



Structure of Hmong-Mien Languages

Session #8

Language contact

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Session overview

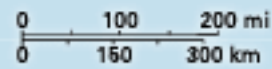
- Evidence of contact seen so far: structural convergence
- More on loanwords
- The relationship between classifiers and classifying prefixes
- The spread of tone through contact
- Hmong-Mien: a good representative of the Southeast Asian areal type? How it falls in line, and how it is divergent.

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Hmong-Mien Languages
 Hmongic
 Mienic



Number of speakers

- Sino-Tibetan c. 1.6 billion
- Austronesian c. 270 million
- Austroasiatic c. 101 million
- Tai-Kadai c. 78 million
-
-
-
- Hmong-Mien c. 9 million

Hmongic uvulars as an areal feature

Identified as such by E. Henderson in 1965.

Matisoff (2003) “Postvelars are something of an areal feature in the Sinosphere, occurring in [Tibeto-Burman,] Hmong-Mien and Kam-Sui.” Esp. characteristic of the Qiangic and Loloish branches of T-B.

Baxter & Sagart (2014) reconstruct a uvular/velar contrast for Old Chinese.

Why significant: only 14.8% of languages in the UPSID have uvulars.

Hmongic prenasalized stops as an areal feature

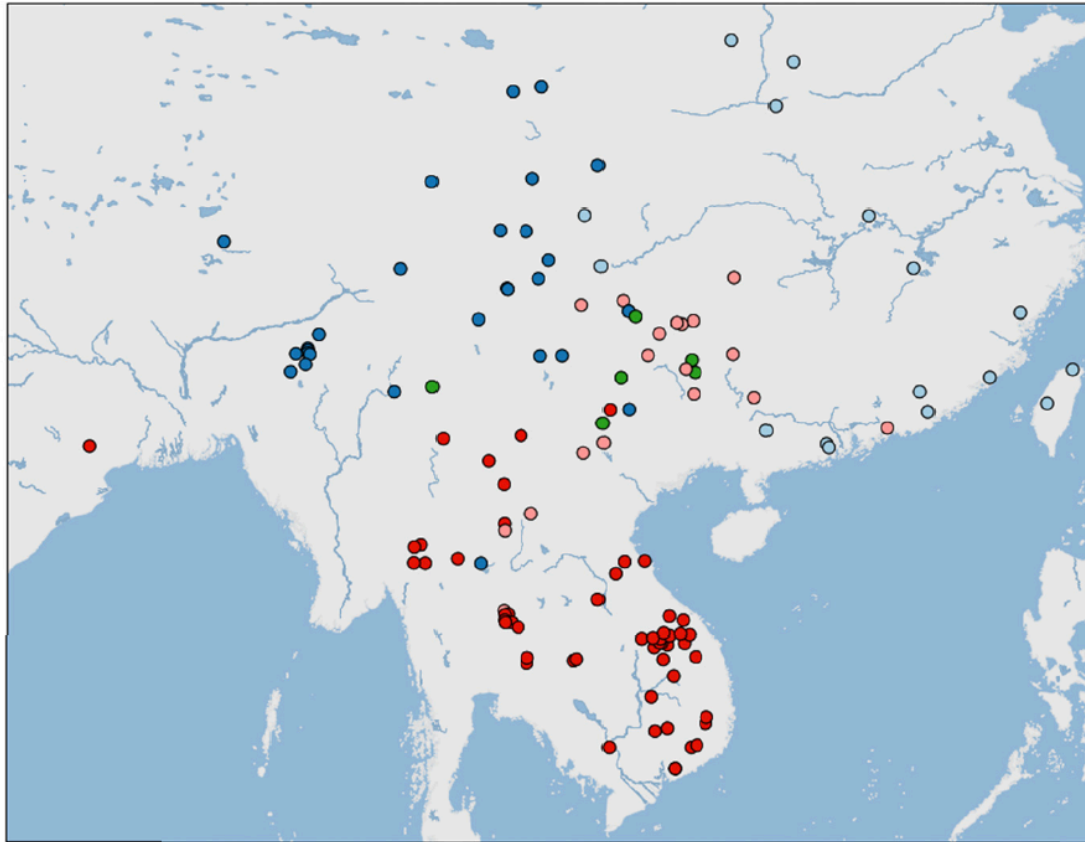


Fig. 1: Map of locations of languages with word-initial prenasalized stops by language family.⁴
Legend: Pink: Hmong-Mien, Red: Austroasiatic, Light blue: Sinitic, Dark blue: Tibeto-Burman, Green: Tai-Kadai

Mienic vowel length as an areal feature

In the linguistic area where Mienic languages are spoken, vowel length is contrastive in closed syllables in many T-K languages and in dialects of the Yue branch of Chinese.

Today, Mien speakers in Thailand are in contact with vowel-length languages Standard Thai and Northern Thai. In the provinces of Hunan, Yunnan, Guangdong, Guizhou, Jiangxi, and the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Mien and Mun speakers live among Tai-Kadai vowel-length language speakers (most notably Zhuang) and Chinese.

On Hainan Island, Mun speakers are in a contact situation with speakers of two languages with contrastive vowel length, Hlai (Li) and Cantonese.

HM sesquisyllables as an areal feature

- $C_1v_1C_2V_2(C_3)$, where
 - Second, full syllable prominent (iambic stress)
 - C_1 a singleton consonant (no clusters)
 - v_1 neutral (not contrastive)
- Most common in Mon-Khmer (e.g., “Phnom Penh”), and to a lesser extent in Tibeto-Burman.
- Evident in HM reduplication, prefix-root structures, Mien prosody, etc.
- Reconstructed for Proto-Hmong-Mien, Proto-Kam-Sui, Old Chinese

HM tone as an areal feature

All languages in the Sinosphere (Chinese, Vietnamese, Tai-Kadai languages, Hmong-Mien languages) seem to have developed tone in the same way: from loss of final laryngeal consonant contrasts in a first wave, the number of contrasts doubled by loss of initial laryngeal consonant contrasts in a second wave. Tone is thus a language contact feature, although which language developed tone first is unknowable.

HM morphological type in areal perspective

As we have seen, HM languages—and SEA languages—are isolating, compounding, reduplicating, and prefixing.

The asymmetry of affixation (Cysouw 2009:1):

“There is an old observation that, from a global perspective, there are more suffixes than prefixes in human languages. Probably the first to explicitly assert this was Edward Sapir: ‘Of the three types of affixing – the use of prefixes, suffixes, and infixes – suffixing is much the commonest’ (Sapir 1921: 67). Bybee *et al.* (1990: 4) provide some numbers showing this effect. In their cross-linguistic database of grammatical markers, they report to have an overall total of 1,236 suffixes and 426 prefixes (= 74.4% suffixes).”

HM syntactic type in areal perspective

- HM is SVO, as is all of SEAsia (excluding SOV Tibeto-Burman languages on the western periphery)
- Parataxis, serial verb constructions, classifiers widespread in SEAsia
- Grammatical function words, especially coordinators and subordinators, recent (not reconstructable) across Sinosphere
- “Coverbs” are simultaneously verbs and prepositions: *tuaj* ‘come/from’, *rau* ‘put, place/at’ (term first used for Chinese; applies equally well to HM and Vietnamese)

Kuv tuaj Kentucky tuaj. I from Kentucky come.

- Compound Wh-words: which person, which thing, which place? (HM, southern Sinitic languages, Kam-Tai)

HM emblematic structures areal, too

- 4-word coordinative constructions, expressives and secret languages are attested across SEAsia
- Expressives first “discovered” (by western linguists) in Mon-Khmer languages
- Secret languages reported for Vietnamese, Taiwanese
- Coordinative constructions and secret languages seem to be correlated with the isolating structural type and coordinative constructions may be more common in predominantly oral cultures. More research is needed.

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Similar words at the deepest level:
loanwords or common retentions?

The oldest relationships involving Hmong may not be contact relationships at all: similarities between ancient words in Hmong and words in the Austronesian, Mon-Khmer, or Tai-Kadai families may be due to common inheritance.

Mon-Khmer/Hmong-Mien resemblances

	MK Shorto 2006	HM
blood	*jnhaam	*n̥tɕhamX
bone	*cʔi[]ŋ	*tshuŋX
tree	*t ₂ ʔɔŋ	*nt̚iɔŋX
water	*ʔ[o]m	*ʔu̚əm
to weep	*yaam	*n̥emX

Mon-Khmer/Hmong-Mien/Austronesian resemblances

	MK Shorto 2006	HM	AN Blust ACD
full	*[d]pu[ə]ŋ	*pɔəŋX	*penuq
shoot	*paŋʔ	*pɥanX	*panaq
tail	*[k]duut 'rump of chicken'	*(k-)tuiX	*buntut 'rump of chicken'

Austronesian/Hmong-Mien resemblances

	HM	AN Blust ACD
soft	*ml̥u̯æiH	*ma-lumu
bite	*dəp	*ketep
flower	*b̥iəŋ	*buŋa

Austronesian/Hmong-Mien/Tai-Kadai

	HM	AN	TK
die	*d̥əiH	*ma-aCay	pTai *tai
kill	*t̥əiH	*pa-aCay	--
bird	*m-nək	PMP *manuk	pTai *nlok pKra *ŋok
I/me	*kəu(ŋ)X	PMP *-ku	pTai *k̚əu pKra *ku A
you (sg.)	*mui	*-mu (gen.)	pTai *m[ai][ŋ] pKra *mə A/B
you (pl.)	*m̚iəu	*-mu (gen.)	--

Primary source of loanwords: Chinese

- Working assumption: almost all words shared by Chinese and Hmong are loans from Chinese to Hmong, since Chinese is the dominant language in the homeland of the HM-speaking peoples.
- Possibility #2: some shared words were borrowed from HM by the Chinese.
- Possibility #3: a few ancient shared words (such as the numeral ‘1’) reflect common inheritance.
- Loanwords can be classified as “ancient”, “early” or “modern” based on which form of the Chinese word most closely resembles the form in HM: Old Chinese (c. 1000 BCE), Middle Chinese (c. 500 CE), or modern Chinese (c. 1500 CE to the present).

Oldest stratum of Chinese loanwords

The Chinese loanwords that entered the language in this stratum most closely resemble Old Chinese, and include the manufacturing terms ‘gold’, ‘silver’, ‘iron’, and ‘to carve/chisel’; the measure and commerce words ‘half/middle’, ‘lend/borrow’ and ‘price’; and the adjectives ‘wide’, ‘narrow’, ‘sweet’, ‘yellow/light’, ‘low’, and ‘dry’.

Pulleyblank (1983) and Sagart (1999: 8) suppose that the Hmong-Mien-speaking people belonged to the ancient southern kingdom of Chu (楚), which was established at this time in an area that corresponds to modern-day Hunan and Hubei provinces. If not Chinese themselves, the rulers of this kingdom were fluent and literate in Chinese.

The Old Chinese element in pHM

		MC	HM	OC
iron	鐵	thek	*hljəwk	* ^h lli[k]
granary	廩	limX	*(C)-rjəmX	*(Cə)(-)r[ə]m?
good	良	ljang	*(C)-ʔrjəŋH	*raŋ
strength	力	lik	*(C)-rjo ^C (< -k)	*[r]ək
one	一	ʔjit	*ʔi	*ʔi[t]

Ancient Tibeto-Burman contact

- There are a number of loanwords from an unknown TB source language in HM; some of them correspond to words reconstructed for Proto-HM, and are thus very old.
- Despite their age, however, it is more likely that this is a contact relationship than a genetic relationship because the most important TB loanwords fall into sets, and were presumably borrowed as sets: the numerals ‘four’ through ‘nine’ (and perhaps ‘ten’); ‘sun’ and ‘moon’; and ‘son-in-law’ and ‘daughter-in-law’.

T-B numerals 4-9

	<i>HM</i>	<i>Source form</i>	<i>Source</i>
one	*ʔi	*ʔi[t]	Old Chinese (一)
two	*ʔui	(none)	(none)
three	*pjəu	(none)	(none)
four	*plei	*-ləy	Tibeto-Burman
five	*prja	*-ŋja	Tibeto-Burman
six	*kruk	*k-ruk	Tibeto-Burman
seven	*ŋji ^C (M) *djuŋH (HM)	*ni	Tibeto-Burman
eight	*jat	*-rjat	Tibeto-Burman
nine	*N-ʃuə	*gəw	Tibeto-Burman

T-B moon/sun/night

moon/
month

Hmong-Mien *hlaH (2.41/4)

Tibeto-Burman *s/g-la ‘moon/month’

sun/day

Hmongic *hnɛŋ^A (2.8/22); Mienic *hn̩ɔi^A (2.8/11)

Tibeto-Burman *s-nəy ‘sun’

night

Hmong-Mien *hməŋH (1.8/21)

Tibeto-Burman *mu:ŋ ‘cloudy; dark’

cf. Burmese hmuìŋ ‘very dark’ (Benedict 1972:78)

On the Chinese/T-B difference

Paul Benedict's belief that this was a contact relationship is well-supported by the fact that these words are

“... sparse, and rigidly confined to specific categories. The early MY [Miao-Yao]-speakers made good use of the higher numerals of the TB-speakers on their west and even shared in their heavenly body (sun, moon) cults, perhaps also entered into certain marital alliances with them, but they kept their distance: with their Chinese neighbors, on the other hand, they shared a community existence of sorts as a ‘substratumized’ population, the two groups sharing cultural items of various kinds. To put it somewhat differently, they had the DMY [Donor-Miao-Yao]-speakers as neighbors; they lived with the Chinese.” (Benedict 1987:20).

Middle stratum of Chinese loanwords

Loanwords in a second, larger, group show a closer resemblance to Middle Chinese.

The loanwords in this group suggest that the Chinese shared farming practices with the Hmong only in this period, but not earlier ('cow', 'water buffalo', 'sheep', 'chicken', 'goose', 'duck', 'sickle', 'to harvest', 'to plow', 'to plant'), while contact through manufacturing ('saw', 'hammer', 'copper') and commerce ('to buy', 'to sell', 'to weigh', 'hundred', 'thousand', 'to count') continued from the earlier period.

Middle Chinese loanwords in pHM

		MC Sagart & Baxter 2007	HM	OC Sagart & Baxter 2007
hundred	百	paek	*pæk	*pprak
thousand	千	tshen	*tshj̃en	*s ^{-h} nni[n]
copper	銅	duwng	*dɔŋ	*(C?)-lloŋ
bucket	桶	thuwnɡX	*thɔŋ(X)	* ^h lloŋ
chopsticks	箸	drjoH	*drouH	*[N m]- ttrak-s
yellow	黃	hwang	*ɣ ^w j̃əŋ	*N-[kk ^w]aŋ

Chinese loanwords in Mienic: more intensive contact for a longer time

	<i>Hmongic</i>	<i>Mienic</i>	
face	*bow ^B	*hmiən ^A	< 面 <i>miàn</i>
heart	*prow ^B	*sjim ^A	< 心 <i>xīn</i>
pus	*buei ^C	*nəŋ ^C	< 膿 <i>nóng</i>
pig	*mpæ ^C	*duŋ ^B	< 豚 <i>tún</i>
fog/cloud	*hu ^A	*mow ^C	< 霧 <i>wù</i> (C. /mou ⁶ /)
white	*qlow ^A	*bæk ^D	< 白 <i>bái</i>
red	*ʔlin ^A	*sjek ^D	< 赤 <i>chì</i>
axe	*tuei ^C	*pou ^B	< 斧 <i>fǔ</i>
bowl	*de ^B	*ʔwən ^B	< 碗 <i>wǎn</i>
trough	*qroŋ ^A	*dzu ^A	< 槽 <i>cáo</i>
thick	*tæ ^A	*fiou ^B	< 厚 <i>hòu</i>

Tonal witness to loanword age

If the historical tone category of a Hmong word corresponds to the tone category of cognate loanwords across the family, the word is a very old loanword (more about this coming up soon).

If the tone categories of cognate loanwords across the family do not correspond, this is evidence that the word was borrowed into several HM languages independently on the basis of the closest match between the Chinese tone and one of the phonemic tones in the inventory of the recipient language.

In terms of the linguistic analysis, those words with tones that correspond across the family (such as *tuav* ‘to pound’, *phua* ‘to split’, and *kub* ‘gold’) are more deeply integrated loanwords than those that do not so correspond (such as *txos* ‘stove’, *txwv* ‘master’, and *zaum* ‘to sit’); the native speaker, however, will not be aware of this distinction.

Borrowing in particular semantic fields I

Time words refer to divisions of time that are not important to an agrarian people that organize their daily activities by the rotation of the sun, and organize their yearly activities by the rotation of the seasons.

Therefore, ‘hour’, ‘clock’, ‘week’, and the specific days of the week, are unnecessary concepts. Even ‘day’, ‘month’ and ‘year’ are borrowed: ‘day’ and ‘month’ (from ‘sun’ and ‘moon’) as a set from some Tibeto-Burman source, and ‘year’ from Chinese.

Borrowing in particular semantic fields II

As we have seen, across the family ‘1’ appears to come from Chinese, and ‘4’ through ‘9’ (and perhaps ‘10’) are Tibeto-Burman.

Borrowed quantity words refer to concepts that were not of crucial importance to the ancient Hmong-Mien people: for numerals, ‘two’, ‘three’ (< ‘group’), and ‘many’ appear to have sufficed.

In White Hmong of Laos, ‘zero’ and all higher numerals are borrowed, and the ordinals are built on a Lao base. Other quantity words are also borrowed: not only ‘to count’ (which makes sense in the absence of numerals to count) but also ‘more’, ‘only’, a second word for ‘many’, and ‘half’.

Lao loanwords in White Hmong

- The most important recent contact language for the White Hmong of Laos is Lao, the national language of Laos, a Tai-Kadai language closely related to Thai. This is naturally the language from which a minority group would have taken many words for urban life, commerce, education, culture, government, and modern life over the last hundred years.
- Examples:
 - ice, candy, bread, beer (< Fr.), coffee (<Fr.), soap (< Fr.);
 - room, key, candle, bowl, wagon, market;
 - easy, difficult, right, wrong, to accuse, to surrender;
 - color, dance, zero, song

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To review

HM languages have both classifiers

ib txhais tes ‘one hand’

1 CLF_{PAIR} hand

. . . and prefixes

ko-taw ‘foot’

PRFX-foot

Furthermore, it is possible (if not common) to have both at the same time:

ib txhais ko-taw ‘one foot’

1 CLF_{PAIR} PRFX-foot

The historical problem

Two systems of nominal classification that pick out similar semantic classes, e.g.

human/animal/animate

shapes (round, stubby, long)

Two more examples:

ib-tug *tub-qhe* ‘a servant’

1 CLF_{ANIMATE} person-serve

ib lub *pob-zeb* ‘a stone’

1 CLF_{ROUND} round-stone

How and why did these two overlapping systems of noun classification develop?

Differences between classifiers and prefixes

- 1) [Numeral + classifier] and [prefix + noun] define different tone sandhi domains;
- 2) Classifiers are semantically and phonologically more robust than prefixes;
- 3) Classifiers are obligatory in certain frames, whereas prefixes are often optional (in some languages their presence is governed by stylistic and prosodic considerations);
- 4) Classifiers can be used pronominally, whereas prefixes cannot be so used.

Prefix system old and native; Classifier system new and borrowed

My evidence for the claim above consists of the following:

- 1) Cross-linguistic evidence that classifiers are borrowable;
- 2) The vast majority of primary HM classifiers are Chinese in origin;
- 3) Relative chronology;
- 4) Geographical and family distribution of prefixes; inverse correlation with Chinese contact

Classifiers are borrowable

- Classifiers especially borrowable between analytic languages in which they are independent words:
 - “The more lexico-syntactic the noun categorization is, the easier it is to diffuse...In the South Asian linguistic area numeral classifiers have been shown to have spread from the Indo-Aryan languages...to Dravidian languages...Indirect areal diffusion may result in the partial restructuring of classifier systems. This involves introducing new classifier types into a system that already has classifiers.” (Aikhenvald 2000:383-384)
- Discourse considerations favor borrowing:
 - “The extensive borrowing of classifiers [by the North Arawak language Resígaro from Bora]...can be explained by the important role classifiers play in discourse: once the referent is established it is referred to with a classifier, so that classifiers appear to be more frequent in discourse than nouns themselves.” (Aikhenvald 2000:387)

Chinese sources for basic classifiers II

The most general HM classifier *may* also be a Chinese loanword. The l-/n- onsets would either have been in the Chinese dialect sources (one from an “l-covering” dialect and the other from an “n-covering” dialect), or Proto-Hmongic and Proto-Mienic could have supplied the covering consonants themselves (onset-less words are dispreferred in HM):

6.

H *ʔlɛŋ^A (2.40/22) ‘CLF-bowls/houses’

M *ʔnɛɔm^A (2.7/22) ‘CLF-bowls/houses’

庵 ‘thatched hut’ (Man. *ān* < MC ʔom)

Chinese sources for new classifiers

7. CLF-long things 條 Man. *tiáo*
txoj /tsɔ²/ ‘CLF-long things’ (< ‘twig’)
(independent non-corresponding borrowings occur on both sides
of family)

8. CLF-kinds/sorts 樣 Man. *yàng*
yam /ja⁸/ ‘appearance, pattern; kind, type’

9. CLF-kinds/sorts 號 Man. *hào*
hom /hɔ⁸/ ‘name, mark; order, size, number’

Relative chronology

- Evidence that prefixes are old:
 - The prefix is the “areal affix”, as we have seen;
 - We are almost able to reconstruct ancient prefixes with morphological functions for HM;
 - Chen (1993) reports that prefixes are preferred by older speakers, appear in set phrases, and are rarely innovated.
- Evidence that classifiers are young:
 - Only one classifier is reconstructable to Proto HM, and it may be a loanword, too;
 - Loanword classifiers in HM correspond to Middle Chinese forms, not to Old Chinese forms;
 - Classifiers in Chinese only developed in the Shang and Zhou dynasties (1400 BCE-221 BCE) and were initially limited to counting objects of value.

Geographical and family distribution

There is a correlation between degree of contact with Chinese and the preservation of classifying prefixes.

In general, speakers of Mienic languages have had greater interaction with speakers of Chinese than speakers of Hmongic languages, and Mienic languages have almost no prefixes.

Within Mienic, the conservative Zao Min regularly marks nouns with /ʔa-/. Zao Min has been described as “isolated”, and the “one least influenced by the neighboring Chinese dialects” (Wong 1939:425).

Classifiers as diagnostic of the SEAsian linguistic area

Johanna Nichols places Hmong-Mien in the middle of a numeral classifier “hotbed” (1992:132-133).

While this is true, and it is true that classifiers are one of the most frequently remarked-upon features of the SEAsian *sprachbund*, it is valuable to keep a historical perspective on this and other areal features.

Southeast Asia (and other convergence zones) can best be thought of as areas where people have been converging in different ways over centuries, giving a “layered” character to the distribution of their shared features.

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Tone and language contact

- It seems likely that tone spread through language contact in East and Southeast Asia, especially since prosody is one of the most easily diffusible linguistic feature types. But who was the donor and who were the borrowers? Chinese is the leading donor candidate, but Chinese has not always had tones: scholars believe tones developed in Chinese sometime after the first written records (c. 1000 BCE) and before the rhyme tables of Middle Chinese were compiled (c. 500 CE), which are organized in part by tone.
- The tonogenesis story for East Asia presented in session #3 works the same way for Chinese, Tai-Kadai, Vietnamese, and Hmong-Mien: four tones (or phonation contrasts) arose upon loss of final consonants -ʔ and -h, followed by a split of those four tones into eight tones upon merger of an initial voicing contrast (abstracting away from the lagging development of tones in syllables with -p, -t, -k).

Here's the problem...

- If loanwords from one of these families into another family are old enough, their *tone categories* (A1 = A1, C2 = C2, etc.), *not their tone values* (high level, mid falling etc.), *correspond across families*.
- Others were not bothered by the idea that speakers could borrow a system of tones with categories laid out in two rows and four columns:
 - Benedict (1997:4) writes “...Vietnamese, under direct Chinese domination lost the...initial syllables of MK [Mon-Khmer] *while directly borrowing the tonal system...*” (emphasis added).
 - Lin Ying (1972:56), in an article on Chinese loans in Hmong-Mien, writes “If we compare these loans with *Qièyùn* rhyme tables, we find that the tones have been borrowed by Miao *primarily on the basis of the píng, shǎng, qù, and rù tone categories*” (emphasis added).

Old category-corresponding loanwords

		MC	PHM	BOTH!!
金	<i>jīn</i> ‘metal’	kim	*kjeəm ‘gold’	A1
銅	<i>tóng</i> ‘copper’	duwng	*dɔŋ	A2
桶	<i>tǒng</i> ‘bucket’	thuwnɡX	*thɔŋ(X)	B1
瓦	<i>wǎ</i> ‘tile’	ngwæX	*ŋ ^w æX	B2
炭	<i>tàn</i> ‘charcoal’	thanH	*thanH	C1
箸	<i>zhù</i> ‘chopsticks’	drjoH	*drouH	C2
漆	<i>qī</i> ‘lacquer’	tshit	*thjet	D1
十	<i>shí</i> ‘ten’	dzyip	*gjuɛp	D2

I was bothered by this, however.

- How do speakers hear and borrow tone categories? How do speakers hear and borrow whole tone systems? There is nothing in the speech signal that would enable them to do this.
- And how does a borrowed word that has a particular niche within the donor language system, the historical antecedents of which have been lost because the rise of tones *depends* on their being lost, embed that borrowing in a perfectly analogous place within a whole system that mirrors that of the donor language?

Research agenda

So under the “uniformitarian hypothesis” that holds that the behavior of languages in the past was essentially like the behavior of languages in the present, I looked at four different modern-day contact situations involving tonal and atonal languages, to see which would yield correspondences that looked those between Chinese and HM:

- Donor atonal, borrower tonal
- Donor tonal, borrower tonal
- Donor tonal, borrower atonal
- Donor atonal, borrower atonal

1. Donor atonal, borrower tonal

E.g. English > Hmong; Malay > Thai

Two strategies: (1) One or two tones from inventory selected as “loan tones”, often involving stress-to-tone mapping or intonation-to-tone mapping, or (2) A rare tone from the inventory is used as a loan-tone, which instantly identifies the word as a borrowing.

‘America’

amelikà

Mid-Mid-Mid-Low (an attempt to represent English intonation)

àmèlikà

Low-Low-Rising-Low (an attempt to represent English stress, although for native speakers, the stress falls on the second syllable, not the third syllable.)

àmèlikà

Low-Low-Low-Low (loan-tone assignment)

So if at the time of MC loans to HM, Chinese had been atonal and HM had been tonal...

2. Donor tonal, borrower tonal

E.g. present-day Chinese > HM languages; Thai > Mien

Main strategy: Map tone of loanword to the tone in the borrowing language that most closely resembles it (low-to-low, high falling-to-high falling, etc.)

The resulting picture is one where the tone values align, but the historical tone categories do not align at all:

丈 *zhàng* ‘3 1/3 meters’

Yanghao tsaŋ B1 [35], Jiwei ʈaŋ A1 [35], Xuyong ʈsaŋ D2 [13]

上 *shàng* ‘to start (class)’

Yanghao saŋ B1 [35], Jiwei ʂaŋ A1 [35], Xuyong ʂaŋ D2 [13]

(Office of Miao-Yao Research Lexicon 1987)

So if at the time of MC loans to HM, Chinese had been tonal and HM had been tonal...

3. Donor tonal, borrower atonal

E.g. Chinese > English; Thai > T'in (MK); Chinese & Li > Tsat (AN)

Three strategies: (1) the borrowers do not hear tones and simply eliminate them (English 'mahjong', 'oolong', 'shantung'); (2) words & tones borrowed within a closed class and/or a "pitch profile" is assigned to loans with tones (T'in); (3) a language, if "tone prone", develops its *own type* of tone system under stimulus from neighboring tone languages (Tsat on Hainan Island).

Here is an example of strategy #2:

<u>Thai</u>	<u>T'in</u>	
yâak	ɲăak	difficult
lâak	lăak	to drag
khèek	khěek	guest
klaaŋ	kăaŋ	middle

The common assumption is that HM borrowed tones (and the whole tonal system) from Chinese. So if at the time of MC loans to HM, Chinese had been tonal and HM had been atonal...

4. Donor atonal, borrower atonal

- Given our inability to find a present-day (or recent past) model that could account for the correspondence of tones in the Sinosphere under these three contact situations, we must turn to the last possible scenario.
- If neither Hmong-Mien *nor* Chinese had tones at the time these early loans above were made, we can indeed imagine how the striking cross-family correspondence of tone categories in loanwords could have arisen. Hmong-Mien could have borrowed the Chinese words with the (perhaps already decomposing) segmental material which eventually gave rise to tones intact. Then if both developed tones in the exactly same way, out of the laryngeal features of word-final consonants as tonogenesis swept across the area—started by an unknown trigger language, not necessarily by Chinese—we would get these regular correspondences.
- A key piece of evidence: the tone categories of Chinese and HM correspond in ancient loanwords from Old Chinese, and scholars believe that Old Chinese did not have tones!

My conclusion

- On the basis of good segmental correspondences, the Chinese borrowings above can be dated to only slightly before Early Middle Chinese, which we know was a tonal language, or to the first five hundred years of the Christian Era. Tonogenesis in Chinese was ready to happen at this point, but it had not happened yet.
- It is not clear that the innovation began with Chinese and then spread to the other languages of the area; it is just as likely that the languages of the Sinosphere all developed tone together, at roughly the same time.

Session overview

- Evidence of contact seen so far: structural convergence
- More on loanwords
- The relationship between classifiers and classifying prefixes
- The spread of tone through contact
- Hmong-Mien: a good representative of the Southeast Asian areal type? How it falls in line, and how it is divergent.

The Southeast Asian areal type

Southeast Asia as a Linguistic Area: The State of the Art

Enfield & Comrie 2015:7-8

- Sound system features
 - large vowel systems
 - 9-place vowel contrasts (both mid and central)
 - long vs. short vowel distinctions
 - more consonants initially; syllables initial/rhyme
 - one syllable per word, with minor pre-syllable possible (iambic pattern)
 - complex tone (4-15), pitch and phonation work together
 - no voiced velars

- Morphosyntax-semantics system features
 - no inflectional morphology
 - Ns and Vs perform function morpheme work: Ns and Vs as prepositions, Vs as aspect markers, comparative markers, passive markers, etc.
 - serial verb constructions
 - VO dominant, yet word order flexible, sensitive to pragmatic factors, NPs left-headed
 - zero anaphora

- extensive use of topic-comment structure
- many “ambitransitive” verbs
- rich inventories of sentence-final particles that make subtle distinction in sentence type, stance, evidentiality, and combinations thereof
- rich inventories of ideophones/expressives, rhyming 4-syllable constructions, and productive elaborative rhyming devices
- numeral classifiers
- complex pronominal systems, with multi-level social-deictic meanings

Exceptions in red . . .

- Sound system features
 - large vowel systems (Mienic only)
 - 9-place vowel contrasts (both mid and central)
 - long vs. short vowel distinctions (Mienic only)
 - more consonants initially; syllables initial/rhyme
 - one syllable per word, with minor pre-syllable possible (iambic pattern)
 - complex tone (4-15), pitch and phonation work together
 - no voiced velars

- Morphosyntax-semantics system features
 - no inflectional morphology
 - Ns and Vs perform function morpheme work: Ns and Vs as prepositions, Vs as aspect markers, comparative markers, passive markers, etc.
 - serial verb constructions
 - VO dominant, yet word order flexible, sensitive to pragmatic factors, **NPs left-headed**
 - zero anaphora

- extensive use of topic-comment structure
- many “ambitransitive” verbs
- rich inventories of sentence-final particles that make subtle distinction in sentence type, stance, evidentiality, and combinations thereof
- rich inventories of ideophones/expressives, **rhyming** 4-syllable constructions, and **productive elaborative rhyming devices (in songs primarily)**
- numeral classifiers
- **complex pronominal systems, with multi-level social-deictic meanings**

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