Contact-induced Change, Genetic Relationship, and Scales of Comparison [1]

James A. Matisoff
University of California, Berkeley

1.0   Perceived similarities and scale of comparison

At relatively shallow time-depths, "microlinguistic" comparative reconstruction is possible, even in the absence of extensive written records, as long as one is dealing with a well-ramified family with surviving members in several branches. Regularity of sound correspondences can be insisted upon (even for vowels!), and exceptions to phonological rules or semantic discrepancies can be explained to everyone's satisfaction. This happy state is familiar to specialists in Tai, Loloish, or Bantu -- and a fortiori to Romance philologists.

Extensive written records and morphological complexity (as in Indo-European or Semitic) and/or a large number of highly diversified daughter languages (as in Austronesian, Tibeto-Burman, or Austroasiatic) permit "macrolinguistic" work, *enabling us to push back the clock to perhaps 6000 years B.P.* At this level there are many unsolved and perhaps insoluble problems, though the basic validity of the family grouping is not in serious question.

At remoter time-depths, the classic distinction between genetic and other types of relationship breaks down. Too many alternative explanations for perceived similarities are possible: chance, borrowing, areal typological convergence, universal tendencies, faulty analysis, wishful thinking. Virtually every possible genetic supergrouping of the major language families of East and Southeast Asia has been proposed. Partisans of the opposing theories talk past each other, fixating on different scraps of evidence. Usually the problem gets posed in a simplistic, "all-or-nothing" way. The long-despised concept of the Mischsprache needs to be revitalized. At the megalo-level, language superstocks are as nebulous a construct as biological "races" of humanity. Notational devices, semantic promiscuity, and analytical sleight-of-hand can make any two language families look related.

All scales of linguistic comparison are legitimate, as long as one realizes that the rules of the game are quite different at the megalo-level. In the "megalocomparative" realm, it ill behooves anyone to be dogmatic.

1.1   Types of relationship and degrees of perceived similarity

Degrees of organicity of relationship	**Degrees of surface similarity**
close genetic	close genetic
remote genetic	heavy borrowing
substratum	remote genetic
borrowing	substratum
chance	chance

But this is very crude. Consider, e.g. 'eye' Latin **oculus** / Modern Greek **mati**, both from Proto-Indo-European ***okw-** (> Gk. **op-mn-ti-on** > **om-mati-on**). An original morphological element has become the root-initial in Mod.Gk., and all trace of the root-morpheme has disappeared.

Yet we wouldn't want *every* etymology to be like this, with Benedictine "split cognates"![2] Much independent evidence is required in extreme cases of dissimilarity of reflexes.

2.0   Theoretical issues in establishing genetic relationship

•Relative weighting of areas of structure
--The notion of "core vocabulary" (Diffloth's "scruff and smegma" critique [1990]; core vocabulary replaceable by taboo in Nicobarese and Aslian [Diffloth, p.c. 1985]); only cute and/or culturally interesting words preserved in "deep substratum" of children of shifting bilinguals (below 4.0).
--Idiosyncratic morphological features; special difficulties presented by languages without much morphology.

•Glottochronology
Why must we assume that languages replace their basic vocabulary at a universally constant rate? (see JAM 1978, esp. the discussion of "replacement tolerance quotients".)

•Semantic latitude
--Practicing what one preaches: Vovin 1993:1: "...the abundance of comparisons of the type 'water' - 'sap' over the type of 'water' - 'water' seriously diminishes the credibility of any hypothesis of genetic relationship'. Then proceeds to compare Proto-Japanese ***momo** 'peach' to Proto-Manchu-Tungus ***ñang-ta** 'nut'.
--PKB 1990: Indonesian **ikan** 'fish' / Jse **ika** 'squid'
--Sino-Austronesianists: Sagart (1990) compares PAN ***pusuq** 'heart; central leaf' with OC ***swia** (re-reconstructed ***s-j-wa?**) 'marrow' (since marrow is "the heart of a bone"). Yet there's no evidence that marrow has ever been conceived in a "heartlike" way by East Asian peoples. MARROW <--> BRAIN yes, MARROW <--> HEART no! The reality of "areal semantics." (See JAM 1978 ("VSTB"), passim.)
--Semantic associations are unpredictable, but unusual ones require ample evidence.
--It should not automatically be assumed that semantic associations attested in one linguistic area are universally valid.
--Once a semantic association has already been established on independent grounds within a linguistic area, similar associations found elsewhere have confirmatory force. (See JAM 1988)

•"Regularity" of correspondence (see JAM 1994)
--Making the megalo- look micro-:
abuse of notational devices; ad hoc explanations; pushing the FAMILY TREE METAPHOR too far back, trying to get to the original Greenbergian trunk;[3] failure to recognize that at a certain point of remoteness of genetic relationship the "laws of

---

[2]By the way that -**mn**- infix looks very Mon-Khmer! See below 7.0.
[3]A better visual image for the linguistic relationships of SEA might be a *thicket*; or even the tangled interconnected Moebius-band like horns of a Dr. Seuss animal.

nature" change, just as the "laws" of Newtonian physics no longer apply at the subatomic or intergalactic level.
--Not enough to set up "tables of correspondences" without presenting all the data *that either confirm or disconfirm* the fillers of the cells in the table.
--Chimera of proto-regularity, when every observable modern language is rife with irregularities. Every modern language is a proto-language with respect to the future" (M.R. Haas).

3.0   Borrowing

•Importance of **social factors** in contact-induced change. "Intimate" vs. "vertical" borrowing.
Is there such a thing as a "normal/average/normative" amount of borrowing between a random pair of contiguous languages? If there were such a normative range, one could then speak of abnormal (i.e. abnormally great or small) amount of interinfluence.
--too many variables:
••amount of physical and cultural contact (natural barriers, trade, marriage, relative prestige)
••closeness of relationship of the lgs, genetically and/or typologically

•typologically favored borrowing, e.g. borrowing between closely related languages or dialects
(exs. from Thomason/Kaufman (1988; henceforth "T/K"):
••Norse --> northern Old English
••Cakchiquel --> Quiché: rule that neutralizes final /m/ and /n/ as [ʒ].
••Mamean --> Quiché: dissimilation rule that palatalizes velar stops /k, k'/ before a vowel followed by /q/, /q'/, or /x/.
••Marathi --> Bombay Hindi: question particle switched from sentence-initial to sentence-final position

Types of interference
Widespread belief that syntax is in some way the "deepest" level of the grammar. "While there may be some aspects of a lg's syntax which, because of internal structural cohesion, are especially resistant to foreign interference...*syntactic interference is as common as phonological interference.*"[4] (T/K:118)

"Structural borrowing"
Question on my Ph.D. orals (1964): "Is structural borrowing possible?"
I gave ex. of Chinese syntactic influence on Japanese - e.g. compounding of nouns by simple juxtaposition; and of -able/-ible added to native English roots.

3.1   Borrowing scale / scale of intensity of contact   (T/K:74-6)

(1) Casual contact: lexical borrowing only
content words; non-basic vocabulary borrowed before basic

---

[4]Exceptions: where educated speakers shift to, or use as a second lg, a major international literary lg such as English. In such cases we sometimes find (as in India or Africa) a local variety of the international lg that is phonologically, but not necessarily morphosyntactically, influenced by the indigenous substratum (e.g. unaspirated initial voiceless consonants in Indian English, trilled r, lack of v/w contrast, realization of Eng. interdental fricatives as dental stops, contrasting with realization of Eng. /t d/ as retroflex stops; characteristic intonation); monophthongization of Eng. vowels in African English, etc.) (T/K:119, 129)

•*Casual borrowing* donor language not well known by learner
(a) physical proximity
--Farangs resident in Thailand learning a few Thai words (e.g. fruit names, *tuk-tuk*, "samlor")
(b) at a distance
--U.S. intellectuals using French or German phrases (*déjà vu* all over again; *Zeitgeist*)
--How many Americans realize that *jihad* 'holy war' and *mujahadin* 'Afghan rebels' come from the same Semitic triliteral root? Or that Russian *glasnostj* 'openness' and Polish *solidarność* 'solidarity' reflect the same Slavic suffixes? (Cf. Khmer infixation processes faintly perceivable in Thai, e.g. **trùat** 'examine' / **tamrùat** 'police".)

Differences between British and American borrowings from French:
--stress shift to first syllable in Britain: *ballet, pâté* (T/K:349)
--[æ] in Britain / [a:] in US: *cantata* (JAM)
Sociolinguistic cause: the British are more secure in their own pronunciations, so they anglicize more?

•Special cases: borrowing from a high prestige written language (may be well known to an elite)
--Japanese < Chinese; Urdu < Arabic; Hindi < Sanskrit; Thai < Khmer; Yiddish < Hebrew

(2) Slightly more intense contact: slight structural borrowing
lexicon: function words - conjunctions and various adverbial particles
structure: minor phonological, syntactic, and lexical semantic features
      maybe new phonemes, but only in loanwords
      syntactic borrowings restricted to new functions or functional restrictions, or
new   orderings; little or no typological disruption
/e.g.Slavic influence on Yiddish reflexive pronouns (became invariant instead of inflected)/

(3) More intense contact: slightly more structural borrowing
lexicon: function words (adpositions); derivational affixes may be abstracted from borrowed words and added to native vocabulary; inflectional affixes may enter, but confined to loanwords; personal and demonstrative pronouns and low numerals more likely to be borrowed
structure: phonemicization, even in native vocabulary of previously allophonic alternations (esp. those that exploit distinctive features already present in the borrowing language); acquisition of salient prosodic features (e.g. stress rules) and syllable-structure features (e.g. addition of final consonants in loanwords); some aspects of word-order shift may be found, e.g. borrowed postpositions in an otherwise prepositional lg.

(4) Strong cultural pressure: moderate structural borrowing
structure: major structural features that cause relatively little typological change; introduction of new distinctive features into native vocabulary, and perhaps loss of some phonological contrasts; new syllable structure constraints, also in native words; acquisition of a few natural allophonic and mppc rules, such as palatalization or final obstruent devoicing
      fairly extensive word order changes; other syntactic changes that cause little categorial alteration; borrowed inflectional affixes and categories (e.g. new cases)

added to native words, esp. if there is a good typological fit in both category and ordering

(5) Very strong cultural pressure: heavy structural borrowing
structure: major structural features that cause significant typological disruption; added mppc rules; subphonemic changes in habits of articulation (change in basis of articulation), incl. allophonic alternations; loss of phonemic contrasts and of mppc rules; changes in word structure rules (e.g. adding prefixes in a lg that had been exclusively suffixing; or change from flexional toward agglutinative morphology); categorial as well as more extensive ordering changes in morphosyntax (e.g. development of ergativity; added concord rules, including bound pronominal elements)[5]

3.11   Grading SEA'n contact situations in terms of these criteria

Type (5) cases:
Extremely intense contact resulting in typological change. No aspect of structure is immune to borrowing under these conditions.

•Karen   (< Mon, Tai)
•Vietnamese   (< Chinese)
•Munda   (< Indo-Aryan)
•Bai   (< Chinese)
•Cham   (Hainan: < Chinese; Cambodia/Vietnam: < Mon-Khmer)[6]
•Tai   (<---> Chinese)
•Hmong-Mien (<--- Chinese)
•Japanese   (Mischsprache; off the scale)

Type (4) cases:
•Thai   <--> Khmer
•Hayu   (< Nepali)
•Kelantan Chinese   (< Malay) [Teo Kok Seong 1993]
•Newari   (< Indo-Aryan)

Type (3) cases:
•Mon --> Burmese
•Malay --> Aslian

Type (2) cases:
•Shan --> Lahu
•Chinese --> Lahu
•Thai --> Vietnamese
•Tai --> Khmuic
•Thai <---> Malay
•Thai --> Kelantan Chinese

Type (1) cases:
•MK ---> Lepcha   [substratal?]
•Loloish ---> Palaung-Wa   [adstratal]

---

[5]Cf. the ongoing controversy about the genetic antiquity of TB "verb pronominalization".
[6]For a somewhat analogous case cf. Chinook Jargon (Silverstein 1972), where the tense/aspect systems of different dialects have diverged under the influence of different outside languages. (T/K 17)

•Khasi <---> Barish   [adstratal]

4.0   Borrowing vs. shift

Shift: target language imperfectly known by learner
(a) shift caused by influx from outside; i.e. no displacement of population that must shift
--Southern Min speakers learning Guoyu in Taiwan (older population has lower prestige)
(b) shift by a displaced population
--Early 20th c. Yiddish-speaking immigrants to US (older population has higher prestige)

Degrees of interference in bilinguals' languages (T/K:40)

	English --> Yiddish *borrowing*	Yiddish --> English *adstratum*
lexicon	very strong	moderate
phonology	weak	strong
morphosyntax	moderate	strong

Viewed vertically, intergenerationally:

	Yiddish	*English*
Dad b. 1910, Zembin, Belarus	**adstratum** /shift to English/	**superstratum** lexicon <------> phonology syntax ------->
JAM b. 1937, Boston	**substratum**	**native** phonology *finger* rhymes with *singer* lexicon/collocations *take a shave, make a party* ------->
Nadja b. 1964, Berkeley	**deep substratum**	**native** lexicon smattering ------->

4.1   The notion of substratum

•*Mistrust of unfettered substratal proposals*
--Indo-Europeanists have a traditional prejudice against external explanations for change...especially when all the proposed interference takes place without actual transfer of gcl morphemes. (T/K:139-43)
•Abuse of this concept has given substratal advocates a bad name: "Substratomaniacs" (Derek Bickerton).
•The worst cases are those where we have no structural info either about the abandoned lg or about the target lg before the shift. In order to make educated guesses we must:
--be able to identify a substratum lg (or lg group) some of whose speakers shifted to the target lg at the relevant time period;
--have information about structure of substratum lg;
--have information about structure of target lg before the shift.
"These methodological prerequisites have frequently been ignored by substratum enthusiasts, and this fact prob. accounts in large part for the widespread suspicion

with which historical linguists tend to view substratum explanations of lg change."
(T/K:111)
•Emeneau 1980, quoted in T/K 350: "The only really valid evidence [of structural
interference] is that derived from bilingual situations in which the lgs on both sides
are well known. It will not do to deal in substrata that have long vanished entirely
from our control. That way lie uncontrolled hypotheses, alias guesses, and the
mysticism of so many substratum theories." T/K agree, but stress that the two
languages may be well known indirectly (by comparative reconstruction) rather
than directly.
•JAM 1972: "The Mon-Khmer substratum in TB." Much too grandiose a title: dealt
with the *k- animal prefix in Lolo-Burmese, which has a convincing MK
etymology. But this is merely a case of Type (3) contact.

•*Superstratum and substratum*
There seem to be two aspects to these concepts:
--*relative prestige (synchronic)*
the higher prestige one is the superstratum; the lower one is the "basolect", which
later gets attenuated into a substratum.
--*relative chronology (diachronic)*
the older element is the substratum

•*Superstratum, substratum, adstratum*
Superstratum lgs are typically those of victorious invaders (who might then shift
to the lg of the conquered people (e.g. Norman French in England).
Substratum lgs are those of conquered, or at least sociopolitically subordinate,
indigenous populations and immigrants.
--Afrikaans is historically a descendant of Dutch, but its development into a
separate lg was heavily conditioned by nonwhites who learned Dutch imperfectly as
a second language (T/K:256).
--No Mongolian superstrate in Xixia (> Qiangic). The nomadic Mongols didn't
stick around long enough.
Adstratum lgs are those of invaded or invader groups that are neither dominant nor
subordinate in the contact situation.
"Only one significant lgc consequence seems to depend on the super-/sub-/ad-
distinction: superstratum interference is more likely to include lexical items than
substratum interference is." (T/K:116) (E.g. masses of [superstratal] French
loanwords in English,[7] vs. paucity of [substratal] Dravidian loanwords in Indo-
Aryan or of [substratal] old Uralic loanwords in Slavic.)
"The traditional super-/ad-/substratum distinction is of limited usefulness for the
interpretation of most past shift situations." (T/K:118) "We will...avoid the term
'adstratum', since its linguistic effects are not obviously distinguishable from those
of superstrata and substrata."

•Cases where multiple explanations are possible, even in Indo-European:
Maybe a pre-IE substratum "accounts for" the strange Celtic lenition, as well as
Celtic incorporated pronominal objects. On the other hand, maybe there is an
ancient contact relationship with Hamito-Semitic (see e.g. Adams 1975) [T/K:111].

4.11   Convincing substratum/shift cases

---

[7]These are different from French loanwords in, e.g. Russian, Danish, or Dutch, which are strictly
due to borrowing and not to shift.

•*Dravidian* ---> *Indo-Aryan*. A very strong case can be made for this. Dravidian speakers were once much more widespread in northern India than they are now, and the lgc map of India -- with a solid Dravidian-speaking south (except for intrusive Sinhalese) and Dravidian islands surrounded by Indic in the north -- supports this hypothesis.
--Dravidian substratal interference on IA: the Indic quotative *iti* is a native morpheme, though its use to mark direct quotations is attributable to Dravidian substratal interference. (T/K 131).

•*Uralic* ---> *Balto-Slavic*.
Relic speech islands of Uralic lgs surrounded by Slavic.
substratal interference --> new cases in Russian and Lithuanian (T/K:114)
"Overall we believe that the case for old Uralic interference in Slavic is fairly strong, though fewer interference features have been identified here than in Indic from Dravidian." (T/K:145)

•Burushaski substratal influence on Shina (Dardic) (T/K:135-9).

4.12   Borrowing-cum-shift
•Cushitic influence on Ethiopian Semitic (Leslau 1945). But T/K feel that there has been so much adoption of words from the source lgs (Cushitic) that borrowing and shift interference must have been occurring simultaneously. (115) /Cushitic and Semitic are both descended from Proto-Afro-Asiatic./
•Borrowing by English speakers from Norman French, simultaneously with the shifting of those French speakers to English.

•*Uralic/Balto-Slavic*
Arose partly through shift by Uralic speakers to Slavic and Baltic, and partly through borrowing by Uralic from Slavic and Baltic. (I.e. for some speakers, Uralic substratum interfering with acquisition of B-S (**old language interferes with new language**); for other speakers, incorporation of B-S (superstratal or adstratal) elements into Uralic itself (**new language interferes with retained old language**)

4.13   Borrowing from superstratum: donor language well known by learner
--English speakers learning Norman French, but never shifting totally; massive lexical influx.
--Indonesian speakers learning Dutch; seems to have contributed to the growing reinterpretation of the **di-** focus marker as a Western style "passive voice".

4.14   Continuum of interference from the shifting language onto the target language

The relative sizes of the shifting and target language (TL) speaker groups offer a fairly reliable criterion for predicting whether or not structural interference will occur. "We know of no clear case in which a relatively large invader group has shifted to the language of the indigenous population." (T/K 122)

4.141   Shift without interference (T/K:119-21)
•Typical shift sans interference: urban immigrant groups of European origin in U.S .
•Shift of small superstratal immigrant group - little structural influence on local lg, but likely to leave numerous loanwords (Gothic and Burgundian [Gmc] infl. on medieval Romance dialects of southern France and Spain)..[Contrast to Frankish influence in N. France, where the Germanic presence was larger and lasted longer.]

•North American Indian languages -- shift sans interference --overwhelming numerical and military preponderance of majority lg.

4.142 Shift with slight interference (T/K:121-9)
•Only one phonological innovation in English that is both non-simplificatory and not in line with internal developmental tendencies can be ascribed to French influence: the "Romance stress rule" (Chomsky and Halle 1968) - but even here confined to words of Latin and French origin.
•Frankish influence in N. France, where the Germanic presence was larger and lasted longer -- thus at least some minor structural interference from Frankish on northern Gallo-Romance. Franks arrived in northern France ca. 486, and did not shift to Gallo-Romance until ca. 850. Few undisputed Frankish structural interference features in French, though numerous Frankish loanwords. Romance lgs in general lack /h/ and initial /w/. But Modern French dialects of Picardy, Wallonia, and Normandy still have initial /h/ in Gmc loanwords. "h aspiré" in Gmc loans blocks liaison. /w/ appears word-initially in Picardy, Wallonia, and Lorraine. In other French dialects, this [w] was strengthened to [gw], then simplified to [g]. A few native Romance words acquired /h/ and /w/ thru Frankish influence: **halt** > **haut** 'high' (VL **altus**, influenced by Frankish h»oh); OF **waste** 'waste' (VL **vastus**, infl. by Frankish **wôsti**); OF **waîne** 'sheath' (VL **vagina**) [mod. Fr. **gaine**].
•Two French syntactic features stimes claimed to be due to Gmc influence:
--OF had an obligatory verb-second rule in prose, unknown elsewhere in Romance, but characteristic of Germanic.
--Use of BE instead of HAVE as the perfect auxiliary with certain intransitive verbs of motion and change of state. (Rumanian, Spanish, and Portuguese use only HAVE; Italian follows the French pattern, but this feature was undoubtedly borrowed from French, probably during the 12th century.)

4.143 Shift with moderate to heavy interference (T/K 129-46)
Three different categories:
(1) Simplificatory changes resulting from learners' failure to learn TL structures that are more complicated than functionally corresponding structures in the shifting speakers' original lg.
--development of fixed initial stress in Latvian under Livonian influence.
--JAM: what about devoicing of final stops in African American English?
(2) Changes which neither simplify nor complicate the system.
--replacement of Semitic pharyngealized emphatic consonants by Cushitic-influenced glottalized emphatic consonants in Ethiopic Semitic. Both are highly marked types of sounds.
(3) Changes which seem to complicate the TL grammar.
--Russian and Lithuanian added cases thru Uralic influence.
--Irish English - development of a recent past construction using 'after' (He's after singin' = He has just sung).
--Introduction of clicks into Zulu and other Nguni dialects of Bantu from Khoisan (Hottentot).

4.2 Austric: substratal or remote genetic relationship?

Shift vs. borrowing situations:
--If two lgs are known to have been in contact, the presence of noninherited universally marked features in one of them ...may provide good evidence of interference from the other. If the interfered-with lg has adopted few or no words

from the source language, then the mechanism of the structural interference must have been shift; if many words have been adopted, the mechanism was probably either borrowing alone or a combination of shift and borrowing... *Marked features are more likely to be transferred in borrowing than in shift.* It is easier to find evidence of interference if the mechanism was borrowing; light to moderate interference through shift, since it more often results in gcl simplification, is harder to distinguish from internally motivated simplificatory changes.
"...though claims of structural borrowing are also hard to establish sometimes, they are in general easier to argue for than claims of interference through shift, for two main reasons: (a) in a borrowing situation both the source lg and the receiving lg are maintained, at least for a considerable period of time; (b) structural borrowing is invariably preceded by lexical borrowing, so the source lg (or lg group) will be identifiable from the loanwords." (T/K113-4)

Application to Austric: over 200 AA/AN comparabilia have been suggested in the literature, of which only a few are prime candidates for cognacy (WOOD, BONE, LIZARD...), but deep grammatical similarities (**-um-** [agent focus/nominalization] and **-in-** [object focus/nominalization] infixes; **-p-** causative; see esp. Reid 1993). So a borrowing relationship between them can be excluded. This combination (few cognates, impressive idiosyncratic morphological similarities) does not contradict a substratal interpretation, but this is disfavored by lack of evidence of hegemony of one group by the other. *Remote genetic relationship* seems like the best hypothesis.

Genetic relationship:
Schmidt 1906; Shorto 1976; Reid 1993; Blust 1993; Diffloth 1977, 1990, 1993
earlier Benedict: 1942
Substratal relationship
later Benedict: 1973, 1976
Borrowing relationship
still later Benedict: 1985bis, 1993 [8]

Agnostic : not borrowing but not sure whether genetic
"Gewisse Übereinstimmungen zwischen den beiden Sprachstämmen sind hier immerhin derart, dass an blosse Lehnbeziehungen kaum gedacht werden kann. Doch sind endgültige Beweise für oder gegen die austrische Theorie noch nicht geliefert." (Pinnow 1959:7).

5.0   Sprachbund: directionality of multilateral interference not clear
T/K don't discuss very much. "The reason for these omissions is that our interest in unraveling the causes, effects, and mechanisms of contact-induced language change has led us to focus on *two-language contact situations* in which the direction of interference can be definitely established. Sprachbund situations are notoriously messy." (T/K:95)

Difference between "Sprachbund" and "linguistic area"
--T/K distinguish between multilateral Sprachbünde, where directionality is unclear, and "non-multilateral well-established linguistic areas", where one can "establish

---

[8] "There is no longer any need, therefore, to posit a 'substratum" of any kind in this area (contra Benedict 1973) since 'border phenomena' (loans/influences) will do nicely as a general line of explanation."

both the source of interference features and the direction and mechanism of diffusion", e.g. the Dravidian > Indic interference (a case of SHIFT).
--"What a long-term multilateral Sprachbund seems to promote...is the gradual development of isomorphism (JAM: **intertranslatability**) in all areas of structure except the phonological shapes of morphemes." (T/K:96)

New Guinea central highlands
Capell (cited in Wurm 1956): the adjoining languages have very different vocabularies, but their grammatical features "recur with almost monotonous regularity from language to language."

Pacific Northwest
Jacobs 1954: areal phonological features such as glottalized phonemes, labialized dorsals, uvulars, and lateralized obstruents
Thomason 1983 ("Chinook jargon"): areal morphosyntactic features such as yes/no question markers, possessive affixes, and periphrastic imperative constructions

Balkan Sprachbund
"...the long period of widespread back-and-forth migrations of small groups, caused by the Turkish invasions, resulted in mutual bilingualism and multilingualism rather than the one-way bilingualism that is common...in two-language situations." (T/K:95)
(Turkish, Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Romanian, Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian, Czech-Slovak, Romany, Yiddish, German)
– periphrastic future
--replacement of morphological infinitives by a specific clausal construction
--postposed articles

Mutatis mutandis, similar to SEA area ("widespread back-and-forth migrations of small groups" -- caused by Chinese pressure, Mongol campaigns, local confrontations).
A feature of Sprachbünde is *possible change of directionality according to the waxing and waning of extralinguistic factors*

Earlier	*Later*
Tai > Chinese	Chinese > Tai
Mon > Burmese	Burmese > Mon
Khmer > Thai	Thai > Khmer

Local diffusion vs. Sprachbund
These are to be carefully distinguished. "...Multilateral Sprachbund cases usually have only a few area-wide features, together with many instances of localized diffusion. Sometimes we can establish directionality for local diffusion, but often we cannot..." (T/K:96-7).
JAM: but every Sprachbund begins as local diffusion - an accumulation of individual cases; "multi-local diffusion".

6.0   Mixed languages; Mischsprachen [9] ; creoles

"Es gibt keine Mischsprache." Max Müller 1871.1:86.
"Es gibt keine völlig ungemischte Sprache." Hugo Schuchardt 1884:5 (T/K:1)

---

[9] This controversial concept is also susceptible to abuse by what one might call "misch-ugene-linguists".

•Shift situations where the shifting speakers acquire so few of the target language's gcl structures that transmission must be considered abnormal.
•The TL as a whole is not available to the shifting group (e.g. Haitian French-based creole). But subsequently *decreolization* is possible, when the TL becomes accessible.

Abrupt creolization (shift without normal transmission): (T/K:147-66)
•The emerging contact language at once becomes the primary lg of the community and is learned as a first lg by children. Talmy Givón's unfunded project: artificially transporting speakers of different languages to an uninhabited island, to observe the kind of creole they would develop.

Overwhelming cultural pressure: replacement of large portions of the inherited grammar Intense cultural pressure (so that all the pressured speakers must learn the dominant language of the community) usually leads to one of three outcomes. (Can't predict which outcome will eventuate in any given case.) (T/K 100-9)
(1) rapid shift to dominant language; abandoned language dies sudden death;
(2) shift may take place over many generations; subordinate language undergoes slow attrition: "language death" in the usual sense;
•"semi-speaker phenomenon", when a person knows no language well. Bloomfield's Menomini speaker named Red White Thunder.
•Lg death is a process involving the simplification of language form along with the restriction of linguistic function; it is the loss of domains of usage that leads to loss of stylistic resources and, ultimately, to loss of grammatical structures, as new generations of speakers fail to learn forms their elders never or rarely use. **Flathead** speakers can no longer produce verb forms with 1st pl. subj. + 2nd pl. obj. or vice versa. [These forms are exceptionally complex in Salishan.]
•All Flathead speakers have near-native fluency in English. But Flathead has "borrowed nothing from English except a few words, as we would expect, given that the shift to English will have been completed *within a few generations* from the onset of intense cultural pressure." (T/K:102)
•Where lg death results from a SLOW shift process, by contrast, structural borrowing from the dominant language is likely to occur in addition to the loss of structure characteristic of language death. (Welsh <-- English; **(Hayu <--- Nepali)** from Hodgson to Michailovsky [10]
(3) out of stubborn lgc/cultural loyalty, the pressured group maintains what it can of its native language while borrowing large portions (even all) of the dominant lg's grammar.
•E.g. maintaining the original lg as a home language. Most common result here is moderate to heavy borrowing from the dominant language.
•Or the borrowing may be so extensive that there is a complete grammatical replacement in at least some subsystem.
•**Anglo-Romani:** all English gypsies speak English natively, but maintain part of Romani lexicon as a secret code (but used with English grammar).
•**Ma'a** (Mbugu), a Tanzanian language with perhaps 50 percent Cushitic vocabulary.
•**Mednyj Aleut:** Aleut elaborate noun morphology remains intact, as well as the nonfinite verb morphology; but the entire Aleut finite verb morphology has been

---

[10]T/K say that this second type "Though little studied until recently, may also be common". Seems quite common to me.

replaced by Russian finite verb morphology. Russian affixes, particles, and pronouns are used with native Aleut verb roots.

•**Kormakiti Arabic** (Cyprus): Home language (unwritten) is Arabic of Maronite Christians who immigrated to Cyprus in 1191; everyone completely fluent also in Cypriot Greek. About 40 pct Gk loanwords. But Arabic words retain full inflections, and Greek words inflect exactly as in the standard lg.[11] Numerous syntactic patterns also borrowed from Greek.

Michif and Mednyj Aleut are odd, in that level of borrowing is not uniform for nouns and verbs. But there are good reasons: Russians who learned Aleut found the even more elaborate Aleut verb morphology beyond them; borrowed noun phrases in Michif because foreign NP's were fairly easy to fit into the verb-centered Cree sentences (T/K:107).

All these languages arose through a process of **abnormal transmission**. Their grammars and lexicons (esp. basic vocabulary), as whole entities, are not borrowed from a single historical source. Their potential value for comparative reconstruction varies, however.

The development of these lgs was non-genetic (as with *abrupt creoles* and *nativized pidgins*. But abrupt creoles and pidgins arise in multilingual settings without any group achieving full bilingualism. The above languages all arose in two-lg contact situations with full one-way bilingualism. (Unlike pidgins and creoles, the above lgs have elaborate morphological systems - though this is not essential: *doesn't occur in a mixture of two isolating languages*.) (T/K:108-9)

Grammar/Lexicon bifurcative cases

	Vocabulary	*Grammar*		
Ma'a (Tanzania)	Cushitic	Bantu		
Asia Minor Greek	Greek	Turkish		
Mednyj Aleut (finite verb morphology)	Aleut	Russian	(finite	verb
AngloRomani	Romani	English		
---	---	---		
Japanese	Austro-Tai/Altaic	Altaic		

Qst: If it's a grammar/vocabulary split, how can you tell which is older? Must one always assume that it is the grammatical similarities that reflect the older stratum?

Michif (ex-dialect of Cree): grammatical split case
Retains elaborate Algonkian verb morphology, but has borrowed French noun morphology and NP syntax along with French nouns:

	Vocabulary		*Grammar*	
	Nouns	*Verbs*	*Nouns*	*Verbs*
	French	Cree	French	Cree

•The speech of shifting bilinguals may show code-switching from lg to lg within a sentence, with homogenization of lexicon, phonology, and grammar. The "semi-speaker phenomenon", where neither lg is spoken perfectly.

---

[11]This is an extreme version of what goes on, e.g. with English Latinate plurals (alumni, alumnae) (T/K 106).

Giving the mixed languages concept a bad name: phony "creolization"
Some authors use this term loosely -- e.g. those who consider English to have been creolized by French or Norse (Domingue 1975, Bailey and Maroldt 1977). "Bailey views every case of significant structural interference as creolization, whereas we draw a line between ordinary interference and interference so extreme as to disrupt genetic continuity." (T/K:123)
--Schmidt 1906 called Cham a Mischsprache *(langue mixte* in the Fr. transl.). Haudricourt 1954 called Hmong-Mien "intermédiaire" between Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman.
--Probably never more than 50,000 native French speakers in England (whose total population was 1.5-2 million).. Though French lexical influence on English was very heavy, the lexical influence was rather light in the basic vocabulary, only about 7 pct. French speakers had all shifted to English by about 1265. (T/K:126) The relative sizes of the shifting and target lg speaker groups offer a fairly reliable criterion for predicting whether structural interference will occur. "We know of no clear case in which a relatively large invader group has shifted to the language of the indigenous population." (T/K:122) "English speakers in England never lacked a common means of communication, so they had no reason to develop a pidgin or creole." (T/K:125)
JAM: Perfectly possible to write English without French loanwords (Tolkien), but absolutely impossible to write an extended passage in natural English containing ONLY French loans.

6.1   The affiliations of Japanese

Grammar:
Here there are striking similarities with Korean/Altaic:
verb-final/postpositional; complex but agglutinative verbal morphology; traces of   vowel harmony[12]; extensive use of onomatopoeia (giseigo/gitaigo); same overall   typology; high degree of "intertranslatability" between Japanese and Korean
Lexicon:
Detailed comparison necessary of suggested AN vs. Altaic etymologies for a given Japanese root, along the lines attempted, eg. by Serafim 1993 and Vovin 1993. Presupposes a solid reconstruction on the Altaic side. Many difficult cases will doubtless remain a matter of opinion, esp. as concerns semantic latitude.
--Perhaps AN and Altaic words of accidentally similar sound/meaning contaminated and reinforced each other. Many (often hilarious) examples can be cited from the daily life of bilingual households.

--Korean/Altaic: Martin 1966; Miller 1971; Russian scholars (Starostin, Peyros, Vovin,   Serafim.)
--Austronesian: Kawamoto 1977/78; Hinloopen Labberton 1924; PKB 1985, 1990
--Mixture: Murayama Shichirô 1976, 1978, etc.
--And what about Ainu?

Historical scenario:
--Initial plausibility of both an AN and an Altaic population movement into Japan is high. The distance from Taiwan to the Ryukyus and Kyushu offered little challenge

---

[12]Even such an apparently profound feature as vowel harmony may be borrowed, as in Asia Minor Greek, which is under massive Turkish influence (T/K:53).

to the navigational skills of the AN peoples, who settled the world from Hawaii to Madagascar; and it's also not very far from Pusan to Fukuoka.
--Murayama (and apparently other proponents of the Mischsprache theory) conceive of the earlier or substratal layer as AN, with a later overlay of Altaic (Murayama 1978:91-2, quoted in Miller 1987:647).
--This seems to contradict the received idea that grammatical similarities reflect a chronologically prior stratum.
--Yet this AN/Altaic melding is not necessarily to be conceived of being due to discrete waves of migration by invaders, but rather as a slow trickling of immigrants.

7.0   Long Rangers

Biggest problem at this level: judging among contradictory proposals. (One solution is to combine them, like Greenberg, or the latest version of Sagart's Sino-Austronesian, which now includes Austroasiatic -- i.e. in a kind of "Sino-Austric" grouping.)

Nostratic; Sino-Caucasian; Dene-Sino-Caucasian; Sino-Mayan
Pulleyblank 1990: Chinese/Indo-European

Rahder 1956/59: Chinese-Japanese-Korean-Ainu
Sapir 1920, 1933: ST/Amerindian
Ohno 1980: Japanese-Tamil
Yoshiwara 1991: Japanese-Sumerian

The role of chance at the megalo- or hyper-megalo-level. Some linguists are now trying to quantify the probability of chance resemblances between any two languages or proto-languages taken at random (see e.g. Ringe 1992, 1994, 1994?).

Attempts at *reductiones ad absurdum*:
Callaghan and Miller 1962
Campbell 1988
Ffositam 1990: Sino-Tibetan/Amerind

Mistrust megalo-proposals with TOO MANY comparata/comparanda/comparabilia. A few good examples are worth hundreds of invalid ones.
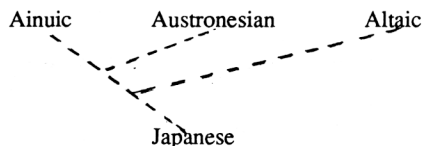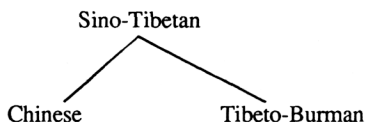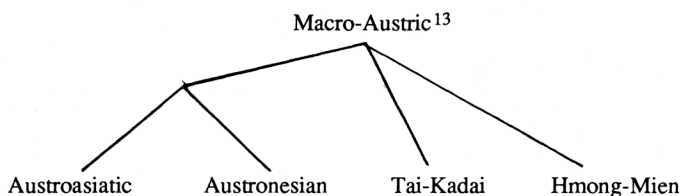
The semantic latitude question becomes crucial here.

•Putative cognate identifications between monosyllabic and sesqui- or di-syllabic languages vary greatly in their persuasiveness, ranging from the obvious (Vietnamese and Muong; Cham of Hainan vs. Cham of Vietnam/Cambodia; Central Thai/Southern Thai); down through the often much less convincing Tai and Hmong-Mien comparisons with Austronesian; down to the often totally unconvincing (Chinese/Austronesian).

•Greenberg's "Indo-Pacific hypothesis" (1971) linking Andamanese, "Negrito", Papuan -- beyond our reach!

8.0   Linguistic stocks of Southeast Asia

Primitive dendrograms for Macro-Austric and Sino-Tibetan *(plura ex uno)*, and a "retrodendrogram" *(e pluribus unum)* for Japanese:

Macro-Austric[13]

Austroasiatic   Austronesian   Tai-Kadai   Hmong-Mien

Sino-Tibetan

Chinese   Tibeto-Burman

Ainuic   Austronesian   Altaic

Japanese

• Any crossing of the Macro-Austric/ST line is taken as not due to normal genetic transmission.

• Two differences of interpretation: for PKB, the AA/AN relationship is not genetic, but at most substratal; and the AN/Japanese relationship is not substratal, but genetic.

9.0   Desiderata for the future

• Use of the computer. Instead of tracking down contradictory opinions (often by the same author who repeatedly changes his mind) in obscure or unpublished sources, the ideal is to have everything "sensibly" proposed concerning a particular etymon accessible in an instant for evaluation.

• "Sound law databases"

Hmong-Mien: Wang Fushi, Theraphan L. Thongkum, Ratliff, Strecker
Austronesian: Blust

---

[13] After the fact I noticed that Diffloth has already used this term (1990, note 1)! Sjors van Driem has just emailed me that in an unpublished paper he is using the name "Greater Austric" to cover the same grouping here proposed. One term which will probably never catch on in Mon-stronesian.

Mon-Khmer: Diffloth
Sino-Tibetan: the STEDT project

But blind faith in the computer is no good either! "Garbage in, garbage out!"

Selected References

Adams, G.B. 1975. "Hamito-Semitic and the pre-Celtic substratum in Ireland and Britain." In James Bynon and Theodora Bynon, eds., *Hamito-Semitica*, pp. 233-47. The Hague: Mouton.

Bailey, Charles-James N. and K. Maroldt. 1977. "The French lineage of English." In J.M. Meisel, ed., *Langues en contact-pidgins-creoles-languages in contact*, pp. 21-53. Tübingen: TBL Verlag, G. Narr.

Bellwood, Peter. 1993. "An archaeologist's view of language macrofamily relationships." 15 pp. MS. Paper presented at the Conference on Austronesian-Mainland Asian Connections (CAMAC), Honolulu. May 7-10.

Benedict, Paul K. 1942. "Thai, Kadai, and Indonesian: a new alignment in Southeastern Asia." American Anthropologist (n.s.) 44:576-601.

Benedict, Paul K. 1973. "Austro-Thai and Austroasiatic: the Austro-linkage." (Revision of talk presented at First Austroasiatic Conference, Honolulu, 1972.) Published 1976 in Jenner et al, eds., *Austroasiatic Studies*, Part I:1-36. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Benedict, Paul K. 1975. *Austro-Thai Language and Culture, with a Glossary of Roots.* New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.

Benedict, Paul K. 1976. "Gedney: on the Thai evidence for Austro-Thai: comment." CAAAL 6: 83-86.

Benedict, Paul K. 1976. "Shorto: in defense of Austric -- Comment." CAAAL 6:105-8.

Benedict, Paul K. 1985. *Toppakô: Tônan Azia no gengo kara Nihongo e.* [A breakthrough: From the languages of East Asia to Japanese.] Translated by Nishi Yoshio. Tokyo: CAAAL Monograph Series #10.

Benedict, Paul K. 1985bis. "Why must Thai be Austro-Tai?" Paper presented at Austro-Tai Workshop, ICSTLL #18, Bangkok and Chiang Mai.

Benedict, Paul K. 1990. *Japanese/Austro-Tai.* Linguistica Extranea, Studia 20. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.

Benedict, Paul K. 1993. "Austric: an 'extinct' proto-language." In Harry Shorto Festschrift, pp. 83-7.

Benedict, Paul K. 1993. [Revisions to PKB 1975. 134 pp. unpublished MS.]

Blust, Robert. 1976. "Austronesian culture history: some linguistic inferences and their relations to the archaeological record." World Archaeology 8.1:19-43.

Blust, Robert. 1984/85. "The Austronesian homeland: a linguistic perspective." Asian Perspectives 26.1:45-67.

Blust, Robert. 1992. "The Austronesian settlement of Mainland Southeast Asia." In Karen L. Adams and Thomas J. Hudak, eds., *Papers from the Second Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* (SEALS II), pp. 25-83. Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Program for Southeast Asian Studies.

Blust, Robert. 1993. "Beyond the Austronesian homeland: the Austric hypothesis and its implications for archaeology." Paper presented to the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia), November. 22 pp. MS.

Callaghan, Catherine A. and Wick Miller. 1962. "Swadesh's Macro-Mixtecan hypothesis and English." Southwest Journal of Anthropology 18.278-85.

Campbell, Lyle. 1988. Review article on Greenberg 1987. *Language* 64.591-615.

Chang, Kwang-chih. 1977/1986. *The Archaeology of Ancient China.* 3rd ed., 1977. 4th ed., 1986. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Chen Qiguang and Li Yongsui. 1981. "Some examples of the genetic affinity between Chinese and Miao-Yao." [In Chinese] MZYW 1981.2:13-26.

Diffloth, Gérard. 1977. "Mon-Khmer initial palatals and 'substratumized' Austro-Tai." Mon-Khmer Studies VII:39-58.

Diffloth, Gérard. 1990. "What happened to Austric?" *Mon-Khmer Studies* 16-17:1-19.

Diffloth, Gérard. 1993. "The lexical evidence for Austric, so far." Paper presented at CAMAC (Conference on Austronesian-Mainland Asian Connections), Honolulu. 14 pp. MS.

Domingue, Nicole Z. 1975. "Another creole: Middle English." Paper presented at the 1975 International Conference on Pidgins and Creoles, Honolulu.

Downer, Gordon B. 1963. "Chinese, Thai, and Miao-Yao." In Harry L. Shorto, ed., *Linguistic Comparison in South-East Asia and the Pacific*, pp. 133-9.

Egerod, Søren. 1976. "Benedict's Austro-Thai hypothesis and the traditional views of Sino-Thai relationship." CAAAL #6, 51-9.

Egerod, Søren. 1981. "To what extent can genetic-comparative classifications be based on typological considerations?" In Thrane et al, eds., pp. 115-39.

Emeneau, Murray B. 1962/1980. "Bilingualism and structural borrowing." In Anwar Dil, ed., *Language and Linguistic Area,* pp. 85-104. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Reprinted from *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 106:430-42 (1962).

Gedney, William J. 1976. "On the Thai evidence for Austro-Thai." CAAAL #6, pp. 65-81.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1971. "The Indo-Pacific hypothesis." In Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Current Trends in Linguistics #8*, pp. 807-71. Paris: Mouton.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1987. *Language in the Americas.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hashimoto, Mantaro J., ed. 1976. *Genetic Relationship, Diffusion, and Typological Similarities of East and Southeast Asian Languages.* Papers from the First Japan-U.S. Joint Seminar on East and Southeast Asian Linguistics. Tokyo: Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

Haudricourt, A-G. 1954. "Introduction à la phonologie historique des langues miao-yao." BEFEO 44.2:555-74. Reprinted (1972) in *Problèmes de Phonologie Diachronique*, pp.183-208.

Haudricourt, A-G. 1976. "General overview." [in French] CAAAL 6:87-89.

Hinloopen Labberton, D. van. 1924. "Preliminary results of researches into the original relationship between the Nipponese and the Malay-Polynesian languages." Journal of the Polynesian Society 33:244-80.

Illic-Svityc, V.M. 1990. "The Nostratic reconstructions of V. Illich-Svitych." Translated and arranged by Mark Kaiser. In Shevoroshkin 1990:138-67.

Jacobs, Melville. 1954. "The areal spread of sound features in the languages north of California." In *Papers from the Symposium on American Indian Languages*, pp. 46-56. UCPL #10. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Kawamoto, T. 1977/1978. "Towards a comparative Japanese-Austronesian." Bulletin of the Nara University of Education 26.23-49 (Part I), 27.1-24 (Part II).

Leslau, Wolf. 1945. "The influence of Cushitic on the Semitic languages of Ethiopia: a problem of substratum." *Word* 1:59-82.

Martin, Samuel. 1966. "Lexical evidence linking Korean with Japanese." *Language* 43.185-251.

Matisoff, James A. 1973. "The Mon-Khmer substratum in Tibeto-Burman." Paper presented at First International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics, Honolulu.

Matisoff, James A. 1976. "Austro-Thai and Sino-Tibetan: an examination of body-part contact relationships." In Hashimoto, ed., pp. 256-89.

Matisoff, James A. 1978. *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman: the 'organic' approach to linguistic comparison.* Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

Matisoff, James A. 1988. "Universal semantics and allofamic identification -- two Sino-Tibetan case-studies: STRAIGHT/FLAT/FULL and PROPERTY/LIVESTOCK/TALENT." In Akihiro Sato, ed., *Languages and History in East Asia: Festschrift for Tatsuo Nishida on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday,* pp. 3-14. Kyoto: Shokado.

Matisoff, James A. 1990. "On megalocomparison." *Language* 66.1:106-20.

Matisoff, James A. 1990. "Etymologizing monosyllables: headaches in the compilation of the *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus.*" Paper presented at Summer Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, Vancouver, Aug. 15.

Matisoff, James A. 1990. [under pseudonym Semaj A. Ffositam] "Proto-Sino-Tibetan and Amerind lookalikes." 5 pp. MS.

Matisoff, James A. 1994. "Regularity and variation in Sino-Tibetan." In Hajime Kitamura, Tatsuo Nishida, and Yasuhiko Nagano, eds., *Current Issues in Sino-Tibetan Linguistics,* pp. 36-58.

Miller, Roy Andrew. 1971. *Japanese and the other Altaic Languages.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miller, Roy Andrew. 1987. Review of Benedict 1985. *Language* 63.3:643-8.

Murayama Shichirô. 1976. "The Malayo-Polynesian component in the Japanese language." Journal of Japanese Studies 2.413-36.

Murayama Shichirô. 1978. *Nihongo keitô no tankyû* [A Investigation into the Lineage of Japanese] Tokyo: Taishûkan Shoten.

Ohno, Susumu. 1980. *Sound Correspondences between Tamil and Japanese.* Tokyo: Gakushuin Educational Foundation.

Peyros, Ilja I. [forthcoming] *Comparative Linguistics in South-East Asia.* To appear in Pacific Linguistics.

Pinnow, Heinz-Jürgen. 1959. *Versuch einer Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Pou, Saveros (=Lewitz, Saveros) and Philip N. Jenner. 1974. "Proto-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer". Paper presented at First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu. Published in Asian Perspectives 17.2:112-24.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G. 1990. "Proto-Sino-Tibetan and Proto-Indo-European." Paper presented at 8th Annual Meeting, Central Asia at Berkeley (April 28). Also a 5-page handout entitled "The typology of Indo-European -- Summary."

Rahder, Johannes. 1956/1959. *Etymological Vocabulary of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Ainu.* Part I (1956) Monumenta Nipponica (Tokyo), Monograph #16. Parts II and III (1959): privately printed, New Haven.

Reid, Lawrence A. 1984/85. "Benedict's Austro-Tai hypothesis -- an evaluation." Asian Perspectives 26:19-34.

Reid, Lawrence A. 1993. "Morphological evidence for Austric." Paper presented at CAMAC (Conference on Austronesian-Mainland Asian Connections), Honolulu, May 7-10. 22 pp. MS.

Ringe, Donald A., Jr. 1992. *On Calculating the Factor of Chance in Language Comparison.* (=Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 82:1.) Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Ringe, Donald A., Jr. 1994. "A probabilistic evaluation of Indo-Uralic." 22 pp. MS.

Ringe, Donald A., Jr. 1994? "'Nostratic' and the factor of chance." 26 pp. MS.

Sagart, Laurent. 1990. "Chinese and Austronesian are genetically related!" Paper presented at ICSTLL XXIII (Arlington, Texas).

Sagart, Laurent. 1993. "Chinese and Austronesian: evidence for a genetic relationship." Journal of Chinese Linguistics 21:1-62. (Presented at 6th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, 1991.)

Sagart, Laurent. 1993. "Old Chinese and Proto-Austronesian." Paper presented at the Conference on Austronesian-Mainland Asian Connections (CAMAC), Honolulu.

Sapir, Edward. 1920. [Letters to Berthold Laufer re ST/Amerindian connections.]

Sapir, Edward. 1933. Letter to Nicholas C. Bodman on the nature of Chinese-Nadene correspondences. 4 pp. July 21, 1933.

Schmidt, Pater Wilhelm. 1906. "Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens." Archiv für Anthropologie (Braunschweig), n.s. 5:59-109. French translation by Mme J. Marouzeau (1907-8): "Les peuples mon-khmêr, trait d'union entre les peuples de l'Asie centrale et de l'Austronésie", BEFEO 7:213-63; 8:1-35.

Serafim, Leon A. 1993. "Comments on Austronesian-Japanese hypothesis." Paper presented at CAMAC (Conference on Austronesian-Mainland Asian Connections), University of Hawaii. 11 pp. MS.

Shevoroshkin, Vitaly V., ed. 1990. *Proto-Languages and Proto-Cultures.* Bochum: Brockmeyer.

Shevoroshkin, Vitaly V., ed. 1991. *Dene-Sino-Caucasian Languages.* Bochum: Brockmeyer.

Shorto, Harry L. 1976. "In defense of Austric." CAAAL 6:95-104.

Silverstein, Michael. 1972. "Chinook Jargon: language contact and the problem of multilevel generative systems." Language 48:378-406; 596-625.

Solomon, James R. 1974. "Japanese and the other Austronesian languages: a survey of the literature." Paper presented at AN Conference, Honolulu.

Starostin, Sergei A. 1989. "Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian." In V. Shevoroshkin, ed., *Explorations in Language Macrofamilies*, pp. 42-66. Bochum: Brockmeyer.

Teo Kok Seong. 1993. *A Sociolinguistic Description of the Peranakan Chinese of Kelantan, Malaysia.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Thomason, Sarah Grey. 1983. "Chinook Jargon in areal and historical context." *Language* 59:820-70.

Thomason, Sarah Grey and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: Univeristy of California Press.

Thrane, Torben; Vibeke Winge, Lachlan Mackenzie, Una Canger, and Niels Ege, eds. 1981. *Typology and Genetics of Language.* Copenhagen: Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague XX.

Vovin, Alexander. 1993. "Is Japanese related to Austronesian?" Paper presented at CAMAC (Conference on Austronesian-Mainland Asian Connections), University of Hawaii. 10 pp. MS.

Wulff, Kurt. 1934. "Chinesisch und Tai: sprachvergleichende Untersuchungen." Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 20.3. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard.

Wulff, Kurt. 1942. "Ueber das VerhŸaltnis des Malayo-Polynesischen zum Indo-Chinesischen." Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 27.2. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard.

Wurm, Stefan A. 1956. "Comment on question: "Are there areas of *affinité grammaticale* as well as of *affinité phonolologique* cutting across genetic boundaries?" In F. Norman, ed., *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Linguists,* Section B4, pp. 450-2. London: Permanent International Committee of Linguists.

Xing, Gongwan. 1992. "Guanyu Han-yu Nandao-yu de fashengxue guanxi wenti -- L. Sagart 'Han-yu Nandao-yu tongyuanlun' shuping buzheng." [On the problem of the genetic relationship between Chinese and Austronesian: review and supplement to L. Sagart's Sino-Austronesian hypothesis] MZYW 1992.5:37-41.

Yoshiwara, R. 1991? *Sumerian and Japanese: a Comparative Language Study.* Translated by Roger Ahlberg. Chiba: Japan English Service, Inc. Reviewed by Florian Coulmas in *The Japan Times*, Nov. 26, 1991, p. 14.

THE KINSHIP TERMS USED BY
THE AHOMS OF NORTH EAST INDIA

Prof.(Mrs) RAJU BORUAH
GAUHATI UNIVERSITY
(JAGIROAD COLLEGE)
ASSAM, (INDIA)

The Ahoms of the North East India have contributed a lot in the field of language and culture of the land. The Tai people who migrated to Assam about seven hundred years back are known as Ahom/ahom/ after whose name perhaps their kingdom was named as Assam/ɒxɒm/. Recently a few scholars termed them as Tai-Ahom. But in this paper the original term Ahom is used. The language of this part is also named after them as Asamiya/ɒxɒmija/ i.e. Assamese, an englisiged word of Assam /ɒxɒm/. This language is the lingua-franca of this area of the country. Of course, Asamiya is an Indo-Aryan language.

The modern word Ahom by which the Tai-people, living in this eastern most corner of India, are known, evidently goes back to early Assamese Āsām : Āsām > Āsam > Āham, Āhom as elaborated by Dr. Banikanta Kakati, the pioneer linguist of Assam, in his scholarly work entitled, "Assamese, its Formation and Development". It is evident here that starting from the very name of the State of Assam, Tai-Ahom contribution, in the formation of Assamese language is conspicuous by its age-old affiliations.

Although Tai-Ahom language is not a major source which enriched the Assamese language with sufficient linguistic elements, it has distinctive features not commonly observed among the other communities of Assam. Such prominent terms exclusively