The Mon language: Recipient and donor between Burmese and Thai

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Abstract

Mon is spoken in south Myanmar and parts of central and northern Thailand and has been in intense contact with its neighboring languages for many centuries. While Mon was the culturally and politically dominant language in the first millennium, its role was reduced to a local minority language first in Thailand, later in Myanmar. The different contact situations in which the Mon language has been used between Thailand and Myanmar has led to numerous instances of language change. The influence has not been one-way, with Mon on the receiving end only, but Mon was also the source of restructuring in Burmese and Thai. The present paper attempts to trace some of the contact induced changes in the three languages involved. It is not always clear which language was the source of shared vocabulary and constructions, but in many cases linguistic and historical facts can be adduced to find answers. While Mon language use in Thailand is diminishing fast and Mon in this country is undergoing restructuring according to Thai patterns, in Myanmar Mon is actually still exerting influence on Burmese, albeit mostly on a local level in varieties spoken in Mon and Karen States. The contact between genetically and typologically very different languages as is the case here leads in many cases to linguistically interesting outcomes.

Keywords: Mon, Thai, Burmese, language contact, language history, Southeast Asia

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บทคัดย่อ

ภาษามอญพูดกันอยู่ทั่วไปในบริเวณทางตอนใต้ของประเทศเมียนมาร์และบริเวณ
ภาคกลางและภาคเหนือของประเทศไทย ดังนั้น ภาษามอญจึงมีการสัมผัสภาษากับภาษาพม่า
และภาษาไทยมาตลอดนับหลายศตวรรษ ในช่วงสหัสวรรษแรก ภาษามอญเป็นภาษาที่มี
บทบาทสำคัญทั้งทางด้านวัฒนธรรมและด้านการเมือง แต่ในช่วงต่อมา ภาษามอญก็ถูกลด
บทบาทลง กลายเป็นภาษาของผู้คนกลุ่มน้อยในประเทศไทย ก่อนที่จะถูกลดบทบาทลง
เช่นกันในประเทศเมียนมาร์ สถานการณ์สัมผัสภาษาของภาษามอญกับภาษาพม่าในประเทศ
เมียนมาร์และสถานการณ์สัมผัสภาษาของภาษามอญกับภาษาไทยในประเทศไทย ก่อให้เกิด
การเปลี่ยนแปลงทางภาษาอย่างมาก อิทธิพลของการเปลี่ยนแปลงไม่ได้เป็นไปในทิศทาง
เดียว กล่าวคือ ไม่ใช่เฉพาะภาษามอญเท่านั้นที่เป็นภาษาที่รองรับการเปลี่ยนแปลง แต่ภาษา
มอญก็เป็นที่มาของการปรับโครงสร้างภาษาของภาษาพม่าและภาษาไทยด้วยเช่นกัน
บทความนี้เป็นความพยายามที่จะติดตามร่องรอยของการสัมผัสภาษาบางประการที่ก่อให้เกิด
การเปลี่ยนแปลงในทั้ง 3 ภาษา ในหลายกรณี ก็ไม่สามารถระบุได้ชัดเจนว่าภาษาใดเป็นที่มา
ของคำศัพท์และหน่วยสร้างที่มีร่วมกันในทั้ง 3 ภาษา แต่ในอีกหลายๆ กรณี ข้อเท็จจริงทาง
ภาษาศาสตร์และประวัติศาสตร์ก็สามารเป็นหลักฐานเพื่อค้นหาคำตอบได้ ในกรณีของภาษา
มอญที่พูดอยู่ในประเทศไทยนั้น นับว่าอยู่ในลักษณะของการเสื่อมถอยลงอย่างรวดเร็วและ
ภาษามอญก็กำลังมีการปรับเปลี่ยนโครงสร้างภาษาไปตามแบบของภาษาไทย ภาษามอญที่
พูดอยู่ในประเทศพม่ากำลังอยู่ในลักษณะของการแผ่อิทธิพลบางอย่างเหนือภาษาพม่า แม้ว่า
จะเป็นเพียงการปรับโครงสร้างภาษาของภาษาพม่าที่พูดกันในท้องถิ่นต่างๆ ของรัฐมอญ และ
รัฐกะเหรี่ยงก็ตาม ในหลายกรณี การสัมผัสภาษาระหว่างภาษาที่มีความสัมพันธ์ทางเชื้อสาย
และภาษาที่มีแบบลักษณ์ที่แตกต่างกันของทั้ง 3 ภาษานี้ นำไปสู่ผลลัพธ์ทางภาษาศาสตร์ที่
น่าสนใจ

คำสำคัญ: ภาษามอญ, ภาษาไทย, ภาษาพม่า, การสัมผัสภาษา, ประวัติภาษา, เอเชีย
          ตะวันออกเฉียงใต้

1. Introduction

The Mon people and language have been established in Southeast Asia since at least the early centuries AD. The first inscriptions written in Mon, found in the Chao Phraya plain of what today is central Thailand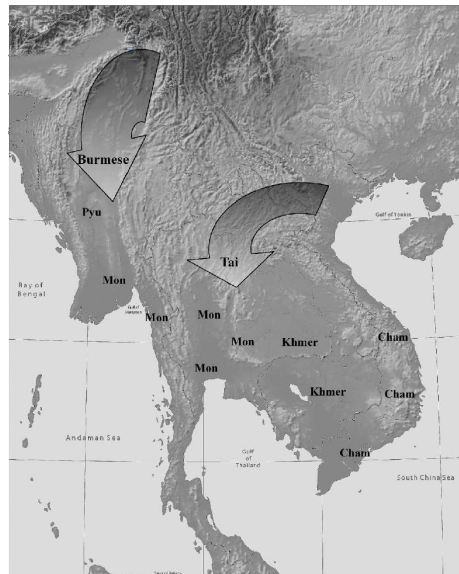, date back to the 6th century and bear witness to the importance of the Mon language in what has come to be known as the Dvāravatī kingdom or cultural area (see e.g. Saraya, 1999). The Austroasiatic languages, of which Mon is a member together with Khmer (with inscriptions dating to the 6th or 7th century), are thus the earliest documented vernacular languages of central Southeast Asia. More to the West, the Tibeto-Burman Pyu language was spoken in the central Irrawaddy plain, and in the eastern Mekhong Delta and further up the coast the Austronesian Cham was the language of the local population. All written records in early Southeast Asia are due to cultural influence from the South Asian subcontinent, which brought literacy together with Hindu and Buddhist culture and religion. The South Asian influence can be seen as one main unifying factor of the whole area which is inhabited by peoples speaking languages belonging to five probably unrelated language families, namely Sino-Tibetan, Austroasiatic, Austronesian, Tai-Kadai and Miao-Yao.[1]

Figure 1 Documented languages in Southeast Asia, 1st millennium

With the southward expansion of Burmese[2] and Tai speakers in the second half of the first millennium and beginning of the second millennium respectively, together with the westward expansion of the Khmer empire of Angkor Wat in the early second millennium, the Mon people and language were increasingly pushed back to remoter areas and to the coastal regions east of the Gulf of Martaban. While Mon was used as literary language in the 11th century in the Burmese kingdom of Pagán, it was in later centuries marginalized in Burma/Myanmar as it was in Siam/Thailand. It is not known how widespread Mon language use was in the Chao Phraya plain during the Ayudhya kingdom, but the only obvious

surviving population of Dvāravatī Mon in present day Thailand, the Nyahkur in Chaiyaphum and Phetchabun provinces, seem to have had no contact with other Mon speakers since Dvāravatī times (cf. Diffloth, 1984).

The changing status of Mon in what was to become the modern nations of Thailand and Myanmar is reflected in the linguistic history and make up of the languages, with Mon acting at times as donor, at other times as recipient of linguistic material and features. In many cases it is not clear at the present state of knowledge which language was the source of a feature. More research in diachronic as well as synchronic typology of the languages involved is needed, especially in the field of syntax and semantics. One further problem in determining Mon elements in Thai is the closeness of Old Mon to Old Khmer. The latter is the source of a large portion of the present day Thai lexicon, while Mon loans are hardly recognized in Thai.

While the Mon in present day Myanmar have always been in more or less well documented contact with the Burmese ever since the Pagán period, the situation in present day Thailand is much less clear. There were substantial Mon communities in Ayudhya, but they were migrants from the Mon kingdom of Haṁsāvatī (Pegu), at different times under Burmese suzerainty, rather than descendants of the old Mon population. The influence of the Mon during the Ayudhya period can be guessed from a few hints, such as the use of the word *talapoin* for Buddhist monks by western authors of the time (e.g. De la Loubère, 1693), obviously of Mon origin (*tala pəy* 'our lord' or *tala pən* 'lord of merit'). Another interesting and little studied area is the connections between classical Thai and Mon literatures, which suggest an ongoing communication throughout the Ayudhya period between the two peoples (cf. Jenny, 2007). In the following sections, the mutual influences between Mon and its neighbor languages will be explored and illustrated, and linguistic and historical explanations attempted where possible.

2. Mon as donor language

The first appearances of Mon on the stage of Southeast Asian linguistic history are in a leading role, contested only by the old literary languages Sanskrit and Pali, both imported from the Indian subcontinent. The earliest inscriptions, found in the Chao Phraya plain, are rather short texts, that allow a unequivocal assignment to Old Mon, but do not offer much in terms of language structure. After a gap of several centuries with hardly any Mon documents, the language resurfaces as prestige language at the Burmese court of Pagán in the 11th century, allegedly after the conquest of the Mon kingdom centred at Thaton (Sudhammavatī) on the coast of the Gulf of Martaban. The Mon documents of this period are much longer

texts, offering valuable insight into the structure of Old Mon. The possibility of early Burmanisms in the Mon language of Pagán cannot be a priori excluded, though, but Mon seems to have had the status of superstrate language. In Thailand, Mon was the uncontested literary language until the arrival of the Khmer from the East and the Tai from the North around the 11th century. It is well possible that Tai speakers were already present in the earlier Dvāravati period, but they remained politically and culturally without influence.

2.1 Mon influence in Thai[3]

When the Tai speakers moved down the Mekhong and Chao Phraya rivers, they settled in an area populated by speakers of Mon and Khmer, and doubtlessly various other, not recorded Austroasiatic languages. The newcomers had to adjust to the new linguistic environment and adopted a large number of words from their new neighbours. Words that seem to belong this early period include the following, all of which come with their own sets of questions.

OM *kwīl, kwel* 'cart, chariot', attested in an inscription near Lopburi, dating to the 7th century, in the form *kwel*, while later Old Mon has *kwīl*. Thai has the word *kwiən* 'ox cart'. According to Shorto (1971, p. 65), this lexeme is Western Mon Khmer, found in Nyahkur as *kwien*. As final *-l* is preserved in Nyahkur, as in Old Mon *kyāl* 'wind', Nyahkur *khəyaal*, this seems to be a more recent loan from Thai. The word is not found in Tai languages outside Thailand, nor have Austroasiatic cognates been found. Given the antiquity of the word in Mon, its pedigree is undisputed, though. By Middle Mon, the final *-l* had been lost, that means that the borrowing into Thai must have been during the Old Mon period, previous to the 13th century. The realisation of final *-l* as *-n* in Thai is regular. Another possibilty is that the word was actually borrowed into Thai later, but that final *-l* was retained longer in Mon varieties spoken in Thailand. This finds some support in the fact that Nyahkur preserves this sound to the present day.

OM *ḍik, ḍīk, ḍek* 'servant', in modern Mon is written <ḍik> and pronounced *ḍoc*. As in the case of *kwel*, the spelling with <e> is found in a Lopburi inscription of the 7th century, while later OM has the spellings <ḍik> and <ḍīk>. This word seems to be connected to Old Khmer *dik*, which Jenner (2009a, p. 242) lists as allomorph of modern *dūc ~ tūc* 'to be small, tiny, young, minor, humble' (or maybe better of *dic ~ tic* 'small, minor, few'). The two forms are probably to be kept apart, the latter being a cognate of Old Mon *ḍoc* 'small', with the modern Mon variants *ḍot* and *ḍet*, both 'small'. The form *dik* occurs in names of slaves and as noun probably meaning 'child, infrerior' in Old Khmer inscriptions (Vickery, 1998, p. 243)

and "disappears early in Old Khmer in favour of *dic*" (Pou, 2004, p. 250). According to Vickery (1998, p. 243, fn 215), "[t]his is of course the origin of the modern Thai word for child, /*dek*/". Thai *dèk* 'child, inferior, minor (person)' is a borrowing from Old Mon rather than Old Khmer for the following two reasons: First, if it disappears early from Old Khmer, as suggested by Pou (2004, p. 250), it might have been out of use before the arrival of the Tai speakers in the Chao Phraya plain. As we do not have any documents of the spoken language(s) of the time, we cannot be certain that the word was no longer in use after its last appearance in the inscriptions. A stronger argument against a Khmer origin is the spelling in Old Khmer with <d>, which would give *th* in modern Thai. Old Mon <ɗ>, representing an implosive dental, neatly fits the Thai form, as does the vowel (of the Lopburi spelling). The word is in Thailand restricted to the central and southern dialects, while the north and northeast use forms derived from *lûuk-ʔɔ̀n* 'young offspring'. A cognate form is found, however, in Central and Northern Tai languages (Hudak, 2008, p. 116).[4] This fact calls for an explanation, as also in the following example.

OM *brāw* 'coconut' occurs in the oldest Mon inscription found to date, the 6th century wat Pho Rang fragment of Nakhon Pathom. The word is found in other Austroasiatic languages, so there seems to be no doubt about its origin (Shorto, 2006, p. 476). Thai *máʔ-phráaw* 'coconut', with the common prefix for fruits *máʔ-* (from older *màak* 'areca nut, fruit') is obviously borrowed from Old Mon. By Middle Mon the vowel was shortened to *brau*, and in Spoken Mon the word is *prèə* with devoiced initial and subsequent register and vowel change. There are two problems disturbing the clear picture in this case. First, the tone assignment in Thai is not explained, as loans from non-tonal languages are usually assigned tone category A, but *phráaw,* spelt <brā́w>, is in tone category C. Second, there are obviously good cognate forms in Tai languages outside the potential Mon cultural influence (Hudak, 2008, p. 100). Li (1977), on the other hand, does not reconstruct the word for Proto-Tai.

OM *kʔim, kʔīm* 'smile', occurs in a long Pagán inscription of the 11th century, both as verb and in the nominalized form *kirʔīm*. In modern Mon the usual spelling is <sʔiṁ>, pronounced *ʔim*. The context of the Old Mon text suggests a meaning along the lines of 'smile with pleasure'.[5] Shorto (1971, p. 55) connects this word with Biat *gɤːm* 'laugh' and Vietnamese *chim* 'laugh', further with Palaung *yum* 'laugh'[6] and Khmer *ɲùːm* 'smile, laugh'. The Palaung form looks like a loan from Shan *yûm* 'smile', a word with good Tai cognates, including Thai *yím* (Li, 1977, p. 173).[7] Thai *krəyìm* (with the variants *khəyìm, krìm*) 'be

pleased' with tone category B (against C in *yím*) may indirectly be connected, but its shape suggests a foreign origin. Both the structure of the word and its semantics fit the Old Mon form rather well, so that it is reasonable to see it as an old loan from Mon.

SM *klɔ̀ŋ* 'way, road', LM <glòṅ>, is not found in the Old Mon or Middle Mon corpus, but a cognate derived form in Nyahkur, namely *ŋlɔ̀ŋ* 'habitual path' (from reconstructed infixed **gnlɔɔŋ*) attests to its antiquity in Mon (Diffloth, 1984, p. 123). Thai has *khlɔɔŋ* 'canal', spelt <glòṅ>, with the Khmer-like derived form *khanlɔɔŋ* 'way, method', spelt <grrlòṅ>, which is used mainly in literary style. In Khmer, only an infixed form is attested since the Angkorian period: *ganloṅ* 'passage, route, way, path, track, trail, road'. The modern Khmer form <ganlaṅ> *kʊnlɔːŋ* (Jenner, 2009b, p. 83) may well be the source of the Nyahkur word and the derived Thai form. The root does not appear in Khmer after the pre-Angkorian period, where *gloṅ* 'way, passage; waterway, canal' is attested in one inscription (Jenner, 2009a: p. 107). Mon therefore seems to be the likely source of the Thai word. With the insecure authenticity of the Nyahkur cognate, the loan may be of a later date, though. Man made canals are a prominent feature of the lower Chao Phraya plain and were the main ways of communication before the extended construction of roads in the 20th century.

SM *ɗan* 'way, path', again is not found in the Old Mon and Middle Mon inscriptions, but it has an exact counterpart in Nyahkur, namely *daan* in the compound *daan-ciɲ* 'elephant track'. Diffloth suggests that the word may either have been borrowed into Mon and Nyahkur from Thai, or "that Thai may be the borrower; however, the word is unknown in the rest of Mon-Khmer" (Diffloth, 1984, p. 124). There are apparently related forms, such as Khmer *daːn* 'path, trail, scent' and its derived form *lùmʔaːn* 'id.' (Shorto, 2006, p. 317). In Thai *dàan* is 'path (of animals), (border) checkpoint, pass'. The tone category B is unexpected (though not impossible) for a loan from a non-tonal language and the second meaning of the word is not present in Mon or Khmer, so that one may think of a contamination by an indigenous Tai word, though no cognates have been fund in other Tai languages.

SM *krɛ̀h* 'harrow, comb' goes back to a (not attested) Old Mon form **grās*, which has good cognates in Mon-Khmer, based on a root *raas* 'rake, comb, scratch' (Shorto, 2006, p. 493). The Thai word *khrâat* 'rake, harrow' is in form and meaning closer to the Mon lexeme than the corresponding Khmer word *krìːəh* <grās>, meaning 'to search through' (Shorto, 2006, p. 493). According to Jenner's (2009, *passim*) analysis, final *-s* was pronounced as *-h* already in pre-Angkorian Khmer and could not have given rise to final *-t* in Thai. Mon retained final *-s* until the early Middle Mon period, so again Old Mon is the most

likely source of the Thai word, which has a cognate in Lao *kha:t*, but seems to be absent in other related languages, including Lānnā and Shan.

Sanskrit *siṁha* 'lion' is rendered as *(jādi)sin* in Old Mon (a compound with a variant of Sanskrit/Pali *jāti* 'birth'), which in Middle Mon is spelt as *jādisəṅ*, suggesting a pronunciation with *ə* already in Old Mon, as common in early loans from Sanskrit with a short vowel (Ferlus, 1984, p. 7, 24). The more recent loan as technical term 'Leo' shows the original vowel in written Mon: <siṅ>, spoken Mon *soŋ*. Thai has the doublet *sĭŋ(too)* 'lion' and *săaŋ* 'mythical animal, tiger, lion'. The former is the regular reflex of the Sanskrit word, the latter a likely loan from Mon of the same Pali word.

There are a number of words that are found in Mon, Thai and Khmer, such as *həpàn*, *səphaan* and *spien* respectively, all spelt <sbān>, meaning 'paved road, highway' in Mon, and 'bridge' in Thai and Khmer. As the word is not found in earlier inscriptions of any of the languages involved, it cannot be determined without further evidence who borrowed from who and at what time.

Nothing conclusive can be said at the present stage of research about possible structural influence of Mon in Thai, though further in depth study of the languages involved (and their wider cognates) is likely to bring to light instances of structural convergence, too. Bauer identifies some structural features in early Thai inscriptions that he assigns to Mon influence (Bauer, 1993), together with a number of lexical and grammatical items in Thai putatively borrowed from Mon (Bauer, 1992).

2.2 Early Mon influence in Burmese

Being the prime literary language at Pagán, Mon also acted as medium of introduction of Pali words, mostly but not exclusively Buddhist terminology, to the numerically certainly dominant language of the Pagán people, Burmese. According to Bradley (1980, p. 259) "[m]uch of the vocabulary of Buddhism was borrowed from Pali via Mon into Burmese". While in many cases this claim cannot be substantiated, as Pali words generally retain their original spelling in the local languages, there are some spelling idiosyncrasies that allow an assignment of a form to either Burmese or Mon. One phonological rule of Old Mon was that no word may end in a vowel. Pali words ending in short vowels either dropped that vowel in Mon or a glottal stop was added. In the case of long vowels, an dummy consonant was added, usually *-w*. This happened in the words *dewatāw* 'god' from Pali *devatā* and *pūjāw* 'worship (by making offerings)' from Pali *pūjā*. The latter appears in Burmese as *puzɔ* <pūjow>, earlier <pūjāw>, showing its Mon origin. Pali short final *-a* (and sometimes *-i* and -

u) was dropped in Mon and short vowels were pronounced as central *ə* spelt in Old Mon as any vowel, since Middle Mon as *ə*, a digraph consisting of *i* and *u*, parallel to common Indic *o* written as combination of *e* and *ā*) (cf. Ferlus, 1984). Burmese tends to lengthen final short vowels and retains the original value of short vowels. Burmese-Pali words such as *paiʔ ~ pouʔ* <pəd ~ pud> 'verse, stanza' and *bo* <bəw, bəl> 'strength, power' can therefore be ascribed to Mon origin, while Mon *yətha* 'train' shows a Burmanised form of Pali *ratha* 'chariot' (Burmese *yəthà* <rathāḥ> 'train') which entered Mon much more recently.

A number of Old Mon words are found in Burmese, mostly belonging to vocabulary of official and technical domains. The shape of the Burmese form in many cases proves the loans to belong to Old Mon, such as Burmese *kədɔ* <katow> from MM *kandaw* (OM *kindar~kandar*, SM *kəlɔ*) and Burmese *kədɔ́* <kantoʔ> 'make obeisance' from OM *kindoʔ~kinḍoʔ* (SM *kəlɔʔ*), and Burmese *tɕɛʔ-θəye* <kyak-sare> 'splendour, glory' from Old Mon *kyāk-śrī* 'grace, glory, splendour'(SM *kyac-sɒə*), a compound of Mon *kyāk* 'sacred object/being' and the Sanskrit name of the Hindu goddess Śrī.

Other alleged Mon influences in Burmese are on the level of phonology. Bradley (1980) and LaPolla (2001) mention sesquisyllabicity, phonation-like tones and final palatal consonants as instances of Mon influenced features in Burmese. Word- or phrase-final stress is certainly a typical Mon-Khmer feature, which leads to sesquisyllabicity in many languages. A similar development is seen also in Thai, perhaps under Mon and/or Khmer influence. More problematic is the phonation-like tone system, as registers in Mon developed only (probably late) in Middle Mon, that is, at a time when Burmese had become dominant and donor rather than recipient language. Another question that has to be addressed in connection with Mon influence in Burmese phonology in general concerns the fact that Mon is generally seen as literary language rather than as a vernacular spoken by large segments of the society at Pagán. It is not clear how a mostly written language should have influenced the pronunciation of the language spoken by the majority of the population. Furthermore, some of the features in Burmese attributed to Mon influence are also found in other Tibeto-Burman languages which are well outside of the Mon sphere of influence. Sesquisyllabicity, for example, is widespread also in Kachin varieties spoken far to the north. Obviously the linguistic landscape of early Myanmar was much more complex than suggested by some publications.

No clear examples of structural diffusion from Mon into early stages of Burmese have been established. Bauer (2006) lists half a dozen grammatical elements common to Mon and Burmese and suggests the direction of borrowing in each case (mostly from Mon to

Burmese) based on (non-)occurrence in early inscriptions. No convergence on the level of syntax does necessarily follow from these borrowed forms, as they are instances of 'matter replication' rather than 'pattern replication' (Sakel, 2007; Matras, 2009, p. 166ff, 234ff).

2.3 Recent Mon influence in Burmese

Since the fall of the last independent Mon kingdom in the mid 18th century, Burmese has definitely taken the role of politically and economically dominant language in all of southern and central Myanmar. Mon influence in Burmese is thus much less in evidence in the recent past. One instance of structural replication is the use of the verb *pè* 'give' as preverbal permissive causative marker in colloquial Burmese (Okano, 2005). While the use of a lexical verb meaning 'give' as permissive (and in some cases jussive or neutral) causativizer is widespread in the languages of Southeast Asia, it is less common, though not unknown, in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Furthermore, the construction in Burmese does not conform 'normal' usage of secondary verbs. Some secondary verbs occur in preverbal position, where they may be optionally separated from the main verb by the sequential marker *pì* or *pì tɔ̀* 'and then', or the subordinator *ló*. This is not possible in the case of preverbal *pè*.

(1) တို့ရှေ့ဆက်လို့သွားမယ်။

tó	*ɕé*	*shɛʔ*	*(ló)*	*θwà*	*mɛ.*
1PL	ahead	connect	SUB	go	FUT

'We'll keep going ahead.'

(2) သူ့ကို ပေးသွားတယ်။

θú	*ko*	*pè*	*(*ló/pì)*	*θwà*	*dɛ.*
3.DEP	OBJ	give	SUB/SEQ	go	NFUT

'They let him go.'

The construction with causative 'give' is found almost exclusively in the spoken language, and it is hardly used in Upper Myanmar varieties. It is considered substandard or bad usage by many educated speakers, though they may well use it in casual speech. Some speakers explicitly label this usage as 'Mon-like speech'. The functional load of preverbal *pè* in colloquial Burmese is considerable, though, and the construction has obviously filled a gap left by the disappearance of the original postverbal causativizer *se*, originally meaning 'command', from the spoken language in most contexts. Even in contexts where postverbal *se* is still used, that is in prohibitive and desiderative expressions, it is semantically different from preverbal *pè*. The postverbal *khàin* 'command' cannot be seen as a grammaticalized causativizer, as it is used only in jussive contexts.

Formal Burmese

(3) ကလေးများကို မကစားစေနှင့်။

khəlè	myà	ko	mə	gəzà	**se**	hnín.
Child	PL	OBJ	NEG	play	CAUS	PROH

'Don't let the children play.'

(4) သူ့ကို မသွားခိုင်းပါ။

θú	ko	mə	θwà	**khàin**	pa.
3.DEP	OBJ	NEG	go	order	POL

'I didn't let him go.'

Colloquial Burmese

(5) ကလေးတွေကို ပေးမကစားနဲ့။

khəlè	twe	ko	**pè**	mə	gəzà	nὲ.
Child	PL	OBJ	give	NEG	play	PROH

'Don't let the children play.'

(6) သူ့ကို မသွားခိုင်းဘူး။

θú	ko	mə	θwà	**khàin**	bù.
3.DEP	OBJ	NEG	go	order	NEG

'I didn't tell him to go.'

(7) သူ့ကို ပေးမသွားဘူး။

θú	ko	**pè**	mə	θwà	bù.
3.DEP	OBJ	give	NEG	go	NEG

'I didn't let him go.'

(8) သူ့ကို သွားစေချင်တယ်။

θú	ko	θwà	**se**	tɕhin	dɛ.
3.DEP	OBJ	go	CAUS	DES	NFUT

'I want him to go.'

(9) သူ့ကို ပေးသွားချင်တယ်။

θú	ko	**pè**	θwà	tɕhin	dɛ.
3.DEP	OBJ	give	go	DES	NFUT

'I want to let him go.'

While colloquial Burmese can make a distinction between sentences (8) and (9), Mon (and formal Burmese) lacks this possibility. The translation of both (8) and (9) in Mon is given in (10).

(10) အဲမိက်ဂ့ိကိုဉ္ဇေ့အာ॥

    ʔuə   məkɤ̀ʔ   **kɒ**   dɛh   ʔa.
    1sg   des   give   3   go

The corresponding construction in Mon, which is found already in Old Mon inscriptions, has the lexical verb *kɒ* 'give' in preverbal (or rather pre-clausal) position.

(11) အဲကိုဉ္ဇေ့အာ॥   (12)   လွကိုဉ္ဇေ့ဝေင်॥

    ʔuə **kɒ** dɛh ʔa.   paʔ   **kɒ** dɛh   wə̀ɲ.
    1sg give 3   GO   PROH give 3   play
    'I let/made him go.' 'Don't let him play.'

This structure is perfectly transparent in Mon, with the clause following *kɒ* taken as theme of the transfer predicate, parallel to a NP theme, as in (13).

(13) အဲကိုဉ္ဇေ့လိက်॥

    ʔuə   **kɒ**   dɛh   lòc.
    1sg   give   3   text
    'I gave him a book.'

The transfer is generally one of control, rather than possession. This is true also with NP themes. If *kɒ* expresses the transfer of control over an event to the recipient=causee, the permissive reading must be taken as original, with jussive and general causative (as well as 'dummy causative, cf. Enfield, 2009, p. 811, fn 3) being later developments. In Burmese only the permissive reading is common. This is not unexpected in contact induced grammaticalization, which according to Heine and Kuteva (2010, p. 94) must pass the same stages as 'normal' grammaticalization and may stop at any point along the path. Burmese obviously has stopped at the permissive stage, while Mon (and other Southeast Asian languages) have developed further along the cline. Johanson (2008, p. 69) argues against this kind of interpretation: "It follows from our theoretical concept that diachronic processes are not copiable, even if they happen to be recoverable." and "What is copied is just the *result* of a grammaticalization process" (Johanson, 2008, p. 69). But "[f]resh copies often represent less advanced stages of grammaticalization than their models with respect to semantic, combinational and frequential properties" (Johanson, 2008, p. 69) and "[t]he semantic functions of copies have often not reached the stage of grammaticalization of their models" (Johanson, 2008, p. 70). Whatever position we take, it is a fact that the grammatical uses of Burmese preverbal *pè* 'give' is less advanced in terms of grammaticalization than its suggested model in Mon.

While the grammatical use of 'give' found its way into colloquial standard Burmese, other Mon-influenced features and constructions are restricted to southern Burmese dialects.[8] Relevant examples are found in the domain of phonology, namely the following features.

(14) Mon-like phonological features in southern Burmese dialects

- /θ/ realized as dental [t̪] (/t/ (post)alveolar also in standard Burmese)

- /V̆n/ merges with /Vʔ/: *seiʔ ~ séin, louʔ ~ lóun,* etc.

- intervocalic voicing less prominent than in standard Burmese

- sesquisyllabicity also on phrase level: *θə sà* vs. *θwà sà* 'go and eat'

Mon does not have the dental fricative *θ*, voiced obstruents, or phonemic nasalisation, as well as a mainly sesquisyllabic word structure, so that the above features can easily be ascribed to Mon influence in the southern Burmese varieties. The phonology of Karen corresponds more closely to that of Burmese, so that Karen is a much less likely source of influence here.

On the syntactic level, southern Burmese shows a number of features that are. considered wrong or at least sub-standard by mainstream Burmese speakers. One example involves the placement of the preverbal negation marker *mə* in predicates consisting of more than one verbal element. While some secondary verbs (auxiliaries) in Burmese have lost their independent status (see Jenny, 2009, p. 113ff) and cannot attract the negation like the desiderative *tɕhin* in example (15), other V2s can be separated from the verb by a subordinator and attract the negation. There is a difference in the pragmatics according to the placement of the negation, but the construction NEG V AUX as in (16) is the most common form in standard Burmese. In southern varieties, on the other hand, the placement of the negation between V and AUX is preferred, as seen in (17)[9]

Burmese (standard; 17 colloquial southern Burmese)

(15) သူ့ ယိုးဒယားစကား မသင်ချင်ဘူး။

θu	*yòdəyà-zəgà*	***mə***	*θin*	*tɕhin*	*bù.*
3	Thai-language	NEG	learn	DES	NEG

'He doesn't want to learn Thai.'

(16) သူ့ ယိုးဒယားစကား မပြောတတ်ဘူး။

θu	*yò*	*dəyà-zəgà*	***mə***	*pyɔ̀*	*taʔ*	*bù.*
3		Thai-language	NEG	speak	know.how	NEG

'He cannot speak Thai.'

(17) သူ ရှမ်းစကား ပြောမတတ်ဘူး။

θu	*ɕàn-zəgà*	*pyɔ́*	***mə***	*taʔ*	*bù.*
3	Thai-language	speak	NEG	know.how	NEG

'He cannot speak Thai.'

The corresponding form in Mon, given in (18) and (19) are the likely source of the southern Burmese preference for the otherwise marginal patterns.

Mon

(18) ဒ္ဂုဵဟွံမိက်ဂွောန်အရေဝ် သေံ။

dɛ̀h	***hùʔ***	*mòc*	*həton*	*ʔərè*	*sem.*
3	NEG	DES	learn	language	Thai

(19) ဒ္ဂုဵဟွံအရေဝ်ဝင်သေံဟွံလေပ်ပုဟ်။

dɛ̀h	*hɒm*	*ʔərè*	*sem*	***hùʔ***	*lèp*	*(pùh).*
3	speak	language	Thai	NEG	know.how	(NEG)

Both Burmese and Mon make extensive use of (partly) grammaticalized secondary verbs to express a wide range of functions, including aspect, modality, directionality, manner, and others. A number of these secondary verbs are common to Mon and Burmese in some or all their functions, like postverbal 'get', *yá* in Burmese and *kɤ̀ʔ* in Mon, which is used to express general deontic possibility in both languages (as well as many other Southeast Asian languages, see Enfield, 2003). The verb meaning 'win', Burmese *nain*, Mon *màn*, expresses epistemic possibility in both languages. Besides the numerous common grammaticalisations, Mon and Burmese go separate ways in many instances. In some cases, southern Burmese differs from standard Burmese in a way that brings it closer to Mon, as illustrated in the following examples.

Southern Burmese

(20) လာမပြောစားနဲ့။

la	*mə*	*pyɔ́*	***sà***	*nɛ̀.*
come	NEG	speak	eat	PROH

'Don't tell me about it!'

(22) သွားမပြောထိတော့ဘူး။

θwà	*mə*	*pyɔ́*	***thí***	*tɔ̀*	*bù.*
go	NEG	speak	touch	CONTR	NEG

'You don't have to go to tell him anymore.'

Mon

(21) ဒ္ဂုဵလ္စကိုအဲ။

dɛ̀h	*lèə*	***ɕiəʔ***	*kɒ*	*ʔuə.*
3	tell	eat	OBL	1SG

'He told me.'

(23) ဗေံဟွံဒးအာ ရ။

pèh	*hùʔ*	***tɛ̀h***	*ʔa*	*raʔ.*
2	NEG	touch	go	FOC

'You don't have to go any more.'

(24) ကျွန်တော်သွားမထိဘူး။ (25) အဲအာဟွဲဒး။

tɕənɔ	θwà	mə	**thí**	bù.		ʔuə	ʔa	hùʔ	**tèh**.
-------	-----	-----	-----	-----		-----	-----	-----	-----
1m	go	NEG	touch	NEG		1SG	go	NEG	touch

'I don't know the way.' 'I don't know the way.'

(26) ကျွန်တော့်စာကို ကျွန်တော်ရေးယူမယ်။ (27) လိက်အဲဂုံ အဲချုကကတ်။

tɕənɔ̀	sa	ko	tɕənɔ	yè	**yu**	mɛ.		lòc	ʔuə	kɔ̀h,	ʔuə	khyu	**ket**.
--------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----		-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
1m.DEP	text	OBJ	1m	write	take	FUT		text	1SG	MEDL	1SG	write	take

'I will write my text myself.' 'I will write my text myself.'

The use of *sà* 'eat' as a secondary verb is not unknown to Burmese, but its use is restricted to a few lexicalized constructions, such as *louʔ-sà* 'do for a living', *khan-zà* 'feel', *sìn-zà* 'think, consider'. In Mon, the corresponding verb *ɕiəʔ* is productively used to express an agent- (or inward-)oriented event, though its exact function is not clear in all expressions. Sentences (20), (22), (24) and (26) are considered ungrammatical (or incomprehensible) in standard Burmese, but common in southern varieties.

The verb *tèh* in Mon and *thí* in Burmese describes a situation where one entity comes into contact with another entity, without control or volition. It can be translated as 'touch, hit (a goal, mark), be affected by (entity or situation)' when occurring as full lexical verb. As dependent secondary verb, preverbal in Mon and postverbal in southern Burmese, it is used to express obligation. This can be seen as a functional extension of the meaning 'be affected by a situation without control and volition'. Standard Burmese uses *yá* 'get' or a more complex construction involving a gerundive or purposive construction in this function. So the equivalent to sentence (22) in standard Burmese is either of the following, all of which are also used in southern Burmese with more or less subtle semantic differences:

(28) သွားမပြောရတော့ဘူး။

θwà	mə	pyɔ̀	**yá**	tɔ̀	bù.
go	NEG	speak	GET	CONTR	NEG

(29) သွားပြောစရာမလိုတော့ဘူး။

θwà	pyɔ̀	**səya**	mə	**lo**	tɔ̀	bù.
go	speak	GRNDV	NEG	need	CONTR	NEG

(30) သွားပြော ဖို့မရှိတော့ဘူး။

θwà	pyɔ̀	**phó**	mə	**ɕí**	tɔ̀	bù.
go	speak	PURP	NEG	exist	CONTR	NEG

The same verb as independent secondary verb, used postverbally in both Mon and southern Burmese, describes the correct execution of an act, as in (24) and (25). This use can be explained as grammatical use of the meaning 'hit a mark'. The negation marker in this use

is placed between the main and the secondary verb in southern Burmese, as expected with an independent V2. In standard Burmese, the modal *taʔ* 'know how to V' is used in this function (see sentence 16 above), as in (31), which is the standard colloquial translation of (24).

(31) ကျွန်တော်မသွားတတ်ဘူး။

 tɕənɔ *mə* *θwà* *taʔ* *bù.*
 1m NEG go know.how NEG

Southern Burmese has not borrowed the whole range of functions of Mon *tèh*, though, which is also used as postverbal bound auxiliary expressing non-volition, reduced agentivity, or non-knowledge of the consequences of the act by the agent. This function is in Burmese covered by the semantically close verb *mí* 'attain, reach, touch'. The gerundive construction seen in (29), on the other hand, has been replicated in Mon (see section 3.2 below).

The use of 'take' as V2 expressing an act done by the agent himself, without external help or instigation, is unknown in standard Burmese but common in Mon, where it is the only way to express the idea of 'self-induced/executed action'. In standard Burmese there are some lexicalized, non-productive compounds involving 'take', such as *θin yu* 'learn' as opposed to *θin pè* 'teach', *wɛ yu* 'buy for one self', usually expressing an act done *for* oneself rather than *by* oneself (Okell and Allott, 2001, p. 176).

The close parallelism between the Mon and southern Burmese expressions in all the above examples suggests interference from Mon in southern Burmese. The fact that the constructions are perfectly transparent in Mon certainly was conducive to the diffusion into Burmese varieties in close contact with Mon.

Another point that deserves mentioning here is the partial loss of morphological possessive (or dependent) marking in southern Burmese. Dependency, including possession, is marked morphologically in Burmese by what Okell and Allott (2001, p. 273f) call 'induced creaky tone'. The possessive 'creaky tone' is found mainly in personal names and pronouns, as well as kinship and social terms. Mon marks possessive expressions by mere juxtaposition. Southern Burmese retains the tonally marked possessives in pronouns and core kinship terms, but applies it less regularly to other nouns and personal names. The process seems to have lost its productivity in southern Burmese dialects, as seen in the following examples.

(32) Standard Burmese	Southern Burmese	Mon	Gloss
θú ʔein	*θú ʔein*	*hʋəʔ dɛ̀h*	'his house'
ʔəmé shain	*ʔəmé shain*	*chɔŋ mè*	'mother's shop'
θà.θá ʔein	*θà.θà ʔein*	*hʋəʔ ta.ta*	'Tha Tha's house'
shəyá sa.ʔouʔ	*shəya sa.ʔouʔ*	*lòc ʔəca*	'the teacher's book'

A last example of possible diffusion from Mon into southern Burmese is found on the discourse level. Colloquial Burmese makes frequent use of the (rhetoric) tag question in *houʔ là* 'right, isn't it?'. Mon has a parallel form, the sentence final *siəŋ ha*. This is often shortened to *siəŋ* or even *seʔ* in rapid speech. In southern Burmese, it is common to shorten the standard *houʔ là* to *houʔ*, dropping the question marker *là*, just as in Mon the interrogative particle *ha* is omitted.

Recent Mon influence in Burmese is mostly restricted to southern Burmese varieties, with only a few features spreading to central dialects. Still the situation needs an explanation. Burmese, being the only official language of education, media and government, is clearly the dominant language. Mon is the prestige language only among the Mon population, and almost the whole Mon speaking population is bilingual, using Burmese in communication with outsiders. A sizeable number of Mon have also completely shifted to Burmese. The Burmese speakers, on the other hand, are rarely bilingual, with only few speaking (or understanding) Mon besides Burmese. What can be expected in this situation of language contact is heavy Burmese influence in Mon (see next section), but not the other way round. According to most authors it is the L1 of bilingual speakers that converges towards their L2, which usually is the dominant prestige language of the area. If they shift from their original L1 to their original L2, some phonetic interference may remain, as Ross (2003, p. 191) puts it:

> People in a polylectal community may well speak their secondary lect with the 'accent' of their primary lect. If they maintain this accent after the shift, then the result is that their new primary lect is a phonologically coloured version of the old secondary lect.

No structural interference or metatypy should be manifest in the new L1 of the shifted speakers:

> Madak is clearly an Oceanic language, but its phonology now bears striking resemblance to that of its Papuan neighbour Kuot. The most reasonable explanation for this is that speakers

whose primary lect was either Kuot or something closely related to it shifted to their secondary lect, which was a phonologically coloured version of the Oceanic language spoken by their neighbours. Significantly, Madak shows no signs of metatypy, but this need not surprise us, as metatypy affects a polylectal community's primary, but not its secondary, lect. (Ross, 2003, p. 191)

It seems likely, though, that non-native speakers of Burmese were numerically dominant for centuries in southern Myanmar, so that non-native-like features could spread to the native L1 spealers by means of what Thomason calls "passive familiarity":

And passive familiarity must be significantly involved in at least one very common process - namely, the diffusion of shift-induced interference features from members of the shifting group to original speakers of the target language (TL). In those contact situations, the original TL speakers typically do not speak the version of the TL that the shifting group speaks; and yet they eventually adopt a subset of the shifting group's interference features. (Thomason, 2003, p. 30)

A similar situation seems to be found in northwestern China, where the Sinitic language Wutun has been heavily influenced by the surrounding Bodic and Mongolic languages, though in this case the Wutun speakers are obviously bilingual today (see Slater, 2003, p. 8).

Interestingly, no similar Mon influence can be detected in Thai dialects in contact with Mon over an extended period. Though Thai and Mon are typologically closer to each other than Mon is to Burmese, Thai has been more resistant to structural diffusion from Mon. This can only be explained by the different socio-political setting in both countries, with communication (and ensuing state centralisation) being more advanced in Thailand. Obviously it is the socio-political history of the speakers that determines the outcome of language contact (cf. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, p. 35) rather than the linguistic structure of the languages involved (cf. Treffers-Daller, 1999, p. 1), at least in the case of Mon (see Næss and Jenny, 2011 for a more detailed explanation and a similar situation in two Austronesian languages in the South Pacific).

I now turn to the reverse direction of influence, that is, Mon as recipient language between Burmese and Thai.

3. Mon as recipient language

With the receding political and economic influence of the Mon people, the Mon language has gradually turned from donor to recipient language. In Myanmar this process can be observed in the development from Old Mon to Middle Mon. As there are next to no Mon documents in Thailand from the time after the arrival of Tai speakers in the Chao Phraya plain, not much can be said about the situation in Thailand in pre-modern times.

3.1 Thai influence in Mon

With no documents illustrating the development of Mon in Thailand after the Tai/Thai expansion, at least at the present stage of research, I will in this section restrict myself to giving some examples of Thai influence in modern Mon varieties spoken in central Thailand as well as some cases of Thaiisms found in Mon literature in Thailand. While these communities were able to maintain their language and customs as different from the surrounding Thai villages and towns, even in the greater Bangkok area, until well into the 20th century (cf. for example Smithies, 1986; Foster, 1986), heavy structural influence from Thai can be observed in all Mon dialects in Thailand. Today, not many children grow up speaking Mon and also the adults still maintaining their language can be classified as semi-speakers. In this socio-politico-cultural context of assimilation, it is inevitable that many Thai features are found in Mon, either as direct lexical loans, semantic calques, or syntactic replications.

A recent study (McCormick, 2011) examines Thai influence in what is generally perceived to be a classical Mon text, namely the *Rājādhirāja* chronicle, which is part of the *Rājavaṁsa* Kathā, printed in Mon in Thailand in the 19th century. According to McCormick, this Mon "original" contains a large number of Thai-like structures, not found in Mon varieties spoken in Myanmar. Features attributed to Thai influence in literary Thailand Mon (known as *Thai Rāmañ* in Thailand) include, among others, the following (numbers after feature refer to the examples below):

- use of the possessive marker *krɔ̀p* with overt possessum, a use not found in Myanmar Mon; *krɔ̀p* is used here only as possessive nominalizer: *krɔ̀p ʔuə* 'mine'. (33)
- use of the clause initial complementizer *kèh* 'say' after verbs of saying, perceiving, and cognizing (rare in Myanmar Mon); Myanmar Mon prefers preposed complement clauses with the clause final marker *kɔ̀h*, a medial demonstrative also

functioning as topic marker and marks an expression as referential, rather than predicative. (34)

•use of the polar question marker *ha* in alternative questions ('or') (not found in Myanmar Mon) (35)

•use of *ʔat* 'ask for, beg' to form indirect request; not found in Myanmar Mon, where direct requests are used as in Burmese. (36)

•use of *klày* 'seek' for vicinitive expressions with human goals; Myanmar Mon uses the noun *hənày* 'place' or, in more formal language, the vicinitive relator noun *cərìəŋ*. (37)

•lexical replication, like *chɔ̀ə* 'help' from Thai *chûəy; khìt cʋp* 'miss', partly loan, partly loan translation of Thai *khít thǔŋ*, lit. 'think arrive'; *ʔat tùh* 'I'm sorry', loan translation of Thai *khɔ̌ɔ thôot* lit. 'ask for punishment'

Examples of the above features (from McCormick, 2011, spelling adapted) are given below. The corresponding Thai and Myanmar Mon expressions are added after each example.

(33)   'they heard the sound of the child, who said ...'
ဂံၚ်မိၚ်ပရၚ်ဂြပ်ဒါဇရကမဟ်ၚ်

kɤ̀ʔ	*mòɲ*	***hərù ʔ***	***krɔ̀p***	***tɛ̀ərəkaʔ***	*mɛ̀ʔ*	*hʋm*
get	hear	sound	POSS	child	REL	speak

Thai   ได้ยินเสียงของทารกที่ว่า

dây.yin	***sǐəŋ***	***khɔ̌ɔŋ***	***thaarók***	*thîi*	*wâa*	...
hear	sound	POSS	child	REL	say	

Myanmar Mon   ဂံၚ်မိၚ်ပရၚ်ကောန်ၚ်ၚ်မဟ်ၚ်
*kɤ̀ʔ mòɲ **hərùʔ kon.ŋàc**(mə) hʋm*[10]

(34) 'Lord Rajadhiraja knew that the Burmese army had gone down and surrounded Prome.'
တၟဥ္ၚရာဇာဓိရာဇ်တီးဟ္ဂာန်ဗ္ဂာစံုအာရ္ၚိုင္ပ္ရောန်॥

təlaʔ.ɲèh	*rɛ̀əcɛ̀əthìʔràt*	***tɛm***	***kɛ̀h***	*pənan*		
lord	Rajadhiraja	know	say	army		

həmɛ̀ə	*ceh*	*ʔa*	*rɤ̀m*	*dɤŋ*	*prɔn.*[11]
Burma	descend	go	help	town	Prome

Thai   พระเจ้าราชาธิราชรู้ว่ากองทัพพม่าลงไปล้อมเมืองแปร

phráʔ.câaw	*raachaathíʔràat*	***rúu***	***wâa***	*kɔɔŋ.tháp*	*phəmâa*
lord	Rajadhiraja	know	say	army	Burma

loŋ	*pay*	*lɔ́ɔm*	*mɯəŋ*	*prɛɛ.*
descend	go	surround	town	Prome

Myanmar Mon ဟွန်ဗ္မာစေံ့အာဗိုင်ချဳိပြန်ဂှ် တုဲဥၚရာဇာမိရာ်ဇ်တီရ॥

*pənan həmὲə ceh ʔa pàŋ dɤŋ prɔn **kɔ̀h**, təlaʔ.ŋὲh rὲəcὲəthìʔràt tɛm raʔ.*

(35) 'Are you now taking my life mother? Or do you set my life free?'
လွဟ်မိေကတ်လမျ္ဩအဲဟာ, ဟာဗလ:လမျ္ဩအဲ॥

həmùh	***mìʔ***	***ket***	***pəyɤ̀m***	***ʔuə***	***ha,***
now	mother	take	life	1sɢ	Q

ha	***həlὲh***	***pəyɤ̀m***	***ʔuə.***
Q	CAUS.free	life	1sɢ

Thai เดี๋ยวนี้ แม่เอาชีวิตฉัน หรือปล่อยชีวิตฉัน

dǐəw.níi	***mɛ̂ɛ***	***ʔaw***	***chiiwít***	***chǎn***	***rɯ̌ɯ***	***plɔ̀y***	***chiiwít***	***chǎn***
now	mother	take	life	1sɢ	or	release	life	1sɢ

Myanmar Mon လွဟ်မိေကတ်လမျ္ဩအဲဟာ ဗလ:လမျ္ဩအဲဟာ॥

*həmùh mìʔ ket pəyɤ̀m ʔuə **ha**, həlὲh pəyɤ̀m ʔuə **ha**.*

(36) 'Give me [enough] soldiers, elephants and horses.'
အာတ်ကိုဗိုလ်လဗ:သရဲစိၚ်ေချ॥

ʔat	***kɒ***	***pɤ̀***	***ləpὲh***	***səray***	***coŋ***	***khyɛh.***
beg	give	officer	soldier	hero	elephant	horse

Thai ขอพลทหารช้างม้า

khɔ̌ɔ	***phon.thəhǎan***	***cháaŋ***	***máa.***
beg	soldier	elephant	horse

Myanmar Mon ကို အဲဗိုလ်လဗ:သရဲစိၚ်ေချ॥

kɒ *ʔuə pɤ̀ ləpὲh səray coŋ khyɛh.*

(37) 'Let the Lord Noy come out to me.'
ကို ဗညာနဲတိတ်ကျဳုၚ်ကဲ့အဲရ॥

kɒ	***pəŋὲə***	***nɔ̀ə***	***tɛt***	***klɤŋ***	***klày***	***ʔuə***	***raʔ.***
give	lord	Noy	exit	come	seek	1sɢ	foc

Thai ให้พญาน้อยออกมาหาฉัน

hây	***phəyaa***	***nɔ́ɔy***	***ʔɔ̀ɔk***	***maa***	***hǎa***	***chǎn.***
give	lord	Noy	exit	come	seek	1sɢ

Myanmar Mon ကို ဗညာနဲတိတ်ကျဳုၚ်အွဲ့အဲရ॥

*kɒ pəŋὲə nɔ̀ə tɛt **klɤŋ henày** ʔuə raʔ.*

The above list suggests that Mon came under heavy pressure from the dominant Thai language at an early date. Still Mon communities in Thailand continued and still continue to speak Mon, at least to some extent, even in the vicinity of Bangkok. As most

speakers are more fluent in Thai than Mon, and children don't grow up speaking Mon as their first language, clear signs of language shift and imperfect learning of Mon as L2 can be found probably in all Mon communities in Thailand. In some cases, as for example in Mon spoken on Ko Kret, a small river island a short distance north of Bangkok, where Mon is still spoken by elderly people, tends to replace second register phonation by the low tone of Thai, with which it shares some phonological features. Many Thai words are naturally used in these Mon varieties, sometimes with surprising semantic shifts. The Thai word *sămkhan* 'important' is used in Ko Kret Mon in the meaning 'clever, good, skilled', corresponding to Thai *kèŋ*.

On the level of syntax, some expected changes can be observed. Thai Mon varieties make regular use of the Thai relativizer *thîi* to fill the gap in Mon, which has lost the relativizer in the spoken variety (see Jenny, 2011). The placement of Mon *nɛm* 'still, yet' in the post-verbal position corresponds to the Burmese structure, but is markedly different from Thai syntax, which places *yaŋ* 'still, yet' before the verb. In some Thailand Mon varieties, sentences like the following are heard, not found in Myanmar Mon, which would express the same meaning as in (38c). Compare the respective expressions in Thai (38b) and Burmese (38d).

(38) a. အဲကီအောဂ္ဂစ။
    ʔuə   nɛm   ʔaw   kɤ̀ʔ   ɕiə̀ʔ.
    1SG   yet   NEG   get   eat
    'I haven't eaten yet.'[12]

    b. ผมยังไม่ได้กิน
    phŏm   yaŋ   mây   dây   kin.
    1m   yet   NEG   get   eat

    c. အဲဂ္ဂိအ်ဝစကီ။
    ʔuə   kwɤ̀ʔ   ɕiə̀ʔ   nɛm.
    1SG   NEG.get   eat   yet[12]

    d. ကျွန်တော်မစားရသေးဘူး။
    tɕənɔ   mə   sà   yá   θè   bù.
    1m   NEG   eat   get   yet   NEG

With the socio-linguistic and socio-political situation in Thailand, it is to be expected that Mon will continue to receive heavy structural influence from Thai and become more Thai-like, perhaps resulting in a kind of mixed language with some Mon lexicon with Thai syntax, a fate shared for example with many Romani varieties in Central Europe (see Matras, 2002).

3.2 Burmese influence in Mon

Mon in Myanmar is much more viable than in Thailand, with probably close to a million active speakers, some 25% of whom claim to be literate in Mon. Children in many villages in southern Myanmar still grow up with Mon as their first language, learning

Burmese only later when they attend Burmese government schools. There is also a substantive literary activity in Mon State, producing a wide range of publications, both printed and other, in Mon. Despite this fact, strong Burmese influence is seen and can be observed at least since the Middle Mon period around the 14th or 15th century. Not only are there numerous Burmese loans and loan translations in Mon, also Mon syntax has converged toward Burmese to a large extent. This convergence leads to some interesting results, as the two languages are typologically very different. In many cases it can be shown that Burmese did not actually introduce new patterns into Mon syntax, but rather helped to activate or strengthen minor use patterns pre-existant in the language. Very often these patterns only superficially correspond to Burmese constructions, which was obviously good enough to treat them as parallel. For a detailed study of Burmese-like features in modern Mon see Jenny (2011). Here only a few features will be listed to give a general picture of the extent of potential Burmanisms in Mon.

- many lexical items from Burmese, e.g. *yè-kɛ* 'ice' (B *ye-gè*), *se-yɤ̀ŋ* 'hospital' (B. *shè-youn*), *yətha* 'train' (B *yəthà*, from Pali *ratha* 'chariot'); some are well integrated into the Mon system, taking Mon derivational morphology, such as *həpyɤk* 'destroy, make bankrupt', causative form of *pyɤk* 'fall apart' from Burmese *pyouʔ* 'fall off' (with causative *phyouʔ*)

- grammatical words, such as *pùh* 'sentence final negation marker' (B *bù*)

- use of focus and assertive markers (*raʔ* and *noŋ* resp.) to imitate Burmese sentence final status/tense markers *dɛ* 'non-future/certain' and *mɛ* 'future/predictive' (see Jenny, 2006)

- frequent fronting of interrogative elements (already found to some extent in Old Mon, in modern Mon often with copy *in situ*); ex. (39)

- development of clause final subordinators (from discourse markers); ex. (40)

- frequent fronting of subordinate clauses (complements and adverbial); ex. (41)

- frequent verb final constituent order; ex. (42)

- cliticization of relativizer to verb (and later loss in spoken Mon)

- development of double prepositions imitating Burmese complex postpositions; exs. (43) and (44)

The following examples illustrate some of the syntactic features listed above. Sentences (39) to (42) are taken from *Mi Kon Plem*, a story written in colloquial Mon and published in Moulmein in 2001.

(39) မုဂွံနင်မုရော ကောန်။
mùʔ	*kɤ̀ʔ*	*nèŋ*	*mùʔ*	*rao*	*kon.*
what	get	CAUS.come	what	Q	child

'What did you get, my child?'

(40) ဂွံရှပ်မွဲနာစာဒွေဝ်တော့ သွံကျောင်။
kɤ̀ʔ	*ŋùh*	*mùə*	*nèʔ*	*ɓa*	*həke*	**teh,**	*sɒʔ*	*noŋ.*
get	price	one	basket	two	tical	TOP>COND	sell	ASRT

'If I get two tical a basket, I'll sell it.'

(41) ညးစာဂှ် နကိုသွဲရာန်သှေဝ်ကေဝ်တဲ ဂယိုင်တ်လမျိုု။
ɲèh	*ɓa*	*kɔ̀h*	**nèʔ**	**kɒ**	*sɒʔ*	*ràn*	*həne.ke*	*toə,*
person	two	MEDL	INSTR	OBL	sell	buy	vegetables	finish

həyàŋ	*tao*	*pəyɤ̀m.*
CAUS.live	stay	life

'The two of them sustained their lives by selling vegetables.'

(42) ညးစာတြုဟ်ကိုပြဲဂှ် ကောန်ဇာတ်မွဲရောဟွံကလိဂွံရ။
ɲèh	*ɓa*	*kraoh*	*kɒ*	*prèə*	*kɔ̀h*	*kon.càt*	*mùə*	*rao*	**hùʔ**	**kəlɒəʔ.kɤ̀ʔ**	*raʔ.*
person	two	man	OBL	woman	MEDL	child	one	TOP	NEG	get	FOC

'The man and the woman did not have any children.'

Compare the following Mon expressions in (43-44a) with their Burmese counterparts in (43-44b)

(43) a. ပှ်ကိုသို့   b. အိမ်ထဲမှာ

dɔə	**kɒ**	*hɒəʔ*		*ʔein*	*thɛ̀*	*hma*
LOC	OBL	house		house	in	LOC

'in the house'

(44) a. နုကိုသို့   b. အိမ်ထဲက

nù	**kɒ**	*hɒəʔ*		*ʔein*	*thɛ̀*	*ká*
SRC	OBL	house		house	in	SRC

'out of the house'

It should be noted that many Burmese features entered Mon before the main migrations to Thailand starting from the 16th century. Thus many of the Burmanisms are found also in the Mon varieties in Thailand and not restricted to Myanmar Mon. The presence or absence of individual features can actually be useful in gauging the time of the influence.

4. Conclusions

The Mon language and people are one of the first to appear in the documented history of Southeast Asia. Being in close contact with peoples speaking languages vastly different from their own, they were both donors and recipients of linguistic features crossing the language boundaries. Mon serves as a good playground for contact linguistic, as it has been the source and goal of contact induced changes under influence from languages of a very different typological profile, such as Burmese, as well as the typologically much more similar Thai and others. The contact induced changes in Mon, Burmese and Thai are the most accessible as they involve languages with a long recorded history. Much less is known about convergence with other languages in the area, especially Karen varieties, some of which are known to be heavily influenced by Mon, such as eastern Pwo. Maybe the general SVO constituent order of Karen languages can be attributed to Mon-Khmer or perhaps Mon influence, but much more research is needed in this area. In this paper I only attempted to give a general overview of the contact phenomena found in Mon and the two large neighbouring languages. Future in-depth research in the field with more reliable data from hitherto ill-described languages will certainly add to our understanding of the linguistic (and social) landscape of western Southeast Asia, both past and present.

Abbreviations

ASRT	Assertive	OBL	Oblique
CAUS	Causative	OM	Old Mon
COND	Conditional	PL	Plural
CONR	Contrastive	POL	Politeness
DEP	Dependent form	POSS	Possessive
DES	Desiderative	PRH	Prohibitive
FOC	Focus	PURP	Purposive
FUT	Future	Q	Question
GRNV	Gerundive	REL	Relativizer
LOC	Locative	SEQ	Sequential
MEDL	Medial demonstrative	SG	Singular
MM	Middle Mon	SM	Spoken Mon
NEG	Negation	SRC	Source
NFUT	Non-future	SUB	Subordinator
OBJ	Object	TOP	Topic

[1] While the Tai languages were formerly included in the Sino-Tibetan family, Benedict later showed them to be related to Austronesian in the Austro-Tai stock (Benedict, 1975). This hypothesis, as well as the earlier suggested Austric stock including Austronesian and Austroasiatic languages (Schmidt, 1906; Benedict, 1991) have not been generally accepted by the linguistic community due to the absence of regular sound correspondences.

[2] I use the word Burmese to refer to the ethnic group also called Bama and their language. For the country, I use the official version Myanmar, while other toponyms in Myanmar are given in their common English form.

[3] Thai contains a large number of loans from Mon, not all of which have been conclusively identified. Due to space restrictions, only a small sample of words considered to be of special linguistic or historical interest is given here.

[4] The only Northern Tai form given by Hudak is from Saek, a language spoken in Thailand and Laos. The word *dɛk⁴* may therefore well be a loan from a Southwestern Tai language.

[5] The Buddha 'smiles' and Ananda asks him for the reason "as it does not happen that Buddhas smile without a reason" (Shwezigon inscription face A, Taw Sein Ko, 1919, p. 94).

[6] Shorto does not specify the dialect or variety of Palaung(ic) he is referring to. According to an anonymous reviewer of this paper, the form *yum* is not found in any Palaung langauge.

[7] Benedict list the lexeme **(tsə)ńum* 'smile' as Austro-Tai, with the Malay/Indonesian cognate *senyum* 'smile' (Benedict, 1975, p. 385).

[8] Southern Burmese is not an established dialect of Burmese. Rather it is the colloquial form of standard Burmese as spoken in Mon and Karen States, also by L1 (and monolingual) speakers of Burmese. Most data presented here were collected from monolingual speakers of Burmese in the town of Hpayathounzu, on the Thai-Myanmar border. The population there is mainly Mon, with large numbers of Karen speakers and a minority of L1 Burmese speakers. The speech of the Burmese consultants in this area is similar to the Burmese variety spoken in urban Moulmein, but differs clearly from Tavoyan and Merguese.

[9] Notice also the use of *ɕàn* for Thai (rather than 'Shan'), whereas standard Burmese uses *yòdəyà* (or *thàin*) for Thai and *ɕàn* for 'Shan'. In Mon *sem* is used both for 'Thai' and 'Shan'.

[10] *tɛ̀ərəkaʔ* 'child' from Pali *dāraka*, is not used in Myanmar Mon. Its use in Thailand Mon is probably influenced by Thai *thaarók* 'child' from the same Pali word.

[11] *rʉ̀m* means 'help' in Mon (Old Mon and modern). McCormick translates as 'surround' which fits the context better. Maybe there is Burmese influence here (*wàin* meaning 'surround' but also 'help' in some contexts). Also the Thai word *rum* 'surround, attack' (a

Khmer loan, probably ultimately cognate with the Mon word) could be the source of the non-standard semantics here, so that this could be seen as another example interference from Thai. There is, on the other hand, semantic merger of 'surround' and 'help' also in Myanmar Mon, *pàŋ* having both meanings.

[12] For the negated form of *kɤ̀ʔ* 'get' see Jenny, 2003.

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