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CLAUSES IN SO (BRU) OF DONG LUANG, MUKDAHAN PROVINCE

BY

CHOLLADA JUNGPRASERT

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Thesis Title	Clauses in So (Bru) of Dong Luang, Mukdahan Province
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Abstract

This thesis describes the grammatical characteristics of So, an Austroasiatic language in Thailand. The data was gathered during field work in Ban Dong Luang, Amphoe Dong Luang, Mukdahan Province, Thailand.

The grammatical level studied is clauses. The description uses the tagmemic approach. It focuses not only on the structure but also on the semantics.

หัวข้อวิทยานิพนธ์	อนุประโยคของภาษาโซ่(นร) ที่อำเภอคลองหลวง จังหวัดมุกดาหาร
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สาขาวิชา	ภาษาศาสตร์และภาษาอาเซียนศึกษา
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บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้อธิบายถึงโครงสร้างทางไวยากรณ์ของภาษาโซ่ ที่บ้านคลองหลวง อำเภอคลองหลวง จังหวัดมุกดาหาร ภาษาโซ่เป็นภาษาถิ่นหนึ่งของสาขากะตืออิก ในกลุ่มภาษามอญ-เขมร ตระกูลภาษาออสโตรเอเชียติก

การศึกษาทางไวยากรณ์นี้ศึกษาเกี่ยวกับอนุประโยคต่างๆ ในภาษาโซ่โดยอาศัยทฤษฎีแท็กมีมิก ศึกษาทั้งทางด้านโครงสร้างและความหมาย

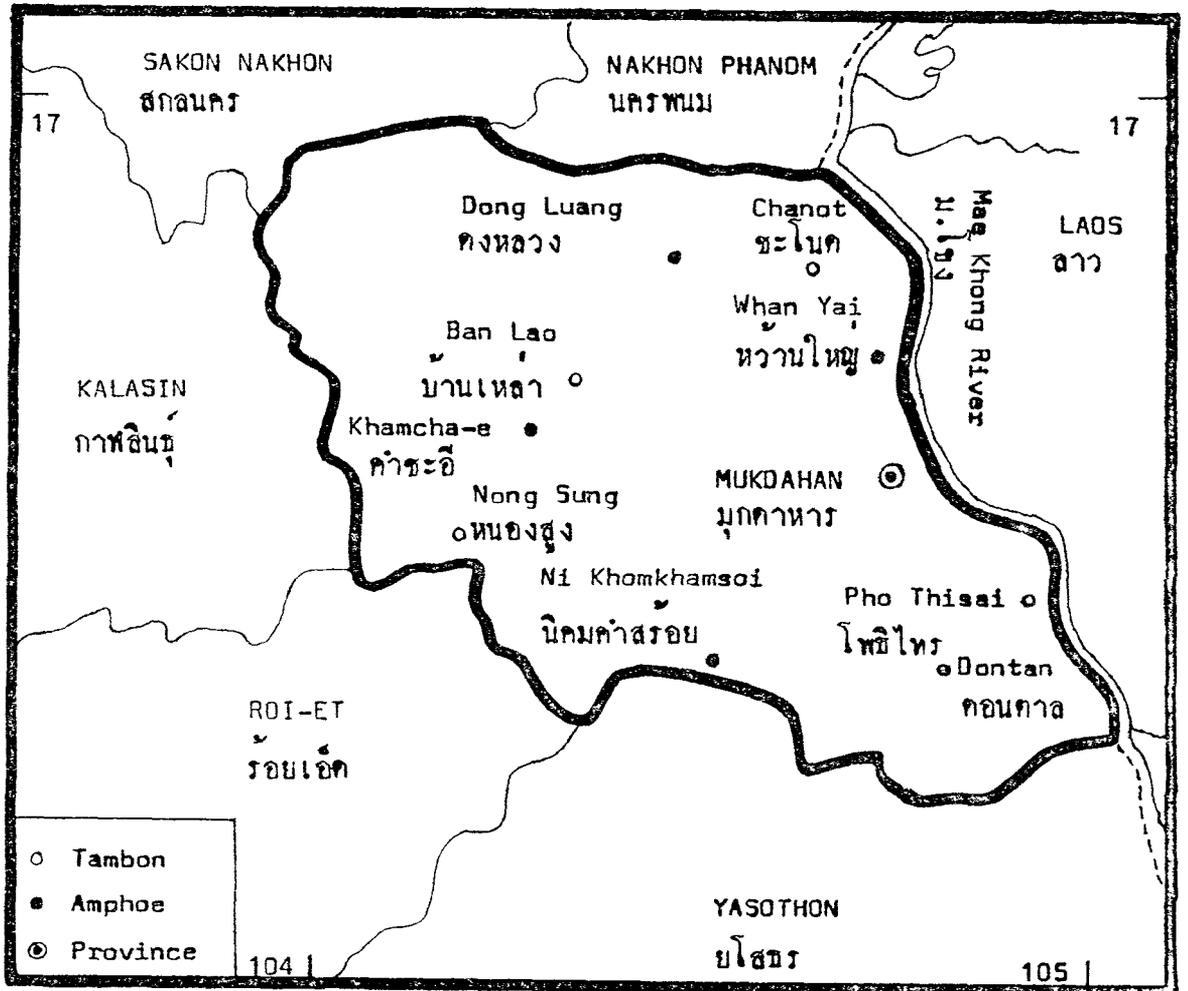


Figure 1 : Map of Mukdahan Province

Source : Adapted from Yanyong Chariyapas 1985 : Atlas of Thailand

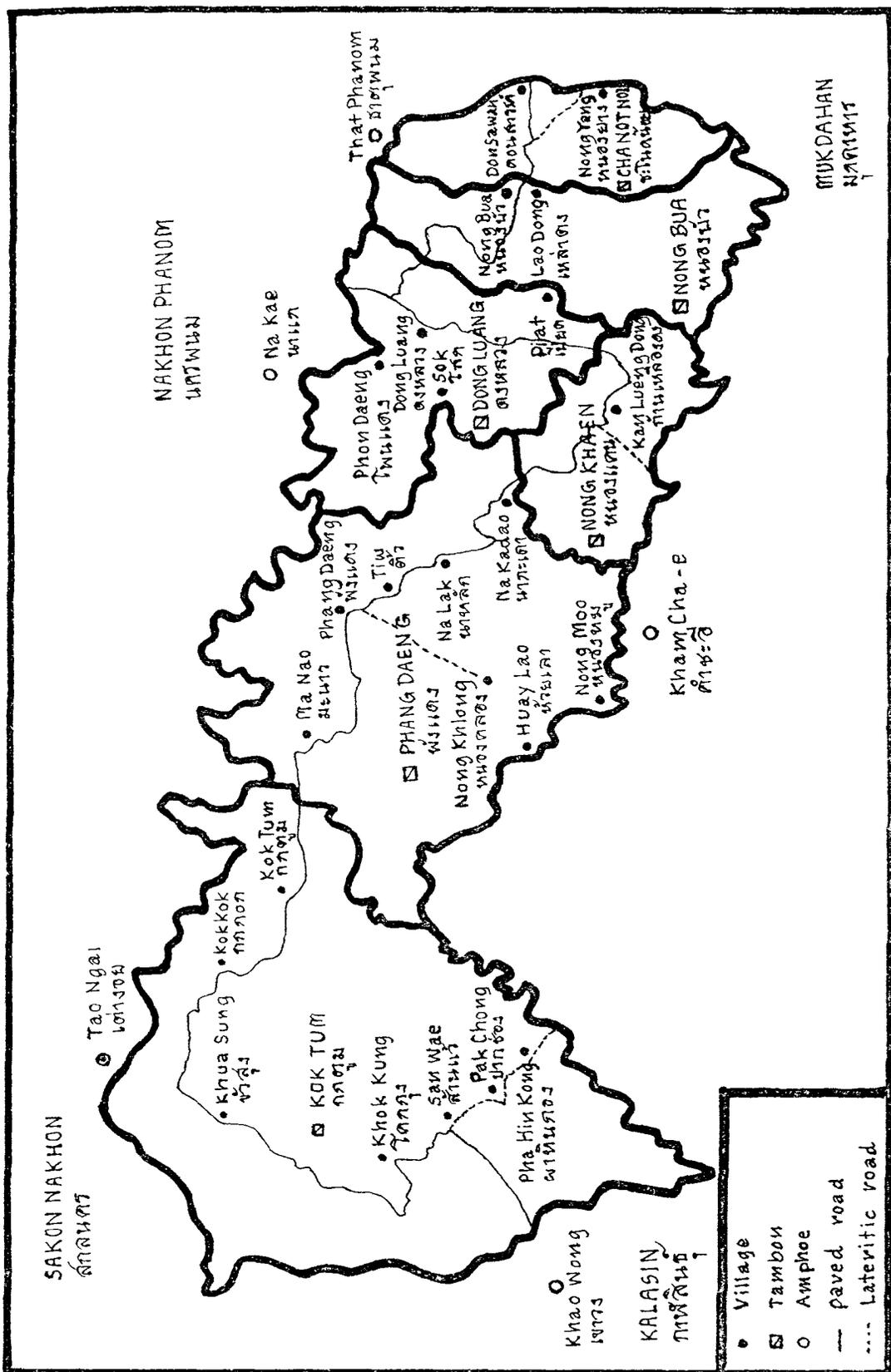


Figure 2 : Map of Amphoe Dong Luang

Source : The office of Amphoe Dong Luang



Figure 3 : Offerings for the [lian prah] ceremony. They combine the ceremonies if several spirit families end up having their ceremony on the same day.



Figure 4 : The participants begin to dance in the [lian prah] ceremony.



Figure 5 : The spirit altar of the village



Figure 6 : A typical house of the So people

Figure 7 : A house of So people who are better off in which the roof is made from wood shingles.

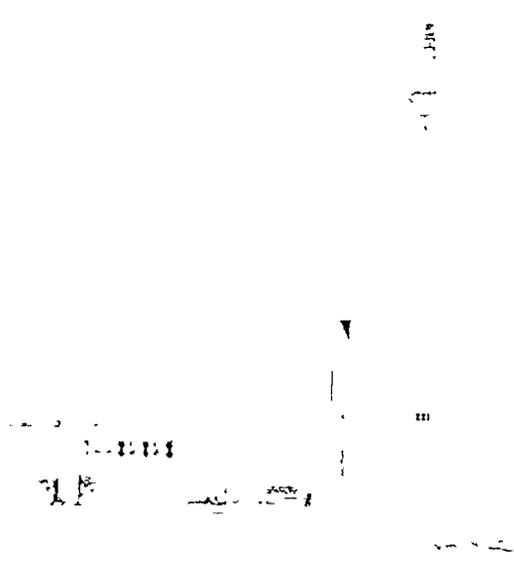


Figure 8 : The Pho Sri temple, which is the only one temple in this village.

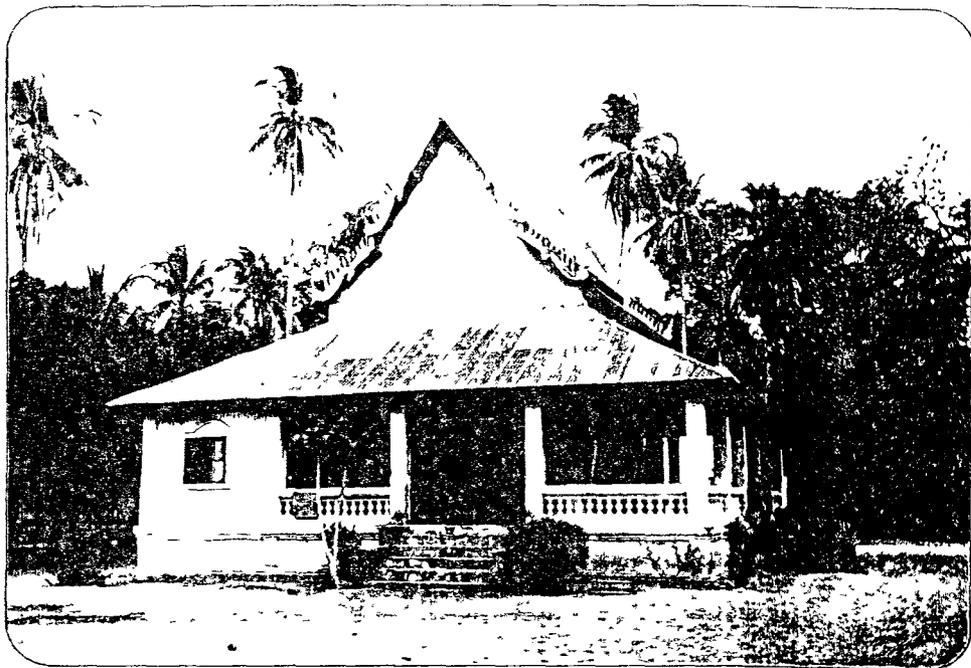


Figure 9 : The hall for sermons in the Pho Sri temple.



Figure 10 : The house for priests in the Pho Sri temple.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOL

A	= answer
Act	= action
adv	= adverb
An-Loc	= animate location
C	= causer
cl	= clause
cl _{bi}	= bitransitive clause
cl _{com.deg}	= comparative degree clause
cl _{con}	= container clause
cl _{des}	= descriptive clause
cl _{eq}	= equational clause
cl _{eval}	= evaluation clause
cl _{ex}	= existence clause
cl _{im.neg}	= negative imperative clause
cl _{im.pos}	= positive imperative clause
cl _{in}	= intransitive clause
cl _{loc}	= location clause
cl _{mo}	= motion clause
cl _{nuc}	= nuclear clause
cl _{prop}	= propulsion clause

cl _{quot}	= quotative clause
cl _{rec}	= reciprocal clause
cl _{red}	= reduced clause
cl _{rel}	= relative clause
cl _{sup.deg}	= superlative degree clause
cl _{tr}	= transitive clause
cl _{ver}	= verbal clause
cl _{yes/no ques}	= yes/no question clause
Class, class.	= classifier
Com.MK	= comparative marker
Cp	= complement
DC	= direct causer
dem	= demonstrative
Dest	= destination
Dir	= direction
DV, v _{dir}	= directional verb
emp.	= emphatic phrase
emp.p.	= emphatic particle
ex	= example(s)
Ex	= existence
Ex.MK	= existential marker
F	= function

foc	= focus
FP, f.p.	= final particle
H	= head
IC	= indirect causer
inten	= intensifier
IO	= indirect object
It	= item
Lis	= listener
Loc	= location
Loc S	= location setting
Man, man	= manner
MK, mk	= marker
MK _{rec}	= reciprocal marker
N, n	= noun
non-foc	= non-focus
np	= noun phrase
np _{nu}	= numeral nominal phrase
O	= object
P	= predicate
part.	= particle
post.v	= postverb
pp	= prepositional phrase

Prep, prep	= preposition
pre.v	= preverb
prog.mk	= progressive marker
pron	= pronoun
Q	= question
q.part	= question particle
Qt	= quantity
Quot	= quotation
Qual	= quality
Q.W., q.w.	= question word
R, Rec	= recipient
Rel	= relationship
Rel.Pr, rel.pr.	= relative pronoun
S	= subject
Tem	= temporal
Time S	= time setting
top	= topicalization
U	= undergoer
V	= verb
V _c	= causative verb
v _{ex}	= existence verb
v _{cop}	= copula verb

v_{eq}	= equational verb
vp	= verb phrase
vp_{bi}	= bitransitive verb phrase
vp_{des}	= descriptive verb phrase
vp_{eq}	= equational verb phrase
vp_{eval}	= evaluation verb phrase
vp_{ex}	= existence verb phrase
vp_{in}	= intransitive verb phrase
vp_{loc}	= location verb phrase
vp_{mo}	= motion verb phrase
vp_{prop}	= propulsion verb phrase
vp_{quot}	= quotative verb phrase
vp_{tr}	= transitive verb phrase
vp_{ver}	= verbal verb phrase
$+$	= obligatory
$+$, ()	= optional
$\left. \begin{array}{c} + \\ - \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{c} + \\ - \end{array}$	= mutually exclusive distribution or occur together
//	= pause
*	= not permitted
	= is filled by
?	= no meaning
{ }	= class

/

= or

→

= become(s)

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 The Objective of this Thesis

The objective of this thesis is to present some grammatical characteristics of the So language as spoken at Ban Dong Luang (ບ້ານ-^vດອງລູງ) in Mukdahan Province. This study concentrates on the clause level, and details and data about important points are given.

0.2 The Descriptive Approach

The approach used in this thesis is a tagmemic modal in which each unit of grammar will be described in terms of its function, its distinctive marks, its structure and its types and transforms.

0.3 The So Setting

0.3.1 History of the So people

The So people at Ban Dong Luang have very little knowledge of their history. They do not know about any legends concerning their origin. Their ancestors have told the history to their descendants, but even the old So people at the present day cannot remember the first location in Laos. However, it is said that they came from a village named " Naphang Nachan (ນາພັງນາຈານ) " in Laos when the Lao fought with the French. Their ancestors migrated from Naphang Nachan village

According to Surachit Chantharasakha (สุรจิตต์ จันทรธาดา) in the article " Ruam Phao Thai Mukdahan (รวมเผ่าไทยมุกดาหาร), most of the original locations of the So were in Mueng Mahachay or so-called Mueng Phuwa-nakradaeng (เมืองมหาชัย หรือ ที่เรียกว่าเมืองภูวา-นากระด้าง). In the former time, this town was called Mueng Phuwadol-sa-ang (ภูวadolสองอ่าง) when it belonged to the Thai kingdom. The other So towns or townships are located in Kham Muan (คำม่วน) and Suwannakhet (สุวรรณเขต) regions. They migrated to the northeastern Thai provinces beside the Maekhong River during the second and the third reigns. The migration of the So people was as follows:

1. Mueng Ramrat (เมืองรามราช) was settled by people who came from Mueng Chianghom (เมืองเชียงหม หรือ เชียงฮิม) in the Suwannakhet region. During the third reign, they migrated and settled down in Mueng Ramrat in Nakhon Phanom in 1844. The first ruler was Phra Uthay-prathet (พระอุทัยประเทศ). Now, it has become Tambon Ramrat in Amphoe Tha Uthen (อำเภอท่าอุเทน), Nakhon Phanom Province.

2. Mueng Kusuman Monthon (เมืองกุสุมาลย์มณฑล) was settled by So people who immigrated from Mueng Mahachay in Kham Muan region. During the third reign, they settled in this town in 1844. The first ruler was Phra Aran-asa (พระอารัญญาษา). At the present day it is Amphoe Kusuman in Sakon Nakhon Province.

Besides, there are numerous So villages at Amphoe Pla Pak (อำเภอปลาปาก)

ปลาปาก), at Tambon Khok Sung (โคกสูง), Tambon Na Khamin (นาขมิ้น) in Amphoe Tha Uthen and Ban Wang Tamua (บ้านวังคำมัว) in Amphoe Mueng, Nakhon Phanom Province.

Moreover, the people in Amphoe Dong Luang, Mukdahan Province, are mostly So or so-called Kha. During the second reign they immigrated to Thailand in 1816. The first So leader then became Luang Wano Phrayphruk (หลวงวาโน ไพรพฤกษ์).

The first time, there were only three So families which settled down at Ban Lao (บ้านเหล่า), Tambon Nong Bua (หนองบัว) and later on, with the increase of population, they moved to the parts over at Amphoe Dong Luang. But mostly they were at Tambon Dong Luang, Tambon Nong Khaen (หนองแคน), Tambon Phang Daeng (พังแก้ง) and some parts of Tambon Kok Tum (กกตุม)¹.

The So people have the surname Wongkraso (วงศ์กระโซ่), So-muangsee (โซ่เมืองแซะ) or Chue-khamhot (เชื้อคำหัด). The kamnans of Tambon Dong-Luang are:

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Luang Wano | Phrayphruk (หลวงวาโน ไพรพฤกษ์) |
| 2. Butrat | Wongkraso (นาย บุตราช วงศ์กระโซ่) |
| 3. Mi | Wongkraso (นาย มี วงศ์กระโซ่) |

¹This and the following paragraph are taken from a document at the Amphoe Dong Luang office.

4. Butrat Wongkraso (นาย มุทราธ วงศ์กระโซ่)
5. Luang Sri So-muengsae (หลวงศรี โซ่เมืองแะ)
6. Luen Wongkraso (นาย เลื่อน วงศ์กระโซ่) is the

present kamnan.

Ekawit (1983:72) said that the original locations of the So people were on the left side of Maekhong River. It is believed that these locations were in Mueng Mahachay Kongkaew (เมืองมหาชัยกองแก้ว)², Mueng U (เมืองอุ) , Mueng Wang (เมืองวัง) , Mueng Yao (เมืองเข่า) , Mueng Bok (เมืองบก) , Mueng Sung (เมืองสูง) and also in Mueng Ang (เมืองอ่าง). At the present day these are in Kham Muan, Tha Khaek (ท่าแขก) and Suwannakhet Province. There is information on history of the So said that during the third reign (1824-1851) Phraya Ratchasuphawadee (พระยาราชสุภาวดี) who was the Thai general went to fight Mueng Wiengchan (เมืองเวียงจันทน์) in 1928. The ruler of Wiengchan was Chaw Anuwong (เจ้าอนุวงศ์). When he was defeated, he escaped to Mueng Mahachay Kongkaew. Phraya Ratchasuphawadee followed him to Mueng Mahachay Kongkaew but he asked Vietnam to help him to fight the Thai. However, in this war the Thai forcibly moved many people of Mueng Mahachay Kongkaew to Thailand and sent them to settle down in Nakhon Phanom and Nakhon Ratsima Province. For this

²Surachit and Gainey (1985:16) mentioned only Mueng Mahachay but I think that it is the same as Mueng Mahachay Kongkaew.

reason, we see the minority groups live over in the northeastern of Thailand.

0.3.2 Appearance and beliefs

The So people look like Thai people in the countryside. At the present day, they dress like Thai farmers. But at former times, the So men at Ban Dong Luang wear black-colored shirts which have no collar and short sleeves. They wear black sarongs, but they wear pants when they go for work in the field. The So women wear black-colored cotton material blouses with long sleeves and they like to use the five-stang coins for buttons. Their wrist and ankle bracelets are made from silver.

The So houses at Ban Dong Luang are built on wooden poles about 1-2 meters off the ground, as the most houses in Thailand. While individual houses vary in size, they are generally small. The roofs are made from straw and the walls are made from bamboo for the most So people. For the So people who are better off, the roofs are made from wood shingles (see figure 7) and the walls are made from boards. There are a door and a porch in front of the house.

The So people are peace-loving people who hold strongly to the old traditions. They are spirit worshipers. They worship and make offerings to the spirits such as the spirits of their ancestors, of villages, of houses, of occupations. However, they also follow

the Buddhist religion. The So tribal people have many ceremonies.

The ceremony which they call [liəŋ hɔ: kun ca:w wi:l] is the ceremony for making offerings to the spirits of the village. The offerings usually have chickens, eggs, liquor, flower, candles and joss sticks. This ceremony occurs every year in April.

The ceremony called [liəŋ prah] is the ceremony for making offerings to the spirit of their ancestors (see figure 3 and 4). The ceremony which they call [ja:w] is the ceremony for the treatment of sickness because the So people believe that all sickness is caused by offending different spirits, or different spirits possess a person for one reason or another. In addition, the So people have the ceremony which they call [təhɔ:r sat la:wiaj]. This ceremony occurs on the seventh day after a baby has been born. They give a party at that house. The widwife calls back the spirit and ties the baby's wrist.

0.3.3 The geographical setting and population

The So are a minority group living in the northeastern area of Thai³ and the present day residences of the So people are on both sides of the Maekhong River on the left side of both Maekhong River, they live in Kham Muan, Tha Khaek and Suwannakhet Provinces in Laos.

³The information in the following paragraphs is taken largely from Ekawit (1983:73).

On the right side of the Maekhong River, they live in the northeastern provinces of Thailand as follows:

1. Sakon Nakhon Province : at Amphoe Kusuman (กุสุมาลย์), Phanna Nikhom (พนานิคม) , Mueng (เมือง) and Song Dao (สองดาว).
2. Nakhon Phanom Province : at Amphoe Tha Uthen (ท่าอุเทน), Sri Songkham (ศรีสงคราม) , Ban Phaeng (บ้านแพง) , Mueng (เมือง) , Pla Pak (ปลาปาก) and Na Kae (นาแก).
3. Mukdahan Province : at Amphoe Mueng (เมือง) , Khamcha-e (คำชะอี) , Don Tan (ดอนตาล) and Dong Luang (ดงหลวง).
4. Kalasin Province : at Amphoe Khao Wong (เขาวง) , Kuchinarai (กุดินารายณ์) and Somdet (สมเด็จ).
5. Nong Khai Province : at Amphoe So Phisai (โซพิสัย).

Besides, there are So people scattered in Amphoe Phanat Nikhom (พนานิคม), Chonburi Province and in Amphoe Aranyaprathet (อรัญประเทศ), Prachinburi Province.

Ban Dong Luang is in Amphoe Dong Luang, Mukdahan Province (see figure 1 and 2). To the north Amphoe Dong Luang borders on Amphoe Na Kae, Nakhon Phanom Province and District-to-be Tao Ngai, Sakon Nakhon Province. On the south it borders on Amphoe Khamcha-e, Mukdahan Province. On the east it borders on Amphoe Whan Yai and Amphoe Mueng, Mukdahan Province. On the west it borders on Amphoe Khao Wong, Kalasin Province.

Ban Dong Luang is located in the hills so the area is very dry

in the hot season. In the winter it is extremely cold and there is a lot of rain in the rainy season.

Presently, in Tambon Dong Luang there are 5,010 people in ten villages.⁴ Ban Dong Luang is divided into two villages; that is, Muu 3 and Muu 10. The table below shows the village names, the population, the area and the kamnan's names or the headman's name in Tambon Dong-Luang.

Muu	Village Name	Area (Rai)	Population	Family	Kamnan's/ Headman's Name
1	Ban Phon Daeng (บ้านโพนแดง)	4,072	826	141	Sunthon Wongkraso (นาย สุนทร วงศ์กระโซ่)
2	Ban Piat (บ้านเปี้ยต)	3,430	502	83	Phae So-muengsae (นาย แพ โซเมืองนระ)
3	Ban Dong Luang (บ้านดงหลวง)	8,000	604	87	Luen Wongkraso (นาย เลื่อน วงศ์กระโซ่)
4	Ban Luen Charoen (บ้านเลื่อนเจริญ)	1,280	454	93	Niran Wongkraso (นาย นิรันดร วงศ์กระโซ่)
5	Ban Saeng Sawang (บ้านแสงสว่าง)	2,900	392	48	Phong Wongkraso (นาย ผง วงศ์กระโซ่)

⁴From the report at Amphoe Dong Luang office.

Muu	Village Name	Area (Rai)	Population	Family	Kamnan's/ Headman's Name
6	Ban Nong Khon- Kaen (บ้านหนอง- ขอนแก่น)	2,300	378	62	Hueng Ak-hat (นาย เขื่อง อัครชาติ)
7	Ban Mai (บ้านใหม่)	3,200	835	140	Hong Wongkraso (นาย หงษ์ วงศ์กระโซ่)
8	Ban Sok (บ้านโสภ)	1,850	227	44	Phue Wongkraso (นาย เขื่อ วงศ์กระโซ่)
9	Ban Nong Mak- Suk (บ้านหนอง- หมากสุก)	3,950	128	32	Nun Wongkraso (นาย นุ่น วงศ์กระโซ่)
10	Ban Dong Luang (บ้านดงหลวง)	6,700	725	110	Kao Wongkraso (นาย เกาว์ วงศ์กระโซ่)
Include 10 villages		37,682	5,010	740	

0.3.4 Language setting

The So people at Ban Dong Luang call themselves /bru:/ not /t̚sro:/ like the So people at Amphoe Kusuman in Sakon Nakhon Province. My informant told me that their ancestors called themselves /bru:/ but the Thai people call them /so:/.

Jerry Gainey (1985:16) said that "....In comparison to the term

'suai', 'so', refers to a linguistic group, if not an ethnic group, that seems relatively easy to define. There are indications that this may be a Lao term, which in fact the So pronounce /thɾɔɔ/. With the Bruu and the Kui they share the word /kuəj/ meaning 'human being'. There is information, however, that some so-called "So" in Laos actually call themselves 'Bruu'....."

The So people have a simple life. The So do not have a traditional written language but a Thai-based alphabet for So, devised by Eugene Gutwein, is beginning to be used in some areas, especially around Kusuman. As stated before, the So people are now living in the northeastern provinces of Thailand; that is, Sakon Nakhon, Nakhon-Phanom and Mukdahan.

In the community, between themselves, they use their own language. They use Northeastern Thai when Thai people are involved in any way in the discussion. Standard Thai is mostly spoken by children when they speak to their teachers.

0.3.5 Influence from other languages

Because of their migrations, there has been some influence from Lao and Thai, especially in Laos, because the So people lived in Laos for many years before moving to Thailand.

Now, some of the So people are living in the northeastern parts of Thailand. As there are regular contacts between the So people and

the northeastern Thai there and in other nearby provinces, Northeastern Thai has had influence. On the So language, and northeastern loan words are pouring into the language especially final particles. The So people use Northeastern Thai as their second language.

In addition, there is quite a lot of evidence of So borrowing from Phu Thai rather than Lao.⁵ At Ban Dong Luang, I also observed that a number of So words are borrowed from Phu Thai. Standard Thai has had an influence on So because it is spoken in school.

0.4 Previous Linguistic Work on So

R.S. Kania and S.H. Kania wrote an ethnographical account of the So people at Amphoe Kusuman, which was printed in the Journal of the Siam Society, January 1979, Volume 67, part 1. Jerry Gainey is compiling a So dictionary, but it has not yet appeared in published form.

Technical linguistic work on the So language includes:

1. Malai Lerthirunwong 1980. She wrote about a syntactic description of So in Amphoe Kusuman, Sakon Nakhon Province. She worked on the grammatical levels of word, phrase, clause, sentence and small description of the paragraph and discourse. It also focused both the structure and semantics.

⁵Gainey, Jerry 1985:17

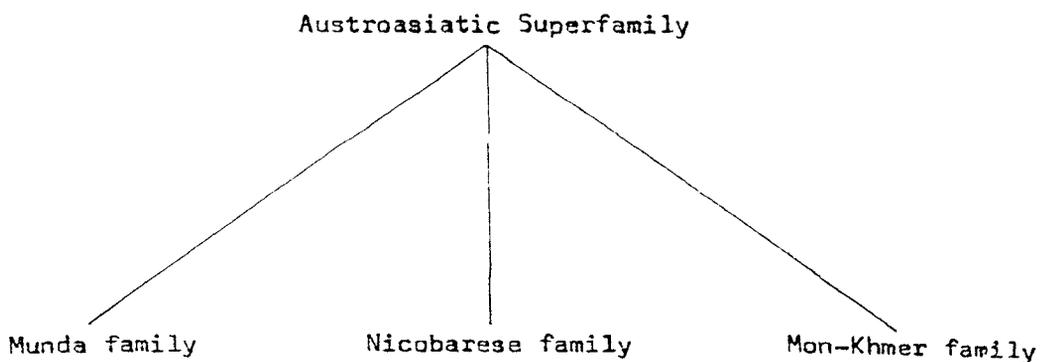
2. Ekawit Chinowat 1983. He compared the morphology of Kui, Bruu and So.

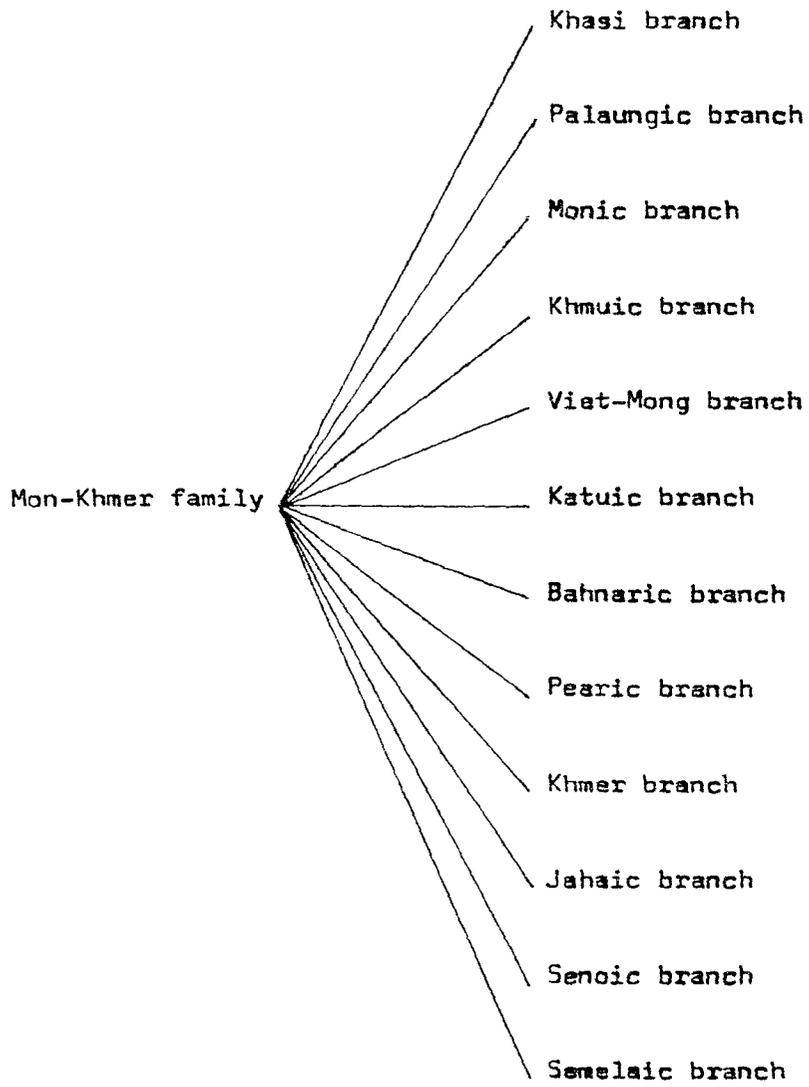
3. Jerry Gainey 1985. He compared the phonology of the Kui, Bruu and So.

The works stated above researched on So in Sakon Nakhon Province. As for So in Mukdahan Province, Miss Darunee Kulachol (1986) worked on the phonology at Ban Dong Luang, Mukdahan Province.

0.5 Genetic Relationship to Mon-Khmer

So is an Austroasiatic language which belongs to the katuic branch of the Mon-Khmer family (Gérard Diffloth 1973:481).





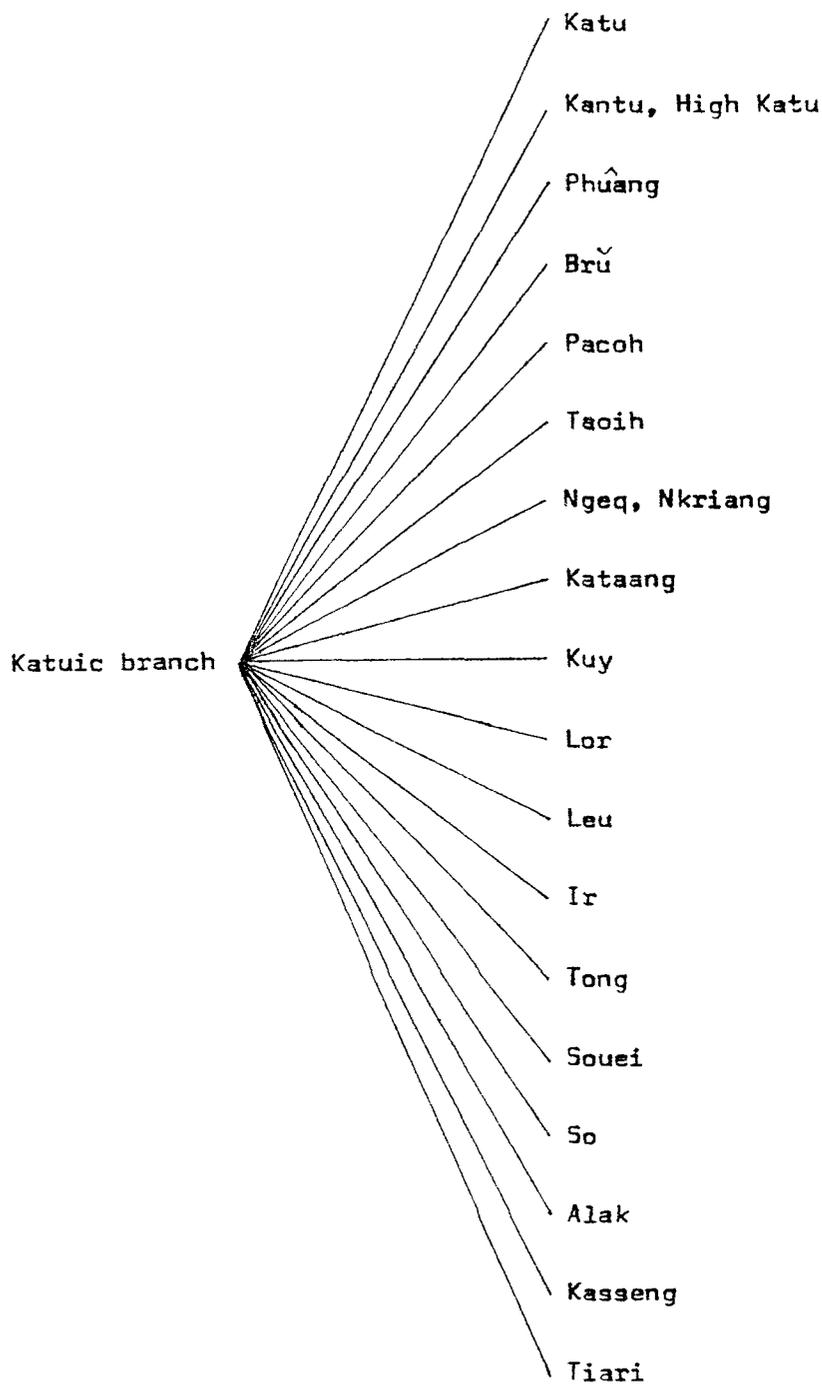


Figure 11 : Classification of the So Language in the Austroasiatic Superfamily

Source : Gérard Diffloth 1973 : Encyclopedia Britannica III

K.D. Smith (1981) made a very extensive lexico-statistical study of Mon-Khmer languages and divided the katuic branch principally into a Central and a North katuic. The cognate percentages for North katuic languages range within 62-78 % of each other (65.4 % average) and for Central katuic range within 63-74 % of each other (70.2 % average). The North katuic (NKT) consists of six languages which include Kattang- (KTG), Makong (MKG), Sli, Sui⁶, So and Bru. The cognate percentages between So and other languages in the same group are 62 % with Kattang, 64 % with Makong, 70 % with Sli, and 75 % with Sui and 64 % with Bru.



⁶This is an unexpected affiliation of Sui in that Dick and Beulah-Johnstone (Christain and Missionary Alliance, Thailand) reportedly "were able to converse freely in Kuy with some people from Laos who called themselves Sui. There is possible confusion with the use of the language name 'Sui'."

NKT (62-78 %)	KTG					
	76	MKG				
	74	75	SLI			
	67	69	78	SUI		
	62	64	70	75	SO	
	63	68	70	66	64	BRU

Figure 12 : The Cognate Percentages within the North Katuic Sub-branch

Source : K.D. Smith "A Lexico-statistical Study of 45 Mon-Khmer Languages." 1981 : Linguistic Across Continents

0.6 Source of Data

This description is based on the speech of the So people in Ban Dong Luang, Tambon Dong Luang, Mukdahan Province. My main informant was Mr. Khai Wongkraso, aged 53. He received education in a Thai school for 4 years. His parents received no school education at all and they can speak So and Lao. Mr. Khai can speak four languages: So, Phu Thai, Northeastern Thai and Standard Thai. He was born at Ban Dong Luang. Nowadays, he weaves silk fabric and he is also a medium who communicates with spirits in the village.

Figure 13 : Main Informant and His Work

Mr. Nut Wongphanawan was my assistant informant. He is 58 years old. He was born at Ban Dong Luang. Now he is the headmaster at Ban Dong Luang School. His help was very valuable while I was collecting the data at Ban Dong Luang. He helped to translate words which the main informant could not translate for me.



Figure 14 : Assistant Informant

Additional information came from Mrs. Chik Wongkraso and other So villagers.

The initial data was gathered during field work at Ban Dong - Luang from the 17th of February, 1986 to the 27th of February, 1986. A second trip lasted from the 10th of March, 1986 to the 27th of March, 1986. On a third trip more data was collected and checked from the 7st of July, 1986 to the 16th of July, 1986.

The data consists of elicited words, clauses, stories and spontaneous utterances recorded on tape.

0.7 Suggestions for Future Study

This is the first structural study of Dong Luang So, so there is still much work to be done.

1. Description of the phrase rank such as noun phrases, verb phrases, location phrases, adjective phrases etc.

2. Description of the sentences.

3. Description of the discourses.

4. Studying lexical changes between generations.

5. Describing other So dialects in Mudahan Province.

6. Preliminary reconstruction of Proto-North Katuic clause structure.

CHAPTER I

A BRIEF SKETCH OF DONG LUANG SO PHONOLOGY

The phonology of Dong Luang So presented here is mostly taken from Darunee Kulachol (1986).

1.1 Consonant and Vowel TranscriptionConsonant phonemes

There are twenty-one consonant phonemes; that is, /p, p^h, t, t^h, c, c^h, k, k^h, ʔ, b, d, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, l, r, s, h, w, j/. All of which occur initially but only twelve of which can occur finally; that is, /p, t, k, ʔ, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w, j/.

All the single consonants are charted as follows:

POINTS OF ART MANNERS OF ART	LABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
	VOICELESS UNASPIRATED STOPS	p	t	c	k
VOICELESS ASPIRATED STOPS	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
VOICED STOPS	b	d			
NASALS	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
FRICATIVES		s			h

POINTS OF ART MANNERS OF ART	LABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
	LATERAL		l		
TRILL		r			
SEMIVOWELS	w		j		

Single ConsonantsExamples

p	/pʌʔ/	'to go'
t	/tʌʔ/	'to come'
c	/cɪh/	'to ride'
k	/ki:/	'that'
ʔ	/ʔʌ:t/	'to live, to stay'
p ^h	/p ^h aʔ/	'to entrust'
t ^h	/t ^h aʔ/	'to pour off'
c ^h	/nc ^h ʔ/	'rotten'
k ^h	/k ^h ʔ:/	'dry'
b	/bə:n/	'to get, to have'
d	/dʌʔ/	'water'
m	/mat/	'eye'
n	/nuŋ/	'little'
ŋ	/nuʌŋ/	'before'
ŋ	/ŋiam/	'sweet'

<u>Single Consonants</u>	<u>Examples</u>	
s	/sɔh/	'lung, to rise'
h	/ho:m/	'to see'
l	/lo:/	'leg'
r	/rwah/	'to choose'
w	/wi:l/	'village'
j	/jet/	'to dip up'

Consonant clusters in Dong Luang So can occur as initial clusters and final clusters.

The second member of initial clusters consists of two phonemes: /l, r/. There are eleven initial consonant clusters as found in this study: /pl, pr, p^hl, tr, cr, kl, kr, k^hl, bl, br, sr/.

Examples:

/p1ʌ:/	'head'
/pra:k/	'squirrel'
/p ^h le:ŋ/	'song'
/triəʔ/	'mushroom'
/ncru:/	'deep'
/kla:k/	'heron, white'
/krɔk/	'ankle bone'
/k ^h la:p/	'wing'
/bla:m/	'grasshopper'

Examples:

/braŋ/ 'liquor'

/?asra:/ 'to shampoo the hair'

The second member of final consonant clusters consists of two phonemes: /ʔ, h/. Only two final consonant clusters have been found in this study: /jʔ, jh/.

Examples:

/kə: jʔ/ 'tree top'

/lo: jh/ 'wrong'

Vowel Phonemes

In Dong Luang So, there are thirty-two vowel phonemes, which include thirteen short vowels, thirteen long vowels and six diphthongs.

All the vowels are charted as follows:

Tongue position Tongue height	Front		Central		Back	
	Short Normal Breathy	Long Normal Breathy	Short Normal Breathy	Long Normal Breathy	Short Normal Breathy	Long Normal Breathy
Closed	i i ..	i: i: ..	u u ..	u: u: ..	u u ..	u: u: ..
Lower - Closed					o	o:
Mid	e e ..	e: e: ..	ə	ə:	o	o: o: ..
Upper Lower - Mid					o T	o: T
Lower - Mid	ɛ ɛ	ɛ: ɛ: ..	ʌ	ʌ: ʌ: ..	ɔ ɔ ..	ɔ: ɔ: ..
Open			a a ..	a: a: ..	ɑ ɑ ..	ɑ: ɑ: ..
Diphthongs	iə .. ia	iə .. ia	uə .. ua		uə .. ua	uə .. ua

Short Vowels

	<u>Examples</u>	
i	/ti?/	'at'
e	/jet/	'to dip up'
ɛ	/pɛn/	'to shoot'
ʊ	/nʊŋ/	'little'
ə	/ntrəw/	'what'
ʌ	/dʌk/	'late at night'
a	/bat/	'grass, vegetable'
ɑ	/ntɑŋ/	'heavy'
u	/muh/	'nose'
ɑ	/ʔɑŋ/	'hollow of the palm- of the hand'
o	/ʔo?/	'jar'
ɒ	/bɒ?/	'mouth'
ɔ	/tɔk/	'to spend, to use'

Long Vowels

	<u>Examples</u>	
i:	/ki:/	'that'
e:	/ʔe:t/	'to take'
ɛ:	/ʔɛ:n/	'again'
u:	/lʊ:n/	'to swallow'
ə:	/sə:ŋ/	'five'
ʌ:	/plʌ:/	'head'



<u>Long Vowels</u>	<u>Examples</u>	
a:	/ha:/	'to open the mouth'
ɑ:	/kla:k/	'white, heron'
u:	/du:n/	'long'
ɑ:	/kra:/	'thing'
o:	/ho:m/	'to see'
o: ɔ̄	/ʔo:n/	'to give'
ɔ:	/dɔ:j/	'rice'

<u>Diphthongs</u>	<u>Examples</u>	
iə	/siaʔ/	'fish'
wa	/ɾwəh/	'to choose'
uə	/kuəj/	'human, person'
ia	/ɲiam/	'sweet'
wa	/wuaʔ/	'work'
ua	/tuaʔ/	'boat'

1.2 Syllable and Word Structure

There are three types of syllables in Dong Luang So: major syllables, minor syllables and presyllables.

(1). Major Syllables

A major syllable is defined as a syllable which always takes primary stress. It can be either closed or open.

There are twelve different types of major syllable as follows:

<u>Major Syllables</u>	<u>Examples</u>	
CV	/ki:/	'that'
CVV	/mi:ə/	'rain'
CVC	/mat/	'eye'
CVVC	/luam/	'liver'
CVCC	/majʔ/	'beautiful'
CVVCC	/kuajʔ/	'to embrace'
CCV	/plʌ:/	'head'
CCVV	/priə/	'long-handled knife'
CCVC	/kren/	'sour'
CCVVC	/truən/	'to hold over the head'
CCVCC	/trɔ:ʃh/	'male(animal)'
CCVVCC	/ntruajʔ/	'hen'

The twelve major syllable structures may be rewritten as one pattern C(C)V(V)(C)(C).

(2). Minor Syllables

A minor syllable is defined as a syllable which take secondary stress. It may be a closed syllable or an open syllable.

There are three different types of minor syllable as follows:

<u>Minor Syllables</u>	<u>Examples</u>	
CV	/k <u>i</u> :kə:j?/	'lazy'
CVC	/l <u>amb</u> ^:/	'convenient'
CCVC	/p <u>ru</u> ŋpri:/	'fruitful'

The three minor syllable structures may be rewritten as one pattern C(C)V(C).

(3). Presyllables

Presyllables in So can be divided into two cases:

A. Presyllable with a pattern Ca

B. Presyllable with a syllabic nasal consonant

Presyllable with a pattern Ca

A presyllable with a pattern Ca is defined as a syllable which is formed by an initial consonant and a short open central vowel [ɪ]. It is always unstressed. The structure is Ca.(C(C)V(V)(C)(C)).

Examples:

/p <u>ad</u> ɛ:ʔ/	'salted fish'
/p ^h <u>a</u> niəŋ/	'plough'
/t <u>am</u> ŋ/	'to listen'
/c <u>a</u> ŋəj/	'day'
/s <u>am</u> ^ʔ/	'tomorrow'

Presyllable with a syllabic nasal consonant

A presyllable with a syllabic nasal consonant is defined

as a syllable which is formed by a syllabic nasal consonant [m̩], [n̩] or [ŋ̩]. It is always unstressed. The structure is N.(C(C)V(C)(C)).

Examples:

/mpe:̩/	'chili'
/ncajh/	'uncle, aunt'
/ŋkan/	'arm'

1.3 Register

There are two registers in Dong Luang So. The first register is found as normal-voiced vowels and the second register consists of breathy-voiced vowels. Breathly-voiced vowels are represented by two dots under the vowel.

Examples:

/pɛn/	'to shoot'
/pɛ̩n/	'full'
/pe:/	'flat'
/pe̩:/	'win'

CHAPTER II

STRUCTURAL CLAUSE TYPES

Clauses normally function as elements in a sentence and may be embedded in a noun phrase.

2.1 General Structure

Clauses are described in terms of nuclear and peripheral slots. Clause nuclei in So(Dong Luang) generally follow an S-P-O-ID order. It may be preceded or followed by clause peripheral elements which are considered to be additional elements to the clause nucleus. Only location setting is considered to be in the nucleus in the location clause (Sec.2.2.4).

The general structure of a So clause is described as follows:

<p> $Cl = _ S:np + P:vp + _ O:np + _ IO:np + _ Loc:pp/np + _ Man:adv.p$ $_ Time S:np/pp + _ FP:f.p.$ </p>

That is, the nucleus generally follows an S-P-O-ID order and the peripheral elements follow the nucleus. The nuclear elements are an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory

Predicate slot filled by a verb phrase, an optional Object slot filled by a noun phrase, an optional Indirect Object slot filled by a noun phrase, an optional Location slot filled by a prepositional phrase or a noun phrase, an optional Manner slot filled by an adverb phrase, an optional Time Setting slot filled by a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase, and an optional Final Particle slot filled by a final particle.

2.2 Basic Forms (Neutral or Unmarked Orders)

Generally basic clause types may be divided as follows:

transitive, intransitive, bitransitive, location, motion, propulsion, quotative, equational, descriptive, existence, reciprocal, evaluation, comparative, verbal.

These basic clause types differ from each other in the verb classes which they take, in some of their nuclear slots, in some of their optional slots, in some of their optional peripheral slots and in their transformation potential.

2.2.1 Transitive clause

The elements of the transitive clause are:

$$Cl_{tr} = \pm S:np + P:vp_{tr} \pm O:np$$

That is, an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase,

an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a transitive verb phrase and an optional Object slot filled a noun phrase. These elements constitute the nucleus, and they may be preceded and/or followed by peripheral elements. Peripheral elements are optional, time setting, location setting and manner are fairly common. Transitive verbs include cia 'eat', tɛn 'hit', jih 'sew', saʔih 'hate', kɔh 'cut', ŋuajʔ 'drink' etc.

Examples:

1.	ʔalaj	cia	pɔʔ mpil	ʔɛ:m	ʔalʌ:
	he	eat	tamarind	delicious	indeed
	S	P	O		Man

'He ate tamarinds very deliciously.'

2.	ʔalaj	saʔih	haj	ʔalʌ:
	he	hate	us	indeed
	S	P	O	Man

'He hates us indeed.'

3.	mpeʔ	p ^h uam	jih	sare:
	mother	prog.mk	sew	shirt
	S		P	O

'Mother is sewing a shirt.'

4.	kuʔ	tɛn	dam	mahaʔanaj
	I	hit	Dam	yesterday
	S	P	O	Time S

'I hit Dam yesterday.'

5.	ʔalaj	kəh	kal ʔaluəŋ	nəŋ	carwŋ
	he	cut	tree	in	forest
	S	P	O	Loc S	

'He cut trees in the forest.'

The normal order of these elements is S-P-O. It may vary to O-S-P when the object is emphasized and some elements may be deleted, giving elliptical forms if the context or situation is obviously understood.

Transitive Battery

Clause roots:

/dam 'Dam' - Actor (represented as S)

ciə 'eat' - Action (represented as V)

ŋəʔ mpil 'tamarind' - Goal (represented as O)/

1. dam ciə ŋəʔ mpil 1. Declarative Active. Used in
/ S V O / simple discourse.

'Dam ate tamarinds.'

2. dam ʔanaj ciə ŋəʔ mpil 2. Declarative emphatic active.
/ S dem V O / Used to emphasize the Actor.

'This Dam ate tamarinds.'

3. dam p^huəm ciə ŋəʔ mpil 3. Declarative continual active.
/ S pre.v V O / Used to identify the Action.

'Dam is eating tamarinds.'

- 4.(a) dam ciə ɲɔʔ mpil ɲɔ:h dam 4. Simple yes/no question.
 / S V 0 q.part S / Used to question the
 reality of the Action.
 'Dam did (you) eat tamarinds, Dam?'
- (b) ciə ɲɔʔ mpil ɲɔ:h dam
 / V 0 q.part S /
 'Did (you) eat tamarinds, Dam?'
5. maj ciə ɲɔʔ mpil ɲɔ:h dam 5. Simple yes/no question.
 / V 0 q.part S / Used to question the
 reality of the Actor.
 'Did you eat tamarinds, Dam?'
6. dam maj ciə ɲɔʔ mpil cə: - 6. Simple yes/no question.
 / S V 0 Used to question the
ɲɔ:h reality of the Action.
 q.part /
 'Dam, have you already eaten tamarinds?'
- 7.(a) ɲɔʔ mpil dam ciə cə: 7. Declarative emphatic Goal.
 / 0 S V / Used to emphasize the
 Goal. Form (a) is slightly
 more emphatic than form (b).
 'Tamarinds, Dam has already eaten.'

(b) dam ciə ɲɔʔ mpil ca:

/ S V O /

'Dam has already eaten tamarinds.'

8. maj camɔʔ ciə ɲɔʔ mpil ɲɔ:h dam 8. Yes/no question.

/ V O q.part S / Used to question the
desire of the Actor.

'Would you like to eat tamarinds, Dam?'

9.(a) dam ciə ɲɔʔ mpil taʔ ntraw

/ S V O q.w. /

9. Extra question. Used
to ask for supplementary

(b) dam ciə ɲɔʔ mpil tanaʔ

/ S V O q.w. /

information not given
in the clause root.

(c) pan tanaʔ dam ciə ɲɔʔ mpil

/ q.w. S V O /

'Why did Dam eat tamarinds?'

10. dam tʌ: ciə ɲɔʔ mpil

/ S pre.v V O /

10. Negative active. Used

to negate the Action.

'Dam did not eat tamarinds.' (because they are sour or etc.)

11. dam tʌ: bə:n ciə ɲɔʔ mpil

/ S pre.v V O /

11. Negative active.

'Dam did not eat tamarinds.' (Perhaps there was no tamarinds
left or etc.)

12. dam tʌ: sama:t cia ɲɔʔ mpil 12. Negative active.
 / S pre.v V 0 /
 'Dam cannot eat tamarinds.'
13. dam pan kuəj (t^hi:) cia - 13. Identification of Actor.
 / S v_{cop} N (rel.pr.) V Used generally after a
 ɲɔʔ mpil stated or implied question,
 0 / 'Who was the Actor?'.
 'Dam was the person who ate tamarinds.'
14. dam pan p^hu: (t^hi:) cia - 14. Embedded Actor. Used to
 / S v_{cop} rel.pr. V fill a nominal slot in
 ɲɔʔ mpil.... clause giving further
 0 / information about the Actor.
 'Dam who ate tamarinds....'
15. ɲɔʔ mpil (t^hi:) dam cia..... 15. Embedded Goal. Used to
 / 0 (rel.pr.) S V / fill a nominal slot in
 clause giving further
 information about the Goal.
 'The tamarind that Dam ate....'
16. ɲɔʔ mpil klap dam cia 16. Declarative passive. Used
 / 0 pass.mk S V / when the Goal is the
 sentence topic.
 'The tamarinds were eaten by Dam.'

Battery Adjuncts:

17. maj cia ntraw dam 17. Questioned Goal. Used
/ V q.w. S / to elicit the Goal.
'What did you eat, Dam?'
18. cia ntraw lah 18. Questioned emphatic Goal.
/ V q.w. emp.p / Used to elicit the Goal.
'What did (you) eat?' (Subject deletion)
- 19.(a) dam cia ntraw ?aki: 19. Questioned Goal. Used to
/ S V q.w. dem / elicit the Goal and to
(b) ntraw (t^hi:) dam cia ask for sure what the
/ q.w. (rel.pr.) S V / Goal was.
'What did Dam eat?'
20. cia ꞑꞑ? mpil nc:h 20. Yes/no question deleted
/ V 0 q.part / Actor. Used to question
'Did (you) eat tamarinds?' the reality of the Action.
21. na:w cia ꞑꞑ? mpil 21. Questioned Actor. Used
/ q.w. V 0 / to elicit the Actor.
'Who ate tamarinds?'
- 22.(a) na:w t^hi: cia ꞑꞑ? mpil 22. Questioned emphatic Actor.
/ q.w. rel.pr. V 0 / Used to elicit the Actor.

(b) na:w pan kuaj cia ɲɔ? mpil

/ q.w. v_{cop} N V 0 /

(c) na:w pan p^hu: cia ɲɔ? mpil

/ q.w. v_{cop} rel.pr. V 0 /

'Who? Who ate tamarinds?'

23. dam

/ S /

'Dam.'

23. Action and Goal deletion used as

a shorter form of the answer for

questions in 21 and 22.

24. ɲɔ? mpil

/ 0 /

24. Actor and Action deletion. Used

as an elliptical form of the

answer for questions in 17, 18,

and 19.

'Tamarinds.'

etc.

Restrictions on the above battery

1. In all forms, the Actor and Goal may freely have appropriate generic or anaphoric nouns or pronouns substituted for them, and there may be cooccurrence restrictions between certain nouns and verbs, according to the semantic needs. For example, in this battery an inanimate cannot fill the Subject slot.
2. The action itself cannot tell the listeners what tense it is but we can know from time settings or adverbs.

3. In the question forms require a falling-rising pitch on question particles or a rising-falling pitch on question words.
4. Normally the order of a transitive clause is S-V-O. Sometimes if the object is in focus, the order is O-S-V as in form 7. Note that it often has /cə:/ 'already' as an accompanying particle.
5. Form 13 is appositional when the Actor is a proper noun, and is descriptive when the Actor is a common noun. Similarly with the Goal in form 15.

Functional elements (constants):

1. ʔanaj 'this'
2. p^huam (showing continuous action)
3. nɔ:h (question particle)
4. maj 'you' singular and plural persons, second person.
5. cə: 'already' showing completion of action.
6. camɔʔ 'like'
7. taʔ ntraw - taʔ ntraw, tanaʔ, pan tanaʔ (Sec.2.3.2)
taʔ ntraw and tanaʔ occur both initial and final in the clause.
pan tanaʔ occurs only initial in the clause.
8. tʌ: 'not'

9. ba:n 'have, get' a preverb
10. sa:ma:t 'can' a preverb
11. pan - pan 'to be'
12. kuəj 'person'
13. p^hu: (t^hi:) 'who' relative clause marker
14. t^hi: - t^hi: used with human and non-human Actors
and Goals.
15. klap (passive marker)
16. ntraw 'what'
17. lah (emphatic particle)
18. ʔaki: 'that'
19. na:w 'who' a question word used with human Actor
or human Goal.

The transitive clauses which may have an embedded clause in them could be called the "Container" type or the "Clause-complement" type.

In this clause type, the object is also the subject of the reduced clause. These transitive verbs include ho:m 'see', co:t 'land', to:k 'use' etc.

The elements of the container clause type are:

$$Cl_{\text{cont}} = + S_1:np + P:vp_{\text{tr}} + O:np + Cp:cl_{\text{red}} \\ (S_2)$$

That is, an optional Subject₁ slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a transitive verb phrase, an obligatory Object slot (functioning as Subject₂) filled by a noun phrase and an obligatory Complement slot filled by a reduced clause.

Examples:

1.	(kw?)	ho:m	?alaj	?Λ:t	ti?	doŋ
	I	see	he	live	at	house
	S	P	O			Cp

'(I) saw him at home.'

2.	?alaj	co:t	tua?	?Λ:t	ke:m	puh
	he	to land	boat	live	edge	shore
	S ₁	P	O(S ₂)			Cp

'He landed the boat at a shore.'

3.	k ^h u:	tɔk	ranɛ:n	ca:ŋ	krɔ:
	teacher	use	children	buy	thing
	S ₁	P	O(S ₂)		Cp

'The teacher told the children to go to buy thing.'

Container Battery

Clause roots:

/ haj 'we' - Actor (represented as S)

ho:m 'see' - Action (represented as V)

?alaj 'he' - Recipient of Action or Actor₂ (represented as O)

c_h 'plant' - Resultant Action₂ (represented as R)

bat 'vegetable' - Goal of Action₂ (represented as OR)/

1. haj ho:m ?alaj c_h bat 1. Simple form.

/ S V O(S₂) R OR /

'We saw him plant vegetables.'

2. bat t^hi: ?alaj c_h haj ho:m 2. Emphatic Goal.

/ OR rel.pr. O R S V /

'Vegetables that he planted, we saw.'

3. ?alaj c_h bat haj ho:m 3. Simple form.

/ O R OR S V /

'He planted vegetables, we saw.'

Battery Adjuncts:

4. ho:m ?alaj c_h bat 4. Actor deletion.

/ V O R OR /

'(We) saw that he planted vegetables.'

5. haj ho:m (pa:j) ?alaj c_h 5. Goal of Action₂(OR)

/ S V (cp.mk) O R / deletion.

'We saw that he planted.'

6. ?alaj c_h haj ho:m 6. OR deletion.

/ O R S V /

'He planted, we saw.'

7. haj ho:m

7. O, R, OR deletion.

/ S V /

'We saw.'

etc.

Restrictions

1. Verbs that can fill the Verb slot in form 4 are restricted such

as	/daŋ/	'know'
	/ho:m/	'see'
	/ʔatʌ:ŋ/	'tell'
	/pa:j/	'say'
	/ʔo:n/	'let' etc.

2. Form 3, DR, O, R may served as a noun phrase in which a relative pronoun /t^hi:/ 'that' is omitted.

Functional elements:

1. t^hi: - relative pronoun used with non-human nouns.

2. pa:j (complement marker)

2.2.2 Intransitive clause

The elements of the intransitive clause are:

$Cl_{in} = + S:np + P:vp_{in}$

That is, an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase and

an obligatory Predicate slot filled by an intransitive verb phrase.

Time setting, location setting, and manner are fairly common. Intransitive verbs include kacaj 'laugh', waw 'speak', niam 'cry' etc.

Examples:

1.	haj		kacaj
	we		laugh
	S		P

'We laugh.'

2.	?alaj		waw		waj
	he		speak		fast
	S		P		Man

'He speaks fast.'

3.	?alaj		saŋa:r
	he		snored
	S		P

'He snored.'

4.	raŋ:n	ka:n		p ^h uam	niam		canua
	child	male		prog.mk	cry		now
		S			P		Time S

'The boy is crying now.'

The Predicate is obligatorily present, but sometimes it may be omitted if it has been stated in previous clause or sentence as

illustrated in the transformational battery.

Intransitive Battery

Clause roots:

/ dam 'Dam' - Actor (represented as S)

niam 'cry' - Action (represented as V)/

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. dam niam</p> <p>/ S V /</p> <p>'Dam cried.'</p> | <p>1. Declarative active. Used in simple discourse.</p> |
| <p>2. dam p^huam niam</p> <p>/ S pre.v V /</p> <p>'Dam is crying.'</p> | <p>2. Declarative continual active.</p> |
| <p>3.(a) dam niam ?<u>Λ:t</u></p> <p>/ S V post.v /</p> <p>(b) niam ?<u>Λ:t</u> dam</p> <p>/ V post.v S /</p> <p>'Dam is crying now.'</p> | <p>3. Declarative emphatic active. Used to emphasize the Action.</p> |
| <p>4. dam ?<u>i:</u> niam</p> <p>/ S pre.v V /</p> <p>'Dam wants to cry.'</p> | <p>4. Declarative active. Used to express the desire of the Actor.</p> |
| <p>5. dam t^Λ: niam</p> <p>/ S pre.v V /</p> <p>'Dam does not cry.'</p> | <p>5. Negative active.</p> |

6. dam tʌ: bə:n niam

/ S pre.v V /

'Dam did not cry.'

6. Negative active. Used

to refuse the matter.

7.(a) dam niam nɔ:h

/ S V q.part /

(b) dam nɔ:h niam

/ S q.part V /

'Does Dam cry?'

7. Simple yes/no question.

Used to question the

reality of the Action.

8.(a) pan tana? dam caŋ niam

/ q.w. S pre.v V /

(b) pan ntrəw dam niam

/ q.w. S V /

(c) dam niam $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{tana?} \\ \underline{ta? ntrəw} \end{array} \right\}$

/ S V q.w. /

'Why did Dam cry?'

8. Extra question. Used to

ask for additional

information not given in

clause root. Form (a) is

slightly more emphatic

Action than forms (b) and (c)

Battery Adjuncts:

9. na:w niam

/ q.w. V /

'Who cried?'

9. Questioned Actor. Used to

elicit the Actor.

10.(a) na:w nah niam

/ q.w. emp.p. V /

10. Questioned emphatic Actor.

Used to ask for sure who

the Actor is.

(b) na:w niam nah

/ q.w. V emp.p. /

'Who? Who cried?'

11. dam

/ S /

'Dam.' (cried)

11. Action deletion. Used as

an elliptical form of a full

answer to questions 9 and 10.

12. niam

/ V /

'Cry.'

12. Subject deletion.

Restrictions on the above battery

1. Inanimate nouns are not permitted to fill the Subject slot.
2. In form 8, if the question word /pan tana?/ 'why' is initial, it is often followed by the preverb /caŋ/ 'therefore'.

Functional elements (constants):

1. p^huam (showing continuous action)
2. ʔʌ:t 'still'
3. ʔi: 'want'
4. tʌ: 'not'
5. bə:n 'get'
6. nɔ:h (question particle)
7. pan tana? - pan tana?, pan ntraw, tana?, ta? ntraw 'why'

- pan tana?, pan ntraw occur only initial in the clause.

- tana?, ta? ntraw occur both initial and final in the clause.

8. caŋ - caŋ 'therefore'
9. na:w 'who'
10. nah (emphatic particle)

2.2.3 Bitransitive clause

The elements of the bitransitive clause are:

$$Cl_{bi} = \pm S:np + P:vp_{bi} \pm O:np \pm Prep: \left\{ \begin{matrix} ? \\ \tau \end{matrix} O:n \right\} \pm IO:np$$

That is, an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a bitransitive verb phrase, an optional Direct Object slot filled by a noun phrase, an optional Preposition slot filled by $\left\{ \begin{matrix} ? \\ \tau \end{matrix} O:n \right\}$ and an optional Indirect Object slot filled by a noun phrase. Peripheral elements are time setting and location setting.

$\begin{matrix} ? \\ \tau \end{matrix} O:n$ in the Preposition slot functions like 'to' or 'for' in English. It can occur with the main verb $\begin{matrix} ? \\ \tau \end{matrix} O:n$ 'give' (see examples below). kap 'to, and' in the Preposition slot also occurs only with the main verb $\begin{matrix} ? \\ \tau \end{matrix} O:n$ 'give'. In addition, if the Predicate slot is filled

by ʔo:n_T, the direct object and indirect object can switch their position.

Bitransitive verbs include ʔo:n_T 'give', k^hian 'write' and ʔasuaɟ 'send' etc.

Examples:

1.	kuʔ	siʔ	ʔo:n _T	kuaŋ	{ kap ʔo:n _T }	maj
	I	will	give	gong	to	you
	S		P	O	Prep	IO

'I will give a gong to you.'

2.	ʔalaj	k ^h ian	cotma:j	{ coʔ ʔo:n _T }	kuʔ
	he	write	letter	to	I
	S	P	O	Prep	IO

'He wrote a letter to me.'

3.	si:	ʔo:n _T	kapo:ŋ	mpeʔ	ʔan	mahaʔanaɟ
	Si	give	skirt	mother	her	yesterday
	S	P	O		IO	Time S

'Si gave a skirt to her mother yesterday.'

4.	mpeʔ	ʔasuaɟ	praʔ	ʔo:n _T	kuʔ
	mother	send	money	to	I
	S	P	O	Prep	IO

'My mother sent money to me.'

If, with ʔo:n_T as the verb, the direct object and indirect object switch their position, the change is as follows:

5.	mpe?	ʔo:n T	pra?	ko:n T
	mother	give	money	child
	S	P	O	IO

'Mother gave money to her child.'

or	mpe?	ʔo:n T	ko:n T	pra?
	mother	give	child	money
	S	P	IO	O

'Mother gave her child money.'

Bitransitive Battery

Clause roots:

/ dam 'Dam' - Actor (represented as S)

ʔo:n 'give' - Action (represented as V)

k^hanom (ʔaki:) '(that) sweet' - Goal₁ (represented as O)

mpe? 'mother' - Goal₂ (represented as IO) /

1. dam ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: mpe? 1. Declarative active.

/ S V O IO /
Used in simple
discourse.

'Dam gave that sweet to his mother.'

2. dam ʔo:n mpe? k^hanom ʔaki: 2. Declarative active.

/ S V IO O /
Used in simple
discourse.

'Dam gave his mother that sweet.'

3. mpe? dam ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: 3. Declarative emphatic
 / IO S V O / active. Used to
 emphasize the Goal₂.

'It was his mother who Dam gave that sweet.'

4. k^hanom ʔaki: dam ʔo:n mpe? cə: 4. Declarative emphatic
 / O S V IO adv / active. Used to
 emphasize the Goal₁.

'That sweet, Dam gave his mother already.'

5. k^hanom ʔaki: dam ʔo:n mpe? nɔ:h 5. Yes/no question. Used
 / O S V IO q.part/ to question the reality
 of the Goal₁.

'Is that the sweet Dam gave to his mother?'

6. dam ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: { ʔo:n } mpe? 6. Full bitransitive clause
 / S V O Prep IO / (formal form).
 { kəp }

'Dam gave that sweet to his mother.'

7. dam ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: mpe? cə: 7. Yes/no question (tag
 / S V O IO adv question). Used to
 question the reality
 of the Action which the
 speaker expects a positiv
 answer.
- { mi:n } nɔ:h
 { lw? }
 adv q.part /

'Dam has already given that sweet to his mother, hasn't he?'

8.(a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pan tana?} \\ \text{tana?} \end{array} \right\}$ dam caŋ ʔo:n -
 / q.w. S pre.v V
 k^hanom ʔaki: mpe?
 O IO /

(b) dam ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: mpe? -
 / S V O IO
tana?
 q.w. /

8. Extra question. Used to ask for supplementary information not given in the clause root. Form (a) is slightly more emphatic Action than form (b).

'Why did Dam give that sweet to his mother?'

9. dam p^huam ʔi: ʔo:n k^hanom -
 / S pre.v V O
 ʔaki: mpe? ʔʌ:t
 IO post.v /

9. Identification of the time of the Action. Used generally after a stated or implied question, 'When will the Actor do that?'

'Dam is going to give that sweet to his mother.'

10.(a) dam mu:la? maj caŋ si? -
 / S q.w. pre.v
 ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: mpe?
 V O IO /

(b) mu:la? caŋ si? ʔo:n k^hanom -
 / q.w. pre.v V O
 ʔaki: mpe? dam
 IO S /

10. Extra question. Used to ask for supplementary information not given in the clause root. Forms (a) and (b) are slightly more emphatic Action than forms (c) and (d).

(c) si? ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: mpe? -

/pre.v V 0 IO

mu:la? dam

q.w. S /

(d) dam si? ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: -

/ S pre.v V 0

mpe? mu:la?

IO q.w. /

'Dam, when will you give that sweet to mother?'

Battery Adjuncts:

11. na:w ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: mpe?

/ q.w. V 0 IO /

11. Questioned Actor. Used to
elicit the Actor.

'Who gave that sweet to mother?'

12.(a) na:w nah si? ʔo:n -

/ q.w. emp.p. pre.v V

k^hanom mpe?

0 IO /

12. Questioned emphatic Actor.
Used to elicit the Actor
and to ask for sure who or
what the Actor was.

(b) na:w ʔo:n k^hanom ʔaki: mpe? -

/ q.w. V 0 IO

nah

emp.p./

'Who? Who gave that sweet to mother?'

13. dam

/ S /

'Dam.'

13. Action and Goals deletion.

Used as an elliptical form of the full answer for questions 10 and 11.

14.(a) dam ?_{Q:n} ntɾəw mpe?

/ S V q.w. IO /

(b) mpe? dam ?_{Q:n} ntɾəw

/ IO S V q.w. /

(c) ntɾəw t^hi: dam ?_{Q:n} mpe?

/ q.w. rel.pr. S V IO /

'What did Dam give his mother?'

15. ntɾəw neh t^hi: dam -

/ q.w. emp.p. rel.pr. S

?_{Q:n} mpe?

V IO /

'What? What did Dam give his mother?'

15. Questioned emphatic Goal₁.

Used to elicit the Goal₁ and to ask for sure what the Goal₁ was.

16. ?_{Q:n} k^hanom ?aki:

/ V 0 /

16. Actor and Goal₂ deletion.

Used as an elliptical form of the full answer for question in 14 and 15.

'(He) gave that sweet.'

17.(a) si? ?o:n mpe? mw:la?

/pre.v V IO q.w. /

(b) mw:la? si? ?o:n mpe?

/ q.w. pre.v V IO /

17. Extra question with

the Actor and Goal₁

deletion. Used to ask

for supplementary

information not given

in clause root. Form (b)

is slightly more emphatic

Action than (a).

'When will (you) give (it) to mother?'

18.(a) k^hanom ?ala? si? ?o:n mpe?

/ 0 q.w. pre.v V IO /

(b) ?ala? k^hanom t^hi: dam si? -

/ q.w. 0 rel.pr. S pre.v

?o:n mpe?

V IO /

18. Half-questioned Goal₁.

Used when the Goal₁ is

only partly known. Form

(b) is slightly more

emphatic Goal₁ than form

(a).

'Which sweet did Dam give mother?'

19. k^hanom ?aki:

/ 0 /

19. Actor, Action and Goal₂

deletion. Used as an

elliptical form of the

full answer for question

in 18.

'That sweet.'

Restrictions on the above battery

1. The Subject slot requires an animate noun or pronoun.
2. Forms 3, 4, 5 and 14(b) require a slight pause before the subject.
3. In form 10, caŋ si? only occurs after the question word mu:la? in form 10(a) and (b).

Functional elements:

1. ca: 'already' showing completion of action.
2. no:h (question particle)
3. kap - kap, ʔo:n_T
- kap used with the bitransitive verb ʔo:n 'give'.
- ʔo:n_T used with other bitransitive verbs.
4. mi:n 'right'
5. lw? 'really'
6. pan tana? - pan tana?, tana? (see Sec.2.3.2)
7. caŋ - caŋ 'therefore'
8. p^huam ʔi: (showing starting action)
9. ʔʌ:t 'still'
10. mu:la? 'when'
11. maj 'you'
12. si? 'will'
13. na:w 'who'
14. nah (emphatic particle)

15. ntraw 'what'

16. t^hi: - t^hi: used with non-human Goals.

2.2.4 Location clause

The elements of the location clause are:

$Cl_{loc} = + S:np + P:vp_{loc} + Loc:pp/np$
--

That is, an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a location verb phrase, and an obligatory Location slot filled by a prepositional phrase or a noun phrase. Time setting has been observed in this clause type. Location verbs are: ʔʌ:t 'live', taku: 'sit', noŋ (kuaj) ʔʌ:t 'remain', caw 'stay', prac^hum 'assemble', bajʔ 'sleep'.

This clause type differs from the intransitive clause in the verb classes which they take and an additional Location slot in the location clause.

The normal order of the location clause is S-P-Loc.

Examples:

1.	dam	noŋ ʔʌ:t	noŋ	kək
	Dam	still	in	jail
	S	P	Loc	

'Dam is still in the jail.'

2.	ʔali:k	ʔʌ:t	nɔŋ	lɔk	pɯ:n	ŋkro:m
	pig	live	in	pen	under	below
	S	P		Loc		

'Pigs are in the pen under the house.'

3.	ʔalaj	ʔʌ:t	ti?	doŋ	caŋʔanaŋ
	he	live	at	house	today
	S	P		Loc	Time S

'He { is stays } at home today.'

4.	ʔalaj	taku:	pʌ:ŋ	ʔapiəl
	he	sit	on	mat
	S	P		Loc

'He sits on the mat.'

5.	mpua	caw	(ʔʌ:t)	nɔŋ	muaŋ
	father	stay	be	in	town
	S		P		Loc

'The father stays in town.'

6.	t ^h aj wi:l	ʔʌ:t	prac ^h um	ɔ:m	raŋru?	doŋ	kamnan
	villager	be	assemble	combine	together	house	kamnan
	S			P			Loc

'The villagers come to assemble at the kamnan's house.'

To focus the location, the order will be Loc-S-P as shown in

the battery.

Location BatteryClause roots:

/ siaʔ 'fish' - Subject (represented as S)

ʔʌ:t 'live' - Predicate/Verb (represented as V)

noŋ dʌʔ 'in the water' - Location (represented as L) /

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. siaʔ ʔʌ:t noŋ dʌʔ</p> <p>/ S V L /</p> <p>'Fish live in the water.'</p> | <p>1. Simple Location. Used
in simple discourse.</p> |
| <p>2. noŋ dʌʔ siaʔ ʔʌ:t</p> <p>/ L S V /</p> <p>'In the water, fish live.'</p> | <p>2. Emphatic Location. Used
to emphasize the Location.</p> |
| <p>3. <u>bə:n</u> siaʔ ʔʌ:t noŋ dʌʔ</p> <p>/ v_{ex} S V L /</p> <p>'There are fish in the water.'</p> | <p>3. Declarative simple
existence clause. Used
in simple discourse.</p> |
| <p>4. noŋ dʌʔ <u>bə:n</u> siaʔ ʔʌ:t</p> <p>/ L v_{ex} S V /</p> <p>'In the water, there are fish.'</p> | <p>4. Emphatic Location. Used
to emphasize the Location.</p> |
| <p>5. siaʔ ʔʌ:t noŋ dʌʔ <u>no:h</u></p> <p>/ S V L q.part /</p> <p>'Do fish live in the water?'</p> | <p>5. Simple yes/no question.
Used to question the
reality of the state.</p> |

6. wiatla? siə? cwŋ ?ʌ:t nŋ dʌ? 6. Extra question. Used to
 / q.w. S pre.v V L / ask for supplementary
 information not given in
 the clause root.

'How do fish live in the water?'

7. siə? to: (t^hi:) ?ʌ:t nŋ dʌ? 7. Embedded Subject. Used
 / S class. rel.pr. V L / to fill a nominal slot
 in a clause giving further
 information about the
 Subject.

'The fish that lives in the water....'

etc.

Battery Adjuncts:

8. nŋ dʌ? bə:n siə? 8. Verb deletion. Used to
 / L v_{ex} S / emphasize the Location.

'In the water, there are fish.'

9. siə? nŋ dʌ? 9. Verb deletion. Used
 / S L / generally to answer the
 question in form 13.

'The fish in the water.'

10. ?ʌ:t nɔŋ dʌ?
/ V L /

'Live in the water.'
10. Subject deletion. Used generally to answer the question in form 14.
11. ?ʌ:t
/ V /

'Live.'
11. Subject and Location deletion. Used generally as an answer of the simple yes/no question.
12. nɔŋ dʌ?
/ L /

'In the water.'
12. Subject and Verb deletion. Used generally after a stated question, 'Where do fish live?'
13. ntraw ?ʌ:t nɔŋ dʌ?
/ q.w. V L /

'What lives in the water?'
13. Questioned Subject. Used to elicit the Subject.
- 14.(a) siə? ?ʌ:t tiʔla?
/ S V q.w. /

(b) tiʔla? siə? ?ʌ:t
/ q.w. S V /
14. Questioned Location. Used to elicit the Location.

(c) sia? ?ʌ:t pala?

/ S V q.w. /

(d) pala? sia? ?ʌ:t

/ q.w. S V /

'Where do fish live?'

Restrictions on the above battery

1. The Subject slot of the location clause may be filled by any inanimate or animate noun.
2. t^hi: used with non-human Actors but it may be used with human Actor if it follows the classifier of the Actor in form 7.

Functional elements:

1. ba:n 'have'
2. no:h (question particle)
3. wiətla? 'how'
4. cwŋ - cwŋ 'therefore'
5. to:_ɾ (classifier for fish)
6. t^hi: (relative pronoun)
7. ntraw 'what'
8. tiʔla? 'where'

2.2.5 Motion clause

The elements of the motion clause are:

$$Cl_{mo} = \pm S:np + P:vp_{mo} \pm Loc_1:pp/np \pm Dir:v_{dir} \pm Loc_2:pp/np$$

That is, an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a motion verb phrase, an optional Location₁ slot filled by a prepositional phrase or a noun phrase, an optional Direction slot filled by a directional verb and an optional Location₂ slot filled by a prepositional phrase or a noun phrase. Peripheral elements are manner and time setting.

A special feature of the motion clause is that the motion verb phrase is frequently followed by a directional verb (DV). The motion verbs include pʌʔ 'go', taluh 'run', tajah 'walk', sadajh 'jump', par 'fly', lɛ:j 'float' etc. and the directional verbs are sch 'ascend', tʌʔ 'come', pʌʔ 'go', mu:t 'enter', lap 'return' etc. Sometimes there may be two directional verbs in a motion clause (ex 5, 7).

Examples:

1.	haj	p ^h uam	siʔ	pʌʔ	tala:t
	we	prog.mk	will	go	market
	S		P		Loc

'We are going to the market.'

2.	ʔalaj	taluh	niʔ	mu:t	carwŋ
	he	run	escape	enter	forest
	S		P	DV	Loc

'He ran and escaped into the forest.'

3.	ʔalaj	taluh	lap	wi:l
	he	run	return	village
	S	P	DV	Loc

'He ran back to the village.'

4.	paj	naʔ	ʔaki:	mu:t	muwŋ	te:	tarw:p
	three	class.	that	enter	town	from	morning
		S		P	Loc	Time	S

'Those three have entered town since morning.'

Occasionally, there are two location elements telling the starting place (source) and the ending place (destination). The order of the elements is S-P-Loc₁(Source)-Dir-Loc₂(Destination).

5.	kuʔ	taluh	{ te: (from) tiʔ (at) }	doŋ	pʌʔ	coʔ	wat
	I	run		house	go	to	temple
	S	P	Loc ₁ :pp		Dir ₁	Dir ₂	Loc ₂

'I ran from the house to the temple.'

6.	dam	tajah	tiʔ	lo:ŋ	lian	pʌʔ	tala:t
	Dam	walk	at	school		go	market
	S	P	Loc ₁		Dir		Loc ₂

'Dam walked from school to the market.'

Sometimes we observe Animate Location slot which is preceded by the directional verb coʔ .

7.	ʔalaj	tajah	tʌʔ	coʔ	kuʔ
	he	walk	come	to	I
	S	P	Dir ₁	Dir ₂	An-Loc

'He walked to me.'

8.	tʌʔ	coʔ	ncajh	(S deletion)
	come	to	uncle	
	P	Dir	An-Loc	

'(He) came to visit his uncle.'

9.	ʔalaj	pʌʔ	tɛ:	doŋ	pʌʔ	wat
	he	go	from	house	go	temple
	S	P		Loc ₁	Dir	Loc ₂

'He went from his house to the temple.'

The directional verb can occur with the main verb which is homonymous (ex 9).

Motion Battery

Clause roots:

/ ʔalaj 'he' - Actor (represented as S)

pʌʔ 'go' - Action (represented as V)

muəŋ 'town' - Destination (represented as L) /

1. ?alaj pʌ? (nɔŋ) mʷəŋ
/ S V prep L /
'He went to the town.'
1. Declarative active.
Used in simple discourse.
2. nɔŋ mʷəŋ ?alaj pʌ?
/prep. L S V /
'In the town, he went.'
2. Emphatic Destination.
Used to emphasize the Destination.
3. nɔŋ mʷəŋ tʰi: ?alaj pʌ?
/prep. L rel.pr. S V /
'The town that he went to.'
3. Emphatic Destination.
To topicalize the Destination.
4. ?an kʷ: nɔŋ mʷəŋ ?alaj pʌ?
/ prep. L S V /
'It was the town that he went to.'
4. Topicalized and focused Destination.
5. ?an kʷ: ?alaj pʌ? nɔŋ mʷəŋ
/ S V prep. L /
'It was he who went to the town.'
5. Topicalized Actor.
6. ?alaj (kʷ:) pʰu: (tʰi:) pʌ? -
/ S v_{eq} rel.pr. V
nɔŋ mʷəŋ
prep. L /
'He was the one who went to the town.'
6. Embedded Actor. Used to fill a nominal slot.

7. ?alaj pan kuəj t^hi: pʌ? - 7. Identification of Actor.
 / S v_{cop} n rel.pr. V Used to fill a nominal
 nɔŋ mwaŋ slot.
 prep. L /

'He was the person who went to the town.'

8. ?alaj pʌ? nɔŋ mwaŋ nɔ:h 8. Yes/no question. Used
 / S V prep. L q.part / to question the reality
 of the Action.

'Did he go to the town?'

Battery Adjuncts:

9. na:w pʌ? mwaŋ 9. Questioned Actor. Used
 / q.w. V L / to elicit the Actor.
 'Who went to the town?'
10. ?alaj pʌ? cɔ?la? 10. Questioned Location. Used
 / S V q.w. / to elicit the Location.
 'Where did he go to?'
11. ?alaj pʌ? 11. Location deletion. Used
 / S V / after a stated question
 in form 9.

'He went.'

12. muəŋ

/ L /

'Town.'

12. Actor and Action deletion.

Used after a stated question
in form 10.

Functional elements:

1. nɔŋ 'in, at'
2. t^hi: - relative pronoun used with non-human or human nouns.
3. ʔan ku: - It is the specific phrase used in the topicalized form.
4. p^hu: (t^hi:) 'who' - relative pronoun used with human noun.
5. pan - pan 'to be'
6. kuəj 'person'
7. nɔ:h (question particle)
8. na:w 'who'
9. cɔʔlaʔ 'to where'

2.2.6 Propulsion clause

The propulsion clause is based on propulsion verbs which function in a complex sentence which contains elements of a transitive clause. This clause type differs from the motion clause in having an Object slot, in their verb classes and in the obligatoriness of the Direction slot. It differs from the bitransitive clause in their verb

classes and its lack of an Indirect Object slot. It also differs from the container or clause-complement in that the Object of a propulsion verb phrase is not the Agent (Subject) of the next Predicate that is the directional verb in the Direction slot, whereas the Object of the container clause is at the same time the Agent (Subject) of the next Predicate. Besides, the Object in the propulsion clause is an inanimate noun whereas the Object in the container clause is an animate noun. It also differs from the motion clause in having an Object slot, in their verb classes and in its obligatory Direction slot.

The propulsion verbs include tek 'take', mpre:k¹ 'carry', cih 'ride', ʔasuəj 'send', tuan² 'carry', p^ha:ŋ 'throw', kacuk 'push', pu: 'drive' etc.

The elements of the propulsion clause are:

$Cl_{prop} = + S:np + P:vp_{prop} + O:np + Dir:v_{dir} + Loc:pp/np$

That is, an obligatory Subject slot filled by a noun phrase,

¹ mpre:k 'to carry two loads suspended from the ends of a pole across the shoulder'

² tuan 'to carry pick a back'

an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a propulsion verb phrase, an obligatory Object slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Direction slot filled by a directional verb and an optional Location slot filled by a prepositional phrase or a noun phrase.

Examples:

1.	ʔalaj	tek	tariəʔ	pʌʔ	tala:t
	he	take	buffalo	go	market
	S	P	O	Dir	Loc:np

'He took a buffalo to the market.'

2.	ʔalaj	mprə:k	dʌʔ	sɔh	kɔh
	he	carry	water	ascend	hill
	S	P	O	Dir	Loc:np

'He carried water up the hill.'

3.	ʔalaj	cih	tariəʔ	pʌʔ	tala:t
	he	ride	buffalo	go	market
	S	P	O	Dir	Loc:np

'He rode a buffalo to the market.'

4.	kɔ:n	kuʔ	tuʌn	ʔasʌʔ	pʌʔ	nɔŋ	muʌŋ
	son	I	carry	milled rice	go	in	town
	S		P	O	Dir	Loc:pp	

'My son carried milled rice to town.'

5.	dam	nu:	dɛ:ŋ	ʔasɔh	kal ʔaluaŋ
	Dam	drive	Daeng	make to ascend	tree
	S	P	O	Dir	Loc:np

'Dam pushed Daeng to ascend the tree.'

6.	kuʔ	p ^h a:ŋ	tamaw	sɛ:ŋ	t ^h ale:
	I	throw	stone	descend	sea
	S	P	O	Dir	Loc:np

'I threw a stone into the sea.'

The object may be shifted in the front when it is emphasized.

Then the order of the elements is O-S-P-Dir-Loc.

7.	tariəʔ	mpua	ʔe:t	pʌʔ	nia
	buffalo	father	bring	go	rice-field
	O	S	P	Dir	Loc:np

'The father took a buffalo to the rice-field.'

Propulsion Battery

Clause roots:

/ mpua	'father' - Actor (represented as S)
tek	'take' - Action (represented as P)
tariəʔ	'buffalo' - Undergoer (represented as O)
pʌʔ	'go' - Directional verb (represented as DV)
nia	'rice-field' - Location (represented as L) /

Restriction on the above battery

1. The Subject slot may be filled by any animate noun.

Functional elements:

1. t^h_i : - relative pronoun used with non-human or human nouns.
2. na:w 'who'
3. ntɾəw 'what'
4. cɔʔlaʔ 'to where'

2.2.7 Quotative clause

A quotative clause is a clause that contains one of a small group of quoting verbs followed directly or closely by $pa:j$ 'say' which functions as a quotative marker. Peripheral element may be a Listener (see battery form 4).

The elements of the quotative clause are:

$$Cl_{quot} = + S:np + P:vp_{quot} + O:np/pp + MK_{quot}:pa:j + Quot:cl/np$$

That is, an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a quotative verb phrase, an optional Object slot filled by a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase, an obligatory Quotative Marker slot filled by the verb $pa:j$ 'say' and an obligatory Quotative slot filled by a clause or a noun phrase.

The quotative verbs include ?abliAh 'ask', ?atA:nj 'order, tell', waw 'speak', com 'complain', ce: 'curse', saba:w 'announce' etc.

Examples:

1.	haj	waw	pa:j	?alaj	ta?	?a:
	we	speak	say	he	do	well
	S	P	MK			Quot

'We said, 'he does well'.

2.	kuaj	t ^h aw	tinaj	waw	ranɛ:n	pa:j	?akə:j?
	person	old	here	speak	children	say	small
		S		P	O:np	MK	Quot

'The old people call children 'Akoey'.

3.	t ^h aj	wi:l	?anaj	waw	pa:j	?alaj	pan	bru:
	villager	this		speak	say	he	be	So
		S		P	MK			Quot

'Those villagers said that they are So(Bru)'.

4.	ntu:n	?aki:	?alaj	waw	kap	lakuaj	pa:j	pra?	pit
	then		he	speak	with	wife	say	money	lose
			S	P		O:pp	MK		Quot

'Then he told his wife that the money had been lost.'

5.	mpe?	ce:	mpua	pa:j	tɔk	pra?	?ap
	mother	curse	father	say	use	money	much
	S	P	O:np	MK			Quot

'My mother cursed my father saying that he used much money.'

6.	palat	saba:w	pa:j	si?	cuaj	t ^h aj haj
	deputy	announce	say	will	help	group us
	S	P	MK			Quot

'The deputy announced that (he) would help us.'

7.	dam	com	pa:j	?i:	kace:t
	Dam	complain	say	want	die
	S	P	MK		Quot

'Dam complained that (he) want to die.'

Occasionally, a quotative clause may contain ?o:n tamun 'to - listen to' to emphasize the Predicate.

8.	?alaj	waw	?o:n tamun	pa:j	lakuaj	kace:t	ca:
	he	speak	give listen	say	wife	die	already
	S		P	MK			Quot

'He said that hi wife had died already.'

Another common form of quotative clause is Quot-MK-S-P or Quot-S-P-MK.

9.	niam	ta? ntraw	ko:n	pa:j	mpe?	waw
	cry	why	child	say	mother	speak
		Quot		MK	S	P

or	niam	ta? ntraw	ko:n	mpe?	waw	pa:j
	cry	why	child	mother	speak	say
		Quot		S	P	MK

'Why did you cry, child?', said mother.'

Quotative BatteryClause roots:

/ dam 'Dam' - Actor or Speaker (represented as S)

waw 'speak' - Action (represented as V)

pʌʔ tala:t 'go to the market' - Quotation (represented as C1) /

1. dam waw pa:j pʌʔ tala:t 1. Simple indirect
/ S V mk C1 / statement. Used in
ordinary discourse.

'Dam said that (he) had gone to the market.'

2. dam {ʔalaj} waw pa:j pʌʔ - 2. Emphatic Actor. Used
{ʔan} / S pron V mk to emphasize the Actor.
tala:t
C1 /

'Dam, he said that (he) had gone to the market.'

3. dam waw ʔo:n tamuŋ pa:j pʌʔ - 3. Emphatic Action. Used
/ S V emp. mk to emphasize the Action.
tala:t
C1 /

'Dam said to listen that (he) had gone to the market.'

4. dam waw kap de:ŋ pa:j pʌʔ tala:t 4. Another simple form
/ S V Lis mk C1 / of the quotative clause.
It has a Listener.

'Dam said to Daeng that (he) had gone to the market.'

1.	ʔalaj		ramuh		dam
	he		name		Dam
	It ₁		P		It ₂ :np

'His name is Dam.'

2.	ʔalaj		pan		k ^h u:		noŋ	wi:l	ʔanaj
	he		be		teacher		in	village	this
	It ₁		P		It ₂ :np			Loc	

'He is a teacher in this village.'

3.	ʔalaj		{ ku: pan		kuaj	(t ^h i:)	tuaj?	kro:	haj
	he		be		person	rel.pr.	steal	thing	us
	It ₁		P						It ₂ :cl

'He is the person who stole our things.'

Occasionally Item₂ can follow immediately Item₁. If there is a pause between them.

4.	rane:n	ʔanaj		ko:n	kw?
	child	this		son	I
		It ₁			It ₂ :np

'This child (is) my son.'

Equational Battery

Clause roots:

/ ʔalaj 'he' - Item₁ (represented as It₁)

ramuh 'name' - Predicate (represented as P)

dam 'Dam' - Item₂ (represented as It₂) /

1. ?alaj ramuh dam 1. Simple statement. Used
/ It₁ P It₂ / in ordinary discourse.

'His name is Dam.'

2. ramuh ^hk'ɔŋ ?alaj ku: dam 2. The formal form.

/ P prep It₁ It₂ /

'The name of him is Dam.'

3. dam ku: ramuh ?alaj 3. Declarative emphatic

/ It₂ P It₁ / Item₂.

'Dam is his name.'

Restriction on the above battery

1. If ramuh functions as a noun, it needs the Predicate ku: in form 2 and 3.

Functional elements:

1. ^hk'ɔŋ 'of'
2. ku: 'to be'

2.2.9 Descriptive clause

The elements of the descriptive clause are:

$$Cl_{des} = _ S:np + P:vp_{des}$$

That is, an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase,

and an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a descriptive verb phrase.

Peripheral time setting, location setting and manner have been observed in this clause type. The descriptive verbs include maj? 'beautiful', ʔɛ:m 'delicious', tuh 'poor', pu:t 'big', ʔa: 'good' etc.

This clause type differs from the intransitive clause in their verb classes which they take, in their transformational potential; that is, the descriptive clause cannot be transformed into imperative. We may call a descriptive verb an 'adjective verb' because it functions both a verb and an adjective.

Examples:

1.	ranɛ:n ʔanaj		ki:ka:j?	lu?	ʔalʌ:
	child this		lazy	really	indeed
	S			P	

'This child is lazy indeed.'

2.	race:n doŋ ʔanaj		ʔɛ:m
	food house this		delicious
	S		P

'The food at this house is delicious.'

3.	caŋʔanaj	maj	maj?
	today	you	beautiful
	Time S	S	P

'Today you are beautiful.'

4.	t ^h aj wi:l		tuh	ʔap
	villager		poor	much
	S		P	

'The villager are very poor.'

The descriptive clause of Dong Luang So can have more than one descriptive verb in a clause.

5.	kuəj	kan	ʔajaʔ	ʔanaj		pu:t	pʌ:ŋ	majʔ	du:n	ca:
	person	female	grand-	this		big	tall	beautiful	long-	already
			mother						old	
		S						P		

'This woman is old, big, tall, and beautiful.'

In the normal speech, the expanded form is rarely found.'

Usually, the speaker likes to break it into two or three sentences or uses a pause after each descriptive verbs.

A reduplicated descriptive verb with a rising-falling pitch in the first descriptive verb functions as an intensifier (Sec.9.5).

Descriptive Battery

Clause roots:

/ ranɛ:n (ʔa)naj 'this child' - Subject (represented as S)

ki:ka:jʔ 'lazy' - State or Attribute (represented as V) /

1. ranɛ:n ʔanaj ki:ka:jʔ 1. Declarative Attribute.

/ S V / Used in simple discourse.

'This child is lazy.'

7. ranɛ:n ʔanaj ki:ka:jʔ ʔalʌ: - 7. Yes/no question (tag-
/ S V inten question). Used to
mi:n no:h question the reality of
adv q.part / the State.
'This child is lazy, isn't he?'
8. ranɛ:n ki:ka:jʔ..... 8. Noun phrase.
/ S V /
'The lazy child.....'
9. ranɛ:n p^hu: ki:ka:jʔ..... 9. Embedded Subject. Used to
/ S rel.pr. V / fill a nominal slot in
a clause giving further
information about the
Subject.
'The child who is lazy...'
10. ranɛ:n ʔacuajhalaʔ ki:ka:jʔ 10. Half-questioned Subject.
/ S q.w. V / Used to elicit the Actor
when the Actor is partly
known.
'Which child is lazy?'

Battery Adjuncts:

11. ranɛ:n pan wiatlaʔ 11. Questioned Attribute. Used
/ S v_{cop} q.w. / to elicit the Attribute.
'What is the child like?'

12.(a) na:w ki:ka:j?

/ q.w. V /

(b) na:w nah ki:ka:j?

/ q.w. amp.p. V /

12. Questioned Subject. Used to elicit the Actor. Form (a) is used in simple discourse and form (b) is used to ask for sure who Actor is.

'Who is lazy?'

Restrictions on the above battery

1. ?ana:j in form 3 cannot follow the classifier to: but naj can follow it.
2. Form 6, lu? requires a falling-rising pitch to make it into yes/no question.
3. Form 8 requires only nouns as Subject.
4. Form 9 takes incomplete parts of larger intonation contour.

Functional elements:

1. ?alʌ: 'indeed'
2. to: - classifier for an animate used in a question.
3. no:h (question particle)
4. lu? 'really'
5. mi:n 'to be right'
6. p^h u: (relative pronoun)
7. ?acuajhala? 'which' is used with a human noun.
8. pan 'to be'

9. wiatla? 'how'
 10. na:w 'who'
 11. nah (emphatic particle)

2.2.10 Existence clause

The elements of the existence clause are:

$$Cl_{ex} = + P:\underline{b\grave{a}:n} + S:np + _ Loc:pp/np$$

That is, an optional Predicate slot filled by b\grave{a}:n 'have, there is', an obligatory Subject slot only filled by a noun phrase and an optional Location slot filled by a prepositional phrase or a noun phrase. The existence verb class has only one member; that is, b\grave{a}:n 'have, there is'.

The existence clause differs from the location clause in the verb classes which they take and the Predicate slot in the location clause follows the Subject slot. If the Predicate slot in the location clause occurs before the Subject slot, it takes the verb ?\u039b:t 'live' after it (see location battery).

The normal order of the existence clause is P-S-Loc.

Examples:

1.	bə:n		mo:		bə:r		na?
	have		friend		two		class.
	P				S		

'There are two friends.'

2.	bə:n		?ali:k		?ap		don		ku?
	have		pig		many		house		I
	P				S				Loc

'There are many pigs at my house.'

3.	tʌ:	bə:n		malə:		noŋ		wat
	not	have		who		in		temple
	P			S				Loc

'Nobody is in the temple.'

In order to bring the Subject into focus, the order will be

S-Loc-P.

4.	?ali:k		don		ku?		bə:n		?ap
	pig		house		I		have		many
	S				Loc				P

'The pigs at my house are many.'

5.	kal ?aluəŋ		k ^h a:ŋ		don		ku?		bə:n		?ap
	tree		side		house		I		have		many
	S				Loc						P

'The trees at the side of my house are many.'

To focus the Location, the order of elements will be Loc-P-S.

Usually, it has a pause after the Location.

6.	(ti?)	doŋ	kuʔ		bə:n		pa:	priət	ʔap
	at	house	I		have		grove	banana	many
		Loc			P			S	

'At my house, there are many groves of banana plants.'

7.	k ^h a:ŋ	doŋ	kuʔ		bə:n		kəl ʔaluəŋ	ʔap
	side	house	I		have		tree	many
		Loc			P		S	

'At the side of my house, there are many trees.'

Sometimes bə:n is omitted to become a noun phrase (see ex 5 in the battery). The Predicate and Subject are normally present and Location is optional.

Existence Battery

Clause roots:

/ kuəj ʔap 'many people' - Subject (represented as S)

bə:n 'have' - Predicate (represented as V)

ti? wat 'at the temple' - Location (represented as L) /

1. bə:n kuəj ʔap ti? wat 1. Simple form. Used in
/ V S L / ordinary discourse.

'There are many people at the temple.'

7. ti? wat

/ L /

'At the temple.'

7. Predicate and Subject deletion.

Used as an elliptical form of the full answer for question in form 6.

8. ba:n ntraw ti? wat

/ V q.w. L /

'What is there at the temple?'

8. Questioned Subject. Used to elicit

the answer in form 1.

Restriction on the above battery

1. The Subject slot cannot be filled by a pronoun.

Functional elements:

1. ti?la? 'where'
2. ntraw 'what'

2.2.11 Reciprocal clause

Two participants in an action may do the action to each other.

There are three types of reciprocal clause.

- A. The elements of the reciprocal clause type A are:

$Cl_{rec_A} = + S_1:np + Prep:\underline{kap} + S_2:np + P:vp_{rec/tr} + MK_{rec}:\underline{rannu?}$

That is, an obligatory Subject₁ slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Preposition slot filled by kap, an obligatory Subject₂ slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by

a reciprocal verb phrase or a transitive verb phrase, and an obligatory Reciprocal Marker slot filled by raŋnu?. Peripheral time setting, location setting and manner are observed. The reciprocal verbs include laɬɬ 'quarrel', tɛŋ 'hit', mak 'love', pɛŋ 'shoot', and taŋ 'collide, bump' etc. (Sec.2.2.1).

Examples:

1.	dɛ:ŋ	kap	dam	tɛŋ	raŋnu?	mahaʔanaj
	Daeng	and	Dam	hit		yesterday
	S ₁	Prep	S ₂	P	MK	Time S

'Daeng and Dam hit each other yesterday.'

2.	dam	kap	dɛ:ŋ	mak	raŋnu?
	Dam	and	Daeng	love	
	S ₁	Prep	S ₂	P	MK

'Dam and Daeng love each other.'

B. The elements of the reciprocal clause type B. are:

$$\begin{aligned}
 Cl_{rec_B} = & + S_1:np + Prep:\underline{kap} + S_2:np + MK_{rec_1}:\underline{ra-} + P:vp_{tr} \\
 & + MK_{rec_2}:\underline{raŋnu?}
 \end{aligned}$$

That is, an obligatory Subject₁ slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Preposition slot filled by kap, an obligatory Subject₂ slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Reciprocal Marker₁ slot

filled by the prefix ra-, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a transitive verb phrase, and an optional Reciprocal Marker₂ slot filled by raŋnu?.

The Reciprocal Marker in the reciprocal clause may occur in form of a prefix which occurs with the transitive verbs. I found only four verbs which occur with the prefix ra-; that is, təŋ 'hit', kap 'bite', taŋ 'collide, bump', peŋ 'shoot'.

In the reciprocal clause type B, the reciprocal marker raŋnu? is optional. It can occur with the reciprocal marker ra- when the speaker want to emphasize the action (see ex 4).

3.	de:ŋ	kap	dam	ra	taŋ
	Daeng	and	Dam		bump
	S ₁	Prep	S ₂	MK	P

'Daeng and Dam bumped each other.'

4.	de:ŋ	kap	dam	ra	təŋ	raŋnu?
	Daeng	and	Dam		hit	
	S ₁	Prep	S ₂	MK ₁	P	MK ₂

'Daeng and Dam hit each other.'

Sometimes the Predicate is also shifted to the beginning of the clause when the Predicate is emphasized.

5.	laḷḷh	raḡnu?	ʔalaḷ	kap	ku?
	quarrel		he	and	I
	P	MK	S ₁	Prep	S ₂

'(We) quarrelled with each other, he and I.'

C. Reciprocal clause with separate subjects takes the form

as follows:

$$Cl_{rec_C} = + S_1:np + MK_{rec_1} : \underline{ra-} + P:vp_{tr} + MK_{rec_2} : \underline{raḡnu?} + Prep: \underline{kap} + S_2:np$$

That is, an obligatory Subject₁ slot filled by a noun phrase, an optional Reciprocal Marker₁ slot filled by ra-, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a transitive verb phrase, an optional Reciprocal Marker₂ slot filled by raḡnu?, an obligatory Preposition slot filled by kap, and an obligatory Subject₂ slot filled by a noun phrase.

Examples:

6.	ʔalaḷ	laḷḷh	raḡnu?	kap	ku?
	he	quarrel		with	I
	S ₁	P	MK ₂	Prep	S ₂

'He and I were quarrelling each other.'

7.	dɛ:ŋ	ra	tɛ̃n	raŋnuʔ	kap	dam
	Daeng		hit		with	Dam
	S ₁	MK ₁	P	MK ₂	Prep	S ₂

'Daeng and Dam were hitting each other.'

8.	dɛ:ŋ	tɛ̃n	kap	dam
	Daeng	hit	with	Dam
	S ₁	P	Prep	S ₂

'Daeng and Dam were hitting each other.'

Reciprocal Battery

Clause roots:

/ ʔalaj 'he, she' or 'they' - Actors or Undergoers of the Action
(represented as S₁)

kuʔ 'I' - Actor or Undergoer of the Action (represented
as S₂)

tɛ̃n 'hit' - Action (represented as V)

ra- 'to each other' - Reciprocal Marker (represented as MK) /

1. ʔalaj ratɛ̃n 1. Simple form. Used in ordinary
/ S₁ MK V / discourse.

'They hit each other.'

2. ʔalaj kap kuʔ ratɛ̃n 2. Another simple form. Used
/ S₁ prep S₂ MK V / in ordinary discourse (type B).

'He and I hit each other.'

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>10. ?alaj <u>kap</u> kw?
/ S₁ prep S₂ /
'He and I.'</p> | <p>10. Predicate deletion. Used as a stated question in form 12</p> |
| <p>11. ?alaj raten <u>kap</u> <u>na:w</u>
/ S₁ MK V prep q.w. /
'He and who were hitting each other?'</p> | <p>11. Questioned Actor. Used to elicit one Actor or Undergoer</p> |
| <p>12. <u>na:w</u> raten
/ q.w. MK V /
'Who hit each other?'</p> | <p>12. Questioned Actors. Used to elicit both Actor or Undergoer</p> |

Restrictions on the above battery

1. When the Subject of a reciprocal verb is a plural noun or pronoun, the clause fits the intransitive rather than the reciprocal clause (in form 1).
2. The Reciprocal Marker in the form of a prefix like this battery will be deleted simultaneously with the verb (in form 9 and 10).
3. The verbs that fit in the transitive or quotative battery may fill the Predicate slot in a reciprocal clause.

Functional elements:

1. kap 'and, with'
2. ranw? 'each other'
3. na:w 'who, whom'

2.2.12 Evaluation clause

The elements of the evaluation clause are:

$$Cl_{eval} = + It:np + P:vp_{eval} + Value:np_{nu}/v_{des}$$

That is, an obligatory Item slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by an evaluation verb phrase and an obligatory Value slot filled by a numeral noun phrase or a descriptive verb. Time setting and location setting have been observed.

The evaluation verbs are rakia 'cost', kut pan pra? 'to charge'.

Examples:

1.	saj?	take:ŋ	rakia	klap	caŋ?ənaŋ
	meat	cow	cost	cheap	today
	It		P	Value	Time S

'Beef is cheap today.'

2.	saj?	?ali:k	ti?	tala:t	rakia	pə:n	cit
	meat	pig	at	market	cost	four	ten
	It		Loc		P	Value	

'At the market, pork costs 40 baht.'

3.	ŋɛ?	t ^h əŋ	muən	kut pan pra?	pɛ:t sip	ba:t
	all	both	whole	charge	eighty	class.
	It			P	Value	

'All of these amount to eighty baht.'

4.	sarɛ:	sə:t	tɔ:	naj	rakia	mu:	ruaj
	cost	shirt	class.	this	cost	one	hundred
		It			P		Value

'This shirt costs 100 baht.'

The value position may be shifted forward when it is emphasized.

Then the order is P-Value-It.

5.	rakia	mu:	ruaj	sarɛ:	sə:t	tɔ:	naj
	cost	one	hundred	cost	shirt	class.	this
	P		Value				It

'This shirt costs 100 baht.'

2.2.13 Comparative clause

There are two degrees of comparison.

A. Comparative degree

B. Superlative degree

A. Comparative degree

The elements of the comparative degree clause are:

$$Cl_{\text{com.deg.}} = \begin{matrix} + \\ - \end{matrix} S_1:\text{np} + P:\text{vp}_{\text{des/in/tr/mot}} + \text{Com.MK: } \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{kua} \end{matrix} \right\} + S_2:\text{np} \\ \begin{matrix} + \\ - \end{matrix} Qt:\text{np}_{\text{nu}}$$

That is, an optional Subject₁ slot filled by a noun phrase, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a descriptive verb phrase (Sec.2.2.9)

or an intransitive verb phrase (Sec.2.2.2) or a transitive verb phrase (Sec.2.2.1) or a motion verb phrase (Sec.2.2.5), an obligatory Comparative Marker slot filled by the { kua } class, an obligatory Subject₂ slot filled by a noun phrase and an optional Quantity slot filled by a numeral phrase.

The { kua } class of markers includes ku: 'like', sam 'same', mah 'equal', tua kan kap 'to be equal to' and kua 'than'.

Examples:

1.	dam	ku:m	sam	kaca:h
	Dam	black	same	charcoal
	S ₁	P	Com.MK	S ₂

'Dam is as black as charcoal.'

2.	k ^h iaw	ku:	sala:	?aluan
	green	like	leaf	tree
	P	Com.MK		S ₂

'(It is) as green as a leaf.'

3.	ntaŋ	tua kan kap	ŋo:r	tamaw
	heavy	to be equal to	class.	stone
	P	Com.MK		S ₂

'(He/It is) as heavy as a stone.'

4.	ʔahɛ:r	mah	non
	light	equal	kapok
	P	Com.MK	S ₂

'(It is) as light as kapok.'

5.	ʔalaj	pʌ:ŋ	kua	kuʔ	ba:r	ŋkua
	he	tall	than	I	two	inch
	S ₁	P	Com.MK	S ₂	Qt	

'He is two inches taller than I.'

Usually, the Subject₂ will be deleted when it is the same kind as the Subject₁. It will delete only a noun that is the same but not a modifier.

6.	raɛ:n	caŋʔanaj	ʔɛ:m	kua	mahaʔanaj
	food	today	delicious	than	yesterday
	S ₁		P	Com.MK	S ₂

'Today the food is more delicious than yesterday.'

If the Predicate slot has a transitive verb phrase, the object is usually deleted.

7.	ʔalaj	ciə	ʔap	kua	kuʔ
	he	eat	much	than	I
	S ₁		P	Com.MK	S ₂

'He ate much more than I.'

B. Superlative degree

The superlative degree clause is marked by kua plus a phrase ne? 'all', mo: 'group' or ne? ne? wi:l ?anaj 'all in the village'.

This clause type differs from the comparative degree clause in the Subject slot. The Subject₂ slot in the superlative degree clause requires only three noun phrases above and the Subject₁ slot is obligatory but in the comparative degree clause it is optional.

The elements of the superlative degree clause are:

$$Cl_{sup.deg.} = + S_1:np/cl + P:vp_{des/in/tr/mot} + Com.MK:kua + S_2:\{ne?\}$$

That is, an obligatory Subject₁ slot filled by a noun phrase or a clause, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a descriptive verb phrase or an intransitive verb phrase or a transitive verb phrase or a motion verb phrase, an obligatory Comparative Marker slot filled by kua, and an obligatory Subject₂ slot filled by a noun phrase which indicates a group or all of one kind of nouns.

Examples:

1.	?alaj	rian	kej	kua	mo:
	he	study	well	than	group
	S ₁	P		Com.MK	S ₂

'He studies the best of the group.'

2.	dam	pʌ:ŋ	kua	ŋɛ?
	Dam	tall	than	all
	S ₁	P	Com.MK	S ₂

'Dam is the tallest boy in the village.'

3.	ʔalaj	pan	ranɛ:n	laj	kua	ŋɛ?	nɔŋ	wi:l	ʔanaj
	he	be	child	ugly	than	all	in	village	this
	S ₁ :cl			P	Com.MK	S ₂			

'He is the ugliest child in the village.'

4.	mpe?	ku?	plum	tuj	kua	ŋɛ?	nɔŋ	wi:l	ʔanaj
	mother	I	fat		than	all	in	village	this
	S ₁		P	Com.MK	S ₂				

'My mother is the fattest woman in the village.'

5.	dɛ:ŋ	taluh	waj	kua	mo:
	Daeng	run	quick	than	group
	S ₁	P		Com.MK	S ₂

'Daeng runs the quickest in the group.'

2.2.14 Verbal clause

The elements of the verbal clause are:

$$Cl_{ver} = + P:vp_{ver} + Ex.MK: \{cə:\}$$

That is, an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a verbal

verb phrase and an optional Existential Marker slot filled by {cə:} which indicates that the natural phenomena are still happening. Manner has been observed as a peripheral element.

The verbal clause differs from the descriptive clause in its verb class. The verbal verbs function as both the Subject and the Predicate of the clause. In the descriptive clause has no Existential Marker to indicate the action.

The verbal verbs include mia 'rain', krum mia 'thunder', kaja:l 'storm' etc.

Examples:

1.	<u>mia</u>		cə:
	rain		already
	P		Ex.MK

'It is raining (already).'

2.	<u>krum</u>		<u>mia</u>
	?		rain
			P

'It is thundering.'

3.	<u>mia</u>		re:ŋ
	rain		strongly
	P		Ex.MK

'It is raining strongly.'

4.	kaja:l		cə:
	storm		already
	P		Ex.MK

'It is storming already.'

5.	ta:		mja
	not		rain
		P	

'It does not rain.'

2.3 Modified Forms

Clause generally may be modified in the following ways:

2.3.1 Imperative clause

A clause, except descriptive clause, existence clause, equational clause and verbal clause, may be transformed into imperative. It is used in direct speech to tell the listener to do or not to do something. Usually the Subject of an imperative clause is deleted. If the Subject is present, only kinship terms, names and a first or second personal pronoun (singular or plural) can function as Head of a noun phrase. When the Subject is said, there must be a slight pause after it.

The imperative clause is usually marked by a final falling intonation but it requires a final rising-falling intonation when the imperative clause has a final particle. Final particles can show

5. pʌ? cia dɔ:j t^hə? (polite invitation)
 go eat rice f.p.
 'Go and eat.'
6. ʔi: sa: canɛ:h ci? (strong and impolite command)
 title Sa eat(impolite) f.p.
 'Sa! eat.'
7. cia nah (transitive imperative)
 eat f.p.
 'Eat.'
8. haj pʌ? cia dɔ:j t^hə? (polite persuasion)
 we go eat rice f.p.
 'We! let's go to eat rice.'
9. pʌ? cia dɔ:j kan t^hə? (polite persuasion)
 go eat rice f.p.
 'Let's go to eat rice.'
10. pʌ? ʔɔ:n wɛt (motion imperative)
 go give beyond
 'Go away.'
11. lap cɔ? naj kɔ:n (command)
 return to here child
 'Come here, child!'

4. pe? laleḥ ci? (reciprocal imperative)

stop quarrel f.p.

'Stop quarrelling (with each other).'

5. su: waw (quotative imperative)

don't speak

'Don't speak.'

6. su: ʔo:n pra? ʔalaj nah (bitransitive imperative)

don't give money he f.p.

'Don't give him money.'

7. ciə tʌ: pan də: (transitive imperative)

eat not be f.p.

'(You) can't eat (it).'

8. so:j pʌ? tala:t (motion imperative)

prohibit go market

'Don't go to the market.'

Structurally, the imperative clause seems to overlap with the statement clause because the Subject slot in both types are optional and the negative marker of the statement clause also uses tʌ: 'not'. If the imperative clause uses tʌ: the same as the statement clause, a final particle is present like in form 7. However, the imperative clause is also different from the statement clause in their situational contexts and different intonation.

If wanting to express a strong negative imperative, we can use two negative markers before a statement clause.

9. pe? so:j talu:h
 stop prohibit run
 'Stop running.'

10. pe? su: talu:h
 stop don't run
 'Stop running.'

11. so:j su: talu:h
 prohibit don't run
 'Stop running.'

12. so:j pe? talu:h
 prohibit stop run
 'Don't stop running.'

The negative marker su: cannot occur before so:j or pe?.

* 13. su: so:j talu:h
 don't prohibit run

* 14. su: pe? talu:h
 don't stop run

2.3.2 Interrogative clause

The interrogative clause functions primarily in the nucleus of interrogative sentences. It is seldom used in a sentence periphery

or in embedding. It is used primarily in direct speech.

Interrogative clauses are marked by distinctive question particles, question words and by distinctive intonation.

Structurally, interrogative clauses may be divided into 3 types: yes/no question, alternative question, and content question. These subtypes differ from each other in their word order, in their question words and in their transformation potential.

A. Yes/no question

A yes/no question asks about the assurance or reality of a statement. It is a question which requires a 'yes' or 'no' answer, as indicated by its name. The yes/no question clause is marked by a question particle nɔ:h or a falling-rising intonation.

The elements of the yes/no question clause are:

$C1_{\text{yes/no ques}} = + \text{Nucleus:cl} + \text{QP:nɔ:h}$
--

That is, an obligatory Nucleus slot filled by any structural clause types and an optional Question Particle slot filled by nɔ:h.

Examples:

1. ta? ηkri? pan nɔ:h
do like this be q.part

'Can (you) do like this?'

2. (maj) ciə dɔ:j cə:

you eat rice already

'Did you already eat rice?'

3. dam ʔi: pʌʔ t^hiəw mwaŋ nɔ:h

Dam want go travel town q.part

'Does Dam want to travel to town?'

4. maj ʔe:t lakuaj cə: nɔ:h

you take wife already q.part

'Are you already married?'

Form 2 the question particle nɔ:h is deleted but it is still marked by a falling-rising intonation.

Sometimes the question particle nɔ:h may be shifted to follow the verb which is emphasized.

5. nɔŋ bə:n nɔ:h p^hu: t^hi: tʌʔ

still have q.part rel.pr. come

'Is there a person who comes (here)?'

Another yes/no question containing the question particles: mi:n nɔ:h, luʔ nɔ:h, ru: tʌ: and mi:n bɔ: is called a tag question.

This subtype asks about the assurance of a statement and what the speaker expects it to be.

6. maj tʌ: mak cia pa:də:ʔ mi:n nɔ:h
 you not like eat salted fish right q.part
 'You do not like to eat salted fish, do you?'

7. mpeʔ pʌʔ doŋ ʔajaʔ luʔ nɔ:h
 mother go house grandmother really q.part
 'Did the mother go the grandmother's house or didn't she?'

8. mpua tʌ: la:h pʌʔ niə caŋʔanaŋ rw: tʌ:
 father not out go rice-field today or not
 'Father does not go to rice-field today, does he?'

9. ʔalaj tʌʔ cɔʔ kuʔ mi:n bɔ:
 he come to I right q.part
 'He came to see me, didn't he?'

B. Alternative question

An alternative question give choices for the listener to choose from for the answer. These can be formed by adding (nɔ:h) rw: between two clauses.

Examples:

1. maj mak bajʔ nɔ:h rw: mak pʌʔ
 you like sleep q.part or like go
 'Do you like to sleep or like to go?'

2. maj siʔ pʌʔ doŋ kuʔ (nɔ:h) rw: siʔ pʌʔ tala:t
 you will go house I q.part or will go market
 'Will you go to my house or go to the market?'

The question particle nɔ:h is optional. There is a slight pause after nɔ:h before rw:.

C. Content question

The content question clause functions in contexts where one or more of the participants in an action are unknown and under question. It is marked by interrogative morphemes or question words. It may be subdivided as follows:

(1). This subtype consists of hala? 'when', tana? 'why', ta? ntraw 'why', mala? 'how many, how much', pala? 'where', mu:la? 'when', wiatla? 'how', na:w 'who, whom', and ntraw 'what'. These question words can occur alone and normally occur in the same position as that element in the statement clause which is stated as an answer in a statement clause so there is no specific formula.

As for the question words hala? and mu:la? were used in a different way in the former time; that is, hala? was used in the past tense and mu:la? was used in the present or future tense. Now this use is flexible.

Normally the content question is marked by rising-falling intonation on question words.

The position of question words

For na:w 'who, whom', mu:la? 'when', hala? 'when', they can occur in all initial, middle and final positions of an intransitive clause.

Examples:

1. (a) na:w pan k^hu:
 who be teacher

(b) pan na:w k^hu:
 be who teacher

(c) pan k^hu: na:w
 be teacher who

'Who is a teacher?'

2. (a) mu:la? maj si? tʌ? ?ɛ:n
 when you will come again

(b) maj si? tʌ? mu:la? ?ɛ:n
 you will come when again

(c) maj si? tʌ? ?ɛ:n mu:la?
 you will come again when

'When will you come again?'

Note: The question word mu:la? can be placed before the main verb in this example.

maj si? mu:la? tʌ? ?ɛ:n
 you will when come again

'When will you come again?'

3. (a) hala? mpe? pʌ? doŋ ?aja?
 when mother go house grandmother

(b) mpe? pʌ? hala? doŋ ?aja?
 mother go when house grandmother

(c) mpe? pʌ? doŋ ?aja? hala?
 mother go house grandmother when

'When did mother go to the grandmother's house?'

ntɾəw 'what', mala? 'how many, how much', pala? 'where',

wiətla? 'how', tana? 'why', ta? nɾəw 'why' can occur only in initial and final positions.

Examples:

1. (a) ntɾəw maj ramuh
 what you name

(b) maj ramuh ntɾəw
 you name what

'What is your name?'

Note: If this question is emphasized, the main verb can be placed at the beginning of the clause.

ramuh maj ntɾəw
 name you what

'What is your name?'

ntɾəw can occur in all initial, middle and final positions

when it occurs with the preposition kap as follows:

2. (a) ntɾəw ʔan ku: kap
 what it like with
- (b) ʔan ntɾəw ku: kap
 it what like with
- (c) ʔan ku: kap ntɾəw
 it like with what
- 'What is it like?'

In this example, the question word ntɾəw can occur before the preposition kap.

- ʔan ku: ntɾəw kap
 it like what with
- 'What is it like?'
3. (a) mala? ʔi: bə:n
 how many want get
- (b) ʔi: bə:n mala?
 want get how many
- 'How many do (you) want?'
4. (a) pala? nia ʔʌ:t
 where rice-field live
- (b) nia ʔʌ:t pala?
 rice-field live where
- 'Where is the rice-field?'

5. (a) wiatla? si? pʌ? muk
 how will go Mukdahan
- (b) si? pʌ? muk (pʌ?) wiatla?
 will go Mukdahan go how
- 'How will you go to Mukdahan?'

6. (a) { tana?
ta? ntraw } dam ʔo:n k^hanom mpe?
 why Dam give sweet mother
- (b) dam ʔo:n k^hanom mpe? { tana?
ta? ntraw }
 Dam give sweet mother why
- 'Why did Dam give sweets to his mother?'

(2). The second subtype consists of the prepositions¹ or the prepositional time² plus the interrogative morpheme la? such as ti?la?³ 'where', tɛ:la? 'from where', co?la? 'to where', and to:nla? 'when (specific time)'.
 'when (specific time)'.
 'when (specific time)'.

The position of question words

ti?la? 'where' and to:nla? 'when' can occur in all initial, middle and final positions of interrogative clause.

¹ These prepositions are ti? 'at', tɛ: 'from', and co? 'to'.

² The prepositional time is to:n 'during'.

³ Sometimes ti?la? is pronounced that ti:la? in slow speech.

Examples:

1. (a) tiʔlaʔ ʔan ʔʌ:t

where it live

(b) ʔan tiʔlaʔ ʔʌ:t

it where live

(c) ʔan ʔʌ:t tiʔlaʔ

it live where

'Where is it?'

2. (a) tɔ:nlaʔ mpeʔ pʌʔ doŋ ʔajaʔ

when mother go house grandmother

(b) mpeʔ pʌʔ tɔ:nlaʔ doŋ ʔajaʔ

mother go when house grandmother

(c) mpeʔ pʌʔ doŋ ʔajaʔ tɔ:nlaʔ

mother go house grandmother when

'What time did mother go to the grandmother's house?'

coʔlaʔ 'to where' and tɛ:laʔ 'from where' can occur only in

final position.

Examples:

1. maj siʔ pʌʔ coʔlaʔ

you will go to where

'Where will you go to?'

2. maj tʌ? te:la?
 you come from where
 'Where did you come from?'

(3). The third subtype consists of the copula verb pan plus the question words such as pan tana? 'why', pan ntraw 'why', pan wiatla? 'why'. They have the same meaning and are used in the same way. They can occur only in initial position.

Examples:

1. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pan wiatla?} \\ \text{pan ntraw} \\ \text{pan tana?} \end{array} \right\} \text{?alaj caŋ riaj}$
 why he therefore angry
 'Why is he angry?'

(4). This subtype consists of the interrogative morpheme si? 'how many, how much' plus a classifier. The members of this subtype can occur only in initial and final positions.

Examples:

1. (a) si? na? maj bæ:n kɔ:n
 how many class. you have child
 (b) maj bæ:n kɔ:n si? na?
 you have child how many class.
 'How many childs do you have?'
2. (a) si? mo:ŋ ca: canua
 how many class. already now

- (b) canua si? mo:n ca:
 now how many class. already
 'What time is it now?'

(5). This subtype consists of a classifier or a noun plus the interrogative morpheme (?a)la? 'which'. The members of this type can occur in all initial, middle and final positions of interrogative clause.

Examples:

1. (a) k^hanom ?ala? si? ?_{ɔ:n} mpe?
 sweet which will give mother
- (b) si? ?_{ɔ:n} k^hanom ?ala? mpe?
 will give sweet which mother
- (c) si? ?_{ɔ:n} mpe? k^hanom ?ala?
 will give mother sweet which
 'Which sweet will (you) give your mother?'
2. (a) p^hə:n (?a)la? ?araj? maj mak
 class. which cloth you love
- (b) ?araj? p^hə:n (?a)la? maj mak
 cloth class. which you love
- (c) maj mak ?araj? p^hə:n (?a)la?
 you love cloth class. which
 'Which cloth do you like?'

2.3.3 Relative clause

The relative clause is used to refer to specifically identified people or items. It is changed from an independent clause and serves as a noun phrase or a modifier of a noun.

The general formula for the relative clause is:

$$Cl_{rel} = (H:np) \text{ } \underline{\quad} \text{ Rel.Pr: } \left\{ p^h u: t^h i: \right\} + \text{ Embedded Cl:cl}_{red}$$

That is, an optional Relative Pronoun slot filled by $\left\{ p^h u: t^h i: \right\}$ and an obligatory Embedded Clause slot filled by a reduced clause.

Examples:

1. dam pan p^hu: t^hi: cia ꞑo? mpil

Dam be rel.pr. eat tamarind

'Dam is the one who ate tamarinds...'

2. ranɛ:n p^hu: ki:ka:j? pan sɛ:m ku?

child rel.pr. lazy be brother I

'The child who is lazy is my brother.'

3. kata: t^hi: dam ta:n maj?

basket rel.pr. Dam weave beautiful

'The basket that Dam weaves is beautiful.'

The relative marker may be deleted but a clause which has a relative pronoun is more emphatic than a clause which does not have

relative pronoun.

4. ɲɔʔ mpil dam ciə ʔɛ:m
 tamarind Dam eat delicious

'The tamarinds (that) Dam ate are delicious.'

The relative pronoun may follow na:w 'the third person singular'

in order to emphasize the Head noun.

5. ʔan ku: sa: na:w p^hu: (t^hi:) ta:n ʔapial
 it be Sa 3rd person rel.pr. weave mat

'It is Sa who weaves the mat.'

A restriction on the relative pronoun is that p^hu: (t^hi:) is

only used with a human noun and can follow after either a copula verb

or a Head noun. t^hi: is used with both human and non-human nouns but

it cannot immediately follow after a copula verb. The relative pronoun

t^hi: always follows a Head noun. The example below shows that the

relative pronoun t^hi: can occur with a human noun.

6. dam pan kuəj t^hi: ciə ɲɔʔ mpil
 Dam be person rel.pr. eat tamarind

'Dam is the person who ate tamarinds.'

2.3.4 Nominalization

Nominalization is the way of making a clause into a noun to

fill a Subject slot or sometimes an Object slot of a clause or a sentence.

Nominalized clauses can be formed by adding ka:n t^hi:, ka:n,

ruaŋ (Thai-loanwords) in front of the clause.

Examples:

1. ka:n t^hi: ʔalaj ho:m kasɛn

thing that he see snake

'that he saw the snake.'

2. ruaŋ kuaj ho:m kasɛn

story man see snake

'the matter of the man seeing the snake.'

3. ruaŋ kuaj kace:t k^hɔŋ kuaj suan

story man die of man garden

'the matter of the garden-man's dying.'

4. ka:n ruam mit ruam re:ŋ p^hatt^hana:

being join heart join effort develop

'Pooling efforts for developing.'

CHAPTER III

SEMANTIC CLAUSE TYPES

A semantic clause (also called a proposition or predication) describes participants interrelating in an action or state. It may be an action actually performed or an action just referred to. It is usually manifested by a structural clause. Semantic clauses may be divided into: action, location, communication, function, existence, description, and quantity.

3.1 Action (Verb Centered)

The action is the main part or the nucleus of the clause.

In So, it may be manifested a variety of forms such as a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1), an intransitive clause (Sec.2.2.2) and others.

Semantically the action (verb centered) clause may be subdivided into:

3.1.1 Ambient : Action

An ambient clause refers to the weather or natural phenomena.

The ambient clause has no Actor that is the Item and the Action are functioning as one semantic unit. It may be manifested by a verbal clause (ex 1, 3) or an intransitive clause (ex 2, 4, 5).

Examples:

1. m_iɑ (cə:) (verbal clause)
rain already
'It is raining (already).'
2. m_iɑ tʌ? cə: (intransitive clause)
rain come already
'It is raining already.'
3. krum m_iɑ (verbal clause)
? rain
'It is thundering.'
4. tɑ:jh tɑdɑ:h (intransitive clause)
lightning cut
'It is lightning.'
5. dʌ? lup (intransitive clause)
water flood
'It is flooding.'

3.1.2 Transitive ambient : Action + Item

A transitive ambient clause refers to natural phenomena affecting a participant. It is only manifested by a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1).

Examples:

1. miə klap kuʔ

rain touch I

'It rained on me (but I did not get very wet).'

2. miə puh kuʔ

rain wet I

'It rained to wet me (get wet already).'

3. ta:jh tada:h { cɔʔ } ?alaj
lighting cut klap touch he

'He was struck by lighting.'

3.1.3 Intransitive : Actor + Action

It expresses an action attributed to the Subject as Actor and does not require a direct object to complete its meaning. It may be manifested by an intransitive clause (Sec.2.2.2).

Examples:

1. ?alaj niam

he cry

'He is crying.'

2. mpeʔ mu:mə:

mother talk in one's sleep

'Mother talked in her sleep.'

3. ʔalaj saŋa:r

he snore

'He snored.'

3.1.4 Transitive : Actor + Action + Undergoer

Usually the transitive clause expresses an action attributed to the Actor and take effect on somebody or something. It needs a direct object to complete the meaning. It is only manifested by a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1).

Examples:

1. dam ciə rahaw

Dam eat medicine

'Dam ate medicine.'

2. mpeʔ ta:n ʔapiəl

mother weave mat

'Mother wove that mat.'

3. mpeʔ ri:t ʔarajʔ

mother iron cloth

'Mother irons clothes.'

3.1.5 Bitransitive : Actor + Action + Undergoer + Recipient

The bitransitive clause expresses an action attributed to the Subject as Actor. It also takes an Undergoer and takes the Indirect Object as Recipient. It is manifested by a bitransitive clause (Sec.2.2

Examples:

1. dam ?q:n ku? fajc^h a:j ?ana:j

Dam give I searchlight this

'Dam gave me this searchlight.'

2. ?alaj ?q:n na:sw: si:

he give book Si

'He gave a book to Si.'

3. ku? si? ?q:n pra? kap dam

I will give money to Dam

'I will give money to Dam.'

3.2 Location (Location Centered)

Location may be source or destination. The difference between destination and source is that the destination is a place to which somebody or something is going or being sent, source is a place from which something or somebody come or are get. The location centered clause manifested a motion clause (Sec.2.2.5), a location clause (Sec.2.2.4), a propulsion clause (Sec.2.2.6) and transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1).

3.2.1 Locative : Item + Action + Location

The locative clause indicates primarily where the item is so the verb is less important. It is manifested by a location clause

(Sec.2.2.4).

Examples:

1. ?alaj tajwŋ ti? sana:m

he stand at field

'He stands at the field.'

2. ?ali:k ?ʌ:t nŋŋ lɔk

pig live in pen

'Pigs are in the pen.'

3. ?aliŋŋ ?ʌ:t nŋŋ hŋŋ

crab live in hole

'Crabs are in holes.'

3.2.2 Motion : Actor + Action $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \\ - \end{array} \right]$ (Source) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \\ - \end{array} \right]$ (Destination)

Motion clauses have the Subject as Actor and a motion verb as Action. The motion verb requires Source and/or Destination. It is manifested by a motion clause (Sec.2.2.5).

Examples:

1. si: | lap tʌ? | ti? wi:l

Si | return come | at village

Actor | Act | Dest

'Si returned to the village.'

2.	ʔalaj	tʌʔ	tɛ:	doŋ	kamnan
	he	come	from	house	kamnan
	Actor	Act		Source	

'He came from the house of the kamnan.'

3.	dam	tajah	tɛ:	doŋ	pʌʔ	coʔ	nia
	Dam	walk	from	house	go	to	rice-field
	Actor	Act		Source			Dest

'Dam walked from his house to the rice-field.'

3.2.3 Propulsion : Actor + Action + Undergoer + Destination

Propulsion clause have two nuclear participants; that is, the Actor and Undergoer moving from one place to another place. The Actor is normally animate, and the Undergoer is usually but not necessarily inanimate. It is manifested by a propulsion clause (Sec.2.2.6).

Examples:

1.	ʔalaj	ʔadə:ŋ	ko:n	pʌʔ	tala:t
	he	take	child	go	market
	Actor	Act	U		Dest

'He took his child to the market.'

2.	ʔalaj	cih	tariəʔ	tʌʔ	tiʔ	doŋ
	he	ride	buffalo	come	at	house
	Actor	Act	U			Dest

'He rode a buffalo home.'

3.	ʔalaj	tek	tariaʔ	pʌʔ	niə
	he	take	buffalo	go	rice-field
	Actor	Act	U		Dest

'He took a buffalo to the rice-field.'

3.2.4 Putting : Actor + Action + Undergoer + Location

Putting clauses contain two nuclear participants; that is, Actor, Undergoer and one nuclear Location. The putting clause identifies the beginning point of the Undergoer's lying in that particular Location. It is only manifested by a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1).

Examples:

1.	ʔalaj	ʔadaʔ	naŋsɔ:	nɔŋ	toʔ
	he	keep	book	in	table
	Actor	Act	U		Loc

'He kept a book in (the drawer of) the table.'

2.	ʔalaj	ʔacuh	kɔ:n kə:jʔ	nɔŋ	ʔu:
	she	place	baby	in	cradle
	Actor	Act	U		Loc

'She placed her child in the cradle.'

3.	mpeʔ	ʔacuh	ʔadeh	pʌ:ŋ	ʔuəjh
	mother	place	pot	on	fire
	Actor	Act	U		Loc

'Mother placed a pot on the fire.'

3.3 Communication (Quotation Centered)

The communication clause gives or exchanges of information, or messages by talking. It is only manifested by a quotative clause (Sec.2.2.7). The communication clause may be divided in the following ways.

3.3.1 Talking : Actor + Action + Quotation

The talking clause is a clause which tells what anyone is speaking about and usually the listeners are not identified. It is manifested by a quotative clause (Sec.2.2.7).

Examples:

1.	ʔalaj	p ^h uam	waw	pu:n	(pa:j)	kiaw	kap	ʔacuəjh	ʔaki:
	they	prog.mk	chat		say	about		man	that
	Actor		Act						Quot

'They are chatting about that man.'

2.	de:ŋ	p ^h uam	waw	(pa:j)	ruəŋ	lakuəj	ʔalaj
	Daeng	prog.mk	talk	say	story	wife	he
	Actor		Act				Quot

'Daeng is talking about his wife.'

3.	k ^h u:	p ^h uam	ʔat ^h iba:j	(pa:j)	ruəŋ	sa:tsana:
	teacher	prog.mk	explain	say	story	religious
	Actor		Act			Quot

'The teacher is explaining about religious.'

3.3.2 Quotative : Actor + Action + Quotation / Quotation + Actor
+ Action

The quotative clause is the clause which tells what anyone speaks about. The order Quotation + Actor + Action is rarely found. It is only manifested by a quotative clause (Sec.2.2.7).

Examples:

1.	dam		com		pa:j	?	i:		kace:t
	Dam		complain		say		want		die
	Actor		Act				Quot		

'Dam complains that (he) wants to die.'

2.	?alaj		?ablʌh		pa:j		wiatla?		caŋ		?a:
	he'		ask		say		how		therefore		well
	Actor		Act				Quot				

'He asked how to do it well.'

3.	mi:n		kw?		ta?		pan		dam		waw
	right		I		do		be		Dam		speak
			Quot						Actor		Act

'Yes, I can do it, said Dam.'

3.3.3 Informative : Actor + Action + Listener + Quotation

The informative clause tells us who spoke to who and what he said. It is manifested by a quotative clause (Sec.2.2.7).

Examples:

1.	dam	ʔatʌ:ŋ	mpeʔ	pa:j	kasen	kap
	Dam	tell	mother	say	snake	bite
	Actor	Act	Lis		Quot	

'Dam told his mother that the snake bit (him).'

2.	ʔalaj	ʔatʌ:ŋ	kuʔ	pa:j	mpeʔ	pʌʔ	kuŋt ^h e:p
	he	tell	I	say	mother	go	Bangkok
	Actor	Act	Lis		Quot		

'He told me that his mother went to Bangkok.'

3.	ntu:n	ʔaki:	ʔalaj	waw	kap	lakuəj	pa:j	praʔ	pit
	after	that	he	speak	with	wife	say	money	lose
			Actor	Act	Lis		Quot		

'Then he spoke to his wife that the money lost...'

3.4 Function (Relation Centered)

The function clause refers to the relationship between one person and the other. It may be manifested by an equational clause may be subdivided into:

3.4.1 Function : Item + Function

The function clause shows that somebody functions in a particular status or role. It is only manifested by an equational clause (Sec.2.2.8)

Examples:

1.	dam		pan	k ^h u:
	Dam		be	teacher
	It		F	

'Dam is a teacher.'

2.	?alaj		pan	mo:	noŋ	wi:l	?anaj
	he		be	doctor	in	village	this
	It		F				

'He is a doctor in this village.'

3.	mpua	kʷ?		pan	mo:	ncaw
	father	I		be	doctor	ghost
	It			F		

'My father is a black magician.'

3.4.2 Election : Actor + Action + Undergoer + Function

The election clause shows that one or a group of people choose a person to fill a position. It may be manifested by a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1).

Examples:

1.	sum	haj		si?	ruəh		dam	pan	huana:	wi:l
	group	we		will	choose		Dam	be	headman	village
	Actor			Act			U		F	

'We will choose Dam to be the village headman.'

2.	ʔalaj	ruəh	kuʔ	pan	na:j ʔamp ^h ə:	tinaj
	they	choose	I	be	district officer	here
	Actor	Act	U		F	

'They chose me to be this district officer.'

3.5 Existence (Item Centered)

The existence clause shows the existence of an item so it is an item centered clause. The item is usually expressed by a noun phrase. It may be manifested structurally as an equational clause (Sec.2.2.8), an existence clause (Sec.2.2.10) or an quotative clause (Sec.2.2.7).

The existence (item centered) clauses may be subdivided as follows:

3.5.1 Simple existence : Existence + Item

A simple existence clause is used to introduce person or objects.

It is manifested by a existence clause (Sec.2.2.10).

Examples:

1.	bə:n	kal ʔaluəŋ	ʔap
	have	tree	many
	Ex	It	

'There are many trees.'

2.	bə:n	dʌʔ	biəʔ
	have	water	little
	Ex	It	

'There is a little water.'

3.	bə:n	kuəj	cɔ:
	have	person	ill
	Ex	It	

'There is a patient.'

3.5.2 Identified existence : Existence + Item + Location /

Location + Existence + Item /

Item + Location + Existence

The identified existence clause identifies where the existing item is. It is manifested by a existence clause (Sec.2.2.10).

Examples:

1.	bə:n	kuəj	ʔap	(nɔŋ)	doŋ	ʔanaj
	have	person	many	in	house	this
	Ex	It			Loc	

'There are many people in the house.'

2.	ʔali:k	doŋ	ku?	bə:n	ʔap
	pig	house	I	have	many
	It	Loc		Ex	

'There are a lot of pigs at my house.'

3.	carwŋ	pɻ:ŋ	bə:n	ʔaciəŋ	ʔap
	forest	north	have	elephant	many
	Loc		Ex	It	

'In the northern forest, there are many elephants.'

3.5.3 Transitive existence : Item + Existence + Item

The transitive existence clause is used to identify a person who has an item. It can also be called a possession clause. It is manifested by a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1).

Examples:

1.	ku?	bə:n	pra?
	I	have	money
	It	Ex	It

'I have money.'

2.	?alaj	bə:n	kɔ:n	paj	na?
	she	have	child	three	class.
	It	Ex	It		

'She has three children.'

3.	ku?	bə:n	naŋsu:
	I	have	book
	It	Ex	It

'I have a book.'

3.5.4 Identity : Item + Item

The identity clause is used to identify persons or objects. The first noun and the second noun always are the same person or the same thing. The identity clause is manifested by an equational clause (Sec.2.2.8).

Examples:

1.	dam		pan	se:m	kamo:r	ku?
	Dam		be	younger	sister	I
	It				It	

'Dam is my sister.'

2.	ʔalaj		ramuh	p ^h a:t
	he		name	Phat
	It			It

'His name is Phat.'

3.	ʔalaj		pan	kuəj	mat	su:t
	he		be	person	eye	blind
	It				It	

'He is a blind man.'

3.5.5 Naming : Actor + Action + Item + Quotation

The naming clause is used to identify a person or thing by giving it a name. In structurally, it is manifested by a quotative clause (Sec.2.2.7).

Examples:

1.	mpe?		taŋ ramuh		ko:n		pa:j	dam
	mother		name		child		say	Dam
	Actor		Act		It		Quot	

'Mother named her child Dam.'

2.	mpe?	ʔaro:	ko:n	pa:j	dam
	mother	call	child	say	Dam
	Actor	Act	It		Quot

'Mother called her child Dam.'

3.	ʔalaj	ʔaro:	ku?	pa:j	dε:n
	he	call	I	say	Daeng
	Actor	Act	It		Quot

'He called me Daeng.'

3.6 Description (Quality Centered)

The description clause attributes a quality or characteristic to the Subject as topic. It is manifested by an intransitive clause (Sec.2.2.2), a descriptive clause (Sec.2.2.9) and a comparison clause (Sec.2.2.13). It may be subdivided as follows:

3.6.1 Ambient stative : Quality

The ambient stative clause expresses the state of the weather or natural phenomena. It is manifested by an intransitive clause (Sec.2.2.2) or a descriptive clause (Sec.2.2.9).

Examples:

1.	kate?	laplit	(intransitive clause)
	land	shake	

'There is an earthquake.'

2. (?aka:t) saŋɛ:t caŋʔanaɟ (descriptive clause)

weather cold today

'(It is) cold today.'

3. mare:l ntruɦ (intransitive clause)

hailstone fall

'It hailed.'

3.6.2 Stative : Item + Quality

The stative clause ascribes a quality to a person. It is manifested by a descriptive clause (Sec.2.2.9).

Examples:

1. dam | ŋkɛ?
Dam | short
It | Qual

'Dam is short.'

2. kuəɟ kan ʔanaɟ | maj?
person female this | beautiful
It | Qual

'This woman is beautiful.'

3. p^ha:t | ku:m
Phat | black
It | Qual

'Phat is black.'

3.6.3 Comparative : Item₁ + Quality + Item₂

It is manifested by a comparative clause (Sec.2.2.13). It may be subdivided into:

A. Equality : It expresses equality between two objects.

Examples:

1.	dam	ku:m	ku:	kaca:h
	Dam	black	like	charcoal
	It ₁	Qual		It ₂

'Dam is as black as charcoal.'

2.	?alaj	p^:ŋ	sam	ku?
	he	tall	same	I
	It ₁	Qual		It ₂

'He is as tall as I.'

B. Comparative degree : It expresses the superiority of one thing over another.

3.	?alaj	maj?	kua	ku?
	she	beautiful	than	I
	It ₁	Qual		It ₂

'She is more beautiful than I.'

4.	ʔalaj	plum	kua	kuʔ
	she	fat	than	I
	It ₁	Qual		It ₂

'She is fatter than I.'

3.6.4 Superlative : Item + Quality + Set/group

It expresses the highest degree of comparison. Structurally, it is manifested by a comparative clause (Sec.2.2.13).

Examples:

1.	kuʔ	plum	kua	neʔ	noŋ	wi:l	ʔanaj
	I	fat	than	all	in	village	this
	It	Qual			Group		

'I am the fattest girl in this village.'

2.	noŋ	mo:	mo:	ʔalaj	ʔalaj	pʌ:ŋ	kua	mo:
	in	friend	friend	he	he	tall	than	friend
					It	Qual		Group

'Of all his friends, he is the tallest.'

3.6.5 Evaluation : Item + (Action (sensing)) + Quality

The evaluation clause is used to tell the feeling of the Subject to something. It is manifested by an intransitive clause (Sec.2.2.2).

Examples:

1.	ku?	dan	sarɛ:t
	I	feel	cold
	It	Act	Qual

'I felt cold.'

2.	rot	?anaj	ɲiam
	taste	this	sweet
	It		Qual

'It tasted sweet.'

3.	?alaj	hale:? mahan	tʌ: saba:j
	he	look like	not well
	It	Act	Qual

'He seemed sick.'

3.7 Quantity (Number Centered)

The quantity (number centered) clause expresses any amount or number and cost of anything which can measured. The quantity clause may be manifested by an equational clause (Sec.2.2.8), an existence clause (Sec.2.2.10), an evaluation clause (Sec.2.2.12) and a comparative clause (Sec.2.2.13). It may be subdivided as follows:

3.7.1 Quantity : Existence + (Item) + Quantity + Classifier

Usually it expresses an amount or number of the item. It may be manifested by an existence clause (Sec.2.2.10).

Examples:

1.	ba:n	ba:r	lem
	have	two	class.
	Ex	Qt	Class

'There are two (pencils).'

2.	ba:n	sa:ŋ	na?
	have	five	class.
	Ex	Qt	Class

'There are five (people).'

3.	ba:n	mo:	sa:ŋ	na?
	have	friend	five	class.
	Ex	It	Qt	Class

'There are five friends.'

3.7.2 Measure : Item + Quality + Quantity + Classifier

The measure clause expresses any amount of something which can be determined by measurement. Structurally it is manifested by an evaluation clause (Sec.2.2.12).

Examples:

1.	ʔan	pʌ:ŋ	ba:r	met
	it	tall	two	class
	It	Qual	Qt	Class

'It is two metres tall.'

2.	dam	ntaŋ	ha: sip	kilo:
	Dam	heavy	fifty	class.
	It	Qual	Qt	Class

'Dam weighs fifty kilogrammes.'

3.7.3 Cost : Item + (Relationship) + Quantity

The cost clause expresses the amount paid or the price of goods. It is manifested by an evaluation clause (Sec.2.2.12).

Examples:

1.	samut	rakia	tapɛ:t
	notebook	cost	six
	It	Rel	Qt

'The notebook costs six baht.'

2.	saj? ?ali:k	ti?	tala:t	pɔ:n cit
	pork	at	market	forty
	It			Qt

'At the market, pork costs forty baht.'

3.7.4 Comparative measure : Item + Quality + Item + Quantity + Classifier

The comparative measure clause expresses the amount of superiority of one thing over another. It is determined measurement. It is manifested by a comparative clause (Sec.2.2.13).

Examples:

1.	dam	pʌ:ŋ	kua	kuʔ	ba:r	ŋkum
	Dam	tall	than	I	two	inch
	It	Qual		It	Qt	Class

'Dam is two inches taller than I.'

2.	ʔasʌʔ	t ^h uŋ	ʔaki:	ntaŋ	kua	t ^h uŋ	ʔanaŋ	k ^h ruŋ	k:
	milled rice bag		that	heavy	than	bag	this	half	k:
	It	Qual			It	Qt	Class		C

'Milled rice of that bag is half a kilogram heavier than this one.'

3.	dam	ntaŋ	kua	dɛ:ŋ	hok	kilo:
	Dam	heavy	than	Daeng	six	kilogram
	It	Qual		It	Qt	Class

'Dam is six kilogrammes heavier than Daeng.'

3.7.5 Time : (Item) + Quantity + Temporal

The time clause expresses a specific time. Structurally, it is manifested by an equational clause (Sec.2.2.8).

Examples:

1.	hok	mo:ŋ	taru:p
	six	class.	morning
	Qt		Tem

'(It is) six o'clock in the morning.'

2.	want ^h i:	sip	me:sa:
	date	ten	April
	It	Qt	Tem

'It is April, 10.'

3.	re:m	pe:t	k ^h am
	wane	eight	dusk
	It	Qt	Tem

'It is the eight day in the waning moon.'

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATION BETWEEN SEMANTIC¹ CLAUSE TYPES AND STRUCTURAL CLAUSE TYPES

Within one language, it may be possible to express one meaning by several different forms; that is, by using different grammatical patterns. At the clause level, there is a relation between semantic clause types and structural clause types. One semantic clause type can be expressed by several structural clause types, and one structural clause type also can be expressed by several semantic clause types e.g. one semantic clause type, the action (verb centered) clause, can be manifested by several structural clause types such as a transitive clause, an intransitive clause, a bitransitive clause and a verbal clause. They can express the same semantic clause type; that is, the action clause.

Moreover, one structural transitive clause can express several

¹Semantics (n) or semantic (adj) - (from Introduction to Semantics and Translation by Katharine Barnwell, 1980 p.9)...."semantics" is a technical term for "meaning". The term is derived from the Greek word semantikos "significant"; compare also sēmainō "to signify"....

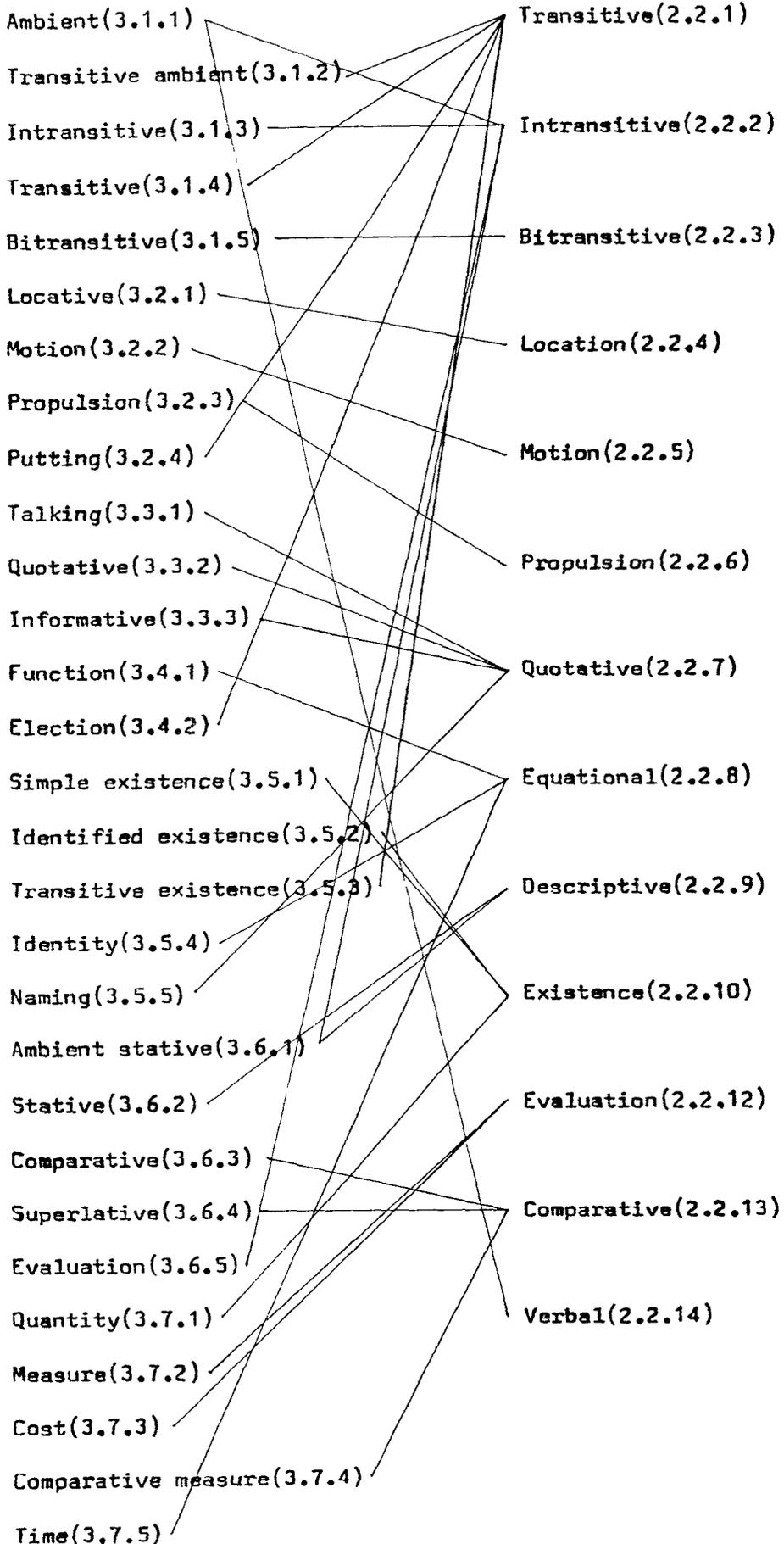
semantic clause types; that is, an action (verb centered) clause, a communication (quotation centered) clause, and a function (relation centered) clause.

The following mapping chart gives a convenient summary of the relations between semantic clause types and structural clause types.



SEMANTIC

STRUCTURAL



CHAPTER V

TRANSITIVITY MODIFICATIONS AND ADDITIONAL NON-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS

The basic clause types each have their own inherent set of relations between participants, here called their transitivity relations. These transitivity relations may be modified in several ways, by addition (such as causer), combining (reflexive, reciprocal), weakening (neutralization, limiting) and so on. In the So language, there is the same characteristic.

5.1 Transitivity Modifications

The transitive clause may be modified in the following ways.

5.1.1 Reflexive

Clause containing several participant slot may sometimes have the same person filling more than one slot.

Reflexive clause are formed by adding the reflexive marker bə:m 'oneself'. However, sometimes there is no reflexive marker but the examples in 6, 7 repeat the pronoun to show reflexivity, and in 8 reflexivity is shown by a zero participant.

Examples:

1. ʔalaj pajʔ tɔ: bə:m (Actor, Undergoer)
 he chop body himself
 'He chopped himself.'
2. ncajh ʔe:t ʔaluaŋ tɛn bə:m (Actor, Undergoer)
 uncle take stick hit himself
 'Uncle hit himself with a stick.'
3. dam k^ham mit bə:m ʔa:n naŋsu: (Causer, Actor)
 Dam force heart himself read book
 'Dam made himself read the book.'
4. dɛ:ŋ cʌ:ŋ sare: ʔo:n bə:m (Actor, Beneficiary)
 Daeng buy blouse for herself
 'Daeng bought a blouse for herself.'
5. ʔalaj k^hiən cotma:j { cɔʔ } ʔalaj bə:m (Actor, Recipient)
 he write letter to { ʔo:n } he oneself
 'He wrote a letter to himself.'
6. kɯʔ sɛ:k ʔo:n dam cʌ:ŋ k^hanom ʔo:n kɯʔ (Causer, -
 I ask give Dam buy sweet give I Beneficiary)
 'I asked Dam to buy me the sweet.'

Note that the Actor, Recipient reflexive requires the pronoun which is the same person as the Actor before the marker bə:m.

Reflexivity may also have the same person as clause Actor and as a modifier in a phrase, or as a participant in an embedded clause.

7. kuʔ ʔatuk witt^hajuʔ (k^hɔŋ) kuʔ (Possessor)

I repair radio (of) I

'I repaired my radio.'

8. ʔalaj daŋ pa:j siʔ tɔŋ pʌʔ (Embedded Actor)

he know say will must go

'He knew (he) would had to go.'

9. kasen daŋ pa:j campuan siʔ kap (Embedded Undergoe)

snake know say mongoose will bite

'The snake knew the mongoose would bite (it).'

5.1.2 Accompanying joint-action

When the Actors do something together, this is called accompanying joint-action. It is formed by adding the joint-action marker manu:j 'together' after any basic clause type.

Examples:

1. dam kap dɛ:ŋ pʌʔ tala:t manu:j

Dam and Daeng go market together

'Dam and Daeng went to the market together.'

2. haj siʔ pʌʔ manu:j

we will go together

'We will go together.'

3. ʔalaj ciə dɔ:j manu:j

they eat rice together

'They ate rice together.'

The Actor of the accompanying joint-action clause always is a plural noun phrase.

5.1.3 Reciprocal

The reciprocal expresses mutual action or relation. It is manifested by a reciprocal clause (Sec.2.2.11), a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1), an intransitive clause (Sec.2.2.2) and a bitransitive clause (Sec.2.2.3).

Examples:

1. dam kap de:ŋ ratɛŋ (Actor, Undergoer)
Dam and Daeng hit
'Dam and Daeng hit each other.'
2. dam kap de:ŋ ?atuk rot ?o:n raŋnu? (Actor, Possessor)
Dam and Daeng repair car give each other
'Dam and Daeng repaired other's car.'
3. mpua kap ko:n cɛ:ŋ k^hɔ:ŋ ?o:n raŋnu? (Actor, Benefici)
father and child buy thing give each other
'The father and child bought things for each other.'
4. rane:n kan (t^h aŋ) ba:r na? ta? ?o:n ba:m -
child female both two class. do give oneself
co? kanam (Causer, Actor)
to dark
'The two girls made each other enter into the dark.'

5.1.4 Reduced transitivity

Clauses may be reduced in form. They may lack some of their expected participants. This differs from deletion in that in deletion, the missing participants are known from the context. But reduced transitivity lacks participants which are irrelevant and often unknown.

Examples:

1. tʌʔ ʔɛ:n nah kuʔ siʔ ʔɑ:n () maj
come again f.p. I will give you
'Please come again, I will give something to you.'
2. kuʔ p^huam k^hiən () su: tabɔʔ nah
I prog.mk write don't talk f.p.
'I am writing, don't talk.'
3. kuʔ pasaj cə:
I full already
'I am full already.'

5.1.5 Deletion

Subjects may be deleted under the following conditions:

A. In the imperative clause, the subject can be deleted but it is known between the speaker and the hearer.

- (may) su: k^he:r nah
(you) don't forget f.p.
'Don't forget.'

B. In conversation, especially in farewells.

la: wa:j də:
leave before f.p.

'Goodbye.'

C. In conversation, especially in questions and answers. The subject can be deleted, leaving only the object and the predicate. The listener can understand from the context.

Question : (maj) ta? ntraw

 (you) do what

 'What are (you) doing?'

Answer : (ku?) ciə dɔ:j

 (I) eat rice

 'Eat rice.'

Predicates may also be deleted under the following conditions:

A. In conversation, the answers to the questions may leave only the subject but the listener can understand from the context.

Question : na:w pʌ? muəŋ

 who go town

 'Who go to town?'

Answer : dam (pʌ?)

 Dam (go)

 'Dam.'

B. A predicate in an existence clause may be deleted, leaving only the subject, the location and the adverb.

(bə:n) kuəj ʔap ti? wat

(have) person many at temple

'The people at the temple (are) many.'

C. A predicate in an equational clause may be deleted when there is a pause after Item₁.

: doŋ laŋ naj (paŋ) doŋ kuʔ

house class. this (be) house I

'This house (is) my house.'

: ranɛ:n ʔanaŋ (paŋ) kɔ:n kuʔ

child this (be) son I

'This child (is) my son.'

Objects may be deleted as follows:

A. In an answer, the object can be deleted when it is the object in a transitive clause. In this case, it is known between the speaker and the hearer.

Question : paŋ tana? maj niam

why you cry

'Why do you cry?'

Answer : ʔaca: kap (kuʔ)

dog bite (I)

'A dog bit (me).'

and Undergoer are not the same person. In participant limiting, it wants to tell that a participant does something alone.

Example:

1. ʔalaj taʔ bə:m (omit Undergoer)
he do oneself
'He did (it) himself.' (not someone else)

5.2 Additional Non-nuclear Participants

Additional non-nuclear participants are participants who are present and involved in the action, but who are not required by the predicate. They are added to a clause without affecting the basic transitivity relations. Additional non-nuclear participants are causer, beneficiary, instrument, accompanying actor, accompanying undergoer, and route.

5.2.1 Causer

A causer slot can occur before a clause. Direct causer and indirect causer may be added to a clause by adding causers and causative verbs before it. The causative verbs are taʔ 'make', taʔ ʔo:n 'cause' and ʔo:n 'give'. There may be one or more causers filling the causer slot. Clauses may be an intransitive clause (Sec.2.2.2), a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1), a motion clause (Sec.2.2.5) and a bitransitive clause (Sec.2.2.3).

The restrictions on causative verbs that can occur with clause are as follows:

(1). Bitransitive clause can occur with $\frac{?o:n}{\tau}$, $\frac{ta?}{\tau}$ and $\frac{ta? ?o:n}{\tau}$.

(2). Transitive and intransitive clauses can occur only with $\frac{ta?}{\tau}$ and $\frac{ta? ?o:n}{\tau}$.

Examples:

1.	dɛ:ŋ	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{ta? ?o:n}{\tau} \\ \frac{ta?}{\tau} \end{array} \right\}$	sɛ:m niam
	Daeng		younger sister cry
	C	V_c	Cl_{nuc}

'Daeng made his younger sister cry.'

2.	kuʔ	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{ta? ?o:n}{\tau} \\ \frac{ta?}{\tau} \end{array} \right\}$	co:k dʌ? ntruh plah
	I		glass water fall break
	C	V_c	Cl_{nuc}

'I caused the water glass to fall and break.'

3.	kuʔ	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{ta? ?o:n}{\tau} \\ \frac{ta?}{\tau} \end{array} \right\}$	mpeʔ dam tən dam
	I		mother Dam hit Dam
	C	V_c	Cl_{nuc}

'I made Dam's mother hit Dam.'

4.	mpeʔ	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{ta? ?o:n}{\tau} \\ \frac{ta?}{\tau} \\ \frac{?o:n}{\tau} \end{array} \right\}$	kuʔ ?o:n naŋsu: si:
	mother		I give book Si
	C	V_c	Cl_{nuc}

'Mother made me give Si a book.'

If there is more than one causer filling the causer slot, the causative verbs $\frac{?o:n}{\tau}$ or $\frac{?o:n}{\tau}$ plus the quotative verb $\frac{?at\Lambda:\eta}{\tau}$ 'tell, order' are used.

5.(a)	kw?	$\frac{?o:n}{\tau}$	dam	$\frac{?at\Lambda:\eta}{\tau}$	de:η	pʌ?	tala:t
	I	give	Dam	tell	Daeng	go	market
(b)	kw?	$\frac{?at\Lambda:\eta}{\tau}$	dam	$\frac{?o:n}{\tau}$ $\frac{?at\Lambda:\eta}{\tau}$	de:η	pʌ?	tala:t
	I	tell	Dam	give tell	Daeng	go	market
(c)	kw?	$\frac{?o:n}{\tau}$	dam	$\frac{?o:n}{\tau}$ $\frac{?at\Lambda:\eta}{\tau}$	de:η	pʌ?	tala:t
	I	give	Dam	give tell	Daeng	go	market
	IC	V_{c_1}	DC	V_{c_2}		Cl_{nuc}	

'I tell Dam to tell Daeng to go to the market.'

Another method to show causation is the use of the prefix $\frac{?a}{\tau}$ before a verb.

6.	dam	nu:	de:η	$\frac{?a}{\tau}$	sɔh	kalʔaluɑŋ
	Dam	drive	Daeng		ascend	tree
	C	V_{c_1}		V_{c_2}		Cl_{nuc}

'Dam pushed Daeng to ascend the tree.'

5.2.2 Beneficiary (ultimate recipient or ultimate mover)

The beneficiary, the last noun (non-nuclear indirect object) receives benefit from the first noun (Actor). It is marked by $\frac{?o:n}{\tau}$ or $p^h_{wə}$ plus a noun phrase. As for bitransitive clause is marked by $\frac{?o:n}{\tau}$, $cɔ?$ or kap (Sec.2.2.3). The beneficiary is used with a transit

clause (Sec.2.2.1).

Examples:

1. se:ŋ ta? race:n ʔo:n kw?

Saeng do food for I

'Saeng cooked food for me.'

2. suda: c^:ŋ rahaw ʔo:n mpe? ʔalaj

Suda buy medicine for mother she

'Suda bought medicines for her mother.'

3. ʔalaj ta? wua? ʔo:n mpuə

he do work for father

'He works for his father.'

4. mi: taŋmit rian $\left. \begin{array}{c} h \\ p\ wə \\ \text{ʔo:n} \end{array} \right\}$ mpe? mpuə ʔalaj

Mi intend study for mother father she

'Mi intends to study for her parents.'

5.2.3 Instrument

An instrument can occur after a clause to give more details about the way to do the action. It is marked by duəj 'with', ʔe:t - 'take', nɔŋ 'in' or tɔk 'use' plus a noun phrase at the end of the clause. Sometimes an Instrument slot may occur after a Subject slot because ʔe:t and tɔk can function as a main verb (ex 6, 7). An instrument used with a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1), a bitransitive clause (Sec.2.2.3) or a motion clause (Sec.2.2.5).

Examples:

1. kw? pʌh paŋto: { ʔe:t } kacɛ:
I open door key

'I open the door with a key.'

2. mpe? ʔacɛ:m dɔ:j ʔo:n kɔ:n { duəj } ʔate: ʔalaj
mother feed rice give child hand she

'Mother feeds rice to her child with her hand.'

3. mpua pi? katɛ? { ʔe:t } nua cɔk
father dig soil spade hole

'Father digs the soil with a spade.'

4. kw? ʔasiət sɔk { duəj } saniət
I to comb hair comb

'I comb my hair with a comb.'

5. mpua pʌ? p^hu:ket { nɔŋ } k^hwəŋbin
father go Phuket airplane

'Father went to Phuket by airplane.'

6. ncajh ʔe:t ʔaluəŋ tɛn bə:m
uncle stick hit oneself

'Uncle hit himself with a stick.'

7. ʔalaj tɔk k^hwəŋbin pʌ? p^hu:ket
he airplane go Phuket

'He goes to Phuket by airplane.'

5.2.4 Accompanying actor

Accompanying actor can be added after a clause. It is marked by kap plus a noun phrase.

Examples:

1. kɯ? pʌ? cʌ:ŋ naŋsw: ti? tala:t kap de:ŋ
 I go buy book at market with Daeng
 'I go to buy a book with Daeng.'

2. kɯ? pʌ? niə kap mpe? dam
 I go rice-field with mother Dam
 'I go to the rice-field with Dam's mother.'

3. mi: pʌ? lo:ŋlian kap mo: ʔalaj
 Mi go school with friend she
 'Mi goes to school with her friend.'

Accompanying actor can occur alternately with location setting or location setting can occur in front of the clause.

4. ncajh waw pu:n kap liaw ti? doŋ ʔaki:
 uncle converse with guest at house that
 'Uncle converses with guests at that house.'

- or ti? doŋ ʔaki: ncajh waw pu:n kap liaw
 at house that uncle converse with guest
 'At that house, uncle converses with guests.'

5.2.5 Accompanying undergoer

Accompanying undergoer occurs only after a clause; that is, after the Object slot. It is marked by kap or ʔo:n plus a noun phrase as accompanying undergoer. It differs from accompanying actor in that an accompanying actor can come either before or after location setting, but an accompanying undergoer can only come before location setting. Accompanying undergoer is used with a transitive clause (Sec.2.2.1) or a bitransitive clause (Sec.2.2.3).

Examples:

1. mahaʔanaj kuʔ ho:m sa: kap_p^ha:t tiʔ tala:t
yesterday I see Sa and Phat at market
'Yesterday I saw Sa with Phat at the market.'
 2. kuʔ ho:m dam kap_sɛ:m (k^hɔŋ) ʔalaj
I see Dam and younger brother of he
'I saw Dam with his younger brother.'
 3. mi: ʔo:n do:j ʔali:k kap_ʔaca:
Mi give rice pig and dog
'Mi gives rice to a pig and a dog.'
- or
- mi: ʔe:t do:j ʔo:n ʔaca: (ʔo:n) ʔali:k
Mi take rice give dog give pig
'Mi takes rice to give to a dog and a pig.'

4. mpe? cʌ:ŋ ?ali:k mpe? ?an kap ko:n
 mother buy pig mother it and child

'Mother bought a pig with piglets.'

5.2.6 Route (intermediate location)

Route (intermediate location) tells the place where the Actor passes before the Actor arrives the destination. It is marked by p^ha:n plus location at the end of the clause. Route (intermediate location) is used with a motion clause (Sec.2.2.5).

Examples:

1. ku? pʌ? kuŋt^he:p tɛ: c^hiəŋmaj p^ha:n ?ajutt^haja:
 I go Bangkok from Chiangmai via Ayudthya
 'I went to Bangkok from Chiangmai via Ayudthya.'

2. ku? pʌ? tala:t tɛ: doŋ p^ha:n suan k^hɔŋ ?acuajt^h
 I go market from house via garden of father c
 mother
 'I went to the market from my house via grandfather's garden.'

3. ?alaj talu:h pʌ? kuŋt^he:p tɛ: k^ho:ra:t p^ha:n ?ajutt^h
 he run go Bangkok from Khorat via Ayudthy
 'He ran to Bangkok from Khorat via Ayudthya.'

CHAPTER VI

INTERNAL COMPOUNDING

Internal compounding consists of multiple participants filling a single role in a clause. An internal compounding in a clause may take or not take any conjunction. Internal compounding may be divided into four types as follows: equivalent, contrastive, additive and alternative.

6.1 Equivalent Compounding

An internal equivalent compounding (apposition) does not add any more participants but just expands the description of one participant. It may be marked by kw: (ex 2), or by a pause between the two parts of the compound (ex 1), or by repetition of the first part of the phrase (ex 3).

Examples:

1. sa: // lakuəj p^hu:naj ba:n pan canɔ:n

Sa wife village headman be thief

'Sa, the wife of a village headman, is a thief.'

2. mɔ: t^hɔ:ŋdi: kw: kuəj cuəj c^hi:wit kw? ?ʌ:t tinaj

doctor Thongdee be person help life I live here

'Dr. Thongdee, that is, the person who saved my life, is here.'

3. kɯʔ siʔ tɔŋ ho:m // tɔŋ ho:m $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nɔŋ} \\ \text{duəj} \end{array} \right\}$ mat kɯʔ -
 I will must see must see with eye I
 k^hwa:mpa:w siʔ pan ʔalɛ:
 dream will be ture
 'I must see, must see with my own eyes, the dream comes ture.'

6.2 Contrastive Compounding

In internal contrastive compounding, usually both the Actor and the Action contrast. Sometimes the Undergoer may contrast. It is marked by tɛ: bə:n or tɛ: mi:n.

Examples:

1. kɯʔ kacaŋ tɛ: bə:n lu:t (Action contrast)
 I laugh not get tease
 'I laughed, but did not tease.'
2. dam tɛ: mi:n dɛ:ŋ ciə dɛʔ mpe: (Actor contrast)
 Dam not right Daeng eat sauce (of shrimp paste and c
 'Dam not Daeng ate the sauce.'
3. mpeʔ cɛ:ŋ rahaw tɛ: mi:n k^hanom (Undergoer contrast)
 mother buy medicine not right sweet
 'Mother bought medicine not sweets.'

6.3 Additive Compounding

An internal additive compounding usually includes two or more parallel actions (or states), and also includes two or more participants. It may be joint participants, subordinated, or separate. It is marked by juxtaposed verbs (ex 1), or by k^han....k^han (ex 2), or by kap (ex 3).

Examples:

1. dam ni? pʌ? kap dɛ:ŋ (subordinated)

Dam escape go with Daeng

'Dam ran away with Daeng.'

2. dam k^han niam k^han tabɔ:ʔ (joint)

Dam both cry both talk

'Dam both cried and talked.'

3. mpua kap kɔ:n p^huəm puəj ntruəj? (separate)

father and child prog.mk drive chicken

'Father and his son are driving chickens.'

6.4 Alternative Compounding

An internal alternative compounding gives at least two choices in a situation. It presents two or more alternate action or participants. It is marked by ru:.

Examples:

1. dam rw: dɛ:ŋ pʌ? tala:t kɔ: da:j

Dam or Daeng go market possibly

'Either Dam or Daeng will go to the market.'

2. maj sa:ma:t si? niam (no:h) rw: maj sa:ma:t si? -

you can will cry q.part or you can will

kacəŋ lu:t

laugh tease

'You can cry or you can laugh...'

CHAPTER VII

CLAUSE SETTING

Clause setting includes time and location setting. Usually the time and location setting are peripheral elements. However, the location setting is considered to be an element of the nucleus in the location clause (Sec.2.2.4).

7.1 Time Setting

Time setting is used to indicate the time or the duration of time that the action takes place. Time setting usually occurs before, inside or after a clause.

Examples:

1. (a) mahaʔanaʔ kuʔ ɲuəʔ dʌʔ c^ha: ɲupbu:
 yesterday I drink water tea all day
- (b) kuʔ mahaʔanaʔ ɲuəʔ dʌʔ c^ha: ɲupbu:
 I yesterday drink water tea all day
- (c) kuʔ ɲuəʔ dʌʔ c^ha: ɲupbu: mahaʔanaʔ
 I drink water tea all day yesterday
- 'Yesterday I drank tea all day.'

2. (a) kama: naj kataw ?alΛ:

year this hot very

(b) kataw kama: naj ?alΛ:

hot year this very

(c) kataw ?alΛ: kama: naj

hot very year this

'It is very hot this year.'

3. (a) kama: haj dΛ? lup

year last water flood

(b) dΛ? kama: haj lup

water year last flood

(c) dΛ? lup kama: haj

water flood year last

'It flooded last year.'

4. (a) canua kuʔ si? pΛ?

now I will go

(b) kuʔ canua si? pΛ?

I now will go

(c) kuʔ si? pΛ? canua

I will go now

'I will go now.'

5. (a) (tɔ:n) hok mo:ŋ tabə: ʔalaj pʌʔ taʔ wwaʔ
 during six class. evening he go work
- (b) ʔalaj pʌʔ taʔ wwaʔ (tɔ:n) hok mo:ŋ tabə:
 he go work during six class. evening
 'He went to work at six o'clock in the evening.'

7.2 Location Setting

Location setting describes the place where the action takes place. Normally, it follows the nucleus but may also precede the nucleus in topicalization (Sec.9.2) or if the speaker wants to emphasize the location (Sec.2.2.4). However, it can also occur inside a clause

Examples:

1. (a) pʌ:ŋ t^hanon ʔalaj ʔʌ:t
 on road he live
- (b) ʔalaj pʌ:ŋ t^hanon ʔʌ:t
 he on road live
- (c) ʔalaj ʔʌ:t pʌ:ŋ t^hanon
 he live on road
 'He is on the road.'
2. (a) nɔŋ doŋ laŋ ʔaki: dam ho:m de:ŋ ʔʌ:t
 in house class. that Dam see Daeng live

(b) dam ho:m nɔŋ dɔŋ laŋ ʔaki: dɛ:ŋ ʔʌ:t

Dam see in house class. that Daeng live

(c) dam ho:m dɛ:ŋ ʔʌ:t nɔŋ dɔŋ laŋ ʔaki:

Dam see Daeng live in house class. that

'Dam saw Daeng was in that house.'

3. (a) paklɔŋ ʔalaj ʔʌ:t

inside he live

(b) ʔalaj ʔʌ:t paklɔŋ

he live inside

'He is inside (the house).'

4. (a) tua caruŋ kasɛn ʔʌ:t

over forest snake live

(b) kasɛn tua caruŋ ʔʌ:t

snake over forest live

(c) kasɛn ʔʌ:t tua caruŋ

snake live over forest

'Snakes are all over the forest.'

5. (a) nɔŋ to:m bə:n siaʔ ʔap

in brook have fish many

(b) siaʔ nɔŋ to:m bə:n ʔap

fish in brook have many

(c) siə? bə:n ?ap nɔŋ to:m
 fish have many in brook

(d) bə:n siə? ?ap nɔŋ to:m
 have fish many in brook

'There are many fish in the brook.'

6. (a) (ti?) don ku? bə:n ?ali:k ?ap
 at house I have pig many

(b) ?ali:k (ti?) don ku? bə:n ?ap
 pig at house I have many

(c) bə:n ?ali:k ?ap (ti?) don ku?
 have pig many at house I

'There are many pigs at my house.'

7. (a) ti? tala:t mpe? pʌ? cʌ:ŋ ?asʌ?
 at market mother go buy milled rice

(b) mpe? pʌ? ti? tala:t cʌ:ŋ ?asʌ?
 mother go at market buy milled rice

(c) mpe? pʌ? cʌ:ŋ ?asʌ? ti? tala:t
 mother go buy milled rice at market

'Mother went to buy milled rice at the market.'

CHAPTER VIII

ASPECT MODIFICATIONS

The aspect modifications are generally expressed by a complex verb phrase in which one element has an auxiliary modifying function. The aspect modifications may be subdivided into:

8.1 Modality

Modality presents the Actor's viewpoint about the Action. The clause nucleus describes what the Actor actually does, but his ability, volition, necessity, obligation or suggestion to do the Action is the modality.

8.1.1 Ability

Ability ranges from ability to inability. It is usually manifested by bə:n 'get', pan 'be', sa:ma:t...(pan/bə:n) 'can' or tʌ: sa:ma:t...(pan/bə:n) 'cannot'.

Examples:

1. dam sa:ma:t pʌ?
- Dam go
- 'Dam can go.'

3. maj ʔi: bə:n ntraw
 you get what

'What do you want?'

4. kuʔ tʌ: ʔi: pan tamruat
 I be policeman

'I do not want to be a policeman.'

8.1.3 Obligation and necessity

Obligation and necessity range from free will to compulsion.

Obligation implies a moral compulsion, necessity implies a physical compulsion. These involve a relationship between a causer and the Actor and the Action. Usually, a causer is unstated. It is manifested by tɔŋ 'must' or campen tɔŋ 'need'.

Examples:

1. maj tɔŋ pʌʔ caŋʔanaŋ
 you go today

'You must go today.'

2. ʔalaj campen tɔŋ pʌʔ sa:n
 he go court

'He needs to go to the court.'

3. ʔalaj tɔŋ cih rotme:
 he ride bus

'He must take a bus.'

Examples:

1. haj si? pʌ? ʌanw:j

we go together

'We will go together.'

2. ʔalaj si? tʌ? samʌ?

he come tomorrow

'He will come tomorrow.'

3. dam si? pʌ? hale:ʔ naŋ sadaw caŋʔanaj

Dam go look movie night today

'Dam will go to see a movie this night.'

8.2.2 Imminent action

Imminent action expresses whether the Action has not yet begun, is just starting. It is manifested by p^huəm si?, kwap (si?), cuən si? or ce? si? 'to be going to'.

Examples:

1. haj p^huəm si? pʌ? tala:t

we go market

'We are going to go to the market.'

2. ʔalaj kwap (si?) tʌ? cə:

he come already

'He is going to come.'

3. niam kake:ŋ { cuən si? } tʌ? cə:
 season dry ce? si? } come already

'The dry season is going to come.'

8.2.3 Habitual action

Habitual action expresses the Action often happens. It is manifested by kə:j_ŋa:m 'to be used to', mak (?i:) 'often'.

Examples:

1. ku? kə:j_ŋa:m kap tama: calia?
 I with wake up late

'I am used to waking up late.'

2. ku? kə:j_ŋa:m kap ciə dɔ:j calia?
 I with eat rice late

'I am used to eating rice late.'

3. ʔalaj mak (?i:) tʌ? tinaj panpacam
 he come here regularly

'He regularly comes here.'

8.2.4 Present continuous action

Present continuous action expresses the idea that the Action is happening now. It is manifested by p^huam...(?ʌ:t) '-ing....now' or noŋ...ʔʌ:t 'still'.

Examples:

1. ʔalaj nɔŋ ciə dɔ:j ʔʌ:t

he eat rice

'He is still eating now.'

2. mpeʔ p^huəm ciə dɔ:j

mother eat rice

'Mother is eating rice.'

3. mpeʔ p^huəm ʔɔŋ dɔ:j ʔʌ:t

mother boil rice

'Mother is boiling rice now.'

8.2.5 Immediate completion of action

Immediate completion of action expresses the idea that the Action has just finished, as the name implies. It is manifested by ha:kaʔ (siʔ) 'just'.

Examples:

1. kuʔ ha:kaʔ siʔ tʌʔ

I come

'I have just come.'

2. kuʔ ha:kaʔ ho:m

I see

'I have just seen (it).'

3. mpua ha:kaʔ pʌʔ tɛ:dəh

father go just now

'Father has just gone now.'

8.2.6 Unrealized action

Unrealized action expresses the idea that the Action is coming but has not happened yet. It is manifested by nɔŋ tʌ: 'not yet' or nɔŋ tʌ: mom 'not finished yet'.

Examples:

1. kuʔ tɛŋtua nɔŋ tʌ: mom

I dress

'I have not yet finished dressing.'

2. mpua nɔŋ tʌ: kace:t

father die

'Father has not yet died.'

3. ʔalaj nɔŋ cɔ: nɔŋ tʌ: ben

he still ill recover

'He has not yet recovered.'

8.2.7 Completed action

Completed action expresses the idea that the Action is finished already. It is manifested by cə: 'already'.

Examples:

1. baj? cə:

sleep

'(He) slept already.'

2. mpe? pʌ? niə cə:

mother go rice-field

'Mother went to the rice-field already.'

3. ku? cia dɔ:j cə:

I eat rice

'I ate rice already.'

8.3 Illocution (Mood)

The major illocutions expressed in So, are declarative, imperative and interrogative.

8.3.1 Declarative

A declarative illocution is a statement where assurance may vary from certain to uncertain. It is manifested ne:nɔ:n 'certainly', ?a:t (si?) 'may'.

Examples:

1. ku? si? pʌ? samʌ? ne:nɔ:n

I will go tomorrow

'I will certainly go tomorrow.'

2. ku? ?a:t pʌ?

I go

'I may go.'

3. lanɲtwa ku? ʔa:t si? tʌ? ʔɛ:n
 perhaps I come again
 'Perhaps I may come again.'

8.3.2 Imperative

An imperative illocution is a statement of desired action.

Degrees of the imperative illocution may be strong to mild (For details and discussion, see Sec.2.3.1).

Examples:

1. se:k ʔaɦe:ʔ nuŋ biə? nɔ:j (asking for permission)
 ask look little bit
 'May I look (it) a little bit?'
2. pʌɦ hale:ʔ ʔɛ:n (neutral)
 open look again
 'Open it to look again.'
3. pʌ? ʔɔ:n wɛt
 go give beyond
 'Go away.'

Undergoers of the imperative illocution may be the first, the second or the third person.

4. haj pʌ? ciə dɔ:j t^hə? (1st person)
 we go eat rice f.p.
 'Let's go to eat rice.'

5. mu:t cia do:j manw:j (2nd person)

enter eat rice together

'Come to eat rice together.'

6. ?alaj tɔŋ pʌ? (3rd person)

he must go

'He must go.'

8.3.3 Interrogative

An interrogative illocution may be broadly subdivided into:

A. Yes/no question asks about the assurance or reality of a statement.

It is manifested by no:h, mi:n no:h, lu? no:h, ru: tʌ: or mi:n bo: (For details see Sec.2.3.2).

Examples:

1. (maj) pan ?a?e: no:h

(you) be sick q.part

'Are (you) sick?'

2. mpe? pʌ? doŋ ?aja? mi:n no:h

mother go house grandmother right q.part

'The mother went to the grandmother's house, didn't she?'

B. Alternative question asks for one choice from two choices. It is manifested by no:h ru: or ru:.

Examples:

1. maj mak baj? nɔ:h ru: mak pʌʔ

you like sleep q.part or like go

'Do you like to sleep or like to go?'

2. maj si? ʔe:t sɔ: ru: pa:kka:

you will take pencil or pen

'Will you take a pencil or a pen?'

C. Content question may ask for tagmemes from the clause.

Examples:

1. maj ramuh ntɾəw

you name q.w.

'What is your name?'

2. maj tʌʔ tɛ:laʔ

you come q.w.

'Where did you come from?'

(For details and discussion, see Sec.2.3.2)

CHAPTER IX

SEMANTIC PROSODIES

9.1 Focus

Focus or subjectivalization decides which of the participants in the Action will be treated as the Subject of the Action. Usually So is an actor-focus language.

9.1.1 Actor focus (active)

In the actor focus type, the Actor is the performer of the Action. It may be called active focus.

Examples:

1. dam ta:n kata:

Dam weave basket

'Dam weaves a basket.'

2. ku? liaŋ taria?

I feed buffalo

'I take the buffalo to find food.'

9.1.2 Undergoer focus (passive)

In the undergoer focus type, the Undergoer is treated as the Subject. Usually this form has a bad meaning but in the form 3 has a good meaning. It is also called passive focus. It is manifested

by klap.

Examples:

1. mpe? klap kasən kap kace:t maha?anaj
 mother pass.mk snake bite die yesterday

'Mother was bitten by a snake and died yesterday.'

2. dam klap mpe? tən
 Dam pass.mk mother hit

'Dam was hit by his mother.'

3. ɲo? mpil klap dam cia ca:
 tamarind pass.mk Dam ate already

'The tamarinds were already eaten by Dam.'

9.1.3 Recipient focus (indirect object)

In the recipient focus type, the Recipient is treated as the Subject. It is manifested by Rec-bə:nrap-U-t ;/kap-Actor when bə:nrap is a main verb or Rec-klap-Actor-ʔo:n-U when ʔo:n is a main verb or Rec-klap-Actor-Act-U-tʌ? when the main verb is other verbs.

Examples:

1. ku? bə:nrap pra? $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kap} \\ \text{tɛ:} \end{array} \right\}$ mpe?
 I receive money from mother

'I received money from my mother.'

2. ku? klap mpe? ʔo:n pra?
 I pass.mk mother give money

'I was given the money by my mother.'

3. dam klap mpe? k^hian cotma:j t^h?
- Dam pass.mk mother write letter come
- 'Dam received a letter from his mother.'

9.2 Topicalization

Topicalization determines which of the participants in a clause should be treated as the center of interest. It is not necessarily the Subject, nor even a nuclear participant, that is topicalized. The elements of a clause can manifest the topicalization by their initial position in the clause or by the special clause form (?an) kw: plus a topic noun phrase at the beginning of the clause.

Examples:

1. ?an kw: nɔŋ muan ?alaj p^h? (Loc.S:top:non-foc)
- it be in town he go
- 'It was to town that he went.'
2. (?an) kw: sa: t^hi: ku? ?o:n pra? (Rec:top:non-foc)
- it be Sa rel.pr. I give money
- 'It was Sa whom I gave money.'
3. kata: t^hi: dam ta:n (U:top:non-foc)
- basket rel.pr. Dam weave
- 'The basket was what Dam wove.'

4. nɔŋ cɛh ʔaki: mpeʔ cɔʔ pa:dɛ:ʔ (Loc.S:top:non-fo
 in pot that mother put salted fish

'In that pot was where mother put salted fish.'

5. ʔan ku: dam na:w p^hu: (t^hi:) ta:n ʔapiəl (Actor:to
 it be Dam 3rd person rel.pr. weave mat

'It was Dam who wove the mat.'

9.3 Emphasis

Emphasis manifestes contrast with another clause or manifestes something unexpected. Emphasis may be on a participant or on the Actor. In So, emphasis is marked by shifting that element to the front position and there is a slight pause // after that element or it is marked by a special particle niʔə:jʔ after that element (ex 3).

Examples:

1. sare: ʔaki: majʔ —————> majʔ // sare: ʔaki:
 coat that beautiful beautiful coat that

'That coat is beautiful.' 'Beautiful! that coat.'

2. rɔ:ŋt^ha:w ʔaki: pe:ŋ —————> pe:ŋ // rɔ:ŋt^ha:w ʔaki:
 shoes that expensive expensive shoes that

'Thoes shoes are expensive.' 'Expensive! those shoes.'

3. kuʔ niʔə:jʔ pan kuəj ʔɔ:n praʔ sa:
 I emp.p. be person give money Sa

'It is me who gave money to Sa.'

9.4 Negation

A clause as a whole may be negated by placing (ʔan) tʌ: mi:n - 'it was not, it was not true' before the nuclear clause as follows:

Examples:

1. tʌ: mi:n kuʔ tʌʔ taru:p tɛ: ʔalaj tʌʔ caliaʔ

I come early but he come late

'(It) was not that I came early but he came late.'

2. ʔan tʌ: mi:n kuʔ daj cia k^hanom kle:p ʔaki:

I part eat sweet piece that

'It was not true that I ate that sweet.'

3. ʔan tʌ: mi:n (t^hi:) kuʔ niʔ pʌʔ lə:

that I escape go play

'It was not true that I escaped to play.'

9.5 Other Prominece

Elements in a clause may be given increased prominence in the following ways.

9.5.1 By reduplication with/without an accompanying rising pitch on the first element.

A. With an accompanying rising pitch.

Examples:

1. ʔarajʔ p^ha:n ʔaki: ku:m ku:m
 cloth class. that black black

'That cloth is very black.'

2. kuʔ ŋo: ŋo:
 I stupid stupid

'I am very stupid.'

3. bə:n rajŋ ʔap ʔap nŋ suən
 have mosquito many many in garden

'There are many mosquitoes in the garden.'

B. Without an accompanying rising pitch.

Examples:

1. mi: taluh taluh // pʌʔ pʌʔ nŋ tala:t
 Mi run run go go in market

'Mi both runs and walks to the market.'

or mi: taluh pʌʔ // taluh pʌʔ nŋ tala:t
 Mi run go run go in market

'Mi both runs and walks to the market.'

9.5.2 By comparison .

Elements in a clause can be given prominence by using a comparative clause (Sec.2.2.13).

Examples:

1. ku:m kw: kaca:h
 black like charcoal
 '(He is) black like charcoal.'

2. ?ahɛ:r tua kan kap non
 light to be equal to kapok
 '(It is) as light as kapok.'

3. ?alaj pu:t sam pak
 he big same giant
 'He is as big as a giant.'

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I want to compare Kusuman So and Bruu structures on clause level to Dong Luang So. The structures are similar in general but different in details. The reason that I want to compare these language is because they share a great deal in common in regards to words and phonology. Moreover, both Dong Luang So and Bruu people call themselves, their tribe, and their language /bru:/. Although, Kusuman So and Dong Luang So are both dialects of So, the Kusuman So people call themselves and their language /t̃sro:/. In this chapter, I just give a brief statement because of limited time, and limited data which were collected by different reseachers.

The transcriptions of Kusuman So and Ubonratchathani Bruu, I take from A Syntactic Description of So : An Austroasiatic Language in Thailand by Malai Lerthirunwong and Clause and Phrase in Bruu by Pattiya Jimreivat respectively. I do not adapt their transcriptions because I think that it is convenient for readers to study more details and more examples from these books.

10.1 Comparison with Kusuman So

For details of Kusuman So, see A Syntactic Description of So : An Austroasiatic Language in Thailand by Malai Lerthirunwong and for details of Dong Luang So see the previous chapters.

10.1.1 General structure of Dong Luang So and Kusuman So

Kusuman So and Dong Luang So consist of the same obligatory nuclear and optional peripheral elements. The nuclear elements are subject, predicate, direct object and indirect object. The peripheral elements include time setting, location setting, manner, accompaniment, instrument, causer and beneficiary. Although there is a close structural correspondence, there is also a difference in details between the structures of Kusuman So and Dong Luang So.

10.1.2 The similarities with Kusuman So

Both Kusuman So and Dong Luang So have the same elements in clauses as follows:

Transitive clause:

$$Cl_{tr} = \pm S:np + P:vp_{tr} \pm O:np$$

Intransitive clause:

$$Cl_{in} = \pm S:np + P:vp_{in}$$

Bitransitive clause:

$$Cl_{bi} = + S:np + P:vp_{bi} + O:np + Prep:prep + IO:np$$

Equational clause:

$$Cl_{eq} = + It_1:np + P:vp_{eq} + It_2:np$$

Propulsion clause:

$$Cl_{prop} = + S:np + P:vp_{prop} + O:np + Dir:v_{dir} + Loc:pp/np$$

Verbal clause:

$$Cl_{ver} = + P:vp_{ver} + Ex.MK:mk$$

Descriptive clause:

$$Cl_{des} = + S:np + P:vp_{des}$$

Existence clause:

$$Cl_{ex} = + P:vp_{ex} + S:np + _ Loc:pp/np$$

Comparative clause:A. Comparative degree clause

$$Cl_{com.deg} = + S_1:np + P:vp + Com.MK:mk + S_2:np + _ Qt:np_{nu}$$

B. Superlative degree clause

$$Cl_{sup.deg} = + S_1:np/cl + P:vp + Com.MK:mk + S_2:np$$

Imperative clause:A. Positive imperative

$$Cl_{im.pos} = + Nucleus:cl + _ FP:f.p.$$

These clause types are used in the same way both in Kusuman So and Dong Luang So.

10.1.3 The differences from Kusuman So

The structure of Kusuman So is different from the structure of

Dong Luang So as follows:

1. Location clause

The elements of the location clause in Kusuman So and Dong Luar So are the same.

$$Cl_{loc} = + S:np + P:vp_{loc} + Loc:pp/np$$

But the position of the location verb is different when the location slot is emphasized; that is, the location verb in Kusuman So can occur before or after the Subject slot while the location verb in Dong Luang So can occur only after the Subject slot.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

:	noŋ	dʌ?		siə?		?ʌ:t
	in	water		fish		live
		Loc		S		V

'In the water fish live.'

Kusuman So

:	ti?dʌ?		ʌ:t		sia?
	in water		be		fish
	Loc		V		S

'In the water live fish.'

:	ti?dΛ?		sia?		Λ:t
	in water		fish		be
	Loc		S		V

'In the water fish live.'

2. Quotative clause

The elements of the quotative clause in Kusuman So and Dong Luan So are the same but they are different in their transformation. In Dong Luang So, the order of the elements can occur like this Quot-S-P-MK; that is, the quotative marker can occur in the final position but it cannot occur like this in Kusuman So. However, there is another type in Kusuman So; that is, Quot-MK-P-S. The Subject slot can occur in the final position after the Predicate slot while in Dong Luang So, the Subject slot occurs only before the Predicate slot.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

:	niam	ta?	ntraw	ko:n		mpe?		waw		pa:j
	cry	why	child	mother		mother		speak		say
		Quot				S		P		MK

'Why did you cry, child?, said mother.'

Kusuman So

:	cih	ŋkɔʔ	pa:j	ʔaʔtʌ:ŋ	ʔaʔcɔ:
	ride	I	say	tell	dog
	Quot		MK	P	S

'Ride on my back, the dog orders.'

3. Reciprocal clause

The reciprocal clause in Kusuman So is marked only by n̩ŋnaʔ¹ while in Dong Luang So, it can be marked by raŋnuʔ and the prefix ra-. Moreover, both the reciprocal markers can occur alone or occur together.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

(1).

de:ŋ	kap	dam	tɛn	<u>raŋnuʔ</u>
Daeng	and	Dam	hit	
S ₁	Prep	S ₂	P	MK

'Daeng and Dam hit each other.'

(2).

de:ŋ	kap	dam	<u>ra</u>	tɛn
Daeng	and	Dam		hit
S ₁	Prep	S ₂	MK	P

'Daeng and Dam hit each other.'

¹Breathy vowels (2nd register) are represented by a grave accent mark ' over the vowel.

(3).	de:ŋ	kap	dam	ra	tɛn	raŋnu?
	Daeng	and	Dam		hit	
	S ₁	Prep	S ₂	MK ₁		MK ₂

'Daeng and Dam hit each other.'

Kusuman So

(1).	ʔan	{ nɪn kap }	hi?	ciʔlɔ?	nɪŋnə?
	he	and	I	quarrel	
	S ₁	Prep	S ₂	P	MK

'He and I quarrelled with each other.'

(2).	ciʔlɔ?	nɪŋnə?	ʔaʔlay	nɪŋ	hi?
	quarrel		he	and	I
	P	MK	S ₁	Prep	S ₂

'(We) quarrel with each other, he and I.'

4. Evaluation clause

The elements of the evaluation clause in Kusuman So and Dong Lua

So are the same but the Predicate slot in Kusuman So is optional.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

:	sarɛ:	sə:t	tɔ:	naj	rakia	mu:	ruaj
	coat	shirt	class.	this	cost	one	hundred
		It			P		Value

'This shirt costs 100 baht.'

Kusuman So

:	si?lok	to: T	naj	(rakia)	muay	ku?lam
	shirt	class.	this	cost	100	
		It		P	Value	

'This shirt costs 100 baht.'

5. Interrogative clause

The yes/no question and alternative question are the same in Dong Luang So and Kusuman So. But content questions are different in some question words. Using the question words in Dong Luang So is more complex than in Kusuman So.

The question words which mean 'when' in Dong Luang So are used in different ways as follows:

hala? is used in the past tense.

mu:la? is used in the present or future tense.

Examples:Dong Luang So

:	<u>mu:la?</u>	maj	si?	tA?	?E:n
	when	you	will	come	again

'When will you come again?'

<u>hala?</u>	mpə?	pA?	nia
when	mother	go	rice-field

'When did mother go to the rice-field?'

In the work by Malai Lerthirunwong, she did not mention but I found few in future tense.

Kusuman So

:	{ <u>ma?mɔ?</u> <u>yanmɔ?</u> }	i:	cú:
	when	will	come

'When will you come?'

Moreover, -la? which is used in the question words which ask for location in Dong Luang So, is used in the question words which ask about the direction of the action such as:

cɔ?la? 'to where'

tɛ:la? 'from where'

ti?la? '(at) where'

Examples:

Dong Luang So

(1). ʔan		ʔʌ:t		<u>ti?la?</u>
it		live		where
S		P		Q.W.

'Where is it?'

(2). maj		si?	pʌ?		<u>cɔ?la?</u>
you		will	go		to where
S		P			Q.W.

'Where will you go to?'

(3). maj	tʌʔ	<u>tɛ:laʔ</u>
you	come	from where
S	P	Q.W.

'Where did you come from?'

In Kusuman So, there is only the question word mɔʔ 'where'.

If speakers want to ask for identifying the direction, they use a preposition and the question word mɔʔ 'where'. However, some questions in Kusuman So have meaning not equal to Dong Luang So (ex 2).

Kusuman So

(1). ɲəh	tɛ:	<u>mɔʔ</u>
come	from	where
P	Prep	Q.W.

'Where do (you) come from?'

(2). ʔi:	pʌʔ	<u>mɔʔ</u>
will	go	where
P		Q.W.

'Where are (you) going?'

(3). siaʔ	ʌ:t	<u>mɔʔ</u>
fish	live	where
S	P	Q.W.

'Where do fish live?'

6. Motion clause

The element of the motion clause in Kusuman and Dong Luang So are the same.

$$Cl_{mo} = \underline{+} S:np + P:vp_{mo} \underline{+} Loc_1:pp/np \underline{+} Dir:v_{dir} \underline{+} Loc_2:pp/np$$

There is a little difference in that the directional verbs which are homonymous with the main verb cannot occur in the same clause in Kusuman So, but in Dong Luang So they can.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

:	ʔalaj	pʌʔ	tɛ:	don	pʌʔ	wat
	he	go	from	house	go	temple
	S	P	Loc ₁		Dir	Loc ₂

'He went from his house to the temple.'

7. Negative imperative clause

The positive imperative clause in Kusuman So is the same as Dong Luang So while the negative imperative clause is different in that the negative markers in Kusuman So such as mpi:ayh, maʔ, haʔ 'not' and haʔ bi:n 'cannot' can occur in the statement clauses but cannot occur in the negative imperative clauses. In negative imperative clauses they use another negative marker; that is, ɜʌʔ. As for in Dong Luang So,

the negative marker tʌ: 'not' can occur in both the statement clause and the negative imperative clause although there are other negative markers which are used in the negative imperative clauses. The elements of negative imperative clauses are the same.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

: ciə tʌ: pan də: (imperative)

eat not be f.p.

'(you) cannot eat (it).'

: dam tʌ: ciə ɲoʔ mpil (statement)

Dam not eat tamarind

'Dam did not eat tamarinds.'

Kusuman So

: sʌʔ ciə ʔan (imperative)

don't eat it

'Don't eat it.'

: mpi:ayh ciə (statement)

not eat

'(I) do not eat (it).'

: ciə haʔ bi:n (statement)

eat not get

'(I) cannot eat (it).'

Kusuman So

: dam pʌʔ bi:n

Dam go get

'Dam can go.'

: ŋkɔʔ taʔ haʔ bi:n

I do not get

'I cannot do (it).'

B. Moral imperative

The aspect which expresses that someone should or should not

to do the action. In Dong Luang So, it is manifested by k^huan 'should'

or tʌ: k^huan 'should not' while in Kusuman So, there are some restrictions

in that pu: a 'should' can occur alone or occur with mɔʔ 'not' but

na: siʔ 'should' cannot occur alone. It can occur only with mpi: ayh 'not'.

Examples:Dong Luang So

: maj k^huan pʌʔ caŋʔənaʔ

you should go today

'You should go today.'

: maj tʌ: k^huan ŋuəjʔ

you not should drink

'You should not drink.'

Kusuman So

: ʔaʔpay mⁱpi:ayh na:siʔ ŋu:ac
you not should drink

'You should not drink.'

: ʔaʔpay pu:ⁱa pʌʔ ciʔnaj
you should go today

'You should go today.'

: bak ʔaʔnay laʔkuay maʔ pu:ⁱa ʔaʔdoʔ
tittle this person not should be let

'This man should not be alone or be here.'

9. Topicalization

In Kusuman So, participants are topicalized only by mentioning the topic noun phrase at the beginning of the clause while in Dong Luang - So, they are topicalized by mentioning the topic noun phrase at the beginning of the clause or by using a special clause form ʔan kw: plus a topic noun phrase at the beginning of the clause.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

: kata: t^hi: dam ta:n
basket rel.pr. Dam weave

'The basket is what Dam wove.'

: ʔan ku: sa: t^hi: kuʔ ʔo:n praʔ
 ..
 it be Sa rel.pr. I give money

'It was Sa whom I gave money.'

Kusuman So

: kuʔya: pan kuʔya: mat su:t
 mother-in-law be mother-in-law eye blind

'The mother-in-law is blind.'

10.2 Comparison with Ubonratchathani Bruu

In Clause and Phrase in Bruu by Pattiya Jimreivat (1981), the four-box tagmeme is used. In order to compare Dong Luang So and Bruu, I have converted the Bruu data to my two box system.

10.2.1 General structure between Dong Luang So and Ubonratchathani

Bruu

Dong Luang So and Ubonratchathani Bruu consist of the same obligatory nuclear and optional peripheral elements. The nuclear elements are subject, predicate, direct object and indirect object. The peripheral elements include time setting, location setting, manner, accompaniment, instrument, causer and beneficiary. The general structure of Dong Luang So and Bruu are the same but they are different in details

10.2.2 The similarities with Ubonratchathani Bruu

Both Dong Luang So and Ubonratchathani Bruu have the same

structure in clauses as follows:

Transitive clause:

$$Cl_{tr} = + S:np + P:vp_{tr} + O:np$$

Intransitive clause:

$$Cl_{in} = + S:np + P:vp_{in}$$

Location clause:

$$Cl_{loc} = + S:np + P:vp_{loc} + Loc:pp/np$$

Motion clause:

$$Cl_{mo} = + S:np + P:vp_{mo} + Loc_1:pp/np + Dir:v_{dir} + Loc_2:pp/np$$

Equational clause:

$$Cl_{eq} = + It_1:np + P:vp_{eq} + It_2:np/cl$$

Existence clause:

$$Cl_{ex} = + P:vp_{ex} + S:np + Loc:pp/np$$

Descriptive clause:

$$Cl_{des} = + S:np + P:vp_{des}$$

Verbal clause:

$$Cl_{ver} = + P:vp_{ver} + Ex.MK:mk$$

Comparative clause:A. Comparative degree clause

$$Cl_{com.deg} = + S_1:np + P:vp + Com.MK:mk + S_2:np + Qt:np_{nu}$$

B. Superlative degree clause

$$Cl_{sup.deg} = + S_1:np/cl + P:vp + Com.MK:mk + S_2:np$$

All of the clauses stated above are used in the same way both

in Bruu and Dong Luang So.

10.2.3 The differences from Ubonratchathani Bruu

The structure of Bruu is different from the structure of Dong Luang So as follows:

1. Bitransitive clause

The elements of bitransitive clause in Bruu and Dong Luang So are the same. In Dong Luang So, the bitransitive verb ʔo:n 'give' can occur with the preposition which is homonymous with the bitransitive verb in the same clause while in Bruu, the preposition ʔoon 'to, for' is deleted when the bitransitive verb is homonymous with it. Moreover, when the prepositions are deleted, the Direct Object slot and Indirect Object slot can switch their positions in Dong Luang So, but in Bruu they cannot.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

:	kw?	si?	ʔo:n	kuaŋ	ʔo:n	maj
	I	will	give	gong	to	you
	S		P	O	Prep	IO

'I will give a gong to you.'

:	mpe?	ʔo:n	pra?	ko:n
	mother	give	money	child
	S	P	O	IO

'Mother gave money to her child.'

:	mpəʔ	ʔo:n	ko:n	praʔ
	mother	give	child	money
	S	P	IO	O

'Mother gave her child money.'

Bruu

:	sii	ʔo:n	ʔajah	mpəeʔ ²
	Mr.Si	give	blouse	mother
	S	P	O	IO

'Mr. Si gave his mother a blouse.'

:	mpəeʔ	tɕʌʌŋ	ʔajəh	ʔo:n	kɔ:n
	mother	buy	blouse	for	offspring
	S	P	O	Prep	IO

'Mother bought a blouse for her child.'

2. Causer

In Bruu the causative verb can be separated by the Undergoer, while in Dong Luang So the causative verb cannot be separated.

Examples:

²Breathy vowels are marked by ʔ over the vowel in Clause and Phrase in Bruu.

Dong Luang So

:	mpe?	ta? ʔo:n	ku?	tən	bak	dam
	mother	cause	I	hit	Mr.	Dam
	C	V _c				Cl _{nuc}

'Mother made me hit Mr. Dam.'

Bruu

:	mpèe?	kaa	ta?	kaw	ʔɔɔn	tən	ʔaa	koom
	mother	part.	make	I	give	hit	Mr.	Black
	C		V _c		V _c			Cl _{nuc}

'Mother made me hit Mr. Black.'

3. Interrogative clause

The yes/no question in Dong Luang So is marked by no:h or by

using the final falling-rising intonation, while in Bruu it is marked

by bɔɔ or ʔɔh. The question particles are used in different way in that

bɔɔ is used to ask about accomplished or more facts but ʔɔh is used in

persuading or asking about opinions.

Examples:Dong Luang So

:	(maj)	cia	dɔ:j	cə:
	(you)	eat	rice	already

'Did you already eat rice?'

: maj ʔe:t lakuəj cə: nɔ:h
 you take wife already q.part
 'Are you already married?'

Bruu

: kumɔɔr ʔɔ̃ɔ̃³ ʔv̩h
 girl beautiful q.part
 'Is the young girl beautiful?'

: sii tɕaa dɔɔj tɕə̃ə̃ bv̩v
 Mr. Si eat rice already q.part
 'Have you eaten rice already, Si?'

In Bruu, if the question asks about a third person, the affirmative answers are ʔv̩v? or mə̃n or mə̃n krãh (intensive) but in Dong Luang So, the affirmative answers are the verb or verb phrase from the question or mi:n in a tag-question. They do not depend on any person:

Examples:

Dong Luang So

(1). Q : mpeʔ pʌʔ doŋ ʔajaʔ nɔ:h
 mother go house grandmother q.part
 'Did mother go to the grandmother's house?'

³The nasalized vowels are marked by the diacritic mark ~ over the vowel.

A : pɔʔ

go

'Yes.'

(2). Q : ɔm ɲɛm mɛn ɲɔɔ
ɔm ɔy ɲɪŋ ɲɛɲɛ

'Did ɔm ɔy, didn't he?'

A : mɛn

right

'Yes.'

(3). Q : (mɛŋ) ʔi. ɲɔʔ t'ɔw mɛn ɲɔɔ
(yuu) want go travel town ɲɛɲɛ

'Do (you) want to go to the town?'

A : ʔi: pɔʔ

want go

'Yes.'

Bruu

(1). Q : mpɛɛʔ ɲɔʔ dɔŋ mɔɔ ʔajɛʔ bɔɔ
mother go house group grandmother q.part

'Did mother go to the grandmother's house?'

A : mɛn or ʔɛʔ or mɛn krɛk

yes yes yes very

'Certainly or sure.'

: mpe? ta? ntraw
 mother do what
 'What did mother do?'

Bruu

: nt^haw mpe^h? pɔ? ta? pɔ? dɔŋ mɔ^h ʔaja?
 why mother go make go house group grandmother
 'Why did mother go to grandmother's house?'

: m^hɔj tɕaa nt^haw
 you eat what
 'What do you eat?'

: nt^haw mpe^h? ta?
 what mother do
 'What did mother do?'

The question words asking for time in Dong Luang So use different question words which depend on situations or tenses, as follows:

hala? is used in the past tense.

mɜ:lɑ? is used in the present or future tense.

But in Bruu only wɔŋlɛh 'when' is used.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

: mɜ:lɑ? maj si? tʌ? ʔɛ:n
 when you will come again
 'When will you come again?'

ti?la? niə? niə? don ?a?ə?

when mother go house grandmother

'When did mother go to the grandmother's house?'

Bruu

wa?i?li niə? niə? don -li ?a?ə?

when mother go house group grandmother

'When did mother go to grandmother's house?'

In Dong Luang So, the question words asking for location also

indicate the direction at the same time and there is other question word which is used without identifying the direction. The question words asking for location in Bruu are pa?lè? and ni?lè? are used in different ways in that pa?lè? is used for asking directly to the person and ni?lè? is used in other ways.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

- : pa?la? niə ?A:t (general)
- where rice-field live
- 'Where is the rice-field?'
- : ti?la? ?an ?A:t (specific)
- (at) where it live
- 'Where is it?'

: maj si? pʌ? cɔʔla? (specific)

you will go to where

'Where will you go to?'

: maj tʌ? ts:la? (specific)

you come from where

'Where did you come from?'

Bruu

: mpèè? pʊ? palè?

mother go where

'Where will you go, mom?'

: nlè? mʌj hoom kahiar

where you see bee

'Where did you the bees?'

: tɛɛ nlè? tʌ?

from where come

'Where are you from?'

4. Imperative clause

A. Positive imperative clause

The elements of imperative clause in Bruu and Dong Luang So are the same. The positive imperative clause in Bruu is only marked by jɔ̀ɔ̀ or jɔ̀ɔ̀ jɔ̀ɔ̀ while the positive imperative clause in Dong Luang So is marked by jʌi, jʌi, c^hə:n or c^hə:n jʌi.

Dong Luang So

: tʌʔ waj waj ciʔ
 come quick f.p.

'Come quickly.'

: la:h te: ʔuajh waj waj
 go out from fire quick

'Go out from the fire quickly.'

Bruu

: katɕeet waj niʔʔeh
 kill quick f.p.

'Quickly, kill it.'

: loh tee ʔuujh niʔʔeh
 take out from fire f.p.

'Take it off the fire quickly.'

B. Negative imperative clause

In Bruu, the negative marker tʌʌ 'not' which occurs in the statement clause cannot occur in the negative imperative clause, but it is marked by other negative markers such as tɕɕɕj or ntɕɕɕj. In Dong Luang So, the negative marker tʌ: 'not' which occurs in the statement clause also can occur in the negative imperative clause, although there are other negative markers which occur in the negative imperative clause.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

: ciə tʌ: pan də: (negative imperative)

eat not be f.p.

'(you) cannot eat (it).'

: dam tʌ: ciə ɲɔʔ mpil (statement)

Dam not eat tamarind

'Dam did not eat tamarinds.'

Bruu

: tʰɔɔj waaw (negative imperative)

don't talk

'Don't talk.'

: ɲtʰɔɔj ʔɔɔn praʔ ʔan nɔʋ (negative imperative)

don't give money him f.p.

'Don't give money to him.'

: ʔajvəh tuu nʌj tʌʌ ʔṽ (statement)

blouse class. this not beautiful

'This blouse is not beautiful.'

5. Topicalization

In Bruu and Dong Luang So, the elements of a clause can manifest topicalization by their initial position in the clause, but in Dong Luang So there is also the special clause from ʔan kw: plus a topic noun phrase.

Examples:

Dong Luang So

: ʔan kwɛː dam nɛːw p^huː (t^hiː) taːn ʔapial (Actor:top:foc)

it be Dam 3rd person rel.pr. weave mat

'It was Dam who wove the mat.'

: kataː t^hiː dam taːn (U:top:non-foc)

basket rel.pr. Dam weave

'The basket is what Dam wove.'

: ʔan kwɛː non mwaŋ ʔalaj pʌʔ (Loc.S:top:non-foc)

it be in town he go

'It was the town that he went to.'

Bruu

: sii taan kataa (Actor:top:foc)

Mr.Si weave basket

'Mr.Si weaves a basket.'

: kataa sii taan (U:top:non-foc)

basket Mr.Si weave

'It is a basket that Mr.Si weaves.'

: təh kii mpèeʔ dɔvʔ p^harhòʔ (Loc.S:top:non-foc)

jar that mother put preserved fish

'In that jar, mother put the preserved fish.'

6. Aspect modification

There is a little difference in Ability between Dong Luang So

: svh tʌʌ bʂɔn

go up not get

'(He) cannot go up.'

: tʌʌ tɕəm ʔaa dʌʌŋ

not able to will carry

'(I am) not able to carry (it).'

10.3 Summary

The data collected on Bruu were not equal to the data on Kusuman So. There are no Bruu data on the propulsion clause, evaluation clause, reciprocal clause or the quotative clause, while there are these data in Kusuman So. However, I give a chart to illustrate the similarity and the difference in structural clause types between Kusuman So and Bruu to Dong Luang So from the data which were collected in both languages. The data shown on this chart would seem to indicate that Kusuman So and Ubonratchathani Bruu are about equally different from Dong Luang So in their clause structure.



The similarity and the difference of clauses between Kusuman So and

Bruu to Dong Luang So.

Clauses types	Kusuman So	Bruu
transitive clause	o	o
intransitive clause	o	o
bitransitive clause	o	x
equational clause	o	o
propulsion clause	o	-
verbal clause	o	o
descriptive clause	o	o
existence clause	o	o
location clause	x	o
motion clause	x	o
comparative degree	o	o
superlative degree clause	o	o
positive imperative clause	o	x
negative imperative clause	x	x
quotative clause	x	-
reciprocal clause	x	-
evaluation clause	x	-
interrogative clause	x	x
aspect modification	x	x
moral imperative	x	-
topicalization	x	x
causer	-	x
beneficiary	o	o

o = similar to Dong Luang So

x = different from Dong Luang So

- = no data or inadequate data

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