

CAUSE AND RESULT CLAUSES FROM THE RAMKAMHAENG INSCRIPTION TO MODERN THAI

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Introduction

In this paper, we investigate the words used to express the meanings of cause and result obtaining between pairs of clauses in the Ramkhamhaeng manuscript, in the Ayudhaya, Sukhothai, and Ratanakosin periods, and in modern Thai. We identify the words we consider to have such a linking function, assign a word class to each of them based on its syntactic function, characterize the semantic contribution that each makes to the text, and give a representative syntactically analyzed sentence for each class. We discuss differences between the stages, and make proposals about what changes took place to get from the earlier stage to the later stage. The framework used in the syntactic analysis for all stages is lexibase dependency grammar.

We find that cause and result clauses are linked by various syntactic mechanisms, including clause-linking verbs, adverbs, prepositions (including 'subordinating conjunctions' as a subset), and extension and non-extension nouns, used alone or in combinations.

The following connecting words have been identified in our original data set.

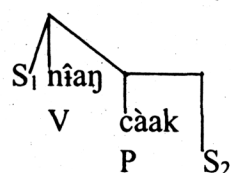
Grammatical classification of cause and result words

Verbs: Verb + preposition

nîaŋ

nîaŋ is the main verb of the sentence as a whole, and appears between two dependent sentences. The preceding sentence is the subject surrogate and the second is a situational source of the first; so 'S₁ comes from S₂'. The hypothesis that *nîaŋ* is a verb is supported by the fact that it is followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *càak* 'from', or by a directional adverb *maa* 'toward speaker' followed by *càak*.

1) Structural pattern:



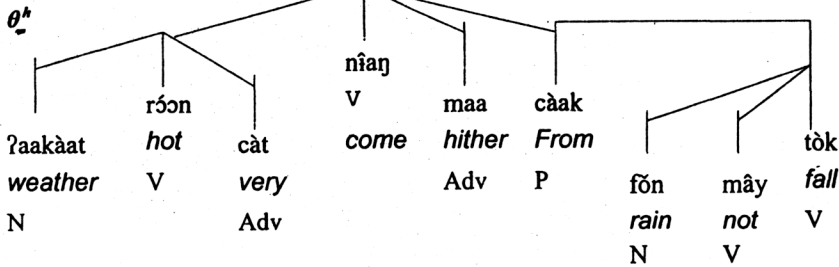
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S₁ nîaŋ
V maa cāk
 Adv P S₂

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2) Sentential example:



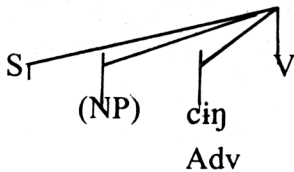
'The weather is hot due to (the cause that) it does not rain.'

Adverbs (pre-verbal)

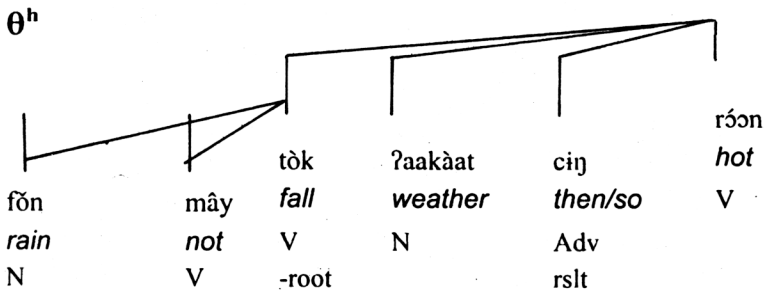
ciŋ

The adverb *ciŋ* appears between the Nominative dependent ('grammatical subject') and the root verb of the second clause of a two-clause subordinating construction. The Nom actant of the second clause is normally identical with the Nom of the preceding clause and so is commonly omitted. Syntactically, *ciŋ* indicates that the second verb is the head verb of the whole construction, even though unlike a 'complementizer' preposition, it does not occur at the boundary of either clause.

3) Structural pattern:



4) Sentential example:



'It does not rain, therefore it is hot.'

The construction is typologically different from Modern Thai in that the common position for adverbs in Modern Thai is clause-final, not pre-verbal. The clause-second position in Thai is otherwise limited to negative and tense-marking adverbs, and in Khmer only to negative adverbs. In Chinese, however (South Min *kóh*, Mandarin *jiù*), similar adverbs with almost identical functions occur in the same post-subject pre-verb position.

5) Modern Thai (θ^h)

fõn mây tòk ʔaakàat ciŋ rónn
 rain not fall weather then/so hot
 N Adv V N Adv V

It does not rain, therefore it is hot.

6) Modern Thai (Indrambarya 1994, 14a, reformatted by SS)

lèk khəy khít wâa thúk khon cà? khəy khăw
 Lek ever think that everyone will wait he
 N V V P N Adv V N

'Lek once thought that everyone would wait for her.'

7) Khmer negative adverb (KM101003f; Chhany Sak-Humphry, SS reformatting)

koat min mək meel 'nakcumnii tee
 he +ngtv come see patient +ngtv
 N Adv -trns -trns N Sprb

'He does not come to see the patient.'

8) Taiwanese clause-linking adverb kóh (TW2002H192, SS reformatting; *h* is [ʔ])

goa kóh khí patūi khòan, long khóaⁿ bô.
 I just go elsewhere seek all seek unsuccessful

'I went elsewhere to look but couldn't find any.'

9) Taiwanese clause-linking adverb kôh¹ (TW203541c2, SS reformatting)

ī tī hakhāu kôh chīn gāu thakchheh.
 he at school then very clever study

'At school he's very good at studying.'

10) Mandarin clause-linking adverb (TW203541c2, SS reformatting) &&

tā màle wǒ yídùn, wǒ jiù huíjiāle.
 she scold me a whack I just returned home

'After she scolded me, I just went home.'

kô?

kô? has the same syntactic properties as *ciŋ*. *kô?* may also be preceded by a non-clausal time expression.

As mentioned above, it is similar in shape as well as in syntactic properties to South Min Chinese *kóh*.

11) Sentential example:

θ^h



¹ BRASE, J.L.- *English Thai Dam language lessons*. Huntington Beach, CA, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1977, 77 p., reed.: 1980.

COOKE, Jr.- *Pronominal reference in Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese*. M.A. diss. University of California. Berkeley, 1965, 307 p.;

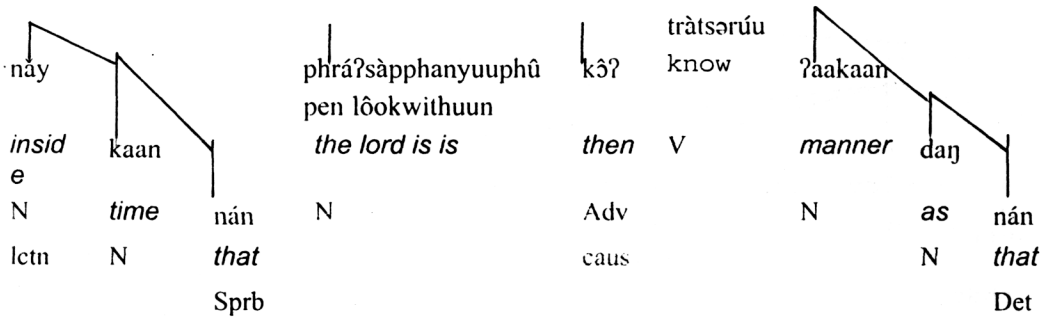
DIGUET, E.- *étude de la langue tai précédée d'une notice sur les races des hautes régions du Tonkin; Comprenant grammaire, méthode d'écriture tai et vocabulaires*. Hanoi, F. H. Schneider, 88, 2, 192, Ivp. 1895.

DONALDSON, J.- *White Tai thesaurus (Vietnam)*. SIL/UND, m.s., 1961. DON. BACCAM & JAME L.B.- *Pặp sư ep quám Tay-Táy đăm (Leôn de langue franđais-tai đăm)*.] Huntington Beach: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1978, 77p.

FIPPINGER, J and D.- *Black Tai phonemes with reference to White Tai*. An L. 1970, vol. 12, pp. 83-97.

FRAISSE, A.- *Les Phou Theng et les Thai Bo*. BSEI, 1949, pp. 51-53.

GEORGES MINOT.- *Vocabulaire français-tfi blanc et éléments de grammaire*. Hanoi, 1949.

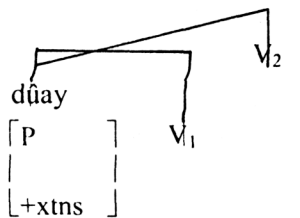


Prepositions, extension fact

dûay

The extension preposition *dûay* marks its dependent V_1 as a subordinate clause depending on the following verb.

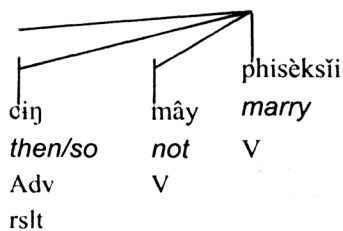
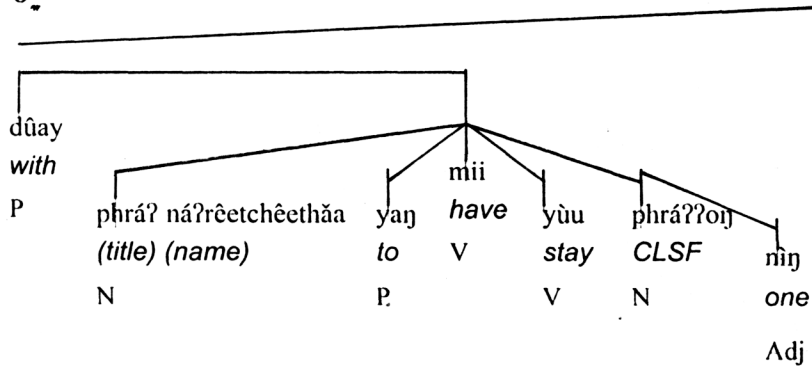
12) Structural pattern:



'given V_1 , therefore V_2 '

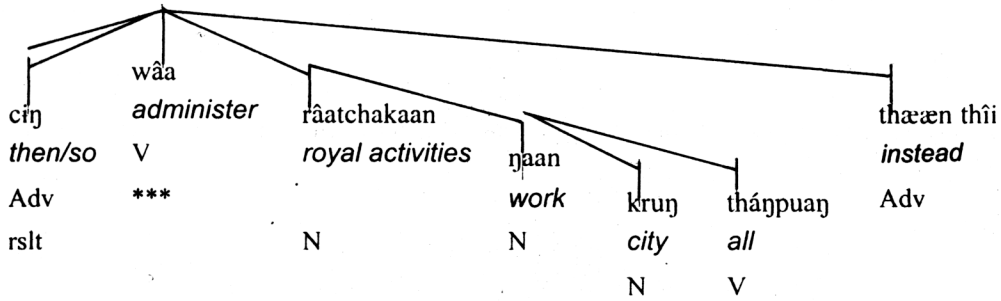
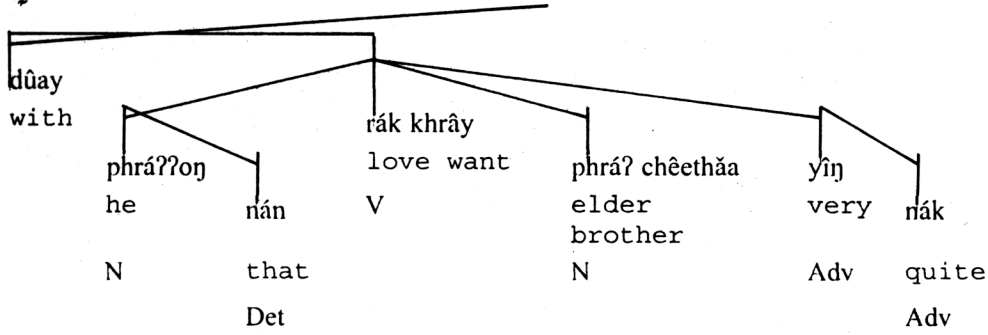
13) Sentential example:

θ^h



'Because there still was Phranaret, the brother, (he) did not get married...'

θ^h



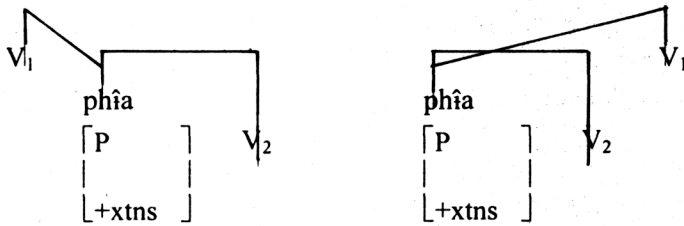
'Because he loved his brother very much, so he looked after the royal activities instead.'

'Because there still was Phranaret, the brother, (he) did not get married because he loved his brother very much so he looked after the royal activities instead.' (Ayuddhaya)

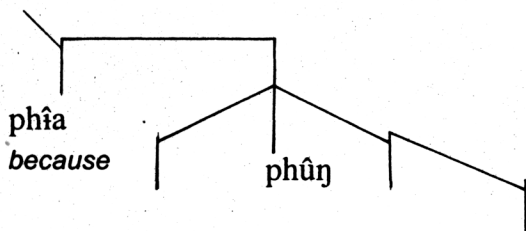
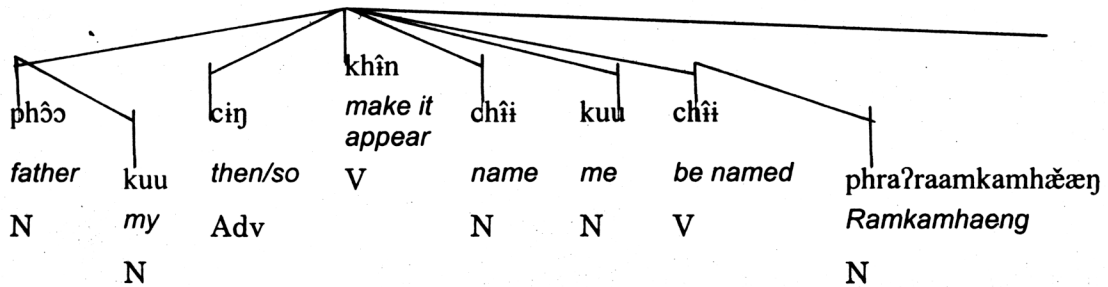
phîa

The extension preposition *phîa* in the Sukhothai period marked the subordinate V₂ and its dependents if any as a subordinate clause, a dependent of the regent of *phîa*. The *phîa* clause could either precede or follow the main verb.

14) Structural pattern:



15) Sentential example: θ^h



P kuu *drive* cháaŋ
 / V *elephant* khũn sǎamchon
 N N (*title*) *Samchon*

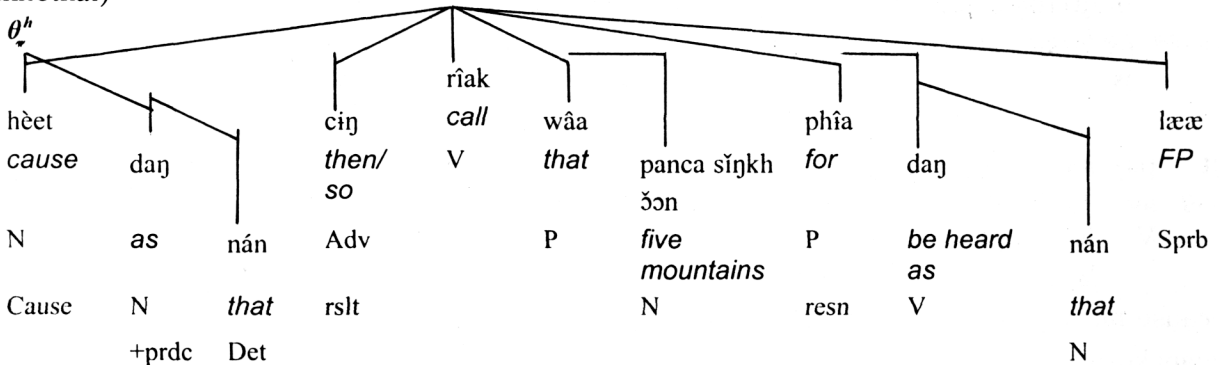
N

'My father then gave my name (Ramkamhaeng) because I fought with Khun Samchon.'

16) Sentential example: θ^h

hèet daŋ nán ciŋ ríak wáa panca sǐŋkhǒn phía daŋ nán lææ
cause as that then/so call that five mountains for be heard as that FP
 N N Det Adv V P N P P N N Sprb

'Then arrange hair into five buns the cause as such (it) is called five mountains.' (Traiphoom, Sukhothai)

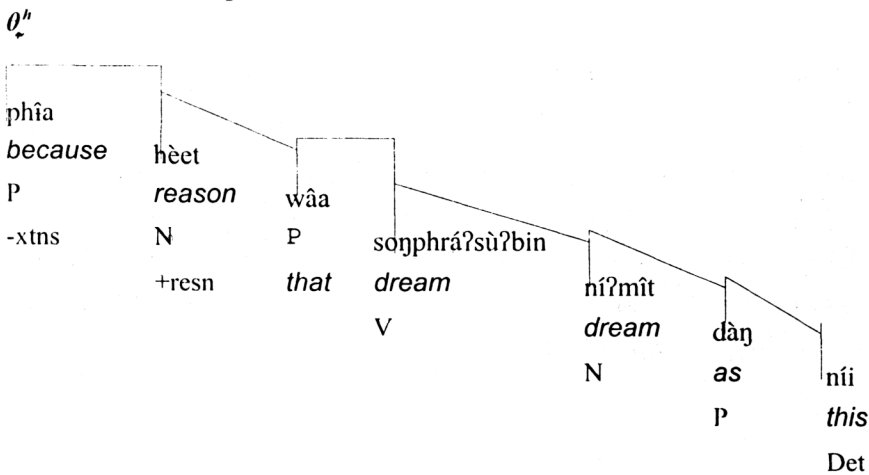


phía hèet wáa

The non-extension preposition *phía* in the Ayuddhaya period derived from the extension *phía* in the Ramkamhaeng period. However, it was semantically bleached, and required a 'complementizer noun' *hèet* plus *hèet*'s 'complementizer preposition' *wáa* to carry meaning formerly carried by the preposition *phía* alone in the Ramkamhaeng period.

17) Structural pattern:

18) Sentential example:

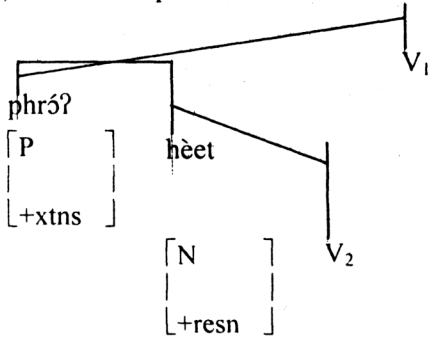


'He had dreamt so...'

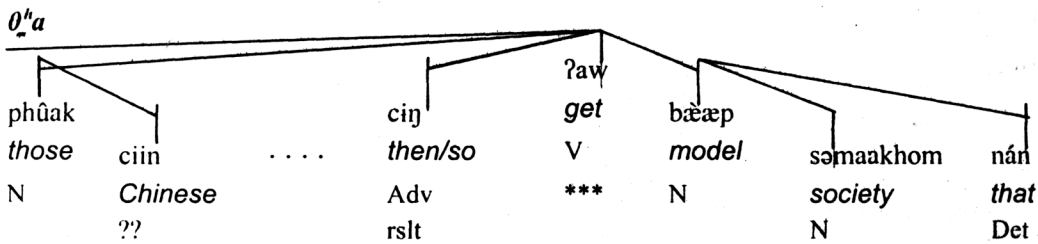
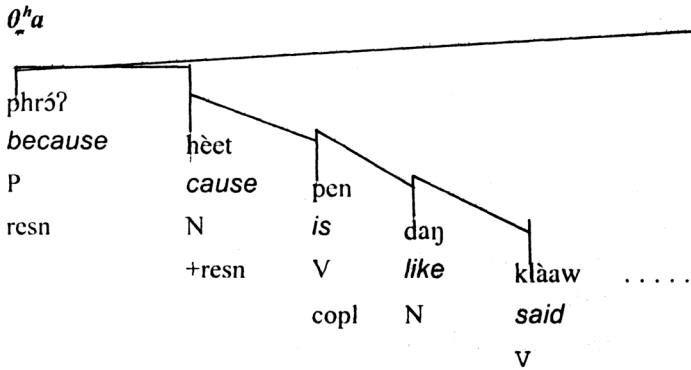
phrǒ?

The extension preposition *phrǒ?* in the Ayuddhaya and Ratanakosin periods and in modern Thai marks the subordinate V_2 as the reason for the action encoded for the main verb V_1 . Like the *phía* construction in the

21) Structural pattern:



22) Sentential example:



θ^h (Ayuddhya)

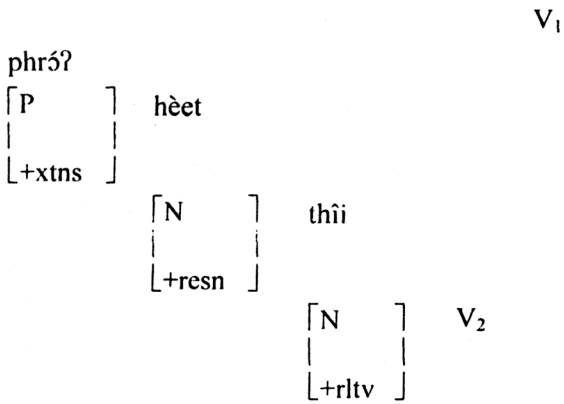
phró? hèet pen daṅ klàaw tææ nán maa phûak ciin thîi yîi năy
 because cause is as said from that hither those Chinese that live inside
 prà?thêet ?iin ciṅ ?aw bæp səmaakhom nán pay tâṅ khîn
 countries other then/so get model society that go establish up
 năy prà?thêet ?iin
 inside countries other

'The way that the Chinese set up the secret organization originally was found only in China. Then the Chinese living other countries followed the example of such society and set up the society in other countries.'

phró? hèet thîi

In modern Thai, the sentential complement of *hèet* is mediated by the relative noun *thîi*.

23) Structural pattern:



'for the reason that V₁, therefore V₂'

24) Sentential example:

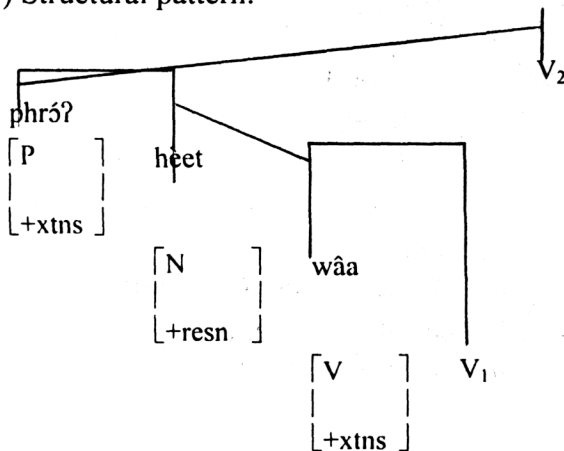
θ^h (Modern Thai)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|------------|-------------|
| phró? | hèet | thîi | fõn | mây | tòk | ?aakàat | ciŋ | rõn | càt |
| <i>for</i> | <i>reason</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>rain</i> | <i>not</i> | <i>fall</i> | <i>weather</i> | <i>then/so</i> | <i>hot</i> | <i>very</i> |
| P | N | N | N | V | V | N | Adv | V | Adv |
| | | | | | | | rslt | | |

'Because it does not rain, the weather is thus extremely warm/hot.'
or by the extension preposition wâa.

phró? hèet wâa

25) Structural pattern:



'for the reason that V₁, therefore V₂'

26) Sentential example:

θ^h (Modern Thai)

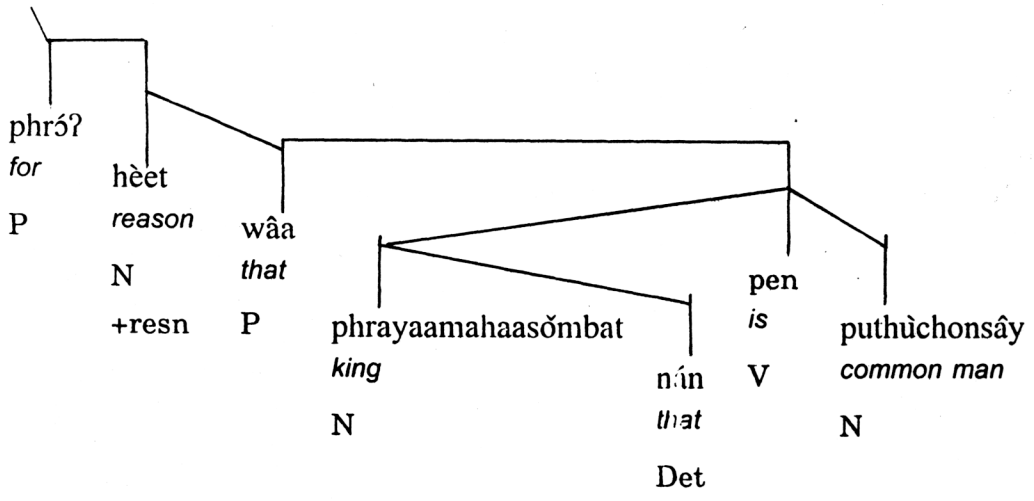
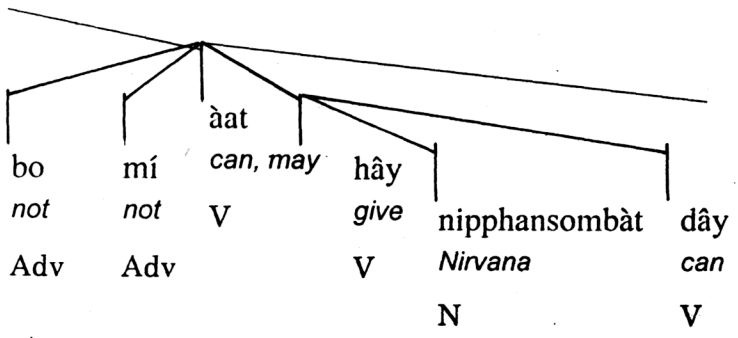
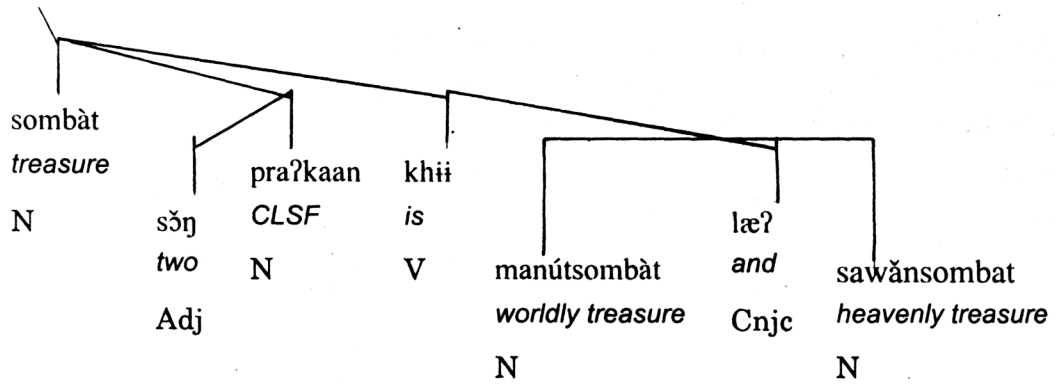
| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|------|-----|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| khăw | mây | maa | pra?chum | phró? | hèet | wâa | lúuk | khâw | roŋphayaabaan |
| <i>he</i> | <i>not</i> | <i>come</i> | <i>meeting</i> | <i>because</i> | | | <i>son</i> | <i>admitted</i> | <i>hospital</i> |

'He did not come to the meeting because his son was admitted to a hospital'.

27) Sentential example:

θ^h (Modern Thai)

| | | | | | | |
|------|---------|------------|------------------|------|------|-----|
| thâa | | | | kô? | cà? | dây |
| if | | buchaa | | then | will | get |
| P | phûudây | pay homage | phrayaamahaa | Adv | V | |
| | anyone | V | cakkaphátraatsây | | | |
| | N | | king | | | |
| | | | N | | | |

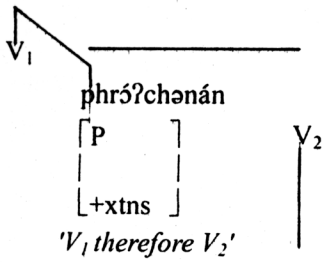


'If anyone paid homage to the king, he would get worldly and heavenly treasure but he cannot get Nirvana because the King is only a common man. (not Lord Buddha).'

phró?chánán

The Ayuddhaya period word *phró?chánán* is analyzed as a single word because the two parts are never separated. It appears only once in our initial data set. The source for *chánán* is a copula *chánán*. We tentatively analyze it as extension preposition introducing a subordinate sentence.

28) Structural pattern:



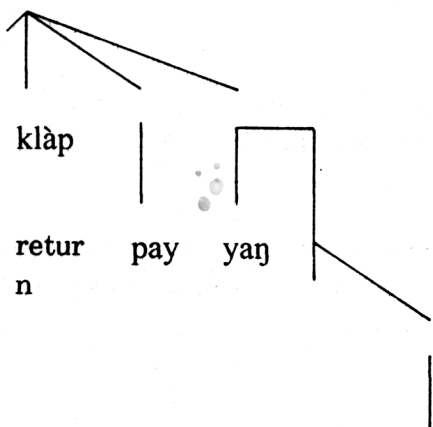
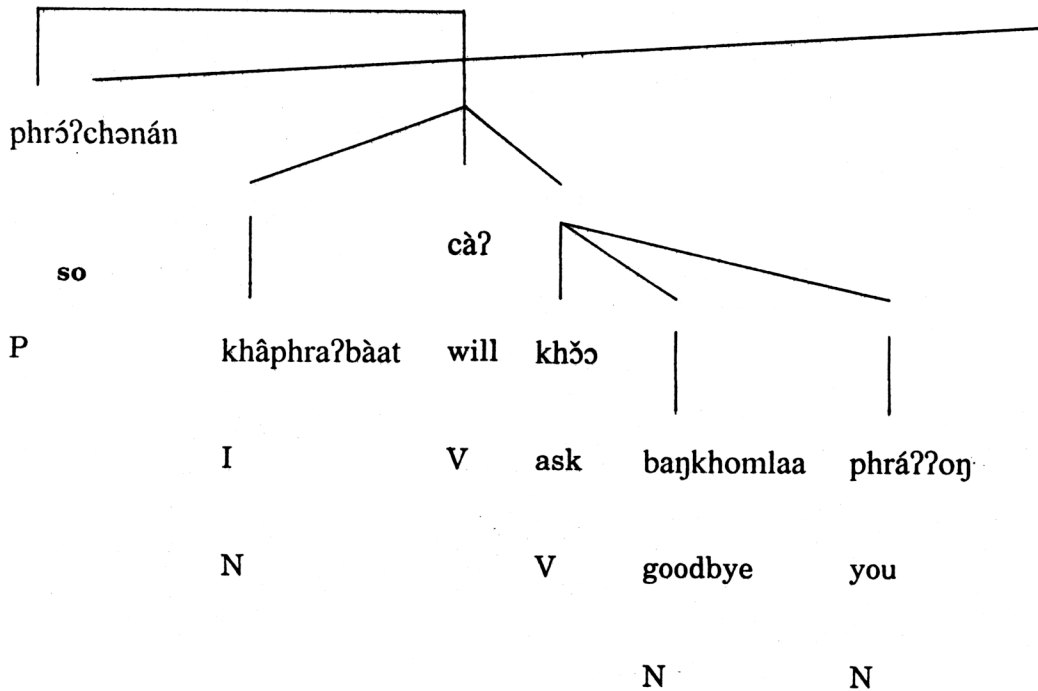
29) Sentential example:

θ^h

khăw pùay phró?chənán maa khăw ciŋ klàp pay kòon
he sick so hither he then/so return go before
 'He was sick, he therefore went home first.'

30) Sentential example:

θ^h (Ayuddhya)



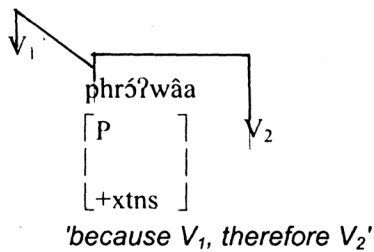
V go to mian

V P city nâak
 N naga
 N

phró?wâa

The extension preposition *phró?wâa* is transparently derived from the extension prepositions *phró?* and *wâa*. We think it is also a single word, like *phró?chánán*, because the two parts are never separated, and because Thai does not otherwise allow a sequence of two prepositions.

31) Structural pattern:



32) Sentential example:

TH0200803b (Modern Thai)

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|------|----------|------|-----|------|--------|
| ʔaakàat | rón | càt | phró?wâa | fõn | mây | tòk | læy |
| weather | hot | very | because | rain | not | fall | at all |
| N | V | Adv | P | N | V | V | Adv? |

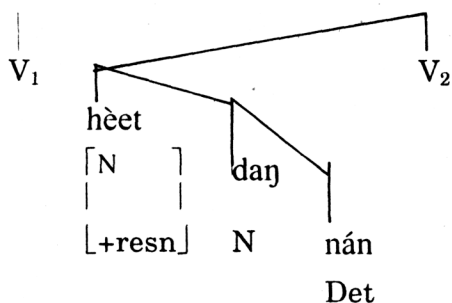
Nouns

hèet

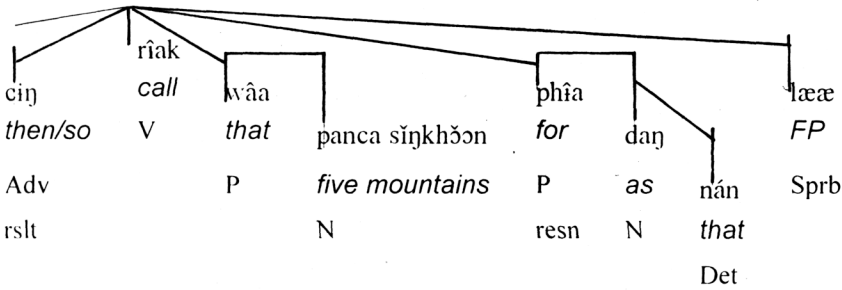
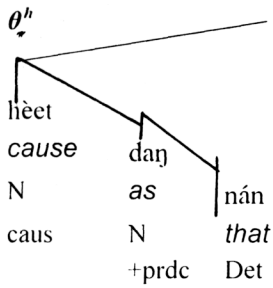
The Sukhothai reason noun *hèet* can be used to head a noun phrase functioning as the topic of a clause, with either a noun dependent (Sukhothai) or with no dependent (Ratanakosin). It encodes the reason for the event in the preceding clause.

hèet + N (Traiphoom, Sukhothai)

33) Structural pattern:



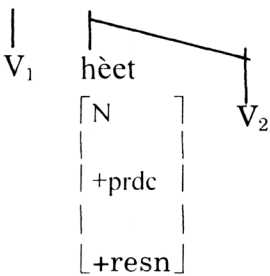
34) Sentential example:



'Cause as such (it) is called five mountains.'

hèet

35) Structural pattern:



' V_1 . The reason is V_2 .'

36) Sentential example: (θ^h , part; Ratanakosin)

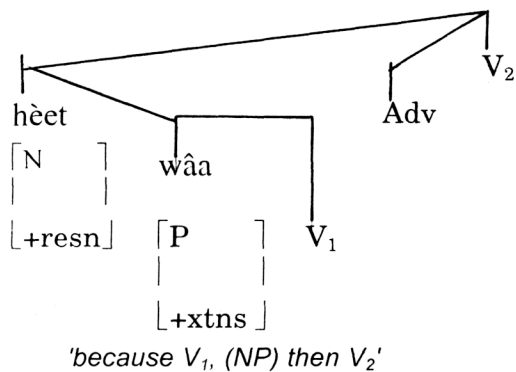
thân hây mǎy thəwiikhuun hət mí? khuan cà? kròt cà? tii
he (king) give pay for misdeed doubly cause not should will be angry will hit
 N V V Adv? N Adv V V V V V

'...he/she was ordered to pay double; the cause: he/she should not be angry with or beat the baby.'

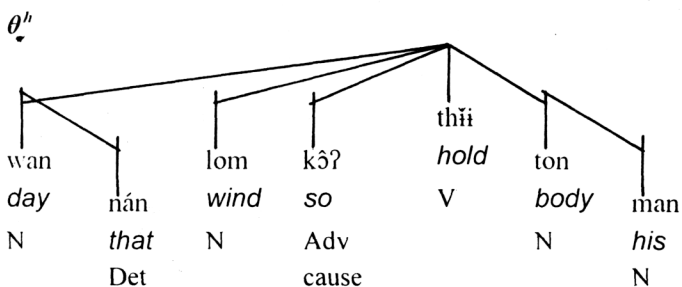
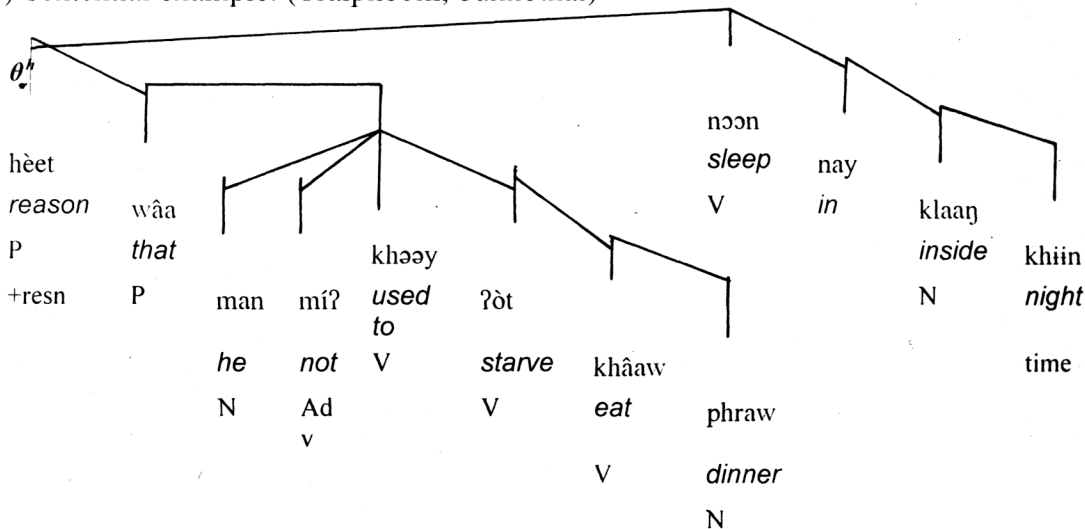
hèt wâa

The Sukhothai extension noun *hèt* with a fact complement *wâa* V_1 precedes a V_2 and means 'because V_1 , therefore V_2 '. As is normal with preposed subordinate clauses, the second clause contains a pre-verbal clause-sequence adverb, in our example *kǎ?*.

37) Structural pattern:



38) Sentential example: (Traiphoom, Sukhothai)



'Because he was not used to not eating dinner and went to bed that day he fainted.'

Tabulation of changes from the Ramkamhaeng period until Modern Thai

The three tables below display the syntactically analyzed cause/reason connectors sorted in terms of period first attested (Table 1), form (Table 2), and syntactic type (Table 3). Generalizations are made where possible about diachronic tendencies noted in the data. The following abbreviations are used:

- RKH Ramkamhaeng
- AYDD Ayuddhaya
- SKTH Sukhothai
- RTK Rama V, Ratanakosin
- MT modern Thai

Table 1. Sorted by time period first attested

| | class | environment | RKH | SKTH | AYDD | RTK | MT |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-----|------|------|-----|----|
| n̄iɑŋ | V | càak màa càak | | | | | √ |
| ciŋ | Adv | ŋom̄u | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| kôʔ | Adv | ŋom̄u | | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| dûay | P +xtns | [[v]..ciŋ..v ..ciŋ..v [[v]] | | | √ | √ | √ |
| phîa | P +xtns | [[v] v v [[v]] | √ | √ | √ | | |
| phîa | P -xtns | hèet v | | | √ | | |
| phróʔ | P +xtns | v̄ v | | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| phróʔ hèet | P -xtns | v̄ | | √ | √ | √ | |
| phróʔ hèet wâa | P -xtns | v̄ | | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| phróʔ hèet thîi | P -xtns | v̄ | | | | | √ |
| phróʔ chənán | P +xtns | v̄ | | | √ | √ | √ |
| phróʔ wâa | P +xtns | v̄ | | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| hèet | P -xtns | dan̄[ŋ] | | √ | √ | √ | |
| hèet | N +prdc +resn | khīi v̄ v̄ | | √ | √ | √ | |
| hèet | P +xtns | wâa v̄ | | √ | | | |

Semantic Characteristics and Historical Development.

In this section we will examine all linking words discussed in the previous sections in connection with their semantic characteristics and historical development. In order that we can identify the semantic characteristics of a linking word as a cause or result marker, we would like to give first the definitions of four semantic features: cause, result, purpose and reason.

1. *cause*

If x cause y, x is a necessary and sufficient condition for y. If x hadn't happened, y would not have happened, and if x happened, y had to be the result. Cause in this sense does not imply intention, but also does not exclude it.

2. *purpose*

If the purpose of x is y, it means that some animate entity A intentionally performs the action x, and A expects and wishes that performing x will bring about y.

3. *result*

If x causes y (sense 1), then y is the result of x.

4. *reason*

If x is the reason for y, it means either that

a) x causes y (sense 1) or

b) y is the purpose of x.

Cause clause markers

As can be seen from the definition, cause and result are the two sides of the same coin. The clause and result clauses must co-occur. The clause conveying a cause event is marked by any of the following cause clause markers: *phîa*, *phîa hêt*, *phró?*, *phró? hêt*, *phró? hêt wâa*, *hêt*, *hêt daŋ nán*, *nîaŋ*, *nîaŋ maa càak* and *dûay*. However, the cause clause may occur without a cause marker (see 40) below). In that case, the following result clause must carry a result clause marker. In some cases, both cause and result markers appear (see 41) below).

For example:

39) aakàat rón phró? fõn mây tòk (Modern Thai)
weather hot because rain not fall
 result cause

40) fõn mây tòk aakàat ciŋ rón (Modern Thai)
rain not fall weather therefore hot
 cause result

Besides, cause and result markers may co-occur at the same time.

41) phró? fõn mây tòk aakàat ciŋ rón
because rain not fall weather therefore hot
 cause result

From the data studied, there have been, from the Sukhothai period to the modern time, numerous cause clause markers. These markers are as follows:

phîa and its related markers

In the Ramkamhaeng inscription *phîa* was found marking the cause clause occurring after the result clause as in:

42) phôo khũn raamkamhææŋ hãa kh rây cay nay
 result
cay læ sây laaysĩ thay níi wáy laaysĩ thay ciŋ mii
 result
phîa khũn phûu nán sây wáy
 cause

(Ramkamhaeng Inscription)

'King Ramkamhaeng has the idea of establishing this Thai Alphabet, the alphabet therefore existed. This is because the king established it.'

The sequence of cause and result clauses must be noted. Logically the sequence should be in the order of cause-result in which case a cause clause needs no marker (see example 40)) or optionally used (see example 41)) but the result clause must be marked (in the examples *ciη* is used). The result clause can precede the cause clause as in examples 39) and 42). However, here there is a difference in the use of result marker. In modern times and in the Ratanakosin period the result clause preceding a cause clause can not be marked by any result marker: **aakàat ciη rǝɔn phrǝʔ fǝn mây tǝk* (cf. example 39)). In the Sukhothai and Ayuddhya periods, when a cause clause followed a result clause, the result clause was marked with *ciη* (see example (d)). The occurrence of *ciη* in a result clause which preceded the cause clause may probably be explained by the fact that *ciη* in the old days commonly marked a temporal sequence of events rather than a result event. In order to indicate *ciη* as a result clause, not a following event in a series of events, a cause clause was marked by *phîa* (See example 42)). In the Ayuddhya data, *phîa* could be accompanied by *hèet* as *phîa hèet wâa* as in :

43) *ciη tâŋ câwfáa dǝk ðiã hây pen thîi mǝhâaʔupǝràat phîa hèet wâa soŋ phrǝʔsubin nímít ðaŋ níi.* (Ayuddhya Period)

'...Therefore he pronounced Prince Dokduea the crown prince. Since he had had a dream telling him to do so.'

Since *phîa* already has the meaning of 'cause', the use of *hèet* 'cause' is only a repetition. Why was it needed? It is most probable that *phîa* is losing its meaning as cause and is gaining the new meaning of 'purpose'. In modern Thai *phîa* carries the meaning 'for the purpose of' as in this example: *mê: tham yaan nàk phîa lûuk càaʔ dâŋ rian nǝŋsǝi* 'The mother works hard so that her children will be able to go to school'. It does not indicate 'cause' any longer. The use of *hèet*, a noun meaning 'cause' in the Ayuddhya period may well prove that *phîa* was beginning to shift its meaning. In other words, during its bleaching process, *hèet* was used in company with *phîa* and later replaced it. However, *hèet* used alone or in a phrase with *ðaŋ nán* did not survive either. While *hèet ðaŋ nán* is not used in Modern Thai, *ðaŋ nán* is used as a reason marker:

44) *khǎw mây chǝɔp thǝ: ðaŋ nán khǎw kǝ lǝ:y ca mây pay*
'He does not like her therefore he is not going.'

In the late Sukhothai period, *phrǝʔ* was introduced with *hèet* as *phrǝʔ hèet* meaning 'because'. Based on the data, we see that this marker was used until the reign of King Rama V in the Ratanakosin period. In Modern Thai, either *hèet* or *phrǝʔ hèet* has become obsolete. *phrǝʔ hèet wâa* was also found in late the Sukhothai period and has been used until now, although it is found more in formal writing along with *phrǝʔ hèet thîi* which first appears in Modern Thai.

It can be concluded that for the cause clause markers, *phrǝʔ* has been used from the Sukhothai period until the present time. It was found used more with other words as a non-extension preposition in the old days. In Modern Thai, *phrǝʔ* is commonly used alone or with a complement beginning with *wâa*.

duây

In our data, *duây* was first found in the Ayuddhya period. It should be noted the

cause clause marked with *duây* must always precede the result clause which always carries the result marker *ciη*. In the Ramkamhaeng inscription, *dûay* was used as a marker of a comitative case:

45) ku tồ cháaη duây khủn sảamchon ...

'I fought on elephant back with Khun Saamchon.'

or as a manner/instrumental case:

46) ... sủan khwaam kàæ man dûay sủi

(I) investigate the case with justice.

47) ... sảnỗõn thay thản lảay hây rúu bun rúu tham ... duây rúu

(He) taught all Thais to know good and bad with (his) knowledge.

It is proposed here that *dủay* as a cause clause marker is derived from *dủay* as a case marker for manner/instrumental case relation. In Modern Thai, *dủay* is used in formal writing and is found used in a phrase as a discourse marker: *dủay hếæt day klàaw* (lit. 'with the aforementioned cause').

nỉaη

nỉaη as a marker for a cause clause is, from the data, found only in Modern Thai.

It is used followed by a preposition phrase (see *nỉaη* in 'Grammatical classification of cause and result words' above).

Result Clause Markers

From the data, there are three result cause clause markers: *ciη*, *kổ?* and *phrổ?chỏnỏn*

ciη

ciη appears in all periods and has two consistent functions. *ciη* can be used as a marker of a temporal sequence of events and as a result clause marker. With these two functions, there seems to be a reverse in priority of the function between the Sukhothai-Ayuddhya periods and the Ratanakosin and Modern Thai periods. From our data, *ciη* in the Sukhothai and Ayuddhya periods seemed to primarily convey a temporal sequence of events. Because of this, when it was to mark a result event, a cause clause marked by a cause marker *phỉa* must be used following it. (See *phỉa* and its related markers above). In the Ratanakosin and Modern Thai periods, *ciη* normally marks the result clause, although temporally it cannot be denied that a cause and a result are also in the temporal sequence of events. However, there are cases where a temporal sequence of events does not convey the result event, for example:

48) raw kin khỏaw lỏæw ciη pay nỏ:n

'We ate and then we went to bed.'

Here there is no cause-result meaning conveyed. In the following sentence, the cause-result meaning is expressed:

49) fỏn mỏy tỏk aakỏat ciη rỏỏn

'It did not rain therefore the weather is hot.'

If *mîa* 'when' is put in the sentence to convey the temporal sequence, the sentence is not very acceptable:

50) ?? *mîa fõn mây tøk ?aakàat ciŋ rón*

The temporal sequence of events is more acceptable with *kõ?* as a marker:

51) *mîa fõn mây tøk ?aakàat kõ? rón*

'When/Whenever it does not rain, the weather is hot.'

Because *ciŋ* usually marks the result clause, the following sentence is not acceptable:

52) *wâa khǎw pay lææw ciŋ sǐacay*

'Scolding him therefore I felt sorry.'

In sum, there seems to be a reverse in the priority of function with *ciŋ* in the Sukhothai-Ayuddhya periods and in the Ratanakosin and Modern Thai periods:

Ramkamhaeng-Ayuddhya: 1. temporal sequence of events marker
2. result marker

Ratanakosin-Modern Thai: 1. result marker
2. temporal sequence of events marker

kõ?

Similar to *ciŋ*, *kõ?* has been found from the Sukhothai period up until the present time. Also like *ciŋ*, it may mark a temporal sequence of events and a result event, although *kõ?* is used more to mark the following event in a sequence of events, as can be seen from 51) above or in 52) if *kõ?* is used instead of *ciŋ*, the sentence is quite acceptable: *wâa khǎw pay lææw kõ? sǐacay*. 'After scolding him (I) felt sorry'.

phrõ?chənan

phrõ?chənan was found first in Ayuddhya period and has been used until now to mark a result event. From its form, it may be hypothesized that *phrõ?chənan* is derived from a phrase: *phrõ? chən nán* which literally means '(The) cause (is) like that'. The destressing of *chən* makes it become *chə* and turns the construction into a one unit word meaning 'therefore', marking a result event. It is interesting to see that with *chənan* after *phrõ?*, the cause marker *phrõ?* has transformed into a result marker.

It can be pointed out in conclusion that between cause clause markers and result clause markers, the markers for cause seem to appear first. This is because the markers for a result event: *ciŋ*, *kõ?* seem to mark temporal events first. Besides, it should be noted that although there are several cause clause markers, most of them are extended from *phrõ?* and *phîa*. Lastly, the fact that *phîa* has shifted to mark purpose explains the close semantic relation between cause and purpose.

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TIẾP CẬN NGỮ PHÁP KHMER THEO QUAN ĐIỂM NGỮ NGHĨA LÔ GÍCH: PHẠM TRÙ SỐ

Pogibenko Tamara

Mặc dù trong tiếng Khmer không phải tất cả các ngữ đoạn danh từ (NP) có danh từ chung ở vị trí hạt nhân đều được đánh dấu về số trong câu, nhưng các quy tắc đánh dấu cũng có tính bắt buộc không kém gì trong những ngôn ngữ mà ý nghĩa về số được ngữ pháp hóa. Tuy nhiên các quy tắc này được công thức hoá nhờ những từ và phù hợp hơn với cấu trúc lô gích của câu nói. Cách biểu hiện ý nghĩa về số trong tiếng Khmer khiến ta phải trở lại với các giai đoạn khởi đầu của quá trình ngữ pháp hóa khi mà những biểu thức chỉ ý nghĩa về số có liên quan đến việc biểu hiện sở chỉ nhiều hơn là với việc biểu hiện về lượng. Tính chất phổ quát của quá trình ngữ pháp hóa về ý nghĩa số có liên hệ với hiện tượng bí ẩn của ngôn ngữ tự nhiên. Đó là bản chất có tính nhị nguyên của danh từ chung. Tính nhị nguyên này bị che mờ đi về mặt cấu trúc trong các ngôn ngữ mà ý niệm về số được hoàn toàn ngữ pháp hóa và được thể hiện sáng rõ trong các ngôn ngữ như tiếng Khmer.

Trong tiếng Khmer chính loại hình chức năng của cách miêu tả (chẳng hạn NP có danh từ chung đứng ở vị trí trung tâm), quyết định các quy tắc đánh dấu số. Các biểu thức số *có tính bắt buộc* trong các ngữ đoạn miêu tả dẫn nhập. Đây là những NP có sở chỉ dẫn nhập những đối tượng cá biệt vào diễn ngôn. Như vậy, chức năng ngữ pháp của chúng có phần gần gũi hơn với định ngữ và thực ra ở vị trí này chúng là đồng chức năng với các kiểu định ngữ khác. Trong *những ngữ đoạn miêu tả đồng nhất*, tức là các NP là cách gọi tên thứ hai của cùng đối tượng ấy, thì các biểu thức số lại có hồi chỉ zero. *Những ngữ đoạn miêu tả có vị ngữ tính* và *những ngữ đoạn miêu tả không có sở chỉ* thì nói chung không được đánh dấu về số trong tiếng Khmer.

Những nhân tố ngữ nghĩa lô gích không chỉ một mình chúng là có thể xác định kiểu loại chức năng của NP, mà cả các nhân tố ngữ dụng cũng cần được chú ý đến: thái độ của người nói và mục đích của cuộc giao tiếp có thể ảnh hưởng đến sự quy thuộc "kẻ tham gia / kẻ không tham gia" của NP đặc biệt.

Có những trường hợp mà các nhân tố ngữ nghĩa lô gích và ngữ dụng xung khắc nhau. Tình trạng này xảy ra khi các NP có vị từ tính hoặc không quy chiếu bao chứa cả yếu tố hạn định là yếu tố chỉ rõ giá trị ngữ nghĩa vốn vẫn thường đòi hỏi phải có NP quy chiếu để bổ khuyết cho nó. Những NP kiểu ấy bắt buộc phải được đánh dấu về ý nghĩa số; như vậy khi nhìn ở mặt nổi thì NP không quy chiếu được đánh dấu như là NP có quy chiếu.