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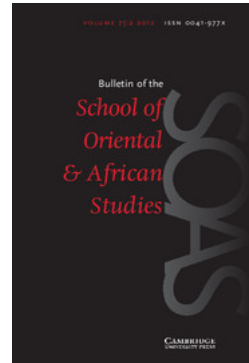
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James A. Matisoff: *The Loloish tonal split rerisited.* (Research Monograph No. 7.) viii, 88 pp. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, 1972.

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important restrictions. Not only were Soviet records inaccessible except to Russian historians, but we are informed by Lensen that he was only allowed to use the Japanese records partly reconstructed after the Occupation as a privileged scholar and was not permitted to cite them except in a very general, and therefore uninformative, fashion. In such circumstances it seems possible that not all documents were shown to Lensen. The result, at any rate, is essentially a rather dull record of official statements and conversations, supplemented occasionally by the memoirs of Japanese diplomats or Russian generals. A considerable amount of useful factual information is also given, much of it in the seven appendixes which take up a fifth of the pages, and, as always, the author shows fairness and impartiality in presenting both countries' cases, although he does not fully explain the technicalities of the fishing agreements which caused constant difficulties. Nor does he do justice to the arguments of the revisionists when he attacks their criticism of American policy in his concluding reflections. What is chiefly missing, however, is anything approaching an adequate account of the internal debates about political strategy towards the other country. It is particularly regrettable that the crucial period between Hitler's invasion of Russia and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor is dealt with in less than 20 pp. and that the author's brief discussion in his concluding reflections of the possibility of a Japanese attack on Russia in 1941 should be confined almost exclusively to citing the precedent of the Siberian expedition, which had occurred two decades earlier in very different circumstances. Given that a definitive version is unattainable at present, it would surely have been better for the author to have combined this rather short work with his forthcoming study of relations in the 1930's and thus given the reader at least the advantage of the longer perspective.

Lensen might also have given his own book more substance if he had made use of newspapers and journals to trace changes in Japanese attitudes and opinion. This is one respect in which he could well have followed Dr. Kutakov. Nor are the occasional apt quotations from the Japanese press the only merits of the latter's work. His Russian viewpoint is helpful in bringing out the important and sometimes underestimated connexions between Far Eastern diplomacy and European developments after 1937, and his writing is often incisive, especially in the section on Japanese relations with Germany. The other three main sections, however, are less satisfactory. The treatment of Japanese relations with Britain is tendentious and moralistic,

the analysis of Japanese-Soviet relations uninformative and close to propaganda, while the discussion of the Japanese-American confrontation is excessively thin. Responsibility for this last fault may, however, belong elsewhere than with the author, for this book has not only been translated but also drastically abridged. Lensen justifies his procedure in cutting the original text by half on the ground of making it meaningful to American readers, adding that he has deleted material well known to the latter, and cooled the rhetoric. While this operation has been performed skilfully enough for the reader to be almost unaware of any excisions, it is hard to accept Lensen's justification, and one must assume that he is more concerned with informing the American public about the Soviet point of view than with the book as a work of scholarship. Presumably Kutakov must have shared this sense of priorities; otherwise it would be difficult to understand how an author could be willing to sacrifice half of his argument when serious consideration of his analysis must to some extent depend on a demonstration of its wider consistency. Scholars without a command of Russian, however, will doubtless feel that they have been deprived of substantial parts of what is presumably the major Soviet study in its field. The editor's introduction unfortunately does not specify what parts have been cut, so it is impossible to know whether the original contained an assessment of the forces which influenced Japanese foreign policy. The regrettable absence from the present book of a general introduction incorporating such an assessment, however, reinforces the feeling that the title is a misnomer, Great Power relations in East Asia being a more accurate description of the contents. In this context it is worth noting that the seven-volume *Taihei'yō sensō e no michi*, the most substantial work on Japanese foreign policy between the 1920's and 1941, is one of a considerable number of important books not listed in Kutakov's bibliography. Omissions of this kind constitute one more reason why this book is likely to prove disappointing to scholars even if it achieves its other educational purpose.

R. L. SIMS

JAMES A. MATISOFF: *The Loloish tonal split revisited*. (Research Monograph No. 7.) viii, 88 pp. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, 1972.

Professor Matisoff's original 'visit' was made in 1970, and reported on in 'Glottal dissimilation and the Lahu high-rising tone: a tonogenetic case-study', *JAS*, xc, 1, 1970,

13-44; a further visit, in 1971 ('The tonal split in Loloish checked syllables', *Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics*, II, article 4) has now been succeeded by the present study. The main reason for this third visit is to examine further the problem that arises from twofold or threefold tonal differentiation in certain Lolo lexical items as compared with the absence of tonal differentiation from their Burmese 'checked-syllable' cognates, and 'to determine just what the conditioning factors for the split may have been'; it continues his study of 'tonogenesis'.

The book falls into two parts: in part I (pp. i-viii, 1-29) Matisoff states, or re-states, the case for attributing the tonal split in 'checked syllables' to a syllable-initial voicing distinction in Proto-Lolo-Burmese (PLB); in part II (pp. 31-71) he expands the earlier evidence from 'fewer than fifty illustrative cognate sets' to 'nearly two hundred'.

Each of these 192 sets of cognates applies to a PLB lexical item in *p, *t, or *k, i.e. a reconstructed 'checked-syllable' lexical item. Matisoff's first step is to isolate certain lexical items, in each of the 15 Loloish languages studied, using as his criterion the presence of a syllable-final stop (?) in at least one of those languages; for some of the cognates in each set have a vowel in syllable-final position, accompanied, for some of them, by 'laryngealization of the vowel' or 'glottal constriction'. His second step is to consider the question of tonal differentiation in the 'checked-syllable' sets of lexical items that he has isolated.

This practice of isolating so-called 'abrupt', 'checked', or 'stop-finalled' lexical items in Burmese and Lolo (and in Chinese too, for that matter), and dealing with them, from the point of view of tonal distinctions, on a completely different footing from nasal-final and vowel-final lexical items, was pioneered by J. R. Firth, in J. A. Stewart's *An introduction to colloquial Burmese*, Rangoon, 1936, in which Burmese lexical items such as these are described as having 'the abrupt tone', since when it has become almost traditional, largely, perhaps, because a single symbol (Firth used ?) has the orthographic advantage of symbolizing syllable-final segmental features, vowel-duration features, and syllable pitch features simultaneously. Tradition, however, and orthographic convenience, should not be allowed to exempt this practice from scrutiny. It is important to note that it gives segmental features (syllable-final consonant features) priority over suprasegmental features (pitch features), with the result that the pitch-based distinction whereby other lexical items are classified, in Burmese, for example, as 'high-

tone' or 'low-tone', is assumed not to extend to 'abrupt' (or 'stop-finalled') syllables, though, in fact, the pitch behaviour of this type of lexical item (apart from particles) is almost identical with that of 'high-tone' lexical items, both vowel-final and nasal-final. This practice also tends to obscure the distinction between syllable-final consonant and tone, to the disadvantage of Lolo-Burmese reconstruction; for the stop-final feature (and its phonetic alternatives in varying types of junction) becomes identified with a so-called tone—'Burmese checked (or stop-finalled) syllables are all under the same tone (the so-called "fourth" tone of modern Burmese' (p. 3)—with the result that the current-Burmese reflex of PLB *p, *t, and *k is—unnecessarily—made to appear to be a tone. There is a perfectly satisfactory set of complementarily distributed syllable-final consonants available in modern Burmese to function as their reflex; and the so-called fourth tone merely usurps, or duplicates, that function. In Burmese, at least, there is a good case, in my view, for disentangling syllable-final-consonant features from tonal statement; and this leads me to wonder whether Matisoff might not, on some future 'visit', find it advantageous not to isolate his 'checked'-syllable sets of cognates from the same pitch-based criteria as he applies to the tonal analysis of his other lexical items, but to apply a single tonal analysis to all Lolo lexical items regardless of whether they belong to a 'checked'-syllable set of cognates, and then relate each of his new tonal categories to his categories 'checked' and non-'checked'. It might well turn out to be more important to know how far the pitch features of the 'checked'-syllable sets of cognates resemble those of the various tone classes into which other lexical items have been put than to know whether they can be analysed, in isolation from other types of lexical item, into two or more tone categories, or, like Burmese, into none.

When Matisoff writes 'almost all Loloish languages for which adequate tonal data are available show a two- or three-way contrast in checked syllables' (p. 3), it is important to realize that he is not necessarily referring here to (phonetic) stop-final lexical items in the current languages but rather to all lexical items, in those languages, that have a reflex of his reconstructed PLB 'checked'-syllable category (*checked). In fact only a minority of the relevant types of syllable in the 11 languages that he terms 'Lahoid' (pp. 8-10) appears to be 'checked' (or stop-final) in a phonetic sense. Here, and elsewhere, Matisoff's written style is apt to conflate different *états de langue*, as though he saw the reconstructed past so clearly in the audible present that the

reader could not fail to follow him. As one of a number of examples of the interpenetration of the actual (and attested) and the reconstructed (and speculative) I might take the following sentence: 'LAHU - - : LOW syllables are under the low-checked tone 21s (written '̣'), unless they had a PLB *glottalized initial, in which case they are under the high-rising tone 35 (written '̣̣)' (p. 8). Such sentences seem to imply that a contemporary spoken language such as Lahu can be said to *have* a reconstructed form such as '*glottalized initial', and even a form attributed to PLB which must pre-date Proto-Loloïd and Proto-Lahoid. Furthermore, Matisoff's '*glottalized initial' is a reconstruction, and may, therefore, fall a victim to his repeated re-examinations of Lolo data. For the *habitué* there is no problem; but other readers might welcome a less compressed form of statement, something like the following, in which different stages, both attested and reconstructed, are strictly distinguished: the Lahu reflex of Proto-Loloïsh *LOW in *checked syllables is: (i) the high-rising tone (a 35 pitch rise combined with final vowel) for lexical items whose syllable initial is a reflex of a PLB *glottalized initial (a voiceless spirant, a plain stop, or zero initial); (ii) the low-checked tone (a 21 pitch fall combined with final glottal stop) for lexical items whose syllable initials are a reflex of a PLB initial other than *glottalized.

The complex of features stated as the reflex of Proto-Loloïsh *LOW in the preceding paragraph, comprising syllable features (pitch) and syllable-final features (vowel-final versus stop-final), illuminate Matisoff's remark, in the 'Preface', that 'there is something about the tightly structured nature of the syllable in monosyllabic languages which favors such a shift in contrastive function from one phonological feature of the syllable to the other' (p. v); indeed, even reconstructed syllable-initial units, such as his Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) and PLB prefixed spirantal initial *C-s and his PTB and PLB voiceless spirantal initial *s (pp. 22-4), e.g. '123 BREATH/AIR/AFFLATUS - - - PLB *C-sak' (p. 55) and '115 ROUGH - - - PLB *sak' (p. 54), draw on syllable features and syllable-final features for their reflexes, in Lahu *sá* and *sá?* respectively, as well as on syllable-initial features. The syllable-initial component of the reflex is comprised in the simple syllable initial *s* for *C-s and *s alike; it is in the syllable-final component and the syllable component of their reflexes that *C-s and *s are distinguished: 'high-rising tone' for *C-s and 'high-checked' for *s (it will be recalled that the names of these tones are made to cover syllable-final features, vowel-final v. stop-final, as well as syllable pitch features, 35 v. 54).

Matisoff finds it useful to separate the study of examples containing 'spirantal initials' (pp. 22-4, 54-6), illustrated in the preceding paragraph, from those containing 'stop initials' (pp. 5-22, 30-53), 'nasal initials' (pp. 25, 57-63) and 'resonant(al) initials' (pp. 25-6, 64-70), because of differences between them as regards voicing, aspiration, and prefixation. In the 'stop-final' section his latest 'visit' has prompted him to replace the former labels of three of his PLB categories, *plain, *aspirated, and *voiced, by *voiced, *plain [*aspirated], and *prenasalized respectively. The change of label for these three reconstruction categories is due to the realistic, and phonetic, view that he takes of the reconstructed initial segments assigned to these three categories. In order to make the change he is obliged to abandon the fixed phonetic value that he had formerly assigned to 'plain'—voicelessness combined with non-aspiration—in favour of the value voicelessness combined with aspiration; and he thereby deprives 'plain' of much of its usefulness. It is difficult to see why he should find this change of meaning to be necessary, though he defends it by suggesting that it is 'typologically unsound' to have a manner opposition with marked members but no unmarked member. Possibly it is the markedness concept that should be regarded as 'typologically unsound', or, alternatively, perhaps it is inadvisable to attribute a phonetic significance to the labels '*voiced', etc., that he attaches to each category.

Matisoff's highly phonetic approach to reconstruction extends to the Written Tibetan (WT) prefixes *g-*, *d-*, *b-*, *r-*, and *l-*, which he describes as 'voiced', though no contrast of voice with voicelessness is possible for this type of unit, and, further, and possibly for that reason, the corresponding sounds in current Tibetan dialects alternate voice with voicelessness in association with voice and voicelessness as features of the following sound. Matisoff then goes on to speculate that the voice feature that he attributes to *C- (used as a cover term for all those PTB 'prefixes' which have WT *g-*, *d-*, *b-*, *r-*, and *l-* as their reflexes) forced that voice feature on formerly voiceless following root-initial consonants, giving rise, at a later stage (Proto-Loloïsh), to a *LOW tone rather than the *HIGH that one might otherwise have expected from the voicelessness of the root-initial.

The fact that the voicing position in current Tibetan is the reverse of Matisoff's assumption for WT—that, if anything, it is the root-initial that has forced its voice or voicelessness on the prefix—encouraged me to examine closely the 16 supporting cognate sets contained in his section 'Prefixed voiceless stops'

(pp. 33-6). Only four of these are, in fact, directly relevant to his '*C-t/k/p', two of them being sets for 'one' and 'six'. The WT cognate for the former, *gcig*, is in the 'high' class in the Reading-style pronunciation of WT; the WT cognate for the latter, *drug*, is, admittedly, in the Reading Style's 'low' class; but I see no need to follow Matisoff in reconstructing a *d prefix for this set, as in his PTB '*d-krok'. The clue to the alternation of the initial velarity supported by his Lahu form *khɔ̃ʔ*, and implied by the *kh-* of Written-Burmese (WB) *khrok*, with the initial alveolarity of the Reading-style pronunciation of WT *dr-* is probably to be sought in the process of alveolarization (**ʈr dr**), in the Reading Style and in most current Tibetan dialects, of former rhotacized velar initials (**kʀ gr**), extant in Khamalu Balti, e.g. **kʀtm**, **grɔ̃**: 'law, village' (*khirms*, *grong*; Reading Style, and Lhasa, **-ʈʀtm**, **-ʈʀɔ̃**). This alveolarization is, fortunately for the comparatist, post-orthographic; but an earlier, and pre-orthographic, process of alveolarizing rhotacized velar initials is suggested by the remarkable success of this process in Tibetan, together with a comparison of WT *dr-* with the velar initial of Lahu *khɔ̃ʔ* and the *kh-* of WB *khrok*, further supported by rhotacized velar initials in the Northern Monpa dialect of Tibetan, e.g. **grɔ** 'six' (*drug*), **krocin** 'early morning' (*dro-*). The evidence for PTB '*C-t/k/p' as a source of Proto-Loloish *Low is, therefore, in need of strengthening; it will be interesting to see whether further 'visits' bring further evidence to light.

Certainly, each of Matisoff's 'visits' hitherto has produced either new material or an encouraging new deployment of previous material; he has made the study of the Lolo languages one of the 'growth points' of Sino-Tibetan comparison.

R. K. SPRIGG

N. F. ALIYEVA and others: *Grammatika indonezijskogo yazyka*, [by] N. F. Aliyeva, V. D. Arakin, A. K. Ogloblin, Yu. Kh. Sirk. (Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Institut Vostokovedeniya.) 462 pp. + errata slip. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', 1972. Rbls. 2.68.

This book is not only the first formal grammar of *Bahasa Indonesia* written by Russian linguists, but also one of the longest and fullest modern grammars of Indonesian in any language. The language it sets out to describe is literary Bahasa Indonesia, the earliest quoted source dating from the 1920's, the latest from 1963.

The introductory chapter describes Bahasa

Indonesia's place in the Austronesian family, its main characteristics, historical development, and relationship with peninsular Malay, and then outlines the history of the study of the language in Western Europe, Indonesia, and the Soviet Union. There follows a chapter on orthography, most of it rendered obsolete by the August 1972 spelling reform. A 50 pp. chapter on phonetics covers not only articulation, the phonemic inventory, syllabic structure, intonation, etc., but also regional differences in pronunciation, with particular attention to those of Javanese-speakers. The chapter on lexicon discusses the main sources of word borrowing, and analyses the processes of word formation by affixation, duplication, and compounding.

The morphological analysis proposes a scheme in which the bulk of Indonesian words are divided into content-words and function-words. The latter are further divided into full content-words and pro-forms, which include pronouns and verbal, adjectival, and numeral pro-forms. Full content-words are grouped into two main word classes, nominals and predicatives, according to such criteria as collocability with *yang*, *tidak*, and certain numerals and prepositions, the question of a separate word class for adverbs being discussed and left undecided. Numerals and indefinite quantifiers are grouped separately from the two main word classes. Predicatives are sub-classified into transitive and intransitive verbs, and adjectives. The formal criteria for this division seem satisfactory, except that on p. 118 simple intransitive verbs (e.g. *dalang*) are mistakenly alleged to differ from adjectives by their inability to function as attribute without *yang*. As this disagrees with the table on p. 112 listing the characteristics of the three subclasses, it was doubtless a slip of the pen. The semantically based sub-grouping of simple intransitive verbs on pp. 119-21 is open to the criticism that the groups are vaguely defined and overlap. For example, *timbul* 'emerge' in group 1 might just as well have been put in group 2 (verbs denoting changes from one condition to another) which contains two other verbs with the meaning 'emerge' (*muncul* and *berbit*). There is a similar overlapping of groups 1 and 4 in the semantic sub-classification of *me-* prefixed intransitive verbs on pp. 130-1. For transitive verbs, active, passive, and middle voices are distinguished on morphological grounds. (Examples of the middle voice are *bercukur*, *berhias*, *berjual kain*.)

The category of aspect in verbs receives careful attention, and the various means of denoting completeness, incompleteness, repetition, prolongation, and other aspects of action are described. Especially illuminating is the discussion of the aspectual meanings of verbal