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PREFACE

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

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

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

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 Purpose and Method

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

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

0.2 Scope

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

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

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

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

0.3. Sources

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

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

1. Mr. Han Ditkum, student at Royal Military Academy, Bangkok, 1951-52 (CP, Ayuthya Province)
2. Miss Chaluay Kanchanagama, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 1951-52 (ST)
3. Mr. Chote Raktiprakara, graduate student, Yale University, New Haven, 1953-54 (ST)
5. Mrs. Churee Indanyom, employee of AUA Language Center, Bangkok, 1961 (ST)
6. Mr. Prasert Crupiti, instructor, FSI Language School, Washington, 1962-63 (CP, Chantaburi Province, and ST)
7. Miss Chotchoi Kambhu, instructor, FSI Language School, Washington, 1962-63 (ST)

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

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

PHONOLOGY

1.1. Background

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

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

1.2. Summary

1.2.1. Phonological Units

Within the ST utterance, the following phonologically significant subdivisions occur: the clause, the phrase, and the syllable. Clauses are characterized by intonation contours and junctures, of which there are two types each. Phrases are characterized by rhythmic patterns, involving relative syllable-durations of six distinct kinds. Syllables are characterized by stress contours, of which there are six types. Phonemes of all the above categories are prosodic phonemes.
Within the syllable, there are four types of component: initial, nucleus, final, and tone. Consonant phonemes result from the analysis of initial and final components, vowel phonemes from nuclear components, and tone phonemes from tonal components. These are all syllabic phonemes.

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

1.2.2 Initial Contrasts

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

/bâa/ 'crazy' /laa/ 'donkey'
/pàa/ 'forest' /râab/ 'flat'
/prâab/ 'subdue' /caan/ 'plate'
/plaa/ 'fish' /chaam/ 'bowl'
/phâa/ 'cloth' /jaa/ 'medicine'
/phraan/ 'hunter' /kaa/ 'teapot'
/phlâad/ 'slip' /krâab/ 'prostrate'
/fâa/ 'sky' /klâa/ 'bold'
/mâa/ 'come' /kwâa/ 'more'
/dâa/ 'curse' /khraaw/ 'occasion'
/taa/ 'eye' /khлаа/ 'similar'
/traa/ 'stamp' /khwâa/ 'right side'
/thaa/ 'daub' /hâa/ 'five'
/sâam/ 'three' /paa/ 'tusk'
/naa/ 'field' /âa/ 'open the jaws'

1.2.3 Nuclear Contrasts

There are nine contrasting nuclei of one segment each (short vowels), nine geminate two-segment nuclei (long vowels), and five nuclei consisting of different segments (diphthongs), for a total of 23 contrasts. Three diphthongs are long (those ending in /a/), and two are short (ending in /o/). There is no zero nucleus.
Long Nuclei       | Short Nuclei
-----------------|-----------------|
/lìg/ 'bypass'    | /phìg/ 'turn over'
/rìag/ 'call'     | /kìe/ 'wooden shoes'
/lèg/ 'number'    | /lèg/ 'small'
/lèg/ 'exchange'  | /kìg/ 'sharp sound'
/lìyìm/ 'forget'  | /lìg/ 'deep'
/lìyìg/ 'choose'  |                  
/lìg/ 'quit'      | /nìn/ 'silver'
/làag/ 'haul'     | /làg/ 'steal'
/lìug/ 'child'    | /lùg/ 'get up'
/lùag/ 'parboil'  | /cùag/ 'pure-white'
/lìog/ 'world'    | /nìg/ 'bird'
/lìog/ 'peel'     | /kò/ 'island'

1.2.4. Final Contrasts

There are eight common contrasting finals of one segment each, plus zero final, making a total of 9 contrasts.
/dàb/ 'extinguish' /dàd/ 'straighten' /dàg/ 'net'
/dám/ 'black' /dan/ 'push' /dan/ 'loud'
/dàw/ 'guess' /dà/ 'plunge ahead' /dàj/ 'any'

1.2.5 Tonal Contrasts

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/khàw/ 'he'</td>
<td>/khàw/ 'enter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khàw/ 'feature'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khàw-rôb/ 'respect'</td>
<td>/khàw/ 'hill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khàw/ 'knee'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.6. Stress Contrasts

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sustained</th>
<th>Diminishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'maːː/</td>
<td>/'maːː/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Of course (it) came!'</td>
<td>'C'mere!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'maːː/</td>
<td>/'maːː/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'(It) came, (but)'</td>
<td>'(It) came.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'maːː/</td>
<td>/'maːː/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'..., Mah.'</td>
<td>'up to now.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1.2.7. Rhythmic Contrasts

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

| /'mɪlːʃː/ | 'Yes, there are.' |
| /'mɪlː/   | 'There are.'      |
| /'mɪlː naa./ | 'There are, you know.' |
| /'mɪlː 'naː./ | 'There are fields.' |
| /'mɪlː- 'naː./ | 'The month of March.' |

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

| /'θyːg-mɪ'naː./ | 'Until March.' |

1.2.8 Intonational Contrasts

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

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

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

   The second contour is analyzed as zero intonation.

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

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

1) 'sya tua-'níː: rēœ . khun 'sàj 'mŷa-khyyn-'níː.
   'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

2) 'sya tua-'níː: rēœ . ↑ khun 'sàj 'mŷa-khyyn-'níː.
   'Is this the coat? You wore it last night.'

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

1.3. Consonants

1.3.1. General

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unaspirated</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lenis Stops</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>/ph/</td>
<td>/th/</td>
<td>/ch/</td>
<td>/kh/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis Stops</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal Continuants</td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral Continuants</td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/r/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirants</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All consonant phonemes except /g/ are in contrast in initial position. The oral continuants /w/, /l/, and /r/ are in multiple contrast as second members of initial clusters. All the unaspired lenis stops /b d g/, all the nasal continuants /m n η/, and two of the oral continuants, /w/ and /j/, are in multiple contrast in final position. Other consonants occur infrequently as second members of clusters and in final position; these occurrences are noted as 'rare' under the individual phoneme headings.

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

1.3.2. Allophonic Sets

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

/\b/ Unaspirated lenis stop.

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

As **final** - unreleased, normally voiceless: /'râb/ 'take.' Occasionally voiced, especially after long, high vowel: /'rîb/ 'hurry.' First in cluster (rare) -- voiced: /'brîy̞y̞/ 'extremely fast.'

/\ph/ Aspirated lenis stop.

As **initial**-voiceless, always bilabial, with complete or near-complete but loose closure: /'phâa/ 'cloth.'

First in cluster - same, with less aspiration: /'phrēs̞/ 'silk cloth.

/p/ Fortis stop.

As **initial**-voiceless, unaspirated. Bilabial, with closed lips held tightly against teeth for sharp, clean release: /'pāa/ 'aunt.' Variant, for some speakers: labio-dental stop.

First in cluster - same: /'plāa/ 'fish.'

/m/ Nasal continuant.

Always bilabial, with full closure. As **initial** - fully voiced, fortis, with lips against teeth (percussion from release sometimes audible): /'māa/ 'come.'

As **final** - lenis, voiced strongly: /'dam/ 'black,' weakly: /'chaam/ 'bowl,' partly voiceless: /'āj īdam/ (calling a dog named 'Blackie.')

/w/ Oral continuant.

Normally bilabial, with at least some aperture, lenis. As **initial** - fully voiced, with narrow aperture and simultaneous dorsal humping (but no protrusion of lips as in /uu/): /'wāa/ 'say.' Often has audible friction, especially before high vowels: /'wii̯/ 'comb.' Second in cluster - same, overlapping first member of cluster, but without dorsal humping, voiced: /'kwāa/ 'more,' partly voiceless, some friction: /'khwāa/ 'right side.'
Variant for some speakers, first two positions only:
voiced labiodental spirant. As final - with wider aperture,
less dorsal lumping, some protrusion, no friction, voiced
strongly: /'raw/ 'we,' weakly: /'raw/ 'approximately,' partly
voiceless: / law/ 'Take it!'

/ t / Spirant.
Voiceless, high-friction, normally labio-dental. As ini-
tial - fortis: /'fœ/ 'sky.' Variant for a few speakers:
bilabial, with very narrow aperture. As final (rare) - lenis:
/'chœf/ 'Chevrolet.' First in cluster (rare) - lenis, less
friction: /'frœ/ 'without cost.'

1.3.4. Dental Consonants

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

/th/ Aspirated lenis stop.
As initial - voiceless, always apico-dental, with complete
but loose contact: /'tha/ 'landing-place.'
First in cluster (rare) - same, with less aspiration:
/'thruu- 'Truman.'

/t/ Fortis stop.
Voiceless, unaspirated.
As initial - apico-dental, with tip held tensely against
teeth for sharp, clean release: /'taa/ 'eye.'
Variant, for some speakers: interdental stop. First in
cluster: apico-alveolar: /'traa/ 'stamp.'
Nasal continuant.

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

As final - lenis, voiced strongly: /'kaan/ 'to ward off,' weakly: /'kaan/ 'affairs,' partly voiceless: /'dan/ 'Push.'

Allophone in close juncture with initial /l/ in following syllable - nasalized lateral: /'phon-lā'māj/ 'fruit.'

Allophone in close juncture with initial /r/ in following syllable - nasalized apico-alveolar flap: /'man-rā'jāad/ 'manners.'

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

Oral continuant.

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

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

Second in cluster - same, overlapping first member of cluster, voiced: /'plaa/ 'fish,' partly voiceless, some friction: /'phleeq/ 'song.'

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

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

Spirant.

Voiceless, high-friction, normally apico-dental groove.

As initial - fortis: /'sāam/ 'three.'

As final (rare) - lenis: /'nis-'sāj/ 'characteristics.'

First in cluster (rare) - lenis, less friction: /'staar/ 'money.'

1.3.5. Palatal Consonants

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

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

Variant: slit spirant in same position.

Variant: palatalized apico-alveolar stop.
/c/ Fortis stop

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

/j/ Oral continuant.

Normally high-front semivowel, lenis.
As initial - fully voiced, with narrow aperture extending over wide area: /'jaa/ 'medicine.' Often has audible friction, especially before high vowels: /'jìi- 'sìb/ 'twenty.'
Variant for some speakers: voiced palatal spirant.
Second in cluster (rare) - same, overlapping first member of cluster, voiced or voiceless: /'phjaa/ (title).
As final - with wider aperture, no friction, voiced strongly: /'paJ/ 'go,' weakly: /'baJ/ 'afternoon,' partly voiceless: /'paJ/ 'Let's go!'

1.3.6. Velar Consonants

/g/ Unaspirated lenis stop.

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

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

As initial - voiceless, with complete or near-complete but loose closure in mid-velar area: /'khâa/ 'kill.'
First in cluster - same, with less aspiration: /'khruu/ 'teacher.'
Variant (both positions): voiceless velar affricate.
Variant (both positions): voiceless velar spirant.

/k/ Fortis stop.

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

/ŋ/ Nasal continuant.

Always mid-velar, with dorsal contact.
As initial - fully voiced, fortis, with firm contact over broad area: /'raa/' 'tusk.'
As final - lenis, voiced strongly: /'loŋ/' 'go down,' weakly: /'klaŋ/' 'middle,' partly voiced: /'loŋ/' 'Get down!'

1.3.7. Other Consonants

/r/ Alveolar oral continuant.

As initial - fully voiced, little or no friction: /'raa/' 'case.'

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

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

/h/ Glottal spirant.

As initial - fortis: /'hâa/' 'five.'

As final (rare) - lenis: /nâh/ (final particle).

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

1.4 Vowels

1.4.1 General

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back Unrounded</th>
<th>Back Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/y/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All vowel phonemes are in contrast in the nuclear position of the syllable (between consonants). All types occur both long and short, the long nuclei being interpreted here as two instances of the corresponding short vowel phonemes: /11/, /ee/, etc.
There are five nuclear diphthongs, three long and two short. The long ones are analyzed as instances of single high-vowel phonemes plus /a/, the short ones as high-vowel phonemes plus /e/.

Long: /la/ /ya/ /ua/
Short: /le/ /ue/

1.4.2 Allophonic Sets

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

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

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

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

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

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

6) All low vowels have laxer allophones in long nuclei, and tenser allophones in short nuclei. They are also nasalized after /h/, nasal consonants, and zero initials: /'hèt/ 'parade,' /'màa/ 'come,' and /'òg/ 'exit.'

1.4.3. Vowel Phonemes

/1/ High front vowel.

Double - tense upper high front, unrounded: /'di1/ 'good,' after fortis consonant (except /c/) glide from central to front: /'si1/ 'four.'

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

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

Before /e/- short tense: /'kìe/ 'wooden shoes.'
/e/ Mid front vowel.

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

/ɛ/ Low front vowel.

Double - lax upper low front, unrounded, slightly centering: /'kɛ/ 'old,' after /h/, nasal, or zero initial, slightly nasalized: /'mɛ/ 'mother.'
Single - same quality before zero final, but tense: /'kɛ/ 'sheep,' lax and less central before other finals: /'khɛ/ 'hard.'

/y/ High back unrounded vowel.

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

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

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

/a/ Mid back unrounded vowel.

Double - tense lower mid, between central and back: /'dæn/ 'walk,' all the way back before /j/: /'læj/ 'to pass.'

Single - same quality as double, /'æn/ 'silver,' /'jɛ/ 'a lot.'

After /j/ and /w/ - fast mid central glide: /'kɪɛ/ 'wooden shoes, /'cʊɛ/ 'pure-white.'

/u/ Low back unrounded vowel.

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

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

After /j/, /y/, and /w/ - before zero final, slow glide to low central position: /'tua/ 'body,' before other finals, faster
glide through higher central position (but not as high as /a/): /'dûq/ 'also,' /'rian/ 'study,' /'iŋag/ 'choose.'

/u/ High back rounded vowel.

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

Single - same quality as double before /j/ and zero final: /'khûj/ 'converse,' /'dû/ 'savage,' but lax and slightly lower before other final: /'khun/ 'you.'

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

Before /o/ - short tense: /'cûeg/ 'pure-white.'

/o/ Mid back rounded vowel.

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

Single - same quality before zero final: /' tôo/ 'table,' lax and somewhat lower before other finals: /'tôn/ 'trunk of plant,' centralized before /j/: /'doj/ 'by means of.'

/ɔ/ Low back rounded vowel.

Double - lax upper low, between back and central: /'kôo/ 'instigate,' after /h/, nasal, or zero initial, nasalized: /'hôo/ 'package.'

Single - same quality before zero final, but tense: /'kô/ 'island,' lax and less central before other finals: /'hôn/ 'room.'

1.5 Tones

1.5.1 General

The 6 tone phonemes of ST are defined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level Tones</th>
<th>Oblique Tones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plain High /~/</td>
<td>Falling / ~/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constricted High /'</td>
<td>Rising / ~/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid (unmarked) /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low /'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as isolated syllables are concerned, all six tones are in contrast only on syllables with sustained loud stress: /iː/. In the environment /iː/, for example, there is no contrast between mid and low
tones, which are distinguishable to most speakers only with reference to
tones of surrounding syllables. In many other environments, there is no
contrast between the two high tones (plain high tone having a very low func­
tional yield.)

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

1.5.2 Allophonic Sets

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

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

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

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

1.5.3. Tone Phonemes

// Plain high tone.

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

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

Other sustained stress-- contour beginning just above median
pitch, rising slightly, then falling off gently: /'fón 'tôg 'sû:/ 'raining
steadily,' /'paj mû:/ 'Come on and go, will you?'

Weak stress - short high level contour /'dîl: mûg/ 'too good.'
Constricted high tone.

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

**Loud sustained stress** - contour beginning at a higher pitch, rising sharply and falling off gradually, constricted throughout: /'rón:/ 'It's hot!'

**Weak stress** - contour same as for normal stress, but cut off by glottal stop or shortening of nucleus: /'d11: létw/ 'O.K. then,' /'dã:j : wâj/ 'had gotten.'

(unmarked) Mid tone.

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

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

**Weak stress** - contour beginning at median or lower pitch, voice dying out rapidly: /'dã:j : maal/ 'got.'

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

Low tone.

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

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

**Weak stress** - contour beginning at median or lower pitch, voice dying out rapidly (same as mid tone): /'maa 'nîl : kôn/ 'Come here a moment.'

Falling tone

**Normal stress** - contour beginning just below pitch-level for the two high tones, rising quickly above that level, then falling rather
sharply to median pitch or below, with slight constriction throughout: /'nāa/ 'front,' dropping less sharply all the way to low-tone pitch-level before pause: /'nāa./ 'It's in front.'

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

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

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

/ / Rising tone.

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

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

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

1.6. Prosodic Phonemes

1.6.1. General

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

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

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

- Loud Onset /\!/  
- Normal Onset /\!/

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

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

1) Loud Diminishing Stress /ipaJ/ 'Let's go!'
2) Loud Sustained Stress: /ipaJ/ 'Sure (he) went!'
3) Normal Diminishing Stress: /'paJ/ 'Yes (he) went.'
4) Normal Sustained Stress: /'paJ kan/ 'They went.'
5) Weak Diminishing Stress: /'sog paJ/ '(He) went out.'
6) Weak Sustained Stress: /'sog paJ: khráb/ '(He) went out, sir.'

1.6.3. Intonation Phonemes

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

- Pause /./  
- Upper pitch-line /\!/

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

The symbol /.../ is used to replace /./ whenever an utterance is obviously broken off short of completion of the portion in question. The symbol /.../ has no phonemic status.
The eight intonation sequences are illustrated as follows, using identical constituents for contrastive purposes. Portions separated by / or /t/ are said to be in open clause juncture; those separated by ./ are said to be in close clause juncture.

1) Two falling contours in close juncture:
'sya tua-'níi: rëe . khun 'sàj 'mỳa-khyyn-'níi .
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

2) Two falling contours in open juncture:
'sya tua-'níi: rëe . t. khun 'sàj 'mỳa-khyyn-'níi .
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

3) High and falling contours in close juncture:
'sya tua-'níi: rëe t . khun 'sàj 'mỳa-khyyn-'níi .
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

4) High and falling contours in open juncture:
'sya tua-'níi: rëe t . t. khun 'sàj 'mỳa-khyyn-'níi .
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

5) Falling and high contours in close juncture: (rare):
'sya tua-'níi: rëe . khun 'sàj 'mỳa-khyyn-'níi: t .
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

More common would be the single-clause transform:
'khun 'sàj 'sya tua-'níi 'mỳa-khyyn-'níi: rëe t .

6) Falling and high contours in open juncture:
'sya tua-'níi: rëe . t. khun 'sàj 'mỳa-khyyn-'níi: t .
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

7) Two high contours in close juncture:
'sya tua-'níi: rëe t . khun 'sàj 'mỳa-khyyn-'níi t .
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

8) Two high contours in open juncture:
'sya tua-'níi: rëe t . t. khun 'sàj 'mỳa-khyyn-'níi: t .
'Is this the coat? You wore it last night?'

A phonemic clause is any portion of an utterance which has its own intonation contour or is separated from the rest of the utterance by one of the clause junctures. All the utterances above consist of two clauses. The following utterances consist of single clauses:
's̥ya tua-'nîi: rēē 'khuν 'sāj 'm̥ya-khyyn-'nîi .
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

's̥ya tua-'nîi: rēē 'khuν 'sāj 'm̥ya-khyyn-'nîi: ^
'Is this the coat you wore last night?'

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

1.6.4. Rhythm Phonemes

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

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

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

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

/ : / determines long-duration, never internal

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

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

The absence of a hyphen or space after an internal syllable implies short duration (not a phoneme).
The four internal-syllable durat10ns are contrasted in the following pairs of examples:

1) 'paJ 'näj: 'd11 †.
   'Where are you going, Dee?'
   'paJ 'näj: 'd11: †.
   'Where shall I go?'

2) 'ñaam 'thåa-ca'mòd .
   'The water seems to be all gone.'
   'ñaam- 'thåa ca'mòd .
   'The water will be used up.'

3) 'dåj kawe- 'læa .
   'Has to do with time.'
   'dåj- 'kæ we-'læa .
   'Has estimated the time.'

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

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

   'paJ 'näj: , 'd11 : †.
   'såa tua- 'nɪl: rèe , 'khun 'sàj 'mỳa-khyyn- 'nɪl .

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

1.7. Distribution

1.7.1. Maximum and Minimum Syllables

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

\[
T \quad S_1 \, C_1 \, C_2 \, V_1 \, V_2 \, C_3 \, S_2
\]

For example, the syllable /iplâaw:/ in the utterance /iplâaw: †./ 'Of course not!' contains one phoneme from each of these categories.
The minimum syllable is symbolized as follows:

\[ V_1 \]

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

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

- \( T \) -- any tone phoneme
- \( S_1 \) - the stress phoneme / ' / or / i / 
- \( C_1 \) - any consonant phoneme
- \( C_2 \) - any consonant phoneme, but normally only /w l r/ 
- \( V_1 \) - any vowel phoneme
- \( V_2 \) - any vowel phoneme
- \( C_3 \) - one of the consonant phonemes / b d g m n y w j (f s l)/ 
- \( S_2 \) - the stress phoneme / : /

1.7.2. Normal Syllabic Distribution

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

1) If \( C_2 \) is /w/, \( C_1 \) is /k/ or /kh/.
2) If \( C_2 \) is /l/, \( C_1 \) is one of this set: /p, ph, k, kh/.
3) If \( C_2 \) is /r/, \( C_1 \) is one of this set: /p, ph, t, k, kh/.
4) If \( C_2 \) is /w/, \( V_1 \) is one of this set: /i, e, e, a, e/.
5) If \( V_1 \) is /i, e, e, a, e/ and \( C_3 \) is not /j/.
6) If \( V_1 \) is /u, o, o, y/, \( C_3 \) is not /w/.
7) If \( V_1 \) is /y/ and \( C_3 \) is /j/, \( C_2 \) is /a/.
8) If \( V_1 - V_2 \) is /yy/, \( C_3 \) is not /g, y/.
9) If \( V_1 - V_2 \) is /ii/, \( C_3 \) is not /y/.
10) If \( V_1 \) is one of this set: /e, e, o, a, o, o/, then \( V_2 \) is the same as \( V_1 \) or is missing.
11) If \( V_1 \) is /i/, \( V_2 \) is one of this set: /i, a, e/, or missing.
12) If \( V_1 \) is /u/, \( V_2 \) is one of this set: /u, a, e/, or missing.
13) If \( V_1 \) is /y/, \( V_2 \) is /y, a/ or missing.
14) If $V_1-V_2$ is /uə, ɪə/, $C_3$ is one of this set: /b, d, g/ or missing.
15) If $C_3$ is /b, d, ɪə/, $T$ is one of this set: /ˈə/ 'ˈə'/.
16) If $V_2$ is /ə/ or missing and $C_3$ is missing, $T$ is one of the same set (15).
17) If $S_1$ is present, $V_1$ is /ə/, and $V_2$ is missing, then $T$ is not /ˈə/.
18) If $S_1$ is present and $C_3$ is /b, d, ɪə/, $T$ is not /ˈə/.

1.7.3. Abnormal Syllabic Distributions

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

"strá:jg/  'labor) strike'  

T

$S_1 \ C_1 \ C_2 \ C_3 \ V_1 \ C_4 \ C_5$

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

1.7.4. Other Distribution

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

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

"thůˈlaw/  'improve'

"kɪˈlaə/  'sports'

2) If $R$ is /ˈə/, $S_1$ is /ˈə/ or absent and $S_2$ is absent.

3) If $S_2$ is first /ˈə/ in phrase, $S_1$ is /ˈə/ or /ˈə/.

4) If $I$ is /ˈə/, some syllable in clause has $S_2$ /ˈə/.

5) If $I$ is /ˈə/, and last syllable has $S_1$, then it also has $S_2$ /ˈə/.
6) If in the first two of three successive syllables, the second is no longer than the first, for the second syllable $S_1 - S_2$ is missing and for the third syllable $R$ will be at least normal /'/', and $S_1$ will be at least /'/'.

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

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

1.8. Morphophonemics

1.8.1. Summary

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

1) /'kaan/ 'business, act'
2) /kan/ 'as a group'
3) /'kan/ 'hilt'
4) /'kan/ 'to ward off'

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

1) /'lêeg kan-'rian/ 'stop (the business of) studying'
2) /'paj: kan- môd/ 'they all (as a group) went'
3) /'câb kan- 'mîd/ 'grasp the knife-hilt'
4) /'jaas-kan- 'jun/ 'medicine for (warding off) mosquitoes'

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

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

1) /'khâw/ 'he, she, they'
2) /'khâw/ 'feature, trace'
3) /'khàw/ 'enter'
4) /'khàw/ 'hill'

Under weak stress, however, all can show up as /khàw-/:
1) /'rág khàw-'màag/ 'like her a lot'
2) /'duu khàw-'nàa/ 'look at the facial features'
3) /'sàj: khàw-pàj/ 'put it in there'
4) /'thỳng khàw-'dìn/ 'reached Khao-Dìn (mountain)'

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

1.8.2. Syllable Morphophonemics

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Morphophonemic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'/'chàan/</td>
<td>/chàaŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'/'chàŋ/</td>
<td>/chàŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'/'chàn/</td>
<td>/chàn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'/'chài/</td>
<td>/chài/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic:</th>
<th>Morphophonemic:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'/'hàa 'chàŋ-'màaj/</td>
<td>/hàa chàaŋ-màaj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'/'lèeg kan-'rìan/</td>
<td>/lèeg kan-rìan/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2) Morphs with short vowels occur with the corresponding long vowel under conditions of loud sustained stress.

Phonemic: /ichâŋ/ 'I weighed it!
Morphophonemic: /ichâŋ/ 'I weighed it!

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

/să-‘daaj/ 'regret' becomes /să'đaaj/
/lă-‘kœn/ 'excessively' becomes /lă'kœn/
/dăaj-‘māaj/ 'with wood' becomes /dăaj-'māaj/

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

/rooŋ-‘rian/ 'school,' /‘jåa ‘paj/ 'don't go'

Phonemic: /thīl rooŋ-‘rian/ 'at school'
Morphophonemic: /thīl rooŋ-rian/
Phonemic: /‘phīl ja-‘paj/ 'Brother shouldn't go.'
Morphophonemic: /‘phīl jāa-paj/
Phonemic: /‘jaa-kan-‘juŋ/ 'mosquito repellent'
Morphophonemic: /‘jaa-kan-juŋ/
Phonemic: /‘cāb kan-‘mīld/ 'grasp the knife-hilt'
Morphophonemic: /‘cāb kān-mīld/

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

/nām-‘phîŋ/ 'honey' /‘thīl-‘nâŋ/ 'seat'
/nâŋ-‘sîy/ 'book'

Phonemic: /‘hāj nām-‘phîŋ/ 'honey-jar',
Morphophonemic: /‘hāj nām-phasis/
Phonemic: /‘hāa thīl-‘nâŋ/ 'look for seats'
Morphophonemic: /‘hāa thīl-nâŋ/
Phonemic: /'duu năŋ-stý/ 'look at books'
Morphophonemic: /duu năŋ-stý/

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

/kan/ 'as a group'
/chân/ 'certainly does'
/chân/ 'I, me'

There are several reasons why no confusion results from this:

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

Phonemic: /thỳŋ-'kan lí-'kan/ 'toward each other'
Morphophonemic: /thỳŋ-kan lí-kan/

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

Phonemic: /chân-'phûud/ 'really talks'
Morphophonemic: /chân-phûud/

Phonemic: /'chân- 'phûud/ 'clever talker'
Morphophonemic: /chân-phûud/

Phonemic: /'chân 'phûud/ 'the artisan speaks'
Morphophonemic: /chân phûud/

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

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

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

/ˈtā̀d ˈphóm/ 'cut hair'
'/təd phɔ̀m/' 'cut me'

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

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

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

1.8.3. Phrase Morphophonemics

Phonemic phrases are written without indication of stress-onset except for loud stress /!'/. Phrase-boundaries are marked by the morphophonemic symbol /,/, which means 'no syllables with normal or loud stress occur after the syllable with sustained stress /:'.' (See 1.6.4., end.). Clauses without any internal /,/ consist of a single phrase. Rhythm patterns are retained intact, and internal-syllable durations are written phonemically.

The rules for prediction of stress-onset in morphophonemically written phrases are re-stated as follows:

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

Phonemic: /'kláb 'bān ./ 'Went home.'
Morphophonemic: /kláb bān ./

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

Phonemic: /'kláb 'bān: kan-thè ./ 'Let's go home.'
Morphophonemic: /kláb bān: kan-thè ./

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

Phonemic: /'kláb pɔj-'bān ./ 'Went back home.'
Morphophonemic: /kláb pɔj-bān ./

Phonemic: /'səj khāw-paj-naj-kra'pāw ./ 'Put it into his pocket.'
Morphophonemic: /səj khāw-paj-naj-krapāw ./
4) All syllables with short duration have weak stress.
Phonemic: /kra'paw/ 'pocket'
Morphophonemic: /krapəw/

5) Other syllables have either weak or normal stress, (within the limitations of predictability set forth in the second part of 1.6.2.):
Phonemic: /'tad 'phom/ 'Cut hair.'
Phonemic: /'tad phom/ 'Cut me.'
Morphophonemic, for both: /tad phom/ for both.
The constituent phrases of the example 'Is this the coat you wore last night?' (1.6.4., end) are now re-written morphophonemically.

First Phrase: sêa tua-nîi: rèe
Second Phrase: khun sàj mûa-khyyn-nîi.

1.8.4 Clause Morphophonemics

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

1) Since /t/ at the end of a clause is always preceded by /ː/, if the last syllable in the clause is stressed (See 1.7.4.5), simplify /ː t/ to / t/.
Phonemic: /'klab 'bān: t./ 'He went home.'
Morphophonemic: /klab bān t./

2) Since, in a phrase with no prior /ː/, a syllable before phrase-boundary /, having normal stress must by definition have sustained stress for the phrase-boundary to occur at all (see 1.8.3, beginning), replace the combination /ː, / by /, / (provided the last syllable in the phrase does not have loud stress /ː /, where the distinction is meaningful - see first two examples under 1.6.2.).
Phonemic: /'klab 'bān: , 'kîn 'khâw ./ 'Went home, and ate.'
Morphophonemic: /klab bān , kîn khâw ./
3) Since the meaning of two successive clauses with falling intonation and close juncture, separated by pause, /A . B ./ is no different from the meaning of two successive phrases in a single clause with falling intonation /A , B ./, replace all internal simple pauses / . / by phrase boundaries / , /.

Phonemic: /'klâb 'bâan . 'kîn 'khâaw ./
Morphophonemic: /klâb bâan , kîn khâaw ./

(Same as example in 2) above.).

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

Phonemic: /'klâb 'bâan . t 'kîn 'khâaw ./
Went home. Ate.'
Morphophonemic: /klâb bâan . kîn khâaw ./

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

Phonemic: /phôm 'mâa: nî-khârab t. thâmâj camâj-'mâa ./
'I came!- why wouldn't I have come.'
Morphophonemic: /phôm mâa: nîl-khrab t thamaj camâj-maa ./

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

Phonemic: /phôm 'mâa: nî-khârab t . t thâmâj camâj-'mâa : t /
'I came! Why wouldn't I have come!!'
Morphophonemic: /phôm mâa: nîl-khrab t . thamaj camâj-maa t . /

The eight examples of different intonation sequences given in 1.6.3. are now symbolized morphophonemically. A represents the clause or phrase /sâ j mâa-khyyn-nil/ 'You wore (it) last night.'

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

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3) /A t B ./ "Is this the coat you wore last night?!
4) /A t . B ./ "Is this the coat? You wore it last night.
5) /A B t ./ "Is this the coat you wore last night?
6) /A . B t ./ "Is this the coat? You wore it last night!
7) /A t B t ./ "Is this the coat you wore last night?
8) /A t . B t ./ "Is this the coat? You wore it last night!"
CHAPTER II
MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

2.1. Summary

2.1.1. Terminology

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

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

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

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

2.1.2. Morphemes and Lexeme Construction

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

1) A morph is any morphophonemic sequence (from one phoneme upwards in length) which has meaning associated with it by ST speakers. The utterance
IJdeen: t .1. 'Sure, it works!' contains four morphs: 1) the morph /deen/ 'to walk, to function properly,' 2) the morph /1 .1/ 'contradictory assertion,' 3) the morph /1 .1/ 'emotional involvement,' and 4) the morph / .1/ 'end of clause construction.'

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

The morphophonemic sequence /dam-neen/ 'to conduct, to proceed' contains a morph /d...een/, which is an allomorph of the morpheme /deen/ (we have seen another of its allomorphs in the sequence /ideen: t .1/); the other morph /am-n/, which is infixed to /d...een/, is an allomorph of a morpheme /amm/ 'formal or technical connotation.' The discontinuous allomorph /d...een/ does not contrast with the continuous allomorph /deen/ in any environment; the same applies to /am-n/ and other allomorphs of /amm/ (see 2.3.2.1.). An example of a morpheme including only a single morph is / .1/ 'end of clause construction' (morph 4) above); all other morphs cited so far are members of allomorph sets.

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

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

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

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

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

/anú-sâa-wârîî/ 'monument.'

4) Lexemic morphemes, like sub-lexemic ones, enter into composition of lexemes which are larger than themselves (2.4.). Such composition is of three general types: derivatives (2.4.1.), compounds (2.4.2.) and reduplications (2.4.3.). Prosodic morphemes are also involved in lexeme composition, to some extent.
2.1.3 Lexemes and Syntactic Constructions

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

1) A **lexical unit** is any morph or combination of morphs corresponding morphophonemically to a single syllable or to an integral number of syllables (i.e. not a fraction of a syllable, or syllables plus residual fractions), such that it is a **minimum immediate constituent** of the construction in which it occurs. In other words, if lexical units are analyzable, they can only be analyzed after everything else in the context has been cleared away /dam-neen/ 'to conduct' is a lexical unit in the context /dam-neen ch11-wid/ 'to conduct one's life,' because there is no construction /dam...ch11-wid/, /neen ch11-wid/ or the like.

Of the morphs cited so far, the examples /!:/, /! /, >/ , and /am-n/ are not lexical units, because they fail to meet the requirement of syllabicity. Only two examples, /deen/ 'to walk, to function properly' and /ch11-wid/ 'life,' are lexical units, in the contexts /deen: / and /dam-neen ch11-wid/ respectively. On the other hand, /deen/ is not a lexical unit in /dam-neen/ or in an expression such as /deen thëtw/ 'to march,' where it is merely one of the constituent morphs.

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

morphe: morphemes:: lexical units: lexemes

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

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

Alternate lexical units belonging to the same lexeme are its **allolexes**. For example, the lexeme /dam-neen/ has an allolex of that shape and also an allolex /dam-neen/, as in the sequence /chôob dam-neen gaan/ 'likes to conduct the work.' The lexeme /ch11-wid/ has an allolex /ch1wîd/, as in /chûaj chîwîd: wîj/ 'to save someone's life.'

3) Lexical units, and therefore lexemes, can include combinations of morphs which are lexical units in their own right. For example, /râad-dam-neen/ 'royal procession' meets all the criteria of a lexical unit - it
consists of three whole syllables, and has to be analyzed last in whatever construction it is a part of. But, as we know, /dammaan/ itself is a lexical unit. Lexemes are therefore classified in terms of orders, depending on the number of immediate constituents that can be distinguished.

**First-order lexemes** are single morphemes considered on the lexical level: /damaan/ 'to walk, to function properly.'

**Second-order lexemes** consist of two constituents, which are both morphemes: /damaan/ 'to proceed, to conduct.'

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

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

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

**2.2. Prosodic Morphemes**

2.2.1. Intonation and Loud-Stress Morphemes

1) / / 'end of clause construction.'

Example of contrast with /, /:

khôô khun-cô 'khâw fâag wâj.
'It belongs to Chit. He left it here.'

khôô khun-cô , khâw fâag wâj.
'It's something of Chit's that he left here.'
Example of contrast of /↑./ with /↑/ by itself:

mâj jàaŋ-nán ↑ dǐaw lûd ↑.
'Not that way! It'll come loose!'

mâj jàaŋ-nán ↑ dǐaw lûd ↑.
'Otherwise, it'll come loose!'

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

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

mâj-pâj: ròg .
'No, he's not.'

mâj-pâj: ròg ↑ .
'Not him!'

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

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

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

Example of contrast with zero:

lētw khun-samąk , capaj nąj .
'And Samag, where is he going?'

lētw khun-samąk capaj nąj .
'And where is Samag going?' or
'Where are you going, Samag?'

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

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

l̤m̤l r̤y̤y̤: ↑ marūd cabin dâj .
'Is there such a thing as a human being able to fly?'

l̤m̤l r̤y̤y̤: ↑ phōm mâj-čhûa .
'Is there such a thing? I don't believe it.'
4) /i ... t/ 'contrastive emphasis' (always followed by t)
Example of contrast with normal stress (in answer to the question 'Is he going?'):

!paj: khrâb t.
'Of course he is!'

paj: khrâb.
'Yes, he is.'

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

!paj t.
'Of course he's going!'

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

Allomorph: /i S ... t/, when two or more syllables are covered by 'contrastive emphasis' and last syllable comes before ././. Example in second clause:

mâj-châj chaam ! diaw t . ! sôbô chaam t.
'Not one bowl! Two bowls!'

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

5) /! / by itself 'exhortation to action; signal to conclude a conversation or pass to a new topic.'
Example in contrast with /! t/:

!paj.
'Let's go!'

!paj t.
'Of course he's going!'

Example in contrast with normal stress:

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

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

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2.2.2. Rhythmic Morphemes

1) / I: '/phrase construction continues, with major immediate constituent cut here.'
   Example of contrast with /I: /
   pañ nāj: maa .
   'Where have you been?' (/maa/ is an adverb)
   pañ nāj, maa .
   'Where are you going, Mah?' (/maa/ is a name)

2) / - / 'minor or no immediate constituent cut here; sub-lexemic or low-order syntactic division.'
   Double example of contrast with / - /
   tān tōn-sāg .
   'Stand a teak-tree upright.'
   tān-tōn sāg .
   'Begin to tattoo.'

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

   Example of contrast with / - /
   tham rōd sīa-dūaj .
   'Made the car break down too.'
   tham rōd: sīa-dūaj .
   'Makes cars, besides (in addition to doing other things).'

   In both examples, the first two lexemes are a verb 'make' and a noun 'car,' and the last lexeme is an adverb 'also.' The difference is in the third lexeme, which in the first instance fills a major syntactic slot as a
verb meaning 'to be lost, destroyed,' and in the second instance is a minor lexeme meaning something like 'unit verbal action.' In this case /-/ represents a minor syntactic cut, which is made after the major cut represented by / : /.

Example of /-/ representing no cut:

tāŋ kāw-īi.
'Set up chairs.'

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

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

Example of minor syntactic cut:

phil capaj.
'Older brother intends to go.'

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

Example of sub-lexemic cut:

jūu thīnāj.
'Where is it?'

The lexeme /thīnāj/ 'where,' is analyzable into two morphemes represented by the morphs /thī/ 'at' and /nāj/ 'where.' Last cut is between them.

Example of no cut:

syy māmāaj.
'Buy mangoes.'

The lexeme /māmāaj/ 'mango' is unanalyzable.

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

phōn-lāmāaj.
'It's fruit.'

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

3) / / (medium syllable duration) in the context /AB C/, /A-B C/, /A BC/, or /A B-C/ (i.e. when morpheme 2) above either
Immediately precedes or follows): 'higher-order immediate constituent cut here, to be made before any cut represented by /-/-; usually syntactic but may be sub-lexemic.'

Examples of syntactic cuts (from 2) above):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tan-tôn ság .} & \quad (A-B \ C) \\
& \quad 'Begin to tattoo.' \\
\text{phi̱i capaj .} & \quad (A \ BC) \\
& \quad 'Older brother intends to go.' \\
\text{mamâa ñiì .} & \quad (AB \ C) \\
& \quad 'Good mangoes.'
\end{align*}
\]

Example of sub-lexemic cut:

\[
\text{mâa ñiì-ma-jaalaj .} \\
\quad 'The university.'
\]

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

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

\[
\text{jaa-kan-juŋ .} \\
\quad 'Mosquito repellent'
\]

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

\[
\text{jaa kan-juŋ .} \\
\quad 'Medicine /jaa/ for warding off /kan/ mosquitoes /juŋ/.' The first cut in both cases is between /jaa/ and /kan-juŋ/, the second cut between /kan/ and /juŋ/. Both cuts are sub-lexemic, since the entire sequence is a single lexeme.
\]

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

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

Examples:

\[
\text{chûaj lỳa kan .} \quad /A B C/ \\
\quad 'Help Leua to prevent it.'
\]

43
châu j lyà: kan. /A B: C/
'Help Leua, acting as a group.'

châu j-lyà kan. /A-B C/
'Assist in preventing it.'

châu j-lyà: kan. /A-B: C/
'Assist each other.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Examples:
/håa/ 'five' /sìb/ 'ten' /håa-sìb/ 'fifty'
/sìl/ 'four' /ròoj/ 'hundred' /sìl-ròoj/ '400'
/sàam/ 'three' /phan/ 'thousand' /sàam-phan/ '3,000'

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

Examples:
/håa-sìb hàa/ 'fifty-flye'
/sàam-phan sìl-ròoj/ '3,400'
2.2.3. Normal-Stress Morphs

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

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

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

   chaaj ilg-sŏq khon.
   'Two more men.'

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

   chaaj ilg-khon.
   'One more man'

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

   sŏq-rooJ hāa-sib.
   'Two hundred and fifty.'

   rooJ hāa-sib.
   'One hundred and fifty.'

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

2) /' (normal stress) is an allomorph of the demonstrative morpheme /n/ (2.3.4.1.) which occurs in simultaneous order with pronouns.
khzung phóm jwu náj-túu.
'My things are in the chest.'

In the phrase /khzung phóm/, the noun /khzung/ 'things' has normal stress, and the pronoun /phóm/ 'I, me' has its usual weak stress and modifies the noun.

khzung-phóm jwu náj-túu.
'Mine is (are) in the chest.'

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

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

2.2.4. Other Examples of Prosodic Contrast

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

tua jáan-níl
'this example'

tua-jáanıù
'there's no electricity'

faj máj-míl
'fires occur'

faj-máj míl
'that officer of company grade'

naaj-róocj khon-nán
'those hundred officers'

naaj róocj-khon: nán
'which person is good?'

khon-náj díl
'which should be mixed?'

khon náj: díl
'the enemy is gone'

khāa-syg paj-léew
'I have left the monastery'

khāa syg: paj-léew
'the water sources will dry up'

thāa-náam cahnērz
'if the water dried up'

thāa náam cahnērz
'try to shout loudly'

róoc hâj-dan̄g
'weeps loudly'

róoc-hâj dan̄g
'seek pleasure'

hāa khaam-sanûg
hãa-khwaam sanug
\(\text{tòg-łq} \ maa\)
tòg: \(\text{łq}-\text{maa}\)
mãj-thyq \(\text{leəj}\)
mãj-thyq: \(\text{leəj}\)
mìl \(\text{kam-laŋ} \ \text{díl}\)
mìl \(\text{kamlaŋ}-\text{díl}\)
caw naï-ca-aw
caw-nàa \(\text{ca-aw}\)
rag-sàa \(\text{khon-con} \ hãaj\)
rág-sàa \(\text{khon con-hãaj}\)

maa-ráb sàaj
maa ráb-sàaj
maa-aw \(\text{sì moøq}\)
maa aw-sì moøq
sôom: \(\text{khan-níi}\)
sôm \(\text{khan-níi}\)
mýa waan \(\text{paj-sýy}\)
mýa-waan \(\text{paj-sýy}\)
ráb-thaan khâaw
ráb thaan khâaw

'have fun picking arguments'
'agreed to come'
'fell down towards us'
'hasn't reached Loel'
'hasn't reached there at all'
'has good strength'
'has just the right amount'
you ought to take it'
'the broker will get it'
'sure poor people'
'was able to treat people successfully'
'come to get it too late'
'came to answer the phone'
'came to get it at 10 o'clock'
'chose to come at 10 o'clock'
'this fork'
'fix this one (car)'
'when asked to buy it'
'went to buy it yesterday'
'eat rice'
'receive a gift of rice'

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

\begin{verbatim}
\underline{tàn} naan
\underline{tàn} naan
\underline{tháa} bëëb-nán
\underline{tháa} bëëb-nán
\end{verbatim}

'thas been set up a long time'
'for a very long time'
'that type of landing-place'
'if it's that type'
"khan-lâŋ"  '(my) back itches'
"khan-lâŋ"  'the one (car) behind'
"khâw klâb pâj râad-burîl"  'He went back to Rajaburî.'
"khâw klâb pâj râad-burîl"  'He unexpectedly went to Rajaburî.'
"bôog khun"  'tell the virtues of'
"bôog khun"  'tell you'

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

khun .samâg , capaj: mây .  'Are you going, Samag?
khun samâg capaj: mây .  'Are you volunteering to go?'
tham hâj-sêd kûn , dîl .  'Get it done first, Dee.'
tham hâj-sêd kûn dîl .  'It would be good to get it done first'
khun khoû , capaj dûaj: lâ t .  'I guess Khong is going along.'
khun khoû capaj dûaj: lâ t .  'You're certainly going along!'  

2.3. Sub-lexemic Morphemes

2.3.1. Prefixes

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>With Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/chum/</td>
<td>/prachum/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/səm/</td>
<td>/pasəm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tháb/</td>
<td>/pratháb/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khāb/</td>
<td>/baŋkhāb/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kèed/</td>
<td>/baŋkèed/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lon/</td>
<td>/ploŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/râab/</td>
<td>/pràab/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/râb/</td>
<td>/prâb/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lûg/</td>
<td>/plug/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/løoj/</td>
<td>/ploøj/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The last example has irregular tone.)

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

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

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>With Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tham/</td>
<td>/kratham/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dôod/</td>
<td>/kradôod/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wâaŋ/</td>
<td>/kwâaŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/râab/</td>
<td>/kraab/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lāb/</td>
<td>/klâb/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

/cip-còg/ 'small lizard'
/cip-còog/ 'fox'
/cip-ríid/ 'cricket'

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

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

Examples:

/kasāa/ or /nóg-kasāa/ 'stork'
/kalīn/ or /nóg-kalīn/ 'parrot'
/kaphon/ or /plaa-kaphon/ 'sea-bass'

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

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

Examples:

/maphraaw/ 'coconut'
/makhya/ 'eggplant'
/mamūan/ 'mango'

Allomorph /man/ occurs before a few bases:

/mānkhud/ 'mangosteen'

Allomorphs /māag-/ and /māg-/ occur with medium-short duration before many bases:

/māg-mūan/ 'peach'
/māg-līn/ 'small palm tree'

2.3.2. Infixedes

Sub-lexemic infixes are somewhat more widely distributed in ST than prefixes, and one of them (the second listed) can actually be said to be productive. There are only four common infixes.
1) /amn/, /am/, /ab/, and /m/. 'Formality or technicality added to meaning of base.'

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

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

Regular examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>With Infix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/deen/ 'to walk'</td>
<td>/damneen/ 'to conduct, proceed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/siah/ 'voice'</td>
<td>/sámniah/ 'accent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/caaj/ 'to pay'</td>
<td>/camnàaj/ 'to disburse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uaaj/ 'to give'</td>
<td>/amnuaaj/ 'to administer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/traa/ 'stamp, seal'</td>
<td>/tamraa/ 'textbook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thalaaj/ 'to destroy'</td>
<td>/thamlaaj/ 'to ruin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/këed/ 'to be born'</td>
<td>/kamnëed/ 'birth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/riab/ 'lined up'</td>
<td>/rabiab/ 'order'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ram/ 'to dance'</td>
<td>/rabam/ 'to perform a dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ralýg/ 'to be reminded of'</td>
<td>/ramlýg/ 'to reminisce'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>With Infix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/àad/ 'to be capable'</td>
<td>/amnàad/ 'power'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nag/ 'heavy'</td>
<td>/nàmnàg/ 'weight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/trön/ 'to go straight'</td>
<td>/damron/ 'to continue'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2) /ee/, /e/, /ɛ/ or /ɛ/ 'ridicule or inexactness added to meaning of base morpheme.'

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

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

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

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Morpheme</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kɪn/ 'to eat'</td>
<td>/kɪn ken/ 'wining and dining' or /kɪn ken/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fæj/ 'fire, electricity'</td>
<td>/fæj fæj/ 'electrical system'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nɛn/ 'silver, money'</td>
<td>/nɛn nɛn/ 'money and that sort of thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θɛcw/ 'row, section'</td>
<td>/θɛcw θɛcw/ 'general vicinity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θɪaw/ 'go around, visit, go out for pleasure'</td>
<td>/θɪaw θɪaw/ 'fool around'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If the base is a polysyllabic morpheme or a compound lexeme, the infix allomorph occurs in the last syllable, whether this is a whole morph or not:

\[/nāŋ-sṳy/\] 'books, letters' (two-syllable morpheme)
\[/nāŋ-sṳy nāŋ-sēe/\] 'literature and that sort of thing'
\[/hēn-caj/\] 'sympathize' (compound lexeme)
\[/hēn-caj hēn-caj/\] 'sympathize and all that stuff'

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/wēsw/ 'brilliant'</td>
<td>/wēsw-waaw/ 'brilliantly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ciŋ/ 'true, sincere'</td>
<td>/ciŋ-caŋ/ 'sincerely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kraśib/ 'to whisper'</td>
<td>/kraśib-kraśaab/ 'in whispers'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4) A double infix, occurring discontinuously in reduplicated lexemes (see 2.4.3.7.), with principal allomorphs /u-1/ and /uu-11/, has the meaning 'impressionistic visual or onomatopoeitic auditory description.' It occurs mainly in adverbs and isolatives, but a few adjective lexemes incorporate it. There is some evidence that the principal allomorphs, at least, are productive.

---

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

/krad'g/ ('to fidget')
/c'^/ ('concerned with detail')
/c'g/ ('details')
/s'b/ ('whisper')

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infix</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e-a/</td>
<td>/kè-kà/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e-a/</td>
<td>/è-à/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e-è/</td>
<td>/jè-jè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u-a/</td>
<td>/khrù-khrà/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infix</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/c-è co-èè/</td>
<td>/còg-cèg coo-cèe/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.3.3. Superfixes

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

Examples:

/khon/ 'classifier for people'  /'khon/ 'one person'
/phôm/ 'I, me'  /'phôm/ 'that of me, mine'
2) A superfix with allomorphs / Emily falling tone, / Emily low tone, and zero (no change in tone) makes adverbs from four demonstratives and two numerals.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Lexeme</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nīl/ 'this'</td>
<td>/nīl/ 'here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nān/ 'that'</td>
<td>/nān/ 'there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nōon/ 'yon, the other'</td>
<td>/nōon/ 'yonder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nāj/ 'which'</td>
<td>/nāj/ 'where'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(zero allomorph of superfix)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Lexeme</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/baaq/ 'some'</td>
<td>/bāaq/ 'to some extent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nōoq/ 'few'</td>
<td>/nōoq/ 'a little'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) Two superfixes occur with certain responses and final particles. The first has the shape / Emily, plain high tone, and means 'question or suggestion; reply or assent expected.' The second has the shape / Emily, falling tone, or / Emily, constricted high tone, and means 'statement or command; no reply expected.' Both of these superfix morphs require a special toneless allomorph of the base, which consists of the original initial consonant plus a short vowel, usually /a/ but in one case / 1 /.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Lexeme</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kẖāa/ 'woman answering a call politely'</td>
<td>/kẖā/</td>
<td>/kẖā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cāa/ 'answering a child's or equal's call'</td>
<td>/cā/</td>
<td>/cā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jāa/ 'man answering a call rudely'</td>
<td>/jā/</td>
<td>/jā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wēoq/ 'answering an intimate's call'</td>
<td>/wē/</td>
<td>/wē/ or /wā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khrāab/ 'man answering a call politely'</td>
<td>/hā/ or /khrāb/</td>
<td>/hā/ or /khrāb/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nāa/ 'you see'</td>
<td>/nā/ or /nāa/</td>
<td>/nā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sīl/ 'not otherwise'</td>
<td>/sī/</td>
<td>/sī/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4) A superfix with the shape / : / is used by women on adjective bases with the meaning "emotional intensification of base meaning." It is the only truly productive superfix in the language, and like forms infixed with /e,ë/ (2.3.2.2.), its superfixed forms occur only in close association with the base morpheme itself. All kinds of adjectives on all five tones (other than / ~ /) occur with it. The adjective base occurs in a toneless allomorph to which the superfix / : / is added, and is immediately followed by the base morpheme in its usual form. The extra duration represented by / : / is not a morph, and so the complex lexeme which results has three constituent morphs:

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Morpheme</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dil/ 'good'</td>
<td>/dil: dil/ 'excellent!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaw/ 'old'</td>
<td>/kaw: kaw/ 'ancient!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/måag/ 'much'</td>
<td>/måag: måag/ 'a tremendous amount'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rön/ 'hot'</td>
<td>/röön: rön/ 'blazing!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nåaw/ 'cold'</td>
<td>/nåaw: nåaw/ 'freezing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.4. Sub-syllabic Morphemes

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

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

1) /n/ (initial /n/ plus constricted high tone) 'demonstrative.' Occurs in /nil/ 'this,' /nå/ 'that,' /röön/ 'yon,' and the final particle /nå/ 'you see.' Allomorph /n/ occurs in /nåj/ 'which!' Allomorph / / occurs with pronouns (see 2.2.3.2.).

2) /11/ 'close at hand, none other than, present.' Occurs in /nil/ 'this,' its derivatives /gil/ 'so' and, with falling-tone superfix, /nil/ 'here' (see 2.3.3.2.), also possibly in the final particle /s11/ 'not otherwise,' the adverb /jùu-dil/ 'all the same,' and the derogatory lexeme /11/ itself: /11 wan-nå/ 'that very day,' /11-mèzw/ 'the (blasted) cat.' (This /11/ is a lexical prefix - see 2.4.1.)
3) /an/ 'farther away, comparatively far, removed from the present' Occurs in /nàn/ 'that' and its derivatives /nân/ 'there' and /qân/ 'thus,' possibly also in /than/ 'to catch up, get there.'

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

5) /aJ/ 'which of limited possibilities' Occurs in the demonstrative /náJ/ 'which,' its derivatives /náJ/ 'where' and the isolative /ráJ/ 'what do you mean?' and in the question particle /máJ/ 'yes or no.'

6) /aJ/ 'which of unlimited possibilities' Occurs chiefly in the free lexeme /raJ/ 'indefinite demonstrative; what, some, any,' its allolex /dáJ/ and their many derivatives, such as /raJ/ 'what,' /tháw-raJ/ 'how much,' /mýa-raJ/ 'when,' /thi1-raJ/ 'which instance,' /phýu-dáJ/ 'anyone,' /mýa-dáJ/ 'any time,' and /tháw-dáJ/ 'to any extent.' The morph /aJ/ occurs by itself as a sub-syllabic constituent in /thámaJ/ 'why' and /jáqáJ/ 'how.' The whole combination /raJ/ occurs as a sub-syllabic constituent in /khraJ/ 'who.'

7) /âJ/ 'the one intended, the correct one of limited possibilities' Occurs in /cháJ/ 'to be the one intended,' the negative /máJ/ 'not, other than,' and possibly such other lexemes as /háJ/ 'intended for,' /dáJ/ 'get, succeed,' and the derogatory lexeme /âJ/ itself: /âJ-mâJ/ 'the (blasted) dog' (a lexical prefix - see 2.4.1.)

   Allomorph /aJ/ occurs in the final particle /qáJ/ 'that's the one,' and possibly in /wáJ/ 'for future purposes.'

8) /q/ 'manner' Occurs in /qíl/ 'so,' /qân/ 'thus,' /qáJ/ 'how; that's the one,' and their derivatives /jáqíl/, /jáqán/, /jáqáJ/, and /qáJ/ 'what do you mean?'

9) /m/ 'negative' Occurs in /máJ/ 'not, other than' and the question-word /máJ/ 'yes or no.'

10) /ch ~/ 'designator' Occurs in /cháJ/ 'to be the one intended,' /chýy/ 'name,' /chén/ 'to be an example of,' and possibly an allomorph occurs in /chíl/ 'to point out' and /chán/ 'class.'

   Allomorph /cha/ occurs as syllabic morpheme constituent in such lexemes as /chaníl/ 'this way, this sort,' /chanán/ 'that way, that sort,' /chanáJ/ 'which sort,' and /chaphá/ 'especially.'

11) /r/ 'indefinite member of class' (opposite of 1) /n ~/ Occurs chiefly in /raJ/ 'what, some, any' and its derivatives (see 6) above), but also in the conjunction /rýy/ 'or,' the question-particle /rýy/ and its allolex /rôJ/ 'or what,' and possibly in the sentence-particle /rog/ 'or anything.'
Allomorph /n/ possibly occurs in /ny~/ and /ny~/ 'one, a certain member of the class of.'

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

Allomorph /y~/ probably occurs in /ny~/ and /ny~/ 'one, a certain member of the class of,' and in the conjunctions /syy/ 'such that,' /thyy/ and /cyy/ 'with the result that.'

2.3.5. Morphemes with Sub-syllabic Allomorphs

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

1) /thl/ 'classifier for instances' Occurs as a free lexeme with the prosodic-superfix morpheme /' / 'one' in /îlg-thl/ 'once more,' and in the following demonstrative phrases (among others): /thl-rañ/ 'which time,' /thl-níl/ 'this time,' and /thl-díaw/ 'once.'

Allomorph /thl/ occurs in /thl-díaw/ 'quite, completely.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Allomorphs /tha-m/ and /thamm/ occur as sub-syllabic constituents (syllable plus a fraction) in /thamaj/ 'why,' and its allolex /thammaj/.
5) /jàŋ/ 'classifier for kinds of things, adverb of manner'
   Occurs as a free lexeme with the prosodic morpheme /' in /ilg-jàŋ/ 'one
   more kind' and in the following demonstrative phrases (among others): /jàŋ-
   ní/ 'this kind,' /jàŋ-nàj/ 'which kind,' and /jàŋ-raj/ 'how.'

   Allomorph /jàŋ/ occurs in variant forms of the same demonstrative
   phrases: /jàŋ-ní/, /jàŋ-nàj/, /jàŋ-raj/.

   Allomorphs /jà-ŋ/ and /jàŋ/ occur as sub-syllabic constituents in
   the following lexical units (which are all allolexes of forms first listed
   in 2.3.4.8.): /jàŋ-di/ and /jàŋ-di/ 'so, this way,' /jàŋ/ and /jàŋ/ 'thus,
   that way,' /jàŋ/ and /jàŋ/ 'how, what way; that's the one.'

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

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

   Allomorph /dìaw/ occurs as sub-syllabic constituent in /dìaw/ and
   /chìaw/ 'quite, completely' (see 1) /thìaw/ above).

2.4. Lexeme Composition

2.4.1. Derivatives

   In the preceding section we have seen second-order lexemes derived
   from base plus prefix (like /prachum/, 2.3.1.1.), base plus infix (like
   /dànneen/, 2.3.2.1.), base plus superfix (like /khà/, 2.3.3.3.), or from a
   combination of two sub-syllabic morphemes (like /nì/, 2.3.4.1.), and third-
   order lexemes derived from superfixed base plus repetition of original base
   (like /dìì: dìi/, 2.3.3.4.), from original base plus repetition with infix
   (like /kìn kàn/, 2.3.2.2.), or from addition of a superfix to a combination
   of sub-syllabic morphemes (like /nì/, 2.3.3.2.). In all these types of
   derivative, sub-syllabic morphemes were involved.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/wîn/ 'to run'</td>
<td>/kaan-wîn/ 'running'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tàd sîy/ 'to cut clothes'</td>
<td>/kaan-tàd-sîy/ 'tailoring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bân/ 'house, home'</td>
<td>/kaan-bân/ 'homework'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tân-prathêed/ 'foreign'</td>
<td>/kaan-tân-prathêed/ 'foreign affairs'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nôo/ 'stupid'</td>
<td>/khwaam-nôo/ 'stupidity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ruû/ 'to know'</td>
<td>/khwaam-ruû/ 'knowledge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khaw-rôb thoq/ 'to do homage to a flag'</td>
<td>/khwaam khaw-rôb thoq/ 'respect for the flag'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) /nâa-/ 'worthy of'

Makes adjectives from verbal bases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/râg/ 'to love'</td>
<td>/nâa-râg/ 'lovable, cute'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/duu/ 'to look at'</td>
<td>/nâa-duu/ 'interesting to look at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/faq/ 'to listen'</td>
<td>/nâa-faq/ 'interesting to listen to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

/khwaam-nâa-duu/ 'visual interestingness'

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/saaj/ 'to be ashamed'</td>
<td>/khîl-saaj/ 'bashful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/koon/ 'to defraud'</td>
<td>/khîl-koon/ 'deceitful'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/kiad/ 'act slothfully' /khîl-kiad/ 'lazy'
/maw/ 'intoxicated' /khîl-maw/ 'alcoholic'

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

5) /tâq/ 'other' and /nâa-nâa/ 'various, plural'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derivatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pratheed/ 'country, nation'</td>
<td>/tâq-pratheed/ 'foreign countries'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nâa-nâa pratheed/ 'countries'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/caq-wad/ 'province'</td>
<td>/tâq-caq-wad/ 'the provinces'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(outside Bangkok)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chanîd/ 'type, kind'</td>
<td>/nâa-nâa chanîd/ 'various kinds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/châad/ 'race, nation'</td>
<td>/tâq-châad/ 'foreign origin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nâa-nâa châad/ 'races, nations'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dîym/ 'to drink'</td>
<td>/khryan-dîym/ 'beverages'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bin/ 'to fly'</td>
<td>/khryan-bin/ 'airplane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phim-dîid/ 'to type'</td>
<td>/khryan-phim-dîid/ 'typewriter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kariî/ 'curry'</td>
<td>/khryan-kariî/ 'curry ingredients'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

7) /khân/ and /bîân/ 'side, aspect,' and /phaaj/ 'time, place.'

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

| /khân-lân/ | 'behind, the rear side' |
| /bîân-lân/ | 'behind, the hidden side, the past' |
| /phaaj-lân/ | 'after, the future' |

(For further examples, see /naj/-class prepositions, 4.2.1.)
8) /raaj-/ 'case, instance,' and /pracam-/ 'associated with'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derivatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/wan/</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/raaj-wan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pracam-wan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sad-padaa/</td>
<td>'week'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/raaj-sad-padaa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dyan/</td>
<td>'month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/raaj-dyan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p11/</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pracam-p11/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

9) /-caj/ 'heart'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/d11/</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/d11-caj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khaw/</td>
<td>'enter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/khaw-caj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ch0ob/</td>
<td>'to like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ch0ob-caj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phoo/</td>
<td>'enough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/phoo-caj/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10) /-phab/ 'form, shape'

Makes abstract nouns from noun, verb, and adjective bases. This suffix is nearly in complementary distribution with 2) the prefix /khwaam-/, as far as selection of bases is concerned, and the meaning of the two affixes is about the same: 'the quality of.' The suffix sometimes requires a special allomorph of the base: some bases ending in consonants are extended by a syllable of short duration, which consists of a fortis consonant of the same position as the final of the base, plus the short vowel /a/; other bases have no extension, or unpredictable extensions.
Base Derivative
/sē-r11/ 'free' /sē-r11-phāb/ 'freedom'
/id-sarā/ 'free' /idsarā-phāb/ 'freedom'
/khun/ 'virtue' /khun-naphāb/ 'quality'
/sūg/ 'happiness' /sūg-kaphāb/ 'happiness'
/sān/ 'secure, peaceful' /sān-tīphāb/ 'security, peace'

(Note: /khwaam-sūg/ 'happiness' also exists.)

11) Other lexical suffixes worthy of mention:
/-sāa̱d/ 'discipline, science'
/-kaa̱n/ 'work'
/-kōon/ 'worker'
/-chīg/ or /īg/ 'member'
/-khom/ 'month with 31 days'
/-jon/ 'month with 30 days'

2.4.2. Compounds

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

Examples:
/roon/ 'hall' (noun)
/rían/ 'to study' (verb)
/roon-rían/ 'school' (noun)
/deen/ 'to walk' (verb)
/thěw/ 'row' (noun)
/deen-thěw/ 'to march' (verb)
A few of the lexemes which occur most frequently as head-morphemes are listed below.

/khôn-/ and /phuu-/ 'agent, the one who does'
/châaŋ-/ 'craftsman'
/câw-/ 'the one who fills a command or civil service function'
/roon-/ 'second-in-command, vice-
/chaaw-/ 'native of, citizen of'
/mêc-/ 'woman who does'
/thîi-/ 'place where something is done'
/roon-/ 'public building, hall'
/hôŋ-/ 'room'
/bân-/ 'village of'
/myaŋ-/ 'town or country of'
/toon-/ 'time or portion of'
/phâag-/ 'section of'

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

1) Classifier as head constituent of a noun compound lexeme. Examples with second constituent /mâaj/ 'wood, trees, plants':
/tôn/ 'classifier for trees and plants'
/tôn-mâaj/ 'tree' /tôn-mâaj sôŋ tôn/ 'two trees'

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

1) Classifier as head constituent of a noun compound lexeme. Examples with second constituent /mâaj/ 'wood, trees, plants':
/tôn/ 'classifier for trees and plants'
/tôn-mâaj/ 'tree' /tôn-mâaj sôŋ tôn/ 'two trees'
/baJ/ 'classifier for leaves, slips of paper, and receptacles'
/baJ-máaJ/ 'leaf' /baJ-máaJ són baJ/ 'two leaves'

/döog/ 'classifier for flowers and small-patterned objects'
/döog-máaJ/ 'flower' /döog-máaJ són döog/ 'two flowers'

Examples involving (4) irregular allomorph of constituent:
/phôn/ 'classifier for fruits' Allomorph: /lámáaJ/
/phôn-lámáaJ/ 'fruit' /phôn-lámáaJ són phôn/ 'two fruits'

2) First constituent not head of compound:
Examples with /maháa/ 'big', great:
/wíd-thajalaj/ 'college' /maháa-widthajalaj/ 'university'
/samúd/ 'salt water body' /maháa-samúd/ 'ocean'

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

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

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

3) Meaning of lexeme not deducible from meanings of constituents as free lexemes:
/tèèn/ to adorn' /qaan/ 'work, ceremony, fair'
/tèèn-qaan/ 'to be married'
/tòg/ 'to fall' /lòg/ 'down'
/tòg-lòg/ 'to agree'
/leèw/ 'already, over with' /tèè/ 'but, only'
/leèw-tèè/ 'depends on, is up to'

4) Irregular allomorphs of constituents.
Examples repeated from above:
/lámáaJ/ in /phôn-lámáaJ/ 'fruit' (1)
/karâad/ in /èeg-karâad/ 'autonomous' (3)
Other examples:

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

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

/āgsōn/ 'letters, literature' in /āgsōn tām/ 'low class of letters' (with /tām/ 'low')

Allomorph /āgsōn-rā/ in /āgsōn-rāsād/ 'the study of literature' (with /sād/ 'discipline')

Allomorph /āgkhara/ in /āgkhara-wīth1/ 'phonetics' (with /wīth1/ 'method')

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

2.4.3. Reduplications

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituent</th>
<th>Constituent</th>
<th>Compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tōo/ 'to confront'</td>
<td>/sūu/ 'to compete'</td>
<td>/tōo-sūu/ 'to fight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chāb/ 'quick'</td>
<td>/waj/ 'sensitive'</td>
<td>/chāb-waj/ 'alert'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

If the combining element is an infixed or superfixed form of the base, one of the complex reduplications listed below (5-8) occurs, and the combining element is an infixed reduplicator or a superfixed reduplicator.
If the combining element has some other morphophonemic resemblance to the base, one of the irregular reduplications listed below (9-10) occurs. The combining element may be a rhyming reduplicator, in which some portion of the reduplicator matches the latter portion of the base, or an alliterative reduplicator, in which the beginning of the reduplicator matches the beginning of the base.

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

Examples of rhyming, alliterative, and quasi reduplicators:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/chum/</td>
<td>/num/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phleʊn/</td>
<td>/phle8d/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/saʊ̯g/</td>
<td>/sa8an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chʊəj/</td>
<td>/lʊa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/klɑːn/</td>
<td>/θaːm/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Examples of rhyming, alliterative, and quasi reduplicators:

<table>
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<th>Base</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/chum/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phleʊn/</td>
<td>/phle8d/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/saʊ̯g/</td>
<td>/sa8an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chʊəj/</td>
<td>/lʊa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/klɑːn/</td>
<td>/θaːm/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

1) /B-B/ 'softening or approximating of base meaning'
   The construction consists of a simple reduplication, plus the morpheme /-/ 'sub-lexemic immediate constituent cut.' It occurs
mainly with adjective bases, where it is productive, but also with a few specific minor form-class bases. The reduplicated lexemes from adjective bases function only as modifiers and adverbs, and cannot fill the predicate position (among others). In the modifying position, the base adjective is limiting, while the reduplicated lexeme is non-limiting, and a real contrast results:

/nóg jàj/   'big birds'  (an implied size-classification)
/nóg jàj-jàj/ 'bigish birds'  (incidental information about size)

Other examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dí1/ 'good, well'</td>
<td>/dí1-dí1/ 'rather good, rather well'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cĩŋ/ 'true'</td>
<td>/cĩŋ-cĩŋ/ 'really'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lũyŋ/ 'slipping'</td>
<td>/lũyŋ-lũyŋ/ 'slippery'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kãw/ 'old (of things)'</td>
<td>/kãw-kãw/ 'oldish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kẽ/ 'old (of people)'</td>
<td>/kẽ-kẽ/ 'elderly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kũab/ 'almost'</td>
<td>/kũab-kũab/ 'approximately'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thãŋ/ 'the whole of'</td>
<td>/thãŋ-thãŋ/ 'including all of'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The last two examples are not adjective bases.)

2) /B-B/  'plurality'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dẽg/ 'child'</td>
<td>/dẽg-dẽg/ 'children'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tãŋ/ 'classifier for stacks'</td>
<td>/pẽn tãŋ-tãŋ/ 'in stacks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wan/ 'day'</td>
<td>/pẽn wan-wan: paj/ 'from day to day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kõon/ 'classifier for lumps'</td>
<td>/pẽn kõon-kõon/ 'in lumps'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternate form of reduplication:  /B B/  
\[/pẽn tãŋ tãŋ/ 'in stacks'\]

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

This highly productive construction consists of a simple reduplication with medium duration (in practice, never representing the
'high-order immediate constituent cut' 2.2.2.4) on the first syllable. Nearly all bases that reduplicate in this way also occur, with the superfix /'/ or after numerals, as classifiers meaning 'one instance of such a noise or sight.' The reduplicated lexemes are isolatives, and do not participate in normal syntactic constructions. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kɛg/</td>
<td>'one rap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ied/</td>
<td>'one creak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khamèb/</td>
<td>'a labored breath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wêtb/</td>
<td>'a flash'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Base in numeral phrase: /sɔɔŋ kɛg/ 'two raps'

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

4) /B, B/ 'repetitive action'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/deen/</td>
<td>'to walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/paʃ/</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternate form of reduplication: /B B/

/11 khon paʃ paʃ , maa maa ./ 'There were people coming and going.'

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

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

\[ /\text{kin}/ \quad \text{'to eat'} \quad /\text{kin \ ktn}/ \quad \text{'wining and dining'} \]
(For additional examples, see 2.3.2.2.)

6) \(/B-B/\) 'intensification of base meaning'

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

Example:

\[ /\text{cin}/ \quad \text{'true'} \quad /\text{cin-\ can}/ \quad \text{'sincerely'} \]
(For additional examples, see 2.3.2.3.)

7) \(/B1-B1/\) 'impressionistic description'

This complex reduplication, consisting of two infixed bases (the first of which has the least possible duration) occurs only in connection with the double infixed base /u-1/ and its allomorphs.

Example:

\[ /\text{kradig-kradig}/ \quad \text{'fidgety'} \]
Alternate form: \(/B1-B1\ B1-B1/\).

Example:

\[ /\text{cig-cig \ cco-\ cct}/ \quad \text{'sound of many voices'} \]
(For additional examples, see 2.3.2.4.)

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

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

Example:

\[ /\text{dii}/ \quad \text{'good'} \quad /\text{\ di1: d11}/ \quad \text{'excellent'}\]
(For additional examples, see 2.3.3.4.)

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/chum/ 'to swarm'</td>
<td>/chum-num/ 'to assemble' (B-Br)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bed/ 'fish-hook'</td>
<td>/bed-taləd/ 'odds and ends' (B-Br)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/farəŋ/ 'Occidental'</td>
<td>/farəŋ-maŋkhəa/ 'Occidentals and such' (B-Br)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sanūg/ 'to have fun'</td>
<td>/sanūg-sarəan/ 'to be amused' (B-Ba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wād/ 'temple'</td>
<td>/wād-waa/ 'temples, etc.' (B-Ba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wād-waa/ 'temples, etc.'</td>
<td>/wād-waa aaraam/ 'religious installations' (a third-order lexeme, /B-Ba Q/, in which /B-Ba/ and /Q/ are constituents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chūaj/ 'to help'</td>
<td>/chūaj-ləa/ 'to assist' (B-Q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bāan/ 'home, house'</td>
<td>/bāan-chəon/ 'hearth and home' (B-Q)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hōŋ/ 'raise up'</td>
<td>/cooŋ-hōŋ/ 'proud' (Br-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phleen/ 'to be absorbed'</td>
<td>/phləed-phleen/ 'completely engrossed' (Ba-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ńyəj/ 'to be tired'</td>
<td>/ńəd-ńyəj/ 'exhausted' (Ba-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khāw/ 'hill, mountain, etc.'</td>
<td>/phuu-khāw/ 'mountain' (R-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/klaŋ/ 'middle, amidst'</td>
<td>/thāam-klaŋ/ 'exact center' (R-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khāŋ/ 'side, beside'</td>
<td>/khōn-khāŋ/ 'rather, on the side of' (Ba-B)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11) /B Q/ 'ultimate degree'

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

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kʰaːw/</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dɛŋ/</td>
<td>'red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rew/</td>
<td>'fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰaːw /ɛuːg:/</td>
<td>'pure white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dɛŋ /prêːd:/</td>
<td>'vivid red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rew /prêːj/:</td>
<td>'lightning fast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5. Syntactic Constructions

2.5.1. Simultaneous Constructions

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

```
paj: khrâb .       'Yes, sir, (he's) going.'
```

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

```
'That woman isn't a teacher!'
```

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.5.2. Consecutive-order Constructions

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

/kîn khāw/ 'to eat,' from /kîn/ 'eat' and /khāw/ 'rice.'
(verb expression)

/dîl lâkēn/ 'very good,' from /dîl/ 'good' and /lâkēn/ 'very'
(adjective expression).
The other constituent of an endocentric phrase (the constituent following the head) is the modifier. In the examples above, /bān/, /kin/, and /dī/ are heads; /phōm/, /khāw/, and /lākoen/ are modifiers.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes-Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khāw kin: māj</td>
<td>kin: māj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Will he eat it?'</td>
<td>'Yes.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kin/ 'eat' is a verb, and /khāw kin/ is a verb predication. /khāw/ is the subject.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes-Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khāw dī: māj</td>
<td>dī: māj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Is the rice good?'</td>
<td>'Yes.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dī/ 'good' is an adjective, and /khāw dī/ is an adjective predication. /khāw/ is the subject.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes-Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khāw tōn kin: māj</td>
<td>tōn: māj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Does he have to eat it?'</td>
<td>'Yes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tōn/ 'has to' is a modal verb; it substitutes for the endocentric predicate /tōn kin/ 'has to eat,' and also for the entire predication /khāw tōn kin/, which is hence a modal verb predication.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

khāw cō-ruu hīlb .

'He bored a hole in the box.'

The subject is /khāw/ and the main predicate is /cō-ruu hīlb/, which has its own constituents, /cō-ruu/ 'bore a hole,' a secondary predicate, and its object, /hīlb/ 'box.' The unit /cō-ruu/ consists of /cō/, predicate, and /ruu/, object. For convenience, objects such as /hīlb/ are called indirect objects.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
/kh\;\theta\;\varepsilon/ & \;ph\varepsilon m/ \; 'm\text{ine},' \;\text{from} \; /kh\;\theta\;\varepsilon/ \; 'b\text{elonging to}' \;\text{and} \; /ph\varepsilon m/ \; 'I, \;\text{me}.' \; (\text{prepositional phrase}) \\
/kho\;\varepsilon \; k\varepsilon n/ & \; 'i\text{s sure to eat,' \;\text{from} \; /kho\;\varepsilon/ \; 'i\text{s sure to}' \;\text{and} \; /k\varepsilon n/ \; 'eat.' \; (\text{modal phrase}) \\
/ma\varepsilon \; d\varepsilon l/ & \; 'n\text{ot good,' \;\text{from} \; /ma\varepsilon/ \; 'n\text{ot}' \;\text{and} \; /d\varepsilon l/ \; 'g\text{ood}.' \; (\text{negative phrase})
\end{align*}
\]

If a residual constituent of any kind is in an exocentric construction, it is called a **complement** rather than an object. (see 2.5.2.2. end). Example: \( /k\varepsilon \varepsilon w\; j\varepsilon u\; n\varepsilon j-t\varepsilon u\;u /\) 'The rice is in the cabinet.'

The subject is \( /k\varepsilon \varepsilon w/ \; 'r\text{ice},' \) the predicador is \( /j\varepsilon u/ \; 't\text{o be located},' \) and the residue, \( /n\varepsilon j-t\varepsilon u\;u/ \; \text{a prepositional phrase meaning} \; 'i\text{n the cabinet}. \) \( /t\varepsilon u/ \) is a complement.

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

- \( \text{wan-\varepsilon l} \; \text{wan-s\varepsilon w} . \) 'Today is Saturday.'
- \( \text{wan-\varepsilon l} \; \text{r\varepsilon n} . \) 'It's hot today.' (predication)
- \( \text{ph\varepsilon m} \; \text{k\varepsilon h\varepsilon a-h\varepsilon g} . \) 'I have a broken leg'
- \( \text{ph\varepsilon m} \; \text{ma\varepsilon-j-s\varepsilon b\varepsilon s\varepsilon j} . \) 'I'm not well.' (predication)

The first constituent of an equation is the **topic**; the second constituent is the **equational predicador**, if a single lexeme, or the **equational predicate**, if a more complex construction. In the above examples, \( /\text{wan-\varepsilon l}/ \) and \( /\text{ph\varepsilon m}/ \) are topics, \( /\text{wan-s\varepsilon w}/ \; 'S\text{aturday}' \) is an equational predicador, and \( /\text{k\varepsilon h\varepsilon a-h\varepsilon g}/ \), which is itself a noun expression ('broken leg'), is an equational predicate.

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

- \( \text{wan-\varepsilon l} \; \text{a\varepsilon k\varepsilon a\varepsilon d \varepsilon d l} . \) 'The weather is nice today.'

Here, \( /\text{wan-\varepsilon l}/ \) is the topic, and \( /\text{a\varepsilon k\varepsilon a\varepsilon d \varepsilon d l}/ \) is the equational predicador, consisting of a predicador with subject \( /\text{a\varepsilon k\varepsilon a\varepsilon d}/ \; '\text{weather}' \) and predicador \( /d l/ \; 'g\text{ood}.' \)
5) An enumeration is any exocentric construction which as a whole is syntactically parallel to an endocentric expression, that is, which can function in a larger construction as modifier, subject, topic, or predicate (but not as a head). Example:

/sõoŋ mooŋ/  
'two o'clock'

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

Topic:  
/sõoŋ mooŋ/ lɛɛw .  
'It's two o'clock.'

Equational Predicate:  
malika khɔɔŋ-phɔm sõoŋ mooŋ .  
'My watch (says) two o'clock.'

Subject:  
/sõoŋ mooŋ kɔ-dâj.  
'Two o'clock would be all right.'

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

Second Constituent in Larger Exocentric Phrase:  
con-thỳŋ sõoŋ mooŋ .  
'Until two o'clock.'

2.5.3. Non-consecutive Constructions

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

/kɛɛd jɑɑŋ-tɛɛg/ khɔñ .  
'It happened that a tire blew out.'

The predication /jɑɑŋ tɛɛg/ 'tire bursts' is included in the discontinuous modal phrase /kɛɛd ... khɔñ/ 'it originates, a new thing happens.'

khɔw ɔ̄d phûud khwaam-ciŋ mɛ̄j-dâj .  
'He couldn't help telling the truth.'

The verb expression /phûud khwaam-ciŋ/ 'to tell the truth' is included in the discontinuous modal phrase /ɔ̄d ... mɛ̄j-dâj/ 'not able to keep from.'
2) Parenthetical constructions are a special case of discontinuous constructions, in which the inserted constituent can be 'moved' to another location, without damage to the syntactic relationship, in such a way that a consecutive construction results. That is, for every parenthetical construction, a parallel consecutive construction exists; the same is not true of ordinary discontinuous constructions. Parenthetical constructions of all types occur, and are usually marked by prosodic phenomena of one kind or another. Examples:

khōo sypass, dāj: māj-khrāb, nūu tua-nīl.
'I'd like to buy - may I, sir? - this mouse.'

The major immediate constituents /khōo sypass nūu tua-nīl/ 'I'd like to buy this mouse' and /dāj: māj-khrāb/ 'may I, sir?' also occur in consecutive order in the following sentence:

khōo sypass nūu tua-nīl, dāj: māj-khrāb.
'May I buy this mouse, sir?'

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

paj kū-dāj, jūu kū-dāj.
'You can either go, or stay.'

The constituent /kū-dāj/ 'can equally well' is repeated in the same syntactic relationship with /paj/ 'go' and /jūu/ 'stay.'

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

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

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

4) Discontinuous parallel constructions occur when the separate co-constituents (i.e. not the repeated constituent) are the two halves of a reduplicated lexeme (see 2.4.3.). These constructions are extremely common in colloquial speech, and nearly every type of reduplication except the
simplest is represented, as well as all sub-types of consecutive construction. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discontinuous Parallel Construction</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aw cîq , aw cay ,</td>
<td>cîq-cay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Act in dead earnest'</td>
<td>'sincerely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàj wàd , pàj wa ,</td>
<td>wàd-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go to the temples and such'</td>
<td>'temples, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màj pàj , màj pej: là .</td>
<td>pàj pej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I guess I won't go.'</td>
<td>'go, shmo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hên nàa , hên ta ,</td>
<td>nàa-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'See someone in person'</td>
<td>'face'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interlocking Construction</th>
<th>First Reduplication</th>
<th>Second Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>màag nàa , làaj ta ,</td>
<td>màag-làaj</td>
<td>nàa-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Many faces (people)'</td>
<td>'many'</td>
<td>'faces'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

- **Endocentric Expression**
- **Predication**
- **Exocentric Phrase**
- **Equation**
- **Enumeration**
2.6. Classification

2.6.1. Lexeme Categories

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

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

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

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

2.6.2. Sentence Types

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

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

   sër tua-níi rër ↑. 'Is this the coat?!

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

   sër tua-níi rër , khun sàj mën-khyyn-níi . 'Is this the coat you wore last night?'
The following clause, which also contains / , /, is not a complex sentence because of the occurrence of a discontinuous parallel construction:

dichăn cadaj paj wâd, paj waa: kakhâw düaj .
'I'll be able to go to the temples and so on along with the others.'

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

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

wan-níi wan-sâw . 'Today is Saturday.'
phôm chûų cim . 'My name is Jim.'
phôm khaâ-hâg . 'I have a broken leg.'

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

Endocentric Construction: sýa tua-níi . 'this coat.'

Exocentric Phrase: nàj tûu kèb-nàk-sûy . 'In the bookcase.'

Enumeration: sôony khon: thàw-nân . 'Only two people.'

Single Lexeme: tâaj † . 'For heaven's sake!'

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

(Normal) (Simple) Major
Exclamatory Complex Equational Sentence
Minor
CHAPTER III
FREE LEXEME CLASSES

3.1. Isolates

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

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

3.1.1. Interjections

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

1) /lʌw:/ 'Well! (chiding or disappointment)'
2) /mɛː/: 'Say! My my! (surprise, admiration)'
3) /lɛː/ 'What? (surprise, lack of understanding)'

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3.1.2. Responses

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

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

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

2) /ee/ 'Yes (concessive).'
   A. kô wan-nîl wan-saw: nîl-khrîb ̣.
   B. ee , ciŋi: sîl.
   A. 'Well today is Saturday!' 
   B. 'Yes, that's true.'
3) /ʊo/ 'Oh? (skeptical or mildly surprised)'
   A. jùu thí-pàag sooj sùan-phluu.
   B. ʊo, jùu klâj khet-niːr jeeŋ.
   A. 'It's at the entrance to Suan-phluu Lane.'
   B. Oh? as close as all that!

4) /ʊo/ 'Oh! (sense of loss)'
   A. kèb-wàj sääg-sääm bâjː nàː.
   B. ʊo, chànn pòogː sää-mòd-lèːw t.
   A. 'Save about three (of the fruits), will you?'
   B. 'Oh, I've peeled them all!'

5) /nàː/ 'Well? What? (further explanation or action required),
      but, well but'
   A. wan-níi chànn pâj-sýy phàːː maa.
   B. nàː, sw-maa-duu kan-nôːjː sì t.
   A. 'I bought some cloth today.'
   B. 'Well? Let's see it!'
      nàː, chuàaj sóːːj nàː-g-sýy nâːː maa-nôːj.
      'Say, hand me that book, will you?'
   nàː, wàːː nàː t.
   'What? What did you say?'
   nàː, wàːː camâːj-maaː nàː t.
   'Well, but you said you weren't coming!'

6) /ŋàː/ or /ŋǎː/ 'Why, well, anyway.'
   ŋàː, maa chaːːː nàː-g-làː.
   'Well, you're pretty late.'
   ŋǎː, jàːŋ mâːj-maaː.
   'In any case, it hasn't come yet.'

7) /ræː/ 'Is that so?'

8) /mâːj/ 'No (That choice is not taken).'
   Answers only questions containing the final particle /rǐy/.
A. wan-ní khun tôñ paj-wád: rý-khā.
B. māj: khā, māj-tôñ paj.
A. 'Do you have to go to the temple today?'
B. 'No, I don’t have to.'
A. khun māj-paj wád: rý-khā.
B. māj: khā.
A. 'Aren’t you going to the temple?'
B. 'No, I’m not.'

9) /jaː/  'Not yet.'
Negatively answers all questions in which an assumption is made that an event will occur, or a situation pertains, sooner or later.
A. thaan khāaw: lėw rý-jaː.
B. jaː, jaː māj-dâj-thaan.
A. 'Have you eaten yet?'
B. 'No, I haven’t eaten yet.'

10) /plaːw/  'No (the assumption or inference is wrong).'
Negatively answers yes-no questions (other than those answered by 8) and 9), and points out the inapplicability of questions containing interrogative words.
A. wan-nán khun paj-wád, chājì māj-khā.
B. plaːw: khā, chān māj-dâj-paj.
A. 'You went to the temple that day, didn’t you?'
B. 'No, ma’am. I didn’t go there.'
11) /khráb/ 'Yes (man speaking politely).'

Occurs in answer to all types of questions, but merely indicates that the speaker has followed the line of discourse, not that he specifically agrees to everything said. Also occurs after non-questions. After commands, it nearly always implies intent to obey.

12) /khraab/ 'Yes? (man answering a call politely).'

A. khun ci'd: khráb ↑.
B. khráab .

A. 'Say, Chit...'
B. 'Yes?'

13) /khâ/ 'Yes (woman speaking politely).'

Parallel to 11) /khráb/.

14) /kháa/ 'Yes? (woman answering a call politely).'

Parallel to 12) /khraab/.

15) /câ/ 'Yes (among intimates, or to an inferior).'

Parallel to 11).

16) /căa/ 'Yes? (among intimates, or to an inferior)'

Parallel to 12).

Responses 5-10 above are frequently followed in their phrase or clause by sentence particles (4.5.), a class of unstressed bound lexemes some of which have a morphological relationship with responses 11-16 above. Because of the stress pattern, such cases are not examples of two responses in construction with each other; the first item is always the response, the second the sentence particle. Examples:

5 náj: khráb . 'What's that?'
8 māj: khâ . 'No, ma'am.'
9 jān: cā . 'Not yet.'
10 pláaw: khráb . 'No, sir.'
All responses can be followed in the same clause by vocatives (3.1.3.), which are normally in a phrase by themselves.

3.1.3. Vocatives

A vocative is any isolative which typically occurs as the sole lexemic constituent of the environment /, ./ (i.e. the final phrase of a clause). Most vocatives also occur as the only lexemic constituent of an entire clause, or with a sentence particle as co-constituent, the usual case being the speaker's attempt to attract the attention of a particular listener.

The class of vocatives is extremely large and open. There are four sub-categories (semantically classified): 1) general vocatives, 2) names, 3) kinship terms, 4) titles, and 5) complex vocatives. Representative examples for each sub-category are given below.

1) /nî/: 'general vocative'

Like most general vocatives, /nî/ has homonyms, the principal one being a demonstrative meaning 'here.' The vocative /nî/ is also easily mistaken for a homonymous sentence particle, but its classification as a vocative is corroborated by the fact that it occurs in a separate phrase after final particles like /khrāb/ and /khā/.

Examples:

khun māj-paj baang-sēn: rōg rō-khā , nî t .
'Then you're not going to Bangsaen after all? (is that what you meant?)'

phōm māj-dāj-paj nāj: leej khrāb , nî t .
'I didn't go anywhere at all, (you)!

2) /cid/: 'name of a man'

Used without title or kinship term, given names or nicknames of people commonly occur in the typical vocative positions in familiar speech.

Examples:

phōm māj-dāj-paj nāj: leej hā , cid t .
'I didn't go anywhere at all, Chit!'

cid: wōc t .
'Hey, Chit!'
3) /phi:/ 'older brother, sister, or cousin; husband'

Nearly all kinship terms occur as vocatives, sometimes with much broader meanings than they have as nouns. For example, /lu:/ technically means 'older brother of mother or father,' but as a vocative (and in other uses) can apply to any male stranger of a certain age.

Examples:

\[\text{waa jaaj: na, phi}.\]

'What did you say, (husband)\?'

\[\text{phi}.\]

'Sister!' (calling)

4) /naaj/ 'Master.'

Many titles, like /naaj/, have homonyms which are vocatives, but as in the case of kinship terms, the meaning may be quite different. For example, /naaj/ as a formal title meaning 'Mister' is low in the social scale, but as a vocative confers respect. Other titles do not occur as vocatives at all; e.g. /phaaj/ 'high-ranking civil servant' is replaced by /caw-khun/ in all forms of direct address.*

Examples:

\[\text{pham maaj-daj-paj naaj leej khrab, naaj}.\]

'I didn't go anywhere at all, master.'

\[\text{naaj: kha}.\]

'Master?' (woman servant calling)

5) Apparent constructions of two or more vocatives always turn out to be morphological rather than syntactic constructions. The cases in question are kinship term (3) or title (4) plus name (2), and title (4) plus kinship term (3). The result is a single lexeme (always an indivisible unit, whether it is a vocative or a noun, syntactically speaking), which is an endocentric derivative, rather than a compound, because the name or kinship term substitutes for the whole.

Examples:

\[\text{than samid naaj}.\]

'Mr. Smith.'

\[\text{nooj luaaj naaj}.\]

'Younger sister Luay.'

\[\text{khun pho}.\]

'(Mr.) Father.'

* An as yet unpublished pamphlet by James N. Mosel, entitled 'Thai Names, Ranks, and Titles' contains much information on this subject.
3.1.4. Imitatives

An imitative is any isolative (other than an interjection, 3.1.1.) which is, morphologically speaking, a reduplication (2.4.3.). Imitatives typically occur in the same environment as vocatives, /, . /, but if a sentence particle occurs, it follows the imitative (whereas it precedes the vocative phrase). Imitatives also occur, somewhat rarely, as co-constituents of discontinuous syntactic constructions which bracket them; in such cases, the imitative usually occupies a whole internal morphophonemic phrase of its own (see example under 3) below.)

The class of imitatives is large, and almost certainly open, although idiolectal variations make it difficult to determine what kinds of innovations are acceptable. The sub-categories of imitatives are determined by reference to structural type of reduplication, but this classification accords well with semantic sub-categories as well. 1) Simple-reduplication imitatives are mostly onomatopoetic, the imitation presumably having to do with sound. 2) Double-infixed imitatives are largely concerned with manner of motion, and 3) Single-infixed imitatives with characteristics of people. One example is given for each sub-category below.

1) khāw dâj-jin sī āng , īed-īed .
   'He heard something go creak-creak.'

2) māyā-kī hēn khun ēen , kaphlōg-kaphleeg .
   'A moment ago I saw you walking with a limp.'

3) khāw cháaj Ṇen khōōng-khāw , surūj-surāaj , pāj mōd : thāŋ-nān .
   'He used up all his money, in spendthrift fashion.'
   (The immediate constituents are the imitative /surūj-surāaj/ and the discontinuous remainder of the clause.)

3.2. Substantives

A substantive is any free lexeme which occurs as co-constituent of a predication of which it is not the predicator. Thus substantives typically function as topics, subjects, objects, and complements. (Any substantive which fulfills not only the definition above but also that of predicative, 3.3., is referred to in this grammar by the more specific designation. In fact, nearly all predicatives qualify as substantives, but the reverse is not true. To put it another way, a non-isolative free lexeme is considered to be a substantive until it can be shown to be a predicative; once the
latter classification has been established, however, the item is thenceforth a predicative.) Some substantives also function as equational predicates, and nearly all occur in prepositional phrases.

Substantives are classified, on the basis of typical and absolute occurrence, into six sub-groups: 1) Nouns, 2) Complementives, 3) Pronouns, 4) Numerals, 5) Classifiers, and 6) Demonstratives.

3.2.1. Nouns

A noun is any substantive which occurs as the head of an endocentric expression. (Other types of substantives, particularly numerals and classifiers, also satisfy this definition, but are referred to by the more specific term once they have been shown to satisfy further criteria.) The characteristic syntactic positions of nouns are those of substantives in general; the only distinctive use of nouns, as opposed to other substantives, is their frequent and typical occurrence as heads of noun expressions (see 2.4.2.).

Of all the lexeme-classes of ST, the class of nouns is by far the largest, comprising well over half of the entire vocabulary. The class is also one of the most open - nearly all new lexical items entering the language, whether by borrowing, innovation, or new-formation, begin as nouns. At the same time there is continuous loss from the inventory, as nouns become predicatives by innovation.

Nouns are classified on the basis of their relationships with other form-classes into eight sub-categories. One example of each is given below.

1) **Concrete nouns** have a covert lexical relationship with one or more of the unit-classifiers (3.2.5.1.) necessary in counting operations.

```
/máa/

máa sách tua .

'dog'

'Two dogs.'
```

2) **Mass nouns** are counted only by one or more of the metric classifiers (3.2.5.2.)

```
/ńáam/

ńáam sách thuaj .

'water'

'Two cups of water.'
```

3) **Common nouns** are counted with both unit classifiers and metric classifiers. Most ST nouns fall into this category.

```
/phâa/

phâa sách phỳyn .

'cloth'

'Two cloths (strips or pieces of cloth).'</n```
4) **Abstract nouns** serve as their own counters, occurring both before and after numerals.

/wichaa/  
wichaa sŏng wichaa.  'subject of study, discipline'  'Two disciplines.'

5) **Place nouns** are a special case of abstract nouns, which typically occur in prepositional phrases and are counted either with themselves or with the general classifier /hèŋ/.

/rán/  
rán sŏng rán.  'shop, store'  'Two stores.'

6) **Time nouns** are a special case of abstract nouns, which typically occur in prepositional phrases and are used as classifiers themselves but do not occur twice in the counting-phrase.

/dyan/  
naj dyan rèŋ.  'In the first month.'

7) **Personal nouns** occur also as vocatives (3.1.3.), and are of four sub-types: names, kinship terms, titles, and combinations (derivatives). Personal nouns occur as heads of endocentric expressions much less often than any other type of noun. When counted, they usually take the classifier /khon/ (as do many other nouns which do not belong to this category).

/phîl/  
phîl sŏng khon.  'older sibling or cousin; husband'  'Two older siblings.'

8) **Personal-attribute nouns** fill the subject position in equational predicates of which a personal noun is the topic. This subcategory is largely limited to parts of the body and individual characteristics (such as 'name,' 'age,' 'weight,' etc.).

/myy/  
khun-cîd myy jaaw.  'Chit has long arms.'

phâa sŏng méd.  'Two metres of cloth.'
3.2.2. Complementives

A complementive is any substantive which occurs only as a whole predicate constituent in itself, or as a modifier, never as a head. (Other substantives, e.g. demonstratives, which satisfy this definition, but also meet more specific criteria, are referred to by the more specific term.) The categories of noun and complementive are thus mutually exclusive, and their behavior within the clause framework is quite different.

In predications consisting of only two constituents (subject and predicate, or predicate and object), complementives appear deceptively like nouns. When the same predications are expanded to include real nouns, however, the complementives invariably move either to the front or the end of the clause. Complementives do not occur between nouns and predicates, unless there is a specific modifying relationship between them and the nouns (i.e. the complementive involved is part of a noun expression).

In the following examples, /khruu/ 'teacher' is a noun, and /mỳa-raj/ 'when' is a complementive.

```
khruu cabòog .  'The teacher will tell (them).'  
cabòog khruu .  '(Someone) will tell the teacher.'  
mỳa-raj cabòog .  'When will (you) tell (me)?'  
cabòog mỳa-raj .  'When would (you) tell (me)?'  
mỳa-raj khruu cabòog .  'When will the teacher tell (them)?'  
cabòog khruu mỳa-raj .  'When would (you) tell the teacher?'  
```

Complementives by themselves occur typically as topics and complements, less often as subjects and objects. Sub-classification is made, on the basis of typical occurrence, into three categories: 1) those which are found most frequently at or near the beginnings of clauses, 2) those which are found most frequently at or near the ends of clauses, and 3) those which occur freely in both positions. The last category (and to some extent all complementives) have the common feature that position before or after the predicate makes relatively little difference insofar as the meaning of the entire clause is concerned, whereas the subject-object distinction is a vital one where nouns are involved. In this sense, complementives are 'moveable' in the clause context, while the position of nouns is fixed.

The three sub-categories of complementives are named, after typical members, 1) the /baŋ-əen/ class, 2) the /eeŋ/ class, and 3) the /thaməŋ/ class.
1) /baŋ-ṭen/ Class

The class consists of complementives which occur at the beginning of clauses, coming even before the subject or topic. The class meaning is 'setting of the subject-predicate situation with regard to timing, frequency, or relative importance.' Most members of the class are morphemically complex lexemes, /baŋ-ṭen/ itself being one of the few members which consist of a single morpheme. Some members have characteristic echoes later in the clause, these are indicated where possible.

The class is open and very large, including many (but by no means all) time expressions, plus a large number of conjunction-like transitional expressions which are not themselves conjunctions. Only the most common and representative members are illustrated below, with reference to a single frame:

/...ród ñiä ./

'...the car broke down.'

<p>| | | |</p>
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<thead>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) /baŋ-ṭen/ or /pha-ṭen/</td>
<td>'accidentally' Often followed by /khyn/.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) /baŋ-thií/</td>
<td>'perhaps, sometimes' When followed by /lamäŋ/, the meaning is nearly always 'perhaps.'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. /thamadaa/</td>
<td>'normally, usually'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. /jùu dií-dií/</td>
<td>'out of a clear blue sky, unexpectedly'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. /dooj-mäag/ and /sùan-mäag/</td>
<td>'usually, for the most part'</td>
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<td>6. /dooj-chaphö/</td>
<td>'in particular, especially'</td>
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<td>7. /sèd-lètw/</td>
<td>'after that'</td>
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<td>8. /thyn-nán/</td>
<td>'in spite of that'</td>
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<td>9. /phrë-chanán/</td>
<td>'because of that'</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. /më-chanán/</td>
<td>'otherwise, except for that'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 11. /jàŋaj-kštaam/ and /jàŋaj-kšdíí/ | 'nevertheless' Often followed by /mëyan-kan/.
2) /eeŋ/ Class

The class consists of complementives which occur at the end of clauses, coming after the object and some types of complements. The class meaning is something like 'reinforcement of prior information about quantity, exclusiveness, or inclusiveness of the subject matter or manner of action.' Several members, in fact, are most commonly found after specific prior elements in the predicate (this information being given in the listing). There are, however, no real pairs of semantic opposites.

/eeŋ/-class complementives are among the most common of all clause constituents. The class is open and moderately large, and it includes stressed homonyms of several common bound lexemes.

1. /eeŋ/ 'by itself (themselves), without assistance or outside influence.'

mēw man-maa: sā eeŋ .
'The cat came all by itself. (It wasn't brought here by somebody.)'

pen thamadaa: jūu eeŋ .
'It's only natural. (It's nature by itself.)'

2. /dūaj-kan/ or /dāj-kan/ 'along with others, in company.'

'May I walk along (with you),'

khāw samāg calēn kāb-khāw: dūaj-kan .
'He offered to play along with them.'

3. /līg/ 'in addition, further, still' Often follows /jan/.

lēsw , khāw kō-māj-maa: sā līg t .
'And he didn't come this time, either.'

nōō-chaaj jaŋ pen nāg-rian: līg .
'Younger brother was still a student.'

4. /thāw-nān/ or /thēw-nān/ 'only, no more than that.' Often follows /tēs/.

khuan catham hāj-sēdi: paj , thāw-nān .
'We just ought to get it finished, that's all.'

khāw aw tēs-kin: thēw-nān .
'The only thing he wants to do is eat.'
5. /dúaj/ 'also, in addition to some other fact.'

lécw, khàw kë-méj-maa: sá dúaj.
    'And he himself didn't come, either.' (Compare with first example under 3. /iig/.)

nóøn-chaaaj, pen nág-riaa: jùú dúaj.
    'Younger brother is also a student (in addition to being something else).'</p>

6. /myan-kan/ or /mën-kan/ 'likewise, in addition to some other subject; anyway, at that'

nóøn-chaaaj, pen nág-riaa: jùú myan-kan.
    'Younger brother is also a student (like some other person.)'

kò phôm chôob: mën-kan †
    'Well, I like it all right... (but)'

khaw kò-tânçcaaj wàa, camaa myan-kan.
    'He decided he would come anyway (even so).'

7. /tæn-hàag/ or /tànç-hàag/ 'on the contrary, instead.' Usually untranslatable in English. Often preceded by a /màj/-modal in the previous clause.

phôm mëj-dëj-chûy phoon. chûy phôn: tæn-hàag.
    'My name isn't Porn. It's Pone.'

khaw klab bân: sà tànç-hàag.
    'He went home (rather than doing something else).'

8. /jùú-dìï/ 'in spite of everything, anyway'

khaw rûn-tua: wàa, khàw mëj-sàbaaj màag † khàw kë-jaaj
    paj than ràaan: jùú-dìï.
    'He realized that he was very sick, but he went to work in spite of it.'

9. /than-thîï/ 'immediately'

klab bân: than-thîï, sì.
    'Go right on home.'

10. /leøj/ 'simply,' after negative 'at all'. Often preceded by a /màj/-modal in the same clause.

khàw kò-klab bân: leøj.
    'He simply went home.'
khåw mâj-dâj-klåb båan; sê leòj.
'He didn't go home at all.'
thîl-nîl mâj-mîl satm; leòj.
'There aren't any stamps here at all.'

11) /thîl/ 'this one time, for once.' Often follows general modal verbs like /khôo/ (3.3.1.2.) in commands and requests.
phôm jåag capaj; sê thîl.
'I'd like to go this once. (Now is the time.)'
khôo hâj khåw duû: thîl.
'Let him have a look at it.'
paj sê-thîl; sî.
'Why don't you go!'

12) /nôo/ or /nô/ 'this little thing, for a while' Often follows general modal verbs like /khôo/ in commands and requests.
phôm jåag capaj; sê nôo.
'I'd like to try going. (It's the thing to do.)'
waan nàq nîn-nîn: nô; dâj; mëj.
'Can you sit still for a minute?'
kwàad båan sê-nôo: sî ♦.
'Sweep up the house, will you?'

13) /kë-lëw: kan/ 'and be done with it.' Common in suggestions and agreements, and is usually set off in a phrase of its own.
pîoîj hâj-paj, kë-lëw: kan.
'Let it go and be done with it.'

3. /thamaj/ Class

These complementives belong to both the /bañ-ëen/ (1. above) and the /ëen/ (2. above) classes; that is, they occur at both the beginning and end of clauses. The class meaning is 'time, place, or manner-orientation of the subject-predicate situation.' The placement of the items also makes a slight but consistent difference in their meaning; the clause-final position makes the time, place, or manner element distinctive, and the clause-initial position makes it incidental. The occurrence of bound elements like /thëŋ/ and
/sā/ around the predicate reinforces this distinction (see first pair of examples below).

The class is probably closed, but is quite large, since it includes a great many standard time expressions, such as 'yesterday,' and most interrogative lexemes. The examples given below are representative ones.

1) /thamaj/ 'why?'

thamaj , khāw thỳ-q-māa hā khun .
'Why did he (happen to) come calling on you?'
khāw māa hā khun : sā , thamaj .
'What did he come calling on you for?'

2) /jaŋaŋ/ or /jaŋ-raj/ 'how?'

jaŋaŋ thỳ-q-tham nāa jaŋaŋ ; lā ↑ .
'How did your face get like that?'
tham nāa jaŋaŋ , dāj jaŋaŋ : lā .
'How can you make your face like that?'

3) /māya-raj/ of /māraj/ 'when?'

khun capaŋ amēe-rīkkā , māya-raj .
'When are you going to America?'
māya-raj , khun capaŋ amēe-rīkkā .
'When would you ever go to America?'
khun pen thāhān māraj ↑ .
'When were you a soldier?'

4) /thîl-nāj/ or /thînāj/ 'where?'

khāw cōd rōd : wāj , thîl-nāj .
'Where did he park the car?'
thînāj , thîl khāw cōd rōd .
'Where was it he parked the car?'

5) /jaŋaṅ/ 'that way,' and /jaŋīl/ 'this way'

jaŋaṅ , khun māj-tōŋ-kaan iīg : ryy .
'In that case you don't need it any more?'
khun tōŋ-kaan jaŋīl : ryy .
'Is this the way you want it?'
6. /ph0-dìi/ 'just then,' /dıaw-nìì/ 'now,' /welaa-nán/ 'at that time,' /tòc-paj/ 'from now on,' /tòc-maa/ 'from then on,' and many other time expressions.

raw kamla̯ phuud thỳn khun: jùu thì-diaw , ph0-dìi khun maa .
'We were just talking about you, and then you came.'

raw kamla̯ phuud thỳn khun-samàg: jùu thì-diaw , khàw maa ph0-dìi .
'We were just talking about Samak when he came.'

dıaw-nìì , phôm mìi thura mąag .
'Now, I'm very busy.'

phôm mìi thura mąag , dıaw-nìì .
'I'm very busy now.'

welaa-nán , khàw jàq-jùu naj krùn-thèeb .
'At that time he was still in Bangkok.'

7. /thìl-nìì/ or /thînìì/ 'here,' /thìl-nán/ or /thînàn/ 'there,' /thìl-noon/ or /thînôn/ 'over there, at the other place,' /kha-thîl/ 'on the spot,' and many other place expressions.

thìl-nìì , màj-mìi nàsm .
'There's no water here (incidentally).' 

mìi náam , thìl-nòon .
'There's water way over there (that's where it is).' 

thìl-nàn mìi khè̂n-màa thúg-wan .
'They have horse-racing there daily (that's one of the things they have).' 

màn taaj kha-thîl .
'It died on the spot.'

8. /khaq-naj/ 'inside' and all derivatives of /naj/-class prepositions (4.2.1.) belong in this class of complementives, except when they function as prepositions themselves.
3.2.3. Pronouns

A pronoun is any substantive which occurs with weak stress in one or more of the typical substantive positions - i.e. as topic, subject, object, complement, or modifier. Other substantives, e.g. classifiers (3.2.5.), also occur with weak stress, but only as constituents of enumerations, not as single lexemes filling one of the major positions of a predication. Pronouns also occur with normal and even loud stress, and commonly fill the major positions. They are frequently modifiers, but seldom function as heads, except when an enumeration is the modifier:

/khun/  'you'
/khun thǎŋ-sōŋ/  'both of you'

Since weak stress is not always predictable from the morphophonemic transcription used here, it must sometimes be inferred for pronouns. The general rule is that, unless the rhythmic pattern gives clear evidence otherwise, a given pronoun has normal stress only when it is the head of an endocentric expression (example above), and has weak stress everywhere else. Example of weak-stressed pronouns in subject and indirect object positions:

phil , khaw hāj sataaŋ khun lēew.
'My brother, he gave you the money already.'

Since pronouns typically do not head endocentric expressions, one of their major functions is to signal that a given sequence of noun-plus-predicative is a predication rather than a noun expression. This is done by insertion of the pronoun in the subject slot; the original subject then becomes topic, and is often set off in a separate phrase. In the following examples /bāan/ 'house' is a noun, /jāj/ 'big' is a predicative (adjective), and /man/ 'it' is a pronoun.

bāan jāj .  'The house is big.' (predication)

or

'An big house.' (noun expression)

bāan , man jāj .  'The house (it) is big.' (predication only)

Pronouns, like classifiers, have covert relationships with nouns - for example, /khāw/ substitutes for nouns like /phil/ 'older sibling,' and /man/ substitutes for nouns like /bāan/ 'house' and /māa/ 'dog.' The meanings and social connotations of pronouns in ST are so complex, however, that classification on a semantic basis is extremely difficult. (It should also be pointed out that many semantic 'equivalents' of pronouns are structurally nouns - for example, a priest uses /sād-tamaphaab/, a noun meaning 'I,' in all the contexts where an ordinary man might use a pronoun such as /phôm/ 'I'.)
The class of pronouns is small, but not closed (for a recent innovation, see the 23rd set under 1) below). While it is often difficult to pin down the meanings of pronouns, to some extent they do occur in structural sets. Such sets can be established by analysis of single exchanges (involving only two speakers), where social requirements dictate the choice of first and second person pronouns, the same pronouns being selected throughout the exchange. Third person and other pronoun selection, however, does not depend entirely on the relationship between speaker and hearer, but also on the status of persons referred to, and hence no similar sets can be established beyond the first and second person level.

Pronouns are sub-classified, therefore, into two groups: 1) members of sets, and 2) general pronouns. Some indication of meaning and social connotations has been attempted, but translations are of necessity vague. Certain sets containing only one real pronoun are filled out with kinship terms, which have normal stress and are personal nouns (3.2.1.7.). Other sets are filled out with ordinary nouns. The suppletive items which are not pronouns are given in parentheses.

Where there are several variant forms of a pronoun lexeme, the most common citation form is listed first, with less careful variants listed below in descending order of formality, under the first occurrence.

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<td><strong>Situation</strong></td>
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<td>1. General polite, male speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. General polite, female speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Deferential, male speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Deferential, female speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Situation</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. To non-royal but extremely high-ranking superiors, male speaker</td>
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<td>6. Same, female speaker</td>
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<td>7. Adult to child</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Child to adult</td>
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<td>9. Parent to child</td>
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<td>10. Parent to child</td>
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<td>11. Parent to child</td>
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<td>12. Parent to child</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Parent to daughter</td>
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<td>14. Parent to son</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Child to parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Child to older sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Intimate, boy to girl, or among very young boys and girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Intimate, girl to boy, or among older girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Intimate, among young adult friends of the same sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Intimate, among older girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Intimate, among older girls (less often, boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Intimate, among older girls, or between man and wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Intimate, among modern boys and girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Intimate, among adolescent boys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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25. Intimate, among boys and young men kan lyy
26. Intimate, among men kan raw
27. Crude, among boys and men khāa əŋ
28. Crude, among boys and men kuu ʊq

Remaining sets are either reciprocal kinship terms - e.g. /phūa/ 'I (husband speaking), you (wife speaking)' and /mīa/ 'I (wife speaking), you (husband speaking)' - or paired expressions - e.g. /khāa-phacaw/ 'I (public speaker)' and /thān thān-ľāaj/ 'you plural (audience).'

2) General Pronouns

The following pronouns have more general meaning, and all can be used without regard to the social relationship of speaker and listener. For those pronouns which also occur as members of sets, the number in parentheses after the translation indicates whether the set member is a first person (1) or second person (2) pronoun.

1. /phūa-əŋ/ 'royal or revered third person'
2. /thān/ 'respected third person' (2)
3. /kēt/ 'familiar third person of our group' (2)
4. /khāaw/ 'general third person; outsider' (1)
5. /thēe/ 'respected but younger or female third person' (2)
6. /mān/ 'inferior third person; animal, child, or thing; it'
7. /raw/ 'we; I and my group; you and I' (1,2)
8. /kan/ 'each other; mutually; as a group' (1)
9. /tua/ 'oneself; individually' (2)
10. /ton/ 'oneself, itself' (slightly literary)
11. /khraJ/ 'who, someone, anyone'
12. /araJ/ 'what, something, anything'

The singular-plural distinction is irrelevant for third-person (1-6 above), all of which can be translated 'he, she, they' (/mān/ can also be translated 'it'). The pronouns /raw/ and /kan/ (7-8) are always plural when they are used as general pronouns, and are also nearly in complementary distribution. /raw/ occurs chiefly before the predicator and in stressed position (e.g. as head of a pronoun expression, or object of a preposition).
/kan/ occurs after the predicator, and if there is no subject, its meaning is nearly always 'we' or 'ourselves.' It can follow any subject (including /raw/) and has the effect of pluralizing that subject - 'they, you (plural), etc.'

The general pronouns /tua/ and /ton/ (9-10) are normally singular in meaning, and like /kan/ are often reflexive:

/khâa tua taa j/ 'to kill oneself'
/khâa kan taa j/ 'to kill each other.'

The pronouns /khraj/ and /araj/ (11-12) share an interrogative or indefinite meaning, neither singular nor plural, but can be pluralized by the addition of a bound lexeme /bâan/ 'some':

/khraj: bâan/ 'who (plural)'
/araj: bâan/ 'what (plural)'

The pronouns /khaw/ and /khraj/ are the most common substitutes for personal nouns, and the pronouns /man/ and /araj/ for other types of nouns. These four members of the general category are hence the most frequently used, with /phom/, /dichân/, and /khun/ leading the set category.

3.2.4. Demonstratives

A demonstrative is any substantive which is invariably the last free lexeme in any non-predicate construction in which it occurs (e.g. enumerations and endocentric substantive expressions). Demonstratives by themselves do occur in most of the typical substantive positions - topic, subject, object, complement - but of course are never heads. Their chief function, however, is that of modifier; hence they are a special case of complementives (3.2.2.). The occurrence of a demonstrative is a sure sign that an endocentric expression has come to an end; the same is not true of /señ/-class complementives (3.2.2.3.). In the following examples, /nîl/ 'this' is a demonstrative.

bâan jàj. 'The house is big'
or 'A big house.'
bân nîl jàj. 'This house is big.'
bân jàj nîl. 'This big house.'
nîl bân jàj. 'This is the big house.'
The class of demonstratives is small and closed, and the members seem to exclude each other semantically. There are two sub-categories: 1) /nī/-class demonstratives, and 2) /dīaw/-class demonstratives.

1) /nī/ Class

The members of this class are morphologically complex (see 2.3.3.2). All but one have distinct emphatic forms alongside their base forms; two have special plural forms. The class meaning is 'specification by relative location.'

1. /nī/  'this, these; closer to me'
   /làw-nī/  'these'
   /nī/  'this one here, these here'

2. /nān/  'that, those; closer to you'
   /làw-nān/  'those'
   /nān/  'that one there, those there'

3. /nōon/  'yon; distant from us; the other, the others'
   /nōon/  'that one yonder, those yonder'

4. /nāj/  'which; one or ones of limited possibilities'

2) /dīaw/ Class

The class meaning is 'specification (or non-specification) by reference to the entire range of possibilities.' The members of this class occur independently (i.e., outside of enumerations or endocentric expressions) much less often than /nī/-class demonstratives; they are nearly always modifiers.

1. /dīaw/  'one, a single one'

2. /dīaw-kan/  'the same one'

3. /nyn/ or /nyu/  'a, a certain one (not specified)'

4. /daj/ or /raj/  'whatever; one of limitless possibilities'

5. /rēc/  'first (historically)'

6. /sūd-thāj/  'last'
7. /d88m/  'former, original'
8. /yYn/  'other, others; unspecified additional ones'
9. /nâa/  'next'
10. /lǎq/  'later, ones in the future'

3.2.5. Classifiers

A classifier is any substantive which occurs with weak stress directly before, and in construction with, demonstratives (3.2.4.). Like pronouns (3.2.3.), classifiers also do occur with normal stress; unlike pronouns, they do not by themselves fill all the normal positions of substantives, but are almost entirely restricted to occurrence as complements. (In such cases the normal stress is a morpheme meaning 'one of this item' - see 2.2.3.1.) In the examples below, /s88IJ/ is a classifier meaning 'pack.'

khâw kâaj pen-s88IJ.
'They are sold by the pack (as one pack).'
aw burîl phrá-can, scoq.
'Give me a pack of Moon Cigarettes.'

By far the most common use of classifiers, however, is in enumerations, where the classifier follows numerals (3.2.6) and precedes demonstratives:

/hâa scoq/  'five packs'
/scoq-nán/  'that pack'
/hâa scoq, nán/  'those five packs'

The whole enumeration is often a modifier in a noun expression of which the head noun may or may not have a lexical relationship with the classifier (in this case /burîl/ 'cigarette, tobacco' is the head; see 3.2.5.2. below):

/burîl hâa scoq, nán/  'those five packs of cigarettes'

Classifiers also serve as first lexemes in classifier phrases - enumerations in which the second constituent is not a demonstrative but some other kind of specifying item, usually a noun, adjective, or ordinal numeral (3.2.6.2.):

/scoq sîi-lûaj/  'the yellow pack'  (noun)
/scoq-jâj/  'the big pack'  (adjective)
/scoq thîl-sîi/  'the fourth pack'  (ordinal)
Since all such phrases are exocentric, by itself cannot substitute for them, but whole classifier phrases are the syntactic equivalent of noun expressions. In other words, classifier phrases can fill all the substantive positions, although classifiers by themselves cannot. Enumerations introduced by numerals (numeral expressions) behave in the same way (see examples in 2.5.2.5.)

The sub-categories of classifiers are determined on the basis of their relationships with other lexeme categories. They are 1) unit classifiers, 2) metric classifiers, 3) general classifiers, and 4) imitative classifiers. Since all the sub-categories except 3) have relatively large memberships, only representative examples are given. (Abstract nouns, 3.2.1.4., which also occur directly after numerals, are not classifiers, since they do not occur with weak stress before demonstratives.)

1) A unit classifier is any classifier which has a special relationship with one or more concrete nouns (3.2.1.1.). For example, if an ST speaker is going to enumerate (i.e. count or specify) members of the class of /rya/ 'boats, ships,' he has little choice but to select the unit classifier /lam/. If he uses a general classifier (3.2.5.3) he is not considering individual boats but kinds of boats. Most unit classifiers are used with a great many concrete nouns of very different meaning, but a few are restricted to a single noun. In the latter case, for example, it is possible to say not only that /chýag/ is the classifier for /cháŋ/ 'elephant,' but also that /cháŋ/ is the noun for /chýag/.

The sub-category of unit classifiers is quite large, but probably closed. Most dictionaries list up to 200 items as classifiers, of which the great majority are unit classifiers. An attempt is often made to relate classifiers semantically with the nouns they represent, but a far better lexicographical technique, used by Mary R. Haas and others, is to give the unit classifier in parentheses after each concrete noun listed - viz. /rya/ 'boat, ship' (/lam/). The semantic connection between classifier and noun may be buried so deep in history that it makes no sense descriptively - e.g. the classifier for /nør-sýy/ 'book' is /lém/, which is also the classifier for knives and combs (a historical explanation perhaps being that ancient books were long, slender, and sharp-edged).

There are, however, a number of semantically predictable noun-classifier relationships, and even some overt relationships, where the classifier recurs as head of a compound concrete noun.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound Noun</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/baj-máaj/</td>
<td>'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dòg-máaj/</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not all such compounds have heads recurring as classifiers, however - the classifier for /kham-thām/ 'question' is not /kham/ but /khɔ̀/. Following is a list of the most common unit classifiers for which noun-reference is relatively predictable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/khon/</td>
<td>ordinary people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/on/</td>
<td>royal and revered personages, Buddha images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tua/</td>
<td>non-human things with anthropomorphic characteristics (arms, legs, etc.) - e.g. animals, coats, trousers, tables, chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phèn/</td>
<td>flat things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baj/</td>
<td>containers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tôn/</td>
<td>plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phỳnn/</td>
<td>strips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sên/</td>
<td>long tubular objects - e.g. string, wire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/méd/</td>
<td>small round objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lùug/</td>
<td>large round objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kôn/</td>
<td>irregular lumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thèng/</td>
<td>sticks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chabèb/</td>
<td>copies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khɔ̀/</td>
<td>items, points (of language)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It frequently happens that there is fluctuation in the choice of classifier for a given concrete noun, both from the point of view of the whole speech community and for individual speakers. In such cases, however, no matter which unit classifier is chosen, the meaning is still 'one of the item in question.' For example, the compound noun /phòn-lâmàaj/ 'fruit' is classified with /baj/ 'container,' /lùug/ 'large round object,' and /phòn/ (head of the compound).

2) A metric classifier is any classifier which occurs in enumerations that modify predicatives, as well as nouns. Metric classifiers do not have special relationships with nouns in the way that unit classifiers do; each
metric classifier occurs with a wide range of heads, both mass nouns and predicatives. The meaning of the sub-category is 'measure by fixed unit or conventional contents of a container.' In the examples below, a metric classifier, /caan/ 'dish (as a measure for food),' is illustrated in a single enumeration which occurs in isolation, as a mass noun modifier, and as a verb modifier.

/sām caanː niː/ 'These three dishes (of food)'
/kēŋ sām caan/ 'Three dishes of curry'
/kīn sām caan/ 'Eat three dishes (of it).'

The metric classifier /caan/ has a homonym /caan/ which is a concrete noun 'plate, dish' having its own unit classifier /baːd/:

/caan sām baːd/ 'Three plates (utensils).'

The same mass noun can occur with many different metric classifiers, depending on the type of measure used. Examples with /burī/ 'cigarettes, tobacco':

/burī hāa sōŋ/ 'Five packs of cigarettes.'
/burī hāa hōɔ/ 'Five cartons of cigarettes.'
/burī hāa kɪlʊɔ/ 'Five kilograms of tobacco.'
/burī hāa bād/ 'Five baht cigarettes.'

or 'Five baht worth of cigarettes.'

The same /burī/ is also a concrete noun 'cigarette' which has a special relationship with the unit classifier /mən/: /burī hāa mən/ 'Five cigarettes.'

The sub-category of metric classifiers is not large, but it is open; a fairly recent innovation is /fūd/ 'foot, feet.' Two examples are given below for each of the broad semantic groups which make up the membership.

1. Distance and size: /mōd/ 'metre,' /fūd/ 'foot.'
2. Weight: /kɪlʊɔ/ 'kilogram,' /pʊn/ 'pound.'
3. Container: /caan/ 'dish,' /thūaŋ/ 'cup.'
4. Value: /bād/ 'baht, tical,' /rīn/ 'dollar.'
5. Time: /mooŋ/ 'hour of the day,' /wanaŋ/ 'day'

The occurrence of value and time classifiers (4, 5) after noun heads is relatively rare, except when the head noun means something like 'price, value' or 'time, duration.'
3) A general classifier is any classifier which occurs in enumerations after an extremely wide range of nouns. General classifiers do not have special relationships with either concrete nouns or mass nouns; most of them occur even after abstract nouns, replacing the second occurrence of the noun (see 3.2.1.4.). The class is small and probably closed.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. /ən/</td>
<td>'piece, item'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. /kʰuu/</td>
<td>'pair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. /kʰaːq/</td>
<td>'one of a pair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. /chúd/</td>
<td>'set, matching group'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. /phasis/</td>
<td>'group'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. /chán/</td>
<td>'class, category'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. /koːŋ/</td>
<td>'disorderly pile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. /tâŋ/</td>
<td>'stack'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. /jaːŋ/</td>
<td>'type, kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. /chan/</td>
<td>'type, kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. /kʰraːŋ/</td>
<td>'occasion, instance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. /heːŋ/</td>
<td>'place, location'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and /thîi/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. /raːŋ/</td>
<td>'case'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. /thîi/</td>
<td>'repeated instance'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) An imitative classifier is any classifier for which there is a morphologically related reduplicated lexeme which is an imitative (see 3.1.4.). Most imitative classifiers are of the onomatopoetic variety, and the sub-category meaning is 'instance of a noise, movement, or other sensory impression.' As such, the whole sub-category is not merely a special case of general classifiers, because enumerations with imitative classifiers in them rarely modify nouns (except nouns like /siaŋ/ 'sound') but enter into syntactic construction with predicates.

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The membership is very large, and also open, since imitatives are frequently innovated, but occurrence of imitative classifiers is actually quite rare in comparison with other types of classifiers.

Example:

"Fáa lêsib, sôŋ wêcib.
'The lightning flashed twice (there was lightning in two flashes)."

3.2.6. Numerals

A numeral is any substantive which occurs as the first lexeme of a two-lexeme enumeration having a classifier as the second lexeme. The internal construction of compound numeral lexemes is quite complex, but mathematically logical (see 2.2.5-6). Because of the compounding possibilities, the class of numerals is theoretically infinite, but the actual numeral morphemes involved are only 24 in number (including the two prosodic morphemes). The syllabic items, all of which also occur as numeral lexemes, are as follows:

1. /nûŋ/ 'one' 10. /sìb/ 'ten' 17. /lãäj/ 'several
2. /sôʊŋ/ 'two' 11. /rûŋ/ 'hundred' 18. /baâŋ/ 'some'
3. /sââm/ 'three' 12. /phan/ 'thousand' 19. /kìĩ/ 'how many'
4. /sìl/ 'four' 13. /mûyn/ 'ten thousand' 20. /mâj-kìĩ/ 'not many'
5. /hâa/ 'five' 14. /sêšn/ 'hundred thousand' 21. /nôōj/ 'few'
6. /hôg/ 'six' 15. /låän/ 'million' 22. /thûg/ 'each, every'
7. /cêd/ 'seven' 16. /khrûŋ/ 'half'
8. /pìed/ 'eight'
9. /kâw/ 'nine'

Items 17-22 are not true substantives, since they have suppletive forms in isolation (see 3.2.6.3.), but qualify as numerals otherwise. Morphemes 17-19 also enter into compound lexeme constructions with other numeral morphemes; items 20-22 do not. Item 20 is two morphemes, the remainder are single morphemes.

Construction of compound numeral lexemes from morphemes 1-19, plus the prosodic morphemes /-/'multiply' and /'add,' is almost entirely regular. The morpheme 1. /nûŋ/ has an allomorph /êd/ after 10. /sìb/ in additions, and the morpheme 2. /sôʊŋ/ has an allomorph /jĩi/ before 10. /sìb/ in that particular multiplication.
Morphemes 1-9 and 16-19 occur in multiplications only as the first constituent; morphemes 1. and 16. only before 11-15 as second constituent, the others before 10-15. Morphemes 10-15, besides occurring as second constituents, also occur as first constituents in multiplications, but only when 15. /láán/ is the second constituent.

Addition constructions take effect only after all multiplication is complete. In additions, morpheme 16. /khryñ/ 'and a half' follows all other morphemes and multiplied constituents; it never leads an addition construction. Morphemes 1-9 precede only 16. and follow all other morphemes and multiplied constituents. Morphemes 10-14 and their multiplications precede 1-9 and 16 in addition processes, and follow only a higher-ranking member of their own set or its multiplication (e.g. 14. /séen/ occurs only after 15. /láán/, but 10. /sib/ after any of the group 11-15, etc.). Morpheme 15. and its multiplications are always first constituent in an addition construction. Morphemes 17-19 do not occur in addition constructions.

Examples of internal construction of compound numeral lexemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiplication</th>
<th>Addition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sãam-sib</td>
<td>'30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sib sãam</td>
<td>'13'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sãam-sib sãam</td>
<td>'33'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jîl-sib</td>
<td>'20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sib sôôj</td>
<td>'12'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jîl-sib sôôj</td>
<td>'22'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâa-sib</td>
<td>'50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sib hâa</td>
<td>'15'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâa-sib êd</td>
<td>'51'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìl-rôøj</td>
<td>'400'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rôøj sìl</td>
<td>'104'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìl-rôøj sìl-sìb</td>
<td>'440'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hòg-phan</td>
<td>'600'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phan hòg-rôøj</td>
<td>'1,600'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hòg-phan kâw-rôøj</td>
<td>'6,900'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lãaj-phan</td>
<td>'thousands of, several thousand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cèd-mûyn</td>
<td>'70,000'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mûyn cèd-phan</td>
<td>'17,000'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kìl-séen</td>
<td>'how many hundred thousand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nûy-láán</td>
<td>'one million'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâw khryñ</td>
<td>'9 1/2'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sôôp-láán sãam-séen sìl-mûyn hâa-phan hòg-rôøj cèd-sìb pëød khryñ</td>
<td>'2,345, 678 1/2'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additions in which the first constituent is one of morphemes 11-15 or its multiplication, and the second constituent is one of morphemes 3-9 or morpheme 16, can be ambiguous, because there is a second pattern whereby morphemes 3-9 and 16 can stand for the multiple of the next lower order. The ambiguity recedes as the number of zeros involved increases, and the alternate pattern takes over.

Examples: sôôp-rôøj hâa '205,' or '250' if /hâa/ equals /hâa-sìb/.
| pëød-phan hòg  | '8006,' or '8600' if /hóg/ stands for /hòg-rôøj/ |
láan khrỳŋ  'a million and half' (almost certainly 1,500,000)
myyn cèd  'ten thousand seven' (almost certainly 17,000)

Numerals higher in value than /láan/ 'million' exist, but are not yet
in general use, and may not in fact satisfy the definition of 'numeral' if
they become acceptable. The lexeme /sùun/ 'zero' is not a numeral, but is
used in construction with numerals (for example, in giving telephone numbers),
as are other numeral substitutes.

Morphemes 1-3 have allomorphs with different tones in a special lexeme
of the isolative class used in serial counting (as when starting a race):

nyŋ, sòŋ, /sâam ˧ 'One, two, three!'

Numeral lexemes, both simple and compound, are sub-classified on the
basis of their behavior with respect to classifiers. All numeral lexemes of
course occur before classifiers, but some also occur after classifiers and
in isolation. Because variant forms of lexemes are involved, there is some
overlapping of the sub-categories.

1) **Cardinal numerals** occur in isolation. The meaning is the same as
it is before classifiers: 'number of items.' Cardinal numerals include the
simple lexemes represented by morphemes 1-15, and all the compound lexemes
represented by their multiplications and additions, except those involving
morphemes 17-19. Thus the membership of the sub-category approaches that of
numerals in general.

2) **Ordinal numerals** occur immediately after classifiers and in con-
struction with them. The meaning of the sub-category is 'position in a
series.'

/sâam chán/ 'Three classes' (cardinal)
/chán sâam/ 'The third class' (ordinal)

The membership of the sub-category is exactly the same as that of
cardinal numerals, except that each ordinal numeral, whether it is simple or
compound, has a derivative allolex beginning with the prefix /thìi-/ 'ordinal
number.' (Numerals containing the morpheme 16. /khrỳŋ/ 'half' are marginal
members of the category.) Whereas cardinal phrases (numeral plus classifier)
are exocentric, ordinal expressions (classifier plus numeral) are endocentric.

Examples:
chán sâam  'third class'
chán thìi-sâam  'third class'
pìi sòŋ-phan hâa-ròoŋ hòŋ 'the year 2506'
khon thìi-sib-èd  'the eleventh person'

* From private conversation with Miss Kanda Sitachitta, 1963.
Besides occurring after classifiers, ordinal numerals also serve as modifiers of nouns, in a similar construction:

nāa sīl-rṓj sīb cèd  'page 417'
thanôn thīl sīl-sīb sōng  '42nd street'

3) **Partitive numerals** occur only in the cardinal position, never in isolation or in ordinal constructions. The sub-category includes items 17-22 plus the multiplications of 17-19, and a set of derivatives ending in /kwa/ (see end of section). The meaning is 'proportional, approximate or unknown number of items.' Examples:

baaq khon  'some people (not all)'
ki l chá́n  'how many classes?'
lā́aj-sīb túu  'tens of cabinets'
lā́aj tua  'several (animals)'
ki l-rṓj bā́ad  'how many hundred baht?'
mā́j-kīl wan  'not many days'
nṓj khon  'few people'
thū́g chaníd  'every kind'
hṓg-sīb kwābā́ad  'sixty-odd baht'

Partitive numerals are actually a bound lexeme class, since they do not occur in isolation, but are included here because of their relationship with substantive numerals. Their suppletive isolation-forms are, syntactically speaking, members of the /eéŋ/ class of complementsives (3.2.2.2.) which serve as numeral substitutes. They are listed below (rather than with the /eéŋ/ class) to point up their special relationship with partitive numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partitive Numeral</th>
<th>/eéŋ/-class Complementive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/lā́aj/</td>
<td>'several, two to nine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baaq/</td>
<td>'some, part of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ki l/</td>
<td>'how many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both the partitive numerals and their related /een-/class complements frequently occur after /sãg-/class prepositions (4.2.5.), and further examples of their use are given under the heading of /tany-/class postpositions (4.4.3.)

A special set of partitives is made from cardinal numerals by derivation with a suffix /kwa/, which attaches itself (unstressed and with minimum syllable duration) to the classifier which follows. The derivatives are made from any simple cardinal numeral lexeme or any multiplication, but not from additions. The meaning of each derivative is 'that number plus a fraction' (for simple lexemes) or 'that number plus an odd remainder of integers of the next lower order' (for multiplications). In other words, the suffix /kwa/ 'plus' operates in exactly the same way as the morpheme /khrìŋ/ 'and a half' operates in additions, but the meaning is less precise.

Examples:

- cèd kwabàad  
  'Seven baht and a fraction'
- sìl-róoj kwamaj  
  'Four Hundred-odd miles'
- sìb kwachán  
  'More than ten classes'

The corresponding inexact cardinal numerals, however, are not derivatives but syntactic constructions, cardinal numeral plus postposition /kwakwàa/. (The difference is that a classifier can intervene between the numeral and the postposition.)

Examples:

- cèd: kwakwàa  
  'Seven and a fraction.'
- sìl-róoj: kwakwàa  
  'Four hundred plus.'
- sìb: kwakwàa  
  'In the teens'
- cèd bàad: kwakwàa  
  'Over seven baht.'
- sìl-róoj ràj: kwakwàa  
  'More than 400 miles.'

4) Classifier numerals occur before, and in direct construction with, demonstratives (3.2.4.). The numerals which fill this position are not classifiers, however, because they have normal stress (see definition of classifiers, 3.2.5.). The usual pattern is for the stressed numeral to have medium-long duration, with the demonstrative which follows having weak stress. The most common demonstrative occurring in this construction is /nuŋ/ 'a, one,' but others are found as well.
The membership of the sub-category of classifier numerals is confined to the simple lexemes 11-16 (middle column of chart at beginning of 3.2.6.).

Examples:
- roo: nyη 'a hundred'
- phan: nån 'that thousand'
- ñyyn ñù-tháaj 'the last ten thousand'
- sêtn: nyη 'a hundred thousand'
- láan rêsäg 'the first million'
- khrêy: nyη 'a half'

3.3. Predicatives

A predicative is any free lexeme which occurs as a predicate (in a non-equational predication, see 2.5.2.2.). Any lexeme which qualifies as a predicative is no longer considered to be a substantive, since the more specific classification is that of predicative (see statement in first paragraph of 3.2.). Besides occurring as predicates and heads of endocentric predicates, many members of this class also fill the typical positions of substantives: topics, subjects, objects and complements.

Predicatives are classified, on the basis of typical and absolute occurrence, into four sub-groups: 1) Modal Verbs, 2) Adjectives, 3) Transitive Verbs and 4) Completive Verbs. The third sub-group is also referred to simply as 'verbs.'

3.3.1. Modal Verbs

A modal verb is any predicative which occurs as the predicate, or as head of an endocentric predicate, with an object which is also a predicative or predicative expression. The test of predicate substitution is made in the context of a yes-no question and its answer.

Examples:

Q. khâw tôn paj: mâj . 'Does he have to go?'
A. tôŋ . 'Yes, he does.'

or
A. mâj tôŋ . 'No, he doesn't.'

Since /paj/ 'go' is itself a predicative, / tôŋ/ 'must' is a modal verb. One kind of modal verb (sub-class 1) below) is restricted to occurrence in this type of construction, but there are other modal verbs (sub-class 2) below) which also take substantive objects.
Examples:

Q. khǎw chòob wǐŋː mǎj. 'Does he like to run?'
A. chòob. 'Yes, he does.'

Q. khǎw chòob sǐi-dɛŋː mǎj. 'Does she like red?'
A. chòob. 'Yes, she does.'

Since /wǐŋː/ 'run' is a predicate, and /sǐi-dɛŋː/ 'red' is a substantive, the modal verb /chòob/ 'to like' occurs before both types of object.

A feature of one sub-class, specific modal verbs (below) is that they act as predicates in any kind of predication in which they occur, no matter what the membership of the other constituents may be. For example, even in a predicate consisting of a modal verb and an adjective (3.3.2.), the modal verb substitutes for the whole.

Example:

Q. tɔŋ dìiː mǎj. 'Must it be good?'
A. tɔŋ. 'Yes, it must.'

The class of modal verbs is not very large, as free lexeme classes go, but except for sub-category (1) below, it is probably open. The class meaning is 'mode of action, or specific applicability of situation described.' Modal verbs are paralleled by a class of bound lexemes, called simply 'modals,' which fill the same position in predications but do not substitute for them (4.1.). They are also paralleled in the same way by a sub-class of adjectives (3.3.2.3.) which fill the modal verb position but do not substitute.

Some true modal verbs have homonyms belonging to other classes. For example, /âad/ is a modal verb meaning 'capable of' and also a modal meaning 'apt to.' In the first case, the negative precedes /âad/; in the second case it follows:

mǎj-âad capaj 'Unable to go'
âad camâj-paj 'Might not go.'

Two sub-classes of modal verbs are established, on the basis of type of object occurring in their predications.

1) **Specific modal verbs** occur only with objects which are themselves predicatives. The class is small and closed, probably being confined to the following members.

1. /kheɛj/ 'to have experienced, to have done at least once; ever, used to'

Occurs before verbs and verb expressions, and before other modal verbs.
Have you ever tried eating Thai food?'

'Yes.'

'No.'

He once wanted to be a sailor.'

2. /rúu-căg/ 'to have been; ever, used to be'

Occurs before adjectives and adjective expressions.

'I never get bored with playing golf.'

3. /tŏń/ 'must, is obliged to, has to'

Occurs before all types of predicatives, including other modal verbs.

'You don't have to go!'

'Must it be soon?'

'In the end they had to admit defeat.'

4. /joom/ 'be willing to, allow oneself to; accept'

Occurs mainly before verbs (but may follow other modal verbs—see last example above).

'The cat won't eat a bit of it.'

'I'm willing to admit that it's good.'

5. /jàag/ 'to want to, to wish for'

Occurs mainly before verbs (but may follow other modal verbs—see last example under 1. /khee/.)

'Do you want to go too?'

'He doesn't want to bother you.'
6. /samāg/ and /sāmāg-caj/ 'to volunteer, offer ones services.'
   Occurs mainly before verbs, but may follow other modal verbs.
   khāw samāg capen thahān: ryy .
   'Did he volunteer for military service?'
   phōm khōo samāg pen samaa-chīg .
   'I would like to make application to be a member.'

7. /khuan/ 'should, ought to; properly does'
   Occurs before verbs, adjectives, and other modals.
   khun māj-khuan caphūd jaqān .
   'You shouldn't talk like that.'
   mān khuan cadii kwa-nīi .
   'It ought to be better than this.'
   khāw khuan caajoom-phēt .
   'He should be willing to accept defeat.'
   (/khuan/ has a derivative /sōm-khuan/, an adjective meaning
   'fitting, proper.')

8. /āad/ and /sā-amāad/ 'to be capable of'
   Occurs mainly before verbs.
   phōm māj-āad catāo-thiān: leej .
   'I can't argue about it at all.'
   khāw māj-sāamāad catāo-sūù: tōo-paj-iig .
   'He was incapable of fighting any further.'

9. /phajāaam/ 'to try, make a physical effort'
   Occurs mainly before verbs.
   khāw phajāaam catāo-sūù: māyan-kan .
   'He was trying to fight, anyway.'

Modal verbs 1-4 normally precede their predicator-objects directly,
without the interposition of the particle /ca-/ 'hypothetical predicate.'
Modal verbs 5-9 occur either with or without /ca-/, more often with it (as
in the examples above).

2) General modal verbs occur with both predicative and substantive
objects. The class is much larger than that of specific modal verbs, and is
almost certainly open. One or two instances of each general semantic category
of these modal verbs is given for illustrative purposes.
1. Verbs meaning 'to like' /chôob/, /râg/
2. 'to hate, to mind, to object' /rañ-kiad/
3. 'to think, to plan' /khîd/, /rî/
4. 'to hurry' /rîîb/
5. 'to begin, to start' /râem/, /tâq-tôn/
6. 'to stop, to end' /lâqg/, /jûd/
7. 'to try out, to experiment with' /looq/
8. 'to help' /chûaj/
9. 'to ask a favor, to beg' /khôog/, /waan/
10. 'to depend on someone else' /râag/, /aasâj/
11. 'to invite' /cheen/, /nimon/
12. 'to accept' /râb/, /dâj-râb/
13. Many verbs describing the act of speaking—/bâog/, /tyan/
14. All complete verbs (see 3.3.4.)

As a class, general modal verbs usually precede specific modal verbs when they occur in the same construction (see /khôo/ in last example under /samâg/, above) and they are almost never immediately followed by the particle /ca-,/ except sub-categories 3. and 5.

3.3.2. Adjectives

An adjective is any predicative which occurs as a predicataor with a subject which also a predicative or predicative expression. (Thus adjectives are, so to speak, the direct opposites of modal verbs.) The test of substitution, as before, is made in the context of a yes-no question and its answer. Example:

Q. khun paj wâd bôj: mâj.
'Do you go to the temple often?'

A. bôj. 'Yes, often.'

or
A. mâj bôj. 'No, not often.'

Since /paj/ 'go' is a predicative, heading a predicative expression /paj wâd/, then /bôj/ 'often' is an adjective. One kind of adjective typically occurs in this kind of construction, but there are other adjectives which also take substantive subjects. (Hence the sub-classification of adjectives in this respect parallels that of modal verbs.)

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Q. khun paj wád sanÚg: mÄj.
'Did you have fun going to the temple?'
(lit. 'Was your going to the temple fun?')

A. sanÚg.
'Yes, it was fun.'

Q. ñaan-nîl sanÚg: mÄj.
'Is this fair any fun?'

A. mÄj sanÚg.
'No, it's no fun.'

Since /paj wád/ is a predicative expression, and /ñaan/ 'fair' is a substantive, the adjective /sanÚg/ 'fun' occurs after both types of subject.

Adjectives do not 'have objects' in the way that other predicatives do; they are, in a sense, intransitive verbs. There exist, however, adjective expressions, in which one adjective is modified by another.

Example:
/dÄi máag/
'Very good.'

Both /dÄi/ and /máag/ are adjectives. Another common type of adjective expression has one of a special class of bound modifiers as the second constituent (see 4.4.2.).

Examples:
/dÄi kwàa/
'Better.'
/sanÚg: thidiaw/
'Quite amusing.'

Other endocentric constructions (for example an adjective plus a substantive) which appear at first glance to be adjective expressions are usually best analyzed as single lexemes.

Example:
/kÈt/
'old, dark' (adjective)
/fàj/
'fire' (noun)
/kÈt-fàj/
'dark from the fire; overcooked'

The combination is a compound adjective lexeme.

One kind of adjective, (sub-class 3) below) does occur, however, in the modal position. The construction is exocentric, because such adjectives do not substitute for the entire predication in the way that true modal verbs do.

Besides filling the predicative position, adjectives of sub-classes 2) and 3) frequently serve as modifiers of substantive and predicative expressions. In substantive expressions the head is usually a noun or a classifier; in predicative expressions, it is a verb, a completive verb, or another adjective.
Examples:

Noun Head: /bân jàj/ 'a big house, big houses'
Classifier Head: /lâŋ jàj/ 'the big one (speaking of houses)'
Verb Head: /wîŋ rew/ 'run fast' (in a context such as /wîŋ rew mâj-dâj/ 'Cannot run fast!')
Completive Verb Head: /dâj rew/ 'successfully fast' (in a context such as /wîŋ mâj-dâj rew/ 'Was unable to run fast enough')
Adjective Head: /rew mâag/ 'very fast'

Adjectives of sub-class 1) do not normally occur as modifiers.

A feature of the entire class of adjectives is that they act as predicates in every kind of two-part predication except those introduced by modal verbs. In other words, in a construction consisting of ordinary verb plus adjective, it is always the adjective rather than the verb which substitutes for the whole.

A morphological characteristic of adjectives is that nearly all lexemes belonging to this class have simple reduplications (2.4.3.1.). These adjective derivatives cannot fill the predicator position, however. Example:

/bôj/ 'often' /bôj-bôj/ 'often'
/mâj-bôj/ 'not often' /bôj mâj/ 'often?'

(Forms like /mâj bôj-bôj/ and /bôj-bôj mâj/ do not exist.)

Some adjectives also reduplicate in other ways: /sanûg/ 'fun' /sanûg-sanûg/ 'fun' /sanûg-sanûgân/ 'be amused' (a general adjective like /sanûg/ itself - for reduplication type, see 2.4.3.9.).

The class of adjectives is extremely large, and, except perhaps for sub-class 1), open. By far the largest number of adjectives belong to sub-class 2) 'general adjectives.' The total number of adjective lexemes is still smaller than that of nouns or transitive verbs, however. Examples of the three sub-classes follow.

1) Specific adjectives typically occur with subjects which are predicates, predicates, and predicative expressions, and are rarely found with substantive subjects and as substantive modifiers. The sub-class is small and probably closed; its meaning is 'manner, timing, or frequency of action.'

Reduplicated lexemes from specific adjective bases almost invariably belong to the /ee-w/ class of complementives (3.2.2.2.). Specific adjectives
themselves frequently occur at the ends of clauses in the complementative position (cut off from the main predication by special bound lexemes or by rhythmic patterns), and in other non-predicative constructions. (The term 'adverb' refers to a member of some other form-class, such as specific adjectives, occurring in a typical complementative construction. 'Adverbs' are not a free lexeme class in their own right.)

The principal members of the sub-class are illustrated with reference to a single frame:

/khāw tham-ŋaan: sā.../

'He works (or worked)...

1. /rāj/ 'continuously'
   (Sentence: 'He keeps on working.')
2. /sāmə/ 'always'
3. /bōj/ 'often'
4. /jēt/ 'with unbearable difficulty'
5. /phleen/ 'with pleasurable absorption'
   (Sentence: 'He was absorbed in his work."
6. /jūn/ 'busily, with unpleasant absorption'
   (Sentence: 'He was busy working.'
7. /bīa/ 'boringly'
   (Sentence: 'He was bored with the work.'
8. /cīn/ 'really'
9. /kōn/ 'previously'
10. /lītɛ/ 'already'
   (Sentence: 'He has done the work.'

In most respects, members of the class behave exactly like other adjectives. Following are some example of specific adjectives negated, modified, and reduplicated:

phōm kheeŋ paj-thāw thī-nān , māj-bōj, nāg .
'I haven't been to visit the place very often.'
khun tôŋ prakhōb khɛn: rāj paj .
'You have to keep on soaking your arm.'
phōm hās thī-cōd: sā , thĕb jēt .
'It was almost impossible to find a parking place.'
phūd kakhāw , naan chāg-cabīa .
'I talked with him so long it was starting to be a bore.'
khuj kakhaw jìu-phleen: thidlaw.
'I was quite absorbed in talking with him.'

lùug-kratàaj màb-wan-tèe catoo khôn: rûaj-rûaj.
'In no time the baby rabbits will start getting bigger and bigger.'

khàw tham hàj lèlw-lèlw: paj, thàw-nán.
'He did it just so as to get it over with.'

Internal order of the class is apparently 1-8, 9, 10, but examples of two specific adjectives in the same clause are hard to find, except for those involving 10. /lèlw/ as second member:

phôm tìd thura jùq: lèlw
'I'm already tied up in all kinds of business.'

mì khon nàq jìu-kòon: lèlw
'There had been somebody sitting there previously.'

2) General adjectives occur in all the positions of specific adjectives, but also have substantives and substantive expressions as subjects, and occur as modifiers of nouns and classifiers (see examples at beginning of 3.3.2.). This subdivision is by far the largest in the class of adjectives, and the membership is open. Semantic categories covered are too numerous to permit any meaningful breakdown, but in general the sub-class correlates well with form-classes such as 'adjective' and 'intransitive verb' in other languages.

Examples:
aaháan màj-aròòj. or 'The food is not good.'
caan tàq. or 'Tasteless food.'
caan jàj-jàj. or 'The dishes broke.'

Reduplicated forms of general adjectives (see last example) occur as modifiers and as complements.

3) Modal adjectives are general adjectives which introduce exocentric predicative phrases, occurring in the modal position (instead of the usual adjective position toward the end of the predicate.) The sub-class is small but probably open. The meaning is 'general personal characteristic applied to a given situation.' Members include many derivatives ending in the suffix
-caj/ (2.4.1.9.) or beginning with the prefixes /khî-/ (2.4.1.4.) and /nâa-/ (2.4.1.3.). The predicate is nearly always introduced by /ca-/. Examples:

phôm jîn-dî .
phôm jîn-dî catham hâj .
jaŋ máj phoo-caj .
jaŋ máj phoo-caj cadâj-râb .
khôn khî-kiâd .
khâw khî-kiâd capaj .
nââ-klua capaj mây-than .

'I'm glad.'
'I'll be glad to do it for you.'
'Still not satisfied.'
'Still not satisfied (willing) to receive it.'
'A lazy person.'
'He's (too) lazy to go.'
'(I'm) afraid of not getting there in time.'

3.3.3. Transitive Verbs

A transitive verb is any predicative, other than a modal verb (3.3.1.) or completive verb (3.3.4.), which occurs as predicative in predicates that have substantive objects. (The term 'verb' is used to apply to all three classes of verb, which share the feature of 'having objects,' as opposed to adjectives, which do not 'have objects,' but is also used to apply to transitive verbs, the central and most numerous class of predicatives.) Like all predicatives, transitive verbs occur in predications which have substantive subjects, and also occur, like adjectives, in endocentric expressions headed by nouns and classifiers. Examples involving transitive verb /lêag/ 'to choose, pick out':

khâw lêag phaa sîl-araj .
'What color cloth did she choose?'
phaa nî lêag jâsag .
'This cloth is hard to choose from.' (lit. 'chooses hard.')
khâw-eeq pen khon-lêag .
'She herself is the one who chose it.'

All transitive verbs occur both with and without objects, and both with and without subjects. The meaning of the verb-object construction is that the referent of the object is the goal of the action designated by the verb. The meaning of the subject-verb-object construction is that the referent of the subject is the actor initiating action toward that goal. But the meaning of the subject-verb construction by itself is ambiguous - the subject may refer either to the actor or the goal (as it does with many English verbs- cf. 'This bread slices well' and 'This knife slices well.')
The meaning of the topic-subject-verb construction is that the referent of the topic is the goal and the subject designates the actor, or that both topic and subject refer to the actor. The meaning of the verb-object-indirect object (or verb-object-complement) construction is that the object represents the goal and the referent of the indirect object or complement may be either actor or secondary goal. Examples of these constructions follow, the transitive verb always being /pìd/ 'to close.' (Symbols used in the formulae are 'T' for topic, 'S' for subject, 'V' for transitive verbs, 'O' for object, and 'C' for indirect object or complement.)

\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{VO:} & \quad \text{pìd pratuu .} & \quad \text{'Shut the door.'} \\
    \text{SVO:} & \quad \text{khàw pìd pratuu .} & \quad \text{'He shut the door.'} \\
    \text{SV:} & \quad \text{khàw pìd .} & \quad \text{'He shut (it).'} \\
    \text{SV:} & \quad \text{pratuu pìd .} & \quad \text{'The door is shut.'} \\
    \text{TSV(C):} & \quad \text{pratuu , khàw pìd: mòd .} & \quad \text{He shut all the doors.'} \\
    \quad (\text{Lit: 'The doors, he shut 'em all.'}) \\
    \text{VOC:} & \quad \text{pìd pratuu ròd .} & \quad \text{'Shut the car doors.'} \\
    \quad (\text{Lit: 'Perform door-shutting operation on car.'}) \\
    \quad -\text{cf. } /sàj\ \text{kunci t ròd/ 'lock the car.'} \\
    \text{VOC:} & \quad \text{pìd pratuu: kan .} & \quad \text{'You (plural) shut the door.'} \\
    \quad (/\text{kan/ refers to the actor, not the goal.}) \\
    \text{TSVOC(C)} & \quad \text{nàg-rian , khàw pìd pratuu : kan mòd .} & \quad \text{The students, (they) shut all the doors.'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The difficulty in interpreting transitive-verb predications is often not so much one of ST structure as it is of English translation. For example, /mìl/ is a typical transitive verb, but constructions like 'S /mìl/' have to be translated 'S exists, there is S' while constructions like '/mìl/ 0' must be translated 'someone has O.' The construction 'S /mìl/ 0,' on the other hand always means 'S has O.'

The ambiguity of the construction SV (actor-action or goal-action) can be avoided by the placement of special functional words with passive meaning between S and V. There are a few common lexemes (members of the class of completive verbs, 3.3.4.) that have this effect: /thùug/ 'suffer (a bad action)' and /dàj/ or /dàj-ráb/ 'receive the benefit of (a good action).'

Examples:

khàw thùug tìi . \quad \text{'He was beaten.'} \\
phòm dàj-ráb cheen . \quad \text{'I was invited.'}
The class of transitive verbs is very large (probably second only to the class of nouns) and is open. Sub-classification could possibly be made on an intricate structural basis, and certainly by semantic criteria, but is not attempted here. There is one group of transitive verbs, however, which are distinguished from the others by the covert lexical relationship which they have with certain specific completive verbs (see examples in next section).

3.3.4. Compleitive Verbs

A completive verb is any predicative which occurs both as a predicative with a substantive object and as a predicative with a predicative subject. Thus completive verbs satisfy the definitions of both adjectives (3.3.2.) and transitive verbs (3.3.3.), and are commonly found in typical constructions of both types, sometimes simultaneously. Examples with the completive verb /than/ 'to catch up, be in time,' contrasted with a transitive verb and an adjective:

- than rõd-faj . 'Caught the train.'
- nậ́ rõd-faj . 'Rode the train.'
  (/nậ́/ is a transitive verb meaning 'sit')
- maa than . 'Came in time.'
- maa cháá . 'Came late.'
  (/cháá/ is an adjective meaning 'slow')
- maa than rõd-faj . 'Came in time to catch the train.'

The class of completive verbs, besides filling all the positions of verbs and adjectives, has another important function. Its members commonly occur with whole predications (including a subject, but rarely a topic) as their objects. The same thing is true of those transitive verbs which have lexical relationships with completive verbs. In the examples below two pairs of such verbs (transitive and completive) are illustrated, first together in the definitive context, and then separately with an identical predication as the object of each.

- mooñ araj māj-hēn . 'Can't see anything.'
  (lit: 'look at something not-see-it.')
- fāñ araj māj-dāj-jin . 'Can't hear anything.'
  (Lit. 'listen to something not-hear-it. ')
- mooñ khāw-lēn don-trii . 'Watched them play music.'
- hēn khāw-lēn don-trii . 'Saw them playing music.'
faŋ khaw-lên don-trii.  'Listened to them play music.'
dâj-ën khaw-lên don-trii.  'Heard them playing music.'

Three complete verbs have already been mentioned (3.3.3. end) as having a special passive meaning when they occur directly before transitive verbs. These same items can also have entire predications as their objects, in which case the subject of the predication remains the actor. Example:

chân thùng man-trii aw rêŋ-reŋ.  'I was hit hard by it.'

Complete verbs in the adjective position can be followed only by other adjectives, which then become the predicator:

Q. mœŋ hën châd: māj.  'Can you see it clearly?'
A. châd.  'Yes, clearly.'

A common feature of all complete verbs is that when they occur in a syntactically ambiguous context (such as a response in which the complete verb stands for an entire predicate or predication), the form of negation clearly shows whether they are playing the role of adjective or transitive verb. Examples with the complete verb /ûn/ 'warm':

Q. khryaŋ ûn léew: rî-jag.  'Is the engine warm yet?'
Y. ûn léew.  'Yes, it is.'
N. jag māj-ûn.  'No, it's not.'
Q. ûn khryaŋ léew: rî-jag.  'Have you warmed up the engine yet?'
Y. ûn léew.  'Yes, I have.'
N. jag māj-dâj ûn.  'No, I haven't.'

The negative /mâj/ is characteristic of adjective predicates, and /mâj-dâj/ of transitive verb predicates.

The class of complete verbs is relatively small, but not closed, since any adjective or transitive verb is a potential candidate for membership. The class meaning is 'successful completion of attempted action,' and the class meaning of the transitive verbs occurring in the same predicate with them is 'attempted action.' In such predicates, the negative precedes the complete verb, but other pre-verbal modifiers (e.g. modals) precede the transitive verb. Example:

phôm jaŋ mœŋ araj māj-hën.  'I still can't see anything.'

Sub-classification of complete verbs parallels that of classifiers (3.2.5.), but there are only two groups, and these two are not mutually exclusive.

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1) General completive verbs occur as predicates after a wide range of transitive verbs. The principal members of the sub-class are the following (some of which recur as specific completive verbs, 3.3.4.2.)

1. /dâj/
   
   "to be able, possible; to succeed."
   
   'Can one go?'
   'Can it be eaten?'
   'It can be done easily.'

2. /pen/
   
   "to know how to, to do from habit."
   
   '(I) don't know how to.'
   'Do you smoke?'

3. /wâj/
   
   "to be physically capable of"
   
   '(I) can't possibly do it.'
   '(I) can't eat it - it's too peppery.'

4. /rôod/
   
   "to accomplish safely or freely"
   
   '(We) won't make it (not safe to go).'
   'Is it safe to smoke it'

5. /talôod/
   
   "to follow through all the way"
   
   'Sweep it all the way through, will you?'
   'I still haven't searched all the way through it.'

6. /thúa/ and /thúa-thûy/
   
   "to cover an entire area, accomplish thoroughly"
   
   'Sweep all over, will you?'
   'He didn't supervise it thoroughly.'

7. /thûy/
   
   "to reach, go far enough"
   
   'Can you reach it (with your hand)?'
   'Afraid we won't get that far.'
   'Can't reach it.'
8. /thän/
   nāa-klua capaj màj-thän .
   klàb bāan than : màj .
   'to be in time, reach soon enough'
   'Afraid we won't get there in time.'
   'Will we get home in time?'

9. /khròb/
   syy nāŋ-syy hâj-khròb
   chūd : nā .
   jaŋ hāa màj-khròb .
   'to succeed in filling up a set, to complete'
   'Buy the rest of the books, will you?'
   'Still haven't found all of them.'

10. /mōd/
    jaŋ chāaj màj-mōd .
    'to use up, exhaust a set'
    'Still haven't used them up.'

11. /sèd/
    phom riał nāŋ-syy sèd lèw .
    'I'm finished studying (for now).'
    jaŋ tham ɲaan màj-sèd .
    'Not finished working.'

12. /còb/
    phom riał nāŋ-syy còb lèw .
    'I've finished my studies (graduated).'
    khāw róŋ-phleŋ còb lèw .
    'They've finished singing the song.'
    But
    khāw róŋ-phleŋ sèd lèw .
    'They're finished singing songs.'

2) **Specific completive verbs** occur as predicators after certain transitive verbs or groups of transitive verbs with which they have a covert relationship. The sub-class meaning is 'to be able to,' and this is a possible English translation for nearly all instances of specific completive verbs. The relationship between a verb and its completive verb is therefore very similar to that between a concrete noun (3.2.1.1.) and its unit classifier (3.2.5.1.). Whereas the unit classifier always means 'one instance of the particular class of things denoted by the noun,' the specific completive verb always means 'one instance of achievement of the attempted action denoted by the verb.' Verbal actions not predicated with completive verbs (specific or general) are no more finite than are concrete nouns without their classifiers.
Examples of the most important members of this sub-class are given below, along with some of the transitive verbs they are used with. For each transitive verb given, at least two constructions with its completive verb (appearing in the heading) are possible - one meaning 'able to V' and the other 'unable to V,' with /mâj/ coming between the two constituents in the latter case. For example, under item 1., the first two such constructions would be as follows:

sâj khâw  'can put in, able to be put in (will go in)'
sâj mâj-khâw  'cannot put in, unable to be put in (won't go in).'

1. /khâw/ 'to enter' Used after:
   /sâj/  'to put in'  /pîd/  'to close (door, etc.)'
   /cô/  'to drill'  /klyyn/  'to swallow'
   /jâd/  'to stuff'  /pêad/  'to open (door, etc.)'

2. /côg/ 'to emerge' Used after:
   /thôon/  'to withdraw'  /thôd/  'to take off'
   /pêad/  'to open (door, etc.)'  /dyo/  'to pull'
   /kâaw/  'to advance'
   and nearly all verbs of speaking, thinking, using the vocal apparatus and dealing with language:
   /phûud/  'to speak'  /aan/  'to read'
   /nyg/  'to think'  /plee/  'to translate'
   /rôn/  'to cry out'  /khîd/  'to figure out'
   /nûa-rô/  'to laugh'

3. /khyôn/ 'to rise' Used after:
   /jôg/  'to raise'  /sacian/  'to vomit'
   /jîb/  'to pick up'  /pêad/  'to open (a cover, etc.)'

4. /lôg/ 'to descend' Used after:
   /thsan/  and /kîn/  'to eat'  /sûy/  'to buy'
   /pîd/  'to close (cover, etc.)'

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5. /hën/ 'to see' Used after verbs of looking:  
   /duu/ 'to look at'  /leč/ 'to watch'  
   /moŋ/ 'to try to distinguish'  - and their compounds

6. /dâj-ğin/ 'to hear,' /khaw-caj/ 'to understand,' and /ruú-ryañ/  
   'to know what something is about' All used after:  
   /faŋ/ 'to listen'

7. /dâj-klin/ 'to identify the odor of' Used after:  
   /dom/ 'to sniff, try to smell'

8. /dâj-rød/ 'to identify the taste of' Used after:  
   /chim/ 'to taste'

9. /thiņg/ 'to hit' Used after:  
   /jiŋ/ 'to shoot'  /tli/ 'to beat'  
   /khwâŋ/ and /joon/ 'to throw'  
   /daw/, /thaaj/, and /khâad/ 'to guess'

10. /wäj/ 'to move' Used after:  
    /khlyán/ 'to shift'  /lâag/ 'to pull (cart, etc.)'  
    /thon/ 'to endure'  /khën/ 'to push (cart, etc.)'

11. /phöb/, /cëe/, and other verbs meaning 'to meet' Used after:  
    /haa/ 'to look for, try to find'  /khön/ 'to rummage'  
    /khwâa/ 'to grope' -and their compounds.

12. /tòg/ 'to fall' Used after:  
    /kët/ 'to solve, fix, undo'  
    /khid/ 'to think out (come to a decision)'

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13. /than/ 'to catch' Used after:
   /lâj/ 'to chase' /taam/ 'to follow'
   /lâa/ 'to hunt (animals)'

14. /phôn/ 'to get clear of' Used after:
   /nîl/ 'to flee' /lîg/ 'to avoid'
   /lôb/ 'to escape' - and their compounds.

15. /lâb/ 'to close the eyes, sleep' Used after:
   /noon/ 'to lie down, try to sleep'

16. /lûg/ 'get up' and /tyyn/ 'wake up.' Used after:
   /plûg/ 'to awaken' /noon/ 'to be lying down'
   (/noon māj-lûg/ means 'unable to get up')

17. /hâaj/ 'to recover' and /fyyn/ 'to regain consciousness' Used after expressions relating to sickness and these verbs:
   /râg-sâa/ 'to treat, cure'
   /kê/ 'to resuscitate'

18. /taaj/ 'to die' Used after verbs of violent action, with the meaning 'to death':
   /tîl/ 'to beat' /thâb/ 'to over-run'
   /chon/ 'to collide with' /khâa/ 'to kill'

19. /tîd/ 'to stick, be stuck' Used after:
   /jùu/ 'to remain'
   (/jùu māj-tîd/ means 'won't stay in place.')

20. /lûd/ 'to come loose' Used after:
   /dîn/ 'to wriggle'
   /dyn/ - and other verbs meaning 'to pull.'
Some constructions which appear to be transitive verb plus complective verb are actually single compound lexemes. Examples:

/sɔːb-lâj/ 'to pass an examination'
/sɔːb-tɔg/ 'to fail an examination'
/tɔg-loŋ/ 'to come to an agreement'
/rǔu-than/ 'to catch on (to a fact)'

These combinations do not pass the critical test of insertion of the negative between the first and second constituents.
CHAPTER IV
BOUND LEXEME CLASSES

4.1. Modals

A modal is any bound lexeme (2.6.1.2.) which occurs as /x/ in the context /S x P/, where /S/ stands for a subject and /P/ for a predicate. Thus modals fill the same position as the free lexeme class of modal verbs (3.3.1.), the difference being that modals do not substitute for their predications and hence are not predicators. The class meaning is the same: 'mode of action, or specific applicability of situation described.' The whole class is apparently closed, and the membership is relatively small.

Modals are sub-classified on the basis of more specific contexts, revolving around a central sub-class (4.1.3.) whose members have negative meaning. The general definition of modals also fits some kinds of conjunctions, especially the /cyn/ class (4.3.4.), but since these bound lexemes always precede other modals, their classification as conjunctions is considered pre-emptive. There are three definite sub-classes of modals, plus a residue of discontinuous lexemes and other miscellaneous items which make up a fourth group.

4.1.1. /khŭyn/ Class

These modals occur between /jāa/ 'don't' and a verb. (The verb, like all verbs following /jāa/, is never preceded by /ca-/, but the modal itself may be.) The class meaning is 'attitude of speaker toward the effect, timing, or setting of the action.' /khŭyn/-class modals also occur frequently without /jāa/, and are negated in statements with /māj-dâj/ rather than /mâj/ (see 4.1.3.). The class is closed, and rather small, the principal members being the following:

1. /khŭyn/ 'to do something one knows is wrong'
   jāa-khŭyn pl̄ooj hāj-nūu tua-nán paj.
   'Don't release that mouse, against your better judgment.'
   khŭyn tham jānān, thee kō-tōq sõob tōg.
   'If you keep on doing that, you'll certainly fail the examination.'
2. /fûyn/ 'to force oneself to do something distasteful'

phèd: nág, kô-jàâ fûyn kin: khâw-paj.

'If it's too peppery, don't force yourself to eat it.'
khîl-kiâd rîyy màj khîl-kiâd, theê kô-tông fûyn tham: paj.

'Lazy or not, you've got to go ahead with it.'

3. /mua/ 'to keep on, to act stubbornly or tardily'

jàâ-mua thian: kan jûu-leej.

'Let's stop this senseless arguing.'
khâw mua duu thiî-wiî phlegg: paj.

'He kept on watching television in a state of trance.'

4. /phèn/ or /phyy/- 'to act prematurely' (after /jàa/)

'to have acted recently' (otherwise)

jàâ-phèn paj: nà, fôn tôg.

'Don't go yet; it's raining.'
khâw phyy klîb-maa, mûa-kîi.

'He just got back a moment ago.'

5. /klèêg/ or /klên/ 'to pretend, to act so as to deceive'

thàâ khruû khîyûn hàj kaan-bàaan màag-màag jáqíl, chààn caklèêg tham sôq-dèed.

'If the teacher persists in giving such a lot of homework,
I'm just going to put on a show of doing it.'
khâw màj-dàj-klèêg chom.

'She wasn't just pretending to admire it.'

6. /lòng/ 'to act wrongly without realizing it'

jââ-lòng khêd: paj wàà, wan-nîi pen wan-sûg.

'Don't make the mistake of thinking this is Friday.'
nág-bin khâb khûyân-bin lòng khêw-paj naj-nyaî khàà-sûy.

'The pilot unwittingly flew the plane into enemy territory.'

7. /klàb/ 'to act contrary to expectations or to reverse previous behavior'

chààn tyan diî-dîî, theê klàb tham màa-kràod.

'I was chiding you gently, but you got mad anyway.'
têe-kòon chân choob sii-deeg, têe dêaw-níi kîâb choob sii-khâaw .
'Formerly I was fond of red, but now I like green.'
chân nèg wâa, kkhâw klêg chom wâa arôo j, thîi-thêe khâw klîb
choob cîm-cîm.
'I thought she was just pretending to like the flavor of it,
but in fact she really did like it.'

8. /tàb/ 'to act surreptitiously or from concealment'
chân tàb pàj-duu khâw tham .
'I sneaked in and watched them do it.'

9. /phlûg/ 'to act as a follower, to tag along'
phôm phlûg pàj-duaj , dâj mûj .
'May I go along with you?'

10. /phâaj kan/ and /chûaj kan/ 'to act as a group'
dêg phâaj-kan-wíî khâm thanôj: pàj .
'The children all ran off across the street'
màa chûaj-kan-hâw .
'The dogs are all barking at once.'

11. /màa/ 'to act toward the speaker, or so as to affect the speaker
and his group'
jàa-màa khîn bon krâaan-dam .
'Don't write on this (or our) blackboard.'
màa thôd phôm thamâj .
'Why come and blame me for it?'

12. /pàj/ 'to act away from the speaker, or so as to affect interests
other than the speaker and his group'
jàa-pàj khîn bon krâaan-dam .
'Don't write on that (or their) blackboard.'
dêaw capàj tham thûaj-kêw tëèg .
'Watch out you don't go breaking any glasses.'

Members 1-8 of this class apparently exclude each other semantically,
although the only obvious pairs of antonyms are 3-4, 5-6, and 11-12. Internal
order of the class is 1-8, 9-10, 11-12.

1 10
'If [we] all just keep sitting still it won't be any fun at all.'
THE CHILDREN WENT OFF TO PICK FLOWERS FOR FUN.

Members of the class also occur freely in construction with modal verbs and other pre-verbal classes. The usual order has the /khýn/-class modal in second position.

THEM TÔGEN-THÝN KIN: KHÂW PAJ.

'YOU JUST HAVE TO MAKE YOURSELF EAT IT DOWN.'

KHÂW CHÂQ: KIET QHÁN BÔN KRÁDAAN-DAM.

'HE CERTAINLY LIKES TO FOOL AROUND WRITING ON THE BLACKBOARD.'

4.1.2 /máq/ Class

These modals are defined by the context /x câmâj-V/. All members of the class occur more frequently without /máj-/ than with it, and in non-negated verb phrases they behave exactly like the modal verbs (3.3.1.), sometimes entering into construction with them (below). All members except the group 5-7 occur frequently without /ca-/ . The class meaning is 'likelihood or imminence of action,' and for those members which occur without /ca-/ also 'frequency of action.' Members 8-11, which all mean 'almost,' are commonly found before numeral phrases as well. /máq/-class modals cannot be directly negated, except with /máj-cháj/ in hypostasis. The class is closed, and rather small, the principal members being the following:

1. /máq/ 'frequently' /máq ca-/ 'likely to'
2. /âad/ 'characteristically' /âad ca-/ 'apt to, may'
3. /jôom/ 'frequently, characteristically' /jôom ca-/ 'likely to, apt to'
4. /khôq/ 'ordinarily, certainly' /khôq ca-/ 'must, must have'

NÁJ RÝDUU-NÍL FÔN MÁG TÔG NÁQ: CHIÁW.

'IN THIS SEASON IT FREQUENTLY RAINS QUITE HARD.'

ÂAD CAPÉN PAJ-DÂJ.

'IT'S QUITE POSSIBLE.' 'IT MAY HAPPEN.'

KHÂW ÂAD CAMÂJ-PAJ KÔ-DÂJ.

'THEN AGAIN HE MIGHT NOT GO.'

KHÔN-KHÂB-RÔD JÔOM PEN CHÁW-TÁQ-PRÁTHÉED.

'THE DRIVERS ARE FREQUENTLY FOREIGNERS.'

KHÔN THÍI-CHÝY PRIIDAÁ, KHÔQ PEN PHÝU-CHAÁJ.

'PEOPLE NAMED PRIDA ARE ORDINARILY MEN.'

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When he saw I was not there, he must have gone home.

'There must not be any of the red.'

'seems to, apparently'

'seems to, apparently'

'seems to, apparently'

'There doesn't seem to be any of the red.'

'I guess he has gone home already.'

'The water is apparently all gone.'

'I guess Chit is not coming.'

'The water is nearly all gone.'

'I was waiting for almost three hours.'

'These played until it was almost dark.'

'The train is already about to go.'

'I'm about to die from fatigue.'

'There are almost no seats left.'

'in the process of, somewhat'

'rather, quite'
The members of this class apparently exclude each other semantically, although there are no obvious pairs of antonyms. There is consequently no internal order for the class.

/máŋ/-class modals combine freely with modal verbs and other pre-verbal classes. They always precede such items.

náŋ-rian əad camâj-tôŋ paj kô-dâj .
'The students may not have to go, at that.'

phôm kỳab camâj-kheej paj lên-nám thalee .
'I have almost never been swimming in the ocean.'

ŋaân nîl châg cakhôj-samûg khynn .
'This celebration is finally starting to get rolling (beginning to be more fun).'

4.1.3. /máŋ/ Class

This class of modals consists of the negative /máŋ/ and its replacements, most of which are lexemes containing the morph /máŋ/ as first constituent. The various members of the class individually precede only certain types of predicate elements, with which they are in direct construction, but the class as a whole occurs before all types of predicate: verb, modal verb, adjective, completive verb, noun, and prepositional or numeral phrase. Each member has a special relationship with /ca-/ which has to be stated separately.

The class meaning is 'negative; restriction on the applicability of a proposition.' The members of the class not only exclude each other but also exclude the interrogative particle /máŋ/ from the same clause. The class is small and closed, consisting of only these nine members.
1. /mâj/, or /mâj/ 'not, other than'

Occurs unstressed and in close juncture with its predicator, which is a verb, adjective, completive or modal verb. First form nearly always occurs before prepositional and numeral phrases, but otherwise /mâj/ is more common. Both forms follow /ca-/, and never precede it.

phôm mâj-khei̍p pai̍: ūēj . /khei̍p/, modal verb
'I have never gone there.'

phôm mâj-pai̍: ūēj . /pāi̍/, verb
'I'm not going at all.'

phôm pāi̍: mâj-dâj: ūēj . /dâj/, completive verb
'I can't go at all.'

phôm pāi̍: mâj-sadâng: ūēj . /sadâng/, adjective
'It's not at all convenient for me to go.'

phôm ñâd camâj-pai̍: kô-dâj .
'I may not go, either.'

jan mâj sōng moog: nîi .
'Well, it's not two o'clock yet.'

khəw waâng caan , mâj náj-tûu .
'She put the dishes not (elsewhere than) in the cabinet.'

2. /mâj-dâj/ or /mâj-dâj/ 'in fact not, subject other than what is assumed.'

(Commonest in past situations but also occurs in present and future situations regarded as not capable of change.)

Conditions of occurrence are the same as for /mâj/, except that /mâj-dâj/ is rare before modal and completive verbs and prepositional phrases.

phôm mâj-dâj-pai̍: . /pāi̍/, verb
'I didn't go.' or 'I'm not the one who is going.'

phâa nîi mâj-dâj-dîī . /dîī/, adjective
'This cloth is not the good cloth (some other cloth is).' or 'This cloth is not (as you seem to think) good.'

rôd-pai̍: jan mâj-dâj-pai̍: .
'The train hasn't gone yet.'
The contrast between /mâj/ and /mâj-dâj/ is neatly pointed up by the following pair of exchanges:

Q. khrâyâ ̀n lêtw rî-jaŋ . 'Is the engine warm yet?'
A. jaŋ mâj-ûn . 'No, not yet. (It isn't warm yet.)'
Q. ̀n khrâyâ ̀n lêtw rî-jaŋ . 'Have you warmed up the engine yet?'
A. jaŋ mâj-dâj-ûn . 'No, not yet. (I haven't warmed it up yet.)'

In addition to substituting for /mâj/, /mâj-dâj/ also occurs in places where /mâj/ does not, for example before /khûyn/-class modals:
chân mâj-dâj-khât chom: rûg ♦.
'I didn't pretend to admire it!'  

3. /mâj-châj/ or /mâj-châj/ 'not a case of, predicate other than what is assumed'

Occurs most commonly before noun predicates, but is also found before adjectives, verbs, prepositional and numeral phrases, and (facultatively, at least) before any lexeme of the language whatsoever, in hypostasis. First form occurs in isolation and normally precedes nouns and non-predicates; second form occurs elsewhere, unstressed and in close juncture. Both are preceded by /ca-/.  
mâj-châj bân . tûg .
'It's not a (wood) house. It's a stone building.'

aakaâd mâj-châj-rûn . phoo sabaaŋ.
'The weather isn't hot, it's just right.'
khâuw waun caan mâj-châj naâ-tûu .
'She puts the dishes somewhere besides in the cupboard.'
mâj-châj hûg khôn . hûa khôn: thâu-nân .
'Not six people. Only five.'
nág-rian triam mâj-châj-khêq . fûg .
'Competing is not what the preparatory students do. They practice.'

(Compare with last example under 2. /mâj-dâj/ above)
The contrast between /məj-dəj/ and /məj-chəj/ is also illustrated by the following:

khon-nán məj-dəj-chyy phoon.
'That person isn't named Porn.'
chyy khon-nán məj-chəj phoon. sanid.
'That person's name isn't Porn. It's Sanit.'

This modal occurs also in many fixed expressions; for example:

məj-chəj-nəəj
'not a few, not a little, much, many'
məj-chəj-lən
'in earnest, considerably'
(lit: 'not for fun')

4. /məj-khəj/ or /məj-khəj/ 'hardly, not very; hardly ever, not very much'

Conditions of occurrence are the same as for /məj/, except that /məj-khəj/ is rare before modal verbs and numeral phrases and in isolation. Also, it normally precedes /ca-/, rather than following it as /məj/ does, and in such cases occurs in its first form.

phāa nīl məj-khəj-dīl.
'This cloth isn't very good.' /dīl/, adjective
phōm-een məj-khəj-paj.
'I myself hardly ever go.' /paj/, verb
khāw məj-khəj jəag capaj.
'She doesn't really want to go' /jəag/, modal verb
duu məj-khəj casuaj leej.
'It doesn't look at all pretty.' /suaj/, adjective
duu lētw, ncoon məj-khəj-ləb.
'After having seen it, one can hardly sleep.' /ləb/, complective verb

5. /məj-than/ 'has not had time to, had not (by that time)'

Occurs commonly before verbs and complective verbs; rare elsewhere. Follows /ca-/

weelaa-nān khecj nəŋ rāg-sāa məj-than-hāaj.
'At that time the arm had not yet been /hāaj/, complective verb healed.'
phôm jaŋ m̀aj-than khàad: së-ìig.
'I hadn't even guessed it yet.' /khàad/, verb

6. /m̀aj-jàg/ 'has not (in the long run), not (in spite of expectations)'

Conditions of occurrence are the same as for /m̀aj-than/.

chân cheen khàw lèèw, tèè khàw m̀aj-jàg maa.
'I invited him, but he didn't come.'

khun sanîd pàj, tèè mia khàw m̀aj-jàg pàj.
'Sanit went, but his wife didn't.'

înè † maa nàn: lèèw. ì áaw † m̀aj-jàg chàj.
'There! There he comes. Oh! It's not him after all.'

7. /m̀aj-hèn/ or /m̀aj-hèn/ 'apparently not, in my opinion not'

Occurs commonly before verbs and adjectives; rare elsewhere.
The corresponding construction with /ca-/ is /hèn-camàj/, in which
/hèn/ is a member of the /màg/- class and /màj/ is the only represen­
tative of the present class.

khun sanîd m̀aj-hèn-maa: sà-thìi.
'Apparently Sanit hasn't come.' or
'I don't think Sanit is coming.' /maa/, verb

dòog nîl, chân m̀aj-hèn sùaj: lèej.
'This flower doesn't seem at all pretty /sùaj/, adjective
to me.'

8. /m̀aj-cheen/ 'not really, really not'

Conditions of occurrence are the same as for /m̀aj-hèn/. Does
not occur with /ca-/.

phôm kò-m̀aj-cheen klua: thìdìaw règ.
'Well, I wasn't really exactly afraid /klua/, verb
at all.'

9. /jàa/ 'don't, shouldn't'

Occurs commonly before transitive verbs and /khỳyn/- class
modals, and in isolation; less commonly before adjectives and other
verbs. Never occurs before prepositional or numeral phrases, or
in the same construction with /ca-/.
jāa-paj nāj: leej nā
'Don't go away anywhere, will you?' /paj/, verb
phil jāa duu-thùug .
'Older brother shouldn't disparage it.' /duu-thùug/, verb
jāa-khýyn kín khāw-paj: si .
'Then don't (obstinately) eat it.' /khýyn/, modal
jāa rew: nág .
'Not so fast!' /rew/, adjective

4.1.4. Miscellaneous Modals

The following do not comprise a sub-class of modals, but are residue from the preceding three clearly-defined sub-classes. The discontinuous and parallel modals (1-4) satisfy the class definition only insofar as some of their elements are concerned; the remaining modals (5-8) satisfy the general definition perfectly but have functional peculiarities which prevent their being included in one of the sub-classes.

1. /ød... māj-dâj/ 'to be unable to keep from'

Occurs discontinuously (see 2.5.3.1.) around verbs and verb expressions. The morph /ød/ itself does not substitute for such predicates, and hence is not a modal verb by itself. Examples:
khāw ød phûud khwam-cîŋ māj-dâj .
'He was unable to keep from telling the truth.'
chān ød jîm māj-dâj .
'I couldn't repress a smile.' (/jîm/ is a verb, 'to smile.')

2. /kēød... khûn/ 'it originates, a new thing happens'

Occurs discontinuously around verbs, verb expressions and whole predications. (In the last case any item preceding /kēød/ in the same clause is a topic.) In all cases, neither /kēød/ nor /khûn/ substitutes for the whole. Examples:
rîd-phôm kēød jaaq-tîng: khûn .
'My car developed a flat tire.' (/jaaq-tîng/ is a possible predication: 'tire bursts.')
kēød rîd chôn: kan khûn .
'It happened that there was an accident.' (/rîd chôn: kan/ is a possible predication: 'cars collide.')
Suddenly started competing with each other.'

(/khync-khyn/ is a verb expression: 'to compete.')

3. /tana/... tana/ 'each one in a different way'

Occurs in parallel construction (see 2.5.3.3.) with whole predications. The subject fills the slot between the two /tana/’s; the second /tana/ is the part of the reduplicated lexeme which fills the modal position, and can be followed by any kind of predicate. Example:

tana khon , tana deen-thaa.

'Each person travels separately (goes his own way).'

On the basis of its first element, /tana/... tana/ is also classified as a /diw/-class conjunction (4.3.1.).

4. /ji/... ji/ 'the more... the more'

Occurs in parallel construction, introducing two predications which may or may not have the same logical subject. In cases where a real subject is present, the element /ji/ precedes it, and only when a subject is lacking does either /ji/ fall into the modal position. Examples:

naa-likaa khoq-chahn , ji aw-paj-ket , ji deen reu: khyn ,

rew: khyn , thug thil.

'The more I take my watch to be repaired, the faster it runs.'
(The topic /n aa-likaa khoq-chahn/ 'my watch' is the logical object of the first predicate /aw-paj-ket/ 'take to be repaired' and the logical subject of /deen... thug thil/ 'runs faster and faster all the time.' Both predications, however lack real subjects.)

ji mii khon maaq , ji saaq.

'The more people there are, the merrier.'

On the basis of the possible occurrence of either element /ji/ before subjects, the item /ji/... ji/ is also classified as a /diw/-class conjunction (4.3.1.).

5. /chanc/ 'really, how surprisingly so, how, sure'

This modal probably belongs to the /mag/ class (4.1.2.) but has several peculiarities. Unlike all other members of the /mag/ class, it is never followed by /ca-/ . It has a lexical relationship with the negative /maj-cheen/ 'not really' (4.1.3.8.) with which it is
in complementary distribution, and in the form /châŋ/ cannot be negated at all. The clauses in which it occurs quite often have the 'emotional involvement' intonation morpheme /↑/. Finally, it sometimes comes before the subject (instead of after it, as do all true modals). Examples:

dèg khon-ní châŋ-phûud: cîŋ ↑.
'Very this child really knows how to talk!'  
imêt , duu sî↑ châŋ mâj-klua: sâ-leê j ↑.
'Say, but look! He's not a bit afraid!'  
châŋ phûud dâj ↑.
'How can you say such a thing!'  
khun châŋ khâb-rôd rew: lâ kep ↑.
'You sure do drive fast!'  

6. /khoj/ or /khôj/ 'only then, not until then, after having waited a while.'

This modal resembles the /khyyn/-class modals (4.1.1.) in every respect except that it does not occur in the definitive context (after /jâa/ 'don't'). It precedes mainly verbs and adjectives, and follows /ca-/ and the /mâj/-class modals. It is frequently found in commands, where it is in direct contrast with /jâa-Þêŋ/ 'don't yet.' Its semantic opposite /phên/ 'just now, not until now' is in fact a /khyyn/-class modal (4.1.1.4.). The morphologically related negative /mâj-khoj/ 'not very' (4.1.3.4.) does not have an exclusively temporal meaning, and is considered to be a separate lexeme, rather than a syntactic construction of /mâj/ plus /khoj/, because it replaces /mâj/ everywhere. In the examples below, illustrations of /phên/ are included for contrast.

khâaw myà pîl thîl-lêew mâj-Þêŋg ñëam , têt pîl-ní khoj dîl khîn .  
'The rice last year didn't grow well, but this year it's a little better.'  
myà-waen-níl phêng rôon khîn .  
'It didn't get hotter until yesterday. (Only yesterday did it get hotter.)'  
jâa-Þêŋ hûŋ khâaw ñiaw-níl . îig Hàa naa-thîl , thêŋ' khoj hûŋ .  
'Don't cook the rice now. Wait five minutes and then cook it.'  
Jaŋ : kôon . ñiaw khôj-paŋ .  
'Not yet. Wait a little and then go.'
This celebration is finally starting to be fun.'

7. /khôj-khôj/ 'gradually, gently'
/rûb-rûb/ 'hurriedly, without pausing'

These and other reduplicated lexemes of similar meaning are sometimes found in the modal position as well as their normal complement position. The first is based on the modal /khôj/ above, the second on a modal verb /rûb/ 'to hurry.' The difference in meaning seems to be that the modal position refers more to the inception of action and the complement position to the action as a whole.

khôj-khôj len t.
'Don't play excitedly (when you start to play)!'

len khôj-khôj t.
'Play more quietly (than you are now)!

khôj-khôj phûud: nā .
'Speak softly, now.'

khâw rûb-rûb phûud .
'He started talking in a big rush.'

8. /ca/ 'hypothetical situation,' the most common modal of all, is also a preposition - see 4.2.6.3.2. for examples.

4.2. Prepositions

A preposition is any bound lexeme which introduces exocentric complement phrases. The function of prepositions is analogous to that of modals, the difference being that the co-constituents of prepositional phrases are substantive rather than predicative expressions. The relationship between prepositions and head-nouns is the same as that between modals and modal verbs (which always head their predicates); the larger construction is of the same type but the preposition (or modal) cannot replace it, whereas the head noun (or modal verb) can. In addition, prepositions normally have weak stress.

The class of prepositions is not very large, but must be considered open. Members include homonyms of both substantive and predicative lexemes which, when stressed, are heads of endocentric expressions. For example, the stressed item /we-laa/ means 'time' and is an abstract noun:

/we-laa wâan/   'free time'
/sõnõ we-laa/   'two separate times'
But weak-stressed /welaa/ is a preposition 'at':

/welaa/ sôcô moon/ 'at two o'clock'

On the other hand, many of the most common prepositions do not have such homonyms - e.g. /naj/ 'in.'

The class meaning is 'spatial, temporal, numerical, or logical restriction on a substantive concept.' Prepositions are sub-classified into five categories, with an important residue of extremely common items (4.2.6.).

4.2.1. /naj/ Class

This class of prepositions is morphologically defined by occurrence in derivatives with the lexical prefix /khâñ/ or /khân/ 'side' (see 2.4.1. 7.). A few also make other derivatives with the prior elements /bân/- 'side,' /thaâñ/- 'way,' /phaaj/- 'scope,' /toon/- 'part.' The resultant derivatives are nouns, and at the same time /thamañ/- class complementives (3.2.2.3.8.). They also fill most of the positions of their base prepositions as well. By themselves, /naj/-class prepositions occur with weak stress before and in construction with all types of nouns and noun-expressions; they are rare before verb-expressions. The class meaning is 'locative reference.'

The class is closed and small, and its members are grouped in pairs of semantic opposites. Following are the important members and their derivatives. The context for all examples is the same:

man juu...nán
'It is... there.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Derivatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. /naj/ 'in'</td>
<td>/khân-naj/ 'inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/phaaj-naj/ 'within'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. /nôog/ 'outside of'</td>
<td>/khân-nôog/ 'outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/phaaj-nôog/ 'without'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. /bon/ 'on, up in'</td>
<td>/khân-bon/ 'top, upper portion, upstairs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/bân-bon/ 'upper side, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. /lâñ/ 'under, down in'</td>
<td>/khân-lâñ/ 'bottom, lower portion, downstairs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/bân-lâñ/ 'lower side, etc.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. / nya/ 'above'  
   /khal-nya/ 'up above'  
   /phaaJ-nya/ 'in superior position'  
   /thaan-nya/ 'north'

6. / tâJ/ 'below'  
   /khal-tâJ/ 'down below, underneath'  
   /phaaJ-tâJ/ 'in inferior position'  
   /thaan-tâJ/ 'south'

7. /nâa/ 'In front of'  
   /khal-nâa/ 'front'  
   /phaaJ-nâa/ 'future'

8. /lâŋ/ 'behind'  
   /khal-lâŋ/ 'back'  
   /phaaJ-lâŋ/ 'future, after'

9. /khaâa/ 'beside'  
   /khal-khaâa/ 'alongside, to one side'

10. /klaâa/ 'In the midst of'  
   /khal-klaâa/ 'middle'  
   /toon-klaâa/ 'middle part'

As simple prepositions, the members of the /naj/ class exclude each other, but many combinations involving the derivatives occur. There is no internal order for the class.

4.2.2. /caag/ Class

The class consists of prepositions which occur in the same constructions as the /naj/ class, but also occur before, and in construction with, phrases introduced by /naj/-prepositions. The class meaning is 'direction and limits of motion.'

The class must be considered open, since weak-stressed verbs of motion freely enter in (an example is 13. /sâa/), but the number of frequent, standard members is small. In this latter category are members 1-4, which are among the most frequent lexemes in the language. Most members have homonyms belonging to other classes.

Besides the members listed below, the following mainly literary prepositions belong to the /caag/ class:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nâ/</td>
<td>'at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sûN/</td>
<td>'against, toward, object sign'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sûu/</td>
<td>'toward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jaŋ/</td>
<td>'to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where these items have colloquial uses, however, they are listed under the appropriate category (e.g. /jaŋ/ in 4.2.3.6.). Also not listed below are three prepositions requiring special treatment: /kwâa/, /khoop/, and /hèe/ (see 4.2.6.4.). The principal colloquial members of the /caag/ class follow.
1. /càag/ or /càg/ 'from, away from, out of'
   đög maa càag tâj tôn-mâaj .
   'Came out from under a tree.'
   din-sọo lûd paj-càag-myy .
   'The pencil slipped out of his hand.'

2. /têc/ or /tê/ 'from, from the direction of, from the time of'
   đög deon-thaañ têc-chàaw mûyd .
   'Started traveling in the early morning.'
   ('from the early morning.'
   đan khûn tê-lêt pratuu .
   'There was a noise from behind the door.'

3. /thîl/ or /thî/ 'at, to, over at, in the possession of'
   khooñ jùu-thîl-nâa rooq-riûn .
   'He's waiting (over) in front of the school.'
   phôb kan thî-bânn pûyan .
   'We met at a friend's house.'
   paj thî-bânn pûyan .
   'Go over to a friend's house.'
   jùu thî-chàûn , hâa bàad .
   'I still have (or owe you) five baht.'
   ('There remains to me five baht.')

4. /thỳñ/ or /thỳng/ and /con/ 'to, all the way to, reaching'
   đög paj thỳñ-klaañ mê señor-nàm .
   'Went out into the middle of the river.'
   klâb-maa thỳñ-bân welañ sôq thûm .
   'Got back to the house at eight p.m.'
   jùu thîl-nâñ con sàam thûm .
   'Stayed there until nine p.m.'

5. /tron/ 'right at, right to'
   jùu tron-klaañ mê señor-nàm .
   'It's right in the middle of the river.'
   jûd tron-nâñ : eëñ .
   'Stop right there.'
thùng tròrg nàa-òg.
'Was hit right in the chest.'

6. /taam/ or /tam/ 'along, following, according to, from one to another of'

wìŋ paŋ-tam-thaŋnèn.
'Run along the street.'
phûud taam-phôm.
'Say it after me.'
roöŋ taam caŋ-wà.
'Sing according to the rhythm.'
hàŋ-syy tam-ráan.
'Shop for it from one store to the next.'

7. /thaŋ/ or /thaŋ/ 'in the direction of, by way of'

jùu thaŋ-nòg pratuu.
'It's somewhere outside the door.'
líaw thaŋ-sáaj.
'Turn to the left.'
mas thaŋ mèe-náam.
'Come by way of the river.'
paj thaŋ rya-bin.
'Go by plane.'

8. /thàw/ or /tha-/ 'to or in the general vicinity of, near'

lèn kan thàw-nàa roong-riàan.
'They play around the front of the school.'
tha-thàw-bàan phêm mii jë.
'There are a lot of them in my neighborhood.'

9. /kàb/ and /ka-/ 'with, with respect to, to'

jùu klàaj kàb-bàan phôm.
'It's near (with respect to) my house.'
paj kàb-phôm dìi kwàa.
'Better go with me.'
fàag nàa-syy kàb-phûn.
'Leave books with a friend.'
hâj nãŋ-syỳ kaphýan.
'Give books to a friend.'
(See also /ka-/ under 10. /kè/ and under miscellaneous prepositions, 4.2.6.3.).

10. /kè/ or /kè/ and /ka/ 'toward, to, for'

thỳŋ kè-kam léww.
'He is dead (has attained to death).'

hâj nãŋ-syỳ kè-phýan.
'Give books to a friend.'

dâj kè-khóow thúg-jàąŋ
or: dâj kakhóow thúg-jàąŋ.
'Applies to all kinds of things.'

11. /tòo/ or /tò/ 'toward, in the presence of, distributively to'

phùud tòo-nàa khâw.
'Say it to his face.'

jyyn taa tò-taa.
'Stand eye to eye.'

Before metric classifiers and numeral phrases, /tòo/ means 'per':

hàa-sìb kìlòo-mèd tòo chú-a-mooă.
'Fifty kilometers per hour.'

12. /khèt/ 'stopping at, going no further than'

pàj khèt wàŋ-lúąă.
'Goes only as far as the palace.'

(Also a member of the /dooj/-class, 4.2.3.16.)

13. /sàj/ 'into, at so as to hit.'

fàj-chèg tòg sàj-caan tèng.
'The lighter fell into the dish and broke it.'

jìŋ sàj tòŋ-màąń.
'Shoot at a tree.'

14. /pracam/ 'located at, associated with'

pen thùud pracam krúp-thèeb.
'He's a diplomat stationed in Bangkok.'
There is no internal order for the class, but specific combinations of members occur, within the class and outside, which are better considered as single lexemes:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{/thỳŋ-kàb/} & \text{'to the point of'} \\
\text{4} & \text{9} \\
\text{/taam-thìi/} & \text{'according to'} \\
\text{6} & \text{3} \\
\text{/tron-khàam/} & \text{'opposite, right across from'} \\
\text{5} & \\
\text{/làŋ-càag/} & \text{'after'} \\
\text{1} & \\
\text{/tàn-tìɛ/} & \text{'since'} \\
\text{2} & \\
\text{/thỳŋ-khèɛ/} & \text{'only to the point of'} \\
\text{4} & \text{12}
\end{array}
\]

4.2.3. /doo1/ Class

The class consists of prepositions which occur before, and in construction with, both noun and verb expressions. Most members, in fact, occur before whole clauses as /thàa/-class conjunctions (4.3.2.). The class meaning is 'temporal, spatial or logical condition,' and the resulting phrases function syntactically as complements. Like /thamaj/-class complementives, for which /doo1/-introduced prepositional phrases freely substitute, the phrases are reversible with respect to the head constituents; the only difference in meaning is a slight change of emphasis.

The class is open, and quite large, containing many nearly-synonymous members. Following are the most important members, with their approximate meanings.

1. /mìa/ or /mìa/  
   'at the time of'
2. /kòon/ or /kòn/  
   'before'
3. /welaa/ and /toon/ 
   or /ton/  
   'during the time of, at or in (a part of the day)'
4. /phoo/ or /pho/  
   'as soon as the time of'
5. /con-thỳŋ/ or /con-thỳŋ/ 
   and /con-kraθàŋ/  
   'until, up to the time of, up to the point of'
6. /jàŋ/  
   'to, to an end-point of'
7. /làŋ-càag/ or /làŋ-càg/  
   'after'
8. /tāŋ-te/ or /tāŋ-tê/
   'since, all the way from, with beginning member as'

9. /nōog-cāg/ or /nōog-cāg/
   'besides, outside of'

10. /wén/ and /wén-te/
    'except for'

11. /rāwaŋ/
    'including, with final member as'
    (Often follows 8. /tāŋ-te/, in the meaning 'everything from... to...')

12. /talōd-con/

13. /jàŋ/ or /jàŋ/
    'like, such as, in the manner of'

14. /chēn/
    'like, for example' (construction often closed with /pen-tôn/)

15. /mān/ or /mān/
    'resembling, like'

16. /thāw/ or /thāw/ and /khēt/
    'to the extent of'

17. /dōo/ or /dōo/
    'by means of, by the agency of'

18. /dûaj/ or /dûaj/
    'with, with the material of'

19. /phrō/ or /phrō/
    'because of'

20. /nān-cāg/ or /nān-cāg/
    'on account of'

21. /phēja/
    'for the purpose of'

22. /sām-rāb/ or /sām-rāb/
    'for, as for, for the purpose of'
    and /sūan/

23. /chaphō/
    'directed toward, especially for'

24. /fāaj/
    'on the part of, from the side of'

25. /pen/
    'as, so as to become'

26. /htēn/ or /then/
    'instead of, so as to replace'

27. /rāŋ/
    'on the subject of'

Members of the /dōo/-class normally exclude each other except insofar as they form single-lexeme compounds, for example:

/jāŋ-chēn/   /chēn/  /jàŋ/  /mān/   /phēja/   /htēn/

Of all the members of the class listed above, only a few can substitute for their typical phrases, and even these members occur by themselves only at the end of clauses, not at the beginning, and hence are /sān/-class complementives (3.2.2.2.). These are:

2. /kōon/  'beforehand' But also, /kōon-nān/  'before that'
18. /dûaj/ 'with it, in addition' But also, /dûaj-kan/ 'with each other, together'

26. /theen/ 'instead'

All other members form complement phrases or derive complementives by addition of objects like /nán/ (e.g. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16) or /kan/ (e.g. 15, 16, 18) or /nî/ (e.g. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 13, and 16 /khê/) with various meanings. There are also a few highly irregular derived complementives:

4. /pho-dií/ 'just now, just then'

14. /chên-đìaw-kan/ 'in the same way'

19. /phrô-CHANân/ 'for that reason'

21. /phya/ 'for a purpose, in reserve' (note change of tone)

23. /dûaj-chaphô/ 'especially'

Two additional members of this class which require special treatment, /hâj/ and /aw/, are listed with the miscellaneous prepositions (4.2.6.1.).

4.2.4. /rôob/ Class

These prepositions belong to none of the preceding classes but are weak-stressed forms of verbs (mostly completive verbs, 3.3.4.) which occur before nouns in the typical prepositional construction. They do not normally occur before verbs or introduce clauses. The class meaning, is 'route or timing of motion or distribution'. The resulting phrases can all be substituted for by the corresponding free form with normal stress.

The class is not large, but presumably open, since any completive verb is a candidate for membership. Phrases introduced by /rôob/-class prepositions, especially 5-10, are more frequently negated than any other type of prepositional phrase. Following are some important members.

1. /khôn/
   deen khôn-sanôn
   jùu khôn-sanôn .
   'across, over on the other side, of'
   'walk across the street'
   'It's across the street.'

2. /troô-khôn/
   troô-khôn karoôn-nûn
   'directly across from, opposite'
   'opposite the theatre'

3. /rôob/ and /rôob-rôob/
   nûn rôob-tô
   'around, completely circling'
   'seated around the table'
4. /som/ and /som-som/ deemed som-tó.
   
5. /talõöd/
   talõöd-chiìwìd
   talõöd-thaaŋ
   'all through life'
   'the whole way'

6. /thûa/
   thûa-lõog.
   'throughout (two or three dimensions), pervading, all over'
   'all over the world'

7. /khroðb/
   syy dâj khroð-chûd.
   'completing a set, the full amount of'
   'able to buy the whole set'

8. /mõö/
   mõö-reëŋ
   'depleting a set, the last bit of'
   'every last bit of strength'

9. /phon/
   phon-thûg
   'beyond, past, clear of, free of'
   'free of sorrow'

10. /than/
    than rõd-faj
    'in time for, catching up with'
    'in time for the train'

11. /râj/ or /râaj/ and /prâad-sacaag/
    râj heed-phon
    prâad-sacaag khwaam-maaj
    'without, devoid of'
    'without reason'
    'without meaning'

12. /tem/
    tem kamlaj
    tem-nâa
    'full of, filling up'
    'at full strength'
    'all over the face'

13. /tiìd/
    tiìd faâ-phanâŋ
    'sticking to, up against'
    'on the walls'

'around, detouring, half-circling'
'walk around the table (as a detour)'
'all the way through (one dimension, as time or a road), from one end to the other'
'free of sorrow'
'In time for the train'
'at full strength'
'on the walls'
14. /tʊː/  
  'joined to, extending from, in line with'
  tʊː fāa-phanǎŋ  
  'in line with the wall'
  tʊː-rūa loŋ-paj  
  'extending down from the fence'.

15. /θ₉əW/ or /θ₀W/  
  'to the extent of, equal to'
  sūŋ th₉əW phi₉-cha₉  
  'as tall as his elder brother'
  (Also a member of /doo/ class, 4.2.3.16.)

4.2.5. /sāŋ/ Class

The class consists of prepositions which occur immediately before, and in construction with, cardinal numeral (3.2.6.1.) phrases. The class includes one set of members which are homonymous with /māg/-class modals (6, below) and these are the only members after which /ca-/ intervenes before the numeral (in time expressions). The entire construction in all cases is still a cardinal numeral construction, and non-negatable. The class meaning of /sāŋ/-prepositions is 'attitude toward the accuracy, size, distribution, or inclusiveness of a numeral expression.' The class is closed, and rather small; all common members are represented here.

1. /iŋ/  
  'another, an additional number of'
  kh₉₉₉ ḏ₉₉-r₉₉ ḋ₉₉-m₉₉ iŋ-s₉₉₉ ch₉₉₉₉ .  
  'He received two more letters.'
  tʊŋ khoοɔ̌ iŋ-sib wan .  
  'We have to wait another ten days.'

2. /θᵣYŋ/ or /θᵣ₉n/  
  'up to, a complete set of'
  ḡ₉₉₉₇-₉₉₉ khoοɔ̌ θᵣYŋ-sib wan , ḡ₉₉₉-d₉₉ .  
  'We may even have to wait the full ten days.'
  kh₉₉₉ capajː kan , θᵣYŋ-s₉₉₉₉ khoɔ̌  
  'All three of them are going.'

3. /tɘ-₁₉/ and /khoɔ̌-₁₉/  
  'each, different, ... at a time'
  (Although /khoɔ̌/ is also a classifier for persons, and /₁₉/ a distributive postposition, described in 4.4.4., it is clear that /khoɔ̌-₁₉/ is a compound preposition of the /sāŋ/ class, because, like /tɘ-₁₉/, it is used to refer to all types of nouns, not merely people.) Examples:
  kh₉₉₉ pagː kan , khoɔ̌-₁₉-th₉₉₉₉ .  
  'They went off in different directions (each one way).'
aw tè-lǎ-sŏng an dīi kwàa .
'It's better to take two of each.'

phid kan khon-lǎ-jàaj .
'Each kind is different.'

4. /thŭg-thŭg/ 'every, at intervals of'
chāaj thŭg-thŭg sāam dyan .
'It is shown every three months.'
(This item, which is a reduplication of /thŭg/, and item 3. above closely resemble the partitive numerals described in 3.2.6.3., but differ in that they occur before cardinal numerals, whereas partitive numerals do not.)

5. /raaw/ or /raw-reaw/ 'approximately (time or quantity)' and /pramaan/ 'approximately (quantity only)'
khāaj raakhaa pramaan hāa-rŏo j bàad .
'It sells for approximately five hundred baht.'
phōm òog cāag thīl-nān raw-raaw sīl thūm .
'I left there at about ten p.m.'
cāag nīl , kō-raaw nỳq-rŏo j méd .
'It's about a hundred meters from here.'

6. /cuan/ or /cuan ca-/ and /kỳab/ or /kỳab ca-/ 'almost'
phōm khooj jūu , kỳab-sŏng chūa-moon .
'I was waiting for almost two hours.'
cuan-casāam moon lītw .
'It's nearly three o'clock.'

7. /kееn/, /kееn-kwăa/ and /kwăa/ 'in excess of'
phōm khooj jūu , kee-kwăa sŏng chūa-moon .
'I was waiting for over two hours.'
khaaj raakhaa kееn hāa-rŏo j bàad .
'It sells for more than five hundred baht.'

8. /phla̍n/ and /phēn/ or /phhēn/ 'only'
khaaj raakhaa phīnā hāa-rŏo j bàad ; thāw-nān .
'It sells for only five hundred baht.'
'I was able to buy only five copies.'

'Phòng sẫm mooŋ.'

'It's only three o'clock.'

Kh ssize riêng mùi mùi sỏcoh khon.

or kh ssize riêng mùi mùi sỏcoh khon.

'She has only two children.'

(See also the modal /phên/, in 4.1.1. and 4.1.4.)

9. /təŋ/ or /təŋ/ 'all of, as much as, the surprisingly high number of'

Phôm khoơj: jùu, tṛœ-sỏcoh chûа-mooŋ.

'I was waiting for all of two hours.'

Câag nĩi, kʊ-təŋ hâa-rỗj mêđ.

'It's at least five hundred meters from here.'

10. /ság/ or /ság/ 'the inexact number of, the unreal quantity of'

Phôm capaj-syyy nãŋ-syyy ság-sỏcoh lɛm.

'I'm going to buy a couple of books.'

Phôm capaj-syyy nãŋ-syyy ság-lɛm.

'I'm going to buy a book (unspecific)'

Kh ssize nãŋ-dâj-syyy nãŋ-syyy ság-lɛm diaw.

'He didn't buy (so much as) a single book.'

Phoo deen paj-dâj ság-hâa mãatriii,

'After he had been walking along for perhaps five minutes...'

'Two /ság/-class prepositions in sequence are not uncommon. The class consists of pairs of semantic opposites which limit the actual possibilities - for example, members of groups 1-2, 3-4, 5-8, and 9-10 exclude each other internally; /keen/ is followed only by /təŋ/ and /phên/ only by /ság/.

Examples of actual combinations follow. The immediate constituents are always A/BC.

'Iig pramaan sib khon.

'Approximately ten more people.'

Thṭŋ kṛab-sii chûа-mooŋ.

'Nearly four whole hours.'

Keen təŋ hâa-rỗj bàad.

'Even more than five hundred baht.'
Only about two meters.

Almost as much as two hundred meters.

4.2.6. **Miscellaneous Prepositions**

1. */haŋ/ or */hāŋ/ and */aw/*

These two prepositions, which as prepositions are members of the */dooŋ/ class, each have homonyms belonging to several other form-classes. The two are listed here together because they share a number of constructions and have a common meaning: 'transfer of possession or instrumentality.' The constructions are:

1. Post-verbal phrase
   */haŋ/ 'to or for someone, having an intentional effect on something'
   */aw/ 'to or at something, having an unintentional effect on something'

   jyyn hâŋ phanâŋ-ñaan.
   'Hand it to the clerk.'

   mëw takhuŋ aw-syå.
   'The cat sharpened its claws on the mat.'

   sāŋ thamnôb hâŋ-nâam thuam.
   'Built a dam for flooding.'
   ('Built a dam to make it flood.')

   */aw/ is very common after verbs of holding and grasping:

   jîb aw-pâg-kaa.
   'Pick up the pen.'

   fôn tôg aw-náam thuam.
   'It rained and flooding resulted.'
   ('The rain made it flood.')

2) Pre-verbal phrase
   */haŋ/ 'with the (human or animate) agency of'
   */aw/ 'with the (inanimate) instrument of'

   mët-khrua hâŋ-deg tâd nña pen-chin.
   'The cook has the child cut the meat into slices.'
mēe-khrua sw-mîid tàd nûa pen-chûn.
'The cook uses a knife to cut the meat into slices.'

Apart from the order of the prepositional phrase (before the verb), these constructions correlate with those of /dooj/-class prepositions. Compare the following:

- aw-mâaj tham.
  'Make it with wood.'
- tham dûaj-mâaj.
  'Make it with wood.'
- aw rôd-jon paj.
  'Go by car.'
- paj dooî rôd-jon.
  'Go by car.'

3. As /wâj/-class postpositions (4.4.1.)

Homonyms of the two prepositions occur unstressed after verbal phrases without any object. Like a few members of the /dooj/-class (2,18, 26), this is a case of substitution for the typical prepositional phrase introduced by that member. But since /hâj/ and /aw/ as postpositions occur in mixed order with members of the /wâj/-class, they are assigned to this class rather than to the /eeη/-class, the members of which they always precede. As a postposition, /hâj/ never has the form /hâj/.

- /hâj/ 'to or for someone else'
- /aw/ 'for oneself, for itself'

- kèb dôog-mâaj: hâj.
  'Pick flowers for them'
- kèb dôog-mâaj: aw.
  'Pick flowers for themselves'
-khûw cajyy mûaj: ɪiɪ.
  'He's going to lend it (to others) as well.'
-khûw mûaj-dûaj-bôog phûm t phûm daw: aw eeη .
  'He didn't tell me. I guessed it for myself.'

In association with the plural pronoun /kan/, it is important to distinguish whether /hâj/ and /aw/ occur as prepositions or postpositions.

- keb hâj-kan.
  'They pick them for each other.'
- keb kan hâj.
  'They pick them for others.'
- keb aw-kan.
  'They pick them for themselves (as a group).'</p>
- keb kan aw.
  'The pick them for themselves (as individuals).'</p>
4. As conjunctions

Both /hâj/ and /aw/ occur before subject-predicate constructions, as conjunctions of the /sy̞-/class (4.3.3.), with the common meaning 'change of subject.' In many cases this is an extension of their prepositional use in post-verbal phrases, like the occurrences of /dooj/-class prepositions as /thâa/-class conjunctions (4.3.2).

/hâj/  'so that, which is supposed to'
/aw/  'so that, which accidentally'

khāw aw lûug-boon , khwāaŋ hâj khoom-tâŋ tòg .
'He took the ball and threw it at the lamp to make it fall.'
('so that the lamp would fall.')
khwâŋ aw lûug-boon , khwâaŋ aw khoom-tâŋ tòg .
'He threw the ball and it knocked down the lamp.'
('in such a way that the lamp fell.')

In both examples, the first /aw/ is a preposition (see 4.2.6.1.2. above): 'he threw with the ball,' though /khwâaŋ/ is also transitive.

A similar use, also common to /dooj/-class prepositions, is occurrence before adjectives:

tīi man hâj-ren-ren: nā .
'Beat it hard, will you?'
man tīi chān aw-ren-ren .
'It hit me hard.'

5. As Main Verbs

Like /wâj/-class postpositions, /hâj/ and /aw/ occur, stressed, as primary verbs. In the examples below, the main verb is underlined.

/hâj/  'to give'
/aw/  'to take, to choose'
 hâj sataaq: paj  'to give money away'
 (dâ) sataaq: maa  'to receive money'
    aw sataaq: paj  'to take the money away'
    aw sataaq: maa  'to bring the money'
     maa-hâj sataaq  'to come and give money'
   paj-aw sataaq  'to go get money'
   aw maa-hâj  'to bring for someone'
hâj paj-aw 'to have someone go get'
aw paj-hâj 'to take to someone'
hâj maa-aw 'to have someone come get'
hâj sataaq: aw-wâj 'to give money for a future purpose'
aw sataaq: wâj-hâj 'to keep money on hand for someone'

2. /têe/ or /tê/ and /con/

These prepositions, of opposite meaning, share some, but not all constructions with each other. Basically they are both members of the /câag/ class (4.2.2, numbers 2 and 4, respectively), but both occur in compound prepositions of the /dooj/ class (4.2.3.5.8,10,12) and in other compound lexemes. Besides their basic meanings, /têe/ 'starting from' and /con/ 'up to' have quantity-related meanings which are the exact equivalents of two /sâg/-class (4.2.5.) prepositions, /sâg/ 'as little as' and /tân/ 'as much as,' respectively. These occur only in numeral phrases; /têe/ and /con/ replace them elsewhere. Following are some examples of these other constructions. In the first two cases, only one of the pair of prepositions occurs, and the constructions are mirror images of each other.

1) Between a verb and its object: /têe/ 'only'
   
   kîn têe nỳa-mûu 'eats only pork'
   aw tê-kin 'wants only to eat'
   mil tê-nôôj 'there are only a few'
   jûw têe nàj-raâ 'stays only in the nest'
   kîn nỳa-mûu tê-nôôj 'eats only a little meat'
   chôôb tê-jûw nàj-raâ 'likes only to stay in the nest'

   In this construction, /têe/ occurs before all types of objects, including substantives, predicatives, expressions, and phrases. It is characteristically echoed with /thâw-nân/ at the end of its phrase, or at the end of the clause.

2) Between a verb and a completive verb or adjective: /con/ 'finally, all the way to'
   
   hâa con-dâj 'finally found'
   hâa con-thûa 'looked everywhere'
   wâaj-nâm con-mûâj 'swam until exhausted'
   khwâaj con-dâj 'finally hit by throwing'
In all such constructions, the first constituent is a transitive verb and the second an adjective or completive verb. In similar predications involving a substantive as first constituent, the conjunction /cyŋ/ (4.3.4.3.) is used instead of /con/:

phôm cyŋ-paj . 'I finally went'
sīi-khīaw thīŋ-cadī . 'Only green is good.'

3) As conjunctions, the two items still contrast sharply:

/tée/ 'but'(/dīaw/ class, 4.3.1.)
/con/ 'until, although' (/thāa/ class, 4.3.2.)

chān bōog lēsw: wāa , chān māj-chōob sīi-khīaw , tē
khāw jāaq-khīyn sīy maa-īng con-dāj .

'I had told him that I didn't like green, but he still ended up buying green again anyway.'

con chān bōog lēsw: wāa , chān māj-chōob sīi-khīaw , khāw kē-jāaq khīyn sīy maa-īng con-dāj .

'Although I had told him I didn't like green, he still ended up buying green again anyway.'

khāw dāj-rāb kaa-n-rāg-sāa jāaq-dīl , con-phōn khee-d an-taraaj , lēsw .

'He received excellent care until he was past the dangerous stage.'


'He received excellent care, but only in the hospital.'

3. /ka-/ and /ca-/  

Each of these two prepositions occurs in close juncture with the other constituent of its phrase (or with the first syllable of the constituent if it is polysyllabic). They are the only prepositions which have no stressed forms in conversational style, although each is substituted for by stressed forms in citation and in formal style: /ka-/ is replaced by /kab/ or /kēː/, and /ca-/ by /cā/.
1) /ka-/ occurs exclusively before substantive expressions: nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, numerals (but not classifiers), and phrases of all these types. Its meaning is 'in relation to,' and it frequently follows other prepositions and a few verbs and adjectives. It also has a covert relationship with the pronoun /kan/ 'in relation to each other, as a group,' which can replace most /ka-/ phrases. Since /ka-/ follows all other prepositions, its occurrence alone (without other prepositions) is interpreted as an instance of a /câag/-class preposition. As such, it can replace /kèc/ and /kàb/ in all their uses (see examples under 4.2.2.9, 10.).

Examples:

paj kakhun  'go with you'  paj: kan  'go together'
thỳỳ kasam̄am  'up to the field'  thỳỳ: kan  'meeting'
tòò kathâaw  'in extension of the row'  tòò: kan  'in line'
troq kana-likaa  'right with the clock'  troq: kan  'in agreement'
jàaŋ kakhâaw  'like him'
myân kakhâaw  'like him'  myân: kan  'like each other'
dûâaj kaphôm  'with me'  dûâaj: kan  'together'
hâj kaphôm  'to me'  hâj: kan  'reciprocally'
troq-khâam kabân  'opposite the house'  troq-khâam: kan  'opposite each other'
klâj kabân  'near the house'  klâj: kan  'near together'
khiaŋ kabân  'next to the house'  khiaŋ: kan  'next to each other'
thâw kasoong  'equivalent to two'  thâw: kan  'to the same degree'
thùug kakhâaw  'in harmony with them'  thùug: kan  'in harmony'
phîd kakhâaw  'different from them'  phîd: kan  'different'
kiâw kâgaan  'concerned with work'  kiâw: kan  'related'
phróom kakhruu  'at the same time as the teachers'  phróom: kan  'simultaneous'
khlâaj kakhruu  'resembling teachers'  khlâaj: kan  'similar'
2) /ca-/ occurs before predicative expressions, especially before verbs, adjectives, modals (other than /mág/-class) and some modal verbs and their phrases, and is also common before enumerations and equational predicates. It is extremely common after /mág/-class modals (4.1.2.) and some modal verbs (3.3.1. 1,5-9). Its meaning is 'hypothetical situation or putative action,' and it is used both for future states and for unreal or reconstructed present-past states. Since the order of /ca-/ with respect to modals and modal verbs is entirely fixed, the occurrence of /ca-/ without modal elements present is best interpreted as an instance of a special bound modal (belonging to a class of one), /ca-/ (see 4.1.4.8.).

Phrases introduced by /ca-/ cannot be replaced by any single lexeme (as can /ka-/phrases), but it is interesting to note that /ca-/ and the sentence particle /thè/ 'Let's, why not' (4.5.1.8.) seem to exclude each other semantically, although their positions in the clause are quite different.

Examples:

khâw capâj-dúaj .  'He's going to go along.'
khuw capâj-dâj jàag-raj .  'How could he go (have gone)?'
dýaw , khâw capâj .  'He's going soon.'
(/paj/ is a verb.)

khâw catôq paj .  'He'll have to go.'
khuw jàad capâj-dúaj .  'He wants to go along.'
khuw cakhôe jô jàag paj mýa-raj t.  'When would he ever have gone?'
(/tôq/, /jàag/, and /khôe/ are modal verbs.)

khâw ąad capâj kô-dâj .  'He might even go.'
khuw khoñ capâj: jùu-lëw .  'He must have gone already.'
khuw kamañ capâj: jùu-lëw .  'He's about to go already.'
(/ąad/, /khoñ/, and /kamañ/ are /mág/-class modals.)

khâw camâj-paj: lamûñ .  'Maybe he's not going.'
khuw cakhûyn paj thamaj .  'Why would he be going in spite of everything?'
(/mâj/ and /khûyn/ represent their own classes of modals.)

nâŋ thîl-nil casadàag: kwaâ.
'Sitting here would be more comfortable.'

khûyn rôd-mee cachâ: paj-nôcôj.
'Taking the bus would be a little too slow.'

(/sadàag/ and /châa/ are adjectives.)

îl g hâa-nâthîl casôn mooŋ.
'In five minutes it'll be two o'clock.'
(It's five to two.)'

khâw cachâa-hâg dâj jàaŋ-raj.
'How could he get a broken leg?'

(/sôn mooŋ/ is an enumeration and /khâa-hâg/ is an equational predicate.)

4. /kwâa/, /khôn/, and /hêŋ/

These three prepositions are members of the /câag/ class (4.2.2.),
which commonly occur in rather special environments, and also have homonyms
which belong to special classes. They occur exclusively before substantive
expressions and, in the definitive /càag/-class context, before /nâj/-class
prepositions.

1) /kwâa/ or /kwa/ 'more than' is almost entirely restricted to
occurrence after adjectives and adjective phrases. Its homonym,
/kwâa/ 'more,' is a /nâg/-class postposition (4.4.2.) which'
substitutes for all /kwâa/-phrases.

Examples:

rôn kwa-naj-bân  'hotter than in the house'
rôn kwaâ  'hotter'
jaŋ cháa kwaâ-phôm: îl g  'even slower than me'
jaŋ cháa kwaêt-lêl  'even slower'
îj kwa-deêm  'bigger than before'
îj kwaâ  'bigger'
dîl kwa-phûn  'better than the others'
dîl kwaâ  'better'

2) /khôn/ or /khûn/ and /hêŋ/ or /hêŋ/ 'of, belonging to' as
prepositions are almost entirely restricted to occurrence
before substantive expressions, although a few adjectives can
have a /kho0~/-phrase modifying them (see last examples in section). The substantive following /kho0~/ normally has person, animal, or small object as referent, while that following /hêq~/ has a large object, place, or abstraction as referent.

Phrases introduced by /kho0~/ and /hêq~/ commonly modify substantives (usually nouns), but if the head-noun is missing the phrase still operates syntactically as a substantive, and can fill the topic, subject, object, or complement position. In fact, since one of the meanings of the construction 'head noun H plus modifier noun M' is already 'the H of M,' the prepositions /kho0~/ and /hêq~/ more often mean 'that of' than simply 'of' - i.e. they are more frequent when the head noun is missing.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kho0~-phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n̄g-sȳ kho0~-ph̄m</td>
<td>'My book (book of me)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̄g-sȳ ph̄m</td>
<td>'My book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kho0~-ph̄m</td>
<td>'Mine (that of me)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san̄am hêq~-chād</td>
<td>'National Stadium (stadium of nation)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phleeq chād</td>
<td>'National anthem'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hêq~-chād</td>
<td>'The nation's'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both prepositions have homonyms which are nouns: /kho0~/ 'thing' and /hêq~/ 'place.' Neither noun, by itself, substitutes for the corresponding type of prepositional phrase, but as normal-stressed head nouns with modifiers both occur in direct semantic contrast with the homonymous (weak-stressed) preposition plus its complement. Compare the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kho0~-phrase with noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kho0~-ph̄m</td>
<td>'They gave my things away.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Noun /kho0~/)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kho0~-ph̄m</td>
<td>'They gave mine away.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Preposition /kho0~/)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where indirect objects are involved, there is an important contrast between /kê~/ 'to, for' and /kho0~/ 'of,' the head noun-modifier noun construction being ambiguous in this case. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kho0~-phrase with noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kho0~-ph̄m</td>
<td>'They gave my money away.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Preposition /kho0~/)</td>
<td>'They gave the money away to me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kho0~-ph̄m</td>
<td>'They gave my money away.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kho0~-ph̄m</td>
<td>'They gave the money away to me.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Additional examples of all types:

khŏọt-phŏm jùu nǐi.  'Mine is here.'
khŏọ jyım khŏọ-khun.  'Lend me yours.'
koọ-thằb hēc̃ prath̃èd-thaj jàj kwàà.  'The army of Thailand is larger.'
hēc̃ prath̃èd-thaj jàj kwàà.  'Thailand's is larger.'
an-năj khŏọ khăw.  'Which one is his?'
khŏọ khŏọ-khăw hăaj: paj-mŏd.  'His things all disappeared.'
phŏy̖n khŏọ phŏy̖n-phŏm.  'A friend of a friend of mine.'
thūg khŏọ khăw.  'He is right.' (Lit. 'right of him.' /thūg/ is an adjective.

/khŏọ/ and /hēc̃/ follow /kwàà/ when they introduce a non-modifying phrase; otherwise the three prepositions exclude each other.
dīl kwàà khŏọ-khun.  'It's better than yours.'

4.3. Conjunctions

A conjunction is any bound lexeme which occurs as a prior constituent in a syntactic construction which has a whole predication as co-constituent. Just as modals (4.1.) introduce predicative expressions, and prepositions (4.2.) introduce substantive expressions, conjunctions introduce entire predications without being able to substitute for them - i.e. the construction 'conjunction plus predication' is exocentric. There is some overlap between the memberships of the preposition and conjunction classes, involving especially the /thāa/ sub-class (4.3.2.). One kind of conjunction (/cy̖n/ class, 4.3.4.) actually follows the subject of its predication, rather than preceding it, but this is a clear case of discontinuous order, since the immediate constituent analysis is the same as in the case of other conjunctions.

Except for the open /thāa/ sub-class (4.3.2.), the class of conjunctions is small and closed. Many of its members, however, are among the most frequent lexemes in the language.

4.3.1. /ďaw/ Class

The class consists of conjunctions which occur in absolute initial position (coming even before /baŋ-oon/ and /thamaŋ/-class complementives, 3.2.2.) in clauses which 1) come first in a series of clauses, and 2) are in open clause juncture (1.2.8. end). The second stipulation is necessary
to distinguish /diaw/- conjunctions from /thāa/- and /syy/- conjunctions (4.3.2, 3.), which are otherwise identical in syntactic function. The class meaning is 'temporal or logical correlation with preceding message (which may be a clause, sentence, utterance by another speaker, or non-verbal behavior). 'Clauses introduced by /diaw/-class conjunctions, therefore, may occur in any part of an utterance. The conjunction itself is frequently separated from the rest of its clause by phrase boundary.

The class is small and closed, consisting only of the following eight members, plus two discontinuous lexemes which can also be classified as modals (4.1.4.3,4.) Other forms fitting the definition but not recorded here are variants of one of the members. All members, in at least one of their forms, occur as members of other classes.

1. /diaw/ and /pradiaw/ 'in a moment, soon, (be careful) or else, otherwise'
   'He's sure to be here soon. Can you wait a little longer?'
   dīaw , chān capaj-aw maa-hāj .
   'I'll go get it for you in a moment.'
   jáa wīq rew: nāg † dīaw hōg: mōd .
   'Don't run so fast, or you'll spill it all.'

2. /lēw/ and /lē-kōo/ 'then, after that, and'
   or /lē/ and /lē-kōo/ 'and, then'
   lēw phōm capaj syy khōn , khun caklāb bān: rī-ŋāj .
   'Then I'm going shopping. Are you going to go home, or what?'
   lēw-kōo laa wīq khāw-paj rāj-pāa .
   'And then the donkey ran into the forest.'
   phōm cariān nāg-syy , lē fāng phēn-sīaŋ: sāg-nōoj dūaj .
   'I'm going to study, and listen to some records, too.'

3. /rī/ or /rī/ and /rī-wāa/ 'or, alternatively; if not, then'
   rī-wāa , tham jānīl dīl: māj . māj-sīa welaa māag .
   'Or shall we do it this way? It won't take much time.'
   phōm cariān nāq-syy , rī fāng phēn-sīaŋ sāg-nōoj kū-dāj .
   'I'm going to study, or maybe listen to some music.'
   rīy hāj khāw klāb paj-kōn dīl kwaːs: māŋ .
   'Or perhaps we'd better let him go back first.'
4. /khyy/ and /khy-waa/ and /kɔ-khyy/ 'or in other words, that is to say'
khyy , khaw pen nąg-rian: nį khráb . khaw māj-dāj-pen khruu .
'(What I meant to say was) he's a student, you see. He's not a teacher.'
khy raw tɔŋ-jūu nąg-hōŋ talōc-welaa .
'In other words, we have to stay in the room the whole time.'
khaw pen seed-thīi . khy-waa , khaw pen khon ruaj màag ..
'He's a rich man - that is to say, he's very wealthy.'

5. /tɛ̄/ or /tɛ̄/ and /tɛ-waa/ and /tɛ-kɔo/ 'but, on the other hand'
tɛ-waa , khaw pen nąg-rian: nį khráb . khaw māj-dāj-pen khruu .
'But he's a student, you see. He's not a teacher.'
tɛ-kɔo phōm tɔŋ klàb bāan dżaw-niː ęeq .
'But I have to go home right away.'
khaw pen seed-thīi , kɔ-cinː jùu ṭɛ̄ pen khon caj-diiː nyän-kan .
'It's true that he's a rich man, but on the other hand he's good-hearted.'

6. /kɔo/ or /kɔ/ 'Well, why, don't you know that' (Often followed by sentence particle /nîi/.)
kɔo khaw pen nąg-rian: nį khráb ṭ . khaw māj-dāj-pen khruu ṭ .
'Why, he's a student! He's not a teacher!'
kɔo phōm khīi-kiːdː thaw-nān nîi .
'Well, I'm just lazy, that's all.'
tham jappil , kɔ phōm māj-wāa araːj .
'If (you want to) do it this way, well, I don't mind a bit.'

7. /leːj/ or /leːj/ 'then, that being the case, so'
leːj khun tɔŋ klàb bāan dżaw-niː ęeq ryy .
'In that case you have to go home right away, do you?
leːj phōm capaj syy khōːŋ . khun caklāb bāːn: ryy-ŋaj .
'So I'm going shopping. Are you going home, or what?'

8. /con/ 'by this time, it's come to the point that'
con phōm māj-rūu catham-jāŋaj dii .
'It's come to the point that I don't know what to do.'
Internal order of the class is complicated by the fact that the sixth and seventh members, /kõo/ and /leēj/, have homonyms which belong to the /cyη/-class (a class of conjunctions which follow the subject, 4.3.4.). In clauses which have no subject, the /kõo/ is ambiguous, unless it is followed by /nîi/ and thus marked as belonging to the /diaw/-class. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kõo} , \text{ diaw fôn tóg } . \\
6 & 1 \\
\text{Well, it's going to rain in a moment.}' \\
\text{khyy phôm pen samaa-chîg } . \\
5 & 4 \\
\text{But, you see, I'm a member.}' \\
\text{diaw hóg: mòd } . \\
4 & 1 \\
\text{In other words, otherwise it'll spill.}' \\
\text{leēj klåb båan } . \\
2 \\
\text{Then, as might be expected, he went home.}' \\
\text{diaw} , \text{ kõ-haaj paj-mòd } . \\
1 \\
\text{In a moment it will all disappear, too.}'
\end{align*}
\]

In the last two examples, /leēj/ and /kõo/ are members of the /cyη/-class.
4.3.2. /thaː/ Class

The class consists of conjunctions which occur in absolute initial position in clauses which 1) come first in a series of clauses, 2) are in close clause juncture, and 3) function syntactically as complementives (not nouns). The class meaning is 'temporal or logical condition on another clause (which is usually the one immediately following, less often the one preceding),' and English equivalents of the members are often subordinate conjunctions. Like /thamaJ/-class complementives (3.2.2.3.), for which they freely substitute, clauses introduced by /thaː/-class conjunctions are reversible with respect to their head constituents; the only difference in meaning is a slight change in emphasis (see example under 1. /thaː/ itself).

When the clause introduced by the /thaː/-class conjunction precedes the head-clause, the conjunction itself may follow a /diaw/-class (4.3.1.) conjunction (e.g. /tɛ phaː.../ 'But if...'). Otherwise, /thaː/-class conjunctions always come first in their clauses (See first two examples under 1. /thaː/).

The class is fairly large and probably open, since it includes many homonyms of /dooJ/-class prepositions, an open class (4.2.3.). No member belongs discretely to the /thaː/ class, with the exception of morphologically complex variants such as 2. /thaː-thaː-thîl/ and /thaː-mî-l-wâa/. For example, 1. /thaː/ itself has a homonym which is a /mag/-class modal (4.1.2.). The items listed below are the most common members, and a few representative /dooJ/-preposition types have also been included.

1. /thaː/ 'if'
   /hâag/ and /thaː-hâag/ and /thaː-hâag-wâa/ 'if (on the contrary), if (unexpectedly), if only'
   /phya/ and /thaː-phya/ and /thaː-phya-wâa/ 'if, in case'

   tɛ phaː khun mîl-paj , phôm capaj-dâj jâaa-rasj .
   'But if you don't go, how can I go?'

   tɛ phôm capaj-dâj jâaa-rasj t thaː khun mîl-paj .
   'But how can I go, if you don't go?'

   thaː-hâag mîl rôd , phôm kô-capaj dâj .
   'If only I had a car, I could go.'

   thaː-phya phôm mîl rôd , phôm kô-capaj dâj .
   'If I have a car, I'll be able to go.'
2. /thỳŋ/ or /thỳŋ/ and /thỳŋ-hâag/ 'even if, although'
/thỳŋ-mé-wâa/ and mésn-wâa/ 'even if it should come to the point that'
/thâŋ-thâŋ-thîl/ and /con/ 'although it has come to the point that'

/thỳŋ khâw capaj , phôm kõ-mâj-paj: mỳa-kan .
'Even if he goes, I'm not going.'

/thỳŋ chân camâj-chîb khâw , chân kõ-phûud dîi kakhâw .
'Although I don't like him, I say nice things of him.'

/thỳŋ-mé-wâa phôm camâi rôd , phôm kõ-mâj-paj .
'Even if I had a car, I wouldn't go.'

/thâŋ-thâŋ-thîl fôn tôc , khâw kõ-jaŋ cõg paľ-thiaw: iî .
'Although it was raining, he went out anyway.'

3. /mỳa/ 'when'
/tôc-mỳa/ 'only when, only if'
/naį-mỳa/ 'at a time when'

mỳa phôm míi rôd , phôm kõ-capaj dâj .
'When I have a car, I'll be able to go.'

phôm kheej paj bõj-bõj , mỳa phôm míi rôd .
'I went often when I had a car.'

khâw bõg wâa , khâw capaj tôc-mỳa phôm paj .
'He said he would go only if I went.'

thâmmaj khun cõg paj-khâân-nôc , naį-mỳa fôn kamlaŋ tôc: jûu .
'Why are you going out (at a time) when it's raining?'

4. /wee-lâa/ and /naį-welâa/ 'when, while'
/râwâaŋ/ and /naį-râwâaŋ/ 'while'

wee-lâa khâw pen nâg-rîan , khâw kheej paj bõj-bõj .
'While he was a student he went often.'

dég-dég paj-dëd dîc-mâaj , naį-râwâaŋ khon-tham-sûan mâj-jûu .
'Children go and pick flowers while the gardener is not there.'

5. /kôn/ and /kôn-thîl/ and /mỳa-kôn/ 'before'

kôn rôd phôm sîa , phôm kheej paj bõj-bõj .
'Before my care broke down, I used to go often.'
khun khuanaen nāg-sāy: sāg-nōo , kōn-thīi oakhāw noon.
'You ought to study a little, before going to bed.'

6. /phoo/ 'as soon as, by the time that'
phoo raaw pāj-thīy: thīl-nān , raaw ca-āab-nām ḏāj .
'As soon as we get there, we'll be able to bathe.'
phoo khāw dāj-jīn jāgān , khāw ṭyūn than-thīl .
'The moment he heard that, he woke up.'

7. /kwāa/ and /con-kwāa/ 'until such time as, by the time that'
   Clause usually has no subject, and predicate is preceded by
   /ca-/.
'By the time we get there, it'll be dark already.'
tham jāgāl ṭyāj: pāj , con-kwāa cāhāsaj .
'Keep on doing this until it heals.'

8. /con/ and /con-thīy: and /con-krāthānj/ 'until, to the point that'
   chān wāaj-nām: sā , con mīyaj pāj-mōd thīn-tuā .
   'I swam until I was completely worn out.'
khāw cāhāaj pāj-jāgāl con-krāthānj sātāaj khāw mōd: pāj-leoj .
'He kept on spending like this until all his money was used up.'

9. /lāy-cāag/ 'after, later than the time that'
   /tān-tēt/ 'since, continuing from the time that'
   'After eating, I got a stomach ache.'
tān-tēt rāb-prāthān aahāan: maa , phōm pūad-thōoŋ ṭyāaj .
   'Ever since eating, I have had a stomach ache.'

10. /nōg-cāag/ 'except that, unless'
   Clause usually has no subject, and predicate is usually preceded
   by /ca-/.
nāg-rīan kō-klāb bān dāj: leoj , nōg-cāag caolī pān phīseēd
   hūj-tham .
   'The students can go right home, unless there is special work
to be done.'
11. /jáaŋ/ and /jáaŋ ka-/ 'like, as' /mýan ka-/ 'as if'
jáaŋ khun wáa , pen an-taraaj mâag .
'As you say, it's very dangerous.'
khâw mooŋ araľ mâj-hën , mýan ka-taa bôod .
'He can't see a thing, just as if he were blind.'

12. /dooŋ/ and /dûaŋ/ 'by, with, with the attendant circumstance that'
Clause usually comes second and has no subject if /dooŋ/ occurs.
khâw khâb rôd dooŋ mâj-châj myy: leej .
'He drives without using his hands at all.'
dûaŋ khâw pen khon-khâb , raw mâj-tôŋ klua: leej .
'With him as driver (inasmuch as he's the driver) we don't have anything to be afraid of.'

13. /phrâ/ and /phrâ-wâs/ and /nýaŋ-caag/ 'because, owing to the fact that'
raw mâj-tôŋ klua: leej , phrâ khâw pen khon-khâb .
'We don't have anything to be afraid of, because he's the driver.'
nýaŋ-caag cam-nuan khruu jáŋ mâj-phoo , roor-rian mâj pêed mâj-dâj pîl-nîl .
'Owing to the fact that the number of teachers is still insufficient the new school can't open this year.'
phôm paj mâj-dâj , phrâ-wâs rôd sîa .
'I can't go, because my car's broken.'

14. /phỳa/ 'in order to, for the purpose of'
Clause usually has no subject, and predicate is usually preceded by /ca-/
khâw keb ˘aŋ wá , phỳa casyy rôd khan-mâj .
'He is saving money to buy a new car.'
'In order to become a member, you have to find two sponsors.'

Conjunctions of the /thâa/ class do not necessarily exclude each other semantically (cf. such English combinations as 'Although in order to save
money it may be necessary to cut corners...'). Examples of two members of the class in the same construction are extremely rare, however, except when the second member is actually a /dooj/-class preposition. No internal order has been established.

4.3.3. /sŷn/ Class

The class consists of conjunctions which occur in absolute initial position in clauses which 1) come first in a series of clauses, 2) are in close clause juncture, and 3) function syntactically as substantives. A corollary of the last condition is that clauses associated with /sŷn/-class members lack one of the typical substantive constituents - usually topic, subject, or object.

In addition to occurring in the definitive context, /sŷn/-conjunctions even more frequently introduce the second of two clauses. In such cases the clause so introduced may be either a substantive constituent belonging to the first clause as a whole, or a modifier of a substantive constituent actually present in the first clause. The class meaning, then, is 'substantive constituent follows, either modifier of something in preceding clause, or itself a constituent of an adjacent clause.' English equivalents are relative pronouns such as 'who, which, what, that.'

When the clause introduced by a /sŷn/-class conjunction comes first, it is very frequently closed with /nān/ or /nī/, and no matter which member of the class occurs, the English equivalent is nearly always '(the fact) that...'. When the /sŷn/-introduced clause comes second, the echoing /nān/ or /nī/ is less common, and the selection of a particular conjunction is more significant.

The /sŷn/ class is small and closed, the following being the only important members. Three members of the class, 1. /sŷn/ itself, 6./kaam-thîi/, and 8. /an/, are associated with formal literary style, but also sometimes occur in colloquial speech.

1. /sŷn/ or /sŷr/ 'That which, such a one as, such ones as'
   sŷr khāw wāa: nān , māj-dâj khwaam .
   'Things he says don't make sense.'
   tög lorj-paj nāj-khuu , sŷq khāw khud: wāj .
   'It fell down into a ditch - one that had been dug.'

2. /thîi/ or /thî/ and /thî-wâa/ 'That which, the one that, the ones that'
   (Restricts a modified element much more than /sŷn/ does.)

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thił khâu tham: nǐi, māj-dāj phon.
'What he has done here is of no use.'
thỉ-wāa phōm duu-thuッグ: nān, māj-cīṛ leej.
'That I look down on them is simply not true.'
tōg log-paįj māj-khun, thỉ khław khud: wāj.
'It fell down into the ditch that had been dug for it.'
khōo thōoįj: nā khrāb, thỉ phōm maa sāaj: nāg.
'Excuse me for coming so late.'
('Excuse me that I come so late.')

3. /wāa/ or /wā/ 'that, saying, thinking, or knowing that'
   (introduces a quote.) /wāa/ is homonymous with a post-
   position of the same meaning which occurs at the end
   of clauses (4.4.4.4.).

wāa phōm duu-thuッグ: nān, māj-cīṛ leej.
'To say that I look down on them is simply not true.'
chūaj bōg khław dūaįj: nā khrāb, wā phōm camaa sāaj: nōoįj.
'Please tell him also that I'll be a little late.'
'I still don't know for sure whether it will be possible or not.'

4. /hāj/ or /hāįj/ 'so that, who should, which should, the
   hypothetical situation that'

   In commands and all types of hypothetical situations, and in
   noun expressions involving unreal referents, /hāj/ is selected.
   Especially, it replaces /sēŋ/, /thīį/, and /wāa/, the first three
   members of this class. (See also 4.2.6.1.4.)

   Compare the following:

khław casadēŋ̄ lakhoon, thīį thān lỳag, wāj.
'They will show the plays that you have selected.'
khław casadēŋ̄ lakhoon, sēŋ̄ thān lỳag: wāj.
'They will show such plays as you have selected.'
khław casadēŋ̄ lakhoon, hāj thān lỳag: wāj.
'They will show plays for you to select from'
       (i.e. 'plays which you should select from')

phōm bōg wāa-khun paįj duu: sī.
'I said, 'You go take a look.' (Direct quote)
Other examples of /hâj/:

hâj khâw khâw-paj-kôn dîl kwâa .
'Better let him go in first.' ('His hypothetical entering first is better. ')

'I'll go get some assorted fruits for the guests to eat.'

In addition to these uses, /hâj/ is obligatory 1) where the subject of a prior clause is not the same as the subject of the dependent clause, but the new subject is not mentioned, and 2) before all adjectives in hypothetical predicates.

Compare the following:

1) aw nàŋ-sëy maa-duu: nôoŋ .
'Get the book and see.'

aw nàŋ-sëy maa hâj-duu: nôoŋ .
'Get the book (for someone else) to see.'

khraj law hâj-faŋ: là .
'Who told (you) that? ('Who told (for you) to listen. ')

2) phôm cam dâj-dîl .
'I can remember it well.'

cam wâj hâj-dîl: nà .
'Remember it well, will you?'

sâg phâa hâj-sa-âaad: sî .
'Get the clothes clean!' ('Wash the clothes so that they are clean.')

khâw khìd hâj-la-îd mëaŋ .
'He's trying to think it out in great detail.'
('He thinks so that it will be very detailed.')
5. /âaj/ or /âj/ and /âj-thîl/ 'that, this business of'
   /âaj/ most commonly before clauses with no subject. /âj-thîl/ is
   the colloquial equivalent of 6. /kaan-thîl/ in many cases.

   âaj capaj fông sãan: nîi , màj-dâj phôn: leej .
   'This business of taking it to court is absolutely useless.'

   âj-thîl khaw tham bàab: nãn , chân màj-thîy .
   'That he may have committed a sin, I don't hold against him.'

6. /kaan-thîl/ 'the fact that, the supposition that, that which,
   inasmuch as'

   kaan-thîl khaw sôob tôg , phôm màj pralàad-caj: leej .
   'That he should have failed the examination doesn't surprise
   me at all.'

   'Inasmuch as he was able to do it by himself, don't blame him
   so much.'

7. /suan/ and sâm-rû/ or /sâm-rû/ 'As for the fact (or supposition)
   that'

   'As for going to the temples and that sort of thing, she never
   fails to.'

   sâm-rû khêô-khân: kan nîi , phôm kês-màj-rûu rûa.
   'As for their competing together, I know nothing about it.'

8. /an/ and /an-wâa/ 'one that, such that'

   The form /an/ substitutes for /thîl/, and the form /an-wâa/ for
   /wâa/ (when the /wâa/-clause comes first) in formal style.

   naj lôg an-tem paj-duaj thuû: nîi...
   'In this world which is full of misfortune...'

   an-wâa khaw tham phiû: nãn , kô-cûû: jûu .
   '(To say) that he did wrong is true enough.'

9. /thaw-thîl/ or /thaw-thîl/ and /taam/ and /taam-thîl/ 'insofar as,
   to the extent that, according to what'

   thaw-thîl phôm sâab , khaw sabaj dîi .
   'As far as I know, he's well.'
phôm phajaa-jam catham hâj-mâag , thâw-thîl catham dâj .
'I'm trying to do as much of it as can possibly be done.'

phôm phajaa-jam catham taam-thîl khâw sâq; wâj .
'I'm trying to do it as he ordered.'

'I'm trying to do as much of it as can possibly be done.'

'She does everything wrong, like giving whisky to babies.'

khâw casadêq lakhoon , jàâq thên lêag : wâj .
'They will show plays such as you have selected.'

(Compare first three examples under 4. /hâj/, and also see /jàâq/, /thaâa/-class, 4.3.2.11.)

Internal order of the class is not fixed, but two /sûq/-conjunctions do occur in the same clause:

kaan-thîl hâj-khâw tham eeû : nân ...
'The fact that he should be allowed to do it himself...'  

sûâñ ââj pâj-wâd pâj-waa : nân ...
'As for this business of going to the temple...'  

jàâq wâa thuong : nân ...
'Such as is said to be correct...'  

4.3.4. /sûq/ Class

These conjunctions are the only ones which occur after the subjects or topics of their clauses. They come immediately after the subject and before all elements of the predicate, including all types of modals. Syntactically their clauses are exactly like clauses introduced by /dîaw/-class conjunctions - i.e. they are independent clauses which can occur first in a series without being in close juncture. The class meaning is partially the same, also: 'temporal or logical correlation with preceding message, or establishment of time-sequence, expectedness, or unexpectedness of event.'

The class is closed, and extremely small, consisting of only four members and their variants. The first member, /kôo/, is easily the most
common lexeme in the entire language and is very difficult to translate in most of its contexts. All members except /cyŋ/ itself (which has a slightly literary flavor) have homonyms belonging to other classes.

1. /kɔo/ or /kɔ/ or /kɔ/ 'then, that being the case, in addition, similarly, at least' (The first form occurs under normal stress, the last two forms elsewhere.)

sèd léew , khâu kô-paj noon .
'When it was finished, he went to bed.'
('Having finished, he then went to bed. ')

thâa pen khruu , phôm kô-mañ-wâa araj .
'If it's a teacher, then I don't mind.'

raw paj-duu nähl kô-dâj : nî khårâb .
'We could go to a movie, too, you know.'
('Our going to a movie is an additional possibility, here.')

phôm eëg kô-mañ-rùú rûay .
'I myself, at least, don't know anything about it.'

diaw sàamî kôo carúû than .
'Pretty soon her husband will find out (too).'

paj , kô paj : sî .
'If we're going, let's go.'

Besides occurrence in the definitive context, /kɔo/ has two other semantically important uses: 1) after an interrogative word of any class, it changes the interrogative meaning to 'indefinite,' and 2) repeated in parallel constructions, it means 'both... and... ' or 'either... or... '

1) mooŋ araj kô-mañ-hên .
'I can't see anything.' ('Whatever I look at, I can't see.')

thîl-nâj kô-di11 .
('Anywhere is all right.') 'Anywhere at all.'

2) paj kô-dâj , jùu kô-dâj .
'You can either go or stay.'

khruu kô-mi11 , nâg-rîan kô-mi11 .
'There are both teachers and students.'

2. /læŋ/ or /læŋ/ 'consequently, as might be expected, therefore'

mîa hên wâa , phîyan mañ-jùu , khâw læŋ klàb bân .
'When he saw his friend was not there, he (for that reason) went home.'
There were only a few clouds, so I wasn't sure whether it would rain or not.

3. /cyu/ and /thy-/ or /thy-/ 'subsequently, only then, it comes to the point that'

(The form /cyu/ is more formal than the other two.)
dyan nåa , thyn cam1 qaan iig-khr4n: nỳ .
'There won't be another fair until next month.'
('Next month, only then, will there be another fair. ')
роо iig-ság-khrüu , léew cuy-khôj pąj .
'Wait a moment longer, and (only) then go.'
мъа hën wàa , phyan mąj-juu , khàaw thyng klàb bàan .
'When he saw his friend was not there, he (after that) went home.'

Another important use of /cyu/ is in clauses introduced by /thama/ -class complementives—see examples (3.2.2.3).

4. /jaχ/ 'still, even, continues to, goes so far as to.'

Frequently echoed by /jùu/ at end of verb expression, or /iig/ at end of whole clause.
khàaw jaχ pen nág-rian: jùu .
'He is (or was) still a student.'
phöm jaχ tòp-kaan casyí buríi: iig .
'I still need to buy cigarettes also.'
khàaw jaχ böog: khun wàa , khàaw àad camąj-pàj .
'They even told you they might not go.'
ród-faj jaχ mąj-òog: iig rỳy .
'Isn't the train leaving yet?'
jaχ mąj-dàj-pàj .
'It hasn't gone yet.'
thàng-thàng-thì hën wàa , phyan mąj-juu , khàaw kà-jàg klàb bàan: iig .
'Although he saw that his friend was not there, he still (in spite of that) went home.'
Internal order of the class is 1, 2-3, 4, but the combinations 13 and 34 are rare. Examples:

\[
\text{khiw kō-leej klāb bāan}.
1 2
\]
'He then (consequently) went home.'

\[
\text{kō-jaŋ} \ (\text{see last example under /jaŋ/})
1 4
\]

\[
\text{khiw lej jaŋ māj rūu-cāg kan}.
1 4
\]
'So they still don't know each other.'

4.4. Postpositions

A postposition is any bound lexeme that occurs as a latter constituent of an expression, predication, enumeration or phrase, such that the larger construction (prior constituent plus postposition) is less than an entire clause. The class of postpositions is thus in general contrast with that of sentence particles (4.5.), which together with their co-constituents comprise entire clauses, although there is some overlap between the two classes.

Like the bound lexeme classes which introduce constructions - modals (4.1.), prepositions (4.2.), and conjunctions (4.3.) - postpositions are sub-classified according to the nature of their co-constituent. The subclasses are 1) /waŋ/ class (verb modifiers), 2) /nāg/ class (adjective modifiers), 3) /bāŋ/ class (substantive and predication modifiers), and 4) enumerative postpositions, which modify or create enumerations. The constructions resulting from the first three types of postposition are endocentric, and from the last type, either endocentric or exocentric.

All postpositions characteristically have weak stress, and, like the sentence particles, frequently occur after the morpheme / : / in their phrases and clauses. The class meaning is 'restriction as to time, space, quantity, or degree of a free-lexeme concept' for the first three sub-classes, and 'inclusiveness, distribution, or cross-reference of an enumeration' for the fourth sub-class. Except for the /bāŋ/-class, and to some extent the /nāg/ class, the membership is extremely limited.

4.4.1. /waŋ/ Class

These postpositions occur with weak stress immediately following and in construction with verb expressions. If the verb expression includes an object, the /waŋ/-class member always follows the object; if the predicate includes a preposition, the /waŋ/-class member either precedes or follows the
The members of the class are not negatable in any position, but all have homonyms which are verbs.

The class meaning is 'orientation of action with respect to space and time relationships,' and the forms together constitute a kind of aspectual system for the verb. The entire class consists of pairs of semantic opposites, but sets 1-4 and 7-10 have an even more complex internal relationship. Members of set 1-4 exclude each other entirely. Members 8 and 10 have identical allomorphs, but on the basis of greater frequency of /sia/ in meaning 8, and /sa/ in meaning 10, the patterning of opposition is maintained (7-8, 9-10).

The class is small and closed, consisting only of these ten members.

1. /khaw/ 'into an enclosed space, or closer to the center of interest'
   man khwaŋ lûug-boon khâw-paj-naj-hûŋ.
   'He threw the ball into the room.'
   deen khâw-maa klâj-klâj: nê.
   'Walk right up close, will you?'

2. /oog/ 'out of an enclosed space or farther from the center of interest'
   jàa wâaj-náam òog-paj klâj-klâj: nê.
   'Don't swim out too far, now.'
   khâw wîŋ òog-maa-càag-hûŋ, phoo-di1.
   'He came running out of the room just then.'

3. /khyn/ 'upward, newly arrived on the scene'
   khâw jîb nàaj-sîyy khûn-maa.
   'He lifted up the books.' (/jîb/ 'pick up')
   sâaŋ pyyn-koo daq: khûn.
   'A pistol-shot rang out (suddenly).'</n
4. /loâ/ 'downward, departing from the scene'
   khâw phaa-kan-thîŋ kûn-hîŋ loŋ-paj naj-khûn.
   'They were all dropping stones down into the pond.'
   faj kamlâq dàb: loŋ.
   'The fire is dying down.'
5. /paj/ 'away from the speaker, toward the future or an indefinite or irrelevant goal,' before prepositional phrase: 'toward a definite but distant goal, toward the future.'

laa wiŋ khāw-paj-naj-pāa.
'The donkey ran off into the forest (to get away).'

khāw jām nāa: paj bāaq.
'(One of the things) they (do is) trample the fields.'

'Do we have to keep on waiting long?'

tāŋ-tėt wan-nán: paj...
'From that day (in the future) onward...'

6. /maa/ 'toward the speaker, up to the present or toward a definite, relevant, nearby goal.'

tāŋ-tėt wan-nán: māa...
'From that day (in the past) onward...'

raw khooj maa-naan lēw.
'We have been waiting a long time already (the waiting may or may not be over).'

paj nāj: maa.
'Where have you been? (/paj nāj/ 'Where are you going?')

qen, thī khāw dāaj: maa...
'The money which he had gotten...'

laa wiŋ khāw-maa-naj-pāa.
'The donkey ran into the forest (toward us).'

mīa-waan-nil lyym syy: maa.
'I forgot to buy it yesterday.'

cf. mīa-waan-nil lyym syy: paj.
'I forgot to buy it yesterday.'

7. /wāj/ or /wāaj/ and /aw-wāj/ and /thīŋ-wāj/ 'removed from the scene but with future relevance, put aside temporarily for future reference, action deferred.'

ichān dōd dōg-māaj: aw-wāj, sāj cē-kān.
'I'm picking flowers to put in a vase.'

phōm cōod rōd: thīŋ-wāj, khāā-nāa.
'I have the car parked out front.'
dichăn tán-caj: wáj léśw wâa , camas-hâa khun .
'I had already intended to come to see you.'
cam wáj hàj-dùi: ná .
'Remember it well, will you?'
thíŋ sâya: wáj , thîi-nâñ: sí .
'Leave the coat there (where you can get it).'

8. /sã/ or /să/ 'removed from the scene permanently, with no future relevance'
thíŋ sâya: sã , thîi-nâñ: sî .
'Leave the coat there (to get rid of it).'
mêc màj-duaj-paj náj: sã .
'Your mother hasn't gone anywhere (for good).'

9. /jùu/ 'remaining on the scene, unchanged, action continuing, temporary, without necessary future significance.'
dichăn khooj: jùu , tán-naan léśw .
'I am being kept waiting an awfully long time.'
lâa wîŋ khâw-paj-jùu naj-pàa .
'The donkey had run into the forest (and was still there, if only temporarily).'
caan waaj jùu-bon-tô .
'The dishes had been placed on the table (with what intent, we don't know.).'
khâw'kamlaq rian náŋ-sây: jùu , naj-amee-rîka .
'He is studying in America (for the present, at least).'
phöm pen samaa-chig jùu-léśw .
'I am already a member (as it happens).'
ñen thîi phöm miį: jùu...
'The money which I (happen to) have...'

10. /sã/ or /să/ 'situation changed, action viewed as a unit, not continuing into the future'
têc phöm pen samaa-chig sã-léśw .
'But now I've become a member.'
khâw waaj caan wáj sã-naj-tûu .
'She has (gone and) put the dishes away in the cupboard.'
'Eat it up!' (/kɪ̀n sɪ́l/ 'Eat!')

đíchần khoọj: sǎi, t'àn-naan lèèw.

'I waited an awfully long time (the waiting is over now).'

Internal order of the class is 1-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, with representatives from no more than three of the sets being found in a single construction. Distribution of 1-4 with respect to 5-6 is complete:

1. khâw pàj
   khâw mǎa
   'going in'
   'coming in'

2. ḍog pàj
   ḍog mǎa
   'going out'
   'coming out'

3. khyn pàj
   khyn mǎa
   'going up'
   'coming up'

4. lɔŋ pàj
   lɔŋ mǎa
   'going down'
   'coming down'

The remaining distribution is as follows:

5. pàj sǐa (8)
   pàj wàj (7)
   pàj jùu (9)
   pàj sǎ (10)
   pàj wàj jùu
   pàj wàj sǎ
   'gone away for good'
   'gone subject to recall'
   'gone to stay, incidentally'
   'gone, significantly'
   'having gone there subject to recall'
   'as of now, gone subject to recall'

6. (mǎa sǐa (8) does not occur)
   mǎa wàj (7)
   mǎa jùu (9)
   mǎa sǎ (10)
   mǎa wàj sǎ
   'come subject to recall'
   'come to stay, incidentally'
   'come, significantly'
   'as of now, come subject to recall'

7. wàj jùu (9)
   wàj sǎ (10)
   'kept, incidentally'
   'kept, significantly'

8-10. are terminal.

Additional examples:

kònn-hǐn ṭòg lɔŋ-pàj-jùu nàj-náam.

'The stone had fallen down into the water.'
kŏn-hĩn tōg lōng-paj-sā naj-náam.

'The stone fell down into the water.'

kŏn-hĩn tōg lōng-paj-naj-náam: sīa.

'The stone fell down into the water (and was lost).'</n
phôm tham dīl maa-gā-māg: lēw 烝

'I've already done a lot of good!'

phôm tham dīl jūu-māg: lēw.

'I'm already doing a lot of good.'

dīchān dēd dōng-māg: maa-wāj, sāj cē-kan.

'I've picked some flowers to put in a vase.'

4.4.2. /nāg/ Class

These postpositions occur with weak stress immediately after, and in construction with, adjectives. The class includes some members which are homonymous with /wāj/-class postpositions (5-8 below) but have quite different meanings, and some members which are homonymous with /bān/-class postpositions (13-15, 18) and have similar meanings. /nāg/ itself occurs most commonly after negated adjectives, members 2-17 rarely so occur, and 18-19 are found in both types of construction. The class meaning is 'to a certain extent.' The class is open (and, in fact, seems to act as a magnet for slang innovations); the membership is quite large. The following list, however, includes the most frequent members.

1. /nāg/ 'to such an extent, too, so'

thāa thee tỳyn chāa: nāg, thee kō-capaj māj-than rōd.

'If you get up so late, you'll never make the train.'

phôm khēej paj, tēj māj-bōj, nāg.

'I've been there, but not too often.'

2. /dīl/ 'to a desirable degree, nice and...'

hōng-nīl kwān: dīl.

'This room is nice and spacious.'

lēw lōm jār rēng, dīl dúaj.

'And the wind is nice and strong, too.'
3. /thliaw/ or /chlaw/ and /tem-thîl/ 'quite, completely'

khòob-khun, phôm ím: thliaw (tem-thîl).
'Thank you, I'm completely full.' (refusing food)

wan-nî ma sâ-chââ: chlaw t mua paj-juu sâ thîi-nâj t.
'You're quite late today; where on earth have you been?'

rôd lênh rew: tem-thîl.
'The car went at full speed.'

4. /kên-paj/ and /paj/ 'too, excessively'

hôn camââ: kên-paj lâmââ.
'Don't you think that's little too much?'

chân tham mâj-thuùg: leôj t phuûd jaûi kô-wââ, cháâ: paj-ìîg.
'I can't do anything right; even when I talk like this, you still say it's too slow.'

5. /sóg/ and /sóg-catâaj/ 'to an undesirably great extent.'

mûn-sîê lêm-nîî màâ: sóg-catâaj.
'This book is terribly thick.'

chân phuûd cháâ: sóg jaûi léêw t jaûq fàq mâj-than: ìîg rëê.
'I've already slowed down an awful lot as it is; can't you understand what I'm saying yet?'

6. /khâw/ 'closer to a desired goal or ultimate condition, progressively more'

phoô thàaj rûub pênh: khâw léêw...
'When you get a little better at taking pictures...'

rew: khâw: siî t.
'Hurry up! Faster!'

7. /khyn/ 'more than before, in increasing fashion'

8. /lôn/ 'more than before, in decreasing fashion'

khâw ûânh: khyn.
'He's getting fatter.'

khâw kêë: lôn.
'He's getting older.'

phûûd rew: khyn ìîg-nîî, dàâj: mây.
'Can you speak a little faster?'
phûud cháa: loŋ ilg-níd , dâj: mâj .
'Can you speak a little slower?'

sakaan dìi: khûn .
'His condition is improved.'

phoo sŏr-khraam khôj-saŋb: loŋ ,
'When the fighting finally quieted down'

(Selection between these two items is to a large extent lexically conditioned, but /khûn/ is by far the more common.)

9. /kwàa/ and /keen-kwàa/ 'more than something else of its kind, comparatively more'

tham jaŋí dìi kwàa .
'It's better to do it this way.'

nàŋ-syî lêm-níi nàa: kwàa .
'This book is thicker (than some other book).'

khûw jaŋ phûud cháa: kwàa .
'He speaks even more slowly (than someone else).'

10. /thîl-sûd/ or /thîsûd/ and /kwa-phyan/ 'more than all others of its kind, most, extremely'

rîd khân-níi lêm rew: thîl-sûd .
'This car runs the fastest of all.'

tham jaŋán kô-dìi: thîsûd .
'It would be best to do it that way.'

khôn-nân phûud cháa: thîsûd .
'That one speaks extremely slowly.'

nàŋ-syî lêm-níi nàa kwa-phyan .
'This book is thicker than the others.'

11. /thâw-kan/ or /thâw-thâw: kan/ 'to the same degree, equally'

nàŋ-riàn sŏŋ khôn: nîi , phûud cháa: thâw-kan .
'These two students both speak slowly.'

dîn-sôo sŏng thêng: nîi , jaaw thâw-thâw: kan .
'These two pencils are equally long.'

12. /phoo/ and /phoo-châaj/ 'to a satisfactory degree, enough'

kô khûw khûb rîd rew: phoo-châaj .
'Well, he drives fast enough.'
And the wind was still sufficiently strong, too.'

13. /māəg/ (and many slang substitutes) 'very'
14. /nīd-dīaw/ 'very (restricted to small-scale concepts)'
15. /nōoj/ 'a little, rather, somewhat'

khāw khāb rōd chāa: māəg.
'He drives very slowly.'
bān jūu klab: māəg.
'The house is very far away.'
bān jūu klab: nīd-dīaw.
'The house is very close.'
bān jūu klab: nōoj.
'The house is rather far away.'

16. /līya-keen/ or /līkəen/ and /tem-thīl/ 'excessively in an undesirable sense, terribly'

mēt t wan-nīl rōon: līkəen.
'My, it's awfully hot today.'
khāw khāb rōd rew: līya-keen.
'He drives terribly fast.'
chāaw-phūyn-myəq sūn-māəg con: tem-thīl.
'Most of the inhabitants are terribly poor.'

17. /caŋ/ and /cīŋ-cīŋ/ 'really'

nāŋ lēeg chāa: caŋ.
'The movie is really slow letting out.'
phōm chōob māəg: cīŋ-cīŋ.
'I really like it a lot.'

18. /thāw-raj/ or /thāw-raŋ/ 'how much, to any extent'

jāj: thāw-raj.
'How big is it?'
māj-jāj: thāw-raŋ.
'It's not big at all.'

19. /lēəj/ 'quite', after negative, 'not at all'

nāŋ thīl-nīl sabaaj: lēəj.
'It's quite pleasant sitting here.'
Two /nág/-class postpositions following a single adjective are not uncommon, and this is apparently also the maximum number of modifiers. From the sets 1-5, 6-8, 9-11, 12-15 and 16-19, only one member of each set may occur in such constructions. Internal order of the class works as follows:

From set 1-5, /kònw-paJ/ and its alternant /paJ/ are followed by 13-15, and 19; other members of this set are terminal.

Set 6-8 is followed by 9 and by 12-15 and 16-19.

From set 9-11, /kwàa/ is followed by 13-15 and 18-19; other members are terminal.

From set 12-15, /màag/ is followed by 1 or 3 and 16-17; other members are terminal.

Set 16-19 is not followed by members of any other set.

Examples of double modification of adjectives by /nág/-class members follow. In all cases but the last the immediate constituent analysis is AB/C.

rew khûn: kwàa 7 9 'faster than ever'
rew khûn: màag 7 13 'much faster than before'
rew khûn: thàw-raJ 7 18 'how much faster than before'
rew kwàa: n'íd-diaw 9 14 'a little faster than the other'
rew kwàa: thàw-raJ 9 18 'how much faster than the other'
rew màag: chiaw 13 3 'definitely very fast'
rew màag: caq 13 17 'really very fast'
rew: paJ-nòqj 4 15 'a little too fast'

Constructions with members 6-8 as a constituent also occur frequently in parallel phrases:

khon maa khooj-ráb jùu-nêëën: paJ-mod ,
ród tôp-lên cháa: khàw , cháa: khàw , thûg thîî .
'There were so many people waiting for the bus it kept having to slow up more and more.'
4.4.3. /bāŋ/ Class

These postpositions are all weak-stressed forms of those /eën/-class complementsives (3.2.2.2.) which have the syntactic function of replacing partitive numeral phrases (3.2.6.3.), and they follow both /wāj/-class and /nāg/-class postpositions in the same clause. Just as the /wāj/-class modifies verbs and the /nāg/-class modifies adjectives, the /bāŋ/-class can be said to modify substantives, in the sense that when a noun expression occurs in the prior part of the clause, the /bāŋ/-class postposition refers to it (see first example under 1. /bāŋ/ below). When no noun expression is so modified, the postposition has the entire predication as its co-constituent (see second example under 1. /bāŋ/ below).

Like their counterpart members of the /eën/-class of complementsives, the members of the /bāŋ/-class have covert lexical relationships with partitive numerals (see tabulation in 3.2.6.3.) - for example /bāŋ/ itself replaces any numeral phrase introduced by /baaŋ/. All members of the /eën/-class which correspond to /bāŋ/-class postpositions, moreover, can be preceded by /sāg/-class prepositions (4.2.5.), although individual members are limited as to the type of preposition they can follow - for example /bāŋ/ itself is preceded only by /iig/. The occurrence of normal stress on the item following the /sāg/-class preposition and the nature of the construction require interpretation of this item as a complementsive rather than a postposition in all cases.

The class meaning of both the /bāŋ/-postpositions and their corresponding complementsives is 'quantity of a substantive expression, or frequency of a predicate or predicative expression.' The class is small but open, with frequent slang innovation. For each member information is given on the partitive numeral replacement and the /sāg/-class prepositions which precede (the latter information applying only to the complementsive).

1. /bāŋ/ or /māŋ/ 'some, sometimes, some of it, some of them' Replaced in numeral phrases by /baaŋ/, follows only /iig/.

phōm tōŋ-kaan nāam iig-bāŋ .
'I need some more water.'
ichăn jàag capaj ajùd-thajaa: màŋ sì.
'I'd like to go to Ayuthya sometime.'

2. /lêg-nóoj/ 'a few, few, little, a little'
Replaced by /nóoj/, follows /ìig/ and /phìaŋ/.
phôm tông-kaan näam phìaŋ-lêg-nóoj.
'I need only a little water.'
àad camii phajú iìg-lêg-nóoj.
'There may be a few more storms.'

3. /mâj-mâag/ and /mâj-thâw-raj/ 'not many, not much'
Replaced by /mâj-kìi/, follows only /ìig/.
fôn àad catôg iìg mâj-thâw-raj.
'Not much more rain is likely to fall.'

4. /mâag/ or /mâg-mâag/ and /thâŋ-lâaj/ 'much, many, lots of, the several'
Replaced by /lâaj/, follows only /ìig/.
Selection among the three forms is complicated: /mâag/ is general, but /mâg-mâag/ is usually used where /mâag/ might be interpreted as one of its homonyms (see first two examples); /thâŋ-lâaj/ is used in direct modification of nouns and pronouns as a general pluralizer.
khaw chôob râb-prathaan sâhâan: mâg-mâag.
'He likes to eat lots of food (large meals).'
khwâr chôob râb-prathaan sâhâan màag.
'He likes to eat lots of food' or 'He likes eating food very much.'
nâg-rian thâŋ-lâaj t.
'Students!'
jan tông-kaan fôn iìg-mâag (mâg-mâag).
'Much more rain is still needed.'

5. /kìi-mânooj/ and /thâw-raj/ 'how much, how many'
Replaced by /kìi/, follows /ìig/ and /sâg/.
khun tông-kaan näam iìg-thâw-raj.
'How much more water do you need?'
mîl nâg-rian sâg-kìi-mânooj.
'About how many students are there?'
6. /mòd/, /thàŋ-mòd/ and /thàŋ-sìn/ 'all of it, the whole business'
Replaced by preposition /thàŋ/ (4.2.5.2.), follows only /kyåb/.
khaw khoñ khoq paj kyåb-mòd: lèèw.
'They have taken nearly all the stuff away.'
ruam thàŋ-mòd, khíd thàw-raj.
'Including everything, how much do you figure it would be?'

7. /thàŋ-nàn/ 'all of them, every one'
Replaced by /thúg/, follows only /kyåb/.
khaw leej paj-wåd: kan thàŋ-nàn.
'They all went to the wat.'

8. /nåd/, /nòoJ/, and /nåd-nòoJ/ 'a little bit'
Not replaced in numeral phrases, follows /såg/ and /låg/.
khoq nåam: såg-nòoJ.
'Please give me a little water.'
phùud chàa: loq låg-nåd, dâj: måj.
'Can you speak a little slower?'
'I only need a little bit of it.'

9. /jò/ or /jé/ or /jó-jé/ 'a whole lot'
Not replaced, follows /tåg/ and /låg/.
phóm jaq tôq-kaan nåam låg-jé.
'I still need a whole lot more water.'
khaw khàaj này-sỳy tôq-jé-jé.
'They sell an awful lot of books.'

10. /nåan/ 'a long time'
Replaced by /låaj/ and a time-classifier, follows only /tåg/ and /låg/.
tôq khoq paj-låg-nåan: måj.
'Must we wait much longer?'
khåw thåm-nåan thîi-níi maa-tåg-nåan: lèèw.
'He has been working here for an awfully long time.'
11. /māj-naan/ and /māj-chāa/ 'not long'
    Replaced by /māj-kil/ and a time-classifier, follows only /iig/.
    tōŋ khooj pāj-iig: māj-naan.
    ‘We won’t have to wait much longer.’

    One discontinuous postposition, which occurs only in parallel construc-
    tion, probably belongs to this class, although it does not clearly correspond
    to any partitive numeral, except possibly /khryn/ 'half':

12. /phlaa... phlaa/ 'simultaneously, sometimes... sometimes...
    half... half...'

    khāw phuud: phlaa, hua-rō: phlaa.
    ‘He was half talking, half laughing.’

    Members of the /bāŋ/ class seem to exclude each other completely. No
    internal order can be stated.

4.4.4. Enumerative Postpositions

    The remaining postpositions are always the final constituents of
    enumerations, occurring with weak stress in the last possible position in
    the construction. There are four sub-groups: 1) those which occur after
    cardinal numeral phrases (3.2.6.1.), 2) those which occur after /nīi/-
    class demonstratives (3.2.4.1.) and their derivatives (see tabulation below),
    3) those which occur after interrogative lexemes containing the morphs /āj/
    and /aj/ (see 2.3.4.5, 6. and tabulation below), 4) those which occur after
    all types of construction and make enumerations out of whatever precedes.
    The enumerative postpositions do not form a well-defined, mutually exclusive
    class, but constitute a residue. Some double as sentence particles (4.5.).

    For convenience of reference, the related group of common demonstra-
    tive and interrogative lexemes and constructions which are followed by enu-
    merative postpositions of sub-groups 2) and 3) are listed below.

    | Demonstrative      | Interrogative |
    |--------------------|---------------|
    | /khon-nān/        | 'that person' |
    | /khon-nīi/        | 'this person' |
    | /an-nān/          | 'that thing'  |
    | /an-nīi/          | 'this thing'  |
    | /jaŋ-nān/ or /ŋan/| 'thus'         |
    | /jaŋnīi/ or /ŋīi/ | 'so'           |

    | /khraŋ/           | 'who'         |
    | /khon-nāŋ/        | 'which person'|
    | /araŋ/            | 'what'        |
    | /aŋ-nāŋ/          | 'which thing' |
    | /thamaŋ/          | 'why'         |
    | /jaŋraŋ/          | 'how'         |

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1) **Numeral postpositions**

1. /sêed/ or /sêed-sêed/ and /kwâa/ or /kwa-kwâa/ 'plus a residue'
   
   sôñ rôo j bàaad: sêed.
   'Over two hundred baht.'
   
   hâa mooq: kwa-kwâa.
   'Later than five o'clock.'
   
   (See also 3.2.6.3, end.)

2. /lâ/ 'per, based on the preceding unit'

   Occurs mainly after the simultaneous construction of a unit or metric classifier (3.2.5.1,2.) or classifier numeral (3.2.6.4.) plus the normal-stress morpheme 'one' (see 2.2.3.1.), but also after ordinary cardinal numeral phrases.

   klûaj raa-khaa baj-lâ-bàaad.
   'The bananas are one baht each (one-baht per one-banana).'</n
   nâm-taan raa-khaa ki-loo: lâ, sîb bàaad.
   'The sugar is ten baht per kilo.'

   rôo j-lâ-sôñ.
   'Two percent (two per hundred).'

   sâam dyan lâ-khrzą.
   'Once every three months.'
2) Demonstrative postpositions

1. /eeŋ/ 'the very one, exactly, none other than'
   thâw- nâ: eeŋ . 'Just that much.'
   diaw- nîi: eeŋ . 'Right now.'
   jaqan: eeŋ . 'Precisely that way.'
   thîl- nîi: eeŋ . 'Right here.'

2. /lê/ and /qaj/ 'there it is, that's the one (pointing out something that has been sought)'
   thâw- nâ: lê . 'That's all. That does it.'
   nîi: qaj . 'Here it is. This is the one.'
   jaqan: lê . 'That's how it is.'
   khon- nîi: qaj . 'This is the person.'

(Speakers seem to prefer the form /lê/ after /nân/, /nîon/, and their derivatives, /qaj/ after /nîi/ and its derivatives.)

3. /nê/ 'look at this new thing (pointing to something not sought)'
   nôn: nê t duu: af t . 'Over there! Look!'
   nîi: nê , kun- cê s hôŋ . 'Here's the key to the room.'

The members of this sub-group exclude each other. /lê/, /qaj/, and /nê/ are also sentence particles (4.5.2.).

3) Interrogative postpositions

1. /kan/ 'reasonable answer not foreseen'
   maa thamaj: kan ® . 'Why the devil have you come?'
   cf. maa: kan , thamaj ® . 'Why have you (plural) come?'
   (pronoun /kan/)
   araj: kan ® . 'What in the world?'

2. /bâŋ/ 'plural or multiple answer foreseen'
   khun capaj kâb- khraj: bâŋ . 'Who all are you going with?'

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khun capaj nāj: bāaŋ . 'What places are you going to?'
ara:j bāaŋ . 'What (plural)?'

3. /lā/ or /lāw/ 'answer demanded'
maa thama:j lāw † . 'Why have you come?'
hun capaj nāj: lā . 'Where are you going?'
ara:j lā † . 'What.' (English falling intonation)

4. /nā/ 'answer not expected, or should be already known to speaker'
maa thama:j nā . 'I wonder why he came.'
hun capaj nāj: nā . 'Where is it you're going?'
ara:j nā . 'What?' (English high rising intonation)

Internal order of the sub-group is 1, 2, 3-4, the last two members excluding each other. Example:

jūu thīl-nāj: kan bāaŋ lā † .
'Where the devil are they all?;' ('They are in what unreasonable places, tell me!')

Members 3. and 4. also occur as sentence particles (4,5.2.).

4) General enumerative postpositions

1. /nī/ or /nī/ or /nīe/ 'this sort of thing (previously mentioned)'
The first two forms are weak-stressed versions of the demonstrative /nī/ 'this,' and the third contains an additional morpheme (probably to be identified with /lē/ and /nē/, demonstrative postpositions described above).
wan-āŋkhāan: nī , pen kham sān-sakrid .
'This (word) 'Tuesday' is a Sanskrit word.'
(cf.) wan-āŋkhāan nī , phōm cajūd pāan .
'I'm going to take this Tuesday off.' (demonstrative /nī/)
swān nāg-riam triam pāj sōm: kan nīe...
'As for this business of the preparatory students going to drill...'

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2. /nán/ or /nán/ or /nâ/ 'that sort of thing (previously mentioned)'

The first two forms are weak-stressed demonstratives and the third is probably a combination of /nán/ and /nê/ or /lê/.

kaan cáb-plaa: nán , mil lâaj jàaq.
"For that fish-catching operation there are several methods.'

chalúaj: ná , pen chûy phûu-jîñ: thâw-nán.
"That (name) Chaluay is a woman's name only.'

3. /lâ/ or /lâ/ 'the new or contrastive thing (I have just mentioned)'

This item is probably to be identified with the complementive /lééw/ 'already.'

chalúaj: lá , pen chûy phûu-jîñ: thâw-nán.
"Now Chaluay (on the other hand) is a woman's name only.'

sûan nág-rian triam paj sóom: kan lâ...
"If one brings up the subject of the preparatory students going to drill, now...'

4. /wâa/ 'as follows (new or old quotation)'

This item is a homonym of a conjunction with similar meaning (4.3. 3.3.). There is a slight difference in emphasis depending on whether the /wâa/ occurs before or after the intonation break. Compare the first two examples below.

khâw phûud samôe: wâa , aahâan mâj-aróoj.
"What they always say is that the food is no good.'

khâw phûud samôe , wâa aahâan mâj-aróoj.
"They're always talking (about it, saying among other things) that the food is no good.'

Internal order of the sub-group is 1-3, 4. The forms /nâ/, /lâ/ and /lâ/ are related to homonymous sentence particles (4.5.1.).

4.5. Sentence Particles

A sentence particle is any bound lexeme which is always the last constituent, or part of the last constituent, apart from intonation, in any clause in which it occurs (regardless of the order in which it actually occurs). The co-constituents of sentence particles are entire predications, enumerations, expressions, and phrases, and also such constructions plus
their postpositional modifiers. The term 'sentence particle' (chosen instead of 'clause particle') indicates a further relationship: most types of sentence particles (except 3. /khráb/-class, below) occur only once per sentence, rather than once per clause. In addition, many sentence particles have variant forms conditioned in two ways: 1) by clause intonation, and 2) by the presence of other sentence particles.

Since the members of this class often occur in clusters at the ends of clauses, always after the morpheme / : /, the term coda-phrase is used to refer to such groups of sentence particles. The maximum length of a coda-phrase is four lexemes (or four syllables, if one or more two-syllable particles are present). The sub-classification of sentence particles is based on position in the coda-phrase, and the names of the sub-classes are taken from one of the possible maximum sequences:

khun māj-paj kāb-khāw: rōg-rīy-khrāb nīl ↑

Sub-classes: 1) 2) 3) 4)

'Well, (you mean) you're not going with them?'

The general class meaning of sentence particles is 'attitude of the speaker toward what he is saying,' but the members of the first sub-class (/rōg/-class) also resemble enumerative postpositions (4.4.4.) in that they have close ties with specific syntactic elements in the clause. The whole class is closed, and small, possibly being limited to the members listed in the following sections. All members occur both by themselves and in codaprases.

The meanings of sentence particles can be only vaguely stated, because a great deal depends on the emotional interplay between speakers. For the same reason, it is difficult to quote out of context examples of sentences containing particles. In order to avoid repeating examples with sufficient context under different headings, a number of lengthy examples are given consecutively in the last section (4.5.5.) under the general heading 'Sample Exchanges.' Reference is made to these examples after the illustrations of use of individual members of the class of sentence-particles.

4.5.1. /rōg/ Class

These sentence particles occur in the first relative position of the codaphrase, and are in complementary distribution with respect to each other. Some of them have variant forms depending on clause intonation, and others have forms which occur in absolute clause-final position only. The first five members have strong ties with the substantive elements of the clause, and the last three with predicative elements. None has an emphatic form.
(occurring simultaneously with / ! /); when / i / is present a member of 2: / rɔː /-class is also present in the codaphrase.

1. / rɔː/ and / rɔː/ or / dɔː/ or / dʁɔː/ 'not that' (after negative), 'that's what' (otherwise)

The high-tone variant occurs in absolute clause-final position when / t / is present (this being the most common environment of the entire item), and one of the low-tone variants occurs elsewhere. In codaphrases, it is followed by these members of sub-class 2): 1. / rɔː /, 2. / s1ː /, and 3. / nɔː /. When followed immediately by a member of sub-class 3), it determines the selection of the statement form - e.g. / khā /, but when sub-class 2) intervenes, the question form of the sub-class 3) member may be selected - e.g. / khā / (see also 2.3.3.3.).

The item / rɔː / is almost entirely restricted to occurrence in clauses containing a negative (member of the / māj / class of modals, 4.1.3.), but occasionally turns up in positive statements (see last two examples below). It does not occur after / jāː / 'don't.' It has reference to substantive elements in the clause, often to the subject, and directs the force of the negation toward them and away from predicative elements. In this meaning it contrasts semantically with the item / ləəj / 'at all,' which is a complementive of the / səəj / class (3.2.2.2.10.) and a postposition, rather than a sentence particle (see contrastive examples below).

phɔ́m māj-dāːj paːj: rɔː t.
'I didn't go!' ('not me')

phɔ́m māj-dāːj paːj: leəj.
'I didn't go at all.' ('not anywhere, not any time')

khāw māj-maa thamaːj: rɔː-nā t.
'Why wouldn't he come?'

māj-chāj nāː səy khoːn-čān: rɔː-nā.
'You see, it's not my book.'

wan-nāːn khun māj-dāːj-paːj baaː səːn: rɔː-rəː.
'Didn't you go to Bangsaen that day?'

chān lōː lēn: rɔː. jāː kroːd: leəj.
'I was only fooling (that's what). Don't be angry.'

dāːj hūa-tēːg kan-māːj: rɔː t.
'Pretty soon you'll get your heads cracked, that's what!'

(See also Exchanges, 4.5.5., Nos. 1-2, 2-1, 3-3, 7-2, 7-7, 8-4, 11-4, 12-3, and 14-2.)
2. /nâ/ 'that's what, that's who, that's where, etc.'

This item by itself is easily confused with the postposition /nâ/ (4.4.4.4.2.), and with homonymous forms in the /rûy/ and /nî/ sub-classes of sentence particles (4.5.2.3. and 4.5.4.2.), but is clearly distinguishable when it is followed in codaphrases by one of these members of sub-class 2): 1. /rûy/, 2. /sî/, 3. /nâs/, and 4. /lè/. Semantically it replaces /rûy/ in most positive statements, and is rare after negatives.

kô khun-eeq: nási1 f.
'Well, it was you yourself (that's who)!
khun cid: nârée , sôob dâj.
'Did Chit really pass the exam (is that who you mean)?'
man cathuug hûa tua-eeq: nânaa .
'Why, you might hit yourself in the head with it, that's what.'
khu nälè , chôob tham sînâr daq: nâg .
'You really like to make a lot of noise, you do.'
(See also Exchanges 1-4, 2-1, 3-4, and 7-4.)

3. /nî/ or /nî/ 'this is who, this is what, etc.'

Statements about /nâ/ apply also to this item, and the distribution is the same except that /nî/ does not appear to occur before /rûy/. The difference meaning is very slight, but speakers prefer /nî/ to /nâ/ whenever the hearer is not presumed to know the information given. (This may in turn account for the absence of /nî/ before the sentence particle /rûy/, which requests information.)

kô khâw rûw-câg kan jûu-léq: nîlnaa .
'But they already know each other.'
kô man cathuug krâcôq: nîlnaa .
'Well, you might hit the window with it, don't you see.'
('this is what')
khu nîlè , chôob tham sînâr daq: nâg .
'Say, you really like to make a lot of noise.'
(See also Exchanges 2-2, 9-2, and 9-5.)

4. /nàq/ 'something known previously becomes newly relevant' or 'how can one overlook this fact'

This item is easily confused with a postposition of similar meaning (4.4.4.2.2.) and also is homonymous with one form of a complementive meaning 'how' (the other form being /jâq/). It occurs alone in clause- and phrase-
final position, and in codaphrases before only one member of sub-class 2):

5. /lā/. Whether followed by /lā/ or not, it determines selection of the question form of any sub-class 3) member in the same codaphrase. /ṇāj/ is very frequent as a final particle in sentences introduced by the responses /nāj/ and /ṇāj/ (3.1.2.5, 6.).

jāaw t thamaj syy sīl-khāw maa-īlig: lā . nāj , bōog-wāa māj-chōob; ṇāj .

'Why on earth did you buy green again? I thought you said you didn't like it.' ('how can one explain that?')


'Here's that book Chit gave me to give you.'
(More commonly said with postposition /ṇāj/: nīl: ṇāj , nā-pass thīl khūn-cīd fāag maa-hāj .)

chān bōog lēw; ṇāj-lā , wāa man phēd .

'I already told you (didn't I) that it was spicy.'
(See also Exchanges 12-2 and 13-2.)

5. /nē/ or /nēə/ 'something previously unknown is now relevant' or 'don't overlook this new thing.'

Both forms also occur as postpositions with similar meaning (4.4. 4.). The form /nē/ occurs only in clause-or phrase-final position, but the form /nēə/ (possibly analyzable morphemically as /nī/ plus /lē/) also precedes one member of sub-class 2): 1. /rīy/. Like 4. /ṇāj/, with which it is in semantic contrast, this particle determines the question form of any sub-class 3) member in the same codaphrase.

duu khāw tham ara:j: nē .

'Look at what (new thing) they are doing now.'

chān syy phāa maa-fāag chīn: nyū nē .

'Here's a piece of cloth I bought for you.'

chīn diaw: nēs-rēə .

'Just the one piece?'

paj nā:j; kan nēə t .

'Where do you think you're going? (this is news to me)'
(See also Exchanges 1-3, 4-1, and 4-2.)

6. /lā/ or /lā/ or /la/ 'changed situation'

This item is said by ST speakers to be a shortened form of /lēw/ 'already,' but in fact it occurs directly after /lēw/ itself in the same
Any interrogative clause. It is, however, closely tied to predicative elements, rather than substantive ones. The form /lā/ occurs in clause-and-phrase-final position, the forms /lā/ and /la/ elsewhere. In codaphrases it is followed by these members of sub-class 2): 1. /r̄ȳ/, 2. /s11/, 3. /naa/, and 6) māq. By itself it determines the statement form of any sub-class 3) particle.

thāa jāmān, chān māq-paj: lā.
In that case I won't go, then.'

aw: lā , phoo thāw-ni1: kōn.
'All right, then, that's enough for the time being.'

khun capaj: lārē.
'Are you going, now?' ('You weren't, just a minute ago.')

im lēw: lās11 t.
'Now you must be full!'

dichān tōq paj-kōn: lanā.
'I'd better be going, now.'

hēn camāq: paj lamāq.
'Maybe it's too much already.'
(See also Exchanges 15-2.)

7. /māq/ 'Yes-no question'

This particle is tied directly to the predicative of the clause, and does not occur in clauses which have no predicative elements (for example, in clauses consisting of substantive expressions, equations, and enumerations). Morphologically speaking, it is related to the negative /māq/, and does not occur in clauses containing any /māq/-class modal. If the predicative is a transitive verb, the use of /māq/ implies that a voluntary choice is possible, or that the situation is capable of change - it is not used, for example, for past situations of for scheduled future events. If the predicative is an adjective, the selection of /māq/ is nearly automatic, regardless of time factors, and simply implies that an evaluation is being asked for. If the predicative is a comitative verb or a modal verb, the standard way to ask a question is with /māq/, unless a time-element is involved, in which case /r̄ȳjan/ 'yet?' (4.5.2.1.) is selected.

As a sentence particle /māq/ contrasts most strongly with /r̄ȳ/ (4.5.2.1.)—see first, third and fourth pairs examples below. Any interrogative word in a clause containing /māq/ automatically has its indefinite meaning - see second pair of examples.

/māq/ has a citation form /māq/, which also turns up occasionally in formal styles of speech, but no other allolexes. In codaphrases it is
followed by these members of sub-class 2): 3. /maa/ and 5. /lâ/. It determines the selection of the question-form of sub-class 3) members in all coda-phrases in which it occurs.

thaan kaa-fet ılg: māj .
'Will you have some more coffee?'

thaan kaa-fet ılg: ryy .
'You're having more coffee, are you?'

khāw tōn-kaan ara̱: māj .
'Do they want something?'

khāw tōn-kaan ara̱ .
'What do they want?'

khun chōb pen thahān: māj .
'Do you like (the idea of) being a soldier?'

or:
'Would you like to be a soldier?'

khun chōb pen thahān: ryy .
Do you like being a soldier?

khāw paj-duu nāŋ: dūaj-kan māj .
'Are they going along (as a matter of choice) to see the movie?'

khāw paj-duu nāŋ: dūaj-kan ryy .
'Did they go along to see the movie?'

or:
'Are they scheduled to go along to see the movie?'

or:
'Do they (as a matter of fact) go along to see the movie?'

'Was it fun going to the movie yesterday?' (adjective predicate)

raw paj-duu nāŋ , dii: māj .
'Shall we go see a movie (is it a good idea)?' (adjective predicate)

khun jàag capaj dūaj-kan: māj .
'Do you want to go along?' (modal verb predicate)

raw paj-duu nāŋ , dāj: māj .
'Can we go to see the movie?' (completive verb predicate).

chān syy nāŋ-syy nī maa-fāag , khun chōb māj-lâ .
'I bought this book to give you - do you like it?' (answer required)

chān syy nāŋ-syy nī maa-fāag khun-cīd , khāw chōb: māj-nā .
'I bought this book to give Chit - will he (do you think) like it?' (opinion think requested)

(See also Exchanges 7-1, 11-1, 11-3, and 12-5.)
8. /thè/ or /thèed/ 'why not, let's, why don't you'

This particle is tied to the predicate and, like 6. /māj/, does not occur in clauses which do not have predicative elements. Also, it does not occur in the same clause with the pre-predicate preposition /ca-/ (4.2.6. 3.2.). The second variant /thèed/ is largely a citation form but occurs in formal varieties of speech as well. In codaphrases it is followed by these members of sub-class 2): 2. /s11/ and 3. /naa/, the latter being far more common. It determines the selection of the statement form of the sub-class 3) member in all codaphrases in which it occurs.

The meaning of /thè/ is always a mild suggestion, either advocating joint action including the speaker (in which case the pronoun /kan/ often occurs somewhere in the clause) or unilateral action by someone other than the speaker. It is not used in statements of fact, or in urging people to believe assertions, as is the other 'command' particle /s11/ (4.5.2.2.).

```raw
raj: kan thè.
'Let's go.'
khun kih: sā thè.
'Go ahead and eat it (if you want it).'
kih: sā siă.
'Go ahead and eat it (whether you want it or not.)'
kih sā-thè ls11ă.
'Please go ahead and eat it!'
khun bòg ēă-chănn thyī māq: thè.
'Why don't you let me carry some of them?'
sāaj lēsw, pāj kan: thè-nā.
'It's late, let's get going.'
(See also Exchanges 7-6, 8-1, 8-3, and 10-3.)
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4.5.2. /rīy/ Class

These sentence particles occur in the second relative position of the codaphrase, and are in complementary distribution. All members can follow at least one member of the /rōg/-class (4.5.1.) All have variant forms, some of which are conditioned and some in free variation. Each member has an emphatic form (occurring simultaneously with /i/), and some of the emphatic forms are distinct from all other allolexes of the particles they represent.

The /rīy/-class members, except for 4. /lē/ and 5. /lā/, are true sentence particles in the sense that they do not have reference to specific
syntactic constructions, but to the sentence as a whole. The sub-class meaning is 'expected reaction from the hearer.' 1. /rś/ itself has four derivatives (lexemes containing its allomorph /rś/) which actually belong to the /rś/ class, since they can all be followed by /lā/ and /nā/ from the present class, but they are listed under /rś/ for convenience of contrast.

1. /rś/, /rē/, /rś/, /rē/, or /ē/ 'is the assumption correct?'

   Emphatic form: /rś/;

   Derivatives: /rśŷâ/ or /śŷâ/ 'or not yet; yet?'
   /rśmāj/ 'or not'
   /rśplāw/ 'or otherwise'
   /rśnāj/ 'or what'

   The variants of the simple particle are distributed as follows:
   /rś/, /rē/, and /ē/ occur in absolute phrase-or-clause-final position and, commonly, after members of the /rś/ class; /rś/ and /rē/ occur everywhere, but most commonly with /t̃/ or before members of the /khrāb/ class (4.5.3.). The emphatic form /rś/ occurs only with loud stress and extra duration, and is nearly always ironic. The presence of any form of /rś/, including its derivatives, determines the selection of the question form of any sub-class 3) member.

   The simple particle occurs in clauses of any syntactic composition whatever, including substantive expressions, equations, enumerations, and even single substantive lexemes. Its meaning is simply 'confirm my assumption' or 'confirm my understanding of what you just said.' It is mandatory in questions about past events built around a transitive verb predicator, and in negative questions of any kind (see 4.5.1.7. for comparison with /māj/-questions and examples of the contrast). It is one of the possibilities for questioning a non-predicative element of a clause, another possibility being the phrase /chāj: māj/ 'Is that so?' which can nearly always replace it in this use.

   The four derivative particles, on the other hand, are actually members of the /rś/ class and are much closer to /māj/ in use. /rśŷâ/ 'or not yet' is closely tied to predicates and is usually associated with the item /lēw/ 'already.' /rśmāj/ 'or not' can replace /māj/ in any of its uses but is slightly more formal. /rśplāw/ 'or otherwise' is usually an elegant substitute for /rś/ itself, but can also replace /māj/. The last derivative, /rśnāj/ is an informal substitute for /rś/ but also functions as a much more open question-word of the /māj/ type. All four can be followed by the sub-class 2) particles 3. /nā/ and 5. /lā/. Only /rśnāj/ can follow a negative in the same clause.
No member of this group, including /r'y/ itself, can follow /jâa/ 'don't.' As in the case of /mâj/, interrogative words have their indefinite meanings before these particles.

In codaphrases, /r'y/ (but not its derivatives) can be followed not only by sub-class 3) particles, but also by the two sub-class 4) particles /nîl/ and /nân/.

jaqân: r'y.

's that so?'

sûa tua-nîi: rëe.

'this coat?'

sôoû thûm: rûkhâ.

'Eight o'clock?'

khàw chûy cîd: rûhâ.

'His name is Chît?'

cin-cîn: ëe ↑.

'really?'

mîl lryû ↑ manûd cabûn dâj.

'is there such a thing as a man that can fly?'

khàw paj-léew: rëe.

'Are they gone already?'

khàw paj-léew: rûjaq.

'Have they gone yet?'

khàw capaj: rûjaq.

'Are they going yet?'

khàw capaj: rûmâj.

'Are they going or not?'

khàw paj: rûplàaw.

'did they go?'

thee rûa: rûplàaw.

'Do you know?'

khàw capaj: rûjaq.

'Are they going, or what?'


'don't you like it, or what - that you hardly ever wear it?

khun mâj-paj wàd: rûkhâ.

'aren't you going to the temple?'
khāw māj-paj wá: rēnān †.
'You mean he's not going to the temple?!'

mòd we-laa lētw: rūnī †.
'Is the time up already?!'
(For more examples, see /māj/, 4.5.1.7., and Exchanges 1-4, 2-1, 4-2, 5-6, 9-1, 10-2, and 16-1.)

2. /sīl/, /si/, /si/, or /sī/ 'this is the correct behavior or belief (change yours if necessary)'

Emphatic form: /lsīl:

The first three forms occur only in phrase- or clause-final position, the form /sī/ usually with high intonation /†/, /si/ with normal intonation, and /sīl/ with either type. The form /sī/ is almost entirely restricted to occurrence in codaphrases before sub-class 3) members, which may have either their statement or question forms, the latter being more common when /†/ is present. Sub-class 4) does not occur after any form of /sīl/.

The composition of clauses in which this particle is found is identical with that described for /rīy/ (4.5.2.1.) - the co-constituent may be even a single non-predicative lexeme (see first example below). /sīl/ is used most commonly to urge action on the part of someone who is not acting, or to change the course of action of someone who is. When the action recommended is something beneficial to the hearer ('Please sit down!'), the use of /sīl/ in this sense is not familiar; otherwise, it definitely is. A second use of /sīl/ is in emphatic statements, where it either expresses or urges agreement. Like the sentence particle /māj/ (4.5.1.7.) it does not occur in statements about past events which have a transitive verb predicator, being replaced in this situation by the particle /nīl/ - see contrastive examples below.

/sīl/ can follow any negative, and is frequently found after /jāa/ 'don't.' In codaphrases it is followed only by sub-class 3) particles, never by sub-class 4). Interrogative words have indefinite meanings before /sīl/.

sawād-dīl: sā sīl.
'Say hello!' (/sawād-dīl/ is an isolative.)

cheen nāp: sīlā †.
'Please have a seat!'

pa j sā-nōcī: sī †.
'Why don't you go!'

maa-duu arāj nīl: sīl †.
'Come look at something here!'
jāa paj-nāj: sīli.
'Don't go anywhere, now.'
thāa jāpārān , chān kā māj-dāj-paj nāj: sīl .
'In that case I won't go anywhere.'
of. phôm māj-dāj-paj nāj: leej nīi ↑.
'Well, I didn't go anywhere at all!'
nān: sikhrāb.
'That's exactly it.'
capāj , kāpaj: sīl .
'If you're going, then go ahead.'
mīl hīi ↑.
'Of course there are some!'
dīl: sikhā ↑ thamaj camāj-dīl ↑.
'It's good! Why wouldn't it be good?'
(See also examples under /thē/ , 4.5.1.b., and Exchanges 1-1, 1-3, 5-2, 5-3, 5-7, 6-1, 6-2, 7-4, 7-8, 10-1, 12-4, 15-2, and 16-2.)

3. /naa/, /nā/, or /nā/ 'I think, isn't it so, don't you agree'
Emphatic forms: /!nāː/ and /!naaː/

All three weak-stressed forms occur in phrase-and clause-final position, with slightly different meanings. /naa/ itself urges acceptance of the speaker's wishes or instructions, and is very close to /sīl/ (4.5.2.2.) in meaning and usage, although it is weaker and somewhat more polite. It occurs frequently after the sub-class 1) particles 2. /nā/ and 3. /nīl/ (see 4.5.1.). The second variant /nā/ is more insistent, but not necessarily rude, and commonly follows the sub-class 1) particles 1. /rōg/ and 8. /thē/. Both /naa/ and /nā/ are replaced by the emphatic form /!naaː/.

The third form /nā/ in final position implies merely a weak question or request for confirmation. It frequently follows the sub-class 1) particles 6. /lā/ and 7. /māj/, meaning something like 'I wonder if...'. When interrogative words occur in its sentence, the effect is something like an echo-question ('I am supposed to know this, but tell me again.') /nā/ is replaced in all its uses by the emphatic form /!nāː/. The form /nā/ is also the only one which precedes other sentence particles in codaphrases, replacing both /naa/ and /nā/. It occurs only before sub-class 3), never before sub-class 4), and always determines the selection of the question form of the /khrāb/-class particle.
Except for the obvious relationship of the form /mä/ to interrogative words, the particle /näa/ does not have close ties with any particular type of clause constituent, and resembles 1. /rëy/ and 2. /së/ in this respect. Its forms occur after all types of negative and /jë/ 'don't.'

jë jëj nëa .
'Don't go, O.K.?'

jë jëj-nëj: nëa .
'Don't go anywhere, will you?'

phëm mëj-dëj-paj nëj: lëej nëa .
'I didn't go anywhere at all, did I?'

paj: thee inëa .
'Aw, come on and go, will you?'

bëog lëw: nànëa , mëj chëa .
'I already told you, didn't I, but you didn't believe me.'

bëog lëw: nëj-nëhëa , mëj chëa .
'This is what I told you, wasn't it, but you didn't believe me.'

paj thëaj nëj: nëkhëb .
'Which way is it that you are going?'

thëaj: nëa .
'I wonder why that is.'

thëaj: inëo .
'But why?'

khëw moëq hëni: mëj-nëa .
'Do you think he can see it?'

laë: thëi lënëa .
'Goodbye, now...'

sëaj lëw . paj: kan thë-nëa .
'It's late. Let's get going - O.K.?'

këji: ciq nëa .
'That's really clever, isn't it?'

(See also examples under sub-class 1) particles which precede /nëa/ , 4.5.1., and Exchanges 1-2, 3-4, 7-6, and 15-1.)

4. /lë/ or /là/ or /ë/ 'here's the thing we've been looking for';
Emphatic form: /lìët:/

All three forms are in free variation. This is a statement particle, very similar in meaning to /jëj/ (4.5.1.4.), which has strong ties to the
demonstrative system but also occurs without any demonstrative element in
the same sentence. It follows the sub-class 1) particles 2. /nâ/ and 3.
/nî/, and precedes only sub-class 3) particles, for which it determines
the selection of the statement form.

Being the most socially acceptable of the statement particles, /lê/
frequently replaces 2. /sîî/ where the latter would be rude. It is rare
after negatives, where it is usually replaced by /rōg/ (4.5.1.1.), and after
/jâ/ 'don't.'

'nân /lê/ † châñ bòog-lêwː mâj-lâ .

'That's just it! Didn't I tell you so?'

khun: nî lê-khâ , chôob tham sîâg daːŋː nâg .

'You (are the one who) really like to make a lot of noise.'

phôm mâj-dâj-paj nâj lëejː lâ † .

'I didn't go anywhere at all!'

nîl: ê-rîy , cahâj câñ saː jː paj .

'Is this the one you want me to wear?'

thâw-nânː ê .

'That's it, now.' 'That's all, now.'

cîːː nâlê-hâ .

'That's right!'
(See also Exchanges 4-3.)

5. /lâ/ or /lâw/ or /lâ/ 'tell me!'

Emphatic form: /lâː/: 

The first two weak-stressed forms are in free variation in phrase-
and clause-final position. The form /lâ/ occurs only before other sentence
particles in the codaphrase. This is basically a question-particle, occur-
ing frequently after interrogative words, with which it has a special rela-
tionship, and after the sub-class 1) particle 7. /mâ/. It also occurs
in statements, however, and frequently follows the sub-class 1) particle
6. /qâj/, with a meaning something like 'how about that!' In either case it
determines the question-form of any sub-class 3) member which follows. It
is not followed by sub-class 4) members.

The particle /lâ/, in both statements and questions, is at best
familiar and at worst rude unless it is followed by a sub-class 3) particle.
It has strong ties with interrogative elements of its clause, but occurs
without them and even after /jâ/ 'don't.'

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thaman cha: nag laa.
'Why are you so late?'

henn: maj-law.
'Do you see it?'

thaman cha: nag la-khrab.
'Why are you so late?'

im lew: lasii cha: maj-laa.
'You must be full, aren't you?'

(The first /laa/ is /rog/-class, 4.5.1.6.)

jaas paj-naj: laa.
'Don't go anywhere!'

paj thanaj-naj: la-kha.
'Which way shall I go?'

chaa penseed-thii mjaa-raj: laa.
'When would I ever be a rich man?'

phom capaj daj jaaj: kan ilaa.
'How the devil would I be able to get there?'

nann: raj-laa, khoo-maan khooyo khun-cid.
'There she is - Chit's fiancee.'

(See also contrastive examples under /maaj/, 4.5.1.7., and Exchanges 3-2, 5-4, 7-3, 12-5, 13-1, and 16-3.)

6. /maj/ or /maj/ 'perhaps'

Emphatic Form: /imaj/.

The form /maj/ determines the question-form of any sub-class 3) particle which follows, and the form /maj/ determines the statement form. Both are preceded by the sub-class 1) particle /laa/, and both are followed by the sub-class 4) particle /nii/ in the codaphrase. The difference in meaning between the two variants is slight: /maj/ expects an confirming answer more than /maj/ does. A citation form, /kramaaj/, is rarely heard outside of formal style.

This particle has an obvious morphological relationship with /baaj/ 'some' (which has an allolex /maj/), and also is possibly related to the question-particle /maaj/ (4.5.1.7), but it has no ties with any particular type of clause constituent. It is slightly familiar in social connotation, but by no means rude.

henn camaaaj: paj laaan.
'Maybe it's a little too much.'
khíd-wáa, kháw cachóob: máy.
'Do you think she might like it?'

níl khor-cha:j lama-khâ-níl.
'This must be the right one, all right.'

tháa kháw camii thurá: lamaáy.
'I guess he must be busy.'
(See also Exchanges 9-3, 14-1.)

4.5.3. /khráb/-Class

These sentence particles occur in the third relative position of the codaphrase, and are in complementary distribution. Each member has at least two forms, morphologically related through a superfix (2.3.3.3.): the question form, which anticipates further discourse (either by speaker or hearer), and the statement form, which does not. Both forms occur in the interior of discourses, the question form usually before /, / or /·/ and the statement form before /./ and both occur at the ends of discourses. (Clauses ending in /·/ and phrases ending in /./ are said to have 'suspensive intonation,' requiring the question the form of any /khráb/-class particle.) Most members of the class are also morphologically related to responses (3.1.2.).

No member of the class is related to any particular kind of clause constituent, and the normal pattern of occurrence is one /khráb/-class particle per sentence (although exceptions occur to this in over-deferential speech). The class meaning is 'reinforcement of the speaker's status with the respect to the hearer,' and for the first four members, information is also given on the sex of the speaker. The first two members are clearly deferential, the second two non-familiar, the last two patronizing or rude. Among intimates and established equals, often no particle at all is used. Not listed here are particles of extremely specialized use (e.g. those used in addressing royalty).

Full exemplification of the various uses of the /khráb/-class particles is given only for members 3. and 4., but since, given the proper social situation, the members are interchangeable, the same examples will apply to the whole class with the proper substitution of the form called for. Except for 4. /khrá/, usage varies considerably among speakers, however, the extreme example being 6. /wá/, where no two informants agreed upon the distribution of forms.

1. Statement form: /khráfóm/
Question form: /khráfóm/
Situation: Male speaking to highly superior, reverend, or noble personage.
2. Statement form: /cāw-khā/
   Question form: /cāw-khā/
   Situation: Female speaking to highly superior, reverend, or noble personage.

3. Statement form: /khrāb/ or /hā/
   Question form: /khrāb/ or /hā/
   Situation: Male speaking to superior, elder, or non-intimate equal person. (The phonemically less complex forms /hā/ and /hā/ are decidedly less formal.)


   C. 'Do you know where the map is? I can't seem to find it anywhere.'
   D. 'Here it is. It's on the table here - see it?'

4. Statement form: /khā/ or /hā/
   Question form: /khā/ or /hā/
   Situation: Female speaking to superior, elder, or non-intimate equal person. (The forms /hā/ and /hā/ are less formal.)


   B. nīi ḡāj hā. jūu bon-tō nīi, hēn: māj-hā.
   (Same translation as in 3. above.)

5. Statement form: /cā/ or /jā/
   Question form: /cā/ or /jā/
   Situation: Person speaking to inferior or younger person. Occasionally used among equals. (Forms with /c/ more common among female speakers, those with /j/ among male speakers.)
6. Statement form: /wâ/, /wâ/, /wòoJ/, or /weej/

Question form: /wâ/, /wòoJ/, or /weej/

Situation: Person speaking rudely or to intimate equal.
(Distribution of forms not clear.) For examples, see Exchange 5 (4.5.5.5.).

Two other particles probably are variants of this member, but are insufficiently attested: /ee/ and /eej/. Examples (all taken from women's speech):

wan-níi raw cakín araj díï: eej .
'I wonder what we should have to eat today.'

mëc , tòn-tua suaj: ciñ † capaj nã: eej †.
'Say, you're certainly dressed beautifully! Where are you going?'

chàn bòg hâj-tôm náam thúg-cháaw † thamaj: nã-ee , mâj rûu-câg cam † .
'I told you to boil water every morning! Why is it you never remember?'

A. khâw camaa hâa khun wan-níi , châj: mâj .

B. ciñ † sì-ee † chân lyum sã-sânìd † .

A. They're coming to see you today, aren't they?

B. Oh, that's right! I'd completely forgotten.'

4.5.4. /nîi/ Class

These two sentence particles occur in the fourth and last relative position of the codaphrase, and are in complementary distribution. The sub-class meaning is similar to that of the vocative /nîi/ (3.1.3.1.), in that the effect is to call the hearer to his senses. (The difference between the vocative /nîi/ and the homonymous particle is simply a phrase-boundary). Both members of the sub-class have many other homonyms, including particles of the /rûg/ class (4.5.1.2,3.), so that they are difficult to identify unless they occur after a sub-class 3) (/khrâb/-class) particle. Neither member affects the selection of the form of the sub-class 3) particle, but both frequently occur with /↑/ intonation in clauses introduced by the conjunction /kô/ 'Well,'

1. /nîi/ or /nî/  'here, now, you'

nîi khoq-châj: lamaq-khâ nîi .
'This must be the right one.'
(See also examples under /rûg/ and /rûy/, and Exchanges 9-5.)
2. /nân/ or /nâ/ 'there, then, you'

khâw pâj-lîw mó kâkâh-nân / chân jâ thân phûud
khâw lâoj.

'(You mean) she's gone already?! I hadn't had a chance
to talk to her at all.'
(See also examples under /rûg/ and /rûy/ and Exchanges 2-1.)

The flow pattern of codaphrases, in terms of individual members of
sub-classes 1) through 4), is summarized below. It can be seen from the
chart that /nûl/-class particles occur relatively infrequently, and that they
do not occur at all after /sûl/, /lê/, /lâ/, or after any particle containing
the demonstrative morpheme /n/.

The key to the chart is as follows. Sub-class 1) particles are
arranged along the vertical axis, and sub-class 2) along the horizontal.
The presence of any symbol at an intersection means that the two particles
in question occur together. The symbol /S/ means that the statement form of
the sub-class 3) particle, if present, is called for; the symbol /Q/ means
the question-form is called for; the symbol /E/ means either form is possible;
and the symbol /X/ means neither is possible. The symbol /N/ means sub-class
4) may occur.

### Flow Pattern of Codaphrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0. Missing</th>
<th>1. /rûy/</th>
<th>2. /sûl/</th>
<th>3. /naâ/</th>
<th>4. /lê/</th>
<th>5. /lâ/</th>
<th>6. /mân/</th>
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<td>EN</td>
<td>QN</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. /rûg/</td>
<td>SN</td>
<td>QN</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. /nâ/</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. /nûl/</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. /nûj/</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
<td>Q</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. /nê/</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Q</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. /lâ/</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>QN</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. /mûj/</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. /thô/</td>
<td>SN</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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4.5.5. Sample Exchanges

Following are some actual exchanges (2.5.1.6.) chosen specifically to illustrate the use of sentence particles, but also having relevance to the whole question of predicate substitution (see 2.5.2.2.). The reference system is as follows: each exchange is assigned a number and each sentence in the exchange is numbered consecutively regardless of speaker; the speaker of each discourse is identified by a capital letter: A. and B. for women, C. and D. for men. The reference '1-1' means the first sentence of the first exchange, and 'A' means 'first woman speaker.' Translations are given only for whole exchanges.

Exchange 1.

A. 1-1. duü: sī, khāw tham sā yā dīchān pīn: mōd ।
B. 1-2. khāw khoøj māj-dāj-kłētq: rōq-nā ।
   1-3. nīl: nē । sāj sā yā dīchān pāj: sīkha ।
A. 1-4. sā yā nīl: nārē , cahāj dīchān sāj: pāj ।
B. 1-5. chāj: kha ।

A. 1-1. Look how they got my blouse all dirty.
B. 1-2. I'm sure they didn't mean to.
   1-3. Here, wear my blouse, will you?
A. 1-4. Is this the blouse you want me to wear?
B. 1-5. Yes.

Exchange 2.

A. 2-1. khun māj-pāj thīaw kāb-khāw: rōq-rūkha-nā ।
B. 2-2. kō māj-mīl khraj chuan dīchān: nīl-kha ।
A. 2-1. Aren't you going on the trip with them then?
B. 2-2. Well, nobody invited me.
Exchange 3.

C. 3-1. jàa joon kŏn-hŏn jaján .
D. 3-2. thamaj: lā-khrāb .
3-3. fòm joon māj-hāj-thùug kracòg: ròg .
C. 3-4. man cathùug hūa tua-ee: nānaa .

C. 3-1. Don't throw stones that way.
D. 3-2. Why not?
3-3. I'm throwing so as not to hit the windows.
C. 3-4. You still might hit yourself in the head, though.

Exchange 4.

A. 4-1. chān syy phāa maa-fàag chín: nụọ nê .
B. 4-2. chín sǐi-lyaq: nìe-rěkhā .
A. 4-3. châj , chín nàn: lè-khā .

A. 4-1. Here's a piece of cloth I bought to give you.
B. 4-2. This yellow piece?
A. 4-3. Yes, that's the one.

Exchange 5.

C. 5-1. khrāj thām thùaj-kèw tèg: wā .
D. 5-2. jàa phùud wā: siwéej † .
C. 5-3. bòog: maa sí †
5-4. khrāj thām tèg: lā .
D. 5-5. māj-rūu: wā .
C. 5-6. māj-rūu ciŋ-ciŋ: rōwā .
D. 5-7. bòog-wāa māj-rūu , kō māj-rūu: siwéej † .

C. 5-1. Who broke the glass?
D. 5-2. Don't say 'wah'!
C. 5-3. Tell me:
   5-4. Who broke it?
D. 5-5. I don't know.
C. 5-6. You really don't know?
D. 5-7. If say I don't know, then I don't!

Exchange 6.

C. 6-1. than khâaw düaj-kan: 'sikhrāb .
D. 6-2. phôm ım sə-lêswi: sì .
C. 6-1. Eat with us, will you?
D. 6-2. I'm already full.

Exchange 7.

A. 7-1. paj duu-nāpj r̥yāpj saj-khoć: kan māj .
B. 7-2. mâj paj: rōg .
A. 7-3. thama:j: là .
B. 7-4. chān mâj-jāāg paj: nāsi .
   7-5. man nāa-klua-ğog .
A. 7-6. paj: thēnāa t .
   7-7. mâj nāa-klua: nāg rōg .
A. 7-1. Shall we go see the movie 'Psycho'?
B. 7-2. I'm not going.
A. 7-3. Why not?
B. 7-4. I just don't want to go.
   7-5. It's terribly frightening.
A. 7-6. Come on and go!
   7-7. It's not all that frightening.
B. 7-8. If you want to go, go by yourself.

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Exchange 8.

A. 8-1. maa-kiŋ-khāwː kan thè.
8-2. chan hīːw-cataaj: lēsw.
B. 8-3. thāa-ŋān khun kīː sā thè.
8-4. māːj-tōːg khooj chāːn: rōːg.
A. 8-1. Come on and eat.
8-2. I’m starving already.
B. 8-3. In that case you go ahead and eat.
8-4. You don’t have to wait for me.

Exchange 9.

B. 9-2. māːj-hēːn mīːː leeq nīː.
9-4. toon-nāːn khun khoŋ māːj-juː bāːn.
B. 9-5. māːy-a-waː-nīː chān māːj-dāːj-pāj nāːjː leeq nīː.
A. 9-1. Did you get the letter that I had the boy take over to you yesterday?
B. 9-2. I didn’t see any (letter) at all.
A. 9-3. In that case he must have left it with someone else to give you, I guess.
9-4. You must not have been home at the time.
B. 9-5. But I didn’t go anywhere at all yesterday.

Exchange 10.

C. 10-1 chōːn nāːjː sihā t.
A. 10-2 kāːw-īː nīː khoŋ-naːj khun nāːj, māːj-chāːj: rēkūː.
C. 10-3 nāːjː thè-hāː, māːj pen-raːj.
C. 10-1 Please have a seat!
A. 10-2. This chair belongs to your boss, doesn't it?
C. 10-3. Go ahead and sit down, it's all right.

**Exchange 11.**


C. 11-1. Do you have any large silver bowls?
D. 11-2. I don't even have a single one.
C. 11-3. Say! I wonder if Chit would have any.
D. 11-4. No, *he* wouldn't have any.

**Exchange 12.**

A. 12-1. *chăn sỳ yỳ sa: maa , tua: nyy , mỳn kakhōng thee.*

A. 12-1. I bought a new blouse, just like yours.
12-2. This is it.
B. 12-3. It's not the same.
A. 12-4. Well, go and get yours and let's see!
B. 12-5. Do you see?
   They're not at all alike.
Exchange 13.

C. 13-1. thamaj khun màj-tham-ŋaːnː lâ .
D. 13-2. kô phôm kam-laːŋ tham jùː-méːwː nîːŋaj t .
C. 13-1. Why aren't you working?
D. 13-2. Well I am working here, don't you see?

Exchange 14.

A. 14-1. dichāːn casāː j sīː-dēŋ tua-nîl , kanūŋ kaphroong
      sīː-khīːw nāːn , dâːj màːŋ .
B. 14-2. màːj dâːj rÔg-khā .
      14-3. man pajː kan , khon-lōːthaːŋ .
A. 14-1. Do you think I can wear this red blouse with that
      green skirt?
B. 14-2. Not them.
      14-3. They go in opposite directions (clash).

Exchange 15.

C. 15-1. dēːg thaj kadēːg amee-rīkās , nīːsaː j màːj-mīːŋː
      kan-lēːj nāː .
D. 15-2. kô nēːː lāːnː t .
      15-3. ōb-romː maa , khon-lāː jāːŋ .
C. 15-1. Thai and American children's characteristics are not
      the same at all, are they?
D. 15-2. That's for sure!
      15-3. They're brought up in different ways.
Exchange 16.

A. 16-1. khun mâj-paj baâŋ-së̂n duâaj: rëe .

B. 16-2. paj :sîl †.

16-3. thamaj thỳŋ-camâj-paj: lâ †.

A. 16-1. You're not going to Bangsaen either?

B. 16-2. Of course I'm going!

16-3. Why wouldn't I be going!
TOPICAL INDEX

The index which follows includes the following kinds of entries:

1) General linguistic terms: **allophone**

2) Terms specifically defined for this grammar: **adjective**
   (including word-classes identified by reference to a
   member: **bān-class postposition**)

3) Undefined terms and general reference topics (always in
   quotes): **'adverb'**

Apart from words identifying classes (bān), no individual ST lexical
items are listed here—see Index of Forms for the latter.

The first reference given on each line of this index is to the organi-
tional heading, the second is to the page number. For example:

**adjective bases** 2.4.3.1,8,11. 67, 70, 72

Reference to adjective bases will be found in Chapter Two, under the heading
2.4.3. (Reduplications), sub-headings 1), 8), and 11), beginning on three
separate pages: 67, 70, and 72. Hyphenated references, either of heading
or page numbers, imply a series of references to the same topic within a
relatively short stretch of text; e.g. 67-72. References applying to longer
passages are given as follows: 67ff.

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| American Council of Learned Societies |       |       |       |      |          |          |          |          |     |      |    |     |          |      |          |      |       |    |       |     |       |     |     |
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INDEX OF FORMS

This index contains ST forms quoted in the grammar which are of classificatory interest in themselves. (It does not contain, for example, forms which occur only as context.) For the most part, the forms quoted are lexical units (2.1.3.), but some sub-lexical items have also been included, inssofar as citation of such forms is feasible. An effort has been made to include all the bound lexemes classified in Chapter 3 and their important variants, and such free lexemes as present particular problems of classification or occur frequently in all types of discourse.

For convenience in distinguishing homonyms, an indication of form-class membership or morphological category has been made after each entry. Items in parentheses are variants of an adjacent form; references to the main entry apply equally well to the variant. All numbers are page references; for organizational references, consult the topical index.

Alphabetization in this index is phonemic rather than literal. The consonant sequence begins with zero (i.e. all items starting, in writing, with a vowel will be found at the beginning of the index), and consonants written with a digraph follow their simple counterparts (i.e. all items beginning with /ph/ come at the end of the /p/’s, not in the middle of them). /ŋ/ follows /n/. The sequence of vowels is as follows: /a e e ø o o u y/.

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<td>tua</td>
<td>pron.</td>
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*conj.= conjunction, prep.= preposition, vb.= verb, comp.vb.= compound verb, clf.= classifier, adj.= adjective, pron.= pronoun*
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<th>wâj</th>
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Final copy typed by Mrs. Irma C. Ponce - February 3, 1964