THAI SENTENCE PARTICLES: FORMS, MEANINGS AND FORMAL-SEMANTIC VARIATIONS

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0. SUMMARY OF ARTICLE

Sentence particles in Thai comprise a class of postposition forms that modify the sentence as a whole and signal various types of information concerning the linguistic or situational context within which a given utterance takes place. These particles are subject to various processes which cause considerable variation in the form and in the shades of meaning of the particle in question. These variations may be accounted for by postulating underlying forms that are specified in terms not only of phonemic consonantal and vocalic distinctions but also in terms of phonemic tones (five possible distinctions), vowel length (long or short) and either presence or absence of terminal glottal stop. Each underlying form also has an underlying meaning or meanings associated with it. Many of these underlying forms may then be subject to a process called primary variation, in which the ordinary phonemes of the form (especially the tones and vowel length) may change in such a way as to produce one or more phonemic variants; each new variant retains the original underlying meaning but also signals some additional shade of meaning that is concomitant with the change in form.

Particles and their primary variants (if any) are also subject to other variational processes. Certain processes result in various types of phonological simplification or reduction, for example, obligatory morphophonemic changes and various types of optional change that are a function of casual speech. And there are also various general and special intonational processes which signal varying intonational meanings. Those most affecting sentence particles include two types of voice register (normal and high), two terminal contours (falling and heightened), special particle lengthening, emphatic stress and the addition of terminal /ʰ/.

The operation of the above processes gives rise to a very complex pattern of variations that is unique to sentence particles. It is suggested that such variations provide a means for the speaker to partially break through the limitations imposed by the phonemic system of Thai (with its tonal and vowel-length contrasts), thereby providing a wealth of options for emotive expressiveness.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 PURPOSE OF MONOGRAPH

One of the most baffling areas of the Thai language, to both the linguist and the language learner, is the sentence-particle system. And at the root of this bafflement lie two very significant problems. One is the problem of the meaning or function of many of the sentence particles (hereafter abbreviated to SPs), and the other is the unique phonological and semantic variability of many of these forms. As for the former problem, we find that Thai has at least four particles that can signal different kinds of questions, three that can signal commands, about half a dozen that signal various types of conversational or situational response, half a dozen more that signal various speaker-addressee relationships, and a good number that signal yet other types of information. The exact meaning or function of some of these particles is almost impossible to discover; for neither reference materials nor native speakers are able to shed much light on the matter.

The second problem, that of phonological and semantic variability, proves to be just as difficult, for many types of variational process can have their effect on different particle forms. Some variations comprise changes in the vowels, tones and even consonants of a given form, with these changes producing a concomitant change in the shade of meaning of the particle in question. Thus, for example, the response-desired particle *ná* [1] has the variants /ná/ (simple form), /nâ/ signalling momentary urging), /náa/ (sustained desire), /naa/ (non-involvement), /nâa/ (persuasion). Other variations of sentence particles involve more strictly intonational features (pitch, length etc.), these being added to or superimposed upon variations of the type mentioned above. Still other variations are conditioned in one way or another by phonological environment. Furthermore, different particles have different possibilities of variation; some variations reflect fairly general patterns in the system, while others are much more limited in scope.

The purpose of the present monograph is to shed light on the above problems, first by providing a summary of what I consider to be the basic meanings and functions of most of the commonly used sentence particles, and then by sorting out the different kinds of variation that occur and describing their effects on the various particle forms.

1.2 SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study is chiefly based on the usage of a number of Thai native speakers with whom I have consulted during the past two or three years: Ms Kanlayanee Sitasuwan, Ms Malinee Dilokwanich, Mr Aphichai Boontherawara and Mr Sompong Witayasakpan, all graduate students at the University of Washington, Seattle; Ms Nantarach Pungkunpra and Ms Panpilai Katong, students at Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand; Mr Bali Puttaraksa, Mr Bampen Rawin, Ms Jiraporn Witayasakpan, Dr Pismai Wibulswasdi and Ms Somporn Chiensoubchatvera, faculty members at Chiang Mai University. A number of other native speakers have provided assistance in earlier research that has laid the foundation for this present work. Since I have named these others in earlier works (1979 and in this volume), I shall not list them again here, but their contribution has been substantial. All in all, I have received assistance from some twenty native speakers, selected from the ranks of university students or faculty (including three or four specialists in linguistics); they represent both sexes (a slight majority being women), with ages ranging between about twenty and forty years.

In gathering information from native speakers, I have relied almost entirely upon direct questions and answers about SP forms and variants and about the linguistic and situational contexts in which they occur. At the same time I have sought continually to formulate, test and reformulate generalisations about the meanings and usage of the different forms. In this whole process I have found myself very much dependent upon the ability of native-speaker informants to create examples of grammatical utterances, to make judgements about their own usage, to describe possible contexts in which utterances might occur, to discuss meanings and usage, and to react to various hypotheses I have advanced. That is to say, I have not used unsophisticated speakers as a source of raw data. Rather, I have actively sought and made use of the imagination and insights of speakers who for the most part were already linguistically sensitive and aware, and who became more and more so as a result of our ongoing collaboration.[2] Certainly, without the willing and perceptive help I have received from such speakers, I could not have even begun to attempt the work I have done.

Another important source of information has been usage and examples gleaned from various Thai novels and short stories. This source has provided some necessary breadth to the body of data I have gathered, and it has often set me on the trail of types of usage I had been unable to discover elsewhere. At the same time, I have taken pains to check all examples with native speakers, not only so as to test their naturalness but also to seek out explanations and additional comparable examples of usage.

Still another very important source of information has been a twenty-page set of examples prepared in connection with the language program of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship in Thailand. Also, I have made use of various reference works, textbooks, published articles and the like. However, I have intentionally avoided relying too heavily upon these, for I have been anxious to base my work as fully as possible on the data I have collected through the years.

To all of the above I am much indebted for what they have added to my work. And I should also like to express my appreciation to the Graduate Research Fund of the University of Washington for providing me with financial assistance for a preliminary period of work on this project, and to Chiang Mai University for providing facilities and other assistance during a significant portion of my time of research.

1.3 General characteristics of sentence particles

In order to provide a clear picture of the phenomena with respect to sentence particles and their variations, it will be helpful to first describe something of the general characteristics of the class of forms in question.

1.3.1 Sentence position and function

SPs constitute a class of forms which very frequently occur in sentence-final position, but they may also occur medially. In sentence-final occurrence, they may appear in sequences of up to six particles,[3] but in medial occurrence the sequential possibilities are somewhat reduced. The following examples illustrate both final and medial occurrences. In the first example below (and elsewhere throughout this work) the symbols S1 and S2 represent two speakers in a conversational interchange. Unglossed forms are SPs.[4]

(1) S1 /mây ciŋ lɔ̀k lə̌ khá nîa./
1 2
'You mean this isn't true?'
1 2

S2 /kô mây ciŋ nâ sî./
3 4 5
'Well of course not.'
3 4,5

(2) /ʔaacaan nâ lə̌ khráp khamooy naalikaa./
1 2 3
'You mean it was the **professor** who stole the watch?'
1 2 3

(3) /dèk khon nán sî dâay raaŋwan./
1 2 3 4 5
'**That** child is the one who got the prize.
2,3 1 4 5

(4) /khun sâap máy khráp wâa mɔ̌ɔ taay léew./
1 2 3 4 5 6
'Did you know that the doctor died?'
1 2 3 4 5,6

(5) /hăay pay năy ná, mûawaan./
1 2 3 4
'Where'd you disappear to, yesterday?
3 1 2 4

(6) /dichán yindii khâ, thîi ca maa chûay./
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I'd be delighted to come and help you.'
1 2 3 4,5 6

Examples 2 to 6 above illustrate three types of utterances where SPs appear in sentence-medial position. In examples 2 and 3, the SPs immediately follow a noun phrase which functions as the topic of the sentence. Sentences of this type convey the sense that it is the noun phrase that is the focus of concern in the sentence. The central issue in each case is not what action took place, but what subject was involved in it – not what happened to the watch or what the child experienced, but who did the stealing or who got the prize. We can say then that in this usage the SP follows the focal element, the central predication of the sentence. Most SPs, in fact, can occur in contexts of this type.

Example 4 illustrates a second type of non-final occurrence of SPs. Here the SP follows the main verb phrase of the sentence (always involving a verb of knowing, saying etc.) and precedes the verb complement.

Examples 5 and 6 illustrate utterances in which the SP occurs following a complete sentence, but then explanatory material is added following the particle in order to fill in background material that the addressee might have missed or misunderstood.

In all examples of non-final usage of SPs illustrated above, and, of course, in all cases of sentence-final occurrence, it seems clear that the SPs occur immediately following the focal point or the main predication of the sentence. We can therefore define SPs (whether they occur in medial or sentence-final position) as postposition particles that modify the sentence as a whole.

1.3.2 SEMANTIC AND CONTEXTUAL FUNCTION OF SPS

SPs also turn out to be distinctive – in many cases unique – in terms of their function within the larger verbal and situational or semantic context. For the different SPs have meanings and/or functions[5] that are oriented either toward other utterances (that trigger or are called forth by the sentence in which the SPs occur), or toward some relevant element encountered or expected in the non-verbal situation. These semantic or contextual functions constitute a rather bewildering and disparate array, but they may be roughly divided into four types: those signalling speaker-addressee relationships; those calling for a response from the addressee; those signalling the speaker's response to the verbal or situational context; and those signalling the contextual orientation of the utterance in question.

The first of the above four types, those signalling speaker-addressee relationships, is the most clearly defined. It includes the forms *khâ* and *khráp*, signalling a slightly formal respect on the part of female and male speakers respectively; *hâ* and *há?*, female and male informal respect; *câ*, intimacy and endearment; *yâ*, female-oriented non-restraint; *wâ*, strong, male-oriented non-restraint.

The remaining three types constitute somewhat ad hoc groupings, for the different groups are not very clearly defined, and they overlap one another to a certain extent. The first of these three, comprising forms that call for a response from the addressee, includes *ná*, signalling response desired; *sî*, expectable response; *thə̀?*, desirable response; *máy*, simple yes/no question; *lə̌*, clue-derived yes/no question; *nóo*, self-directed question.

The next group, comprising forms which signal the speaker's response to the verbal or situational context, includes *hé*, cavalier response; *lâ*, focus-switching response; *lamaŋ*, guessing response; *lɔ̀k*, correcting misapprehension; *nə́* or *ní*, reaction to shared experience; *sî*, expectable response (this form, belongs in both this group and the previous one mentioned).

The last of the three ad hoc groupings comprises forms that in one way or another signal orientation with respect to the situational or verbal context. This orientation may be in terms of time or space, or it may have reference to some grammatical or logical contextual relationship. Forms in this group include *lâ*, switching focus (see also the immediately preceding group); *la?*, critical point reached; *là?*, sole-alternative indicator; *nâ?* (1), reference to non-proximate topic; *nâ?* (2), minor or incidental matter; *nê*, referent of special relevance to addressee; *nî?* (1) or *nîa?*, reference to proximate topic; *nî?* (2), matter of striking or critical relevance; *ŋay*, known or rememberable referent. (For a more detailed description of the meanings of SP forms, see section 2.0 below.)

1.3.3 FORM VARIATION OF SPS

The potential for variation of form (as mentioned briefly in section 1.1 above) is certainly one of the unique characteristics of SPs. It is true that not all forms vary equally; in fact, some forms hardly vary at all. But certainly the SP system as a whole, and many particular forms in the system, display

a kind of variability not found in other forms in the language. This phenomenon will be considered in detail below (sections 3.0 to 7.0).

1.4 PROPOSED HANDLING OF PHENOMENA

In dealing with the various phenomena concerning SPs and their variations, my plan of presentation is to first of all provide a general inventory of SP forms (section 2.0). Here I attempt to summarise information as to meanings and usage, identify some primary variants, and set forth a few examples of fairly typical utterances in which each SP might occur. I then turn to the problem of SP variation, first discussing the various approaches that have been used to account for such variation, and also explaining the approach that I have used (section 3.0). Next (section 4.0) I discuss the issue of underlying forms; I assume that SP variation is best discussed in terms of postulated underlying forms and of the different processes to which they are subject. Then I proceed to deal with the various processes that effect changes in the underlying forms. Here I deal first (section 5.0) with primary variation, which is a process characterised by phonological and semantic elaboration or development. I go on (section 6.0) to describe certain processes characterised by reduction or simplification, then I describe other variational processes of a more obviously intonational nature (section 7.0). And I conclude with summaries and general comments (section 8.0).

2.0 INVENTORY OF FORMS AND PRIMARY VARIANTS.

The following inventory comprises a fairly complete listing of forms that, in my opinion, make up the class of SPs. It is not exhaustive (for example, usage to royalty is omitted), but I believe it does include most of the SPs in common use. I do, however, exclude a number of forms that others have treated as SPs. For example, I have excluded certain verb phrase modifiers such as /chiaw/ 'really', 'precisely that', /ʔɔ̀k/ and /ləəy/ (verbal intensifying forms), /sĭa/ (an elusive time-aspect particle), /dûay/, /nɔ̀y/ and /thii/ (request particles). I have also excluded certain phrases that occur in sentence-final position in a manner somewhat similar to that in which SPs occur (e.g. /châ máy/ 'isn't that right?', /rɤ́ yaŋ/ 'yet?', /rɤ́ plàaw/ '...or not?').

Items in the inventory are simply listed alphabetically; they are listed and ordered in terms of the spelling of the underlying form (italicised) in each case. This means that there are no separate listings for variants of one and the same particle, so the variants of *ná,* for example, are to be found only under the entry *ná,* not under /nâ/, /náa/ etc. (But a listing of all variants of SPs and the derivations of those variants is provided in Appendix III.)

However, forms differing in terms of type or level of language (for example, spoken or colloquial versus written or formal) are separately listed and linked by cross-reference where appropriate. Thus, for example, there are separate entries for *dɔ̀ɔk,* written form of the negative-correction particle, for *lɔ̀k,* colloquial form of same, and for *rɔ̀k* 'correct' spoken form. All are cross-referenced to each other, but detailed information and examples are provided only under *lɔ̀k.*

The arrangement of information under individual entries in the inventory is as follows. First the particle is given in its underlying form. Then, if the form is a speaker-addressee-relationship particle (SARP), it is so identified; other forms have no such class-identifying acronym. Then the basic meaning or function of the particle is summarised and, in the case of non-SARP forms, this definition is divided into two parts: a fairly succinct identifying definition; and a more detailed, comprehensive one. Next may follow a brief summary or explanation of some of the more important contexts in

which the form occurs. Then follows a listing of the primary variants (here simply called 'variants'), if any, of the form in question, and then a listing of simplified or reduced forms. After that appears any relevant cross-reference information, and finally the usage of the form in question is illustrated with a few examples of utterances in which the particle might occur.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to provide a comprehensive set of examples to illustrate every kind of usage of all variants of each of the particles, for this would render my presentation unwieldy. I have therefore contented myself with providing the reader with enough examples to illustrate some of the more typical kinds of usage of each particle.

All forms, except SPs, that occur in the samples of usage are identified by means of a rough-and-ready gloss. SPs, however, are not glossed, for any gloss of such forms would tend to be both cumbersome and repetitive; meanings are, in any event, provided in the inventory. Also, for ready reference, I have provided a brief listing of particles and their functions or meanings in Appendix II.

In examples, comments in square brackets provide contextual information concerning the example in question. Parentheses usually mark off linguistic information about some form or forms.

câ (SARP) intimate and affectionate or endearing. Chiefly used by or to women and children. Variants: /câ/ statement form; /cá/ form used in questions or in calling attention or in responding to a call; /cǎa/ more endearing form used in calling attention or in responding to a call.

(7) S1 /tôy cá, pay nǎy cá./
1 2 3
'Toy, where are you going?'
1 3 2

S2 /chán ca pay sɯ́ɯ khɔ̌ɔŋ câ, dɛɛŋ./
4 5 6 7 8 9
'I'm going shopping, Red.'
4 5,6 7,8 9
[Young man nicknamed Red is speaking with his fiancee, nicknamed Toy.]

(8) S1 /mɛ̂ɛ cǎa./
1
'Mom?'

S2 /cǎa./
'Yes, dear?'

S1 /maa ʔàan níthaan hây nǔu faŋ nɔ̀y si cá./
2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'Please come and read (to) me a story.'
8 2 3 5,7 6 4

(Note that the particle /si/ in this example requires the use of the question form variant /cá/.)

dɔ̀ɔk correction of misapprehension. Written-language equivalent of *lɔ̀k*, and also of the more 'correct' spoken form *rɔ̀k*.

hâ (SARP) informal and friendly, female speaking. Chiefly used by older children, teenagers, and younger adults. Occasionally used also by males with a genteel background or disposition. Variants: /hâ/ statement form; /há/ form used in questions or in calling attention or in responding to a call. Possibly derived from *khâ*.

(9) S1 /khun maalay há, yennîi wâaŋ máy há./
1 2 3 4
'Miss Malai, are you free this evening?'
1 2 4 3

S2 /wâaŋ hâ. thammay lə̌./
5 6
'Yes I am. Why? (Some particular reason?)'
5 6
[Two women are speaking politely but informally to each other.]

há? (SARP) informal and friendly, male speaking. Chiefly used by older children, teenagers, and younger adults. Occasionally used also by females to convey relaxed and mildly assertive intimacy. Possibly derived from *khráp.*

(10) S1 /mûawaannîi pay nǎy há?./
1 2 3
'Where'd you go yesterday?'
3 2 1

S2 /mây dây pay nǎy há?. yùu bâan tháŋ wan./
4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
'I didn't go anywhere. I was home all day.'
5,4 6 7 8 9 10 11
[Two men are speaking politely but informally together.]

hé light, cavalier response; signals a jovial, lightly assertive, or cavalier response to something just noticed, realised, or discovered.

(11) /khàp rew caŋ hé./
1 2 3
'He's really driving fast!'
3 1 2
'That bloke's really travelling!' [Speaker reacts to a passing vehicle.]

(12) /mây yákka chây măa khóŋ chán hé./
1 2 3 4 5 6
'It wasn't my dog after all!'
3 1 5,6 4 2
'The darned thing wasn't my dog at all.'
[Speaker has been giving a somewhat humorous account of his efforts to catch his dog, and here he expresses his reaction to the discovery that the dog wasn't his after all.]

(13) /ʔâaw! mây thŭŋ pii hé. thammay thŭŋ klàp maa rew./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'Hey! It's not even a year yet. How come the guy is back so soon?'
1 2 3 4 5 7,8 6 9
[Speaker refers to an acquaintance who was to have been studying abroad for several years.]

kramaŋ 'I guess'. Written or formal-language equivalent of *lamaŋ.*

khâ (SARP) polite and respectful and somewhat formal, female speaking. Variants: /khâ/ statement form; /khá/ form used in questions or in calling attention or in responding to a call; /khǎa/ endearing form used in calling attention or in responding to a call.

(14) S1 /khun khá. khɔ̌othôot. hôŋnáam yùu thîinǎy khá./
1 2 3 4 5
'Excuse me. Where's the bathroom?' (lit. 'you')
2 5 4 3 1

S2 /yùu thîinôon khâ./
6 7
'It's over there.'
6 7
[Woman speaks to stranger in the lobby of a hotel.]

(15) S1 /mêe khǎa./
1
'Mother?'
1

S2 /khǎa./
'Yes, dear?'

S1 /nǔu ʔɔ̀ok pay lên khâŋnôok dâay máy khá./
2 3 4 5 6 7
'Could I go play outside?'
7 2,3,4 5 6

khráp, kháp (SARP) polite and respectful and somewhat formal, male speaking.

(16) S1 /sawàtdii khráp. ʔaacaan sabaay dii lə̌ khráp./
1 2 3 4
'Hello. How are you?' (lit. 'are you well?')
1 2 3,4

S2 /sabaay dii khráp, khɔ̀opkhun./
5 6 7
'I'm fine, thank you.' [Student talking to professor.]
5,6 7 2

lâ shift of focus; signals a shift of focus from one question or concern to another directly related one. May occur with questions, commands (usually, but not always, negative ones), contrastive-positive utterances, noun phrase topics and certain sudden-discovery exclamative utterances. Reduced form: /-à/. Cf. *lâw,* written-language equivalent of *lâ.*

(17) S1 /yêɛ léew. námman mòt./
1 2 3 4
'What a wretched business! We're out of gas.'
1,2 4 3

S2 /ca tham yaŋay lâ./
5 6 7
'What are we going to do?'
7 5 6
[Second speaker switches focus from the problem (being out of gas) to the directly related question of what to do.]

(18) S1 /phrûŋnii thəə ca pay nǎy./
1 2 3 4 5
'Where are you going to go tomorrow?'
5 2 3 4 1

S2 /mây dây pay nǎy lɔ̀k. léɛw thəə lâ./
6 7 8 9 10 11
'I'm not going anywhere. And how about you?'
6,7 8 9 10 11
[Second speaker shifts the focus from the question of his own plans to those of the first speaker.]

(19) /mǎa man dù?. yàa pay yûŋ ka man lâ./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'(That) dog is vicious. So don't go fooling around with it.'
1,2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(Note that *lâ* commands as exemplified here are always preceded by some comment or reference pointing to some factor or consideration that gives the command relevance. Then the speaker shifts focus from that factor or consideration to the command that it reinforces – as if the speaker were stepping back and shifting responsibility to the addressee. Commands of this sort are less peremptory than *ná* commands, but they nevertheless imply some kind of authority on the part of the speaker over the addressee. For the most part *lâ* commands are negative ('Don't do such and such.'), and even in the rarer instances where they are positive a corresponding negative command is implied; that is, a command to be on time implies a command not to be late.)

(20) /mêɛ mây dây dàa lûuk ná. phôɔ taŋhàak lâ thîi dàa./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'The mother didn't scold her child. On the contrary, it was the father who did it.'
1 2,3 4 5 7 6 8 9
[Focus shifts from the incorrect to the correct understanding as to what happened.]
(Note that in contrastive-positive usage such as this, there is always a preceding negation, then a positive correction marked by the form /taŋhàak/, with the particle *lâ* immediately following the /taŋhàak/.)

(21) /sùan câwkhɔ̌ɔŋ lâ, wîŋ mɯ̌an cék tɯ̀ɯn fay./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'As for the owner, he ran around like a Chinese excited over a fire.'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
[Speaker has been describing servant's reaction to the escape of a pig from its pen, and he now shifts to the reactions of the pig's owner.]

(22) /yaŋíi nîi lâ kháw thŭŋ dây kròot./
1 2 3 4 5
'So **that's** why he got so angry!' (like-this he reached got angry)
1 2 3 4 5

la? critical point reached; signals that a decisive or critical point has now been reached or has already been passed. Chiefly used following the predicate of the sentence, but may also be used following the subject (usually one denoting the speaker) in situations where the speaker is reporting a critical-point subjective reaction of some kind (see example 27). Variants: /la?/ neutral form (i.e. less intimate, or implying less immediacy) or somewhat flat, definite, negative (here usually with lowered terminal contour); used in situations where a past event is being newly reported to the addressee (and therefore now requires adjustment on the latter's part), and used in terminating a situation that has gone on long enough – here conveying a sense of flatness or definiteness; /lá?/ more intimate or emotionally involved, or form used in contexts where the critical point is more immediate or abrupt. Non-pause form: /la/. Seldom reduced. Probably derived from /léɛw/ 'now, already' (but see example 25 where /léɛw/ and *la?* co-occur).

(23) /klàp bâan la?./
1 2
'Well, I'm going home now.'
1 2
[Speaker rises to his feet and moves toward the door.]
(Note that use of /lá?/ here would be more relaxed or intimate, or (if raised to extra-high pitch) it could be good-naturedly assertive.)

(24) /wâay! mây kin lá?./
1 2 3
'Eek! I'm not going to eat that.'
1 2 3
[Female speaker had been about to eat a pastry, but she changes her mind when she sees the flies crawling on it.]
(By way of contrast, the mid-tone form /la?/ (without the /wâay/) might be used when a speaker is about to violate a diet and then changes his or her mind.)

(25) /phɔɔ la?. mây yàak faŋ ?ìik lá?./
1 2 3 4 5
'Enough! I don't want to hear any more.'
1 2 3 4 5
[Speaker has had enough of addressee's complaints.]

(26) /mêɛ hăay kròot léɛw la?./
1 2 3 4
'I'm over being mad now.'
1 2 3 4
[Mother speaking to child. This utterance comprises an example of a previous event now being newly reported to the child, with the implication that the child can now resume his normal relationship with the mother.]

(27) /chán la kròot thanthii mûa kháw tham yaŋán./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'I got angry right away when he did that.'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'My reaction when he did that was instant anger.'
[Boss is describing his reaction to a foolish mistake by one of his employees.]
(Note that the /la/ here is not comparable to the /lâ/ in example 20 under *lâ* above. Unlike the case of /lâ/, there is here no implication of switching focus from one sentence subject to another. Rather, the speaker is reporting the reaching of a critical point where he experiences some subjective reaction.)

là? sole alternative; pinpoints an item, proposition etc. as the very one or the only one, the sole alternative that fits the occasion. Variants: /là?/ neutral form, or may signal a definite utterance or flat statement; /la?/ slightly more relaxed form; /lá?/ lightly and offhandedly or humorously assertive. Non-pause form: /la/. Seldom if ever reduced. Cf. *lè?*, slightly formal or written-language equivalent of *là?*.

(28) /khon thîi mii sên thâwnán là? thîi ca samàk dâay./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'Only people with connections need apply.' 'It's only those who have
5 1 4 8 5 2 3
connections that can apply.'
4 6 7,9 8
[Speaker and addressee are conversing about a job opening.]

(29) /sùan mâak kháw dii, tèɛ toon maw la? nâaklua ciŋciŋ./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'Mostly he's okay, but when he's drunk he's really a terror.'
1,2 3 4 5 6 7 9 8
(The /la?/ here signals the message that when the man is drunk, it's **then**, at that time only, that he is one to be feared.)

(30) S1 /mêɛ pen yaŋay bâaŋ./
1 2 3
'How's your mother?'
3 2 1

S2 /kô yàaŋ khəəy là?. nɔɔn yùu./
4 5 6 7 8
'Oh, the same as usual. She's lying down.'
4 5 6 8 7
[The implication here is that the second speaker's mother is ill, as usual. She is always this way. One doesn't expect anything else.]

(31) /chán ca pay dĭawníi là?./
1 2 3 4
'I'll be right over.' (I'll go now.)
1 2 3 4
(i.e. This matter obviously won't wait; the only thing I could or would do is to come right over.)

(32) /luuksăaw khóŋ kháw sŭay sŭay tháŋnán là?./
1 2 3 4 5
'Every single one of her daughters is a beauty.'
5 2,3 1 4
(i.e. That's what you'd expect with such a mother.)

lamaŋ, maŋ 'I guess'; signals a tentative statement, a guess. Variants: /lamaŋ/ or /maŋ/ neutral or slightly formal; /lamáŋ/ or /máŋ/ slightly more intimate, or offhanded, or may express impatience, dismissal. Note that there seems to be little difference between the variants which have initial /la-/ and those which do not. All variants here can be used in non-pause position.

(33) S1 /kɛɛ ʔaayúʔ thâwràay./
1 2 3
'How old is she?'
3 2 1

S2 /mây rúu. rawraaw hâasìp pii lamaŋ./
4 5 6 7 8
'I don't know. Maybe about fifty (years).'
4 5 6 7 8

(34) /pay thăam kháw sî. kháw khoŋ chûay dâay máŋ./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Why don't you go ask him? Surely he'll be able to help you.'
1 2 3 5 4 7 6
(Note that the high tone with /máŋ/ may imply either impatience or encouragement.)

lâw shift of focus. Written or formal equivalent of *lâ.*

lɛ̀ʔ sole alternative. Written or slightly more formal equivalent of *làʔ.* Has spoken variants /lɛ̀ʔ/ and /lɛ́ʔ/ paralleling the low and high-tone variants of *làʔ* in meaning. Sometimes *lɛ̀ʔ* will be used in spoken language to convey greater definiteness or emphasis than *làʔ* would convey in the same context.

lə̌ (from *rə̌*) clue-derived yes/no question; signals a yes or no question for which the speaker has already received some clue as to the answer (whether yes or no), hence often signals a confirmation request. Variants: /lə̌/ neutral form, but also somewhat relaxed and familiar; /lə́/ slightly more informal, and perhaps more freely used by men than women; may express sudden surprise (especially with raised terminal contour); /lə̌ə/ fairly neutral form, but slightly more formal and softer and less abrupt than /lɛ̌/, hence more freely used by women; may also express concern, surprise, interest (especially with raised contour). Non-pause form: /lə̌/. Reduced forms: /-ə̌/, /-ə́/, /-ə̌ə/. Cf. *rŭu,* written-language equivalent of *lə̌.*

(35) /rɔ́ɔn lə̌./
1
'It's hot, is it?' 'You're hot, are you?'
1
[Speaker has just seen addressee pull back his hand after testing the temperature of some water; or he sees the addressee wiping perspiration from his brow.]

(36) /thammay thŭŋ kròot kháw nâ lə̌ə. kô phró? .../
1 2 3 4 5 6
'You want to know why I'm mad at him? Well it's because ...'
1,2 3 4 5 6

(37) /wannîi mây chây wanphút lɔk lɔ́./
1 2 3 4
'You mean today isn't Wednesday?' [Speaker expresses surprise.]
1 3 2 4

lɔ̀k (from *rɔ̀k*) correction of misapprehension; signals that some statement, belief, attitude, behaviour (usually that of the addressee) is mistaken and is here being denied or corrected, or is here accepted, acquiesced in only with some qualification. Occurs in negative statements correcting the misapprehension, positive statements conveying qualified acceptance or acquiescence, and positive statements setting forth some counter-consideration, fact or reason that lies behind some correction or denial. Variants: /lɔ̀k/ neutral form, or may signal a definite utterance or flat statement; /lɔk/ slightly more relaxed form; /lɔ́k/ (usually with raised terminal contour) offhandedly or humorously assertive. Non-pause forms: /lɔ̀k/ and /lɔk/. Reduced forms: /-ɔ̀k/, /-ɔk/, /-à?/, /-a?/.

(38) S1 /klàp bâan lɛ́ɛw lə̌./
1 2 3
'Going home now?' (Return home now?)
1 2 3

S2 /yaŋ mây klàp lɔ̀k. ?ɔ̀ɔk pay sùut ?aakàat nâ?./
4 5 6 7 8 9 10
'Oh no, not yet. Just going out for a breath of fresh air.'
(Not yet return exit go breathe air.)
5 4 6 7 8 9 10

(39) S1 /dèk khon nán chalàat ná./
1 2 3 4
'That child's clever, isn't he?'
2,3 1 4

S2 /kô chalàat lɔk. tɛ̀ɛ man khîikìat ciŋciŋ./
5 6 7 8 9 10
'Well yes, but he really is lazy.'
5 6 7 8 10 9

(40) /nîi hěn ka nɔ́ɔŋ lɔ̀k. phîi thŭŋ yɔɔm tham hây./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'I'm doing this just for you.' 'It's only for you that I'm willing to do this.'
(this-here for-sake-of younger-sibling I even willing do for)
1 2,3 4 5 6 7 8 9
[Speaker qualifies his expression of willingness because he doesn't want addressee to think this is something he could ordinarily be expected to do.]

(41) /phŏm khâwcay phìt lɔ̀k, thĕŋ dây kɔ̀ɔt rûaŋ yûŋ yàaŋníi./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'I misunderstood, and that's what caused so much trouble.'
1 3 2
(reach arose complicated matter like-this)
4 5,6 8 7 9
(i.e. please don't assume my action was intentional)

(42) /chán ʔeeŋ lɔ̀k. yàa klua ləəy./
1 2 3 4 5
'It's just me. Don't be afraid.'
1,2 3,4 5
[Addressee has been startled by the unexpected sound of someone entering.]

maŋ free variant of *lamaŋ*.

máy simple yes/no question; signals a simple question calling for a yes or no response. Reduced forms: /má/, /mé/. Cf. *mǎy*, written-language equivalent of *máy*.

(43) /pay kin khâaw kan máy./
1 2 3 4
'Shall we go eat (together)?'
1 2,3 4

(44) /ŋaan sanùk máy, mûawaan./
1 2 3
'Was the party fun yesterday?'
1 2 3

(45) /nân mùak khɔ́ŋ khun chây máy./
1 2 3 4 5
'That's your hat, isn't it?'
1 3,4 2 5

mǎy simple yes/no question. Written-language equivalent of *máy*.

ná response desired; signals that the speaker wants or expects some response from the addressee. May occur in action-inducement utterances (i.e. commands, requests etc.), statements, questions and vocative noun phrases. Variants: /ná/ neutral form (in some contexts), or demanding (in other contexts, especially in commands); /nâ/ momentary urging or persuasion, sometimes accompanied by mild impatience; /náa/ begging, pleading, sustained desire for response; /nâa/ coaxing, persuading, applying sustained pressure; /naa/ warning or persuading, but with reduced or withheld personal involvement; /nàa/ somewhat negative or pessimistic; used chiefly in self-directed bafflement questions. Note that /nâ/ and /nâa/ do not occur with questions; other variants do, but questions with /náa/, /naa/ and /nàa/ must be self-directed; questions with /ná/ may or may not be self-directed. Non-pause form: /ná/.

(46) /khĭan diidii ná./
1 2
'Write (it) nicely, now.'
1 2
[Parent gives kindly encouragement or admonition to child.]

(47) /chim duu nâ./
1 2
'Go ahead and taste it.' (taste see)
1 2
[Speaker gently, unemphatically, urges addressee to try a new dish he seems reluctant to sample.]

(48) /yàa maa kuan nâ. chán mây sabaay./
1 2 3 4 5 6
'Don't come pestering me. I don't feel good.'
1 2 3 4 5 6
[Adult reacts with brief impatience to child's interruption.]

(49) /chûay yìp hây nòy nâa./
1 2 3 4
'**Please** reach it for me.'
1,4 2 3
[Older sibling has ignored speaker's previous request for help, so child resorts to persuasion.]

(50) /phûuyĭŋ khon nán sŭay ná./
1 2 3 4
'That girl is pretty, isn't she?'
2,3 1 4

(51) /dɛɛŋ nâa, pay nòy nâa. sanùk ciŋciŋ náa./
1 2 3 4 5
'Please, Red, do go. It'll really be fun.'
3 1 2 5 4
[Teenager begs friend to go to party.]

(52) /thammay kháw cháa ná./
1 2 3
'Why's he so late?'
1 2 3
'Why was it that he was so late?' 'I wonder why he's so late.'
[Speaker asks informal question; or he asks for a repeat of an explanation that he didn't hear or understand previously; or he asks a self-directed question.]

nâ? (1)[6] minor or incidental matter; signals that some fact, event, consideration is a simple matter, a matter of minor or passing importance, something of incidental or low-key relevance, something that is no big issue, not out of the way, requires no major adjustment in the addressee's thinking or behaviour. Non-pause form: /nâ/. Seldom if ever reduced. Probably derived from the demonstrative pronoun /nân/ 'that, that there, that one there'.

(53) S1 /tham ʔaray m̂awaan khá./
1 2 3
'What did you do yesterday?'
2 1 3

S2 /pay yîam phôɔmêɛ nâ khâ./
4 5 6
'I just went to see my parents.'
4 5 6
(i.e. That's the simple explanation for my absence; there wasn't anything unusual or out of the way about my activities.)

(54) S1 /thammay mây kin lâ./
1 2 3
'Why aren't you eating?'
1 2 3

S2 /kô mây hĭw nâʔ./
4 5 6
'I'm just not hungry, (that's all) (connective particle).'
5 6 4

(55) /rawaŋ, man ca kàt nâʔ/
1 2 3 4
'Careful, it'll bite.'
1 2 3 4
[Speaker warns addressee about approaching too close to a dog.]
(Note that this is an incidental or passing warning. The implication is either that the danger is not critical, not serious, or that the addressee, having been warned, can handle the situation without difficulty.)

(56) /mây rúucàk sapráy lă. kô náam ʔàt lom nâʔ./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'You're not familiar with Sprite? It's just a carbonated drink (connective).'
1 2 3 6,7 5 4

(57) S1 /khăay thâwrày./
1 2
'How much does it sell for?'
2 1

S2 /kô sìp bàat nâ sî./
3 4
'Ten baht.'
3 4
(i.e. See, the price tag is right in plain sight.)
(Note that the /nâ/ here implies that the answer to the question presents no great problem, and the /sî/ implies that the answer is obvious, expectable under the circumstances.)

(58) /thammay kháw ca mây yùu. kô chán hĕn kháw tɔɔn ʔɔ̀ɔk càak hôŋnáam nâʔ./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
'Why wouldn't he be around? I saw him while I was coming out of the restroom!
1 3 4 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
(The /nâʔ/ implies that the person in question can't have gone far, that it shouldn't be any great problem to find him.)

nâ? (2) non-proximate topic; signals that some non-proximate referent (i.e. something 'there' in the situational or linguistic context, or 'that' referent which has just come to our attention) is the topic concerning which some utterance in question is being made. Occurs following sentence-topic expressions and also following questions and statements. Note that when *nâ?* (2) is attached to questions or statements rather than to some particular NP, it occurs in the last SP position in the sentence, following any co-occurring SARP forms. Non-pause form: /nâ/. Reduced form: /-â?/. Probably derived from the demonstrative pronoun /nân/ 'that', 'that there', 'that one there'. Cf. the contrasting but parallel form *nî?* (2).

(59) /khanŭn nâ chán kin dâay. tèɛ thîi chán kin mây dâay kô khɯɯ thúrian./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
'Jackfruit I can eat. But what I can't eat is durian.'
1 2 4 3 5 6 7 10,9 8 11 12
[Addressee has just asked speaker if he can eat jackfruit; or addressee has just mentioned his own dislike of jackfruit.]

(60) /↑dèk khon nán nâ lə̌ə sòop tòk./
1 2 3 4 5
'You mean **that child** failed the exam?'
2,3 1 4,5
'That child was the one who failed?' (i.e. Who'd have thought it!)

(61) /pay phûut ka kháw rɯ́ yaŋ. ?ây khon khăa hàk nâ?./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
'Have you gone to talk to him yet? -- I mean the guy with the broken leg.'
1 2 3 4 5,6 7,8 10 9

(62) S1 /khun khoŋ rúu dii wâa kháw pen khon chûa./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'You must have known very well that he was a rascal.'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8,9

S2 /?ây rúu nâ rúu lòk, tèɛ chán tôŋkaan ŋən ciŋciŋ./
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
'Yes I did (so far as that's concerned) (as for knowing, I knew), but I really
10,11 12 13 14 17
needed the money.'
15 16
[The first speaker is disturbed because of the second speaker's dealings with a loan shark.]

(63) /kin ?aray nâ?./
1 2
'What's that you're eating?'
2 1
[Speaker sees addressee eating something he doesn't recognise.]

(64) /mii khray cháy máy nâ?./
1 2 3
'Is anyone using it?'
1 2 3
(i.e. that thing there, or the thing we've just been talking about)

(65) /kháw tèŋŋaan lέεw khâ nâ?./
1 2 3
'**He's** married now.'
1 2 3
[Speaker volunteers information about someone passing by, or someone who has just been mentioned.]

(66) /ca kàət khân ?iik nâ?./
1 2 3 4
'You know, that's going to happen again.'
1 2,3 4
[Speaker contributes to a discussion about the flooding of the ground-floor office next door.]
(The /nâ?/ here implies an event not right 'here' but 'there', or 'that' one previously mentioned.)

nê particular relevance; signals that some referent or event is especially relevant or worthy of the addressee's attention. Occurs with noun phrases (especially particularised or quantified) and verb phrases dealing with events.

(67) /nékthay sên níi nê sŭay./
1 2 3 4
'This necktie here is pretty.'
2,3 1 4
[Speaker is shopping with friend and calls the latter's attention to a tie he thinks his friend will like.]

(68) /mŏɔ nê khuan ca pen phûu nam. chán nâ pay mây thùuk./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
'You (doctor) ought to be the leader. I don't know the way (go not right).'
1 2,3 4 5,6 7 8 9 10
[Speaker directs attention to the doctor as the appropriate one to lead the way at this point.]

(69) /kháw làp tâŋ yîisìp chûamooŋ nê./
1 2 3 4 5
'He slept for **twenty** hours.'
1 2 3,4 5
(Note that when *nê* occurs after a quantified noun phrase like this, it implies that the quantity, number, size, length of time etc. is particularly great and therefore worthy of attention.)

(70) /nŭunŭu. khun khruu rîak nê./
1 2 3 4
'Little-girl. Teacher is calling you.'
1 2,3 4

(71) /duu sî. kháw kamlaŋ phanan kan nê./
1 2 3 4 5
'Look. They're gambling.'
1 2,5 3 4
[Speaker knows addressee has a special interest in the gambling, perhaps because the latter wants to watch and learn; or because he wants to join in; or because he is a policeman and wants to put a stop to it.]

ní, nɔ́ involvement in shared experience; signals the speaker's sense of involvement in some experience shared or to be shared with some person or persons in the speaker's presence. Sometimes used sarcastically by someone who is not sharing the experience in question. Occurs in exclamative utterances, statements and 'let's ...' invitations. Note that if the speaker is commenting about an experience the addressee is now sharing or being invited to share, the particle implies a sharing between 'me and you'; otherwise it implies a sharing between 'me' and some other person or persons present, but not 'you'. The variant *ní* is the more common of the alternates, for not all speakers use *nɔ́*. However, if a speaker uses both, *ní* may imply a more special delight in the shared experience, and it usually also conveys a sense of feminine cuteness or possessiveness. Neither form is likely to occur in non-pause position.

(72) /mɛ̌ɛ, sabaay caŋ ní./
1 2 3
'Say, this is really nice, huh?' 'Boy, ain't we got it good!'
1 3 2
[Speaker and addressee are just settling into a luxurious hotel room; or speaker comes upon addressee basking in a luxury he himself is not free to share.]

(73) S1 /pay nǎy kan ná./
1 2 3
'Where are you going (together)?'
2 1 3

S2 /raw ca pay thîaw kan nɔ́./
4 5 6 7 8
'We're off on a jaunt.' (i.e. But it's just the two of us together.
4 5 6 7 3
You can't go along.)

(74) S1 /ʔaw maa càak nǎy â?./
1 2 3 4
'Where'd you get that?'
3,4 1,2

S2 /mêɛ hây raw ní./
5 6 7
'Mother gave it just to us (not to you).'
5 6 7
[Older sibling asks about a special treat he sees his younger siblings enjoying.]

(75) /wannîi mêɛ tham khanŏm la?. pay kin kan dii kwàa ní./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'Mom made some goodies today. Let's go have some, okay? (go eat
2 3 4 1 5 6
together is better).'
7 8,9
[Speaker is delighted at the prospect of eating the goodies with the addressee.]
(Note that invitations with *ní* or *nɔ́* must be cast in the form of a statement:
'It would be better to ...' Thus the /dii kwàa/ cannot be omitted here.)

nî? (1) striking or critical relevance; signals that some fact, consideration, factor, event is of striking, critical, often contradictory relevance to the situation at hand. In most utterances with *nî?* (1) the speaker is pointing to some crucial bit of information, some compelling consideration that is set forth as a corrective, contradictory or explanatory counter-reaction to something the addressee had just said or implied. Occasionally, however, the speaker is reacting in surprise or special interest (whether positive or negative) to something that has just caught his attention and has made a significant impression, though here the speaker may be using *nî?* sarcastically to signal that he is not, in fact, impressed at all. Occurs sentence final in the first SP position. Non-pause form: /nî/. Seldom if ever reduced. Probably derived from the demonstrative pronoun /nîi/ 'this', 'this here', 'this one'.

(76) S1 /thammay thŭŋ pìt pratuu lâ./
1 2 3 4
'How-come you closed the door?'
1,2 3 4

S2 /kô ?aacaan hây pìt nî khá./
5 6 7 8
'Well you **asked** me to.'
5 6 7 8
[Student reacts to professor's question, by pointing out the compelling factor that justifies his action.]

(77) S1 /yaŋ mây phrɔ́ɔm ?iik lə̆./
1 2 3 4
'Aren't you ready **yet**?'
2 3 1,4

S2 /phrɔ́ɔm lɛ́ɛw nî?. phrɔ́ɔm tâŋ naan lɛ́ɛw dûay./
5 6 7 8 9 10 11
'Yes I am! What's more, I've been ready a long time.'
5,6 11 10 7 8,9

(78) S1 /pay wâay náam kan máy./
1 2 3 4
'Want to go swimming (together)?'
1 2,3 4

S2 /mây dâay lɔk. mây mii chút ʔàap náam nîʔ./
5 6 7 8 9 10 11
'No, I can't. I don't have a bathing-suit.'
6,5 7 8 10,11 9

(79) /khwaamkhít mây leew nî há./
1 2 3
'Hey, that's not a bad idea!'
2 3 1
[Speaker is struck by an idea that someone has just mentioned.]

(80) /ʔôohoo, tèŋ tua sŭay nîʔ.
1 2 3 4
'Oho, you look nice!' 'Wow, that's a pretty dress!' (dress self pretty)
1 2 3 4
[Speaker is pulled up short by addressee's striking appearance.]

(81) /ʔé, nân nékthay chán nîʔ./
1 2 3 4
'Hey! That's my tie (you're wearing).'
1 2 4 3

nîʔ (2) variant of *nîaʔ*, q.v.

nîaʔ, nîi, nîʔ (1) proximate topic; signals that some proximate referent (i.e. 'this' referent here in the immediate situational or linguistic context, 'this' referent which has come to our attention) is the topic concerning which the utterance in question is being made. Occurs following sentence-topic expressions and also following questions and statements – here occurring at the end of the sentence in the last SP position. The form *nîaʔ* is the most general and neutral variant. The form *nîʔ* is more likely to be used by men than by women; in fact some women do not use this variant at all. *nîi* seems to signal some sort of emphasis and usually conveys a more explicit sense of proximity than other variants. This variant bears a very close resemblance, both in form and meaning, to the demonstrative pronoun /nîi/ 'this', 'this one here' so it could perhaps be considered as reflecting a special usage of the pronoun form. The form *nîʔ* is probably derived from this same pronoun form, and *nîaʔ* probably comes from the combination /nîi/ plus *nâʔ* (2). Cf. the contrasting but somewhat parallel form *nâʔ* (2).

(82) /dèk faràŋ nîaʔ yûŋ caŋ lɔɔy./
1 2 3 4 5
'As for these Western children, they're really a pain in the neck.'
2 1 4,5
'These Western kids, now – they're really a menace.'

(83) /khun rúucàk phôɔ khɔ́ŋ kháw rɯ́ plàaw. ʔây dèk khon níi nîaʔ./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
'Do you know his father (or not)? I mean (the father of) this child here.'
1 2 4,5 3 10,11 8,9
[Speaker asks about a child that is right nearby.]

(84) S1 /mây sǐacay lɔ̌./
1 2
'Aren't you sorry?'
1 2

S2 /ʔây sǐacay nîaʔ kô sǐacay lòk, tɛ̀ɛ man tôŋ ʔòt thon./
3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
'Well yes, I'm sorry, but it's something one has to put up with.'
6 7 8 9 10,11
(Now that you've raised this issue of being sorry, well yes I am, but ...)
3,4 5

(85) /kin ʔaray nîaʔ.
1 2
'What's this you're eating?'
2 1

(86) /mii khray khàtkhôŋ máy khá nîaʔ./
1 2 3
'Are there any objections to this?' 'With respect to this suggestion before us, is there anyone who objects?'
1 2 3

(87) /khwaamkhít mây leew khráp nîaʔ./
1 2 3
'This isn't a bad idea!'
2 3 1
(Here the /nîaʔ/ refers to 'this' suggestion that has just been made.)

(88) /mii rótmee chon kan ʔìik lɛ́ɛw nîaʔ./
1 2 3 4 5 6
'There's been another bus collision.'
6 1 5 2 3,4
[Addressee has just mentioned a previous bus collision, and the speaker volunteers that 'this' same thing has happened again.]

nîi variant of *nîaʔ*, q.v.

nɔ́ɔ 'I wonder'; signals a self-directed 'I wonder' question with sustained desire for the answer. The meaning and usage of this form seems to be very close to that of the self-directed question use of /náa/, variant of *ná*. Many speakers would use /náa/ but not *nɔ́ɔ* in relevant contexts. Cf. *nɔ̌ɔ*, written-language equivalent of *nɔ́ɔ*.

(89) /ʔee, man hăay pay năy nɔ́ɔ./
1 2 3 4 5
'Oh, I wonder where the thing disappeared to.'
1 5 2 3 4

nɔ̆ɔ 'I wonder'; written-language equivalent of *nɔ́ɔ*.

ŋay known or rememberable referent; signals that a given referent is identified or identifiable as or in terms of something previously mentioned, something rememberable, something either commonly or mutually known, something readily knowable. Often conveys something of the sense of English expressions such as 'you know', 'don't you remember?', can't you see?'. Reduced form: /ŋɛ/. Derived from /yaaŋray/, yaŋay/, ŋay/ 'how?'

(90) S1 /ca pay yaŋay lâ./
1 2 3
'And how are we going to go?'
3 1 2

S2 /kô pay rót sǐi dɛɛŋ nân ŋay./
4 5 6 7 8
'We'll go in the red car there (see it?).'
4 6,7 5 8
Or '...' 'We'll go in the red car there (don't you remember?)'

(91) S1 /hây pay láaŋ phlɛ̆ɛ khray./
1 2 3 4 5
'Whose sores do you want me to go dress (wash)?'
5 4 1 2 3

S2 /khon khây tiaŋ săam nân ŋay./
6 7 8 9 10
'You know, the patient in bed three.'
10 6,7 8 9

(92) S1 /khray chaná?, rúu máy./
1 2 3
'Who won, do you know?'
1 2 3

S2 /faŋ sî, kháw kamlaŋ tàtsîn ŋay./
4 5 6 7
'Listen. He's just deciding.' (i.e. Can't you see that's what is about to happen?)
4 5 6 7

(93) /thammay khóp ka kháw lâ. năy bɔ̀ɔk wâa klìat kháw ŋay./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'How-come you're running around with him? Didn't you tell me you hated him?'
1 2 3 4 6,7 8 9
'... Here you were telling me you hated him. (Remember?)'
5

rə̌ clue-derived yes/no question. Properly or carefully pronounced form from which *lə̌* is derived. The two forms *(rə̌* and *lə̌)* have parallel variants.

rɔ̀k correction of misapprehension. Properly or carefully pronounced form from which *lɔ̀k* is derived. The two forms *(rɔ̀k* and *lɔ̀k)* have parallel variants.

rŭu clue-derived yes/no question. Written-language equivalent of *lə̌.*

sî expectable response; signals that a given response, whether made by the speaker or called for from the addressee, is one that is expectable, natural, obvious under the circumstances. Occurs in action-inducement utterances (commands, suggestions, requests, invitations), in answers to questions and to question-raising statements, in inferential statements and statements noting new information that necessitates some adjustment on the part of the speaker. Variants: /sî/ neutral form; /si/ (for some speakers) form signalling inferential statements; /sí/ response needed by the speaker (used with action-inducement statements only), or form signalling light assertiveness (in this sense ocurs only with raised terminal contour, but may also occur with statements); /sîi/ persuading, urging; /sii/ (for some speakers) emotional withdrawal or non-involvement, though other speakers consider this variant chiefly a written-language form. Non-pause form /si/.

(94) /pə̀ət pratuu sî./
1 2
'Open the door.'
1 2
[It is opening time at a store, and boss is telling employee to do his job; or speaker is standing at a door with his hands full, so he has the addressee open the door for him; or parent is impatiently telling child, for the second time, what to do (in this context usually raised).]
(Note that the speaker might use /sí/ instead of /sî/ if, for example, he needed the door opened so he could put something away, or in order to check on whether the light had been turned out.)

(95) /khâw maa sîi./
1 2
'Do come in.'
2 1
(i.e. You don't need to stay standing out there in the rain.)

(96) S1 /khun ca maa ciŋciŋ lə̌./
1 2 3 4
'Are you really going to come?'
1 4 2 3

S2 /maa sî./
5
'Sure I am.'
5

(97) S1 /chán wâa wanníi fŏn thâa ca mây tòk./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'I don't think it's likely to rain today.'
1 7 2 5,6 4,8 3

S2 /tòk sî. nân ŋay mêek dam./
9 10 11 12
'Sure it is. See the black cloud over there.'
9 12 11 10

(98) /dèk khon nán sî chalàat./
1 2 3 4
'That's the child that's clever.' '**That** child is the one that's smart.'
2,3 1 4

(99) /lûuk khoŋ mây sabaay sî./
1 2 3 4
'Your child must be sick, hm?' 'I gather your baby's not well.'
1 2 3,4
[Addressee has previously expressed concern about child's health, so when she tells speaker she is not coming to the party, the latter infers what the problem must be.]

(100) /nîi khun sǐi ca tèŋŋaan léew sî./
1 2 3 4 5 6
'Here I see Mr Sri is getting married.'
1 2 3 4 5,6
[Speaker notices in the newspaper that Mr Sri is getting married, and realises he is going to have to get busy and buy a wedding present; or he hadn't realised that Sri's plans had developed to this point, and now he must adjust his thinking.]

thə? desirable response; signals that the speaker is calling for, urging a response that he considers good, desirable. Occurs with action-inducement utterances (commands, suggestions, requests, invitations), including 'let's ...' expressions; also occurs occasionally in statements that carry a covert message urging some action. Variants: /thà?/ neutral form, or may signal definiteness; /thə?/ slightly more relaxed form; /thá?/ friendly and good-humoured, or mildly and offhandedly assertive. Non-pause form: /thə/. Reduced forms: /hà?/, /hə?/, /há?/. Cf. *thàət*, written-language equivalent of *thà?*.

(101) /mây tôŋ rɔɔ ná. rîip pay tham ŋaan thà?./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'No need to wait. You'd better hurry off to work.'
1 2 3 4 5 6,7

(102) /lêək phûut bâabâa bɔɔbɔɔ yaŋŋíi sía thii thà?./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Do quit talking such crazy nonsense (aspect-particle this one time).'
1 2 5 3,4 6 7

(103) /pay kin kan thà?/
1 2 3
'Let's go eat (together).'
1 2 3

(104) /chûay ʔaw nîi pay hây kháw nòy thə̀ʔ./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Please take this to him.'
1,7 2,4 3 5 6

(105) /dichán thăam ʔìik nít nɯ̀ŋ thə̀ʔ./
1 2 3 4 5
'Let me just ask something else.' (I ask more a little)
1 2 3 5 4

thə̀ət desirable response. Written-language equivalent of *thə̀ʔ.*

wâ (SARP) unrestrained or coarse, or familiar; also may convey aggressiveness or anger. Chiefly used between males, but occasionally used by or to females. Variants: /wâ/ statement form, used also in somewhat more definite or peremptory action-inducement utterances; /wá/ question form, used also in action-inducement utterances with a sense of urging or pressing the addressee to action; /waa/ form used with exclamatives signalling distress, dismay; /wàa/ form used in self-directed questions expressing bafflement, in action-inducement utterances expressing somewhat pessimistic pleading, begging and (usually somewhat humorously) with exclamatives signalling distress: /wáa/ form used in self-directed questions where the speaker's wishes are more actively involved, and in action-inducement utterances where the speaker is urging, pressing for his wish to be fulfilled; /wăa/ rare, similar in meaning and usage to /wàa/, but more likely to be associated with written language. Cf. also *wóoy, wə́əy,* below.

(106) S1 /pay nǎy wá./
1 2
'Where are you going?'
2 1

S2 /mây dây pay nǎy lɔ̀k wâ./
3 4 5 6
'I'm not going anywhere.'
3,4 5 6

(107A) /rêŋ nòy wâ./
1 2
'Hurry up!'
1,2

(107B) /... wá./
'Do hurry.' 'Hurry up, will you?'

(107C) /... wáa./
'Come **on**, please hurry.'

(108) /thammay man thɯ̌ŋ son yaŋíi wàa./
1 2 3 4 5
'I wonder why he's so **naughty**.'
1,3 2 5 4
[Speaker complains in bafflement over the behaviour of a child.]

(109) /chíp hăay la waa./
1 2
'Damn it all!' 'O darn!' (to perish)
1,2

wóoy, wɔ́ɔy (SARP) unrestrained or coarse, or familiar. Special variants of *wâ,* used chiefly between males in a relaxed, light-hearted, good-humoured manner and sense. Occurs with statements, questions, calling attention, exclamations.

(110) S1 /pay năy wóoy./
1 2
'Where are you going?'
2 1

S2 /pay kin khâaw wóoy. pay dûaykan máy./
3 4 5 6 7
'I'm going to go eat. Want to come along?'
3 4,5 6 7
[Conversational exchange between two young men.]

(111) /thiam wóoy, wannîi wâaŋ máy./
1 2 3
'Hey, Tiam. Are you free today?'
1 3 2
[Young man addresses male friend.]

yâ (SARP) somewhat unrestrained form used by female speakers and chiefly derogatory to the addressee, or teasing. Variants: /yâ/ statement form; /yá/ question form. Perhaps derived from *câ.*

(112) S1 /thammay thŭŋ mohŏo lâ yá./
1 2 3
'Why are you so angry?'
1,2 3

S2 /mây dây mohŏo lɔ̀k yâ./
4 5 6
'I'm not angry.'
4,5 6
[Conversational exchange between two women.]

(113) /thəə nîa? săммakhan ná yá./
1 2
'You, you're quite the one, aren't you? (important)'
1 2
[Woman speaking banteringly to acquaintance.]

3.0 APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF SP VARIATION

Having provided a very general picture of the SP system and also a brief description of forms and variants, we are now in a position to consider the problem of SP variation. In doing so, I shall first of all consider three approaches that have been taken in accounting for the phonemenon of SP

variation: the structural-phonemic approach; the prosodic or intonational approach; and the approach taken by Peyasantiwong (1979, 1981).[7] Then I shall explain the somewhat different approach taken in this paper.

3.1 THE STRUCTURAL-PHONEMIC APPROACH

This approach is best exemplified by Richard Noss's treatment of SPs in his reference grammar (1964). Here Noss follows along more or less in the American structural tradition of Thai linguistics, the foundations of which were laid by Haas (1945, 1964, et al). His treatment basically involves listing all variants in phonemic transcription and framing statements to account for each. In these statements he indicates that some variants of given particles are in free variation with each other, others are differentiated by linguistic environmental conditioning, and still others are semantically distinct from each other. For example, he states (p.212) that one particle (the one I have identified above as *lâ*, signalling shift of focus) has the variants /lâ/, /lâw/ and /lã/, the first two appearing in free variation, and the third only occurring before other sentence particles. Then another particle (identified above as *ná*, signalling speaker's wish for response) is said (p.211) to have variants /naa/ urging acceptance, /nâ/ more insistent, /!nâa:/ emphatic, /nã/ weak question or request for confirmation and /!nóo:/ emphatic variant of /nã/.

As I see it, the most significant features of Noss's handling of SP variation are his recognition of the existence of phonemically variant forms of one and the same particle, and his attempt to account for each particular variant. As it happens, I disagree with many of his explanations, but perhaps such disagreement is only to be expected, given the complexity and subtlety of the phenomena under consideration. The important thing is that the variation was described, and a serious attempt was made to explain the significance of all variants. As far as I know, Noss's is the only work that makes any general attempt to account for each individual variant of each particle.

Note, however, that Noss does not attempt to set up basic or underlying forms for each particle. And he makes little attempt to discuss general patterns of variation. He indeed recognises the well-known distinction between falling-tone statements and high-tone questions in the case of several speaker-addressee-relationship particles. He also recognises the special effect that emphatic stress and raised intonation may have upon particles. But apart from these phenomena, he largely ignores general patterns of SP variation.

3.2 THE PROSODIC OR INTONATIONAL APPROACH TO SP VARIATION

Another approach to SP variation is that pioneered by Eugenie Henderson (1949) and further developed by Terd Chuenkongchoo (1965). In this approach, Henderson has proposed seven 'sentence tones', each comprising a combination of tone (one of the usual five Thai tones) and vowel length (short or long). Each of these combinations signals some sentence meaning. Thus, for instance, Sentence Tone C combines tone 3 (falling) with length to signal 'assertion or assent' of a formal nature. Or, again, Sentence Tone F combines tone 4 (high) with shortness to signal 'interrogation, invitation'.

Chuankongchoo (1965) carries the same sort of analysis a little further and proposes fourteen sentence-final and seven non-final prosodic complexes. Each complex combines features of vowel length (short or long), tonal value, and presence or absence of terminal glottal stop. These complexes are called sentence prosodies which are said to have 'the particle or particle piece as their focal point'

(p.22). Presumably, also, each complex signals some prosodic or intonational meaning for the sentence as a whole. However, Chuankongchoo does not assign explicit meanings to each complex. Rather, he makes a few broad generalisations to account for the sentence meanings of some of the complexes and passes by the rest. For example, he states (p.68) that three of the complexes (number 2, which is long and rising; number 6, short high; and number 11, short rising) are frequently used for 'situations involving interrogation and request'; complex 5 (short falling) is common in 'answers', 'assertion' or 'statements'. Similar broad generalisations are made concerning the usage of some – though not all – of the other complexes.

A somewhat different prosodic or, rather, intonational approach is proposed by Paninee Rudaravanija (1965). She sets up basic or underlying forms that have unspecified tones which then become specified as a result of occurrence with one or another of three sentence-terminal contours. These terminal contours comprise a falling (↓), a rising (↑) and a sustained (→) contour. The falling terminal contour signals 'statements, commands, requests, strong emphasis' (p.88). When it occurs, the immediately preceding sentence particle may be assigned mid, low or falling tone (see p.94). The rising contour signals 'surprise, incredulity, mild emphasis, politeness, tentativeness' (p.88), and it may condition the occurrence of either a high or a rising tone on the accompanying particle (p.94). Finally, the sustained contour is described as 'unfinished, interrupted' (p.88), no statement being made as to what tone it conditions.

It is noteworthy that Rudaravanija makes no general statement as to what any particular tone may signal. That is to say, she tells us, for example, that the falling tone form /nâ/ signals 'strong emphasis' (as opposed to /ná/ which signals 'mild emphasis'), but she does not tell us what the general intonational meaning of falling tone (or any other tone) might be, though she obviously considers falling tone to be one of the intonational manifestations of falling terminal contour.

Two things are noteworthy about the prosodic or intonational approach – at least in so far as it is exemplified by the above scholars. One is the manner in which certain phonetic features are removed from the primary domain of the sentence particle itself to that of sentence prosody or intonation. The assumption (implied by Henderson and Chuankongchoo, but explicitly stated by Rudaravanija) seems to be that particles have a basic or underlying form that lacks certain phonetic features (whether tone, vowel length or terminal glottalisation), and that these absent features are introduced or added as a result of the presence of co-occurring prosodic or intonational elements at the end of the sentence.

A second noteworthy feature of this approach is the attempt that has been made to capture generalisations about the pitch and vowel-length characteristics of particles. In other words, these scholars have noticed certain recurring patterns with respect to the forms and meanings of sentence particles (for example, that statements often have falling tone, and that questions often have high or rising tone), and they have attempted to show how these patterns are part of a general system. This attempt was well worth making.

Unfortunately (at least in my opinion), the attempts at generalisation have not been entirely successful, for these generalisations have been made without sufficient support from, and sometimes even in contradiction to, the evidence of particular data. Henderson, for example, makes the very broad claim (p.207) that Tone 4 (short high tone) signals 'interrogation, invitation', and she lists a few examples that support her claim. But there happen to be quite a few forms that point in a different direction, for the short high-tone forms /há?/, /khráp/, /lá?/, /lé?/ and /lók/ all occur in statements, and the forms /ná/, /sí/ and /thé?/ all occur in commands.

Rudaravanija, to cite another example of unsuccessful generalisations, makes the statement (p.88) that rising terminal contour signals all types of questions, and also 'surprise, incredulity, mild emphasis, politeness, tentativeness' and she states that falling terminal contour signals 'statements, commands, requests, strong emphasis'. But when we examine her particular examples of these rising and falling contours as they affect what she calls 'attitude sentence particles' (pp.95,96), we find that /lá↑/ (with rising contour), for example, signals statements, while /lâ↓/ (falling contour) signals a 'wh-' question – the very opposite of what she has led us to expect. Then when we examine the data from actual usage in the spoken language, we find that other rising and falling contour variants happen not to be differentiated in the manner she suggests. For example, both the rising and the falling contour variants of *rɔɔk* signal statements, not just the latter. Similarly, both contour variants of *thə* may signal commands and requests, not just the falling contour form. And the same is true for *si* and *na*. What is more, the rising-contour, short-vowel variant of *na* happens to be emphatic in certain contexts, whereas the falling contour form never is – the very opposite of what we would have expected. It is clear, therefore, that some of Rudaravanija's generalisations do not altogether fit the data.

When we come, however, to consider Chuankongchoo's generalisations, we find a somewhat different problem. He also makes a number of very broad generalisations concerning the contexts in which different prosodic complexes are used (see pp.68-72 and also my discussion above), but he qualifies his statements by the use of words such as 'frequently', 'often'. Furthermore, he goes to considerable lengths in citing examples of the various complexes he proposes. However, his generalisations cannot be tested against his examples, for he at no point provides the requisite semantic particulars. That is to say, he cites examples of particles that illustrate each complex (whether long falling, short high or whatever), but he never tells us what any individual particle means or what any particle variants mean. So his generalisations about the meanings of various complexes lack the support of the particulars upon which such generalisations need to be based.

3.3 THE APPROACH OF PATCHARIN PEYASANTIWONG

Considerable light has recently been shed on the subject of Thai SPs through the work of Patcharin Peyasantiwong as embodied in an article on SP phonological reduction (1979) and also in a dissertation of SPs (1981). The former work focuses on one particular type of SP variation (i.e. phonological reduction), and the latter is a more general work devoted mainly to a description, liberally provided with examples, of the function and usage of SPs in a wide variety of contexts. It also includes a special chapter on phonological processes (including reduction). This chapter, along with data provided here and there throughout the dissertation, comprises a significant source of information on SP variation.

Peyasantiwong's handling of such variation cannot readily be described in terms either of the structural-phonemic or of the prosodic or intonational approach. Nor have I been able to come up with a single term that adequately characterises what she has done. But her contribution is a major one and I shall discuss it in the light of her treatment of three types of variation: phonological reduction, stress-related intonation and non-derivational alternation. (The first term is Peyasantiwong's but the other two are mine, coined so as to identify phenomena which Peyasantiwong describes but does not explicitly name.)

Phonological reduction is a process which is said to involve changes such as 'vowel shortening, deletion of initial or final consonant, and tone neutralization' (1981:226). It takes place in contexts

where the particle in question receives weak stress, and it is evidently a function of rapidity of speech and perhaps also of casualness or personal style. Examples cited include the form /lá?/ (said to be derived from /léɛw/), which may be reduced to *á?* or *a?*; /lâ?/, which reduces to *lâ* or *â;* and /rɔ̀ɔk/, which may reduce in successive steps as follows: /rɔ̀ɔk/ → *rɔ̀k* → *ràk* → *rà?* → *à?* → *a?* (*ràk* and *rà?* being hypothetical intermediate forms that never appear in actual speech) (see 1979, pp.110,111). Also Peyasantiwong notes that final glottal stop is lost when the particle in question is followed by another final particle (p.113).

The second type of variational phenomenon, which I call stress-related intonation, is a process which Peyasantiwong describes as occurring in contexts where speakers choose to 'emphasize the mood, emotion or attitude behind their statements, and in order to do so place more than normal stress on the particles' (1981:227). Under such conditions vowels may lengthen, and occasionally also tones may change. For example, /khá/, /cá/ and /yá/ may be lengthened to signal that the speaker is being 'either sarcastic or ingratiating' (p.228). Similarly, /khâ/ and câ/ may be lengthened to indicate special attention or agreement (p.229), and /nâ?/ (actually pronounced /nâ/) may sometimes be pronounced 'with a longer than normal vowel' to convey a 'rather placating' sense (p.113). Also, /khráp/ can be pronounced with a 'lengthened vowel and a level but mid-low tone...when the speaker is playing a rather passive role' (p.37).

The third type of SP variation that can be found in Peyasantiwong's work is what I have termed non-derivational alternation, for it comprises a type of variation in which different forms of given SPs are simply described as independent, non-derived, separate-but-equal alternants. That is, no one variant is considered as basic, and no variants are analysed as having been derived from any others. Thus Peyasantiwong groups /câ/, /cá/ and /căa/ together, because presumably they are in some sense variant forms of one and the same particle, and presumably they all signal something like intimacy between speaker and addressee. She then describes the contexts in which each of the variants may be used (pp.46-49). Similarly, she groups and differentiates /yâ/ and /yá/ (women's non-restraint forms) (p.50), the forms /wâ/, /wá/ and /wóoy/ (pp.50-52), and the forms /sî/ and /sí/ (pp.181-197). Other groupings, however, are not quite consistent with the above; the women's speech forms /khâ/ and /khá/ are grouped with the men's form /khráp/, and similarly the women's forms plus /hâ/ and /há/ are grouped with the men's form /há?/. Presumably these groupings have been made on a semantic basis, the first set conveying formal politeness and the second informal. In any event this type of SP variation has not been explicitly described as a distinct variational process.

In the light of these three types of SP variation as described by Peyasantiwong, we can now consider some of the salient features of her handling of SP variation – recognising, of course, that variational phenomena comprise only a small part of her primary concern with respect to SP usage.

First is the fact that Peyasantiwong has broken new ground by describing SP reduction and isolating this process as a distinct phenomenon in its own right. Second is the use she makes of underlying forms; she uses such forms to explain different cases of SP reduction, and she seems to assume the existence of such forms in accounting for what I have called stress-related intonation. However, she makes no use of underlying forms in her treatment of non-derivational alternation, or perhaps in this case one could say that she treats all non-derivational variants as distinct underlying forms, none being derived from any other, so that a given particle may have several independent underlying forms. But we should note that in Peyasantiwong's treatment of such variants, the issue of underlying forms is not discussed, the readers being left to make their own inferences.

A third notable feature is Peyasantiwong's treatment of differing variational processes. Here she explicitly distinguishes the process of reduction from other such processes, and she describes and exemplifies it. The remaining processes, however, are presented in a more embryonic, more incidental, less explicit form. For example, Peyasantiwong makes occasional comments here and there about phenomena that I suspect she would consider to be intonational. She even states that she agrees with Vichin Panupong (Panupong 1970:168) in considering SPs to be 'in some way "intonation bearers"' (Peyasantiwong 1981:25), but she never elaborates on this statement, and she never explicitly tackles the phenomenon of intonation as such. She also lists and differentiates SP variants of the sort I have identified as non-derivational, but she never explains the relationship between these alternants, nor does she discuss how such alternants are related to or differ from intonational phenomena.

A fourth feature of Peyasantiwong's handling of SP variation is the absence of broad generalisations. Obviously Peyasantiwong is much more concerned with illustrating particulars of usage than with describing general patterns. Indeed while she notes the obvious contrast among status particles (what I call speaker-addressee-relationship particles), between high-tone questions and falling-tone statements, she has little to say about general variational patterns.

One last feature worthy of consideration is Peyasantiwong's treatment of the meanings of SPs. In this area her basic assumption is that 'one cannot identify a specific meaning independent of context' because 'each particle has more than one possible implication' (1981:15). In other words, SPs (many of them at least) have no unified, clearly focused meanings; they are so variable from context to context that they can only be explained by describing the range of contexts in which given SPs are used. So Peyasantiwong simply describes and exemplifies the various contexts in which each SP occurs, without trying to pull the various usages together in terms of some basic meaning or meanings.[8]

One can appreciate Peyasantiwong's approach to the semantic problem, for the meanings and functions of SPs are extraordinarily difficult to pin down. No doubt she feels (as I do) that other scholars' attempts to do this have often been rather unsuccessful, but I would contend that the attempt to identify basic meanings need not be abandoned. Furthermore, any information that can be provided in this area will greatly simplify the task of explaining the semantic effect of various intonational processes upon SPs. However, contextual information is obviously needed, and we are much indebted to Peyasantiwong for what she has provided in this area.

3.4 THE APPROACH TO SP VARIATION HERE PROPOSED

If we consider the structural and the prosodic or intonational approaches, we see on the one hand that the former provides a fairly detailed set of particulars. Each variant of each particle is described and accounted for (whether in terms of free variation, conditioned variation or semantic differentiation), and the meanings of all particles and their variants are carefully set forth. But there is no attempt to set up basic forms, and almost no attempt to generalise about particle variation.

On the other hand, the prosodic or intonational approach assumes underlying forms (either implicitly or explicitly), and attributes variation to prosodic or intonational processes. It then makes some very broad generalisations about these processes. But these generalisations fall short of full adequacy because they are not sufficiently supported by particular information as to the forms and meanings of individual particles.

Peyasantiwong's approach is somewhat similar to the structural approach in that it pays careful attention to the particular occurrences of each particle, and it also avoids broad generalisations – especially those that go beyond the data. On the other hand, it is similar to the prosodic or intonational approach in that it makes at least limited use of underlying forms, and to some extent it deals with the processes to which they are subject.

In this paper, I attempt to bring together what I consider to be the better ingredients of the above approaches. In the first place, I set up underlying forms for each of the particles; I find it both useful and revealing to set up such forms as being specified with respect to tone, vowel length and terminal glottalisation. I assume that each basic form has some specified basic meaning or meanings and that the forms, and often the meanings, change in specifiable ways as the result of different variational processes. And I seek to account for SP variation in terms of the underlying forms and the various processes to which they may be subject.

In describing these processes I distinguish processes of three kinds: primary variation (sections 4.2.1.2 and 5.0); simplification or reduction (section 6.0); and general intonation processes (section 7.0). The first, primary variation, is a process in which the ordinary phonemes of the form in question (especially the tones and the vowel-length) may change in such a way as to produce one or more phonemic variants; and each new variant retains the original underlying meaning but also signals some additional shade of meaning that is concomitant with the change in form. The second type of process, simplification or reduction, includes certain obligatory morphophonemic changes and also various types of optional change that are functions of casual speech. The third type includes two voice registers (normal and high), two terminal contours (falling and raised), special lengthening, stress and the addition of terminal /^{h}/.

In describing these processes, I seek to base my statements on a mass of carefully compiled and analysed particulars as to the variant forms and meanings of each particle. Many of these particulars have already been summarised in section 2.0, above, but I shall bring in other data as I proceed. I also seek to specify the limits of the generalisations I make, for, as it turns out, many generalisations apply to certain particles or groups of particles and not to others.

4.0 UNDERLYING FORMS OF SENTENCE PARTICLES

As I have suggested above, I find it useful (and also revealing) to postulate the existence of basic or underlying forms of SPs which are fully specified phonemically, not only in terms of their consonant and vowel constituents, but also in terms of tone, vowel length and presence or absence of terminal glottalisation. These underlying forms then serve as the starting points from which various modifications or variations develop.

In this section I shall attempt to demonstrate the phonemic validity of postulating fully specified forms of the kind I have proposed. Then I shall discuss the problem of determining which form out of various possibilities should be chosen as the underlying one.

4.1 THE PHONEMIC VALIDITY OF FULLY SPECIFIED UNDERLYING FORMS

The basic reason for postulating underlying forms that are fully specified in the manner I have proposed is the fact that forms can be shown to contrast phonemically in all three of the special

dimensions under consideration: tone, vowel length and presence or absence of terminal glottal stop. I shall discuss each of these dimensions in turn.

4.1.1 TONAL CONTRAST

If we examine the inventory of SPs, it seems clear that at least some forms are tonally differentiated from others. For example, the forms *thə̀ʔ, lə̀k* and *làʔ* may all occur naturally with low tone, with no special intonational connotations, but the forms *háʔ* and *laʔ* never under any circumstances occur with low tone.[9] Yet the two groups of forms are otherwise very much alike phonologically, and there seems to be no obvious semantic reason why one group should have a low-pitch intonation (i.e. signalling definiteness, peremptoriness or whatever) while the other group does not. The obvious explanation, confirmed in part by the Thai writing system, is that the two groups are basically differentiated in tone in the first place; that is, the first group has an underlying low tone, whereas the second group does not.

Now it is true that the first group *(thə̀ʔ, lə̀k* and *làʔ) can* be pronounced with a high tone, to convey humorous or offhand assertiveness. But even this fact points in the same direction, for here the high tone variants have a very distinct added semantic flavour. That is, they are the same as the low tone forms but with something else added: this humorous effect or this assertiveness. The same, however, does not hold for the second group *(háʔ* and *laʔ)* for here the form *háʔ* occurs without any special added semantic flavour, the high tone being used in all contexts. The form *laʔ* does stand a little closer to the forms in the first group, for it has a high tone variant that possesses a special added semantic flavour, this time conveying a sense of increased immediacy or intimacy (also an extra-high variant can convey a humorous or assertive effect). But even here the more neutral form is mid, not low. In short, one can only conclude that the two groups of forms have different underlying tones.

Another set of forms manifests tonal contrast in a different way. This group comprises SPs that have no colloquial tonal variants. That is, in ordinary spoken language, particles of this group never vary as to tone. Such forms include: *hé, háʔ, khráp, máy, nó* and *ní*, which occur only with high tone; *lâ, nâʔ, nê, nîʔ* and *nîaʔ*, which occur only with falling tone; and *ŋay* which occurs only with mid tone. Now as it happens, there are several cases where forms having the same tone (in the examples just cited) seem to have something in common semantically (this question will be discussed in section 5.0 below), but it would seem to make sense to assume that forms with only one tonal realisation should be analysed as having underlying forms possessing that tone.

One further point: the above examples do not necessarily prove that *all* SPs are to be analysed as having one specific underlying tone and no other. But they do show, I think, that tonal features are employed to signal lexical contrast between different SPs. In this respect, therefore, SPs are like other words or morphemes in the language; they may be phonemically differentiated in terms of one or another of the standard five phonemic tones.

4.1.2 VOWEL-LENGTH CONTRAST

The case for vowel-length contrast is, I think, a little less clear. However, there are a fair number of forms that ordinarily occur only short; the rare instances when they occur long are obviously intonational. (For a discussion of such lengthening, see section 7.2.3.) These short forms include *háʔ, hé, khráp, laʔ, làʔ, maŋ, máy, nâʔ, ní* and *yâ*. Such cases would lead one to assume that the underlying form of many SPs should be analysed as short.

4.1.3 PRESENCE VERSUS ABSENCE OF TERMINAL GLOTTAL STOP

This is a contrast that has somehow been missed by a number of scholars. In fact it has been claimed that glottal stop is not phonemic because its presence or absence is predictable from its phonological environment (for example, Noss 1964:9). Indeed this claim holds good for most of the forms in the language, but not so in the case of sentence particles, for here there is a clear case of phonemic contrast. The most obvious example of such contrast is the minimal pair /há?/ (informal polite term used by male speakers) and /há/ (question variant of *hâ*, informal polite term used by female speakers). This is not an isolated case, for there are a good many other SPs that reflect this same contrast. In fact if we consider all SPs that end in a short vowel or in a short vowel plus terminal glottal, we find that all such forms reflect this contrast at least to some degree.

The general picture is as follows: one group of forms never occurs with terminal glottal stop, though forms in this category may sometimes occur with a terminal puff of air of 'h' sound. This group comprises the following SPs along with any and all of their short vowel variants: *câ, hâ, hé, khâ, lâ, lə̌, ná, nê, nó, ní, sî, wâ, yâ.* A second group always occurs with terminal glottal stop when the particle in question occurs in prepause position, but the glottal stop disappears when the particle is followed by another form with no pause in between. This group comprises *há?, la?, là?, lè?, nîa?, thə̀?* and all their variants. A third group, all falling tone forms, comprises particles that usually occur with terminal glottal stop in prepause position, but the appearance of glottal stop is not as consistent for all speakers as with forms of the second group. This third group includes the forms *nâ?* (1), *nâ?* (2), *nî?* (1) and *nî?* (2). Some speakers always pronounce these forms with terminal glottal when they occur in prepause position, but some speakers will sometimes pronounce them without a glottal, and quite a few speakers will pronounce them with a rather weak glottal – weaker than is the case with the forms in group two above. Nevertheless, the forms in group three contrast with all forms in group one; the forms in group one cannot have glottal stop, whereas the forms in group three, in prepause position, can and usually do.

On the basis of the facts just presented above, one would, I think, have to conclude that there is a very clear contrast between the members of the first group of particles (those that never appear with terminal glottal), and the other two groups (which do so appear). And there appears to be no conditioning factor that governs this distinction. Obviously it is not governed by tonal, consonantal or vocalic environment. Nor are intonational factors relevant, for the members of any of the groups – especially the first two – may be pronounced loudly or softly, high or low (within acceptable tonal limits), fast or slow, abruptly or not, without changing the picture. And if one tries pronouncing forms of the first group with terminal glottal, or those of the second without, the mispronunciation will be immediately recognised. We can only conclude, therefore, that presence or absence of terminal glottal is a relevant phonemic distinction in the underlying forms of SPs.

4.2 THE PROBLEM OF DETERMINING UNDERLYING FORMS

Having made the assumption that there is an underlying form for each particle, and that the underlying form is specified not only in terms of consonants and vowels but also in terms of tone, vowel length and terminal glottalisation, I now consider the problem of how to go about determining which of various possible options will be considered to constitute the underlying form of a given particle.

4.2.1 PROPOSED APPROACH TOWARD DETERMINING UNDERLYING FORMS

In general, I have dealt with the problem as follows: first I have chosen to handle spoken-language forms independently of any comparable written-language forms. That is, I have not, for example, derived the former from the latter, but I have treated the two as having separate underlying forms. Then I have made a distinction between primary variation and other prosodic or intonational processes; for the former presents special problems in the determination of underlying forms, while the latter do not. The problem here is that primary variation results in changes of forms with respect to the ordinary phonemic features of tone, vowel length etc., and these changes are accompanied by concomitant changes in the meaning of the particle in question. So it is a problem to know which of two or more primary variants of an SP is the underlying one.

My approach to this problem is as follows. If the SP in question has only one primary form, then the one form constitutes the underlying one. But if the SP has more than one primary variant, then the form that has the simplest meaning must be the underlying one, for I assume that the more complex meaning(s) must be the product of some special process of formal and semantic change.

4.2.1.1 DIFFERENTIATING SPOKEN AND WRITTEN-LANGUAGE FORMS

Among SPs there exist contrasting paired sets of spoken versus written forms where the spoken-language member of the pair is more or less equivalent in function or meaning to its written-language counterpart. Thus, among the forms listed in the inventory (section 2.0 above), there appear the following such paired sets (the first of each pair being the spoken form and the second the written): *lã̂* and *lâw; là?* and *lè?, lamaŋ* (or *maŋ*) and *kramaŋ, lə̌* (from *rə́*) and *rŭu, lòk* (from *ròk*) and *dòok, máy* and *mǎy; nóo* and *nŏo, thə̀?* and *thə̀ət.*

The written forms are, of course, used in written language, often including written colloquial dialogue. In fact, even authors with a keen ear for natural speech will sometimes use written-language forms in recording modern colloquial dialogue, this despite the fact that no speaker would ever use such forms in ordinary communication. Also, readers, when reading such dialogue aloud, will usually pronounce these forms with the written-language pronunciation, even though they themselves would never use such forms in their own everyday speech.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, speakers do not use any of the above-mentioned written-language forms in everyday speech, except *lè?*. This form may occur in slightly more formal situations than its counterpart *là?*, and it is occasionally also used to convey additional definiteness or certainty.

Undoubtedly the members of each of the above-mentioned pairs are related to each other in form as well as in meaning. No doubt, too, the precise nature of this relationship could be traced down by means of comparative or historical research. This is not, however, my intention here. In fact, I make no attempt at setting up hypothetical underlying forms to account for the relationship between variants of this type; rather, my underlying forms are intended to account for the relationship between *spoken-language* variants, for example between /lə̌/, /lə́/ and /lə̌ə/ (not *lə̌* and *rŭu*), or between /lòk/ and /lók/ (not *lòk* and *dòok*). I therefore handle written and spoken forms as having separate and distinct underlying forms, neither one (at this level of analysis) being derived from the other.

4.2.1.2 DIFFERENTIATING PRIMARY VARIATION FROM OTHER PROCESSES

In determining underlying forms of the various SPs, I have considered it reasonable to suppose that there are certain processes that either are the product of phonological conditioning, or otherwise are strictly intonational or prosodic in nature, and that these processes produce certain changes in the overt form of the particle as it appears in a given slice of colloquial speech. Obviously, the features that arise as the result of such processes need to be ruled out as having any part in the shape of the underlying forms of SPs. These processes (discussed in sections 6.0 and 7.0 below) include clear cases of general obligatory morphophonemic or environmentally conditioned variation and also cases of optional variation – reduction or simplification – that are the result of rapid speech. They also include variations in length, pitch etc. that occur over and above the ordinary phonemic distinctions of consonant and vowel quality, vowel length (long or short) and tone that characterise all lexical morphemes in the language.

When the above processes are excluded, we are left with what I call the process of primary variation – a process which gives rise to the existence of two or more variant forms of the same particle that differ from each other in terms of the ordinary phonemic distinctions prevailing throughout the language, and that differ also in terms of some shade of meaning that is signalled by the phonemic differences in question. I assume, lacking compelling considerations to the contrary, that the underlying form of each particle must be one or another of these primary variants.

Now when there exists only one such primary form of a given particle, I assume that that form must be the underlying form of the particle. And this latter assumption, then, takes care of nearly half the spoken-language forms in the inventory above: *há?, hé, khráp, lâ, máy, nâ?* (1), *nâ?* (2), *nê, ní, nî?* (1), *nóo, ŋay*. But when a given SP has two or more primary variants, the determination of the underlying form must be made on the basis of neutral as opposed to developed meanings of the forms in question.

4.2.1.3 DIFFERENTIATING NEUTRAL AND DEVELOPED MEANINGS

When one compares the primary variants of a given particle, it turns out that usually one of the variants signals a more or less neutral or undeveloped meaning, whereas any other variants signal more complex or developed meanings. For example, the particle *thə̀?* has one variant /thə̀?/ which has no special semantic connotations other than that conveyed by the basic meaning of the particle in all its forms, namely, that a given response is good or desirable. It has another variant, /thə́?/ which signals not only the basic meaning but also adds to it the sense of a light-hearted assertiveness or good will that seeks to break down resistance or reluctance on the part of the addressee. Similarly, *lə̌* has a fairly neutral variant /lə̌/ and a more intimate or assertive variant /lə́/. Or again, *ná*, among its several variants, has one that is fairly neutral, /ná/; another variant, /nâ/, which conveys momentary urging or perhaps mild impatience; and still another variant, /nâa/, which is persuasive or urging, and so forth.

In each such case, then, we find one variant that is fairly neutral semantically, and one or more other variants that mean the same thing plus something more. So the first variant in each case is simple in meaning, and the others are complex because something has been added to the original, unadorned, undeveloped meaning of the particle in question.

The assumption is that a particle has a simple, underlying form with a simple, undeveloped meaning, and this form can be phonologically modified in such a way as to produce one or more

variants, each of which signals some modification or development of the original meaning. That is, each phonological change affecting the underlying form results in the addition of some further element of meaning to the particle in question. In would seem to make sense, therefore, to consider the semantically simple form as reflecting the original or underlying phonological shape of the particle and to consider others as derived or developed forms.

4.2.2 PROBLEMS IN APPLYING THE APPROACH HERE PROPOSED

The approach proposed above does, I believe, clarify many issues related to the nature of underlying forms and the processes to which they are subject, but unfortunately the data do not fall into line quite as neatly as one might wish; there are problems here and there in the application of this approach.

One of these problems is a technical one concerning the handling of forms where /r/ changes to /l/, as in the case of /rə̌/ becoming /lə̌/, and /rɔ̀k/ becoming /lɔ̀k/. There can hardly be any doubt that the /l/ forms are derived from the /r/ forms, the change reflecting an extremely common pattern of *r*-to-*l* simplification that takes place even more readily with particles than with other forms in the language. So it would seem to make sense to consider the /r/ forms as underlying and the /l/ forms as derived. However, the /l/ forms are the ones almost universally employed in everyday speech, while the /r/ forms are rather rare and have a 'correct', almost bookish, flavour. Besides, it is the /l/ forms that constitute the underlying bases from which the common primary variants (/lá/ and /lə̌ə/, /lɔk/ and /lɔ́k/) are derived. I therefore postulate an underlying *l* at the ordinary spoken-language level, which in turn is derived from *r* at a deeper level. The *r* forms then have primary variants (/rá/ and /rə̌ə/, /rɔk/ and /rɔ́k/) which parallel those of the *l* forms.

A somewhat similar problem exists in the case of *khráp,* which is very often simplified to *kháp.* To be consistent, I suppose I would have to say that the form *kháp* is the normal-speech underlying form, but I must confess that I have a strong subjective resistance toward making an issue of this differentiation. In any event, when I discuss this particle or cite examples of its usage, I ordinarily use the form *khráp* rather than *kháp.*

A slightly different problem exists in the case of the variant forms that occur for the particle *lamaŋ* (with variants /lamaŋ/ and /lamáŋ/) or *maŋ* (with variants /maŋ/ and /máŋ/). Here I assume that the mid tone form in each case is the underlying one, while the high tone variants signal greater intimacy or offhandedness. And I assume, further, that *maŋ* is a reduced form of *lamaŋ,* occurring in more rapid and therefore somewhat more relaxed and free speech. But since both *lamaŋ* and *maŋ* have mid and high tone primary variants, I handle them as two underlying forms – though at a different level the latter appears to be derived from the former.

Another kind of problem arises in connection with a number of SPs which have alternate primary variants that distinguish falling-tone statements from high-tone questions. This pattern is reflected in the speaker-addressee-relationship particle forms *câ, hâ, khâ, wâ* and *yâ,* and also in the particle *ná.* In the case of the SARP forms, I assume that the statement forms are basic or underlying, and that the question forms are derived – a slightly arbitrary assumption but, I think, better than any other alternative.

However, for *ná* I have assumed that the high tone form is basic because the variant /ná/ has (in many contexts) the simplest and most neutral meaning, whereas the variant /nâ/ signals an additional element of momentary urging or mild impatience. Also, the variant /ná/ is used in a very great

number of contexts, whereas /nâ/ is rather restricted in occurrence. Furthermore, the question-versus-statement distinction between these two forms is, I feel, a secondary and somewhat incidental one, the basic distinction being that already mentioned above. In fact, I suspect that some speakers would disagree that the high tone form necessarily has a question flavour. In any case, I have concluded the the variant /ná/ reflects the underlying tone.

Another problem involving the determination of underlying tones occurs in connection with *là?, lè?, lòk* and *thà?,* all of which are stop-final forms that have primary variants on more than one level tone. The problem is to decide which of the possible varying tones is the underlying one. The high tone variants in each case can be ruled out without any difficulty, for these obviously signal an added sense of good humour, light assertiveness etc. But all four SPs can have mid tone variants that differ very little in meaning or implication from the low tone forms. The chief difference seems to be that the low tone forms are slightly more deliberate, and the mid tone forms are slightly more relaxed and have a slightly greater tendency to occur in rapid speech. The mid tone forms also appear (minus the terminal glottal) in non-pause position. I have concluded that the edge goes to the low tone forms as the underlying ones.

Still another problem is presented by the form *la?* with its variants /la?/ and /lá?/. In terms of semantic value, /lá?/ seems to have more colour than /la?/, for /lá?/ usually signals greater intimacy or greater immediacy than /la?/. But /la?/ can in some contexts also be used to convey an abruptness or impatience that /lá?/ does not (see *la?,* example 25, section 2.0). Add to this the nagging realisation that this particle is probably derived from /léɛw/ 'now', 'already', a high tone form, and one begins to wonder if /lá?/ should not be considered as the underlying form, with perhaps some kind of semantic and formal reduction process taking place to yield the mid tone variant. This is certainly a possible solution, but I lean toward taking /la?/ as underlying, and considering the high tone variant as the developed one.

One last tonal problem concerns the underlying tone of *sî.* Here I think the two most likely candidates for underlying form are /sî/, a fairly general and neutral form, and /si/, a form used by some speakers to signal inferential statements (see *sî,* example 99), but also obligatorily used in non-pause position. Both these forms are fairly neutral in meaning, but not all speakers use /si/ in prepause position, and /sî/ is in any case much more general. I have chosen to consider /sî/ as the underlying form.

The final problem to be considered here is one that concerns not tone but vowel length; it involves the particles *lə̆, nî?* (1) and *nî?* (2). All three forms have both short and long variants: /lə̆/ neutral and slightly informal, and /lə̆ə/ neutral and slightly more deliberate or formal; /nî?/ neutral, and /nîi/ more emotionally involved (in the case of *ni?* (1)); /nî?/ neutral, chiefly used by men, and /nîi/ more explicit as to location or contextual reference (for *nî?* (2)). In each case, these forms could be considered either as having an underlying short vowel which is lengthened to convey some sort of emphasis or emotional intensification, or as having an underlying long vowel which is shortened in relaxed, more colloquial, informal or rapid speech contexts. The latter solution is perhaps slightly strengthened by the fact that all three particles are possible derived from written-language long-vowel forms (/rŭu/ 'question particle' and /nîi/ 'this, this one'). I myself lean toward the short vowel alternative in each case because the short vowel variants seem more semantically neutral to me.

5.0 PATTERNS OF PRIMARY VARIATION

In section 3.0 above, I pointed out that not much has been done by scholars to provide appropriate generalisations concerning general patterns of particle variation. This is particularly true in the area of the phenomenon to be discussed here – primary variation. Scholars approaching the matter from the prosodic point of view have tended to make generalisations insufficiently backed by the data, whereas others have pretty much avoided making generalisations in this area at all. In this section I shall attempt to make such generalisations concerning primary variation as the data at hand seem to allow.

As explained above (section 4.2.1.2), primary variation is a process that gives rise to variants of given SPs that differ from each other in terms of ordinary phonemic distinctions, with each phonemically distinct form signalling some concomitant distinction in the shade of meaning of the particle in question. It should be noted, further, that such variation may occur with SPs both in prepause and non-pause position, but in the latter case the range of possible variations is rather limited, whereas with SPs in prepause position the full range of possibilities may occur. Even so, however, primary variation affects only about half of the SPs in the above inventory (section 2.0). And here we find three different types of patterning that affect three fairly distinct subgroups of particles. These groups comprise: first, the speaker-addressee-relationship particles; second, the checked level-tone particles; and third, a special group consisting of the forms *ná, sî* and *wâ.*

First I shall consider the patterns of primary variation reflected in the three groups of SPs mentioned above. Then I shall attempt to broaden the scope of my comments to cover general phonemic-semantic correlation patterns within the whole range of SP forms and primary variants. And finally I shall describe the limitations upon primary variation that affect SPs in non-pause position.

5.1 PATTERNS OF PRIMARY VARIATION AMONG THREE SUBGROUPS OF SPS

5.1.1 VARIATION PATTERNS AMONG SPEAKER-ADDRESSEE-RELATIONSHIP PARTICLES (SARPS)

One very obvious primary-variation pattern involving SARP forms is the well-known distinction between short falling-tone statement variants on the one hand and short high-tone question variants on the other. This pattern is reflected in the forms *câ, hâ, khâ, wâ* and *yâ.* Two of these forms, *câ* and *khâ,* reflect a more limited pattern in that both have long, rising-tone variants that signal an endearing call for attention or an answer to such a call. Other than that, the SARP forms vary considerably among themselves.

The general picture of shared and contrasting characteristics in the SARP system, as it concerns the more common colloquial forms, is summarised in Figure A. Here I set forth all the SARP forms that are listed in the inventory above, including the underlying forms, the basic meanings, and the primary variants of each. Also, in connection with the primary variants, I identify the contexts (a, b, c etc.) in which each variant is used, with a key being provided to describe and illustrate each of the relevant contexts. Under the form *câ,* then, we can note that the underlying form is *câ,* and the basic meaning or function of the particle is to signal affection or intimacy. We can note, also, that this form has three primary variants: a short falling-tone form (i.e. /câ/), a short high-tone form (/cá/), and a long rising-tone form (/cǎa/). The first variant, /câ/, occurs in context 'a', which is explained and exemplified in the key as referring to occurrence in statements, and also in context 'b' (action-inducement utterances). The second variant, /cá/, occurs in contexts 'c' (questions), 'd' (calling attention) and 'e' (response to call). And the third variant, /cǎa/, occurs in contexts 'd_1' (endearing

calling attention) and 'e_1' (endearing response). Similar information is provided for each of the other SARP forms. Note, however, that the information is considerably condensed. More detailed information is provided in the inventory above (2.0).

		PRIMARY VARIANTS AND THEIR CONTEXTS					
UNDERLYING FORM	BASIC MEANING	SHORT FALLING TONE (CV)	SHORT HIGH TONE (CV)	LONG RISING TONE (CVV)	LONG MID TONE (CVV)	LONG LOW TONE (CVV)	LONG HIGH TONE (CVV)
câ	affectionate and intimate	a, b	c, d, e	d_1, e_1	--	--	--
khâ	formal and polite, female speaking	a, b	c, d, e	d_1, e_1	--	--	--
hâ	informal and friendly, female speaking	a, b	c, d, e	--	--	--	--
yâ	non-restraint by or to females	a, b	c	--	--	--	--
wâ	male non-restraint	a, b_1	b_2, c	c_1, f	f	c_1, f	c_1
wóoy, wɔ́ɔy	male non-restraint	--	--	--	--	--	a, b, c, d, e, f
khráp	formal and polite, male speaking	--	a, b, c, d, e	--	--	--	--
há?	informal and friendly, male speaking	--	a, b, c, d, e	--	--	--	--

FIGURE A: A COMPARISON OF SARP PRIMARY VARIANTS

KEY TO CONTEXTS OF OCCURRENCE OF PRIMARY VARIANTS, FIGURE A.

a. Occurs in statements:
/kháw klàp bâan léɛw .../
1 2 3 4
'He's gone home.'
1 4 2 3

b. Occurs in action-inducement utterances:
/rêŋ nòy .../
1 2
'Hurry up (a little)!'
1 2

b_1 commanding, demanding, telling

b_2 urging, persuading

c. Occurs in questions:
/kháw pay nǎy .../
1 2 3
'Where's he going?'
3 1 2

c_1 Occurs in self-addressed questions:
/ʔee, man hǎay pay nǎy .../
1 2 3 4 5
'Hey, I wonder where it disappeared to.'
1 5 2 3 4

d. Occurs in calling attention:
/dɛɛŋ .../ or /mêɛ .../
1 2
'Red?' 'Mom?' ['Red' is a nickname]
1 2

d_1 endearing

e. Occurs in answering a call: /.../
'Yes?'

e_1 endearing

f. Occurs in exclamations of dismay:
/taay la waa./
1
'Oh darn!' (lit. 'die')
1

An examination of Figure A clearly reveals the existence of the two SARP patterns mentioned above: the statement-versus-question pattern (as exemplified in five SARP forms), and the long rising-tone pattern (as exemplified in two SARP forms). But note that two forms, *khráp* and *há?*, reflect no such contrast, for they retain their high tone in all contexts. Furthermore, not all of the five forms that do reflect the statement-versus-question contrast do so in the same manner. Thus, while the short high-tone variants of *yâ* and *wâ* are indeed used in questions, they are unlikely to be used in either calling attention or in answering such a call. They therefore contrast, in this respect, with *câ, khâ* and *hâ*. Also, /wá/, the short high-tone variant of *wâ*, can be used for action-inducement utterances, whereas the parallel variants of the other four forms ordinarily cannot. Note, finally, that *wâ* has a whole series of variants that are not paralleled by any of the other SARP forms.

In short, it would seem that the irregularities of the SARP system are just about as striking as the regularities. One might ask, therefore, why the regularities should be so limited, and to this question there are two partial answers. One is the phonological differences between the unvarying forms *khráp* and *há?*, and the other five varying ones. The former both end in a final stop consonant, whereas the latter all end in a short vowel *a*. One can therefore conclude, perhaps, that the presence of final stops has an inhibiting effect on certain types of primary variation.

Another partial explanation for the irregularities in the primary variation pattern of SARP forms is the presence of the non-restraint factor in the particles *yâ* and *wâ*. In the case of *wâ*, for example, it would make sense to suggest that the non-restraint factor, with its assertiveness, camaraderie etc. as it were takes the lid off the usual tonal restrictions, so the speaker has a much wider range of variants to choose from – including the forms *wóoy* and *wɔ́ɔy*. And one can assume that the forms *wóoy* and *wɔ́ɔy* then perform the attention-calling function that would otherwise have been expressed by the variant /wâ/, which is not ordinarily so used. The form *yâ*, on the other hand, has an aggressive, negative quality that contradicts the friendliness and openness that is implied by the use of particles in calling attention or in responding to such a call. For both *wâ* and *yâ*, the non-restraint factor precludes the possibility of any sweet endearing use such as is characteristic of the long rising-tone variants of *câ* and *khâ*. Even the form *hâ*, in fact, excludes such usage; it it too casual.

One further comment on SARP primary variants: it should be noted that the short high-tone variants /cá/, /há/ etc. are used in contexts that are not strictly questions in the ordinary everyday sense – though we might extend our definition of questions to include these special contexts. These non-question contexts include occurrence in calling attention or in responding to such a call; they also include occurrence following other particles which do not strictly signal questions but which nevertheless require the so-called question form of the particle.

As for the usage of short high-tone variants in calling attention and responding to such a call, it is perhaps worth noting that comparable utterances in English likewise may call for question intonation. Thus, for example, a speaker may attract a friend's attention by calling 'Jack?' (using high rising

intonation), and Jack may respond by saying 'Yes?' (again with high rising intonation). It is as if one were actually calling, 'Jack? Are you there? Can you hear me? I want to talk to you.' And similarly the response conveys something like, 'Yes? What is it? What can I do for you?' Given such implications in English usage, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to assume that something not greatly different takes place in Thai. That is, there is something question-like in the use of high-tone forms for calling and responding. In any event, it is probably no accident that such usage falls together with ordinary question usage in this way.

As for the use of high tone variants following non-question particles, it should be noted that this occurs whenever SARP forms follow the particles *lâ, nî?* (1) (which is then reduced to /nî/), *sî* (which is reduced to /si/) or *ná,* whether or not any of these are used in obvious question contexts. The following are examples of such usage:

(114) S1 /ciŋ lə̌ khá./
1
'Is that true?'
1

S2 /ciŋ si khá./
'Yes, certainly.'

(115) /yàa yûŋ ka man lâ cá./
1 2 3 4
'Don't have anything to do with him.'
1 2 3 4

(116) S1 /thammay cháa./
1 2
'Why are you late?'
1 2

S2 /mây cháa lə̀k khâ. dichán maa taam nát nî khá./
3 4 5 6 7 8
'I'm not late. I came on-time.'
3 4 5 6 7,8

The best explanation I can give for such occurrences of the high tone form is the fact that in all examples of the sort cited above the speaker seems to be calling for some response by way of action or acquiescence from the addressee. And perhaps there is then something question-like or unfinished in this call for response, as if the speaker were saying, 'don't you see?', 'won't you agree?', 'won't you respond?', or something of the sort. This may of course be little more than speculation on my part, but the fact remains that these particles do take the so-called question form of any SARP with which the occur.

There is also one other rather unusual use of a short high-tone variant, in this case involving the form /khá/. A friend tells me that she knows of a particular female celebrity who habitually answers questions with statements ending not with /khâ/, as is customary, but with /khá/. In doing this, she conveys a sweet, feminine, ingratiating, almost cute and precious attitude. I do not know how one could expand one's definition of questions to include such usage.

5.1.2 VARIATION PATTERNS AMONG CHECKED LEVEL-TONE PARTICLES

A rather different pattern of primary variation occurs with a small subgroup of checked level-tone SPs. These are level-tone forms that are checked or cut off by a terminal voiceless stop (/ʔ/ or /k/), and they include all forms of this type (other than SARP forms) in the inventory: *laʔ, làʔ, lèʔ, lɔ̀k, thɔ̀ʔ*. The general pattern or patterns of variation of these particles is summarised in chart form in Figure B. The term 'raised high tone' in the far right-hand column of the chart has reference to raised terminal contour (a phenomenon discussed in section 7.2.2.3 below), but the information is provided here for comparative purposes.

		PRIMARY VARIANTS AND THEIR MEANINGS			
UNDERLYING FORMS	BASIC MEANINGS	LOW TONE	MID TONE	HIGH TONE	RAISED HIGH TONE
làʔ	sole alternative (colloquial)	a_1	b	d	e
lèʔ	sole alternative (written or slightly formal)	a_1	--	d	e
lɔ̀k	negative correction	a_1	b	d	e
thɔ̀ʔ	desirable response	a_1	b	d	e
laʔ	critical point reached	--	a_2	c	d, e

FIGURE B: A COMPARISON OF PRIMARY VARIANTS OF CHECKED LEVEL-TONE FORMS

KEY TO BASIC MEANINGS:

a_1 neutral or slightly formal; sometimes slightly definite

a_2 neutral; reporting; terminating something in progress (here rather definite; see sample sentence 5, below)

b. rapid-speech form, and slightly less formal

c. more intimate; more immediate

d. lightly assertive

e. intensified light assertiveness

SAMPLE SENTENCES:

1. /khon nán là?./ or /... lè?/
   1 2
   'That person!' 'That's the one!'
   2 1

2. /mây chây lɔ̀k./
   1 2
   'No, that's not it.' 'No, you're mistaken.'
   1,2

3. /rêŋ nɔ̀y thɔ̀?./
   1 2
   'Hurry up!'
   1,2

4. /klàp bâan la?./
   1 2
   'I'm going home now.'
   1 2

5. /phɔɔ la?./
   1
   'That's enough!'
   1

Note that the first four examples of the above key illustrate, respectively, occurrences of /là?/ or /lɛ̀?/, of /lòk/, of /thà?/ and of /la?/; in each sample sentence, the particle in question can vary in tone as specified by the symbols (a, b etc.) on the chart. Example 5, however, applies only to context a_2 on the chart.

An examination of Figure B reveals the fact that four of the forms in this group, namely *là?, lɛ̀?, lòk* and *thà?,* reflect almost identical patterns of tonal variation. The low tone variant in each case is neutral and slightly formal, and perhaps in some contexts slightly definite. The mid tone reflects more rapid, relaxed speech and is slightly less formal. The high tone conveys a light assertiveness, sometimes good-humoured, sometimes offhand, sometimes impatient, and the raised high tone signals the same thing as the high tone, only more so. The form *la?* follows a somewhat different pattern. Here it is the mid tone variant that is somewhat neutral, or else it is, on occasion, more definite. The high tone variant conveys increased intimacy or immediacy, while the raised high tone signals slight assertiveness. But note that there is something of a parallel between *la?* and the other forms, in that both it and they convey a neutral or a definite sense at the bottom of their pitch range, informality or intimacy (somewhat related meanings) at their mid range, and light assertiveness in their upper range.

Also worth noting is the fact that there seems to be a semantic overlap here between the process of tonal raising (from low to high) and that of terminal contour raising; both processes can convey a sense of light assertiveness. (See discussion of this overlap in section 7.2.2.5 below.)

5.1.3 VARIATION PATTERNS INVOLVING *ná, sî* AND *wâ*

In addition to SARPs and checked level-tone forms, there is a third group of particles whose primary variants partially pattern together. This group consists of the forms *ná, sî* and *wâ.* It may seem incongruous to group the SARP form *wâ* with the other two forms here, but the fact is that these three forms are similar in several respects. They are all short vowel forms with no final consonant. They all have an unusually large number of primary variants (more, in fact, than any other SPs) and, most importantly, they have parallel variants at certain points.

The variant forms and meanings of these three particles are summarised in Figure C, a chart which is laid out in the same fashion as Figures A and B. Here we can note the similarities between certain of the variants. All short falling-tone variants may be used for statements and commands, but not for questions. All short high-tone forms may convey a personal desire for response from the addressee. (Note that the urging element in action-inducement utterances with /wá/ conveys this personal desire, and all variants of *ná* by definition signal the same.) Long falling tone signals persuasion in the case of both /nâa/ and /sîi/. Long high tone signals sustained personal desire both with /náa/ and /wáa/. Long mid tone seems to signal emotional distance both with /naa/ and /sii/. And, finally, long low tone could perhaps be said to signal a kind of negativity or dismay with both /nàa/ and /wàa/ – albeit jocular in the latter instance. These are, of course, rather limited parallels, often involving only two forms (with no obvious confirmation from elsewhere in the SP system), but it is difficult to believe that these parallels are simply fortuitous. It looks, rather, as if these three forms are uniquely susceptible to a certain restricted subvariety of intonational phenomena.

	PRIMARY VARIANTS, THEIR MEANINGS AND CONTEXTS OF OCCURRENCE							
UNDERLYING FORM	BASIC MEANING	SHORT FALLING	SHORT HIGH	LONG FALLING	LONG HIGH	LONG MID	LONG LOW	LONG RISING
ná	desired response called for	momentary urging (st, weak com)	neutral or demanding (Q, st-Q, com, other AIU)	persuasion (st, AIU)	sustained desire (st-Q, self-Q, AIU)	emotional distance (st-Q, AIU, especially warnings)	negativity, dismay, discouragement (st, AIU)	--
sî	expectable response called for or given	neutral or definite (st, com, other AIU)	personal need or wish (com, other AIU)	persuasion (st, AIU)	--	emotional distance (st, AIU)	--	--
wâ	male non-restraint (SARP)	(st, flat com or demand)	(Q, urging AIU)	--	sustained desire (self-Q, AIU)	dismay (excl)	jocular dismay or bafflement (self-Q, AIU, excl)	jocular dismay or bafflement (self-Q, AIU, excl)

FIGURE C: A COMPARISON OF THE PRIMARY VARIANTS OF *ná, sî* AND *wâ*

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS IN FIGURE C

AIU	action-inducement utterance (i.e. the form in question occurs with such utterances)
com	command (i.e. form occurs with commands)
excl	exclamative (i.e. form occurs as part of an exclamative expression)
Q	question (i.e. form occurs with questions)
SARP	speaker-addressee-relationship particle (i.e. the form in question is such a particle)
self-Q	self-directed question (i.e. form occurs with such questions)
st	statement (i.e. form occurs with statements)
st-Q	statement that is turned into a question by the addition of the form in question

5.2 GENERAL PHONEMIC-SEMANTIC CORRELATIONS AMONG SPS AND PRIMARY VARIANTS

Up to this point I have been considering certain patterns of form-meaning variation that affect the three subgroups of SPs mentioned above. But the question remains as to whether there might not be even broader patterns that are reflected throughout the whole range of primary forms and/or variants. And here it does indeed appear that a few such broader patterns can be found.

The complete set of colloquial primary forms and variants listed in the inventory (section 2.0) is laid out in chart form in Figure D. The forms in this chart are organised vertically into four groups. The first group, items 1-6, comprises the SARP forms (except that the SARP form *wâ* is listed in the second group), which I refer to here as the *câ* group. The second, items 7-9, comprises the forms *wâ, ná* and *sî,* which I call the *ná* group. The third, 10-14, consists of the level-tone checked forms, or the *thə?* group. And the fourth group includes all remaining forms, most of which possess no alternate primary variants other than the underlying forms. As for the horizontal arrangement, the forms and variants of each SP are set forth in columns according to the tone of the form in question, with short vowel forms to the left of the chart and long vowel forms to the right. In order to avoid confusion, no attempt has been made to summarise meanings and usage on the chart; the pertinent information in this regard is summarised below. Underlying forms are italicised in each case.

A consideration of the forms in Figure D, and of the meanings of each (as summarised elsewhere) reveals the following patterns over and above those pointed out in the preceding sections (5.1.1 to 5.1.3).

(1) The short falling-tone forms are, for the most part, limited to statements or AIUs (action-inducement utterances), or else they are compatible with statements or AIUs. In the case of statements, such forms also seem to have, perhaps, some element of definiteness or completeness. In the case of commands, there seems to be an element of flatness or definiteness. Note, however, that the forms *lâ* and *nî?* (1) do not quite fit the general pattern, for both forms must take the question variant of any co-occurring SARP form.

It is perhaps worth mentioning here that the short falling-tone SP forms or variants constitute a phonemically unique group. They are the only falling tone forms in the language that end in a simple short vowel or a short vowel plus a glottal stop. Of all other short falling-tone forms in the language, most end in a sonorant (including the semivowels /w/ or /y/); a few, mostly onomatopoetic forms, end in a stop consonant other than a glottal. The SP system alone has falling tone forms of the above-mentioned type, and all short-vowel, falling-tone SP forms conform to this unique shape.

(2) The short high-tone forms fall into four groups. The first group, the largest, signals questions or is compatible with questions. This group includes all high tone variants of all variable SARP forms, and also /ná/, /lə́/, /máy/ and /máy/, nine forms in all. The second group, /wá/, /sí/ and /ná/, signals AIUs or is compatible with the same. These AIUs seem to differ from the short falling-tone AIUs in that they are less flat (though not necessarily any weaker), and they have an emotional or personal element. Thus /ná/ signals either a strong demand ('I want you to do this!') or an instruction ('Do this. Got it? Are you with me?'); /sí/ indicates that I need or want you to do something; and /wá/ indicates urging. The third group of high tone forms, all from the *thə̀?* group, expresses mild assertiveness (items 10-14). And the fourth group, including /hé/ and /ní/ or /nə́/, signals a sort of spontaneous response on the part of the speaker to something in the situational context of the utterance. One might be tempted to think that these four groups of short high-tone forms are rather disparate. But note that in no case do such forms signal an ordinary statement.

SP GROUPING		SHORT VOWEL FORMS					LONG VOWEL FORMS				
		MID TONE	LOW TONE	FALLING TONE	HIGH TONE	RISING TONE	MID TONE	LOW TONE	FALLING TONE	HIGH TONE	RISING TONE
câ	1				*khráp*						
group	2				*há?*						
	3			*câ*	/cá/						/căa/
	4			*khâ*	/khá/						/khăa/
	5			*hâ*	/há/						
	6			*yâ*	/yá/						
	7			*wâ*	/wá/		/waa/	/wàa/		/wáa/	/wăa/
ná	8			*nâ*	/ná/		/naa/	/nàa/	/nâa/	/náa/	
group	9	/si/		*sî*	/sí/		/sii/		/sîi/		
thə̀?	10	/la?/	*là?*		/lá?/						
group	11		*lè?*		/lé?/						
	12	/lɔk/	*lɔ̀k*		/lɔ́k/						
	13	*la?*			/lá?/						
	14	/thə?/	*thə̀?*		/thə́?/						
Misc.	15				/lə́/	*lə̌*				/lə́ə/	/lə̌ə/
group	16	*maŋ*			/máŋ/						
		lamaŋ			/lamáŋ/						
	17									*nóo*	
	18				*máy*						
	19				*hé*						
	20				*nə́*						
					ní						
	21	*ŋay*									
	22			*lâ*							
	23			*nî?* (1)							
	24			*nî?* (2)					/nîi/		
				nîa?							
	25			*nâ?* (1)							
	26			*nâ?* (2)							
	27			*nê*							

FIGURE D: A COMPARISON OF THE PRIMARY FORMS AND VARIANTS

(3) Many long vowel forms seem to signal some type of ongoing reaction, feeling, or attitude. That is, the speaker is not expressing a momentary something that pops into his mind and then pops out of his mouth; rather, it is a more ongoing thing. Thus when a speaker uses /sîi/ or /nâa/, he is not merely telling the addressee to do something, or informing him that something is the case; rather, he is persuading, applying an ongoing pressure. In this respect, therefore, these forms stand in contrast to the corresponding short vowel forms /sî/ and /ná/, for these signal something momentary, instantaneous. Similarly, the forms /náa/ and /naa/, and /wáa/ and /wàa/, when used in self-directed questions, convey a continuing nagging wonder as to what the answer to the question might be. But

self-directed questions with /ná/ or /wá/ are again more momentary or instantaneous. The form /lə̌ə/ differs somewhat from the other long vowel forms, since the long vowel variant is (at least for some speakers) a more polite form, though even here the added politeness consists in part in the lessened abruptness of the longer vowel.

(4) Most long level-tone forms may be used in self-directed questions. These include /naa/, /náa/, /nàa/, /wàa/, /wáa/ and /nóo/. Exceptions are /sii/ and /waa/, which can never be so used.

The above patterns, it seems to me, could hardly be the product of sheer chance. So it would seem that features of pitch and length have some function besides that of differentiating lexical forms in the SP system. And it is perhaps not too much to suggest that there is something intonation-like about the function of these features. At the same time, one should remember that the patterns of primary variation are strictly limited in their application, and that the general picture is full of gaps, exceptions and irregularities. Perhaps one could say, then, that there are intonational or quasi-intonational processes that in part account for the general patterns of primary variation. However, these processes have been partially frozen into a conventionalised set of phonemically distinct forms here called primary variants. And, of course, there are forms which do not fit into the more general patterns at all.

5.3 PRIMARY VARIATION AND SPS IN NON-PAUSE POSITION

As mentioned above, the full range of possibilities of primary variation may be found only with SPs in prepause position, the permissible variations being much more restricted when SPs occur with no following pause; that is, when they occur medially, directly followed either by other SPs or by non-SPs, there being no phonological pause in between.

The usual pattern here is for SPs in non-pause position to occur only in their underlying form. Thus, out of all the primary variants of *ná,* the only one that occurs in non-pause position is /ná/; similarly, the only permissible variant of *lə̌* in such contexts is /lə̌/. This means, of course, that the various semantic distinctions implied by the different variants are all lost in such cases.

Exceptions to this restriction comprise the following: SARP forms may occur either with the short falling-tone variants or the short high-tone variants, but with no others. This restriction rules out the long vowel variants of *câ, khâ* and *wâ.* Also, the forms *lamaŋ* and *maŋ* may occur either with mid or high tone variants. And the forms *lɔ̀k* and *rɔ̀k* may occur either with low or mid tone variants, but not with high. Lastly, *sî* in non-pause position occurs only with the variant /si/, not with /sî/ as might be expected.[10] In these exceptional cases, any variants that do occur will be semantically differentiated in the manner characteristic of the same forms in prepause position; however the wider semantic distinctions cannot be made. And, of course, the single permissible variant /si/ allows for no semantic differentiation at all.

So far as I know, the above listing of exceptions to the general pattern of non-pause occurrence (i.e. exceptions to the general rule that non-pause SPs occur in their underlying form) is complete. However, it should be noted that there are a number of cases in which underlying forms are changed in non-pause position as a result of morphophonemic processes. These will be discussed in section 6.1 below.

6.0 THE PHENOMENON OF REDUCTION OR SIMPLIFICATION

The phenomenon of primary variation, as discussed above, may be seen as a process of development or amplification which results in some sort of semantic modification or change. That is, it involves a process in which a basic or underlying form may be developed or amplified into something more complex, with phonemic changes (especially involving tone or vowel length) signalling additional elements of meaning which are superimposed upon the form in question.

The phenomenon of reduction or simplification, on the other hand, involves an opposite process. Here underlying forms, and also other primary variants, are subject to a process more like subtraction; something is simplified or reduced. And this process is basically phonological, with little or no semantic effect – apart from the signalling of a certain casualness in the case of one type of reduction to be discussed below.

As mentioned above (section 3.3), this phenomenon was first identified and explicitly described by Peyasantiwong (1979), so my treatment of this subject (below) owes something to her pioneering work. It differs somewhat from hers, however, in that I have attempted to include a wider range of variational data, and I have sought, too, to provide more in the way of generalisations. Also, I find it helpful to distinguish two somewhat different types of reduction or simplification: one strictly morphophonemic, and the other a function of rapid or casual speech. In this section, I shall discuss each of these in turn.

6.1 MORPHOPHONEMIC SIMPLIFICATION OF SPS

This type of simplification or reduction, as implied by the term 'morphophonemic', is one in which certain phonological changes occur strictly as a function of some feature in the phonological environment. These changes are of two types: one which affects tone and syllable-final glottal stop and occurs with SPs in non-pause position, and the other involving tonal coalescence with sequences of falling tone forms.

6.1.1 MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES AFFECTING SPS IN NON-PAUSE POSITION

This type of simplification or reduction can be described in terms of the following rules:

(1) All level tone forms ending in glottal stop change to mid tone;

(2) All forms ending in a glottal stop lose the terminal glottal.

By application of these rules, we derive the following changes of underlying forms: *la?* and *lá?*, including any of their variants, become /la/; *thə?* becomes /thə/; *nâ?* becomes /nâ/; *nî?* becomes /nî/; *nîa?* becomes /nîa/. Note, however, that *lè* rarely if ever changes to /lɛ/, because this particle does not ordinarily occur in non-pause position. Usually the form /la/ (from *là?*) will occur instead.

Incidentally, these changes are clearly related to a more general pattern affecting forms other than SPs. Many (though not all) level-tone syllables ending in a short vowel have citation froms that end in glottal stop, with the glottal stop being lost and the tone shifting to mid in non-pause unstressed syllables, for example, /ca/ 'will' and the syllable /ku-/ in /kulàap/ 'rose'. In the case of non-SP forms, the patterns are much more variable. For example, the /ní-/ of /níthaan/ 'story' will not shift to mid even though it is unstressed, and there are many forms like /lá?/ 'to be abandoned' that are never

pronounced without the terminal glottal stop. In the case of SP forms, however, the rules stated above always apply when the conditions are met.

6.1.2 TONAL COALESCENCE

In cases where a falling-tone syllable (whether SP or not) is immediately followed by one or more falling-tone SPs (the last such SP being in immediate prepause position), all the falling tones will coalesce to form a single falling-pitch intonational unit. In other words, there will no longer be two (or occasionally three) distinct phonetic falling tones, but only one carried over the two (or three) syllables.

Note that this coalescence takes place not only with sequences of two or more particles (such as /nî sî/, /nâ câ/, /lâ nâʔ/), but also with sequences where a non-particle is followed by one or more falling-tone SPs. Note, for example, the following:

(117) S1 /kháw pay nǎy la ná./
1 2 3
'Where's he going?'
3 1 2

S2 /klàp bâan nâ sî./
4 5
'He's going home, of course.'
4 5

(118) /kháw nîi nâ khâ, tua yûŋ./
1 2 3 4
'This guy here is a pain in the neck.' (him here body bothersome)
1 2 3 4

The relevant sequences where tonal coalescence occurs in the above examples are /bâan nâ sî/ and /nîi nâ khâ/. We can note here that, in each case, most of the drop in pitch occurs with the first of the successive falling-tone syllables. Also, none of the subsequent falling tones go back up in pitch at the beginning of the new syllable; rather, each syllable begins with the pitch where the previous syllable ended, and goes down from there. The result is that the final particle in each sequence begins and ends with a very low pitch. This pattern, then, is very different from what we find in the case of other falling-tone forms at the end of a falling-tone sequence (example 119), or even in the case of falling-tone SPs following forms having other tones (example 120).

(119) /kháw phûut thîinîi./
1 2 3
'He said it here.'
1 2 3

(120) /mây ciŋ khâ./ Or: /mây ciŋ lɔ̀k khâ./
1 2 1 2
'That's not true.'
1 2

So far as I know, the type of tonal coalescence described above is completely general and always takes place under the prescribed conditions.

6.2 REDUCTION OR SIMPLIFICATION OF FORMS IN CASUAL SPEECH

This is a phenomenon in which certain particles may be reduced (usually by the loss of an initial consonant) or simplified (by consonantal or vocalic change) in the context of rapid or casual speech. Such reduction or simplification is optional, and it affects a number of SPs, including both underlying forms and many (but not necessarily all) primary variants.

In the discussion below, I first list the reductions and/or simplifications that I have been able to observe; then I briefly analyse or summarise these phenomena in terms of the kinds of change that may take place. For comparative purposes I include in my treatment changes or derivations that take place either when spoken-language forms are derived from written, or when they are derived from other spoken-language forms. Such changes are included because they clearly parallel the casual or rapid-speech changes that are our primary concern here.

6.2.1 LISTING OF FORMS AND REDUCTIONS

Both the underlying forms and some of their variants may be subject to a variety of types of reduction or simplification. The following list of examples is alphabetically arranged. Forms separated by slash marks are treated as variants of the same form, no distinction being made between underlying forms and other primary variants. The symbol > indicates that the form to the left of the symbol may be reduced or simplified to the form on the right. Parentheses identify changes that are more rare or are not likely to be used by all speakers. Square brackets identify changes or derivations that take place across boundaries between written and spoken forms, between one SP and another possibly related one, or between a non-SP and an SP. Double question marks indicate that the derivation in question is uncertain.

It should be noted here that not all the changes listed below are permissible in all contexts where the form in question occurs. Peyasantiwong, in her article, points out certain examples where the reduction does occur and others where it does not. Unfortunately I can provide no clear explanation as to acceptable and unacceptable contexts, but I presume that the feature of casualness, and perhaps the avoidance of reduction in the context of certain kinds of emphasis or deliberateness, would be relevant as clues to the permissible occurrences of this kind of reduction.

(1) [câ/cá > yâ/yá] ??

(2) [dɔ̀ok > rɔ̀k] ??

(3) [kramaŋ > lamaŋ] ??

(4) [khâ/khá > hâ/há]

(5) khráp > kháp [> há?]

(6) lâ > â

(7) la? > a?

(8) là?/la? > à?/a?

(9) lamaŋ/lamáŋ > maŋ/máŋ > mŋ/mŋ́

(10) [lâw > lâ]

(11) [lɛ̀? > là?]

(12) [léɛw > lá?]

(13) máy > mɛ́/má

(14) [mǎy > máy]

(15) nâ? > â?

(16) ŋay > ŋɛ/(ŋa)

(17) rə̌/rə́/rə̌ə > lə̌/lə́/lə̌ə > ə̌/(ə́)/(ə̌ə)

(18) rɔ̀k/rɔk/rɔ́k > lɔ̀k/lɔk/lɔ́k > ɔ̀k/ɔk > à?/a?

(19) [rŭu > rə̌ə]

(20) thà?/thə?/thá? > hà?/hə?/há?

(21) [thàət > thà?]

6.2.2 ANALYSIS OF CASUAL-SPEECH REDUCTION PROCESSES

The above examples of reduction or simplification are here analysed and grouped together in terms of the different types of phonological change that take place: first, a change that deletes an initial syllable (there being one SP that comprises two syllables); next, various changes that affect the initial portion of the syllable of a form (i.e. the initial consonant or consonant cluster); and finally, changes that affect the final portion of the syllable (i.e. any portion of the syllable following the initial consonant or cluster). Here again, square brackets mark changes in which forms are derived from some other source – from written forms, from non-SPs, or from other SPs.

Concerning the various instances of reduction or simplification summarised below, note that certain casual-speech changes affect SPs only in prepause position. This limitation applies to syllable-initial changes 3 and 5 (under section 6.2.2.2) and to all syllable-final changes.

6.2.2.1 REDUCTION RESULTING IN LOSS OF INITIAL SYLLABLE:: lamaŋ/lamáŋ > maŋ/máŋ

6.2.2.2 REDUCTION OR SIMPLIFICATION AFFECTING SYLLABLE INITIALS

(1) Loss of the second consonant in an initial cluster: /khráp/ > /kháp/. This is a type of reduction that is completely general in the language. That is, all /l/ and /r/ initial clusters in the language, but more particularly those occurring in common, everyday-language forms, are susceptible to such reduction.

(2) Simplification of initial /r/ > /l/: /rə̌ə/ > /lə̌ə/, /rɔ̀k/ > /lɔ̀k/ etc. This type of simplification is also completely general, since all initial *-r* forms in the language are susceptible to this change. However, SPs are subject to this change even with speakers who would be less likely to make the change with non-SP forms.

(3) Simplification of initial aspirated stop to /h/: thà?/thə?/thá? > hà?/hə?/há? (in prepause position); [khâ/khá > hâ/há]; [kháp > há?] etc. I presume, here, that the more formal polite forms, /khâ/ or /khá/, and /khráp/ or /kháp/, were at some time simplified to the /h/-initial forms in relaxed colloquial speech, and then these new forms acquired an independent status or function of their own, so that /khâ/, for example, contrasts with /hâ/ in a more distinct and conventionalised fashion than in the parallel contrast between /thà?/ and /hà?/.

(4) Simplification of initial palatal stop to semivowel: [câ/cá > yâ/yá] etc. This particular case of simplification is, I think, a little more dubious than that involving /khâ/ and /khráp/ above, but it is

possible that the yâ/yá forms were derived in this way, and that the derived forms have now become conventionalised as distinct forms in their own right.

(5) Loss of initial /l/ or /n/: /lâ/ > /â/, /la?/ > /a?/, là?/la? > à?/a?, lə̌/lə́/lə̌ə > ə̌/(ə́)/(ə̌ə), lɔ̀k/lɔk > ɔ̀k/ɔk > à?/a?, /nâ?/ > /â?/ etc. Note that such reduction ordinarily occurs only when the particle in question occurs in prepause position. Note, further, that all colloquial particles with initial /l/ are subject to this optional change, but loss of /n/ occurs only with *nâ?* (1) or *nâ?* (2). Also, loss of initials ordinarily does not take place following stops or /m/ or /n/ in the preceding syllable, or when the SP is used in an emphatic or intensified manner.

(6) Atypical instances of simplification. Two of the cases of syllable-initial simplification listed above (6.3.1) seem to be atypical: [/dɔ̀ɔk/ > /rɔ̀k/] and [/kramaŋ/ > /lamaŋ/], but note that they both involve the segment /r/.

6.2.2.3 REDUCTION OR SIMPLIFICATION AFFECTING SYLLABLE FINALS

The final portion of the syllable, including the vocalic part and any final consonant, is subject to the following changes.

(1) Simplification of final stop to glottal: lɔ̀k/lɔk > à?/a? (in prepause position); [/kháp/ > /há?/]; [/thə̀ət/ > /thə̀?/] etc.

(2) Centralisation of vowels: /ɔ/ > /a/ (e.g. lɔ̀k/lɔk > à?/a?); /ɯɯ/ > /əə/ (e.g. [/rɯ̌ɯ/ > lə̌ə/]); /ɛ/ > /a/ (e.g. [/lɛ̀?/ > /là?/]). See also the simplification of diphthongs, below.

(3) Simplification of diphthongs: /ay/ > ɛ/a (e.g. /máy/ > mɛ́/má, /ŋay/ > ŋɛ/(ŋa)); /ɛɛw/ > /a/ (e.g. [/lɛ́ɛw/ > /lá?/]); /aw/ > /a/ (e.g. [/lâw/ > /lâ/]). Note, here, both the reduction of diphthongs to a simple vowel, and the tendency toward vowel centralisation.

(4) Loss of vowel between /m/ and /ŋ/: maŋ/máŋ > mŋ/mŋ́ etc.

7.0 OTHER INTONATIONAL PROCESSES

Having considered the processes of primary variation and of reduction or simplification, we are now in a position to look at other intonational processes that affect SPs in one way or another. Of course, in talking about 'other intonational processes', I am implying that primary variation and possibly also reduction are intonational processes of a kind. And this implication is, I think, justified in the light of the phenomena we have examined, particularly in section 5.0. But it is also fair to say that these other intonational processes to be examined here are for the most part something rather different from those already considered. They are different in two respects: firstly, they introduce changes and modifications in SP forms of a kind that go beyond, or stand outside, the ordinary phonemic distinctions involving consonants, vowels, tones and vowel length; in this respect they are much more like the kind of intonational variations that occur in non-tonal languages. And secondly, they apply after the previously described processes have had their effect. That is to say, when underlying forms have been subjected to the amplification process of primary variation and/or (occasionally) to the relevant reduction processes, they are then subject to one or more of a number of other intonational processes described below.

Before discussing the particular intonational processes that affect SPs, however, it is necessary to understand the more general intonational patterns that affect all utterances in the language. Only so

will we be in a position to see where SPs fit into these general patterns, and how these patterns affect the SP system.

7.1 GENERAL SENTENCE-INTONATION PATTERNS

I shall describe these in terms of two voice register patterns (normal and high), two terminal contours, (falling and heightened), and what I call special-focus emphatic raising.[11]

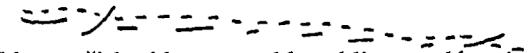
Other patterns (which I shall largely ignore in my discussion) include the following: extra-low and extra-high voice register; gradual lowering, gradual raising, and overall levelling of the pitch norm of a sentence from beginning to end of the utterance; sustained terminal contour (used in certain types of medial-pause contexts or in broken-off, incomplete sentences); widened overall pitch contrast (where the differential between lower and higher tones is exaggerated throughout the utterance, for the sake of clarity or some other special effect); special increase or decrease in speed; special increase or decrease in overall volume; breathiness; whispering; general nasalisation; special feminine pitch raising (a raising of pitch with slight accompanying shrillness to convey feminine archness or cuteness); special emphatic tones (where the first syllable of a reduplicated sequence is pitched extra high and rises). These, and no doubt others besides, are patterns that are used in special ways and for special semantic effects, but the characteristics and semantic effects of such patterns are not of major significance in SP usage, so they will not be discussed here.

7.1.1 VOICE REGISTER PATTERNS

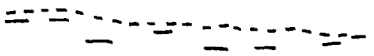
The most common voice register patterns are the normal register pattern and the high. There also exists a special lowered or extra-low register (which may be quiet and intimate, even conspiratorial, or perhaps negative, hopeless) and an extra high register (conveying, for example, extreme excitement, defensiveness, or desire to convince or persuade). But the two more common registers will concern us here.

7.1.1.1 NORMAL VOICE REGISTER

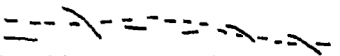
This is the voice or pitch register that is used in normal speech, neither especially lowered nor especially raised; it is represented in transcription here by zero symbolisation. (That is, when examples are cited below with no voice register symbolisation, the utterance in question may be assumed to have normal voice register.) Normal register may occur with sentences of all kinds: statement, commands, questions (especially of the 'who'/'what' variety) and exclamations. And it may occur with either lowered or raised terminal contour (see 7.1.2 below). However, occurrence with raised contour is largely limited to sentences ending in an SP (see 7.2.2.3). In any event, the most common pattern is for normal voice register to occur in sentences with falling terminal contour, and here the utterance very often has a gradually descending pitch from beginning to end of the sentence in question. Throughout this gradual descent, the tones of each syllable will retain their pitch distinctiveness, but the pitch norm, with reference to which the tones are oriented, will descend. In the following examples, the pitch norm of each sentence is shown by means of a dotted line, and the individual tones are represented by solid lines. (For additional examples of normal register with falling terminal contour, see 7.1.2.1).



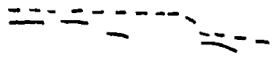
(121) /khruu sĭi ka khruu can khoŋ klàp pay lέ́ew./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'Teacher Sii and Teacher Chan must have gone home already.'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7,8 9



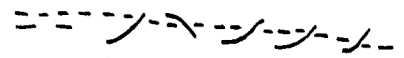
(122) /taa ka pùu khray kὲὲ kwàa kan./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Who is older: your maternal or paternal grandfather?'
4 5,6,7 1 2 3 1,3



(123) /yàa khâw pay nay bâan phîi./
1 2 3 4 5 6
'Don't go into elder sibling's house.'
1 3 2,4 6 5



(124) /ʔaacaan yùu rá plàaw./
1 2 3 4
'Is the professor in (or not)?'
1 2 3 4



(125) /luŋ ca khăay bâan sŏoŋ săam lăŋ./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Uncle is going to sell two or three houses.'
1 2 3 5 6 4,7

7.1.1.2 HIGH VOICE REGISTER

This is a phenomenon in which the entire sentence is raised in pitch above the level of the pitch norm that characterises normal voice register; it is represented in transcription by means of an up-pointing arrow positioned at the beginning of the high register utterance in question /↑.../. This register, like the normal, can occur with all types of sentences (statements, questions, commands, exclamatives), with or without the occurrence of final SPs, and it signals such things as surprise, special-concern questioning, disagreement, complaint, dismay, pleasure, solicitude, emphasis. Any of the examples above (121-125) might occur with raised voice register. Also, raised register may occur with either of the two terminal contours (lowered or raised). (For additional examples of high register see examples 131 and 132, and also 138B, 139B and 140B below.)

7.1.2 TERMINAL CONTOUR PATTERNS

These are intonation patterns that affect the terminal point, usually the final syllable, of the sentence in which they occur. There are two such contours: lowered and raised. They are mutually exclusive

in occurrence, but either contour may occur with either of the voice registers. However, if the sentence in question has no final SP, heightened terminal contour is limited to occurrence with high voice register.

7.1.2.1 LOWERED TERMINAL CONTOUR

This is a type of intonation in which the last prepause syllable of an utterance drops to a somewhat lower pitch norm than that of preceding syllables. It also tends to trail away in volume, and, in the case of mid and falling tone and sometimes also high, the pitch of the syllable itself drops terminally. This phenomenon is transcribed below by means of a down-pointing arrow at the end of the utterance in question /...↓/.

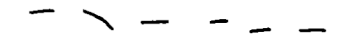
Where no final SP is present, lowered contour is the normal contour used for sentences of almost every kind. (Raised contour occurs only in a rather rare type of utterance signalling surprised and exclamative questions; see section 7.1.2.2 below). But where final SPs are present, the distribution of occurrence of lowered versus raised contour is somewhat different (see section 7.2.2).

Naturally enough, when lowered contour occurs, it does not obliterate or run counter to the normal tonal distinctions in the language. The five tones retain their distinctiveness, but the tones are modified somewhat, according to the following patterns.

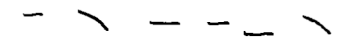
All tones tend to be pronounced at a lower pitch than the same tone earlier in the utterance. This lowering of pitch is most pronounced with falling and rising tones and with any level tone that is not immediately preceded by an identical level tone. But in the case of successive level tones, the final tone may start at a slightly lower pitch than the preceding one; otherwise, in the case of low and mid tones, the pitch may start where the previous tone ended. The low tone, then, will usually trail down noticeably from beginning to end of the syllable, and the mid tone will more or less maintain its pitch level until near the end of the syllable, and then it will drop quite clearly and sharply. As for terminal high tone, it may, regardless of the immediately preceding syllable, begin from a point somewhat lower in pitch than would elsewhere be the case. Then it will (ordinarily) rise gradually and be terminated by a glottal stop; for some speakers, or under special emphasis, it will rise and then suddenly drop at the end of the syllable, again being terminated by a glottal stop.

(126A) /khon cháy maa mây than↓/
1 2 3 4
'The servant didn't come in time.'
1 3 2 4

(126B) /khon cháy maa than↓/
1 2 3
'The servant came in time.'
1 2 3



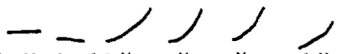
(127A) /kháw mây khuan ca dàa pùu↓/
1 2 3 4 5 6
'He ought not to swear at Grandfather.'
1 3,4 2 5 6



(127B) /kháw mây khuan ca dàa phûan pùu↓/
1
'He oughtn't to swear at GF's friend.'
1

(128) /nóoŋ ʔàat ca maa cháa kwàa náa↓/
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Younger sibling may come later than Uncle.'
1 2,3 4 5 6 7

(129) /kháw ʔaw pay pôɔn lûuk↓/
1 2 3 4 5
'She took it and fed it to her child.'
1 2,3 4 5



(130) /mii sùa khăay sɔ̌ɔŋ săam phŭun↓/
1 2 3 4 5 6
'There are two or three mats for sale.'
1 4 5 2,6 3

7.1.2.2 RAISED TERMINAL CONTOUR

This is a somewhat rare terminal contour (rare, that is, in non-SP utterances) that contrasts with the lowered contour described above in that the final syllable of an utterance with raised contour is pronounced at a higher pitch norm than is the case with lowered contour. Furthermore, the pitch of the syllable does not fall or drop at the end in the same manner as with lowered contour. For some speakers, the syllable will fade rather rapidly, and the syllable length will be reduced a little. The pitch heightening does not, however, cause the pitch norm of the syllable to rise above that of the rest of the utterance; the pitch norm remains more or less level through to the end of the sentence, but the absence of lowering or falling pitch gives the general impression of raised pitch – an impression that is intensified by the fact that the whole utterance (when there are no SPs present) is also always pronounced with high voice register. Raised contour is transcribed below by means of an up-pointing arrow positioned at the end of the utterance in which it occurs /...↑/.

Apart from its occurrence in sentences ending in an SP, raised terminal contour is rather rare, but in those utterances where this contour does occur in the absence of an accompanying SP, the intonation signals a sudden, spontaneous, surprised question. Furthermore, the utterance usually has

something of the flavour of an exclamation, and the subject of the sentence in question ordinarily has to be omitted (otherwise an SP is obligatory).

As with lowered terminal contour, tonal distinctions must be retained, but the various tones are modified more or less as follows. Mid and low tones are pronounced with rather level pitch, not clearly dropping or trailing downward at the end of the syllable, and the starting point for both mid and low tones is rather high – the latter only a little below the former. Falling tone starts fairly high, and the extent of the fall is considerably reduced. Rising tone starts rather high (just below mid tone level), and usually rises only a moderate amount from there. High tone starts fairly high and then usually trails upward. Note that high tone often rises even with lowered intonation, but the rising or upward-trailing pitch with raised terminal contour starts earlier in the syllable and may often trail higher. The terminal glottal stop of the high tone is, however, retained.

The following examples illustrate use of the heightened terminal contour. It will be noted that each example provides illustrations of the terminal contour on various tones.

(131) /↑khóŋ taa↑/, (/↑...pùu↑/, /↑...nóoŋ↑/, /↑...phîi↑/, /↑...lăan↑/)

1 2 3 4 5 6

'(You mean) it's maternal grandfather's? (...paternal grandfather's?,

2 1 3

...younger sibling's?, ...elder sibling's?, ...nephew's?)'

4 5 6

(132) /↑?aw pay kin↑/, (/↑...sày↑/, /↑...thíŋ↑/, /↑...hây↑/, /↑...khăay↑/)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'You took and ate it? (...put it in?, ...threw it away?, ...gave it to them?,

1,2 3 4 5 6

...sold it?)'

7

7.1.3 SPECIAL-FOCUS EMPHATIC RAISING

Sometimes a word or syllable within an utterance is singled out for a special type of emphasis in which the form in question is pronounced with increased volume, and usually also raised above normal pitch and perhaps lengthened. Rising-tone forms, however, tend to be lengthened but not raised in such contexts. The phenomenon of special-focus emphatic raising is transcribed below by means of an exclamation mark positioned immediately before the raised form in question.

Raising of this sort usually occurs either at the beginning of the sentence, or before medial or final pause. When it occurs in final position, it may be associated either with lowered or raised terminal contour. If the latter, the pitch of the syllable in question will usually be pretty much the same as for raised terminal contour, but the syllable will also be lengthened. In addition, there are a few words (for example, /?aray/ 'what', /thammay/ 'why' and perhaps others) where the tone of the last syllable changes to high, and the pitch is then raised still further, beyond the normal high-tone level, and then it drops sharply at the end.

(133) /!phôɔ sî sŭuŋ. mêɛ nâ mây sŭuŋ ləəy./
1 2 3 4 5 6
'It's **father** that's tall. Mother's not at all tall.'
1 2 3 4 6 5

(134) /khuan tham yaŋ!ŋíi, mây chây yaŋŋán./
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'You should do it **this** way, not that way.'
1 2 4 3 5,6 8 7

(135) /↑mĕɛ. ↑mûakhuunníi !năaw ca taay./
1 2 3 4 5
'Wow! It was terribly **cold** last night.'
1 4,5 3 2

(136) /↑thammay mây !bɔ̀ɔk/
1 2 3
'Why didn't you **tell** me?'
1 2 3

(137) /bɔ̀ɔk ʔaacaan tham!máy./
1 2 3
'**Why** did you tell the professor?'
3 1 2

7.2 INTONATIONAL PATTERNS AND THE SP SYSTEM

When we examine the various types of intonational phenomena in terms of their relationships to the SP system, we find that the general behaviour of particles fits fairly well into the intonational system as outlined above. Thus SPs occur naturally and freely with both normal and high voice registers. Since SPs very frequently occur in sentence-final position, they also occur, as one might expect, with both lowered and raised terminal contour. However, we find that SPs occur very often with raised contour, whereas other forms rarely do. Furthermore, we find that many SPs have a tonal flexibility that allows them to adapt to and to distinguish, the two contours much more readily and clearly than is the case for non-SP forms.

As for special-focus emphatic raising, we find something roughly analagous in the various types of intonational phenomena that occur when SPs are stressed or emphasised in one way or another. But here we also find a number of distinct, stress-related processes that need to be sorted out and described: SPs can be pronounced with a special increase in volume to signal hostility; they can be raised above normal pitch for a given tone in order to signal various types of emotional intensification; and they can be lengthened to signal a variety of other meanings. The phenomena of raising and lengthening, however, seem to involve more than a matter of emphatic stress; furthermore, they are not always pronounced with phonological stress. I shall therefore describe them below as separate phenomena in their own right along with one other phenomenon that is less clearly stress related, namely the occurrence of terminal / ^{h}/.

In this section I first discuss the behaviour of SPs in the context of the two voice registers (section 7.2.1) and the two terminal contours (7.2.2). Then I go on to discuss special particle lengthening (7.2.3), stress (7.2.4) and, finally, the phenomenon of terminal / ^{h}/ (7.2.5).

7.2.1 SPs AND VOICE REGISTER

Both normal and high voice registers occur freely with SPs. The general meanings for the two registers are much as already described above (7.1.1): normal register is used for ordinary statements, commands, questions (chiefly of the 'who'/'what' kind) and even, occasionally, exclamations; and high register may be used to express things such as surprise, special-concern questions, disagreement, complaint, dismay, pleasure, solicitude, special desire for response.

The two registers may be illustrated by the following contrasted pairs of sentences, where the first member of each pair exemplifies normal register and the second, high.

(138A) /mii khray maa hăa lə̌↓/
1 2 3 4
'Someone came to see you, did they?'
1,2 3 4
[Speaker responds calmly to addressee's comment about talking to a friend.]

(138B) /↑ ... lə́↑/
'You mean someone came to see me?'
[Speaker reacts in astonishment to information addressee has just passed on.]

(139A) /mây mii khray lɔ̀k↓/
1 2 3
'No, there wasn't anyone.'
2 1 3
[Speaker corrects addressee's misunderstanding in 138, above, and goes on to explain he'd just been talking to his friend on the phone, not in person.]

(139B) /↑...↓/
'Oh no, there wasn't anyone!'
(Where did you ever get that idea?)

(140A) /chûay yìp dinsɔ̌ɔ hây nɔ̀y sí./
1 2 3 4 5
'Please hand me the pencil.'
1,5 2,4 3
[Speaker finds he needs a pencil and makes unemphatic request of addressee who happens to have a pencil handy.]

(140B) /↑yìp hây nɔ̀y !sî↑./
'Come on, hand me the pencil!'
[Speaker is annoyed at having to make his request for the second time.]
(The second up-pointing arrow signals raised terminal contour – see section 7.2.2.3.)

7.2.2 SPs AND TERMINAL CONTOURS

Any SP occurring in immediate prepause position will be accompanied by one or another of the permissible terminal contours. The basic contours – the lowered and the raised – are the same as those which occur elsewhere in the language (see section 7.1.2). However, the pitch values for most

of the raised or lowered tones of SPs differ from those of the same tones and contours for non-SP forms. Also the raised contour occurs very frequently with SPs, but only rarely elsewhere.

Usually SPs with lowered contour are pronounced with a somewhat lower pitch than that normally characteristic of the same tone in the case of non-SPs. The resulting utterance can be semantically neutral, or perhaps definite and flat, or occasionally passive, unassertive. SPs with raised contour, on the other hand, are usually pronounced with somewhat raised pitch, and they ordinarily express some sort of emotional intensification, expressiveness, assertiveness.

In this section I first provide a few examples of typical utterances illustrating and contrasting the two contours (section 7.2.2.1), then I describe lowered and raised contours in turn (7.2.2.2 and 7.2.2.3). Next I summarise the possibilities of co-occurrence of tones and contours (7.2.2.4), and I conclude with a discussion of the semantic relationship between tone and contour (7.2.2.5).

7.2.2.1 EXAMPLES OF LOWERED AND RAISED CONTOUR WITH SPS

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the two contours with each of the five tones: low, mid, high, falling, rising, – in that order. Examples identified with the letter A illustrate lowered contour (symbolised by means of a down-pointing arrow following the SP in question), and examples labelled B illustrate raised contour (with an up-pointing arrow).

(141A) S1 /ŋaan khoŋ sanùk ná./
1 2 3
'The party should be fun, don't you think?
1 2 3

S2 /mây sanùk lòk↓/
4 5
'No, (I'm afraid not).'
4,5
[Second speaker responds in fairly ordinary, matter-of-fact fashion.]

(142A) /phɔɔ la?↓/
1
'I've had enough.' 'This is plenty.' 'That's enough.'
1
[Speaker makes a definite refusal as host offers to refill his glass; or mistress somewhat peremptorily stops servant from scrubbing the table further, either for fear of damaging the finish, or because she is tired of waiting.]

(142B) /phɔɔ la?↑/
'This is plenty.' (See? My glass is still full.)
'That's good enough.' (You don't need to scrub the table any more.)

(143A) /dɔ̀ɔkmáay sŭay náː↓/
1 2
Those flowers are pretty, aren't they?'
1 2
[Speaker comments unemphatically as he notices some flowers nearby.]

(143B) /dɔ̀ɔkmáay sŭay náꜛ/
[Here the speaker responds more enthusiastically to the flowers; or he may be expressing a stronger wish that the addressee share his enjoyment.]

(144A) /pay dûaykan sîiꜜ/
1 2
Come on, do let's go together.'
1 2
(There's no need to hang back.)
[Speaker unassertively begs addressee who has previously conveyed or expressed reluctance, unwillingness.]

(144B) /pay dûaykan sîiꜛ/
'Come **on**, let's **go**.'
(Why on earth do you hesitate?)
[Speaker increases the pressure when addressee does not respond to a previous invitation, here with displaying good-natured assertiveness or a bit of impatience.]

(145A) /klàp bâan lă̰ꜜ/
1 2
'So you're going home, huh?'
1 2
[It is quitting time at work, and speaker sees addressee getting ready to leave.]

(145B) /klàp bâan lă̰ꜛ/
'You mean you're going home?'
(I thought you were planning to work late tonight.)

7.2.2.2 SPs AND LOWERED TERMINAL CONTOUR

Most terminal SPs and primary variants can occur with lowered contour. (For the details as to possibilities of such occurrence see section 7.2.2.4). The phonological and semantic characteristics of such occurrence are described next.

7.2.2.2.1 THE PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SP LOWERED CONTOUR

Most SP forms occurring with this contour are pronounced with a somewhat lower pitch than comparable non-SPs with the same tone and contour. The pitch characteristics of such lowering, tone by tone, follow.

(1) Low tone. All low-tone SPs and variants occur with lowered – and only with lowered – contour. Such forms are then pronounced much like other low-tone forms; that is, with low often descending pitch. But they have a tendency to be pronounced a little lower than other low-tone forms.

(2) Mid tone. Occurrence of mid tone with lowered contour is problematical, for not all speakers show a clear contrast between lowered and raised mid tone. However, I have recorded occurrences of lowered contour with the forms /la?/ (from *la?*), /ŋay/, /naa/ and /waa/. In such usage the checked

syllable form /la?/ is pronounced with a pitch slightly below the normal mid-tone level, but not as low as the low tone. The other forms, all non-checked or open syllables, are pronounced with a pitch starting at the mid tone level and falling slightly and gradually. These lowered open-syllable forms, then, differ slightly from comparable lowered non-SP forms in that the SPs – especially the long vowel forms – drop fairly gradually from onset to completion of the syllable, whereas non-SPs are level throughout most of the syllable and then drop more abruptly at the end. This contrast may be illustrated by the differing pronunciations of the particle /naa/ and the non-SP form /naa/ 'rice field' in the following examples:

(146A) /duu naa↓/
1
'You'd better watch.'
1

(146B) /duu naa↓/
1 2
'He looked at the rice field.'
1 2

(3) High tone. High tone forms with lowered contour are usually pitched just a little above the mid tone level, and they tend to be a little lower than non-SP lowered forms.

(4) Falling tone. Lowered falling tones are distinctly lower with SPs than with other forms in the language. The former begin their drop from below the mid tone level and drop further down from that point,[12] whereas non-SPs begin their drop from the high tone level or even higher.

(5) Rising tone. Lowered rising-tone SPs are pronounced starting at the low tone level – a rather low, low tone – and rising only slightly from there, the rise being rather less than that of lowered non-SP forms.

7.2.2.2.2 THE SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SP LOWERED CONTOUR

The semantic values conveyed by lowered-contour SPs and primary variants are of at least four types. By far the most common of these comprises emotional neutrality or a comparative unexpressiveness. Here a given particle has no particular expressive meaning over and above that signalled in the basic meaning of the particle or variant within the given context. Particles may, of course, still convey any expressiveness inherent in the semantic value of the particle. For example, the forms /wâ/ and /yâ/ when lowered will still express a certain amount of assertiveness as a byproduct of their semantic non-restraint value, but any such inherently expressive particle will lack the special expressiveness that the same particle would have if raised. (For a discussion of the semantic value of raising, see section 7.2.2.3.2.) Most, perhaps all, SPs and variants can occur lowered, to convey this neutral, comparatively unexpressive meaning, but a few forms have a strong tendency to occur raised rather than lowered, for example, the forms /wə̂əy/ and /wóoy/.

A second and fairly common value expressed by lowering is that of abruptness, flatness, annoyance, hostility. SPs and variants most likely to be used in this way include the SARP forms /wâ/, /wá/, /yâ/ and /yá/; the forms /la?/ (from *la?*) /ná/, /nâ/ and /sî/, particularly as some of these may

occur in commands; and the forms /thə̀ʔ/ (expressing rather mild annoyance), /lə̀k/ and /nîʔ/ (1). In such usage, the form in question may or may not also be stressed (see section 7.2.4.1).

A third value conveyed by lowering is formality; that is, lowered forms in certain cases tend to be a little more formal, a little less relaxed and free, than their raised counterparts. Examples include /khâ/, /khá/, /lɛ̀ʔ/, /lə̀k/ and /thə̀ʔ/. Note here that the three low-tone forms have no raised low-tone counterparts, since low tones never occur raised, but they do have higher tone counterparts that are less formal.

And finally, lowering may signal a sort of ego negativity, either in the direction of passivity (as in the case of /khrà:p/[13]), or in the direction of resigned and perhaps humorous bafflement, where the speaker as it were throws up his hands in defeat (as with /nàa/ and /wàa/). The following are examples of this ego negativity.

(147) /ciŋ khrà:p↓/
1
'That's true.'
1
[Speaker rather passively responds to previous comment by addressee.]

(148) /hăay pay năy wàa↓/
1 2 3
'Where the heck did it disappear to?'
3 1 2
[Speaker addresses himself, realising with bafflement and a touch of self-deprecating humour that he is not likely to find what he is looking for.]
(Note how the non-restraint implied by *wâ* loses some of its assertiveness as the speech is directed inward.)

Concerning the various semantic values of lowering described above, it is perhaps worth noting that all cases could conceivably be pulled together in terms of some sort of negativity, ego restraint, non-assertiveness, unexpressiveness, for all stand in opposition to the sort of expressiveness or assertiveness signalled by terminal contour raising (see section 7.2.2.3.2). This is obvious enough in the case of the neutral semantic values described above, and also with the cases of ego negativity. And the semantic value of formality fits in fairly well too, for formality necessarily implies some sense of ego restraint, in that one does not express oneself freely or assertively in the context of formality; rather, of necessity, the ego is held under restraint.

But what about the abruptness, annoyance and hostility sometimes signalled by lowering? Here I would suggest that one needs to differentiate two kinds of hostility: an expressive or assertive kind; and a non-expressive unassertive kind – a kind that clamours, pushes and struggles; and a kind that merely plants itself and flatly affirms, contradicts or commands. The one reaches out and seeks as it were to widen the speaker's ego space; the other has no need to do so, for it simply assumes its mastery of the space it already possesses. The one exerts itself to influence the addressee and attain its desired ends; the other simply assumes the response is forthcoming and does not even need to raise its voice. In other words, the latter type of hostility has no need to be expressive or assertive. It therefore does seem to have something in common with the sort of ego negativity, non-expressiveness, non-assertiveness conveyed by other cases of lowered contour.

7.2.2.3 SPS AND RAISED TERMINAL CONTOUR[14]

Most SPs and primary variants occurring in immediate prepause position may be accompanied by raised terminal contour. In such usage, the particle in question will be raised in pitch above the level characteristic of lowered contour – often quite markedly so – and this raising signals one or another of various types of emotional intensification or ego expressiveness.

7.2.2.3.1 THE PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SP RAISED CONTOUR

Of the five tones, all but the low tone may occur raised, and the raising has the following phonological effects, tone by tone.

(1) Mid tone. Forms with mid tone and raised contour are pronounced with a fairly level mid pitch, neither lowered below the norm for the rest of the sentence nor dropping at the end of the syllable. Most mid-tone SPs and primary variants can occur with raised contour, and a number occur only with raised contour. As a matter of fact, cases of clear contrast between raised and lowered mid-tone forms are hard to find, and the distinction, even where it exists, is rather a fine one. I have found examples of raised versus lowered contrast for the forms /laʔ/ (from *laʔ*) (see examples 144A and 144B above) and /ŋay/, and also (with one speaker) for /naa/ and /waa/. Forms that occur only raised include /laʔ/ (from *làʔ*), /lɔk/ and /thəʔ/, all having a terminal stop consonant.

(2) High tone. The phonetic value of raising varies, depending on whether the raised form in question terminates in a short vowel, in a short vowel plus a stop (including the glottal), or in a long vowel or a sonorant. The starting point for all three types is usually a point at least at the normal, unlowered high-pitch level, or even higher. From that point, forms ending in a short vowel often go still higher and terminate with an upward-trailing contour. Forms ending in a short vowel plus stop are less likely to trail upward, but when they do, they do so less markedly than non-stop forms. Forms ending in a long vowel tend (unless raised extra high) to sustain a fairly level pitch throughout the syllable, perhaps trailing slightly upward at the very end.

With all types of high tone forms, the degree of raising may vary considerably, such that the greater the raising, the greater the degree of emotional intensification or ego expressiveness implied. In the case of forms ending in a long vowel or a sonorant (i.e. /náa/, wə́əy/, wóoy/ and /mán/) the raising may reach a point where the pitch goes very high indeed (sometimes even to the point of falsetto), then (for some speakers) goes briefly higher still, and finally breaks downward sharply at the end of the syllable. The following is an example of such raising (here symbolised by a double up-pointing arrow).

(149) /hăay pay nǎy náa↑↑/
1 2 3
'I wonder where on **earth** it could have disappeared to.'
3 1 2
[Speaker exclaims to himself as he anxiously searches here and there.]

All high tone forms may occur raised, and the forms /láʔ/, /lɛ́ʔ/, /lɔ́k/, /thə́ʔ/, /hɛ́/, /ní/, and /wə́əy/ or /wóoy/ have a strong tendency to do so.

(3) Falling tone. When falling-tone SPs are raised, the pitch of the syllable in question will begin at the mid-tone level or higher, and then drop from that point. With short vowel forms, the pitch drop

is quite abrupt, and with long vowel forms it is less so – in fact the pitch of long vowel forms may be fairly level at the beginning, with the drop-off occurring mostly at the end of the syllable.

As with high-tone forms, the raising in pitch of falling-tone forms is variable, with higher and higher pitch signalling concomitantly greater and greater emotional intensification or ego expressiveness. Also, as with high tone forms, the upper extreme of raising can be very high, even falsetto; in this case the pitch may be held high and level for most of the syllable before the terminal drop occurs. Here, then, the difference between extra-high falling and extra-high high tones will be somewhat obscured for some speakers.

(150) /rêŋ nòy sîi↑↑/
1 2
'Come **o-o-n**, do **hurry**!'
1,2

(4) Rising tone. Rising tone forms with raised contour start from a pitch only a little below the mid tone level, and they tend to rise over a slightly greater pitch range than lowered forms. Short vowel forms rise quite quickly, but long vowel forms are fairly level throughout the first part of the syllable and then rise at the end.

7.2.2.3.2 THE SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SP RAISED CONTOUR

It has already been suggested that, generally speaking, raised contour signals some type of emotional intensification or ego expressiveness. But the type of intensification or expressiveness is variable, depending upon the situation and upon the particular SP that is being raised. So far I have been able to isolate the following types of meanings signalled by raising.

(1) Increased emotional concern, involvement, investment in the response or reaction of the addressee: /cá/, /cǎa/, /há/, /há?/, /khá/, /khǎa/, /khráp/, /la?/, /máŋ/, /máy/, /ná/, /náa/, /nâa/, /nê/, /nî?/ (2), /nîa?/, /ŋay/, /sí/.

(2) Heightened and positive personal expressiveness, conveying (a) enthusiasm and good spirits: /câ/, /cá/, /cǎa/, /hâ/, /há/, /há?/, /khâ/, /khá/, /khǎa/, /wâ/, /wá/, /wóoy/, /ní/; (b) light, good-humoured assertiveness: /wâ/, /wá/, /wóoy/, /yâ/, /yá/, /hé/, /la?/ (from *la?*), /lá?/ (from *là?*), /lé?/, /lók/, /thó?; or (c) archness, cuteness, femininity: /câ/, /cá/, /cǎa/, /hâ/, /há/, /khâ/, /khá/, /khǎa/, /ní/.

(3) Intensified response to some kind of resistance, reluctance, intractability, impasse perceived or encountered in the addressee or in the situation: /máŋ/, /ná/, /náa/, /nâa/, /nî?/ (1), /sî/, /sîi/, /sí/. Note that this response may convey impatience at persistent, contrary behaviour; assurance in response to reluctance or doubt; urging in the face of hesitancy or uncertainty; bafflement or dismay when confronting a difficult or impossible situation. But in each case the speaker is pressing against resistance, reluctance or whatever.

(4) Surprise: /lǎ/, /lǎə/, /lá/, /láə/, /nî?/ (1).

(5) Informality: /la?/, /lɔk/, /thə?/.

Note, also, that the following forms seldom if ever occur raised: /nâ?/ (1), /nâ?/ (2) and /nâ/. Presumably this is because the meanings of these forms are inconsistent with any type of semantic intensification. Thus we find that the form /nâ?/ (1) signals a matter of minor importance, and /nâ?/ (2) implies some referent that is non-proximate and therefore not spotlighted – spotlighting would

require the use of /nî?/ (2) or /nîa?/ rather than /nâ?/. As for /nâ/, it signals mild and momentary impatience – a semantic value that necessarily rules out the type of intensification implied by raised contour. This form may, however, be phonologically raised in pitch a little bit to signal abruptness or hostility. But here the starting point of the falling tone cannot be higher than the mid-tone pitch level. Such pitch raising should probably be considered as a manifestation of negative or hostile emphatic stress, and not as an unusual case of raised contour (see 7.2.4.1).

7.2.2.3.3 A PROBLEMATICAL CASE OF SP RAISED CONTOUR

An interesting problem arises in connection with the raising of the form /sí/, for the semantic value of the raised form does not seem to be readily compatible with that of its unraised or lowered counterpart. The difficulty here is the fact that unraised /sí/ occurs only with action-inducement utterances, never with statements, but raised /sí/ can occur in both contexts. The possibilities may be illustrated by the following examples, where the symbol A marks unraised or lowered occurrences of /sí/, and B marks raised.

Occurrence of /sí/ with AIUs:

(151A) /ʔaw maa sí↓/
1 2
'Bring it here.' (I want to look at it.)
1,2
[Parent takes an interest in something the child has made.]

(151B) /ʔaw maa sí↑/
'Come on. Bring it here.'
[Child is bashful or reluctant, and parent seeks to encourage or perhaps hurry the child.]

Occurrence with statements:

(152A) (Lowered /sí/ does not occur with statements.)

(152B) S1 /mây phɔɔ lə̌./
1 2
'Don't you have enough?'
1 2

S2 /phɔɔ sí↑/
'Sure do!' (You'd better believe it!)
[First speaker wonders, half kiddingly, whether second speaker has enough money to pay the bill at a restaurant, and the latter responds with jovial, good-natured assurance.]

A consideration of the distribution of raised and unraised /sí/, as illustrated above, leaves one with some puzzling questions. Why does raising allow usage of /sí/ in the context of statements? Why does raised /sí/ in such contexts have no unraised counterpart? The case becomes even more puzzling when one notes that unraised /sî/ occurs in precisely those statement contexts where unraised /sí/ cannot, as for example in the following utterance:

(153) S1 /mây phɔɔ lə̌./
'Don't you have enough (money)?'

S2 /phɔɔ sî↓/
'Sure I do.'
[Here the second speaker expresses assurance, but without the more expressive jovial touch conveyed by /sí/.]

If we compare examples (153) and (152B) above, it looks very much as if /sî/ has been raised to /sî↑/. But note that /sî/ statements may also be raised to /sî↑/ to convey impatience, for example, at having to affirm or repeat something obvious. So raised falling tone obviously contrasts with raised high tone, the former expressing impatience and the latter expressing jovial, good-natured assertiveness. As a matter of fact, we find this same good-natured assertiveness expressed in other short, raised high-tone forms: /lá?/, /lé?/, /lók/, /thá?/. It appears, therefore, that raised /sí/, in the context of statements, patterns after these other raised forms.

7.2.2.4 THE CO-OCCURRENCE OF SP TONES AND CONTOURS

If one considers the range of co-occurrence of raised and lowered contours with the various tones, it turns out that most SPs and variants, whatever their tone, may occur with either contour. But there are significant gaps. For example, low tone forms occur only with lowered contour, and mid tone forms occur mostly with raised and several level high-tone forms have a tendency to occur raised rather than lowered.

TONES OF PRIMARY VARIANTS		PRIMARY VARIANTS OCCURRING WITH LOWERED CONTOUR	PRIMARY VARIANTS OCCURRING WITH RAISED CONTOUR
Low tone	2	là? lè? lòk thà?	
Mid tone	1	waa	waa
	2	la? (<*la?*)	la? (<*la?*) la? (<*là?*) lɔk thə?
	3	ŋay naa waa	maŋ ŋay naa waa si (?) sii (?)
High tone	1	cá há há? khá khráp wá wáa wóoy (?) yá	cá há há? khá khráp wá wáa wóoy yá
	2	lá? (<*la?*) lá? (<*là?*) lé? (?) lók (?) thá? (?)	lá? (<*la?*) lá? (<*là?*) lé? lók thá?
	3	hé lá láə máy ná náa ní sí	hé lá láə máŋ máy ná náa ní sí
Falling tone	1	câ hâ khâ wâ yâ	câ hâ khâ wâ yâ
	3	lâ nâ nâa nâ? (1) nâ? (2) nê nîa? nî? (1) nî? (2) sî sîi	lâ nâa nê nî? (1) nî? (2) sî sîi
Rising tone	1	cǎa khǎa	cǎa khǎa
	2	lǎ lǎə	lǎ lǎə

FIGURE E: THE CO-OCCURRENCE OF TONES AND TERMINAL CONTOURS

The details are summarised in Figure E, with lowered contour forms occurring in the left-hand column and raised in the right-hand column. Forms are also listed vertically according to tone, and in each tonal group they are further differentiated into three subgroups: those labelled '1' are speaker-addressee-relationship particles; those labelled '2' are short, level-tone non-SARP forms that end in a stop; and those labelled '3' are forms that fall outside of the first two categories.

7.2.2.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TONE AND CONTOUR

So far I have treated tone and contour as if they were completely different phenomena. And indeed, to a large extent, they are. But there is also a certain amount of blurring or overlap between the two, for there are areas of the particle system where higher and lower tones seem to signal semantic values quite similar to those signalled by raised and lowered terminal contours. In this section, therefore, I shall examine the relationship between tone and contour, pointing out areas of overlap and also areas of distinctiveness.

First the areas of overlap. And here our consideration of contours has revealed a fairly consistent pattern in which raised contours signal increased emotional involvement or ego expressiveness, whereas lowered contours signal either neutrality, or definiteness, abruptness, hostility. But we can see a rather similar pattern of differentiation between higher and lower tones. That is, when a speaker raises or lowers tones, (high, mid or low), he signals much the same kind of semantic distinctions as when he raises or lowers contour (raised or lowered). For example, the low tone forms, /là?/, /lɛ̀?/, /lɔ̀k/ and /thə̀?/, are all formal or definite, or perhaps hostile; the mid tone forms, /la?/, /lɔk/ and /thə?/, are relaxed and informal; and the high tone forms, /lá?/, /lɛ́?/, /lɔ́k/, /thə́?/ and also /sí/ (in the context of statements), signal good-natured assertiveness (see also Figure B and discussion under section 5.1.2). Similarly, /nàa/ and /wàa/ are passive or pessimistic, and in that sense negative; /naa/, /waa/ and /maŋ/ are more neutral, or at least less negative in this sense; and /náa/ and /máŋ/ are more emotionally expressive.

There is also a pattern of complementary distribution between low and mid tone forms that is particularly revealing in this regard. Low tone forms occur only with lowered contour, and their mid tone counterparts occur only with raised. So here tonal contrasts seem clearly to signal the same distinctions as contour differentiation.

Note, however, that although there is indeed an overlap between tone and contour, the overlap is only partial. Here we come to areas of distinctiveness, for, in the main, tonal variation is a separate phenomenon from terminal contour – at least as regards the two contours I have been describing. For one thing, a number of SPs occur with only one permissible tone but with two contours: *ŋay, há?, hé, máy, ní, lâ, nê, nî?*. Also, a good number of forms occur with variable tones *and* variable contours on each tone: /câ/, /cá/, /cǎa/; /khâ/, /khá/, /khǎa/; /ná/ /náa/, /nâa/; /sî/, /sí/, /sǐ/; and many others (see Figure E above). Furthermore, forms with different tonal values and the same contour share certain identical or similar semantic values. Thus forms having any of the five tones can occur with lowered contour, all to convey comparative neutrality or non-expressiveness. The same is true for a more limited range of forms representing all of the tones, all of which can occur lowered to convey annoyance or hostility (see 7.2.2.2.2). Similarly, raised contour on any tone but low can be used to convey increased emotional concern, and all but low and mid tones can be raised to signal ego expressiveness (see 7.2.2.3.2). It seems clear, then, that tone and contour are separate and distinct phenomena.

One further aspect of the behaviour of tone and contour deserves note here: the question of the direction of variation – whether upward or downward. In the case of contour change, it seems clear that the lowered contour should be considered to be the norm; the contour can then shift upward under the influence of raising, so the direction of change is from low to high. As for tonal change, there seem to be two opposite processes: a low-to-high change that may affect level-tone short-vowel forms, and a high-to-low process that may affect level-tone long-vowel forms. The starting point for the low-to-high change can be either the low tone or the mid, depending on the underlying form of the given particle. If the starting point is the low tone (as with *lòk, thə̀?* etc.), there are two possible upward tonal steps: from low to mid, conveying informality, relaxedness; and from mid to high, conveying good-natured assertiveness, but in the latter case the high tone will ordinarily have raised contour. If the starting point (as with *la?* and *maŋ*) is the mid tone, then only one upward step is possible – here conveying increased emotional involvement. In the case of /máŋ/, then, the contour will ordinarily be raised; however /lá?/ may have either contour.

The high-to-low process affects only level-tone long or specially lengthened[15] variants of SPs: /wáa/, /náa/, /khrá:p/. In each case, the form in question has already been modified from its basic underlying form by the addition of length, and (in the case of *wâ*) by tonal change. The forms /náa/ and /wáa/, then, may be lowered in two successive steps: to mid tone, to express a certain amount of emotional withdrawal or neutrality; or to low, to signal a kind of wry or humorous negativity. The form /khrá:p/ may be lowered all the way down to express passivity and perhaps a kind of deference.

7.2.3 SPECIAL PARTICLE LENGTHENING

Almost all SPs may undergo various degrees of lengthening, such lengthening being a special phenomenon that occurs over and above the ordinary phonemic lengthening that distinguishes long vowels from short. Thus short vowel forms may be lengthened slightly beyond the normal length for short vowels – and sometimes even beyond the normal length of long vowels. Long vowels may undergo various degrees of lengthening too. This special lengthening is transcribed below either by means of a single raised dot following the vowel in question (for slightly lengthened forms) or by a colon (for considerably lengthened forms): /V(V)·/ or /V(V):/.

Usually the effect of this type of lengthening is to soften an utterance, or (in the case of short vowel forms) to make it less abrupt. However, the semantic effect upon long vowels is often less obvious and more vague than upon short vowels. Also, when a form is both raised and lengthened, the semantic effect of the raising tends to overpower or obscure that of the lengthening.

In the case of short vowel forms where the form in question has a corresponding long-vowel primary-variant counterpart (for example, /ná/, /nâ/ and /sî/, which have long vowel counterparts /náa/, /nâa/ and /sîi/), the lengthened form of the former takes on something of the meaning of the long vowel variant. And the more the short vowel form is lengthened, the more fully it takes on the meaning of the long vowel form. This means, of course, that the border line between long and short vowels is fuzzy, so that there is a point where one cannot really tell whether a speaker is pronouncing a lengthened short vowel or a shortened long vowel. But at the two extremes the contrast stands. The following examples illustrate short vowel, long vowel and lengthened short-vowel usage, respectively.

(154A) /yàa maa kuan nâ./
1 2 3
'Please don't bother me.' (don't come bother)
1 2 3
(Here the utterance is mildly impatient, and there is also a sense of momentary request or persuasion.)

(154B) /...nâa./
'**Please** don't bother me.'
(Here the speaker is urging, applying pressure, with no necessary sense of impatience implied.)

(154C) /...nâ./
'**Please** don't **bother** me.'
(Here an element of impatience remains, but the impatience is softened, and a stronger element of urging, persuading, has been introduced.)

Some short vowel forms, of course, have no long vowel counterparts, so there can be no overlap between short vowel and long vowel meanings. In such cases (which include the majority of short vowel forms) the form in question can sometimes be lengthened even beyond the length of normal long vowels, and the semantic softening intensifies in proportion. But not all short vowel forms are equally subject to such lengthening.

(155) /ʔaw pay thə̀:ʔ./
1 2
'Go ahead and **take** it.'
1,2
(Softer and more gentle than /thə̀ʔ/)

(156) /pay nǎy khrá:pˆ/
1 2
'Where are you going?'
2 1
(The terminal-contour raising here conveys warmth or concern, while the lengthening expresses non-abruptness; however, the semantic value of the raising tends to overpower that of the lengthening.)

In view of examples such as the above, one might be tempted to postulate a whole set of additional long-vowel primary variants such as /thə̀əʔ/ and /khráap/. But these forms are not strictly comparable to most of the long-vowel primary variants we have already set up. The latter have more specialised or conventionalised meanings (e.g. persuasion and calling attention); furthermore some of the latter stand apart as having no short vowel counterparts (e.g. /cǎa/, /khǎa/, /naa/ and /wàa/).

All long-vowel SP forms or variants are subject to special lengthening of the kind described here. The following short vowel forms may also occur lengthened, either long or half long: /câ/, /cá/, /hâ/, /há/, /khâ/, /khá/, /lâ/ (usually also raised), /lé?/, /nî?/ (usually also raised), /lə̀k/, /lək/, /lə́k/, /thə̀?/, /thə?/, /thə́?/. Other short vowel forms (including those that have long-vowel primary-variant counterparts) may occur half long, but they ordinarily are not lengthened beyond that point. In this respect they perhaps resemble other (non-SP) forms in the language.

7.2.4 SPs AND THE PHENOMENON OF STRESS

Stress, as it occurs in the SP system, is a phenomenon, analagous to special-focus emphatic raising (see section 7.1.3), in which SPs in prepause position are pronounced with increased volume to signal various types of emphasis. Apart from such stress, SPs are ordinarily pronounced as unstressed syllables even when they occur in immediate prepause positions. In this respect they differ from most other forms in the language, which consistently occur stressed (though not necessarily with emphatic stress) in prepause position. But SPs *may* become stressed when the speaker wishes to emphasise an utterance in one way or another.

SP stress may be differentiated into two basic types (both symbolised below by means of an exclamation mark immediately preceding the stressed particle). The first is a negative or hostile stress characterised by an increase in volume, and signalling peremptoriness, hostility and the like. The second is a type of stress that characteristically accompanies raised terminal contour and signals an intensification of the meaning already associated with the raised form.

The two types of stress affecting SPs can be illustrated by a set of examples that run through the possible changes on the following sentence:

(157) /ʔaw pay hây luŋ sî./
1 2 3 4
'Take it to uncle!'
1,2 3 4
(That's the obvious thing to do under the circumstances.)
[Elder sibling speaking to younger.]

Hostile stress:

(157A) /...!sî./
(Implying 'Do it! I'm fed up with arguing about it.')

Stress with raised terminal contour:

(157B) /...!sî↑/
('Quick, I'm in a hurry. I've asked you twice already. Now get going.')
[Somewhat impatient and abrupt, but not aggressively hostile as in 157A.]

(157C) /...!sîi↑/
('Come on! Why don't you go ahead and **do** it?'
'Can't you see that this is the thing to do?')
[Slightly impatient, and also urging and persuading.]

7.2.4.1 NEGATIVE OR HOSTILE EMPHATIC STRESS

A number of SPs and variants may be pronounced with increased volume (usually accompanied by appropriate face and body movements or expressions) to convey hostility, anger, impatience, displeasure, annoyance, peremptoriness and the like.

The chief phonological characteristic of such stress is an increase in the volume with which a given SP is uttered. Pitch, for the most part, remains much the same as for unstressed forms. However, falling tone forms under conditions of hostile stress will often be raised slightly in pitch from what they would be unstressed. That is, the stressed forms will often drop from a point fairly close to the

mid-tone pitch level (but no higher), whereas the unstressed forms usually start their drop from a noticeably lower pitch level.

The semantic value of forms with hostile stress is not greatly different from that of the same forms in the context of hostile lowered contour (see 7.2.2.2.2), though the former may perhaps be a little more aggressive. But the hostility expressed by such forms is in fairly clear contrast to the impatience conveyed by the same forms when they have raised contour; the former conveys the sense of peremptoriness, while the latter conveys impatience, pressure, overcoming resistance. In other words, hostile stress of the type under consideration is like the negative, less expressive hostility described in section 7.2.2.2.2 above, and unlike the expressive kind.

It should be noted here that the slight rise in pitch often accompanying hostile stress on falling-tone forms should probably not be considered as an instance of raised contour; the slightly raised pitch contrasts with the fully raised, the former conveying the peremptory, negative type of hostility, and the latter the impatient, more expressive type. (See, for example, the contrast between 157A and 157B above.) So this latter rise in pitch should, I feel, be considered a special variant of lowered contour that is conditioned by hostile stress.

As for vowel length, we find that, except in the case of /naa/, all cases of hostile emphatic stress occur in conjunction with short vowels. It is, indeed, possible to lengthen a given short vowel slightly in the context of such stress, but when this happens the element of hostility is correspondingly lessened, and the meaning of the utterance shifts in the direction of that ordinarily conveyed by the fully lengthened form. And if the SP is pronounced with full vowel length, the element of hostility disappears altogether.

One other feature that characterises hostile emphatic stress involves the termination of forms ending in a short vowel. Here the short vowel in question will often be pronounced with a distinct terminal puff of air or /ʰ/ sound.

A quick check of the occurrence of hostile emphatic stress with various SPs and variants has revealed the following possibilities and restrictions. Almost all falling tone forms may occur with type of stress. Of high tone forms, the most typical cases are /sí/ and /ná/, both in the context of commands, but other high tone forms may also occur with hostile stress, for example /khráp/, /há?/, /wá/ and /yá/. High tone forms which rarely if ever occur in such usage include /cá/, /hé/, /lə́/, máŋ/, /lamáŋ/, /máy/, /nə́/ and /ní/. Also excluded are the high tone variants of stop-final low or mid tone forms; that is, the form /lá?/ (variant of either *la?* or *là?*) and the forms /lé?/, /lók/ and /thó?/). The raising of these high tone variants conveys good-natured assertiveness, so any negative, hostile sense is necessarily precluded in these cases. As for mid or low tone occurrence of hostile emphasis, the possibilities include all the stop-final SPs and variants, and also the form /naa/ in warnings, but no others. Rising-tone forms (i.e. /cǎa/, /khǎa/, lə̌/ and /lə̌ə/) do not usually occur with this type of stress.

7.2.4.2 STRESS AND RAISED CONTOUR

A second type of stress is found in conjunction with raised contour. In fact raised contour particles very often are pronounced with increased volume, and this volume, along with the raise in pitch, usually conveys emphasis of some kind. It should be noted, however, that although stress of this type and raised contour often overlap, they do not always do so. And this being the case, the two phenomena should be considered as separate and distinct.

The occurrence of these two phenomena with relationship to each other may be summarised as follows. Raised falling-tone SPs, whether short or long, are usually (perhaps always) pronounced with stress. So also are raised long-vowel rising-tone forms /cǎa/, /khǎa/ and probably /lə̌ə/, but the short vowel form /lə̌/ is not usually stressed. Raised mid-tone forms are probably not often stressed in this way; raised high-tone forms, however, may occur either stressed or unstressed. When such stress occurs with high-tone forms ending in a short vowel, the vowel will often be followed by a terminal /^{h}/. Stressed long-vowel high-tone forms, on the other hand, are often pronounced with an extra high pitch that drops suddenly at the end of the syllable.

The meanings of stressed raised-contour forms, whatever the tone, are much the same as those of their unstressed counterparts, except that the meaning implied by the raising is intensified in each case.

7.2.5 SPs AND TERMINAL /^{h}/

Particles or variants which end in a short vowel (but not forms ending in short vowel plus glottal stop) may sometimes be terminated with a puff of air or /^{h}/ sound. Most often this terminal puff of air is an optional secondary feature of either hostile or raised contour stress. However, this feature sometimes occurs independently of either raising or hostile stress, and when it so appears, it conveys such things as affection, gentleness, solicitude, personal interest or concern, gentle reassurance, gentle persuasiveness.

(158) /pay dûaykan máy^{h}./
1 2
'Shall we go together?' 'Do you want to go along?' ('How about it? Do say yes.')
1 2

(159) chán hěn dûay khâ^{h}./
1 2 3
'I agree.' (Implies friendly acquiescence.)
1 2,3

SPs that permit usage of this sort include the SARP forms /câ/, /cá/, /hâ/, /há/, /wâ/ and /wá/, but probably not /yâ/ or /yá/; they also include the non-SARP forms /sí/, /ná/, /lâ/ and /nê/.

8.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Having presented a fairly detailed picture of the various phenomena associated with the modifications and variations of SPs, it may be helpful, in conclusion, to provide a brief summary of the phenomena I have presented, then to take one last critical look at the question of the validity of the approach I have used, and finally to suggest a framework or perspective in terms of which SP variation can be understood.

8.1 SUMMARY OF SP FORM-VARIATION PHENOMENA

The phenomena presented in this paper may be briefly summarised in terms of the following statements.

(1) The class of SPs. There is a set of forms in Thai which may be identified as sentence particles or, more accurately, post-position sentence particles. These occur singly or in a sequence of two or more forms (perhaps as many as six); they follow the focal element in the sentence and modify the sentence as a whole. They most often occur in sentence-final position, but they also often occur medially, and usually signal some sort of relationship between a given utterance and the situational or linguistic context in which it occurs. (See sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2)

(2) Underlying forms and modifying processes. Sentence particles are subject to various types of phonological variation, and these variations may be explained by assuming that each particle has an underlying form or forms and a basic meaning or meanings, and that this underlying form may be subjected to various processes that modify its form and often also its meaning in certain ways. (See section 3.4)

(3) Phonemic specifications of underlying forms. The underlying form of each particle is phonemically specified in terms of the usual consonantal, vocalic and tonal distinctions that characterise all Thai morphemes. In particular, it is assumed that these distinctions include those of tone (one of the possible five Thai tones) and vowel length (long or short). They also include a distinction, unique to SPs, between presence or absence of terminal glottal stop following a short vowel. (See section 4.0)

(4) Primary variation. For many SPs (but not all) the underlying form may undergo a process of primary variation. This is a formal and semantic development process in which the underlying form undergoes ordinary phonemic modifications (especially change in tone and length) which signal concomitant modifications of meaning that are then added on to the basic meaning of the form in question. The resulting variant forms are termed primary variants. This process operates chiefly with SPs in prepause position, but a few SPs differentiate primary variants that occur in non-pause position. (See section 5.0)

(5) Simplification or reduction. Many SP forms or primary variants may also undergo various processes of simplification or reduction. These include automatic morphophonemic changes (loss of terminal glottal, simplification to mid tone, and tonal coalescence), and also casual-speech reduction. (See section 6.0)

(6) Other intonational modifications. SP forms and variants are also subject to modification as a result of the operation of various additional intonational processes or phenomena which affect and often focus particularly on SPs. There are many such processes, but the following are of particular relevance to the phenomenon of SP form variation.

(7) Voice register. SPs participate in and are affected by at least two voice registers: normal (no symbol) and high (symbolised by a sentence-initial upward arrow /↑/). These registers determine the general pitch level of the whole utterance in which they occur. Normal register is usually used for ordinary statements, commands and questions (especially content questions), while high register is often used to express surprise, disagreement, dismay, solicitude etc. or to signal certain types of questions. Any SP can occur in sentences of either voice register. (See section 7.2.1)

(8) Terminal contours. The final SP (or SP variant) of a sentence, or of a phrase or clause followed by a sentence-medial pause, is subject to pitch modification (usually without tone change) in the presence of one of two possible terminal pitch contours. These comprise lowered contour (symbolised by a down-pointing arrow /↓/ immediately following the terminal particle) and raised contour (upward arrow /↑/). Falling contour signals such things as emotional neutrality, abruptness or hostility, formality, passivity; raised contour signals any of a variety of types of emotional

intensification or ego expressiveness. Either voice register may occur with either contour, but there is a very natural affinity between high register and raised contour. (See section 7.2.2)

(9) Special particle lengthening. Long or short vowel particles or variants in prepause position may be subject to varying degrees of lengthening over and above the lengthening that is associated with the normal phonemic long-short vowel distinction. (This is symbolised by a raised dot for slight lengthening, or by a colon for considerable lengthening, the dot or colon being placed immediately following the vowel that has been lengthened.) The most common effect of this lengthening is to soften an utterance or make it less abrupt. Such lengthening may occur in conjunction with either voice register, or either terminal contour. (See section 7.2.3)

(10) SPs and stress. In ordinary or neutral contexts, SP forms usually appear unstressed. They may, however, be phonologically and semantically modified under the influence of either of two different types of stress. The first is a hostile stress signalled chiefly by increase in volume. The second is a stress associated with raised contour, in which the increased volume signals an intensification of the meaning already implied in the raising of the form in question. (See section 7.2.4)

(11) Terminal / ^{h}/. In prepause position, short vowel forms having no final consonant may be terminated with a puff of air or / ^{h}/. This may occur as a secondary feature of hostile emphatic stress or of raised contour; it may also occur independently, to signal such things as affection, gentleness, solicitude. (See section 7.2.5)

8.2 THE VALIDITY OF THE PRESENT APPROACH

Having considered the general range of phenomena that are involved in the occurrence of SP form variation, we are now in a better position to take one last look at the question of the validity of the approach to such variation used here. The crux of the matter is the attempt made here to deal with the phenomena in terms of underlying forms and primary variation. For the rest there is nothing particularly startling or controversial, I think, about what I have done. Concerning the behaviour of particles as it is affected by intonation in general, I have perhaps shed new light upon a number of phenomena, though I have, in the main, fitted the phenomena into a framework of voice registers and terminal contours not greatly different from that proposed by others. But when I orient my handling of the phenomena to basic assumptions about underlying forms and primary variation, I am, I think, open to criticism or disagreement.

As I see it, there are at least three things that might cast doubt on the validity of my handling of the phenomena. The first is the problem of uncertainty or arbitrariness involved in the selection of certain of my underlying forms. The second is the existence of parallel patterns of form-meaning correlation in the primary variation system as here presented. And the third is the existence of overlap between the patterns of primary variation and those of other intonational processes.

8.2.1 ARBITRARINESS WITH RESPECT TO UNDERLYING FORMS

A consideration of my treatment of underlying forms (section 4.0 above) shows that, despite all attempts to develop criteria for determining underlying forms for each SP, there remains at least a residue of arbitrariness or uncertainty as to the choice of some of the forms. How does one choose between /la?/ and /lá?/ as the underlying form of *la?*? or between /là?/ and /la?/ (for *là?*)? or between

/sî/, /si/ and /sí/? And why should /khâ/ be any better as a candidate for the underlying form than /khá/? In fact, almost every case of primary variation gives rise to at least some doubt about the underlying form – to the point that it was necessary for me to argue the case. Wouldn't it be better, then, simply to assume, as others have done, that SP forms have no underlying tone?[16]

I shall not argue the case here all over again, but it may be worthwhile to summarise the considerations that have led me to opt for the assumption of underlying forms with specified tones, despite the difficulties created by areas of doubt and arbitrariness. These considerations include the following: the fact that there are clear cases of phonemic tonal contrast; the existence of contrasting patterns of variation (that is, the fact that *la?* has no low tone variant while *là?* does); the existence of a fairly large number of particles that occur with only one tonal form; the fact that tonal variation patterns are in many cases so limited in their application; and the fact that certain variants of given particles are semantically simple while others are semantically complex.

8.2.2 PATTERNING IN THE PRIMARY VARIATION SYSTEM

An examination of what I call the primary variation system clearly shows that there are patterns of correlation between features of tone (of which there are five) or vowel length (long or short) on the one hand, and features of meaning on the other. The distinctions of meaning signalled by the variations of tone and length are clearly sublexical; that is, a given SP form may vary in tone or length and still remain the same lexeme. These variations in form signal shades of semantic differentiation that are not unique to the form in question but are paralleled in the case of other SPs. Surely, then, distinctions of tone and vowel length are here serving a very different function from that which they serve in the rest of the language. Is not this new function an intonational one? And should not these features of tone and length then be described as intonational features?

Thus far one can readily answer yes. Clearly, primary variations do constitute a special type of intonational phenomenon – one that is almost unique to the class of SPs.[17] But this does not mean that particles have no underlying tone or length, or that tone and length are completely undefined. It does not mean, either, that it is possible to take each feature of tone and length and assign to it some consistent intonational meaning; the patterns are too limited, too inconsistent and too idiosyncratic to allow for such treatment. Rather, it would appear that the ordinary phonemic features of tone and length have been pressed into the service of intonation, but their assimilation into the intonation system is incomplete. In any event, I feel that the term 'primary variation' is as good a term as any for describing this particular aspect of the SP intonation system.

8.2.3 OVERLAP BETWEEN PRIMARY VARIATION AND OTHER PROCESSES.

If one compares the various patterns observable in the primary variation system (see section 5.0) with other intonational processes, it becomes clear that there is a certain amount of overlap between the two. For example, falling and low tones have much in common, both formally and semantically, with lowered terminal contour; so does high tone with raised contour. Furthermore, long-vowel primary variants could be interpreted as signalling reduced abruptness in much the same way as does special particle lengthening.

It seems clear, therefore, that the distinction between primary variation and other intonational processes is beginning to break down at some points – but only at some points. There remain many areas where overlap is only partial, or where it is non-existent. Thus, for example, certain high tone

forms (/há?/, /khráp/ etc.) may occur not only with raised terminal contour (as one might expect) but also with lowered. And falling, mid and rising tone forms are likewise variable as to the contours with which they occur. As for vowel length, it turns out that corresponding short and long-vowel primary variants of one and the same particle are semantically related to each other in a more complex fashion than other short vowel forms are to their specially lengthened counterparts. Thus when the form /khá/, in a question, is changed to /khá:/ as a result of special lengthening, the resulting /khá:/ question has much the same semantic value as a /khá/ question, except that the former expresses greater friendliness or concern. But when the /wá/ in a question is changed to /wáa/, that question changes to a self-directed one expressing the sense, 'I wonder (what, why, whether etc.)'. And other long-vowel primary variants display the same sort of idiosyncratic behaviour. In fact many primary variant forms, whether differentiated from the underlying form with respect to tone or to vowel length or not, have meanings that move in somewhat unpredictable directions or have unexpected limitations. It would appear, therefore, that the primary variants often have special, conventionalised meanings that are not merely the product of the action of more general intonational processes. If one wishes to explain the meanings and usages of the varying SP forms, one must do it in terms not only of general intonational and semantic features, but in terms of the specific variants of each form; that is, in terms of primary variants.

8.3 A PERSPECTIVE ON SP VARIATION

When one considers the overall picture with respect to SP variation, one can hardly fail to be impressed with the complexity and variety of phenomena encountered. All sorts of different processes seem to be at work, limiting, modifying and interacting, and the result is a rather bewildering array of forms with varying degrees of potential for formal and semantic change, and varying degrees of susceptibility to patterned or idiosyncratic behaviour.

This rather confusing picture can be partially accounted for by assuming that it is in some way a product of a need for emotional expressiveness within the limits of the Thai phonemic system. The need for emotional expressiveness is, I suppose, a factor in all languages, and this need may be met in various ways, the most important being choice of vocabulary and the use of intonational devices involving pitch, length, volume etc. With tonal languages, intonational possibilities are necessarily somewhat reduced, so it is not surprising to find that many tonal languages, Thai among them, resort to a heavier use of vocabularly items such as particles to communicate some of the expressive content that other languages communicate by means of intonation. But even additional vocabulary items such as these are not in themselves able to communicate all the feelings and attitudes that need to be expressed, so these forms take on added features of intonational variability that are not ordinarily permissible with most forms in the language. That is, SPs convey emotional expressiveness not only as items of vocabulary but also as forms that are particularly susceptible to intonational variation in terms of pitch, length etc. Furthermore, some SPs turn out to be more susceptible to such intonational expressiveness than others.

Now when SPs become the vehicles of intonational expressiveness, they are still functioning within a framework of two systems that govern all speech forms in the language: the ordinary phonemic system and the general intonational system. And both systems have their effect upon SPs, but SPs also have their effect upon the two systems as these systems are brought to bear upon them.

As for the behaviour of SPs within the framework of the ordinary phonemic system, we may note that SPs vary with respect to the degree in which they are strictly limited by the system. Concerning

phonemic distinctions of tone, it is clear that some SP forms are invariable in tone while others are not, and some forms are more variable than others. That is to say, some forms are fully governed by the limitations of the tonal system, while others may, in part, break beyond these limitations. But when forms do vary in tone, they still conform to the various tonal pitch distinctions, and they retain the feature of tonal contrast in their underlying forms. Furthermore, many cases of tonal variation reflect a conventionalisation of meaning that seems to be a little more specialised or idiosyncratic than one might expect of such meanings if they were merely the product of general intonational processes apart from the interference of tonal distinctions. So we might conclude that the SP intonational-expressive system has bent the tonal system to its own use, but it has not broken it. Tones remain even in the SP system, and they continue to have their effect upon the forms and meanings of SPs.

Much the same might be said concerning SPs and the phonemic distinction between long and short vowels. For one thing, SP forms retain a reasonably clear distinction between long and short vowel forms. Some forms occur only short, and a number of forms have both short and long variants, but many forms can undergo a special lengthening that does not seem to fit the usual phonemic long-short pattern of contrast. Yet the phonemic distinction remains as a phonological phenomenon. And again, some of the long vowel variants that occur seem to have specialised, conventionalised, idiosyncratic meanings that differ somewhat from what one might expect of ordinary intonation. Once more the phonemic system has been bent but not broken.

We can say, then, that the phonemic features of tone and vowel length are carried over into the SP system and in some cases modified under the pressure of the need for intonational expressiveness. But something new is added too, in the case of the glottal stop, for here there is introduced into the SP system a type of syllable-final contrast that occurs nowhere else in the language.

As for the behaviour of SPs within the framework of the general intonational system, it would seem that SPs have in the main fitted into the system, but they have exploited its possibilities more fully than other forms in the language have done, and they have introduced a number of special features unique or almost unique to SP usage. As we have seen, SPs fit easily into the voice register system and also (though in varying ways) into the terminal contour system, but then SP usage clearly extends the range and complexity of the intonational system, particularly in the area of the terminal contours. And it has occasioned the introduction of new processes or elements into the system: primary variation, special lengthening, the terminal glottal stop contrast and the occurrence of terminal /^{h}/.

The general picture with respect to SP variation, then, is one in which SPs, especially those in sentence-final position, provide the focal point for intonational expressiveness in the language. In doing so, they interact with the ordinary phonemic system (especially with respect to tonal and vowel-length distinctions) by taking certain liberties with that system, but they do this in a highly inconsistent and variable manner, some SPs behaving in one way and others in another. Then they interact with the general intonational system by exploiting it and making use of a number of special features largely peculiar to SP occurrence. All the above factors then interact to produce the kind of variability in form and meaning that I have attempted to describe in this paper.

APPENDIX I.

KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION AND ABBREVIATIONS

Slashes and italics

Phonemic slashes /.../ are used to enclose a phonemic transcription of Thai forms cited throughout the text. Italics are used to represent the underlying form of given sentence particles.

Consonants

/p/, /t/, /c/, /k/ are voiceless, unaspirated stops, the /c/ being also affricated; /ph/, /th/, /ch/, /kh/ are their voiceless, aspirated counterparts; /b/, /d/ are voiced stops; /f/, /s/, /h/ are voiceless spirants; /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ are voiced nasals; /l/ is a voiced lateral; /r/ is a trilled or flapped, voiced retroflex; and /ʔ/ is a glottal stop.

Vowel combinations

/i/, /e/, /ɛ/ are front, unrounded vowels – high, mid and low, respectively; /ɯ/, /ə/, /a/ are central, unrounded vowels – high, mid and low; /u/, /o/, /ɔ/ are back, rounded vowels – high, mid and low. All nine vowels may be either short or long, the latter being represented by geminate symbols (/ii/, /ee/ etc.). Diphthong combinations comprise the following: /ia/, /ɯa/, /ua/; /iw/, /ew/, /eew/, ɛw/, /ɛɛw/, /aw/, /aaw/, /iaw/; and /uy/, /ooy/, /ɔy/, /ɔɔy/, /ay/, /aay/, /ɯay/, /uay/.

Tones

Mid (no symbol), low /ˋ/, falling /ˆ/, high /ˊ/, rising /ˇ/. On a scale numbered from 1 to 5 (1 being the lowest pitch level, and 5 the highest) the approximate pitch values of the five tones are 33, 22, 42, 44 and 24 respectively.

Intonation symbols

/!.../ (positioned immediately preceding some stressed form in the sentence) special-focus emphatic raising (see section 7.1.3); or SP stress (section 7.2.4).

/↑.../ (positioned sentence initial) high voice register (see 7.1.1.2 and 7.2.1). (Note that no symbol is used for normal voice register – see 7.1.1.1 and 7.2.1.)

/...↑/ (positioned following a form occurring in immediate prepause position) raised terminal contour (7.1.2.2 and 7.2.2.3).

/...↓/ (positioned following a form occurring in immediate prepause position) lowered terminal contour (7.1.2.1 and 7.2.2.2).

/ː/ (following a vowel) special particle lengthening (section 7.2.3).

/·/ (following a short vowel) half-long special particle lengthening (section 7.2.3).

Abbreviations

AIU action-inducement utterance

SARP speaker-addressee-relationship particle (section 5.1.1 et al).

SP sentence particle

APPENDIX II

ABBREVIATED GLOSSARY OF SP FORMS

This glossary has been prepared for the purpose of quick, easy reference. Meanings given are therefore very abbreviated. Primary variants of particles are listed but not defined; reduced variants are not listed. For more complete information, the reader is referred to section 2.0 of this paper. Note that the acronym SARP identifies the form in question as a speaker-addressee-relationship particle.

câ (SARP)	intimate and affectionate, used by or to women and children. Variants: /câ/,/cá/,/căa/.
dòok	correction of misapprehension (written lang.; cf. *lòk*).
hâ (SARP)	informal and friendly, female speaking. Variants: /hâ/, /há/.
há? (SARP)	informal and friendly, male speaking.
hé	light, assertive or cavalier response.
kramaŋ	tentative statement or guess (written lang.; cf. *lamaŋ, maŋ*).
khráp (SARP)	polite and somewhat formal, male speaking.
lâ	shift of focus to new but related concern.
la?	critical point now or already reached. Variants: /la?/, /lá?/.
là?	sole alternative. Variants: /là?/, /la?/, /lá?/.
lamaŋ,maŋ	tentative statement or guess. Variants: /lamaŋ/, maŋ/, /lamáŋ/, /máŋ/.
lâw	shift of focus to new but related concern (written lang.; cf. *lâ*).
lè?	sole alternative (slightly formal or definite; cf. *là?*). Variants: /lè?/, /lé?/.
lə̌	clue-derived yes/no question. Variants: /lə̌/, lə́/, /lə̌ə/.
lòk	correction of misapprehension. Variants: /lòk/, /lɔk/, /lók/.
maŋ	tentative statement or guess (free variant of *lamaŋ*). Variants: /maŋ/,/máŋ/.
máy	simple yes/no question.
mǎy	simple yes/no question (written lang.; cf. *máy*).
ná	response desired. Variants: /ná/, /náa/, /naa/, /nàa/, /nâ/, /nâa/.
nâ? (1)	matter of minor or passing importance.
nâ? (2)	non-proximate topic
nê	particular relevance to addressee.
nə́ní	involvement in shared experience.
nî? (1)	matter of striking or critical relevance.
nîa?, nî? (2)	proximate topic. Variants: /nîa?/, /nî?/, /nîi/.
nóɔ	self-directed 'I wonder' question.
nɔ̌ɔ	self-directed 'I wonder' question (written lang.; cf. *nóɔ*).
ŋay	known or rememberable referent.
rə̌	clue-derived yes/no question ('correct' speech; cf. *lə̌*).
rɔ̀k	correction of misapprehension ('correct' speech; cf. *lòk*).
rŭu	clue-derived yes/no question (written lang.; cf. *lə̌*).
sî	expectable response. Variants: /sî/, /sîi/, /si/, /sii/, /sí/.
thə̀?	desirable response. Variants: /thə̀?/, /thə?/, /thə́?/.
thə̀ət	desirable response (written lang.; cf. *thə̀?*).
wâ, wóoy, wə́əy (SARP)	unrestrained and familiar or coarse, especially male speaking to male. Variants: /wâ/,/wá/,/wáa/,/waa/,/wàa/,/wăa/,/wóoy/,/wə́əy/.

yâ (SARP)	moderately unrestrained and teasing or derogatory, chiefly female speaking. Variants: /yâ/, /yá/.

APPENDIX III

INVENTORY OF VARIANTS WITH IDENTIFICATION OF UNDERLYING SOURCES

The inventory of SP forms provided in section 2.0, and the abbreviated glossary in Appendix II are set forth in terms of the underlying forms of each of the particles listed. This means that neither primary variants (other than the underlying form itself), nor simplified or reduced forms may be found under the alphabetical listings provided. In most cases this omission presents no significant obstacle to the reader who may wish to look up the meaning or function of some SP variant encountered in the sample sentences provided, or perhaps of some form encountered in a segment of actual written or spoken language. (The variants /lɔ́k/ or /rɔ́k/, for example, can easily be traced to the underlying forms *lɔ̀k* or *rɔ̀k*, for the variants resemble their underlying forms closely enough that there can be little doubt as to their source.) However, it sometimes happens that a given variant is too unlike its underlying form to be easily recognisable. And there are cases, too, where a given variant of one underlying form may be identical to that of another underlying form. A listing of variant forms is therefore set forth in alphabetical order below, showing what the underlying source is for each variant to be encountered in the text of this work. For further information concerning primary variants, the reader is referred to sections 2.0 and 5.0, and for information concerning reduced or simplified forms to section 6.0.

In the following inventory, each of the variants to be accounted for is transcribed between phonemic slashes. Ordinarily, the underlying form from which it is derived is simply transcribed in italics immediately following the variant in question. In a number of instances, however, a variant is identified as 'red. fr.' (that is, reduced from), or as 'simp. fr.' (simplified from) the given underlying form. Also the abbreviation 'p.v.' (primary variant) is used in entries such as: /ə́/ red. fr. *lə̌* (p.v. /lə́/). This entry signifies that the variant /ə́/ is reduced from the underlying form *lə̌* by way of the intermediate primary-variant form /lə́/.

/â/	red. fr *lâ*, or *nâʔ* (2)	/háʔ/	*háʔ*.
/aʔ/	red. fr. *laʔ*, *làʔ* (p.v. /laʔ/), or *lɔ̀k* (p.v. /lɔk/).	/hɛ́/	*hɛ́*.
		/həʔ/	simp. fr. *thəʔ* (p.v. /thəʔ/).
/àʔ/	red. fr. *làʔ*, or *lɔ̀k*. See also *nâʔ* (2).[18]	/hàʔ/	simp. fr. *thəʔ*.
		/háʔ/	simp. fr. *thəʔ* (p.v. /thəʔ/).
/âʔ/	red. fr. *nâʔ* (2).	/kramaŋ/	*kramaŋ*.
/ə́/	red. fr. *lə̌* (p.v. /lə́/).	/khâ/	*khâ*.
/ə̌/	red. fr. *lə̌*.	/khá/	*khâ*.
/ə̌ə/	red. fr. *lə̌* (p.v. /lə̌ə/).	/kháa/	*khâ*.
/ɔk/	red. fr. *lɔ̀k* (p.v. /lɔk/).	/kháp/	red. fr. *khráp*.
/ɔ̀k/	red. fr. *lɔ̀k*.	/khráp/	*khráp*.
/câ/	*câ*.	/lâ/	*lâ*.
/cá/	*câ*.	/laʔ/	*laʔ*, or *làʔ*.
/cǎa/	*câ*.	/làʔ/	*làʔ*.
/dɔ̀ɔk/	*dɔ̀ɔk* (written lang.).	/láʔ/	*laʔ*, or *làʔ*.
/hâ/	*hâ*.	/lamaŋ/	*lamaŋ*.
/há/	*hâ*.	/lamáŋ/	*lamaŋ*.

/lâw/	*lâw* (written lang.).	/nîa?/	*nîa?*.
/lɛ?/	*lɛ̀?*.	/nɔ́ɔ/	*nɔ́ɔ*.
/lɛ̀?/	*lɛ̀?*.	/nɔ̌ɔ/	*nɔ̌ɔ* (written lang.)
/lɛ́?/	*lɛ̀?*.	/ŋay/	*ŋay*.
/lə́/	*lə̌*.	/ŋɛ/	simp. fr. *ŋay*.
/lə̌/	*lə̌*.	/rə́/	*rə̌*.
/lə̌ə/	*lə̌*.	/rə̌/	*rə̌*.
/lɔk/	*lɔ̀k*.	/rə̌ə/	*rə̌*.
/lɔ̀k/	*lɔ̀k*.	/rɔk/	*rɔ̀k*.
/lɔ́k/	*lɔ̀k*.	/rɔ̀k/	*rɔ̀k*.
/má/	simp. fr. *máy*.	/rɔ́k/	*rɔ̀k*.
/maŋ/	*maŋ*.	/rɯ̌ɯ/	*rɯ̌ɯ* (written lang.).
/máŋ/	*maŋ*.	/si/	*sî*.
/máy/	*máy*.	/sî/	*sî*.
/mǎy/	*mǎy* (written lang.).	/sí/	*sî*.
/mɛ́/	simp. fr. *máy*.	/sii/	*sî*.
/mŋ/	red. fr. *maŋ*.	/sîi/	*sî*.
/mŋ́/	red. fr. *maŋ* (p.v. /máŋ/).	/thə?/	*thə̀?*.
/nâ/	*ná*, or red. fr. *nâ?* (1) or *nâ?* (2).	/thə̀?/	*thə̀?*.
/ná/	*ná*.	/thə́?/	*thə̀?*.
/nâ?/	*nâ?* (1) or (2).	/thə̀ət/	*thə̀ət* (written lang.).
/naa/	*ná*.	/wâ/	*wâ*.
/nàa/	*ná*.	/wá/	*wâ*.
/nâa/	*ná*.	/waa/	*wâ*.
/náa/	*ná*.	/wàa/	*wâ*.
/nɛ̂/	*nɛ̂*.	/wáa/	*wâ*.
/nɛ́/	*nɛ́*.	/wǎa/	*wâ*.
/nî/	red. fr. *nî?* (1) or (2).	/wɤ́əy/	*wɤ́əy*.
/ní/	*ní*.	/wóoy/	*wóoy*.
/nî?/	*nî?* (1) or (2).	/yâ/	*yâ*.
/nîi/	*nîi, nî?* (1) or (2).	/yá/	*yâ*.

NOTES

1. Information concerning the transcription employed in the citation of Thai forms throughout this paper is provided in Appendix I. It should be noted here that, in transcribing the form *ná* (and all other high tone forms hereafter), I make no distinction between different types of high tones. That is to say, I disagree with the hypothesis advanced by Noss (1964) and others that there are two Thai phonemic high tones. I agree, indeed, that there is a contrast between glottalised and unglottalised high-tone forms (for example, [chán?] 'shelf' versus [chán] 'I, me'; and [náa?] 'younger maternal uncle or aunt' versus [náa], variant of the sentence particle form *ná*). But I take this contrast to be a reflection of the fact that syllable-final glottalisation (whether present or absent) behaves quite differently in the mainstream of the Thai lexicon (that is, with nouns, verbs, adverbs etc.) than in certain peripheral word classes (that is, with a few pronouns and also with sentence particles and exclamatives). This seems to be partly a matter of different possibilities of stress and intonation. Whatever the cause, the contrasting behaviour of glottal stop in the two parts of the language is clear, and this difference affects forms other than contrasting high tone forms of the type just mentioned.

For example, sentence particle forms ending in a short vowel show a clear contrast between presence and absence of terminal glottal stop, whereas mainstream forms do not (see section 4.1.3). Furthermore, open-syllable falling-tone forms show much the same kind of glottal-nonglottal contrast between mainstream and peripheral word classes as high tone forms do, for example: [nâa?] 'face' versus the particle variant [nâa]; [sîi?] 'rib' versus the particle variant [sîi]; [nêɛ?] 'certain' versus the exclamative [nêɛ]; and [thôo?] 'to be obvious' versus the exclamative [thôo]. It seems preferable, therefore, not to assume that we have two high tones *and* two falling tones. Rather, we have only one high tone and one falling, each tone varying according to whether it occurs with mainstream forms or peripheral. In mainstream occurrence, both high and falling tone are characterised by terminal glottalisation as an automatic, secondary feature of the tone, but in occurrence with peripheral forms, these tones are unglottalised. This lack of glottalisation is part of a larger pattern of presence versus absence of glottalisation that is characteristic of and peculiar to the phonological subsystem of a group of peripheral word-class forms. For a fuller discussion of the above issue see p.159, 'The problem of the sixth tone in Thai'.

2. It is perhaps worth noting that my approach to data gathering (that is, using direct questions and answers in dependence upon the judgements and intuitions of linguistically self-conscious native speakers) is at the opposite pole from that of gathering either random or controlled texts embodying unselfconscious, naturally occurring speech. The fact is that the latter approach was particularly unsuited both to my situation and to the analytical task at hand. The gathering of random natural text, on the one hand, would have required hundreds of hours of observation in a wide range of conversational situations. And it also would have demanded an immense expenditure of time and money in recording and processing raw data. This was impossible for practical reasons, and even if I could have managed it, I am not at all sure I would have succeeded in covering the necessary range of forms and usages. On the other hand, the gathering of natural but controlled text was impossible by the very nature of the task, for one cannot set up a controlled situation to elicit free, unselfconscious linguistic responses unless one has a clear and limited hypothesis to test. But here all the necessary hypotheses were still to seek; the task was inherently one in which new hypotheses were being formed, tested and discarded continually.

3. I have recorded the following example where six SPs occur in succession:

/mây hěn dûay lòk la lə́ khá nî nâ?./
1 2 3
'You mean you don't agree with this, huh?'
1 2,3

One speaker even accepts the following utterance which has eight SPs in succession, but other speakers reject the sentence as nonsensical.

/mây hěn dûay lòk nî nâ sî ná khá nî nâ?./
1 2 3
'I take it you disagree with this, hm?'
1 2,3

4. Throughout this paper, SP forms in sample sentences are cited without glosses, partly to avoid repetition, and partly because SP glosses tend to be rather clumsy and complicated. For a brief glossary of SP forms and their meanings, see Appendix II; for more detailed information, see the alphabetised inventory of SP forms and meanings provided in section 2.0.

5. In many cases it is impossible to disentangle the semantic from the grammatical functions of SPs; for one and the same form may trigger or be triggered, now by something in the linguistic context, now by something in the situational context. I therefore make no attempt in this paper to distinguish the meanings from the functions of SPs (except to recognise the sentence-modifying function of the class as a whole). In fact, I use the terms 'meaning' or 'semantic' to signify whatever it is that a given particle signals, whether that be some grammatical relationship or some bit of information about facts, feelings, reactions, expectations etc. that form a part of the situational context.

6. Note that I distinguish three different SP forms that occur with the phonemic shape /nâ/ or /nâʔ/. One, the form /nâ/, I consider to be a variant of *ná* (q.v.). Another, /nâʔ/ (1), I describe as signalling a simple or minor matter. And the third, /nâʔ/ (2), I identify as signalling non-proximate reference. I have found that Thai speakers tend to group these together as one and the same particle (see, for example, Peyasantiwong 1981:111-123). However, I find it helpful to differentiate them. The first is, I think, clearly distinct from the other two both in meaning and form: (the first one never occurs with terminal glottal stop, whereas the other two do (see section 4.1.3)). The last two are probably related, both perhaps being derived from the demonstrative pronoun /nân/, but the function and meaning of the two seem to me to be fairly distinct from each other.

7. Excluded from this discussion is a recent treatment (undated, but probably published around 1982) by Navavan Bandhumedha. This is a general work on Thai grammar, written in Thai, primarily for pedagogical purposes – for teaching Thai university students something of the basics of Thai grammar. It is essentially descriptive, pulling together and reshaping both traditional and structural treatments of Thai grammar, and providing numerous examples of the forms and sentence structures it describes, but making no attempt to set forth rigorous rules of any kind.

A section of that work (pp.72-89) deals with sentence particles; here the author briefly accounts for the forms, meanings and variants of a number of SPs, her treatment being basically arranged in terms of the functions of the various forms. In this section, then, she first describes what she terms /kham bòok maalaa/ (which I have translated as 'mood indicators'): /ná/, /sî/, /lâ/, /thàʔ/, /kramaŋ/, /rɔ̀k/, /nê/, /nîi/, /nɔ̌o/, /lɛ̀ʔ/. Here, too, she goes into some detail in describing particle variants, particularly /ná/ and /sî/, and the contexts in which each occurs. And she also deals briefly with a number of two-particle sequences involving particles in this group. Next she describes forms identified as /kham bòok kaanthăam/ (that is, 'question indicators'): /rɯ̌ɯ/ and /măy/. Also included here are a number of question phrases such as /chây măy/ and /rɯ̌ɯ plàaw/. She concludes with a brief description of a third group of particles called /kham bòok sathăanaphâap/ ('social status indicators'): /câ/, /khâ/, /yâ/ etc.

Actually, Bandhumedha's work bears some resemblance to my own (a resemblance partially explained, perhaps, by the fact that the author at one time assisted me in my work on *sî* (1979), and she was also kind enough to read and comment upon drafts of my works on *sî* (1979) and *ná* (1980), and upon the present work Thus she takes pains to differentiate a number of formal variants where such occur, and to describe the semantic values of each; and these variants turn out to be rather like what I have called primary variants. However, Bandhumedha makes no explicit use of the concept of underlying as opposed to derived forms. And she makes no attempt to pull together different but presumably semantically related functions of a given variant (for example, question versus command usage of /sî/ or of /ná/), or to form a semantic link between the different variants of a given particle, or to semantically distinguish parallel functions of different particles (for example, the command use of /sî/ as opposed to that of /ná/). Also, she cites all forms only in Thai script, thus omitting certain

phonetic details from her treatment. (Such omission is, of course, inevitable here, for the Thai script cannot reflect certain details related to tonal phenomena, as for example the occurrence of mid tone on syllables ending in a short vowel, nor can it indicate presence versus absence of terminal glottal stop in the many cases where this contrast occurs.)

8. It is perhaps worth noting one difficulty that appears in Peyasantiwong's contextual explanations of SP meanings. If one sorts through the range of contextual information she provides in describing different SPs, one finds that five different particles are all said to occur in contexts of annoyance: /lá?/, lâ?/, /nâ?/, /rɔ̀ɔk/, /ná/. And five particles are said to convey surprise: /lâ?/, /nâ?/, /ŋay/, /nîi/, /chiaw/. If we are to learn the differences between these particles, we either need more contextual details than she has provided, or else we need to know, if possible, what the particles basically mean in the first place.

9. A third form, *khráp*, is much like *há?* and *la?* in that the high tone remains constant in a whole range of contexts, not only with questions and statements, but also in a very wide variety of situations. However, there is a special low-pitch variant [khràap] which is used in contexts of passive acquiescence. This usage is so obviously unusual that one can hardly avoid the assumption that *khráp* really does have an underlying high tone, but that in very special circumstances it may be lowered in pitch, thus producing a low-tone intonational variant. In any event, the variational behaviour of *khráp* contrasts strikingly with that of *thə̀?*, *lɔ̀k* and *là?*. (For a discussion of the pitch lowering of *khráp* and other forms, see sections 7.2.2.2.2 and 7.2.2.5.)

10. Note that the particle *sî* appears to be unique in that it is the only one in which the primary variant (or morphophonemically reduced form thereof) cannot appear in non-pause position. Actually however, this appearance of uniqueness may simply be the product of analysis. If we were to assume that the underlying form is *si*, we would have no such problem. (See section 4.2.2 for a discussion of some of the problems with respect to determining the underlying form of *sî*.).

11. These patterns are, in fact, rather like those proposed by Abramson (1962), Haas (1964) and Rudaravanija (1965), but some of the terminology is my own, and I differ from each of these scholars at one point or another. Also, I view the above patterns as comprising only a few out of the many employed in the language. But the ones I deal with here are the main ones, and they are the ones that are most relevant to the intonational behaviour of SPs.

12. In an earlier paper (1979:85), I stated that the unraised falling-tone SP forms /sî/ and /sîi/ drop from mid tone or lower, and I would have said the same for other falling-tone SPs. This may indeed by true for some speakers, but I have come to the conclusion more recently that the starting point usually has to be lower than the mid tone level, for at the mid tone point the form begins to convey some of the semantic flavour of the raised form. However, if a short-vowel falling-tone particle is pronounced with hostile stress, the pitch will then begin at about the mid tone level; in this case I still consider the contour to be lowered, for hostile stress of this sort stands in contrast to normal raised contour. (See discussion, section 7.2.4.1.)

13. The form /khrà:p/ is a specially lengthened form. (For discussion of this phenomenon, see section 7.2.3.)

14. What I here term 'raised terminal contour' includes a phenomenon that I have elsewhere (1979, 1980) described simply as 'raising'. I had previously conceived of raising as a special process to which falling tones (and later also high tones) are susceptible. But here I group this 'raising' under the larger category of raised terminal contour – a process that may affect any of the tones except low.

15. Special lengthening, as exemplified by the form /khrà:p/, is here considered to be a phenomenon distinct from the lengthening seen in ordinary long vowel forms. (For a discussion of this phenomenon, see section 7.2.3.)

16. I confine my discussion here to the question of underlying tone because I consider the question of underlying glottal stop or underlying vowel length to be less problematical. The existence of underlying glottal stop seems to me to be incontrovertible. And I should think that most scholars would be content to postulate an underlying short vowel for a good many of the SP forms.

17. I say 'almost' here because there are in fact a few other forms that can vary in tone or length under certain types of intonational pressure (for example, /ʔaray/ and /ʔaráy/ 'what?', /thammay/ and /thammáy/ 'why?', and perhaps also /nîi/ and /níi/ 'this').

18. When /nâʔ/ is reduced to /âʔ/ and occurs following a falling-tone syllable it will then be subject to tonal coalescence (see 6.1.2). That is, the form /âʔ/ and the preceding falling tone form will be pronounced with a single, falling pitch contour over the two successive syllables. As a result, the form /âʔ/ will be pronounced with a very low pitch – probably indistinguishable from the low tone form /àʔ/.

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