THAI

REFERENCE GRAMMAR

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FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

1964

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PREFACE

Standard Thai, the subject of this reference grammar, is the national spoken language of Thailand and at the same time an educated variety of the dialect of Bangkok, to some extent also of the entire Central Plains region of the country. As such it is the most widely known representative of the Tai language family, which extends from southern China to the Malay peninsula and includes present-day speakers in all the countries of Mainland Southeast Asia. Standard Thai, along with its written counterpart, is known to some extent to nearly all the people of Thailand, and it enjoys some status as secondary language in neighboring countries as well. As is the case with many national languages, it is difficult to state the actual number of native speakers. The usual estimate of 18,000,000 is probably accurate.

The linguist responsible for all phases of the reference grammar project has been Richard B. Noss. The present work is a greatly revised and expanded version of his dissertation, 'An Outline of Siamese Grammar,' Yale, 1954. The original research was made possible by concurrent grants from the Yale Southeast Asia Program and the American Council of Learned Societies. The revision and publication was supported by the U.S. Office of Education through a grant to the Foreign Service Institute. Some of the additional research on which this revision is based was done in Thailand in 1961, when Dr. Noss was serving as a Regional Language Supervisor in Southeast Asia for the Foreign Service Institute.

Names of principal informants consulted for the study will be found in the Introduction (p. 3). They include two other FSI staff members: Mr. Prasert Crupiti and Miss Chotchoi Kambhu.

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 Purpose and Method

The purpose of the present work is to outline the main structural features of standard spoken Thai, the official language of Thailand, and also to elaborate by sub-classification and example those structural features which are least covered by existing grammars and dictionaries. In this latter category are the numerous minor form-classes of Thai ('sign-words,' 'functional words,' 'empty morphs,' etc.) consisting of lexical items whose arrangement and conditions of occurrence are not easily described in terms of quickly-understood grammatical labels, and whose largely non-referential meanings are not easily translated, or translatable only in terms so broad as to be almost meaningless. An index of these minor form-class members is provided at the end of the grammar.

The approach to classification of grammatical features attempts to follow current techniques of American descriptive linguistics of the 'item-and-arrangement' school. Certain insights directly attributable to other grammatical techniques (transformational, traditional, etc.) have been exploited, but the results are presented in terms of morphemes and order. From the point of view of general method and specific categories the most useful hints have been gleaned from descriptions of languages with structures similar to Thai. It would be impossible to mention all of them, but two were outstanding in this respect: The work of Charles F. Hockett on Chinese (Peiping) and William A. Smalley's 'Outline of Khmu? Structure.'

0.2. Scope

Standard spoken Thai, the subject of this grammar, is not simply the audible version of a nationally accepted written language. As an oral manifestation, in fact, it has no official sanction of any kind. But it is the language of communications media, the desired if not actual medium of instruction in public schools throughout Thailand, and the prestige dialect, representing the speech habits of the majority of educated speakers, regardless of origin. Those who are not born to it adapt to it, or suffer the consequences. Perhaps even more important, it is what foreigners learn: standard spoken Thai enjoys considerable status as a second language in Laos, and some status even in parts of Cambodia and Burma.

The regional dialect most closely resembling the standard language is that spoken in the geographical area of Thailand called the Central Plain.

This dialect centers around Bangkok, the capital. It extends to the west as far as the Burmese border, and to the southwest at least as far as Ratchaburi; to the north and northeast it is generally bounded by mountains, but can be found as far away as Pitsanuloke; the eastern limit is the Cambodian border, including the whole section of Thailand which is east of the Gulf of Siam. Except for some islands of non-Thai speakers, the central and most populous portion of the country is thus entirely blanketed by native speakers of a dialect close to the standard spoken language.

The principal isoglosses separating the Central Plains dialect from its neighbors to the south, north, and northeast involve the phonetic shapes and phonemic distribution of tones. Consonant and vowel correspondences play an important, but lesser role. There are also considerable differences among the dialects in lexicon, but apparently very few in syntax. At this date it is probably safe to say that no native speaker of Thai within the borders of Thailand proper has much difficulty in understanding either the Central Plains dialect or the standard spoken language, given a short period of adjustment. Ability to speak standard Thai, in all areas, varies with the extent of formal education, social status, and contacts with other groups through work or travel.

On the phonetic level, the principal difference between the standard language and the Central Plains dialect is the /r/ - /l/ distinction. As a legitimate phoneme of a colloquial Thai dialect, /r/ probably does not exist above the Malay peninsula. In the Central Plains dialect, [r] exists only as an unpredictable variant of the /l/ phoneme, alone and in clusters. Most speakers of the standard language make the distinction a phonemic one, but vary as to the lexical items to which /r/ and /l/ are assigned. In the present work the choice between the two phonemes is made arbitrarily, but in accordance with dictionary spellings wherever possible.

0.3. Sources

Two separate periods of field research in Thailand were involved in the preparation of this grammar, 1950-52 and the summer of 1961. The first research work was undertaken with the help of concurrent grants from the Southeast Asia Program of Yale University and the American Council of Learned Societies, and the results were submitted in 1954 as a Yale dissertation entitled 'An Outline of Siamese Grammar.' The second period of research came during a tour of duty by the author as FSI Regional Language Supervisor for Southeast Asia, with a contract between FSI and the Office of Education for the production of a Thai reference grammar as a stimulus. It was decided to take the original dissertation as a basis for the grammar and expand it, and

the summer of 1961 was devoted to testing the analysis, shoring up the weak spots, and collecting further examples.

The specific informants consulted for this study included speakers of the Central Plains (CP) dialect as well as standard (ST) speakers, both in Thailand and the United States. CP informants were interviewed entirely in Thai, and ST informants partly in Thai and partly in English. A list of the principal informants follows with their backgrounds and time and place of interviews indicated.

1. Mr. Han Ditkum, student at Royal Military Academy, Bangkok, 1951-52 (CP, Ayuthya Province)

2. Miss Chaluay Kanchanagama, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 1951-52 (ST)

3. Mr. Chote Raktiprakara, graduate student, Yale University, New Haven, 1953-54 (ST)

4. Mrs. William J. Gedney, wife of American linguist, Bangkok, 1951-52, and New Haven, 1954. (CP, Ayuthya Province)

5. Mrs. Churee Indaniyom, employee of AUA Language Center, Bangkok, 1961 (ST)

6. Mr. Prasert Crupiti, instructor, FSI Language School, Washington, 1962-63 (CP, Chantaburi Province, and ST)

7. Miss Chotchoi Kambhu, instructor, FSI Language School, Washington, 1962-63 (ST)

Of modern descriptive work on Thai, the most frequently consulted publications have been those of Mary R. Haas, especially her Spoken Thai (with Heng R. Subhanka, Henry Holt and Co., 1945). Many original conclusions of Dr. Haas, including the broad outline of phonemic analysis itself, of necessity recur in the present work, and it is impossible to determine which parts of the analysis are original here and which are merely logical extensions of conclusions implicit in her pedagogical work. The same could be said of the unpublished but equally valuable suggestions of Dr. William J. Gedney, whose guidance in the original research project and later has considerable relevance to whatever appears on these pages.

A number of descriptive studies of Thai by linguistically-oriented Thai speakers, some of them graduate students at American universities, have been done recently, but their findings have not been incorporated, explicitly or implicitly, in the present work.

CHAPTER I

PHONOLOGY

1.1. Background

In general, the phonemic analysis of the segmental features of stand-
ard spoken Thai (ST) follows the solution proposed by Haas and Subhanka in
Spoken Thai (1945). This choice was made for two reasons: 1) the solution
is basically sound, and differs only minimally, and in mutually convertible
fashion, from any more economical alternative solution (such as the one pro-
posed in Outline of Siamese Grammar), and 2) as a transcription system for
ST, it has already achieved a wide acceptance, and occurs in a number of other
publications on Thai (including the FSI Basic Course). The only departures,
as far as symbolization is concerned, are the writing of long vowels with
double vowel symbols instead of vowels plus raised dot, as in Spoken Thai,
the absence of a symbol for glottal stop (written /ʔ/ in Spoken Thai, deter-
mined by the presence of stress in the present analysis) and the writing of
short diphthongs with /-ə/ instead of /-aʔ/.

The important departures from the Haas analysis involve prosodic
features: tones, stress, rhythm, and intonation. The present analysis pro-
poses six ST tones, instead of five. But even here, the four Haas tone sym-
bols, plus the unmarked tone, have been retained to correspond with five of
the six tones; only one new tone symbol, /~/, has been added. For the re-
maining prosodic categories, the Spoken Thai system has no symbolization,
except perhaps the ambiguous implications of space or lack of space between
syllables, and undefined punctuation marks. The symbols used here for stress,
rhythm, and intonation phenomena, then, are all new and correlate with spe-
cific phases of the complete phonemic analysis which follows.

1.2. Summary

1.2.1. Phonological Units

Within the ST utterance, the following phonologically significant
subdivisions occur: the clause, the phrase, and the syllable. Clauses are
characterized by intonation contours and junctures, of which there are two
types each. Phrases are characterized by rhythmic patterns, involving rel-
ative syllable-durations of six distinct kinds. Syllables are characterized
by stress contours, of which there are six types. Phonemes of all the above
categories are prosodic phonemes.

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Within the syllable, there are four types of component: initial, nucleus, final, and tone. Consonant phonemes result from the analysis of initial and final components, vowel phonemes from nuclear components, and tone phonemes from tonal components. These are all <u>syllabic phonemes</u>.

In the summary and the individual phoneme listings, syllabic contrasts are presented first, followed by prosodic contrasts.

1.2.2   Initial Contrasts

There are twenty contrasting initials of one segment each, eleven common initials of two segments each, plus zero initial, making a total of 32 contrasts.

/bâa/	'crazy'	/laa/	'donkey'
/pàa/	'forest'	/râab/	'flat'
/pràab/	'subdue'	/caan/	'plate'
/plaa/	'fish'	/chaam/	'bowl'
/phâa/	'cloth'	/jaa/	'medicine'
/phraan/	'hunter'	/kaa/	'teapot'
/phlâad/	'slip'	/kràab/	'prostrate'
/fáa/	'sky'	/klâa/	'bold'
/maa/	'come'	/kwàa/	'more'
/dàa/	'curse'	/khraaw/	'occasion'
/taa/	'eye'	/khláaɟ/	'similar'
/traa/	'stamp'	/khwăa/	'right side'
/thaa/	'daub'	/hâa/	'five'
/săam/	'three'	/ŋaa/	'tusk'
/naa/	'field'	/âa/	'open the jaws'

1.2.3.   Nuclear Contrasts

There are nine contrasting nuclei of one segment each (short vowels), nine geminate two-segment nuclei (long vowels), and five nuclei consisting of different segments (diphthongs), for a total of 23 contrasts. Three diphthongs are long (those ending in /a/), and two are short (ending in /ə/). There is no zero nucleus.

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Long Nuclei		Short Nuclei	
/lìɪg/	'bypass'	/phlíɪg/	'turn over'
/rîag/	'call'	/kíə/	'wooden shoes'
/lêeg/	'number'	/lég/	'small'
/lɛ̂ɛg/	'exchange'	/kɛ́g/	'sharp sound'
/lyym/	'forget'	/lýg/	'deep'
/lŷag/	'choose'		
/lɨ̂əg/	'quit'	/ŋən/	'silver'
/lâag/	'haul'	/lág/	'steal'
/lûug/	'child'	/lúg/	'get up'
/lûag/	'parboil'	/cúəg/	'pure-white'
/lôog/	'world'	/nóg/	'bird'
/lɔ̂ɔg/	'peel'	/kɔ̀/	'island'

1.2.4. Final Contrasts

There are eight common contrasting finals of one segment each, plus zero final, making a total of 9 contrasts.

/dàb/ 'extinguish'   /dàd/ 'straighten'   /dàg/ 'net'

/dam/ 'black'   /dan/ 'push'   /daŋ/ 'loud'

/daw/ 'guess'   /dà/ 'plunge ahead'   /daɟ/ 'any'

1.2.5 Tonal Contrasts

There are six contrasting tones, four of them relatively level in contour, one falling, and one rising. There is no zero tone.

Level		Oblique	
/khãw/	'he'	/khâw/	'enter'
/kháw/	'feature'		
/khaw-rób/	'respect'	/khǎw/	'hill'
/khàw/	'knee'		

1.2.6. Stress Contrasts

There are six contrasting stress contours occurring on individual syllables, three of them sustained (level of loudness peaking toward middle, then dying out slowly) and three diminishing (level of loudness greatest at beginning of syllable, dying out rapidly).

Sustained		Diminishing	
/ˌmaa:/	'Of course (it) came!'	/ˌmaa/	'C'mere!'
/'maa:/	'(It) came, (but)'	/'maa/	'(It) came.'
/maa:/	'..., Mah.'	/maa/	'up to now.'

(The last two examples, with the translations 'Mah,' a man's name used vocatively, and 'up to now,' a functional word that follows verbs, do not occur in isolation as do the first four examples.)

1.2.7. Rhythmic Contrasts

There are six distinguishable degrees of relative syllable-length within an utterance, three of which are determined by stress and intonation features, two of which are in contrast, plus the shortest length which is interpreted as zero duration. The first five relative durations are illustrated with a syllable /'mii/ taken from larger contexts, in descending order of length.

/'mii:↑./	'Yes, there are.'
/'mii./	'There are.'
/'mii: naa./	'There are, you know.'
/'mii 'naa./	'There are fields.'
/'mii-'naa./	'The month of March.'

The last two examples illustrate direct rhythmic contrast. Zero duration occurs in the syllable /mi/ in the following:

/'thy̌ŋ-mi'naa./ 'Until March.'

1.2.8 Intonational Contrasts

Portions of utterances have two contrasting types of intonation contour: 1) high pitch-line, in which the absolute pitch-range of each kind of tone remains roughly the same from one end of the clause to the other, and is relatively high, and 2) falling pitch-line, in which the absolute pitch-range drops steadily. The effect is most easily audible

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when all syllables in the utterance-portion have the same tone (in this case mid tone):

   1) 'chaaw-'naa kam-laŋ 'jiŋ 'plaa naj-'khuu ↑.
     'The farmer is shooting the fish in the pond!'

   2) 'chaaw-'naa kam-laŋ 'mooŋ 'plaa naj-'khuu.
     'The farmer is looking at the fish in the pond.'

The second contour is analyzed as zero intonation.

 Utterance-portions are separated in two ways: 1) by resumption of pitch-line at a lower level, 2) by resumption of the pitch-line at a higher level. When the first portion has falling pitch-line, and the resumption is at a low level, there must be pause /·/; otherwise a single intonation contour results. The same is true of a high-pitch-line portion with resumption at a high level.

 In the following pair of utterances, the utterance-portions are identical (all have falling intonation), and the contrast is in the juncture alone. Example 1) is 'close juncture,' written /·/, and Example 2) is 'open juncture,' written /·|̂/.

   1) 'sŷa tua-'níi: rěə . khun 'sàj 'mŷa-khyyn-'níi.
     'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

   2) 'sŷa tua-'níi: rěə .|̂ khun 'sàj 'mŷa-khyyn-'níi.
     'Is this the coat? You wore it last night.'

Since both portions may have either of the two intonation contours, and the separation may be by either of the two junctures, there are eight possible intonation-sequences for this particular pair of utterance portions (see 1.6.3).

1.3. Consonants

1.3.1. General

 The 21 consonant phonemes of ST are defined schematically as follow:

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Other
Unaspirated Lenis Stops	/b/	/d/		/g/	
Aspirated Lenis Stops	/ph/	/th/	/ch/	/kh/	
Fortis Stops	/p/	/t/	/c/	/k/	
Nasal Continuants	/m/	/n/		/ŋ/	
Oral Continuants	/w/	/l/	/j/		/r/
Spirants	/f/	/s/			/h/

All consonant phonemes except /g/ are in contrast in initial position. The oral continuants /w/, /l/, and /r/ are in multiple contrast as second members of initial clusters. All the unaspired lenis stops /b d g/, all the nasal continuants /m n ŋ/, and two of the oral continuants, /w/ and /ɟ/, are in multiple contrast in final position. Other consonants occur infrequently as second members of clusters and in final position; these occurrences are noted as 'rare' under the individual phoneme headings.

Fortis glottal stop [ʔ] occurs in both initial and final positions, but is not a phoneme. Its initial occurrence is determined by the onset of either stress phoneme, /'/ or /ꞏ/, on any vowel nucleus (i.e., when no other initial consonant is present); its final occurrence is determined by the cessation of either stress phoneme on any <u>short</u> vowel nucleus (i.e. when no other final consonant is present, and the vowel is short).

1.3.2. Allophonic Sets

Certain allophonic generalizations are applicable to whole sets of consonants in certain environments:

1) The final consonants listed as 'unreleased,' /b, d, g/, are slowly released and may partly overlap with a following sound; they are completely unreleased before /./.

2) The other final consonants, /m n ŋ w ɟ/, have weak, short allophones after long vowels and strong, long allophones after short vowels.

3) The fortis stops /p t k/ (but not /c/), the nasals /m n ŋ/, and the spirants /f s h/ are slightly velarized before the high vowels /ɪ y u/; other initial consonants partly assimilate to these vowels.

4) All initial consonants listed as 'voiceless' may be partially voiced in rapid speech when they follow a voiced sound and precede an unstressed vowel: e.g. /ph/ in /'făa-pha'năŋ/ 'wall' and /t/ in /'aw-ta'puu/ 'take a nail.'

5) All final consonants listed as 'voiced' approach voicelessness at the end of a syllable with loud diminuendo stress: /ɟ/ in /ꞏpaɟ./ 'Let's go.'

6) The consonants which occur as second members of clusters, /w l r/, are voiced after unaspirated stops but voiceless (at least at the beginning) after aspirated stops: /'plɛɛ/ 'translate' (voiced /l/), /'phlɛ̌ɛ/ 'wound' (voiceless /l/).

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1.3.3. <u>Labial</u> <u>Consonants</u>

/b/ Unaspirated lenis stop.

      Always bilabial, with full closure. <u>As initial</u> - fully
voiced, with voice beginning well before closure is released:
/'bâa/ 'crazy.' Under heavy stress, and occasionally under
normal stress, slightly imposive: /!bâa:/. (Variant: pre-
nasalized.)

      <u>As final</u> - unreleased, normally voiceless: /'ráb/ 'take.'
Occasionally voiced, especially after long, high vowel: /'rîib/
'hurry.' First in cluster (rare) -- voiced: /'bry̌y/ 'extremely
fast.'

/ph/ Aspirated lenis stop.

<u>As initial</u>-voiceless, always bilabial, with complete or near-
complete but loose closure: /'phâa/ 'cloth.'
<u>First in cluster</u> - same, with less aspiration: /'phrɛɛ/ 'silk
cloth.

/p/ Fortis stop.

      <u>As initial</u>-voiceless, unaspirated. Bilabial, with closed
lips held tightly against teeth for sharp, clean release: /'pâa/
'aunt.' Variant, for some speakers: labio-dental stop.
      <u>First in cluster</u> - same: /'plaa/ 'fish.'

/m/ Nasal continuant.

      Always bilabial, with full closure. <u>As initial</u> - fully
voiced, fortis, with lips against teeth (percussion from release
sometimes audible): /'maa/ 'come.'
      <u>As final</u> - lenis, voiced strongly: /'dam/ 'black,' weakly:
/'chaam/ 'bowl,' partly voiceless: /âj !dam/ (calling a dog
named 'Blackie.')

/w/ Oral continuant.

      Normally bilabial, with at least some aperture, lenis. <u>As</u>
<u>initial</u> - fully voiced, with narrow aperture and simultaneous
dorsal humping (but no protrusion of lips as in /uu/): /'wâa/
'say.' Often has audible friction, especially before high
vowels: /'wǐi/ 'comb.' <u>Second in cluster</u> - same, overlapping
first member of cluster, but without dorsal humping, voiced:
/'kwàa/ 'more,' partly voiceless, some friction: /'khwǎa/ 'right
side.'

Variant for some speakers, first two positions only:
voiced labiodental spirant. As final - with wider aperture,
less dorsal humping, some protrusion, no friction, voiced
strongly; /'raw/ 'we,' weakly: /'raaw/ 'approximately,' partly
voiceless: /ɹaw/ 'Take it!'

/f/ Spirant.

Voiceless, high-friction, normally labio-dental. As init-
ial - fortis: /'fáa/ 'sky.' Variant for a few speakers:
bilabial, with very narrow aperture. As final (rare) - lenis:
/'chẽef/ 'Chevrolet.' First in cluster (rare) - lenis, less
friction: /'frii/ 'without cost.'

1.3.4. Dental Consonants

/d/ Unaspirated lenis stop.

Broad tongue-tip contact with backs of upper teeth; tip
may also touch gums.
As initial - fully voiced, with voice beginning well before
tongue-tip is withdrawn: /'dàa/ 'curse.' Under heavy stress,
and occasionally under normal stress, slightly implosive: /'dii:/
'Sure, it's good!' (Variant: pre-nasalized.)
As final - unreleased, normally voiceless: /'ród/ 'car.'
Occasionally voiced, especially after long high vowel: /'mŷyd/
'dark.' First in cluster (rare) voiced: /'dráɹ/ 'drive (golf
or automatic transmission)'

/th/ Aspirated lenis stop.

As initial - voiceless, always apɔco-dental, with complete
but loose contact: /'thâa/ 'landing-place.'
First in cluster (rare) - same, with less aspiration:
/'thruu-'mɛɛn/ 'Truman.'

/t/ Fortis stop.

Voiceless, unaspirated.
As initial - apico-dental, with tip held tensely against
teeth for sharp, clean release: /'taa/ 'eye.'
Variant, for some speakers: interdental stop. First in
cluster:-apico-alveolar: /'traa/ 'stamp.'

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/n/   Nasal continuant.

      Always apico-dental, with broad contact. As <u>initial</u> -
fully voiced, fortis, with firm contact against teeth: /'nâa/
'face.'

      As <u>final</u> - lenis, voiced strongly: /'kan/ 'to ward off,' ·
weakly: /'kaan/ 'affairs,' partly voiceless: /ǃdan/ 'Push!'

      Allophone in close juncture with initial /l/ in following
syllable - nasalized lateral: /'phŏn-lã'máaj/ 'fruit.'

      Allophone in close juncture with initial /r/ in following
syllable - nasalized apico-alveolar flap: /'man-rã'jâad/ 'man-
ners.'

      Allophone in close juncture with initial /j/ in following
syllable - palatal nasal: /'pan-'jaa/ 'brains.'

/l/   Oral continuant.

      Normally apico-dental lateral, with aperture on both sides
of tongue, lenis.

      As <u>initial</u> - fully voiced, no audible friction, no dorsal
humping: /'laa/ 'donkey.'

      <u>Second in cluster</u> - same, overlapping first member of
cluster, voiced: /'plaa/ 'fish,' partly voiceless, some fric-
tion: /'phleeŋ/ 'song.'

      Variant for some speakers, first two positions only:
apico-alveolar lateral.

      As <u>final</u> (rare, few speakers) - apico-dental lateral:
/'bil/ 'Bill.'

/s/   Spirant·

      Voiceless, high-friction, normally apico-dental groove.
As <u>initial</u> - fortis: /'săam/ 'three.'

      As <u>final</u> (rare) - lenis: /'nîs-'săj/ 'characteristics.'

      <u>First in cluster</u> (rare) - lenis, less friction: /'staaŋ/
'money.'

1.3.5. <u>Palatal Consonants</u>

/ch/ Aspirated lenis stop (or voiceless spirant).

      Initial position only. Voiceless, normally with loose
contact of tongue-blade with forward portion of hard palate:
/'chaam/ 'bowl.'

      Variant: slit spirant in same position.
      Variant: palatalized apico-alveolar stop.

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/c/   Fortis stop

        Initial position only. Voiceless, unaspirated, with firm contact of tongue-blade and hard palate: /ˈcaan/ 'dish.'
        Variant: palatalized apico-alveolar stop.

/ɟ/   Oral continuant.

        Normally high-front semivowel, lenis.
        As <u>initial</u> - fully voiced, with narrow aperture extending over wide area: /ˈɟaa/ 'medicine.' Often has audible friction, especially before high vowels: /ˈɟîi- ˈsìb/ 'twenty.'
        Variant for some speakers: voiced palatal spirant.
        <u>Second</u> in <u>cluster</u> (rare) - same, overlapping first member of cluster, voiced or voiceless: /ˈphɟaa/ (title).
        As <u>final</u> - with wider aperture, no friction, voiced strongly: /ˈpaɟ/ 'go,' weakly: /ˈbàaɟ/ 'afternoon,' partly voiceless: /ǃpaɟ/ 'Let's go!'

1.3.6. <u>Velar</u> <u>Consonants</u>

/g/   Unaspirated lenis stop.

        Final position only. Dorsal contact in mid-velar area, unreleased, normally voiceless: /ˈrág/ 'love.' Occasionally voiced, especially after long high vowel: /ˈlûug/ 'child.'

/kh/   Aspirated lenis stop (or voiceless spirant).

        As <u>Initial</u> - voiceless, with complete or near-complete but loose closure in mid-velar area: /ˈkhâa/ 'kill.'
        <u>First</u> in <u>cluster</u> - same, with less aspiration: /ˈkhruu/ 'teacher.'
        Variant (both positions): voiceless velar affricate.
        Variant (both positions): voiceless velar spirant.

/k/   Fortis stop.

        As <u>initial</u> - voiceless, unaspirated. Mid-velar, with back of tongue held firmly in contact until sharp, clean release: /ˈkaa/ 'crow.'
        <u>First</u> in <u>cluster</u> - same: /ˈklaaŋ/ 'middle.'

/ŋ/   Nasal continuant.

        Always mid-velar, with dorsal contact.

As <u>initial</u> - fully voiced, fortis, with firm contact over broad area: /'ŋaa/ 'tusk.'

As <u>final</u> - lenis, voiced strongly: /'loŋ/ 'go down,' weakly: /'klaaŋ/ 'middle,' partly voiced: /!loŋ/ 'Get down!'

1.3.7. <u>Other</u> <u>Consonants</u>

/r/   Alveolar oral continuant.

Normally apico-alveolar flap, with grooving of tongue, lenis.

As <u>initial</u> - fully voiced, little or no friction: /'raaɈ/ 'case.'

<u>Second</u> <u>in</u> <u>cluster</u> - same, overlapping first member of cluster, voiced: /'traa/ 'stamp,' partly voiceless, more friction: /'phrɛɛ/ 'silk cloth.'

Variant (both positions): voiced retroflex spirant with low friction.

/h/   Glottal spirant.

Normally a voiceless, low-friction spirant.

As <u>initial</u> - fortis: /'hâa/ 'five.'

As <u>final</u> (rare) - lenis: /nãh/ (final particle).

Variant (both positions): voiceless vowel of same position as contiguous voiced vowel.

1.4 Vowels

1.4.1 General

The 9 vowel phonemes of ST are defined schematically as follows:

	Front	Back Unrounded	Back Rounded
High	/ɪ/	/y/	/u/
Mid	/e/	/ə/	/o/
Low	/ɛ/	/a/	/ɔ/

All vowel phonemes are in contrast in the nuclear position of the syllable (between consonants). All types occur both long and short, the long nuclei being interpreted here as two instances of the corresponding short vowel phoneme: /ɪɪ/, /ee/, etc.

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There are five nuclear diphthongs, three long and two short. The
long ones are analyzed as instances of single high-vowel phonemes plus /a/,
the short ones as high-vowel phonemes plus /ə/.

Long: /ɪa/   /ya/   /ua/

Short: /ɪə/   /uə/

1.4.2 Allophonic Sets

Certain allophonic generalizations are applicable to whole sets of
vowels in certain environments:

1) All vowel nuclei consisting of two instances of the same phoneme
(called 'double' in the listing of allophones by phoneme below) average longer
in duration than the vowel phoneme by itself (called 'single' below), but less
than twice as long.

2) The long diphthongs /ɪa, ya, ua/ average slightly longer than
double vowels (e.g. /ɪɪ, yy, uu/), and over twice as long as single vowels
(e.g. /ɪ, y, u/).

3) The short diphthongs /ɪə, uə/ average slightly longer than single
vowels, but shorter than double vowels.

4) The high double vowels /ɪɪ, yy, uu/ start with a glide from mid
central position after all fortis initial consonants except /c/. The effect
is less noticeable with the corresponding short vowels /ɪ, y, u/.

5) All high and mid vowels have tenser allophones, generally speak-
ing, in long nuclei, and laxer allophones in short nuclei.

6) All low vowels have laxer allophones in long nuclei, and tenser
allophones in short nuclei. They are also nasalized after /h/, nasal con-
sonants, and zero initials: /ˈhɛ̃ɛ̃/ 'parade,' /ˈmaa/ 'come,' and /ˈɔ̀ɔg/
'exit.'

1.4.3. Vowel Phonemes

/ɪ/ High front vowel.

Double - tense upper high front, unrounded: /ˈdɪɪ/ 'good,'
after fortis consonant (except /c/) glide from central to
front: /ˈsɪ̀ɪ/ 'four.'

Single - same quality as double before /w/ and zero final:
/ˈnɪ́w/ 'finger,' /ˈtɪ̀/ 'criticize,' but lax and slightly lower
before other finals: /ˈtɪ̀d/ 'get stuck.'

Before /a/ - long lax (no glide after fortis consonants):
/ˈsɪ̆a/ 'lose.'

Before /ə/ - short tense: /ˈkɪ́ə/ 'wooden shoes.'

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/e/ Mid front vowel.

   Double - tense upper mid front, unrounded: /'thee/ 'pour.'
   Single - same quality before zero final: /'tè/ 'kick,'
lax and somewhat lower before other finals: /'pen/ 'alive,'
centralized before /w/: /'rew/ 'fast.'

/ɛ/ Low front vowel.

   Double - lax upper low front, unrounded, slightly center-
ing: /'kɛ̀ɛ/ 'old,' after /h/, nasal, or zero initial, slightly
nasalized: /'mɛ̂ɛ/ 'mother.'

   Single - same quality before zero final, but tense: /'kɛ̀/
'sheep,' lax and less central before other finals: /'khɛ̌ŋ/
'hard.'

/y/ High back unrounded vowel.

   Double - tense mid-high, between central and back: /'dŷy/
'stubborn,' after fortis consonant, upward glide: /'myy/
'hand.'

   Single - lax and slightly lower: /'dyŋ/ 'pull.'

   Before /a/ - long lax (no glide after fortis consonants):
/'sy̌a/ 'tiger.'

/ə/ Mid back unrounded vowel.

   Double - tense lower mid, between central and back: /'dəən/
'walk,' all the way back before /ɟ/: /'ləəɟ/ 'to pass.'

   Single - same quality as double, /'ŋən/ 'silver,' /'ɟə́/
'a lot.'

   After /ɪ/ and /u/ - fast mid central glide: /'kɪ́ə/
'wooden shoes, /'cúəg/ 'pure-white.'

/a/ Low back unrounded vowel.

   Double - lax lower low central: /'taa/ 'eye,' after /h/,
nasal, or zero initial, nasalized: /'hâa/ 'five.'

   Single - same quality before zero final, but tense: /'kà/
'estimate,' lax and slightly higher before other finals: /'kan/
'ward off,' further front before /ɟ/: /'paɟ/ 'go,' further
back before /w/: /'raw/ 'we.'

   After /ɪ/, /y/, and /u/ -before zero final, slow glide to
low central position: /'tua/ 'body,' before other finals, faster

glide through higher central position (but not as high as /ə/): /'dûaɟ/ 'also,' /'rɪan/ 'study,' /'lŷag/ 'choose.'

/u/   High back rounded vowel.

     <u>Double</u> - tense upper high, far back: /'duu/ 'look at,' after fortis consonant, glide from central to back: /'tûu/ 'chest.'

     <u>Single</u> - same quality as double before /ɟ/ and zero final: /'khuɟ/ 'converse,' /'dù/ 'savage,' but lax and slightly lower before other final: /khun/ 'you.'

     <u>Before</u> /a/ - long lax (no glide after fortis consonants): /'tua/ 'body.'

     <u>Before</u> /ə/ - short tense: /'cúeg/ 'pure-white.'

/o/   Mid back rounded vowel.

     <u>Double</u> - tense upper mid back, far back: /'too/ 'big.'

     <u>Single</u> - same quality before zero final: /'tó/ 'table,' lax and somewhat lower before other finals: /'tôn/ 'trunk of plant,' centralized before /ɟ/: /doɟ/ 'by means of.'

/ɔ/   Low back rounded vowel.

     <u>Double</u> - lax upper low, between back and central: /'kɔ̀ɔ/ 'instigate,' after /h/, nasal, or zero initial, nasalized: /'hɔ̀ɔ/ 'package.'

     <u>Single</u> - same quality before zero final, but tense: /'kɔ̀/ 'island,' lax and less central before other finals: /'hɔ̂ŋ/ 'room.'

<div align="center">1.5   <u>Tones</u></div>

1.5.1   <u>General</u>

The 6 tone phonemes of ST are defined as follows:

<u>Level Tones</u>	<u>Oblique Tones</u>
Plain High /˜/	Falling / ^/
Constricted High /´/	
Mid (unmarked)	Rising / ˇ/
Low /ˋ/	

As far as isolated syllables are concerned, all six tones are in contrast only on syllables with sustained loud stress: /ˈ :/. In the environment /.ˈ ./, for example, there is no contrast between mid and low

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tones, which are distinguishable to most speakers only with reference to
tones of surrounding syllables. In many other environments, there is no
contrast between the two high tones (plain high tone having a very low func-
tional yield.)

No tone is determined, and the absence of any symbol for mid tone in
a stressed syllable is merely a graphic convenience. In unstressed syllables
of short duration, however, the absence of a tone symbol actually means zero
tone: /caphûud/ 'will speak' (first syllable).

1.5.2   Allophonic Sets

Certain generalizations are applicable to all tones insofar as their
allophones are concerned:

1) Tone contours are longer under any type of sustained stress, or
   before pause, than they are under normal stress conditions in
   the interior of a phrase. Unless a particular allophone of a
   tone has other peculiarities under these circumstances, no
   separate listing of the allophone is made.

2) The actual pitch-range of a given tone is determined by its place
   on the 'pitch-line' of the intonation contour of its clause
   (1.2.8); all indications of pitch contour are given in reference
   to a relative median pitch, which is the level of mid tone at
   that particular place on the pitch-line. No allophones are
   listed for tone phonemes in different positions of the clause.

3) The actual length of a given tone contour is determined by the
   rhythm of its phrase (1.2.7), as well as the type of stress; no
   allophones are listed for tone phonemes in different positions
   of the phrase.

1.5.3.   Tone Phonemes

/~/ Plain high tone.

Normal stress - level contour, beginning and ending above median
pitch, no constriction: /'chãn/ 'I, me.'

Loud sustained stress - contour beginning at a very high pitch
and rising still higher: /! tãaɟ:/ (exclamation.)

Other sustained stress-- contour beginning just above median
pitch, rising slightly, then falling off gently: /'fŏn 'tòg 'sũu:/ 'raining
steadily,' /'paɟ nãa:/ 'Come on and gò, will you?'

Weak stress - short high level contour /'dii: nãg/ 'too good.'

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/ˊ/ Constricted high tone.

     Normal stress - level or slightly rising contour, beginning and ending above median pitch, constricted throughout voiced portion of syllable, glottalized toward end if no stop present: /ˈchán/ 'shelf', /ˈcháɗ/ 'clear,' dropping slightly toward end before pause /ˈrɔ́ɔn./ 'It's hot.'

     Loud sustained stress - contour beginning at a higher pitch, rising sharply and falling off gradually, contricted throughout: /ꜝrɔ́ɔn:/ 'It's _hot!_'

     Weak stress - contour same as for normal stress, but cut off by glottal stop or shortening of nucleus: /ˈdii: léɛw/ 'O.K. then,' /ˈdâj : wáj/ 'had gotten.'

     / / (unmarked) Mid tone.

     Normal stress - level contour, beginning and ending near median pitch, no constriction: /ˈmaa/ 'come,' dropping very slightly toward end before pause: /ˈmaa./ 'Came.'

     Loud sustained stress - contour beginning at median pitch, rising and falling gradually: /ꜝmaa:/ 'Of course (he) came!'

     Weak stress - contour beginning at median or lower pitch, voice dying out rapidly: /ˈdâj : maa/ 'got.'

     Loud stress - contour same as for normal stress, but cut off by voicelessness before end: /ꜝpaj/ 'Let's go!'

     /ˋ/ Low tone.

     Normal stress - level contour, beginning and ending slightly below median pitch, no constriction (indistinguishable from mid tone in isolation): /ˈphàa/ 'split,' dropping very slightly toward end before pause: /ˈphàa./ 'It split.'

     Loud sustained stress - contour low level at first, sliding upward toward end (distinguishable from mid tone allophone of this type): /ꜝjàa:/ 'Don't do it!'

     Weak stress - contour beginning at median or lower pitch, voice dying our rapidly (same as mid tone): /ˈmaa ˈnìi : kɔ̀ɔn/ 'Come here a moment.'

     /ˆ/ Falling tone

     Normal stress - contour beginning just below pitch-level for the two high tones, rising quickly above that level, then falling rather

sharply to median pitch or below, with slight constriction throughout: /'nâa/
'front,' dropping less sharply all the way to low-tone pitch-level before
pause: /'nâa./ 'It's in front.'

Loud sustained stress - contour starting higher than high-tone
level, rising, then dropping with increasing speed and constriction, all the
way to low-tone level or below: /!dâaj:/ 'Of course it's possible!'

Weak stress - contour falls from high-tone level very slightly,
with little constriction: /mâj 'mii/ 'There aren't any.'

Loud stress - contour more rapid than for normal stress, but
cut off by voicelessness toward end: /!âaw/ 'For heaven's sake!'

/ ˇ/   Rising tone.

Normal stress - contour beginning just above pitch-level for
low tone, dipping quickly below that level, then rising rather sharply almost
to high-tone level, no constriction: /'năa/ 'thick,' rising less sharply to a
point just above median pitch before pause: /'năa./ 'It's thick.'

Loud sustained stress - contour starting lower than low-tone
level, no constriction: /!năa:/ 'Of course it's thick!'

Weak stress - contour begins at median pitch or above and rises
only slightly: /phŏm 'mii/ 'I have it.'

1.6.   Prosodic Phonemes

1.6.1.   General

To some extent prosodic phonemes are distributionally interrelated,
in the same way that syllabic phonemes are. Stress phonemes have a special
relationship with both rhythm and intonation phonemes, and the latter have
some relationship with each other (see 1.7.4). It is nearly feasible, in
fact, to combine stress and rhythm contrasts into a single type of phoneme,
just as initial and final syllable-contrasts are combined into consonant
phonemes.

Stress phonemes have to do with the (already-defined) syllable,
rhythm phonemes with the phrase (defined in 1.6.4, end), and intonation
phonemes with the clause (defined in 1.6.3 end). The order of presentation,
however, is stress, intonation, then rhythm. Prosodic phonemes do not usually
have allophones in the sense that syllabic phonemes do. One exception is the
intonation phoneme /î/, which has positional variants (see 1.6.3).

1.6.2. Stress Phonemes

The six stress-contours of ST syllables are analyzed in terms of three phonemes and their combinations:

Loud Onset /⸝/   Sustained Contour /:/

Normal Onset / '/

The symbols for onset phonemes are written at the beginning of the syllable in question; absence of any symbol here indicates weak onset (not a phoneme). The symbol for the sustained contour phoneme is written at the end of the syllable; absence of a symbol here indicates diminishing stress (not a phoneme).

The six possible stress-contours are illustrated as follows, using the syllable /paj/ for contrastive purposes:

1) Loud Diminishing Stress /⸝paj/ 'Let's go!'

2) Loud Sustained Stress: /⸝paj:/ 'Sure (he) went!'

3) Normal Diminishing Stress: /'paj/ 'Yes (he) went.'

4) Normal Sustained Stress: /'paj: kan/ 'They went.'

5) Weak Diminishing Stress: /'ɔ̀og: paj/ '(He) went out.'

6) Weak Sustained Stress: /'ɔ̀og paj: khráb/ '(He) went out, sir.'

1.6.3. Intonation Phonemes

The eight possible intonation-sequences for a single pair of utterance-portions are analyzed in terms of only two phonemes and their combinations:

Pause /./   Upper pitch-line /↑/

The symbol for the pause phoneme is written wherever it occurs; its absence implies continuous phonation throughout a sequence. The symbol for upper pitch-line, written by itself /↑/ of after pause /. ↑/, means a new intonation contour beginning on a high pitch-line; absence of / ↑/ after pause implies resumption of the pitch-line at a low level. The same symbol written before pause / ↑./ means high pitch-line intonation contour; its absence in this position implies falling pitch-line intonation contour. The combination / ↑.↑/ occurs, meaning high intonation contour followed after pause by new intonation contour beginning at original pitch-line (which is the same or higher than the end of the first contour). The combination /↑ ↑/ does not occur.

The symbol /.../ is used to replace /./ whenever an utterance is obviously broken off short of completion of the portion in question. The symbol /.../ has no phonemic status.

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The eight intonation sequences are illustrated as follows, using identical constituents for contrastive purposes. Portions separated by /. ↑/ or / ↑/ are said to be in <u>open</u> <u>clause</u> <u>juncture</u>; those separated by /./ are said to be in <u>close</u> <u>clause</u> <u>juncture</u>.

1) Two falling contours in close juncture:

'sŷa tua- 'níı: rə̆ə . khun 'sà̰ɟ 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı .
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

2) Two falling contours in open juncture:

'sŷa tua-'níı: rə̆ə . ↑ khun 'sà̰ɟ 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı .
'Is this the coat? You wore it last night.'

3) High and falling contours in close juncture:

'sŷa tua-'níı: rə̆ə ↑ . khun 'sà̰ɟ 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı .
'Is <u>this</u> the coat you wore last night?'

4) High and falling contours in open juncture:

'sŷa tua-'níı: rə̆ə↑.↑ khun 'sà̰ɟ 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı .
'Is <u>this</u> the coat?! You wore it last night.'

5) Falling and high contours in close juncture: (rare):

'sŷa tua-'níı: rə̆ə . khun 'sà̰ɟ 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı: ↑.
'Is this the coat you wore <u>last</u> night?!'

More common would be the single-clause transform:

'khun 'sà̰ɟ 'sŷa tua-'níı 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı: rə̆ə ↑ .

6) Falling and high contours in open juncture:

'sŷa tua-'níı: rə̆ə . ↑ khun 'sà̰ɟ 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı: ↑ .
'Is this the coat? You wore it last night!'

7) Two high contours in close juncture:

'sŷa tua-'níı: rə̆ə ↑ . khun 'sà̰ɟ 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı ↑.
'Is <u>this</u> the coat you wore <u>last</u> <u>night</u>?!'

8) Two high contours in open juncture:

'sŷa tua-'níı: rə̆ə ↑ . ↑ khun 'sà̰ɟ 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı: ↑ .
'Is <u>this</u> the coat?! You wore it last night!'

A <u>phonemic clause</u> is any portion of an utterance which has its own intonation contour <u>or</u> is separated from the rest of the utterance by one of the clause junctures. All the utterances above consist of two clauses. The following utterances consist of single clauses:

'sȳa tua-'níı: rĕə 'khun 'sàɟ 'mȳa-khyyn-'níı .

'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

'sȳa tua-'níı: rĕə 'khun 'sàɟ 'mȳa-khyyn-'níı: ^.

'Is <u>this</u> the coat you wore <u>last</u> <u>night</u>?'

(In meaning, they correspond respectively to the two-clause
utterances 1) and 7) above.)

1.6.4. <u>Rhythm Phonemes</u>

The rhythmic patterns of ST sequences are analyzed in terms of
two phonemes already mentioned, the intonation phoneme / . / (pause) and the
stress phoneme / : / (sustained stress), plus two new phonemes which have to
do with the relative duration of syllables not immediately followed by / . /
or / : /; such syllables are <u>internal</u>. Syllable-duration is defined as the
time elapsed between the beginning of the syllable in question and the begin-
ning of the next syllable in the utterance, regardless of whether any phona-
tion is going on or any sound being produced. Thus, a weak-stressed syllable
with a short vowel and a voiceless final stop, such as /nãg/ 'too' may have
greater duration within a given sequence than a loud sustained-stressed syl-
lable with voicing from beginning to end, such as /:róon:/ 'It's hot!'

The last syllable in an utterance, of course, has infinite
duration. The other phonemes and combinations are listed in descending
order of duration, as follows.

The combination / : . / determines extra-long duration for the
syllable which precedes. It is never
internal.

/ . / determines medium-long internal-syllable
duration.

/ : / determines long-duration, never
internal

/ / (space after syllable) is a phoneme meaning
medium internal-syllable duration.

/ - / (hyphen after syllable) is a phoneme meaning
medium-short internal-syllable duration.

The absence of a hyphen or space after an internal syllable implies
short duration (not a phoneme).

The four internal-syllable durations are contrasted in the following pairs of examples:

1) 'paɟ 'nǎɟː 'dıı ↑.
     'Where are you going, Dee?'

   'paɟ 'nǎɟ 'dııː↑.
     'Where shall I go?'

2) 'náam 'thâa-ca'mòd .
     'The water seems to be all gone.'

   'náam-'thâa ca'mòd .
     'The water will be used up.'

3) 'dâɟ kawe-'laa .
     'Has to do with time.'

   'dâɟ-'kà we-'laa .
     'Has estimated the time.'

A <u>phonemic phrase</u> is that portion of a clause which contains only one sustained stress / ː /. In a clause consisting of two or more phrases the cut is made immediately before the next syllable after the / ː / which has normal / ' / or loud / ⌡ / stress.

All the examples above, except the first, consist of a single phrase. (The symbol for phrase boundary, / , /, is not a phoneme). Two phrases:

   'paɟ 'nǎɟː , 'dııː ↑ .

   'sŷa tua-'níiː rə̆ə , 'khun 'sàɟ 'mŷa-khyyn-'níı .

(The second example is the pauseless version of the first intonation example, 1.6.3.)

1.7. Distribution

1.7.1. Maximum and Minimum Syllables

The maximum structure of the ST syllable is symbolized in the following formula, which also summarizes the positions in which phonemic symbols having to do with syllabic components are written:

$$T$$
$$S_1 \; C_1 \; C_2 \; V_1 \; V_2 \; C_3 \; S_2$$

For example, the syllable /⌡plaaw:/ in the utterance /⌡plàaw: ↑./ 'Of course not⌡' contains one phoneme from each of these categories.

The minimum syllable is symbolized as follows:

$$V_1$$

For example, the syllable /a/ in the utterance /'tham-a'raj ./ 'What are you doing?' consists of a single vowel phoneme.

The meanings of the symbols in the formulae are as follows:

T -- any tone phoneme

S_1 - the stress phoneme / ' / or / ! /

C_1 - any consonant phoneme

C_2 - any consonant phoneme, but normally only /w l r/

V_1 - any vowel phoneme

V_2 - any vowel phoneme

C_3 - one of the consonant phonemes / b d g m n ŋ w j (f s l)/

S_2 - the stress phoneme / : /

1.7.2. Normal Syllabic Distribution

Excluding rare instances of distribution (e.g. initial consonant clusters such as /st/ and final consonants such as /f/), the normal limitations on distribution of phonemes within the syllable are as follows:

1) If C_2 is /w/, C_1 is /k/ or /kh/.

2) If C_2 is /l/, C_1 is one of this set: /p, ph, k, kh/

3) If C_2 is /r/, C_1 is one of this set: /p, ph, t, k, kh/.

4) If C_2 is /w/, V_1 is one of this set: /ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ə/

5) If V_1 is /ɪ, e, ɛ/, C_3 is not /j/.

6) If V_1 is /u, o, ɔ, y/, C_3 is not /w/.

7) If V_1 is /y/ and C_3 is /j/, C_2 is /a/.

8) If V_1 -V_2 is /yy/, C_3 is not /g, ŋ/.

9) If V_1 -V_2 is /ɪɪ/, C_3 is not /ŋ/.

10) If V_1 is one of this set: /e, ɛ, ə, a, o, ɔ/, then V_2 is the same as V_1 or is missing.

11) If V_1 is /ɪ/, V_2 is one of this set: /ɪ, a, ə/, or missing.

12) If V_1 is /u/, V_2 is one of this set: /u, a, ə/, or missing.

13) If V_1 is /y/, V_2 is /y, a/ or missing.

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14) If V_1-V_2 is /uə, iə/, C_3 is one of this set: /b, d, g/ or
    missing.

15) If C_3 is /b, d, g/, T is one of this set: /~ ´ ` ⁊.

16) If V_2 is /ə/ or missing and C_3 is missing, T is one of the
    same set (15).

17) If S_1 is present, V_1 is /ə/, and V_2 is missing, then T is not
    / ˇ/.

18) If S_1 is present and C_3 is /b, d, g/, T is not / ~/.

1.7.3. Abnormal Syllabic Distributions

Certain speakers of ST, most of them also speakers of one or more
Western languages, have recently introduced innovations into the scheme of
syllabic component distribution which are not as yet accepted by the majority
of ST speakers. Such innovations include triple initial consonant clusters,
usually involving /s/ as first member, and double final consonant clusters,
usually involving /j/ or /w/ as first member. An example including both
types of innovation follows:

$$/\text{'strá}_jg/ \qquad \text{'(labor) strike'}$$
$$T$$
$$S_1\ C_1\ C_2\ C_3\ V_1\ C_4\ C_5$$

Such patterns, along with the use of unusual finals such as /f, s, l/,
are not considered normal ST distribution patterns in the present analysis.

1.7.4. Other Distribution

The normal limitations on distribution of prosodic phonemes with
relation to each other and to syllabic phonemes follow. (R = rhythm phoneme,
I = intonation phoneme.)

1) If R is absent, S_1-S_2 are absent, T is / ~/ or / / (toneless),
   V_2 and C_3 are absent.

   /thṹ'law/   'improve'

   /ki'laa/   sports'

2) If R is / - /, S_1 is / ' / or absent and S_2 is absent.

3) If S_2 is first / ˌ / in phrase, S_1 is / ! / or / '/.

4) If I is / ↑ . /, some syllable in clause has S_2 /:/.

5) If I is / ↑ ./, and last syllable has S_1 , then it also
   has S_2 / ˌ /.

6) If in the first two of three successive syllables, the second is no longer than the first, for the second syllable S_1-S_2 is missing and for the third syllable R will be at least normal / /, and S_1 will be at least / ' /.

7) If, in two successive clauses, first clause ends with I / ↑/ and second clause begins with I / ↑/, I is / ↑ . ↑/.

8) In two successive clauses, if / ↑/ is absent at the end of the first clause and at the beginning of the second clause, I is / . /.

1.8. Morphophonemics

1.8.1. Summary

Pairs of morphs exhibiting minimal contrasts of syllabic *phonemes* generally show a high degree of resistance to homonymity under the influence of prosodic factors such as rhythm and intonation. The areas where ambiguities arise are mainly confined to 1) vowel length, 2) stress, and 3) tone. Under normal rhythm conditions (medium or longer syllable duration), the following morphs are distinct from each other:

1) /'kaan/   'business, act'

2) /kan/   'as a group'

3) /'kàn/   'hilt'

4) /'kan/   'to ward off'

Under fast-rhythm conditions (medium –short or short internal syllable duration), however, all four morphs may show up as /kan-/:

1) /'lêeg kan-'rian/   'stop (the business of) studying'

2) /'paj: kan- mòd/   'they all (as a group) went'

3) /'càb kan-'mîid/   'grasp the knife-hilt'

4) /'jaa-kan-'juŋ/   'medicine for (warding off) mosquitoes'

Also, under certain intonational conditions, such as between pauses, 3) /'kàn/ and 4) /'kan/ both show up as /. 'kan ./ (see 1.5.1.)

For another example of tones falling together, consider the following four normally distinct morphs:

1) /'khãw/   'he, she, they'

2) /'kháw/   'feature, trace'

3) /'khâw/   'enter'

4) /'khǎw/   'hill'

Under weak stress, however, all can show up as /khãw-/:

1) /' rág khãw- 'mâag/   'like her a lot'

2) /'duu khãw- 'nâa/   'look at the facial features'

3) /'sàɟ: khãw-paɟ/   'put it in there'

4) /'thy̆ŋ khãw- 'dɪn/   'reached Khao-Dɪn (mountain)'

It is desirable, therefore, for the easy identification of morphs, to write them in a consistent morphophonemic shape, insofar as possible. This requires the postulation of rules for the reconstruction of actual phonemic shapes, under varying conditions, from morphophonemic formulae. In the case of long vowels and tones, this is easily done. In the case of morphs differing by stress and morphs composed of prosodic phonemes, it is more complicated.

1.8.2. Syllable Morphophonemics

Morphs which occur under conditions of normal stress and medium internal-syllable length more often than not are always written in the phonemic shape which they have under those conditions, except that the stress is omitted:

Phonemic		Morphophonemic
/'châaŋ/	'artisan'	/châaŋ/
/'châŋ/	'to weigh'	/châŋ/
/chán/	'shelf, class'	/chán/
/'chǎn/	'to eat (said of monks)	/chǎn/

The rules for determining their actual phonemic shape are as follows:

1) Morphs with long vowels occur with the corresponding short vowel when they have medium-short duration / - /, provided the preceding syllable has medium duration or better.

Phonemic: /'hǎa 'châŋ- 'máaɟ/   'look for a carpenter.'

Morphophonemic: /hǎa châaŋ-máaɟ/

Phonemic: /'lêǝg kan- 'rɪan/   'stop studying'

Morphophonemic: /lêǝg kaan-rɪan/

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2) Morphs with short vowels occur with the corresponding long
   vowel under conditions of loud sustained stress.

Phonemic: /ˎchâaŋ: ↑./   'I <u>weighed</u> it˩

Morphophonemic: /ˎchâŋ ↑./

3) Morphs with long diphthongs are <u>sometimes</u> replaced by short-
   vowel morphs under conditions of weak stress and medium-short
   or less duration. Such allomorphs must be listed separately.

   /'sĭa-'daaɟ/   'regret'   becomes   /sã'daaɟ/

   /'lỹa-'kəən/   'excessively'   becomes   /lõ'kəən/

   /'dûaɟ-'máaɟ/   'with wood'   becomes   /dâɟ-'máaɟ/

4) Morphs with mid / / and low / ˋ/ tone are replaced by toneless
   morphs under conditions of weak stress and medium-short or
   less duration.

   /'rooŋ-'rian/   'school,'   /'ɟàa 'paɟ/   'don't go'

Phonemic: /'thîi roŋ-'rian/   'at school'

Morphophonemic: /thîi rooŋ-rian/

Phonemic: /'phîi ɟa-'paɟ/   'Brother shouldn't go.'

Morphophonemic: /phîi ɟàa-paɟ/

Phonemic: /'ɟaa-kan-'ɟuŋ/   'mosquito repellent'

Morphophonemic: /ɟaa-kan-ɟuŋ/

Phonemic: /'càb kan-'mîid/   'grasp the knife-hilt'

Morphophonemic: /càb kàn-mîid/

5) Morphs with constricted high / ́/, falling / ̂/, and rising
   / ̌/ tone are replaced by morphs with plain high tone / ̃/
   under conditions of weak stress and medium-short or less
   duration.

   /'nám-'phŷŋ/   'honey'   /'thîi-'nâŋ/   'seat'

   /'nǎŋ-'sỹy/   'book'

Phonemic: /'hǎɟ nãm-'phŷŋ/   'honey-jar',

Morphophonemic: /hǎɟ nám-phŷŋ/

Phonemic: /'hǎa thĩ-'nâŋ/   'look for seats'

Morphophonemic: /hǎa thîi-nâŋ/

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Phonemic: /'duu nãŋ-'sy̌y/   'look at books'

Morphophonemic: /duu nǎŋ-sy̌y/

On the other hand, morphs which occur under conditions of weak stress and less than medium duration more often than not are also written without stress indication:

/kan/   'as a group'

/châŋ/   'certainly does'

/chãn/   'I, me'

There are several reasons why no confusion results from this:

1) Some morphemes, like /kan/, are never stressed unless accompanied by rhythmic evidence that they are stressed:

Phonemic: /thy̌ŋ-'kan lɛ̃-'kan/ 'toward each other'

Morphophonemic: /thy̌ŋ-kan lɛ́-kan/

2) Other morphemes, like /châŋ/, have different shapes when they are stressed. Writing the alternate shape, which is usually larger, is sufficient indication of stress.

Phonemic: /châŋ-'phûud/   'really talks'

Morphophonemic: /châŋ-phûud/

Phonemic: /'châaŋ-'phûud/   'clever talker'

Morphophonemic: /châaŋ-phûud/

Phonemic: /'châaŋ 'phûud/   'the artisan speaks'

Morphophonemic: /châaŋ phûud/

   (The last example involves a different morpheme, the usually-stressed morpheme /'châaŋ/.)

3) Still other morphemes, like /chãn/, are identified as normally weak-stressed by the fact that they have plain high tone in their principal allomorph. All morphs written morphophonemically with plain high tone belong either to this category, or to a category which has loud stress / ! / in the principal allomorph.

4) The functional load of the contrast weak stress/normal stress is extremely low in any case. There are a few cases like the following:

/'tàd 'phǒm/   'cut hair'

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/'tàd phǒm/   'cut me'

(Even here, /phǒm/ 'I' has an alternate form /phõm/ for some
   speakers.)

5) All morphemes which characteristically have weak stress are listed
    along with their allomorphs elsewhere in this grammar. They
    are the pronouns, the classifiers, and other minor form-class
    members.

From this point on, normal stress / ' / is no longer written.

1.8.3. Phrase Morphophonemics

Phonemic phrases are written without indication of stress-onset
except for loud stress / ! /. Phrase-boundaries are marked by the morpho-
phonemic symbol /, /, which means 'no syllables with normal or loud stress
occur after the syllable with sustained stress / : /.' (See 1.6.4., end.)
Clauses without any internal /, / consist of a single phrase. Rhythm pat-
terns are retained intact, and internal-syllable durations are written
phonemically.
The rules for prediction of stress-onset in morphophonemically writ-
ten phrases are re-stated as follows:

1) If the phrase has no sustained stress, the last syllable in the
    phrase has at least normal stress.

Phonemic: /'klàb 'bâan ./   'Went home.'
Morphophonemic: /klàb bâan ./

2) If the phrase contains a sustained stress, the same syllable
    that has the sustained stress also has at least normal stress
    and the syllables after it have no more than weak stress.

Phonemic: /'klàb 'bâan: kan-thè ./   'Let's go home.'
Morphophonemic: /klàb bâan: kan-thè ./

3) Syllables with medium-short duration which occur after syllables
    of the same or greater duration and before syllables of greater
    duration have weak stress (See 1.7.4.6.):

Phonemic: /'klàb paj-'bâan ./   'Went back home.'
Morphophonemic: /klàb paj-bâan ./
Phonemic: /'sàj khâw-paj-naj-kra'pǎw ./
                    'Put it into his pocket.'
Morphophonemic: /sàj khâw-paj-naj-krapǎw ./

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4)   All syllables with short duration have weak stress.

Phonemic: /kra'păw/   'pocket'

Morphophonemic: /krapăw/

5)   Other syllables have either weak or normal stress, (within
     the limitations of predictability set forth in the second
     part of 1.8.2.):

Phonemic: /'tàd 'phŏm/   'Cut hair.'

Phonemic: /'tàd phŏm/   'Cut me.'

Morphophonemic,
   for both: /tàd phŏm/

The constituent phrases of the example 'Is this the coat you wore
last night?' (1.6.4., end) are now re-written morphophonemically.

First Phrase: sỹa tua-níiː rě̌ə

Second Phrase: khun sàȷ mỹa-'khyyn-níi .

1.8.4   Clause Morphophonemics

Desirable modifications in the notation of clause intonations and
junctures, and also certain simplifications of predictable features in the
clause context, require the statement of the following rules.

1)   Since / ↑ / at the end of a clause is always preceded by / ː /
     if the last syllable in the clause is stressed (See 1.7.4.5),
     simplify / ː ↑/ to / ↑ /.

Phonemic: /'klàb 'bâanː ↑ ./   'He went home!'

Morphophonemic: /klàb bâan ↑ ./

2)   Since, in a phrase with no prior / ː /, a syllable before
     phrase-boundary /, / having normal stress must by definition
     have sustained stress for the phrase-boundary to occur at all
     (see 1.8.3, beginning), replace the combination / ː , / by
     /,/ (provided the last syllable in the phrase does not have
     loud stress / ! /, where the distinction is meaningful - see
     first two examples under 1.6.2.).

Phonemic: /'klàb 'bâanː , 'kin 'khâw ./
                       'Went home, and ate.'

Morphophonemic: /klàb bâan , kin khâaw ./

3) Since the meaning of two successive clauses with falling intona-
tion and close juncture, separated by pause, /A . B ./ is no
different from the meaning of two successive phrases in a
single clause with falling intonation /A , B ./, replace all
internal simple pauses / . / by phrase boundaries /, /.

Phonemic: /'klàb 'bâan . 'kin 'khâaw ./

Morphophonemic: /klàb bâan , kin khâaw ./

    (Same as example in 2) above.).

4) Replace all instances of / . ↑ / by the symbol / . / (which has
no other morphophonemic significance following the application
of rule 3) above). Thus / . / in effect becomes the symbol
for open clause juncture and utterance-final pause.

Phonemic: /'klàb 'bâan . ↑ 'kin 'khâaw ./
              'Went home. Ate.'

Morphophonemic: /klàb bâan . kin khâaw ./

5) Replace all instances of /A ↑ . B/, where a clause with high
intonation is followed in close juncture by another clause,
by /A ↑ B/, which in effect signifies close clause juncture or
its equivalent.

Phonemic: /phŏm 'maa: nĭ-khrãb ↑ . tha'maj camâj-'maa ./
             'I came!- why wouldn't I have come.'

Morphophonemic: /phŏm maa: nĭi-khráb ↑ thamaj camâj-maa ./

6) As a corollary of rule 4), replace the combination /A ↑ . ↑ B/
by the combination /A ↑ . B/ (which has no other morpho-
phonemic significance following the application of rule 5)
above).

Phonemic: /phŏm 'maa: nĭ-khrãb ↑ . ↑ tha'maj camâj-'maa, ↑/
             'I <u>came!</u> Why wouldn't I have come?!'

Morphophonemic: /phŏm maa: nĭi-khráb ↑ . thamaj camâj-maa ↑ ./

The eight examples of different intonation sequences given in 1.6.3.
are now symbolized morphophonemically. <u>A</u> represents the clause or phrase
/sŷa tua-níi: rĕə/, 'Is this the coat?' and <u>B</u> represents the clause /khun
sàj mŷa-khyyn-níi/ 'You wore (it) last night.'

    1) /A   B ./   'Is this the coat you wore last night?'
    2) /A . B ./   'Is this the coat? You wore it last night.'

3) /A ↑ B ./   'Is <u>this</u> the coat you wore last night?!'

4) /A ↑ . B ./   'Is <u>this</u> the coat?! You wore it last night.'

5) /A   B ↑ ./   'Is this the coat you wore <u>last</u> <u>night</u>?!'

6) /A . B ↑ ./   'Is this the coat? You wore it last night!'

7) /A ↑ B ↑ ./   'Is <u>this</u> the coat you wore <u>last</u> <u>night</u>?!'

8) /A ↑ . B ↑ ./   'Is <u>this</u> the coat?! You wore it last night!'

CHAPTER II

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

2.1. Summary

2.1.1. Terminology

ST has three categories of basic, meaningful units: morphemes,
lexemes, and syntactic constructions. These terms are defined in detail in
the sections which follow, but roughly speaking morphemes correspond to the
smallest meaningful units, lexemes to words (such as one might find in the
dictionary), and syntactic constructions to phrases, clauses, and sentences.

Morphemes and lexemes share the characteristic that they may have
variants - different forms under different circumstances. Lexemes and syn-
tactic constructions share the characteristic of immediate constituents
occurring in various orders: consecutive, simultaneous, discontinuous, rep-
etetive, parallel, and interlocking. Morphemes have no immediate constitu-
ents (except on the morphophonemic level), and syntactic constructions (as
defined here) have no variants. Hence lexemes are the pivotal unit at this
level, just as the syllable is the pivotal unit in phonology.

Morphology is here defined as the analysis of structure between the
morphophonemic and lexemic levels. It includes such things as the listing
of morphemes which do not participate in lexeme construction (2.2.) as well
as the sub-syllabic ones which do (2.3.), and illustration of ways and orders
in which morphemes combine to form lexemes (2.4.)

Syntax is here defined as the analysis of structure between the
lexemic level and the level of the highest order of syntactic construction.
It includes such things as the hierarchy of constituents - syntactic units,
phrases, clauses, sentences, discourses, and exchanges (2.5.1.) - the anal-
ysis of constructions with regard to substitutability (2.5.2.) and order
(2.5.3.), ultimately leading up to the classification of lexemes and sen-
tences with regard to function (2.6.).

2.1.2. Morphemes and Lexeme Construction

Morphemes, being the smallest meaningful units of ST, are actually
sets of variant forms called morphs. It is therefore necessary to define
the latter term first.

1) A morph is any morphophonemic sequence (from one phoneme upwards
in length) which has meaning associated with it by ST speakers. The utterance

/ǃdəən: ↑ ./ 'Sure, it works!' contains four morphs: 1) the morph /dəən/
'to walk, to function properly,' 2) the morph /ǃ :/ 'contradictory assertion,'
3) the morph / ↑/ 'emotional involvement,' and 4) the morph / . / 'end of
clause construction.'

2) A <u>morpheme</u> is any set of morphs which have the same meaning and
which either do not contrast in any single environment, or contrast in a
manner not regarded as significant by ST speakers; or it is any single morph
which does not belong to such a set. Individual members of a set of morphs
belonging to the same morpheme are its <u>allomorphs</u>.

The morphophonemic sequence /dam-nəən/ 'to conduct, to proceed' con-
tains a morph /d...əən/, which is an allomorph of the morpheme /dəən/ (we
have seen another of its allomorphs in the sequence /ǃdəən: ↑ ./); the other
morph /am-n/, which is infixed to /d...əən/, is an allomorph of a morpheme
/amn/ 'formal or technical connotation.' The discontinuous allomorph /d...əən/
does not contrast with the continuous allomorph /dəən/ in any environment; the
same applies to /am-n/ and other allomorphs of /amn/ (see 2.3.2.1.). An
example of a morpheme including only a single morph is / . / 'end of clause
construction' (morph 4) above); all other morphs cited so far are members of
allomorphic sets.

3) Morphemes are classified according to form and function as follows:

<u>Prosodic morphemes</u> (2.2.) have morphs whose constituents are prosodic
phonemes. Sub-categories include <u>intonation</u> and <u>loud-stress</u> morphemes (2.2.1.),
<u>rhythmic morphemes</u> (2.2.2. and 2.2.4.), and <u>normal-stress</u> morphemes (2.2.3.)

<u>Sub-lexemic</u> morphemes (2.3.) are morphemes some or all of whose morphs
have syllabic phoneme constituents totalling less than a syllable, or a syl-
lable plus a fraction. Sub-lexemic morphemes, therefore, do not occur by
themselves as lexemes, but enter into lexeme composition. Sub-categories
include prefixes (2.3.1.), infixes (2.3.2.), superfixes (2.3.3.), and other
fractional constituents (2.3.4-5.).

<u>Lexemic morphemes</u> are those morphemes which occur independently at
the lexemic level. In form they range from one syllable upwards. The major-
ity of ST morphemes are, in fact, monosyllabic lexemic morphemes: /maa/ 'to
come.' Two-syllable morphemes are also quite common: /kâw-îi/ 'chair'

Morphemes of more than four syllables in length are hard to find, but the
following five-syllable sequence is probably a single morpheme:

/anú-săa-wãrii/   'monument.'

4) Lexemic morphemes, like sub-lexemic ones, enter into composition
of lexemes which are larger than themselves (2.4.). Such composition is of
three general types: <u>derivatives</u> (2.4.1.), <u>compounds</u> (2.4.2.) and <u>reduplica-
tions</u> (2.4.3.). Prosodic morphemes are also involved in lexeme composition,
to some extent.

2.1.3 Lexemes and Syntactic Constructions

Lexemes, like morphemes, are actually sets of variant forms. It is necessary, therefore, to define a prior term, lexical unit, in order to define a lexeme.

1) A lexical unit is any morph or combination of morphs corresponding morphophonemically to a single syllable or to an integral number of syllables (i.e. not a fraction of a syllable, or syllables plus residual fractions), such that it is a minimum immediate constituent of the construction in which it occurs. In other words, if lexical units are analyzable, they can only be analyzed after everything else in the context has been cleared away /dam-nəən/ 'to conduct' is a lexical unit in the context /dam-nəən chii-wíd/ 'to conduct ones life,' because there is no construction /dam...chii-wíd/, /nəən chii-wíd/ or the like.

Of the morphs cited so far, the examples /ˈ :/, / ↑ /, / . /, and /am-n/ are not lexical units, because they fail to meet the requirement of syllabicity. Only two examples, /dəən/ 'to walk, to function properly' and /chii-wíd/ 'life,' are lexical units, in the contexts /ˈdəən: ↑ ./ and /dam-nəən chii-wíd/ respectively. On the other hand, /dəən/ is not a lexical unit in /dam-nəən/ or in an expression such as /dəən thĕɛw/ 'to march,' where it is merely one of the constituent morphs.

Lexical units are not grammatically important except insofar as they are the individual units of which sets called lexemes consist. The proportion is as follows:

morphs: morphemes:: lexical units: lexemes

The first and third items are isolated forms; the third and fourth, sets of forms.

2) A lexeme is any set of lexical units which have the same meaning and which either do not contrast in any single environment, or contrast in a manner not regarded as significant by ST speakers; or it is any single lexical unit which does not belong to such a set. To put it another way, lexemes are what one finds in a dictionary; the better the dictionary, the more lexemes it lists, but it never lists them all, and it never lists anything but lexemes.

Alternate lexical units belonging to the same lexeme are its allolexes. For example, the lexeme /dam-nəən/ has an allolex of that shape and also an allolex /damnəən/, as in the sequence /chɔ̂ɔb damnəən ŋaan/ 'likes to conduct the work.' The lexeme /chii-wíd/ has an allolex /chiwíd/, as in /chûaj chiwíd: wáj/ 'to save someone's life.'

3) Lexical units, and therefore lexemes, can include combinations of morphs which are lexical units in their own right. For example, /râad-damnəən/ 'royal procession' meets all the criteria of a lexical unit - it

consists of three whole syllables, and has to be analyzed last in whatever construction it is a part of. But, as we know, /damnəən/ itself is a lexical unit. Lexemes are therefore classified in terms of <u>orders</u>, depending on the number of immediate constituents that can be distinguished.

<u>First-order</u> <u>lexemes</u> are single morphemes considered on the lexical level: /dəən/ 'to walk, to function properly.'

<u>Second-order</u> <u>lexemes</u> consist of two constituents, which are both morphemes: /dam-nəən/ 'to proceed, to conduct.'

<u>Third-order</u> <u>lexemes</u> consist of two constituents, one of which is analyzable (usually a lexeme itself), or three morphemes: /râad-damnəən/ 'royal procession' and /wan-jaŋ-khâm/ 'all day long' (/wan/ 'day,' /jaŋ/ 'to,' /khâm/ 'evening.') Lexemes of higher orders also exist.

4) The combination of lexemes into higher-order constructions has been defined as <u>syntax</u> (2.1.1., end). Lexemes combine with each other in all types of order except the simultaneous (2.5.2-3.). Lexemes also combine with prosodic morphemes in simultaneous order. This type of construction is considered syntactic (rather than morphological), because larger syntactic constructions comprising many lexemes also occur in simultaneous order with prosodic morphemes (see 2.5.1.).

Besides their classification based on <u>internal</u> structure ('first-order,' etc.), lexemes are also classified on the basis of external structure – i.e. according to the types of syntactic construction in which they characteristically participate (2.6.1.). To distinguish this type of classification from the other, the term <u>form-class</u> is used. A <u>form-class</u> is a class of lexemes which fill a given position in a given syntactic construction, or which share a number of such positions.

2.2. Prosodic Morphemes

2.2.1. Intonation and Loud-Stress Morphemes

1) / . / 'end of clause construction.'

Example of contrast with / , /:

khɔ̌ɔŋ khun-cìd . khǎw fàag wá j .
'It belongs to Chit. He left it here.'

khɔ̌ɔŋ khun-cìd , khǎw fàag wá j .
'It's something of Chit's that he left here.'

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Example of contrast of / ↑ ./ with / ↑ / by itself:

mâ↩ ↩àaŋ-nán ↑ . dǐaw lùd ↑ .
  'Not that way! It'll come loose!'

mâ↩ ↩àaŋ-nán ↑ dǐaw lùd ↑ .
  'Otherwise, it'll come <u>loose</u>!'

2) / ↑ /, in the context / ↑ ./, 'emotional involvement.'

Example of contrast with zero (in answer to the question 'Is he going?'):

mâ↩-pa↩: rɔ̀g .
  'No, he's not.'

mâ↩-pa↩: rɔ̃g ↑ .
  'Not <u>him</u>!'

Allomorph: / ↑ / in the context / ↑ ... ↑ ./. (see last example under morpheme 1), where 'emotional involvement' applies to both clauses.)

3) / , / 'clause construction continues, with major immediate constituent cut here.'

Example of contrast with / . /: see second example under morpheme 1).

Example of contrast with zero:

lέɛw khun-samàg , capa↩ nǎ↩ .
  'And Samag, where is he going?'

lέɛw khun-samàg capa↩ nǎ↩ .
  'And where is Samag going?'   <u>or</u>
  'Where are you going, Samag?'

Allomorph: / ↑ / in the context / ↑ ... ./ or the context / ↑...↑./ (where it is a portmanteau morpheme - see morpheme 2), end.)

Example of contrast in both contexts with / ↑ ./:

!mii rỹy: ↑ manúd cabin dâ↩ .
  '<u>Is</u> there such a thing as a human being able to fly?'

!mii rỹy: ↑ . phǒm mâ↩-chỹa .
  'Is there such a thing?! I don't beÍieve it.'

4) / ↓ ... :/ 'contrastive emphasis' (always followed by ↑)

      Example of contrast with normal stress (in answer to the
      question 'Is he going?'):

    ↓paj: khráb ↑ .
      'Of <u>course</u> he is↓'

    paj: khráb .
      'Yes, he is.'

    Allomorph: /↓ ... ↑/, when syllable is last in clause before / . /.
(In this position, / ↑ / is the morphophonemic version of / : ↑ / - see
1.8.4.1.). Example:

    ↓paj ↑ .
      'Of course he's going↓'

    Allomorph: /↓ S ... S:/, when two or more syllables are covered by
'contrastive emphasis.' (see /↓mii rȳy:/ in last three examples under morpheme
3) above.)

    Allomorph: /↓ S ... ↑/, when two or more syllables are covered by
'contrastive emphasis' and last syllable comes before / . /. Example in
second clause:

    mâj-châj chaam ↓ diaw ↑ . ↓ sɔ̌ɔŋ chaam ↑ .
      'Not <u>one</u> bowl↓ <u>Two</u> bowls↓'

    Note: / ↓ : / and the other variants listed above are not members
of the morpheme 'contrastive emphasis' in all cases of their occurrence. Cer-
tain interjections (3.1.1.) have these morphophonemic sequences as part of
their morphemic composition, e.g. /↓tâaj:/ 'Oh, my gosh↓'

5) / ↓ / by itself 'exhortation to action; signal to conclude a
      conversation or pass to a new topic.'

    Example in contrast with / ↓ ↑ /:

    ↓paj .
      'Let's go↓'

    ↓paj ↑ .
      'Of course he's going↓'

    Example in contrast with normal stress:

    ↓aw .
      'All right now (let's see).'

    aw .
      'All right (I'll accept it.)'

2.2.2. Rhythmic Morphemes

1) / : / 'phrase construction continues, with major immediate
   constituent cut here.'

   Example of contrast with / , /:

   paj nǎj: maa .
     'Where have you been?' (/maa/ is an adverb)

   paj nǎj , maa .
     'Where are you going, Mah?' (/maa/ is a name)

   Example of contrast with / /:

   khǎw phûud: khráb .
     'He's talking, sir.'

   khǎw phûud khráb samə̌ə .
     'He always says /khráb/ ('sir').'

2) / - / 'minor or no immediate constituent cut here; sub-lexemic
   or low-order syntactic division.'

   Double example of contrast with / /:

   tâŋ tôn-sàg .
     'Stand a teak-tree upright.'

   tâŋ-tôn sàg .
     'Begin to tattoo.'

In the first example, /tâŋ/ is a verb lexeme meaning 'set up, stand
up (transitive),' and /tôn-sàg/ is a compound noun lexeme meaning 'teak-tree.'
In the second example, /tâŋ-tôn/ is a compound verb lexeme meaning 'begin,'
and /sàg/ is a verb lexeme meaning 'tattoo.' In both cases / - / represents
a sub-lexemic cut.

   Example of contrast with / : /:

   tham ród sǐa dûaj .
     'Made the car break down too.'

   tham ród: sǐa-dûaj .
     'Makes cars, besides (in addition to doing other
                                       things).'

In both examples, the first two lexemes are a verb 'make' and a noun
'car,' and the last lexeme is an adverb 'also.' The difference is in the
third lexeme, which in the first instance fills a major syntactic slot as a

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verb meaning 'to be lost, destroyed,' and in the second instance is a minor
lexeme meaning something like 'unit verbal action.' In this case /-/ repre-
sents a minor syntactic cut, which is made after the major cut represented
by / : /.

Example of /-/ representing no cut:

tâŋ kâw-îı .

'Set up chairs.'

/kâw-îı/ 'chair' is an unanalyzable lexeme. All such lexemes in ST
contain the morph /-/, or its allomorph which follows below, in at least some
contexts.

Allomorph of 2): /AB/ (short syllable duration) in the contexts
/AB C/ and /X AB/ only. No contrastive examples occur.

Example of minor syntactic cut:

phîı capaȷ .

'Older brother intends to go.'

The lexeme /ca/ is preposition meaning 'hypothetical action.' Last
cut is between /ca/ and /paȷ/.

Example of sub-lexemic cut:

jùu thĩnǎȷ .

'Where is it?'

The lexeme /thĩnǎȷ/ 'where,' is analyzable into two morphemes repre-
sented by the morphs /thĩ/ 'at' and /nǎȷ/ 'where.' Last cut is between them.

Example of no cut:

sýy mamûaŋ .

'Buy mangoes.'

The lexeme /mamûaŋ/ 'mango' is unanalyzable.

When /AB/ occurs in the contexts /AB-C/ and /X-AB/ (i.e. when the
morpheme /-/ precedes or follows), it is not an allomorph of /-/.

phǒn-lãmáaȷ .

'It's fruit.

The compound lexical item 'fruit' consists of three morphs: /phǒn/
'fruit, result,' the rhythmic morph /-/, and /lãmáaȷ/, an allomorph of
/máaȷ/ 'wood, trees' occurring only in this combination. The sequence
/lãmáaȷ/ contains no rhythmic morph.

> 3) / / (medium syllable duration) in the context /AB C/, /A-B C/,
> /A BC/, or /A B-C/ (i.e. when morpheme 2) above either

immediately precedes or follows): 'higher-order immediate constituent cut here, to be made before any cut represented by /-/; usually syntactic but may be sub-lexemic.'

Examples of syntactic cuts (from 2) above):

taŋ-tôn sàg .   (A-B C)
  'Begin to tattoo.'

phîɩ capaɟ .   (A BC)
  'Older brother intends to go.'

mamûaŋ dɩɩ .   (AB C)
  'Good mangoes.'

Example of sub-lexemic cut:

mahǎa wíd-ɟaalaɟ .
  'The university.'

This is a single lexeme consisting of four morphemes: /mahǎa/ 'big, /wíd-ɟaalaɟ/ 'college' and the rhythmic morphemes / / and /-/. The only cut to be made is between /mahǎa/ and the remainder, unless the sequence /wíd-ɟaalaɟ/ proves to be analyzable.

Allomorph of 3)ı /A-B/ in the sequence /A-B-C/. Example:

ɟaa-kan-ɟuŋ .
  'Mosquito repellent'

Immediate constituent analysis is no different from the following, which also occurs:

ɟaa kan-ɟuŋ .

'Medicine /ɟaa/ for warding off /kan/ mosquitoes /ɟuŋ/.' The first cut in both cases is between /ɟaa/ and /kan-ɟuŋ/, the second cut between /kan/ and /ɟuŋ/. Both cuts are sub-lexemic, since the entire sequence is a single lexeme.

4) / / (medium syllable-duration) in the context /A B: C/ (i.e. when morpheme 1) above immediately follows): 'higher-order immediate constituent cut here, to be made after the cut represented by / ı / but before any cut represented by /-/; always syntactic.'

This morpheme is best illustrated in multiple contrast with the rhythmic morphemes already described, and with zero rhythmic morpheme. Examples:

chûaɟ lǎya kan .   /A B C/
  'Help Leua to prevent it.'

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chûaɟ ly̆a: kan .   /A B: C/
                       'Help Leua, acting as a group.'

                    chûaɟ-ly̆a kan .   /A-B C/
                       'Assist in preventing it.'

                    chûaɟ-ly̆a: kan .   /A-B: C/
                       'Assist each other.'

      /A B C/ - Immediate constituent cut not indicated. In this phrase,
the constituent lexemes are a verb (A), a noun which is a nickname (B), and
another verb (C). The intonation morpheme / . / makes it a clause, but there
are no rhythmic morphemes. The immediate constituent cut can be made tagmemi-
cally, but not on morphemic evidence.

      /A B: C/ - Major cut after /B/, hence last cut between /A/ and /B/.

      In this phrase the first two lexemes are as before, and the third
is a pronoun (C). The rhythmic morpheme / : / is present, hence the space
between /A/ and /B/ is an instance of morpheme 4).

      /A-B C/ - Sub-lexemic or low-order syntactic cut between /A/ and /B/,
hence first cut after /B/. The first two morphemes /A-B/ are constituents of
a compound verb lexeme of somewhat more formal meaning than /A/ by itself.
The rhythmic morpheme /-/ is present, hence the space between /B/ and /C/ is
an allomorph of morpheme 3) above.

      /A-B: C/ - Sub-lexemic or low-order syntactic cut between /A/ and
/B/, major cut after /B/. As before, /A-B/ is the compound verb, but /C/
is now the pronoun.

      5) /-/   In the context of a compound lexeme composed of numeral
               constituents only: 'multiplication.'
Examples:

      /hâa/   'five'   /sìb/   'ten'   /hâa-sìb/   'fifty'

      /sìi/   'four'   /róoɟ/ 'hundred' /sìi-róoɟ/   '400'

      /săam/ 'three'   /phan/ 'thousand' /săam-phan/   '3,000'

      6) / /   in the context of a compound lexeme composed of numeral
               constituents only: 'addition.'
Examples:

                    /hâa-sìb hâa/   'fifty-five'

                    /săam-phan sìi-róoɟ/   '3,400'

2.2.3. Normal-Stress Morphs

Normal stress is not morphophonemically distinguished from weak stress (see 1.8.3.), but a few prosodic morphs exist which are more properly characterized as normal-stress morphs (i.e. morphs whose phonemic shape is normal stress) than as rhythmic morphs. In the rhythmic context /A-B/, syllable /B/ has normal stress unless / : / precedes in the same phrase. Occurrence in such a context, therefore, is evidence of phonemic normal stress.

Most classes of lexemes consist of members which include normal stress in at least one syllable of some allolex (see 2.1.3.2.), but a few classes characteristically lack stress in all their forms - e.g. pronouns, prepositions, and certain kinds of classifiers. When normal stress occurs in connection with such lexemes, therefore, it is not part of the lexical unit but is a morph in its own right. Following are the two most easily recognized members of this class of morphs:

1) / ' / (normal stress): an allomorph of /diaw/ 'one, single' which occurs in simultaneous order with classifiers and certain numerals.

> chaaj ìig-sǒoŋ khon .
> 'Two more men.'

In this phrase /chaaj/ is a noun 'man,' /iig/ a preposition 'further,' /sǒoŋ/ is a numeral 'two,' and /khon/ is a classifier for people.

> chaaj ìig-khon .
> 'One more man'

Here the stress on /khon/ is an instance of the morph / ' / 'one.'

> sǒoŋ-róoj hâa-sìb .
> 'Two hundred and fifty.'
> róoj hâa-sìb .
> 'One hundred and fifty.'

Here the numeral /róoj/ 'hundred,' which usually has normal stress, occurs in a stressless allomorph, and the actual stress is again an allomorph of /diaw/ 'one.'

2) / ' / (normal stress) is an allomorph of the demonstrative morpheme /n ́/ (2.3.4.1.) which occurs in simultaneous order with pronouns.

khɔ̌ɔŋ phǒm jùu naj-tûu .
                'My things are in the chest.'

In the phrase /khɔ̌ɔŋ phǒm/, the noun /khɔ̌ɔŋ/ 'things' has normal
stress, and the pronoun /phǒm/ 'I, me' has its usual weak stress and mod-
ifies the noun.

                khɔ̌ɔŋ-phǒm jùu naj-tûu .
                'Mine is (are) in the chest.'

This time /khɔ̌ɔŋ/ is the preposition 'of' and has weak stress, while
the pronoun /phǒm/ has normal stress and is its object. The translation
'mine' corresponds to either 'that of me' or 'those of me,' where the demon-
strative occurs in its allomorph / ' /.

Note that the immediate constituent analysis for both sentences is
the same: /khɔ̌ɔŋ phǒm/ and /khɔ̌ɔŋ-phǒm/ both fill the same slot in the
sentence, regardless of their internal analyses, and the rhythmic evidence
is of no help.

2.2.4. Other Examples of Prosodic Contrast

1) The pairs of rhythmic contrasts presented below are given without
additional context, as sentence-fractions which might occur in a number of
similar environments.

tua jàaŋ-níi	'a body like this'
tua-jàaŋ níi	'this example'
faj mâj-mii	'there's no electricity'
faj-mâj mii	'fires occur'
naaj-rɔ́ɔj khon-nán	'that officer of company grade'
naaj rɔ́ɔj-khon: nán	'those hundred officers'
khon-nǎj dii	'which person is good?'
khon nǎj: dii	'which should be mixed?'
khâa-sʏ̀g paj-léɛw	'the enemy is gone'
khâa sʏ̀g: paj-léɛw	'I have left the monastery'
thâa-náam cahêɛŋ	'the water sources will dry up'
thâa náam cahêɛŋ	'if the water dried up'
rɔ́ɔŋ hâj-daŋ	'try to shout loudly'
rɔ́ɔŋ-hâj daŋ	'weeps loudly'
hǎa khwaam-sanùg	'seek pleasure'

hǎa-khwaam sanùg	'have fun picking arguments'
tòg-loŋ maa	'agreed to come'
tòg: loŋ-maa	'fell down towards us'
mâj-thy̌ŋ leej	'hasn't reached Loei'
mâj-thy̌ŋ: leej	'hasn't reached there at all'
mii kam-laŋ dii	'has good strength'
mii kamlaŋ-dii	'has just the right amount'
câw nâa-ca-aw	'you ought to take it'
câw-nâa ca-aw	'the broker will get it'
rág-sǎa khon-con hǎaj	'cure poor people'
rág-sǎa khon con-hǎaj	'was able to treat people success-fully'
maa-ráb sǎaj	'come to get it too late'
maa ráb-sǎaj	'came to answer the phone'
maa-aw sìi mooŋ	'came to get it at 10 o'clock'
maa aw-sìi mooŋ	'chose to come at 10 o'clock'
sôom: khan-níi	'this fork'
sôom khan-níi	'fix this one (car)'
my̌a waan paj-sy̌y	'when asked to buy it'
my̌a-waan paj-sy̌y	'went to buy it yesterday'
ráb-thaan khâaw	'eat rice'
ráb thaan khâaw	'receive a gift of rice'

2) The pairs of stress contrasts presented below do not differ in
the morphophonemic representation adopted for this grammar, but differ
phonemically. The example containing the normal stressed syllable in con-
trast is placed first and the stressed syllable is underlined. In the
examples, the weak-stressed syllables in contrast are respectively a prepo-
sition, a conjunction, a classifier, a modal, and a pronoun.

<u>tâŋ</u> naan	'has been set up a long time'
tâŋ naan	'for a very long time'
<u>thâa</u> bèɛb-nán	'that type of landing-place'
thâa bèɛb-nán	'if it's that type'

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<u>khan-lǎŋ</u>	'(my) back itches'
khan-lǎŋ	'the one (car) behind'
khǎw <u>klàb</u> paj râad-burıı	'He went back to Rajaburı.'
khǎw klàb paj râad-burıı	'He unexpectedly went to Rajaburı.'
bɔ̀ɔg <u>khun</u>	'tell the virtues of'
bɔ̀ɔg khun	'tell you'

3) The pairs of intonation contrasts below all involve the difference between / , / and no phrase boundary. In all cases, a proper name is involved.

khun ˌsamàg , capaj: mǎj .	'Are you going, Samag?
khun samàg capaj﹠ mǎj .	'Are you volunteering to go?'
tham hâj-sèd kɔ̀ɔn , dıı .	'Get it done first, Dee.'
tham hâj-sèd kɔ̀ɔn dıı .	'It would be good to get it done first'
khun khoŋ , capaj dûaj﹠ lǎ ↑ .	'I guess Khong is going along.'
khun khoŋ capaj dûaj﹠ lǎ ↑ .	'You're certainly going along!'

<u>2.3. Sub-lexemic Morphemes</u>

2.3.1. <u>Prefixes</u>

Sub-lexemic prefixes are quite rare in ST, and all existing ones are non-productive. The following are the most important members of the category, with examples.

1) /pra/, /pa/, /baŋ/, and /p/ 'causative.'

The first two allomorphs always occur with short syllable-duration, and are in free variation before most bases. The third allomorph /baŋ/ usually has short-syllable duration (never more than medium short) and is restricted to bases beginning with /k/ and /kh/. The last allomorph /p/ is sub-syllabic, occurring only before bases beginning with /r/ and /l/. After /p/, the base-morpheme occurs as a sub-syllabic allomorph; if it ends in a stop, the tone changes to (or remains) low. In most other cases, including the base-allomorphs which follow /pra/, /pa/, and /baŋ/, the tone remains the same; there are a few exceptions.

Examples:

Base		With Prefix	
/chum/	'to swarm'	/prachum/	'to assemble'
/sŏm/	'harmonious'	/pasŏm/	'to blend!'
/tháb/	'to be on top of'	/prathág/	'to affix'
/kháb/	'tight'	/baŋkháb/	'to regulate'
/kèəd/	'to be born'	/baŋkèəd/	'to originate'
/loŋ/	'to go down'	/ploŋ/	'to bury'
/râab/	'flat'	/pràab/	'to subdue'
/ráb/	'to receive, hear'	/pràb/	'to inflict, tell'
/lúg/	'to wake up'	/plùg/	'to waken'
/lɔɔɉ/	'to float'	/plɔ̀ɔɉ/	'to release'

(The last example has irregular tone.)

2) /kra/, /ka/, and /k/ 'reflexive'

The relationship among the allomorphs is exactly the same as among the first, second, and fourth allomorphs of morpheme 1) /pra/, including the change to low tone for bases ending in stops, after the allomorph /k/ (which occurs before bases beginning with /w/ as well). The meaning of the prefix is hard to pin down, but seems to be vaguely 'self-affecting action or condition.'

Examples:

Base		With Prefix	
/tham/	'to do'	/kratham/	'to act'
/dòod/	'to jump'	/kradòod/	'to jump'
/wâaŋ/	'unimpeded'	/kwâaŋ/	'spacious'
/râab/	'level'	/kràab/	'to prostrate oneself'
/láb/	'hidden'	/klàb/	'to turn around'

3) /ciŋ-/ 'prefix for animals; especially mammals, lizards, and large insects'

Precedes many bases, a few of which occur by themselves, with medium-short syllable duration. There is no change in the form of any base.

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Examples:

/cîŋ-còg/	'small lizard'
/cîŋ-còɔg/	'fox'
/cîŋ-rìɪd/	'cricket'

4) /ka/ or /kra/ 'prefix for animals; especially birds and fish'

Precedes many bases, with short syllable-duration. If the morphs /nóg/ 'bird' or /pḷaa/ 'fish' precede, they have medium-short duration, and the whole combinaũion is a single lexeme.

Examples:

/kasǎa/ or /nóg-kasǎa/	'stork'
/kalɪŋ/ or /nóg-kalɪŋ/	'parrot'
/kaphoŋ/ or /plaa-kaphoŋ/	'sea-bass'

5) /ma/ 'prefix for plants; especially vegetables and fruits'

Precedes many bases, very few of which occur by themselves, with short duration.

Examples:

/maphráaw/	'coconut'
/makhy̌a/	'eggplant'
/mamûaŋ/	'mango'

Allomorph /maŋ/ occurs before a few bases:

/maŋkhúd/	'mangosteen'

Allomorphs /màag-/ and /màg-/ occur with medium-short duration before many bases:

/màg-mûan/	'peach'
/màag-lɪŋ/	'small palm tree'

2.3.2. Infixes

Sub-lexemic infixes are somewhat more widely distributed in ST than prefixes, and one of them (the second listed) can actually be said to be productive. There are only four common infixes.

1) /amn/, /am/, /ab/, and /m/. 'formality or technicality added to meaning of base.'

The allomorph /amn/ is selected for most bases beginning with a single consonant. The initial consonant of the base plus /am/ becomes a syllable with short (or no more than medium-short) duration; /n/ plus the remainder of the base becomes a second syllable, which may have any duration except short. (When the base has zero initial consonant, the /amn/ is in effect a prefix.) For bases beginning with a consonant cluster, the allomorph /am/ is inserted between the members of the cluster. For monosyllabic bases beginning with /r/, the allomorph /ab/ is selected. For disyllabic bases, the allomorph /m/ is inserted at the end of the first syllable. The resulting lexeme is in all cases two syllables long.

Regular tone changes accompany the first two allomorphs. If the base morpheme has rising tone, the first syllable of the derivative lexeme has rising tone, and the second syllable has mid tone. If the base morpheme has any other tone, the first syllable of the derivative has mid tone. If the base morpheme ends in a stop, the second syllable of the derivative has low tone; otherwise, the second syllable has the same tone as the base.

Regular examples:

Base		With Infix	
/deən/	'to walk'	/damnəən/	'to conduct, proceed'
/sǐaŋ/	'voice'	/sǎmniaŋ/	'accent'
/càaɟ/	'to pay'	/camnàaɟ/	'to disburse'
/uaɟ/	'to give'	/amnuaɟ/	'to administer'
/traa/	'stamp, seal'	/tamraa/	'textbook'
/thalaaɟ/	'to destroy'	/thamlaaɟ/	'to ruin'
/kèəd/	'to be born'	/kamnèəd/	'birth'
/rîab/	'lined up'	/rabìab/	'order'
/ram/	'to dance'	/rabam/	'to perform a dance'
/ralýg/	'to be reminded of'	/ramlýg/	'to reminisce'

Other examples involve irregularities of tone, unpredictable forms of the base morpheme or the infix, and unusual orders:

/àad/	'to be capable'	/amnâad/	'power'
/nàg/	'heavy'	/nãmnàg/	'weight'
/troŋ/	'to go straight'	/damroŋ/	'to continue'

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/thaaŋ/	'way'		/thamnɔɔŋ/	'method'
/laa/	'to take leave'		/amlaa/	'to resign'
/lyy/	'to spread hearsay'		/rabyy/	'rumor'
/sɔ̌ɔŋ/	'two, second'		/sǎmrɔɔŋ/	'reserves'
/sèd/	'finished'		/sǎmrèd/	'successful'

2) /əə/, /ə/, /ɛɛ/, and /ɛ/ 'ridicule or inexactness added to meaning of base morpheme.'

This highly productive infix always involves a special allomorph of the base morpheme, since the vowel nucleus represented by the infix replaces the original nucleus (or the nucleus of the last syllable, if the base is poly-syllabic). ST speakers do not agree on the distribution of the infix allomorphs, but a common pattern is as follows:

If the base (or its last syllable) has a long vowel or diphthong nucleus, a long-vowel allomorph, /əə/ or /ɛɛ/, is selected; if the base has a short vowel, /ə/ or /ɛ/ is selected. For bases with an original vowel nucleus of /ɛɛ/ or /ɛ/, and for all bases ending in /j/, the allomorph /əə/ or /ə/ is selected. For bases with original /əə/ or /ə/, and for most bases ending in /w/, the allomorph /ɛɛ/ or /ɛ/ is selected. (Bases ending in /əəj/ or /əj/ cannot take this infix, as /ɛɛj/, /ɛj/ are syllabic impossibilities.) For bases other than the types mentioned, the selection can be either /ɛɛ,ɛ/ or /əə,ə/, the only certain rule being the one which concerns length of nucleus.

The result, infix allomorph plus base allomorph is always preceded somewhere in the same clause by the base morpheme in its most common form. If the base morpheme comes directly before the infixed morph, the former has medium syllable duration, and the whole combination is a complex reduplicated lexeme (2.4.4.) with four constituent morphs: base morpheme, rhythmic morph, base allomorph plus infix allomorph.

Examples:

Base Morpheme			Derivative	
/kin/	'to eat'	or	/kin kɛn/	'wining and dining'
			/kin kən/	
/faj/	'fire, electricity'		/faj fəj/	'electrical system'
/ŋən/	'silver, money'		/ŋən ŋɛn/	'money and that sort of thing'
/thɛ̌ɛw/	'row, section'		/thɛ̌ɛw thə̌əw/	'general vicinity'
/thîaw/	'go around, visit, go out for pleasure'		/thîaw thɛ̂ɛw/	'fool around'

/chûaj/	'to help'	/chûaj chêej/	'help out and that sort of thing'
/mɔ̂ɔ/	'pot'	/mɔ̂ɔ mêə/	'pots and pans'
/plɔɔm/	'counterfeit'	/plɔɔm plɛɛm/	'counterfeit, etc.'
/hǔu/	'ear'	/hǔu hêə/	'ears and stuff'

If the base is a polysyllabic morpheme or a compound lexeme, the infix allomorph occurs in the last syllable, whether this is a whole morph or not:

| /năŋ-sʉ̌ʉ/ 'books, letters' (two-syllable morpheme) | /năŋ-sʉ̌ʉ năŋ-sǝ̌ə/ | 'literature and that sort of thing' |
| /hěn-caj/ 'sympathize' (compound lexeme) | /hěn-caj hěn-cǝj/ | 'sympathize and all that stuff' |

All infixed forms also occur in discontinuous orders (see 2.5.3.4) and 5).

3) An extremely common but non-productive infix with principal allomorphs /aa/ and /a/ has the same conditions of occurrence as infix 2) /ǝə/, etc., but a very different meaning: 'emphasis or intensification of the concept denoted by the base morpheme.' It occurs mainly with reduplicated adjectives, the result being an adverb, but also combines with other reduplicated forms as well.

<u>Base</u>		<u>Derivative</u>	
/wɛɛw/	'brilliant'	/wɛɛw-waaw/	'brilliantly'
/ciŋ/	'true, sincere'	/ciŋ-caŋ/	'sincerely'
/krasíb/	'to whisper'	/krasíb-krasâab/	'in whispers'

This infix has so many allomorphs, however, that the morphological analysis of the relationship between base and infix is extremely complicated for most lexemes in which it occurs.*

4) A double infix, occurring discontinuously in reduplicated lexemes (see 2.4.3.7.), with principal allomorphs /u-i/ and /uu-ii/, has the meaning 'impressionistic visual or onomatopoetic auditory description.' It occurs mainly in adverbs and isolatives, but a few adjective lexemes incorporate it. There is some evidence that the principal allomorphs, at least, are productive.

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* See M.R. Haas, 'Techniques of Intensification in Thai,' <u>Word</u> 2.127-30. For most cases, a separate dictionary listing of all reduplicated lexemes containing the infix is the simplest solution.

Examples:

/krad̀g/	('to fidget')	/kradùg-kradíg/	'fidgety'
/ĉ/	('concerned with detail')	/cûu-cîi/	'petty, nagging (of persons)'
/c̀g/	('details')	/cùg-cìg/	'trifling (of things)'
/śb/	('whisper')	/súb-sib/	'in whispers'

Other common allomorphs of the double infix are illustrated in the following examples:

Infix		Derivative	
/e-a/		/kè-kà/	'cluttered, in the way'
/e-a/		/è -à/	'noisy'
/ə-ɛ/		/jə́-jɛ̂/	'numerous'
/u-a/		/khrù-khrà/	'bumpy'

A quadruple infix, found in at least one reduplication, is probably an allomorph of this morpheme:

Infix	Derivative	
/ɔ-ɛ ɔɔ-ɛɛ/	/cɔ́g-cɛ́g cɔɔ-cɛɛ/	'sound of many people talking'

As in the case of 3) /aa/ etc., however, a separate dictionary listing of such lexemes is required. There are many cases where the two infix types, 3) and 4), overlap.

2.3.3. Superfixes

1) Two superfixes which have the phonemic shape / ' /, normal stress, but do not show up morphophonemically except by inference from rhythmic patterns, have already been mentioned (2.2.3.1-2.)

Examples:

/khon/	'classifier for people'	/'khon/	'one person'
/phǒm/	'I, me'	/'phǒm/	'that of me, mine'

2) A superfix with allomorphs / ˆ / falling tone, / ˋ / low tone, and
   zero (no change in tone) makes adverbs from four demonstratives
   and two numerals.

Examples:

Base Lexeme		Derivative	
/níı/	'this'	/nîı/	'here'
/nán/	'that'	/nân/	'there'
/nóon/	'yon, the other'	/nôon/	'yonder'
/năɟ/	'which'	/năɟ/	'where'
		(zero allomorph of superfix)	
/baaŋ/	'some'	/bâaŋ/	'to some extent'
/nóoɟ/	'few'	/nòoɟ/	'a little'

3) Two superfixes occur with certain responses and final particles.
   The first has the shape / ˜ /, plain high tone, and means
   'question or suggestion; reply or assent expected.' The second
   has the shape / ˆ /, falling tone, or / ˊ /, constricted high
   tone, and means 'statement or command; no reply expected.' Both
   of these superfix morphs require a special toneless allomorph
   of the base, which consists of the original initial consonant
   plus a short vowel, usually /a/ but in one case / ı /.

Examples:

Base Lexeme		Question	Statement
/khăa/	'woman answering a call politely'	/khã/	/khâ/
/căa/	'answering a child's or equal's call'	/cã/	/câ/
/ɟăa̤/	'man answering a call rudely'	/ɟã/	/ɟâ/
/wə́əɟ/	'answering an intimate's call'	/wã/	/wá/ or /wâ/
/khráab/	'man answering a call politely'	/hã/ or /khrãb/	/há/ or /khráb/
/naa/	'you see'	/nã/ or /nãa/	/nâ/
/sıı/	'not otherwise'	/sĩ/	/sîı/

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4) A superfix with the shape / ! ~ : / is used by women on adjective
bases with the meaning 'emotional intensification of base meaning.'
It is the only truly productive superfix in the language, and like
forms infixed with /ə,ɛ/ (2.3.2.2.), its superfixed forms occur
only in close association with the base morpheme itself. All kinds
of adjectives on all five tones (other than / ~ /) occur with it.
The adjective base occurs in a toneless allomorph to which the
superfix / ! ~ : / is added, and is immediately followed by the
base morpheme in its usual form. The extra duration represented
by / : / is not a morph, and so the complex lexeme which results
has three constituent morphs:

Examples:

Base Morpheme		Derivative	
/dıɩ/	'good'	/!dĩɩ: dıɩ/	'excellent!'
/kàw/	'old'	/!kãw: kàw/	'ancient!'
/mâag/	'much'	/!mãag: mâag/	'a tremendous amount'
/róɔn/	'hot'	/!rõɔn: róɔn/	'blazing!'
/nǎaw/	'cold'	/!nãaw: nǎaw/	'freezing'

2.3.4. Sub-syllabic Morphemes

Besides prefixes, infixes, and superfixes, ST has a few other morph-
emes which have no allomorphs equivalent to a whole syllable in form and hence
do not correspond to lexemes. The important cases result from the analysis
of certain demonstrative and interrogative lexemes, but other classes of
lexemes are involved as well.

The following list of sub-syllabic morphemes, together with the list
of morphemes having at least one sub-syllabic allomorph given in the next
section (2.3.5.), is intended to give a complete view of the internal cons-
truction of demonstratives, interrogatives, and their derivatives.

1) /n ´/ (initial /n/ plus constricted high tone) 'demonstrative.'
Occurs in /nı́ɩ/ 'this,' /nán/ 'that,' /nóon/ 'yon,' and the final particle
/ná/ 'you see.' Allomorph /n/ occurs in /nǎj/ 'which!' Allomorph / ' /
occurs with pronouns (see 2.2.3.2.).

2) /ɩɩ/ 'close at hand, none other than, present.' Occurs in /nı́ɩ/
'this,' its derivatives /ŋı́ɩ/ 'so' and, with falling-tone superfix, /nîɩ/
'here' (see 2.3.3.2), also possibly in the final particle /sıɩ/ 'not other-
wise,' the adverb /jùu-dıɩ/ 'all the same,' and the derogatory lexeme /ɩɩ/
itself: /ɩɩ wan-nán/ 'that very day,' /ɩɩ-mɛɛw/ 'the (blasted) cat.' (This
/ɩɩ/ is a lexical prefix - see 2.4.1.)

3) /an/ 'farther away, comparatively far, removed from the present'
Occurs in /nán/ 'that' and its derivatives /nân/ 'there' and /ŋán/ 'thus,'
possibly also in /than/ 'to catch up, get there.'

4) /oon/ 'other, absolutely far, two removes from the present'
Occurs in /nóon/ 'yon, the other of two,' its derivative /nôon/ 'yonder,' and
/phóon/ (a regional variant). Allomorphs of this morpheme possibly occur in
the demonstrative noun /ỳyn/ 'others' and the pronoun /phŷan/ 'other ones.'

5) /ăɟ/ 'which of limited possibilities' Occurs in the demonstra-
tive /năɟ/ 'which,' its derivatives /năɟ/ 'where' and the isolative /ŋăɟ/
'what do you mean?' and in the question particle /măɟ/ 'yes or no.'

6) /aɟ/ 'which of unlimited possibilities' Occurs chiefly in the
free lexeme /raɟ/ 'indefinite demonstrative; what, some, any,' its allolex
/daɟ/, and their many derivatives, such as /araɟ/ 'what,' /thâw-raɟ/ 'how
much,' /mŷa-raɟ/ 'when,' /thɪɪ-raɟ/ 'which instance,' /phûu-daɟ/ 'anyone,'
/mŷa-daɟ/ 'any time,' and /thâw-daɟ/ 'to any extent.' The morph /aɟ/ occurs
by itself as a sub-syllabic constituent in /thamaɟ/ 'why' and /jaŋaɟ/ 'how.'
The whole combination /raɟ/ occurs as a sub-syllabic constituent in /khraɟ/
'who.'
7) /âɟ/ 'the one intended, the correct one of limited possibilities'
Occurs in /châɟ/ 'to be the one intended,' the negative /mâɟ/ 'not, other
than,' and possibly such other lexemes as /hâɟ/ 'intended for,' /dâɟ/ 'get,
succeed,' and the derogatory lexeme /âɟ/ itself: /âɟ-măa/ 'the (blasted) dog'
(a lexical prefix - see 2.4.1.)

Allomorph /aɟ/ occurs in the final particle /ŋaɟ/ 'that's the one,'
and possibly in /wáɟ/ 'for future purposes.'

8) /ŋ/ 'manner' Occurs in /ŋíɪ/ 'so,' /ŋán/ 'thus,' /ŋaɟ/ 'how;
that's the one,' and their derivatives /jaŋíɪ/, /jaŋán/, /jaŋaɟ/, and /ŋăɟ/
'what do you mean?'

9) /m/ 'negative' Occurs in /mâɟ/ 'not, other than' and the ques-
tion-word /măɟ/ 'yes or no.'

10) /ch ^/ 'designator' Occurs in /châɟ/ 'to be the one intended,'
/chŷy/ 'name,' /chên/ 'to be an example of,' and possibly an allomorph occurs
in /chíɪ/ 'to point out' and /chán/ 'class.'

Allomorph /cha/ occurs as syllabic morpheme constituent in such lex-
emes as /chaníɪ/ 'this way, this sort,' /chanán/ 'that way, that sort,'
/chanăɟ/ 'which sort,' and /chaphó/ 'especially.'

11) /r/ 'indefinite member of class' (opposite of 1) /n ´/) Occurs
chiefly in /raɟ/ 'what, some, any' and its derivatives (see 6) above), but
also in the conjunction /rɣy/ 'or,' the question-particle /rɣy/ and its
allolex /rěe/ 'or what,' and possibly in the sentence-particle /rɔ̀g/ 'or
anything.'

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Allomorph /n/ possibly occurs in /nyŋ/ and /nỳŋ/ 'one, a certain member of the class of.'

12) /yy/ 'equivalent' Occurs in /chŷy/ 'name,' both lexemes /rỹy/ above, and in /khyy/ 'that is to say.'

Allomorph /yŋ/ probably occurs in /nyŋ/ and /nỳŋ/ 'one, a certain member of the class of,' and in the conjunctions /sŷŋ/ 'such that,' /thỹŋ/ and /cyŋ/ 'with the result that.'

2.3.5. <u>Morphemes with Sub-syllabic Allomorphs</u>

Many morphemes of ST, other than those mentioned in the preceding sections, have at least one allomorph whose shape is less than a syllable. A list of the most important ones follows.

1) /thɪɪ/ 'classifier for instances' Occurs as a free lexeme with the prosodic-superfix morpheme / ' / 'one' in /ìɪg-thɪɪ/ 'once more,' and in the following demonstrative phrases (among others): /thɪɪ-raj/ 'which time,' /thɪɪ-níɪ/ 'this time,' and /thɪɪ-diaw/ 'once.'

Allomorph /thɪ/ occurs in /thɪdiaw/ 'quite, completely.'

Allomorphs /th/ and /ch/ occur as sub-syllabic constituents in allolexes of the above: /thiaw/ and /chiaw/ 'quite, completely.'

2) /an/ 'classifier for things' Occurs as a free lexeme with the prosodic-superfix morpheme / ' / 'one' in /pen an/ 'is one thing, as a unit,' and in the following demonstrative phrases (among others): /an-nǎj/ 'which one' and /an-níɪ/ 'this one.'

Allomorph /a/ occurs as a sub-syllabic constituent in /araj/ 'what.'

3) /khon/ 'classifier for people' Occurs as a free lexeme with the prosodic morpheme / ' / 'one' in /ìɪg-khon/ 'one more person,' and in the following demonstrative phrases (among others): /khon-nǎj/ 'which person' and /khon-nán/ 'that person.'

Allomorph /kh/ occurs as a sub-syllabic constituent in /khraj/ 'who.'

4) /tham/ 'to make, do' Occurs as a free verb lexeme in /tham khrua/ 'to do cooking.'

Allomorphs /tha-m/ and /thamm/ occur as a sub-syllabic constituents (syllable plus a fraction) in /thamaj/ 'why,' and its allolex /thammaj/.

5) /jàaŋ/ 'classifier for kinds of things, adverb of manner'
Occurs as a free lexeme with the prosodic morpheme / ' / in /ìig-jàaŋ/ 'one
more kind' and in the following demonstrative phrases (among others): /jàaŋ-
níi/ 'this kind,' /jàaŋ-nǎɉ/ 'which kind,' and /jàaŋ-raɉ/ 'how.'

Allomorph /jàŋ/ occurs in variant forms of the same demonstrative
phrases: /jàŋ-níi/, /jàŋ-nǎɉ/, /jàŋ-raɉ/.

Allomorphs /ja-ŋ/ and /jaŋŋ/ occur as sub-syllabic constituents in
the following lexical units (which are all allolexes of forms first listed
in 2.3.4.8.): /jaŋíi/ and /jaŋŋíi/ 'so, this way,' /jaŋán/ and /jaŋŋán/
'thus, that way,' /jaŋaɉ/ and /jaŋŋaɉ/ 'how, what way; that's the one.'

6) /diaw/ 'numeral one' Occurs after classifiers: /khon-diaw/
'one person, alone.'

Allomorph / ' / occurs in simultaneous order with classifiers and
numerals (see 2.2.3.1.)

Allomorph /iaw/ occurs as sub-syllabic constituent in /thiaw/ and
/chiaw/ 'quite, completely' (see 1) /thii/ above).

2.4. Lexeme Composition

2.4.1. Derivatives

In the preceding section we have seen second-order lexemes derived
from base plus prefix (like /prachum/, 2.3.1.1.), base plus infix (like
/damnəən/, 2.3.2.1.), base plus superfix (like /khâ/, 2.3.3.3.), or from a
combination of two sub-syllabic morphemes (like /níi/, 2.3.4.1.), and third-
order lexemes derived from superfixed base plus repetition of original base
(like /!dii: dii/, 2.3.3.4.), from original base plus repetition with infix
(like /kin kɛn/, 2.3.2.2.), or from addition of a superfix to a combination
of sub-syllabic morphemes (like /nîi/, 2.3.3.2.). In all these types of
derivative, sub-syllabic morphemes were involved.

ST has still other derivatives, however, in which one of the consti-
tuents, while a free lexeme in its own right, is neither a modifier nor a
head. Such derivatives are therefore not compounds or reduplications of
free lexemes (see 2.4.3.), and must be treated separately.

In most derivatives incorporating two or more constituents which are
themselves lexemes, it is the first constituent that recurs in many combina-
tions and is productive of new formations. Such common prior constituents
are lexical prefixes. The important lexical prefixes are listed below. All
have medium-short syllable duration, unless the second constituent is extrem-
ely long and complex, in which case they have medium duration.

1) /kaan-/ 'the act of, affairs of'

Makes abstract nouns from verbs and verb expressions, and from specific nouns and noun expressions.

Base		Derivative	
/wîŋ/	'to run'	/kaan-wîŋ/	'running'
/tàd sŷa/	'to cut clothes'	/kaan-tàd-sŷa/	'tailoring'
/bâan/	'house, home'	/kaan-bâan/	'homework'
/tàaŋ-prathêed/	'foreign'	/kaan-tàaŋ-prathêed/	'foreign affairs'

2) /khwaam-/ 'the condition of, the result of'

Makes abstract nouns from adjectives and adjective expressions, and nouns describing the result or object of action implied by verbs and verb expressions.

Base		Derivative	
/ŋôo/	'stupid'	/khwaam-ŋôo/	'stupidity'
/rúu/	'to know'	/khwaam-rúu/	'knowledge'
/khaw-rób thoŋ/	'to do homage to a flag'	/khwaam khaw-rób thoŋ/	'respect for the flag'

3) /nâa-/ 'worthy of'

Makes adjectives from verbal bases.

Base		Derivative	
/rág/	'to love'	/nâa-rág/	'lovable, cute'
/duu/	'to look at'	/nâa-duu/	'interesting to look at'
/faŋ/	'to listen'	/nâa-faŋ/	'interesting to listen to'

Third-order derivatives containing both 2) /khwaam-/ and 3) /nâa-/ are quite common:

/khwaam-nâa-duu/   'visual interestingness'

4) /khîi-/ 'having a consistent characteristic of'

Makes adjectives from adjective and verb bases whose meanings imply single instances of behavior rather than characteristic behavior..

Base		Derivative	
/aaj/	'to be ashamed'	/khîi-aaj/	'bashful'
/kooŋ/	'to defraud'	/khîi-kooŋ/	'deceitful'

| /kìad/ | 'act slothfully' | /khîi-kìad/ | 'lazy' |
| /maw/ | 'intoxicated' | /khîi-maw/ | 'alcoholic' |

(Note: /khîi/ 'excrement' is a different lexeme which heads many compounds, all of which are also nouns - e.g. /khîi-taa/ 'eye secretion.' Such compounds cannot be confused with the above derivatives.)

5) /tàaŋ/ 'other' and /naa-naa/ 'various, plural'

These two lexical prefixes are grouped together because they share many co-constituents. Both make noun derivatives of plural meaning from noun bases.

Base		Derivatives	
/prathêed/	'country, nation'	/tàaŋ-prathêed/	'foreign countries'
		/naa-naa prathêed/	'countries'
/caŋ-wàd/	'province'	/tàaŋ-caŋwàd/	'the provinces (outside Bangkok)'
/chaníd/	'type, kind'	/naa-naa chaníd/	'various kinds'
/châad/	'race, nation'	/tàaŋ-châad/	'foreign origin'
		/naa-naa châad/	'races, nations'

6) /khrŷaŋ-/ 'collection, equipment, mechanism'

Makes collective nouns and nouns denoting kinds of machinery from all kinds of bases - nouns, verbs, adjectives, and expressions.

Base		Derivative	
/dỳym/	'to drink'	/khrŷaŋ-dỳym/	'beverages'
/bin/	'to fly'	/khrŷaŋ-bin/	'airplane'
/phim-dìid/	'to type'	/khrŷaŋ-phim-dìid/	'typewriter'
/karìi/	'curry'	/khrŷaŋ-karìi/	'curry ingredients'

(Examples of the type 'airplane' and typewriter' are compounds rather than derivatives, because /khrŷaŋ/ can substitute for the whole.)

7) /khâaŋ-/ and /bŷaŋ-/ 'side, aspect,' and /phaaj-/ 'time, place.'

All three of these lexical prefixes make abstract nouns from prepositions having to do with place and time relationships. Examples of all three with the base /lǎŋ/ 'after, behind':

/khâaŋ-lǎŋ/	'behind, the rear side'
/bŷaŋ-lǎŋ/	'behind, the hidden side, the past'
/phaaj-lǎŋ/	'after, the future'

(For further examples, see /naj/-class prepositions, 4.2.1.)

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8) /raaj-/ 'case, instance,' and /pracam-/ 'associated with'

These are allomorphs of a lexical prefix which makes nouns referring to frequency of occurrence from nouns designating time-periods. The allomorph /raaj-/ is used only with the smaller units.

Base		Derivatives	
/wan/	'day'	/raaj-wan/	'daily'
		/pracam-wan/	!daily'
/sàb-padaa/	'week'	/raaj-sàbpadaa/	'weekly'
/dyan/	'month'	/raaj-dyan/	'monthly'
/pɪɪ/	'year'	/pracam-pɪɪ/	'annual'

In a few kinds of derivatives incorporating two or more constituents which are themselves lexemes, the last constituent is the one that recurs and produces new combinations. Such latter constituents are <u>lexical</u> <u>suffixes</u>. Two of the most important ones are exemplified below (9-10). Since they terminate their lexemes, they can have any syllable-duration from medium up, but the preceding constituent usually has medium-short duration.

9) /-caj/ 'heart'

Makes verbs and adjectives having to do with feelings and thought processes from verb and adjective bases.

Base		Derivative	
/dɪɪ/	'good'	/dɪɪ-caj/	'glad'
/khâw/	'enter'	/khâw-caj/	'understand'
/chɔ̂ɔb/	'to like'	/chɔ̂ɔb-caj/	'be pleased'
/phɔɔ/	'enough'	/phɔɔ-caj/	'be satisfied.'

10) /-phâab/ 'form, shape'

Makes abstract nouns from noun, verb, and adjective bases. This suffix is nearly in complementary distribution with 2) the prefix /khwaam-/, as far as selection of bases is concerned, and the meaning of the two affixes is about the same: 'the quality of.' The suffix sometimes requires a special allomorph of the base: some bases ending in consonants are extended by a syllable of short duration, which consists of a fortis consonant of the same position as the final of the base, plus the short vowel /a/; other bases have no extension, or unpredictable extensions.

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Base	Derivative
/sěe-rɪɪ/	'free'	/sěerɪɪ-phâab/	'freedom'
/ìd-sarà/	'free'	/ìdsarà-phâab/	'freedom'
/khun/	'virtue'	/khun-naphâab/	'quality'
/sùg/	'happiness'	/sùg-kaphâab/	'happiness'
/sǎn/	'secure, peaceful'	/sǎn-tɪphâab/	'security, peace'

(<u>Note</u>: /khwaam-sùg/ 'happiness' also exists.)

11) Other lexical suffixes worthy of mention:

/-sàad/	'discipline, science'
/-kaan/	'work'
/-kɔɔn/	'worker'
/-chíg/ or /íg/	'member'
/-khom/	'month with 31 days'
/-jon/	'month with 30 days'

2.4.2. Compounds

Compounds in ST, as defined here, are characteristically endocentric: the first constituent is the head and all other constituents are modifiers; further constituent cuts can be made on the basis of rhythmic patterns. In nearly all cases, moreover, the form-class of the compound lexeme is the same as that of the head constituent when it occurs as an independent lexeme. Compounds are constructed from all types of head constituent, nouns being the most frequent, then verbs, then adjectives, then numerals, other form-classes being relatively infrequent.

Examples:

/rooŋ/	'hall'	(noun)
/rian/	'to study'	(verb)
/rooŋ-rian/	'school'	(noun)
/dəən/	'to walk'	(verb)
/thěɛw/	'row'	(noun)
/dəən-thěɛw/	'to march'	(verb)

/kɛ̀ɛ/	'dark'	(adjective)
/faj/	'fire'	(noun)
/kɛ̀ɛ-faj/	'scorched'	(adjective)
/hâa/	'five'	(numeral)
/sìb/	'ten'	(numeral) plus rhythmic morpheme
		/-/ (see 2.2.2.5)
/hâa-sìb/	'fifty'	(numeral)

A few of the lexemes which occur most frequently as head-morphemes are listed below.

/khon-/ and /phûu-/	'agent, the one who does'
/châaŋ-/	'craftsman'
/câw-/	'the one who fills a command or civil service function'
/rɔɔŋ-/	'second-in-command, vice-'
/chaaw-/	'native of, citizen of'
/mɛ̂ɛ-/	'woman who does'
/thîi-/	'place where something is done'
/rooŋ-/	'public building, hall'
/hɔ̂ŋ-/	'room'
/bâan-/	'village of'
/myaŋ-/	'town or country of'
/tɔɔn-/	'time or portion of'
/phâag-/	'section of'

The exceptions to this pattern are of four types: 1) the head constituent is a classifier, but the compound is a noun, 2) the first constituent is not the head, and hence the compound is irregular, 3) one constituent or another has a meaning in the compound unrelated to its normal free-meaning, and 4) constituents have irregular allomorphs.

1) Classifier as head constituent of a noun compound lexeme. Examples with second constituent /máaj/ 'wood, trees, plants':

/tôn/ 'classifier for trees and plants'

/tôn-máaj/   'tree'   /tôn-máaj sɔ̌ɔŋ tôn/   'two trees'

/baɟ/ 'classifier for leaves, slips of paper, and receptacles'

/baɟ-máaɟ/   'leaf'   /baɟ-máaɟ sɔ̌ɔŋ baɟ/   'two leaves'

/dɔ̀ɔg/ 'classifier for flowers and small-patterned objects'

/dɔ̀ɔg-máaɟ/   'flower'   /dɔ̀ɔg-máaɟ sɔ̌ɔŋ dɔ̀ɔg/   'two flowers'

Examples involving (4) irregular allomorph of constituent:
/phǒn/ 'classifer for fruits'   Allomorph: /lãmáaɟ/

/phǒn-lãmáaɟ/ 'fruit'   /phǒn-lãmáaɟ sɔ̌ɔŋ phǒn/ 'two fruits'

2)   First constituent not head of compound:
    Examples with /mahǎa/ 'big', great':
    /wíd-thaɟalaɟ/ 'college' /mahǎa-wídthaɟalaɟ/   'university'
    /samùd/   'salt water body'   /mahǎa-samùd/   'ocean'

    Examples with /èeg/ 'first':
      /àg-kharâad-cathûud/   'high-ranking diplomat'
      /èeg àg-kharâad-cathûud/   'ambassador'

    With (4) irregular allomorph /karâad/:
    /râad/   'reign'   /èeg-karâad/   'autonomous'

    Same morpheme /èeg/ in normal compound lexeme:
    /naaŋ/   'woman'   /naaŋ-èeg/   'heroine'

3)   Meaning of lexeme not deducible from meanings of constituents as
     free lexemes:
    /tɛ̀ɛŋ/   to adorn'   /ŋaan/ 'work, ceremony, fair'
    /tɛ̀ɛŋ-ŋaan/   'to be married'
    /tòg/   'to fall'   /loŋ/   'down'
    /tòg-loŋ/   'to agree'
    /lɛ́ɛw/   'already, over with' /tɛ̀ɛ/   'but, only'
    /lɛ́ɛw-tɛ̀ɛ/   'depends on, is up to'

4)   Irregular allomorphs of constituents.
    Examples repeated from above:
       /lãmáaɟ/   in   /phǒn-lãmáaɟ/   'fruit'   (1)
       /karâad/   in   /èeg-karâad/   'autonomous'   (3)

Other examples:

/phon/ 'individual' in /phon-thahǎan/ 'individual military man, private, etc.' (with /thahǎan/ 'military.')

Allomorph /phon-la/ in /phon-laryan/ 'civilian' (with ryan 'household'), and /phon-lamyaŋ/ 'population' (with /myaŋ/ 'town')

/àgsǒon/ 'letters, literature' in /àgsǒon tàm/ 'low class of letters' (with /tàm/ 'low')

Allomorph /àgsǒon-rã̌/ in /àgsǒon-rã̌sàad/ 'the study of literature' (with /sàad/ 'discipline')

Allomorph /àgkhará/ in /àgkhará-wíthıı/' 'phonetics' (with /wíthıı/ 'method')

The last two examples also involve reverse order of constituents (2).

2.4.3. Reduplications

All reduplications involve either a repetition of a base lexeme, with or without change in the shape of the base, or a construction of the base lexeme with an element which, while it may not resemble the base morphophonemically, is found only in association with it. The border-line between the two types is not easily drawn (see 2.3.2.3 end), but in all cases the construction is endocentric and the meaning of the reduplicated lexeme is substantially the same as· the meaning of the base lexeme, although the form-class may be different.

Nearly all common lexemes of one or two syllables belonging to the major form-classes have special combining elements associated with them which yield more complicated lexemes of roughly the same meaning. If the combining element itself occurs as a free lexeme with a similar meaning, the combination is called a compound (2.4.2.):

Constituent		Constituent		Compound	
/tɔ̀ɔ/	'to confront'	/sûu/	'to compete'	/tɔ̀ɔ-sûu/	'to fight'
/chàb/	'quick'	/waɟ/	'sensitive'	/chàb-waɟ/	'alert'

If the combining element is the unchanged form of the base plus some rhythmic morpheme, one of the <u>simple reduplications</u> listed below (1-4) occurs.

If the combining element is an infixed or superfixed form of the base, one of the <u>complex reduplications</u> listed below (5-8) occurs, and the combining element is an <u>infixed reduplicator</u> or a <u>superfixed reduplicator</u>.

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If the combining element has some other morphophonemic resemblance to the base, one of the irregular reduplications listed below (9-10) occurs. The combining element may be a rhyming reduplicator, in which some portion of the reduplicator matches the latter portion of the base, or an alliterative reduplicator, in which the beginning of the reduplicator matches the beginning of the base.

If the combining element has no appreciable resemblance to the base, and also does not occur as a free lexeme in a meaning associated with the meaning of the reduplication, a quasi-reduplication occurs. Quasi-reduplications are listed along with irregular reduplications (in 9-11 below).

Examples of rhyming, alliterative, and quasi reduplicators:

Base			Reduplicator	
/chum/	'to swarm'		/num/	(rhyming, no meaning)
/phləən/	'to be absorbed'		/phlêəd/	(alliterative, no meaning)
/sanùg/	'to have fun'		/sanǎan/	(alliterative, 'to bathe')
/chûaj/	'to help'		/lǐa/	('to be left over')
/klaaŋ/	'middle'		/thâam/	(no meaning)

For simple reduplications, the order of constituents is irrelevant, but the rhythmic morpheme is important (1-4). For complex reduplications, the order of constituents is fixed, but the rhythmic pattern does not play an important role (5-8). For irregular and quasi reduplications, the order of constituents is variable and significant, but the rhythmic pattern is automatic (9-10). For the last type of quasi-reduplication (11), both order and rhythm are fixed.

The symbols used in the formulae for reduplications are as follows:

B-	base or simple reduplicator
Bi-	infixed reduplicator or base
Bs-	superfixed reduplicator
Br-	rhyming reduplicator
Ba-	alliterative reduplicator
Q-	quasi reduplicator
R-	any of the last three reduplicators (Br, Ba, Q).

1) /B-B/ 'softening or approximizing of base meaning'
    The construction consists of a simple reduplication, plus the
      morpheme /-/ 'sub-lexemic immediate constituent cut.' It occurs

mainly with adjective bases, where it is productive, but also with a
few specific minor form-class bases. The reduplicated lexemes from
adjective bases function only as modifiers and adverbs, and cannot
fill the predicate position (among others). In the modifying posi-
tion, the base adjective is limiting, while the reduplicated lexeme
is non-limiting, and a real contrast results:

/nóg jàɹ/   'big birds'   (an implied size-classification)

/nóg jàɹ-jàɹ/   'biggish birds'   (incidental information about size)

Other examples:

Base		Reduplication	
/diɹ/	'good, well'	/diɹ-diɹ/	'rather good, rather well'
/ciŋ/	'true'	/ciŋ-ciŋ/	'really'
/lŷyn/	'slipping'	/lŷyn-lŷyn/	'slippery'
/kàw/	'old (of things)'	/kàw-kàw/	'oldish'
/kὲɛ/	'old (of people)'	/kὲɛ-kὲɛ/	'elderly'
/kỳab/	'almost'	/kỳab-kỳab/	'approximately'
/tháŋ/	'the whole of'	/tháŋ-tháŋ/	'including all of'

(The last two examples are not adjective bases.)

2) /B-B/ 'plurality'

This is a homonymous reduplicating construction which occurs with
noun and classifier bases only. The noun bases which reduplicate
in this way are rather few in number, but the construction is pro-
ductive for classifier bases. Examples:

Base		Reduplication	
/dèg/	'child'	/dèg-dèg/	'children'
/tâŋ/	'classifier for stacks'	/pen tâŋ-tâŋ/	'in stacks'
/wan/	'day'	/pen wan-wan: paɹ/	'from day to day'
/kôɔn/	'classifier for lumps'	/pen kôɔn-kôɔn/	'in lumps'

Alternate form of reduplication: /B B/

/pen tâŋ tâŋ/   'in stacks'

3) /B B/ 'succession of auditory or visual impressions'

This highly productive construction consists of a simple reduplica-
tion with medium duration (in practice, never representing the

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morpheme / / 'high-order immediate constituent cut' 2.2.2.4) on the
first syllable. Nearly all bases that reduplicate in this way also
occur, with the superfix / ' / or after numerals, as classifiers
meaning 'one instance of such a noise or sight.' The reduplicated
lexemes are isolatives, and do not participate in normal syntactic
constructions. Examples:

Base		Reduplication	
/kég/	'one rap'	/kég kég/	'with rapping sounds'
/íəd/	'one creak'	/íəd íəd/	'with creaking sounds'
/khamèb/	'a labored breath'	/khamèb khamèb/	'breathing weakly'
/wêɛb/	' a flash'	/wêɛb wêɛb/	'in flashes'

Alternate form /B-B/: /wêɛb-wêɛb/ 'in flashes'

Base in numeral phrase: /sŏoŋ kég/ 'two raps'

Except for the difference in form-class of reduplications of this
type, they work exactly like 2) 'plurality' above.

4)   /B, B/ 'repetitive action'

The construction consists of a simple reduplication, with the first
instance of the base coming at the end of one phrase and the second
at the beginning of the next. Although the occurrence of /, / sug-
gests a major immediate constituent cut (rather than a sub-lexemic
cut), the correct analysis for /B , B/ is a reduplicated lexeme
which belongs to both phrases. Only verb bases occur in this con-
struction.

Base		Reduplication
/dəən/	'to walk'	/khâw dəən , dəən: paj naan/
		'He walked and walked for a long time.'
/paj/	'to go'	/khâw dəən: paj , paj phób/
		'He walked along until he met...'

Alternate form of reduplication: /B B/

/mii khon paj paj , maa maa ./
'There were people coming and going.'

5)   /B B1/ 'ridicule or inexactness added to base meaning'

This complex reduplication, infixed base following base (with
medium duration), occurs only in connection with the infix /əə/-
/ɛɛ/ (see 2.3.2.2.).

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Examples:

/kın/   'to eat'   /kın kɛn/   'wining and dining'

(For additional examples, see 2.3.2.2.)

6)   /B-Bı/   'intensification of base meaning'

This complex reduplication, infixed base following base (with medium-short duration), occurs only in connection with the infix /aa/-/a/ and its allomorphs.

Example:

/cıŋ/   'true'   /cıŋ-caŋ/   'sincerely'

(For additional examples, see 2.3.2.3.)

7)   /Bı-Bı/   'impressionistic description'

This complex reduplication, consisting of two infixed bases (the first of which has the least possible duration) occurs only in connection with the double infix /u-ı/ and its allomorphs.

Example:

/kradŭg-kradĭg/   'fidgety'

Alternate form: /Bı-Bı   Bı-Bı/.

Example:

/cóg-cɛ́g cɔɔ-cɛɛ/   'sound of many voices'

(For additional examples, see 2.3.2.4.)

8)   /Bs   B/   'emotional intensification of base meaning'

This complex reduplication, superfixed base (with medium-long duration) preceding base, occurs only in connection with the superfix / ! ~ : /, and hence only in women's speech. (see 2.3.3.4.)

Example:

/dıı/   'good'   /!dĩı: dıı/   'excellent!'

(For additional examples, see 2.3.3.4.)

9)   /B-R/   'generality or formality'

The construction consists of the base (which has the least possible duration, but not less than medium-short) plus an irregular or quasi reduplicator. Some variants are /B   R/, /B-Br/, /B-Ba/, and /B-Q/. It occurs with all types of major form-class bases, rarely with minor form-class bases. The class of the base does not change; adjectives reduplicated in this way, for example, can fill the predicate position. (cf. 1./B-B/ above).

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Examples:

Base			Reduplication		
/chum/	'to swarm'		/chum-num/	'to assemble' (B-Br)	
/bèd/	'fish-hook'		/bèd-talèd/	'odds and ends' (B-Br)	
/faràŋ/	'Occidental'		/faràŋ-maŋkhâa/	'Occidentals and such' (B-Br)	
/sanùg/	'to have fun'		/sanùg-sanăan/	'to be amused' (B-Ba)	
/wád/	'temple'		/wád-waa/	'temples, etc.' (B-Ba)	
/wád-waa/	'temples, etc.'		/wád-waa aaraam/	'religious installations' (a third-order lexeme, /B-Ba Q/, in which /B-Ba/ and /Q/ are constituents)	
/chûaɹ/	'to help'		/chûaɹ-ly̆a/	'to assist' (B-Q)	
/bâan/	'home, house'		/bâan-chôɔŋ/	'hearth and home' (B-Q)	

10) /R-B/ 'precision, specificness'

This construction, the reverse of 7) /B-R/ in form and nearly in meaning, consists of the irregular or quasi reduplicator (which has least duration possible) followed by the base. Some variants are /R B/, /Br-B/, /Ba-B/, and /Q-B/. It occurs mainly with major form-class bases, but also with some important minor form-class bases too. In the latter case, especially, the class membership of the base lexeme is often different from that of the reduplicated lexeme.

Examples:

Base			Reduplication		
/hŏɔŋ/	'raise up'		/cɔɔŋ-hŏɔŋ/	'proud' (Br-B)	
/phləən/	'to be absorbed'		/phlêəd-phləən/	'completely engrossed' (Ba-B)	
/ny̆aɹ/	'to be tired'		/nèd-ny̆aɹ/	'exhausted' (Ba-B)	
/khăw/	'hill, mountain, etc.'		/phuu-khăw/	'mountain' (R-B)	
/klaaŋ/	'middle, amidst'		/thâam-klaaŋ/	'exact center' (R-B)	
/khâaŋ/	'side, beside'		/khôn-khâaŋ/	'rather, on the side of' (Ba-B)	

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11) /B Q/ 'ultimate degree'

The construction consists of an adjective or noun base plus a quasi-reduplicator (which may have only a minimal independent existence outside of this construction). The class membership of the reduplication is the same as that of the base. The reduplicator in nearly all cases has the stress pattern / ¹ ᵣ /, which is not a loud-stress morpheme but a part of the reduplicating lexeme itself.

Examples:

Base		Reduplication	
/khǎaw/	'white'	/khǎaw ¹cúəgː/	'pure white'
/dɛɛŋ/	'red'	/dɛɛŋ ¹prɛ́dː/	'vivid red'
/rew/	'fast'	/rew ¹prы̆yː/	'lightning fast'

2.5. Syntactic Constructions

2.5.1. Simultaneous Constructions

1) A syntactic unit is any lexeme or integral number of lexemes marked by rhythmic evidence (see 2.2.2.) as an immediate constituent of some larger construction, plus the rhythmic morpheme or morphemes which so mark it by occurring simultaneously with it. The minimum syntactic unit is a single lexeme, with or without rhythmic morpheme. The following example contains two minimum syntactic units, the lexemes /paj/ 'go' and /khráb/ 'polite word for men,' which share the simultaneous occurrence of / ː / 'phrase construction continues, with major immediate constituent cut here' (2.2.2.1.):

paj ᵣ khráb .   'Yes, sir, (he's) going.'

Syntactic units are always smaller than morphophonemic phrases, because of the requirement that immediate constituent cuts be established rhythmically, but they may be of any length. The following sequence is marked off into syntactic units with slant lines for illustrative purposes:

phûu-jĭŋ / khon-nán / mãj-dãj-pen / khruuː / rɔ̀g / khráb ↑ .
'That woman isn't a teacher!'

('Woman / one-that / not-actually-be / teacher / utterly / sir!')
The sequence ending /khruuᵣ/ is also a syntactic unit.

A sequence of three lexemes, the first two of which have medium syllable-duration / /, corresponds to three syntactic units; the negative rhythmic evidence makes any other division impossible:

chɔ̂ɔb kin plaa .   'Likes to eat fish.'

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2) A <u>syntactic</u> <u>phrase</u> is any integral number of ordered syntactic units comprising an immediate constituent of a higher order plus whatever loud-stress morphemes may occur simultaneously with the sequence (but not including intonation morphemes which may also occur simultaneously). All syntactic phrases contain at least one syntactic unit of two or more lexeme constituents, or at least two syntactic units with a single lexeme constituent. Syntactic phrases in consecutive order are never longer than phonemic phrases (see examples in 2.5.2.), although those in non-consecutive orders may consist of two or more phonemic phrases (see examples in 2.5.3.).

3) A <u>syntactic</u> <u>clause</u> is any integral number of lower-order syntactic constituents (lexemes, units, or phrases) occurring simultaneously with a single intonation morpheme, plus the intonation morpheme itself. Hence syntactic clauses are always co-extensive with phonemic clauses (see 1.8.4.).

4) A <u>sentence</u> is any syntactic clause considered from the point of view of its constituents and their classification. Sub-types of sentences are listed in 2.6.2., below.

5) A <u>discourse</u> is any sequence of sentences uttered consecutively by the same person, and corresponds roughly to the utterance on the phonemic level. Sentences quoted from the same discourse and used as examples in this grammar are not identified in any special way, but if quoted consecutively are always separated by / . / in the text.

6) An <u>exchange</u> is any sequence of discourses uttered consecutively by different speakers in direct communication with each other. Sentences quoted in the context of an exchange are identified by the prefacing of a capital letter to represent each speaker involved (A, B, Q, R, etc.)

2.5.2. <u>Consecutive-order Constructions</u>

1) An <u>endocentric</u> <u>phrase</u>, or <u>expression</u>, is any consecutive-order syntactic construction such that the first lexeme, or <u>head</u>, can substitute for the whole construction. Endocentric phrases will later be characterized by reference to the form-class of the head (which is also the form-class of the whole phrase), as <u>noun expression, verb expression</u>, etc. Examples:

/bâan phǒm/ 'my home,' from /bâan/ 'house' and /phǒm/ 'I, me.' (noun expression)

/kin khâaw/ 'to eat,' from /kin/ 'eat' and /khâaw/ 'rice.' (verb expression)

/dii lǎkəən/ 'very good,' from /dii/ 'good' and /lǎkəən/ 'very' (adjective expression).

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The other constituent of an endocentric phrase (the constituent fol-
lowing the head) is the modifier. In the examples above, /bâan/, /kin/, and
/dii/ are heads; /phǒm/, /khâaw/, and /lǎkɔɔn/ are modifiers.

2) A predication is any consecutive-order syntactic construction
such that some lexeme or constituent other than the first lexeme or consti-
tuent can substitute for the whole construction. Any single lexeme which
substitutes in this way is a predicator; a more complex constituent filling
the same role is called a predicate. The first constituent in a predication
is the subject.

The test of substitution is easily made in the context of a yes-no
question and its answer. Predications will later be characterized by refer-
ence to the form-class of the predicator, as verb predication, adjective pre-
dication, etc. Examples:

Question	Yes-Answer
khǎw kin: mǎj .	kin .
'Will he eat it?'	'Yes.'

/kin/ 'eat' is a verb, and /khǎw kin/ is a verb predication. /khǎw/
is the subject.

khâaw dii: mǎj .	dii .
'Is the rice good?'	'Yes.'

/dii/ 'good' is an adjective, and /khâaw dii/ is an adjective pre-
dication. /khâaw/ is the subject.

khǎw tôŋ kin: mǎj .	tôŋ.'
'Does he have to eat it?'	'Yes'

/tôŋ/ 'has to' is a modal verb; it substitutes for the endocentric
predicate /tôŋ kin/ 'has to eat,' and also for the entire predication /khǎw
tôŋ kin/, which is hence a modal verb predication.

The residual constituents of predicates, after the predicator has
been identified, are objects. In the predicate /tôŋ kin/ 'has to eat,'
/kin/ is the object. Some predicates appear to have two objects, but imme-
diate constituent analysis in such cases always shows two predicates, one
included in the other. Example:

khǎw cò-ruu hìib .	'He bored a hole in the box.'

The subject is /khǎw/ and the main predicate is /cò-ruu hìib/, which
has its own constituents, /cò-ruu/ 'bore a hole,' a secondary predicate, and
its object, /hìib/ 'box.' The unit /cò-ruu/ consists of /cò/, predicate,
and /ruu/, object. For convenience, objects such as /hìib/ are called indi-
rect objects.

3) An exocentric construction is any consecutive-order syntactic construction such that no single lexeme or constituent can satisfactorily substitute for the whole construction. Exocentric constructions have no heads, but will later be characterized by reference to the form-class of the first lexeme, as prepositional phrase, classifier phrase, etc., although the construction does not belong to any such form-class. Examples:

> /khɔ̌oŋ phǒm/ 'mine,' from /khɔ̌oŋ/ 'belonging to' and /phǒm/ 'I, me.' (prepositional phrase)

> /khoŋ kin/ 'is sure to eat,' from /khoŋ/ 'is sure to' and /kin/ 'eat.' (modal phrase)

> /mâj-dii/ 'not good,' from /mâj/ 'not' and /dii/ 'good.' (negative phrase)

If a residual constituent of any kind is in an exocentric construction, it is called a complement rather than an object. (see 2.5.2.2. end). Example: /khâaw jùu naj-tûu ./   'The rice is in the cabinet.' The subject is /khâaw/ 'rice,' the predicator is /jùu/ 'to be located,' and the residue, /naj-tûu/ is a prepositional phrase meaning 'in the cabinet.' /tûu/ is a complement.

4) An equation is any exocentric construction which as a whole is syntactically parallel to a predication; that is, whose second constituent can be substituted for by a predicator. Examples:

wan-níi wan-sǎw .	'Today is Saturday.'
wan-níi rɔ́ɔn .	'It's hot today' (predication)
phǒm khǎa-hàg .	'I have a broken leg'
phǒm mâj-sabaaj .	'I'm not well.' (predication)

The first constituent of an equation is the topic; the second constituent is the equational predicator, if a single lexeme, or the equational predicate, if a more complex construction. In the above examples, /wan-níi/ and /phǒm/ are topics, /wan-sǎw/ 'Saturday' is an equational predicator, and /khǎa-hàg/, which is itself a noun expression ('broken leg'), is an equational predicate.

Predications which appear to have two subjects are shown by immediate constituent analysis to consist of a topic plus an equational predicate which is itself a predication. Example:

> wan-níi aakàad dii .   'The weather is nice today.'

Here, /wan-níi/ is the topic, and /aakàad dii/ is the equational predicate, consisting of a predication with subject /aakàad/ 'weather' and predicator /dii/ 'good.'

5) An <u>enumeration</u> is any exocentric construction which as a whole
is syntactically parallel to an endocentric expression; that is, which can
function in a larger construction as modifier, subject, topic, or predicate
(but not as a head). Example:

/sɔ̌ɔŋ mooŋ/   'two o'clock'

Neither /sɔ̌ɔŋ/ 'two' nor /mooŋ/ 'hours, o'clock' can substitute for the
entire phrase, which is exocentric, and nothing can substitute for either
constituent so that the result is a predication or endocentric expression.
The phrase occurs as a constituent, however, everywhere that endocentric
expressions occur. Examples:

Topic: sɔ̌ɔŋ mooŋ: lɛ́ɛw .
                            'It's two o'clock.'

Equational Predicate: nalíkaa khɔ̌ɔŋ-phǒm sɔ̌ɔŋ mooŋ .
                            'My watch (says) two o'clock.'

Subject: sɔ̌ɔŋ mooŋ kɔ̂-dâj.
                            'Two o'clock would be all right.'

Modifier: ród-faj krabuan sɔ̌ɔŋ mooŋ .
                            'The two o'clock train.'

Second Constituent in Larger Exocentric Phrase:

                            con-thɯ̌ŋ sɔ̌ɔŋ mooŋ .
                            'Until two o'clock.'

2.5.3. <u>Non-consecutive</u> <u>Constructions</u>

1) <u>Discontinuous constructions</u> occur when one immediate constituent
is split by the insertion of another, so that consecutive immediate consti-
tuent cuts cannot validly be made. Discontinuous constructions can be found
to correspond to all the sub-types of consecutive-order construction listed
above (2.5.2.). Examples:

                    kə̀əd jaaŋ-tɛ̀ɛg: khɯ̂n .
                        'It happened that a tire blew out.'

The predication /jaaŋ tɛ̀ɛg/ 'tire bursts' is included in the discontinuous
modal phrase /kə̀əd ... khɯ̂n/ 'it originates, a new thing happens.'

                    khǎw ɔ̀d phûud khwaan-ciŋ mã̀j-dâj .
                        'He couldn't help telling the truth.'

The verb expression /phûud khwaam-ciŋ/ 'to tell the truth' is included in the
discontinuous modal phrase /ɔ̀d ... mã̀j-dâj/ 'not able to keep from.'

2) <u>Parenthetical</u> <u>constructions</u> are a special case of discontinuous constructions, in which the inserted constituent can be 'moved' to another location, without damage to the syntactic relationship, in such a way that a consecutive construction results. That is, for every parenthetical construction, a parallel consecutive construction exists; the same is not true of ordinary discontinuous constructions. Parenthetical constructions of all types occur, and are usually marked by prosodic phenomena of one kind or another. Examples:

khɔ̌ɔ sɏy , dâj: mã̌j-khrã́b, nǔu tua-níɪˌ↑.

'I'd like to buy - may I, sir? - this mouse.'

The major immediate constituents /khɔ̌ɔ sɏy nǔu tua-níɪ/ 'I'd like to buy this mouse' and /dâj: mã̌j-khrã́b/ 'may I, sir?' also occur in consecutive order in the following sentence:

khɔ̌ɔ sɏy nǔu tua-níɪ , dâj: mã̌j-khrã̌b ↑ .

'May I buy this mouse, sir?'

3) <u>Parallel</u> <u>constructions</u> occur when one immediate constituent is repeated two or more times in the same syntactic relationship with a number of different co-constituents. Simple parallel constructions can be found to correspond to all the sub-types of consecutive constructions. The intonation morpheme / , / (see 2.2.1.3) usually separates the segments containing the repeated constituent, and may occur also after the last constituent of the parallel construction. Examples:

paj kɔ̌-dâj , jùu kɔ̌-dâj .

'You can either go, or stay.'

The constituent /kɔ̌-dâj/ 'can equally well' is repeated in the same syntactic relationship with /paj/ 'go' and /jùu/ 'stay.'

khã̌w mã̌j-dã̌j-aw phɛ̂ɛ , aw chaná: kan .

'They don't pay any attention to (who) wins or loses.'

The constituent /aw/ 'to take' occurs twice, before verbs meaning respectively 'to lose' and 'to win.'

Two common conjunctions /tàaŋ ... tàaŋ/ 'each in a separate way' and /jîŋ ... jîŋ/ 'the more ... the more' occur only in parallel constructions, as does the postposition /phlaaŋ... phlaaŋ/ 'doing one thing intermittently with another.'

4) <u>Discontinuous</u> <u>parallel</u> <u>constructions</u> occur when the separate co-constituents (i.e. not the repeated constituent) are the two halves of a reduplicated lexeme (see 2.4.3.). These constructions are extremely common in colloquial speech, and nearly every type of reduplication except the

simplest is represented, as well as all sub-types of consecutive construc-
tion. Examples:

Discontinuous Parallel Construction	Reduplication
aw ciŋ , aw caŋ , 'Act in dead earnest'	ciŋ-caŋ 'sincerely'
paj wád , paj waa , 'go to the temples and such'	wád-waa 'temples, etc.'
mâj paj , mâj pəj: lã̆ . 'I guess I won't go.'	paj pəj 'go, shmo'
hĕn nâa , hĕn taa , 'See someone in person'	nâa-taa 'face'

5) **Interlocking constructions** occur when both constituents of a
parallel construction are split reduplications. If reduplication /AB/ is
in such a construction with reduplication /CD/, the resulting order is
/AC,BD,/. Example:

Interlocking Construction	First Reduplication	Second Reduplication
mâag nâa , lă̆aj taa , 'Many faces (people)'	mâag-lă̆aj 'many'	nâa-taa 'faces'

Interlocking constructions, unlike discontinuous parallel constructions,
are extremely rare.

6) Combinations of unusual orders with the various types of syn-
tactic constructions outlined in 2.5.2. yield the following terminology
(terms in parentheses are for contrast only):

(Consecutive)	(Normal)	
Discontinuous	Parallel	Endocentric Expression
	Interlocking	Predication
		Exocentric Phrase
		Equation
		Enumeration

2.6.1. Lexeme Categories

All lexemes, regardless of their internal (morphological) construc-
tion, are classified in terms of the types of syntactic construction in
which they participate. ST has only two broad categories of lexemes, free
and bound, but each category has many subdivisions.

1) Free lexemes occur simultaneously with intonation and loud-stress
morphemes, and in direct construction with them form minor sentences (see
2.6.2.5.). In simpler terms, they occur 'in isolation.' The major sub-
categories of free lexemes are isolatives, substantives and predicatives.
They are described in Chapter 3.

2) Bound lexemes occur as constituents of syntactic units and
higher-order constructions only. The major sub-categories are prepositions,
conjunctions, modals, postpositions, and sentence particles. Chapter 4 deals
with bound lexemes.

3) Some free lexemes have homonyms which are bound, and within each
category there are homonymous lexemes belonging to different sub-classes.
There are also border-line cases between free and bound, but in general the
distinction is a clear and important one for ST speakers.

2.6.2. Sentence Types

Sentences are classified with respect to the morphological and syn-
tactic constructions which are their primary constituents. The total number
of possible sentence-types is twelve (as can be seen from the summary in 6)
below), but by far the most common type is the major sentence, with the ex-
clamatory minor sentence probably coming second.

1) An exclamatory sentence is a clause occurring simultaneously
with the intonation morpheme / ↑ / 'emotional involvement.'

      sŷa tua-níı: rĕə ↑ .   'Is this the coat?⸮'

2) A complex sentence is any syntactic clause containing the
morpheme / , / 'clause construction continues,' provided the occurrence of
/ , / coincides with a syntactic phrase boundary.

      sŷa tua-níı rĕə , khun sàj mŷa-khyyn-níı .
    'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

The following clause, which also contains / , /, is <u>not</u> a complex sentence because of the occurrence of a discontinuous parallel construction:

dıchǎn cadâj paj wád, paj waa: kakhǎw dûaj .
    'I'll be able to go to the temples and so on along with the others.'

3) A <u>major sentence</u> has a predication as its primary constituent. The second example given above (2) is a major sentence, the predication /dıchǎn cadâj paj wád-waa/ 'I'll be able to go to the temples, etc.' being merely modified by the remainder. The first example in (2) is <u>not</u> a major sentence, since the second phrase 'you wore last night,' although a predication, is in an equational relationship with the first phrase, which is an enumeration, 'this coat?'

4) An <u>equational sentence</u> has an equation as its primary constituent. The example 'Is this the coat you wore last night?' is hence an equational sentence. Examples of simple (non-complex) equational sentences:

wan-níı wan-sǎw .   'Today is Saturday.'

phǒm chŷy cım .   'My name is Jim.'

phǒm khǎa-hàg .   'I have a broken leg.'

5) A <u>minor sentence</u> has any other construction or a single lexeme as its primary constituent. Examples are identified by reference to the classification of the principal constituent.

Endocentric Construction:	sŷa tua-níı .	'this coat.'
Exocentric Phrase:	naj tûu kèb-nǎŋ-sǔy .	'In the bookcase.'
Enumeration:	sǒoŋ khon: thâw-nán .	'Only two people.'
Single Lexeme:	↓tǎaj ↑.	'For heaven's sake!'

6) Combinations of the above sentence-types occur, and the terminology corresponds. (Terms in parentheses are for contrast only.)

(Normal)	(Simple)	Major	
Exclamatory	Complex	Equational	Sentence
		Minor	

CHAPTER III

FREE LEXEME CLASSES

3.1. Isolatives

An isolative is any free lexeme which typically occurs as an imme-
diate constituent of constructions no smaller than an entire syntactic clause
(except in hypostasis), or in construction with other isolatives. Isolatives
typically occur as sole lexemic constituents of entire phonemic phrases which
precede, follow, or interrupt the larger syntactic constructions that are
their co-constituents. All isolatives may occur as sole lexemic constituents
of entire clauses, but some typically so occur. The classification of iso-
latives into four sub-groups - 1) Interjections, 2) Responses, 3) Vocatives,
and 4) Imitatives - is based on typical occurrence with respect to co-con-
stituents.

Isolatives occur only in the loosest kind of construction with the
remainders of their clauses. Only as quotations (e.g. 'He said ouch!') do
they enter into normal syntactic relationships, and even here there is often
a phrase-boundary to set them apart. A few isolatives seem also belong to
other lexeme classes, but meaning relationship is so tenuous that the more
reasonable analysis is two homonymous lexemes. For example, the response
/jaŋ/ always means 'not yet,' whereas the modal /jaŋ/ means 'still, even
now.'

3.1.1. Interjections

An interjection is any isolative all of whose allolexes include the
element / ! : /. (This is meant to exclude all syntactic constructions in
which /! :/ is a superfix.) Interjections typically occur as sole lexemic
constituent of the first phrase in a clause, or as sole lexemic constituent
of a whole clause. The class of interjections is rather small, but not
closed - new interjections enter ST rather frequently, and a few survive for
long periods of time. The principal respectable members of the class are
listed below in their most common allolexes; meanings are only roughly sug-
gested. (Some extremely common members with obscene or profane connotations
have been purposely omitted.)

1) /!âaw:/   'Well! (chiding or disappointment)'

2) /!mĕɛ:/   'Say! My my! (surprise, admiration)'

3) /!ẽ₁/   'What? (surprise, lack of understanding)'

4) /꜀ôɔ:/   'Oh! (Now I understand)'

5) /꜀úʝ:/   'Ouch!'

6) /꜀ôo-hóo:/   (and many allolexes with the same tonal and
                   consonantal pattern but different vowels-e.g.
                   /꜀ŷy-hýy:/) 'How about that!'

7) /꜀tãaʝ:/   (and many compounds with /taaʝ/ as first element)
                   'Good heavens! (horror, shock)'

8) /꜀ôɔʝ:/   'Wow! (amazement)'

9) /꜀nǎʝ-nǎʝ:/   'There, there. (soothing).'

10) /꜀nê:/   'Look!'

3.1.2. Responses

A <u>response</u> is any isolative (other than an interjection) which
typically occurs as the sole lexemic constituent of the environment /B,/,
where 'B' represents the beginning of an utterance by some later speaker in
an exchange (i.e. not the person who opens the exchange). In other words,
the response is the sole lexemic constituent of the first phrase of the first
clause uttered by a responding speaker. Responses, like many other classes
of lexemes, can also occur as the sole lexemic constituent of whole clauses
and even whole utterances.

The class of responses is small, and closed except in the semantic
area of 'yes' answers, where innovations are possible. Most responses have
para-linguistic behavior accompanying them (gestures, facial expressions,
and unusual vocal effects) which is not described here. Examples are given
in the nearest morphophonemic equivalent of the most common allolex of each
response. Where two allolexes are common, both are cited. Where meanings
are vague, the entire exchange is given:

1) /hŷy/   'Yes (familiar, all speakers).' (This item is
                   nasalized throughout.)

2) /əə/   'Yes (concessive).'

   A.   kô wan-níɪ wan-sǎw: nîɪ-khrãb ↑ .

   B.   əə , cɪŋ: sɪɪ .

   A.   'Well today <u>is</u> Saturday!'

   B.   'Yes, that's true.'

3) /ɔ̌ɔ/   'Oh? (skeptical or mildly surprised)'

    A. jùu thîi-pàag sɔɔj sǔan-phluu .

    B. ɔ̌ɔ , jùu klâj khɛ̂ɛ-níi꞉ eeŋ ↑ .

    A. 'It's at the entrance to Suan-phluu Lane.'

    B. 'Oh? as close as all that↓'

4) /ôo/   'Oh↓ (sense of loss)'

    A. kèb-wáj sǎg-sǎam baj꞉ nã .

    B. ôo , chǎn pɔ̀ɔg꞉ sǎ-mòd-lɛ́ɛw ↑ .

    A. 'Save about three (of the fruits), will you?'

    B. 'Oh, I've peeled them all↓'

5) /nǎj/   'Well? What? (further explanation or action required),
                          but, well but'

    A. wan-níi chǎn paj-sýy phâa꞉ maa .

    B. nǎj , aw-maa-duu kan-nɔ̀ɔj꞉ sǐ ↑ .

    A. 'I bought some cloth today.'

    B. 'Well? Let's see it↓'

        nǎj , chûaj sòŋ nǎŋ-sýy nán꞉ maa-nɔ̀ɔj .
          'Say, hand me that book, will you?'

        nǎj , wâa ŋaj꞉ nã ↑ .
          'What? What did you say?'

        nǎj , wâa camâj-maa꞉ ŋaj ↑ .
          'Well, but you said you weren't coming↓'

6) /ŋaj/ or /ŋǎj/ 'Why, well, anyway.'

        ŋaj , maa cháa꞉ nág-lâ.
          'Well, you're pretty late.'

        ŋǎj , jaŋ mâj-maa .
          'In any case, it hasn't come yet.'

7) /rě̌ə/   'Is that so?'

8) /mâj/   'No (That choice is not taken).'
       Answers only questions containing the final particle
       /rǔy/.

A. wan-níi khun tôŋ paj-wád꞉ rɰ̃-khã̌ .

B. mâj꞉ khâ , mâj-tôŋ paj .

A. 'Do you have to go to the temple today?'

B. 'No, I don't have to.'

A. khun mâj-paj wád꞉ rɰ̃-khã̌ .

B. mâj꞉ khâ .

A. 'Aren't you going to the temple?'

B. 'No, I'm not.'

9) /jaŋ/   'Not yet.'

Negatively answers all questions in which an assump-
tion is made that an event will occur, or a situa-
tion pertain, sooner or later.

A. thaan khâaw꞉ lέεw rɰ̃-jaŋ .

B. jaŋ , jaŋ mâj-dâj-thaan .

A. 'Have you eaten yet?'

B. 'No, I haven't eaten yet.'

10) /plàaw/   'No (the assumption or inference is wrong).'

Negatively answers yes-no questions (other than those
answered by 8) and 9), and points out the inappli-
cability of questions containing interrogative
words.

A. wan-nán khun paj-wád , châj꞉ mãj-khã̌ .

B. plàaw꞉ khâ , chãn mâj-dâj-paj .

A. 'You went to the temple that day, didn't you?'

B. 'No, ma'am. I didn't go there.'

A. paj nǎj꞉ khã̌ .

B. plàaw꞉ khâ , maa-dəən lên .

A. 'Where are you going?

B. 'Nowhere. I'm just out for a walk.'

11) /khráb/ 'Yes (man speaking politely).'

    Occurs in answer to all types of questions, but merely indicates that the speaker has followed the line of discourse, not that *he* specifically agrees to everything said. Also occurs after non-questions. After commands, it nearly always implies intent to obey.

12) /khráab/ 'Yes? (man answering a call politely).'

  A. khun cìd: khráb ↑ .

  B. khráab .

  A. 'Say, Chit...'

  B. 'Yes?'

13) /khâ/ 'Yes (woman speaking politely).'

    Parallel to 11) /khráb/.

14) /khǎa/ 'Yes? (woman answering a call politely).'

    Parallel to 12) /khráab/.

15) /câ/ 'Yes (among intimates, or to an inferior).'

    Parallel to 11).

16) /cǎa/ 'Yes? (among intimates, or to an inferior)'

    Parallel to 12).

Responses 5-10 above are frequently followed in their phrase or clause by sentence particles (4.5.), a class of unstressed bound lexemes some of which have a morphological relationship with responses 11-16 above. Because of the stress pattern, such cases are not examples of two responses in construction with each other; the first item is always the response, the second the sentence particle. Examples:

    nǎj: khráb .   'What's that?'
    5

    mâj: khâ .   'No, ma'am.'
    8

    jaŋ: câ .   'Not yet.'
    9

    plàaw: khráb .   'No, sir.'
    10

All responses can be followed in the same clause by vocatives (3.1.
3.), which are normally in a phrase by themselves.

3.1.3. Vocatives

A _vocative_ is any isolative which typically occurs as the sole lexemic
constituent of the environment /, ./ (i.e. the final phrase of a clause).
Most vocatives also occur as the only lexemic constituent of an entire clause,
or with a sentence particle as co-constituent, the usual case being the speak-
er's attempt to attract the attention of a particular listener.

The class of vocatives is extremely large and open. There are four
sub-categories (semantically classified): 1) _general_ _vocatives_, 2) _names_,
3) _kinship_ _terms_, 4) _titles_, and 5) _complex_ _vocatives_. Representative
examples for each sub-category are given below.

1) /nîı/ 'general vocative'

> Like most general vocatives, /nîı/ has homonyms, the prin-
> cipal one being a demonstrative meaning 'here.' The voca-
> tive /nîı/ is also easily mistaken for a homonymous sen-
> tence particle, but its classification as a vocative is
> corroborated by the fact that it occurs in a separate
> phrase _after_ final particles like /khráb/ and /khâ/.

Examples:

> khun mâj-paj baaŋ-sɛ̌ɛn: rɔ̀g rɜ̌-khâ , nîı ↑ .
> 'Then you're not going to Bangsaen after all? (is that what
> you mean?)'
>
> phǒm mâj-dâj-paj nǎj: ləəj khráb , nîı ↑ .
> 'I didn't go anywhere at all, (you)!'

2) /cìd/ 'name of a man'

> Used without title or kinship term, given names or
> nicknames of people commonly occur in the typical voca-
> tive positions in familiar speech.

Examples:

> phǒm mâj-dâj-paj nǎj: ləəj hâ , cìd ↑ .
> 'I didn't go anywhere at all, Chit!'
>
> cìd: wóoj ↑ .
> 'Hey, Chit!'

3) /phîi/   'older brother, sister, or cousin; husband'

> Nearly all kinship terms occur as vocatives, sometimes with much broader meanings than they have as nouns. For example, /luŋ/ technically means 'older brother of mother or father,' but as a vocative (and in other uses) can apply to any male stranger of a certain age.

Examples: wâa jaŋaj: nǎ , phîi .
      'What did you say, (husband)?'

phîi ↑ .
      'Sister!' (calling)

4) /naaj/   'Master.'

> Many titles, like /naaj/, have homonyms which are vocatives, but as in the case of kinship terms, the meaning may be quite different. For example, /naaj/ as a formal title meaning 'Mister' is low in the social scale, but as a vocative confers respect. Other titles do not occur as vocatives at all; e.g. /phajaa/ 'high-ranking civil servant' is replaced by /câw-khun/ in all forms of direct address. *

Examples: phǒm mâj-dâj-paj nǎj: ləəj khráb , naaj ↑ .
      'I didn't go anywhere at all, master.'

naaj: khǎ .
      'Master?' (woman servant calling)

5) Apparent constructions of two or more vocatives always turn out to be morphological rather than syntactic constructions. The cases in question are kinship term (3) or title (4) plus name (2), and title (4) plus kinship term (3). The result is a single lexeme (always an indivisible unit, whether it is a vocative or a noun, syntactically speaking), which is an endocentric derivative, rather than a compound, because the name or kinship term substitutes for the whole.

Examples:
    thân samíd   'Mr. Smith.'
     4   2

    nɔ́ɔŋ lǔaj   'Younger sister Luay.'
     3   2

    khun phɔ̂ɔ   '(Mr.) Father.'
     4   3

---

* An as yet unpublished pamphlet by James N. Mosel, entitled 'Thai Names, Ranks, and Titles' contains much information on this subject.

3.1.4. Imitatives

An imitative is any isolative (other than an interjection, 3.1.1.)
which is, morphologically speaking, a reduplication (2.4.3.). Imitatives
typically occur in the same environment as vocatives, / , . /, but if a
sentence particle occurs, it follows the imitative (whereas it precedes the
vocative phrase). Imitatives also occur, somewhat rarely, as co-constituents
of discontinuous syntactic constructions which bracket them; in such cases,
the imitative usually occupies a whole internal morphophonemic phrase of its
own (see example under 3) below.)

The class of imitatives is large, and almost certainly open, although
idiolectal variations make it difficult to determine what kinds of innova-
tions are acceptable. The sub-categories of imitatives are determined by
reference to structural type of reduplication, but this classification ac-
cords well with semantic sub-categories as well. 1) Simple-reduplication
imitatives are mostly onomatopoetic, the imitation presumably having to do
with sound. 2) Double-infixed imitatives are largely concerned with manner
of motion, and 3) Single-infixed imitatives with characteristics of people.
One example is given for each sub-category below.

1) khâw dâj-jin sĭaŋ , ìǝd-íǝd .
   'He heard something go creak-creak.'

2) mŷa-kíi hĕn khun dǝǝn , kaphlòog-kaphlèeg .
   'A moment ago I saw you walking with a limp.'

3) khâw cháaj ŋǝn khɔ̌ɔŋ-khâw , surûj-surâaj , paj mòd: tháŋ-nán .
   'He used up all his money, in spendthrift fashion.'

   (The immediate constituents are the imitative /surûj-surâaj/
   and the discontinuous remainder of the clause.)

3.2. Substantives

A substantive is any free lexeme which occurs as co-constituent of
a predication of which it is not the predicator. Thus substantives typi-
cally function as topics, subjects, objects, and complements. (Any substan-
tive which fulfills not only the definition above but also that of predica-
tive, 3.3., is referred to in this grammar by the more specific designation.
In fact, nearly all predicatives qualify as substantives, but the reverse is
not true. To put it another way, a non-isolative free lexeme is considered
to be a substantive until it can be shown to be a predicative; once the

latter classification has been established, however, the item is thenceforth a predicative.) Some substantives also function as equational predicators, and nearly all occur in prepositional phrases.

Substantives are classified, on the basis of typical and absolute occurrence, into six sub-groups: 1) Nouns, 2) Complementives, 3) Pronouns, 4) Numerals, 5) Classifiers, and 6) Demonstratives.

3.2.1.   Nouns

A noun is any substantive which occurs as the head of an endocentric expression. (Other types of substantives, particularly numerals and classifiers, also satisfy this definition, but are referred to by the more specific term once they have been shown to satisfy further criteria.) The characteristic syntactic positions of nouns are those of substantives in general; the only distinctive use of nouns, as opposed to other substantives, is their frequent and typical occurrence as heads of noun expressions (see 2.4.2.).

Of all the lexeme-classes of ST, the class of nouns is by far the largest, comprising well over half of the entire vocabulary. The class is also one of the most open - nearly all new lexical items entering the language, whether by borrowing, innovation, or new-formation, begin as nouns. At the same time there is continuous loss from the inventory, as nouns become predicatives by innovation.

Nouns are classified on the basis of their relationships with other form-classes into eight sub-categories. One example of each is given below.

1) Concrete nouns have a covert lexical relationship with one or more of the unit-classifiers (3.2.5.1.) necessary in counting operations.

   /mǎa/   'dog'

   mǎa sɔ̌ɔŋ tua .   'Two dogs.'

2) Mass nouns are counted only by one or more of the metric classifiers (3.2.5.2.)

   /náam/   'water'

   náam sɔ̌ɔŋ thûaj .   'Two cups of water.'

3) Common nouns are counted with both unit classifiers and metric classifiers. Most ST nouns fall into this category.

   /phâa/   'cloth'

   phâa sɔ̌ɔŋ phy̌yn .   'Two cloths (strips or pieces of cloth).'

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<pre>
        phâa sŏoŋ méd .   'Two metres of cloth.'
</pre>

4) Abstract <u>nouns</u> serve as their own counters, occurring both be-
   fore and after numerals.

<pre>
    /wíchaa/   'subject of study, discipline'

    wíchaa sŏoŋ wíchaa .   'Two disciplines.'
</pre>

5) Place <u>nouns</u> are a special case of abstract nouns, which typi-
   cally occur in prepositional phrases and are counted either
   with themselves or with the general classifier /hὲεŋ/.

<pre>
    /ráan/   'shop, store'

    ráan sŏoŋ ráan .   'Two stores.'

    ráan sŏoŋ hὲεŋ .   'Two stores.'
</pre>

6) Time <u>nouns</u> are a special case of abstract nouns, which typically
   occur in prepositional phrases and are used as classifiers them-
   selves but do not occur twice in the counting-phrase.

<pre>
    /dyan/   'month'

    naj dyan rêεg .   'In the first month.'

    phaaj-naj sŏoŋ dyan .   'Within two months.'
</pre>

7) Personal <u>nouns</u> occur also as vocatives (3.1.3.), and are of four
   sub-types: names, kinship terms, titles, and combinations (deri-
   vatives). Personal nouns occur as heads of endocentric expres-
   sions much less often than any other type of noun. When counted,
   they usually take the classifier /khon/ (as do many other nouns
   which do not belong to this category).

<pre>
    /phîi/   'older sibling or cousin; husband'

    phîi sŏoŋ khon .   'Two older siblings.'
</pre>

8) Personal-attribute <u>nouns</u> fill the subject position in equational
   predicates of which a personal noun is the topic. This sub-
   category is largely limited to parts of the body and individual
   characteristics (such as 'name,' 'age,' 'weight,' etc.).

<pre>
    /myy/   'hand, arm'

    khun-cìd myy jaaw .   'Chit has long arms.'
</pre>

3.2.2. Complementives

A complementive is any substantive which occurs only as a whole predicate constituent in itself, or as a modifier, never as a head. (Other substantives , e.g. demonstratives, which satisfy this definition, but also meet more specific criteria, are referred to by the more specific term.) The categories of noun and complementive are thus mutually exclusive, and their behavior within the clause framework is quite different.

In predications consisting of only two constituents (subject and pre-dicator, or predicator and object), complementives appear deceptively like nouns. When the same predications are expanded to include real nouns, however, the complementives invariably move either to the front or the end of the clause. Complementives do not occur between nouns and predicators, unless there is a specific modifying relationship between them and the nouns (i.e. the complementive involved is part of a noun expression).

In the following examples, /khruu/ 'teacher' is a noun, and /m̂ya-raɟ/ 'when' is a complementive.

khruu cabɔ̀ɔg .	'The teacher will tell (them).'
cabɔ̀ɔg khruu .	'(Someone) will tell the teacher.'
m̂ya-raɟ cabɔ̀ɔg .	'When will (you) tell (me)?'
cabɔ̀ɔg m̂ya-raɟ .	'When would (you) tell (me)?'
m̂ya-raɟ khruu cabɔ̀ɔg .	'When will the teacher tell (them)?'
cabɔ̀ɔg khruu m̂ya-raɟ .	'When would (you) tell the teacher?'

Complementives by themselves occur typically as topics and complements, less often as subjects and objects. Sub-classification is made, on the basis of typical occurrence, into three categories: 1) those which are found most frequently at or near the beginnings of clauses, 2) those which are found most frequently at or near the ends of clauses, and 3) those which occur freely in both positions. The last category (and to some extent all comple-mentives) have the common feature that position before or after the predica-tor makes relatively little difference insofar as the meaning of the entire clause is concerned, whereas the subject-object distinction is a vital one where nouns are involved. In this sense, complementives are 'moveable' in the clause context, while the position of nouns is fixed.

The three sub-categories of complementives are named, after typical members, 1) the /baŋ-əən/ class, 2) the /eeŋ/ class, and 3) the /thamaɟ/ class.

1) /baŋ-əən/ Class

The class consists of complementives which occur at the beginning of clauses, coming even before the subject or topic. The class meaning is 'setting of the subject-predicate situation with regard to timing, frequency, or relative importance.' Most members of the class are morphemically complex lexemes, /baŋ-əən/ itself being one of the few members which consist of a single morpheme. Some members have characteristic echoes later in the clause, these are indicated where possible.

The class is open and very large, including many (but by no means all) time expressions, plus a large number of conjunction-like transitional expressions which are not themselves conjunctions. Only the most common and representative members are illustrated below, with reference to a single frame:

/...ród sĭa ./

'...the car broke down.'

1)	/baŋ-əən/ or /pha-əən/	'accidentally' Often followed by /khŷn/.
2)	/baŋ-thii/	'perhaps, sometimes' When followed by /lamáŋ/, the meaning is nearly always 'perhaps.'
3.	/thamadaa/	'normally, usually'
4.	/jùu dii-dii/	'out of a clear blue sky, unexpectedly'
5.	/dooj-mâag/ and /sùan-mâag/	'usually, for the most part'
6.	/dooj-chaphɔ́/	'in particular, especially'
7.	/sèd-lɛ́ɛw/	'after that'
8.	/thŷŋ-nán/	'in spite of that'
9.	/phrɔ́-chanán/	'because of that'
10.	/mî-chanán/	'otherwise, except for that'
11.	/jaŋaj-kɔ́taam/ and /jaŋaj-kɔ́dii/	'nevertheless' Often followed by /mўan-kan/.

2) /eeŋ/ Class

The class consists of complementives which occur at the end of clauses, coming after the object and some types of complements. The class meaning is something like 'reinforcement of prior information about quantity, exclusiveness, or inclusiveness of the subject matter or manner of action.' Several members, in fact, are most commonly found after specific prior elements in the predicate (this information being given in the listing). There are, however, no real pairs of semantic opposites.

/eeŋ/-class complementives are among the most common of all clause constituents. The class is open and moderately large, and it includes stressed homonyms of several common bound lexemes.

1. /eeŋ/ 'by itself (themselves), without assistance or outside influence.'

    mɛɛw man-maa: sã eeŋ .
      'The cat came all by itself. (It wasn't brought here by
                                    somebody.)'

    pen thamadaa: jùu eeŋ .
      'It's only natural. (It's nature by itself.)'

2. /dûaj-kan/ or /dâj-kan/ 'along with others, in company.'

    phŏm khɔ̌ɔ dəən: paj dûaj-kan , dâj: mãj .
      'May I walk along (with you)?'

    khãw samàg calên kàb-khãw: dûaj-kan .
      'He offered to play along with them.'

3. /ìig/ 'in addition, further, still' Often follows /jaŋ/.

    lɛ́ɛw , khãw kɔ̌-mãj-maa: sã ìig ↑ .
      'And he didn't come <u>this</u> time, either.'

    nɔ́ɔŋ-chaaj jaŋ pen nág-rian: ìig.
      'Younger brother was still a student.'

4. /thâw-nán/ or /thãw-nán/ 'only, no more than that.' Often follows /tɛ̀ɛ/.

    khuan catham hãj-sèd: paj , thâw-nán.
      'We just ought to get it finished, that's all.'

    khãw aw tɛ̀ɛ-kin: thãw-nán.
      'The only thing he wants to do is eat.'

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5. /dûaj/ 'also, in addition to some other fact.'

> lέεw , khǎw kɔ̌-mâj-maaː sǎ dûaj.
>> 'And he himself didn't come, either.' (Compare with first example under 3. /ìig/.)

> nɔ́ɔŋ-chaaj , pen nág-rianː jùu dûaj.
>> 'Younger brother is also a student (in addition to being something else).' (Compare with first example under 6. /mўan-kan/.)

6. /mўan-kan/ or /mɔ̌n-kan/ 'likewise, in addition to some other subject; anyway, at that'

> nɔ́ɔŋ-chaaj , pen nág-rianː jùu mўan-kan .
>> 'Younger brother is also a student (like some other person.)'

> kɔ̂ phǒm chɔ̂ɔbː mɔ̌n-kan ↑
>> 'Well, I <u>like</u> it all right... (but)'

> khǎw kɔ̂-tâŋcaj wâa , camaa mўan-kan .
>> 'He decided he would come anyway (even so).'

7. /taŋ-hàag/ or /tàaŋ-hàag/ 'on the contrary, instead.' Usually untranslatable in English. Often preceded by a /mâj/ -modal in the previous clause.

> phǒm mâj-dâj-chŷy phɔɔn . chŷy phǒnː taŋ-hàag .
>> 'My name isn't Porn. It's Pone.'

> khǎw klàb bâanː sǎ taŋ-hàag .
>> 'He went home (rather than doing something else).'

8. /jùu-dii/ 'in spite of everything, anyway'

> khǎw rúu-tuaː wâa , khǎw mâj-sabaaj máag ↑ khǎw kɔ̌-jaŋ
> paj tham ŋaanː jùu-dii .
>> 'He realized that he was very sick, but he went to work in spite of it.'

9. /than-thii/ 'immediately'

> klàb bâan than-thiiː sì .
>> 'go right on home.'

10. /ləəj/ 'simply,' after negative 'at all'. Often preceded by a a /mâj/ -modal in the same clause.

> khǎw kɔ̌-klàb bâanː ləəj .
>> 'He simply went home.'

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khãw mãj-dãj-klàb bâan: sã ləəj .
'He didn't go home at all.'

thîɪ-nîɪ mãj-mɪɪ satɛm: ləəj .
'There aren't any stamps here at all.'

11) /thɪɪ/ 'this one time, for once.' Often follows general modal
verbs like /khɔ̌ɔ/ (3.3.1.2.) in commands and requests.

phǒm jàag capaj: sã thɪɪ .
'I'd like to go this once. (Now is the time.)'

khɔ̌ɔ hãj khãw duu: thɪɪ .
'Let him have a look at it.'

paj sã-thɪɪ: sî .
'Why don't you go↲'

12) /nɔ̀ɔj/ or /nɔ̀j/ 'this little thing, for a while' Often follows
general modal verbs like /khɔ̌ɔ/ in commands
and requests.

phǒm jàag capaj: sã nɔ̀ɔj .
'I'd like to try going. (It's the thing to do.)'

waan nâŋ nîŋ-nîŋ: nɔ̀j, dâj: mãj.
'Can you sit still for a minute?'

kwàad bâan sã-nɔ̀ɔj: sĩ ↑ .
'Sweep up the house, will you?'

13) /kɔ̌-lɛ́ɛw: kan/ 'and be done with it.' Common in suggestions
and agreements, and is usually set off in a
phrase of its own.

plɔ̀ɔj hâj-paj , kɔ̌-lɛ́ɛw: kan .
'Let it go and be done with it.'

3. /thamaj/ Class

These complementives belong to both the /baŋ-əən/ (1. above) and the
/eeŋ/ (2. above) classes; that is, they occur at both the beginning and end
of clauses. The class meaning is 'time, place, or manner-orientation of the
subject-predicate situation.' The placement of the items also makes a slight
but consistent difference in their meaning; the clause-final position makes
the time, place, or manner element distinctive, and the clause-initial posi-
tion makes it incidental. The occurrence of bound elements like /thỹŋ/ and

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/sǎ/ around the predicate reinforces this distinction (see first pair of examples below).

The class is probably closed, but is quite large, since it includes a great many standard time expressions, such as 'yesterday,' and most interrogative lexemes. The examples given below are representative ones.

1) /thamaj/ 'why?'

        thamaj , khǎw thỹŋ-maa hǎa khun .
          'Why did he (happen to) come calling on you?'

        khǎw maa hǎa khun: sǎ , thamaj .
          'What did he come calling on you for?'

2) /jaŋaj/ or /jàaŋ-raj/ 'how?'

        jaŋaj thỹŋ-tham nâa jaŋán: lâ ↑ .
          'How did your face get like that?'

        tham nâa jaŋán , dâj jaŋaj: lâ.
          'How can you make your face like that?'

3) /mŷa-raj/ of /mǒraj/ 'when?'

        khun capaj amee-rǐkaa , mŷa-raj .
          'When are you going to America?'

        mŷa-raj , khun capaj amee-rǐkaa .
          'When would you ever go to America?'

        khun pen thahǎan mǒraj ↑ .
          'When were you a soldier?'

4) /thîi-nǎj/ or /thĩnǎj/ 'where?'

        khǎw còod ród: wáj , thîi-nǎj .
          'Where did he park the car?'

        thîinǎj , thîi khǎw còod ród .
          'Where was it he parked the car?'

5) /jaŋán/ 'that way,' and /jaŋíi/ 'this way'

        jaŋán , khun mâj-tôŋ-kaan îig: rŷy .
          'In that case you don't need it any more.?'

        khun tôŋ-kaan jaŋíi: rŷy .
          'Is this the way you want it?'

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6. /phɔ-dii/ 'just then,' /diaw-níi/ 'now,' /welaa-nán/ 'at that
time,' /tɔɔ-paj/ 'from now on,' /tɔɔ-maa/ 'from
then on,' and many other time expressions.

raw kamlaŋ phûud thỹŋ khun: jùu thi-diaw , phɔ-dii khun maa .
'We were just talking about you, and then you came.'

raw kamlaŋ phûud thỹŋ khun-samàg: jùu thi-diaw , khǎw maa
phɔ-dii .
'We were just talking about Samak when he came.'

diaw-níi , phǒm mii thurá mâag .
'Now, I'm very busy.'

phǒm mii thurá mâag , diaw-níi .
'I'm very busy now.'

welaa-nán , khǎw jaŋ-jùu naj kruŋ-thêeb .
'At that time he was still in Bangkok.'

7. /thîi-níi/ or /thíníi/ 'here,' /thîi-nân/ or /thínân/ 'there,'
/thîi-nôon/ or /thínôon/ 'over there, at the other
place,' /kha-thîi/ 'on the spot,' and many other
place expressions.

thîi-níi , mâj-mii náam .
'There's no water here (incidentally).'

mii náam , thîi-nôon .
'There's water way over there (that's where it is).'

thîi-nân mii khèŋ-máa thúg-wan .
'They have horse-racing there daily (that's one of the
things they have).'

man taaj kha-thîi .
'It died on the spot.'

8. /khâaŋ-naj/ 'inside' and all derivatives of /naj/-class pre-
positions (4.2.1.) belong in this class of
complementives, except when they function as
prepositions themselves.

3.2.3. <u>Pronouns</u>

A <u>pronoun</u> is any substantive which occurs with weak stress in one or
more of the typical substantive positions - i.e. as topic, subject, object,
complement, or modifier. Other substantives, e.g. classifiers (3.2.5.), also
occur with weak stress, but only as constituents of enumerations, not as sin-
gle lexemes filling one of the major positions of a predication. Pronouns
also occur with normal and even loud stress, and commonly fill the major
positions. They are frequently modifiers, but seldom function as heads,
except when an enumeration is the modifier:

> /khun/   'you'
>
> /khun thǎŋ-sǒoŋ/   'both of you'

Since weak stress is not always predictable from the morphophonemic
transcription used here, it must sometimes be inferred for pronouns. The
general rule is that, unless the rhythmic pattern gives clear evidence other-
wise, a given pronoun has normal stress only when it is the head of an endo-
centric expression (example above), and has weak stress everywhere else. Ex-
ample of weak-stressed pronouns in subject and indirect object positions:

> phîi , <u>khǎw</u> hâj sataaŋ <u>khun</u> lέεw .
>
> 'My brother, <u>he</u> gave <u>you</u> the money already.'

Since pronouns typically do <u>not</u> head endocentric expressions, one of
their major functions is to signal that a given sequence of noun-plus-predi-
cative is a predication rather than a noun expression. This is done by inser-
tion of the pronoun in the subject slot; the original subject then becomes
topic, and is often set off in a separate phrase. In the following examples
/bâan/ 'house' is a noun, /jàj/ 'big' is a predicative (adjective), and /man/
'it' is a pronoun.

> bâan jàj .   'The house is big.'   (predication)
>
>   or
>
>   'A big house.'   (noun expression)
>
> bâan , man jàj .   'The house (it) is big.'   (predication only)

Pronouns, like classifiers, have covert relationships with nouns -
for example, /khǎw/ substitutes for nouns like /phîi/ 'older sibling,' and
/man/ substitutes for nouns like /bâan/ 'house' and /mǎa/ 'dog.' The meanings
and social connotations of pronouns in ST are so complex, however, that clas-
sification on a semantic basis is extremely difficult. (It should also be
pointed out that many semantic 'equivalents' of pronouns are structurally
nouns - for example, a priest uses /aàd-tamaphâab/, a noun meaning 'I,' in
all the contexts where an ordinary man might use a pronoun such as /phǒm/
'I'.)

The class of pronouns is small, but not closed (for a recent innovation, see the 23rd set under 1) below). While it is often difficult to pin down the meanings of pronouns, to some extent they do occur in structural sets. Such sets can be established by analysis of single exchanges (involving only two speakers), where social requirements dictate the choice of first and second person pronouns, the same pronouns being selected throughout the exchange. Third person and other pronoun selection, however, does not depend entirely on the relationship between speaker and hearer, but also on the status of persons referred to, and hence no similar sets can be established beyond the first and second person level.

Pronouns are sub-classified, therefore, into two groups: 1) members of sets, and 2) general pronouns. Some indication of meaning and social connotations has been attempted, but translations are of necessity vague. Certain sets containing only one real pronoun are filled out with kinship terms, which have normal stress and are personal nouns (3.2.1.7.). Other sets are filled out with ordinary nouns. The suppletive items which are not pronouns are given in parentheses.

Where there are several variant forms of a pronoun lexeme, the most common citation form is listed first, with less careful variants listed below in descending order of formality, under the first occurrence.

1) Pronoun sets

Situation	First Person	Second Person
1. General polite, male speaker	phǒm	khun
	phõm	
2. General polite, female speaker	dichǎn	khun
	dihǎn	
	dǐan	
	iichǎn	
	iihǎn	
	ǐan	
	aahǎn	
3. Deferential, male speaker	phǒm	thân
4. Deferential, female speaker	dichǎn	thân

Situation	First Person	Second Person
5. To non-royal but extremely high-ranking superiors, male speaker	kraphŏm	(tâj-tháaw)
6. Same, female speaker	dìchǎn	(tâj-tháaw)
7. Adult to child	chǎn (or kinship term)	nǔu
8. Child to adult	nǔu	(kinship term)
9. Parent to child	khâa (or kinship term)	(lûug)
10. Parent to child	khâa	câw cǎw
11. Parent to child	khâa	kɛɛ
12. Parent to child	khâa	eŋ
13. Parent to daughter	kuu	eŋ
14. Parent to son	kuu	myŋ
15. Child to parent	nǔu	(kinship term)
16. Child to older sibling	nǔu	(phîi)
17. Intimate, boy to girl, or among very young boys and girls	chǎn	thəə
18. Intimate, girl to boy, or among older girls	chǎn	khun
19. Intimate, among young adult friends of the same sex	chǎn	kɛɛ
20. Intimate, among older girls	chǎn	(naaj)
21. Intimate, among older girls (less often, boys)	raw	tua
22. Intimate, among older girls, or between man and wife	khǎw	tua
23. Intimate, among modern boys and girls	aaj	juu
24. Intimate, among adolescent boys	úa úə	lýy

25.	Intimate, among boys and young men	kan	lýy
26.	Intimate, among men	kan	raw
27.	Crude, among boys and men	khâa	eŋ
28.	Crude, among boys and men	kuu	myŋ

Remaining sets are either reciprocal kinship terms - e.g. /phǔa/ 'I (husband speaking), you (wife speaking)' and /mia/ 'I (wife speaking), you (husband speaking)' - or paired expressions - e.g. /khãa-phacâw/ 'I (public speaker)' and /thân thãŋ-lǎaɹ/ 'you plural (audience).'

2) General Pronouns

The following pronouns have more general meaning, and all can be used without regard to the social relationship of speaker and listener. For those pronouns which also occur as members of sets, the number in parentheses after the translation indicates whether the set member is a first person (1) or second person (2) pronoun.

1.	/phrã-oŋ/	'royal or revered third person'	
2.	/thân/	'respected third person'	(2)
3.	/kɛɛ/	'familiar third person of our group'	(2)
4.	/khãw/	'general third person; outsider'	(1)
5.	/thəə/	'respected but younger or female third person'	(2)
6.	/maɲ/	'inferior third person; animal, child, or thing; it'	
7.	/raw/	'we; I and my group; you and I'	(1,2)
8.	/kan/	'each other; mutually; as a group'	(1)
9.	/tua/	'oneself; individually'	(2)
10.	/ton/	'oneself, itself' (slightly literary)	
11.	/khraɹ/	'who, someone, anyone'	
12.	/araɹ/	'what, something, anything'	

The singular-plural distinction is irrelevant for third-person (1-6 above), all of which can be translated 'he, she, they' (/man/ can also be translated 'it'). The pronouns /raw/ and /kan/ (7-8) are always plural when they are used as general pronouns, and are also nearly in complementary distribution. /raw/ occurs chiefly before the predicator and in stressed position (e.g. as head of a pronoun expression, or object of a preposition).

/kan/ occurs after the predicator, and if there is no subject, its meaning is nearly always 'we' or 'ourselves.' It can follow any subject (including /raw/) and has the effect of pluralizing that subject - 'they, you (plural), etc.'

The general pronouns /tua/ and /ton/ (9-10) are normally singular in meaning, and like /kan/ are often reflexive:

/khâa tuə taaɟ/   'to kill oneself'

/khâə kan taaɟ/   'to kill each other.'

The pronouns /khraɟ/ and /araɟ/ (11-12) share an interrogative or indefinite meaning, neither singular nor plural, but can be pluralized by the addition of a bound lexeme /bâaŋ/ 'some':

/khraɟ: bâaŋ/   'who (plural)'

/araɟ: bâaŋ/   'what (plural)'

The pronouns /khǎw/ and /khraɟ/ are the most common substitutes for personal nouns, and the pronouns /man/ and /araɟ/ for other types of nouns. These four members of the general category are hence the most frequently used, with /phǒm/, /dichǎn/, and /khun/ leading the set category.

3.2.4. Demonstratives

A demonstrative is any substantive which is invariably the last free lexeme in any non-predicate construction in which it occurs (e.g. enumerations and endocentric substantive expressions). Demonstratives by themselves do occur in most of the typical substantive positions - topic, subject, object, complement - but of course are never heads. Their chief function, however, is that of modifier; hence they are a special case of complementives (3.2.2.). The occurrence of a demonstrative is a sure sign that an endocentric expression has come to an end; the same is not true of /eeŋ/-class complementives (3.2.2.3.). In the following examples, /níi/ 'this' is a demonstrative.

bâan jàɟ .	'The house is big'
or	
	'A big house.'
bâan níi jàɟ .	'This house is big.'
bâan jàɟ níi .	'This big house.'
níi bâan jàɟ .	'This is the big house.'

The class of demonstratives is small and closed, and the members seem to exclude each other semantically. There are two sub-categories: 1) /níi/-class demonstratives, and 2) /diaw/-class demonstratives.

1) /níi/ Class

The members of this class are morphologically complex (see 2.3.3.2.). All but one have distinct emphatic forms alongside their base forms; two have special plural forms. The class meaning is 'specification by relative location.'

1.	/níi/	'this, these; closer to me'
	/làw-níi/	'these'
	/nîi/	'this one here, these here'
2.	/nán/	'that, those; closer to you'
	/làw-nán/	'those'
	/nân/	'that one there, those there'
3.	/nóon/	'yon; distant from us; the other, the others'
	/nôon/	'that one yonder, those yonder'
4.	/nǎj/	'which; one or ones of limited possibilities'

2) /diaw/ Class

The class meaning is 'specification (or non-specification) by reference to the entire range of possibilities.' The members of this class occur independently (i.e. outside of enumerations or endocentric expressions) much less often than /níi/-class demonstratives; they are nearly always modifiers.

1.	/diaw/	'one, a single one'
2.	/diaw-kan/	'the same one'
3.	/nȳŋ/ or /nyŋ/	'a, a certain one (not specified)'
4.	/daj/ or /raj/	'whatever; one of limitless possibilities'
5.	/rêɛg/	'first (historically)'
6.	/sùd-tháaj/	'last'

7. /dǝǝm/	'former, original'
8. /ỳyn/	'other, others; unspecified additional ones'
9. /nâa/	'next'
10. /lǎŋ/	'later, ones in the future'

3.2.5. Classifiers

A <u>classifier</u> is any substantive which occurs with weak stress directly before, and in construction with, demonstratives (3.2.4.). Like pronouns (3.2.3.), classifiers also do occur with normal stress; unlike pronouns, they do not by themselves fill all the normal positions of substantives, but are almost entirely restricted to occurrence as complements. (In such cases the normal stress is a morpheme meaning 'one of this item' - see 2.2.3.1.) In the examples below, /sɔɔŋ/ is a classifier meaning 'pack.'

> khǎw khǎaj pen-sɔɔŋ .
>> 'They are sold by the pack (as one pack).'

> aw burìi phrá-can , sɔɔŋ .
>> 'Give me a pack of Moon Cigarettes.'

By far the most common use of classifiers, however, is in enumerations, where the classifier follows numerals (3.2.6) and precedes demonstratives:

/hâa sɔɔŋ/	'five packs'
/sɔɔŋ-nán/	'that pack'
/hâa sɔɔŋ, nán/	'those five packs'

The whole enumeration is often a modifier in a noun expression of which the head noun may or may not have a lexical relationship with the classifier (in this case /burìi/ 'cigarette, tobacco' is the head; see 3.2.5.2. below):

> /burìi hâa sɔɔŋ, nán/
>> 'those five packs of cigarettes'

Classifiers also serve as first lexemes in <u>classifier</u> <u>phrases</u> - enumerations in which the second constituent is not a demonstrative but some other kind of specifying item, usually a noun, adjective, or ordinal numeral (3.2.6.2.):

/sɔɔŋ sǐi-lỳaŋ/	'the yellow pack'	(noun)
/sɔɔŋ-jàj/	'the big pack'	(adjective)
/sɔɔŋ thîi-sìi/	'the fourth pack'	(ordinal)

Since all such phrases are exocentric,./sɔɔŋ/ by itself cannot sub-
stitute for them, but whole classifier phrases are the syntactic equivalent
of noun expressions. In other words, classifier phrases can fill all the
substantive positions, although classifiers by themselves cannot. Enumera-
tions introduced by numerals (numeral expressions) behave in the same way
(see examples in 2.5.2.5.)

The sub-categories of classifiers are determined on the basis of
their relationships with other lexeme categories. They are 1) unit clas-
sifiers, 2) metric classifiers, 3) general classifiers, and 4) imitative
classifiers. Since all the sub-categories except 3) have relatively large
memberships, only representative examples are given. (Abstract nouns, 3.2.
1.4., which also occur directly after numerals, are not classifiers, since
they do not occur with weak stress before demonstratives.)

1) A <u>unit</u> <u>classifier</u> is any classifier which has a special relation-
ship with one or more concrete nouns (3.2.1.1.). For example, if an ST
speaker is going to enumerate (i.e. count or specify) members of the class
of /rya/ 'boats, ships,' he has little choice but to select the unit clas-
sifier /lam/. If he uses a general classifier (3.2.5.3) he is not consider-
ing individual boats but kinds of boats. Most unit classifiers are used with
a great many concrete nouns of very different meaning, but a few are restrict-
ed to a single noun. In the latter case, for example, it is possible to say
not only that /chŷag/ is the classifier for /cháaŋ/ 'elephant,' but also that
/cháaŋ/ is the noun for /chŷag/.

The sub-category of unit classifiers is quite large, but probably
closed. Most dictionaries list up to 200 items as classifiers, of which the
great majority are unit classifiers. An attempt is often made to relate
classifiers semantically with the nouns they represent, but a far better
lexicographical technique, used by Mary R. Haas and others, is to give the
unit classifier in parentheses after each concrete noun listed - viz. /rya/
'boat, ship' (/lam/). The semantic connection between classifier and noun
may be buried so deep in history that it makes no sense descriptively - e.g.
the classifier for /năŋ-sўy/ 'book' is /lêm/, which is also the classifier
for knives and combs (a historical explanation perhaps being that ancient
books were long, slender, and sharp-edged).

There are, however, a number of semantically predictable noun-clas-
sifier relationships, and even some overt relationships, where the classifier
recurs as head of a compound concrete noun.
Examples:

Compound Noun		Classifier
/baɟ-máaɟ/	'leaf'	/baɟ/
/dɔɔg-máaɟ/	'flower'	/dɔɔg/

/tôn-máaɟ/	'tree'	/tôn/
/khon-ságˈ-phâa/	'laundress'	/khon/
/ráan-ságˈ-phâa/	'laundry'	/ráan/

Not all such compounds have heads recurring as classifiers, however - the classifier for /kham-thǎam/ 'question' is not /kham/ but /khɔ̂ɔ/.

Following is a list of the most common unit classifiers for which noun-reference is relatively predictable.

	Classifier	Reference
1.	/khon/	ordinary people
2.	/oŋ/	royal and revered personages, Buddha images
3.	/tua/	non-human things with anthropomorphic characteristics (arms, legs, etc.) - e.g. animals, coats, trousers, tables, chairs
4.	/phɛ̀ɛn/	flat things
5.	/baɟ/	containers
6.	/tôn/	plants
7.	/phɰ̌ɰn/	strips
8.	/sên/	long tubular objects - e.g. string, wire
9.	/méd/	small round objects
10.	/lûug/	large round objects
11.	/kɔ̂ɔn/	irregular lumps
12.	/thêŋ/	sticks
13.	/chabàb/	copies
14.	/khɔ̂ɔ/	items, points (of language)

It frequently happens that there is fluctuation in the choice of classifier for a given concrete noun, both from the point of view of the whole speech community and for individual speakers. In such cases, however, no matter which unit classifier is chosen, the meaning is still 'one of the item in question.' For example, the compound noun /phǒn-lámáaɟ/ 'fruit' is classified with /baɟ/ 'container,' /lûug/ 'large round object,' and /phǒn/ (head of the compound).

2) A metric classifier is any classifier which occurs in enumerations that modify predicatives, as well as nouns. Metric classifiers do not have special relationships with nouns in the way that unit classifiers do; each

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metric classifier occurs with a wide range of heads, both mass nouns and predicatives. The meaning of the sub-category is 'measure by fixed unit or conventional contents of a container.' In the examples below, a metric classifier, /caan/ 'dish (as a measure for food),' is illustrated in a single enumeration which occurs in isolation, as a mass noun modifier, and as a verb modifier.

/sǎam caan: níi/	'These three dishes (of food)'
/kɛɛŋ sǎam caan/	'Three dishes of curry'
/kin sǎam caan/	'Eat three dishes (of it).'

The metric classifier /caan/ has a homonym /caan/ which is a concrete noun 'plate, dish' having its own unit classifier /baj/:

/caan sǎam baj/	'Three plates (utensils).'

The same mass noun can occur with many different metric classifiers, depending on the type of measure used. Examples with /burìi/ 'cigarettes, tobacco':

/burìi hâa sɔɔŋ/	'Five packs of cigarettes.'
/burìi hâa hɔ̀ɔ/	'Five cartons of cigarettes.'
/burìi hâa kiloo/	'Five kilograms of tobacco.'
/burìi hâa bàad/	'Five-baht cigarettes.'
or	'Five baht worth of cigarettes.'

The same /burìi/ is also a concrete noun 'cigarette' which has a special relationship with the unit classifier /muan/:

/burìi hâa muan/	'Five cigarettes.'

The sub-category of metric classifiers is not large, but it is open; a fairly recent innovation is /fúd/ 'foot, feet.' Two examples are given below for each of the broad semantic groups which make up the membership.

1.	Distance and size:	/méd/ 'metre,' /fúd/ 'foot.'
2.	Weight:	/kiloo/ 'kilogram,' /pɔɔn/ 'pound.'
3.	Container:	/caan/ 'dish,' /thûaj/ 'cup'.
4.	Value:	/bàad/ 'baht, tical,' /rǐan/ 'dollar.'
5.	Time:	/mooŋ/ 'hour of the day,' /wan/ 'day'

The occurrence of value and time classifiers (4,5) after noun heads is relatively rare, except when the head noun means something like 'price, value' or 'time, duration.'

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3) A <u>general</u> <u>classifier</u> is any classifier which occurs in enumerations after an extremely wide range of nouns. General classifiers do not have special relationships with either concrete nouns or mass nouns; most of them occur even after abstract nouns, replacing the second occurrence of the noun (see 3.2.1.4.). The class is small and probably closed.
Examples:

	Classifier		Reference
1.	/an/	'piece, item'	All concrete nouns except those referring to people and animals; most abstract nouns
2.	/khûu/	'pair'	Potentially all nouns, but especially personal attributes e.g. eyes, shoes.
3.	/khâaŋ/	'one of a pair'	Same as 2.
4.	/chúd/	'set, matching group'	Most nouns.
5.	/phûag/	'group'	Nearly all nouns.
6.	/chán/	'class, category'	Nearly all nouns.
7.	/kɔɔŋ/	'disorderly pile'	Most concrete nouns.
8.	/tâŋ/	'stack'	Many concrete nouns.
9.	/jàaŋ/	'type, kind'	Nearly all nouns.
10.	/chaníd/	'type, kind'	Nearly all nouns.
11.	/khráŋ/	'occasion, instance'	Many abstract nouns, especially those with verbal constituents - e.g. 'meeting'
12.	/hɛ̀ɛŋ/ and /thîi/	'place, location'	Potentially all nouns, but especially place-nouns.
13.	/raaj/	'case'	Many abstract nouns.
14.	/thii/	'repeated instance'	Nearly all nouns.

4) An <u>imitative</u> <u>classifier</u> is any classifier for which there is a morphologically related reduplicated lexeme which is an imitative (see 3.1.4.). Most imitative classifiers are of the onomatopoetic variety, and the sub-category meaning is 'instance of a noise, movement, or other sensory impression.' As such, the whole sub-category is not merely a special case of general classifiers, because enumerations with imitative classifiers in them rarely modify nouns (except nouns like /sĭaŋ/ 'sound') but enter into syntactic construction with predicates.

The membership is very large, and also open, since imitatives are frequently innovated, but occurrence of imitative classifiers is actually quite rare in comparison with other types of classifiers.
Example:

fáa lêεb , sǒɔŋ wêεb .
'The lightning flashed twice (there was lightning in two flashes).'

3.2.6. Numerals

A numeral is any substantive which occurs as the first lexeme of a two-lexeme enumeration having a classifier as the second lexeme. The internal construction of compound numeral lexemes is quite complex, but mathematically logical (see 2.2.2.5-6). Because of the compounding possibilities, the class of numerals is theoretically infinite, but the actual numeral morphemes involved are only 24 in number (including the two prosodic morphemes). The syllabic items, all of which also occur as numeral lexemes, are as follows:

1.	/nỳŋ/	'one'	10.	/sìb/	'ten'	17. /lǎaɟ/	'several 2-9'
2.	/sǒɔŋ/	'two'	11.	/rɔ́ɔɟ/	'hundred'	18. /baaŋ/	'some'
3.	/sǎam/	'three'	12.	/phan/	'thousand'	19. /kìi/	'how many'
4.	/sìi/	'four'	13.	/mỳyn/	'ten thousand'	20. /mâɟ-kìi/	'not many'
5.	/hâa/	'five'	14.	/sěεn/	'hundred thousand'	21. /nɔ́ɔɟ/	'few'
6.	/hòg/	'six'	15.	/láan/	'million'	22. /thúg/	'each, every'
7.	/cèd/	'seven'	16.	/khrŷŋ/	'half'		
8.	/pèεd/	'eight'					
9.	/kâw/	'nine'					

Items 17-22 are not true substantives, since they have suppletive forms in isolation (see 3.2.6.3.), but qualify as numerals otherwise. Morphemes 17-19 also enter into compound lexeme constructions with other numeral morphemes; items 20-22 do not. Item 20. is two morphemes, the remainder are single morphemes.

Construction of compound numeral lexemes from morphemes 1-19, plus the prosodic morphemes /-/ 'multiply' and / / 'add,' is almost entirely regular. The morpheme 1. /nỳŋ/ has an allomorph /èd/ after 10. /sìb/ in additions, and the morpheme 2. /sǒɔŋ/ has an allomorph /ɟîi/ before 10. /sìb/ in that particular multiplication.

Morphemes 1-9 and 16-19 occur in multiplications only as the first constituent; morphemes 1. and 16. only before 11-15 as second constituent, the others before 10-15. Morphemes 10-15, besides occurring as second constituents, also occur as first constituents in multiplications, but only when 15. /láan/ is the second constituent.

Addition constructions take effect only after all multiplication is complete. In additions, morpheme 16. /khrŷŋ/ 'and a half' follows all other morphemes and multiplied constituents; it never leads an addition construction. Morphemes 1-9 precede only 16. and follow all other morphemes and multiplied constituents. Morphemes 10-14 and their multiplications precede 1-9 and 16 in addition processes, and follow only a higher-ranking member of their own set or its multiplication (e.g. 14. /sɛ̌ɛn/ occurs only after 15. /láan/, but 10. /sìb/ after any of the group 11-15, etc.). Morpheme 15. and its multiplications are always first constituent in an addition construction. Morphemes 17-19 do not occur in addition constructions.

Examples of internal construction of compound numeral lexemes.

Multiplication				Addition	
sǎam-sìb	'30'	sìb sǎam	'13'	sǎam-sìb sǎam	'33'
jîi-sìb	'20'	sìb sɔ̌ɔŋ	'12'	jîi-sìb sɔ̌ɔŋ	'22'
hâa-sìb	'50'	sìb hâa	'15'	hâa-sìb èd	'51'
sìi-rɔ́ɔj	'400'	rɔ́ɔj sìi	'104'	sìi-rɔ́ɔj sìi-sìb	'440'
hòg-phan	'600'	phan hòg-rɔ́ɔj	'1,600'	hòg-phan kâw-rɔ́ɔj	'6,900'
lǎaj-phan	'thousands of, several thousand'				
cèd-mɣ̀yn	'70,000'			mɣ̀yn cèd-phan	'17,000'
kìi-sɛ̌ɛn	'how many hundred thousand'				
nɣ̀ŋ-láan	'one million'			kâw khrŷŋ	'9 1/2'

sɔ̌ɔŋ-láan sǎam-sɛ̌ɛn sìi-mɣ̀yn hâa-phan hòg-rɔ́ɔj cèd-sìb pɛ̀ɛd khrŷŋ
    '2,345, 678 1/2'

Additions in which the first constituent is one of morphemes 11-15 or its multiplication, and the second constituent is one of morphemes 3-9 or morpheme 16, can be ambiguous, because there is a second pattern whereby morphemes 3-9 and 16 can stand for the multiple of the next lower order. The ambiguity recedes as the number of zeros involved increases, and the alternate pattern takes over.

Examples: sɔ̌ɔŋ-rɔ́ɔj hâa '205,' or '250' if /hâa/ equals /hâa-sìb/.
           pɛ̀ɛd-phan hòg '8006,' or '8600' if /hòg/ stands for /hòg-rɔ́ɔj/

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láan khrŷŋ	'a million and half' (almost certainly 1,500,000)
mẙyn cèd	'ten thousand seven' (almost certainly 17,000)

Numerals higher in value than /láan/ 'million' exist, but are not yet in general use, and may not in fact satisfy the definition of 'numeral' if they become acceptable. The lexeme /sŭun/ 'zero' is not a numeral, but is used in construction with numerals (for example, in giving telephone numbers), as are other numeral substitutes.

Morphemes 1-3 have allomorphs with different tones in a special lexeme of the isolative class used in serial counting (as when starting a race):

　　　nyŋ , sòoŋ , ʃsâam ↑ .　　'One, two, three!'*

Numeral lexemes, both simple and compound, are sub-classified on the basis of their behavior with respect to classifiers. All numeral lexemes of course occur before classifiers, but some also occur after classifiers and in isolation. Because variant forms of lexemes are involved, there is some overlapping of the sub-categories.

1) <u>Cardinal</u> <u>numerals</u> occur in isolation. The meaning is the same as it is before classifiers: 'number of items.' Cardinal numerals include the simple lexemes represented by morphemes 1-15, and all the compound lexemes represented by their multiplications and additions, except those involving morphemes 17-19. Thus the membership of the sub-category approaches that of numerals in general.

2) <u>Ordinal</u> <u>numerals</u> occur immediately <u>after</u> classifiers and in construction with them. The meaning of the sub-category is 'position in a series.'

/săam chán/	'Three classes' (cardinal)
/chán sǎam/	'The third class' (ordinal)

The membership of the sub-category is exactly the same as that of cardinal numerals, except that each ordinal numeral, whether it is simple or compound, has a derivative allolex beginning with the prefix /thîi-/ 'ordinal number.' (Numerals containing the morpheme 16. /khrŷŋ/ 'half' are marginal members of the category.) Whereas cardinal phrases (numeral plus classifier) are exocentric, ordinal expressions (classifier plus numeral) are endocentric. Examples:

chán sǎam	'third class'
chán thîi-sǎam	'third class'
pii sǒoŋ-phan hâa-róoj hòg	'the year 2506'
khon thîi-sìb-èd	'the eleventh person'

---

hôŋ săam-sìb kâw	'room 39'
wan thîi-pèɛd	'the eighth (day of the month)'
thîaw thîi-hòg	'the sixth race'

Besides occurring after classifiers, ordinal numerals also serve as modifiers of nouns, in a similar construction:

nâa sìi-róoj sìb cèd	'page 417'
thanŏn thîi sìi-sìb sŏoŋ	'42nd street'

3) <u>Partitive numerals</u> occur only in the cardinal position, never in isolation or in ordinal constructions. The sub-category includes items 17-22 plus the multiplications of 17-19, and a set of derivatives ending in /kwa/ (see end of section). The meaning is 'proportional, approximate or unknown number of items.'
Examples:

baaŋ khon	'<u>some</u> people (not all)'
kìi chán	'how many classes?'
lăaj-sìb tûu	'tens of cabinets'
lăaj tua	'several (animals)'
kìi-róoj bàad	'how many hundred baht?'
mâj-kìi wan	'not many days'
nóoj khon	'few people'
thúg chaníd	'every kind'
hòg-sìb kwabàad	'sixty-odd baht'

Partitive numerals are actually a bound lexeme class, since they do not occur in isolation, but are included here because of their relationship with substantive numerals. Their suppletive isolation-forms are, syntactically speaking, members of the /eeŋ/ class of complementives (3.2.2.2.) which serve as numeral substitutes. They are listed below (rather than with the /eeŋ/ class) to point up their special relationship with partitive numerals.

<u>Partitive Numeral</u>		<u>/eeŋ/ -class Complementive</u>	
/lăaj/	'several, two to nine'	/mãg-mâag/	'quite a few'
		/thãŋ-lăaj/	'the several'
/baaŋ/	'some, part of'	/bâaŋ/	'some'
/kìi/	'how many'	/thâw-raj/	'how much'
		/kìi-manóoj/	'how many'

/mâj-kìɪ/	'not many'	/mãj-thâw-raj/	'not much, not many'
/nóoj/	'few'	/lég-nóoj/	'a few'
/thúg/	'each, every'	/thã́ŋ-nán/	'all of them'

Both the partitive numerals and their related /eeŋ/-class complementives frequently occur after /sã́g/-class prepositions (4.2.5.), and further examples of their use are given under the heading of /bˆaŋ/-class postpositions (4.4.3.)

A special set of partitives is made from cardinal numerals by derivation with a suffix /kwa/, which attaches itself (unstressed and with minimum syllable duration) to the classifier which follows. The derivatives are made from any simple cardinal numeral lexeme or any multiplication, but not from additions. The meaning of each derivative is 'that number plus a fraction' (for simple lexemes) or 'that number plus an odd remainder of integers of the next lower order' (for multiplications). In other words, the suffix /kwa/ 'plus' operates in exactly the same way as the morpheme /khrŷŋ/ 'and a half' operates in additions, but the meaning is less precise.
Examples:

cèd kwabàad	'Seven baht and a fraction'
sìɪ-róoj kwamaj	'Four-hundred-odd miles'
sìb kwachán	'More than ten classes'

The corresponding inexact cardinal numerals, however, are not derivatives but syntactic constructions, cardinal numeral plus postposition /kwakwàa/. (The difference is that a classifier can intervene between the numeral and the postposition.)
Examples:

cèdː kwakwàa	'Seven and a fraction.'
sìɪ-róojː kwakwàa	'Four hundred plus.'
sìbː kwakwàa	'In the teens'
cèd bàadː kwakwàa	'Over seven baht.'
sìɪ-róoj majː kwakwàa	'More than 400 miles.'

4) Classifier numerals occur before, and in direct construction with, demonstratives (3.2.4.). The numerals which fill this position are not classifiers, however, because they have normal stress (see definition of classifiers, 3.2.5.). The usual pattern is for the stressed numeral to have medium-long duration, with the demonstrative which follows having weak stress. The most common demonstrative occurring in this construction is /rɪyŋ/ 'a, one,' but others are found as well.

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The membership of the sub-category of classifier numerals is confined to the simple lexemes 11-16 (middle column of chart at beginning of 3.2.6.). Examples:

róɔɟː nyŋ	'a hundred'
phanː nán	'that thousand'
mȳyn sùd-tháaɟ	'the last ten thousand'
sěɛnː nyŋ	'a hundred thousand'
láan rêɛg	'the first million'
khrŷŋː nyŋ	'a half'

3.3. Predicatives

A predicative is any free lexeme which occurs as a predicator (in a non-equational predication, see 2.5.2.2.). Any lexeme which qualifies as a predicative is no longer considered to be a substantive, since the more specific classification is that of predicative (see statement in first paragraph of 3.2.). Besides occurring as predicators and heads of endocentric predicates, many members of this class also fill the typical positions of substantives: topics, subjects, objects and complements.

Predicatives are classified, on the basis of typical and absolute occurrence, into four sub-groups: 1) Modal Verbs, 2) Adjectives, 3) Transitive Verbs and 4) Completive Verbs. The third sub-group is also referred to simply as 'verbs.'

3.3.1. Modal Verbs

A modal verb is any predicative which occurs as the predicator, or as head of an endocentric predicate, with an object which is also a predicative or predicative expression. The test of predicate substitution is made in the context of a yes-no question and its answer.
Examples:

	Q.	khǎw tôŋ paɟː mǎɟ .	'Does he have to go?'
	A.	tôŋ .	'Yes, he does.'
or	A.	mǎɟ tôŋ .	'No, he doesn't.'

Since /paɟ/ 'go' is itself a predicative, /tôŋ/ 'must' is a modal verb. One kind of modal verb (sub-class 1) below) is restricted to occurrence in this type of construction, but there are other modal verbs (sub-class 2) below) which also take substantive objects.

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Examples:

    Q. khãw chôob wî̩ŋ꞉ mã̆ɔ .   'Does he like to run?'

    A. chôob .   'Yes, he does.'

    Q. khãw chôob sĭ̩ɪ-dɛɛŋ꞉ mã̆ɔ . 'Does she like red?'

    A. chôob .   'Yes, she does.'

Since /wî̩ŋ/ 'run' is a predicative, and /sĭ̩ɪ-dɛɛŋ/ 'red' is a sub-
stantive, the modal verb /chôob/ 'to like' occurs before both types of object.

A feature of one sub-class, specific modal verbs (below) is that they
act as predicators in any kind of predication in which they occur, no matter
what the membership of the other constituents may be. For example, even in
a predicate consisting of a modal verb and an adjective (3.3.2.), the modal
verb substitutes for the whole.

Example:

    Q. tôŋ dɪɪ꞉ mã̆ɔ .   'Must it be good?'

    A. tôŋ .   'Yes, it must.'

The class of modal verbs is not very large, as free lexeme classes
go, but except for sub-category (1) below, it is probably open. The class
meaning is 'mode of action, or specific applicability of situation described.'
Modal verbs are paralleled by a class of bound lexemes, called simply 'modals,'
which fill the same position in predications but do not substitute for them
(4.1.). They are also paralleled in the same way by a sub-class of adjectives
(3.3.2.3.) which fill the modal verb position but do not substitute.

Some true modal verbs have homonyms belonging to other classes. For
example, /àad/ is a modal verb meaning 'capable of' and also a modal meaning
'apt to.' In the first case, the negative precedes /àad/; in the second case
it follows:

    mâɔ-àad capaɔ   'Unable to go'

    àad camâɔ-paɔ   'Might not go.'

Two sub-classes of modal verbs are established, on the basis of type
of object occurring in their predications.

1) <u>Specific</u> <u>modal</u> <u>verbs</u> occur only with objects which are themselves
    predicatives. The class is small and closed, probably being con-
    fined to the following members.

    1. /khəəɔ/ 'to have experienced, to have done at least once;
            ever, used to'

    Occurs before verbs and verb expressions, and before other
       modal verbs.

khun khəəj lɔɔŋ ráb-prathaan aahǎan thaj: rɤ̃-jaŋ .
   'Have you ever tried eating Thai food?'

khəəj .   'Yes.'   mâj khəəj .   'No.'

khǎw khəəj jàag pen thahǎan-rɤa .
   'He once wanted to be a sailor.'

2. /rúu-càg/ 'to have been; ever, used to be'
   Occurs before adjectives and adjective expressions.

phǒm lên kób , mâj-rúu-càg bɤ̀a .
   'I never get bored with playing golf.'

3. /tôŋ/ 'must, is obliged to, has to'
   Occurs before all types of predicatives, including other
modal verbs.

khun mâj-tôŋ paj: rɔ̃g ↑ .
   'You don't have to go↓'

tôŋ rew: mǎj .
   'Must it be soon?'

naj thîi-sùd , khǎw kô-tôŋ jɔɔm phɛ́ɛ .
   'In the end they had to admit defeat.

4. /jɔɔm/ 'be willing to, allow oneself to; accept'
   Occurs mainly before verbs (but may follow other modal verbs
-see last example above).

mɛɛw , man mâj-jɔɔm kin: sǎ sàg-níd .
   'The cat won't eat a bit of it.'

phǒm jɔɔm-ráb wâa dii .
   'I'm willing to admit that it's good.'

5. /jàag/ 'to want to, to wish for'
   Occurs mainly before verbs (but may follow other modal verbs-
see last example under 1. /khəəj/.)

khun jàag capaj dûaj: mǎj .
   'Do you want to go too?'

khǎw mâj-jàag carób-kuan khun .
   'He doesn't want to bother you.'

6. /samàg/ and /samàg-caɟ/ 'to volunteer, offer ones services.'

      Occurs mainly before verbs, but may follow other modal verbs.

khǎw samàg capen thahǎan: rّy̌y .

    'Did he volunteer for military service?'

phǒm khɔ̌ɔ samàg pen samaa-chíg .

    'I would like to make application to be a member.'

7. /khuan/ 'should, ought to; properly does'

      Occurs before verbs, adjectives, and other modals.

khun mâɟ-khuan caphûud jaŋán .

    'You shouldn't talk like that.'

man khuan cadıı kwa-níı .

    'It ought to be better than this.'

khǎw khuan caɟɔɔm-phɛ́ɛ .

    'He should be willing to accept defeat.'

(/khuan/ has a derivative /sǒm-khuan/, an adjective meaning 'fitting, proper.')

8. /àad/ and /sǎa-mâad/ 'to be capable of'

      Occurs mainly before verbs.

phǒm mâɟ-àad catôo-thǐaŋ: ləəɟ .

    'I can't argue about it at all.'

khǎw mâɟ-sǎamâad catɔ̀ɔ-sûu, tɔ̀ɔ-paɟ-ìıg .

    'He was incapable of fighting any further.'

9. /phaɟaɟaam/ 'to try, make a physical effort'

      Occurs mainly before verbs.

khǎw phaɟaɟaam catɔ̀ɔ-sûu: mّy̌an-kan .

    'He was trying to fight, anyway.'

Modal verbs 1-4 normally precede their predicator-objects directly, without the interposition of the particle /ca-/ 'hypothetical predicate.' Modal verbs 5-9 occur either with or without /ca-/, more often with it (as in the examples above).

2) General modal verbs occur with both predicative and substantive objects. The class is much larger than that of specific modal verbs, and is almost certainly open. One or two instances of each general semantic category of these modal verbs is given for illustrative purposes.

1. Verbs meaning 'to like' /chɔ̂ɔb/, /rɑ́g/

2. 'to hate, to mind, to object' /raŋ-kìad/

3. 'to think, to plan' /khíd/, /rí/

4. 'to hurry' /rîib/

5. 'to begin, to start' /rə̂əm/, /tâŋ-tôn/

6. 'to stop, to end' /lə̂əg/, /jùd/

7. 'to try out, to experiment with' /lɔɔŋ/

8. 'to help' /chûaj/

9. 'to ask a favor, to beg' /khɔ̌ɔ/, /waan/

10. 'to depend on someone else' /fàag/, /aasǎj/

11. 'to invite' /chəən/, /nĩmon/

12. 'to accept' /ráb/, /dâj-ráb/

13. Many verbs describing the act of speaking-/bɔ̀ɔg/, /tyan/

14. All completive verbs (see 3.3.4.)

As a class, general modal verbs usually precede specific modal verbs when they occur in the same construction (see /khɔ̌ɔ/ in last example under /samàg/, above) and they are almost never immediately followed by the particle /ca-/, except sub-categories 3. and 5.

3.3.2. Adjectives

An adjective is any predicative which occurs as a predicator with a subject which also a predicative or predicative expression. (Thus adjectives are, so to speak, the direct opposites of modal verbs.) The test of substitution, as before, is made in the context of a yes-no question and its answer. Example:

Q. khun paj wád bɔ̀j: mãj .
'Do you go to the temple often?'

A. bɔ̀j . 'Yes, often.'
or
A. mâj bɔ̀j . 'No, not often.'

Since /paj/ 'go' is a predicative, heading a predicative expression /paj wád/, then /bɔ̀j/ 'often' is an adjective. One kind of adjective typically occurs in this kind of construction, but there are other adjectives which also take substantive subjects. (Hence the sub-classification of adjectives in this respect parallels that of modal verbs.)

Q. khun paj wád sanùg: mãj .
    'Did you have fun going to the temple?'
    (lit.'Was your going to the temple fun?')

A. sanùg .
    'Yes, it was fun.'

Q. ŋaan-níi sanùg: mãj .
    'Is this fair any fun?'

A. mâj sanùg .
    'No, it's no fun.'

Since /paj wád/ is a predicative expression, and /ŋaan/ 'fair' is a
substantive, the adjective /sanùg/ 'fun' occurs after both types of subject.

Adjectives do not 'have objects' in the way that other predicatives
do; they are, in a sense, intransitive verbs. There exist, however, adjective
expressions, in which one adjective is modified by another.
Example:
        /dii mãag/   'Very good.'

Both /dii/ and /mãag/ are adjectives. Another common type of adjec-
tive expression has one of a special class of bound modifiers as the second
constituent (see 4.4.2.).
Examples:
        /dii kwàa/   'Better.'

        /sanùg: thidiaw/   'Quite amusing.'

Other endocentric constructions (for example an adjective plus a
substantive) which appear at first glance to be adjective expressions are
usually best analyzed as single lexemes.
Example:
        /kèɛ/   'old, dark'   (adjective)

        /faj/   'fire'   (noun)

        /kèɛ-faj/   'dark from the fire; overcooked'

The combination is a compound adjective lexeme.

One kind of adjective, (sub-class 3) below) does occur, however, in
the modal position. The construction is exocentric, because such adjectives
do not substitute for the entire predication in the way that true modal verbs
do.

Besides filling the predicator position, adjectives of sub-classes
2) and 3) frequently serve as modifiers of substantive and predicative ex-
pressions. In substantive expressions the head is usually a noun or a clas-
sifier; in predicative expressions, it is a verb, a completive verb, or an-
other adjective.

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Examples:

Noun Head:	/bâan jàɟ/	'a big house, big houses'
Classifier Head:	/lǎŋ jàɟ/	'the big one (speaking of houses)'
Verb Head:	/wîŋ rew/	'run fast' (in a context
such as	/wîŋ rew mâɟ-dâɟ/	'Cannot run fast')
Completive Verb Head:	/dâɟ rew/	'successfully fast' (in a context
such as	/wîŋ mâɟ-dâɟ rew/	'Was unable to run fast enough')
Adjective Head:	/rew mâag/	'very fast'

Adjectives of sub-class 1) do not normally occur as modifiers.

A feature of the entire class of adjectives is that they act as predicators in every kind of two-part predication except those introduced by modal verbs. In other words, in a construction consisting of ordinary verb plus adjective, it is always the adjective rather than the verb which substitutes for the whole.

A morphological characteristic of adjectives is that nearly all lexemes belonging to this class have simple reduplications (2.4.3.1.). These adjective derivatives cannot fill the predicator position, however. Example:

/bɔ̀ɟ/	'often'		/bɔ̀ɟ-bɔ̀ɟ/	'often'
/mâɟ-bɔ̀ɟ/	'not often'		/bɔ̀ɟ: mɛ̃̀ɟ/	'often?'

(Forms like ·/mâɟ bɔ̀ɟ-bɔ̀ɟ/ and /bɔ̀ɟ-bɔ̀ɟ: mɛ̃̀ɟ/ do not exist.)

Some adjectives also reduplicate in other ways: /sanùg/ 'fun' /sanùg-sanùg/ 'fun' /sanùg-sanǎan/ 'be amused' (a general adjective like /sanùg/ itself - for reduplication type, see 2.4.3.9.).

The class of adjectives is extremely large, and, except perhaps for sub-class 1), open. By far the largest number of adjectives belong to sub-class 2) 'general adjectives.' The total number of adjective lexemes is still smaller than that of nouns or transitive verbs, however. Examples of the three sub-classes follow.

·) Specific adjectives typically occur with subjects which are predicators, predicates, and predicative expressions, and are rarely found with substantive subjects and as substantive modifiers. The sub-class is small and probably closed; its meaning is 'manner, timing, or frequency of action.'

Reduplicated lexemes from specific adjective bases almost invariably belong to the /eɐɯ/ class of complementives (3.2.2.2.). Specific adjectives

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themselves frequently occur at the ends of clauses in the complementive position (cut off from the main predication by special bound lexemes or by rhythmic patterns), and in other non-predicative constructions. (The term 'adverb' refers to a member of some other form-class, such as specific adjectives, occurring in a typical complementive construction. 'Adverbs' are not a free lexeme class in their own right.)

The principal members of the sub-class are illustrated with reference to a single frame:

/khãw tham-ŋaan: sã.../
'He works (or worked)... '

1. /rŷa ɟ/   'continuously'
             (Sentence: 'He keeps on working.')

2. /samə̆ə/   'always'

3. /bɔ̀ɟ/   'often'

4. /ɟêɛ/   'with unbearable difficulty'

5. /phləən/   'with pleasurable absorption'
             (Sentence: 'He was absorbed in his work.')

6. /ɟûŋ/   'busily, with unpleasant absorption'
             (Sentence: 'He was busy working.')

7. /bỳa/   'boringly'
             (Sentence: 'He was bored with the work.')

8. /ciŋ/   'really'

9. /kɔ̀ɔn/   'previously'

10. /léɛw/   'already'
             (Sentence: 'He has done the work.')

In most respects, members of the class behave exactly like other adjectives. Following are some example of specific adjectives negated, modified, and reduplicated:

phǒm khəəɟ paɟ-thîaw thîı-nân , mâɟ-bɔ̀ɟ: nág .
    'I haven't been to visit the place very often.'

khun tôŋ prakhób khɛ̆ɛn: rŷaɟ paɟ .
    'You have to keep on soaking your arm.'

phǒm hǎa thîı-cɔ̀ɔd: sã , thêb ɟêɛ .
    'It was almost impossible to find a parking place.'

phûud kakhãw , naan chág-cabỳa .
    'I talked with him so long it was starting to be a bore.'

khuj kakhǎw jùu-phleen: thídiaw .

    'I was quite absorbed in talking with him.'

lûug-krataàj náb-wan-tèɛ catoo khŷn: rŷaj-rŷaj .

    'In no time the baby rabbits will start getting bigger and
       bigger.'

khǎw tham hâj lɛ́ɛw-lɛ́ɛw: paj , thâw-nán .

    'He did it just so as to get it over with.'

Internal order of the class is apparently 1-8, 9, 10, but examples
of two specific adjectives in the same clause are hard to find, except for
those involving 10. /lɛ́ɛw/ as second member:

    phǒm tìd thurá jûŋ: lɛ́ɛw
                 6   10

    'I'm already tied up in all kinds of business.'

    mii khon nâŋ jùu-kɔ̀ɔn: lɛ́ɛw
                 9   10

    'There had been somebody sitting there previously.'

    2) General adjectives occur in all the positions of specific ad-
jectives, but also have substantives and substantive expressions as subjects,
and occur as modifiers of nouns and classifiers (see examples at beginning
of 3.3.2.). This subdivision is by far the largest in the class of adjec-
tives, and the membership is open. Semantic categories covered are too nu-
merous to permit any meaningful breakdown, but in general the sub-class cor-
relates well with form-classes such as 'adjective' and 'intransitive verb'
in other languages.
Examples:

aahǎan mâj-arɔ̀ɔj .	or	'The food is not good.'
		'Tasteless food.'
caan tɛ̀ɛg .	or	'The dishes broke.'
		'Broken dishes.'
caan jàj-jàj .		'The larger dishes.'

Reduplicated forms of general adjectives (see last example) occur
as modifiers and as complements.

    3) Modal adjectives are general adjectives which introduce exocentric
predicative phrases, occurring in the modal position (instead of the usual ad-
jective position toward the end of the predicate.) The sub-class is small but
probably open. The meaning is 'general personal characteristic applied to a
given situation.' Members include many derivatives ending in the suffix

/-caj/ (2.4.1.9.) or beginning with the prefixes /khîi-/ (2.4.1.4.) and
/nâa-/ (2.4.1.3.). The predicate is nearly always introduced by /ca-/.
Examples:

phǒm jin-dii .	'I'm glad.'
phǒm jin-dii catham hâj .	'I'll be glad to do it for you.'
jaŋ mâj phɔɔ-caj .	'Still not satisfied.'
jaŋ mâj phɔɔ-caj cadâj-ráb .	'Still not satisfied (willing) to receive it.'
khon khîi-kìad .	'A lazy person.'
khǎw khîi-kìad capaj .	'He's (too) lazy to go.'
nâa-klua capaj mâj-than .	'(I'm) afraid of not getting there in time.'

3.3.3. Transitive Verbs

A transitive verb is any predicative, other than a modal verb (3.3.1.)
or completive verb (3.3.4.), which occurs as predicator in predicates that
have substantive objects. (The term 'verb' is used to apply to all three
classes of verb, which share the feature of 'having objects,' as opposed to
adjectives, which do not 'have objects,' but is also used to apply to tran-
sitive verbs, the central and most numerous class of predicatives.) Like
all predicatives, transitive verbs occur in predications which have substan-
tive subjects, and also occur, like adjectives, in endocentric expressions
headed by nouns and classifiers. Examples involving transitive verb /lŷag/
'to choose, pick out':

> khǎw lŷag phâa sǐi-araj .
> 'What color cloth did she choose?'

> phâa níi lŷag jâag.
> 'This cloth is hard to choose from.' (lit. 'chooses hard.')

> khǎw-eeŋ pen khon-lŷag .
> 'She herself is the one who chose it.'

All transitive verbs occur both with and without objects, and both
with and without subjects. The meaning of the verb-object construction is
that the referent of the object is the goal of the action designated by the
verb. The meaning of the subject-verb-object construction is that the re-
ferent of the subject is the actor initiating action toward that goal. But
the meaning of the subject-verb construction by itself is ambiguous - the
subject may refer either to the actor or the goal (as it does with many
English verbs- cf. 'This bread slices well' and 'This knife slices well.')

The meaning of the topic-subject-verb construction is that the referent of
the topic is the goal and the subject designates the actor, or that both
topic and subject refer to the actor. The meaning of the verb-object-indi-
rect object (or verb-object-complement) construction is that the object rep-
resents the goal and the referent of the indirect object or complement may
be either actor or secondary goal. Examples of these constructions follow,
the transitive verb always being /pìd/ 'to close.' (Symbols used in the for-
mulae are 'T' for topic, 'S' for subject, 'V' for transitive verbs, 'O' for
object, and 'C' for indirect object or complement.)

VO:	pìd pratuu .	'Shut the door.'
SVO:	khǎw pìd pratuu .	'He shut the door.'
SV:	khǎw pìd .	'He shut (it).'
SV:	pratuu pìd .	'The door is shut.'
TSV(C):	pratuu , khǎw pìd: mòd .	'He shut all the doors.' (Lit: 'The doors, he shut 'em all.')
VOC:	pìd pratuu ród .	'Shut the car doors.' (Lit. 'Perform door-shutting operation on car.' -cf. /sàj kuncɛɛ ród/ 'lock the car.')
VOC:	pìd pratuu: kan .	'You (plural) shut the door.' (/kan/ refers to the actor, not the goal.)
TSVOC(C)	nág-rian, khǎw pìd pratuu : kan mòd .	'The students, (they) shut all the doors.'

The difficulty in interpreting transitive-verb predications is often not
so much one of ST structure as it is of English translation. For example,
/mii/ is a typical transitive verb, but constructions like 'S /mii/' have to
be translated 'S exists, there is S' while constructions like '/mii/ O' must
be translated 'someone has O.' The construction 'S /mii/ O,' on the other
hand always means 'S has O.'

The ambiguity of the construction SV (actor-action or goal-action) can
be avoided by the placement of special functional words with passive meaning
between S and V. There are a few common lexemes (members of the class of
completive verbs, 3.3.4.) that have this effect: /thùug/ 'suffer (a bad
action)' and /dâj/ or /dâj-ráb/ 'receive the benefit of (a good action).'
Examples:

khǎw thùug tii .	'He was beaten.'
phǒm dâj-ráb chəən .	'I was invited.'

The class of transitive verbs is very large (probably second only to the class of nouns) and is open. Sub-classification could possibly be made on an intricate structural basis, and certainly by semantic criteria, but is not attempted here. There is one group of transitive verbs, however, which are distinguished from the others by the covert lexical relationship which they have with certain specific completive verbs (see examples in next section).

3.3.4. Completive Verbs

A **completive verb** is any predicative which occurs both as a predicator with a substantive object and as a predicator with a predicative subject. Thus completive verbs satisfy the definitions of both adjectives (3.3.2.) and transitive verbs (3.3.3.), and are commonly found in typical constructions of both types, sometimes simultaneously. Examples with the completive verb /than/ 'to catch up, be in time,' contrasted with a transitive verb and an adjective:

than ród-faj .	'Caught the train.'
nâŋ ród-faj .	'Rode the train.'
(/nâŋ/ is a transitive verb meaning 'sit')	
maa than .	'Came in time.'
maa cháa .	'Came late.'
(/cháa/ is an adjective meaning 'slow')	
maa than ród-faj .	'Came in time to catch the train.'

The class of completive verbs, besides filling all the positions of verbs and adjectives, has another important function. Its members commonly occur with whole predications (including a subject, but rarely a topic) as their objects. The same thing is true of those transitive verbs which have lexical relationships with completive verbs. In the examples below two pairs of such verbs (transitive and completive) are illustrated, first together in the definitive context, and then separately with an identical predication as the object of each.

mɔɔŋ araj mâj-hěn .	'Can't see anything.'
	(lit: 'look at something not-see-it.')
faŋ araj mâj-dâj-jin .	'Can't hear anything.'
	(Lit. 'listen to something not-hear-it.')
mɔɔŋ khǎw-lên don-trii .	'Watched them play music.'
hěn khǎw-lên don-trii .	'Saw them playing music.'

faŋ khãw-lên don-trɪɪ .   'Listened to them play music.'

dâj-jɪn khãw-lên don-trɪɪ .   'Heard them playing music.'

Three completive verbs have already been mentioned (3.3.3. end) as having a special passive meaning when they occur directly before transitive verbs. These same items can also have entire predications as their objects, in which case the subject of the predication remains the actor. Example:

chãn thùug man-tɪɪ aw rɛɛŋ-rɛɛŋ .   'I was hit hard by it.'

Completive verbs in the adjective position can be followed only by other adjectives, which then become the predicator:

Q. mooŋ hěn chád: mãj .   'Can you see it clearly?'

A. chád .   'Yes, clearly.'

A common feature of all completive verbs is that when they occur in a syntactically ambiguous context (such as a response in which the completive verb stands for an entire predicate or predication), the form of negation clearly shows whether they are playing the role of adjective or transitive verb. Examples with the completive verb /ùn/ 'warm':

Q. khrŷaŋ ùn lɛ́ɛw: rŷ-jaŋ .   'Is the engine warm yet?'

Y. ùn lɛ́ɛw .   'Yes, it is.'

N. jaŋ mâj-ùn .   'No, it's not.'

Q. ùn khrŷaŋ lɛ́ɛw : rŷ-jaŋ .   'Have you warmed up the engine
                                      yet?'

Y. ùn lɛ́ɛw .   'Yes, I have.'

N. jaŋ mâj-dâj ùn .   'No, I haven't.'

The negative /mâj/ is characteristic of adjective predicates, and /mâj-dâj/ of transitive verb predicates.

The class of completive verbs is relatively small, but not closed, since any adjective or transitive verb is a potential candidate for membership. The class meaning is 'successful completion of attempted action,' and the class meaning of the transitive verbs occurring in the same predicate with them is 'attempted action.' In such predicates, the negative precedes the completive verb, but other pre-verbal modifiers (e.g. modals) precede the transitive verb. Example:

phŏm jaŋ mooŋ araj mâj-hěn.   'I still can't see anything.'

Sub-classification of completive verbs parallels that of classifiers (3.2.5.), but there are only two groups, and these two are not mutually exclusive.

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1) <u>General</u> <u>completive</u> <u>verbs</u> occur as predicators after a wide range of transitive verbs. The principal members of the sub-class are the following (some of which recur as specific completive verbs, 3.3.4.2.)

1. /dâaʝ/   'to be able, possible; to succeed.'

    paʝ dâaʝ ꞉ mã̌ʝ .   'Can one go?'

    kɪn dâaʝ ꞉ mã̌ʝ .   'Can it be eaten?'

    tham dâaʝ ŋâaʝ .   'It can be done easily.'

2. /pen/   'to know how to, to do from habit.'

    tham mã̌ʝ-pen .   '(I) don't know how to.'

    sùub pen ꞉ mã̌ʝ .   'Do you smoke?'

3. /wǎaʝ/   'to be physically capable of'

    tham mã̌ʝ-wǎaʝ .   '(I) can't possibly do it.'

    kɪn mã̌ʝ-wǎaʝ , phèd ꞉ kəən-   '(I) can't eat it - it's too peppery.'
       paʝ.

4. /rɔ̂ɔd/   'to accomplish safely or freely'

    paʝ mã̌ʝ-rɔ̂ɔd .   '(We) won't make it (not safe to go).'

    sùub rɔ̂ɔd ꞉ mã̌ʝ   'Is it safe to smoke it'

5. /talɔ̀ɔd/   'to follow through all the way'

    kwàad hâaʝ-talɔ̀ɔd ꞉ nã̌ .   'Sweep it all the way through, will you?'

    phǒm jaŋ hǎa-duu mã̌ʝ-talɔ̀ɔd . 'I still haven't searched all the way through it.'

6. /thûa/ and /thûa-thỹ̌ŋ/   'to cover an entire area, accomplish thoroughly'

    kwàad hâaʝ-thûa ꞉ nã̌ .   'Sweep all over, will you?'

    khã̌w duu-lɛɛ mã̌ʝ-thûa-thỹ̌ŋ . 'He didn't supervise it thoroughly.'

7. /thỹ̌ŋ/   'to reach, go far enough'

    ŷam myy thỹ̌ŋ ꞉ mã̌ʝ .   'Can you reach it (with your hand)?'

    nâa-klua capaʝ mã̌ʝ-thỹ̌ŋ . 'Afraid we won't get that far.'

    jìb mã̌ʝ-thỹ̌ŋ .   'Can't reach it.'

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8. /than/   'to be in time, reach soon enough'

     nâa-klua capaj mâj-than .   'Afraid we won't get there in time.'

     klàb bâan than : mǎj .   'Will we get home in time?'

9. /khrób/   'to succeed in filling up a set,
                                              to complete'

     sýy nǎŋ-sǔy hâj-khrób   'Buy the rest of the books, will
       chúd : nǎ .   you?'

     jaŋ hǎa mâj-khrób .   'Still haven't found all of them.'

10. /mòd/   'to use up, exhaust a set'

     jaŋ cháaj mâj-mòd .   'Still haven't used them up.'

11. /sèd/   'to finish, accomplish a temporary
                                              or indefinite task'

     phǒm rian nǎŋ-sǔy sèd léεw . 'I'm finished studying (for now).'

     jaŋ tham ŋaan mâj-sèd . 'Not finished working.'

12. /còb/   'to finish, accomplish a prescribed
                                                task with definite limits'

     phǒm rian nǎŋ-sǔy còb léεw . 'I've finished my studies
                                        (graduated).'

     khǎw róoŋ-phleeŋ còb léεw . 'They've finished singing the song.'

But

     khǎw róoŋ-phleeŋ sèd léεw . 'They're finished singing songs.'

2) <u>Specific</u> <u>completive</u> <u>verbs</u> occur as predicators after certain tran-
       sitive verbs or groups of transitive verbs with which they have a
       covert relationship. The sub-class meaning is 'to be able to,' and
       this is a possible English translation for nearly all instances of
       specific completive verbs. The relationship between a verb and its
       completive verb is therefore very similar to that between a concrete
       noun (3.2.1.1.) and its unit classifier (3.2.5.1.). Whereas the
       unit classifier always means 'one instance of the particular class
       of things denoted by the noun,' the specific completive verb always
       means 'one instance of achievement of the attempted action denoted
       by the verb.' Verbal actions not predicated with completive verbs
       (specific or general) are no more finite than are concrete nouns
       without their classifiers.

Examples of the most important members of this sub-class are given below, along with some of the transitive verbs they are used with. For each transitive verb given, at least two constructions with its completive verb (appearing in the heading) are possible - one meaning 'able to V' and the other 'unable to V,' with /mâj/ coming between the two constituents in the latter case. For example, under item 1., the first two such constructions would be as follows:

sàj khâw	'can put in, able to be put in (will go in)'
sàj mâj-khâw	'cannot put in, unable to be put in (won't go in).'

1. /khâw/ 'to enter' Used after:

/sàj/	'to put in'	/pìd/	'to close (door, etc.)'
/cò/	'to drill'	/klyyn/	'to swallow'
/jád/	'to stuff'	/pèəd/	'to open (door, etc.)'

2. /ɔ̀ɔg/ 'to emerge' Used after:

/thɔ̌ɔn/	'to withdraw'	/thɔ̀ɔd/	'to take off'
/pèəd/	'to open (door, etc.)'	/dyŋ/	'to pull'
/kâaw/	'to advance'		

and nearly all verbs of speaking, thinking, using the vocal apparatus and dealing with language:

/phûud/	'to speak'	/àan/	'to read'
/nýg/	'to think'	/plɛɛ/	'to translate'
/rɔ́ɔŋ/	'to cry out'	/khíd/	'to figure out'
/hǔa-rɔ́/	'to laugh'		

3. /khŷn/ 'to rise' Used after:

/jóg/	'to raise'	/aacian/	'to vomit'
/jìb/	'to pick up'	/pèəd/	'to open (a cover, etc.)'

4. /loŋ/ 'to descend' Used after:

/thaan/ and /kin/	'to eat'	/sɏ́ɏ/	'to buy'
/pìd/	'to close (cover, etc.)'		

5. /hěn/ 'to see' Used after verbs of looking:

/duu/   'to look at'   /lɛɛ/   'to watch'

/mɔɔŋ/   'to try to distinguish'
       - and their compounds

6. /dâɟ-ɟɪn/ 'to hear,' /khâw-caɟ/ 'to understand,' and /rúu-rŷaŋ/
'to know what something is about' All used after:

/faŋ/   'to listen'

7. /dâɟ-klìn/ 'to identify the odor of' Used after:

/dom/   'to sniff, try to smell'

8. /dâɟ-ród/ 'to identify the taste of' Used after:

/chɪm/   'to taste'

9. /thùug/ 'to hit' Used after:

/ɟɪŋ/ 'to shoot'   /tɪɪ/   'to beat'

/khwâaŋ/ and /ɟoon/ 'to throw'

/daw/, /thaaɟ/, and /khâad/   'to guess'

10. /wǎɟ/ 'to move' Used after:

/khlŷan/ 'to shift'   /lâag/   'to pull (cart, etc.)'

/thon/   'to endure'   /khěn/   'to push (cart, etc.)'

11. /phób/, /cəə/, and other verbs meaning 'to meet' Used after:

/hǎa/ 'to look for, try to find' /khón/   'to rummage'

/khwáa/ 'to grope' -and their compounds.

12. /tòg/ 'to fall' Used after:

/kêɛ/ 'to solve, fix, undo'

/khíd/ 'to think out (come to a decision)'

13. /than/ 'to catch' Used after:

/lâɹ/   'to chase'   /taam/   'to follow'

/lâa/   'to hunt (animals)'

14. /phón/ 'to get clear of' Used after:

/nǐɪ/   'to flee'   /lìɪg/   'to avoid'

/lòb/   'to escape'   - and their compounds.

15. /làb/ 'to close the eyes, sleep' Used after:

/nɔɔn/   'to lie down, try to sleep'

16. /lúg/ 'get up' and /tỳyn/ 'wake up.' Used after:

/plùg/   'to awaken'   /nɔɔn/   'to be lying down'

(/nɔɔn mâɹ-lúg/ means 'unable to get up')

17. /hǎaɹ/ 'to recover' and /fýyn/ 'to regain consciousness' Used after
expressions relating to sickness and these verbs:

/rág-sǎa/ 'to treat, cure'

/kêɛ/   'to resuscitate'

18. /taaɹ/ 'to die' Used after verbs of violent action, with the
meaning 'to death':

/tɪɪ/   'to beat'   /tháb/   'to over-run'

/chon/   'to collide with' /khâa/   'to kill'

19. /tìd/ 'to stick, be stuck' Used after:

/jùu/   'to remain'

(/jùu mâɹ-tìd/ means 'won't stay in place.')

20. /lùd/ 'to come loose' Used after:

/dîn/   'to wriggle'

/dyŋ/   - and other verbs meaning 'to pull.'

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Some constructions which appear to be transitive verb plus completive verb are actually single compound lexemes.   Examples:

/sɔ̀ɔb-lâj/   'to pass an examination'

/sɔ̀ɔb-tòg/   'to fail an examination'

/tòg-loŋ/   'to come to an agreement'

/rúu-than/   'to catch on (to a fact)'

These combinations do not pass the critical test of insertion of the negative between the first and second constituents.

CHAPTER IV

BOUND LEXEME CLASSES

4.1. Modals

A <u>modal</u> is any bound lexeme (2.6.1.2.) which occurs as /x/ in the context /S x P/, where /S/ stands for a subject and /P/ for a predicate. Thus modals fill the same position as the free lexeme class of modal verbs (3.3.1.), the difference being that modals do not substitute for their predications and hence are not predicators. The class meaning is the same: 'mode of action, or specific applicability of situation described.' The whole class is apparently closed, and the membership is relatively small.

Modals are sub-classified on the basis of more specific contexts, revolving around a central sub-class (4.1.3.) whose members have negative meaning. The general definition of modals also fits some kinds of conjunctions, especially the /cyŋ/ class (4.3.4.), but since these bound lexemes always precede other modals, their classification as conjunctions is considered pre-emptive. There are three definite sub-classes of modals, plus a residue of discontinuous lexemes and other miscellaneous items which make up a fourth group.

4.1.1. /khy̌yn/ Class

These modals occur between /jàa/ 'don't' and a verb. (The verb, like all verbs following /jàa/, is never preceded by /ca-/, but the modal itself may be.) The class meaning is 'attitude of speaker toward the effect, timing, or setting of the action.' /khy̌yn/-class modals also occur frequently without /jàa/, and are negated in statements with /mâj-dâj/ rather than /mâj/ (see 4.1.3.). The class is closed, and rather small, the principal members being the following:

1. /khy̌yn/ 'to do something one knows is wrong'

   jàa-khy̌yn plɔ̀ɔj hã́j-nǔu tua-nán paj .
      'Don't release that mouse, against your better judgment.'

   khy̌yn tham jaŋán , thəə kô-tôŋ sɔ̀ɔb tòg .
      'If you keep on doing that, you'll certainly fail the examination.'

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2. /fӳyn/ 'to force oneself to do something distasteful'

   phèd: nág , kô-jàa fӳyn kin: khâw-paj .
     'If it's too peppery, don't force yourself to eat it.'

   khîi-kiad rӳy mâj khîi-kiad , thəə kô-tôŋ fӳyn tham: paj .
     'Lazy or not, you've got to go ahead with it.'

3. /mua/ 'to keep on, to act stubbornly or tardily'

   jàa-mua thǐaŋ: kan jùu-ləəj .
     'Let's stop this senseless arguing.'

   khǎw mua duu thii-wii phləən: paj .
     'He kept on watching television in a state of trance.'

4. /phêŋ/ or /phỹŋ/ - 'to act prematurely' (after /jàa/)
                     'to have acted recently' (otherwise)

   jàa-phêŋ paj: nǎ, fǒn tòg.
     'Don't go yet; it's raining.'

   khǎw phỹŋ klàb-maa , mỹa-kíi .
     'He just got back a moment ago.'

5. /klêɛŋ/ or /klêŋ/ 'to pretend, to act so as to deceive'

   thâa khruu khỹyn hâj kaan-bâan mâag-mâag jaŋíi , chǎn caklêɛŋ
     tham sòŋ-dèed .

     'If the teacher persists in giving such a lot of homework,
       I'm just going to put on a show of doing it.'

   khǎw mâj-dâj-klêɛŋ chom .
     'She wasn't just pretending to admire it.'

6. /lǒŋ/ 'to act wrongly without realizing it'

   jàa-lǒŋ khíd: paj wâa , wan-níi pen wan-sùg .
     'Don't make the mistake of thinking this is Friday.'

   nág-bin khàb khrỹaŋ-bin lǒŋ khâw-paj naj-myaŋ khâa-sỹg .
     'The pilot unwittingly flew the plane into enemy territory.'

7. /klàb/ 'to act contrary to expectations or to reverse previous
           behavior'

   chǎn tyan dii-dii , thəə klàb tham maa-kròod .
     'I was chiding you gently, but you got mad anyway.'

tɛ̀ɛ-kɔ̀ɔn chǎn chɔ̂ɔb sǐi-dɛɛŋ, tɛ̀ɛ dǐaw-níi klàb chɔ̂ɔb sǐi-khǐaw .

    'Formerly I was fond of red, but now I like green'

chǎn nŷg wâa , khǎw klɛ̂ŋ chom wâa arɔ̀ɔj , thîi-thɛ́ɛ khǎw klàb
chɔ̂ɔb cıŋ-cıŋ.

    'I thought she was just pretending to like the flavor of it,
but in fact she really did like it.'

8. /ɛ̀ɛb/ 'to act surreptitiously or from concealment'

    chǎn ɛ̀ɛb paj-duu khǎw tham .

    'I sneaked in and watched them do it.'

9. /phlɔɔj/ 'to act as a follower, to tag along'

    phǒm phlɔɔj paj-dûaj , dâj: mǎj .

    'May I go along with you?'

10. /phaa: kan/ and /chûaj: kan/ 'to act as a group'

    dèg phaa-kan-wîŋ khâam thanǒn: paj .

    'The children all ran off across the street'

    mǎa chûaj-kan-hàw .

    'The dogs are all barking at once.'

11. /maa/ 'to act toward the speaker, or so as to affect the speaker
and his group'

    jàa-maa khǐan bon kradaan-dam .

    'Don't write on this (or our) blackboard.'

    maa thôod phǒm thamaj↑ .

    'Why come and blame me for it?'

12. /paj/ 'to act away from the speaker, or so as to affect interests
other than the speaker and his group'

    jàa-paj khǐan bon kradaan-dam .

    'Don't write on that (or their) blackboard.'

    dǐaw capaj tham thûaj-kɛ̂ɛw tɛ̀ɛg .

    'Watch out you don't go breaking any glasses.'

Members 1-8 of this class apparently exclude each other semantically,
although the only obvious pairs of antonyms are 3-4, 5-6, and 11-12. Internal
order of the class is 1-8, 9-10, 11-12.

Example: khǔyn phaa-kan-nâŋ nîŋ-nîŋ camâj-sanùg: ləəj .
      1   10

    'If [we] all just keep sitting still it won't be any fun at all.'

dèg phaa-kan-paj kèb dɔ̀ɔg-máaj lên .
          10   12
    'The children went off to pick flowers for fun.'

Members of the class also occur freely in construction with modal verbs and other pre-verbal classes. The usual order has the /khy̌yn/-class modal in second position.

    thəə tôŋ-fy̌yn kini khâw paj .
        'You just have to make yourself eat it down.'

    khâw châŋi klɛ̂ɛŋ khǐan bon kradaan-dam .
        'He certainly likes to fool around writing on the blackboard.'

4.1.2 /mág/ Class

These modals are defined by the context /x camâj-V/. All members of the class occur more frequently without /mâj-/ than with it, and in non-negated verb phrases they behave exactly like the modal verbs (3.3.1.), sometimes entering into construction with them (below). All members except the group 5-7 occur frequently without /ca-/. The class meaning is 'likelihood or imminence of action,' and for those members which occur without /ca-/ also 'frequency of action.' Members 8-11, which all mean 'almost,' are commonly found before numeral phrases as well. /mág/-class modals cannot be directly negated, except with /mâj-châj/ in hypostasis. The class is closed, and rather small, the principal members being the following:

1. /mág/   'frequently'   /mág ca-/   'likely to'

2. /àad/   'characteristically'   /àad ca-/   'apt to, may'

3. /jôɔm/   'frequently,   /jôɔm ca-/   'likely to, apt to'
        characteristically'

4. /khoŋ/   'ordinarily, certainly' /khoŋ ca-/   'must, must have'

    naj ry̌duu-níi fǒn mág tòg nàgi chiaw .
        'In this season it frequently rains quite hard.'

    àad capen paj-dâj .
        'It's quite possible.' 'It may happen.'

    khâw àad camâj-paj kô-dâj.
        'Then again he might not go.'

    khon-khàb-ród jôɔm pen chaaw-tàaŋ-prathêed .
        'The drivers are frequently foreigners.'

    khon thîi-chy̌y priidaa , khoŋ pen phûu-chaaj .
        'People named Prida are ordinarily men.'

mŷa hěn wâa phǒm mâj-jùu , khǎw khoŋ caklàb bâan .
    'When he saw I was not there, he must have gone home.'

sǐ1-dεεŋ khoŋ camâj-m11 .
    'There must not be any of the red.'

5. /hěn ca-/   'seems to, apparently'

6. /duu-mӳan ca-/ 'seems to, apparently'

7. /thâa ca-/   'seems to, apparently'

sǐ1-dεεŋ hěn camâj-m11 .
    'There doesn't seem to be any of the red.'

khǎw duu-mӳan caklàb bâan: lɛ́εw .
    'I guess he has gone home already.'

náam thâa-camòd .
    'The water is apparently all gone.'

khun-c1d thâa camâj-maa .
    'I guess Ch1t is not coming.'

8. /kỳab/   'almost'   /kỳab ca-/   'about to, nearly'

9. /cuan/   'almost'   /cuan ca-/   'about to, nearly'

10. /thêb/   'almost'   /thêb ca-/   'about to, nearly'

11. /r1m/   'almost'   /r1m ca-/   'about to, nearly'

náam kỳab camòd .
    'The water is nearly all gone.'

chǎn khɔɔj: jùu , kỳab sǎam chûa-mooŋ .
    'I was wa1t1ng for almost three hours.'

khǎw lên: kan , kỳab con mӳyd .
    'They played unt1l 1t was almost dark.'

ród-faj cuan capaj: jùu-lɛ́εw .
    'The tra1n is already about to go.'

chǎn nỳaj thêb-cataaj .
    'I'm about to d1e from fat1gue.'

thî1-nâŋ thêb camâj-m11 .
    'There are almost no seats left.'

12. /kamlaŋ/ '1n the process of,   /kamlaŋ ca-/ 'about to'
               somewhat'

13. /khôn-khâaŋ/ 'rather, qu1te'   /khôn-khâaŋ ca-/   'beg1nn1ng to'

14. /cháɡ/   'rather, quite'   /cháɡ ca-/   'beginning to'

    phîi-chaaj kamlaŋ rian năŋ-sўy thîi-nân .

      'Older brother is studying there.'

    nóoŋ kamlaŋ capaj hăa-sўy năŋ-sўy thîi-nân .

      'I was about to go shopping for books there.'

    tɛ̀ɛŋ rooŋ jaŋíi khôn-khâaŋ sŭaj.

      'The hall is rather pretty, the way it's decorated.'

    ŋaan chaníi , prachaa-chon cháɡ capaj-kan-jàj .

      'The people are beginning to go for this kind of fair in a big
        way.'

    phûud kakhăw cháɡ-cabỳa .

      'It was rather boring talking to him.'

The members of this class apparently exclude each other semantically,
although there are no obvious pairs of antonyms. There is consequently no
internal order for the class.

/máɡ/-class modals combine freely with modal verbs and other pre-verbal
classes. They always precede such items.

    náɡ-rian àad camâj-tôŋ paj kô-dâj .

      'The students may not have to go, at that.'

    phŏm kỳab camâj-kheej paj lên-náam thalee .

      'I have almost never been swimming in the ocean.'

    ŋaan níi cháɡ cakhôj-sanùɡ khŷn .

      'This celebration is finally starting to get rolling (beginning
        to be more fun).'

4.1.3. /mâj/ Class

    This class of modals consists of the negative /mâj/ and its replace-
ments, most of which are lexemes containing the morph /mâj/ as first constit-
uent. The various members of the class individually precede only certain
types of predicate elements, with which they are in direct construction, but
the class as a whole occurs before all types of predicate: verb, modal verb,
adjective, completive verb, noun, and prepositional or numeral phrase. Each
member has a special relationship with /ca-/ which has to be stated separately.

    The class meaning is 'negative; restriction on the applicability of a
proposition.' The members of the class not only exclude each other but also
exclude the interrogative particle /măj/ from the same clause. The class is
small and closed, consisting of only these nine members.

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1. /mâj/, or /mãj/ 'not, other than'

    Occurs unstressed and in close juncture with its predicator, which is a verb, adjective, completive or modal verb. First form nearly always occurs before prepositional and numeral phrases, but otherwise /mãj/ is more common. Both forms follow /ca-/, and never precede it.

    phǒm mãj-khəəj paj: ləəj .   /khəəj/,   modal verb
        'I have never gone there.'

    phǒm mãj-paj: ləəj .   /paj/,   verb
        'I'm not going at all.'

    phǒm paj mãj-dâj: ləəj .   /dâj/,   completive verb
        'I can't go at all.'

    phǒm paj mãj-sadùag: ləəj .   /sadùag/, adjective
        'It's not at all convenient for
          me to go.'

    phǒm àad camâj-paj kô-dâj .
        'I may not go, either.'

    jaŋ mâj sǒoŋ mooŋ: nîi .
        'Well, it's not two o'clock yet.'

    khãw waaŋ caan , mâj naj-tûu .
        'She put the dishes not (elsewhere than) in the cabinet.'

2. /mãj-dâj/ or /mãj-dãj/   'in fact not, subject other than what
                                    is assumed.'

    (Commonest in past situations but also occurs in present and
        future situations regarded as not capable of change.)

    Conditions of occurrence are the same as for /mâj/, except that /mãj-dâj/ is rare before modal and completive verbs and prepositional phrases.

    phǒm mãj-dãj-paj .   /paj/,   verb
        'I didn't go.' or 'I'm not the
          one who is going.'

    phâa nîi mãj-dãj-dii .   /dii/,   adjective
        'This cloth is not the good cloth
          (some other cloth is).'
    or   'This cloth is not (as you seem to think) good.'

    ród-faj jaŋ mãj-dãj-paj .
        'The train hasn't gone yet.'

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nág-rɪan trɪam mã̀ɟ-dã̂ɟ-khɛ̀ŋ . nág-rɪan naaɟ-rɔ́ɔɟ: thâw-nán ,
thîɪ khɛ̀ŋ .

    'The preparatory students don't compete. Only the officer
candidates do.'

The contrast between /mâɟ and /mã̀ɟ-dã̂ɟ/ ɪs neatly poɪnted up by the
following paɪr of exchanges:

Q. khrŷaŋ ùn lέεw r̃ỹ-ɟaŋ .   'Is the engɪne warm yet?'

A. ɟaŋ mâɟ-ùn .   'No, not yet. (It ɪsn't warm yet.)'

Q. ùn khrŷaŋ lέεw r̃ỹ-ɟaŋ .   'Have you warmed up the engɪne yet?'

A. ɟaŋ mã̀ɟ-dã̂ɟ-ùn .   'No, not yet. (I haven't warmed ɪt
up yet.)'

In addɪtɪon to substɪtutɪng for /mâɟ/, /mã̀ɟ-dã̂ɟ/ also occurs ɪn places
where /mâɟ/ does not, for example before /khȳyn/-class modals:

    chãn mã̀ɟ-dã̂ɟ-klêεŋ chom: rõg ↑ .

      'I dɪdn't <u>pretend</u> to admɪre ɪt!'

3. /mã̀ɟ-châɟ/ or /mã̀ɟ-chã̂ɟ/ 'not a case of, predɪcate other than what
        ɪs assumed'

    Occurs most commonly before noun predɪcates, but ɪs also found
before adjectɪves, verbs, preposɪtɪonal and numeral phrases, and
(facultatɪvely, at least) before any lexeme of the language whatso-
ever, ɪn hypostasɪs. Fɪrst form occurs ɪn ɪsolatɪon and normally
precedes nouns and non-predɪcates; second form occurs elsewhere,
unstressed and ɪn close juncture. Both are preceded by /ca-/.

mã̀ɟ-châɟ bâan . tȳg .
    'It's not a (wood) house. It's a stone buɪldɪng.'
aakàad mã̀ɟ-chã̂ɟ-rɔ́ɔn . phɔɔ sabaaɟ.
    'The weather ɪsn't hot, ɪt's just rɪght.'
khã̌w waaŋ caan mã̀ɟ-châɟ naɟ-tûu .
    'She puts the dɪshes somewhere besɪdes ɪn the cupboard.'
mã̀ɟ-châɟ hòg khon . hâa khon: thâw-nán .
    'Not sɪx people. Only fɪve.'
nág-rɪan trɪam mã̀ɟ-chã̂ɟ-khɛ̀ŋ . fȳg .
    'Competɪng ɪs not what the preparatory students do. They prac-
    tɪce.'

    (Compare wɪth last example under 2. /mã̀ɟ-dã̂ɟ/ above)

The contrast between /mâj-dâj/ and /mâj-châj/ is also illustrated by the following:

      khon-nán mâj-dâj-chŷy phɔɔn .
        '<u>That</u> person isn't named Porn.'

      chŷy khon-nán mâj-châj phɔɔn . sanìd .
        'That person's name isn't Porn. It's Sanit.'

This modal occurs also in many fixed expressions; for example:

mâj-châj-nɔ́ɔj
    'not a few, not a little, much, many'

mâj-châj-lên
    'in earnest, considerably'
    (lit: 'not for fun')

4. /mâj-khôj/ or /mâj-khɔ̌j/ 'hardly, not very; hardly ever, not very
                         much'

Conditions of occurrence are the same as for /mâj/, except that /mâj-khôj/ is rare before modal verbs and numeral phrases and in isolation. Also, it normally precedes /ca-/, rather than following it as /mâj/ does, and in such cases occurs in its first form.

phâa níi mâj-khɔ̌j-dii .
    'This cloth isn't very good.'   /dii/, adjective

phǒm-eeŋ mâj-khɔ̌j-paj .
    'I myself hardly ever go.'   /paj/, verb

khǎw mâj-khɔ̌j jàag capaj .
    'She doesn't really want to go'   /jàag/, modal verb

duu mâj-khôj casǔaj: ləəj .
    'It doesn't look at all pretty.'   /sǔaj/, adjective

duu lɛ́ɛw , nɔɔn mâj-khɔ̌j-làb .
    'After having seen it, one can   /làb/, completive verb
      hardly sleep.'

5. /mâj-than/ 'has not had time to, had not (by that time)'

Occurs commonly before verbs and completive verbs; rare elsewhere. Follows /ca-/.

weelaa-nán khɛ̌ɛn jaŋ rág-sǎa mâj-than-hǎaj .
    'At that time the arm had not yet been   /hǎaj/, completive verb
      healed.'

phǒm jaŋ mãj-than khâad: sā-ìıg .
    'I hadn't even guessed it yet.'   /khâad/, verb

6. /mãj-jág/ 'has not (in the long run), not (in spite of expecta-
            tions)'

        Conditions of occurrence are the same as for /mãj-than/.

    chãn chəən khãw léɛw , tɛ̀ɛ khãw mãj-jág maa.
        'I invited him, but he didn't come.'

    khun sanìd paj , tɛ̀ɛ mıa khãw mãj-jág paj .
        'Sanıt went, but his wife didn't.'

    ɪnê ↑ maa nân: léɛw. ɪ âaw ↑ mãj-jág châj .
        'There! There he comes. Oh! It's not him after all.'

7. /mãj-hěn/ or /mãj-hẽn/ 'apparently not, in my opinion not'

        Occurs commonly before verbs and adjectives; rare elsewhere.
    The corresponding construction with /ca-/ is /hěn-camâj/, in which
    /hěn/ ıs a member of the /mág/- class and /mãj/ ıs the only repre-
    sentative of the present class.

    khun sanìd mãj-hẽn-maa: sā-thıı .
        'Apparently Sanıt hasn't come.'   or
        'I don't think Sanıt ıs coming.'   /maa/, verb

    dɔ̀ɔg nıı , chãn mãj-hěn sǔaj: ləəj .
        'This flower doesn't seem at all pretty /sǔaj/, adjective
            to me.'

8. /mãj-chəəŋ/ 'not really, really not'

        Conditions of occurrence are the same as for /mãj-hěn/. Does
    not occur wıth /ca-/.

    phǒm kɔ̌-mãj-chəəŋ klua: thıdıaw rɔ̀g .
        'Well, I wasn't really exactly afraid   /klua/, verb
            at all.'

9. /jàa/ 'don't, shouldn't'

        Occurs commonly before transitive verbs and /khɥ̌yn/- class
    modals, and ın ısolatıon; less commonly before adjectives and other
    verbs.   Never occurs before prepositional or numeral phrases, or
    ın the same construction wıth /ca-/.

jàa-paj nǎj: ləəj nã ↑ .

    'Don't go away anywhere, will you?'   /paj/,   verb

phîı jàa duu-thùug .

    'Older brother shouldn't disparage it.' /duu-thùug/, verb

jàa-khy̌yn kın khãw-paj: sı .

    'Then don't (obstinately) eat it.'   /khy̌yn/,   modal

jàa rew: nág .

    'Not so fast!'   /rew/,   adjective

4.1.4.   Miscellaneous Modals

      The following do not comprise a sub-class of modals, but are resi-
due from the preceding three clearly-defined sub-classes. The discontinuous
and parallel modals (1-4) satisfy the class definition only insofar as some
of their elements are concerned; the remaining modals (5-8) satisfy the gen-
eral definition perfectly but have functional peculiarities which prevent
their being included in one of the sub-classes.

   1. /òd... mâj-dâj/ 'to be unable to keep from'

      Occurs discontinuously (see 2.5.3.1.) around verbs and verb
    expressions. The morph /òd/ itself does not substitute for such
    predicates, and hence is not a modal verb by itself. Examples:

khãw òd phûud khwaam-cıŋ mâj-dâj .

    'He was unable to keep from telling the truth.'

chãn òd jím mâj-dâj .

    'I couldn't repress a smile.'

    (/jím/ is a verb, 'to smile.')

   2. /kə̀əd... khŷn/ 'it originates, a new thing happens'

      Occurs discontinuously around verbs, verb expressions and whole
    predications. (In the last case any item preceding /kə̀əd/ in the
    same clause is a topic.) In all cases, neither /kə̀əd/ nor /khŷn/
    substitutes for the whole. Examples:

ród-phǒm kə̀əd jaaŋ-tɛ̀ɛg: khŷn .

    'My car developed a flat tire.'

    (/jaaŋ-tɛɛg/ is a possible predication: 'tire bursts'.)

kə̀əd ród chon: kan khŷn .

    'It happened that there was an accident.'

    (/ród chon: kan/ is a possible predication: 'cars collide.')

kə̀əd khὲŋ-khǎn: kan khŷn .

  'Suddenly started competing with each other.'

(/khὲŋ-khǎn: kan/ is a verb expression: 'to compete.')

3.   /tàaŋ... tàaŋ/ 'each one in a different way'

    Occurs in parallel construction (see 2.5.3.3.) with whole pre-
dications. The subject fills the slot between the two /tàaŋ/'s;
the second /tàaŋ/ is the part of the reduplicated lexeme which fills
the modal position, and can be followed by any kind of predicate.
Example:

tàaŋ khon , tàaŋ dəən-thaaŋ .

  'Each person travels separately (goes his own way).'

    On the basis of its first element, /tàaŋ... tàaŋ/ is also clas-
sified as a /dǐaw/-class conjunction (4.3.1.).

4.   /jîŋ... jîŋ/ 'the more... the more'

    Occurs in parallel construction, introducing two predications
which may or may not have the same logical subject. In cases where
a real subject is present, the element /jîŋ/ precedes it, and only
when a subject is lacking does either /jîŋ/ fall into the modal
position. Examples:

naa-lǐkaa khǒoŋ-chǎn , jîŋ aw-paj-kɛ̂ɛ , jîŋ dəən rew: khŷn ,
  rew: khŷn, thúg thii .

  'The more I take my watch to be repaired, the faster it runs.'
(The topic /naa-lǐkaa khǒoŋ-chǎn/ 'my watch' is the logical object
 of the first predicate /aw-paj-kɛ̂ɛ/ 'take to be repaired' and the
logical subject of /dəən... thúg thii/ 'runs faster and faster all
the time.' Both predicates, however lack real subjects.)

jîŋ mii khon mâag , jîŋ sanùg .

  'The more people there are, the merrier.'

    On the basis of the possible occurrence of either element /jîŋ/
before subjects, the item /jîŋ... jîŋ/ is also classified as a
/dǐaw/-class conjunction (4.3.1.).

5.   /châŋ/ 'really, how surprisingly so, how, sure'

    This modal probably belongs to the /mâg/ class (4.1.2.) but has
several peculiarities. Unlike all other members of the /mâg/ class,
it is never followed by /ca-/. It has a lexical relationship with
the negative /mâj-chəəŋ/ 'not really' (4.1.3.8.) with which it is

in complementary distribution, and in the form /châŋ/ cannot be
negated at all. The clauses in which it occurs quite often have
the 'emotional involvement' intonation morpheme / ↑ /. Finally,
it sometimes comes before the subject (instead of after it, as do
all true modals). Examples:

dèg khon-níi châŋ-phûud: ciŋ ↑ .
    'This child really knows how to talk!'
!mɛ̃ɛ , duu sĩ ↑ châŋ mâj-klua: sã-ləəj ↑ .
    'Say, but look! He's not a bit afraid!'
châŋ phûud dâj ↑ .
    'How can you say such a thing!'
khun châŋ khàb-ród rew: lãkəən ↑ .
    'You sure do drive fast!'

6.   /khôj/ or /khɔ̃j/ 'only then, not until then, after having waited
                      a while.'

   This modal resembles the /khy̌yn/-class modals (4.1.1.) in every
respect except that it does not occur in the definitive context
(after /jàa/ 'don't'). It precedes mainly verbs and adjectives, and
follows /ca-/ and the /mág/-class modals. It is frequently found
in commands, where it is in direct contrast with /jàa-phêŋ/ 'don't
yet.' Its semantic opposite /phêŋ/ 'just now, not until now' is in
fact a /khy̌yn/-class modal (4.1.1.4.). The morphologically related
negative /mâj-khôj/ 'not very' (4.1.3.4.) does not have an exclu-
sively temporal meaning, and is considered to be a separate lexeme,
rather than a syntactic construction of /mâj/ plus /khôj/, because
it replaces /mâj/ everywhere. In the examples below, illustrations
of /phêŋ/ are included for contrast.

khâaw mỹa pii thîi-lɛ́ɛw mâj-ŋɔ̂ɔg ŋaam , tɛ̀ɛ pii-níi khôj dii khŷn .
    'The rice last year didn't grow well, but this year it's a
      little better.'
mỹa-waan-níi phêŋ rɔ́ɔn khŷn .
    'It didn't get hotter until yesterday. (Only yesterday did it
      get hotter.)'
jàa-phỹŋ hǔŋ khâaw dǐaw-níi . iig hâa naa-thii , thỹŋ' khôj hǔŋ .
    'Don't cook the rice now. Wait five minutes and then cook it.'
jaŋ: kɔ̀ɔn . dǐaw khɔ̃j-paj .
    'Not yet. Wait a little and then go.'

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ŋaan nîɩ chág-cakhô j-sanùg khŷn .

'This celebration is finally starting to be fun.'

7. /khɔ̌ j-khɔ̂ j/ 'gradually, gently'

/rîɩb-rîɩb/ 'hurriedly, without pausing'

These and other reduplicated lexemes of similar meaning are
sometimes found in the modal position as well as their normal
complement position. The first is based on the modal /khô j/ above,
the second on a modal verb /rîɩb/ 'to hurry.' The difference in
meaning seems to be that the modal position refers more to the
inception of action and the complement position to the action as
a whole.

khɔ̌ j-khɔ̂ j lên ↑ .

'Don't play excitedly (when you start to play)!'

lên khɔ̌ j-khɔ̂ j ↑ .

'Play more quietly (than you are now)!'

khɔ̌ j-khɔ̂ j phûud꞉ nã̌ .

'Speak softly, now.'

khâ̌w rîɩb-rîɩb phûud .

'He started talking in a big rush.'

8. /ca/ 'hypothetical situation,' the most common modal of all, is
also a preposition - see 4.2.6.3.2. for examples.

4.2. Prepositions

A preposition is any bound lexeme which introduces exocentric comple-
ment phrases. The function of prepositions is analogous to that of modals,
the difference being that the co-constituents of prepositional phrases are
substantive rather than predicative expressions. The relationship between
prepositions and head-nouns is the same as that between modals and modal
verbs (which always head their predicates); the larger construction is of
the same type but the preposition (or modal) cannot replace it, whereas the
head noun (or modal verb) can. In addition, prepositions normally have weak
stress.

The class of prepositions is not very large, but must be considered
open. Members include homonyms of both substantive and predicative lexemes
which, when stressed, are heads of endocentric expressions. For example,
the stressed item /we-laa/ means 'time' and is an abstract noun:

/we-laa wâaŋ/   'free time'

/sɔ̌ɔŋ we-laa/   'two separate times'

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But weak-stressed /welaa/ is a preposition 'at':

/welaa/ sɔ̌ɔŋ mooŋ/   'at two o'clock'

On the other hand, many of the most common prepositions do not have such homonyms - e.g. /naj/ 'in.'

The class meaning is 'spatial, temporal, numerical, or logical restriction on a substantive concept.' Prepositions are sub-classified into five categories, with an important residue of extremely common items (4.2.6.).

4.2.1. /naj/ Class

This class of prepositions is morphologically defined by occurrence in derivatives with the lexical prefix /khâaŋ/ or /khâŋ/ 'side' (see 2.4.1. 7.). A few also make other derivatives with the prior elements /bŷaŋ-/ 'side,' /thaaŋ-/ 'way,' /phaaj-/ 'scope,' /tɔɔn-/ 'part.' The resultant derivatives are nouns, and at the same time /thamaj/- class complementives (3.2.2.3.8.). They also fill most of the positions of their base prepositions as well. By themselves, /naj/-class prepositions occur with weak stress before and in construction with all types of nouns and noun-expressions; they are rare before verb-expressions. The class meaning is 'locative reference.'

The class is closed and small, and its members are grouped in pairs of semantic opposites. Following are the important members and their derivatives. The context for all examples is the same:

man jùu...nán
    'It is... there.'

Preposition		Derivatives	
1. /naj/	'in'	/khâŋ-naj/	'inside'
		/phaaj-naj/	'within'
2. /nɔ̂ɔg/	'outside of'	/khâŋ-nɔ̂ɔg/	'outside'
		/phaaj-nɔ̂ɔg/	'without'
3. /bon/	'on, up in'	/khâŋ-bon/	'top, upper portion, upstairs'
		/bŷaŋ-bon/	'upper side, etc.'
4. /lâaŋ/	'under, down in'	/khâŋ-lâaŋ/	'bottom, lower portion, downstairs'
		/bŷaŋ-lâaŋ/	'lower side, etc.'

5. /nŷa/   'above'   /khân-nŷa/   'up above'
                             /phaaɪ-nŷa/   'in superior position'
                             /thaaŋ-nŷa/   'north'

6. /tâɪ/   'below'   /khân-tâɪ/   'down below, underneath'
                             /phaaɪ-tâɪ/   'in inferior position'
                             /thaaŋ-tâɪ/   'south'

7. /nâa/   'In front of' /khân-nâa/   'front'
                             /phaaɪ-nâa/   'future'

8. /lǎŋ/   'behind'   /khân-lǎŋ/   'back'
                             /phaaɪ-lǎŋ/   'future, after'

9. /khâaŋ/   'beside'   /khân-khâaŋ/   'alongside, to one side'

10. /klaaŋ/   'In the midst of' /khân-klaaŋ/ 'middle'
                             /tɔɔn-klaaŋ/   'middle part'

As simple prepositions, the members of the /naɪ/ class exclude each other, but many combinations involving the derivatives occur. There is no internal order for the class.

4.2.2. /càag/ Class

The class consists of prepositions which occur in the same constructions as the /naɪ/ class, but also occur before, and in construction with, phrases introduced by /naɪ/-prepositions. The class meaning is 'direction and limits of motion.'

The class must be considered open, since weak-stressed verbs of motion freely enter in (an example is 13. /sàɪ/), but the number of frequent, standard members is small. In this latter category are members 1-4, which are among the most frequent lexemes in the language. Most members have homonyms belonging to other classes.

Besides the members listed below, the following mainly literary prepositions belong to the /càag/ class:

        /ná/   'at'   /sŷŋ/   'against, toward, object sign'

        /sùu/   'toward'   /jaŋ/   'to'

Where these items have colloquial uses, however, they are listed under the appropriate category (e.g. /jaŋ/ in 4.2.3.6.). Also not listed below are three prepositions requiring special treatment: /kwàa/, /khɔ̌ɔŋ/, and /hɛ̀ɛŋ/ (see 4.2.6.4.). The principal colloquial members of the /càag/ class follow.

1. /càag/ or /càg/ 'from, away from, out of'

   ɔ̀ɔg maa càag tâɟ tôn-máaɟ .
   'Came out from under a tree.'

   dɪn-sɔ̌ɔ lùd paɟ-càag-mɯ̄ɯ .
   'The pencil slipped out of his hand.'

2. /tɛ̀ɛ/ or /tɛ̀/ 'from, from the direction of, from the time of'

   ɔ̀ɔg dəən-thaaŋ tɛ̀ɛ-cháaw mɯ̂ɯd .
   'Started traveling in the early morning.'
       ('from the early morning.')

   daŋ khɯ̂n tɛ̀-lǎŋ pratuu .
   'There was a noise from behind the door.'

3. /thîɪ/ or /thíɪ/ 'at, to, over at, in the possession of'

   khɔɔɟ jùu-thîɪ-nâa rooŋ-rɪan .
   'He's waiting (over) in front of the school.'

   phɔ́b kan thíɪ-bâan phɯ̂an .
   'We met at a friend's house.'

   paɟ thíɪ-bâan phɯ̂an .
   'Go over to a friend's house.'

   jùu thíɪ-chǎn , hâa bàad .
   'I still have (or owe you) five baht.'
       ('There remains to me five baht.')

4. /thɯ̌ŋ/ or /thɯ́ŋ/ and /con/ 'to, all the way to, reaching'

   ɔ̀ɔg paɟ thɯ́ŋ-klaaŋ mɛ̂ɛ-náam .
   'Went out into the middle of the river.'

   klàb-maa thɯ̌ŋ-bâan welaa sɔ̌ɔŋ thûm .
   'Got back to the house at eight p.m.'

   jùu thîɪ-nân con sǎam thûm .
   'Stayed there until nine p.m.'

5. /troŋ/ 'right at, right to'

   jùu troŋ-klaaŋ mɛ̂ɛ-náam .
   'It's right in the middle of the river.'

   jùd troŋ-nán: eeŋ .
   'Stop right there.'

thùug troŋ nâa-ɔ̀g .
   'Was hit right in the chest.'

6.   /taam/ or /tam/   'along, following, according to, from one to
                       another of'
wîŋ paj-tam-thanǒn .
   'Run along the street.'
phûud taam-phǒm .
   'Say it after me.'
rɔ́ɔŋ taam caŋ-wà.
   'Sing according to the rhythm.'
hǎa-sɣ́y tam-ráan .
   'Shop for it from one store to the next.'

7.   /thaaŋ/ or /thaŋ/   'in the direction of, by way of'
jùu thaaŋ-nɔ̂ɔg pratuu .
   'It's somewhere outside the door.'
líaw thaŋ-sáaj .
   'Turn to the left.'
maa thaaŋ mɛ̂ɛ-náam .
   'Came by way of the river.'
paj thaaŋ rya-bin .
   'Go by plane.'

8.   /thɛ̌ɛw/ or /thɛ̌w/   'to or in the general vicinity of, near'
lên kan thɛ̌w-nâa rooŋ-rian .
   'They play around the front of the school.'
thɛ̌ɛw-bâan phǒm mii jə́ .
   'There are a lot of them in my neighborhood.'

9.   /kàb/ and /ka-/   'with, with respect to, to'
jùu klâj kàb-bâan phǒm .
   'It's near (with respect to) my house.'
paj kàb-phǒm dii kwàa .
   'Better go with me.'
fàag nǎŋ-sɣ̌y kàb-phɣ̂an .
   'Leave books with a friend.'

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hâj nǎŋ-sy̌y kaphŷan .
   'Give books to a friend.'
(See also /ka-/ under 10. /kɛ̀ɛ/ and under miscellaneous preposi-
   tions, 4.2.6.3.).

10.   /kɛ̀ɛ/ or /kɛ̀/ and /ka/ 'toward, to, for'

thy̌ŋ kɛ̀-kam lɛ́ɛw .
   'He is dead (has attained to death).'

hâj nǎŋ-sy̌y kɛ̀-phŷan .
   'Give books to a friend.'

dâj kɛ̀ɛ-khɔ̌ɔŋ thúg-jàaŋ
or: dâj kakhɔ̌ɔŋ thúg-jàaŋ .
   'Applies to all kinds of things.'

11.   /tɔ̀ɔ/ or /tɔ̀/ 'toward, in the presence of, distributively to'

phûud tɔ̀ɔ-nâa khǎw .
   'Say it to his face.'

jyyn taa tɔ̀-taa .
   'Stand eye to eye.'

Before metric classifiers and numeral phrases, /tɔ̀ɔ/ means 'per':

hâa-sìb kiloo-méd tɔ̀ɔ chûa-mooŋ .
   'Fifty kilometers per hour.'

12.   /khɛ̂ɛ/ 'stopping at, going no further than'

paj khɛ̂ɛ waŋ-lǔaŋ .
   'Goes only as far as the palace.'

(Also a member of the /dooj/-class, 4.2.3.16.)

13.   /sàj/ 'into, at so as to hit.'

faj-chég tòg sàj-caan tɛ̀ɛg .
   'The lighter fell into the dish and broke it.'

jiŋ sàj tôn-máaj .
   'Shoot **at a tree.**'

14.   /pracam/ 'located at, associated with'

pen thûud pracam kruŋ-thêeb .
   'He's a diplomat stationed in Bangkok.'

There is no internal order for the class, but specific combinations of members occur, within the class and outside, which are better considered as single lexemes:

/thў̌ŋ-kàb/   'to the point of'
  4   9

/taam-thîi/   'according to'
   6   3

/troŋ-khâam/   'opposite, right across from'
    5

/lǎŋ-càag/   'after'
     1

/tâŋ-tɛ̀ɛ/   'since'
    2

/thў̌ŋ-khêɛ/   'only to the point of'
  4   12

4.2.3. /dooj/ Class

The class consists of prepositions which occur before, and in construction with, both noun and verb expressions. Most members, in fact, occur before whole clauses as /thâa/-class conjunctions (4.3.2.). The class meaning is 'temporal, spatial or logical condition,' and the resulting phrases function syntactically as complements. Like /thamaj/-class complementives, for which /dooj/-introduced prepositional phrases freely substitute, the phrases are reversible with respect to the head constituents; the only difference in meaning is a slight change of emphasis.

The class is open, and quite large, containing many nearly-synonymous members. Following are the most important members, with their approximate meanings.

1.   /mŷa/ or /mỹa/   'at the time of'

2.   /kɔ̀ɔn/ or /kɔ̀n/   'before'

3.   /welaa/ and /tɔɔn/   'during the time of, at or in (a part
        or /tɔn/   of the day)'

4.   /phɔɔ/ or /phɔ/   'as soon as the time of'

5.   /con-thў̌ŋ/ or /con-thỹŋ/   'until, up to the time of, up to the
        and /con-krathâŋ/   point of'

6.   /jaŋ/   'to, to an end-point of'

7.   /lǎŋ-càag/ or /lǎŋ-càg/   'after'

8. /tâŋ-tɛ̀ɛ/ or /tâŋ-tɛ̀/   'since, all the way from, with begin-
                                                 ning member as'

9. /nɔ̂ɔg-càag/ or /nɔ̂ɔg-càg/   'besides, outside of'

10. /wén/ and /wén-tɛ̀ɛ/   'except for'

11. /rãwàaŋ/   'between, among, during the time of'

12. /talɔ̀ɔd-con/   'including, with final member as'
                       (Often follows 8. /tâŋ-tɛ̀ɛ/, in the
                       meaning 'everything from... to...')

13. /jàaŋ/ or /jàŋ/   'like, such as, in the manner of'

14. /chên/   'like, for example' (construction
                       often closed with /pen-tôn/)

15. /mɏan/ or /mɏan/   'resembling, like'

16. /thâw/ or /thãw/ and /khɛ̂ɛ/   'to the extent of'

17. /dooj/ or /doj/   'by means of, by the agency of'

18. /dûaj/ or /dãj/   'with, with the material of'

19. /phrɔ́/ or /phrɔ̃/   'because of'

20. /nɏaŋ-càag/ or /nɏaŋ-càg/   'on account of'

21. /phɏa/   'for the purpose of'

22. /sǎm-ràb/ or /sãmràb/   'for, as for, for the purpose of'
     and /sùan/

23. /chaphɔ́/   'directed toward, especially for'

24. /fàaj/   'on the part of, from the side of'

25. /pen/   'as, so as to become'

26. /thɛɛn/ or /thɛn/   'instead of, so as to replace'

27. /rɏaŋ/   'on the subject of'

Members of the /dooj/-class normally exclude each other insofar
as they form single-lexeme compounds, for example:

     /jàaŋ-chên/   'such as'
       13   14

Of all the members of the class listed above, only a few can substitute
for their typical phrases, and even these members occur by themselves only
at the end of clauses, not at the beginning, and hence are /eeŋ/-class com-
plementives (3.2.2.2.). These are:

    2. /kɔ̀on/   'beforehand' But also, /kɔ̀on-nán/ 'before that'

18. /dûaj/ 'with it, in addition' But also, /dûaj-kan/ 'with each
other, together'

26. /thɛɛn/ 'instead'

All other members form complement phrases or derive complementives by
addition of objects like /nán/ (e.g. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16) or /kan/
(e.g. 15, 16, 18) or /níi/ (e.g. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 13, and 16 /khɛ̂ɛ/) with
various meanings. There are also a few highly irregular derived complementives:

4.	/phɔ-dii/	'just now, just then'
14.	/chên-diaw-kan/	'in the same way'
19.	/phrɔ́-chanán/	'for that reason'
21.	/phỳa/	'for a purpose, in reserve' (note change of tone)
23.	/dooj-chaphɔ́/	'especially'

Two additional members of this class which require special treatment,
/hâj/ and /aw/, are listed with the miscellaneous prepositions (4.2.6.1.).

4.2.4. /rɔ̂ɔb/ Class

These prepositions belong to none of the preceding classes but are
weak-stressed forms of verbs (mostly completive verbs, 3.3.4.) which occur
before nouns in the typical prepositional construction. They do not normally
occur before verbs or introduce clauses. The class meaning, is 'route or
timing of motion or distribution'. The resulting phrases can all be substi-
tuted for by the corresponding free form with normal stress.

The class is not large, but presumably open, since any completive verb
is a candidate for membership. Phrases introduced by /rɔ̂ɔb/-class preposi-
tions, especially 5-10, are more frequently negated than any other type of
prepositional phrase. Following are some important members.

1.	/khâam/	'across, over on the other side, of'
	dəən khâam-thanǒn	'walk across the street'
	jùu khâam-thanǒn .	'It's across the street.'
2.	/troŋ-khâam/	'directly across from, opposite'
	troŋ-khâam karooŋ-nǎŋ	'opposite the theatre'
3.	/rɔ̂ɔb/ and /rɔ̂b-rɔ̂ɔb/	'around, completely circling'
	nâŋ rɔ̂ɔb-tó	'seated around the table'

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4. /ôɔm/ and /ôm-ôɔm/   'around, detouring, half-circling'

    dəəm ôɔm-tó .   'walk around the table (as a detour)'

5. /talòɔd/   'all the way through (one dimension, as time or a road), from one end to the other'

    talòɔd-chiiwíd   'all through life'

    talòɔd-thaaŋ   'the whole way'

6. /thûa/   'throughout (two or three dimensions), pervading, all over'

    thûa-lôog .   'all over the world'

7. /khrób/   'completing a set, the full amount of'

    sýy dâj khrób-chúd .   'able to buy the whole set'

8. /mòd/   'depleting a set, the last bit of'

    mòd-rɛɛŋ   'every last bit of strength'

9. /phón/   'beyond, past, clear of, free of'

    phón-thúg   'free of sorrow'

10. /than/   'in time for, catching up with'

    than ród-faj   'in time for the train'

11. /ráj/ or /ráaj/ and /pràad-sacàag/   'without, devoid of'

    ráj hèed-phǒn   'without reason'

    pràad-sacàag khwaam-mǎaj   'without meaning'

12. /tem/   'full of, filling up'

    tem kamlaŋ   'at full strength'

    tem-nâa   'all over the face'

13. /tìd/   'sticking to, up against'

    tìd fǎa-phanǎŋ   'on the walls'

14. /tɔ̀ɔ/   'joined to, extending from, in line with'

    tɔ̀ɔ fǎa-phanǎŋ   'in line with the wall'

    tɔ̀ɔ-rúa lɔŋ-paj   'extending down from the fence'.

15. /thâw/ or /thãw/   'to the extent of, equal to'

    sǔuŋ thâw phîı-chaaj   'as tall as his elder brother'

       (Also a member of /dooj/ class, 4.2.3.16.)

4.2.5. /sãg/ Class

The class consists of prepositions which occur immediately before, and in construction with, cardinal numeral (3.2.6.1.) phrases. The class includes one set of members which are homonymous with /mág/-class modals (6, below) and these are the only members after which /ca-/ intervenes before the numeral (in time expressions). The entire construction in all cases is still a cardinal numeral construction, and non-negatable. The class meaning of /sãg/-prepositions is 'attitude toward the accuracy, size, distribution, or inclusiveness of a numeral expression.' The class is closed, and rather small; all common members are represented here.

1. /ìıg/   'another, an additional number of'

    khãw dâj-ráb còd-mǎaj ìıg-sɔ̌ɔŋ chabàb .

      'He received two more letters.'

    tôŋ khɔɔj ìıg-sìb wan .

      'We have to wait another ten days.'

2. /thỹŋ/ or /thãŋ/   'up to, a complete set of'

    àad-catôŋ khɔɔj thỹŋ-sìb wan , kô-dâj .

      'We may even have to wait the full ten days.'

    khãw capaj꞉ kan , thãŋ-sǎam khon .

      'All three of them are going.'

3. /tɛ̀-lã/ and /khon-lã/   'each, different, ...at a time'

    (Although /khon/ is also a classifier for persons, and /lã/ a distributive postposition, described in 4.4.4., it is clear that /khon-lã/ is a compound preposition of the /sãg/ class, because, like /tɛ̀-lã/, it is used to refer to all types of nouns, not merely people.) Examples:

    khãw paj꞉ kan , khon-lã-thaaŋ .

      'They went off in different directions (each one way).'

aw tὲ-lã-sɔ̌ɔŋ an dɪɪ kwàa .
   'It's better to take two of each.'

phɪ̀d kan khon-lã-jàaŋ .
   'Each kind is different.'

4. /thũg-thúg/   'every, at intervals of'

chǎaj thũg-thúg sǎam dyan .
   'It is shown every three months.'
(This item, which is a reduplication of /thúg/, and item 3. above
closely resemble the partitive numerals described in 3.2.6.3., but differ in
that they occur before cardinal numerals, whereas partitive numerals do not.)

5. /raaw/ or /raw-raaw/   'approximately (time or quantity)' and
   and /pramaan/   'approximately (quantity only)'

khǎaj raakhaa pramaan hâa-rɔ́ɔj bàad .
   'It sells for approximately five hundred baht.'

phǒm ɔ̀ɔg càag thîɪ-nân raw-raaw sɪɪ thûm .
   'I left there at about ten p.m.'

càag nɪ́ɪ , kô-raaw nɣ̃ŋ-rɔ́ɔj méd .
   'It's about a hundred meters from here.'

6. /cuan/ or /cuan ca-/ and /kỳab/ or /kỳab ca-/ 'almost'

phǒm khɔɔjː jùu , kỳab-sɔ̌ɔŋ chûa-mooŋ .
   'I was waiting for almost two hours.'

cuan-casǎam mooŋ lɛ́ɛw .
   'It's nearly three o'clock.'

7. /kəən/, /kəən-kwàa/ and /kwàa/ 'in excess of'

phǒm khɔɔjː jùu , kəən-kwàa sɔ̌ɔŋ chûa-mooŋ .
   'I was waiting for over two hours.'

khǎaj raakhaa kəən hâa-rɔ́ɔj bàad .
   'It sells for more than five hundred baht.'

8. /phɪaŋ/ and /phêŋ/ or /phɣ̃ŋ/ 'only'

khǎaj raakhaa phɪaŋ hâa-rɔ́ɔj bàadː thâw-nán .
   'It sells for only five hundred baht.'

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phǒm sýy dâɟ phɪaŋ-hâa chabàb .
    'I was able to buy only five copies.'

phêŋ sǎam mooŋ .
    'It's only three o'clock.'

khǎw mɪɪ lûug phɪaŋ-sǒoŋ khon .
or: khǎw phỹŋ-mɪɪ lûug sǒoŋ khon .
    'She has only two children.'

(See also the modal /phêŋ/, in 4.1.1. and 4.1.4.)

9. /tâŋ/ or /tǎŋ/ 'all of, as much as, the surprisingly high number of'

phǒm khɔɔɟ: ɟùu , tâŋ-sǒoŋ chûa-mooŋ .
    'I was waiting for all of two hours.'

càag nîɪ , kɔ̌-tâŋ hâa-rɔ́oɟ méd .
    'It's at least five hundred meters from here.'

10. /sǎg/ or /sàg/ 'the inexact number of, the unreal quantity of'

phǒm capaɟ-sýy nǎŋ-sýy sǎg-sǒoŋ lêm .
    'I'm going to buy a couple of books.'

phǒm capaɟ-sýy nǎŋ-sýy sàg-lêm .
    'I'm going to buy a book (unspecified)'

khǎw mǎɟ-dǎɟ-sýy nǎŋ-sýy sǎg-lêm dɪaw .
    'He didn't buy (so much as) a single book.'

phɔɔ dəən paɟ-dâɟ sǎg-hâa naathɪɪ ,
    'After he had been walking along for perhaps five minutes...'

Two /sǎg/-class prepositions in sequence are not uncommon. The class
consists of pairs of semantic opposites which limit the actual possibilities
- for example, members of groups 1-2, 3-4, 5-8, and 9-10 exclude each other
internally; /kəən/ is followed only by /tâŋ/ and /phɪaŋ/ only by /sǎg/.
Examples of actual combinations follow. The immediate constituents are
always A/BC.

ìɪg pramaan sìb khon .
    'Approximately ten more people.'

thỹŋ kỳab-sìɪ chûa-mooŋ .
    'Nearly four whole hours.'

kəən tâŋ hâa-rɔ́oɟ bàad .
    'Even more than five hundred baht.'

phıaŋ sãg-sɔ̌ɔŋ méd .
    'Only about two meters.'

kyàb tâŋ sɔ̌ɔŋ-rɔ́ɔɉ méd .
    'Almost as much as two hundred meters.'

4.2.6. Miscellaneous Prepositions

1. /hâɉ/ or /hãɉ/ and /aw/

These two prepositions, which as prepositions are members of the /dooɉ/ class, each have homonyms belonging to several other form-classes. The two are listed here together because they share a number of constructions and have a common meaning: 'transfer of possession or instrumentality.' The constructions are:

  1. Post-verbal phrase

    /hâɉ/ 'to or for someone, having an intentional effect on
        something'

    /aw/ 'to or at something, having an unintentional effect
        on something'

  ɉŷyn hâɉ phanág-ŋaan .
    'Hand it to the clerk.'

  mɛɛw takhuɉ aw-sỳa .
    'The cat sharpened its claws on the mat.'

  sâaŋ thamnób hâɉ-náam thûam .
    'Built a dam for flooding.'
  ('Built a dam to make it flood.')

  /aw/ is very common after verbs of holding and grasping:
  ɉìb aw-pàg-kaa .
    'Pick up the pen.'
  fǒn tòg aw-náam thûam .
    'It rained and flooding resulted.'
  ('The rain made it flood.')

  2) Pre-verbal phrase

    /hâɉ/ 'with the (human or animate) agency of'

    /aw/ 'with the (inanimate) instrument of'

  mɛ̂ɛ-khrua hâɉ-dèg tàd nýa pen-chín .
    'The cook has the child cut the meat into slices.'

mɛ̂ɛ-khrua aw-mîɩd tàd ɲ̂a pen-chín .

    'The cook uses a knife to cut the meat into slices.'

Apart from the order of the prepositional phrase (before the verb), these constructions correlate with those of /dooɟ/-class prepositions. Compare the following:

aw-máaɟ tham .	'Make it with wood.'
tham dûaɟ-máaɟ .	'Make it with wood.'
aw ród-ɟon paɟ .	'Go by car.'
paɟ dooɟ ród-ɟon .	'Go by car.'

3. As /wáɟ/-class postpositions (4.4.1.)

    Homonyms of the two prepositions occur unstressed after verbal phrases without any object. Like a few members of the /dooɟ/-class (2,18, 26), this is a case of substitution for the typical prepositional phrase introduced by that member. But since /hâɟ/ and /aw/ as postpositions occur in mixed order with members of the /wáɟ/-class, they are assigned to this class rather than to the /eeŋ/-class, the members of which they always precede. As a postposition, /hâɟ/ never has the form /hã̂ɟ/.

/hâɟ/   'to or for someone else'

/aw/   'for oneself, for itself'

kèb dɔ̀ɔg-máaɟ꞉ hâɟ .

    'Pick flowers for them'

kèb dɔ̀ɔg-máaɟ꞉ aw .

    'Pick flowers for themselves'

khã̌w caɟyym hâɟ꞉ ìɩg .

    'He's going to lend it (to others) as well.'

khã̌w mã̌ɟ-dã̌ɟ-bɔ̀ɔg phǒm † phǒm daw꞉ aw eeŋ .   ·

    'He didn't tell me. I guessed it for myself.'

In association with the plural pronoun /kan/, it is important to distinguish whether /hâɟ/ and /aw/ occur as prepositions or postpositions.

kèb hâɟ-kan .	'They pick them for each other.'
kèb꞉ kan hâɟ .	'They pick them for others.'
kèb aw-kan .	'They pick them for themselves (as a group)'.
kèb꞉ kan aw .	'The pick them for themselves (as individuals)'.

4. As conjunctions

Both /hâj/ and /aw/ occur before subject-predicate constructions, as conjunctions of the /sŷŋ/-class (4.3.3.), with the common meaning 'change of subject.' In many cases this is an extension of their prepositional use in post-verbal phrases, like the occurrences of /dooj/-class prepositions as /thâa/-class conjunctions (4.3.2.).

/hâj/   'so that, which is supposed to'

/aw/   'so that, which accidentally'

khâw aw lûug-bɔɔn , khwâaŋ hâj khoom-tâŋ tòg .
    'He took the ball and threw it at the lamp to make it fall.'
    ('so that the lamp would fall.')

khâw aw lûug-bɔɔn , khwâaŋ aw khoom-tâŋ tòg .
    'He threw the ball and it knocked down the lamp.'
    ('in such a way that the lamp fell.')

In both examples, the first /aw/ is a preposition (see 4.2.6.1.2. above): 'he threw with the ball,' though /khwâaŋ/ is also transitive.

A similar use, also common to /dooj/-class prepositions, is occurrence before adjectives:

tii man hâj-rɛŋ-rɛɛŋ: nã .
    'Beat it hard, will you?'

man tii chǎn aw-rɛŋ-rɛɛŋ .
    'It hit me hard.'

5. As Main Verbs

Like /wáj/-class postpositions, /hâj/ and /aw/ occur, stressed, as primary verbs. In the examples below, the main verb is underlined.

/hâj/	'to give'
/aw/	'to take, to choose'
hâj sataaŋ: paj	'to give money away'
(dâj sataaŋ: maa	'to receive money')
aw sataaŋ: paj	'to take the money away'
aw sataaŋ: maa	'to bring the money'
maa-hâj sataaŋ	'to come and give money'
paj-aw sataaŋ	'to go get money'
aw maa-hâj	'to bring for someone'

hâj paj-<u>aw</u>	'to have someone go get'
aw paj-<u>hâj</u>	'to take to someone'
hâj maa-<u>aw</u>	'to have someone come get'
<u>hâj</u> sataaŋ: aw-wáj	'to give money for a future purpose'
<u>aw</u> sataaŋ: wáj-hâj	'to keep money on hand for someone'

2. /tɛ̀ɛ/ or /tɛ̀/ and /con/

These prepositions, of opposite meaning, share some, but not all con-
structions with each other. Basically they are both members of the /càag/
class (4.2.2, numbers 2 and 4, respectively), but both occur in compound
prepositions of the /dooj/ class (4.2.3.5.8,10,12) and in other compound
lexemes. Besides their basic meanings, /tɛ̀ɛ/ 'starting from' and /con/ 'up
to' have quantity-related meanings which are the exact equivalents of two
/sãg/-class (4.2.5.) prepositions, /sãg/ 'as little as' and /tâŋ/ 'as much
as,' respectively. These occur only in numeral phrases; /tɛ̀ɛ/ and /con/
replace them elsewhere. Following are some examples of these other construc-
tions. In the first two cases, only one of the pair of prepositions occurs,
and the constructions are mirror images of each other.

    1) Between a verb and its object: /tɛ̀ɛ/ 'only'

kin tɛ̀ɛ nya-mǔu	'eats only pork'
aw tɛ̀-kin	'wants only to eat'
mii tɛ̀-nóoj	'there are only a few'
jùu tɛ̀ɛ naj-raŋ	'stays only in the nest'
kin nya-mǔu tɛ̀-nóoj	'eats only a little meat'
chôob tɛ̀-jùu naj-raŋ	'likes only to stay in the nest'

In this construction, /tɛ̀ɛ/ occurs before all types of objects,
including substantives, predicatives, expressions, and phrases. It is
characteristically echoed with /thâw-nán/ at the end of its phrase, or at
the end of the clause.

    2) Between a verb and a completive verb or adjective: /con/ 'finally,
       all the way to'

hǎa con-dâj	'finally found'
hǎa con-thûa	'looked everywhere'
wâaj-náam con-mŷaj	'swam until exhausted'
khwâaŋ con-dâj	'finally hit by throwing'

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In all such constructions, the first constituent is a transitive verb and the second an adjective or completive verb. In similar predications involving a substantive as first constituent, the conjunction /cyŋ/ (4.3.4.3.) is used instead of /con/:

phǒm cyŋ-paj .   'I finally went'

sǐi-khǐaw thỹ̂ŋ-cadii .   'Only green is good.'

3) As conjunctions, the two items still contrast sharply:

/tɛ̀ɛ/   'but'(/dǐaw/ class, 4.3.1.)

/con/   'until, although' (/thâa/ class, 4.3.2.)

chǎn bɔ̀ɔg lɛ́ɛw: wâa , chǎn mâj-chɔ̂ɔb sǐi-khǐaw , tɛ̀ɛ
    khǎw jaŋ-khỹ̌yn sɯ́y maa-ìig con-dâj .

    'I had told him that I didn't like green, but he still
        ended up buying green again anyway.'

con chǎn bɔ̀ɔg lɛ́ɛw: wâa , chǎn mâj-chɔ̂ɔb sǐi-khǐaw , khǎw
    kɔ̌-jaŋ khỹ̌yn sɯ́y maa-ìig con-dâj .

    'Although I had told him I didn't like green, he still
        ended up buying green again anyway.'

khǎw dâj-ráb kaan-rág-sǎa jàaŋ-dii , con-phón khèed an-taraaj,
    lɛ́ɛw .

    'He received excellent care until he was past the dangerous
        stage.'

khǎw dâj-ráb kaan-rág-sǎa jàaŋ-dii , tɛ̀ɛ naj rooŋ-phajaa-baan:
    thǎw-nán .
    'He received excellent care, but only in the hospital.'

3.   /ka-/ and /ca-/

Each of these two prepositions occurs in close juncture with the other constituent of its phrase (or with the first syllable of the constituent if it is polysyllabic). They are the only prepositions which have no stressed forms in conversational style, although each is substituted for by stressed forms in citation and in formal style: /ka-/ is replaced by /kàb/ or /kɛ̀ɛ/, and /ca-/ by /cà/.

1) /ka-/ occurs exclusively before substantive expressions: nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, numerals (but not classifiers), and phrases of all these types. Its meaning is 'in relation to,' and it frequently follows other prepositions and a few verbs and adjectives. It also has a covert relationship with the pronoun /kan/ 'in relation to each other, as a group,' which can replace most /ka-/ phrases. Since /ka-/ follows all other prepositions, its occurrence alone (without other prepositions) is interpreted as an instance of a /càag/-class preposition. As such, it can replace /kɛ̀ɛ/ and /kàb/ in all their uses (see examples under 4.2.2.9, 10.).

Examples:

paj kakhun	'go with you'	paj: kan	'go together'
thy̌ŋ kasanǎam	'up to the field'	thy̌ŋ: kan	'meeting'
tɔ̀ɔ kathɛ̌ɛw	'in extension of the row'	tɔ̀ɔ: kan	'in line'
troŋ kana-lǐkaa	'right with the clock'	troŋ: kan	'in agreement'
jàaŋ kakhǎ̂w	'like him'		
my̌an kakhǎ̂w	'like him'	my̌an: kan	'like each other'
dûaj kaphǒm	'with me'	dûaj: kan	'together'
hâj kaphǒm	'to me'	hâj: kan	'reciprocally'
troŋ-khâam kabâan	'opposite the house'	troŋ-khâam: kan	'opposite each other'
klâj kabâan	'near the house'	klâj: kan	'near together'
khian kabâan	'next to the house'	khiaŋ: kan	'next to each other'
thâw kasɔ̌ɔŋ	'equivalent to two'	thâw: kan	'to the same degree'
thùug kakhǎ̂w	'in harmony with them'	thùug: kan	'in harmony'
phìd kakhǎ̂w	'different from them'	phìd: kan	'different'
kìaw kaŋaan	'concerned with work'	kìaw: kan	'related'
phróom kakhruu	'at the same time as the teachers'	phróom: kan	'simultaneous'
khláaj kakhruu	'resembling teachers'	khláaj: kan	'similar'

2) /ca-/ occurs before predicative expressions, especially before
   verbs, adjectives, modals (other than /mág/-class) and some
   modal verbs and their phrases, and is also common before enu-
   merations and equational predicates. It is extremely common
   after /mág/-class modals (4.1.2.) and some modal verbs (3.3.1.
   1,5-9). Its meaning is 'hypothetical situation or putative
   action,' and it is used both for future states and for unreal
   or reconstructed present-past states. Since the order of /ca-/
   with respect to modals and modal verbs is entirely fixed, the
   occurrence of /ca-/ without modal elements present is best
   interpreted as an instance of a special bound modal (belonging
   to a class of one), /ca-/. (see 4.1.4.8.)

   Phrases introduced by /ca-/ cannot be replaced by any
   single lexeme (as can /ka-/-phrases), but it is interesting
   to note that /ca-/ and the sentence particle /thè/ 'Let's,
   why not' (4.5.1.8.) seem to exclude each other semantically,
   although their positions in the clause are quite different.

Examples:

khǎw capaj-dûaj .	'He's going to go along.'
khǎw capaj-dâj jàaŋ-raj .	'How could he go (have gone)?'
dǐaw , khǎw capaj .	'He's going soon.'

(/paj/ is a verb.)

khǎw catôŋ paj .	'He'll have to go.'
khǎw jàag capaj-dûaj .	'He wants to go along.'
khǎw cakhəəj paj mŷa-raj ↑.	'When would he ever have gone?'

(/tôŋ/, /jàag/, and /khəəj/ are modal verbs.)

khǎw àad capaj kô-dâj .	'He might even go.'
khǎw khoŋ capaj: jùu-lɛ́ɛw .	'He must have gone already.'
khǎw kamlaŋ capaj: jùu-lɛ́ɛw .	'He's about to go already.'

(/àad/, /khoŋ/, and /kamlaŋ/ are /mág/-class modals.)

khǎw camâj-paj: lamǎŋ .	'Maybe he's not going.'
khǎw cakhỹyn paj thamaj .	'Why would he be going in spite of everything?'

(/mâ ɟ/ and /khy̆yn/ represent their own classes of modals.)

    nâŋ thîɪ-nîɪ casadùagː kwàa .
      'Sitting here would be more comfortable.'

    khy̆n ród-mee cacháaː paɟ-nɔ̀ɔɟ .
      'Taking the bus would be a little too slow.'

(/sadùag/ and /cháa/ are adjectives.)

    ìɪg hâa-nathɪɪ casŏɔŋ mooŋ .
      'In five minutes it'll be two o'clock.'
      (It's five to two.)'

    khã̌w cakhăa-hàg dâɟ jàaŋ-r̀aɟ ˙.
      'How could he get a broken leg?'

(/sŏɔŋ mooŋ/ is an enumeration and /khăa-hàg/ is an equational
                                        predicate.)

4. /kwàa/, /khŏɔŋ/, and /hɛ̀ɛŋ/

    These three prepositions are members of the /càag/ class (4.2.2.)
which commonly occur in rather special environments, and also have homonyms
which belong to special classes. They occur exclusively before substantive
expressions and, in the definitive /càag/-class context, before /naɟ/-class
prepositions.

    1) /kwàa/ or /kwa/ 'more than' is almost entirely restricted to
        occurrence after adjectives and adjective phrases. Its homonym,
        /kwàa/ 'more,' is a /nàg/-class postposition (4.4.2.) which˙
        ˷substitutes for all /kwàa/-phrases.

Examples:

rɔ́ɔn kwa-naɟ-bâan	'hotter than in the house'
rɔ́ɔn kwàa	'hotter'
jaŋ cháa kwàa-phŏmː ìɪg	'even slower than me'
jaŋ cháa kwà-ìɪg	'even slower'
jàɟ kwa-dəəm	'bigger than before'
jàɟ kwàa	'bigger'
dɪɪ kwa-phỹan	'better than the others'
dɪɪ kwàa	'better'

    2) /khŏɔŋ/ or /khɔ̃ŋ/ and /hɛ̀ɛŋ/ or /hɛ̀ŋ/ 'of, belonging to' as
        prepositions are almost entirely restricted to occurrence
        before substantive expressions, although a few adjectives can

have a /khɔ̌ɔŋ/-phrase modifying them (see last examples in section). The substantive following /khɔ̌ɔŋ/ normally has person, animal, or small object as referent, while that following /hɛ̀ɛŋ/ has a large object, place, or abstraction as referent.

Phrases introduced by /khɔ̌ɔŋ/ and /hɛ̀ɛŋ/ commonly modify substantives (usually nouns), but if the head-noun is missing the phrase still operates syntactically as a substantive, and can fill the topic, subject, object, or complement position. In fact, since one of the meanings of the construction 'head noun H plus modifier noun M' is already 'the H of M,' the prepositions /khɔ̌ɔŋ/ and /hɛ̀ɛŋ/ more often mean 'that of' than simply 'of' - i.e. they are more frequent when the head noun is missing.

Examples:

nǎŋ-sʉ̌ʉ khɔ̌ɔŋ-phǒm	'My book (book of me)'
nǎŋ-sʉ̌ʉ phǒm	'My book'
khɔ̌ɔŋ-phǒm	'Mine (that of me)'
sanǎam hɛ̀ɛŋ-châad	'National Stadium (stadium of nation)'
phleeŋ châad	'national anthem'
hɛ̀ɛŋ-châad	'the nation's'

Both prepositions have homonyms which are nouns: /khɔ̌ɔŋ/ 'thing' and /hɛ̀ɛŋ/ 'place.' Neither noun, by itself, substitutes for the corresponding type of prepositional phrase, but as normal-stressed head nouns with modifiers both occur in direct semantic contrast with the homonymous (weak-stressed) preposition plus its complement. Compare the following:

khǎw hâj khɔ̌ɔŋ phǒm: paj .	'They gave my things away.' (Noun /khɔ̌ɔŋ/)
khǎw hâj khɔ̌ɔŋ-phǒm: paj .	'They gave mine away.' (Preposition /khɔ̌ɔŋ/)

Where indirect objects are involved, there is an important contrast between /kɛ̀ɛ/ 'to, for' and /khɔ̌ɔŋ/ 'of,' the head noun-modifier noun construction being ambiguous in this case. Examples:

khǎw hâj ŋən phǒm: paj .	'They gave my money away.' or 'They gave the money away to me.'
khǎw hâj ŋən khɔ̌ɔŋ-phǒm: paj .	'They gave my money away.'
khǎw hâj ŋən kɛ̀-phǒm: paj .	'They gave the money away to me.'

Additional examples of all types:

khǒɔŋ-phǒm jùu nîi .	'Mine is here.'
khǒɔ jyym khǒɔŋ-khun .	'Lend me yours.'
kɔɔŋ-tháb hèŋ prathêed-thaj jàj kwàa .	'The army of Thailand is larger.'
hèɛŋ prathêed-thaj jàj kwàa .	'Thailand's is larger.'
an-nǎj khǒɔŋ khǎw .	'Which one is his?'
khǒɔŋ khɔ̌ŋ-khǎw hǎaj: paj-mòd .	'His things all disappeared.'
phŷan khǒɔŋ phŷan-phǒm .	'A friend of a friend of mine.'
thùug khǒɔŋ khǎw .	'He is right.' (Lit. 'right of him.' /thùug/ is an adjective.

/khǒɔŋ/ and /hèɛŋ/ follow /kwàa/ when they introduce a non-modifying phrase; otherwise the three prepositions exclude each other.

dii kwàa khǒɔŋ-khun .	'It's better than yours.'

4.3. Conjunctions

A <u>conjunction</u> is any bound lexeme which occurs as a prior constituent in a syntactic construction which has a <u>whole predication</u> as co-constituent. Just as modals (4.1.) introduce predicative expressions, and prepositions (4.2.) introduce substantive expressions, conjunctions introduce entire predications without being able to substitute for them - i.e. the construction 'conjunction plus predication' is exocentric. There is some overlap between the memberships of the preposition and conjunction classes, involving especially the /thâa/ sub-class (4.3.2.). One kind of conjunction (/cyŋ/ class, 4.3.4.) actually <u>follows</u> the subject of its predication, rather than preceding it, but this is a clear case of discontinuous order, since the immediate constituent analysis is the same as in the case of other conjunctions.

Except for the open /thâa/ sub-class (4.3.2.), the class of conjunctions is small and closed. Many of its members, however, are among the most frequent lexemes in the language.

4.3.1. /dǐaw/ Class

The class consists of conjunctions which occur in absolute initial position (coming even before /baŋ-əən/ and /thamaj/-class complementives, 3.2.2.) in clauses which 1) come first in a series of clauses, and 2) are in open clause juncture (1.2.8. end). The second stipulation is necessary

to distinguish /dǐaw/- conjunctions from /thâa/- and /sŷŋ/- conjunctions (4.3.2, 3.), which are otherwise identical in syntactic function. The class meaning is 'temporal or logical correlation with preceding message (which may be a clause, sentence, utterance by another speaker, or non-verbal behavior).' Clauses introduced by /dǐaw/-class conjunctions, therefore, may occur in any part of an utterance. The conjunction itself is frequently separated from the rest of its clause by phrase boundary.

The class is small and closed, consisting only of the following eight members, plus two discontinuous lexemes which can also be classified as modals (4.1.4.3,4.) Other forms fitting the definition but not recorded here are variants of one of the members. All members, in at least one of their forms, occur as members of other classes.

1. /dǐaw/ and /pradǐaw/   'in a moment, soon, (be careful) or else, otherwise'

pradǐaw , khǎw khoŋ camaa . rɔɔ ìig-sǎg-khrûu , dâj: mǎj .
   'He's sure to be here soon. Can you wait a little longer?'

dǐaw , chǎn capaj-aw maa-hâj .
   'I'll go get it for you in a moment.'

jàa wîŋ rew: nág ↑ dǐaw hòg: mòd .
   'Don't run so fast, or you'll spill it all.'

2. /lɛ́ɛw/ and /lɛ̌w-kɔ̂ɔ/   'then, after that, and'
<u>or</u> /lɛ́/ and /lɛ̌-kɔ̂ɔ/   'and, then'

lɛ́ɛw phǒm capaj sɣ́y khɔ̌ɔŋ. khun caklàb bâan: rɣ̃-ŋaj .
   'Then I'm going shopping. Are you going to go home, or what?'

lɛ̌w-kɔ̂ɔ laa wîŋ khâw-paj raj-pàa .
   'And then the donkey ran into the forest.'

phǒm carian nǎŋ-sɣ̌y , lɛ́ faŋ phɛ̀ɛn-sǐaŋ: sàg-nɔ̀ɔj dûaj .
   'I'm going to study, and listen to some records, too.'

3. /rɣ̌y/ or /rɣ̃/ and /rɣ̃-wâa/   'or, alternatively; if not, then'

rɣ̃-wâa , tham jaŋíi dìi: mǎj . mâj-sǐa welaa mâag .
   'Or shall we do it this way? It won't take much time.'

phǒm carian nǎŋ-sɣ̌y , rɣ̃ faŋ phɛ̀ɛn-sǐaŋ sàg-nɔ̀ɔj kɔ̌-dâj .
   'I'm going to study, or maybe listen to some music.'

rɣ̌y hâj khǎw klàb paj-kòon dìi kwàa: mǎŋ .
   'Or perhaps we'd better let him go back first.'

4. /khyy/ and /khy-wâa/ and /kɔ̂-khyy/ 'or in other words, that is to say'

khyy , khǎw pen nág-rıaṅ: nî khráb . khǎw mâj-dâj-pen khruu .
   '(What I meant to say was) he's a student, you see. He's not a teacher.'

khyy raw tôṅ-jùu naj-hôṅ talɔ̀ɔd-welaa .
   'In other words, we have to stay in the room the whole time.'

khǎw pen sèed-thǐı . khy-wâa , khǎw pen khon ruaj mâag. .
   'He's a rich man - that is to say, he's very wealthy.'

5. /tɛ̀ɛ/ or /tɛ/ and /tɛ-wâa/ and /tɛ-kɔ̂ɔ/ 'but, on the other hand'

tɛ-wâa , khǎw pen nág-rıaṅ: nî khráb . khǎw mâj-dâj-pen khruu .
   'But he's a student, you see. He's not a teacher.'

tɛ-kɔ̂ɔ phǒm tôṅ klàb bâan dǐaw-níı: eeṅ .
   'But I have to go home right away.'

khǎw pen sèed-thǐı , kɔ̃-cıṅ: jùu ↑ tɛ̀ɛ pen khon caj-dıı: mǐan-kan .
   'It's true that he's a rich man, but on the other hand he's good-hearted.'

6. /kɔ̂ɔ/ or /kɔ̃/ 'Well, why, don't you know that' (Often followed by sentence particle /nıı/.)

kɔ̂ɔ khǎw pen nág-rıaṅ: nî khráb ↑ . khǎw mâj-dâj-pen khruu ↑ .
   'Why, he's a student! He's not a teacher!'

kɔ̂ɔ phǒm khîı-kıad: thâw-nán nıı .
   'Well, I'm just lazy, that's all.'

tham jaṅníı , kɔ̃ phǒm mâj-wâa araj .
   'If (you want to) do it this way, well, I don't mind a bit.'

7. /ləəj/ or /ləj/ 'then, that being the case, so'

ləəj khun tôṅ klàb bâan dǐaw-níı: eeṅ r̃yy .
   'In that case you have to go home right away, do you?'

ləəj phǒm capaj sɯ́y khɔ̌ɔṅ . khun caklàb bâan: rɯ̃-ṅaj .
   'So I'm going shopping. Are you going home, or what?'

8. /con/ 'by this time, it's come to the point that'

con phǒm mâj-rúu catham-jaṅaj dıı .
   'It's come to the point that I don't know what to do.'

Internal order of the class is complicated by the fact that the sixth and seventh members, /kɔ̂ɔ/ and /ləəɟ/, have homonyms which belong to the /cyŋ/-class (a class of conjunctions which follow the subject, 4.3.4.). In clauses which have no subject, the /kɔ̂ɔ/ is ambiguous, unless it is followed by /nîi/ and thus marked as belonging to the /dǐaw/-class. Examples:

        kɔ̌-dii꞉ mɤ̌an-kan khráb .
          'Well, that would be fine.'   (/dǐaw/-class)
          'That, too, would be fine.'   (/cyŋ/-class)

        ləɟ hǎaɟ paɟ-mòd .
          'So it all disappeared.'   (/dǐaw/-class)
          'As might be expected, it all
            disappeared.'   (/cyŋ/-class)

Members of sets 1-2, 3-4, and 5-8 exclude each other semantically, with the combination /kɔ̌-ləəɟ/ apparently occurring only when both 6 and 7 are members of the /cyŋ/-class. The internal order is 5-6, 3-4, 1-2; 7-8 are not known to occur in combination, cases of 6-7 following 1-2 or 3-4 being interpreted as their /cyŋ/-class homonyms. Examples:

        kɔ̂ɔ , dǐaw fǒn tòg .
         6   1
          'Well, it's going to rain in a moment.'

        tɛ̀ɛ , khɤy phǒm pen samaa-chíg .
         5   4
          'But, you see, I'm a member.'

        khɤy , dǐaw hòg꞉ mòd .
         4   1
          'In other words, otherwise it'll spill.'

        lɛ́ɛw , ləəɟ klàb bâan .
         2
          'Then, as might be expected, he went home.'

        dǐaw , kɔ̌-hǎaɟ paɟ-mòd .
         1
          'In a moment it will all disappear, too.'

In the last two examples, /ləəɟ/ and /kɔ̌-/ are members of the /cyŋ/-class.

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4.3.2. /thâa/ Class

The class consists of conjunctions which occur in absolute initial position in clauses which 1) come first in a series of clauses, 2) are in close clause juncture, and 3) function syntactically as complementives (not ι nouns). The class meaning is 'temporal or logical condition on another clause (which is usually the one immediately following, less often the one preceding),' and English equivalents of the members are often subordinate conjunctions. Like /thamaj/-class complementives (3.2.2.3.), for which they freely substitute, clauses introduced by /thâa/-class conjunctions are reversible with respect to their head constituents; the only difference in meaning is a slight change in emphasis (see example under 1. /thâa/ itself).

When the clause introduced by the /thâa/-class conjunction precedes the head-clause, the conjunction itself may follow a /dǐaw/-class (4.3.1.) conjunction (e.g. /tὲɛ thâa.../ 'But if...'). Otherwise, /thâa/-class conjunctions always come first in their clauses (See first two examples under 1. /thâa/).

The class is fairly large and probably open, since it includes many homonyms of /dooɟ/- class prepositions, an open class (4.2.3.). No member belongs discretely to the /thâa/ class, with the exception of morphologically complex variants such as 2. /thǎŋ-thǎŋ-thîı/ and /thy̌ŋ-mἔɛ-wâa/. For example, 1. /thâa/ itself has a homonym which is a /máɡ/-class modal (4.1.2.). The items listed below are the most common members, and a few representative /dooɟ/-preposition types have also been included.

1. /thâa/ 'if'

/hàag/ and /thâa-hàag/ and /thâa-hàag-wâa/ 'if (on the contrary),
    if (unexpectedly), if only'

/phỳa/ and /thâa-phỳa/ and /thâa-phỳa-wâa/ 'if, in case'

tὲɛ thâa khun mâj-paj , phǒm capaj-dâj jàaŋ-raj .
  'But if you don't go, how can I go?'

tὲɛ phǒm capaj-dâj jàaŋ-raj ↑ thâa khun mâj-paj .
  'But how can I go, if you don't go?'

thâa-hàag mıı ród , phǒm kô-capaj dâj .
  'If only I had a car, I could go.'

thâa-phỳa phǒm mıı ród , phǒm kô-capaj dâj .
  'If I have a car, I'll be able to go.'

2. /thɣ̆ŋ/ or /thɣŋ/ and /thɣ̆ŋ-hàag/   'even if, although'

/thɣ̆ŋ-mɛ̂ɛ-wâa/ and mɛ̂ɛn-wâa/   'even if it should come to the point
                                          that'

/thǎŋ-thǎŋ-thîi/ and /con/   'although it has come to the point that'

thɣ̆ŋ khǎw capaɹ , phǒm kɔ̌-mâɹ-paɹ: mɣ̆an-kan .
    'Even if he goes, I'm not going.'

thɣ̆ŋ chǎn camâɹ-chɔ̂ɔb khǎw , chǎn kɔ̌-phûud dii kakhǎw .
    'Although I don't like him, I say nice things of him.'

thɣ̆ŋ-mɛ̂ɛ-wâa phǒm camii ród , phǒm kɔ̌-mâɹ-paɹ .
    'Even if I had a car, I wouldn't go.'

thǎŋ-thǎŋ-thîi fǒn tòg, khǎw kɔ̌-jaŋ ɔ̀ɔg paɹ-thiaw: ìig .
    'Although it was raining, he went out anyway.'

3. /mɣ̂a/   'when'
    /tɔ̀ɔ-mɣ̂a/   'only when, only if'
    /naɹ-mɣ̂a/   'at a time when'

mɣ̂a phǒm mii ród , phǒm kɔ̌-capaɹ dâɹ .
    'When I have a car, I'll be able to go.'

phǒm khəəɹ paɹ bɔ̀ɹ-bɔ̀ɹ , mɣ̂a phǒm mii ród .
    'I went often when I had a car.'

khǎw bɔ̀ɔg wâa , khǎw capaɹ tɔ̀ɔ-mɣ̂a phǒm paɹ .
    'He said he would go only if I went.'

thammaɹ khun ɔ̀ɔg paɹ-khâaŋ-nɔ̂ɔg , naɹ-mɣ̂a fǒn kamlaŋ tòg: jùu .
    'Why are you going out (at a time) when it's raining?'

4. /wee-laa/ and /naɹ-welaa/   'when, while'

/r̆awàaŋ/ and /naɹ-r̆awàaŋ/   'while'

wee-laa khǎw pen nág-rian , khǎw khəəɹ paɹ bɔ̀ɹ-bɔ̀ɹ .
    'While he was a student he went often.'

dèg-dèg paɹ-dèd dɔ̀ɔg-máaɹ , naɹ-r̆awàaŋ khon-tham-sǔan mâɹ-jùu .
    'Children go and pick flowers while the gardener is not there.'

5. /kɔ̀ɔn/ and /kɔ̀ɔn-thîi/ and /mɣ̂a-kɔ̀ɔn/ 'before'

kɔ̀ɔn ród phǒm sǐa , phǒm khəəɹ paɹ bɔ̀ɹ-bɔ̀ɹ .
    'Before my care broke down, I used to go often.'

khun khuan carian năŋ-sўy: sàg-nɔ̀ɔj , kɔ̀ɔn-thîi cakhâw nɔɔn .
  'You ought to study a little, before going to bed.'

6. /phɔɔ/ 'as soon as, by the time that'

phɔɔ raw paj-thўŋ thîi-nân , raw ca-àab-náam dâj .
  'As soon as we get there, we'll be able to bathe.'

phɔɔ khǎw dâj-jin jaŋán , khǎw tўyn than-thii .
  'The moment he heard that, he woke up.'

7. /kwàa/ and /con-kwàa/ 'until such time as, by the time that'
    Clause usually has no subject, and predicate is preceded by
      /ca-/

kwàa capaj-thўŋ thîi-nân , kɔ̃-mўyd. léɛw .
  'By the time we get there, it'll be dark already.'

tham jaŋíi rўaj: paj , con-kwàa cahǎaj .
  'Keep on doing this until it heals.'

8. /con/ and /con-thўŋ/ and /con-krathâŋ/ 'until, to the point that'

chǎn wâaj-náam. sǎ , con mўaj paj-mòd thâŋ-tua .
  'I swam until I was completely worn out.'

khǎw cháaj paj-jaŋíi con-krathâŋ sataaŋ khǎw mòd. paj-lǝǝj .
  'He kept on spending like this until all his money was used up.'

9. /lǎŋ-càag/ 'after, later than the time that'
   /tâŋ-tèɛ/ 'since, continuing from the time that'

lǎŋ-càag ráb-prathaan aahǎan , phǒm kɛ̀ɛd pùad-thóoŋ. khўn-maa .
  'After eating, I got a stomach ache.'

tâŋ-tèɛ ráb-prathaan aahǎan. maa , phǒm pùad-thóoŋ rўaj .
  'Ever since eating, I have had a stomach ache.'

10. /nɔ̂ɔg-càag/ 'except that, unless'
Clause usually has no subject, and predicate is usually preceded
  by /ca-/.

nág-rian kɔ̃-klàb bâan dâj: lǝǝj , nɔ̂ɔg-càag camii ŋaan phísèed
  hâj-tham .
  'The students can go right home, unless there is special work
    to be done.'

11. /jàaŋ/ and /jàaŋ ka-/ 'like, as'

/my̌an ka-/ 'as if'

jàaŋ khun wâa , pen an-taraaj mâag .
'As you say, it's very dangerous.'

khǎw mɔɔŋ araj mâj-hěn , my̌an ka-taa bɔɔd .
'He can't see a thing, just as if he were blind.'

12. /dooj/ and /dûaj/ 'by, with, with the attendant circumstance that'
Clause usually comes second and has no subject if /dooj/ occurs.

khǎw khàb ród dooj mâj-cháj myy: ləəj .
'He drives without using his hands at all.'

dûaj khǎw pen khon-khàb , raw mâj-tôŋ klua: ləəj .
'With him as driver (inasmuch as he's the driver) we don't
have anything to be afraid of.'

13. /phrɔ́/ and /phrɔ̃-wâa/ and /nŷaŋ-càag/ 'because, owing to the
fact that'

raw mâj-tôŋ klua: ləəj , phrɔ́ khǎw pen khon-khàb .
'We don't have anything to be afraid of, because he's the
driver.'

nŷaŋ-càag cam-nuan khruu jaŋ mâj-phɔɔ , rooŋ-rian mâj pèəd
mâj-dâj pii-níi .
'Owing to the fact that the number of teachers is still
insufficient the new school can't open this year.'

phǒm paj mâj-dâj , phrɔ̃-wâa ród sǐa .
'I can't go, because my car's broken.'

14. /phŷa/ 'in order to, for the purpose of'
Clause usually has no subject, and predicate is usually preceded
by /ca-/.

khǎw kèb ŋən wáj , phŷa casyý ród khan-màj .
'He is saving money to buy a new car.'

phŷa capen samaa-chíg : nán , khun tôŋ hǎa phûu-ráb-rooŋ sɔ̌ŋ
khon hǎj-dâj .

'In order to become a member, you have to find two sponsors.'

Conjunctions of the /thâa/ class do not necessarily exclude each other
semantically (cf. such English combinations as 'Although in order to save

money it may be necessary to cut corners...'). Examples of two members of the class in the same construction are extremely rare, however, except when the second member is actually a /dooj/-class preposition. No internal order has been established.

4.3.3. /sŷŋ/ Class

The class consists of conjunctions which occur in absolute initial position in clauses which 1) come first in a series of clauses, 2) are in close clause juncture, and 3) function syntactically as substantives. A corollary of the last condition is that clauses associated with /sŷŋ/-class members lack one of the typical substantive constituents - usually topic, subject, or object.

In addition to occurring in the definitive context, /sŷŋ/- conjunctions even more frequently introduce the second of two clauses. In such cases the clause so introduced may be either a substantive constituent belonging to the first clause as a whole, or a modifier of a substantive constituent actually present in the first clause. The class meaning, then, is 'substantive constituent follows, either modifier of something in preceding clause, or itself a constituent of an adjacent clause.' English equivalents are relative pronouns such as 'who, which, what, that.'

When the clause introduced by a /sŷŋ/-class conjunction comes first, it is very frequently closed with /nãn/ or /nĩɪ/, and no matter which member of the class occurs, the English equivalent is nearly always '(the fact) . that...' When the /sŷŋ/- introduced clause comes second, the echoing /nãn/ or /nĩɪ/ is less common, and the selection of a particular conjunction is more significant.

The /sŷŋ/ class is small and closed, the following being the only important members. Three members of the class, 1. /sŷŋ/ itself, 6./kaan-thĩɪ/, and 8. /an/, are associated with formal literary style, but also sometimes occur in colloquial speech.

1. /sŷŋ/ or /sỹŋ/ 'That which, such a one as, such ones as'

   sỹŋ khãw wâa: nãn , mãj-dâj khwaam .
      'Things he says don't make sense.'

   tòg loŋ-paj naj-khuu , sỹŋ khãw khùd: wáj .
      'It fell down into a ditch - one that had been dug.'

2. /thĩɪ/ or /thỹ/ and /thỹ-wâa/ 'That which, the one that, the ones that'
   (Restricts a modified element much more than /sŷŋ/ does.)

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thîɪ khǎw tham: nǐɪ , mâɟ-dâɟ phǒn .
　　'What he has done here ɪs of no use.'

thǐ-wâa phǒm duu-thùug: nɑ̃n , mâɟ-cɪŋ lǝǝɟ .
　　'That I look down on them ɪs sɪmply not true.'

tòg loŋ-paɟ naɟ-khuu , thǐ khǎw khùd: wáɟ .
　　'It fell down ɪnto the dɪtch that had been dug for ɪt.'

khǒɔ thôod: nɑ̃ khráb , thîɪ phǒm maa sǎaɟ: nág .
　　'Excuse me for comɪng so late.'
　　('Excuse me that I come so late.')

3.　　/wâa/ or /wã̂/ 'that; sayɪng, thɪnkɪng, or knowɪng that'
　　　　(ɪntroduces a quote.) /wâa/ ɪs homonymous wɪth a post-
　　　　posɪtɪon of the same meanɪng whɪch occurs at the end
　　　　of clauses (4.4.4.4.).

wâa phǒm duu-thùug: nɑ̃n , mâɟ-cɪŋ: lǝǝɟ .
　　'To say that I look down on them ɪs sɪmply not true.'

chûaɟ bɔ̀ɔg khǎw dûaɟ: nɑ̃ khráb , wã̂ phǒm camaa sǎaɟ: nɔ̀ɔɟ .
　　'Please tell hɪm also that I'll be a lɪttle late.'

ɪchɑ̃n kɔ̃-ɟaŋ mâɟ-sâab nɛ̂ɛ-nɔɔn , wã̂ capen-paɟ-dâɟ: rўy-mâɟ .
　　'I stɪll don't know for sure whether ɪt wɪll be possɪble or not.'

4.　　/hâɟ/ or /hɑ̃̂ɟ/ 'so that, who should, whɪch should, the
　　　　　　　　　　hypothetɪcal sɪtuatɪon that'

　　　In commands and all types of hypothetɪcal sɪtuatɪons, and ɪn
noun expressɪons ɪnvolvɪng unreal referents, /hâɟ/ ɪs selected.
Especɪally, ɪt replaces /sỹŋ/, /thîɪ/ and /wâa/, the fɪrst three
members of thɪs class. (See also 4.2.6.1.4.)
Compare the followɪng:

khǎw casadɛɛŋ lakhɔɔn , thîɪ thân lўag: wáɟ .
　　'They wɪll show the plays that you have selected.'

khǎw casadɛɛŋ lakhɔɔn , sỹŋ thân lўag: wáɟ .
　　'They wɪll show such plays as you have selected.'

khǎw casadɛɛŋ lakhɔɔn , hâɟ thân lўag: wáɟ .
　　'They wɪll show plays for you to select from'
　　(ɪ.e. 'plays whɪch you should select from')

phǒm bɔ̀ɔg wâa-khun paɟ duu: sɪ̃ .
　　'I saɪd, 'You go take a look.' (Dɪrect quote)

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phǒm bɔ̀ɔg hâj-khun paj duu: sĩ .
   'I said for you to go take a look.' (Indirect quote; you may
      not even have been present.)

phǒm bɔ̀ɔg: khun wâa , paj duu: sĩ .
   'I told you, 'Go take a look.'   (Direct)

phǒm bɔ̀ɔg khun hâj-paj-duu: sĩ .
   'I told you to go take a look.' (Indirect, but you were present.)

Other examples of /hâj/.

   hâj khãw khâw-paj-kɔ̀ɔn dii kwàa .
      'Better let him go in first.' ('His hypothetical entering first
                                 is better.')

   chãn capaj-aw phǒn-lãmáaj tàŋ-tàaŋ , hâj khɛ̀ɛg ráb-prathaan: bâaŋ .
      'I'll go get some assorted fruits for the guests to eat.'

   In addition to these uses, /hâj/ is obligatory 1) where the subject of
a prior clause is not the same as the subject of the dependent clause, but
the new subject is not mentioned, and 2) before all adjectives in hypothet-
ical predicates.

Compare the following:

   1) aw nǎŋ-s/yy maa-duu: nɔ̀ɔj .
          'Get the book and see.'

       aw nǎŋ-s/yy maa hâj-duu: nɔ̀ɔj .
          'Get the book (for someone else) to see.'

       khraj lâw hâj-faŋ: lâ .
          'Who told (you) that? ('Who told (for you) to listen.')

   2) phǒm cam dâj-dii .
          'I can remember it well.'

       cam wáj hâj-dii: nã ↑ .
          'Remember it well, will you?'

       ság phâa hâj-sa-àad: sĩ ↑ .
          'Get the clothes <u>clean!</u>' ('Wash the clothes so that they are
                                      clean.')

       khãw khíd hâj-la-ìad mâag.
          'He's trying to think it out in great detail.'
          ('He thinks so that it will be very detailed.')

5. /âaj/ or /âj/ and /âj-thîi/ 'that, this business of'

/âaj/ most commonly before clauses with no subject. /âj-thîi/ is
the colloquial equivalent of 6. /kaan-thîi/ in many cases.

âaj capaj fôoŋ sǎan: nǐi , mâj-dâj phǒn: ləəj .
    'This business of taking it to court is absolutely useless.'

âj-thîi khǎw tham bàab: nǎn , chǎn mâj-thǎy .
    'That he may have committed a sin, I don't hold against him.'

6. /kaan-thîi/ 'the fact that, the supposition that, that which,
                inasmuch as'

kaan-thîi khǎw sòob tòg , phǒm mâj pralàad-caj: ləəj .
    'That he should have failed the examination doesn't surprise
    me at all.'

kaan-thîi khǎw tham-dâj eeŋ: nǎn , jàa paj-thôod: khǎw ləəj .
    'Inasmuch as he was able to do it by himself, don't blame him
    so much.'

7. /sùan/ and sǎm-ràb/ or /sǎmràb/ 'As for the fact (or supposition)
                                     that'

sùan paj-wád paj-waa: nǎn , mâj-khàad: sǎ sǎg-thii .
    'As for going to the temples and that sort of thing, she never
    fails to.'

sǎmràb khèŋ-khǎn: kan nǐi , phǒm kɔ̌-mâj-rúu rŷaŋ .
    'As for their competing together, I know nothing about it.'

8. /an/ and /an-wâa/ 'one that, such that'

The form /an/ substitutes for /thîi/, and the form /an-wâa/ for
 /wâa/ (when the /wâa/-clause comes first) in formal style.

naj lôog an-tem paj-dûaj thúg: nǐi...
    'In this world which is full of misfortune...'

an-wâa khǎw tham phìd: nǎn , kɔ̌-ciŋ: jùu .
    '(To say) that he did wrong is true enough.'

9. /thâw-thîi/ or /thǎw-thîi/ and /taam/ and /taam-thîi/ 'insofar as,
      to the extent that, according to what'

thǎw-thîi phǒm sâab , khǎw sabaaj dii .
    'As far as I know, he's well.'

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phǒm phajaa-jam catham hâj-mâag , thâw-thîı catham dâj .
    'I'm trying to do as much of it as can possibly be done.'

phǒm phajaa-jam catham taam-thîı khǎw sàŋː wáj .
    'I'm trying to do it as he ordered.'

10.   /chên/ or /chěn/, /jàaŋ/, and /jàaŋ-chên/ 'such as, like' /chên/
       is frequently followed by a complementive /pen-tôn/ at the end
       of its clause.

khǎw tham araj-araj phìdː mòd , chên aw-lâw paj-hâj dèg kınː pen-tôn .
    'She does everything wrong, like giving whisky to babies.'

khǎw casadɛɛŋ lakhɔɔn , jàaŋ thân lŷagː wáj .
    'They will show plays such as you have selected.'

(Compare first three examples under 4. /hâj/, and also see /jàaŋ/,
    /thâa/-class, 4.3.2.11.)

Internal order of the class is not fixed, but two /sŷŋ/-conjunctions
    do occur in the same clause:

kaan-thîı hâj-khǎw tham eeŋː nǎn...
    6   4
    'The fact that he should be allowed to do it himself...'

sùan âaj paj-wád paj-waaː nǎn...
   7 5
    'As for this business of going to the temple...'

jàaŋ wâa thùugː nǎn...
 10 3
    'Such as is said to be correct...'

4.3.4. /cyŋ/ Class

    These conjunctions are the only ones which occur <u>after</u> the subjects
or topics of their clauses. They come immediately after the subject and
before all elements of the predicate, including all types of modals. Syn-
tactically their clauses are exactly like clauses introduced by /dǐaw/-class
conjunctions - i.e. they are independent clauses which can occur first in a
series without being in close juncture. The class meaning is partially the
same, also: 'temporal or logical correlation with preceding message, or
establishment of time-sequence, expectedness, or unexpectedness of event.'

    The class is closed, and extremely small, consisting of only four
members and their variants. The first member, /kɔ̂ɔ/, is easily the most

common lexeme in the entire language and is very difficult to translate in most of its contexts. All members except /cyŋ/ itself (which has a slightly literary flavor) have homonyms belonging to other classes.

1. /kɔ̂ɔ/ or /kɔ̂/ or /kɔ̃/ 'then, that being the case, in addition, similarly, at least' (The first form occurs under normal stress, the last two forms elsewhere.)

sèd lɛ́ɛw , khǎw kɔ̂-paj nɔɔn .
'When it was finished, he went to bed.'
('Having finished, he then went to bed.')

thâa pen khruu , phǒm kɔ̃-mâj-wâa araj .
'If it's a teacher, then I don't mind.'

raw paj-duu nǎŋ kɔ̂-dâj: nî khráb .
'We could go to a movie, too, you know.'
('Our going to a movie is an additional possibility, here.')

phǒm eeŋ kɔ̂-mâj-rúu rŷaŋ .
'I myself, at least, don't know anything about it.'

dǐaw sǎamii kɔ̂ɔ carúu than .
'Pretty soon her <u>husband</u> will find out (too).'

paj , kɔ̂ paj: sì .
'If we're going, let's go.'

Besides occurrence in the definitive context, /kɔ̂ɔ/ has two other semantically important uses: 1) after an interrogative word of any class, it changes the interrogative meaning to 'indefinite,' and 2) repeated in parallel constructions, it means 'both... and...' or 'either... or... '

1) mɔɔŋ araj kɔ̃-mâj-hěn .
'I can't see anything.' ('Whatever I look at, I can't see.')

thîi-nǎj kɔ̂-dii .
('Anywhere is all right.') 'Anywhere at all.'

2) paj kɔ̂-dâj , jùu kɔ̂-dâj .
'You can either go or stay.'

khruu kɔ̂-mii , nág-rian kɔ̂-mii .
'There are both teachers and students.'

2. /ləəj/ or /ləj/ 'consequently, as might be expected, therefore'

mŷa hěn wâa , phŷan mâj-jùu , khǎw ləəj klàb bâan .
'When he saw his friend was not there, he (for that reason) went home.'

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mɪɪ mêeg lég-nɔ́ɔj: thâw-nán , phǒm ləəj mâj-nɛ̂ɛ cajː wã̆ , fǒn catɔ̀g rỹ-plàaw .

'There were only a few clouds, so I wasn't sure whether it would rain or not.'

3. /cyŋ/ and /thỹ̆ŋ/ or /thỹŋ/   'subsequently, only then, it comes to the point that'

(The form /cyŋ/ is more formal than the other two.)

dyan nâa , thỹŋ camɪɪ ŋaan ɪ̀ɪg-khráŋː nỹ̀ŋ .
    'There won't be another fair until next month.'
    ('Next month, only then, will there be another fair.')

rɔɔ ɪ̀ɪg-sã̆g-khrûu , lɛ́ɛw cyŋ-khôj paj .
    'Wait a moment longer, and (only) then go.'

mỹa hᵉ̆n wâa , phỹan mâj-jùu , khã̆w thỹ̆ŋ klàb bâan .
    'When he saw his friend was not there, he (after that) went home.'

Another important use of /cyŋ/ is in clauses introduced by /thamaj/-class complementives—see examples (3.2.2.3.).

4. /jaŋ/ 'still, even, continues to, goes so fas as to.'

Frequently echoed by /jùu/ at end of verb expression, or /ɪ̀ɪg/ at end of whole clause.

khã̆w jaŋ pen nág-rɪanː jùu .
    'He is (or was) still a student.'

phǒm jaŋ tôŋ-kaan casỹy burɪɪː ɪ̀ɪg .
    'I still need to buy cigarettes also.'

khã̆w jaŋ bɔ̀ɔgː khun wâa , khã̆w àad camâj-paj .
    'They even told you they might not go.'

ród-faj jaŋ mâj-ɔ̀ɔgː ɪ̀ɪg rỹy ↑ .
    'Isn't the train leaving <u>yet</u>?'

jaŋ *mã̆j-dã̆j-paj* .
    'It hasn't gone yet.'

thã̆ŋ-thã̆ŋ-thɪ̀ɪ hᵉ̆n wâa , phỹan mâj-jùu , khã̆w kɔ̆-jaŋ klàb bâanː ɪ̀ɪg.
    'Although he saw that his friend was not there, he still (in spite of that) went home.'

Internal order of the class is 1, 2-3, 4, but the combinations 13 and 34 are rare. Examples:

khǎw kô-ləəɟ klàb bâan .
     1 2
'He then (consequently) went home.'

kô-ɟaŋ (see last example under /ɟaŋ/)
1   4
khǎw ləɟ ɟaŋ mâɟ rúu-càg kan .
   'So they still don't know each other.'

4.4. Postpositions

A <u>postposition</u> is any bound lexeme that occurs as a latter constituent of an expression, predication, enumeration or phrase, such that the larger construction (prior constituent plus postposition) is less than an entire clause. The class of postpositions is thus in general contrast with that of sentence particles (4.5.), which together with their co-constituents comprise entire clauses, although there is some overlap between the two classes.

Like the bound lexeme classes which introduce constructions - modals (4.1.), prepositions (4.2.), and conjunctions (4.3.) - postpositions are sub-classified according to the nature of their co-constituent. The sub-classes are 1) /wáɟ/ class (verb modifiers), 2) /nág/ class (adjective modifiers), 3) /bâaŋ/ class (substantive and predication modifiers), and 4) enumerative postpositions, which modify or create enumerations. The constructions resulting from the first three types of postposition are endocentric, and from the last type, either endocentric or exocentric.

All postpositions characteristically have weak stress, and, like the sentence particles, frequently occur after the morpheme / : / in their phrases and clauses. The class meaning is 'restriction as to time, space, quantity, or degree of a free-lexeme concept' for the first three sub-classes, and 'inclusiveness, distribution, or cross-reference of an enumeration' for the fourth sub-class. Except for the /bâaŋ/-class, and to some extent the /nág/ class, the membership is extremely limited.

4.4.1. /wáɟ/ Class

These postpositions occur with weak stress immediately following and in construction with verb expressions. If the verb expression includes an object, the /wáɟ/-class member always follows the object; if the predicate includes a preposition, the /wáɟ/-class member either precedes or follows the

prepositional phrase. The members of the class are not negatable in any position, but all have homonyms which are verbs.

The class meaning is 'orientation of action with respect to space and time relationships,' and the forms together constitute a kind of aspectual system for the verb. The entire class consists of pairs of semantic opposites, but sets 1-4 and 7-10 have an even more complex internal relationship. Members of set 1-4 exclude each other entirely. Members 8 and 10 have identical allomorphs, but on the basis of greater frequency of /sĭa/ in meaning 8, and /sã/ in meaning 10, the patterning of opposition is maintained (7-8, 9-10).

The class is small and closed, consisting only of these ten members.

1. /khâw/ 'into an enclosed space, or closer to the center of interest'

    man khwâaŋ lûug-bɔɔn khâw-paj-naj-hôŋ .
      'He threw the ball into the room.'

    dəən khâw-maa klâj-klâj: nã .
      'Walk right up close, will you?'

2. /ɔ̀ɔg/ 'out of an enclosed space or farther from the center of interest'

    jàa wâaj-náam ɔ̀ɔg-paj klaj-klaj: nã .
      'Don't swim out too far, now.'

    khãw wîŋ ɔ̀ɔg-maa-càag-hôŋ: phɔɔ-dii .
      'He came running out of the room just then.'

3. /khŷn/ 'upward, newly arrived on the scene'

    khãw jìb nǎŋ-sɰ̌ɰ khŷn-maa .
      'He lifted up the books.' (/jìb/ 'pick up')

    sĭaŋ pɰɰn-koo daŋ: khŷn .
      'A pistol-shot rang out (suddenly).'

4. /loŋ/ 'downward, departing from the scene'

    khãw phaa-kan-thíŋ kɔ̂ɔn-hĭn loŋ-paj naj-khuu .
      'They were all dropping stones down into the pond.'

    faj kamlaŋ dàb: loŋ .
      'The fire is dying down.'

5. /paj/ 'away from the speaker, toward the future or an indefinite
          or irrelevant goal,' before prepositional phrase: 'toward
          a definite but distant goal, toward the future.'

laa wîŋ khâw-paj-naj-pàa .
   'The donkey ran off into the forest (to get away).'

khâw jâm naa: paj bâaŋ .
   '(One of the things) they (do is) trample the fields.'

raw tôŋ khooj paj-iig-naan: mãj .
   'Do we have to keep on waiting long?'

tâŋ-tὲɛ wan-nán: paj ...
   'From that day (in the future) onward...'

6. /maa/ 'toward the speaker, up to the present or toward a definite,
          relevant, nearby goal.'

tâŋ-tὲɛ wan-nán: maa...
   'From that day (in the past) onward...'

raw khooj maa-naan lέɛw.
   'We have been waiting a long time already (the waiting may or
      may not be over).'

paj nãj: maa .
   'Where have you been?'   (/paj nãj/ 'Where are you going?')

ŋən , thîi khâw dâaj: maa...
   'The money which he had gotten...'

laa wîŋ khâw-maa-naj-pàa .
   'The donkey ran into the forest (toward us).'

mỹa-waan-níi lyym sʏ́y: maa .
   'I forgot to <u>buy</u> it yesterday.'

cf. mỹa-waan-níi lyym sʏ́y: paj .
   'I <u>forgot</u> to buy it yesterday.'

7. /wáj/ or /wáaj/ and /aw-wáj/ and /thiŋ-wáj/ 'removed from the scene
          but with future relevance, put aside temporarily for future ref-
          erence, action deferred.'

ichãn dὲd dòog-máaj: aw-wáj , sàj cὲɛ-kan .
   'I'm picking flowers to put in a vase.'

phǒm còod ród: thiŋ-wáj , khâaŋ-nâa .
   'I have the car parked out front.'

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dıchãn tâŋ-caj: wáj lέεw wâa , camaa-hǎa khun .
  'I had already ıntended to come to see you.'

cam wáaj hâj-dıı: nã .
  'Remember ıt well, wıll you?'

thíŋ sŷa: wáj , thîı-nân: sí .
  'Leave the coat there (where you can get ıt).'

8. /sǐa/ or /sã/ 'removed from the scene permanently, wıth no future
                    relevance'

thíŋ sŷa: sǐa , thîı-nân: sí .
  'Leave the coat there (to get rıd of ıt).'

mêε mãj-dãj-paj nǎj: sǐa .
  'Your mother hasn't gone anywhere (for good).'

9. /jùu/ 'remaınıng on the scene, unchanged, action continuing,
            temporary, without necessary future sıgnıfıcance.'

dıchãn khooj: jùu , tâŋ-naan lέεw .
  'I am being kept waıtıng an awfully long tıme.'

laa wîŋ khâw-paj-jùu naj-pàa .
  'The donkey had run ınto the forest (and was stıll there, ıf
    only temporarıly).'

caan waaŋ jùu-bon-tó .
  'The dıshes had been placed on the table (wıth what ıntent, we
    don't know.)'

khãw' kamlaŋ rıan nǎŋ-sǔy: jùu , naj-amee-rĩkaa .
  'He ıs studyıng ın Amerıca (for the present, at least).'

phǒm pen samaa-chíg jùu-lέεw .
  'I am already a member (as ıt happens).'

ŋən thîı phǒm mıı: jùu...
  'The money whıch I (happen to) have...'

10. /sã/ or /sǐa/ 'sıtuatıon changed, actıon vıewed as a unıt, not
                      continuing ınto the future'

tὲε phǒm pen samaa-chíg sã-lέεw .
  'But now I've become a member.'

khãw waaŋ caan wáj sã-naj-tûu .
  'She has (gone and) put the dıshes away ın the cupboard.'

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kın: sã sıı ↑ .

    'Eat it up!'   (/kın sıı/ 'Eat!')

dıchãn khɔɔj: sã , tâŋ-naan lέεw .

    'I waited an awfully long time (the waiting is over now).'

Internal order of the class is 1-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, with representatives from no more than three of the sets being found in a single construction. Distribution of 1-4 with respect to 5-6 is complete:

1.   khâw paj   'going in'
       khâw maa   'coming in'

2.   ɔ̀ɔg paj   'going out'
       ɔ̀ɔg maa   'coming out'

3.   khŷn paj   'going up'
       khŷn maa   'coming up'

4.   loŋ paj   'going down'
       loŋ maa   'coming down'

The remaining distribution is as follows:

5.   paj sĭa (8)   'gone away for good'
       paj wáj (7)   'gone subject to recall'
       paj jùu (9)   'gone to stay, incidentally'
       paj sã (10)   'gone, significantly'
       paj wáj jùu   'having gone there subject to recall'
       paj wáj sã   'as of now, gone subject to recall'

6.   (maa sĭa (8) does not occur)

       maa wáj (7)   'come subject to recall'
       maa jùu (9)   'come to stay, incidentally'
       maa sã   (10)   'come, significantly'
       maa wáj sã   'as of now, come subject to recall'

7.   wáj jùu   (9)   'kept, incidentally'
       wáj sã   (10)   'kept, significantly'

8-10. are terminal.

Additional examples:

    kôon-hĭn tòg loŋ-paj-jùu naj-náam .
                4   5   9
      'The stone had fallen down into the water.'

kôon-hǐn tòg loŋ-paj-sǎ naj-náam .
      4   5 10
    'The stone fell down into the water.'

kôon-hǐn tòg loŋ-paj-naj-náam: sǐa .
      4   5   8
    'The stone fell down into the water (and was lost).'

phǒm tham dɪɪ maa-sǎ-mâag: lɛ́ɛw ↑ .
             6 10
    'I've already <u>done</u> a lot of good!'

phǒm tham dɪɪ jùu-mâag: lɛ́ɛw .
             9
    'I'm already doing a lot of good.'

dɪchǎn dèd dɔ̀ɔg-máaj: maa-wáj , sàj cɛɛ-kan .
                        6   7
    'I've picked some flowers to put in a vase.'

4.4.2. /nág/ Class

These postpositions occur with weak stress immediately after, and in
construction with, adjectives. The class includes some members which are
homonymous with /wáj/- class postpositions (5-8 below) but have quite dif-
ferent meanings, and some members which are homonymous with /bâaŋ/-class
postpositions (13-15, 18) and have similar meanings. /nág/ itself occurs
most commonly after negated adjectives, members 2-17 rarely so occur, and
18-19 are found in both types of construction. The class meaning is 'to a
certain extent.' The class is open (and, in fact, seems to act as a magnet
for slang innovations); the membership is quite large. The following list,
however, includes the most frequent members.

1. /nág/ 'to such an extent, too, so'

    thâa thəə tỳyn cháa: nág , thəə kô-capaj mâj-than ród .
      'If you get up so late, you'll never make the train.'

    phǒm khəəj paj , tɛ̀ɛ mâj-bòj: nág .
      'I've been there, but not too often.'

2. /dɪɪ/ 'to a desirable degree, nice and...'

    hôŋ-níi kwâaŋ: dɪɪ .
      'This room is nice and spacious.'

    lɛ́ɛw lom jaŋ rɛɛŋ: dɪɪ dûaj .
      'And the wind is nice and strong, too.'

3. /thɪdɪaw/ or /chɪaw/ and /tem-thîɪ/ 'quite, completely'

khɔ̌ɔb-khun , phǒm ɪm: thɪdɪaw (tem-thîɪ) .
    'Thank you, I'm completely full.' (refusing food)

wan-níɪ maa sǎ-cháa: chɪaw ↑ mua paj-jùu sǎ thîɪ-nǎj ↑ .
    'You're quite late today; where on earth have you been?'

ród lên rew: tem-thîɪ .
    'The car went at full speed.'

4. /kəən-paj/ and /paj/ 'too, excessively'

hěn camâag: kəən-paj lamǎŋ .
    'Don't you think that's little too much?'

chǎn tham mâj-thùug: ləəj ↑ phûud jaŋíɪ kô-wâa , cháa: paj-ìɪg .
    'I can't do anything right; even when I talk like this, you
        still say it's too slow.'

5. /ɔ̀ɔg/ and /ɔ̀ɔg-cataaj/ 'to an undesirably great extent.'

nǎŋ-sy̌y lêm-níɪ nǎa: ɔ̀ɔg-cataaj .
    'This book is terribly thick.'

chǎn phûud cháa: ɔ̀ɔg jaŋíɪ lέεw ↑ jaŋ faŋ mâj-than: ìɪg rə̌ə .
    'I've already slowed down an awful lot as it is; can't you
        understand what I'm saying yet?'

6. /khâw/ 'closer to a desired goal or ultimate condition,
                progressively more'

phɔɔ thàaj rûub pen: khâw lέεw...
    'When you get a little better at taking pictures...'

rew !khâw: sɪɪ ↑ .
    'Hurry up! Faster!'

7. /khŷn/ 'more than before, in increasing fashion'

8. /loŋ/ 'more than before, in decreasing fashion'

khǎw ûan: khŷn .
    'He's getting fatter.'

khǎw kὲε: loŋ .
    'He's getting older.'

phûud rew: khŷn ìɪg-níd , dâj: mǎj .
    'Can you speak a little faster?'

phûud cháa: loŋ ìig-níd , dâj: mãj .
'Can you speak a little slower?'

aakaan dii: khŷn .
'His condition is improved.'

phɔɔ sŏŋ-khraam khôj-saŋòb: loŋ ,
'When the fighting finally quieted down'

(Selection between these two items is to a large extent lexically
conditioned, but /khŷn/ is by far the more common.)

9. /kwàa/ and /kəən-kwàa/   'more than something else of its kind,
                                          comparatively more'

tham jaŋíi dii kwàa .
'It's better to do it this way.'

năŋ-šyy lêm-níi năa: kwàa .
'This book is thicker (than some other book).'

khǎw jaŋ phûud cháa: kwàa .
'He speaks even more slowly (than someone else).'

10. /thîi-sùd/ or /thĩsùd/ and /kwa-phŷan/   'more than all others of
                                          its kind, most, extremely'

rɔ́d khan-níi lên rew: thîi-sùd .
'This car runs the fastest of all.'

tham jaŋán kô-dii: thĩsùd .
'It would be best to do it that way.'

khon-nán phûud cháa: thĩsùd .
'That one speaks extremely slowly.'

năŋ-šyy lêm-níi năa kwa-phŷan .
'This book is thicker than the others.'

11. /thâw-kan/ or /thâw-thâw: kan/   'to the same degree, equally'

nág-rian sɔ̌ɔŋ khon: níi , phûud cháa: thâw-kan .
'These two students both speak slowly.'

din-sɔ̌ɔ sɔ̌ɔŋ thêŋ: níi , jaaw thâw-thâw: kan .
'These two pencils are equally long.'

12. /phɔɔ/ and /phɔɔ-cháaj/   'to a satisfactory degree, enough'

kô khǎw khàb rɔ́d rew: phɔɔ-cháaj .
'Well, he drives fast enough.'

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lɛ́ɛw lom jaŋ rɛɛŋː phɔɔ dûaj .
    'And the wind was still sufficiently strong, too.'

13. /mâag/ (and many slang substitutes) 'very'
14. /níd-diaw/ 'very (restricted to small-scale concepts)'
15. /nɔ̀ɔj/ 'a little, rather, somewhat'

khǎw khàb ród cháaː mâag .
    'He drives very slowly.'

bâan jùu klajː mâag .
    'The house is very far away.'

bâan jùu klâjː níd-diaw .
    'The house is very close.'

bâan jùu klajː nɔ̀ɔj .
    'The house is rather far away.'

16. /ly̌a-kəən/ or /lǎkəən/ and /tem-thii/ 'excessively in an undesir-
                                 able sense, terribly'

ˌmɛ̌ɛ ↑ wan-níi rɔ́ɔnː lǎkəən .
    'My, it's awfully hot today.'

khǎw khàb ród rewː ly̌a-kəən .
    'He drives terribly fast.'

chaaw-phýyn-myaŋ sùan-mâag conː tem-thii .
    'Most of the inhabitants are terribly poor.'

17. /caŋ/ and /ciŋ-ciŋ/ 'really'

nǎŋ lə̂əg cháaː caŋ .
    'The movie is really slow letting out.'

phǒm chɔ̂ɔb mâagː ciŋ-ciŋ .
    'I really like it a lot.'

18. /thâw-raj/ or /thǎw-ràj/ 'how much, to any extent'

jàjː thâw-raj .
    'How big is it?'

mâj-jàjː thǎw-ràj .
    'It's not big at all.'

19. /ləəj/ 'quite', after negative, 'not at all'

nâŋ thîi-níi sabaajː ləəj .
    'It's quite pleasant sitting here.'

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phâa níɪ mâɟ-dɪɪ: ləəɟ .
    'This cloth is no good.'

Two /nãg/-class postpositions following a single adjective are not uncommon, and this is apparently also the maximum number of modifiers. From the sets 1-5, 6-8, 9-11, 12-15 and 16-19, only one member of each set may occur in such constructions. Internal order of the class works as follows:

From set 1-5, /kēen-paɟ/ and its alternant /paɟ/ are followed by 13-15, and 19; other members of this set are terminal.

Set 6-8 is followed by 9 and by 12-15 and 16-19.

From set 9-11, /kwàa/ is followed by 13-15 and 18-19; other members are terminal.

From set 12-15, /mâag/ is followed by 1 or 3 and 16-17; other members are terminal.

Set 16-19 is not followed by members of any other set.

Examples of double modification of adjectives by /nãg/-class members follow. In all cases but the last the immediate constituent analysis is AB/C.

rew khŷn: kwàa 7 9	'faster than ever'
rew khŷn: mâag 7 13	'much faster than before'
rew khŷn: thâw-raɟ 7 18	'how much faster than before'
rew kwàa: níd-dɪaw 9 14	'a little faster than the other'
rew kwàa: thâw-raɟ 9 18	'how much faster than the other'
rew mâag: chɪaw 13 3	'definitely very fast'
rew mâag: caŋ 13 17	'really very fast'
rew: paɟ-nɔ̀ɔɟ 4 15	'a little too fast'

Constructions with members 6-8 as a constituent also occur frequently in parallel phrases:

khon maa khɔɔɟ-ráb ɟùu-nêɛn: paɟ-môd ,

ród tôŋ-lên cháa: khâw , cháa: khâw , thúg thɪɪ .
    'There were so many people waiting for the bus it kept
      having to slow up more and more.'

naa-lĭkaa khɔ̌ɔŋ-chǎ̃ɪ , jîŋ aw-paj-kêɛ , jîŋ dəən rew: khŷn , rew: khŷn, thúg thɪɪ.

    'The more I take my watch to be repaired the faster ɪt runs.'

jîŋ aw-paj-kêɛ , jîŋ dəən cháa: loŋ , cháa: loŋ , thúg thɪɪ .

    'The morᴇ I take ɪt to be fɪxed, the slower ɪt runs.'

4.4.3. /bâaŋ/ Class

These postposɪtɪons are all weak-stressed forms of those /eeŋ/-class complementɪves (3.2.2.2.) whɪch have the syntactɪc functɪon of replacɪng partɪtɪve numeral phrases (3.2.6.3.), and they follow both /wáj/-class and /nág/-class postposɪtɪons ɪn the same clause. Just as the /wáj/-class mod-ɪfɪes verbs and the /nág/-class modɪfɪes adjectɪves, the /bâaŋ/ class can be saɪd to modɪfy substantɪves, ɪn the sense that when a noun expressɪon occurs ɪn the prɪor part of the clause, the /bâaŋ/-class postposɪtɪon refers to ɪt (see fɪrst example under 1. /bâaŋ/ below). When no noun expressɪon ɪs so modɪfɪed, the postposɪtɪon has the entɪre predɪcatɪon as ɪts co-constɪtuent (see second example under 1. /bâaŋ/ below).

Lɪke theɪr counterpart members of the /eeŋ/-class of complementɪves, the members of the /bâaŋ/-class have covert lexɪcal relatɪonshɪps wɪth par-tɪtɪve numerals (see tabulatɪon ɪn 3.2.6.3.) - for example /bâaŋ/ ɪtself replaces any numeral phrase ɪntroduced by /baaŋ/. All members of the /eeŋ/ class whɪch correspond to /bâaŋ/-class postposɪtɪons, moreover, can be pre-ceded by /sãg/-class preposɪtɪons (4.2.5.), although ɪndɪvɪdual members are lɪmɪted as to the type of preposɪtɪon they can follow - for example /bâaŋ/ ɪtself ɪs preceded only by /ìɪg/. The occurrence of normal stress on the ɪtem followɪng the /sãg/-class preposɪtɪon and the nature of the construc-tɪon requɪre ɪnterpretatɪon of thɪs ɪtem as a complementɪve rather than a postposɪtɪon ɪn all cases.

The class meanɪng of both the /bâaŋ/-postposɪtɪons and theɪr corre-spondɪng complementɪves ɪs 'quantɪty of a substantɪve expressɪon, or fre-quency of a predɪcate or predɪcatɪve expressɪon.' The class ɪs small but open, wɪth frequent slang ɪnnovatɪon. For each member ɪnformatɪon ɪs gɪven on the partɪtɪve numeral replacement and the /sãg/-class preposɪtɪons whɪch precede (the latter ɪnformatɪon applyɪng only to the complementɪve).

  1. /bâaŋ/ or /mâŋ/ 'some, sometɪmes, some of ɪt, some of them' Replaced ɪn numeral phrases by /baaŋ/, follows only /ìɪg/.

    phɔ̌m tôŋ-kaan náam ìɪg-bâaŋ .
      'I need some more water.'

ıchãn jàag capaɉ aɉúd-thaɉaa: mâŋ sí .
    'I'd like to go to Ayuthya <u>sometime</u>.'

2.   /lég-nóoɉ/ 'a few, few, little, a little'
Replaced by /nóoɉ/, follows /ìıg/ and /phıaŋ/.

phǒm tôŋ-kaan náam phıaŋ-lég-nóoɉ .
    'I need only a little water.'
àad camıı phaɉú ìıg-lég-nóoɉ .
    'There may be a few more storms.'

3.   /mãɉ-mâag/ and /mãɉ-thãw-raɉ/ 'not many, not much'
Replaced by /mãɉ-kìı/, follows only /ìıg/.

fǒn àad catòg ìıg mãɉ-thãw-raɉ .
    'Not much more rain is likely to fall.'

4.   /mâag/ or /mãg-mâag/ and /thãŋ-lǎaɉ/ 'much, many, lots of, the
                                         several'
Replaced by /lǎaɉ/, follows only /ìıg/.

Selection among the three forms is complicated: /mâag/ is general, but
/mãg-mâag/ is usually used where /mâag/ might be interpreted as one of its
homonyms (see first two examples); /thãŋ-lǎaɉ/ is used in direct modification
of nouns and pronouns as a general pluralizer.

khãw chôob ráb-prathaan aahǎan: mãg-mâag.
    'He likes to eat lots of food (large meals).'
khãw chôob ráb-prathaan aahǎan mâag .
    'He likes to eat lots of food' or 'He likes eating food very
                                     much.'
nág-rıan thãŋ-lǎaɉ † .
    'Students!'
ɉaŋ tôŋ-kaan fǒn ìıg-mâag (mãg-mâag) .
    'Much more rain is still needed.'

5.   /kìı-manóoɉ/ and /thãw-raɉ/ 'how much, how many'
Replaced by /kìı/, follows /ìıg/ and /sãg/.
khun tôŋ-kaan náam ìıg-thãw-raɉ .
    'How much more water do you need?'
mıı nág-rıan sãg-kìı-manóoɉ .
    'About how many students are there?'

6. /mòd/, /thǎŋ-mòd/ and /thǎŋ-sîn/ 'all of it, the whole business'

Replaced by preposition /thǎŋ/ (4.2.5.2.), follows only /kỳab/.

khǎw khǒn khǒoŋ paj kỳab-mòd: lέεw .
    'They have taken nearly all the stuff away.'

ruam thǎŋ-mòd , khíd thâw-raj .
    'Including everything, how much do you figure it would be?'

7. /thǎŋ-nán/ 'all of them, every one'

Replaced by /thúg/, follows only /kỳab/.

khǎw ləəj paj-wád: kan thǎŋ-nán .
    'They all went to the wat.'

8. /níd/, /nòoj/, and /níd-nòoj/ 'a little bit'

Not replaced in numeral phrases, follows /sǎg/ and /ìig/.

khǒo náam: sàg-nòoj .
    'Please give me a little water.'

phûud cháa: loŋ ìig-níd , dâj: mǎj .
    'Can you speak a little slower?'

phǒm tôŋ-kaan tὲε níd-nòoj: thâw-nán .
    'I only need a little bit of it.'

9. /jə́/ or /jέ/ or /jə́-jέ/ 'a whole lot'

Not replaced, follows /tâŋ/ and /ìig/.

phǒm jaŋ tôŋ-kaan náam ìig-jə́ .
    'I still need a whole lot more water.'

khǎw khǎaj nǎŋ-sỹy tâŋ-jə́-jέ .
    'They sell an awful lot of books.'

10. /naan/ 'a long time'

Replaced by /lǎaj/ and a time-classifier, follows only /tâŋ/ and /ìig/.

tôŋ khɔɔj paj-ìig-naan: mǎj .
    'Must we wait much longer?'

khǎw tham-ŋaan thîi-níi maa-tâŋ-naan: lέεw .
    'He has been working here for an awfully long time.'

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11.   /mãj-naan/ and /mãj-cháa/ 'not long'

      Replaced by /mãj-kìi/ and a time-classifier, follows only /ìig/.

      tôŋ khooj paj-ìig: mãj-naan.

            'We won't have to wait much longer.'

One discontinuous postposition, which occurs only in parallel construc-
tion, probably belongs to this class, although it does not clearly correspond
to any partitive numeral, except possibly /khrŷŋ/ 'half':

12.   /phlaaŋ... phlaaŋ/ 'simultaneously, sometimes... sometimes...,

                           half... half...'

      khǎw phûud: phlaaŋ , hua-ró: phlaaŋ .

            'He was half talking, half laughing.'

Members of the /bâaŋ/ class seem to exclude each other completely. No
internal order can be stated.

4.4.4. Enumerative Postpositions

      The remaining postpositions are always the final constituents of
enumerations, occurring with weak stress in the last possible position in
the construction. There are four sub-groups: 1) those which occur after
cardinal numeral phrases (3.2.6.1.), 2) those which occur after /níi/-
class demonstratives (3.2.4.1.) and their derivatives (see tabulation below),
3) those which occur after interrogative lexemes containing the morphs /ǎj/
and /aj/ (see 2.3.4.5, 6. and tabulation below), 4) those which occur after
all types of construction and make enumerations out of whatever precedes.
The enumerative postpositions do not form a well-defined, mutually exclusive
class, but constitute a residue. Some double as sentence particles (4.5.).

      For convenience of reference, the related group of common demonstra-
tive and interrogative lexemes and constructions which are followed by enu-
merative postpositions of sub-groups 2) and 3) are listed below.

Demonstrative		Interrogative	
/khon-nán/	'that person'	/khraj/	'who'
/khon-níi/	'this person'	/khon-nǎj/	'which person'
/an-nán/	'that thing'	/araj/	'what'
/an-níi/	'this thing'	/an-nǎj/	'which thing'
/jaŋán/ or /ŋán/	'thus'	/thamaj/	'why'
/jaŋíi/ or /ŋíi/	'so'	/jaŋaj/	'how'

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/myâ-nán/	'then'		/mỹa-raj/	'when'
/dǐaw-níɪ/	'now'			
/thîɪ-nân/	'there'		/thîɪ-nǎj/	'where'
/thîɪ-nîɪ/	'here'			
/thîɪ-nôon/	'over there'			
/thâw-nán/	'that much'		/thâw-raj/	'how much'
/khêɛ-níɪ/	'this much'		/khêɛ-nǎj/	'to what extent'
/thɪɪ-níɪ/	'this time'		/thɪɪ-raj/	'which time'

1) Numeral postpositions

1. /sèed/ or /sèed-sèed/ and /kwàa/ or /kwa-kwàa/ 'plus a residue'

   sǒoŋ róɔj bàad: sèed .
      'Over two hundred baht.'

   hâa mooŋ: kwa-kwàa .
      'Later than five o'clock.'

   (See also 3.2.6.3, end.)

2. /lã̃/ 'per, based on the preceding unit'

   Occurs mainly after the simultaneous construction of a unit or
   metric classifier (3.2.5.1,2.) or classifier numeral (3.2.6.4.)
   plus the normal-stress morpheme 'one' (see 2.2.3.1.), but also
   after ordinary cardinal numeral phrases.

   klûaj raa-khaa baj-lã̃-bàad .
      'The bananas are one baht each (one-baht per one-banana).'

   nám-taan raa-khaa kɪ-loo: lã̃ , sìb bàad .
      'The sugar is ten baht per kilo.'

   róoj-lã̃-sǒoŋ .
      'Two percent (two per hundred).'

   sǎam dyan lã̃-khráŋ .
      'Once every three months.'

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1. /eeŋ/ 'the very one, exactly, none other than'

thâw-nán: eeŋ .   'Just that much.'

dǐaw-níɪ: eeŋ .   'Right now.'

jaŋán: eeŋ .   'Precisely that way.'

thîɪ-nîɪ: eeŋ .   'Right here.'

2. /lɛ̀/ and /ŋaɟ/ 'there it is, that's the one (pointing out some-
                    thing that has been sought)'

thâw-nán: lɛ̀ .   'That's all. That does it.'

nîɪ: ŋaɟ .   'Here it is. This is the one.'

jaŋán: lɛ̀ .   'That's how it is.'

khon-níɪ: ŋaɟ .   'This is the person.'

(Speakers seem to prefer the form /lɛ̀/ after /nán/, /nóon/, and their
  derivatives, /ŋaɟ/ after /níɪ/ and its derivatives.)

3. /nɛ̂/ 'look at this new thing (pointing to something not sought)'

nóon: nɛ̂ ↑ duu: sǐ̃ ↑   'Over there! Look!'

nîɪ: nɛ̂ , kun-cɛɛ hɔ̂ŋ .   'Here's the key to the room.'

The members of this sub-group exclude each other. /lɛ̀/, /ŋaɟ/,
and /nɛ̂/ are also sentence particles (4.5.2.).

<u>3)   Interrogative postpositions</u>

1. /kan/ 'reasonable answer not foreseen'

maa thamaɟ: kan ↑ .   'Why the devil have you come?'

cf. maa: kan , thamaɟ ↑ .   'Why have you (plural) come?'
                              (pronoun /kan/)

araɟ: kan ↑ .   'What in the world!'

2. /bâaŋ/ 'plural or multiple answer foreseen'

khun capaɟ kàb-khraɟ: bâaŋ . 'Who all are you going with?'

khun capaj nǎj: bâaŋ .   'What places are you going to?'

araj: bâaŋ .   'What (plural)?'

3.   /lâ/ or /lâw/ 'answer demanded'

      maa thamaj: lâw ↑ .   'Why have you come?'

      khun capaj nǎj: lâ .   'Where are you <u>going</u>?'

      araj: lâ ↑ .   '<u>What</u>.' (English falling intonation)

4.   /nã/ 'answer not expected, or should be already known to speaker'

      maa thamaj: nã .   'I wonder why he came.'

      khun capaj nǎj: nã .   '<u>Where</u> is it you're going?'

      araj: nã .   '<u>What</u>?' (English high rising
                                         intonation)

Internal order of the sub-group is 1, 2, 3-4, the last two members
excluding each other. Example:

      jùu thîi-nǎj: kan bâaŋ lâ ↑ .
          'Where the devil are they all?' ('They are in what unreason-
          able places, tell me!')

Members 3. and 4. also occur as sentence particles (4.5.2.).

4) General enumerative postpositions

1.   /níi/ or /nîi/ or /nîə/ 'this sort of thing (previously mentioned)'
      The first two forms are weak-stressed versions of the demonstra-
      tive /níi/ 'this,' and the third contains an additional morpheme
      (probably to be identified with /lè/ and /nê/, demonstrative post-
      positions described above).

      wan-aŋkhaan: níi , pen kham sǎn-sakrìd .
          'This (word) 'Tuesday' is a Sanskrit word.'

(cf.) wan-aŋkhaan níi , phǒm cajùd ŋaan .
          'I'm going to take this Tuesday off.' (demonstrative /níi/)

      sùan nág-rian triam paj sǒom: kan nîə...
          'As for this business of the preparatory students going to
          drill...'

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2. /nán/ or /nân/ or /nâ/ 'that sort of thing (previously mentioned)'

The first two forms are weak-stressed demonstratives and the third is probably a combination of /nán/ and /nê/ or /lê/.

kaan càb-plaa: nân , mii lǎaj jàaŋ .
   'For that fish-catching operation there are several methods.'

chalǔaj: nâ , pen chŷy phûu-jǐŋ: thâw-nán .
   'That (name) Chaluay is a woman's name only.'

3. /lá/ or /lâ/ 'the new or contrastive thing (I have just mentioned)'

This item is probably to be identified with the complementive /lέεw/ 'already.'

chalǔaj: lá , pen chŷy phûu-jǐŋ: thâw-nán .
   'Now Chaluay (on the other hand) is a woman's name only.'

sùan náŋ-rian triam paj sɔ́ɔm: kan lâ...
   'If one brings up the subject of the preparatory students going
      to drill, now...'

4. /wâa/ 'as follows (new or old quotation)'

This item is a homonym of a conjunction with similar meaning (4.3. 3.3.). There is a slight difference in emphasis depending on whether the /wâa/ occurs before or after the intonation break. Compare the first two examples below.

khǎw phûud samǝ̌ǝ: wâa , aahǎan mâj-arɔ̀ɔj .
   'What they always say is that the food is no good.'

khǎw phûud samǝ̌ǝ , wâa aahǎan mâj-arɔ̀ɔj .
   'They're always talking (about it, saying among other things)
      that the food is no good.'

Internal order of the sub-group is 1-3, 4. The forms /nâ/, /lá/ and /lâ/ are related to homonymous sentence particles (4.5.1.).

4.5. Sentence Particles

A <u>sentence particle</u> is any bound lexeme which is always the last constituent, or part of the last constituent, apart from intonation, in any clause in which it occurs (regardless of the order in which it actually occurs). The co-constituents of sentence particles are entire predications, enumerations, expressions, and phrases, and also such constructions plus

their postpositional modifiers. The term 'sentence particle' (chosen instead of 'clause particle') indicates a further relationship: most types of sentence particles (except 3. /khráb/-class, below) occur only once per sentence, rather than once per clause. In addition, many sentence particles have variant forms conditioned in two ways: 1) by clause intonation, and 2) by the presence of other sentence particles.

Since the members of this class often occur in clusters at the ends of clauses, always after the morpheme / : /, the term <u>codaphrase</u> is used to refer to such groups of sentence particles. The maximum length of a codaphrase is four lexemes (or four syllables, if one or more two-syllable particles are present). The sub-classification of sentence particles is based on position in the codaphrase, and the names of the sub-classes are taken from one of the possible maximum sequences:

khun mâj-paj kàb-kháw: ròg-rǔy-khráb nîi ↑ .

Sub-classes: 1) 2)   3) 4)

'Well, (you mean) you're not going with them?!'

The general class meaning of sentence particles is 'attitude of the speaker toward what he is saying,' but the members of the first sub-class (/ròg/-class) also resemble enumerative postpositions (4.4.4.) in that they have close ties with specific syntactic elements in the clause. The whole class is closed, and small, possibly being limited to the members listed in the following sections. All members occur both by themselves and in codaphrases.

The meanings of sentence particles can be only vaguely stated, because a great deal depends on the emotional interplay between speakers. For the same reason, it is difficult to quote out of context examples of sentences containing particles. In order to avoid repeating examples with sufficient context under different headings, a number of lengthy examples are given consecutively in the last section (4.5.5.) under the general heading 'Sample Exchanges.' Reference is made to these examples after the illustrations of use of individual members of the class of sentence-particles.

4.5.1. /ròg/ <u>Class</u>

These sentence particles occur in the first relative position of the codaphrase, and are in complementary distribution with respect to each other. Some of them have variant forms depending on clause intonation, and others have forms which occur in absolute clause-final position only. The first five members have strong ties with the substantive elements of the clause, and the last three with predicative elements. None has an emphatic form

(occurring simultaneously with / ! /); when / ! / is present a member of
2: /rÿy/-class is also present in the codaphrase.

1. /rɔ̃g/ and /ròg/ or /dòg/ or /dròg/ 'not that' (after negative),
    'that's what' (otherwise)

The high-tone variant occurs in absolute clause-final position
when / ↑ / is present (this being the most common environment of the entire
item), and one of the low-tone variants occurs elsewhere. In codaphrases,
it is followed by these members of sub-class 2): 1. /rÿy/, 2. /sıı/, and
3. /naa/. When followed immediately by a member of sub-class 3), it deter-
mines the selection of the statement form - e.g. /khâ/, but when sub-class
2) intervenes, the question form of the sub-class 3) member may be selected
- e.g. /khâ/ (see also 2.3.3.3.).

The item /rɔ̃g/ is almost entirely restricted to occurrence in clauses
containing a negative (member of the /mâ ɟ/ class of modals, 4.1.3.), but
occasionally turns up in positive statements (see last two examples below).
It does not occur after /jàa/ 'don't.' It has reference to substantive ele-
ments in the clause, often to the subject, and directs the force of the
negation toward them and away from predicative elements. In this meaning it
contrasts semantically with the item /lǝǝɟ/ 'at all,' which is a complementive
of the /eeŋ/ class (3.2.2.2.10.) and a postposition, rather than a sentence
particle (see contrastive examples below).

            phǒm mâɟ-dâɟ paɟ: rɔ̃g ↑ .
                'I didn't go!' ('not me')

            phǒm mâɟ-dâɟ paɟ: lǝǝɟ .
                'I didn't go at all.' ('not anywhere, not any time')

            khâw mâɟ-maa thamaɟ: ròg-nâ ↑ .
                'Why wouldn't he come?'

            mâɟ-châɟ nǎŋ-sÿy khɔ̀ɔŋ-chǎn: ròg-nâ .
                'You see, it's not my book.'

            wan-nán khun mâɟ-dâɟ-paɟ baaŋ-sěɛn: ròg-rǝ̀ǝ .
                'Didn't you go to Bangsaen that day?'

            chǎn lɔ́ɔ lên: ròg . jàa krɔ̀ɔd: lǝǝɟ .
                'I was only fooling (that's what). Don't be angry.'

            dǐaw dâɟ hǔa-tɛ̀ɛg kan-mâŋ: rɔ̃g ↑ .
                'Pretty soon you'll get your heads cracked, that's what!'

    (See also Exchanges, 4.5.5., Nos. 1-2, 2-1, 3-3, 7-2, 7-7, 8-4, 11-4,
        12-3, and 14-2.)

2. /nâ/ 'that's what, that's who, that's where, etc.'

This item by itself is easily confused with the postposition /nâ/
(4.4.4.4.2.), and with homonymous forms in the /rȳy/ and /nîi/ sub-classes of
sentence particles (4.5.2.3. and 4.5.4.2.), but is clearly distinguishable
when it is followed in codaphrases by one of these members of sub-class 2):
1. /rȳy/, 2. /sii/, 3. /naa/, and 4. /lɛ̀/. Semantically it replaces /rɔ̃g/
in most positive statements, and is rare after negatives.

 kɔ̂ khun-eeŋ: nâsii ↑ .
  'Well, it was you yourself (that's who)!'

 khun cìd: nârɵ̆ə , sɔ̀ɔb dâj .
  'Did Chit really pass the exam (is that who you mean)?'

 man cathùug hŭa tua-eeŋ: nânaa .
  'Why, you might hit yourself in the head with it, that's what.'

 khun: nâlɛ̀ , chɔ̂ɔb tham sǐaŋ daŋ: nág .
  'You really like to make a lot of noise, you do.'

(See also Exchanges 1-4, 2-1, 3-4, and 7-4.)

3. /nîi/ or /nî/ 'this is who, this is what, etc.'

Statements about /nâ/ apply also to this item, and the distribution
is the same except that /nîi/ does not appear to occur before /rȳy/. The
difference meaning is very slight, but speakers prefer /nîi/ to /nâ/ whenever
the hearer is not presumed to know the information given. (This may in turn
account for the absence of /nîi/ before the sentence particle /rȳy/, which
requests information.)

 kɔ̂ khǎw rúu-càg kan jùu-lɛ́ɛw: nîinaa .
  'But they already <u>know</u> each other.'

 kɔ̂ man cathùug kracɔ̀g: nîinaa .
  'Well, you might hit the window with it, don't you see.'
   ('this is what')

 khun: nîlɛ̀ , chɔ̂ɔb tham sǐaŋ daŋ: nág .
  'Say, you really like to make a lot of noise.'

(See also Exchanges 2-2, 9-2, and 9-5.)

4. /ŋaj/ 'something known previously becomes newly relevant' or 'how
   can one overlook this fact'

This item is easily confused with a postposition of similar meaning
(4.4.4.2.2.) and also is homonymous with one form of a complementive meaning
'how' (the other form being /jaŋaj/). It occurs alone in clause- and phrase-

final position, and in codaphrases before only one member of sub-class 2):
5. /lâ/. Whether followed by /lâ/ or not, it determines selection of the
question form of any sub-class 3) member in the same codaphrase. /ŋaj/ is
very frequent as a final particle in sentences introduced by the responses
/nǎj/ and /ŋǎj/ (3.1.2.5, 6.).

  !âaw ↑ thamaj sýy sǐi-khǐaw maa-ìig: lâ . nǎj , bɔ̀ɔg-wâa mâj-chɔ̂ɔb:
   ŋaj .

   'Why on earth did you buy green again? I thought you said you
    didn't like it.' ('how can one explain that?')

  nîi nǎŋ-sýy thîi khun-cìd fàag maa-hâj: ŋaj .

   'Here's that book Chit gave me to give you.'

  (More commonly said with postposition /ŋaj/:

  nîi: ŋaj , nǎŋ-sýy thîi khun-cìd fàag maa-hâj .)

  chǎn bɔ̀ɔg lɛ́ɛw: ŋaj-lâ , wâa man phèd .

   'I already <u>told</u> you (didn't I) that it was spicy.'

  (See also Exchanges 12-2 and 13-2.)

 5. /nê/ or /nîə/   'something previously unknown is now relevant' or
    'don't overlook this new thing.'

  Both forms also occur as postpositions with similar meaning (4.4.
4.). The form /nê/ occurs only in clause-or phrase-final position, but the
form /nîə/ (possibly analyzable morphemically as /nîi/ plus /lè/) also pre-
cedes one member of sub-class 2): 1. /rýy/. Like 4. /ŋaj/, with which it
is in semantic contrast, this particle determines the question form of any
sub-class 3) member in the same codaphrase.

  duu khǎw tham araj: nê .

   'Look at what (new thing) they are doing now.'

  chǎn sýy phâa maa-fàag chín: nyŋ nê .

   'Here's a piece of cloth I bought for you.'

  chín diaw: nîə-rěə .

   'Just the one piece?'

  paj nǎj: kan nîə ↑ .

   'Where do you think you're going? (this is news to me)'

  (See also Exchanges 1-3, 4-1, and 4-2.)

 6. /lá/ or /lã/ or /la/   'changed situation'

  This item is said by ST speakers to be a shortened form of /lɛ́ɛw/
'already,' but in fact it occurs directly after /lɛ́ɛw/ itself in the same

clause. It is, however, closely tied to predicative elements, rather than
substantive ones. The form /lá/ occurs in clause-and-phrase-final position,
the forms /lã/ and /la/ elsewhere. In codaphrases it is followed by these
members of sub-class 2): 1. /rỹy/, 2. /sii/, 3. /naa/, and 6) mãŋ. By
itself it determines the statement form of any sub-class 3) particle.

> thâa jaŋán , chãn mãj-paj: lá .
>> 'In that case I won't go, then.'

> aw: lâ , phɔɔ thâw-nii: kɔɔn .
>> 'All right, then, that's enough for the time being.'

> khun capaj: lãrəə .
>> 'Are you going, now?' ('You weren't, just a minute ago.')

> ìm lɛ́ɛw: lãsii ↑ .
>> 'Now you must be full!'

> dichãn tôŋ paj-kɔɔn: lanã .
>> 'I'd better be going, now.'

> hěn camâag: paj lamãŋ .
>> 'Maybe it's too much already.'

(See also Exchanges 15-2.)

7. /mãj/ 'Yes-no question'

    This particle is tied directly to the predicator of the clause, and
does not occur in clauses which have no predicative elements (for example,
in clauses consisting of substantive expressions, equations, and enumera-
tions). Morphologically speaking, it is related to the negative /mâj/, and
does not occur in clauses containing any /mâj/-class modal. If the predica-
tor is a transitive verb, the use of /mãj/ implies that a voluntary choice
is possible, or that the situation is capable of change - it is not used,
for example, for past situations of for scheduled future events. If the
predicator is an adjective, the selection of /mãj/ is nearly automatic,
 regardless of time factors, and simply implies that an evaluation is being
asked for. If the predicator is a completive verb or a modal verb, the
standard way to ask a question is with /mãj/, unless a time-element is in-
volved, in which case /rỹjaŋ/ 'yet?' (4.5.2.1.) is selected.

    As a sentence particle /mãj/ contrasts most strongly with /rỹy/
(4.5.2.1.)-see first, third and fourth pairs examples below. Any interrog-
ative word in a clause containing /mãj/ automatically has its indefinite
meaning - see second pair of examples.

    /mãj/ has a citation form /mǎj/, which also turns up occasionally
in formal styles of speech, but no other allolexes. In codaphrases it is

followed by these members of sub-class 2): 3. /naa/ and 5. /lâ/. It determines the selection of the question-form of sub-class 3) members in all coda-phrases in which it occurs.

thaan kaa-fɛɛ ììg: mãɉ .
   'Will you have some more coffee?'

thaan kaa-fɛɛ ììg: ry̌y .
   'You're having more coffee, are you?'

khãw tôŋ-kaan araɉ: mãɉ .
   'Do they want something?'

khãw tôŋ-kaan araɉ .
   'What do they want?'

khun chôɔb pen thahǎan: mãɉ .
   'Do you like (the idea of) being a soldier?'
or: 'Would you like to be a soldier?'

khun chôɔb pen thahǎan: ry̌y .
   Do you <u>like</u> being a soldier?'

khãw paɉ-duu nǎŋ: dûaɉ-kan mãɉ .
   'Are they going along (as a matter of choice) to see the movie?'

khãw paɉ-duu nǎŋ: dûaɉ-kan ry̌y .
   'Did they go along to see the movie?'
or: 'Are they scheduled to go along to see the movie?'
or: 'Do they (as a matter of fact) go along to see the movie?'

mŷa-waan-níi paɉ-duu nǎŋ , sanùg: mãɉ .
   'Was it fun going to the movie yesterday?' (adjective predica-
                                                                tor)

raw paɉ-duu nǎŋ , dii: mãɉ .
   'Shall we go see a movie (is it a good idea)?' (adjective
                                                         predicator)

khun jàag capaɉ dûaɉ-kan: mãɉ .
   'Do you want to go along?   (modal verb predicator)

raw paɉ-duu nǎŋ , dâɉ: mãɉ .
   'Can we go to see the movie?' (completive verb predicator).

chǎn sýy nǎŋ-sýy nîi maa-fàag , khun chôɔb mãɉ-lâ .
   'I bought this book to give you - do you like it?' (answer
                                                         required)

chǎn sýy nǎŋ-sýy nîi maa-fàag khun-cid , khãw chôɔb: mãɉ-nã .
   'I bought this book to give Chit - will he (do you think) like
     it?'   (opinion requested)
   (See also Exchanges 7-1, 11-1, 11-3, and 12-5.)

8. /thə̀/ or /thə̀əd/   'why not, let's, why don't you'

This particle is tied to the predicate and, like 6. /mã̀j/, does
not occur in clauses which do not have predicative elements. Also, it does
not occur in the same clause with the pre-predicate preposition /ca-/ (4.2.6.
3.2.). The second variant /thə̀əd/ is largely a citation form but occurs in
formal varieties of speech as well. In codaphrases it is followed by these
members of sub-class 2): 2. /sii/ and 3. /naa/, the latter being far more
common. It determines the selection of the statement form of the sub-class 3)
member in all codaphrases in which it occurs.

The meaning of /thə̀/ is always a mild suggestion, either advocating
joint action including the speaker (in which case the pronoun /kan/ often
occurs somewhere in the clause) or unilateral action by someone other than
the speaker. It is not used in statements of fact, or in urging people to
believe assertions, as is the other 'command' particle /sii/ (4.5.2.2.).

> raw paj: kan thə̀ .
>> 'Let's go.'
>
> khun kin: sã̌ thə̀ .
>> 'Go ahead and eat it (if you want it).'
>
> kin: sã̌ sí ↑ .
>> 'Go ahead and eat it (whether you want it or not.)'
>
> kin sã̌-thə̀ !sîi ↑ .
>> '<u>Please</u> go ahead and eat it!'
>
> khun bèŋ hã̌j-chã̌n thỹy mâŋ: thə̀ .
>> 'Why don't you let me carry some of them? '
>
> sã̌aj lɛ̌ɛw , paj kan: thə̀-nâ .
>> 'It's late, let's get <u>going</u>.'
>
> (See also Exchanges 7-6, 8-1, 8-3, and 10-3.)

4.5.2. /rỹy/ Class

These sentence particles occur in the second relative position of
the codaphrase, and are in complementary distribution. All members can
follow at least one member of the /rɔ̃g/-class (4.5.1.) All have variant
forms, some of which are conditioned and some in free variation. Each mem-
ber has an emphatic form (occurring simultaneously with /!/), and some of
the emphatic forms are distinct from all other allolexes of the particles
they represent.

The /rỹy/-class members, except for 4. /lɛ̂/ and 5. /lâ/, are true
sentence particles in the sense that they do not have reference to specific

syntactic constructions, but to the sentence as a whole. The sub-class mean-
ing is 'expected reaction from the hearer.' 1. /ry̆y/ itself has four deriv-
atives (lexemes containing its allomorph /rỹ/) which actually belong to the
/rɔ̃g/ class, since they can all be followed by /lâ/ and /naa/ from the pres-
ent class, but they are listed under /ry̆y/ for convenience of contrast.

     1. /ry̆y/, /rə̆ə/, /rỹ/, /rə̆/, or /ə̆ə/ 'is the assumption correct?'

        Emphatic form: /ɭrỹ:/

        Derivatives: /rỹjaŋ/ or /jaŋ/ 'or not yet; yet?'

                        /rỹmâj/   'or not'

                        /rỹplàaw/   'or otherwise'

                        /rỹŋaj/   'or what'

     The variants of the simple particle are distributed as follows:
/ry̆y/, /rə̆ə/, and /ə̆ə/ occur in absolute phrase-or-clause-final position and,
commonly, after members of the /rɔ̃g/-class; /rỹ/ and /rə̆/ occur everywhere,
but most commonly with / ↑ / or before members of the /khráb/-class (4.5.3.).
The emphatic form /rỹy/ occurs only with loud stress and extra duration, and
is nearly always ironic. The presence of any form of /ry̆y/, including its
derivatives, determines the selection of the question form of any sub-class
3) member.

     The simple particle occurs in clauses of any syntactic composition
whatever, including substantive expressions, equations, enumerations, and
even single substantive lexemes. Its meaning is simply 'confirm my assump-
tion' or 'confirm my understanding of what you just said.' It is mandatory
in questions about past events built around a transitive verb predicator,
and in negative questions of any kind (see 4.5.1.7. for comparison with
/mãj/-questions and examples of the contrast). It is one of the possibil-
ities for questioning a non-predicative element of a clause, another possi-
bility being the phrase /châj: mãj/ 'Is that so?' which can nearly always
replace it in this use.

     The four derivative particles, on the other hand, are actually
members of the /rɔ̃g/-class and are much closer to /mãj/ in use. /rỹjaŋ/
'or not yet' is closely tied to predicates and is usually associated with
the item /lɛ́ɛw/ 'already.' /rỹmâj/ 'or not' can replace /mãj/ in any of its
uses but is slightly more formal. /rỹplàaw/ 'or otherwise' is usually an
elegant substitute for /ry̆y/ itself, but can also replace /mãj/. The last
derivative, /rỹŋaj/ is an informal substitute for /ry̆y/ but also functions
as a much more open question-word of the /mãj/ type. All four can be followed
by the sub-class 2) particles 3. /naa/ and 5. /lâ/. Only /rỹŋaj/ can follow
a negative in the same clause.

No member of this group, including /rв̆yy/ itself, can follow /jàa/ 'don't.' As in the case of /mã j/, interrogative words have their indefinite meanings before these particles.

In codaphrases, /rв̆yy/ (but not its derivatives) can be followed not only by sub-class 3) particles, but also by the two sub-class 4) particles /nîi/ and /nân/.

jaŋán: rв̆yy .
   'Is that so?'

sŷa tua-níi: rə̆ə .
   'This coat?'

sɔ̆ɔŋ thûm: rỹkhã .
   'Eight o'clock?'

khã̆w chŷy cìd: rə̆hã .
   'His name is Chit?'

ciŋ-ciŋ: ə̆ə ↑ .
   'Really?'

mii ↓rỹy ↑ manúd cabin dâj .
   '_Is_ there such a thing as a man that can fly?↓!'

khã̆w paj-léɛw: rə̆ə .
   'Are they gone already?'

khã̆w paj-léɛw: rỹjaŋ .
   'Have they gone yet?'

khã̆w capaj: rỹjaŋ .
   'Are they going yet?'

khã̆w capaj: rỹmâj .
   'Are they going or not?'

khã̆w paj: rỹplàaw.
   'Did they go?'

thəə rúu: rỹplàaw .
   'Do you know?'

khã̆w capaj: rỹŋaj .
   'Are they going, or what?'

khun mâj-chɔ̂ɔb: rỹŋaj , thỹŋ mã̆j-khɔ̃j-sàj: ləəj .
   'Don't you like it, or what - that you hardly ever wear it?

khun mâj-paj wád: rə̆khã .
   'Aren't you going to the temple?'

khãw mâj-paj wád: rěnân ↑ .

   'You mean he's not going to the temple?!'

mòd we-laa lɛ́ɛw: rěnîi ↑ .

   'Is the time up al<u>ready</u>?!'

(For more examples, see /mãj/, 4.5.1.7., and Exchanges 1-4,
   2-1, 4-2, 5-6, 9-1, 10-2, and 16-1.)

2. /sɪɪ/, /sí/, /sì/, or /sɪ/   'this is the correct behavior or belief
                                (change yours if necessary)'

Emphatic form: /!sîi:/

The first three forms occur only in phrase- or clause-final posi-
tion, the form /sí/ usually with high intonation / ↑ /, /sì/ with normal in-
tonation, and /sɪɪ/ with either type. The form /sɪ/ is almost entirely re-
stricted to occurrence in codaphrases before sub-class 3) members, which may
have either their statement or question forms, the latter being more common
when / ↑ / is present. Sub-class 4) does not occur after any form of /sɪɪ/.

The composition of clauses in which this particle is found is iden-
tical with that described for /rǔ̃y/ (4.5.2.1.) - the co-constituent may be
even a single non-predicative lexeme (see first example below). /sɪɪ/ is
used most commonly to urge action on the part of someone who is not acting,
or to change the course of action of someone who is. When the action recom-
mended is something beneficial to the hearer ('Please sit down!'), the use
of /sɪɪ/ in this sense is not familiar; otherwise, it definitely is. A
second use of /sɪɪ/ is in emphatic statements, where it either expresses or
urges agreement. Like the sentence particle /mãj/ (4.5.1.7.) it does not
occur in statements about past events which have a transitive verb predicator,
being replaced in this situation by the particle /nîi/ - see contrastive
examples below.

/sɪɪ/ can follow any negative, and is frequently found after /jàa/
'don't.' In codaphrases it is followed only by sub-class 3) particles, never
by sub-class 4). Interrogative words have indefinite meanings before /sɪɪ/.

sawàd-dɪɪ: sã̌ sɪɪ .

   'Say hello!' (/sawàd-dɪɪ/ is an isolative.)

chəən nâŋ: sɪhã̌ ↑ .

   'Please have a seat!'

paj sã̌-nɔ̀ɔj: sí ↑ .

   'Why don't you <u>go</u>!'

maa-duu araj nîi: sɪɪ ↑ .

   'Come look at something here!'

jàa paj-nǎj: sıı .

    'Don't go anywhere, now.'

thâa jaŋán , chãn kɔ̃ mã̃j-dã̃j-paj nǎj: sì .

    'In that case I won't go anywhere.'

cf. phǒm mã̃j-dã̃j-paj nǎj: ləəj nîı ↑ .

    'Well, I didn't go anywhere at all!'

nân: sıkhráb .

    'That's exactly it.'

capaj , kɔ̃paj: sì .

    'If you're going, then go ahead.'

mıı !sîı ↑ .

    'Of course there are some!'

dıı: sıkhã̃ ↑ thamaj camâj-dıı ↑ .

    'It's good! Why wouldn't it be good?'

(See also examples under /thə̀/, 4.5.1.8., and Exchanges 1-1, 1-3,
    5-2, 5-3, 5-7, 6-1, 6-2, 7-4, 7-8, 10-1, 12-4, 15-2, and 16-2.)

3.   /naa/, /nâ/, or /nã/ 'I think, isn't it so, don't you agree'

Emphatic forms: /!nɔ̃ɔ:/ and /!nâa:/

All three weak-stressed forms occur in phrase-and clause-final posi-
tion, with slightly different meanings. /naa/ itself urges acceptance of the
speaker's wishes or instructions, and is very close to /sıı/ (4.5.2.2.) in
meaning and usage, although it is weaker and somewhat more polite. It occurs
frequently after the sub-class 1) particles 2. /nâ/ and 3. /nîı/ (see 4.5.
1.). The second variant /nâ/ is more insistent, but not necessarily rude,
and commonly follows the sub-class 1) particles 1. /rɔ̃g/ and 8. /thə̀/. Both
/naa/ and /nâ/ are replaced by the emphatic form /!nâa:/.

The third form /nã/ in final position implies merely a weak question
or request for confirmation. It frequently follows the sub-class 1) parti-
cles 6. /lá/ and 7. /mã̃j/, meaning something like 'I wonder if...'. When
interrogative words occur in its sentence, the effect is something like an
echo-question ('I am supposed to know this, but tell me again.') /nã/ is
replaced in all its uses by the emphatic form /!nɔ̃ɔ:/. The form /nã/ is
also the only one which precedes other sentence particles in codaphrases,
replacing both /naa/ and /nâ/. It occurs only before sub-class 3), never
before sub-class 4), and always determines the selection of the question
form of the /khráb/-class particle.

Except for the obvious relationship of the form /nã/ to interrogative words, the particle /naa/ does not have close ties with any particular type of clause constituent, and resembles 1. /rȳy/ and 2. /sıı/ in this respect. Its forms occur after all types of negative and /jàa/ 'don't.'

jàa paj˖ naa .
   'Don't go, O.K.?'

jàa paj-nǎj˖ nã .
   'Don't go anywhere, will you?'

phǒm mã̀j-dã̀j-paj nǎj˖ ləəj nã .
   'I didn't go anywhere at all, did I?'

paj˖ thəə ↲nâa ↑ .
   'Aw, come on and go, will you?'

bɔ̀ɔg lɛ́ɛw˖ nânaa , mâj chŷa .
   'I already told you, didn't I, but you didn't believe me.'

bɔ̀ɔg lɛ́ɛw˖ nîı-nã̀hã̀ , mâj chŷa .
   'This is what I told you, wasn't it, but you didn't believe me.'

paj thaaŋ nǎj˖ nã̀khrã̀b .
   'Which way is it that you are going?'

thamaj˖ nã .
   'I wonder why that is.'

thamaj ↲nɔ̃ɔ ↑ .
   'But <u>why</u>?↲'

khã̀w mɔɔŋ hěn˖ mã̀j-nã .
   'Do you think he can see it?'

laa˖ thıı lã̀nã .
   'Goodbye, now...'

sǎaj lɛ́ɛw . paj˖ kan thə̀-nâ .
   'It's late. Let's get going - O.K.?'

kèŋ˖ cıŋ nã .
   'That's really clever, isn't it?'

(See also examples under sub-class 1) particles which precede
   /naa/, 4.5.1., and Exchanges 1-2, 3-4, 7-6, and 15-1.)

4. /lɛ̀/ or /là/ or /ə̀/ 'here's the thing we've been looking for'
Emphatic form: /↲lɛ̀ɛ˖/

All three forms are in free variation. This is a statement particle,
very similar in meaning to /ŋaj/ (4.5.1.4.), which has strong ties to the

demonstrative system but also occurs without any demonstrative element in
the same sentence. It follows the sub-class 1) particles 2. /nâ/ and 3.
/nîɪ/, and precedes only sub-class 3) particles, for which it determines
the selection of the statement form.

Being the most socially acceptable of the statement particles, /lɛ̀/
frequently replaces 2. /sɪɪ/ where the latter would be rude. It is rare
after negatives, where it is usually replaced by /rɔ̃g/ (4.5.1.1.), and after
/jàa/ 'don't.'

> nân ↓lɛ̀ɛ ↑ chã̌n bɔ̀ɔg-lɛ́ɛwː mã̃j-lâ .
>   'That's just it↓ Didn't I tell you so?'
>
> khunː nî lɛ̀-khâ , chɔ̂ɔb tham sɪ̌aŋ daŋː nág .
>   'You (are the one who) really like to make a lot of noise.'
>
> phǒm mã̃j-dã̃j-paj nǎj leejː là ↑ .
>   'I didn't go anywhere at <u>all</u>↓'
>
> nîɪː ə̀-rỹy , cahâj chã̌n sàjː paj .
>   'Is <u>this</u> the one you want me to wear?'
>
> thâw-nánː ə̀ .
>   'That's it, now.'   'That's all, now.'
>
> cɪŋː nâlɛ̀-há .
>   'That's <u>right</u>↓'
> (See also Exchanges 4-3.)

5. /lâ/ or /lâw/ or /lã̂/ 'tell me↓'
    Emphatic form: /↓lâaː/

The first two weak-stressed forms are in free variation in phrase-
and clause-final position. The form /lã̂/ occurs only before other sentence
particles in the codaphrase. This is basically a question-particle, occur-
ing frequently after interrogative words, with which it has a special rela-
tionship, and after the sub-class 1) particle 7. /mã̃j/. It also occurs
in statements, however, and frequently follows the sub-class 1) particle
6. /ŋaj/, with a meaning something like 'how about that↓' In either case it
determines the question-form of any sub-class 3) member which follows. It
is not followed by sub-class 4) members.

The particle /lã̂/, in both statements and questions, is at best
familiar and at worst rude unless it is followed by a sub-class 3) particle.
It has strong ties with interrogative elements of its clause, but occurs
without them and even after /jàa/ 'don't.'

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thamaȷ cháa: nág lâ ↑ .
    'Why are you so late.'

hĕn: mãȷ-lâw .
    'Do you _see_ it?'

thamaȷ cháa: nág lã-khrãb .
    'Why are you so late?'

ìm lɛ́ɛw: lásɪɪ ↑ châȷ: mãȷ-lâ .
    'You must be full, aren't you?'

(The first /lá/ ɪs /rɔ̃g/-class, 4.5.1.6.)

ȷàa paȷ-nǎȷ: lâ .
    'Don't go anywhere.'

paȷ thaaŋ-nǎȷ: lã-khã .
    'Which way shall I go?'

chãn pen sèed-thǐɪ mỹa-raȷ: lâw ↑ .
    'When would I ever be a rich man.'

phŏm capaȷ dâȷ ȷaŋaȷ: kan lâa↑.
    'How the devil would I be able to get there?'

nân: ŋaȷ-lâ , khûu-mân khɔ̌ɔŋ khun-cɪd .
    'There she is - Chɪt's fiancée.'

(See also contrastive examples under /mãȷ/, 4.5.1.7., and Exchanges
    3-2, 5-4, 7-3, 12-5, 13-1, and 16-3.)

6. /mãŋ/ or /maŋ/ 'perhaps'

Emphatic Form: /!mãŋ:/

    The form /mãŋ/ determines the question-form of any sub-class 3)
particle which follows, and the form /maŋ/ determines the statement form.
Both are preceded by the sub-class 1) particle 6. /lá/, and both are fol-
lowed by the sub-class 4) particle 1. /nîɪ/ in the codaphrase. The differ-
ence in meaning between the two variants is slight: /mãŋ/ expects an con-
firming answer more than /maŋ/ does. A citation form, /kramaŋ/, is rarely
heard outside of formal style.

    This particle has an obvious morphological relationship with /bâaŋ/
'some' (which has an allolex /mâŋ/), and also is possibly related to the
question-particle /mãȷ/ (4.5.1.7), but it has no ties with any particular
type of clause constituent. It is slightly familiar in social connotation,
but by no means rude.

        hĕn camâag: paȷ lamaŋ .
        'Maybe it's a little _too_ much.'

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khíd-wâa , khǎw cachôob꞉ mǎŋ .

    'Do you think she might like it?'

nîɪ khoŋ-châj꞉ lamaŋ-khâ-nîɪ .

    'This must be the right one, all right.'

thâa khǎw camɪɪ thurá꞉ lamǎŋ .

    'I guess he must be busy.'

    (See also Exchanges 9-3, 14-1.)

4.5.3. /khráb/-Class

These sentence particles occur in the third relative position of
the codaphrase, and are in complementary distribution. Each member has at
least two forms, morphologically related through a superfix (2.3.3.3.): the
question form, which anticipates further discourse (either by speaker or
hearer), and the statement form, which does not. Both forms occur in the
interior of discourses, the question form usually before / , / or / ↑ / and
the statement form before / . /, and both occur at the ends of discourses.
(Clauses ending in / ↑ / and phrases ending in / , / are said to have 'sus-
pensive intonation,' requiring the question the form of any /khráb/-class
particle.) Most members of the class are also morphologically related to
responses (3.1.2.).

No member of the class is related to any particular kind of clause
constituent, and the normal pattern of occurrence is one /khráb/-class par-
ticle per sentence (although exceptions occur to this in over-deferential
speech). The class meaning is 'reinforcement of the speaker's status with
the respect to the hearer,' and for the first four members, information is
also given on the sex of the speaker. The first two members are clearly
deferential, the second two non-familiar, the last two patronizing or rude.
Among intimates and established equals, often no particle at all is used.
Not listed here are particles of extremely specialized use (e.g. those used
in addressing royalty).

Full exemplification of the various uses of the /khráb/-class
particles is given only for members 3. and 4., but since, given the proper
social situation, the members are interchangeable, the same examples will
apply to the whole class with the proper substitution of the form called for.
Except for 4. /khâ/, usage varies considerably among speakers, however, the
extreme example being 6. /wâ/, where no two informants agreed upon the dis-
tribution of forms.

    1. Statement form: /khrãphŏm/
        Question form: /khrãphŏm/
        Situation: Male speaking to highly superior, reverend,
                     or noble personage.

2. Statement form: /câw-khâ/

   Question form: /câw-khã/

   Situation: Female speaking to highly superior, reverend, or noble personage.

3. Statement form: /khráb/ or /há/

   Question form: /khrãb/ or /hã/

   Situation: Male speaking to superior, elder, or non-intimate equal person. (The phonemically less complex forms /há/ and /hã/ are decidedly less formal.)

C. khun sâab: mãj-khrãb , wâa phěɛn-thîi jùu thîi-nǎj . phǒm hǎa mâj-phób: ləəj khráb .

D. nîi: ŋaj há . jùu bon-tó: nîi , hěn: mãj-hã .

C. 'Do you know where the map is? I can't seem to find it anywhere.'

D. 'Here it is. It's on the table here - see it?'

4. Statement form: /khâ/ or /hâ/

   Question form: /khã/ or /hã/

   Situation: Female speaking to superior, elder, or non-intimate equal person. (The forms /hâ/ and /hã/ are less formal.)

A. khun sâab: mãj-khã , wâa phěɛn-thîi jùu thîi-nǎj . dichǎn hǎa mâj-phób: ləəj khâ .

B. nîi ŋaj hâ . jùu bon-tó nîi , hěn: mãj-hã .

   (Same translation as in 3. above.)

5. Statement form: /câ/ or /jâ/

   Question form: /cã/ or /jã/

   Situation: Person speaking to inferior or younger person. Occasionally used among equals. (Forms with /c/ more common among female speakers, those with /j/ among male speakers.)

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6. Statement form: /wâ/, /wá/, /wóoj/, or /wéej/

    Question form: /wã̃/, /wóoj/, or /wéej/

    Situation: Person speaking rudely or to intimate equal.
                       (Distribution of forms not clear.) For ex-
                       amples, see Exchange 5 (4.5.5.5.).

Two other particles probably are variants of this member, but are
insufficiently attested: /əə/ and /əəj/. Examples (all taken from women's
speech):

    wan-níi raw cakin araj dii: əəj .
        'I wonder what we should have to eat today.'

    měɛ , tɛ̀ŋ-tua sǔaj: ciŋ ↑ capaj nǎj: əəj ↑ .
        'Say, you're certainly dressed beautifully! Where are you going?'

    chán bɔ̀ɔg hã̃j-tôm náam thúg-cháaw ↑ thamaj: nã̃-əə , mâj rúu-càg
       cam ↑ .
        'I told you to boil water every morning! Why is it you never
           remember?'

    A. khã̃w camaa hǎa khun wan-níi , châj: mã̃j .

    B. ciŋ: si-əə ↑ chán lyym sã̃-sanìd ↑ .

    A. They're coming to see you today, aren't they?'

    B. Oh, that's right! I'd completely forgotten.'

4.5.4.   /níi/ Class

        These two sentence particles occur in the fourth and last relative
position of the codaphrase, and are in complementary distribution. The sub-
class meaning is similar to that of the vocative /níi/ (3.1.3.1.), in that
the effect is to call the hearer to his senses. (The difference between the
vocative /níi/ and the homonymous particle is simply a phrase-boundary). Both
members of the sub-class have many other homonyms, including particles of the
/rɔ̃g/ class (4.5.1.2,3.), so that they are difficult to identify unless they
occur after a sub-class 3) (/khráb/-class) particle. Neither member affects
the selection of the form of the sub-class 3) particle, but both frequently
occur with / ↑ / intonation in clauses introduced by the conjunction /kɔ̂/
'Well,'.

    1. /níi/ or /nî/   'here, now, you'

        níi khoŋ-châj: lamaŋ-khâ níi .
            'This _must_ be the right one.'
        (See also examples under /rɔ̃g/ and /rỹy/, and Exchanges 9-5.)

2. /nân/ or /nâ/ 'there, then, you'

    khãw paj-léεw: rěkhã-nân ↑ . chãn jaŋ mãj-than phûud

      kakhãw: ləəj .

        '(You mean) she's gone already?! I hadn't had a chance
            to talk to her at all.'
      (See also examples under /rɔ̃g/ and /rў̃y/ and Exchanges 2-1.)

    The flow pattern of codaphrases, in terms of individual members of sub-classes 1) through 4), is summarized below. It can be seen from the chart that /nîɪ/-class particles occur relatively infrequently, and that they do not occur at all after /sɪɪ/, /lὲ/, /lâ/, or after any particle containing the demonstrative morpheme /n/.

    The key to the chart is as follows. Sub-class 1) particles are arranged along the vertical axis, and sub-class 2) along the horizontal. The presence of any symbol at an intersection means that the two particles in question occur together. The symbol /S/ means that the statement form of the sub-class 3) particle, if present, is called for; the symbol /Q/ means the question-form is called for; the symbol /E/ means either form is possible; and the symbol /X/ means neither is possible. The symbol /N/ means sub-class 4) may occur.

Flow Pattern of Codaphrases

	0.Missing	1./rў̃y/	2./sɪɪ/	3./naa/	4./lὲ/	5./lâ/	6./mãŋ/
0. Missing	EN	QN	E	Q	S	Q	EN
1. /rɔ̃g/	SN	QN	E	Q			
2. /nâ/	E	Q	E	X	S		
3. /nîɪ/	E	Q	E	X	S		
4. /ŋaj/	E			Q		Q	
5. /nὲ/	S	Q					
6. /lá/	S	QN	E	Q			EN
7. /mãj/	Q			Q		Q	
8. /thə̀/	SN		E	X			

4.5.5. <u>Sample Exchanges</u>

Following are some actual exchanges (2.5.1.6.) chosen specifically
to illustrate the use of sentence particles, but also having relevance to
the whole question of predicate substitution (see 2.5.2.2.). The reference
system is as follows: each exchange is assigned a number and each sentence
in the exchange is numbered consecutively regardless of speaker; the speaker
of each discourse is identified by a capital letter: A. and B. for women,
C. and D. for men. The reference '1-1' means the first sentence of the first
exchange, and 'A' means 'first woman speaker.' Translations are given only
for whole exchanges.

<p align="center">Exchange 1.</p>

A. 1-1.   duu: sĩ , khâw tham sŷa dɪchân pŷan: mòd ↑ .

B. 1-2.   khâw khoŋ mãɟ-dãɟ-klêɛŋ: ròg-nâ .

   1-3.   nîɪ: nê ↑ sàɟ sŷa dɪchân paɟ: sɪkhã .

A. 1-4.   sŷa nîɪ: nãrǝ̌ə , cahâɟ dɪchân sà: paɟ .

B. 1-5.   châɟ: khâ .

A. 1-1.   Look how they got my blouse all dirty.

B. 1-2.   I'm sure they didn't <u>mean</u> to.

   1-3.   Here, wear my blouse, will you?

A. 1-4.   Is this the blouse you want me to wear?

B. 1-5.   Yes.

<p align="center">Exchange 2.</p>

A. 2-1.   khun mâɟ-paɟ thîaw kàb-khâw: ròg-rǝ̌khã-nâ .

B. 2-2.   kô mâɟ-mɪɪ khraɟ chuan dɪchân: nîɪ-khã .

A. 2-1.   Aren't you going on the trip with them then?

B. 2-2.   Well, nobody invited me.

Exchange 3.

C. 3-1.   jàa ɹoon kôon-hǐn ɹaŋán .

D. 3-2.   thamaɹ: lâ-khrã̌b .

    3-3.   phǒm ɹoon mã̌ɹ-hã̌ɹ-thùug kracòg: ròg .

C. 3-4.   man cathùug hǔa tua-eeŋ: nânaa .

C. 3-1.   Don't throw stones that way.

D. 3-2.   Why not?

    3-3.   I'm throwing so as not to hit the <u>windows</u>.

C. 3-4.   You still might hit yourself in the head, though.

Exchange 4.

A. 4-1.   chã̌n sý́y phâa maa-fàag chín: nyŋ nê .

B. 4-2.   chín sǐɩ-ly̌aŋ: nîə-rĕkhã̌ .

A. 4-3.   châɹ , chín nán: lὲ-khâ .

A. 4-1.   Here's a piece of cloth I bought to give you.

B. 4-2.   This yellow piece?

A. 4-3.   Yes, that's the one.

Exchange 5.

C. 5-1.   khraɹ tham thûaɹ-kɛ̂ɛw tὲɛg: wã̌.

D. 5-2.' ɹàa phûud wá: sɩwéəɹ ↑ .

C. 5-3.   bòog: maa sí ↑

    5-4.   khraɹ tham tὲɛg: lâ .

D. 5-5.   mâɹ-rúu: wâ .

C. 5-6.   mâɹ-rúu cɩŋ-cɩŋ:. rĕwã̌ .

D. 5-7.   bòog-wâa mâɹ-rúu , kô mâɹ-rúu: sɩwóoɹ ↑ .

C. 5-1.   Who broke the glass?

D. 5-2.   Don't say 'wah'!

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C. 5-3.   Tell me!

  5-4.   Who broke it?

D. 5-5.   I don't know.

C. 5-6.   You <u>really</u> don't know?

D. 5-7.   If say I don't know, then I <u>don't</u>!

Exchange 6.

C. 6-1.   thaan khâaw dûaɹ-kan: ˙sɩkhráb .

D. 6-2.   phǒm ìm sã-lɛ́ɛw: sì .

C. 6-1.   Eat with us, will you?

D. 6-2.   I'm already full.

Exchange 7.

A. 7-1.   paɹ duu-nǎŋ rŷaŋ saɹ-khoo: kan mãɹ .

B. 7-2.   mâɹ paɹ: rɔ̀g .

A. 7-3.   thamaɹ: lâ .

B. 7-4.   chãn mâɹ-ɹàag paɹ: nâsì .

  7-5.   man nâa-klua-ɔ̀ɔg .

A. 7-6.   paɹ: thènâa ↑ .

  7-7.   mâɹ nâa-klua: nã̌g rɔ̀g .

B. 7-8.   khun ɹàag paɹ , kɔ̌-paɹ khon-dɩaw: sì .

A. 7-1.   Shall we go see the movie 'Psycho'?

B. 7-2.   <u>I'm</u> not going.

A. 7-3.   Why not?

B. 7-4.   I just don't want to go.

  7-5.   It's terribly frightening.

A. 7-6.   Come on and go!

  7-7.   It's not all <u>that</u> frightening.

B. 7-8.   If you want to go, go by yourself.

Exchange 8.

A. 8-1. maa-kın-khâaw: kan thə̀ .

    8-2. chǎn hĭw-cataaɟ: lɛ́ɛw .

B. 8-3. thâa-ŋán khun kın: sǎ thə̀ .

    8-4. mâɟ-tôŋ khɔɔɟ chǎn: rɔ̀g .

A. 8-1. Come on and eat.

    8-2. I'm starving already.

B. 8-3. In that case you go ahead and eat.

    8-4. You don't have to wait for me.

Exchange 9.

A. 9-1. mŷa-waan-níı chǎn hâɟ-dèg aw-còd-mâaɟ paɟ-hâɟ khun
        dâɟ-ráb: rÿplàaw .

B. 9-2. mâɟ-hěn mıı: ləəɟ nîı .

A. 9-3. thâa-ɟaŋán khǎw khoŋ-fàag khon-ÿyn wáɟ-hâɟ: mǎŋ .

    9-4. tɔɔn-nán khun khoŋ mâɟ-ɟùu bâan .

B. 9-5. mŷa-waan-níı chǎn mǎ̃ɟ-dẫɟ-paɟ nǎɟ: ləəɟ nîı.

A. 9-1. Did you get the letter that I had the boy take over to
        you yesterday?

B. 9-2. I didn't see any (letter) at all.

A. 9-3. In that case he must have left it with someone else to
        give you, I guess.

    9-4. You must not have been home at the time.

B. 9-5. But I didn't go anywhere at all yesterday.

Exchange 10.

C. 10.1 chəən nâŋ: sıhǎ ↑ .

A. 10-2 kâw-îı nîı khɔ̌ɔŋ-naaɟ khun nâŋ , mâɟ-châɟ: rə̌khǎ.

C. 10-3 nâŋ: thə̀-há , mâɟ pen-raɟ .

C. 10-1 Please have a seat!

A. 10-2.   This chair belongs to your boss, doesn't it?

C. 10-3.   Go ahead and sit down, it's all right.

Exchange 11.

C. 11-1.   khun mii khǎn-ŋən jàj-jàj bâaŋ: mǎj .

D. 11-2.   phǒm mâj-mii: ləəj , sǎg baj: nyŋ .

C. 11-3.   !ée ↑ khun cid , khǎw camii: mǎj-nǎ .

D. 11-4.   khǎw mâj-mii: rǒg ↑ .

C. 11-1.   Do you have any large silver bowls?

D. 11-2.   I don't even have a single one.

C. 11-3.   Say! I wonder if Chit would have any.

D. 11-4.   No, <u>he</u> wouldn't have any.

Exchange 12.

A. 12-1.   chǎn sýy sŷa: maa , tua: nyŋ , mǎyan kakhǒoŋ thəə .

   12-2.   nîi: ŋaj .

B. 12-3.   mâj mǎyan: rɔ̀g .

A. 12-4.   nǎj , paj-aw khǒoŋ-thəə maa-duu: sĩ ↑ .

B. 12-5.   hěn: mǎj-lâ ↑

   12-6.   mâj mǎyan: kan ləəj .
                        ꞈ

A. 12-1.   I bought a new blouse, just like yours.

   12-2.   This is it.

B. 12-3.   It's not the same.

A. 12-4.   Well, go and get yours and let's see!

B. 12-5.   Do you see?

           They're not at all alike.

C. 13-1.   thamaɟ khun mâɟ-tham-ŋaan: ̀ lâ .

D. 13-2.   kô phǒm kam-laŋ tham jùu-lɛ́ɛw: nîɪ-ŋaɟ ↑ .

C. 13-1.   Why aren't you working?

D. 13-2.   Well I <u>am</u> working here, don't you see?

Exchange 14.

A. 14-1.   dɪchǎn casàɟ sŷa sǐɪ-dɛɛŋ tua-nɪ́ɪ , kanûŋ kaphrooŋ
             sǐɪ-khǐaw nân , dâɟ: mǎ̃ŋ .

B. 14-2.   mâɟ dâɟ: ròg-khâ .

    14-3.   man paɟ: kan , khon-lã̌thaaŋ .

A. 14-1.   Do you think I can wear this red blouse with that
           green skirt?

B. 14-2.   Not them.

    14-3.   They go in opposite directions (clash).

Exchange 15.

C. 15-1.   dèg thaɟ kadèg amee-rǐkaa , nǐsǎɟ mâɟ-mỹan:
           kan-ləəɟ nã̌ .

D. 15-2.   kô nêɛ: lã̌sì ↑ ·

    15-3.   òb-rom: maa , khon-lã̌jàaŋ .

C. 15-1.   Thai and American children's characteristics are not
           the same at all, are they?

D. 15-2.   That's for sure!

    15-3.   They're brought up in different ways.

A. 16-1.   khun mâj-paj baaŋ-sɛ̌ɛn dûaj: rə̌ə .

B. 16-2.   paj ꜝsîi ↑ .

16-3.   thamaj thy̆ŋ-camâj-paj: lâ ↑ .

A. 16-1.   You're not going to Bangsaen either?

B. 16-2.   Of course I'm going!

16-3.   Why wouldn't I be going!

TOPICAL INDEX

The index which follows includes the following kinds of entries:

1) General linguistic terms: <u>allophone</u>

2) Terms specifically defined for this grammar: <u>adjective</u>
   (including word-classes identified by reference to a
   member: <u>bâaŋ-class postposition</u>)

3) Undefined terms and general reference topics (always in
   quotes): 'adverb'

Apart from words identifying classes (bâaŋ), no individual ST lexical
items are listed here-- see <u>Index</u> <u>of</u> <u>Forms</u> for the latter.

The first reference given on each line of this index is to the organiza-
tional heading, the second is to the page number. For example:

      adjective bases   2.4.3.1,8,11.   67, 70, 72

Reference to adjective bases will be found in Chapter Two, under the heading
2.4.3. (<u>Reduplications</u>), sub-headings 1), 8), and 11), beginning on three
separate pages: 67, 70, and 72. Hyphenated references, either of heading
or page numbers, imply a series of references to the same topic within a
relatively short stretch of text; e.g. 67-72. References applying to longer
passages are given as follows: 67ff.

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This index contains ST forms quoted in the grammar which are of classi-
ficatory interest in themselves. (It does not contain, for example, forms
which occur only as context.) For the most part, the forms quoted are lexi-
cal units (2.1.3.), but some sub-lexical items have also been included, in-
sofar as citation of such forms is feasible. An effort has been made to
include all the bound lexemes classified in Chapter 3 and their important
variants, and such free lexemes as present particular problems of classifi-
cation or occur frequently in all types of discourse.

For convenience in distinguishing homonyms, an indication of form-class
membership or morphological category has been made after each entry. Items
in parentheses are variants of an adjacent form; references to the main
entry apply equally well to the variant. All numbers are page references;
for organizational references, consult the topical index.

Alphabetization in this index is phonemic rather than literal. The
consonant sequence begins with zero (i.e. all items starting, in writing,
with a vowel will be found at the beginning of the index), and consonants
written with a digraph follow their simple counterparts (i.e. all items
beginning with /ph/ come at the end of the /p/'s, not in the middle of them).
/ŋ/ follows /n/. The sequence of vowels is as follows: /a e ɛ ə ɪ o ɔ u y/.

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Final copy typed by Mrs. Irma C. Ponce - February 3, 1964