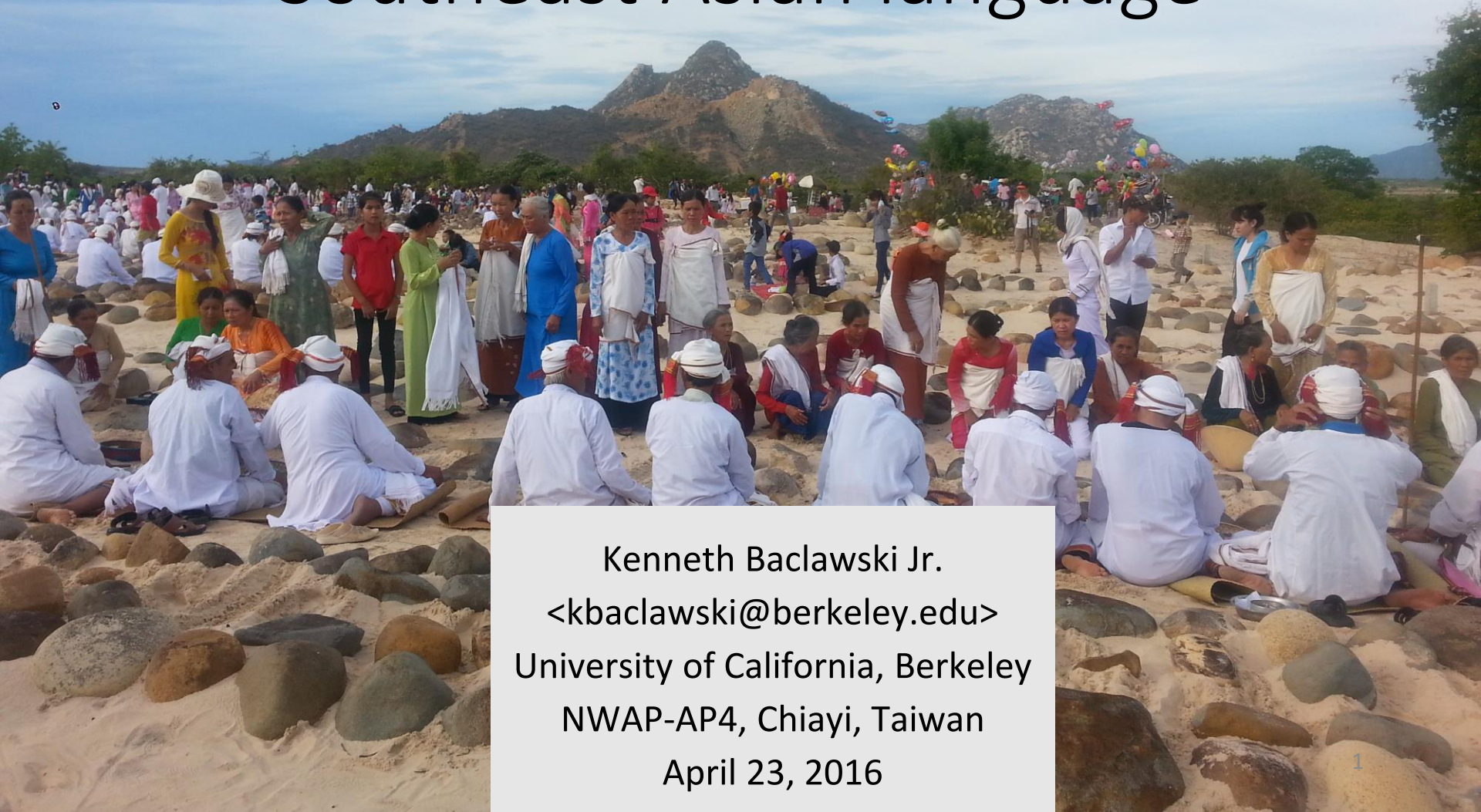


Triglossia in Eastern Cham

Variation and contact in a Southeast Asian language



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What is “diglossia”?

- A special relationship between registers (Ferguson 1959; Fishman 1970, 1980)
 - Stable variation (>3 generations)
 - Formal register: language of writing & education
 - Colloquial register: language of everyday conversation
- What can diglossia be?
 - Most just describe the diglossia itself
 - **Embedded in a broader system**

Eastern Cham diglossia

- Eastern Cham exhibits diglossia
 - Stable since Blood (1961)
 - Formal register: language of writing & education
 - Colloquial register: language of everyday conversation
- The literature narrowly focuses on diglossia
 - Brunelle (2009): one variable, “monosyllabification”
 - Alieva (1991, 1994): monosyllabification
 - Blood (1961): **a suite of phonological variables**
- This talk: can all of Blood’s variables be explained by diglossia?

Outline

- Eastern Cham language
 - Monosyllabification
 - Blood (1961)'s variables
- Methodology
- Results
- Diglossia and language contact
- Conclusion

Eastern Cham language

- Austronesian, spoken in Vietnam
 - Noted for language contact (Thurgood 1999)
- Lingua franca of the Champa Kingdom (2nd – 17th century)
 - Cham script dating to the 3rd century CE (Marrison 1975)
- Modern day: endangered (UNESCO 2010), <100,000 speakers (Brunelle & Văn Hẳn 2015)
 - Complete bilingualism with Vietnamese

Eastern Cham language

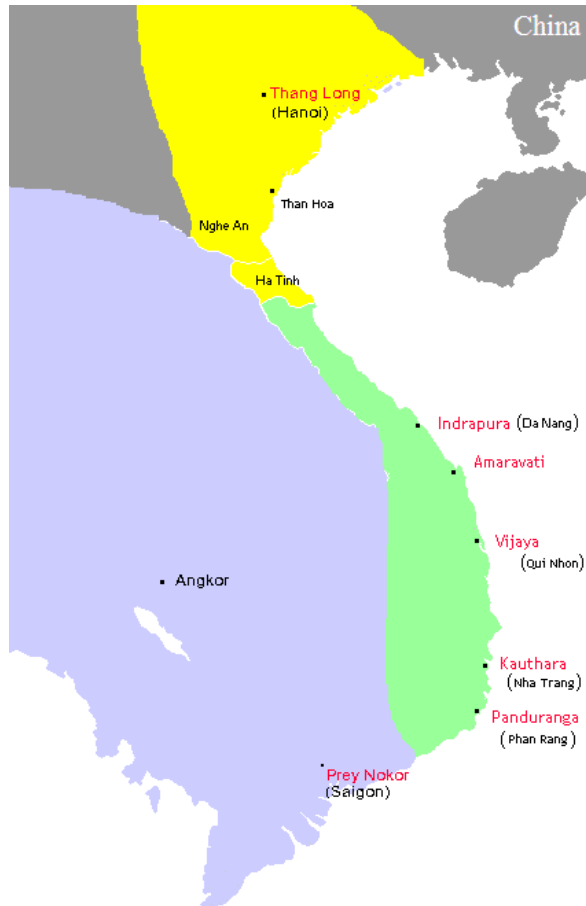
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ဟံ, ဟံ ဟံ ခံ ကိမ္မ (ဃာဃ ဟံ ဟံ ဟံ ဟံ).

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ဟံ, ဟံ ဟံ (ချာဉ်) ဃာဃ (ဟံ ဟံ ဃာဃ ဃာဃ).

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ချာဉ်, ချာဉ် ဟံ (ချာဉ်) ကံဃ (ချာဉ် ဟံ ဟံဃ ဟံဃ).

http://www.xenotypetech.com/images/cham_qtext.gif

Eastern Cham language



http://joshuaproject.net/assets/media/profiles/maps/m11688_vm.png

<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/45/VietnamChampa1.gif>

Eastern Cham language

(2)	lab.	dent.	pal.	vel.	lar.
plain stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
asp. stops	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
implosives	ɓ	ɗ	ɟ		
fricatives		s			h
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
liquids		l, r			
glides			j	w	

Eastern Cham consonant inventory (Brunelle & Văn Hảo 2015)

Monosyllabification

- Formal register preserves disyllabic roots
 - e.g. *mǎta* ‘eye (Formal)’¹
- Colloquial register only has monosyllabic roots
 - e.g. *^mta* ‘eye (Colloquial)’
- Shibboleth of the register distinction, highly salient
- Stable since Blood (1961), emergent in Aymonier & Cabaton (1906)
 - Hence, diglossia

¹Orthography is largely IPA. Open circles underneath consonants represent falling, breathy tone on the following vowel, in line with Cham linguistic tradition (Moussay 1971).

Monosyllabification

- Highly frequent in spoken Eastern Cham (1)

(1a) *kate, lo nuyh may ŋwan plɛy cam*
Kate many person come visit village Cham
Colloquial: ‘(During) Kate, many people come visit the Cham villages.’

(1b) *kate, hu ralo mĩnuis may řiwan pǎlɛy cam*
Kate COP many person come visit village Cham
Formal: ‘(During) Kate, there are many people (who) come visit Cham villages.’

Other variables

- Blood (1961) reports more phonological variables that mark register
- Prediction: all of these variables align with diglossia

Phoneme	Formal	Colloquial	Example
/s/	[s]	[th]	<i>saŋ</i> ~ <i>thaŋ</i> 'house'
/l,r,n/ / _#	[l], [r], [n]	[n]	<i>pǎr</i> ~ <i>pǎn</i> 'fly'
/r, y/	[r, y]	[y] ~ [z] ~ [ʒ]	<i>kra</i> ~ <i>kya</i> 'tortoise'
/ŋ/ / V _{rd} _	[ŋ]	[ŋ ^m]	<i>thon</i> ~ <i>thon^m</i> 'knife'

Methodology

- 30 native Eastern Cham speakers
 - 15 male, 15 female
 - Aged 18-79 (median = 22)
 - Raised in Cham villages, Ninh Thuận Province
- Conducted in Ho Chi Minh City, 2015
 - Word list (n=50)
 - Sentences (n=50)
 - Consultants asked to speak as they do at home
 - Colloquial register

Methodology

- Five variables targeted
- Prediction: all formal variants should be largely absent from the data, except in marked contexts

Variable	Formal	Colloquial	Example
1.	Disyllable	Monosyllable	<i>mĭta</i> ~ <i>^mta</i> ‘eye’
2.	[s]	[th]	<i>saŋ</i> ~ <i>thaŋ</i> ‘house’
3.	[l], [r], [n]	[n]	<i>pǎr</i> ~ <i>pǎn</i> ‘fly’
4.	[r], [y]	[y] ~ [z] ~ [ʒ]	<i>kra</i> ~ <i>kya</i> ‘tortoise’
5.	[ŋ]	[ŋ ^m]	<i>thon</i> ~ <i>thon^m</i> ‘knife’

Results

- Variables 1—3 pattern as predicted by diglossia
- Variables 4—5 do not
 - Both variants frequent in colloquial speech

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
1.	7%	<u>93%</u>	<i>mĭta</i> ~ <i>^mta</i> ‘eye’
2.	1%	<u>99%</u>	<i>saŋ</i> ~ <i>thaŋ</i> ‘house’
3.	4%	<u>96%</u>	<i>pẵr</i> ~ <i>pẵn</i> ‘fly’
4.	<u>43%</u>	57%	<i>kra</i> ~ <i>kya</i> ‘tortoise’
5.	<u>41%</u>	59%	<i>ṭhoŋ</i> ~ <i>ṭhoŋ^m</i> ‘knife’

Results

- Variables 1—3 pattern as predicted by diglossia
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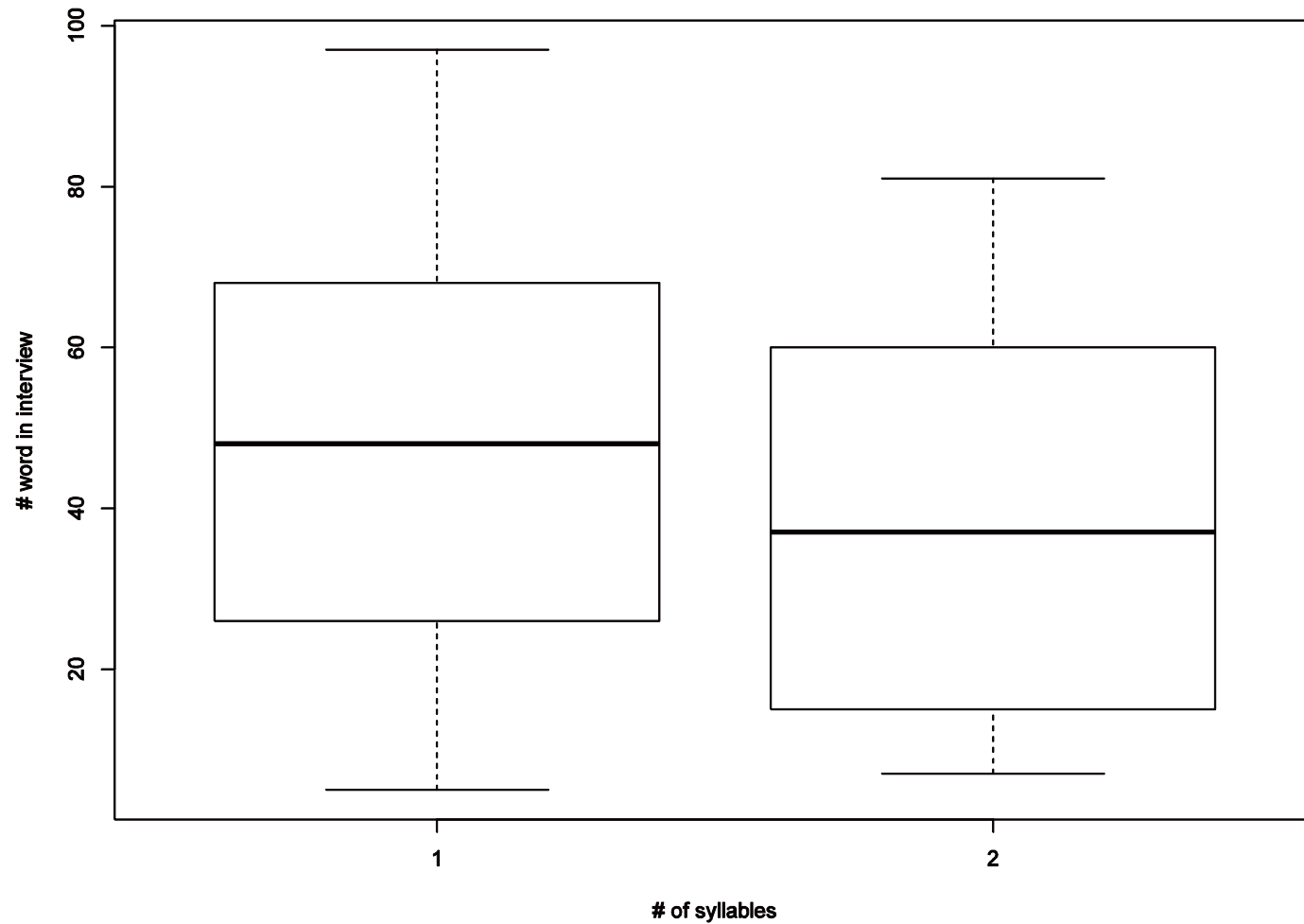
Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
1.	7%	<u>93%</u>	<i>m̥ta ~ m^hta</i> ‘eye’
2.	1%	<u>99%</u>	<i>saŋ ~ thaŋ</i> ‘house’
3.	4%	<u>96%</u>	<i>pār ~ pān</i> ‘fly’
4.	<u>43%</u>	57%	<i>kra ~ kya</i> ‘tortoise’
5.	<u>41%</u>	59%	<i>thon̥ ~ thon̥^m</i> ‘knife’

Results: Variable 1

- The 7% of Formal tokens were used more at the beginning of interviews
 - Words coded for position in interview
 - Early position in interview predicts Formal ($p < 0.01$)

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
1.	7%	<u>93%</u>	<i>mĭta</i> ~ <i>^mta</i> ‘eye’
	97	1,321	

Results: Variable 1



Results

- Variables 1—3 pattern as predicted by diglossia
- Variables 4—5 do not
 - Both variants frequent in colloquial speech

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
1.	7%	<u>93%</u>	<i>mĭta</i> ~ <i>^mta</i> ‘eye’
2.	1%	<u>99%</u>	<i>saŋ</i> ~ <i>thaŋ</i> ‘house’
3.	4%	<u>96%</u>	<i>pẵr</i> ~ <i>pẵn</i> ‘fly’
4.	<u>43%</u>	57%	<i>kra</i> ~ <i>kya</i> ‘tortoise’
5.	<u>41%</u>	59%	<i>thon̩</i> ~ <i>thon̩^m</i> ‘knife’

Results: Variable 2

- Only 3 unique tokens, 2 also marked by disyllables

(2) *ǎsaw* ‘dog’
 sɔŋ ‘with’
 sǎnɪŋ ‘think’

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
2.	1%	99%	<i>saŋ</i> ~ <i>thaŋ</i> ‘house’
	4	392	

Results

- Variables 1—3 pattern as predicted by diglossia
- Variables 4—5 do not
 - Both variants frequent in colloquial speech

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
1.	7%	<u>93%</u>	<i>mĭta</i> ~ <i>^mta</i> ‘eye’
2.	1%	<u>99%</u>	<i>saŋ</i> ~ <i>thaŋ</i> ‘house’
3.	4%	<u>96%</u>	<i>pặr</i> ~ <i>pặn</i> ‘fly’
4.	<u>43%</u>	57%	<i>kra</i> ~ <i>kya</i> ‘tortoise’
5.	<u>41%</u>	59%	<i>ṭhoŋ</i> ~ <i>ṭhoŋ^m</i> ‘knife’

Results: Variable 3

- Eight of 13 Formal tokens by oldest speaker (age = 79)
- Remaining 5 are all *thur* ‘dust’

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
3.	4%	96%	<i>păr ~ păn</i> ‘fly’
	13	327	

Results

- Variables 1—3 pattern as predicted by diglossia
- Variables 4—5 do not
 - Both variants frequent in colloquial speech

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
1.	7%	<u>93%</u>	<i>mĭta</i> ~ <i>^mta</i> ‘eye’
2.	1%	<u>99%</u>	<i>saŋ</i> ~ <i>thaŋ</i> ‘house’
3.	4%	<u>96%</u>	<i>pār</i> ~ <i>păn</i> ‘fly’
4.	<u>43%</u>	57%	<i>kra</i> ~ <i>kya</i> ‘tortoise’
5.	<u>41%</u>	59%	<i>thon</i> ~ <i>thon^m</i> ‘knife’

Results: Variable 4

- Widespread variation in colloquial speech
- Both inter- and intra-speaker variation

(3) Speaker MXL:

*y*a? ‘market’ [Word List]

*ʒ*a? ‘market’ [Sentence] (Compare, Formal *t̚a*ra?)

*p*roy ‘yesterday’ [Word List]

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
4.	43%	57%	<i>kra</i> ~ <i>kya</i> ‘tortoise’
	110	146	

Results: Variable 4

- Statistics: log likelihood tests run for Age, Gender, Village (of birth), Style (word list, sentence)
 - Random effects: Speaker, Word
- **Village** is significant ($\chi^2 = 13.403$; $p = 0.019$)
 - Two villages predict Colloquial forms: Palei Hamu Craok and Palei Hamu Tanran
- Age, Gender, Style n.s.

Results

- Variables 1—3 pattern as predicted by diglossia
- Variables 4—5 do not
 - Both variants frequent in colloquial speech

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
1.	7%	<u>93%</u>	<i>mĭta</i> ~ <i>^mta</i> ‘eye’
2.	1%	<u>99%</u>	<i>saŋ</i> ~ <i>thaŋ</i> ‘house’
3.	4%	<u>96%</u>	<i>pẵr</i> ~ <i>pẵn</i> ‘fly’
4.	<u>43%</u>	57%	<i>kra</i> ~ <i>kya</i> ‘tortoise’
5.	<u>41%</u>	59%	<i>ṭhoŋ</i> ~ <i>ṭhoŋ^m</i> ‘knife’

Results: Variable 5

- Widespread variation in colloquial speech
- Intra-speaker variation: 28 of 30 speakers used both Formal and Colloquial variants

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Example
5.	41%	59%	<i>ˌthon</i> ~ <i>ˌthon^m</i> ‘knife’
	103	150	

Results: Variable 5

- Statistics: log likelihood tests run for Age, Gender, Village (of birth), Style (word list, sentence)
 - Random effects: Speaker, Word
- **Village** is significant ($\chi^2 = 11.667$; $p = 0.039$)
 - Two villages predict Colloquial forms: Palei Hamu Craok and Palei Hamu Tanran
- Age, Gender, Style n.s.

Results: Summary

- Variables 1—3 support the diglossia hypothesis
- Variables 4—5 require further explanation

Variable	%Formal	%Colloquial	Factors significant
1.	7%	<u>93%</u>	(Time in interview)
2.	1%	<u>99%</u>	
3.	4%	<u>96%</u>	
4.	<u>43%</u>	57%	Village
5.	<u>41%</u>	59%	Village

Vietnamese contact

- Variables 4—5 are strikingly similar to Vietnamese phonotactics, likely contact effects
- Variable 4: [r], [y] ~ [ɣ], [z], [ʒ]
 - Vietnamese /r, ɣ/ (<r, d, gi>) is realized as [ɣ] in Southern dialects,² [z] in Northern and Central dialects, with [ʒ] occasionally reported (Tran & Norris 2010)
 - Eastern Cham is spoken in the borderlands between the Central and Southern VN dialect regions
 - An unlikely sound change on its own

²In fact, <r> is only realized as [ɣ] in one lexical item *rồi* (Brunelle 2016, p.c.)

Vietnamese contact

- Variables 4—5 are identical to Vietnamese phonotactics, clearly contact effects
- Variable 5: $[\eta] \sim [\eta^m] / V_{rd} _$
 - $/k, \eta/ \rightarrow [k^p, \eta^m] / V_{rd} _$
has been a Vietnamese phonotactic feature since the 1600's (Jacques 2002, citing the missionary de Rhodes; Thompson 1965)
 - Eastern Cham lacks final $[k]$
 - Phonetically natural, but infrequent sound change

Vietnamese contact

- Two villages significantly predicted Variables 4—5, Palei Hamu Craok and Palei Hamu Tanran
- Both villages have tourism: traditional pottery and traditional textiles, respectively
- Perhaps this literal Vietnamese contact has led to increased use of Colloquial variants

Vietnamese contact

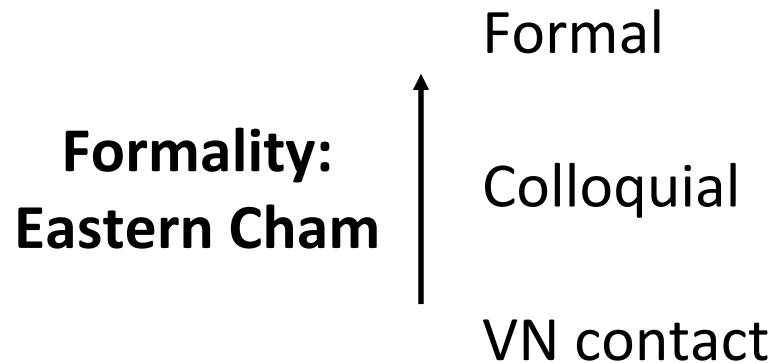


<http://www.vietnamparadisetravel.com/Media/2013/7/special-way-to-make-pottery-items-in-bau-truc-village.jpg>

http://static.thanhniennews.com/uploaded/thuyvi/2014_11_28/2_mios.jpg?width=840

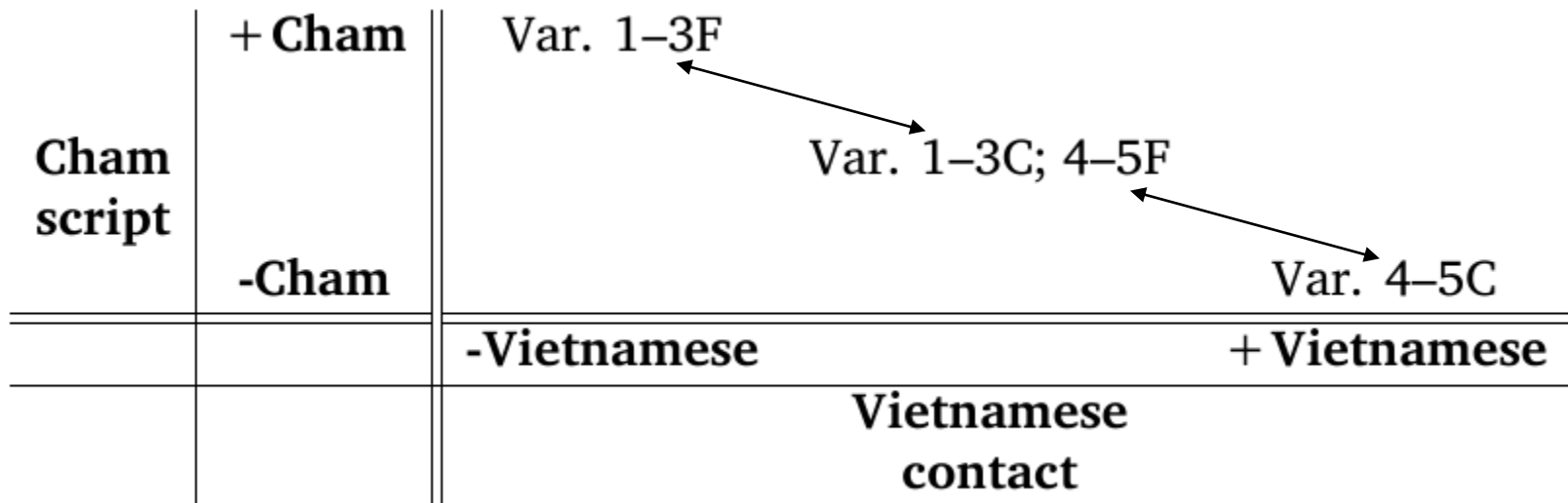
Diglossia and language contact

- These variables imply a more complex situation than diglossia
- Language contact variants (Variables 4—5) are still seen as “Colloquial”



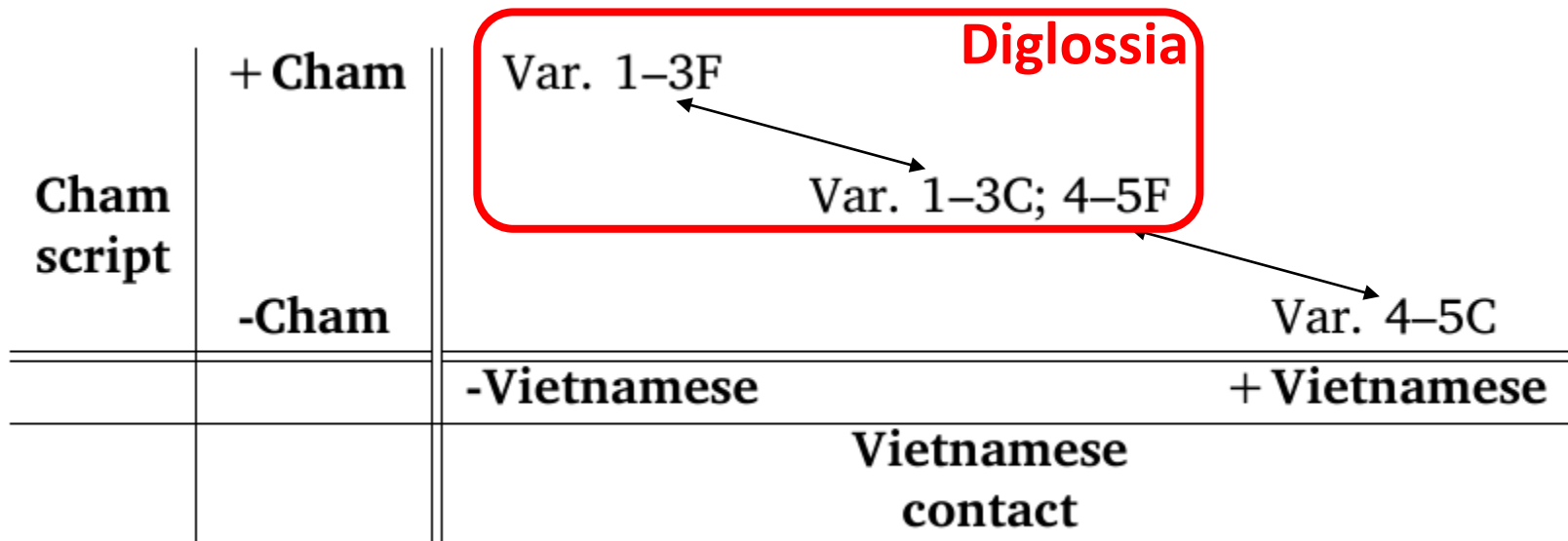
Diglossia and language contact

- Diglossia = indexing traditional script
- Variables 4—5 = indexing Vietnamese



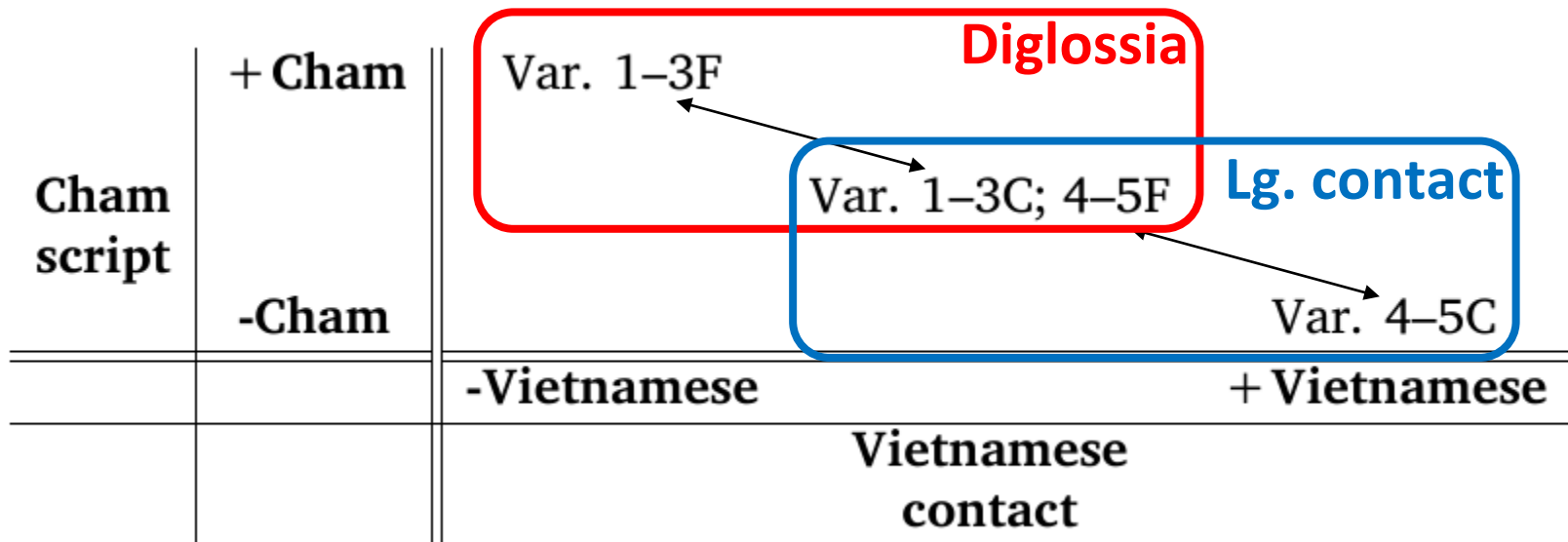
Diglossia and language contact

- Diglossia = indexing traditional script
- Variables 4—5 = indexing Vietnamese



Diglossia and language contact

- Diglossia = indexing traditional script
- Variables 4—5 = indexing Vietnamese



Conclusion

- Diglossia is part of a broader linguistic context in Eastern Cham
- Language contact can interface with diglossia
- Not “triglossia”, as there is no second Formal register

Future research

- Can diglossia be connected to language contact elsewhere?
 - Moroccan Arabic (Heath 1989)
 - Alsatian French (Tabouret-Keller 1988)
 - Southeast Asian languages with traditional scripts and language contact
- A better picture of Vietnamese /r, y/ is needed
 - Dialectology of South-Central Vietnam
- More study of Eastern Cham sociological factors, free speech

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