CASES AND CLAUSES IN LAO

MARY E. HONTS

The purpose of this paper is to present a syntactic analysis of Lao at the clause level. The format and approach employed will be that used by Nguyen Dang Liem in the study *Cases, Clauses and Sentences in Vietnamese* (Liem 1975). This approach utilises the principles and methods of both tagmemics and the lexicase model of case grammar. This eclectic approach has been developed in this work and in earlier studies (Cook 1971, Liem 1971a, 1971b, 1974 and 1976, Heidi Platt 1970, and John T. Platt 1971) to provide a suitable framework for studies in contrastive analysis. Although the theoretical orientations of tagmemics and those of case grammar recognise and attempt to describe models of linguistic structure fundamentally different in many respects, the combination of their basic principles employed in this framework can provide a systematic and pedagogically useful analysis of some of the basic syntactic and semantic properties of a language for contrastive purposes. The findings of this study will be presented in two sections, the first dealing with case relations and case forms and the second with clause types and verb classes.

The tagmemic model of grammar is based on the concept that syntax is organised in hierarchical levels, and that the basic unit of analysis at each level is the tagmeme, a unit consisting of a slot and filler class. This study concentrates on the tagmemes that constitute the clause level of Lao. Current tagmemic theory, drawing upon the concepts of case grammar, recognises that the grammatical slots of this level have overt syntactic relationships (case forms) and covert semantic relationships (case relations) with the predicative verb, which is considered to be the central slot of the clause (Pike 1970 and Liem 1975). This study will attempt to define these properties for the clause tagmeme of Lao. The occurrence of Fillmore's (1968) set of case relations and case forms

along with additional case forms posited by Liem (1975 and 1976) will be assigned to clause level tagmemes in the form of syntactic features in accordance with the lexicase model of grammar (Starosta 1971a, 1971b and 1973). At the case level of analysis, the possible co-occurrences in a clause tagmeme of members of the set of case relations and the set of case forms established for Lao will first be determined. Then, clause types will be classified in terms of the case features marking their constituent tagmemes.

The data for this study was obtained through fieldwork with five native speakers of Lao. Two informants used are bilingual in English and Lao, one bilingual in Lao and Thai, and the other two basically monolingual with a limited knowledge of English. The elicitation procedure used with the bilingual speakers was to present each informant with an English sentence and request a translation of it into Lao. The procedure used with the other informants involved using an interpreter to present a situation or event to them and requesting a Lao sentence describing the situation or event from the informants. The system of transcription used in this study is that employed in the text, *Lao Basic Course*, published by the Foreign Service Institute (FSI 1970).

1. CASE FORMS AND CASE RELATIONS

1.1. *LAO CASE RELATIONS AND CASE FORMS*

Lao has the following twelve universal case relations, as defined by Fillmore (1968) and Liem (1975 and 1976).

(1) AGENTIVE (AGT) case: the actant that instigates the action.

(2) OBJECTIVE (OBJ) case: the actant whose rule in the clause is identified by the verb itself.

(3) DATIVE (DAT) case: the animate actant receiving the action or effect of the verb.

(4) BENEFACTIVE (BEN) case: the actant receiving the benefit of the verbal action.

(5) COMITATIVE (COM) case: the actant accompanying another actant in the verbal activity or state.

(6) INSTRUMENT (INS) case: the inanimate object or force causally involved in the verbal action or state.

(7) LOCATIVE (LOC) case: the actant indicating the spatial location or area of the verbal action or state.

(8) DIRECTION (DIR) case: the actant indicating the directional orientation of the verbal action or state.

(9) TIME (TIM) case: the actant indicating the temporal setting of the verbal action or state.

(10) SOURCE (SRC) case: the actant indicating the spatial or temporal point from which the verbal action began.

(11) GOAL (GOL) case: the actant indicating the spatial or temporal end point toward which the verbal action is oriented.

(12) EXTENT (EXT) case: the actant indicating the spatial or temporal extent through which the verbal action has occurred.

These case relations represent universal semantic relations holding between a predicate and its arguments within a clause in accordance with Fillmore's standard case grammar approach (Fillmore 1968 and 1971). Fillmore's principle of limiting the possible occurrences of each case to one instance per clause will be adhered to in this study for the most part. However, as Starosta (1973) has noted, this constraint seems too strong, in that more than one instance of a single case per clause can be allowed providing that the NP's marked for this case are coreferential. Therefore, in this study, coreferential NP's having the same semantic relation to the verb of the clause, will be marked with the same case relation despite their co-occurrence in the same clause.

There are ten case forms, or case realisations, into which the universal case relations are pigeon-holed. These forms are defined either in terms of position of the noun phrase relative to the verb or in terms of its occurrence with certain prepositions. Since the level of analysis is the clause level, these prepositions will not be assigned case frames as in the standard lexicase model. Only the main verb of each clause will host a case frame, which will specify both the required case relations it takes as well as the case forms with which they may co-occur. Accordingly, the entire prepositional phrase tagmeme rather than the case marking preposition will be marked for case form as well as case relation. This restriction of the level of case analysis to the clause level tagmemes has been made only to facilitate the classification and comparison of Lao clause types for pedagogical purposes. Overt case forms for tagmemes of the clause level, then, are marked by the following characteristics in Lao:

(1) NM (nominative): marked by the position immediately preceding the verb.

(2) O (objective): marked by the position immediately following the verb.

(3) D (dative): marked by the preposition hâj.

(4) B (benefactive): marked by the preposition sǎmlāp.

(5) C (comitative): marked by the preposition nám.

(6) L (locative): marked by the preposition jūū.

(7) I (instrumental): marked by the preposition dùaj.

(8) Di (directional): marked by the prepositions máa, paj, khŷm, lóŋ, wàj, ɔ̂ɔk, khâam, khâw, taam, hǎa, sāj and mýa.

(9) Sr (source): marked by the prepositions câak and tɛ̄ɛ̄.

(10) G (goal): marked by the prepositions thǎŋ and hɔ̀ɔt.

The set of prepositions functioning as case markers in Lao consists of both non-derived (intrinsic) prepositions and derived prepositions (coverbs) as defined in Kullavanijaya 1974 and Clark 1975. The derived prepositions or 'coverbs' are the dative marker hâj, the comitative marker nám, the locative marker jūū, the source marker câak, as well as the entire set of direction and goal marking prepositions. Each of these derived prepositions is derivationally related to a homophonous and synonymous verb in the language hosting the same case frame. The direction and goal marking prepositions are related to a set of adverbial particles usually occurring after an object NP as part of a transitive compound verb (FSI 1970). However, neither the verbal nor adverbial occurrence of these forms functions as a case marker. Since in the lexicase model, the syntactic category of a lexical item is determined solely by its structural position in a phrase marker, a separate lexical item must be listed in the lexicon for its occurrence in each kind of construction, unless a totally productive derivational rule can be written as a redundancy rule. Homophonous forms of different grammatical categories, but with identical syntactic-semantic features are related by lexical derivation rules. The markers listed above function as case form markers at the clause level only when marked as prepositions, or coverbs, in the lexicon enabling them to occur in construction with a noun phrase in a prepositional phrase. Therefore, the lexical items listed above must co-occur with another verb (the main verb) and immediately precede a noun phrase in a prepositional phrase tagmeme, in order to mark that tagmeme with the appropriate case form. For example, considering the sentences 1-5 below, only in the second and fifth sentences does paj function as a coverb marking a case form.

(1) láaw lɛ̄ɛ̄n paj.
[+NM]
[+OBJ]
'He ran away.'

(2) láaw lɛ̄ɛ̄n paj wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+Di]
[+OBJ] [+DIR]
'He ran to Vientiene.'

(3) láaw paj sỳy pým.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [PURPOSE]
'He went to buy books.'

(4) láaw paj wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+DIR]
'He went to Vientiene.'

(5) láaw aw pỳm paj wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+Di]
[+AGT] [+DIR]
'He took books to Vientiene.'

(6) láaw aw pỳm paj.
[+NM] [+O]
[+AGT] [+OBJ]
'He took books.'

In the first and sixth sentence paj is an adverbial particle since it is followed by no NP. In sentence #4 it is a main verb since there is no other verb in the sentence. In sentence #3 it is also a main verb, followed by an embedded purpose clause in the +O case form. The other non-derived or intrinsic prepositions, are termed as such since they are derivationally related to no other forms marked for another grammatical category. That is, they occur only in prepositional slots as paj does in sentences #2 and #5. Both types of prepositions, however, function identically as case markers with respect to the main verb of the clause.

Most studies using the lexicase model (Kullavanijaya 1974, Clark 1975 and Manley 1971) have combined the locative, source, goal, and directional case relations into a single case termed 'locative'. Fillmore (1968) determined that it was unnecessary to posit separate cases for these since their distinctions are superficial and can be accounted for by the character of the verb hosting them. Kullavanijaya (1974) and Clark (1975) characterise their differences in terms of inherent syntactic-semantic features marking locative verbs and locative case markers, classifying the latter into markers of sub-case forms. The features used in their analysis are: [±dir] - (direction of motion or action), [±gol] - (extrapolated end point of directional action), [±src] - (starting point of directional action), and [±terminus] - (actual end point of +gol action). Lexical redundancy rules establish the relationship among these features as reflected in their definitions above. In this study, however, the semantic functions grouped together in the locative case relation in the analyses mentioned will be distributed among the LOC, DIR, GOL, SRC, and EXT case relations as previously defined in order to simplify the semantic distinctions determined by these features for contrastive analysis. Likewise, the sub-case forms established by Kullavanijaya's and Clark's semantic-syntactic features will be maintained as separate case forms to more clearly

illustrate the semantic functions of their case markers. The forms distinguished here, nevertheless, can be clearly correlated with the sub-case forms in terms of features: +L - [-dir], +D] [+dir, +gol, (-ter)], +Sr - [+dir, +src], and +G - [+dir, +ter].

The definitions of the cases +SRC, +GOL, and +EXT indicate that either temporal or spatial relationships can be represented by these cases. The definition of +TIM states that a temporal relationship is inherent in this case, whereas the +LOC and +DIR cases indicate inherently spatial relationships. An examination of the possible co-occurrences of case forms and case relationships reveals that although a case form is listed as realising a particular case relation, when there is more than one case marker for that form, only a specified subset of these markers can realise a temporal or a spatial relation. These restrictions indicate the need to establish sub-case forms classified by the syntactic-semantic features [±temporal] and [±spatial]. Case markers will be assigned these features according to their ability to mark formsrealising temporal or spatial sub-case relations. The case relations +LOC, +DIR, +SRC, +GOL (since +TIM and +EXT occur only in the +O form in Lao, they will not be considered here, although this may not be true for other languages) co-occur with +L, +D, +SR, and +G markers which must be assigned these syntactic-semantic selectional features as a restriction on their co-occurrence with NP's with these semantic features.

jūū	[-tem, +spa]	taam	[-tem, +spa]
paj	[-tem, +spa]	hǎa	[+tem, +spa]
mɓ́a	[-tem, +spa]	sāj	[-tem, +spa]
khŷn	[-tem, +spa]	myɓ́	[-tem, +spa]
lɔ́ŋ	[-tem, +spa]	câak	[+tem, +spa]
wàj	[-tem, +spa]	tɛ̄ɛ̄	[+tem, +spa]
ɔ̂ɔk	[-tem, +spa]	thǎŋ	[-tem, +spa]
khâam	[-tem, +spa]	hɔ̀ɔt	[+tem, +spa]
khâw	[-tem, +spa]		

In Lao, it seems that the more general usage of prepositions, with both temporal and spatial relations, is restricted to a small set, basically +G and +SRC markers, with the exception of hǎa. It is probable that the +tem usage came about due to the metaphorical extension of the basic [+spa] usage to a limited set of case form markers in accordance with the localist theory (Anderson 1971). However, this question is far beyond the scope of this paper. The features proposed will be used only to illustrate this restriction on case marker usage. Although this restriction occurs at the phrase level, it has been briefly discussed because of its pedagogical usefulness.

There are 22 possible combinations of case relations and case forms in Lao as illustrated in the two-dimensional matrix chart below:

	NM	O	D	B	C	L	I	Di	Sr	G
AGT	1									
OBJ	2	5								
DAT	3		12							
BEN			13	14						
COM					15					
INS	4	6			16		17			
LOC		7				19				
DIR		8						20		
TIM		9								
SRC							18		21	
GOL		10								22
EXT		11								

These possible combinations of case forms and case relations can be represented in terms of features marking noun phrases that fill clause level tagmemes in accordance with the lexicase model (Starosta 1973). The following example sentences illustrate the co-occurrence of case forms and relations in Lao, as listed in the above chart.

(1) [+NM, +AGT] is hosted by transitive, agentive verbs.

(1.1) láaw sỳy naŋsỳyphím.
[+NM] [+O]
[+AGT] [+OBJ]

'He bought a newspaper.'

(2) [+NM, +OBJ] is hosted by copulative, stative, and intransitive verbs, and the submissive verb thyyk.

(2.1) láaw mēēn najmǎɔ.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+OBJ]

'He is a doctor.'

(2.2) láaw sàa lǎaj.
[+NM]
[+OBJ]

'He is very slow.'

(2.3) lá̋aw naaw lă̋aj.
[+NM]
[+OBJ]
'He is very cold.'

(2.4) lá̋aw taaj lɛ̀ɛw.
[+NM]
[+OBJ]
'He is dead already.'

(2.5) lá̋aw jūū wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+LOC]
'He lives in Vientiene.'

(2.6) lá̋aw paj wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+DIR]
'He went to Vientiene.'

(2.7) lá̋aw má̋a hɔ̀ɔt wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+Gl]
[+OBJ] [+GOL]
'He arrived in Vientiene.'

(2.8a) lá̋aw thŷyk paj.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+INS]
'He was forced to go.'

(2.8b) lá̋aw thŷyk khaw dii.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+INS]
'He was beaten by them.'

(2.8c) lō̋t lá̋aw thŷyk fá̋j mâj.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+INS]
'His car caught fire (burned).'

(2.8d) lō̋t lá̋aw thŷyk khaw lā̋k lɛ̀ɛw.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+INS]
'They stole his car.'

(3) [+NM, +DAT] is hosted by transitive dative verbs.

(3.1a) lá̋aw huùcák lá̋aw.
[+NM] [+O]
[+DAT] [+OBJ]
'He knows her.'

(3.1b) lá̋aw hùu lá̋aw paj lɛ̀ɛw.
[+NM] [+O]
[+DAT] [+OBJ]
'He knows that she went already.'

(3.1c) lǽaw jâak hâj lǽaw paj lɛ̀ɛw.
[+NM] [+O]
[+DAT] [+OBJ]
'He wanted her to go.'

Liem (1975) maintains that the combination [+NM, +LOC] occurs in the following clause type:

hôɔŋ nii naaw lǎaj.
[+NM]
[+LOC]
'This room is very cold.'

However, most studies in case grammar theory and analysis maintain that the [+OBJ] relation must be present in every clause. Therefore the features [+NM, +OBJ] will be assigned to the noun phrase above. The semantic distinction of this sentence is best marked at the word level with the syntactic-semantic feature [+location] marking the word hôɔŋ.

(4) [+NM, +INS] is hosted by transitive, agentive verbs, and by intransitive verbs with 'potent' nouns.

(4.1) mìit duaŋ nii tát sìin.
[+NM] [+O]
[+INS] [+OBJ]
'This knife cuts meat.'

(4.2) lōt nii paj wíaŋcan. (Only 'potent' nouns can occur in this slot.)
[+NM] [+O]
[+INS] [+OBJ]
'This car went to Vientiene.'

(5) [+O, +OBJ] is hosted by transitive verbs.

(5.1) lǽaw sỳy pỳm.
[+NM] [+O]
[+AGT] [+OBJ]
'He bought books.'

(5.2) lǽaw hùu lỳan nàn.
[+NM] [+O]
[+DAT] [+OBJ]
'He knows that story.'

(6) [+O, +INS] is hosted only by certain transitive verbs and by the submissive verb thyyk.

(6.1) lǽaw sàj mìit lǎaj.
[+NM] [+O]
[+AGT] [+INS]
'He used knives a lot.'

(6.2) lǽaw thŷyk khaw paj.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+INS]
'He was forced to go.'

(7) [+O, +LOC] is hosted by intransitive, locative verbs.

(7.1) láaw jūū wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+OBJ]
'He lives in Vientiene.'

(8) [+O, +DIR] is hosted by intransitive, directional verbs.

(8.1) láaw paj wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+DIR]
'He went to Vientiene.'

(9) [+O, +TIM] can be hosted by any verb, since it is a sentence level tagmeme.

(9.1) láaw paj mỳy wāān nii.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+YIM]
'He went yesterday.'

(10) [+O, +GOL] is hosted by intransitive +GOL verbs.

(10.1) láaw máa wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+GOL]
'He arrived in Vientiene.'

(11) [+O, +EXT] is hosted by any verb not marked otherwise.

(11.1) láaw paj sɔ̌ɔŋ mỳy.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+EXT]
'He went for two days.'

(11.2) láaw paj sɔ̌ɔŋ lak.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+EXT]
'He went for two miles.'

(12) [+D, +DAT] is hosted by transitive agentive verbs.

(12.1) láaw khâaj pỳm hâj khɔ̌j.
[+NM] [+O] [+D]
[+AGT] [+OBJ] [+DAT]
'He sold books to me.'

(13) [+D, +BEN] is hosted by transitive and intransitive verbs and is structurally ambiguous with sentences containing [+D, +DAT],

(13.1) láaw sỳy pỳm hâj khɔ̌j.
[+NM] [+O] [+D]
[+AGT] [+OBJ] [+BEN]
'He bought books for me.'

(13.2) lǎaw paj hâj khɔ̂j.
[+NM] [+D]
[+OBJ] [+BEN]
'He went for me.'

(14) [+B, +BEN] is hosted only by the verb mǐi wàj *'to be used'*. The meaning associated with the use of this case form is 'purpose' or 'for the use of' rather than 'for the benefit of' as in the sentences above. Consequently, the filler class of this tagmeme consists of nouns derived from verbs.

(14.1) pyyn mǐi wàj sǎmlāp njín.
[+NM] [+B]
[+OBJ] [+BEN]
'Guns are for shooting.'

(15) [+C, +COM] can occur with any verb.

(15.1) lǎaw paj nám khɔ̂j.
[+NM] [+C]
[+OBJ] [+COM]
'He went with me.'

(16) [+C, +INS] is hosted by intransitive verbs.

(16.1) lǎaw paj nám lōt.
[+NM] [+C]
[+OBJ] [+INS]
'He went by bus.'

(17) [+I, +INS] is hosted by transitive and intransitive verbs.

(17.1) lǎaw sɣy pɣ̀m dùaj laǎw ŋən.
[+NM] [+O] [+I]
[+AGT] [+OBJ] [+INS]
'He bought books with Lao money.'

(17.2) lǎaw dəənthǎaŋ dùaj khɣ̄aŋ bin.
[+NM] [+I]
[+OBJ] [+INS]
'He travels with (by means of) aeroplanes.'

(18) [+I, +SRC] is hosted by the stative verb hēt *'to be made'*.

(18.1) pɔ̄ɔ̄ŋjì̀am nìi hēt dùaj kɛ̀ɛw.
[+NM] [+I]
[+OBJ] [+SRC]
'This window is made of glass.'

(19) [+L, +LOC] is hosted by any verb.

(19.1) lǎaw sɣy pɣ̀m jūū amerika.
[+NM] [+O] [+L]
[+AGT] [+OBJ] [+LOC]
'He bought books in America.'

(20) [+Di, +DIR] is hosted by transitive verbs and by intransitive verbs when the [+D] marking prepositions or coverbs occur in a clause.

(20.1) láaw aw pỳm paj wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O] [+Di]
[+AGT] [+OBJ] [+DIR]
'He brought books to Vientiene.'

(20.2) láaw njāān paj wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+Di]
[+OBJ] [+DIR]
'He walked to Vientiene.'

(21) [+Sr, +SRC] is hosted by all verbs if it is [+tem], and by most verbs if [+spa].

(21.1) láaw máa câak amerika.
[+NM] [+Sr]
[+OBJ] [+SRC]
[-tem]
'He came from America.'

(21.2) láaw paj lèɛw tɛ̄ɛ̄ mỳy wáan nìi.
[+NM] [+Sr]
[+OBJ] [+SRC]
[+tem]
'He has been gone since yesterday.'

(22) [+G, +GOL] is hosted by all verbs if [+tem] and by most if [-tem].

(22.1) láaw paj thəŋ wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+G]
[+OBJ] [+GOL]
[-tem]
'He went to (and arrived at) Vientiene.'

There is no +E case form in Lao as in Vietnamese. The case relation +EXT is realised in the +O case form only.

(23) In addition to the case relations discussed, adjectival phrase tagmemes denoting 'manner' function like nominal case relations in respect to a clause level predicate, and seem to take case relations in the same fashion as the cases above. The [+MANNER] slot is filled with an adjective (or stative verb) phrase realised as the +O case form.

(23.1) láaw paj sàa.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+MANNER]
'He went slowly.'

Liem (1975) assigns the case-like relation [+PURPOSE] to embedded sentences forming surface purpose phrases in his analysis of Vietnamese. However, as example #14 illustrates, purpose can be conveyed in Lao by a tagmeme marked [+B, +BEN] filled with the preposition **sămlāp** and a derived noun. To be consistent in this analysis, purpose phrase tagmemes

will be marked [+BEN] when realised by the +O case form relative to the higher verb, as well. This eliminates the need to set up a separate case-like relation to account for these phrases.

láaw	paj	sỳy naŋsỳyphím.
[+NM]		[+O]
[+AGT]		[+BEN]

'He went to buy newspapers.'

1.2. The case realisations of Lao seem to have the following relative order:

			+I		+G	+L
+NM	+Verb	+O	+D	+Sr	+Di	+C

Although it is theoretically possible for all of the case forms to occur in a single clause, it does not seem likely that more than four (or five if one is sentence level rather than clause level) ever do in actual speech. Those sentences containing more than three case marked tagmemes were considered awkward by the informants and tended to be rejected in favour of sentences consisting of two or more clauses.

The occurrence of case forms is restricted to one instance per clause, generally, for either syntactic or performance reasons. There is a syntactic restriction against the co-occurrence of more than one +NM, +I, and +B slot. When two case relations are neutralised by a single case form, two occurrences of that form are allowed if they realise different relations. This occurs in Lao with the +C and +D cases.

láaw	paj	nám lōt	nám khôj.
[+NM]		[+C]	[+C]
[+OBJ]		[+INS]	[+COM]

'He went by bus with me.'

láaw	khâaw	pỳm	hâj hākhían	hâj khôj.
[+NM]		[+O]	[+D]	[+D]
[+AGT]		[+OBJ]	[+DAT]	[+BEN]

'He sold the books to the students for me.'

In both cases, however, there seem to be order restrictions requiring the case relation Fillmore classifies as 'inner' to occur before the 'outer' case relation (Fillmore 1971). In other words, the +INS and +DAT must precede the +COM and +BEN cases respectively when they take the same form within a single clause.

Also more than one 'locative' case form (+L, +Di, +Sr, +G) providing they are coreferential (inclusive)(Starosta 1971). When there is more than one occurrence of these cases, the included occurrence must precede the occurrence with more general reference.

lǎaw	sɔ̌ɔn	jūū hóoŋhǐan	jūū wǐaŋcan.
[+NM]		[+L]	[+L]
[+OBJ]		[+LOC]	[+LOC]

'He teaches at a school in Vientiene.'

When two +O case forms occur in a single clause, the second occurrence must be either the +BEN purpose clause or the +MAN adverbial.

lǎaw	khâaw	pỳm	waj.
[+NM]		[+O]	[+O]
[+AGT]		[+OBJ]	[+MAN]

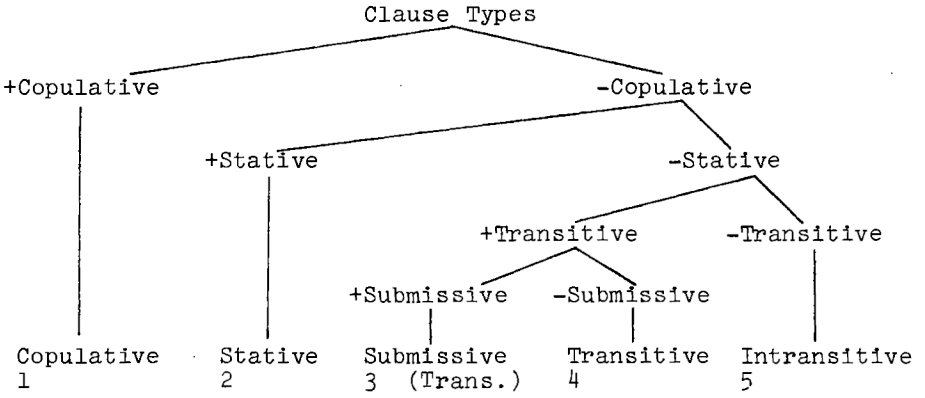
'He sells books quickly.'

lǎaw	khâaw	pỳm	sỳy kin.
[+NM]		[+O]	[+O]
[+AGT]		[+OBJ]	[+BEN]

'He sells books to buy food.'

2. CLAUSE TYPES AND VERB CLASSIFICATION

Lao clauses contain at least an obligatory nucleus predicate tagmeme and an obligatory nucleus nominative tagmeme. There are five types as classified in the chart below.



2.1. *CLAUSE TYPES*

2.1.1. Copulative Clause

[[-NM, +OBJ] [+Verb, +Copula] [+O, +OBJ]]

2.1.2. Stative Clause

[[+NM, +OBJ] [+Verb, +Stative]]

2.1.3. Submissive Clause

[[+NM, +OBJ] [+Verb, +Trans., +Submiss.] [+O, +INS]]

The [+O, +INS] in this clause type must be filled by a clause. Only one verb, thŷyk, can fill the +Verb slot.

2.1.4. Transitive Clause

```
[[+NM, +DAT]
[+NM, +AGT] [+Verb, +Trans.] [+O, +OBJ]]
[[+NM, +INS]
```

2.1.5. Intransitive Clause

[[+NM, +OBJ] [+Verb, +Trans.]]

2.2. *CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS*

The verbs of Lao can be classified into types according to the case frames they have. The case frames occurring with each group along with a few sample verbs from that group are given below.

2.2.1. mēēn *'be'*

This class consists of copula verbs. It hosts the [+NM, +OBJ] and [+O, +OBJ] tagmemic slots:

[[+NM, OBJ] _____	[+O, +OBJ]]
noun phrase	noun phrase
verb phrase	verb phrase
clause	clause
prep. phrase	prep. phrase

The [+NM, +OBJ] and [+O, +OBJ] slots must be filled by the same grammatical category, and if the category is a noun phrase, the fillers must be coreferential:

```
lǎaw   mēēn najmɔ̌ɔ
[+NM]      [+O]
[+OBJ]     [+OBJ]
[+NP]      [+NP]
```

'He is a doctor.'

```
paj   mēēn tɔ̂ɔŋ  taj.
[+VP]     [+VP]
```

'To go is to die.'

```
lǎaw  paj mēēn kwəŋ salaa kɔɔŋ lèɛw.
[+clause]      [+clause]
```

'He was intelligent to go.'

```
câak  mí paj tyyŋ hân mēēn sɔ̌ɔŋ  lak.
[+PP]                      [+PP]
```

'From here to there is two miles.'

The only other verb in this class is pen which must occur with the +NM and +O slots filled with noun phrases marked +human.

2.2.2. sàa *'slow'*

This class of verbs is stative and can be adverbialised. Its case forms contain a [+NM, +OBJ] slot and it can take an intensifier.

lá̋aw	sàa	lă̋aj.
[+NM]		[+intens.]
[+OBJ]		

'He is very slow.'

lá̋aw	paj	saa	laaj.
[+NM]		[+O]	[+intens.]
[+OBJ]		[+MAN]	

'He went very slowly.'

Other verbs in this class include waj *'fast'*, sua *'bad'*, and dii *'good'*.

2.2.3. naaw *'cold'*

The verbs in this class occur in a case frame containing [+NM, +OBJ]. They are stative and can take an intensifier, but cannot be adverbialised.

lá̋aw	nă̋aw	laaj.
[+NM]		[+intens.]
[+OBJ]		

'He is very cold.'

Other verbs in this class include diicaj *'happy'*, sā̋ā̋w *'sad'*, and khâj *'sick'*.

2.2.4. taaj *'to be dead'*

This class consists of stative verbs, hosting a [+NM, +OBJ] slot, and which cannot take an intensifier.

lá̋aw	taaj.
[+NM]	
[+OBJ]	

'He is dead.'

Also in this class are the verbs sivit *'to be alive'*, and kêət *'to be born'*.

2.2.5. thŷyk *'to be affected'*

There is only one verb in this class, which hosts [+NM, +OBJ] and [+O, +INS] tagmemes. The latter slot must be filled with a clause.

[+NM, +OBJ]	_____	[+O, +INS]
[+NP]		[+clause]

lá̋aw	thŷyk	paj.
[+NM]		[+O]
[+OBJ]		[+INS]
[+NP]		[+clause]

'He was forced to go.'

lō̋t	thŷyk	kā̋k lὲεw.
[+NM]		[+O]
[+OBJ]		[+INS]
[+NP]		[+clause]

'The car was already stolen.'

In the lesser urbanised dialects of Lao, this verb can host only an animate +NM noun like the Vietnamese submissive verbs bị and được. However, due to the influence of Western languages, particularly French, the usage of thŷyk has been extended to non-animate subjects to parallel the passive constructions found in European languages. Therefore, in Lao, the case frame for thŷyk contains a [+NM, +OBJ] slot rather than a [+NM, +DAT] slot as the Vietnamese submissive verbs bị and được.

2.2.6. sỳy *'buy'*

This class of ditransitive benefactive verbs has been the case frame [+NM, +AGT], [+O, +OBJ], and [+D, +BEN].

lá̋aw	sỳy	pỳm	hâj khôj.
[+NM]		[+O]	[+D]
[+AGT]		[+OBJ]	[+BEN]

'He bought books for me.'

2.2.7. khâaw *'sell'*

This class of verbs is characterised by the case frame consisting of the tagmemes [+NM, +AGT], [+O, +OBJ], and [+D, +DAT].

lá̋aw	khâaw	pỳm	hâj khôj.
[+NM]		[+O]	[+D]
[+AGT]		[+OBJ]	[+DAT]

'He sold books to me.'

Due to the neutralisation of the +DAT and +BEN relations in the +D case form, the above sentence is ambiguous. The phrase hâj khôj can also be marked [+D, +BEN] in a sentence with a deleted [+D, +DAT] phrase.

2.2.8. lý̋ak *'choose'*

This class of transitive verbs is characterised by the case frame [+NM, +AGT] and [+O, +OBJ], the latter of which can be complementised by an embedded copulative sentence.

khaw lýak láaw pen aw náaj.
[+NM] [+O] [+complement]
[+AGT] [+OBJ]
'They chose him to be the guide.'

The internal structure of the complement is as follows:

láaw pen aw náaj.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+OBJ]

The noun phrase subject is not present due to coreference with the higher +O noun phrase. Other verbs in this class include tu lýak *'elect'*, and pɔ̄ɔ̄n bát *'cast a vote'*.

2.2.9. kin *'eat'*

The verbs in this class host the [+NM, +AGT] and [+O, +OBJ] tagmemes, the latter of which cannot be complementised. Other verbs in this class are dyym *'drink'*, sûup *'inhale'*, and kyyn *'swallow'*.

láaw kin sìin.
[+NM] [+O]
[+AGT] [+OBJ]
'He eats meat.'

2.2.10. wāā *'say'*

This verb class hosts [+NM, +AGT] and [+O, +OBJ] tagmemes. The [+O, +OBJ] tagmeme can be filled by an embedded sentence. There is no surface clause introducer in Lao.

[+NM, +AGT] _____ [+O, +OBJ]
noun phrase
dep. clause

láaw wāā lìaŋ nìi.
[+NM] [+O]
[+AGT] [+OBJ]
'He told this story.'

láaw wāā láaw paj ɔ̂ɔk.
[+NM] [+O]
[+AGT] [+OBJ]
'He said that she went.'

Other verbs in this class are tuan *'advise'*, and byak *'tell, inform'*.

2.2.11. hùu *'know'*

This class of verbs occurs in the frame:

[[+NM, +DAT] _____ [+O, +OBJ]]
noun phrase
dep. clause

láaw hùu láaw paj lɛ̀ɛw.
[+NM] [+O]
[+DAT] [+OBJ]
[+clause]

'He knows that she already went.'

láaw hùu láaw.
[+NM] [+O]
[+DAT] [+OBJ]

'He knows her.'

Other verbs in this class are dàj njín *'hear'*, kâwcaj *'understand'*, and khīt *'think'*.

2.2.12. sáŋ *'hate'*

These verbs take the same case frame as hùu, but differ in that they can be modified by an intensifier. The [+O, +OBJ] tagmeme can be a dependent clause.

[[+NM, +DAT] (intensifier) _____ [+O, +OBJ]]
noun phrase
dep. clause

láaw lăaj sáŋ láaw.
[+NM] [+intens] [+O]
[+DAT] [+OBJ]

'He hates her a lot.'

Other verbs in this class include hāk *'love'*, iiton *'pity'*, and aaj *'shy, ashamed'*.

2.2.13. jūū *'live at, be at'*

The locative verb, juu, is the only member of this class. It can serve as a main verb or as a coverb marking the +L, locative, case form. As a main verb it hosts [+NM, +OBJ] and [+O, +LOC] tagmemes.

láaw jūū wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+LOC]

'He is in Vientiene'.

2.2.14. ôɔk *'go out'*

The verbs in this class are intransitive and are characterised by being directional and having the [+locomotion] feature. They host [+NM, +OBJ] and [+O, +DIR] tagmemes.

láaw ôɔk hôɔŋ.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+DIR]

'He went out of the room.'

These verbs are derivationally related to a set of homophonous coverbs marking the directional, +Di, case form. Other verbs in this class include lóŋ *'go down'*, khŷn *'go up'*, and khâam *'go through'*.

2.2.15. paj *'go'*

Verbs in this class host the [+NM, +OBJ] and [+O, +DIR] case frame. They are distinguished as [-locomotion].

láaw paj wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+DIR]
'He went to Vientiene.'

These verbs are derivationally related to a set of coverbs marking the +Di case form. The other verb in this class is máa *'come'*.

2.2.16. thǎŋ *'arrive'*

This class of verbs is marked by the feature [+goal], and the case frame [+NM, +OBJ] and [+O, +GOL]. The verbs in this class are derivationally related to a set of coverbs marking the +G case form.

láaw thǎŋ wíaŋcan.
[+NM] [+O]
[+OBJ] [+GOL]
'He arrived in Vientiene.'

2.2.17. There does not seem to be any verb class functioning as an existential sentence introducer similar to the Vietnamese verb có.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANDERSON, John M.

1971 *The Grammar of Case: Towards a Localistic Theory.* London: Cambridge University Press.

CLARK, Marybeth

1975 Coverbs and Case in Vietnamese. Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii, Honolulu. Published 1978 as *PL*, B-48.

FILLMORE, Charles J.

1968 'The Case for Case'. In: E. Bach and R.T. Harms, eds *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, 1-88. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

1971 'Some Problems in Case Grammar'. *Ohio State Working Papers in Linguistics* 10:245-65.

KULLAVANIJAYA, Pranee

1974 Transitive Verbs in Thai. Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii.

LIEM, Nguyen Dang

1971a 'Clause Units in English and Southeast Asian Languages in Contrast'. In: Gerhard Nickel, ed. *Papers in Contrastive Linguistics*, 157-74. Papers from the Second International Conference of Applied Linguistics, Stuttgart. London: Cambridge University Press.

1971b 'Modern Linguistic Theories and Contrastive Linguistics'. In: Gerhard Nickel and Albert Raasch, eds *Kongressberecht*

der 3 Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für angewandte Linguistik. Heidelberg: Julius Groos.

1974 Clause Units in South-East Asian Languages (Burmese, Cambodian, Cantonese, Lao, Thai, and Vietnamese)'. In: Luigi Heilmann, ed. *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguists, Bologna Florence, Aug.28-Sept.2, 1972*, 231-52. Bologna: Mulino.

1975 *Cases, Clauses and Sentences in Vietnamese*. *PL*, B-37.

1976 'Cases and Clauses in Vietnamese'. In: Philip N. Jenner, Lawrence C. Thompson and Stanley Starosta, eds. *Austronesian Studies. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication* No.13: 773-99. 2 vols. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

NGUYEN DANG LIEM *see* LIEM, Nguyen Dang

PLATT, Heidi K.

1970 A Comparative Study of English and German. Ph.D. dissertation, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria.

PLATT, John T.

1971 *Grammatical Form and Grammatical Meaning*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

STAROSTA, Stanley

1971a 'Derivation and Case in Sora Verbs'. *Indian Linguistics* 32/3:194-206.

1971b 'Lexical Derivation in a Case Grammar'. *Working Papers in Linguistics, University of Hawaii* 3/8:83-101.

1973 'The Faces of Case'. *Language Sciences* 25:1-14.

A CLASSIFICATION OF THAI CLASSIFIERS

SamAng HIRANBURANA

One area which has hardly been touched and which has always baffled a non-Thai speaker is the use of classifiers. At first impression there seems to be one classifier for each noun. My counting, which I believe is fairly extensive, reveals 75 in all, not counting those classifiers used as units in measurement of weight, distance and time, nor those referred to by U. Warotamasikkhadit (1963) as 'reduplicative classifiers', which is the use of the noun itself as its own classifier such as /myy^{1} sɔɔŋ^{5} myy^{1}/ *'two hands'*,[1] nor classifiers for the non-concrete nouns such as /wææp^{2}/ *'a flash'*, /kææk^{4}/ *'a rap'*.

The fullest account of the use of Thai classifiers can be found in Noss 1964. It is a word which occurs with a noun when a number and/or a demonstrative is also present - /buri:^{1} sɔɔŋ^{5} muan^{1}/ *'two cigarettes'* or /buri:^{2} muan^{1} ni:^{4}/ *'this cigarette'*. However, in the context where the noun is understood, the noun may be omitted, leaving its classifier to act as the head of a classifier phrase - /sɔɔŋ^{1} si:^{5} lyaŋ^{5}/ *'the yellow pack'*. Noss recognises that there are well over 200 classifiers in Thai. He groups them into four types:

1. **A unit classifier** which has a specific relationship with one or more concrete nouns.

2. **A metric classifier** which occurs in enumeration. It has no special relationship with the noun in the way that unit classifiers do but it is used for measurement of a mass noun into fixed unit or conventional contents of a container such as in /khaaw^{3} saam^{5} tcaan^{1}/ *'three platefuls of rice'*. Noss also divides the metric classifiers into five subclasses namely (1) distance and size, (2) weight, (3) container, (4) value, and (5) time.