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KATIANG PALAUNG OF HSIPAW: PHONOLOGY AND CLASSIFICATION¹

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Abstract

Palaung, which belongs to Palaungic branch of Mon-Khmer, is a diverse language. There are numerous dialects or varieties spoken in the area of northern Shan State of Myanmar. The well-known Palaung dialects in this area are those of Ta-ang dialect of Namhsan and Rumai of Namhkam. Another location in northern Shan State where Palaung villages are found is Hsipaw. This paper aims to explore the phonological system of Katiang, a variety of Palaung spoken in Man Lwae village of Hsipaw in northern Shan State, Myanmar. Also, Katiang sound system will be compared with those dialects of Yunnan, China, Kengtung in Myanmar and Chiang Mai in Thailand. This paper proposes that the Katiang is a link between the Palaung group of dialects spoken in Dehong, Yunnan and the group of southern Palaung dialects spoken in southern Shan State, Myanmar and Chiang Mai, Thailand.

Keywords

Katiang, Palaung dialects, Palaungic, Mon-Khmer, Shan State

LA VARIEDAD KATIANG DEL PALAUNG HABLADO EN HSIPAW: FONOLOGÍA Y CLASIFICACIÓN

Resumen

El Palaung, que pertenece a la rama Palaungic de Mon-Khmer, es una lengua diversa. Existen numerosos dialectos o variedades que se hablan en el área del norte del estado de Shan en Myanmar. Los dialectos del Palaung bien conocidos en esta área son Ta-ang de Namhsan y Rumai de Namhkam. Otro

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lugar, en el norte del estado de Shan, donde hay aldeas Palaung, es Hsipaw. Este artículo tiene como objetivo explorar el sistema fonológico del Katiang, una variedad del Palaung que se habla en la aldea Man Lwae de Hsipaw en el norte del estado de Shan, en Myanmar. Además, el sistema fónico del Katiang se comparará con los dialectos de Yunnan, China, Kengtung en Myanmar y Chiang Mai en Tailandia. Este artículo propone que el Katiang constituye un enlace entre el grupo de dialectos del Palaung hablados en Dehong, Yunnan y el grupo de dialectos de Palaung meridional que se habla en el sur del estado de Shan, Myanmar y Chiang Mai, en Tailandia.

Palabras clave

Katiang, dialectos Palaung, Palaungic, Mon-Khmer, Shan State

1. Introduction

“Palaung” is a word used as a cover term for both people and language of one of the ethnic groups who live in mountainous areas of three countries: Shan State in Myanmar, southern Yunnan Province in China, and Chiang Mai Province in northern Thailand. According to Howard (2005: 25), there are about 600,000 Palaung in Myanmar² divided into three groups: 300,000 silver Palaung, 150,000 golden Palaung, and 150,000 Rumai. In China, according to the year 2000 census, there are 17,804 Palaung speakers in Yunnan (Xiu Dingben 2008: 5). The word “Ta’ang” or “De’ang” is used as the official name of Palaung in China. As for the Palaung in Thailand, they began migrating from Myanmar since 1982. Most of them live in Chiang Mai Province in northern Thailand. There are about 4,500-5,000 Palaung speakers in Thailand (Deepadung, Rattanapitak & Buakaw 2014: 1065-1103).

In Myanmar, however, based on the knowledge of native speakers, there are thirteen dialects of Palaung classified according to their clothing, culture, and languages, i.e., 1) Saamloong 2) Rumai 3) Rukwuang 4) Rujing 5) Kwanhai 6) Rukaw 7) Pangnim 8) Taungma 9) Ngunrot 10) Kunhawt 11) Rukher 12) Mangci and 13) Thawrai (Deepadung, Ostapirat, Buakaw & Rattanapitak 2015b: 37). The well-known Palaung dialects in the

² In 2014, the Myanmar Population and Housing Census has released series of census reports stating that the total population of the country is 51,486,253; but there are no details about the ethnic groups.

area of northern Shan State are those of Ta-ang dialect³ of Namhsan and the Rumai of Namhkam (Milne 1931). According to Lowis's (1906) ethnographical survey of India "A Note on the Palaungs of Hsipaw and Tawngpeng", there are a lot of Palaung living in Hsipaw. Hsipaw is in the Northern Shan State of Myanmar. Lowis (1906: 4) stated that,

Like a large number of other hill tribes, the *Ta-ang*, as a whole, are not concentrated in any particular area. Isolated Palaung villages are found in a large number of the Southern Shan States. In Hsipaw the *Ta-ang* hamlets are scattered among the Shan villages, as a rule occupying the more commanding ridges, while the Shans cluster in the plain land of the plateau...

However, no linguistic material has ever been reported from this area.

In March 2013, under a project "Palaung dialects in China, Myanmar, and Thailand: Phonology, Lexicons, and Sub-grouping" financially supported by Thailand Research Fund (TRF), fieldwork on the Palaung dialects spoken in northern Shan State in the area of Hsipaw and Namhsan was conducted. On this field trip, a wordlist of one thousand items with English and Standard Thai glosses was used for eliciting the Palaung dialect data with the help of a Burmese-Thai interpreter.

In the Hsipaw area, there are many villages of Palaung, for example: 1) Man Lwae (Man Loi) 2) Pang Kha 3) Htan San 4) Pang Kham, 5) Man Tan. All of them are located on hills along the trekking routes of ethnic villages, mostly Shan and Palaung. The Palaung who live in Man Lwae village call themselves "Katiang".

Katiang is an autonym of the Palaung living in Man Lwae village. It is about 12 miles from downtown Hsipaw. The village is located on the hill. There are approximately 650-700 speakers or 150 households of Palaung speakers in Man Lwae. According to our language helper, U Maung Nyunt, aged 38, the village has been at this site for about 300 years. Man Lwae villagers earn their living mainly as tea growers.

³ Ta-ang dialect of Namhsan and other varieties/dialects of various Palaung villages in and around Namhsan are now called "Saam-Long".

This paper⁴ aims to explore the phonological system of Katiang (KA) because the Katiang dialect is little known to the outside world and this paper is the first linguistic description of the dialect. The paper also proposes a position for this dialect in the Palaung group within the Paluangic branch of Mon-Khmer of Austroasiatic language family.

2. Katiang Phonology

The phonology of the Katiang presented here includes information about words, syllable structures and phoneme inventory.

2.1 Words

A word in Katiang is either monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Monosyllabic words consist of a major syllable and may be an open or closed syllable. Polysyllabic words are words that consist of a presyllable and a major syllable.

2.1.1 Monosyllabic words

The basic pattern of monosyllabic words is CV. That is, the consonant-C can be an initial consonant as presented in Table 3 and the vowel-V is a vowel in Table 5. Katiang monosyllabic words can be open syllable (CV) or closed syllable (CVC), as shown in Table 1.

l̥ɛ	'leaf'	kham	'husk'
ŋɔ	'paddy rice'	sim	'bird'
hur	'skin'	riah	'root'
huk	'feather'	siaŋ	'ginger'
măk	'cow'	pɔh	'liquor, alcohol'

Table 1. Examples of monosyllabic words in Katiang

⁴ This paper is a revised version of the paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics (ICAAL5), September 4-5, 2013, Canberra, Australia.

2.1.2 Polysyllabic words

As for Katiang polysyllabic words, there are two types, namely, a sesquisyllabic word and a compound word. The sesquisyllable consists of one main syllable preceded by a presyllable. Phonologically, presyllable is an unstressed syllable the vowel of which is limited to low central vowel /a/, as shown in Table 2.

kafaŋ	‘ash’	ʔagaw	‘rice (pounded rice)’
sanəm	‘year’	ʔarok	‘frog’
saŋeɪ	‘delicious’	kaʔaŋ	‘bone’

Table 2. Examples of sesquisyllabic words in Katiang

A compound word in Katiang can be a compound of two monosyllabic words or a compound of a sesquisyllabic word and a monosyllabic word. Katiang compound words are exemplified in Table 3, as follows:

ʔom ‘water’	+	taŋ ‘big’	=	ʔomtaŋ	‘river’
hur ‘skin’	+	ŋaj ‘eye’	=	hurŋaj	‘eyelid’
katut ‘back’	+	kaŋ ‘house’	=	katutkaŋ	‘roof’
ŋɔ ‘fire’	+	kafaŋ ‘ash’	=	ŋɔkafaŋ	‘fireplace’

Table 3. Examples of compound words in Katiang

2.2 Syllable structure

A basic syllable structure of Katiang is an initial consonant followed by a vowel – CV. A major syllable structure can be an open or closed syllable. The initial consonant position of Katiang word can be a cluster. The syllable structures of Katiang words are shown in Table 4.

Open syllables	CV	/ŋɔ/	‘fire’
	CV	/ʔia/	‘chicken’
	CCV	/plɛ/	‘scar’
	CCV	/prai/	‘forest’
Closed syllables	CVC	/boh/	‘flower’
	CCVC	/prǎʔ/	‘peacock’
	CCVC	/brian/	‘fat’

Table 4. Katiang major syllable structure

In the initial consonant position of the major syllable of Katiang, co-occurrence of consonants (C_1C_2 -) or consonant clusters can be found. The first initial consonants (C_1) in a cluster may be labial stops; /p-, ph-, b-/ or velar stops; /k-, kh-, g-/. The second consonants (C_2) are sonorants; /-r-, -l-, -j-/. Interestingly, second consonants /-r-, -l-/ and /-j-/ co-occur with all the first consonants except the voiceless velar stop /k-/ which never occurs with /-j-/, and /kh-/ never occurs with /-l-/. Table 5 shows the co-occurrences of Katiang consonant initial clusters.

	-r-	-l-	-j-
p-	pr-	pl-	pj-
ph-	phr-	phl-	phj-
b-	br-	bl-	bj-
k-	kr-	kl-	
kh-	chr-		khj-
g-	gr-	gl-	gj-

Table 5. Co-occurrence of Katiang consonant clusters

The minor syllable of Katiang is an unstressed syllable, namely a presyllable, which is preceded by the major syllable. The structure of a presyllable is an initial consonant followed by the vowel /a/- CV. The vowel /a/ in a presyllable is pronounced as a schwa [ə]. Phonemes /p-, k-, kh-, c-, s-, ŋ-, n-, ʔ-/ are found in the initial consonant position of a presyllable, as shown in Table 6.

pakəm	‘sleepy’	kafaŋ	‘ashes’
khadəm	‘liver’	cariʔ	‘little’
saŋai	‘sun’	ŋamai	‘sugarcane’
namə	‘inside’	ʔaʔaŋ	‘cliff’

Table 6. Examples of presyllables in Katiang

2.3 Phoneme inventory

In this section, the phoneme inventory of Katiang spoken in Hsipaw, northern Shan State, Myanmar is presented. Initial consonants are introduced first and then the vowel system and final consonants will be described in subsequent sections.

2.3.1 Initial consonants

Katiang has 31 consonant phonemes. Only 12 consonants can occur in final position. The initial inventory of Katiang includes stops, nasals, fricatives, liquids and glides. Katiang has five contrasting places of articulation: labial, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal. The inventory of initial consonants is summarized in Table 7.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p-	t-	c- [tɕ-]	k-	ʔ-
	ph-	th-	ch- [tɕh-]	kh-	
	b- [b-]	d- [d-]	ɟ- [dʒ-]	g-	
Nasals	m̥-	n̥-	ɲ̥-	ŋ̥-	
	m-	n-	ɲ-	ŋ-	
Fricatives	f-	s-			h-
	v-				
Liquids		ɾ̥-			
		r-			
		l̥-			
		l-			
Glides			j̥-		
			j-		

Table 7. Initial consonants in Katiang

As seen in Table 7, stops appear in all places and display a three-ways distinction among voiceless, aspirated, and voiced stops. However, it should be noted that, phonetically, the voiced labial stop /b-/ is realized by the voiced bilabial implosive [b̥-],

and in the same way, the voiced alveolar stop /d-/ is realized by the voiced alveolar implosive [ɗ-]. As for the voiced /ɟ-/ and voiceless /c-/ palatal stops, they are phonetically realized as affricates [ɟ͡ʃ-] and [t͡ʃ-], respectively, as shown in the example below. Examples of words in Katiang are given with the Proto-Palaung phonemes based on Mitani (1977: 193-212) in the first column, and words from various other varieties of the Palaung language from the authors' own field work are then illustrated for comparison.

	PP	SA ⁵	RU	KA	DA
'seven'	*p-	pur	pu	bu [bu:]	mbu [m̐'bu:]
'nine'	*t-	tim	tim	dim [di:m]	ndim [n̐'di:m]
'deer'	*c-	t͡ʃaʔ	t͡ʃɔʔ	ɟ͡ʃəʔ [ɟ͡ʃaʔ]	maɟaʔ [ma'ɟaʔ]
'foot'	*ɟ-	ɟ͡ʃəŋ	ɟ͡ʃɔŋ	ceŋ [t͡ʃe:ŋ]	ceŋ [ce:ŋ]

Table 8. Examples of words with implosive and affricate sounds in Katiang

In Table 8, PP stands for Proto-Palaung; SA is for Saam-loong. In the research project, the data is from the language spoken in downtown Namhsan city. RU represents Rumai, the data for which was gathered at Nan Sang and Guang Ka villages⁶ in Dehong of Yunnan in China. DA is a shorthand abbreviation for the Dara-ang variety spoken at Noe Lae village⁷ in Thailand's Chiang Mai province. The samples in Table 8 illustrate how the implosives are realized phonetically in Katiang and in various other dialects.

2.3.2. Final consonants

Katiang has 12 consonant phonemes occurring at the final position of a major syllable (Table 9). Apart from stops and nasals, there are glottals fricatives, trills, and glides.

⁵ SA stands for Saam-Loong /sam.loŋ/. According to Mak (2012: 1-2), this word is from Shan "literally meaning 'three-great (things)' that is land, water and wind (air)". Saam-Loong is promoted by the Palaung Literature and Culture Central Committee in Namhsan to include all the Palaungs in the area of Namhsan. It is supposed to replace the name "Golden Palaung".

⁶ See details about names and sub-groups of the Palaung in Yunnan and Kentung in Deepadung (2011: 88-104).

⁷ See details about the Palaung at NoeLae village in Deepadung, Rattanapitak & Buakaw (2014: 1065-1103).

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	-p	-t	-c [jʔ]	-k	-ʔ
Nasals	-m	-n		-ŋ	
Fricative					-h
Trill			-r		
Glides	-w		-j		

Table 9. Katiang final consonants

It should be noted that, in Katiang, the final trill /-r/ is still preserved. However, in Dara-ang, a closely related dialect, the final trill /-r/ has changed to become the alveolar nasal /-n/.

	PP	SA	LI	KA	DA
‘crawl’	*-r	mər	mər	mɪr	mən
‘iron’	*-r	hir	hi	hir	hin
‘wild cat’	*-r	sar	sal	sar	masan
‘skin’	*-r	hur	hur	hur	hun
‘lips’	*-r	sabər	sabər	sapər	sapən
‘gums’	*-r	ŋər	ŋər	ŋar	ŋən
‘lead by hand’	*-r	dər	dər	tər	tən

Table 10. Examples of words with final trill in Palaung dialects

In Table 10, LI is for the Liang variety of Palaung spoken in Chu Dong Gua village in Yunnan of China. We can see that the trill /-r/ is maintained in KA, SA and LI while it has changed to the alveolar /-n/ in DA. This change has the important consequence of determining the position of Katiang among the Palaung varieties, which is the topic of section 3.

2.3.3 Vowels

Katiang has 10 phonemic monophthongs. The vowel system includes three front vowels /i, e, ε/, three back vowels /u, o, ɔ/, and four central vowels /ɨ, ə, ǎ, a/. The full

inventory of vowels is given in Table 11. As shown in the table, there are also 3 phonemic diphthongs in Katiang: /ia, ai/, and /ua/.

	Front	Central		Back
		Short	Long	
High	i	ɨ		u
Mid	e	ə [ə, əw]		o
Low	ɛ	ǎ [a]	a [a:]	ɔ [ɔ, au]
Diphthongs	ia	ai		ua

Table 11. Katiang phonemic vowels

In most cases, vowel length depends on the syllable structure. That is, open syllables are always pronounced as long, while syllables ending with final glottal fricative /-h/ are pronounced as short. In an open syllable, the mid central vowel /ə/ is often pronounced as diphthongized vowel [əw]. A syllable with low back vowel /ɔ/ ending with /-ʔ/ is often pronounced as diphthong [au]. Vowel length is phonemic only for low central vowel, /ǎ/ and /a/. The phonemic length of a low central vowel is preserved in most Palaung dialects spoken in Thailand and Myanmar, as discussed in Buakaw (2012) and Buakaw (2014). It is important to mention that, phonemically, short /ǎ/ [a] vowel is marked since it occurs in a more restricted environment than a long one.

/ǎ/		/a/	
jǎm [jam]	‘die’	jam [ja:m]	‘cry’
ṛǎŋ [raŋ]	‘bamboo’	ṛaŋ [ra:ŋ]	‘tooth’
/ə/		/əC/	
ɰə [ɬəw]	‘meet’	sapər [sapər]	‘lips’
gə [gəw]	‘ten’	ʔasəh[ʔasəh]	‘wake up’
bə [bəw]	uncle, father-in-law”	bləm [blə:m]	‘land leech’
/ɔ/		/ɔʔ/	
prɔn [prɔ:n]	‘termite’	pɔʔ [pauʔ]	‘saw’
grɔh [grɔh]	‘language’	katɔʔ [katauʔ]	‘bat’

Table 12. Examples of vowel phonemes in Katiang

3. Position of Katiang among the Palaung varieties

Ostapirat (2009: 63-76) proposes ten phonological criteria for sub-grouping the Palaung dialects – six on rime development, one on final and one on medial consonants, and two on initial consonants. Ostapirat (2009: 64) also noted that, in general, we can recognize at least three main Palaung dialects: Ta-ang, Rumai, and Darang. Based on phonological innovations among Palaung dialects, he suggests that the primary split is between the Ta-ang and the Rumai-Darang groups. Later, the Rumai-Darang group was split into Rumai and Darang groups. The Darang group includes Na-ang, Darang, Da-ang, and Dara-ang, as shown in Figure 1.

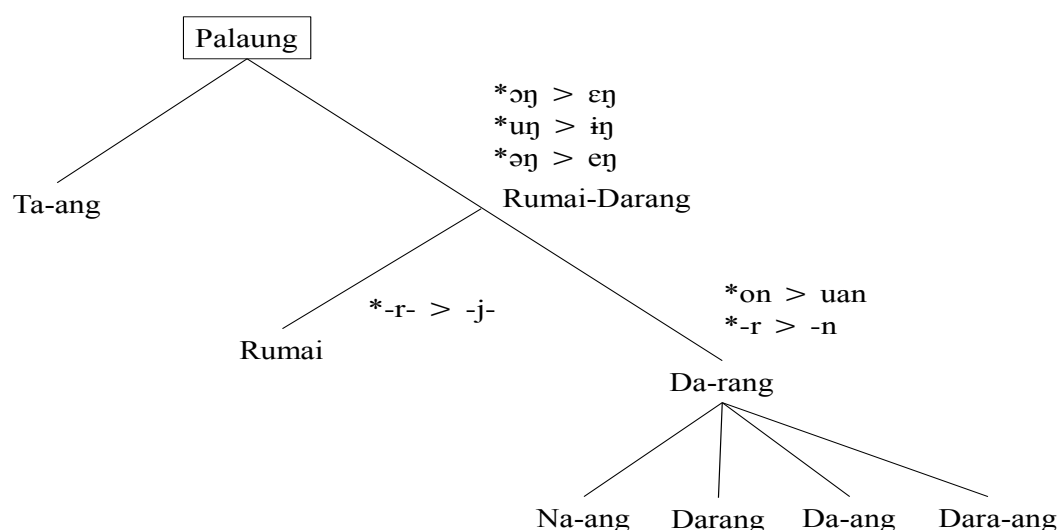


Figure 1. A tentative classification of Palaung dialects (Ostapirat 2009: 73)

After comparing Katiang and our data from the Palaung dialect spoken in Yunnan with words given as examples in Ostapirat (2009), we found that the Katiang dialect of Palaung appears to adopt the same changes as those of the Rumai-Darang group. That is:

	PP	SA	LI	PU	RU	KA	DA
‘foot’	*-əŋ	ɬəŋ	ɬəŋ	ɬəŋ	ɬəɯŋ	ceŋ	ceŋ
‘yarn’	*-əŋ	səŋ	səŋ	səŋ	səɯŋ	seŋ	seŋ
‘road’	*-eŋ	radəŋ	dəŋ	dəŋ	ndəɯŋ	nteŋ	nteŋ
‘sky’	*-eŋ	pləŋ	bəŋ	bəŋ	pləɯŋ	bleŋ	bleŋ

Table 13. The merger of PP *-əŋ with *-eŋ > -eŋ

For a complete picture, sample words from PU are added in Table 13 above. PU represents Pule, a variety of Palaung spoken at many villages in Santaishan district of Dehong, Yunnan, China, such as, Meng Dan village, Hu Dong Na village, etc.

From Table 13, the change that applies to Rumai (RU), Katiang (KA), and Dara-ang (DA) is the merger of Proto-Palaung (PP) *-əŋ with *-eŋ. As can be seen in Samloong (SA), Liang (LI) and Pule (PU), they still clearly distinguish the two rimes, whereas the Rumai (RU), Katiang (KA), and Dara-ang (DA) have merged them. It should be noted that Rumai, as was mentioned in Ostapirat (2009: 66) must first have palatalized -ŋ to -ɲ after *e, then -eɲ > -ɲɲ > -ɲɯ.

	PP	SA	LI	PU	RU	KA	DA
‘sour’	*-r-	braŋ	braŋ	preŋ	bjaŋ	praŋ	praŋ
‘steal’	*-r-	---	bra	pre	bja	pre	pra
‘bark’	*-r-	prɔh	brɔh	prɔh	bjoh	prɔh	prouh
‘horse’	*-r-	prəŋ	braŋ	mbrəŋ	mbjɔŋ	prăŋ	manprɔŋ
‘language’	*-r-	krɔh	krɔh	krɔh	kjoh	grɔh	grouh
‘buffalo’	*-r-	kraʔ	kraʔ	kreʔ	kjaʔ	grăʔ	magrăʔ
‘rich’	*-r-	khɾəm	khɾəm	khram	khjam	khɾăm	khɾəm

Table 14. *-r- > -j-

As shown in Table 14, we can see that the change *-r- > -j- applies only to Rumai. Moreover, this change is unique to the Rumai group, and we can say that this innovation defines the Rumai group. That is to say, Katiang, the main topic of this paper, seems to exhibit the same behavior as the rest of the Palaung varieties.

	PP	SA	LI	PU	RU	KA	DA
'seven'	*p-	pur	pur	pur	pu	bu	mbu
'nine'	*t-	tim	tim	tim	tim	dim	ndim
'deer'	*c-	tɕaʔ	tɕaʔ	tɕɛʔ	tɕɔʔ	ʃǎʔ	majaʔ
'moon'	*k-	kiar	kiar	kiar	pakjə	gia	magian
'bamboo shoot'	*b-	bəŋ	bəŋ	bəŋ	bɔŋ	paŋ	pɔŋ
'taro'	*d-	dɔh	dɔh	dɔh	doh	tɔh	touh
'foot'	*ʃ-	ɕəŋ	ɕəŋ	tɕəŋ	ɕɔŋ	ceŋ	ceŋ
'old-aged'	*g-	---	gat	gɛt	gɔʔ	kǎʔ	kat

Table 15. *p-, t-, c-, k- > b-, d-, ʃ-, g- / *b-, d-, ʃ-, g- > p-, t-, c-, k-

As shown in Table 15, originally voiceless stops have become voiced and originally voiced stops have become voiceless. These changes of initial stop consonants apply to Katiang (KA) and Dara-ang (DA) dialects. It seems that KA is closer to DA than to the other Palaung varieties.

	PP	SA	LI	PU	RU	KA	DA
'crawl'	*-r	mər	mər	mər	mə	mɪr	mən
'iron'	*-r	hir	hi	hir	---	hir	hin
'wild cat'	*-r	sar	sal	ʔasar	---	sar	masan
'skin'	*-r	hur	hur	hur	hu	hur	hun
'lips'	*-r	sabər	sabər	---	---	sapər	sapən
'gums'	*-r	ŋər	ŋɔr	---	ŋai	ŋar	ŋən
'lead by hand'	*-r	dər	ɖɔr	dar	dai	tər	tən
'four'	*o	phon	phɔn	phon	phon	phon	mphuan
'melon'	*o	klon	klon	klon	klon	glon	gluan

Table 16. *-r > -n / *-on > -uan

However, as shown in Table 16, in Dara-ang, which belongs to the Darang group, final trill /-r/ has been changed to alveolar nasal /-n/. Moreover, the vowel /o/ occurring before alveolar nasal /n/, has also changed to become diphthong /ua/, as in words such as 'four' /mphuan/ and 'melon' /gluan/. This change is unique to the Darang group of dialects including Na-ang, Darang, Da-ang, and Dara-ang, (but not to Katiang): Darang, therefore, can be defined as a group separated from Katiang.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, the phonological system and innovations of the Katiang dialect of Palaung have been described. Diachronically, we have also highlighted some of the significant phonological features of Katiang that may possibly differentiate it from other dialects scattered throughout southern Shan State and northern Thailand (Darang group of dialects). First, the trill /-r/ appears in the word final position where it changed to final alveolar nasal /-n/ in Darang group of dialects. Second, mid vowel /o/ before alveolar final /-n/ from Proto-Palaung are preserved whereas the vowel is diphthongized to /ua/ in the Darang group. The historical development of Katiang phonology suggests that it shares some characteristics with the Rumi and Darang groups and is closer to Darang than other dialects of Palaung. It can be concluded that Katiang is a link between the Palaung group of dialects spoken in Dehong, Yunnan (Liang, Pule, and Rumi) and the Darang group (Na-ang, Darang, Da-ang, and Dara-ang) of dialects spoken in southern Shan State and in northern Thailand.⁸ The position of Katiang within Palaung dialect classification is shown in Figure 2 below.

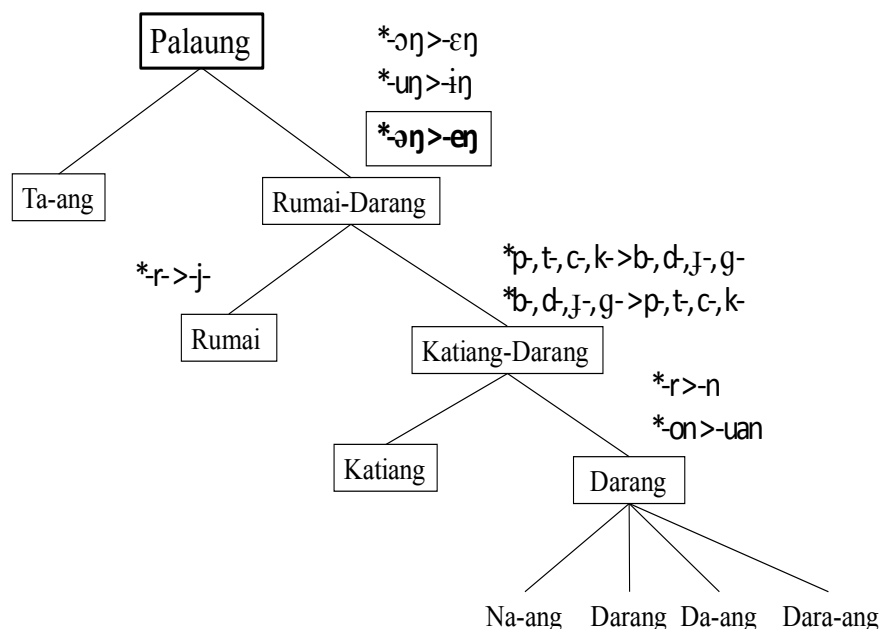


Figure 2. A tentative classification of Palaung dialect, with Katiang added (adapted from Ostapirat 2009: 74)

⁸ See details on a lexicon comparison of the Palaung dialects spoken in China, Myanmar, and Thailand in Deepadung, Buakaw & Rattanapitak (2015a: 19-38).

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