered language and that all Negrito groups speak endangered languages (Headland, 2003).

It is not only languages that are endangered in the Philippines. Indigenous scripts, also known as the Philippine Paleographs, are endangered. The Philippine Paleographs include Surat Tagbanua in Palawan, and Surat Mangyan & Surat Buhid in Mindoro. These have been declared as National Cultural Treasures by the National Museum of the Philippines and has been included in the Memory of the World Register of UNESCO.

The Philippines has one of the highest linguistic diversity in the region, and it also has a high degree of endangerment. Philippine languages and cultures are under pressure from the national language, the regional lingua francas, and English. This is an examination of the status and trends of language documentation in the Philippine context.

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