

Typology and language contact phenomena in Southeast Asia

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1. Introduction. One of the important long-term demographic trends in mainland E and SE Asia has been the southern expansion of the Chinese or Han people.¹ As an early result of this *Völkerwanderung*, Southeast Asian languages were subject before the third century BC to distant contact with the Chinese language and, through the fortunes of war, to much more direct contact after that time. But despite considerable influence and intercultural exchange among the local and Han populations few true pidgin and creole languages have resulted.² So it is that the result of contact has led more to areal resemblance (as is found in South Asia and the Balkans) than to creole languages (as seen in Oceania, the Caribbean, and West Africa). That is to say, there has been a reduction of *TYPOLOGICAL DISTANCE* among languages spoken here without the breakdown and resynthesis characteristic of creoles. Specifically, lessening typological distance has meant that the *HEAD-FIRST* languages of SE Asia (*SVO/Pr/NG/NA*) have taken on traits of Chinese, in some aspects a *HEAD-LAST* language (*SVO/Pr/GN/AN*). In yet other words, contact has not resulted in breakdown and reassembly in the manner of *FISSION CREOLIZATION* but rather there has been a tendency toward *FUSION CREOLIZATION* of two or more fully-fledged languages, (Markey 1981). The mixing of Han and local languages has also resulted in *BORROWINGS*, touching

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²Except for those that have resulted between Asians and peoples from outside the area, e.g. English, French, Arabic, Mongolian, or Tibetan speakers.

mostly the lexical level, and instances of LANGUAGE SHIFT, where the grammatical and phonological levels are affected. This paper will examine some examples that illustrate these features of contact and study where these languages fall on Thomason and Kaufman 1988 scales of intercultural communication.

It is a major claim of Thomason and Kaufman 1988 that borrowing, shift, fusion, convergence as well as genetic inheritance leave distinctive tracks and, moreover, the social historical matrix in which the area is embedded will be an important factor in shaping these traces as well. Obviously, in light of the complexity of East and Southeast Asia an account can be attempted only in broadest terms. Still, after surveying the area of south China and the borderlands of northern Vietnam the following picture emerges:

(1) a. Pidgin and creole languages did not develop in the SE Asia area because the Han language expanded relatively slowly into the south and this expansion occurred sufficiently in the past to mitigate many of the obvious features of mixing.

b. There is evidence of borrowing, shift, and fusion that led in time to the promotion of linguistic tone and register in virtually every language in every language group so that it has become the quintessential feature of the entire geographic area, whether or not the languages of the area originally possessed such prosodies.

c. The degree of contact between Chinese and other groups has, by and large, resulted in borrowing of cultural terms with some structural, grammatical influences. There are a small number of cases of languages with more dramatic traces of deeper contact.

The languages studied will include Vietnamese, Tai, and Kam-Sui languages of SE Asia.

2. The conquest of the South. For the East and Southeast Asian area we have a relatively rich written historical record of the events large expanses of time, though virtually all of it reflects the perspective of Han administrators and historians. In the last twenty-five years, archeological finds have helped us to attain a more balanced view of the cultural and linguistic situation in the south. All evidence, whether new or old, confirms one main trend, cf. Fitz Gerald (1972/1993), that the population,

the ideas, the culture, and the political power of the Chinese have been moving southward for more than 3000 years. In the times of Confucius (500 BC), the citizenry of the ancient confederation was already penetrating into the C(entral) P(lains) of the Yangtze valley. Expansion halted, though, in the Zhou Dynasty when armed conflict broke out among several distinct groups of the CP in what Chinese scholars call the 战国 *Zhanguo* 'The Warring States Period'. During this time all parties recruited mercenaries from among the *Bai Yue* 百越 or *Hundred Viets* living outside Chinese borders to the south in mountainous territory called *Lingnan* 岭南 'South of the Passes' (contemporary Guangdong, Guangxi, and northern Vietnam). Grave goods from this time found in archeological digs show a progressive accumulation of CP weaponry as far south as northern Guangxi, cf. Barlow 2000. The CP wars may thus have drawn significant numbers of the male population away from their homelands and thereby engendered in Lingnan the transformation of the state into a spartan political system along strong military lines as well as the emergence of a kind 'foreign legion Chinese'. This new state replaced an earlier theocratic social organization possessing an absolute deity, as there was an acute need to defend Bai Yue territory with depleted male resources. In 221 BC the situation in Lingnan changed forever.

In that year, the state of Qin lead by a clever, iron-fisted sovereign *Qin Shihuangdi* 秦始皇帝, builder of the Great Wall, wrested control over the entire CP territory. After consolidating power, he was no longer satisfied simply to use southern forces as cannon fodder in distant conflicts but wished to bring their native soil under direct Chinese domination. Accordingly, he dispatched his general *Zhao Tuo* 赵佗 to seize Lingnan up to the Red River valley of Vietnam, which Zhao Tuo accomplished, but only after stiff resistance from hordes of Yue boatmen fighting in their own territory with poison arrows. Thus was established the Kingdom of Nam Việt 南越 with Zhao Tuo as emperor.

After the collapse of Zhao Tuo's descendents, resistance to Han administration was fierce and China lost control of this territory. But again in 111 BC Nam Việt submitted to the Chinese Empire, whereupon the name was changed to *Giao Chỉ* or *Jiao Zhi* 交趾. Since *Giao Chỉ* was the seat of government for nine COMMANDARIES or garrisons, there must have been many

Chinese soldiers there (Ma 1882:308). The infusion of Han cultural values recommenced but not without challenge. The native hierarchy of Giao Chỉ went into a final fatal and short-lived armed revolt in AD 43 led significantly by two women, the sisters Trưng. By the end of the Latter Han Dynasty, circa AD 200, the southern Provinces of Fujian, Guangdong, and Guangxi as well as Northern Vietnam passed from a state of military occupation into civil governance. While there was still large-scale resistance to Han administration, a new presumably bilingual hierarchy of Han-Viet and Han-Zhuang gentry had replaced the old order at the centers of power.

Still, the territory south of the Yangtze was very large, mountainous, filled with noxious malarial vapors, magical practices, exotic plants and animals such as kingfishers, elephants, the Asian rhinoceros, red bats, crocodiles, peacocks, muntjacs, pythons, galangal, cardamom, and cinnamon. And, it was also an area of extreme cultural and linguistic diversity with still resistant representatives of the language families, Miao-Yao, Kam-Tai, Tibeto-Burman, and Mon-Khmer. Northern Chinese found it difficult to withstand the diseases of the swamps and the poison darts of the locals, Schafer 1967. Much territory was only nominally under control. Ruling this vast area was one thing, settling it another, Fitz Gerald (1972/1993:xvii).

Before the Conquest of the South there had been an empire and southern culture of people called the Great L(i)ao, successors of the Bai Yue. The Liao are considered today to be the forbearers of the Thai, Zhuang, Lao, etc. The Great Liao were called by various names by the Chinese, including Pu 濮, Man 蠻, or Yue 越. When the Qin Dynasty was toppled by the Han in 205 BC, chronicles report that the Pu, Man, and Yue were all of one cultural type, namely all were in reality Liao 獠.

2.1. The short leash policy. In the eyes of the Han Emperors their forces had advanced far into a hostile area where they were decidedly in the minority. The population of the Liao in south China was, in fact, such a great majority that the Qin conquerors and Han occupiers after them pursued a policy now infamously remembered as “keep them on a short leash” *jime zhengci* 羈縻政策. In practical terms this policy amounted to moving them away from coastal areas, assimilating them, and placating them simultaneously. Qin and Han rulers thus put in

place the same strategies that had been so successful in nation-building on the Yellow River. Gradually, as control became more established, the practice of expunging the original population was replaced with policy of bringing in settlers and diluting the local population to better govern it. The new scheme had three stages leading to direct government by Han officials over the peoples of the south.

2.2. From Sheng to Shu. The first or earliest stage was characterized by a general awareness of non-Han groups, but infrequent contact. The Chinese attitude was to regard the peoples as unrefined, which is reflected in the Chinese characters they chose for their names. These usually contained the animal or insect radical. No distinct groups were differentiated so that a single term of reference was used for all, thus they called the Southerners *Man* 蛮 or *Yi* 夷.³ There existed vigorous trade activities especially for pearls, halcyon feathers, batik and ikat fabrics, ivory, rhinoceros horns, and medicinal plants, which could not be found in the north.

The second stage occurred when Chinese military units carried out punishing raids for banditry and sedition. Then in Tang times, as closer contact was necessitated by the arrival of more and more settlers, a local chieftain or *tusi* 土司 was selected to represent Chinese authority on the local level, but no Chinese government official was present on a daily basis. Groups were now differentiated by adjectives attached to the base names *Man* 蛮 and *Yi* 夷, illustrated in appellations such as *Dong Man* 洞蛮. Trade and exchanges for more pedestrian things became common. A group under such indirect control and influence was called *sheng* 'raw' 生.

The third stage was reached when the local chieftain or *tusi* 土司 was replaced by a Han official who would then reside in the area. He would often take a local woman as his wife and, in time, would come to speak the indigenous language, though perhaps imperfectly. The Han practices of exogamous marriage with one wife was introduced to replace the clan system that

³ Apparently the dwellers of the Red River valley, i. e. the early Vietnamese, were culturally different enough from those called *Man* or *Yi*, to warrant a separate name, as they continue to be referred to as the *Giao Chi*.

avored cross-cousin polygamous marriages, thus allowing for family names and ancestor worship as well as weakening the concentration of power in the hands of these clans. A group under such direct control was called *shu* 'cooked, ripe' 熟 and permitted substituting the 'long leash policy' for the 'short leash policy'. But, resistance persisted and the Southerners proved more difficult to cook than those groups arrayed on the Yellow River had been. In fact, there were fits and starts and cyclic progress and retrenchments of assimilation between Han and local culture well until the middle of the 20th century, as De Beauclair notes.

The Miao of the Ts'ung-chiang hsien 从江县 are locally and throughout the province know as Sheng or "Raw" Miao. This is a survival from ancient times, when the tribes were divided into sheng and shu, literally "raw", and "ripe" or "cooked". Applied to tribes, *sheng* indicates independent people, while those that have come under Chinese rule, are called *shu*. (Beauclair 1986:274).

As with the Tai, the adoption of Chinese family names and the adaptation of their clan system to that of the Chinese, has obscured the original social organization of the Miao. Presumably they adopted Chinese names for registration purposes, once they were put under control by Chinese officials of the t'u szu (土司). These, if of tribal origin, had to present their genealogies, which fact may have also made their subordinates conscious of the importance of the Chinese name. The adoption of a name marked of the Miao the transition from the state of "sheng", raw or wild, into that of "shu"raising their social position (Beauclair 1986:328).

2.3. From Sojourners to Settlers. During these centuries the relationship between the indigenous groups and Han people changed its character. O'Harrow describes the situation in Vietnam as follows:

The ethnic Chinese, who first came as soldiers and traders but who stayed as administrators and farmers, among whom we find the great assimilated families such as the Sī clan [O'Harrow is referring to the Chinese governor of Giao Chi, Sī Nhiếp 士變 186-227 AD], ...While they may have for some time afterward continued to see themselves ideally as men of Han, in practice they identified with their geography, their fields and crops, their markets and residences, their dependents and retainers, which they defended against outside control,

albeit for reasons less than altruistic and not always with success, either by subterfuge or by outright armed resistance. They are to be distinguished from the sojourners, important as the latter occasionally were, the temporary official appointees, carpet-baggers and career men who sought their reward in metropolitan and who, if they died while in the South, were sent home for burial. O'Harrow (1980: 6).

The inter-settlement of the people and inter-fusion of languages of the Han and minority groups had begun. An example of this practice is given in Fitz Gerald concerning a military general acting for the Chinese court in Yunnan Province in the 19th century.

Ts'en Yu-ying was an unusual man. Coming from a family of Chinese origin long settled in the tribal area of Kuangsi province, his family had been the recognized local feudal lords of one such tribe for several centuries, yet they had retained Chinese culture, speech and won official positions (Fitz Gerald 1972/1993:71).

But change was not everywhere uniform and many Han feudal lords and government officials—apparently unlike General Ts'en Yu-ying—in time “went native” and adopted the language and cultural of the minority group where they lived. In a quotation Yang Quan (1992:319) refers to an entry in the household registry of a Han school teacher who was sent to a remote village, and in the same vein, I provide a quote from Beauclair on the brothers Chang in Gelao territory of Guizhou Province.

侗家人给他建造侗家木楼房嫁给他侗家姑娘 年长月久，学其语，易其服，食其味，从其俗' 结果，汉族老师及其子女都成了侗家人。

The Kam people built him a wooden Kam house, gave him a Kam girl as a wife. The years lengthened; the months drew out; 'Learned their language, Wore their clothes, Ate their food, Practiced their customs'. The result was the Han school teacher and his progeny all became Kam. (Recorded in the household registry of a family that became Kam.)

Two brothers named Chang took Gelao wives. Their descendants settled in numerous villages considering themselves as Min 民, the

socially superior class of the Keh Lao (Gelao), (Beauclair 1986:382).

What these quotes show is that there was much “back-and-forthing” across ethnic lines and language was probably an important determiner of ethnic identity.

3. The linguistic consequences of contact in South China.

As the above sketch indicates, there were social circumstances for four distinct kinds of contact phenomena to develop: *Borrowing*, *Shift*, *Fusion*, and *Convergence*. All of these have resulted in reducing typological distance between the Han language and the languages of the south. One contribution of T&K is to propose cause-and-effect charts for different types of linguistic interaction based on the study of groups around the globe.

3.1. Borrowing. In borrowing they claim the cause and effect relationships as is indicated in Table 1.

Table 1: Borrowing as a function of contact

<u>Nature of the contact</u>	<u>Result</u>
1. Casual contact and little bilingualism	Only non-basic vocabulary
2. Intensive contact and much bilingualism	Much lexical borrowing; moderate structural borrowing
3. Overwhelming contact for a long time	Massive grammatical replacement (possibly language death)

Both the historical materials and the results in extant languages indicate that "Intensive contact and much bilingualism" is the proper term to describe south China. In many places, though, the bilingualism was limited to larger settlements and to male speakers. One characteristic feature of loan words in such places where the Chinese were found in significant numbers is that two kinds of borrowings with two

social histories emerged. There was borrowing with READING PRONUNCIATION and there was borrowing with VULGAR PRONUNCIATION, which is probably the same as saying there were borrowings by bilinguals and borrowing by monolinguals.⁴ Similarly, forms loaned with the assistance of literati always preserved the Chinese tone category in the T(arget) L(anguage). This correspondence of tones between TL and donor language is relentlessly consistent in all early borrowings, not only in Vietnamese, but also in Kam, Zhuang, and other languages of the south.

In the following, I compare the tones in Kam, Zhuang, Vietnamese, and Thai borrowings and their Middle Chinese sources in the reconstruction by Baxter 1992 and website. I have given one example for each tone category in the TL (Thai data taken from Wulff 1934).

(2) Comparison of Kam, Zhuang, Vietnamese, and Thai with Middle Chinese

<u>Kam</u>	<u>Middle Chinese</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ton ¹	town ¹ 冬	Even full voiceless	winter
sa ^{1'}	tshwa ¹ 搓	Even half voiceless	to twist
mjin ²	mjen ² 棉	Even voiced	cotton
tui ³	kjwij ³ 鬼	Rising full voiceless	ghost, demon
thon ^{3'}	duwn ³ 桶	Rising half voiceless	barrel
ma ⁴	mæ ⁴ 马	Rising voiced	horse
tui ⁵	kjwij ⁵ 贵	Departing full voiceless	dear, expensive
thi ⁵	khjij ⁵ 气	Departing half voiceless	air

⁴An analogy might be the GI's in Germany advertising on Armed Forces Radio the sale of a *Schränk* 'wardrobe', but pronouncing it [srāk] and not [ʃrāk], as they were not speakers of German and reverted to the closest equivalent in their first language. Some English speakers, though, do say [ʃr] as in *shrimp* and can copy the German form more closely.

pjiŋ ⁶	bjæŋ ⁶ 病	Departing voiced	sick(ness)
ət ⁷	ʔjit ⁷ 一	Entering full voiceless	one
sət ^{7'}	tshit ⁷ 七	Entering half voiceless	seven
pet ⁹	pæt ⁹ 八	Entering long voiceless	eight
ek ^{9'}	khæk ⁹ 客	Entering long voiceless	guest
ɕəp ⁸	dzyip ⁸ 十	Entering voiced	ten
pa:k ¹⁰	bæk ⁸ 白	Entering long voiced	white
<hr/>			
<u>Zhuang</u>	<u>Middle Chinese</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
fu:ŋ ¹	pjaŋ ¹ 方	Even voiceless	area, place
piŋ ²	bjæŋ ² 平	Even voiced	level, peaceful
ɕiŋ ³	kjæŋ ³ 井	Rising voiceless	well, spring
la:u ⁴	law ⁴ 老	Rising voiced	old
ta:i ⁵	taj ⁵ 带	Departing voiceless	belt, strap
piŋ ⁶	bjæŋ ⁶ 病	Departing voiced	sickness
pak ⁷	pok ⁷ 北	Entering voiceless	north
fa:t ⁷	pjot ⁷ 发	Entering long voiceless	to do, produce
fa:t ⁸	bjot ⁸ 罚	Entering long voiced	to punish
<hr/>			
<u>Viet</u>	<u>Middle Chinese</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
an ¹	ʔan ¹ 安	Even voiceless	safe, secure
6iŋ ²	bjæŋ ² 平	Even voiced	level, peaceful
kwaŋ ³	kwaŋ ³ 广	Rising voiceless	broad
ma ⁴	mæ ⁴ 马	Rising voiced	horse

fən ⁵⁼⁷	phjun ⁵ 粉	Departing voiceless	dust, chalk
kwok ⁷⁼⁵	kwok ⁷ 国	Entering voiceless	country
dai ⁶⁼⁸	thaj ⁶ 太	Departing voiced	too, very
baic ⁸⁼⁶	bæk ⁸ 白	Entering voiced	white

<u>Thai</u>	<u>Middle Chinese</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
saam ¹	sam ¹ 三	Even voiceless	three
ʔeu ²	ieu ¹ 腰	Even voiceless	waist
ɲən ²	ɲien ² 银	Even voiced	silver, money
sii ⁵	si ⁵ 四	Departing voiceless	four
thii ⁶	di ⁶ 地	Departing voiced	earth, place
jæu ⁶	nieu ⁶ 尿	Departing voiced	urine
kau ³	kieu ³ 九	Rising voiceless	nine
læu ⁴	lieu ⁴ 了	Rising voiced	perfected, complete
maa ⁴	mæ ⁴ 马	Rising voiced	horse
cet ⁷	tshit ⁷ 七	Entering half voiceless	seven
pæɛt ⁹	bæt ⁹ 八	Entering full voiceless	eight
luak ¹⁰	lyok ¹⁰ 录	Entering voiced	choose, record

The intelligentsia were able to consult sources, and moreover, must have been able to intuit what tone categories in their own first languages corresponded to those in the Han language, since in all these languages tone category was identical to the donor. But in AD 939, Ngô Quyền 吳權 ousted the Chinese satraps in Vietnam at the fall of the Tang Dynasty. From that point on, there were few opportunities in Vietnam for the common people to hear northern Chinese in large amounts.⁵ As a result, Chinese developed into a role like Latin

⁵Nevertheless, Chinese characters for popular Vietnamese *Chữ Nôm*

in Europe as a lexical source for Vietnamese until the French Colonial Period. Today Chinese loan words make up sixty percent of commonly used Vietnamese, Hoàng Văn Hanh (1991:5).

As for the areas further north, they continued under Chinese rule. Contact between speakers of the Han language and others in some localities was sparse. Eighteenth century Guizhou was territory mostly occupied by non-Han speakers and there was considerable resistance to Han incursion in the form of rebellions, especially by the Miao, as happened in 1735, 1795-6, and 1836. This situation would not change appreciably until the 20th century. Even then, as De Beauclaire 1986 reports, some parts of Guizhou Province were still classified as *Sheng* 'raw' up to 1950. All the while multilingualism and inter-fusion of populations was growing.

3.2. Fusion of tones. Fusion is a borrowing introduced by bilinguals who have not or have chosen not to integrate the loan into the native phonological system but to keep it COMPARTMENTALIZED. Faingold (1996:117) notes that Bitola has two plural markers, the Spanish *-s* and the Hebrew *-im* for Spanish and Hebrew lexis. Correspondingly, in Sui there is a kind of fusion of Han and Sui tone systems with a special tone category 6' for new Han loans that have not been nativized into Sui phonology. Thus, these Han loan words are separated from the Sui tone system into special categories, e.g. *thu⁶ kari⁶* 'land reform' from Chinese 土改 (Wang 1984:522). There is a similar phenomenon in Wuming Zhuang where the tone categories 9 and 10 (from DL) have differing values depending upon whether the words are Chinese loans or native vocabulary.

and for learned Sino-Vietnamese borrowings expanded, Nguyễn (1964:143). During the time of the Vietnamese Lý Dynasty (1010-1225) and the Trần Dynasty (1225-1400) the establishment of academies and schools to teach pure Chinese and Chữ Nôm characters to wider circles of the population reaching its high point during the Lê Dynasty (1428-1788). Han characters and Chữ Nôm continued fairly widely until 1915-1918, when the Chinese (character) examination system was abolished. Han writing was replaced by the romanized script Quốc Ngữ introduced by Alexandre de Rhodes (1654) and other missionaries in the 16th century.

(3)	Native	Chinese
	Tone 9 raap35 'carry on a pole'	jiet55 'rest'
	Tone 10 liet33 'blood'	lap42 'wax'

So tones show the fusion aspect of contact just like other language systems.

3.3. Convergence through shift and multi-lingualism in Guangxi. East and Southeast Asia are areas of LINGUISTIC CONVERGENCE. In fact, it is often noted that East and Southeast Asia like the Balkans, South Asia, and possibly Pre-IE Europe show many AREAL FEATURES. For instance, languages in this geographic area usually have tones or voice-quality, monosyllabicity, isolating morphology with little or no inflectional morphology, reduplicative forms for emphasis or for diminution, a special word category for intensifying adjectives, and four-syllable elaborate expressions.⁶ Most of the languages are SVO in word order.⁷

I believe that the social situation in South China was primarily responsible for this widespread development. E. R. Leach (1967:2-4) argues that the concept *social structure* (and we might add *language*) was used as a category to compare societies. That presupposes that such societies exist throughout time and are in a state of equilibrium. But Leach concludes for the Kachin and Shan of Burma (and we would add that is true for South China and Northern Vietnam, as well) that societies are never in equilibrium. He says, "Real societies exist in time and space. The demographic, ecological, economic and external political situation does not build up into a fixed environment, but into a constantly changing environment." For instance, Leach reproduces in his book the report of a Kachin headman

⁶The intensifier construction is exemplified in Chinese by *hei xixi*, Kam [nəm⁵⁵ meü¹¹ meü¹¹] 'black-INT-INT', and Thai *khǎaw cuǎk* 'pure white'. This word category works a bit like English *pitch black*, except that in these languages the intensifier is a word form without any obvious meaning. The four-syllable elaborate expression is used in discourse, often to punctuate the peak of an episode, as in Chinese *wei-xiang-se-mei Beijing kaoja* 'taste-fragrant-color-beautiful Peking roast duck'

⁷Except for Tibeto-Burman languages, which are SOV.

about his life, which states that for most of 70 years he and his family had regarded themselves simultaneously as Kachin and Shan. Thus, Leach says this situation is quite usual and social structure consists of a set of ideas about the distribution of power among peoples and groups. Individuals can and do hold multiple and contradictory ideas about membership in these systems. What that means is that people can regularly cross from one group to another.

The fact that there are shifting boundaries on ethnicity means there are also shifting boundaries on languages. But shifting is not a complete shift to a new TL, as that would entail the abandonment of the first language. Often though, instead one sees evidence of multilateral membership, contact, and interference. This situation would happen especially in smaller towns where there are multiethnic/multi-lingual markets and, commonly, intermarriage among ethnicities. As a result, there is not shift but multi-lingual acquisition, sometimes, we suppose, multiple second language acquisition with accompanying multilateral *interference*. Such individuals are especially prone to practice CODE-SWITCHING. Language use follows linguistic competence, which transcends the knowledge of only a single language. One effect on language has been the development of tonal systems for Han, Mulam, and Zhuang that have, over time, come to resemble each other considerably. That is pitch trajectories have developed to similar values across the languages in contact, a kind of *tonal convergence*. In Luo Cheng County in north central Guangxi Province, for example, the tone values of several languages have tended to show resemblance. There are twelve languages spoken here, including several kinds of Chinese. In 1990 I was able to collect data in one session with the speakers of all twelve languages lined up. In round-robin style we went around the table asking each person to produce for our recording equipment three repetitions of the concepts on our standard word list. The striking result was that one could hear how the tone value for Tone 1 shows striking similarity in pitch trajectory—high-to-mid falling—from language to language, Tone 2 being mostly a low-rise-fall tone, etc.

(4) A comparison of tone values in the Han, Zhuang, Mien, and Mulam of Luo Cheng country (field notes).

<u>Mulam</u>	<u>Zhuang</u>	<u>Iu Mien</u>	<u>Kam</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Tone ¹ mən ⁴²	ʔbən ⁴²	luŋ ⁴²	mun ⁵²	sky
Tone ² ləm ¹³²	rum ¹³²	mjen ³¹ (person)	lum ¹³²	wind
Tone ³ kwa ⁵³	həu ⁵³	mau ¹³	ma ⁵⁵	cloud
Tone ⁵ ci ³¹	ke ³¹	dajaau ²⁴ (wind)	qai ⁵²³	chicken
Tone ⁷ ʔjap ⁵⁵	pit ⁵⁵	ʔap ⁵⁵	pit ⁵⁵	duck
Tone ⁸ myok ²²	zok ³³	nok ³³	mok ¹¹	bird
Tone ⁹ paak ⁴⁴	peek ⁴⁴	çət ¹¹	peet ⁴⁴	eight

It appears that several of the minority languages and some types of Han have developed similar pitch shapes. It's perhaps worth noting while Mulam and Kam are closely related, the values for Kam tones elsewhere usually have the value 55 and not 52 as here. Zhuang is distantly related to Kam and Mulam; and Iu Mien is at most very distantly related. Some investigators believe it is a Sino-Tibetan language. It was evident that native speakers of the languages knew linguistic details about the tone systems in all their languages. Such information suggests that speakers can, in time, through contact, possess sure-footed knowledge about abstract linguistic categories and how categories of two languages are related to each other tonally without giving up or shifting from their own mother language.⁸

⁸See Khanittanan 1973 for discussion of a similar case of several displaced varieties of Lao called Lao Phuan, Lao Yuan, and Lao Lao spoken in Lopburi, Saraburi, and Singbui Provinces, Thailand. All these forms of Lao are surrounded by large number of Siamese (Central Thai) speakers. She concludes that Siamese influence has caused a lowering of the short checked syllable, which has led to a pattern of coalescence not originally

4. Language shift. Speak White; Speak Han. As we have portrayed it above, Vietnamese, Kam, and the other languages have experienced mostly language maintenance with intensive contact, much lexical borrowing, a more modest amount of structure borrowing, occasional fusion, and convergence.

It has been less common to speak in Asia, though, of language shift changes but as T&K (1988:119-46) describe it, language shift must be involved in SE Asia too.

Table 2: Language Shift as a function of contact
Shift with Normal Transmission

<u>Nature of the contact</u>	<u>Result</u>
1. Superstrate group with small population; "subjugated" group shifts to conqueror's lg.	Some lexical influence with few structural features from the language (TL) as most are bilingual
2. Superstate group with small population shifts to the language of the conquered.	Lex. borrowing, some structural borrowing, interference (esp. if shifting group is small).
3. Moderate to heavy interference	Phonological changes; usually simplification; syntactic replacements and word order change.

From the reports of early encounters we believe that there would have been opportunity for language shift, as there was a small but sufficient number of unassimilated Chinese soldiers in the Red River valley. When they began speaking Vietnamese (analogous to when Norman French speakers shifted to English), they would have employed borrowings for cultural things and found in these forms of Lao (60-61).

new structural features from interference between their Chinese first language and the Vietnamese language they would preferentially speak thereafter.

As we have just stated, Vietnamese evidences a lot of scholarly borrowings. But since there were also large numbers of Chinese speakers and bilingual Vietnamese speakers in contact with monolingual Vietnamese speakers in the period 200 BC to 939 AD, there are also a lot of popular borrowings. First there are words assumed to have gone directly from Chinese into Vietnamese popular language without employing the conduit of Confucian, Chinese, or Buddhist learning. We suppose the most likely pathway into Vietnamese would have been through the shifting of Chinese speakers. Secondly, there are borrowings that first came into Vietnamese from scholars and later were changed by developments in popular use. Nguyễn (1969:154-60) assumes these words must have been borrowed before the 10th century. I have given several examples from a list of one hundred or so taken from Nguyễn 1967. He relies in part on Maspero 1912, 1916, and 1920.

(5) Chinese loans directly into "popular" Vietnamese

<u>Popular Viet.</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	<u>Middle Chinese</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
xin [çin ¹]	tsher ³	tshjen ³ 请	to request
xanh [çan ¹]	tshin ¹	tsher ¹ 青	green
mùi [mui ²]	mei ⁶	mji ⁶ 味	taste
mùi [mui ²]	mei ⁶	mji ⁶ 未	not good, the 8th Earthly Branch
mui [mui ¹]	wai ²	mwji ² 帏	curtain, roof of a rickshaw or boat
mũa [mũa ⁶]	mo ²	mju ² 无	negation, do not, no

mù [mu ²]	mo ⁶	mju ⁶ 雾	fog
múa [mua ⁵]	mo ⁴	mju ⁴ 舞	to dance
man [man ¹]	maan ⁶	mjon ⁶ 万	countless
muôn [muon ¹]	maan ⁶	mjon ⁶ 万	10,000, myriad
muộn [muon ⁶]	maan ⁴	mjon ⁴ 晚	late
buôn [buon ¹]	faan ⁵	pjon ⁵ 贩	to buy to resell
buôm [buom ¹]	faan ²	bjon ² 帆	sail
buôn [buon ¹]	faan ²	bjon ² 烦	vexed, irritated
vuông [vuon ¹]	fon ¹	pjan ¹ 方	square

These data should be compared to the scholarly borrowings listed above. From this comparison it is clear that scholarly borrowings preserve the tone category of the source, whereas popular borrowings almost never respect the tone category of the source. Mostly though, High Set tones in the donor language wind up as High Set tones in the TL. Ngang, Sắc, and Hỏi Vietnamese tones can interchange and Huyền, Năng, and Ngã can interchange. Perhaps the varying categories represented approximate values of Vietnamese at various time and at various locations where the borrowing occurred.

5. Structural and grammatical features. In regard to grammatical features, Kam, Vietnamese, and Thai are, generally speaking, head-first languages with adjuncts—including attributive modifiers and attributive particles—following the head noun, e.g. Vietnamese *thịt bò* 'meat-cow=beef', *tay phải* 'hand-right', *người Việt* 'person-Vietnamese=Vietnamese person'; the situation is similar for Thai *nua mǔ* 'meat-pig=pork'. Thai has similar borrowings *rót-săam-lố* 'cart-three-wheel' from *sanluan-che* 三轮车 'three-wheeled cart' with the head noun *rót* 'cart' preceding the modifier *săam-lố*. And this pattern is found in Kam as well, *pu⁴ na²* 'father-you=your father', *lak¹⁰ mu⁵* 'offspring-pig=piglet'. But when there was borrowing of a compound word, then the whole word with the Chinese order appears, e.g. *đại học* big-school 'university' from *daxue* 大学 or *Bắc Bộ* north-part 'the north (of Vietnam)' from *beibu* 北部 *ngữ pháp* 'language-law 'grammar' from *yufa* 语法.

There are, however, in all these languages some cases of language shift with interference in phrase structure. Interference differs from borrowing in the sense that mostly phonological inventory or grammatical structuring is affected. Thus, speakers of Chinese who had learned Kam imperfectly started speaking the language and other Kam speakers imitated them. Shift to Kam has altered the phonology by introducing several new phonological contrasts from borrowed words /tj thj ts tsh f wj/, cf. Wang (1964:322), and these sounds have, in a sense not been integrated completely into the sound system of the language.

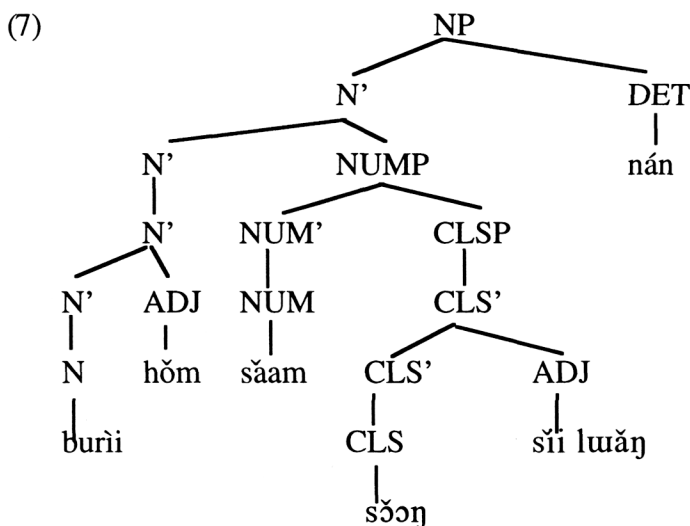
Function words are also borrowed in Vietnamese and Kam such as the attributive particle *chi* (V) from Chinese *之* *zhī*, *giả* 'or' from Chinese *者* *zhě*, *các* 'plural' from Chinese *各* *gè* 'each', and *không* 'negative' from Chinese *空* *kong* 'empty'. More striking still are the structural calques in Vietnamese, Thai, and Kam for verbal aspect markers. In Kam the particle *liao*³ (K) 'perfectivity' has been taken from Chinese *了* and this very same particle also appears in Thai as *léew*. Vietnamese has *rồi* 'be finished'. All three of these enter into sentences and clauses with nearly the same meaning of 'perfective, change of state'.

- (6) a. Xià yǔ *le* (*liao*). 'down-rain-ASP=it's just started raining.' (Chinese)
- b. Fõn tòk *léew*. 'rain-drip-ASP=it's just started raining.' (Thai)
- c. Nó ăn *rồi*, đi học. 'he ate ASP, (then) went to school.' (Vietnamese)

While I have compared Vietnamese, Thai, and Kam here, they have had rather different contact experiences with the Chinese, especially in regard to the period and duration of the exposure. The Thai groups were perhaps the first to leave the direct influence of Chinese. From the borrowed forms it appears they must have been in contact until the Middle Chinese period, ca. 600-800 AD. Vietnam remained a part of the Empire until 939 AD, but borrowing of lexicon continued to almost modern times. The Kam language has been in increasing contact with the Han language since the Middle Chinese period. Therefore, one would expect that Thai and Vietnamese would show less

influence in grammatical and Kam more influence. This is also the situation I found, at least in regard to the major elements within the NP.⁹ I was also able to consult with speakers of Northern and Southern Kam and found differences. The northern area has been much more subject to Han influence than the more remote south.

From the data in Noss (1964:104ff) Thai appears to have an NP structure that does not show Chinese influence. Thus, Thai has phrases such as:



cigarettes fragrant three packs yellow those
 ‘Those three yellow packs of fragrant cigarettes’

Thai also has N-POSS, N-ADJ, V-ADV (Head-Adj) order:

- (8)
- a. bâan jàj ‘house-big=a big house’
 - b. wǐŋ rew ‘run fast’
 - c. aahǎan mâj-arðoj ‘food-NEG-tasty=tasteless food’
 - d. rót acaan ‘car-professor=the professor’s car’

⁹I chose the NP to examine, as it is less subject to discourse and information structure factors in determining word order.

In Vietnamese the NUMP appears to the left of the head (Nguyễn 1997:174-81):

- (9) tất cả năm chiếc áo-dài lụa xanh này
 -3 -2 -1 0 +1+2 +3 +4 +5
 all five CLS VN dress silk blue these
 'All these five blue silk Vietnamese dresses'

Nguyễn goes on to say that the outermost position (-3) can be filled by words denoting "totality"; position -2 is a cardinal number or quantifier/pluralizer; position -1 is filled by a classifier, 0 is the head noun; +1, +2, and +3 describe the various attributes of the head noun, and +4 is filled by demonstrative articles with the possessive in position +5.

The Kam language has a word order today that is identical to that of Vietnamese:

- (10) a. samp doc max naih
 three CLS horse these
 'these three horses
 b. samp doc max maoh
 three CLS horse his
 'his three horses'

The order in 10 is the only acceptable order to Northern Kam speakers, but in the more conservative southern areas in songs and in old texts 10 can also be expressed with the same order as in Thai (which I assume to be the original order):¹⁰

- (11) max samp doc naih
 horse three CLS these

Thus, among the three languages under discussion there are three clear stages in regard to the relative positions of the numeral phrase to the head noun in these languages.

¹⁰The equivalent to the Thai phrase above in Shidong (Northern) Kam is: *saml beeul yinl dangl yak jas* 'three-CLS (packs)-cigarettes-fragrant-those (visible distant)'. Kam cannot allow a modifier of the classifier as in Thai.

Table 3: Order of Head Noun and Numeral Phrase

Head--Numeral Phrase	Thai
Head--Numeral Phrase (optional)	southern Kam
Numeral Phrase--Head(obligatory)	Vietnamese and northern Kam
Numeral Phrase--Head	Chinese

In regard to the order of head noun and adjuncts (possessive and attributive adjective), verbs and complements, and adjective-adverb a similar pattern emerges. Thai, as usual, shows the strict head first order:

- (12) a. *bần phỏm* 'home-me=my home'
 b. *kin khâaw* 'eat-rice=eat'
 c. *dii mâak* 'good-much=very good'

In Vietnamese one finds:

- (13) a. *nhà tôi* 'house-me=my house'
 b. *ăn cơm* 'eat-rice=eat'
 c. *rất yêu* 'very-love=love/like very much'
 d. *làm quá* 'work-excessively=work very hard'
 e. *anh tôi* 'older brother-me=my older brother'
 f. *chó của tôi* 'dog-of-me=my dog'

The examples in 13 show more variable position of the head; adverbs, for example, in c and d can appear either before or after. The adverb *rất* for example occurs before psychological verbs, but some adverbs, such as *quá*, can appear after verbs (in this group Nguyễn 1997 lists *lắm* 'much', *lại* 'again', *đã* 'already', *kết* 'finish up', *ngay* 'right away', *liền* 'immediately', etc.). Moreover, the possessive construction can be with a substitute as in e or with the preposition *của* as in f.

The situation in Kam is the most complex. The traditional order for adjuncts is to follow the head noun.

- (14) a. *bux nyac* 'father-you=your father'

b. jedl keep 'firewood-they=their firewood'

But in younger speakers in the south and for all speakers of the north it is acceptable to say:

- (15) a. ac neix dil ugs 'POL-mother-PART-clothes=Mom's clothes'
b. keep dil jedl 'they-PART-firewood=their firewood'

as long as the head noun is not a person. In the south with persons these are unacceptable but very normal for northern Kam speakers even without the linking particle *dil*.

- (16) a. nyac (dil) bux 'you-PART-father=your father'
b. maoh (dil) nongx 'he-PART-younger siblings=his younger siblings'

where *dil* is a PART corresponding to Chinese 的 *de* [tʃ]. It is important to note, though, that the more conservative south still cannot use the head last construction when the head noun is a person, cf. 16 a and b. As in Vietnamese, southern Kam speakers sense a slight difference in the two constructions. Head-first constructions have a sense of inalienable possession, whereas head-final construction are used for alienable possession (Yang 2001) and, thus, persons are not things that can be possessed in the manner of firewood and clothes.

The situation with attributive adjectives is similar. While southern say:¹¹

- (17) a. nyenc lail 'person-good=good person'
b. leec yak 'book-red=red book'
- (18) a. lail dil nyenc 'good-PART-person=good person'
b. yak dil leec 'red-PART-book=red book'
c. yais dil dongmeix 'long-PART-log=long logs'

¹¹The phrase 18c may be acceptable to some in the south but only in the meaning of 'long logs in comparison to short ones'.

d. jaoc jah ‘my-father=my father’

Northern Kam and Southern Kam also differ in the position of attributive adjectives. Consider these compounds and phrases

- (19) a. neix aiv ‘female-chicken=hen’ vs. *aiv neix
- b. angl aiv ‘not laid egg-chicken=poulet’ vs. *aiv angl
- c. sel aiv or aiv sel ‘male-chicken=rooster’
- d. muk langl or langl muk ‘male-pig=bore’
- e. gaoh jih ‘leather shoe’ (archaic), haic bic ‘shoes-leather’ (old), bic haic ‘leather shoes’ (young)

Table 4: Order of Head Noun and Adjuncts

Head--Adjectives/Possessives	Thai
Head--Adjectives/Possessives	Vietnamese
Head--Possessives (head is person)	Southern Kam
Possessive-(dil)-Head (not person)	Southern Kam
Possessive-(dil)-Head	Northern Kam
Adjectives--Head	Northern Kam
Possessive/Adjectives--Head	Chinese

In summary, the changes in word order for Vietnamese and for southern Kam from contact with the Han language appear roughly of the same order of magnitude, whereas northern Kam shows much more intense influence with Han. Thai, by contrast, demonstrates cultural borrowings and a few examples of shift borrowings, but apparently the Thai precursor populace moved south early enough that structural influence was minimal.

6. Conclusion. There has obviously been a great deal of contact between the peoples inhabiting the territory south of the Yangtze and the Han soldiers, who turned settlers in later times. Later still there were officials, men of Han who came to govern the groups of the south, and who ate their food, wore their clothes, spoke their language, and then became them. For the last fifty or hundred years more rapid communication and commercialization have increased the allure of the Han language. As a result this slowly developing drama can provide good examples of all the classical phenomena of language contact: borrowing, shift, fusion, and convergence from earlier periods.

It also appears that the prolonged duration of contact has played a significant role in the traces left for us to see today. The Thai precursors left early, the Vietnamese maintained the contact longer, and Kam became an ethnic minority of a multiethnic state. We have found much evidence for the mixing of languages here but little evidence for true fission creole languages, presumably because populations were usually not transported to distant places and not mixed massively with speakers of other languages. Also the inter-fusion of the Han with local populations developed too slowly to result in the discontinuities so characteristic of languages with a creoles history. Yet it would be incorrect to underestimate the role of language contact in this geographic area, for everyone senses that mutual and multilateral influence has transfigured many of languages south of the Yangtze.

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