

A KHMU GRAMMAR

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General information

Khmu is a language spoken by a large part of the population of Northern Laos and a small minority group in Northern and North-eastern Thailand, principally along the Thai-Laotian border.

According to LeBar (1965) the Khmu are linguistically and culturally related to a large number of Mon-Khmer groups of swidden-farming hilltribesmen which are generally called 'Kha' in Laos, 'Moi' in Vietnam and 'Phnong' in Cambodia.

According to Wurm and Hattori (1983) there are about 10,000 Khmu in Thailand. (They are mainly in Northern Thailand, especially in Chiengrai and Nan, excluding the small groups scattered in other parts of Thailand such as Ubol, Nong Khaj, Uthaitani or Kanchanaburi.) There are nearly 300,000 Khmu speakers in Laos. Khmu are also found in north-western Vietnam numbering about 30,000. There are small groups in China and Burma. There are therefore, in total about 340,000 to 350,000 Khmu speakers. The distribution is shown on the map (p.2). In the north of Thailand the number of the Khmu immigrants from Laos is believed to be increasing.

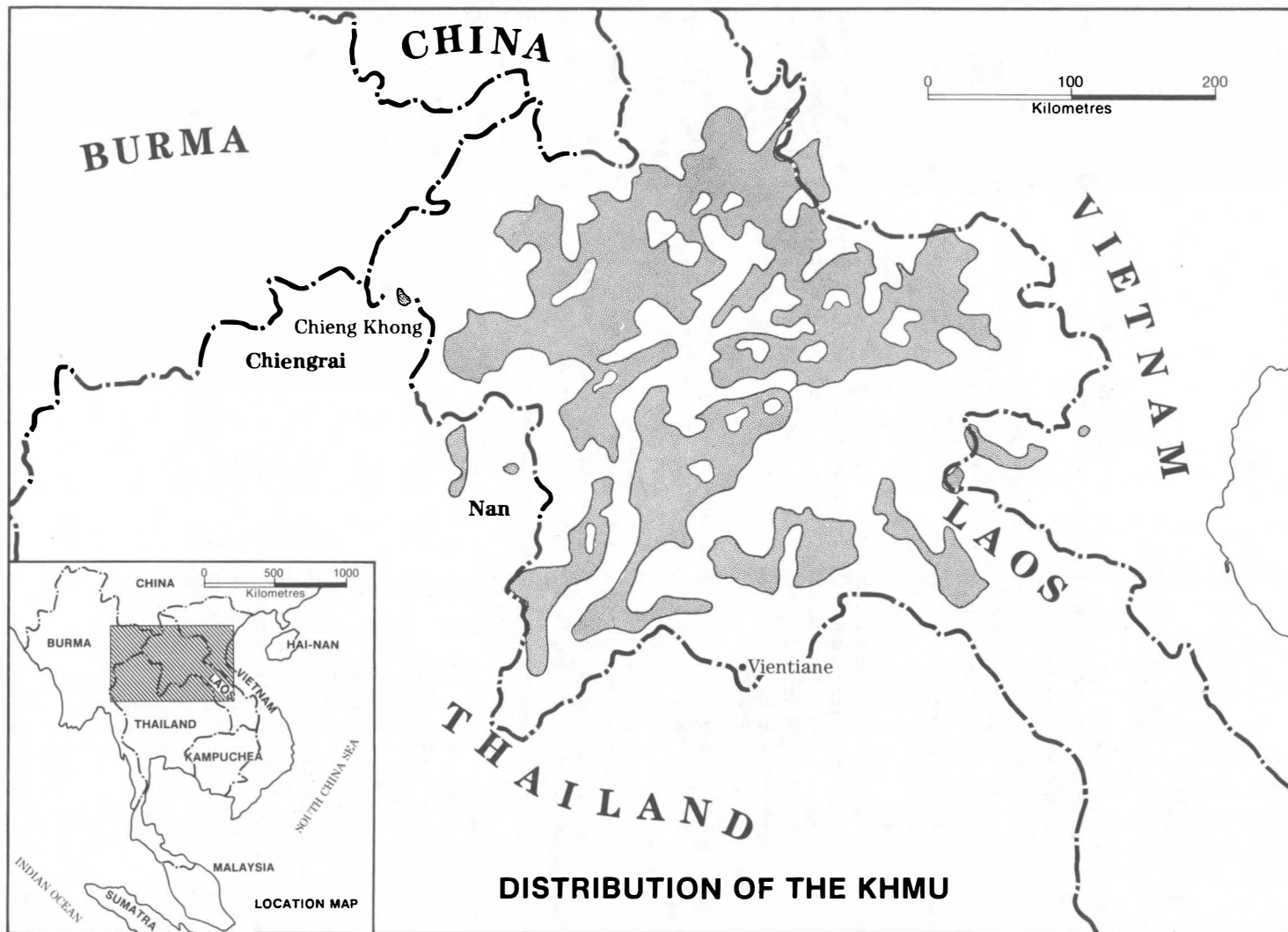
Linguistically Khmu belongs to the Mon-Khmer subgroup of the Austro-Asiatic language family. According to the *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1974), Austro-Asiatic languages are spoken by approximately 40,000,000 people scattered throughout South-east Asia and Eastern India. The family comprises about 150 languages, most of them having numerous dialects. Khmer, Mon, and Vietnamese are culturally the most important languages in this family, which is itself of great importance as a linguistic substratum for all South-east Asian languages.

The Mon-Khmer subfamily is generally regarded as relatively old in this part of South-east Asia, predating the arrival of Thai speakers and still more recent arrivals of the hilltribe groups such as Miao, Yao, Lahu and Lisu. At present most of the Mon-Khmer group occupy the foothill zone between lowland wet-rice growers (Thai and Laotians) and true mountain tribes such as Miao and Yao. They engage primarily in swidden farming, with supplementary wet-rice fields in some places. Groups of Mon-Khmer speakers such as Khmu, Lawa, Kui, T'in are heavily acculturated due to long and intimate contact with surrounding populations. The present fragmented distribution of these peoples would indicate that they were once more numerous and that they perhaps occupied a larger area than at present. It is possible that they were formerly plains dwellers who were later pushed back into the hills and into an economically less advantageous zone by the Thai and Lao. The interethnic contact and assimilation of the old stratum of Mon-Khmer speakers and the new Thai-speaking stratum of Thailand and Laos yields interesting results not only anthropologically but also linguistically.

Papers in South-east Asian linguistics, No.10, 1-143.
Pacific Linguistics, A-75, 1987.

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Adapted from S.A. Wurm and S. Hattori eds *Language atlas of the Pacific area*, Part 2. PL, C-66, 1983.

As mentioned by LeBar (1965) the Khmu population in Thailand is mainly of two types: the old Khmu and the new Khmu. Included among the old Khmu are immigrant villages in Nan dating back possibly 150 years.

In addition there is a history of a large number of Khmu male immigrant labourers coming into Thailand. For example around 1880-1890 there was a recruitment of Khmu males for the teak industry by European firms centred mainly in Chiangmai and Lampang. Until the closing of the Lao border in recent years, the Khmu continued to come into Thailand in relatively large numbers, chiefly as seasonal hired labour in connection with the tobacco industry. Despite entry restrictions, many Khmu still cross the border annually, and a Khmu resident in Thailand has little difficulty communicating with relatives back in Laos. According to LeBar's final report the male Khmu born in Laos but resident in Thailand retain an awareness of their Khmuness even though they acculturate in many ways to the Northern Thai way of life. Among themselves they continue to speak Khmu, even after having lived in Thailand 20 or 30 years.

1.2 Previous work on Khmu

The first important work on Khmu is Smalley's *Outline of Khmu structure* (1956, 1961), in which a very thorough study of the phonology and morphology of the Khmu dialect spoken in the Luang Prabang area has been carried out including some syntax. Delcros (1966) produced a brief dictionary of the Khmu in Chiang Khouang. Since 1974 a Swedish group in the project 'Kammu language and folklore' has produced works such as Lindell (1974) which gives a word list of English-Yuan (a dialect of Khmu in Namtha, Northern Laos) with a brief description of the language. Gårding and Lindell (1977) provide a phonetic transcription of Khmu tones in Northern Laos. Lindell, Samuelson and Damrong Tayanin (1979) give the kinship model of the Northern Khmu, and Lindell, Svantesson, and Damrong Tayanin (1981) describe the phonological systems of various Khmu dialects dividing them into Southern and Northern Khmu and including a list of English-Khmu vocabulary from seven Khmu dialects with particular emphasis of the 'yuan' dialect. Ferlus (1977) provides a morphological study of the infix *rn*. Svantesson (1983) presents extensive information on Khmu phonology and morphology.

1.3 Purpose and scope of the present study

The Khmu language described in the present study is the dialect spoken by the Khmu of Barn Huay Yen, in Barn Muangkarn village, Chiangkhong district of Chiangrai province, Thailand. Most of the inhabitants there immigrated because of famine and wars from Laos into Thailand and settled here more than 20 years ago. There are altogether about 50-60 houses with about 300 people. This dialect is close to the 'Kꞌꞌꞌ' dialect according to the data provided by Lindell et al (1981).

However, it is noticeable that my informants are not familiar with most of the names of various dialects of Khmu that Lindell uses. They prefer to identify their dialect with the name of the place where their parents were originally from.

The theoretical framework is a traditional items-and-arrangement approach. Tagmemics has influenced my analysis though its special terminology has been kept to a minimum. The constructions used in daily life are presented and diagrams and formulae have been used wherever appropriate.

Although a certain amount of work has been done on Khmu phonetics and phonology, a phonological analysis of Khmu spoken in this particular village in Thailand is still of interest. A general description of phonology is presented in Section 1. In general it agrees with Lindell et al's analysis of Northern Khmu phonology (1981) and Svantesson (1983). However, there are some differences especially on the suprasegmentals interpretation.

The grammatical description is divided into three main sections: morphology, intraclausal syntax and interclausal syntax. The first section contains morphological remarks (Section 3). Although fossilised morphology is important in Mon-Khmer languages, I deliberately concentrate on the main and still productive affixes. More detailed information on other aspects can be found in Smalley (1956, 1961) Ferlus (1977) and Svantesson (1983). The second section consists of phrase structure (Section 4), and clause structure (Section 5). The nominal and verbal phrases which function as lower hierarchical segments in clauses including prepositional phrases are described in Section 4. Word classes which are lower segments in phrases are also mentioned in this section. Particular emphasis in Section 4 is given to clause structure in which basic clause types including variations, affiliated patterns and peripheral segments will be discussed. The third section deals with sentence structure (Section 6) in which basic sentence types are discussed structurally and semantically according to the combinations of clauses. Various types of utterances in communication acts (Section 7) and certain aspects of syntactic units in various discourse settings (Section 8) are also discussed.

1.4 Some sociolinguistic considerations

The Khmu in Huay Yen village have some knowledge of Thai. Most men can speak Northern Thai as this is the medium of communication used with other ethnic groups (Miao, Yao Northern Thai, etc.). The men, because of their greater contacts with the outside world, often become very fluent in Northern Thai. Khmu women, because of fewer contacts outside their own ethnic group, are on the whole not as fluent in Northern Thai. The old people, especially men, can speak and understand Lao, and tend to use some Laotian words when speaking Khmu while the young Khmu tend to use Northern Thai words. The Khmu who have some contact with standard (Bangkok) Thai speakers can switch to standard Thai without any difficulty. The main reason is that they have learnt some standard Thai from the radio and from school (if they have attended school).

The use of Thai among the Khmu is usually determined by communicative needs. Northern Thai and Central Thai are usually spoken when the speakers are outside their village and especially when there are some Northern Thais or Central Thais present in the conversation who of course do not know Khmu. Otherwise they speak their Khmu dialect among themselves.

1.5 Data and fieldwork

The Khmu data presented in this book is based on my fieldwork among the Khmu speakers in the Khmu part of Barn Muangkarn village called Huey Yen village, Chiangkhong district, Chiengrai province, Thailand from the end of 1977 to 1983.

My main informants are Mr Hang Langlom, Mr Sam Manyuan, Mr Long Manyuan, Mr Sorn Chelan and Mr Sak Sangcan. Their ages range between 18 - 24 years old. The phonological analysis is based on the last two informants who are 22 and 24 years respectively. The syntactic analysis is based on the informant elicitation

and the text materials of about 30 hours of speech recorded from people in the village regardless of sex, age and occupation differences. The tapes have been retold mainly by Mr Sam and Mr Long. The transcription has been rechecked by Mr Sorn and Mr Sak.

My informants were born in Thailand. Their parents migrated from the Mokkracok and Phuluang subdistricts, Pakbang district, Luang Prabang province, Northern Laos and settled in Chiengkong, Thailand about 20 - 25 years ago. This Khmu variety is believed to be the central variety which most people can understand. Khmu is their first language and the language they used at home and among their folk. All of them can speak both Northern Thai and standard (Bangkok) Thai. Mr Long and Mr Sorn attended school for a few years so they can read and write some Thai. Mr Sam and Mr Sak did not attend school but learned to read and write by themselves so their knowledge in reading and writing Thai is more limited.

2. KHMU PHONOLOGY¹

2.1 Phonological words

The term 'phonological word' is used to define the 'word' at the phonological level. It is the linguistic unit determined by one main stress (Thomas 1971:31, and Smith 1979:20) or bounded by two successive occurrences of open juncture (Huffman 1967:38) or pauses (Hartmann and Stork 1972:756). In Khmu a phonological word may be defined as a phonological stretch containing only one main (stressed) syllable. It may be preceded by one unstressed or, very rarely, two unstressed syllables. Thus in this language where the stress is fixed, stress can be used for defining the word.

2.2 Syllable and word structures

A syllable in Khmu may be defined as a phonological stretch containing one vocalic peak. It can be either an open or a closed syllable. An open syllable, C(C)V, consists of an initial segment which can be either a simple consonant or a cluster and a vowel as in [rà:] *to clean*, [pʰré:] *elder brother* (the term used by a female sibling) and in the first syllable of [pəsén] *lazy* and [trəkèt] *to think*. A closed syllable, C(C)VC, consists of an initial segment which can be either a simple consonant or a cluster, a vowel and a final consonant, as in [nù:m] *urine*, [kriàl] *a kind of bamboo* and the first syllable of [sɪntɛh] *bowl* and [kɪltùn] *to wrinkle*.

There are two types of syllables in Khmu words: main syllables and presyllables. A main syllable is the syllable that occurs alone as a monosyllabic word or as the last syllable of a disyllabic or trisyllabic word. It is always stressed. Its vowel has full quality. The presyllable, the syllable that comes before the main syllable, is always unstressed and very weak. Therefore its vowel is weak or neutral or even non-existent. Words like /k.'tòŋ/ *jar* and /sm.'lì:k/ *fish scale* have variants illustrating various stages of weaker or stronger presyllables.

[ke'tòŋ ~ kə'tòŋ ~ k.'tòŋ ~ k.tòŋ]

[səm'lì:k ~ səm'lì:k ~ sm.'lì:k]

When a word has two forms, if in one of them the presyllable is shortened by a consonant or even disappears, one should posit two phonemic forms. The shorter

Examples of Khmu words of various combinations are presented below.

Cp ₁	Cp ₂	v	(Cp ₄)	·	Cm ₁	Cm ₂	V	(Cm ₄)				
p		ə	l		k	l	ò:		<i>rough</i>			
p		ə	l		k	l	ó	k	<i>rough</i>			
Cp ₁	Cp ₂	v	(Cp ₄)	·	Cm ₃	V	(Cm ₄)					
p		ə	r		h	á:			<i>son-in-law</i>			
k		ə	r		l	í	h		<i>that which is against the custom</i>			
k	l	ɔ	c		w	è:	c		<i>a kind of reptile</i>			
c		ə	r		p	uè	t		<i>ring</i>			
	Cp ₃	v	(Cp ₄)	·	Cm ₁	Cm ₂	V	(Cm ₄)				
					k	r	à:		<i>fair (complexion)</i>			
					k	r	à	ŋ	<i>hard</i>			
			n		t	r	è:	j	<i>wind</i>			
	c	ə	n		t	r	iè	s	<i>comb</i>			
	c	e	n		t	r	à	ŋ	<i>brain</i>			
	Cp ₃	v	(Cp ₄)	·	Cm ₃	V	(Cm ₄)					
					k	ì:			<i>this</i>			
					k	ó	h		<i>to chop</i>			
	s	ə			n	á:			<i>they (two)</i>			
	c	ə			k	ó	ʔ		<i>evening</i>			
	s	ə	m		l	ì:	k		<i>to give a wink</i>			
Cp ₁	Cp ₂	v	·	Cp ₄	Cp ₃	V	(Cp ₄)	·	Cm ₃	V	(Cm ₄)	
c		ə		r	l	à:	p		t	á:	p	<i>butterfly</i>
c		ə		r	l	è	ŋ		t	é	ŋ	<i>dragonfly</i>
p		ə		l	t	ɔ:	ŋ		t	è:	ŋ	<i>a kind of animal</i>

2.3 Phonemes

2.3.1 Consonants

The inventory of consonant phonemes is:

Manner of articulation \ Point of articulation	Point of articulation				
	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal or cavity
Stops: Voiceless Unaspirated	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiceless Aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
Voiced	b	d			
Fricatives: Voiceless		s			h
Nasals: Voiced	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Liquids: Trill		r			
Lateral		l			
Glides: Voiced	w			j	

There are altogether 21 consonant phonemes. All can occur in the initial position of a stressed syllable (main syllable) (see also 2.3.1.1). Besides the above 21 consonants [f] can also be found but it is rare and occurs only in some Thai loan words such as /ja:fín/ *opium* and /fa:ff:n/ *rebellious* with /ja:p^hín/ and /p^ha:p^hín/ as alternate forms respectively. Eight of the consonant phonemes can occur as the first consonant of consonant clusters, /p/, /p^h/, /t/, /c/, /c^h/, /k/, /k^h/ and /s/. Only three can occur as the second consonant of the consonant clusters: /r/, /l/ and /w/ (see also 2.3.1.2). Fourteen of the consonant phonemes can occur as final consonants: /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/, /ʔ/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ŋ/, /h/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /j/ (see also 2.3.1.2).

2.3.1.1 Initial consonants

Stops: There are five places of articulation for stops, at the labial, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal points of articulation. At the labial and alveolar points there is a three-way contrast between aspirated, unaspirated, and voiced; palatals and velars lack a voiced stop (as in many South-east Asian languages); and glottal position has only the unaspirated stop.

/p/ Voiced unaspirated bilabial stop. Initially it is fortis and released. Finally it is unreleased. It may have voiced aspiration in syllables with lax register.

/p^h/ Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop.

/b/ Voiced lenis bilabial implosive. It is often preglottalised and prenasalised [ʔ ~ b].

/p ^ó :m/	<i>cheek</i>
/p ^h ó:n/	<i>never</i>
/b ^ó :n/	<i>place</i>

/t/ Voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop. Initially it is fortis and released. Finally it is unreleased. It may have voiced aspiration in syllables with lax register.

/t^h/ Voiceless aspirated alveolar stop.

/d/ Voiced lenis alveolar implosive stop. It is often preglottalised and prenasalised [ʔ ~ d].

/t ^ó :k/	<i>to roof</i>
/t ^h ó:k/	<i>to replace</i>
/d ^í k/	<i>to pinch the nail</i>

/c/ Voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal stop. Initially it is an affricate [tʃ], finally it is a stop. It may have voiced aspiration in syllables with lax register.

/c^h/ Voiceless aspirated alveo-palatal affricate, i.e. [tʃ^h].

/c ^ù k/	<i>a kind of edible plant</i>
/c ^h ùk/	<i>a kind of bamboo</i>

/k/ Voiceless unaspirated velar stop. Initially it is fortis and released, finally it is unreleased. It may have voiced aspiration in syllables with lax register.

/k^h/ Voiceless fortis aspirated velar stops.

/kát/ *cold*
/k^hát/ *tight*

/ʔ/ Voiceless lenis glottal stop.

/ʔúət/ *to be tired*

Fricatives: There are two voiceless fricatives.

/s/ Voiceless alveolar fricative.

/h/ Voiceless cavity friction.

/sé:t/ *to be alone, by oneself*
/hé:t/ *to call*

Nasals: There is a series of four voiced nasals.

/m/ Voiced bilabial nasal. It may be preaspirated in syllables with tense register.

/n/ Voiced alveolar nasal. It may be preaspirated in syllables with tense register.

/ɲ/ Voiced palatal nasal. It may be preaspirated in syllables with tense register.

/ŋ/ Voiced velar nasal. It may be preaspirated in syllables with tense register.

/mà:m/ *blood*
/nàm/ (relative pronoun)
/ɲà:m/ *time*
/ŋà:m/ *to weed or cut away small plants by a sharp-edged instrument*

Liquids: There is one lateral and one trill.

/l/ Voiced alveolar lateral. It may be preaspirated in syllables with tense register.

/r/ Voiced alveolar trill [r]. It may sometimes occur as a flap [ɾ]. It is preaspirated in syllables with tense register.

/lúh/ *to go right through*
/rúh/ *to string, to thread, to pierce*

Glides: There are two glides.

/w/ Voiced labial glide, sometimes preglottalised [ʔw].

/j/ Voiced palatal glide, sometimes preglottalised [ʔj].

/wà:ŋ/ *long*
/jà:ŋ/ *chicken case*

Words that are obviously preglottalised are [ʔjǎŋ] *small rice container used in the harvesting ceremony* and [ʔjá:] *medicine*.

2.3.1.2 Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters, which can only occur before the vowel are limited in number. Only certain voiceless aspirated and unaspirated labial, alveolar and velar stops, and the alveolar fricative can occur as initial clusters. Only liquid /l/ or /r/ or one glide /w/ can occur as the second member of the initial cluster. /w/ can occur only with velar stops. There are 12 consonant clusters of these kinds.

C ₁	C ₂	Trill	Lateral	Glide
Labial:	Voiceless unaspirated stops	pr-	pl-	-
	Voiceless aspirated stops	p ^h r-	-	-
Alveolar:	Voiceless unaspirated stops	tr-	-	-
	Voiceless fricative	sr-	-	-
Palatal:	Voiceless unaspirated stops	cr-	-	-
	Voiceless aspirated stops	c ^h r-	-	-
Velar:	Voiceless unaspirated stops	kr-	kl-	kw-
	Voiceless aspirated stops	k ^h r-	-	k ^h w-

/pr-/	-	/prà:j/	<i>trap</i>
/p ^h r-/	-	/p ^h ri?/	<i>hot (chili)</i>
/pl-/	-	/pléc/	<i>to remove fish internal organs</i>
/tr-/	-	/tró:ŋ/	<i>throat</i>
/sr-/	-	/srúæt/	<i>morning</i>
/cr-/	-	/crù?/	<i>deep</i>
/c ^h r-/	-	/c ^h ré:ŋ/	<i>large type of cymbal</i>
/kr-/	-	/krà:/	<i>white, fair</i>
/k ^h r-/	-	/k ^h rá:s/	<i>to laugh</i>
/kl-/	-	/kláh/	<i>to release, to let go of</i>
/kw-/	-	/kwír/	<i>to stir</i>
/k ^h w-/	-	/k ^h wár/	<i>to take out</i>

In rapid pronunciation of disyllabic words (with one main stress) the consonants of the presyllable and main syllable may be pronounced together as if they were clusters. They are thus not phonemic clusters but phonetic clusters.

[cekó? ~ cə́kó?]	→	[ckó?]	<i>evening</i>
[peté? ~ pəté?]	→	[pté?]	<i>soil</i>
[terket ~ trəkèt]	→	[trkèt]	<i>to think</i>
[temo:ŋ ~ təmó:ŋ]	→	[tmó:ŋ]	<i>nail</i>
[səná: ~ səná:]	→	[sná:]	<i>they (two)</i>

Remarks:

1. A cluster with an aspirated first member is rare. Only a few examples have been found for each of /p^hr-/, /c^hr-/, /k^hr-/, and /k^hw-/. No minimal pairs contrasting them with clusters with unaspirated stops have been found.

2. /cr-/ and /sr-/ can be used interchangeably in some words, such as /crpuət/ or /srpuət/ *ring*, though the first variant is more common.
3. Lindell et al (1981:46) do not mention that aspirated stops (/p^h, t^h, c^h, k^h/) can be the first member of a consonant cluster, but in my data I do have examples of aspirated stops with trill as in /p^hr-/ , /t^hr-/ , /c^hr-/ , /k^hr-/ (see above).

Smalley (1961) makes a distinction between consonant clusters with voiced and voiceless stops, such as /br-/ and /pr-/ , as in /briʔ/ *wild* and /priʔ/ *peppery*, and /gr-/ and /kr-/ as in /graŋ/ *hard* and /kraŋ/ *to untie*. His distinction seems to correspond with the distinction between unaspirated and aspirated stops in the consonant cluster in my material. His /briʔ/ corresponds to my /priʔ/, and his /priʔ/ to my /p^hriʔ/, as well as his /graŋ/ to my /kraŋ/ and his /kraŋ/ to my /k^hráh/. For further discussion of this dialect difference in Khmu, see Ferlus (1974).

2.3.1.3 Final consonants

There are 15 final consonants in Khmu.

-p	-t	-c	-k	-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ	-ŋ	
		-s [ç [~] x]		-h
	-l			
	-r			
-w		-j		

Final consonants are generally described along with initial consonants (see above). Final consonants, except /-l/, /-r/, /-s/ and /-h/, are not strongly pronounced. /s/ when it occurs finally, can be either palatal fricative [ç] or velar fricative [x].

Lindell et al (1981:47) present three final fricatives [s, ç, x] saying that in Khmu (as a whole) three sounds have been recorded but no more than two of them are found in any one dialect; these are analysed by the phonemes /s/ and /h/ (or /x/). Smalley (1956:40) posits /yh/ as a final cluster in cases where I prefer to indicate /s/ [ç ~ x]. In final position, he also posits a single /h/. Consequently the three fricatives are analysed by Smalley as one phoneme (/h/) and one combination of phonemes (/yh/).

Examples

- /-p/ - /kú:p/ *to bake* (a way of cooking fish)
 /-t/ - /kù:t/ *to enter, to get into*
 /-c/ - /téc/ *to sell*
 /-k/ - /ték/ *to look after, to keep watch* (used in cooking food)

/-ʔ/	-	/táʔ/	grandfather
/-h/	-	/táh/	to pick up (fruit)
/-s/	-	/tás/	to light (matches)
/-m/	-	/mà:m/	blood
/-n/	-	/má:n/	to bury
/-ŋ/	-	/mà:ŋ/	to ask
/-ŋ/	-	/pá:ŋ/	to open
/-l/	-	/rmà:l/	guardian spirit
/-r/	-	/má:r/	salt
/-w/	-	/krnìəw/	scissors
/-j/	-	/kà:j/	to come back

According to the data available /-l, -r, -m, -n, -ŋ/ can occur commonly as final consonants of unstressed presyllables:

[səlmìŋ]	star
[cərkù:l]	finger
[kəmlìəŋ]	to turn face upward
[kəntáh]	to beat, to slap
[təŋkà:r]	bird trap

However there is another set of final consonants occurring in the unstressed presyllable, which Lindell et al (1981) believe to have been formed by an assimilation process. They are rather rare. My data shows /-p, -t, -c, -k, -ŋ, -w/ as in the examples below.

/cərlà:ptá:p/	butterfly
/rətnò:t/	harvest time
/klɔcwè:c/	a kind of reptile
/tókíók/	back of neck
/sepñəp/	reddish colour (healthy looking)
/kiwʔíw/	a stage of almost crying

2.3.2 Vowels

2.3.2.1 Simple vowels

There are 19 simple vowel phonemes: nine short vowels and ten long vowels. They are shown schematically as below.

	Unrounded		Rounded
	Front	Central	Back
Close	i i:	ɨ ɨ:	u u:
Half close	e e:	ə ə:	o o:
Half open	ɛ ɛ:	ʌ:	ɔ ɔ:
Open		a a:	

Long vowels have wider distribution than short vowels. Short vowels occur only in syllables with a final consonant, apart from onomatopoeic, grammatical or unstressed words. /ʌ:/ is rather rare. The short vowel occurring with final /ʔ/ is longer than those occurring with other final consonants. In isolation and at the final position a word containing a vowel and final /ʔ/ will be heard as long vowel but in connected speech it is short.

2.3.2.1.1 Front vowels

/i/ Short, front, close, unrounded vowel.

/i:/ Long, front, close, unrounded vowel.

/tìn/ to stand
/tí:n/ to teach, to advise

/e/ Short, front, half-close, unrounded vowel.

/e:/ Long, front, half-close, unrounded vowel.

/pèp/ to be deformed, to be out of shape
/pé:p/ to hide, to sneak

/ɛ/ Short, front, half-open, unrounded vowel.

/ɛ:/ Long, front, half-open, unrounded vowel.

/cèʔ/ (a) Tai
/cè:p/ happy, enjoyable

2.3.2.1.2 Central vowels

/ɨ/ Short, central, close, unrounded vowel.

/ɨ:/ Long, central, close, unrounded vowel.

/hɨŋ/ bed bug
/hɨ:ŋ/ to hit

/ə/ Short, central, half-close, unrounded vowel.

/ə:/ Long, central, half-open, unrounded vowel.

/ʔəp/ cloudy
/khə:p/ knife case

/a/ Short, central (to front), open, unrounded vowel.

/a:/ Long, central (to front), open, unrounded vowel.

/k.tàm/ heavy
/k.tá:m/ crab

/ʌ:/ Long, central (to back), open, unrounded vowel.

/dʌ:m/ to look at

2.3.2.1.3 Back vowels

/u/ Short, back, close, rounded vowel.

/u:/ Long, back, close, rounded vowel.

/kúm/ to fill up a hole

/kù:m/ to winnow

/o/ Short, back, half-close, rounded vowel.

/o:/ Long, back, half-close, rounded vowel.

/lòr/ to speak

/lò:r/ top part of a tree

/ɔ/ Short, back, half-open, rounded vowel.

/ɔ:/ Long, back, half-open, rounded vowel.

/klɔ̀k/ wooden cup

/klɔ̀:k/ white

2.3.2.2 Diphthongs

Phonemically there are three falling diphthongs. Short and long diphthongs exist but are not found contrasting in length. The long ones appear only in some stressed syllables.

/iə/ → [iə], [i:ə]

/ɪə/ → [ɪə], [ɪ:ə]

/uə/ → [uə], [u:ə]

/iə/ Glide from unrounded, close, front vowel to half-close, central vowel.

/ɪə/ Glide from unrounded, close, central vowel to half-close, central vowel.

/uə/ Glide from rounded, close, back vowel to half-close, central vowel.

/piət/ (kind of) basket

/pfət/ to strongly squeeze

/crpùət/ ring

The occurrences of vowels with each initial consonant and final consonant are presented in the charts below.

(a) Chart of initial consonant and vowel co-occurrences in main syllable.

(b) Chart of vowel and final consonant co-occurrences in main syllable.

(a) Chart of vowel and initial consonant co-occurrences in main syllables

	i	e	ɛ	ɪ	ə	a	u	o	ɔ	i:	e:	ɛ:	ɪ:	ə:	a:	ʌ:	u:	o:	ɔ:	iə	ɪə	uə	
p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
t	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
c	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
k	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ʔ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
p ^h	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
t ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
c ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
k ^h	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
b	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
d	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
m	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
n	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ɲ	+	+	⊖	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ŋ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
w	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖
j	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	⊖	⊖

+ occurrence

- non-occurrence

⊖ anomalous non-occurrence

(b) Chart of vowel and final consonant co-occurrences in main syllable

	p	t	c	k	ʔ	s	h	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	l	r	j	w	#	
i	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	*
e	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	*
ɛ	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	*	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
ɨ	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	*
ə	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	*
a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*
u	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
ɔ	-	-	-	*	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
i:	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
e:	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
ɛ:	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	⊖	+
ɨ:	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+
ə:	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+
a:	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ʌ:	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
u:	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+
o:	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ɔ:	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
iə	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+
ɨə	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+
uə	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+

- + occurrence
- systematic non-occurrence (where the combination is believed not to exist)
- ⊖ anomalous non-occurrence (possibly because of insufficient data)
- * occurrence only in onomatopoeic, grammatical or unstressed words

Chart (a) shows that most of the initial consonants except voiceless aspirated stops co-occur with most vowels. Only /p/, /t/, /c/, /ʔ/, /d/, /h/, /m/, /l/, and /j/ occurring with /ʌ:/ have been found. Voiceless aspirated stops are not very common. /p^h/ occurs in many cases in a cluster with /r/. /k^h/ is the most common among them.

Chart (b) shows that the occurrence of short vowels and final consonants is more restricted than that of long vowels and final consonants. It is possible that some combinations shown as not occurring actually exist, as the available data

may have been insufficient. Most of the final consonants except /ʔ/ and /h/ can occur with long vowels and diphthongs. /s/ and /j/ can occur with every long vowel except long front vowels and short front and central vowels. /c/, /ɲ/ and /w/ cannot occur with half open front /ɛ/ and all central vowels. Only /ʔ/ and /h/ can occur with /ɛ/. /m/ and /ŋ/ occur with /ɛ/ only in some onomatopoeic words, /p, t, c, k/ cannot normally occur after /ɛ/ or /ɔ/. (However, there is one example of /ɔk/ in the word /kɪ̀ɔk/ *wooden cup*.) Only /p/, /k/, /ʔ/, /h/, /m/ and /ŋ/ can occur with /ə/ while only /p/, /t/, /k/, /ʔ/, /h/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /l/ and /r/ can occur with /ɨ/. Short vowels cannot occur in open syllables. Only some onomatopoeic and some (unstressed) grammatical words have short vowel in this position.

2.3.2.3 Presyllable vowels

In disyllabic (and trisyllabic) words the main or final syllable is stressed and pronounced distinctly, while the presyllable or initial syllable is not stressed and its vowel is always variable and often obscure. Presyllables can be pronounced in different ways ranging from a clear form in slow and careful speech to a reduced form and even to a zero variant in rapid speech.

slow speech	normal rapid speech	
1. [ketòŋ]	[k ^ə tòŋ ~ ktòŋ]	<i>egg</i>
2. [kəntáh]	[k ^ə ntáh ~ kntáh]	<i>to beat or to slap</i>
3. [səná:]	[s ^ə ná: ~ sná:]	<i>they (two)</i>
4. [səmŋìʔ]	[s ^ə mŋìʔ ~ smŋìʔ]	<i>midday</i>
5. [ləwà:ŋ]	[l ^ə wà:ŋ ~ lwà:ŋ]	<i>sky</i>
6. [ləmtɨr]	[l ^ə mtɨr ~ lmtɨr]	<i>to talk in sleep</i>
7. [cəŋá:r]	[c ^ə ŋá:r ~ cŋá:r]	<i>green</i>
8. [cəmròʔ]	[c ^ə mròʔ ~ cmròʔ]	<i>male</i>
9. [ʔahó:ŋ]	[ʔ ^ə hó:ŋ ~ ʔhó:ŋ]	<i>diligent</i>
10. [heʔéʔ]	[h ^é ʔéʔ ~ hʔéʔ]	<i>firewood</i>
11. [huʔúʔ]	[h ^u ʔuʔ ~ hʔúʔ]	<i>smell</i>
12. [pəkpé:]	[p ^ə kpe: ~ pkpé:]	<i>house lizard</i>
13. [maktó:m]	[m ^ə któ:m ~ mktó:m]	<i>button</i>
14. [cərlà:ptá:p]	[cr ^ə là:ptá:p ~ crlà:ptá:p]	<i>butterfly</i>

1. In slow speech, the vowel in the Cv or CvC presyllable when occurring with more or less full quality, can have variants. They are mainly half-close front and central vowels especially [e] and [ə]. For example no.1 can be either [ketòŋ] or [kətòŋ]. The same holds for no.7 and no.8. Nos.3-6 can be either [ləwà:ŋ] or [lɨwà:ŋ]. In this case as in some other cases, the weak vowel can also be [a]: [lawà:ŋ]. No.8 can have either half-close front vowel as in [cəmròʔ] or central vowel as in [cəmrròʔ].

2. No.9 and 13 have only open central vowel [a] as presyllable vowel because of the influence of the open back vowel [ɔ:].
3. Nos.10, 12 and 14 show vowel harmony between the vowel in the presyllable and main syllable. The vowel in the presyllable is the same as that in the main syllable. The vowel is half-close front [e] in no.10, close back [u] in no.11, half-close central [ə] in no.12 and open central [a] in no.14. These have no variants.

In rapid speech, the central vowel in a presyllable can be reduced to the weak half-close central vowel [ə] or to zero. The consonant of the Cv presyllable and the CvC presyllable, when this has nasal consonant as the final segment, can be comparatively easily coarticulated with the following consonant in rapid speech so that the impression of a syllabic nasal consonant is weakened. This is heard in the words from no.2 to no.8. On the other hand those in the presyllable having stop consonants rarely allow the zero vowel form. The vowel quality in nos.1, 9, 13 (second syllable) and no.14 (first syllable) seems to exist in a weak form even in rapid speech.

A presyllable with /r/ or /l/ shows no contrast between CvC, CCv-, and CC-. It can be realised as:

- (a) A particularly slow and clear form which contains clearly a vowel which is usually [e], [ɪ] or [ə];
- (b) A normal form which has a weak [ə] before or after [r] or [l], or which has no vowel at all, in which case [r] and [l] are clearly syllabic.

slow speech	normal rapid speech	
[pərlòŋ]	[pərlòŋ ~ prəlòŋ ~ prlòŋ]	<i>door</i>
[selmìŋ]	[selmìŋ ~ sləmìŋ ~ slmìŋ]	<i>star</i>
[sərmàʔ]	[sərmàʔ ~ srəmàʔ ~ srmàʔ]	<i>illness</i>
[pərlɪʔə]	[pərlɪʔə ~ prəlɪʔə ~ prlɪʔə]	<i>fire</i>
[cərkù:l]	[cərkù:l ~ crəkù:l ~ crkù:l]	<i>finger</i>

A presyllable with ?ɪN- or CvN- in slow speech will in rapid speech reduce to əN- or N- before a stop or a liquid.

slow speech	normal rapid speech	
[kəmpòŋ]	[əmpòŋ ~ mpòŋ]	<i>hard</i>
[kəntàŋ]	[əntàŋ ~ ntàŋ]	<i>brain</i>
[ʔəncìm]	[əncìm ~ ncìm]	<i>soft</i>
[sɪŋkròʔ]	[əŋkròʔ ~ ŋkròʔ]	<i>hard skin</i>
[ʔəmrà:j]	[əmrà:j ~ mrà:j]	<i>worm</i>
[ʔəmròk]	[əmròk ~ mròk]	<i>fox</i>

Except for (backward) vowel harmony, the vowel in the presyllable, when present, is typically central spread [ɨ], [ə], [a] or the half-close front vowel [e]. The height of the vowel is entirely unpredictable.

Since the vocalic sounds in the presyllable are partly in free variation and partly predictable and no minimal pair has been found, it can be said that the vocalic sound of the presyllable in Khmu must either be one phoneme only or no phonemic vowel segment at all. The latter solution has been preferred. For example, the word Khmu which means *man* and is used as the name of the tribe and people,² can be written phonetically as [k^həmuʔ ~ k^həmuʔ ~ k^h.muʔ]. I would write this phonemically as /k^hmuʔ/

This seems to agree with other linguists who have worked on Khmu. For the dialect he worked on, Smalley (1956, 1961) writes this word phonemically as /k^hm hmuʔ/ and morphophonemically as [k^hmuʔ] saying that 'the vowel, the internal juncture (stress) and often one of the consonants of the first CV is always predictable... [It] is therefore non-pertinent on the morpheme level'. Lindell (1974:197), working on a different dialect, mentions that the weakly stressed syllables are extremely complex and not yet sufficiently understood. However, she says that the vowel in the presyllable may be very short and non-phonemic. Since the form of the vowel varies in an unpredictable way, in her wordlist of Khmu she gives alternative pronunciations. She writes the word for Khmu as Kammu and kammu without phonetic or phonemic brackets. This seems to imply that she believes that the presyllables do contain a vowel phoneme.

2.4 Register complex

None of the previous work has mentioned Khmu as a 'register'³ language. Smalley (1956, 1961) presents Khmu as being non-register and non-tonal while Ferlus (1974) and Lindell et al (1976), for example, present the Khmu dialects they worked on as being tonal. Lindell et al (1976) also suggested that the northern dialects of Khmu are in the process of developing tones while the southern group of Khmu remain non-tonal, having preserved the voicing contrast among prevocalic consonants.

In the Khmu dialect under study here I incline to say that it presents a case of register complex. Pitches alone cannot be used to characterise this aspect of Khmu phonology. The interaction between pitches and other conditioning factors such as voice quality, tenseness, initial consonant, final consonant, vowel length, and the position in larger utterances are to be taken into consideration.

Although a lot of words are found auditorily to have normal voice quality and can occur with any pitch depending on the place and the speaker's emotional attitude, there are also a lot of words that occur with specific voice quality and specific pitch. Minimal pairs are found in words whose voice quality is that of 'breathy' versus 'clear' and whose pitch is that of 'lower' versus 'higher'. All of my informants recognise the contrast and refer to it in their own terms as /pìh/ *big* voice versus /nèʔ/ *small* voice, /kmpìŋ/ *mixed*, *low* voice versus /klóh/ *clear* voice, or /jà:|/ *soft*, *long* voice versus /kràŋ/ *hard*, /rè:ŋ/ *strong* and /wàj/ *quick*.

Basing my analysis on the Khmu speakers' intuition and the investigator's auditory impression, the Khmu registers can be classified into two contrastive types: tense register and lax register. Throughout this description tense register words will be marked by ' and lax register words by `.

1. Tense register is referred to by the Khmu native term as /klóh/ *clear voice*. It is characterised by being /rè:ŋ/ *loud and forceful*, /kráŋ/ *hard*, and /còŋ/ *high*. Examples are:

/pá:ŋ/	to open (door)	/púŋ/	to blow
/píət/	to strongly squeeze	/pléc/	to gut a fish
/phré:/	elder brother	/tíh/	mushroom
/tú:p/	house	/tíʔ/	hand and arm
/bá:p/	unhappy, to have a hard time	/kóh/	to chop
/trá:k/	water buffalo	/klóh/	clear
/ké:k/	a separate piece of animal sex organ	/píŋ/	to shoot
/khrá:ç/	to laugh	/sé:k/	to cut (small oblong object)
/ʔfək/	to drink	/méh/	to beat violently
/hé:m/	younger sibling	/céh/	to scold
/sé:t/	alone	/róʔ/	to put
/má:r/	salt	/níp/	to catch
/ró:ŋ/	a musical instrument	/khwíŋr/	to stir
/já:/	medicine	/já:k/	to break rice
/jé:t/	to lift		
/wé:l/	to burn		

/clá:ŋ/	book, script
/ʔhó:ŋ/	deligent
/cŋá:r/	green
/pŋé:r/	to make into pieces
/hʔéʔ/	firewood
/krlíh/	dangerous
/kntáh/	to slap
/sná:/	they (two)
/tŋkíŋr/	loud noise

This register occurs with all possible main syllable types in Khmu. The accompanying pitch tends to be high. Syllables with short vowels and a stop final normally have high-rising pitch while syllables with short vowels and controlled by other finals have high-falling pitch. Syllables with long vowels also have high-falling pitch. Continuant initials are heard as being slightly preaspirated in syllables with short vowels as in [hréʔ], [hóʔ], [hlúh] and [hwát].

2. *Lax register* is referred to by the Khmu native terms /kmp̚ɨŋ/ *mixed, low* voice or /p̚ih/ *big* voice. It is characterised by being /yà:l/ *slow*, /pé klóh pé chát/ *not clear*, /ncà:l/ *light*, /ncim/ *soft* and /ntèʔ/ *low*.

Words belonging to this register can be divided into two types: words with lax register (a) and words with lax register (b).

Lax register (a) refers to the type of register where the breathiness can be heard very clearly when the words occur in isolation. They are words controlled by an unaspirated initial plosive. Examples provided below are both monosyllabic and disyllabic, with long and short vowels.

/kì:/	<i>this</i>	/kàt/	<i>taste</i>
/kà:j/	<i>to come</i>	/kùm/	<i>to guard</i>
/pò:/	<i>you (plural)</i>	/pəʔ/	<i>to eat</i>
/pà:r/	<i>two</i>	/pùŋ/	<i>mud</i>
/cà:r/	<i>thin</i>	/cèʔ/	<i>grandchildren</i>
/cì:k/	<i>thick</i>	/cèʔ/	<i>Tai speaking people</i>
/tò:n/	<i>to slash animal head</i>	/tèʔ/	<i>to take</i>
/tè:n/	<i>to put the foot on</i>	/tèr/	<i>to jump</i>

/kmp̚ɨŋ/	<i>mixed, low (voice)</i>
/ncim/	<i>soft</i>
/ncà:l/	<i>light</i>
/ntèʔ/	<i>low</i>
/srkò:k/	<i>to embrace</i>
/sə:krà:/	<i>lemon grass</i>
/ktàh/	<i>forehead</i>

These words are accompanied by mid/low pitch. The unaspirated initial stops in this set are sometimes heard with a slight voiced aspiration. More examples can be found in the list of minimal pairs provided at the end of this section.

Lax register (b) refers to the type of register that contains most of the characteristics mentioned for lax register (a) except that the breathiness is very weak.

It should be noted that the degree of phonation contrast of lax register (a) and (b) varies depending on the syllable structure, from time to time and from person to person. Syllables with initial nasal are less breathy than those with initial stop and fricative. Very often the breathy voice is not heard at all. Only the pitch and tenseness contrasts are heard. Therefore these 'lower' pitch syllables pronounced with normal (soft) clear voice are also acceptable provided that the pitch is not as high as and the tenseness is not as great as the 'clear' voiced syllable. It is also noticeable that the pitch of this group tends to be more mid level rather than low. Examples are:

/lò:r/	<i>top of the plant</i>	/klòk/	<i>wooden cup</i>
/wè:l/	<i>farming knife</i>	/lòr/	<i>small</i>
/nè:n/	<i>level, even</i>	/làw/	<i>to tell</i>
/jà:l/	<i>slow</i>	/jòh/	<i>to go</i>
/rà:/	<i>to clean</i>	/ròʔ/	<i>to build</i>
/prà:j/	<i>trap</i>	/wòh/	<i>a lot</i>
/wà:r/	<i>an instrument for cutting grass</i>	/plèh/	<i>flat taste</i>
/muən/	<i>to enjoy, happy, good, beautiful</i>	/jò:r/	<i>orphan</i>

/sɲbiə̀n/	<i>reddish colour</i>
/lwàh/	<i>wide</i>
/cm̄:/	<i>every day</i>
/krniə̀w/	<i>scissors</i>
/rlàh/	<i>to butcher</i>
/kuəj snà:/	<i>guava</i>
/ntrə̀:j/	<i>wind</i>

The lax (breathy) and tense (clear) voices are important. For my informants, the mark of correct Khmu pronunciation is the ability to pronounce the syllables with correct lax (breathy) or tense (clear) voice.

Minimal pairs between tense register and lax register (a) and between tense register and lax register (b) are provided below.

Tense register		Lax register (a)	
/pá:t/	<i>to cut into pieces</i>	/pà:t/	<i>to cut a wedge shape</i>
/pú:c/	<i>to take off clothes</i>	/pù:c/	<i>rice wine</i>
/tí:ŋ/	<i>to fall over</i>	/(?om) tì:ŋ/	<i>water container</i>
/tá:l/	<i>to slice</i>	/tà:l/	<i>blunt</i>
/cé:p/	<i>being small pieces</i>	/cè:p/	<i>to enjoy, happy</i>
/cʔəŋ/	<i>Khmu hero</i>	/cʔəŋ/	<i>foot</i>
/kú:p/	<i>uncle (in-law)</i>	/kù:p/	<i>to see</i>
/kú:t/	<i>to scrape</i>	/kù:t/	<i>to enter</i>
/píh/	<i>to lead by hand</i>	/pìh/	<i>big</i>
/pát/	<i>to cut upward</i>	/pàt/	<i>to cut downward</i>
/tár/	<i>rattan band (for carrying basket)</i>	/tàr/	<i>to run</i>
/túk/	<i>to tie</i>	/tùk/	<i>poor</i>

	<i>Tense register</i>
/cát/	<i>to drop (water)</i>
/cáŋ/	<i>to weigh</i>
/kúʔ/	<i>a rite before planting rice</i>
/kft/	<i>to bury</i>

	<i>Lax register (a)</i>
/càt/	<i>sour</i>
/càŋ/	<i>bitter</i>
/kùʔ/	<i>to like</i>
/kìt/	<i>to slash</i>

	<i>Tense register</i>
/má:n/	<i>to bury</i>
/kmó:t/	<i>a kind of animal</i>
/ró:t/	<i>to be suffocated</i>
/rá:ŋ/	<i>tooth</i>
/lé:ŋ/	<i>without doing anything</i>
/wí:t/	<i>to turn around</i>
/já:ŋ/	<i>female animal</i>
/máh/	<i>what</i>
/tmáʔ/	<i>lice</i>
/nám/	<i>big</i>
/ŋóʔ/	<i>paddy, husked rice</i>
/róh/	<i>young ear of paddy</i>
/lúh/	<i>to go through</i>
/wát/	<i>to beat</i>
/wár/	<i>to cover around</i>
/júʔ/	<i>jungle</i>
/smpó:r/	<i>tumerin</i>

	<i>Lax register (b)</i>
/mà:n/	<i>to be pregnant</i>
/mò:t/	<i>to take</i>
/rò:t/	<i>to arrive</i>
/rà:ŋ/	<i>flower</i>
/lè:ŋ/	<i>to tie</i>
/wì:t/	<i>to be dizzy</i>
/jà:ŋ/	<i>chicken house</i>
/mèh/	<i>to be, (positive answer 'yes')</i>
/màʔ/	<i>mother</i>
/nàm/	<i>(relative pronoun)</i>
/ŋòʔ/	<i>to be afraid of</i>
/ròh/	<i>to cut with upward direction</i>
/lùh/	<i>to crush</i>
/wàt/	<i>to hit (a trap or a knife)</i>
/wàr/	<i>round, silver earrings</i>
/júʔ/	<i>shade</i>
/smpò:r/	<i>to flow slowly downward</i>

Syllables with cluster initial can also be grouped with this set.

/kléʔ/	<i>husband</i>	/klèʔ/	<i>to see</i>
/kwá:t/	<i>to sweep</i>	/kwà:t/	<i>to cut, to shape</i>
/kláh/	<i>to cut bamboo</i>	/klàh/	<i>to release</i>
/pló:ŋ/	<i>rattan</i>	/plò:ŋ/	<i>calf</i>

It is noticeable that the sentence particles do not seem to have fixed pitch contour. Occurring at the final position in an utterance, the word always gets the tense rise-fall pitch contour, even one with lax register that normally contains low pitch. This conforms to the general patterns of sentence intonation.

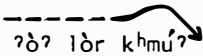
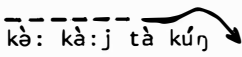
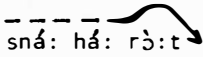


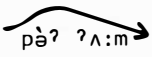
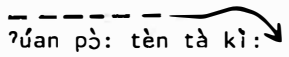
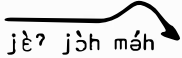
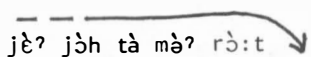
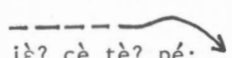
2.5 Stress

All monosyllabic words have word stress in the sense that the vowel is of the kind that occurs in stressed syllables. Disyllabic and trisyllabic words stress the final syllable. Presyllables are unstressed and short and often reduced or dropped so that modern Khmu is becoming increasingly monosyllabic (see also 2.3.2.3).

2.6 Intonation

Some remarks on intonation in Khmu have been included although a more comprehensive account would require a monograph of its own.

No contrastive patterns occur in this Khmu dialect. Although there are variants indicating various communicative purposes and the attitude of the speaker, the general pattern of falling intonation is basic. Normally a level mid pitch occurs over the sentence with a rise-fall or a fall on the last syllable.

Statement:		<i>I speak Khmu.</i>
		<i>He goes home.</i>
		<i>They (two) have arrived.</i>
		<i>It is so hot today.</i>
Command:		<i>Do not fight.</i>
Request:		<i>Have dinner (with us)</i>
		<i>Please sit here.</i>
Content question:		<i>Where are you going?</i>
		<i>Where have you been and why are you coming here?</i>
Yes/no question:		<i>Do you want to take it?</i>

In general the soft and low intonation is preferred, especially when talking to old or respected people. The hard, high and loud voice is considered to show superiority, such as in giving command. The quick, high voice is used by children who still cannot pronounce words clearly or by adults who want to be friendly with children by trying to imitate them.

3. MORPHOLOGICAL REMARKS

Although this book will not deal with Khmu morphology⁴ in great detail, the main characteristics and some major word classes will be dealt with. Further information on word classes will be found in section 4.

3.1 Affixation

Most of the basic vocabulary for daily use in Khmu such as body parts, verbs of movement, cutting words, kinship terms, is mainly monosyllabic. However, there is a large number of disyllabic words whose structure is composed of a weakly stressed presyllable and a main syllable. Quite a number of the main syllables of these disyllabic words appear in other contexts as verbs. The bound morphemes that form the presyllables add some semantic element to the original verbs.

Many presyllables in Khmu are believed to have been productive prefixes but have lost their meanings because the whole process has become non-productive. Even the presyllable itself tends to disappear and Khmu is now becoming a monosyllabic language as mentioned in section 2. This conforms to the general trend of languages in South-east Asia.

Affixes that are still productive and which are being discussed in this section are a causative prefix, a descriptive prefix, and an instrumental infix. These affixes are considered to be derivational affixes. They do not indicate grammatical function but create new lexical items. Though they are not purely grammatical affixes, they do indicate certain grammatical features such as causative verb, descriptive verb or instrumental noun.

Phonotactically, the prefixes are of /Cv(C)-/ structure/ The vowels are weak. On the other hand, the main syllables receive full stress and the vowels occur with full quality. The affixes have a fixed position and cannot be moved to other places nor be separated from the verb that follows by having an inserted word. However, the causative prefix may precede a descriptive prefix.

Paradigmatically, the same semantic element added to the root can be expressed by various allomorphs conditioned by some phonological or morphological factor. (Smalley (1956:51-56) has given an account of morphological variants and details which are not repeated below.) Examples are given along with the simple verb form and the English gloss.

3.1.1 Causative prefixes /pə- ~ p-/, /pɨn- ~ pn-/, /pɨt- ~ pt-/, and /pɨk ~ pk-/, with the basic structure /Cv(C)-/, occur before a verb adding the meaning *to cause* and turning a simple verb into a causative verb.

1. (a) sɔʔ pəʔ məh
dog eat rice
Dogs eat rice.

(b) nə: (mə:t məh) pn-pəʔ sɔʔ
she take rice to cause-to eat dog
She took rice to feed the dog.

2. (a) nà: kà:j tà kì:
she come here
She came here.

(b) rù: nà: p-kà:j
pull her to cause-to come
Pull her towards (me).

Other variants are found in words like /pt-ká:t/ *to cause to be born*, /pk-là:k/ *to cause to tell a lie* /p-/ and /pn-/ can be used interchangeably as in /p-lièn ~ pn-lièn/ but /pn-/ seems to be the most common form. To convey the causative meaning, another construction similar to that in Thai can also be used interchangeably and it does not seem to have any meaning or style difference. No.1(b) corresponds in meaning to

nà: ʔúan sʔ pəʔ mäh
she give/make dog eat rice
She fed the dog.

OR nà: mò:t mäh ʔúan sʔ pəʔ
she take rice give/make dog eat
She took rice to feed the dog.

3.1.2 Descriptive prefix /m-/ , /n-/ , /ŋ-/ , /nt-/ , /ŋk-/ , /mp-/ , and /tɪr ~ tr/ with the basic structure /Cv(C)-/, are added to transitive verbs indicating the meaning of *condition happening as a result of the action* and so turning them into descriptive verbs.

1. (a) ʔòʔ rà:c wá:j
I tear shirt
I tore a shirt.

(b) wá:j ntrà:c
shirt to be torn
The shirt is torn. OR The torn shirt.

2. (a) ʔòʔ pák sʔ ð:ŋ
I break wood
I broke the wood.

(b) sʔ ð:ŋ tl-pák
wood broken
The (a piece of) wood is broken. OR The broken wood.

Other examples are:

khráh → ŋkhráh
to open to be open

pɪr → mpɪr
to shake shaking, shaken

lùət → mplùət
to remove coming off

3.1.3 Instrumental infix /-n-/, /-r-/, /-nt-/, and /-rn-/ is a nominalised infix turning a transitive verb into a noun indicating that some specific activity is carried out with the aid of some specific instrument. For more details see Ferlus (1977).

1. krwà:t kwà:t kuəl
instrument to cut (shape) wooden mortar
The thing used for cutting and shaping the wooden mortar.
2. cntriès criès klèʔ
instrument to comb hair
A comb.
3. prnòʔ pòʔ kó:n
instrument to support baby
The piece of cloth used for supporting the baby.

There are more cases of disyllabic words with traces of affixation but there is not sufficient evidence that they form groups and several of them have no clear meaning. These presyllables of Khmu disyllabic words which are difficult to interpret and whose meaning is not known are believed by some linguists to have formerly had a clearer meaning.

There are some other grammatical particles that occur before a verb such as the nominaliser /sàŋ/ (see section 4) and modal particles indicating various types and degrees of possibility, necessity, and contingency, such as /tàn/, /lè/, /cèn/, /mák/, and /kàj/ (see section 4.2 and 6.4.2). They are different from the aforementioned affixes because they are more independent phonologically. They allow other elements such as some preverbal modifiers to be inserted after them. However, when they immediately occur before a verb they are phonologically well incorporated with the verb and therefore look very much like presyllables of disyllabic words as in /səŋkùʔ/, /lejòh/, /cənlà:c/, etc.

3.2 Reduplication has both stylistic and grammatical function. Reduplication constructions in Khmu can be divided into two types: those resulting from repetition and those resulting from partial reduplication.

3.2.1 The repetitive type refers to the simple reduplication in which various word classes (usually verbs, adjectives, adverbs, or adverbial elements and sometimes nouns) are repeated or reduplicated for emphasis or intensification.

1. kò:ŋ lòŋ kì: plèh plèh cát cát
curry here flat (V_{des}) sour sour (V_{des})
The curry here has a very flat and very unpleasant taste.
2. mò:t mì:t tléŋ ʔòh ʔòh
take knife sharpen sharp sharp (V_{des})
I took a knife to sharpen to make it very sharp.
3. wá:r wà:r
hot hot (V_{des})
Very hot indeed.

Some are used to indicate a repeated or prolonged action.

kmá? rò:t tò:t tò:t
rain arrive (V_{intr}) often often (adv)
It is raining all the time.

nò: ?àh jòh jòh
they do (V_{tr}) go go (adv_{dir})
They work continuously.

A construction consisting of more than one word can also be reduplicated. The examples below also indicate the prolongation or repetition of an action.

kà: tàr jòh tàr jòh
he run go run go
He kept on running.

nò: pín jòh pín kà:j
they shoot go shoot come
They were shooting at each other.

kà: kcùh màh píc kcùh màh píc
he spit rice throw away spit rice throw away
He keeps on spitting out the rice.

The repetition of the noun below indicates a generalisation while the repetition of an adverbial (in this case temporal adverbial) indicates a repeated action.

mà? mà? kù? kòn plàə
who who love person pretty
Everybody loves a good looking person.

kà: jòh cmì: cmì:
he go everyday everyday
He goes regularly (habitually).

3.2.2 Partial reduplication refers to the reduplication of a part of a word. This type of reduplication exerts an effect of elaboration, providing certain stylistic features. The elaborations in these partial reduplications are regarded as 'nonsense' words since they normally convey no lexical meaning in their own right. They normally have a certain phonological similarity with their base-words.

khít ?hó:ŋ ?há:k
think diligent diligent

?àh saŋcú? saŋkí:n
have illness illness

pok sfəŋ léc sfəŋ lò:ŋ
bite pig castrate pig castrate

?àh cè? ?àh cíəm
have Tai have Tai

Further information can be found in 8.2 below.

Reduplication in Khmu has been extensively treated by Svantesson (1983) under Expressive Words.

3.3 Compounding

Compound words behave like single words rather than like constructs even when more than one word class is involved. The compound information is productive, and this is an important device for coining new words in the language. Most compounds found have two segments. The examples provided below are only treated from the viewpoint of their morphological structure. Three points can be considered: (1) word-classes of the compound segments, (2) syntactical features (of the resultant forms), and (3) relationship of the segments. Compound nouns and compound verbs are most common. Some examples are provided below.

N - N = N	- ʔòm màt water eye	tear
	- kó:n jò:r child orphan	orphan
V - V = V	- jòh làʔ go wander for pleasure	to go out (for pleasure)
	- jòh cá:ŋ go be employed	to go for work
	- síh knrù:p lie upside down	lie on the stomach
	- síh hó:j lie play	lie down for a rest
N - V = N	- ʔòm kséh water fall	water fall
	- káʔ kú:p fish bake	baked fish
V - N = V	- wà:r lù:j hot stomach	hungry

See also 4.1 below.

4. INTRA-CLAUSAL SYNTAX: PHRASE STRUCTURE

Phrases normally function as segments in a clause but may be embedded in other phrases or be used at higher ranks. A phrase is marked by a single main stress. Structurally and functionally phrases may be divided into nominal phrases, verbal phrases, and prepositional phrases. Each phrase type will be described below and each word class occurring therein will be discussed.

4.1 *Nominal phrases* (NP) function as Subject, Direct or Indirect Object, Locative, and Complement in clauses and as Head in prepositional phrases. They are characterised by having nouns or noun-like segments in their head position. Structurally nominal phrases may be divided into noun phrases, pronoun phrases, additive complex phrases, and appositional complex phrases.

4.1.1 *Noun phrases* (NP_n) consist of one or more words with a noun as Head and are used semantically to denote actor, recipient, beneficiary, goal, means, location, etc.

(a) The basic noun phrase may consist of a sole noun (including a kinship term) or a proper name.

lŋiŋ *dark*
 màʔ *mother*
 Háŋ (*a man's name*)

(b) The basic noun phrase may be modified by another noun to identify a specific being, to indicate a personal relationship, etc.

ktòŋ hʔíər *chicken egg*
 egg *chicken*

entràŋ kà:ŋ *house post*
 post *house*

kúŋ Kʰmúʔ *Khmu village*
 village *Khmu*

màʔ Háŋ *Hang's mother*
 mother (*a man's name*)

kà:ŋ ʔòʔ *my house*
 house *my*

(c) The basic noun phrase may be modified by an adjective (or a verbal descriptive).

kó:n nèʔ *little child*
 child *little*

kòn làʔ *good man*
 man *good*

(d) The preceding varieties of the basic noun phrase may be modified by (1) a possessive pronoun (poss), (2) a relative clause (rel cl), (3) a demonstrative (dem), (4) a prepositional phrase (Prep P), or (5) a quantifier: number (num) followed optionally by a classifier (class).

1. kó:n nèʔ ʔòʔ
 child little my
 My little child.

2. kó:n nèʔ nàm pàk trá:k
 child little who ride buffalo
 The little child who rides a buffalo.

3. kɔːn nɛː? kɪː
child little this
This little child.
4. kɔːn nɛː? ta kàːŋ
child little at home
The little child at home.
5. kɔːn nɛː? mòːj kòn
child little one (class)
A little child.

Noun phrases can be summarised as:

$$NP_n = H:n \quad (\text{Mod: } \left. \begin{array}{l} n \\ \text{pron (poss)} \\ \text{adj} \\ \text{Prep P} \\ \text{rel cl} \\ \text{num (+ class)} \\ \text{dem} \end{array} \right\})$$

The noun phrase may consist of a head noun with any of the modifiers mentioned. The modifiers can also co-occur. Some nominal phrases with more than one modifier are provided below.

1. kɔːn nɛː? ʔò? nəm pàk trá:k tà hó
 H adj pron rel cl Prep P
child little my who ride buffalo at over there
My little child who is riding a buffalo over there.
2. trá:k nəm nám nəm klɔːk kənàːj (mèh trá:k ʔò?)
 H rel cl rel cl dem
buffalo that big that white that one is buffalo my
That big, white buffalo (is mine).
3. (jaː? Híəŋ mèh) kòn nəm ntɛː? klàː? trwèŋ ʔàh mək tà tí?
 H rel cl rel cl rel cl
Grandma Hiəŋ is person who short hair curly have tatoo at hand
Grandma Hiang is the one who is short, has curly hair and a tatoo on the hand.
4. (ʔò? dèːn jòh tà) ká:t pəːchàː tà Chiəŋmàj
 H (proper) n Prep P
I walk go at market bazaar in Chiengmai
I walk around the bazaar in Chiengmai.
5. só? híəŋ pàːr tóː snáː nàːj
 H adj num class pron dem
dog black two (class) they (two) those
Those two black dogs.

6. kó:n cmkfn nàm nè? klà? wà:ŋ ŋkó? wá:j jìm
 H (compound n) rel cl rel cl rel cl
girl who small hair long wear blouse red
The girl, who is slender, has long hair and wears a red blouse.
7. (sú? là:c kà:p) ?ah trá:k pà:r kmlò? nàm nám jàt tà
 H rn num class rel cl rel cl
(dog secretly take) meat buffalo two piece which big sit in
trlòh (jòh pà? tà jú?)
pot (to eat at forest)
The dog secretly took two big pieces of buffalo meat (which were) in the pot (to eat in the forest).

Nouns (n) form a very large class of words. Most nouns are mono- or bisyllabic words which are phonologically defined (see section 2). Various examples are given above.

Compound nouns, while being phonemically different, function syntactically like all other nouns.

?òm trhá:j honey
 water bee

jòŋ kúŋ village headman
 father village

ká? kú:p baked fish
 fish bake

They occur as the Head of a noun phrase.

Adjectives (adj) are also called verbal descriptives. They function as adjective in noun phrases and as verb in verb phrases. When there are two verbal descriptives occurring together, the first is always an adjective modifying the noun and the second is the verb of a descriptive clause.

mòŋ pàh plìə
 moon bright pretty
 The full moon is pretty.

Demonstratives (dem). There are five degrees of proximity shown by demonstratives:

kì: this, here
 nà:j that, there
 hó? that, over there (same level)
 dŋ that, over there (higher level)
 sú? that, over there (lower level)

Pronouns (pron). Personal pronouns form a small class of words characterised by singular, dual and plural number; masculine and feminine natural gender for humans contrast for the second and third person singular pronoun. The third person pronoun for an inanimate referent has the same form of pronoun as that of the masculine.

person	gender	singular	dual	plural
1st	masculine	ʔòʔ	ʔàʔ	ʔìʔ
2nd	masculine	jèʔ	swá:	pò:
	feminine	pà:		
3rd	neutral	kè:	sná:	nò:
	masculine			
	feminine	nà:		

Kinship terms can also sometimes be used as pronouns, though not all of them. The common ones are:

- táʔ *grandfather, respectable old man*
 jàʔ *grandmother, non-relative woman*
 tá:j *a general term for anybody who is respected as older sibling*
 hé:m *a general term for anybody who is considered as younger sibling*
 síəʔ *any many who is considered as kin of about the same age as the speaker*

There is only one reflexive pronoun /tè:/ *self* and one relative pronoun /nəm/ *who, which, where, when, that*.

Numerals (num). The basic numbers form a decimal system. There are two sets of numerals for one to four and for six.

- níŋ, mò:j *one*
 sɔ́:ŋ, pà:r *two*
 sá:m, péʔ *three*
 sí:, púan *four*
 há: *five*
 hók, rók *six*
 cét *seven*
 pét *eight*
 káw *nine*
 síp *ten*

/mò:j/, /pà:r/, /pé /, and /púan/ are believed to be old Khmu numbers inherited from Mon-Khmer language. /mò:j/, /pà:r/, and /péʔ/ are actively used. All the other numbers, including the two words for six, are borrowed from Thai.

Other words that are syntactically similar to the numbers are:

- kón *half (a Northern Thai loan)*
 wòh, kɨʔ *many, several*
 cim *every*
 etc.

Classifiers (class) form a closed set of words and are required when most kinds of items are counted. They are used to identify the shape or the size of nouns concerned by occurring after the numerals. There are two main types of classifiers: regular classifiers and self classifiers.

1. Regular classifiers are a set of words whose only function is to classify a noun:

1. kló:ŋ is used for solid, round objects such as fruit, vegetables, the sun, the moon, or a house.
2. trl̩m is used for long flat objects, such as leaves, a piece of meat, a hammer, a comb, or a bag.
3. tó: is used for animals.
4. ph̩f:n is used for a piece of cloth, a shirt, or trousers.
5. sɛn is used for flexible, long, narrow objects, such as a rope.
6. kòn is used for human beings.
7. smtúm is used for a bunch of fruit or other things.
8. plàh is used for one of a pair of human organs.
9. cùm is used for one of a pair of things such as arm bracelets.
10. krlòh is used for a mouthful of rice.
11. bò:n is used for a piece of land.
12. kmlòʔ is used for a piece of meat.
13. lém is used for an oblong object such as a piece of wood, finger, drinking water container, etc.

Examples are:

tló:j mò:j kló:ŋ
banana one (class)
a banana

rmə:j mò:j plàh
ear one (class)
an ear

kò:n pà:r kòn
child two (class)
two children

ʔàh trá:k há: kmlòʔ
meat buffalo five (class)
five pieces of buffalo meat

sʔò:ŋ mò:j lém
wood one (class)
a piece of wood

2. Self-classifiers are a set of nouns used to classify themselves.

màt mò:j màt
eye one eye
an eye

ré? pà:r ré?
farm two farm
two pieces of farming land

trlòh mò:j trlòh
pot one pot
a pot

tì:ŋ cé:t tì:ŋ
water container seven water container
seven water containers

kòn mò:j kòn
man one man
a man

Nouns like 'water' occur with measure (or container) classifiers.

?òm wà:r mò:j trlòh
water hot one pot
a pot of hot water

?òm cé:t tì:ŋ
water seven container
seven containers of water

/sén/, /kòn/, and /tó:/ are Thai/Lao loans but are commonly used. It is also noticeable that nouns occurring with (regular) classifiers are more commonly found than those occurring with self-classifiers which sometimes may leave out the classifiers. Moreover the self-classifier above may be replaced by the regular classifier as the following:

màt mò:j plàh
 ré? pà:r bò:n/kló:ŋ
 tì:ŋ cé:t lé:m

4.1.2 *Numeral phrases* (NP_{num}) consist of obligatory Head being a numeral noun and an optional Quantity being a numeral and/or a noun classifier. In Khmu it is not obligatory for a classifier to be present when there is a number although the construction with a classifier is more frequent.

$$\text{NP}_{\text{num}} = \text{H} : \text{num} (\text{Mod} : \{ \begin{array}{l} \text{num} + \text{class} \\ \text{class} \end{array} \})$$

1. píc kmú:l sá:w sá:m síp bá:t
give away money twenty thirty ten (class)
(I) spent (about) twenty or thirty baht.

2. kə̀: pə̀ʔ tɿ́:ʃ mò:j kə̀ŋ klí:ŋ
he eat banana one half (class)
He ate half a banana.
3. ʔòʔ ʔàh kó:n mò:j (kòn)
I have child one (class)
I have one child.
4. kə̀: níp káʔ pìə̀n rò:j plà:j
he catch fish get hundred over
He has caught over one hundred fish.

4.1.3 Pronoun phrases (NP_{pron}) are characterised by having a pronoun as Head. It may be followed by one or more relative clauses or a numeral clause or a numeral plus classifier. They can be followed by a demonstrative.

$$\text{NP}_{\text{pron}_1} = \text{H} : \text{pron} (\text{Mod} : \{ \begin{array}{l} \text{rel cl} \\ \text{num + class} \end{array} \}) (\text{dem})$$

1. nò: nàm mə̀h kó:n
they (pl) who be child
Those who are children.
2. pò: nàm tháw nàm ké:
you (pl) who old who old
You who are elderly people.
3. swá: pà:r kòn
you (dual) two person
Both of you.
4. pò: nàm tháw nàm ké: kə̀: kì:
you (pl) who old who old these
Those (of you) who are old.
5. nò: péʔ kòn kə̀: nà:j
they (pl) three person those
Those three people.

The referent of a third person pronoun or of a third person component of a dual pronoun is made specific in the pronoun reference phrase, though the reference may also include the speaker or listener. The implicit third person component may be clarified and made explicit by a following noun or noun phrase.

$$\text{NP}_{\text{pron}_2} = \text{H} : \text{pron} (\text{Mod} : \{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kin title + name} \\ \text{name} \end{array} \})$$

$$\text{NP}_{\text{pron}_3} = \text{Mod} : \{ \begin{array}{l} \text{n} \\ \text{title + name} \end{array} \} \text{H} : \text{pron} \text{Mod} : \{ \begin{array}{l} \text{n} \\ \text{kin title} \end{array} \}$$

1. The pronoun reference phrase commencing with /ʔàʔ/ *we (two)* indicates (for the listener) with whom the speaker is identifying himself by the use of the dual pronoun.

ʔàʔ tàʔ Pʰuəŋ
we (dual) *Mr Puang*
 { *we*
Mr Puang and I
we (that is) Mr Puang and I }

ʔàʔ Hán (pà:r kòn)
we (dual) *Hang*
we (two), Hang and I

ʔàʔ héc:m
we (dual) *younger sibling*
we (two) my brother /sister and I

2. The second person dual pronoun /swá:/ *you (two)* may encompass an absent third person. The third person may be made explicit within the pronoun reference phrase.

swá: táʔ Sá:ŋ
you (dual) *Mr Sang*
 { *you two*
you and Mr Sang }

swá: Jú:ŋ (pùp jòʔ tà mèʔ)
you (dual) *Jung* (*meet together where*)
you (two), you and Jung. (Where did you and Jung meet?)

3. The pronoun reference phrase with /sná:/ *they (two)* includes, if necessary, the identity of the referent(s) (one or two) of the dual third person pronoun.

sná: Cən
they (dual) *Mr Cang*
 { *they*
he and Cang }

scá:ŋ sná: rwà:j
elephant they (dual) *tiger*
they (two), the elephant and the tiger

síəʔ Khá:n sná: Tú:
brother Karm they (dual) *Tu*
they (two), brother Karm and Tu

jòŋ Tʰé: sná: kú:ŋ
Turr's father they (dual) *uncle*
they (two), Turr's father and uncle

4.1.4 Additive complex nominal phrases (NP_{ad}) consist of two or more nominal phrases functioning as a single unit or linked in an additive relationship with each other.

NP_{ad} = Item₁ : NP (Link : Conj) Item₂ : NP

1. tá? Cǎ:n kàp tǎkǎ? (trthǎŋ jǎ? tǎ:)
Mr John and wife quarrel together themselves
Mr John and his wife quarrel between themselves.
2. tá? Phá: ná tá? Sá:ŋ
Mr Pa and Mr Sang
Mr Pa and Mr Sang.
3. pà:r mǎn pé? mǎn
two month three month
Two or three months.
4. mà? jǎn tá:j hǎ:m
mother father older sibling younger sibling
Everybody in the nuclear family.
5. tà krǎŋthǎ:p ʔàh kǎ:n cmrǎ? kǎ:n cmkǎn srkǎ:k jǎ? tà
in Bangkok have boy girl embrace each other in
ŋǎ:r rǎn
street big
In Bangkok men and women embrace in the street.
6. ʔǎ? kǎ? pǎn pí: pát ró:ŋ
I like play wind instrument play khmu instr ent
I like playing /pi:/ and /ro:ŋ/.

When a kinship term, a name, or a nominal phrase consisting of persons' names is used as a vocative, the sentence always begins with a cross-referencing pronoun.

Lǎ:ŋ jǎ? tǎ:n mpǎn trá:k
Long you hit and cut head buffalo
Long, you hit and cut the buffalo's head.

jǎ? pà: jǎh méh
grandma you go where
Grandma, where are you going?

ʔǎ? tá? Khǎŋ kàp mà? Phǎ:, ʔǎ? trthǎŋ jǎ? tǎ:
I Mr Kian and Mrs Pu, we quarrel together ourselves
I, Mr Kian and Mrs Pu, we quarrel together.

In addressing or making a reference to a person besides using an individual name, or an appropriate kinship term according to the relationship between the speaker and the listener or the person spoken about, the kinship term is normally used with the name as in /ʔà:w Bǎ:n/ *uncle Burn*. Teknonymy, another popular way of making a reference to a person is to focus on the name of that persons' first born son and their relationship as in /jǎn Hǎn/ *Hang's father*, which can be used alternatively with /tá? Nǎ:ŋ/ *Mr No:ŋ*. Consequently where confusion could arise as to the identity of the referent, the kinship term is used, followed by its relationship to the named third party, being most commonly the first born son, as in /kǎn má? Phǎ:/ *auntie who is Pu's mother*, or /kǎ:p jǎn Hǎn/ *uncle who is Hang's father*. This pattern is widely used in the language.

4.1.5 *Appositional complex nominal phrases* (NP_{app}) consist of two nominal phrases, one in apposition with the other.

$$\text{NP}_{\text{app}} = \text{Item}_1 : \text{NP} \quad \text{Item}_2 : \text{NP}$$

1. kfn ʔàh kó:n rlà:ŋ, kó:n cmkfn kó:n cmròʔ
auntie have child twin child girl child boy
(My) auntie has twin children, a girl and a boy.
2. p̄hu:kò:ŋ jòn Ciàp tʰf:k wát mpón tnlàh
colonel father Ciap undergo hit head break
Colonel, Ciap's father, was hit and sustained a fractured skull.
3. Phúəŋ, tá:j jòn Lì:
Puang older sibling father Lee
Puang who is Lee's father's elder brother.
4. ʔè:m Híəŋ, kó:n jàʔ Khé:
auntie Hiang child grandma Kae
Auntie Hiang who is grandma Kae's daughter.

4.1.6 *Nominalised constructions* are marked by the nominaliser /sàŋ/ in the initial position of any syntactic unit: a word, a phrase, or a clause.

1. sàŋlòr kə: làʔ
speech his good
He speaks well.
2. sàŋ kə: kén kə: ʔəh piən
those/who he capable he do able
Those who are capable can do it.
3. jèʔ cò:j bó:k sàŋpəʔ sàŋjàt sàŋjòh sàŋkà:j jòʔ nà: ná:
you help tell food accommodation going coming to her (f pt)
Please tell her what to eat, where to stay, and how to travel (around).
4. kòn tʰáw trkèt sàŋ cà há:n cm̄:
person old think thing/idea to die everyday
The old think of (their) approaching death every day.

4.1.7 *Nominal interrogatives* or question words function as nouns:

məʔ	who
tà məʔ	where
nəm məʔ	when
məh	what

4.2 *Verbal phrases* (VP) function as the predicate of the clause. They are characterised by having a verb or verb-like segment in their Head position with or without modifying segments.

The verb phrase consists of one or more obligatory main verbs (MV) which may or may not be preceded by one or more preverbs (prev), and/or one or more preverbal adverbs (prev adv), and/or one or more aspect particles (asp pt), and/or one or more modal particle (mod pt) respectively and which may or may not be followed by one or more postverbal adverbs (postv adv). The order of pre- and postmodifying segments in verb phrases is shown in:

VP = (mod pt) (asp pt) (prev adv) (prev) MV (postv adv)

The various classes of preverbal segments are small, closed classes. Each of them will be dealt with below.

4.2.1 *Main verbs (MV)* function as the Head of verb phrases and can occur alone in verb phrases. They are the nuclear segments that directly follow the negative adverb. There are five main verb subclasses which correspond to the verb phrase types in which they may occur: existive, equative, intransitive, semitransitive and transitive verbs.

Existive verbs occur in the existive verb phrase. The existive clause is the only clause type in which the existive verb phrase occurs. There are only two members of this subclass of verbs:

ʔàh to exist, to have
jàt to exist, to live, to stay

Equative verbs occur in the equative verb phrase. The equative clause is the only clause type in which the equative verb phrase occurs. The equative verbs are:

- (a) copula /mèh/ to be
- (b) verbs conveying inchoative meaning, such as /klà:j/ to become, or the combination of an inchoative verb and copula, /klà:j mèh/ to become
- (c) verbs conveying similitive meaning, such as /mfən/ to be similar to.

Intransitive verbs occur in the intransitive verb phrase, which occurs most frequently in the intransitive clause. They are:

- (a) active intransitive verbs such as:

tàr	to run	kwá:l	to bark
kó:r	to flow	mpóʔ	to dream
rò:t	to arrive	há:n	to die
liàn	to go out	kʰrá:s	to laugh

- (b) descriptive verbs such as:

plìə	to be pretty	cè:p	to have a good time
làʔ	to be good	mpír	to be shaken
wà:r	to be hot	ntráh	to be pulled off
ʔúət	to be tired	ntrà:c	to be torn

- (c) ambient verbs such as:

ckóʔ	becoming dark	wà:r	getting hot
pàh	being light	kát	getting cold

Semitransitive verbs occur in semitransitive verb phrases which occur most frequently in a semitransitive clause, followed by a prepositional or noun phrase functioning as locative. The most common semitransitive verb is /jàt/ *to locate, to stay, to live*. Other examples are:

pè:p *to hide*
 hák *to get stuck*
 tèn *to sit*
 etc.

Transitive verbs occur in transitive verb phrases which occur most frequently in transitive clauses. They form a large subclass of verbs. They are usually followed by an object noun phrase. They are:

(a) active transitive verbs such as:

pàʔ	<i>to eat</i>	híc	<i>to crush</i>
péŋ	<i>to cut down</i>	rà:c	<i>to tear</i>
klám	<i>to carry</i>	wát	<i>to hit</i>
ʔàh	<i>to do</i>		

(b) quotative, perceptive and cognitive verbs such as:

hé:t	<i>to call</i>	mèc	<i>to hear, feel</i>
lòr	<i>to speak</i>	trkèt	<i>to think</i>
kù:ŋ	<i>to see</i>		

(c) causative verbs such as:

pnpàʔ *to cause to eat (to feed)*
 pncɿ: *to cause to have a name (to name)*
 pnkséh *to cause to fall down (to drop)*
 pnlà:c *to cause to lose*

(d) the possessive verb /ʔàh/ *to have*

(e) semantically bitransitive verbs (structurally they act like transitives) such as:

ʔúan *to give*
 téc *to sell*
 wè:t *to buy*

4.2.2 *Preverbs* (prev) modify the meaning of the verb in the way described below (involvement of the actor). They can also occur as main verbs. As preverbs they occur in the first preverbal modifying position. In ellipsis they may occur alone in a clause or be the only element of the verb phrase present in a clause, though the absent main verb will be implied from the preceding context. They cannot be omitted without affecting the meaning of the clause in its context. They are words like /jàt/ *to stay, to be persistent in doing something, or remaining in a state of an act*, /jòh/ *to move away, to be in a state of doing something*, /rò:t/ *to move toward, to be in a state of doing something*, /cúʔ/ *to feel like, to be anxious to*, /kùʔ/ *to love to*, /mèc/ *to feel*, /ná:ŋ/ *to know*, /trkèt/ *to think*, and /thʔ:k/ *to undergo an unpleasant experience*.

1. ʔòʔ jàt ʔəh sɛ:t
I *stay do alone*
I am still doing it all by myself.
2. kà: jòh ràc màʔ kà:
he *go visit mother his*
He (went to) visit his mother.
3. kà: rò:t púp màr
he *arrive meet snake*
He (happened to) meet a snake.
4. ʔòʔ cúʔ ʔfək ʔóm
I *feel like drink water*
I want to drink (some) water.
5. kà: kùʔ jòh làʔ
he *love go out for pleasure*
He enjoys going out.
6. ʔòʔ mèc wà:r tà ntrò:ŋ
I *feel hot at back*
My back feels hot.
7. kà: thf:k píŋ
he *ungergo shoot*
He has been shot.

4.2.3 Preverbal adverbs (prev adv) occur in the second preverbal modifying position, after the modal particles and aspectual particles, but before preverbs. They include some intensifiers such as /læk/ *very, really*, /hó:c/ *completely*, /pʔən/ *capable*, /sŋlót, lót, léc/ *naturally, right away*, /səm/ *totally*. Negative particles are also included as a subset of preadverb particles. These are, /pé:, plót/ *not*, /phót:n/ *never*, /ʔfk/ *not like*, /pe tá:/ *not yet*, /pe pò:/ *not really*.

1. kà: læk pŋkàʔ
he *really shy*
He is really shy.
2. kà: hó:c pəʔ nà: hó:c
he *complete eat her already*
He had already eaten her.
3. ʔòʔ pʔən jòh rò:ŋriən
I *have a chance go school*
I have had a chance to go to school.
4. nò: sŋlót pəʔ ʔúr lò:c
they *naturally eat curry all*
They naturally ate all the curry.

5. prlòŋ sàm ŋkʰrft hó:c
door totally shut already
The doors have already been shut.
6. kà: kó:n ʔfək já:
he very smoke cigarette
He smokes a lot.
7. ʔòʔ pé məh cèʔ
I not be Thai
I am not a Thai.
8. ʔòʔ plóʔ jòh rò:ŋriən
I not go school
I don't go to school.
9. kòn làʔ pʰó:n là:c kʰó:ŋ jòʔ
person good never steal thing other
Good people never steal other people's things.
10. nà: ʔfk tèʔ kà:
she not like marry him
She does not want to marry him.
11. ʔòʔ pé tá: ʔfək pù:c
I not yet drink wine
I have not drunk the wine yet.
12. nò: mà:n pé pò: mèc
they ask not clearly hear
What they asked was not heard clearly.

4.2.4 *Aspectual particles* (asp pt) semantically refer to the type of the action (the state of existence, including tenses). They occur in the second preverbal modifying position after the modal particles but before the preverbal adverb and preverb. They cannot occur alone in a verb phrase. They include words like /cè/⁵ (future or determination), /há/ (past or completion), /nó:ŋ/ *still* (or progressive tense) and /kə:j/ *used to*. It should be noted that many aspect particles are Thai loans: /ca/, /kə:j/, /kamləŋ/, and possibly even /nó:ŋ/ from Thai /jəŋ/.

1. ʔòʔ cè kə:j tà kə:ŋ
I will return to home
I will go home.
2. sná: há rò:t
they (dual) have arrived
They (two) have arrived.
3. nàm jəʔ nó:ŋ làs nó:ŋ rè:ŋ nó:ŋ ʔəh nó:ŋ jòh
in the past still quick still strong still work still go
In the past I was fast, strong, working and moving around.

4. nà: kə:j pù:m plé?
she used to chew betel nut
She used to chew betel nut.
5. pà? màh mè:n hó:c k'hdí?
eat rice being complete now
I'm going to finish eating the rice.
6. kə: knà:j mè:n rò:t, hé:m ?ò?
he that one being arrive younger sibling my
The person who is coming is my younger sibling.

More than one aspect particle can occur together.

7. kə: há cè sí:n
he ready will cooked
It is about to be cooked.

4.2.5 *Modal particles* (mod pt) generally involve possibility, necessity or contingency of the action expressed by the verb. They occur in the first position of the verb phrase preceding the aspectual particle, preverbal adverb, preverb, and main verb. They cannot occur alone but must be followed by at least the main verb. There are five main modal particles signifying various shades of modality. They include /tàn/, /lè/, /cèn/, /mák/, /kàj/ as in examples provided below. For further details see 8.4.2.

1. mì: skì: ?ò? tàn jòh tà ré?
today I certainly go to farm
Today I will certainly go to the farm.
2. ?ò? tàn há plí? màh jòn kún
I certainly ready not be father village
I certainly will not be the village headman.
3. cú? là? lè kà:j / cú? rà:j lè jòh
want good then come want bad then go
Come (back) if you want things to be good (and) go if you want things to be bad.
4. jè? tí:k ?àh tà pùŋ kə: cèn rùk ?èh
you put meat at mud it of course dirty (emph pt)
You have put it in the mud, of course it gets dirty.
5. kə: jàt sí: há: dʔən kə: kàj kù? nà:
he stay four five month he happen to love her
He stayed for four or five months (and fell in love with her).
6. ɲò? kmá? mák púh
be afraid rain might fall
I am afraid that it's going to rain.

Some are Thai loan modals such as /tòn/ *must*, /kò/ *this, therefore, as well*.

1. ʔòʔ cà tòŋ ʔəh ʔáan pʔən
I will must do give able
I will have to be able to do it.
2. ʔòʔ kò jòh
I also go
I also go.

4.3 *Prepositional Phrases* (Prep P) are marked by an initial preposition as Relator followed by a noun phrase or a demonstrative as Head. They function as Locative of the semitransitive clause (see 5.1.3) and Temporal and Locative peripheral (see 5.4).

Prep P = Rel : prep H : { $\begin{matrix} \text{NP}_n \\ \text{dem} \end{matrix}$ }

Prepositions (prep) form a closed class. The most common prepositions in Khmu are /tà/ and /jòʔ/. /tà/ is used for Locative referring to what in English would be expressed as *at, in, on, under, to, from*. /jòʔ/ is used mainly with animate things or instrument nouns meaning *with, to, for, by*. It is also used to signify the time, *in (the morning), at (night)*. Other prepositions are /lòŋ/ *in the direction of*, /kló:ŋ/ *inside*, /prtəʔ/ *with*. Some examples are provided below.

(a) Prepositional phrases occurring as Locative of the semitransitive clause.

1. màʔ jət tà kà:ŋ
mother stay at home
(My) mother is at home.
2. ʔòʔ lʔan tà kúŋ jòh tà wìəŋ
I come out of village go to town
I left the village to go to the town.
3. jèʔ cè jòh lòŋ wèʔ lòŋ háam
you will go direction left direction right
You are going to the left or to the right.
4. kà: cù:r tà ntèʔ
he go down to under the house
He has gone under the house.
5. kà: kù:t kló:ŋ kà:ŋ
he enter inside house
He entered the house.
6. jòŋ jòh tà hóʔ
father go to over there
(My) father went over there.

(b) Prepositional phrases occurring as Locative, Temporal or Manner peripherals.

1. ʔòʔ ʔəh wìək tà ro:ŋsí:
I do work at (rice) mill
I work at the mill.

2. jòʔ psfəm mòn pàh
at night moon bright
The moon is bright at night.
3. ʔìʔ pəʔ mǎh jòʔ tíʔ
we eat rice with hand
We eat with (our) hands.
4. ʔòʔ ʔəh jòʔ kì:
I do with this
I do (it) with this.

(c) Prepositional phrases occurring as modifiers in noun phrases.

1. cmkʔn tà kún ʔòʔ plǎə
woman at village my pretty
The woman in my village are pretty.
2. kə: kì: mǎh mǎh tà tón
this be rice in bamboo stem
This is rice in the bamboo stem.

(d) Prepositional phrases occurring as manner adverbials.

1. kə: jòh jòʔ cì:ŋ tʔ:r
he go by plane
He went by plane.
2. ʔòʔ cè jòh prtəʔ / jòʔ nà:
I will go with her
I'll go with her.

5. INTRA-CLAUSAL SYNTAX: CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Clauses (C1) normally function as direct segments of a sentence (see section 6), but may also be embedded in a nominal phrase (see 4.1). They consist of the obligatory nuclear segments (main part) and, optionally, peripheral segments. Nuclear segments are the more independent part of the construction whereas the peripheral segments are the dependent part. The former include the nominal and verbal phrases functioning as subject, predicate, indirect object, direct object which determine the basic clause types described in 5.1. The latter include the non-nominal and non-verbal phrases functioning as temporal, locative, and manner adverbials, and the final particles, described in 5.4. Variations of basic clause types due to ellipsis, different word order of the clause segments, and forms semantically related to basic clause types will also be discussed.

Clauses can be divided into dependent and independent clauses, and into declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses. In this section the independent declarative clause type will be dealt with in detail. Some information concerning dependent clauses can be found in sections 6 and 8.

5.1 Basic clause types

Five basic clause types are established. They are: existitive, equative, intransitive, semitransitive and transitive clause. They are different from each other in their internal structure determined by the number, order, and type of nominal phrases occurring with a particular verbal phrase and functioning as Subject, Object (Direct and Indirect), Complement and Locative.

The normal word order is S-P-O. The Predicate is the only obligatory nuclear segment while the Subject nominal phrase is optional but common in all clause types (except the existitive clause). The peripheral adverbials (Adv), initial and final particles can optionally occur in all clause types (for details see section 5.4).

The structure of clauses can be diagrammed generally as:

$$Cl = (\text{in pt}) (S : NP) P : VP \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{c} O \\ \text{Comp} \\ \text{Loc} \end{array} \right\} : \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP \\ \text{Prep P} \end{array} \right\} \right) (\text{Adv}) (\text{f pt})$$

Thus a clause may have as nuclear segments an optional Subject being a nominal phrase, an obligatory Predicate being a verbal phrase, and an optional Object (Direct or Indirect), or Complement, or Locative being a nominal phrase, or a prepositional phrase (as Locative). These have been underlined in the formula above. The optional peripheral segments do not have a fixed position (except initial and final particles).

When discussing basic clause types below, the formula for each type will be given and illustrated with examples. Variations of basic clause types such as ellipsis and alternative word order including related forms will also be mentioned. Nominal phrases will also be referred to as semantically denoting actor, experiencer, undergoer, benefactor, etc. wherever it is appropriate. For verbal phrases it should be noted that the same verb can occur in different kinds of clauses. For instance a typically 'descriptive verb' occurs not only in intransitive clauses but also sometimes in the transitive clause. Transitive verbs may occur in transitive clauses as well as in intransitive clauses. Further information will be found in the discussion of each clause type.

5.1.1 *Existive clauses* (Cl_{exist}) affirm or deny the existence of something. It is also used to introduce persons or objects into a discourse. The verb /ʔàh/ *there is/are* characterises this clause type. The nuclear segments of existitive clauses consist of an optional Predicate being an existitive verb phrase followed by an obligatory Complement being a nominal phrase or a clause. The Locative peripheral normally occurs in this clause type. The structure of this clause type can be formalised as:

$$Cl_{\text{exist}} = (P : VP_{\text{exist}}) \text{Comp} : \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP \\ CL \end{array} \right\}$$

1. ʔàh kòn kɨʔ tà kruŋthè:p
have people a lot in Bangkok
There are a lot of people in Bangkok.

2. ʔàh sɔʔ wòh tà kà:ŋ ʔòʔ
 have dog a lot in house my
 There are a lot of dogs in my house.
3. nàk kì: ʔàh sə:krə: mò:j klà:k
 here have lemongrass one bush
 Here, there is a bush of lemongrass.
4. (ʔòʔ kù:n ʔòm nám) ʔàh trnàŋ còŋ / ʔàh lòt jòh tà còŋ
 I see water big have bridge high / have car go at above
 I can see a big river. There is a high bridge on which there are cars
 going across it.

For emphasis the order may be reversed. The Complement may occur before the Predicate.

5. tà kà:ŋ ʔòʔ sɔʔ tən ʔàh / hʔiər tən ʔàh / sʔəŋ
 at home my dog certainly have / hen certainly have / pig
 tən ʔàh
 certainly have
 At (my) home, { we certainly have dogs, hens and pigs.
 there certainly are dogs, hens and pigs.

This clause type is different from others as the Predicate is optional. In many cases, when understood, the complement may not appear.

6. tà kruŋtʰè:p Ø ɲò:r nám / Ø kòn wòh / Ø khó:ŋ phé:ŋ
 in Bangkok road big people many things dear
 In Bangkok, the streets are big, there are a lot of people and things
 are expensive.

Sometimes the verb /jət/ to locate, to exist, to live is used.

7. nàk kì: cì jət ʔàh / jət màh lè
 here will locate meat locate rice (emph pt)
 Here there will be meat and rice.

Sometimes the Subject denoting the creator of the existence of the thing or event is mentioned.

8. nò: ʔàh phá:n trá:k tà kà:ŋ
 they have kill buffalo at home
 They have a buffalo killing (ceremony) at home.

In conversation a Complement which is normally present in the answer can be omitted.

9. (a) ʔàh sɔʔ pé: tà kì:
 have dog (q pt) at here
 Are there any dogs here?
- (b) ʔàh
 have
 There are.

The variations of an existive clause can be seen in the different order of the nuclear and peripheral segment in the clause. Some examples are provided below.

10. ʔàh sóʔ wòh tà kà:ŋ ʔòʔ
 (V) (Comp) (Man) (Loc)
have dog a lot at house my
There are a lot of dogs at my house.
11. sóʔ ʔàh wòh tà kà:ŋ ʔòʔ
 (Comp) (V) (Man) (Loc)
dog have a lot at house my
Dogs, there are a lot at my house.

5.1.2 *Equative clauses* (Cl_{equat}) indicate in the Complement the character or identity of the Subject. Though the copula /mèh/ *to be* characterises this clause type, the zero verb equative clause is also very common. The nuclear segments of this clause type consist of an obligatory Subject being a nominal phrase, an optional Predicate being an equative verb phrase, followed by an obligatory Complement being a nominal phrase or a clause. The structure can be formularised as:

$$Cl_{\text{equat}} = S : NP (P : VP_{\text{equat}}) \text{ Comp} : NP$$

1. ʔòʔ mèh Kʰmúʔ
I am Khmu
I am a Khmu.
2. kəkì: mèh pʰré: ʔoʔ
this is elder brother my
This is my elder brother
3. kà: mèh kòn ptké:t
he is person cause - to be born
He is the father.
4. səŋtrətòh nò:r kəkì: mèh səŋ cúʔ kʰrá:s
story story this is what want to laugh
This story is a humorous story.

Other verbs than /mèh/ *to be* that can also occur in this clause type are /cì:/ *to name*, /mfən/ *to be similar, to be like*, the inchoative verb /klà:j/ or /klà:j mèh/ *to become* and verbs denoting evaluation such as /nák/ *to weigh*, or /ra:ká:/ *to cost*.

5. kà: cì Sá:m
he name Sam
His name is Sam.
6. kà: mfən kòn plòʔ
he looks like person idiot
He looks like an idiot.
7. rmpoh kà: mfən mkmùəŋ món
face his look like mango round
His face looks like a round mango.

8. ʔom wà:r klà:j smʔò:j hó:c
water hot become vapor already
The boiling water has turned into vapor.
9. ktòŋ klà:j məh tlóh hʔfər nám
egg become be rooster chook big
An egg becomes a big rooster.
10. sʔəŋ nák há: kiló:
pig weigh five kilogram
The pig weighs five kilograms.
11. wá:j ra:ká: rók síp
shirt cost sixty
A shirt costs sixty (baht).

In some cases the Predicate may not appear. The clause is then two juxtaposed nominal phrases. This is possible only when the sentence has /məh/ *to be* or /ra:ká:/ *to cost* as the Predicate.

12. kə: kə nà:j ∅ jʔʔ prò:m ʔòʔ
he that one friend my
That one is my friend.
13. kə: kì: ∅ hé:m ʔòʔ
this person younger sibling my
This is my younger brother/sister.
14. mkmuəŋ ∅ klí:ŋ pé:t bá:t
mango cost eight baht
A mango costs eight baht.
15. wá:j kə:nà:j ∅ rók síp
shirt that one sixty
That shirt costs sixty (baht).

This clause type is different from the others because the order of the nuclear segment cannot be reversed and the Subject is obligatory. But in conversation the Subject or even both Subject and Complement may not occur.

16. (a) jèʔ cʔ: máh
your name what
What is your name?
- (b) ∅ cʔ: Sá:m
name Sam
My name is Sam.
17. (a) kə: məh Khmuʔ ʔʔʔ
he is Khmu (q pt)
Is he a Khmu?
- (b) ∅ məh ∅
is
Yes.

5.1.3 *Semitransitive clauses* (Cl_{semitr}) have an optional Subject being a nominal phrase, an obligatory Predicate being a semitransitive verb phrase, followed by an obligatory Locative (a peripheral clause segment) being a prepositional phrase or in a few cases a nominal phrase. This clause type can be formularised as:

$$\text{Cl}_{\text{semitr}} = (\text{S} : \text{NP}) \text{ P} : \text{VP}_{\text{semitr}} \text{ Loc} : \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Prep P} \\ \text{Np} \end{array} \right\}$$

Semitransitive verb phrases expressing modes of being are followed by a locative prepositional phrase or locative nominal phrase referring to location.

1. jòŋ jàt tà ré?
father locate at farm
My father is at the farm.
2. kúŋ M̄əŋká:n jàt kè:m ʔòm khró:ŋ
village Muangkarn locate beside Maekhong River
Muangkarn village is located beside the Maekhong River.
3. nà: jàt kló:ŋ səŋmpó?
she locate in dream
She is in (my) dream.
4. ktòŋ jìm jàt tà lɪŋ / ktòŋ kló:k jàt ta nò:k
egg yolk locate in middle egg white locate in outside
The egg yolk is in the middle; the egg white is outside.
5. pè? ká? hák tà tró:ŋ
eat fish get stuck at throat
I ate fish and (fish bones) got stuck in my throat.
6. nà: pè:p tà prlòŋ kà:ŋ
she hide at door house
She hid in the doorway.
7. ʔòm m̄r ták tà lá? sʔò:ŋ
water dew sit at leaf plant
The dew sits on the leaves.

Nominal phrase locatives occur only when they refer to place names.

8. ʔò? jàt Ø Chìəŋkhró:ŋ
I locate Chiengkong
I live in Chiengkong.
9. jàt Ø M̄əŋ Là:w ʔbá:p / jàt M̄əŋ Tháj sá:j ʔét
locate Laos hard locate Thailand happy a little bit
Life in Laos is hard; in Thailand it's better.

5.1.4 *Intransitive clauses* (Cl_{intr}) have an optional Subject being a nominal phrase, an obligatory Predicate being an intransitive verb phrase. They can be formularised as:

$$\text{Cl}_{\text{intr}} = (\text{S} : \text{NP}) \text{ P} : \text{VP}_{\text{intr}}$$

There are three types of intransitive clauses:

Intransitive clauses with active intransitive verbs,
 Intransitive clauses with descriptive verbs, and
 Intransitive clauses with ambient verbs.

5.1.4.1 Intransitive clauses with active intransitive verbs have a subject as the actor of the action and an obligatory Predicate as an active intransitive verb phrase signifying (a) general action, (b) motion, and (c) meteorological condition.

(a) Intransitive clauses expressing general actions

1. sɔʔ pú:m tríət tríət
 dog fart (noise)
 The dog farted (noise of fart).
2. kə: khrá:s krkʔə krkʔə
 he laugh (noise)
 He laughed - ha ha ha.
3. hé:m jà:m
 younger sibling cry
 My brother/sister is crying.
4. ʔòʔ cúʔ síh
 I feel like to sleep
 I feel like going to sleep.
5. sɔʔ kwà:l
 dog bark
 The dog is barking.
6. psfəm náj mpóʔ pé làʔ
 night before dream not good
 Last night I had a bad dream.

(b) Intransitive clauses with verbs expressing motion are followed by an optional locative prepositional phrase or locative nominal phrase referring to Source or Destination.

1. ʔòʔ kà:j tà kà:ŋ
 I come to home
 I came home.
2. kə: kù:t tà klúəŋ
 he enter to inside
 He went inside.
3. màʔ jəh tà júʔ
 mother go to forest
 (My) mother went to the forest.

4. màh nàm kè: pə? liàn tà ntú? mùh
rice that he eat come out from hole nose
The rice he had eaten came out of his nose.
5. ʔòm mət kó:r
water eye fall
Tears are falling. OR She is crying.
6. nò: jòh tà rò:ŋriən
they go to school
They go to school.
7. kə: kfən tà kà:ŋ
he go up to house
He goes up into the house.

The motion verbs may be followed by another motion verb functioning as a directional verb, in a post-head serial verb type. They are verbs like /jòh/ to go, /kà:j/ to come, /rò:t/ to arrive, /kséh/ to fall down, etc.

8. ʔə? tà rò:t tà ré?
I run arrive to farm
I ran and arrived at the farm.
9. nò: píŋ jòh / píŋ kà:j
they shoot go / shoot come
They were shooting at each other.
10. kə: tér kséh tà ʔòm Khró:ŋ
he jump fall to Maekhong River
He jumped into the Maekhong River.
11. tŋkə? sʔó:ŋ tù:c jòh jòh jòh
branch tree bend go go go
The branch of the tree is bending down, down, down.

(c) Intransitive clauses expressing a meteorological condition have an obligatory Subject referring to natural phenomena and an optional Predicate referring to motion.

1. màtpri? kù:t
sun enter
The sun is setting.
2. píə kséh
hail fall
It is hailing.
3. lɬlà:r liən
lightning come out
The lightning is flashing.
4. kmá? pʰrʰəŋ / tò:r prjò:ŋ liən
rain stop / rainbow come out
The rainbow comes out when the rain stops.

5. ŋkú:r rò:t
storm arrive
The storm has arrived.
6. kír ʔih
thunder cry out
It is thundering.
7. ʔòm kʔən
water go up
(The level of) the water went up.

5.1.4.2 Intransitive clauses with descriptive verbs have as Subject the experiencer of the state described by the Predicate. The distinction between descriptive intransitive clauses and active intransitive clauses is largely a semantic one. There are only relatively minor syntactic differences. Descriptive verbs are generally translatable by English adjectives or past participles rather than by actions. Examples are provided below:

1. pù:c há: plèh
wine have been flat
The wine has gone flat.
2. ʔiʔ tʰáw knìʔ nò:
we old after they
We are going to be old like them.
3. màr híəŋ smá:n
snake black cruel
The black snake is cruel.
4. màt ʔòʔ ʔás
eye my swell
My eyes are swollen.
5. kə:kì hʔíə làk
this sweet very
This is very sweet.
6. nò: plìə hó:c
they pretty already
They are pretty now.
7. kə:kì: pé còŋ
this not high
This is not high.
8. kó:n nèʔ lʔ:n
child little naughty
The little child is naughty.
9. kʰdíʔ ʔòʔ há rmà:ŋ hó:c
now I have been rich already
I am rich now.

10. són ncà:k
trousers torn
The trousers are torn.
11. rà:ŋ sʔò:ŋ ŋkʰráh
flower open
The flowers are blooming.
12. prlòn mpá:ŋ
door open
The door is open.

5.1.4.3 Intransitive clauses with ambient verbs have only the Predicate as nucleus signifying natural phenomena. They are different from others because the Subject is obligatorily absent.

1. wá:r wà:r
hot hot
It is really hot.
2. kát làk
cold very
It is very cold.
3. há: cè pàh hó:c
already will bright already
It is nearly dawn. OR Dawn is about to break.
4. há: ckóʔ hó:c
already evening already
It is getting dark.
5. jòʔ ŋtəp ŋàr
when dawn cold
It is cold at dawn.

A clause such as the following is incorrect and never used.

*mí: skì: kè: kát
today it cold
It is cold today.

However the subject can occur in a case like mí: skì: kè: há: kát hó:c.

Active intransitive verbs can also occur in transitive clauses. That is they may be followed by a nominal phrase functioning as an Object or Complement. However, the subjects seem to act as experiencers rather than performers of the action. The 'intransitive' objects seem mostly to be topics.

1. (a) ʔòʔ ŋkàʔ
I shy
I feel shy.
- (b) ʔòʔ ŋkàʔ kó:nnfm
I shy girl
I am shy of girls.

2. (a) ʔòʔ kʰrá:s làk
 I laugh a lot
 I laugh a lot.

(b) (kə: rò:t ʔiʔ pɾɾà:) ʔiʔ kʰrá:s kə:
 he arrive we gossip we laugh him
 When he arrived we gossiped about him (and) we laughed at him.

Descriptive verbs can also occur in intransitive constructions.

1. kà:ŋ lèh mòk
 house near mountain
 The house is near the mountain.

2. (ʔə: tá:ŋ nì: pìən tè:) kə: càʔ wìəŋ càʔ ká:t
 doing basketry this possible but it far city far market
 Basketry is alright but for marketing the product I am too far from the city.

3. ʔòʔ wà:r lù:j (màh)
 I hungry rice
 I am hungry. (I want to eat rice.)

4. ʔòʔ làʔ lòh
 I good body
 I am well.

5. ʔòʔ lìət cua (= ʔòʔ cua lìət)
 I short life
 I will not live long.

6. kə: lìk màt
 he blind eye
 He is blind.

In everyday life speech situations, intransitive constructions are found with transitive verbs (which are normally followed by nominal objects). However, the missing object may be understood from the context.

The nominal word order of intransitive clauses is S-P. However for emphasis P-S is also used.

1. kə: kó:n làʔ rɾìəm làk kó:r ʔòm màt
 he very good heart a lot run down(P) water eye(S)
 He is so glad that tears are falling (from his eyes).

2. jòh Lè: / jòh Sét
 go(P) Lae(S) / go(P) Set(S)
 Both Lae and Set went.

3. pàs tà màʔ lìan ʔàh / lìan màh
 stab where come out(P) meat(S) come out(P) rice(S)
 Wherever (I) stab there is meat and there is rice.

4. lám màh / lám má:r
 delicious(P) rice / delicious(P) salt(S)
 The rice is good and the salt is good.

5. rò:t ŋkú:r / rò:t pl̩fər
come(P) storm(S) / come(P) hail(S)
It is storming and hailing

Adv - V construction also occurs as in:

6. lám pəʔ ləʔ jət
delicious(Adv) eat(V) / good(Adv) lives(V)
Eat well, live well.

5.1.5 Transitive clauses (Cl_{tr}) have an optional Subject as a performer of the action being a nominal phrase, an obligatory Predicate being a transitive verb phrase signifying (a) general action, (b) causation, (c) possession, and (d) cognition and perception, and an obligatory Object being a nominal phrase or a clause. This clause type is the most common clause type found in the language. It can be formularised as:

$$\text{Cl}_{\text{tr}} = (\text{S} : \text{NP}) \text{ P} : \text{VP}_{\text{tr}} \text{ O} : \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Cl} \end{array} \right\}$$

(a) Transitive clauses express general action.

1. kə: tám pri:ŋ
he beat drum
He is beating a drum.
2. ʔiʔ cə wə:t rŋkóʔ
we will buy husked rice
We will buy (husked) rice.
3. kə: pət pl̩:ŋ
he cut rattan
He is cutting rattan.
4. ʔiʔ ʔfək pù:c
we drink wine
We drink wine.
5. kó:n cmkfn tá:p sá:t
women weave mat
The women weave mats.
6. khʔí:p tók ʔà:w Bé:n
scorpion sting uncle Bern
A scorpion stung Uncle Bern.
7. màh kə: rùŋ / ŋóʔ kə: híc
rice he cook / paddy he pound
He cooked rice and pounded paddy.

(d) Transitive clauses express causative meaning (by verbs with a causative prefix).

1. nà: pnmàh síəŋ
she cause-to-eat pig
She feeds pigs.

2. ʔòʔ pnpó:l ktòŋ
I cause-to-roll jar
I rolled a crock (along the ground).
3. ʔòʔ pnpì:t prɪʔə
I cause-to-put out fire
I put out the fire.
4. ʔòʔ pnkláh sfəŋ
I cause-to-release pig
I released the pig.
5. ʔòʔ pnkséh ktòŋ tnláh
I cause-to-fall egg break
I dropped an egg and it broke.
6. ʔòʔ pnlà:c kmú:l
I cause-to-lose money
I have lost (some) money.
7. (màʔ ʔòʔ ʔúan) ʔòʔ pnpòʔ héh:m
(mother my make) me cause-to-hold younger sibling
My mother made me hold (my) younger sibling.

(c) Transitive clauses express possessive meaning.

1. nò: ʔàh tá:j héh:m rók kòn
they have older sibling younger sibling six person
They have six brothers and sisters.
2. ʔòʔ ʔàh kmú:l wòh / trá:k ʔòʔ ʔàh / kmú:l ʔòʔ ʔàh
I have money a lot / buffalo I have / money I have
I have a lot of money. I have buffaloes and money.
3. ʔòʔ ʔàh prà:ŋ
I have skin disease
I have a skin disease.
4. sóʔ ʔàh ʔíək srí:l
dog have faeces gold
The dog had gold faeces.

(d) Transitive clauses express cognitive or perceptive meanings.

1. kù:n sóʔ / kù:n sfəŋ
see dog / see pig
(I could) see dogs and pigs.
2. khít cèʔ khít kó:n
think grandchildren / think children
I think for (my) children and grandchildren.
3. ʔòʔ lónŋ kà: hó:c
I forget it already
I have forgotten it already.

4. ʔiʔ tàŋ srʔé:ŋ màʔ jòŋ
we certainly miss mother father
We certainly miss (our) parents.
5. ʔòʔ ŋòʔ ró:j
I be afraid of (evil) spirits
I am afraid of evil spirits.
6. kə: chá:j pún pí:
he knows how to play wind instrument
He knows how to play a wind instrument.

In some transitive constructions the object does not refer to the undergoer of the action but to the purpose or result of the action. Alternative constructions for the same meaning are also given in brackets for examples 2 and 3.

1. ʔoʔ khʔəŋ khúm
I dig hole
I am digging a hole.
2. ʔòʔ jòh pòk cntràn (= ʔòʔ pòk sʔò:ŋ té:ŋ cntràn)
I go cut post (I cut tree make post)
I went to cut a tree to make a post.
3. ʔòʔ péŋ kùəi (= ʔòʔ péŋ sʔò:ŋ té:ŋ kùəi)
I cut mortar (I cut tree make mortar)
I cut a tree to make a mortar.

An inanimate noun can also function as the subject of a transitive clause referring to the performer of the action.

ŋkú:r pá:ŋ prlòŋ
storm open door
The storm opened the door.

rót ró:s kòn
car press person
The car ran over someone.

However only animate nouns or movable nouns can occur in the following clauses.

ʔòʔ wàt wè:l (* wè:l wàt ʔòʔ)
I hit knife
I cut myself with a knife.

ʔtíʔ wàtʔ crlàʔ (* crlàʔ wàt tíʔ)
hand hit thorn
My hand was pierced by a thorn.

Ambient verbs can also occur in transitive clauses.

ŋkì:n ntrà:s làk kòn há:n tà hóʔ
yesterday lightning hit person die over there
Yesterday, the lightning hit someone and killed him, over there.

If the context allows it, the subject is normally left unstated.

1. \emptyset pəʔ hó:c ʔòʔ cè jòh tà wiəŋ
eat already I will go to town
After the meal I will go to town.

2. nà:m pè? \emptyset nò:m màh / tà:t ʔúr / tà:t cmjə:j tə:t
when eat make a ball rice dip curry dip chili dip
 ká? kú:p
fish bake
To eat I (make the sticky) rice into a ball, and dipped it into a curry,
and in (some) chili and baked fish.

3. (a) \emptyset ʔəh məh
do what
What are you doing?

(b) \emptyset híc ŋóʔ pəh
pound paddy keep
(I) am pounding paddy to keep for later.

4. (a) jè? cè jòh nəm mə?
you will go when
When are you going?

(b) \emptyset jòh pmkì:
go tomorrow
Tomorrow.

As in the case of the subject, when the context allows it the object may be left unstated. But this type of construction is not acceptable outside its context.

5. Khá:n cù:r / Cəŋ túk \emptyset / tmrìh \emptyset cù:r tà cò:ŋ hó:c
Karn go down Cang tie drag go down at working hut then
 sná: lè wát \emptyset
they then beat
Karn went down there. Cang tied him up and dragged him into the working hut.
Then they beat him.

The predicate which is obligatorily present may also be deleted for the answer in the conversation.

6. (a) mə? rò:t
who come
Who has come?

(b) síəʔ Lò:ŋ
brother Long
Brother Long.

The normal order of transitive clauses is S-P-O. However, for emphasis it is common for the Object to occur clause initial. O-S-P order is therefore also common.

1. rpà:ŋ nò: tám
gong(O) they(S) beat(P)
The gong, they beat (it).
2. trnə:m jè? tə:m mò:j nò:r
song(O) you(S) sing(P) one (class)
The song, you sing (it).

3. kó:n mà? nò:k
child(O) mother(S) beat(P)
The child was beaten by the mother.
4. tú:t rà:ŋ sʔó:ŋ ʔò? ʔuón nò: pnsɪm
flower plant(O) I(S) make them grow(P)
I made them grow some flowering plants.

For special emphasis the reversed order O-P-S is used.

1. (a) mà? rùŋ pù:c kə:ki: lám lák
who make wine this delicious really
Who made this wine? It's really good.
- (b) pù:c rúŋ ʔò? (ʔo? { ʔəh })
wine(O) make(P) I(S)
I am the one who made it.
2. (a) Cəŋ túk hó:c mà? lè wát
Cang tie then who then beat
Who beat (him) after Cang had tied him up?
- (b) wát ʔà:w Jù:ŋ
beat(P) uncle Jung
It was Uncle Jung.
3. mət sŋkér mùh sŋkér kə: məh səŋ ʔəh ró:j
eye deform nose deform he is what(O) make(P) evil spirit(S)
His eyes and nose are deformed (as if) he was made by an evil spirit.
4. ʔò? péŋ sʔó:ŋ / sʔó:ŋ péŋ ʔò?
I cut down the tree tree(O) cut down(P) I(S)
I cut (down) a tree.
5. ré? rɸəm ʔò? / səŋ ʔò? rɸəm / ʔò? rɸəm ré?
farm(O) clear(P) I(S) what I clear I clear farm
I clear the land for crops.

5.2 Summary of the variations of basic clause types

Apart from the basic clause patterns, each of the Khmu clauses may have certain variants. Examples have been provided in the discussion of each clause type.

5.2.1 Ellipsis

Shorter forms usually serve as ellipsis of longer forms in accordance with the following table.

Clause types	Normal segments	S-P ellipsis of O	P-O ellipsis of S	S-O ellipsis of P	S ellipsis of P+(O)	P ellipsis of S+(O)	O,Comp, or Loc ellipsis of S+P
Existive	(S)-P-Comp						+
Equative	S-P-Comp		(+)	+	(+)	(+)	
Semi-transitive	S-P-Loc		+		(+)	(+)	+
Intransitive	S-P				+	+	
Transitive	S-P-O	+	+	+	+	+	+

5.2.2 Permutation

The permutation of the clause segments, both nuclear and peripheral is due to different focus and emphasis. However only the nuclear segments will be dealt with here.

The permutation of basic clauses involves both postpositional and prepositional permutation of clause segments. The subject may be postposed whereas the object or complement may be preposed.

(a) *Postposed subject*

The subject of all basic clause types except existive and equative clauses can be permuted to postposition. Instead of having the subject before the verb phrase, it can be postposed to the position after the nuclear clause segments, though its position among the peripheral segments is not rigid. The permuted word order can be shown as below.

Clause type	Normal word order	Permuted word order 1.	Permuted word order 2.
semitransitive	S-P-Loc	P-Loc-S	
intransitive	S-P	P-S	
transitive	S-P-O	P-O-S	O-P-S
existive	P-Comp	Com-P	

(b) *Object and complement emphasis*

For emphasis, the object of the transitive, and in some cases of the equative clause, can be permuted to the first or presubject position. The word order with object and complement can thus be shown as:

S - P - O → O - S - P
 kwà:j hǒ: nǒ: pnsǫm
 cassava they grow
 They grow cassava.

In a short sentence with a serial verb the object can occur after the verb between the two serial verbs, or before the Subject.

1. S - P₁ P₂ - O ʔàʔ cè pùà pèʔ sǫŋ
 we will cook eat pig
2. S - P₁ - O - P₂ ʔàʔ cè pùà sǫŋ pèʔ
 we will cook pig eat
3. O - S - P₁ P₂ sǫŋ ʔàʔ cè pùà pèʔ
 pig we will cook eat
 We (two) cook pork to eat.

5.3 Some semantically related forms of basic clause types

Each of the Khmu clauses may also have forms which are semantically related to basic clause types. Below imperative, interrogative, benefactive (including causative, propulsion and purposive), passive, reflexive and reciprocal constructions will be discussed.

5.3.1 *Imperative constructions* express commands or requests. All basic clause types except equative and existive can occur in the form of an imperative clause. The verbal particle /tá:/ *do not* is a negative imperative. There are some final particles that can occur with imperative clauses such as /ʔém/ *showing request or invitation*. As in Thai, imperative clauses in Khmu can have an explicit subject. Further information can be found in Section 7.

1. jàʔ pà: làw ʔém
 grandma you say (f pt)
 Please talk, grandma.
2. tá: lǒr
 do not speak
 Don't speak.
3. jèʔ té:p té:p
 you stop stop
 Stop! Stop!
4. jèʔ srʔé:ŋ ʔìʔ dé: ʔéh
 you think of us also (f pt)
 Please { *think of us.*
 don't forget us.

5.3.2 *Interrogative constructions* ask questions. All basic clauses may occur as interrogative clauses. As in Thai interrogative clauses, there are both information and yes-no questions. On the other hand in the alternative question the two choices appear in juxtaposition and no interrogative word is used. Further information can be found in Section 6.

1. mà? rò:t
who come
Who came?
2. jè? ʔáh máh
you do what
What are you doing?
3. jè? jòh tà mà? rò:t
you go where come
Where did you go?
4. kà: ʔáh kó:n sʔáh kòn
he have child how many person
How many children has he?
5. nà: kù? kà: ʔf?
she love him or not
Does she love him?
6. kà: plìə pé:
he good looking or not
Is he handsome?
7. kà: hó:c pé tá:
he finish not yet
Has he finished?
8. són kà:kì: kà: wà:ŋ kà: lliət
garment this it long it short
Are these shorts or trousers?
9. jè? pʔən wòh pʔən ʔét
you get much get little
Have you got a lot or little?

5.3.3 Passive constructions

Khmu does not seem to have passive constructions as in English. There is a passive construction with O-S-P order with the Lao loan word /tʰf:k/ to undergo an unpleasant experience, occurring after a topicalised object.

1. (a) h́:m tʰf:k mà? wát
younger sibling undergo mother hit
My younger brother/sister was caned by (my) mother.
2. (a) Bín kà: tʰf:k rwà:j pók há:n
Bin he undergo tiger bite die
Bin was bitten by a tiger and died.

However, the normal transitive construction can be used alternatively and seems to be more common.

1. (b) mà? wát hé:m OR hé:m mà? wát
mother hit younger sibling younger sibling mother hit
(My) mother caned (my) younger sibling.
2. (b) rwà:j pók Bé:n há:n OR Bé:n rwà:j pók há:n
tiger bite Bern die Bern tiger bite die
The tiger tore Bern to death.

5.3.4 *Reflexive constructions* specify that the subject or the actor is particularly stressed or emphasised in relation to the predication. The reflexive construction has a reflexive pronoun /tè:/ inserted immediately following the predicate verb phrase of any basic clause type except the existitive or equative clause. The reflexive pronoun /tè:/ *oneself* can occur with or refer to every personal pronoun or noun no matter what gender and number they are. It can also occur as either subject or object, by itself or being a part of a noun phrase.

1. ʔò? trkèt sr?é:ŋ lòh tè: sé:t
I think have sympathy with body myself alone
I feel sorry for myself.
2. kà: phá:n lòh tè: (há:n)
he kill body himself dead
He killed himself.
3. kà: té:ŋ tè: (cú? lù:j)
he make himself pain stomach
He pretends to have a stomach ache.

5.3.5 *Reciprocal constructions* express mutual action by two or more actors and have the reciprocal marker /jò?/ *together, with each other* inserted immediately following the predicate verb phrase of basic clauses (except equative and existitive clauses which cannot take this construction).

1. h?fər tók jò?
hen peck together
The hens peck each other.
2. nò: lòr jò?
they speak together
They are speaking together.
3. nò: rò:t rác jò?
they come visit together
They visit each other.
4. ʔà? wát jò? (jòh jòh kà:j kà:j)
we (two) fight together go go come come
We fought each other.
5. tá? jà? trthfəŋ jò? tè:
grandpa grandma quarrel together themselves
Grandpa and Grandma quarrel with each other.

6. cmá? wàn jò?
 rope tangle together
 The rope is tangled up.

Verbs expressing reciprocal action may occur between two nominal phrases.

kà: trthfəŋ jò? kə:nním tè:
 he quarrel with girlfriend his own
 He quarreled with his girlfriend.

5.4 Peripheral segments

Besides the nuclear segments, clauses also have optional segments which are discussed in this section. The peripheral segments include adverbials (Adv) initial particles (in pt), clause topic and final particles (f pt), etc. The adverbials are Temporal (Temp), Locative (Loc) and Manner (Man) which are adverb phrases (Adv P), prepositional phrases (Prep P) and comparative phrase manifesting time, place and manner setting. The order of adverbials in clause is not rigid. It is not uncommon that two adverbials co-occur in a clause. Initial and final particles which have fixed positions may occur in almost every clause type. The most common order of the segments in the clause can be diagrammed as:

Cl = (in pt) (Cl topic) (Temp) S-V-O (Loc) (Adv) (f pt)

Adverbs may occasionally precede the object and the Temporal may precede the final particles. Other items are not confined to a certain position either.

5.4.1 Temporal (Temp) may occur either before or after the clause nucleus. It can be a word, a phrase or a clause, as shown below.

1. k^hdi? ʔo? há rmà:ŋ hó:c
 now I already rich already
 Now I am rich.
2. pmkì: ʔò? cè jòh tà jú?
 tomorrow I will go to forest
 Tomorrow I will go to the forest.
3. pí: nàm klà:t ʔò? téc salì: wòh
 year which pass I sell corn a lot
 Last year I sold a lot of corn.
4. sí:m rò:t tà kì: cmì:
 bird come at here every day
 The birds come here every day.
5. jà? hó:c pà? hó:c pù:m pà:m nó:ŋ nè?
 grandma to have done eat to have done chew when still small
 Grandma chewed our food (so we could eat it) when we were small.
6. nàm ʔò? jàt tà kúŋ ʔò? ʔàh ré? ʔàh prà:j
 when I stay at home I grow crops make traps
 When I lived at home I worked in the field and made traps.

7. nàm ʔòʔ srʔé:ŋ màʔ jòŋ ʔòʔ kà:j tà kà:ŋ
when I think of mother father I return to home
Whenever I miss my parents I go home.

5.4.2 *Locative (Loc)* is normally a post nuclear segment but when it is emphasised it can occur as a clause initial. A locative consists of an initial preposition and a noun phrase. More information can be found in the section on the prepositional phrase (Section 5.4.3.2).

1. Sá:m jòh pò:l tá súʔ
Sam go work in the South
Sam was sent to work in the South.
2. kè: tèn tà kà:ŋ ʔòʔ
he sit in house my
He is sitting in my house.
3. ʔòʔ kwɨr mà:m kló:ŋ sláj (ʔúan kè: yàr)
I stir blood in bowl make it cold
I stir the blood in a bowl to make it cold.
4. màʔ ʔòh ʔòm tà sɨlùʔ
mother get water at well
(My) mother gets the water from the well.
5. tiʔtá:m méh lòn kì:
hammer hit direction this
Hit here with the hammer.
6. kè: tàr jòh nàm ʔò:r
he run go along road
He ran along the road.
7. ʔòʔ jòh tà kún Bá:n Máj rò:t tà kún ʔòm Jén
I go from village Ba:n Maj arrive at village Om Yen
I walked from Barn Mai village to Om Yen village.

5.4.3 *Manner (Man)* is expressed by adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, or comparative phrases.

5.4.3.1 *Adverb phrases (Adv P)* modify the verb phrase. Usually they use post nuclear segments. However, for emphasis they can be prenuclear segments. They are words (adverbs) or phrases.

Adverbs (adv) usually follow the object but can also precede the object. Semantically they may describe the manner in which the predication is sustained or add descriptive colour to the verbs. Adverbs are of three main types: those that modify the action expressed by the verb, those that modify the relationship between the actor and the action, and those that indicate the direction of the action.

1. Adverbs that modify the action expressed by words that have meaning similar to that of the English adverbs are never negated but can occur in pairs.

1. kà: tàr làs (làs)
he run fast (fast)
He runs fast.
2. ʔòʔ ʔf̩k rəŋ rəŋ
I not like very very
I don't really like it.
3. ʔòʔ lóŋ rəŋ (rəŋ)
I forget a lot
I am very forgetful.
4. kà: kò:n làʔ pʰó:t
he too much good too much
He is { ^{so} too } good.
5. kà: pŋkàʔ làk
he shy a lot
He is very shy.
6. ʔiʔ píŋ sí:m cè:p mùən
we shoot bird enjoyable enjoyable
We enjoy shooting birds.

2. Some adverbs modify the relationship between the actor and the action, particularly with regard to the actor's ability to complete the action. They can be negated but never appear as pairs. Moreover they can be used by themselves as a complete response utterance. They are words like /pʰən/ to be able to, /hó:c/ to complete, to finish, /dʰ:m/ to try on.

1. ʔòʔ pəʔ hó:c
I eat already
I have already eaten it.
2. ʔòʔ ʔəh pʰən
I do able
I can do it.
3. ʔòʔ ʔəh dʰ:m
I do see
I will try.
4. nò: pəʔ pé pʰən
they eat not able
They can't eat.

3. Directional adverbs indicate the general direction of the main action. They are the motion verbs like /jəh/ to go, /kà:j/ to come, /rò:t/ to arrive, /rəh/ to be up, /kʰən/ to go up, etc. Some examples are provided below. More examples can be found in Section 6.

1. kà: (dà:n) jòh tà ká:t pa:chà: tà Chiengmàj
he (walk) go at market bazaar in Chiengmai
He walked around the bazaar in Chiengmai.
2. ʔòʔ tàr rò:t tà kà:ŋ
I run arrive at home
I ran and arrived home.
3. nà: tòp kà:j tà kúŋ
she return come to village
She walked back to the village.

5.4.3.2 Prepositional phrases (See also Section 4)

Instrumentative meaning:

ʔòʔ píŋ sí:m jòʔ sná:t
I shoot bird with gun
I shot the bird with a gun.

Comitative meaning:

ʔòʔ jòh jòʔ jòn
I go with father
I went with my father.

ʔòʔ pèʔ màh jòʔ màʔ jòʔ jòn
I eat rice with mother with father
I had a meal with my parents.

5.4.3.3 Comparative phrases

Descriptive verbs and adverbs can occur in comparative constructions of equality, comparative degree, or superlative degree.

1. Comparison of equality is marked by /nàŋ/ *to be equal, to be the same* followed by a reciprocal marker /jòʔ/ *together*.

1. ʔòʔ kàp Lò:ŋ còŋ nàŋ jòʔ
I and Long tall equal together
I am as tall as Long.

2. ʔòʔ kàp Lò:ŋ tàr làs nàŋ jòʔ
I and Long run fast equal together
I run as fast as Long does.

3. kà: kì: nàŋ jòʔ kà: kì:
this equal to this
This is the same size as that.

4. jèʔ nèʔ nàŋ tmáʔ jèʔ klám sʔò:ŋ nám nàŋ kà:ŋ
you small equal lice you carry wood big equal house
You are as small as a louse but you carry a piece of wood as big as a house.

5. ʔòʔ pəʔ wòh nàŋ Lò:ŋ
 I eat much equal Long
 I eat as much as Long does.

2. Comparison involving the comparative degree is marked by having a comparative marker /lɸə/ or /kwá:/ to exceed, be greater, more, in relation to. The latter is a Thai loanword.

1. mkhúŋ nám lɸə mkmùəŋ
 papaya big exceed mango
 A papaya is bigger than a mango.
2. Sá:m kàŋ lɸə Sɛ:n
 Sam diligent exceed San
 Sam is more diligent than San is.
3. kə: ké: kwá: ʔòʔ sá:m pí:
 he old exceed I three year
 He is three years older than me.
4. kə: rmà:ŋ ntrù:m jòŋ ʔòʔ
 he rich less than father I
 He is less rich than my father.

3. Comparison involving superlative degree can be expressed by using the comparative marker /lɸə/ followed by /jòʔ/ others as in:

1. réʔ ʔòʔ lwàh lɸə jòʔ
 farm my wide exceed others
 My farm is bigger than that of others.
2. Ta Sá:ŋ ʔàh kó:n wòh lɸə jòʔ
 Mr Sang has children many exceed others
 Mr Sang has more children than other people do.
3. nàj lò:k kə kì: mət nám kwá: jòʔ
 in world this who big exceed others
 Who is the biggest in the world?

It can also be expressed by the use of the word /tú:t/ most, best, (trunk, base).

1. trnə:m mùəŋ tú:t jət jòʔ jət Pəŋ
 sing beautiful best stay with grandma Pang
 Grandma Pang is the best singer.
2. kòn tá:n spúŋ plìə tú:t jət jòʔ táʔ Yàr
 person do basketry basket pretty most stay with grandpa Yar
 The person who is the best at making baskets is Grandpa Yar.
3. tú:t saŋkàŋ mət Sá:m
 most diligent person is Sam
 Sam is the most diligent man.
4. tú:t jət jòʔ kə: kənà:j kùʔ hó:j phá:j
 best stay with he that one love play card
 The man is the person who most loves playing cards.

5.4.4. Initial and final particles

Initial particles occur in clause initial position. For details see Section 7.

Final particles occur in clause final position. They serve various semantic functions. Some of them function as question indicators. Some function as emphatic or request indicators. For this type, some examples are provided below. More can be found in Section 7.

1. ʔòʔ há cè jòh ʔám
I go (emph pt)
I'll be leaving now.
2. əh jò:m pè: jèʔ lèʔ
(in pt) surrender you (emph pt)
I give in.
3. ʔe: jò:r tà: lòr wòh sák pá:ŋ tú:p
(in pt) orphan not say much (emph pt) open house
Don't talk just open the door.
4. há: tà: lò:r nà
already not speak (emph pt)
Don't talk!
5. kà:j ləʔ ləʔ ʔám
return well well (emph pt)
Have a safe trip.
6. tà: jòh ʔéh srʔé:ŋ ʔìʔ ʔé:h
not go (emph pt) pity us (emph pt)
Please don't go for our sake.
7. krúŋthé:p cè:p ó:
Bangkok enjoyable (emph pt)
Bangkok is an exciting place.
8. pəʔ ʔʌ:m
eat (invitation pt)
Have it, please.
9. pəʔ ʔé:h
eat (emph pt)
Have it.
10. kà: taŋ cè jòh ka:
he may will go (polite pt)
He may go.

5.4.5 Clause topic

Clause topic occurs at the initial position, and after initial particle (if there is one), introducing the person or thing which is the topic of the clause.

kà: kə̀nìʔ nà kà: ʔàh tmkɔʔ...
he this man he have wife
This man, he has a wife...

6. INTERCLAUSAL SYNTAX: SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Khmu sentences are grammatical units which potentially occur alone as complete utterances. They function as a segment in a paragraph or sometimes constitute alone a paragraph. They range in length from a single word to lengthy conjoined clauses. They may consist of a single independent clause with or without one or more embedded clauses, conjoined clauses, or non-clause utterances such as vocatives or exclamations.

Sentences will be divided below into five types according to their nuclear structures.

1. Simple sentences
2. Embedding sentences
3. Merged sentences
4. Conjoining sentences
5. Non-clause sentences

Like clauses, sentences may also have time and location as peripheral segments. In a one-clause sentence the time and location function as both clause and sentence periphery, but in a longer sentence they may refer to only one clause.

6.1 *Simple sentences* are sentences with a single independent clause. For details see the section on clause structure (Section 5).

6.2 *Embedding sentences* are sentences with one or more subordinate sentences embedded at some point in an independent sentence. Sentences with relative, nominal, quotative, and purposive embedded clauses are discussed below.

6.2.1 Sentences with one or more relative clauses

These sentences contain one or more relative clauses modifying a noun (either subject, object, or complement). The relative clauses in Khmu follow the noun they modify. They are introduced by the relative pronoun /nəm/ *that, which, who, whom*, etc. In their fullest form, these sentences can be diagrammed as:

[[S head] [nam (S) P(O)]] [[O head] [nam (S) P(O)]]

trá:k nəm nám knà:j m̀h trá:k ʔò?
 buffalo which big that one be buffalo my
That big buffalo is mine.

In some cases there is no relative pronoun.

tá:j cmkʰn jàt tà nìʔ m̀h ʔa:cá:n
 older sibling female live there be teacher
(Her) elder sister, who is staying there, is a teacher.

In some cases a personal pronoun can occur after the relative pronoun.

tmá:c táj nəm kə:ké: pí:c nəm kpó:m k̀:ŋ
 choose pick vegetable which it old throw away which young cook
Pick the vegetables if they are old, throw them away; if they are fresh, keep them for cooking.

6.2.2 Sentences with one or more nominal embedded clauses

It is very common to find a clause functioning as a unitary noun in the context of the whole sentence. There are two types of nominal embedded clauses:

6.2.2.1 Those introduced by the nominaliser /sàŋ/. In their fullest form they can be diagrammed as:

[səŋ (S) P(O)] [P] [səŋ (S) P(O)]

1. kə: kì: məh sàŋ ʔəh ró:j
he this is what make evil spirit
He is what the evil spirit makes.
2. sàŋ kə: kéŋ kə: ʔəh pʔən
who he be capable he do able
Those who are capable, can do it.

6.2.2.2 Those occurring in the nominal phrase position without any marker. They can be diagrammed as:

[(S) P(O)] [P] [(S) P(O)]

1. kó:n jò? ʔəh jà:ŋ kmə? tá: híen
child (of) other do what ways not learn
Don't do what others do.
2. sóŋ wá:j cè hóh pé ʔəh
trousers shirt for wearing not have
They do not have anything to wear.
3. kó:n ʔi? tí:n mʔən mò:t klà:ŋ k'hreh
children our teach to be like put rock throw
Teaching our children is like throwing away rocks. (i.e. It is no use.)

6.2.3 Sentences with a quotative clause

These sentences contain a clause (or a sentence) governed by a verb of saying in the main clause. Verbs of saying such as /láv/ to say, /mà:ŋ/ to ask, /hé:t/ to call, may or may not be followed by the word /láv/ which is translated as *saying, thus, that, whether*. The hearer may also be specified.

[(S)] [P (O) (/láv/)] [(S) (P) (O)]

Quotative constructions can be described in terms of direct and indirect speech.

(a) The direct speech is normally marked by a more or less complete direct quotation with the subject of the clause. It may be introduced by /láv/.

1. kó:nnfm hé:t láv tá:j tèn ta kà:ŋ
girl call say brother sit in the house
The girl called out: 'Brother, come in and sit down'.

2. kà: mà:n làw pà: jòh méh
they ask say you go where
 They asked: 'Where are you going?'
3. nò: mà:n C'əŋ jɛ' jàt tà mà? pə' tà mà?
they ask Cuang you live where eat where
 They asked Cuang, 'Where do you live?, where do you eat?'
4. kà: làw (jò' nà:) ʔò' cè kà:j cò:j mà? jòn ʔəh ré?
he say to her I will return help mother father do farm
 He told her, 'I will go home to help my parents work on the farm'.
5. ʔò' cəh nà: làw pà: kòt tɪ' ʔò' bəh
I scold her say you pinch arm my why
 I asked her, 'Why do you pinch me?'
6. kà: làw jòn pò' hɛ:m ʔét
he said father hold younger sibling a little
 He said 'Father, can I hold the baby for a while?'
7. sná: prà:k kɔ:nɪm làw hɛ:m jòh ʔám
they say goodbye girl say sister go (f pt)
 They said goodbye to the girl, saying, 'Sister we have to go'.

(b) Indirect speech is normally marked by the absence of the subject in the following clause as opposed to direct object.

1. kà: làw tè: pé: sbà:j kà: rò:t pé p'ən
he say himself not be well he come not able
 He said that he was not well so he could not come.
2. mà? tɪ:n ʔúan jòh là? là?
mother teach give go well well
 The mother wished them well.
3. kà: làw cè jòh pló' jàt tà kún
he say will go not stay in village
 He said he would not stay in the village.
4. Phó:n tɪ:n ʔò' rò:t síh ta tú:p Phó:n
Porn advise me come sleep at house Porn
 Porn told me to come to sleep at his house.

Possible variations of the normal word order S-P-Quot are P-S-Quot as in 1 or Quot-P-S as in 2.

1. ʔò' khít tàŋ m'ən làw cè? man chám cáj
I think certainly like say(P) Thai(S) it hurt(Quot) heart
 What I think is certainly the same as that about which the Thai say,
 'It is upsetting'.
2. ʔò' pè ʔəh bún bún nó:j làw cè?
I not have merit merit little (Quot) say(P) Thai(S)
 I don't have any past merit. They would say 'little merit' in Thai.

Sentences with perceptive and cognitive verbs such as /kù:ŋ/ *to see*, /méc/ *to hear*, /chá:j/ *to know, how to do*, /trkèt/ *to think*, /nè:ŋ/ *to know*, /ŋòʔ/ *to be afraid of*, which can embed another clause, also belong to this sentence type. They are sometimes followed by /làw/ *that*. Examples are provided below.

1. ʔòʔ nè:ŋ nò: kntrà:l ʔòʔ
I know they jealous me
I know (that) they are jealous of me.
2. ʔòʔ méc kè: làw máh jòʔ kó:n
I hear him say what to child
I heard him say something to his child.
3. jòŋ kù:ŋ kè: jàt tìn
father see he stay stand
His father saw him still standing (there).
4. kè: sŋé:j jòŋ há: klà:t
he see father already pass
He saw his father had already passed him.
5. ʔòʔ méc làw kfn trtót kén
I hear that auntie recite stories skill
I heard that auntie is good at reciting stories.
6. ʔòʔ trkèt làw kntrəŋ tà krúŋtʰé:p jìəm làk
I think that thing in Bangkok dear very
I think that things in Bangkok are very dear.
7. nò: ŋòʔ làw rwà:j cè rò:t
they be afraid that tiger will come
They are afraid that the tiger might appear.

6.2.4 Sentences with various kinds of purposive embedded clauses

These sentences have an embedded clause which is governed by the verb in the main clause, expressing various kinds of purposive meanings such as benefactive, propulsion, naming, or causative meanings.

6.2.4.1 Sentences with a benefactive embedded clause consist of two clauses, a main clause and a subordinate clause, both sharing the same direct object. The subject of the subordinate clause is the beneficiary of the action expressed by the verb (a transitive active verb) in the main clause. The verbs of the subordinate clause are restricted to those having 'consuming' meaning, such as /tèʔ/ *to get*, /pəʔ/ *to eat*, /ŋkóʔ/ *to wear*. This sentence type can be diagrammed as:

[S] [P] [IO-S] [P] [O]

tá:j t'é:ŋ h'é:m t'è? rpa:ŋ
elder sibling make younger sibling get gong
The elder brother/sister made his younger brother/sister a gong.

(See more examples below.)

6.2.4.2 Sentences with a propulsion clause consist of two clauses, a main clause and a subordinate clause having a propulsion verb such as /ʔó:r/ *to lead* and /píh/ *to lead by hand*, /mò:t/ *to take* and a direct object which is also the subject of the second clause, both sharing a segment which is a verb functioning as a predicate in the main clause.

[S] [P] [DO-S] P (LOC)

kà: ʔó:r tmkó? t'è: rò:t
he lead wife himself arrive
He brings his wife here.

(See more examples below.)

6.2.4.3 Sentences with a causative clause have the verb /ʔúan/ *to cause, to give* in the main clause. The main clause and the subordinate clause share a segment which functions as the direct object of the main clause and the subject of the subordinate clause.

[S] [P] [DO-S] [P] ([DO])

jòn ʔúan kó:n tò:n mpón trá:k
father cause child strike head buffalo
The father let the son strike the buffalo's head (with an axe).

(See more examples below.)

Sentences with certain embedded naming clauses also belong to this sentence type except that the naming verbs such as /pncì:/ *to name*, /lìək/ *to elect*, /t'é:ŋ/ *to make, turn into* occur in the main clause.

jòn pncì: kó:n ʔúan m'èh Sá:m
father give name child give be Sam
The father names (his) child Sam.

kà: t'é:ŋ t'è: cú? lù:j
he make himself have pain stomach
He pretends to have a stomach ache.

Constructions conveying benefaction, causation, propulsion, and purpose in Khmu seem to be related. They all share the feature of directionality, a channeling of the verbal event into a particular action or person. The syntactical expressions as shown in various patterns also seem to be related because one of the benefactive constructions is the same as a causative construction, while another one is the same as a purposive construction and yet another one the same as a propulsion construction. In the discussion below more detailed patterns for benefactive, causative and propulsion than the aforementioned are provided.

The most common pattern used for a benefactive construction is:

Benef ₁ =	S:NP	P ₁ :VP _{tr}	IO:NP	P ₂ :VP _{tr}	DO:NP
1.	ʔòʔ <i>I</i>	ʔúan <i>give</i>	màʔ <i>mother</i>	tèʔ <i>take</i>	kmú:l <i>money</i>
2.	nò: <i>they</i>	phá:n <i>kill</i>	jèʔ <i>you</i>	pəʔ <i>eat</i>	sɸəŋ <i>pig</i>
3.	jòŋ <i>father</i>	ják <i>break</i>	ró:j <i>spirit</i>	pəʔ <i>eat</i>	màh <i>rice</i>
4.	màʔ <i>mother</i>	lò:s <i>sew</i>	kó:n <i>child</i>	tèʔ <i>get</i>	wá:j <i>shirt</i>

Note that P₂ refers to any transitive verb having 'consuming' meaning.

1. *I give my mother (some) money.*
2. *They killed pig for you (to eat).*
3. *(My) father breaks rice for the spirit to eat.*
4. *The mother sewed shirt for her child.*

Another pattern expressing the same meaning as above is:

Benef ₂ =	S:NP	P ₁ :VP _{tr}	DO:NP	P ₂ :ʔúan	(Prep:jòʔ)	IO:NP	(P ₃ :VP _{tr})
1.	ʔòʔ <i>I</i>	mò:t <i>take</i>	kmú:l <i>money</i>	ʔúan <i>give</i>	(jòʔ) <i>to</i>	màʔ <i>mother</i>	(tèʔ) <i>take</i>
2.	nò: <i>they</i>	phá:n <i>kill</i>	sɸəŋ <i>pig</i>	ʔúan <i>give</i>	(jòʔ) <i>to</i>	jèʔ <i>you</i>	(pəʔ) <i>eat</i>
3.	jòŋ <i>father</i>	ják <i>break</i>	màh <i>rice</i>	ʔúan <i>give</i>	(jòʔ) <i>to</i>	ró:j <i>spirit</i>	(pəʔ) <i>eat</i>
4.	màʔ <i>mother</i>	lò:s <i>sew</i>	wá:j <i>shirt</i>	ʔúan <i>give</i>	(jòʔ) <i>to</i>	kó:n <i>child</i>	(téʔ) <i>get</i>

The second part of this construction which follows /ʔúan/ *to give, for, so that* signifies the purpose of the action expressed by P₁. All examples above show the benefactive purpose but other purposes are also possible as shown by the example below.

	S:NP	P ₁ :VP _{tr}	DO:NP	P ₂ :ʔuan	IO:NP	(P ₃ :VP _{tr})
1.	ʔòʔ I	làw say		ʔúan make		nè:ŋ know
2.		híc pound	ŋśʔ paddy rice	ʔúan make	kè: it	mòk broken into small pieces
3.	ʔòʔ I	plfət cut	sʔò:ŋ wood	ʔúan make	kè: it	lìət short

1. I say (this) so that (you) will know (about it).
2. (We) pound paddy rice { to make it broken into pieces.
until it becomes small pieces.
3. I cut (a piece of) wood off to make it short.

When the pattern which is normally the benefactive pattern₁ has /ʔúan/ as P₁ followed by an NP as DO₁ and an active verb as P₂ it conveys a causative meaning.

Caus =	S:NP	P ₁ :/ʔúan/	DO ₁ :NP	P ₂ :VP	(DO ₂ :NP)
1.	màʔ mother	ʔúan make	kś:n child	jòh go	rò:ŋrìən school
2.	táw turtle	ʔúan make	nà: her	klám carry	tè: himself
3.	kè: he	ʔúan make	ʔòʔ me	kò:ŋ cook	ʔúr curry
4.	màʔ mother	ʔúan make	sśʔ dog	pəʔ eat	màh rice

1. The mother made (her) child go to school.
2. The turtle made her carry him.
3. He made me cook a curry.
4. (My) mother fed the dogs with rice.

Another causative pattern is the same as an ordinary transitive clause construction (see 5.1.5).

The Benef₁ pattern but with a propulsion verb such as /ʔś:r/ to lead or /píh/ to lead by hand as P₁ followed by NP as DO conveys a propulsion meaning.

Prop =	S:NP	P ₁ :V _{propul}	DO:NP	P ₂ :VP	Loc:Prep P
1.	ʔò? I	ʔó:r lead	kà: him	jòh là? go out for pleasure	
2.	jè? you	ʔó:r lead	cè? Thai	trthíəŋ quarrel	
3.	kà: he	píh lead (by hand)	jà? grandma	kʔən go up	tà kà:ŋ to house

1. I took him out (to go around).
2. You initiated the quarrel with the Thais.
3. He led grandma up into the house.

6.3 Merged sentences contain two or more clauses that share at least one of the segments and refer to close-knit actions, merging the two clauses into a single sentence. The verbs referring to close-knit actions in these sentences are called serial verbs, an areal feature of South-east Asian languages. The first verb is usually an action verb. The second verb refers to the purpose, direction, or result of the first action. They have the same subject. For this type, it is difficult to say which is the main clause as the actions of both clauses are equally important. Examples below provide three types of relations between the actions. These sentences can be diagrammed as:

[S] [[P₁ (O)] [P₂ (O)]]

6.3.1 Merged sentences conveying a purposeful meaning. The action expressed by the first verb has as its purpose the action represented by the second verb.

1. ʔì? ce p há:n s fəŋ p è?
we will kill pig eat
We will kill a pig to eat it.
2. nò: p há:n scá:ŋ ce t è? nà:
they kill elephant will take tusk
They kill elephants to get tusks.
3. ʔò? h íc ŋó? p áh
I pound rice keep
I pound rice to store it.
4. nà: l ɔ:s wá:j ŋ kó?
she sew shirt wear
She makes a shirt to wear.

5. khró:n kmú:l wè:t lòt
save money buy car
He saves money to buy a car.
6. klàh rnò:m hóm kà:η
cut bamboo tie house
He made the bamboo strings to tie up (bamboo pieces) in the house.
7. há:l sηkrò? pfc
peel skin throw
He peels the skin and throws it away.
8. mò:t sá:t ptəl
take mat to spread
He took the mat and spread it out.
9. mò:t só? tò:n tà mpónη
take axe hit at head
He took the axe and hit (the animal) on its head.

6.3.2 Merged sentences conveying a directive meaning (sometimes indicating source and destination). The action expressed by the first verb which is about locomotion has as its direction the action represented by the second verb.

1. ʔà? tàr rò:t tà ré?
we run arrive at farm
We ran to the farm.
2. nò: pàk trá:k jòh tà ré?
they ride buffalo go to farm
They rode the buffalo to the farm.
3. kà: tàr tà ré? rò:t tà kún
(source) (destination)
he run from field come to village
He ran from the field to the village.
4. ʔò? jàt lòn Là:w { kà:j (jàt tà kì:)
(source) (destination)
I live in Laos come live here
rò:t (tà kì:)
arrive (here)
I came here from Laos.
5. jòn jòh tà jú? rò:t (tà kà:η)
(source) (destination)
father go to forest come (to home)
Father went to the forest then returned home.
6. kà: rók ta kún rò:t tà ré?
he run out of village arrive to field
He ran from the village to the field.

6.3.3 *Merged sentences conveying a resultative meaning.* The action expressed by the first verb has as its result the action represented by the second verb.

1. ʔòʔ pəʔ màh pìʔ
I eat rice full
I have a good meal.
2. kə: pʰá:n lòh tè: há:n
he kill body himself die
He committed suicide.

Some complex (merged) sentences consist of more than two clauses. They may contain purposive and causative (as in 1 and 2), benefactive and resultative (as in 3 and 4), or directive and resultative (as in 5) meanings.

1. màʔ lò:s wá:j ʔúan kó:n ŋkòʔ
mother sew shirt give child wear
Mother sews a shirt for the child.
2. nà: mò:t màh ʔúan sóʔ pəʔ
she take rice give dog eat
She takes rice to feed the dog.
3. pò: làw màʔ jòŋ ʔòʔ tèʔ làw ʔòʔ jàt tà kì:
you tell parents my take that I stay here
Please tell my parents that I stay here.
4. kó:n kúŋ prà:m làw ʔìʔ pé lǎʔ
villagers gossip that we not good
The villagers say that we are not good.
5. kə: tàr kʰən rəh pùp nà: tà kà:ŋ
he run go up get up meet her at house
He ran up to see her in the house.

6.4 Conjoining sentences

This type of sentence contains two or more independent clauses which are conjoined by conjunctions, preverbal particles (mainly modal particles) or juxtapositions. Conjoining sentences will be discussed in terms of both expression structure, in which various conjoining patterns are provided, and content structure in which various meanings expressed by conjoining sentences are discussed.

6.4.1 Conjoining patterns

6.4.1.1 Sentences with clauses conjoined by conjunctions

Clauses may be linked by a single conjunction occurring (a) before, or (b) between clauses, or (c) by a set of co-ordinate conjunctions occurring before each clause:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| (a) Conj [(S) P(O)] [(S) P(O)] | see examples in 6.4.2.2.6 etc. |
| (b) [(S) P(O)] Conj [S P(O)] | see examples in 6.4.2.3 etc. |
| (c) Conj ₁ [(S) P(O)] Conj ₂ [(S) P(O)] | see examples in 6.4.2.4 etc. |

Initial conjunctions in Khmu are mainly conditional conjunctions such as /khán/, /trnè:m/ or the Thai loan /thá:/ *if* which occur before a condition clause.

1. khán jè? jòh ʔò? cè jòh prtà? jè?
if you go I will go with you
If you are going I will go (along) with you.
2. thà: pà: pè ʔàh kmú:l pà: jòh pé pʔən
if you not have money you go not able
If you don't have (any) money, you can't go.
3. trnè:m ʔò? ʔàh kmú:l ʔò? jòh là? tà talè:
if I have money I go out at sea
If I have (enough) money I will go to the beach.

Medial conjunctions used in Khmu are /jòʔ/ *because*, /nàm/ *according to* and /hó:c/ *then*.

1. kà: há:n jòʔ mār tók
he die because snake bite
He died from a snake bite.
2. ʔòʔ plíh plíh nàm nò: làw ʔúan ʔòʔ plíh
I tap on (with fingers) according to what they tell give me tap on
I flicked as they told me to do.
3. kà: pàʔ mäh hó:c kà: jòh mèʔ
he eat rice then he go again
He ate rice and then went out again.

However most of the overt conjunctions with the meaning 'and', 'but' and 'or' in English have been borrowed from Thai. They are very common in colloquial speech, especially among the young men who have a lot of contact with Thai, but it is much less so in legends and old people's speech. In general, Khmu relies heavily on zero conjunction or juxtaposition (see 6.4.1.3).

Examples of conjoined sentences with Thai loan conjunctions are:

1. ʔòʔ cè kà:j (tɛ: (wa:)) ʔòʔ kà:j pé pʔən
I will return but I return not able
I want to go (home) but I can't.
2. jèʔ cè ʔəh lɪ: (wa:) cè pé ʔəh
you will do or will not do
Will you do it or not?

There are co-ordinate conjunctions which occur before related clauses conveying meanings which are close to English 'not only...but also', and 'the more...the more'. The first set is expressed in Khmu by /páʔ...páʔ/, and the latter by /jʔəŋ...jʔəŋ/ or /kò:j...kò:j/.

1. jʔəŋ hɛ:t jʔəŋ tàr
the more call the more run
The more they called them, the faster they ran away.
2. kò:j lŋŋ kò:j ŋòʔ
the more dark the more fear
The darker it got the more afraid we became.

3. pá? cmkfn pá? cmrò? pà:n
all woman all man get drunk
Everybody got drunk.

6.4.1.2 Sentences with clauses conjoined by preverbal particles

Khmu has an unusual way of conjoining clauses by using some preverbal particles, mainly modal particles (as discussed in section 4) which occur before the main verb in the second clause as a syntactic device to show various types of condition-consequence relationships (see 6.4.2.2). This type of conjoining sentence can be diagrammed as:

[(S) P (O)] [(S) prev pt P (O)]

jè? cè jòh lè jòh
you will go then go
If you want to go, then go.

(See more examples below.)

6.4.1.3 Sentences with clauses conjoined by juxtaposition

Strings of successive clauses without linkers are characteristics of Khmu syntax. They sometimes occur as statements, sometimes as a subject of a statement, as an object, as a part of a co-ordinate construction or as a subordinate construction. An intonation break gives each sentence a full intonation contour and makes the sentence content fully separate. Combining the two sentences under one intonation contour makes the contents of the two less separate.

Instances of independent clauses grouped together by a common intonation contour without any syntactic marker can convey various construction-type meanings according to the context such as temporal, conditional, contrastive, alternative or resultative sequences.

This type of sentence can be diagrammed as:

[(S) P(O)] [(S) P (O)]

jè? cè jòh jè? cè pè jòh
you will go you will not go
Do you want to go or not?

6.4.2 Semantic relationships of conjoined clauses

The semantic relationships between certain conjoined clauses will be discussed in this section.

Ten types of interclausal relationships will be discussed below: temporal, conditional, causal, covarying, equivalent, co-ordinative, contrastive, alternative, purposive, and resultative relationships.

6.4.2.1 *Temporal conjoining* refers to two or more temporally ordered events. The normal order of the events is: First Event - Second Event.

In many cases the conjunction /hó:c/ *then* occurs as a marker between the events as in:

1. mò:t ká? tí:k tà kmnòh hó:c mò:t mì:t kóh
take fish put at chopping board then take meat chop
Put the fish on the board then chop it up.
2. híc ʔúan mòk hó:c lè kù:m
crush make small pieces then winnow
Crush (it) into small pieces then winnow (it).

In some cases, there are no conjunctions. The segments referring to events are connected by juxtaposition as in:

3. jòh táh mkhún rò:t há:l sɣkrò? píc wàh làk kón sró:j
go get down papaya come peel skin off split halves cut
pèn pné:r
into small pieces
Go and pick a papaya, come back and peel it. Split it into halves and cut them into small pieces.

In a longer utterance both devices can be used.

4. pá:t plù? chréh hó:c kóh
cut off leg remove (flesh) then chop
Sever and bone the leg and then chop up the flesh.
5. pòk plíat pèn tó:n trán wàh pè:r pè:r hó:c
cut cut make piece cut split small small smooth
Cut down (a tree) and cut it into sections, trim the end, then split each section into small pieces and smooth off the rough edge.

In the examples above the verb referring to similar actions are juxtaposed in temporal order. However, the verb referring to different kinds of actions are added by way of the conjunctions /hó:c/ *then*.

In some cases the temporal sequence is indicated by the meaning of certain words.

6. ják ró:j pè? ká:l kòn pè? khni?
break rice spirit eat first people eat later
We break the rice firstly as an offering for the spirit then the people eat it afterwards.

6.4.2.2 *Conditional conjoining* expresses a conditional cause and its consequence.

The term 'conditional cause' includes here both clear causes and reasons, and the term 'consequence' includes both concrete effect and more abstract consequences. It should be noted that in many examples it is difficult to know if a real cause or a reason should be understood.

A conditional clause has a more or less automatic consequence. The conditional cause may refer to a real cause or a triggering, a state or an action. The conditional relationship may vary from uncertainty to complete certainty. More precisely, six ways of expressing conditional relationships will be proposed. Each is represented by a preverbal particle. There are, however, some conjoining sentences with a conditional relationship which are juxtaposed and have no preverbal particle.

1. conditional cause and a possible consequence
2. conditional cause and an expected or desirable consequence
3. conditional cause and a warning of an undesirable consequence
4. conditional cause and an unavoidable consequence
5. conditional cause and a contrastive, conflicting or unexpected consequence, or special temporal sequence
6. conditional cause and an uncertain consequence.

6.4.2.2.1 *Conditional cause or circumstance and possible consequence* is syntactically marked by the preverbal particle /lè/ before the main verb in the consequence clause indicating that the meaning of the word it is attached to normally happens as the possible consequence of the conditional clause.

1. híc ʔúan mək hó:c lè kù:m
crush make pieces then so winnow
(If you first) crush it (into small pieces), then (you can) winnow it.
2. jè? cè rɸəm lè rɸəm tà rnà:n jòn jè? tà hó?
you want grow crop so grow at grave father your over there
If you want to prepare the land for the crops then you can do it beside your father's grave over there.
3. kà: tóh làw ʔi? phá:n sfəŋ lè phá:n
he say that we kill pig so kill
If he (the spirit doctor) says to kill the pig then you do it.
4. jòn kà: ʔfk ʔfək jòn lè té:ŋ tè: pà:p
father he not want drink father so make himself drunk
Father did not want to drink; he therefore pretended to be drunk.
5. ʔə: jè? klám pʔən jè? lè mò:t jòh ʔəm
(in pt) you carry able you so take go (emph pt)
Hey, if you can carry it you can take it away.

6.4.2.2.2 *Conditional cause or circumstance and expected or desirable consequence* is syntactically marked by the preverbal particle /tàn/ before the main verb in the consequence clause, indicating that the meaning of the verb which it is attached to definitely happens as determined by the preceding event or circumstance which may be expressed in a clause, a sentence, an utterance by either the same or a different speaker, non-verbal behaviour, or a situation. It should be noted that the 'circumstance' does not have the implication of factualness of the statement as the 'condition' does. However, the relation in this case implies the speaker's expectation and determination. Examples 1-6 illustrate this type of relationship in the form of conjoined sentences. Example 7 contains the same semantic marker but it is expressed in the form of a one-clause sentence. Adverbs of time provide the circumstances for the following actions.

1. ŋkì:n ʔò? ʔàh tà ré? mì:skì: ʔò? tàn jòh mè?
yesterday I work on farm today I certainly go again
Yesterday I worked on the farm; today I will go again.

2. ma: wát tən wát
(in pt) fight certainly fight
If you want to fight then let's fight.
3. nà: púp mà? nà: tən lór
she meet who she certainly speak
(Whenever) she meets someone she always talks to them.
4. tèn tà kì: tən p̄ən
sit here certainly able
You are welcome to sit here.
5. nò: tən ʔfk tè? jè? jè? ha t'háv
they certainly not want take you you already old
They do not want you because you are old, of course.
6. pò: jət tà ʔòm ʔían tən sbá:j ká:
you stay at Om Ian certainly good (f pt)
Because you are living at Om Ian, are you happy?
7. m̄: skì: ʔò? tən jòh tà ré?
today I certainly go to farm
Today I will go to the field.

6.4.2.2.3 Conditional cause or circumstance and a warning of an undesirable consequence is syntactically marked by the preverbal particle /mák/ before the main verb of the consequence clause indicating that the action which is undesirable will (probably) happen as a result of another action. It has the overtone of 'warning' or 'concern'.

1. jè? tʰs nò: mák mò:r jè?
you tell they possibly fine you
If you say that they will fine you.
2. jè? tà: lór nò: mák mèc
you not say they possibly hear
Don't say that; they will hear you
3. kʰr ʔih ʔò? kmá? mák púp
thunder cry afraid rain possibly fall (heavily)
It is thundering; I am afraid that it will rain.
4. s̄h kló:ŋ mún hí? sanpók mák pók
sleep in mosquito net otherwise mosquito possibly bite
Sleep in the mosquito net, otherwise the mosquitos will bite you.

6.4.2.2.4 Conditional clause or circumstance and an unavoidable consequence is syntactically marked by the preverbal particle /cèn/ before the main verb in the consequence clause, indicating that the meaning of the verb it is attached to naturally happens (1) as a result of a specific action where its meaning is glossed as 'so (of course)' as in examples 1 and 4, or (2) as the consequence of a specific state where its meaning is glossed as 'even if' as in examples 2 and 3. It may also have an overtone of 'indifference', 'unconcern', or sometimes 'annoyance'.

1. jè? tɬ:k ʔàh pəh tà kì: kà: cèn là:c ʔèh
you put meat leave here it so (of course) disappear (f pt)
You put the meat here, so of course it has gone.
2. tè? kɔ:nnfm là? tùk cèn tùk ʔèh
take young person good poor even if poor (f pt)
It is good to marry someone young even if the consequence is that I will be poor.
3. há:n cèn há:n ʔèh
die even if die (f pt)
*You are going to die, { so what.
 even if you die it doesn't matter.*
4. pé ʔàh mà? tè? cèn tá:p
not have who take (interest) so stop
No one is interested so (of course) we will stop.

6.4.2.2.5 Conditional cause or circumstance and conflicting or unexpected consequence, or unusual temporal sequence is syntactically marked by the preverbal particle /kàj/ before the main verb of the consequence clause, indicating that the event referred to by the verb it is attached to happens after another event expressed in the preceding clause. In this case the consequence is unexpected or even in a kind of conflict with the condition.

1. ʔò? pè pʔən ʔəh wìək ʔò? kàj jət tà kà:ŋ
I not get do work I but stay at home
I am not working but I stay at home.
2. jò? srúət nò: jòh tà ré? jò? ckó? nò: kàj rò:t tà kà:ŋ
in morning they go to farm in evening they but return to home
They go to the farm in the morning but then return in evening.
3. ʔe: jò:r jè? jət tà jú? jè? kàj rmà:ŋ / ʔi? jət tà
(in pt) orphan you live in forest you yet rich we live in
kúŋ kàj tùk
village yet poor
Hey you, how come you are rich when you live in the forest! We live in the city and we are poor.
4. kà: níp tɬ:k ʔúan jò? nà: nà: kàj pè? nà: kàj mò:t lá?
he catch frog give to her she but eat she but put leaf
pəh tà scà?
keep in container
When he gave her a frog she ate it and then put the leaf in the container.
5. cè srón kó:n jòh ro:ŋriən hían clá:ŋ kàj làw pé ʔàh kmú:l
will send child go school learn cook but say not have money
As for the idea of sending the children to school, he said that he had no money. (According to the speaker this is not the real reason.)

6.4.2.2.6 *Conditional cause or circumstance and uncertain consequence* is syntactically marked by the use of the conjunctions /khán/, /trnè:m/ and /thá:/ if in front of the condition clause. The third of these is a Thai loan. In many cases juxtaposition also contributes to this type of semantic relationship. This type of conditional relation only loosely connects the two clauses if one compares them to those marked by verbal particles as mentioned above in 6.4.2.2. It is noteworthy that sometimes both conjunction and preverbal particle occur together.

1. khán jè? jòh ?ò? cè jòh prtà? jè?
if you go I will go with you
If you go I will go with you.
2. khán jè? cè rành tà kún rành là? là?
if you will go to village go well well
If you are going home, I wish you a safe trip.
3. khán pé ?àh kó:n nà:m tháv pé ?àh mət scáj pé ?àh
mət dɛ:m
if not have child when old not have who take care not have
who look after
If we do not have children when we are old there will be no one to look after us.
4. thà jè? pé jòh ?ò? pé ?úan jè? ?fək pù:c
if you not go I not give you drink wine
If you won't go I will not let you drink wine.
5. thá: ?àh kòn há:n mò:j kòn kó:n kún tòn nè:ŋ pá? lò:c
if have people die one person villager must know all of them
If a person dies everyone in the village must know.
6. jè? tá:m ?ò? cè lìəŋ pù:c mò:j kó:ŋ
you sing I will give wine one bottle
If you sing I'll give you a bottle of wine.
7. jè? wà:r tèn tà jù?
you hot sit at shade
If you feel hot, (go and) sit in the shade.
8. kòn cú? phá:n trá:k púa
person ill kill buffalo cure
If somebody is ill we would sacrifice a buffalo for the curing ceremony.
9. pìan srí:l pìan kmú:l wè:t tèt lòt tèt lò:
get gold get silver buy take car take cart
If we get some money we will buy a car and a cart.

6.4.2.3 *Causal conjoining*, with the order consequence – cause, is syntactically marked by the conjunction /jò?/ *because, so that* or /?úan/ *give* between two clauses indicating that the first clause contains an effect or consequence result of the cause or the reason expressed in the second clause.

1. kà: há:n jò? màr tók
he die because snake bite
He died because of snake bite.
2. kʰmú? híəŋ jò? púh wà:r
Khmú black because expose heat (being in the sun)
The Khmu are dark because they work in the (hot) sun.
3. kén jò? lòr kàm ʔò? klóh
good because speak language my correctly
She is good because she speaks our language correctly.
4. kà: pnpì:t tian ʔúan nò: pló? nè:ŋ làw kà: jàt kló:ŋ kà:ŋ
he extinguish candle give they not know that he is in house
He extinguished the candle so that she would not know he was in the house.

Again this type of relationship can be found in sentences in juxtaposition, as in:

5. kà: pŋkà? ʔò? là:c thà:j rù:p
he shy I steal take picture
He is embarrassed because I have taken his picture (without his permission).
6. kó:n nè? jà:m cú? síh
child little cry feel like sleep
The little child cries because he is sleepy.

A number of sentences expressing this type of relationship are found in the reversed order to other types of conditional relationship. It is one of the characteristics of Khmu to place emphasised or topicalised items further towards the beginning of a sentence than they would otherwise have been (see also 5.2.2).

In some other cases a similar relationship is expressed in the normal order, but with special order of words in the consequence clause, as in:

1. kà: kó:n là? rŋtəm / làk kó:r ʔòm màt
he so good heart very flow tear
He is crying because he is so happy.
2. kà: kó:n ʔfək já: wòh / pé là? ləh tò:t tò:t
he so smoke cigarette much not good health often often
He smokes so much that he is often sick.
3. kà: kó:n kù? hó:j phá:j wòh kmú:l pló? ʔàh
he so love play card very money not have
He loves playing cards so much that he has no money.

6.4.2.4 *Covarying conjoining* relates two clauses by conjunction pairs like /jʔəŋ...jʔəŋ/ and /kɔ:j...kɔ:j/ etc. *the more...the more* indicating that a conditioned variable follows a free variable.

1. jʔəŋ h́é:t jʔəŋ tàr
the more call the more runs
The more they called the harder he ran away.

2. kò:j lɿ̀n kò:j ɿ̀?
the more dark the more fear
The darker it gets the more frightened (she) becomes.
3. jìəŋ tháw jìəŋ pé ʔàh rè:ŋ
the more old the more not have strength
The older we are the weaker we become.

6.4.2.5 *Equivalent (or paraphrased) conjoining* is used for the repetition of a statement. The restatement clause may vary from an exact repetition to a loose paraphrase sometimes adding more specific details to the theme. There is no overt marker for this type of relationship. The two clauses are placed together. Normally the subjects of the two clauses are the same. Sometimes the subject in the second clause does not appear when it is obviously understood.

1. ʔò? cè kà:j tà kà:ŋ ʔò? plóʔ jàt tà kì:
I will return home I not stay here
I will go home, I will not stay here.
2. ʔò? klám páh tà hóʔ páh tà súən
I carry put there put at orchard
I carry it and put (it) there, in the orchard.
3. ʔò? jàt lè:ŋ plóʔ ʔàh máh ʔàh pàʔ màh pàʔ síh
I stay doing nothing not have anything do eat rice eat sleep
pàʔ síh
eat sleep
I do nothing, I don't have anything to do, just eating and sleeping.

6.4.2.6 *Coordinative conjoining* is represented by two or more clauses in juxtaposition without any overt marker such as 'and' in English, or /lèʔ/, /kàp/ in Thai. Two or more clause meanings are merely coordinated.

1. nò: jòh lìəŋ trá:k kè: scàʔ jòh níp káʔ
they go feed buffalo bring along container go catch fish
They go out look after and look after the buffaloes; they attach the fish container to catch the fish as well.
2. ŋkì:n ʔò? jòh tà réʔ m̄: skì: ʔò? cè jòh mèʔ
yesterday I go to field today I will go again
Yesterday I went to the farm. Today I will go again.
3. jòh Lè: jòh Sét
go Lae go Set
Both Lae and Set went.
4. nák ɿ̀? séh nák klà:ŋ séh
heavy paddy rice contain heavy rock contain
It is heavy because it contains both paddy and rocks.

5. tà kún ʔòʔ ʔàh réʔ ʔàh prà:j lìəŋ sɔʔ lìəŋ sɛŋ
at home I do farm do trap feed dog feed pig
At home I worked on the farm making traps, feeding dogs and pigs.

6.4.2.7 *Contrastive conjoining* is represented by two clauses occurring in juxtaposition, having contents which are in contrast. There is no overt marker such as the conjunction 'but' in English, or /tè:/ in Thai.

1. jèʔ nám ʔòʔ nèʔ
you big I small
You are big but I am small.
2. ʔòʔ hé:t kà: pé jás
I call he not answer
I called (him) but he did not answer.
3. kà: pé: lò:p kà: pé ʔàh saŋ cè ʔúan
he not cheat he not have what to give
He does not try to cheat you, he just can't pay you.
4. kà: knkú:j hó:c pé: tá: síh
he sleepy already not yet sleep
He is already sleepy but is not asleep yet.

However, the use of some preverbal particles in the following clause contributes to this type of semantic relationship.

5. kà: tùk nàŋ màʔ kà: tàŋ pé ʔàh ʔúan jòʔ bá:p
he poor how much he certainly not do make other in trouble
Even though he is poor he will not cause any trouble to others.
6. kà: há:n ʔòʔ tàŋ pé jà:m
he die I not cry
If he dies I will not cry.

6.4.2.8 *Alternative conjoining* is represented by two clauses occurring in juxtaposition referring to a pair of alternatives in a given situation. There is no overt marker such as the conjunction 'or' in English, or /rɪ:/, /rɪ:wa:/ in Thai (see also sections 5 and 7).

1. jèʔ cè jòh pé jòh
you will go not go
Are you going or not?
2. jèʔ cè síh jèʔ cè jòh làʔ
you will sleep you will go for pleasure
Are you going to sleep or going out?
3. jèʔ cè jòh cè jàt tàŋ pɛ̀ən tà:m rɛ̀əm
you will go will stay certainly can according to mind
You can either leave or stay, whatever you like.

6.4.2.9 *Purposive conjoining* is represented by two clauses occurring in juxtaposition. They type of relationship indicates an action and its purpose. The action can be either of a transitive or a motion type and it is carried out on purpose. It is very close to the conditional type except that the action is voluntary whereas the conditional type implies involuntariness.

1. jòŋ jòh tà ré? jòh pnsfm sanpnsfm
father go to field go plant crop
Father is going to the farm to plant crops.
2. phá:n trá:k púa ?è:m mà? Lì:
kill buffalo cure a relative named Li
Kill a buffalo to cure Mrs Lee.
3. pnpú? tlá: té:ŋ tmrìəŋ
prepare bamboo make floor
Prepare the bamboo to make the floor.
4. ?ò? cè jàt tà kà:ŋ lìəŋ kó:n tè:
I will stay at home look after child myself
I will be home to look after my children.

More examples can be found in the section on merged sentences.

In the following examples, the verb /?úan/ *give* occurs in the purpose clause implying the meaning of *in order to*.

1. ré? hế:l ré? ?úan ŋó? wàj rìp
field clear field to make paddy quick grow
Clear the field so that paddy can grow well.
2. ?ì? pə? ?úan ?àh rè:ŋ ?àh wìək
we eat to make have strength to do work
We eat in order to be strong and able to work.
3. ?ì? lìəŋ ró:j ?úan kòn cú? là? saŋcú? saŋsrmə?
we (serve) spirit to make person ill well illness fever
We have an offering rite for the spirit to make the ill recover from their illness.

Certain constructions conveying benefactive meaning belong to this type of clause conjoining. Note that /jò?/ *to, for* can occur after /?úan/ as in:

1. ?ò? mò:t kmú:l ?úan jò? mà? jòŋ tè?
I take money give to parents get
I took the money to give to my parents.

More examples see Benef₂ on page 77.

Sometimes the 'consuming' verb is left out.

2. ?ò? mò:t kmú:l ?úan jò? mà? jòŋ
I take money give to parents
I took money for my parents.

6.4.2.10 *Complex resultative conjoining* is represented by clauses in juxtaposition. After two conditions have been stated, the result of both is given.

1. ʔìʔ ká:t tà màʔ ʔìʔ kè:j tà nìʔ kùʔ tanìʔ
we born where we used to there love there
We naturally love the place where we were born and brought up because we are used to it.

2. ʔìʔ pnsím ɲóʔ knéʔ kàj pèʔ ʔìʔ pnsím kwà:j hó: knéʔ pé pèʔ
we plant paddy rat eat we plant cassava rat not eat
ʔìʔ pnsím kwà:j hó: làʔ kwà: ɲóʔ
we plant cassava good than paddy
When we grew paddy the rats ate it and when we grew cassava they did not eat it so we had better grow the cassava.

The additive, contrastive, alternative, and purposive relationships can also occur at the phrase level. Therefore further details on additive, contrastive, and alternative relationships can be found in the section on noun phrases, and further details on purposive relationship can be found in the section on merged sentences.

The dependent clauses of conditional sentences can sometimes occur by themselves and not as part of conjoined sentences. However they are then contextually dependent and semantically related to the preceding context. More details will also appear in section 8 below, on syntax in the setting of discourse.

6.5 Non-clause sentences

This type of sentence refers to utterances like introductory sentences in a story, vocatives, one-word responses and various kinds of self-expressions, which do not have the complete structure of the so-called 'clause' (as described in section 5) but fulfil the qualification as a sentence. Some examples are given below.

Details are found in section 7, especially on vocatives, responses, and self-expression.

6.5.1 *Introductory sentences* are phrases used for starting a story or some explanation.

ʔə: khdíʔ na cè trtòh lʔəŋ...
 (in pt) *now will tell about*
Now I am going to talk about...

6.5.2 *Vocatives* are personal names or kinship terms or both used for starting a conversation or addressing a person. They occur either before or after a clause or independently.

ʔè:m Lò:ŋ jèʔ lòr máh
 (kin title) *Long you say what*
Long what did you say?

Some expressions used for starting a conversation or attracting attention and occurring with rising intonation also belong with this group.

ʔé:j ʔìʔ jə̀h sǔ:k kǔ:n ktòŋ kǔ:n hʔfə̀r
 we go find little egg little chicken
 We are looking for 'a little egg and a little chicken'.⁶

ʔjə̀h khǔfʔ na ʔòʔ cè trtə̀h rǔʔ
 now I will tell story
 Now I am going to tell a story.

6.5.3 *Single word responses* are the elliptical type of sentence used for answering questions without repeating the old information already expressed. These one-word sentences can be either verbs or nouns.

(a) kə̀: mə̀h cèʔ ʔfʔ
 he is Thai (q pt)
 Is he Thai?

(b) mə̀h
 is/yes
 Yes, he is.

6.5.4 *Exclamations* are mainly 'initial particles' used for expressing different attitudes towards things. They usually precede the clause but may occur independently.

6.5.5 *Imperatives* which occur as non-clauses are expressions used to chase dogs away and occur with falling intonation.

séʔ séʔ sǔʔ
 dog
 Go away, dog!

7. TYPES OF UTTERANCES INCLUDING INTONATION PATTERNS

In uttering something, the speaker has the intention to convey information, to receive information, to impose his will, etc. He may make a statement, a promise, a warning, a suggestion, a declaration, a request, a command, a question, an exclamation, etc.

Five main types of utterances will be discussed in this section: declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, social expressions, and self expressions. They are different from one another in (a) the expected response or reaction, and also in many cases in (b) the syntactic structure and intonation.

(a) Expected Response

Different types of messages are determined by the illocutionary force of the utterances. The 'declarative' is used when the speaker does not expect any concrete response or answer. Different types of questions determine different

types of responses. The imperative is used when the speaker expects an action response, i.e. when he wants the hearer to do or not to do something. 'Social expressions' are used when the speaker wants to acknowledge the hearer's existence by expressing a greeting, welcoming, leave-taking, farewell, etc. Subgroups of social expressions are vocatives and responsives. 'Vocatives' are used to attract a person's attention or to start a conversation. The choice of address forms is influenced by the culture of the society to which the speaker and hearer belong. The proper terms of address show the speaker's attitude towards the hearer or speaker's recognition of the hearer's social status in relation to himself. 'Responsives' are used to acknowledge other people's speech acts by uttering responding particles now and then during the conversation. 'Self expressions' show the speaker's emotional status or attitude towards something as in exclamations, curses, etc. Sometimes it is used to attract attention or to initiate a conversation.

(b) Syntactic structure and intonation

The basic structures are limited in number (even if there is a certain number of less common variants). There is no reverse order of subject and verb in yes/no type questions and the absence of the subject is a normal phenomenon, not only for the imperative. The basic word order, (S)-P, represents the declarative sentence type. To it two different sets of final particles can be added to form the imperative and interrogative. The imperative final particles vary in degrees of politeness and forcefulness. The interrogative final particles are used for yes/no type questions while information questions make use of the question word particles which do not necessarily occur in the final position of the sentence; they can also occur initially. The structure of 'social expression' and 'self-expression' can be either ordinary sentences or non-clause sentences. They can occur in a form of a clause, a short phrase, a word, or a particle (final or initial particles). However, intonation plays a very important role here. It can be said that in this language sentences are related to the hearer mainly by the use of the final particles or intonation. Intonation patterns help to accommodate and even to clarify the sentence types the speaker intends to communicate.

The pitch movement or the intonation seems to cover mainly the last syllable. The basic intonation pattern is a level mid pitch over the sentence with different intonation contours on the last syllable. From the data available, there are three basic intonations in Khmu: level /→/, rising /↑/ and falling /↓/. The terms level, rising and falling here refer mainly to the pitch. However, loudness, quality and length also clearly make some contribution to the auditory impression of intonation (see Hammarström 1976, p.32). The rising intonation is mainly associated with some interrogatives and polite imperatives. The falling intonation is normally associated with general declaratives, imperatives, vocatives, interjections, some interrogative and responsives. The level contour is always associated with unfinished utterances or occurs at the end of a clause which is not the last clause of a sentence. Moreover, the high level contour can be mentioned as being associated with imperative statements and with interjectional particles of an exhortative or cajoling nature. It may occur after emphatic or exclamatory statements, reflecting emotional involvement on the part of the speaker while the low level contour typically occurs with a statement type of utterance of an unemotional or soliloquising nature. Social expressions and self expressions are intonationally distinguished from others partly in this respect. However, since sentence intonation is rather a complicated unit of the language determined by many factors involved, I shall

try to abstract away details of 'emotional' variation which are beyond the scope of this paper. (See Hammarström 1976:111-112 for details of such variation.)

7.1 Declaratives

Perhaps the most common type of communicative expression is that of making a statement. The assurance may vary from certain to uncertain. Sources of knowledge may be first hand or second hand. The pitch is mid level with a rise-fall contour on the last syllable of the sentence (simple, complex or conjoined construction).

1. ʔòʔ məh kʰmúʔ
I am Khmu
I am Khmu.
2. (ʔòʔ) ʔúət
I tired
I am tired.
3. ʔòʔ cè jòh ɲkì:
I will go tomorrow
I will be going tomorrow.
4. ʔòʔ tàŋ srʔé:ŋ jèʔ jèʔ məh kó:n
I have to miss you you are child
I will miss you because you are my child.

These sentences are basic from the standpoint that they are more frequent than others. There is usually no overt morpheme which signals their role as statements. However, for reported speech there always appears a verb like /làw/ say as in the examples:

1. ʔòʔ làw lè:ŋ ʔòʔ pé rmà:ŋ
I said bluntly I no rich
I just said (that) I am not rich.
2. nò: làw cè jòh pé:
they said will go not
They said, 'Are you going or not?'

In each sentence the speaker is performing a declarative act which concerns the entire sentence. He is at the same time explicitly reporting the declaration contained in another embedded sentence: /ʔòʔ pé rmà:ŋ/ or /cè jòh pé:/.

Note that the subject in the declarative sentence sometimes does not appear when the context so allows.

Another type of utterance I wish to discuss here is that of 'responses'. They occur either as a complete or an incomplete sentence. In a lot of cases they are elliptical in the sense that they require a preceding context for their interpretation. They take intonation types similar to those of declarative sentences.

Responses are triggered by special questions which are understood to be answerable. They consist of:

1. either repetition of the question clause with substitution of appropriate particle as in:

- (a) jè? jàt tà mǎ? rò:t
you stay where come
Where are you from?
- (b) ʔò? jàt lǝŋ Là:w rò:t
I stay area Laos come
I come from Laos.

- or 2. a single response word. Response words do not otherwise occur within a clause structure but have the sole function of a single word response.

- 2.1 an affirmative response to an imperative.

- (a) pǎ? (ʔʌ:m)
eat (f pt)
Eat (with us)! – an invitation
- (b) pǎ? pǎ?
eat eat
Okay. – an answer

- 2.2 an affirmative response to a yes-no question.

- (a) kún kì: mǎh kún khmú? pé:
village this is village Khmu or not
Is this a Khmu village?
- (b) mǎh (ká:)
yes (polite particle)
Yes, it is.

- 2.3 an affirmative response to an informative question.

- (a) jè? pǎ? mǎh tà kà:ŋ
you eat what at home
What do you eat at home?
- (b) (pǎ?) mǎh
(eat) rice
Rice.
- (a) jè? pǎn sí:m sʔáh tó:
you get bird how many
How many birds have you got?
- (b) há: tó:
five (class)
Five.

- 2.4 (a) nà: là? pé:
she good (q pt)
Is she nice?

- (b) pé: lá?
not good
No, she is not.

7.2 Interrogative

An interrogative or question type utterance is used by a speaker when he wishes to request information or verification on a certain subject matter and expects to receive a reply from the person he addresses.

Questions are marked by question words, distinctive question final particles and by distinctive intonation.

Structurally, questions can be divided into simple yes/no questions, alternative questions and information questions. The distribution of interrogative utterances is thus characterised by occurrence before a reply, and the classification can be based on the type of expected response.

7.2.1 Simple yes/no questions

These function in contexts where the truth of a sentence is questioned. It is a question which requires a simple 'yes' or 'no' answer, as indicated by its name. It takes the same syntactic form as a statement, except that a question word occurs in final position. It ends with rising-falling intonation.

1. jè? kát pé:
you cold (q pt)
Are you cold?
2. jè? wà:r à:
you hot (q pt)
{Are you hot?
You are hot, aren't you?}
3. m̀: sk̀: jè? pé j̀h máh ʔf?
today you not go where (q pt)
You are not going anywhere today, are you?
4. ǹ: l̀r j̀? j̀n k̀n h́:c pé: tá:
they talk with father village already or not
Have they talked to the village headman?

7.2.2 Alternative questions are one of the most frequent means of forming a question in South-east Asian languages. They consist of constituents which are semantic alternatives. Such a question is that of a request that the addressee responds by designating one out of the possible alternatives in the question. This type of question gives the listener two things to choose from, and the speaker expects one of these choices as the listener's reply.

The alternative question in Khmu is commonly formed by juxtaposing two alternatives as in:

1. jè? cè j̀h jè? cè pé j̀h
you will go you will not go
Are you going or not?
2. jè? cè j̀h sé:t cè j̀h prtà? ǹ:
you will go alone will go with them
Are you going by yourself or going with them?

3. nà: kù? pé kù? ʔò? pé nà:ŋ
she love not love I not know
If she loves it or not I don't know.
4. mäh jòn Háŋ mäh ʔè:m Lò:ŋ kàm cè jòh tà
be (kin title) (name) be (kin title) (name) who will go to
 kún Mè:w
village Miao
Hang's father or Long will go to the Miao village?

Sometimes the Thai loan conjunctions /lɪ:/ or /lɪ: wa:/ or occur between the alternatives, as in:

5. jòn Háŋ (lɪ: wa:) è:m Lò:ŋ cè jòh tà
(kin title) (name) or (kin title) (name) will go to
 kún Mè:w
village Miao
Is Hang's father or Long going to the Miao village?

The intonation of this type of question is rising-falling at the end of each alternative. However, the fall after the first alternative is not complete, whereas definitely the intonation contour after the second alternative is fading away.

7.2.3 Information questions marked by question words such as /mèʔ/ *who*, /tà mèʔ/ *where*, /nàm mèʔ/ *when*, /mäh/ *what*, etc.

The position of the question word is not fixed. When the question word occurs in the final position the sentence always has rising intonation. When it occurs somewhere else the intonation is always falling especially immediately after the question word. (Usually the question words themselves have high pitch.)

1. mèʔ rò:t
who come
Who came?
2. jèʔ ʔəh mäh
you do what
What are you doing?
3. jèʔ jàt tà mèʔ rò:t
you where come
Where have you been?
4. nàm mèʔ jèʔ cè kà:j tà kà:ŋ
when you will return home
When are you going home?
5. jèʔ rò:t tà kì: yà:ŋ kəmèʔ
you come here how
How did you come here?
6. jèʔ cè jòh jòʔ mèʔ
you will go with who
With whom are you going?

7.3 Imperative

An imperative is a statement of desired action, whose force may vary from a mild wish to a strong command. It is different in distribution from declaration and interrogation sentences because it occurs before an action type of response. That is, a person using an imperative type of utterance expects to have his instructions carried out. It is therefore used to command the hearer to do or not to do something. Besides the difference in the situational context, a clear drop of intonation indicates emphasis and the use of the final particles expressing various degrees of request, command and politeness contribute to this type of sentence. There are two kinds of imperative: positive imperative and negative imperative. Positive imperatives are indicated by various imperative particles and/or intonations, while negative imperatives are signalled by intonation and a negative word /tá:/ before the verbs which is different from the simple negative. From the viewpoint of intonation the two imperatives are not different as they both have falling intonation. Variations correspond to emphasis and politeness. Real commands always have falling intonation accompanied with extra high pitch, great loudness and length.

Positive imperative:

1. tàr lás lás
run quickly quickly
Run quickly.
2. pè? ʔl:m
eat (emph pt)
Eat it, please.
3. pè? ʔéh
eat (emph pt)
Eat it.
4. tú? tú?
go away go away
Get away, get away!
5. jè? jòh trkèt srʔé:ŋ ʔò? dé:
you go think miss I also
Don't forget me when going.
6. jà? pà: jòh tà ʔòm pà: krɸp kó:n sí:m ʔúən ʔò? ná:/ʔám
grandma you go to the brook you get little bird for me (emph pt)
Grandma when you go to the water please get me the little bird.

Negative imperative: (prohibitive)

7. tá: jòh
do not go
Don't go.
8. tá: ló? ʔəh
do not continue do
Don't do it any more.

7.4 Social expressions

A social expression establishes, maintains, or terminates a communication relationship between two or more speakers. It includes greeting, welcoming, leave-taking, addressing, and response to an address, which are generally and conventionally accepted.

7.4.1 Greeting and farewell

A common speech situation is that in which the speaker acknowledges or greets the addressee. Typically this highlights the arrival and departure of the participants and we may refer to forms appropriate to the former as welcoming and those of the latter as farewell.

Greeting:

1. (jèʔ) ɣòh məh
you go where
Where are you going?

Leave-taking:

2. (ʔòʔ) ɣòh nə:/ʔám
I go (emph pt)
I am going (now).

Welcoming:

3. jèʔ (pà:) jòh taməʔ rò:t
you go where come
Where have you been?
4. tèn tà kì: tàŋ p̄ən
sit here of course able
You are welcome to sit here.
5. tèn tà kà:ŋ
sit in the house
Sit in the house.

Farewell:

6. jòh làʔ làʔ
go well well
Have a safe trip.
7. jàt làʔ p̄əʔ làm
stay well eat delicious
Live well, eat well.
8. jàt làʔ prà:k jòʔ
stay well farewell together
Live well, farewell to you.

The structure and intonation patterns for this group cannot be clearly established. They do not seem to be different from those of the aforementioned sentence types. Some have interrogative and others imperative forms. However, I feel that intonationally they are different, especially because of higher degree of pitch, loudness, and length. Another reason that makes them belong to a separate category is their function in the language. They are used for particular situations mentioned above and they are limited in number. Besides intonation, extra linguistic facts such as facial expression must also be taken into account.

7.4.2 *Vocatives*, which also belong to social expressions, are structurally different from constructions mentioned before because they are non-clause constructions.

Vocative expressions directly reflect the speech situation in that they explicitly identify the addressee. Vocatives in South-east Asian languages are usually names, kinship terms or descriptions. A vocative usually occurs preceding or following the clause though it may appear in the middle of closely-knit utterances. It also appears independently. The intonation pattern for vocatives is falling, no matter whether they appear by themselves or before a clause.

1. mà? mà?
mother mother
Mother, mother.
2. jà? pà: cè jòh mǎh
grandmother you will go where
Grandma, where are you off to?
3. jè? pè jòh mǎh mǐ:skì: ?è:m Lò:ŋ
you not go where today (kin title) (name)
Aren't you going anywhere, Long?
4. jòŋ Hǎŋ jè? hè:t mǎh
Hang's father you call what
(Hang's father), what did you call?
5. Só:r pà: jàt tà kì: ?ò? cè jòh wè:t h?íər
(a girl's name) you stay here I will go buy chicken
 tà Mǎŋká:n
 at Muangkarn
Só:r, you stay here. I will go and buy a chicken at Muangkarn village.

The vocative is usually separated from the clause by a juncture and has a separate intonation pattern though when occurring in final position it may occur within the clause intonation pattern as illustrated above.

A choice of the appropriate forms of vocative involves the knowledge of status levels within the speech community concerned. The relationship of the speaker to the addressee, and the relative status of each of the participants, controls overt structure in a variety of ways.

7.4.3 *Responsives* are expressions used as a response to an address or for acknowledging someone's speech, for showing understanding, agreeing, or disagreeing as the speech act is going on. They are mainly particles which occur with clear intonation showing:

- (a) positive attitude /məh/ *yes* /ʔə:/ *okay*.
- (b) negative attitude /pé:/ *no*.
- (c) understanding /ʔə:/ *Oh yes*.

7.5 Self-expressions

A self-expression is an expression of the speaker's feelings addressed to nobody in particular. It usually precedes the clause but may occur independently. These expressions are mainly various initial particles. The general intonation pattern of this type cannot be established because it involves many types of emotional feelings and situations. Some take level intonation, some take rising intonation, and some take falling intonation. Examples are provided below.

7.5.1 Expressions of pensiveness or hesitation occur with level intonation.

1. mə: lɿəŋ kə kɿ: ʔòʔ tən pé chá:j cè làw
matter this I really not know to say
I don't (really) know what to say about this.
2. e: kə: cè làʔ pé làʔ ʔòʔ pé nà:ŋ
it will good not good I not know
I don't know whether it will be good or not.

7.5.2 Expressions of an uncaring attitude, discontent, disappointment, ridicule, malediction always occur with falling intonation.

- (a) an expression of an uncaring attitude.
- 3. tük cən tük ʔəh
poor then poor (emph pt)
If I'm poor then I'm poor.
- (b) an exclamation of ridicule.
- 4. (a) Sá:m jèʔ pé piən klám cɿəŋ wèʔ ʔòʔ
Sam you not able carry foot left my
Sam, I don't think you can even carry my left foot.
- (b) pattʰòh
Golly!
- (c) an exclamation of discontent or disappointment.
- 5. rà:j ʔiʔ jòh wè:t jòʔ jòʔ
we go buy from other
We will have to buy things from someone else.

(d) a curse or a malediction directed toward the addressee.

6. lòk
male sex organ

8. SYNTAX IN THE SETTING OF DISCOURSE

As discourse structure is a very extensive area only some aspects have been considered. The presentation of various types of Khmu texts in which smaller grammatical units discussed before, i.e. sentences, clauses, phrases, etc. which are integrated in a stretch of discourse of different styles, have been emphasised but such aspects as turn-taking or cohesive devices have not been dealt with.

The main characteristics of Khmu discourse will be mentioned below.

(a) The sentences of a discourse may be manifested in their full, or elliptical or incomplete forms. Normally the parts of the sentence which may be inferred from the context or from general knowledge are not explicitly stated. That is, what could have been the nominal units, such as subject and object or even whole clauses, are sometimes not expressed.

A lot of sentences appearing in a discourse are therefore contextually dependent sentences. A string of successive verbs with few nouns may constitute a discourse (see 8.3). In other cases, a long string of successive dependent clauses with the subordinate marker are the only thing expressed, with or without a preceding main clause. These dependent clauses may be those belonging to the complementative, relative embedding, or conditional clauses (see 8.2 and 8.5). A number of nominals, especially nominalising items (starting with /s`àh-/) also occur in the same way, but adverbs and adjectives are less frequent in these circumstances.

As a result of this ellipsis, in long utterances or discourses we will find that similar constructions, which are mainly contextually dependent clauses, occur repeatedly. This is an important characteristic of Khmu discourse.

(b) Sentences with simple structure are the most frequent form of sentence occurring in discourse (about 90%). However, there are also some sentences with embedded clauses or conjoined clauses. Conjoined clauses which are placed side by side without any relationship marker may be used to encode a wide variety of semantic relationships such as conditional, purposive, temporal, equivalent, additive, alternative or contrastive relationships.

(c) Intonation breaks play an important role in indicating sentence boundaries (see section 7 above).

(d) Sentence contents in a discourse can be linked together in many ways. A part of a clause is repeated in a subsequent clause, thus linking the two together. The repetition is most often in adjacent clauses. Sometimes the first clause is an echo of the preceding sentence. Thus it repeats part of the preceding sentence or uses a pro form of the preceding sentences. This echo may be a repetition of a full clause or part of it. Apart from this the conjunction /hó:c/ *then, next* is also used as linkage between sentences or groups of sentences expressing the same sort of content.

Below are examples of the grammatical structure seen in various types of discourse: dialogue, hortatory, procedural, and narrative.

8.1 Dialogue discourses

(a) A little boy asking a man about the cassava he is planting.

- a1. Sun: jè? tɛːŋ məh
you do what
- a2. Jar: pnsɪm kwà:j hɔː
plant cassava
- a3. Sun: mək kə: cè ʔɔːn
whether they will grow
- a4. Jar: ʔɔːn ó:
grow (emph pt)
- a5. Sun: mək sɸəŋ pé pə? à:
whether pig not eat or not
- a6. Jar: pé pə? lè? kəh rúa o: pé kəh sɸəŋ pə? lè?
not eat (emph pt) make fence (emph pt) not make pig eat (emph pt)
- a7. Sun: mək nò: pnsɪm lɪŋ kúŋ mɸən jè?
whether they plant middle village like you
- a8. Jar: pnsɪm mɸən jò? hó:c
plant like others already
- a9. Sun: lmtà:ŋ kɪ: məh lmtà:ŋ làm
egg-plant this is egg-plant delicious
- a10. lmtà:ŋ ɲá?
egg-plant itching
- a11. Jar: lmtà:ŋ ɲá?
egg-plant itching
- a12. Sun: jè? pnsɪm sʔáh tú:t jè? ʔəh təc ʔáh pə?
you plant how many plant you make sell make eat
- a13. kwà:j hɔː kəkì:
cassava this
- a14. Jar: pə? dɛː təc dɛː
eat as (well) sell as

English translation

Sun: *What are you doing?*Jar: *Planting cassava.*Sun: *Will they grow?*Jar: *Yes, they will.*Sun: *Won't pigs eat them?*

- Jar: *No, (I am going to) fence them, otherwise pigs will eat them.*
 Sun: *Do other people plant them inside the village as you do?*
 Jar: *Yes, they have done that.*
 Sun: *Are these egg-plants ordinary ones or bitter ones?*
 Jar: *Bitter ones.*
 Sun: *How many cassava are you going to plant?*
Do you plant them for selling or just for eating?
 Jar: *Some for selling, some for eating?*

(b) Two young men meet when one of them is back from working as a language assistant in Bangkok.

- b1. Long: jè? rò:t nàm mè? kàj Sá:m
 you arrive when (kin title) Sam
- b2. Sam: ʔò? rò:t náj
 I arrive a moment ago
- b3. Long: jàt tà sú? mùan pé:
 live in the south happy or not
- b4. Sam: ʔò? jàt tà sú? srʔé:ŋ ʔjè? làk ó:
 I live in the south miss you a lot (emph pt)
- b5. Long: ə: jè? tèn tà còŋ kì: ká:l ʔéh
 (in pt) you sit on the floor this first (f. pt)
- b6. Sam: jè? pə? mäh pé tá:
 you eat rice not yet
- b7. Long: jəh jəh jəh pə? mäh tə? jò?
 go go go eat rice with others
- b8. Sam: ə: pə? pə? pə?
 O.K. eat eat eat
- b9. Long: e: ʔò? jəh pnsfm kwà:j hó: ʔúat làk
 (in pt) I go plant cassava be tired a lot
- b10. Sam: jè? pnsfm há: cè hó:c pé tá:
 you plant almost completely not yet
- b11. Long: há: cà hó:c pŋkì: pŋkì: hó:c lɛ kə: kì:
 almost complete tomorrow tomorrow complete (emph pt) these
- b12. Sam: jè? nó:ŋ rùn ʔàh ré? kwà:j hó: təc
 you still better have field cassava still
- b13. pɬən kmú:l ó:
 get money (emph pt)

- b14. Long: pmò:j pmà:j hó:c
day after tomorrow two days after tomorrow complete
- b15. lɛ rò? kà:ŋ rò? méh jàt tà sú?
 (emph pt) *build house build what live in the south*
- b16. já:ŋ kəmə? ʔəh nə:n prtə? sná:
how it is do work with them (two ladies)
- b17. Sam: ʔò? jàt tà sú? ʔəh nə:n tən sbá:j
I live in the south do work certainly easy
- b18. nàm béc sná: rò:t pà:r kòn nàm béc
sometimes they come two people sometimes
- b19. tək nà: mò:j kòn
only she one person
- b20. Long: jè? ʔəh nə:n prtə? ʔa:cá:n Suwiláj
you be work with teacher Suwilai
- b21. Sam: ə: jàt tə? nà: jàt tʰó:t síəŋ
yes stay with her stay transcribing sound
- b22. jàt pá? pà:r jàt bó:k saŋlòr jàt
stay both two stay tell language stay
- b23. chék síəŋ nàm phrí:m nàm
check the sounds that old that
- b24. nò: khʲən pəh
they wrote keep

English translation

- Long: *When did you arrive, Kaj Sa:m?*
 Sam: *Just arrived.*
- Long: *Were you happy living down South?*
 Sam: *Staying there I missed you so much.*
- Long: *Come up and sit in the house.*
 Sam: *Have you eaten yet?*
- Long: *You must come and eat with us.*
 Sam: *Yes, I'd like to very much.*
- Long: *I have been planting cassava, I am so tired.*
 Sam: *Is it almost finished?*
- Long: *Tomorrow it will be finished.*
 Sam: *It is good that you have the cassava, you can sell them and get money.*

- Long: *In two or three days (it will be finished) then I can build a house or something else. How was your work over there?*
- Sam: *It was an easy job. Sometimes I worked for one person, sometimes two.*
- Long: *You work with Acarn Suwilai?*
- Sam: *Yes, I helped her transcribing the sounds from the tape, saying Khmu words and sentences, checking the sounds they had recorded before.*

(c) A general conversation by a group of young men joking about Long's girlfriend. (The joking is at his expense.)

- c1. Sam: e: ʔé:m Lò:ŋ pé ná: ʔf: cì: nà:
(in pt) (kin title) Long shouldn't happen (emph pt) name her
- c2. màh màh kə:nnfm nì?
is what girl this
- c3. Long: lòk Sré:n
(male sex organ) Sran
- c4. Sam: nò: cè páh ntriəŋ nàm mà?
they will place things when
- c5. Run: nɔ́:ŋ sɔ́:ŋ sá:m wàn nò: cè páh ntriəŋ
in two three days they will place things
- c6. Long: pò: tà: làw pŋkà? jò?
you not say ashamed then
- c7. Min: lòr hɔ́:j ʔèh pŋkà? mà?
talk for fun (emph pt) shame who
- c8. Run: cà tɛŋŋà:n dʔən ná:
will marry month next
- c9. Sam: kàj jòh nà: tɪəp kə: tè? màh
even go she wrap him get rice
- c10. Min: hí? ʔò? pʰá:k ʔúan jè? wè:t ʔò? tè? kfək
soon I ask for you buy me get shoes
- c11. Man: wè:t ʔàh màh pè:ŋ wè:t khép tàŋ là?
buy why dear buy sandal must good
- c12. Min: kə: wà:r ʔò? ʔfk súp khép
it hot I don't like wear sandal
- c13. Man: wè:t kfək màh
buy shoes which
- c14. Min: wè:t kfək wút kfək prí:m ʔò? há trtéc
buy shoes boots shoes old my have torn

- c15. hó:c há ntrà:c
already have torn
- c16. Man: pè:ŋ khɔf? si:síp ha:síp
dear now forty fifty
- c17. Min: wè:t ʔò? tèt bə: káw
buy me get number nine
- c18. Sam: jè? hó:c pət pé ta: mäh
you already eat or not rice
- c19. Long: ʔò? pət ʔét plóh ják pət ʔét
I eat a bit only take eat a bit
- c20. Man: síə? ná Sá:m hí? swá: rò:t swá:
(kin title) and Sam soon you come you
- c21. há: tà: wè:t ʔò? tèt mäh wè:t ʔò? tèt
have not buy me get what buy me get
- c22. soŋ tíaw làn káp tríəh mò: ká:
trousers trousers (name) and pot pot kettle
- c23. káp jò? ká? pà: tú: káp tríəh mò: ká:ŋ
and with fish fish (name) and pot pot (name)
- c24. ɔ: kɔ:nnɪm jè? pé jár mäh jè? jòh
(in pt) girl your doesn't matter you go
- c25. nì? sú? ʔò? jət tà kì: ʔò? tàn cà
to the south I stay here I certainly will
- c26. dɔ:m ʔfək pù:c pət mäh tàn cà
take care of drink wine eat rice certainly will
- c27. dɔ:m jət Sré:n
take care of Miss Sran
- c28. Long: hí? ʔò? mò:t sná:t píŋ pò: nà píŋ
soon I take gun shoot you (emph pt) shoot
- c29. tà kl'ék
at chest
- c30. Man: píŋ tà mət lè píŋ ʔò? jət ʔò? tàn
shoot at where shoot I stay I must
- c31. cè dɔ:m kɔ:nnɪm jè? pé jár mäh
will take care of girl friend your it doesn't matter
- c32. t'hammada pò: mäh kɔ:nnɪm jò?
normally you are young man therefore

- c33. pò: jòh tà mà? pò: tàŋ trkèt jò? tè:
you go where you must think of your own people
- c34. Long: pŋkà? jò? pŋkà? priəŋ ?èh pò:
ashamed of others ashamed of others (emph pt) you
- c35. nì?
this
- c36. Lat: jè? jòh pé tòŋ nɔ:jcáj lè? ?ì?
you go not feel sorry (emph pt) I
- c37. jàt ?fək pù:c pè? màh ?ì? tàŋ cà
stay drink wine eat rice we must will
- c38. dǎ:m tʰé:n
take care instead

English translation

- Sam: Long, you shouldn't be like that. What is the girl's name?
- Long: (Impolite exclamation.) Sran.
- Sam: When are they (the boy's parents) going to propose the marriage?
- Run: In two or three days.
- Long: Don't say any more. It is embarrassing.
- Min: We say that just for fun. Don't be shy.
- Run: He will get married next month.
- Sam: She has prepared food for him to take away.
- Min: I want to ask you to buy me a pair of shoes.
- Man: Why shoes? They are dear. Sandals are also good.
- Min: It is hot. I don't like wearing sandals.
- Man: What shoes do you want to buy?
- Min: Boots. My old shoes are torn.
- Man: They are dear. Forty or fifty (baht).
- Min: Get me size 9.
- Sam: Have you eaten yet?
- Long: I have eaten just a little bit.
- Man: Brother and Sam. Don't buy me anything except trousers, pots and fish. As for your girlfriend, don't worry. When you leave, staying here I will drink wine, eat rice and look after Sran.
- Long: I will shoot you right in the chest.
- Man: That's O.K. I will take care of your girlfriend. Because you are lovers, when you are away you must miss each other.

Long: *You embarrass me, all of you.*

Lat: *You can go. Don't worry. We will stay drinking wine, eating rice and looking after your girlfriend for you.*

A dialogue discourse is largely composed of questions and answers, proposals and responses, and remarks and evaluations. This type of discourse is made by at least two persons. Text (a) and (b) are dialogues made by two persons while (c) is carried out by a group of six men. The first and second person pronoun, /ʔòʔ/ *I* and /jèʔ/ *you* (male), /pà:/ *you* (female), are common. For example, in (a) only a1 and a12 show the second personal pronoun /jèʔ/ while the first personal pronoun /ʔòʔ/ does not appear at all. In (b) they occur more often. However, in b3, b11, b12, b14-16, and b21-24 the personal pronouns do not appear because they are clearly understood.

Words and phrases which are restorable from what precedes do not normally appear either, as in a4, a6, a8, a10, a13, c13, and 16, etc. As a result, in general this type of discourse is marked by the use of mainly simple sentences and short utterances which are contextually dependent as mentioned above.

Moreover, it is characterised by the use of vocatives as in b1 /kàj Sá:m/, c1 /ʔe:m Lò:ŋ/ and c20 /síaʔ nà Sá:m/ because the participants often address each other.

It is also characterised by heavy use of initial and final particles accompanied by appropriate intonation patterns. The following are examples of initial particles:

/ə:/ in b5, b8 and b21 initiating positive responses,
 /e:/ in b9, c1 starting a new topic of conversation, and
 /ɔ:/ in c24 changing the topic of conversation. They occur with mid-level intonation. Final particles have mainly falling intonation. For example /o:/ as in a4, b4, b13 and so on is an emphatic particle. /ʔèh/ in c7 and c34 is also an emphatic particle but with the overtone of being a joke or cynical. All initial and final particles appearing in the text examples are underlined while the vocatives are doubly underlined.

Since a dialogue normally contains an everyday life subject, it often contains some Thai or Lao expressions because of the influence of Thai and Lao culture with which the Khmu speakers are in close contact. They are words, idioms, and some sentences connectors that are otherwise absent in this language. However, they have been modified according to the Khmu phonological system. In b20 a Thai lady is referred to by the occupational title plus the name used in Thai: /ʔa:cá:n Suwiláj/ *Teacher (lecturer) Suwilai*. /tʰó:t síŋ/ *to transcribe the sounds* in b21, /chék síŋ/ *to check the sound* in b23, /só:ŋ sá:m wàn/ *two or three days* in c4, /cà tɛŋnà:n diən ná:/ *will marry next month* in c8, and in c16 /pè:ŋ/ *dear*, and /si:síp ha:síp/ *forty or fifty (baht)*, etc. are borrowed from Thai and reproduced here without tones. c22, c23 illustrate words 'duplicated' in Khmu and Thai. They are underlined in the text with broken lines. /sóŋ tífaw làn/ *trousers* consists of a Khmu word /sóŋ/ *trousers* and a northern Thai word /tífaw/ *trousers*, and /làn/ *a name of a particular type of trousers*. /káʔ pà: tʰú:/ *a kind of fish* consists of a Khmu word /káʔ/ *fish* and a northern Thai word /pá:/ *fish*, with the name of the fish /tʰú:/, /pa:tʰú:/. /trɪ̀h mɔ: ká:(ŋ)/ *cooking pot* consists of a Khmu word /trɪ̀h/ *cooking pot* and a northern Thai word /mɔ:ká:(ŋ)/ *a kind of cooking pot*. These are examples of some types of duplication or elaboration in speech which are commonly found in South-east Asian languages.

Expressions for greeting, welcoming, leave-taking, etc. are made in this type of discourse when appropriate. b7 shows how an emphatic invitation is made by repeating the word /jòh/ go many times and b8 shows how to give a positive answer with the same emphasis.

8.2 Hortatory discourses

(a) An advice to young people how to lead their lives.

- a1. ʔəh réʔ ʔəh prà:j / tàŋ phʔən / kó:n ʔəm prhá:
do farm do trap set food tray children daughter(in-law) son
- a2. tèn pəʔ tà nìʔ pəʔ ló:c / tí:n tà trnəŋ phʔən /
sit eat at here all of them teach at base food tray
- a3. tí:n nà:m khdíʔ / nà:m ʔəh pù:c ʔəh mäh / tí:n nà:m
teach when now when have wine have meat teach when
- a4. khdíʔ / pŋkàʔ tʰáw pŋkàʔ ké: / ŋəʔ mák
now be ashamed old people be ashamed old people fear possibly
- a5. siəpriəp ləh ʔiʔ / cmkʔn jòh làʔ jòh mäh / jòh làʔ
disadvantage body we woman go out go where go out
- a6. pá:c klèʔ / klèʔ jət tà kà:ŋ / priʔckóʔ cəm mäh
search husband husband stay at home at night soak rice
- a7. cəm má:r / sfh hó:c priʔ pəh rəh / jòh ʔəh ré ʔəh
soak salt sleep then in the morning get up go do farm do
- a8. prà:j / ta:jòh làʔ kà:ŋ jəʔ / kó:n cmrəʔ jəʔ ckóʔ nɔ:
trap don't go out house others young men at night they
- a9. tòn jòh làʔ / ʔəh mäh téc mäh wè:t ka:nkʰa:kʰá:j /
must go out have what sell what buy trading
- a10. priəŋ nə:ŋ saŋlòr saŋlmpò:ŋ / tʰá: jət tà kà:ŋ
others know what to say what to say if stay at home
- a11. mʔən cmkʔn jəʔ rə:t lor mäh pé nə:ŋ / jəʔ rə:t
like women others come say what not know others come
- a12. làw mäh pé nə:ŋ / jəʔ rə:t làw mäh pé nə:ŋ / ʔəh
say what not know others come say what not know meat
- a13. há hó:c téc trəʔ / wè:t mèn / ʔiʔ tàŋ
completely already sell good buy correct we certainly
- a14. pé: nə:ŋ / tʰá: ʔiʔ nə:ŋ / pùp pé ʔəh prajò:t mäh /
not know if we know meet not have benefit what
- a15. khdíʔ jòh / tʰá: mäh kmú:l mäh srí:l / jəʔ tàŋ
now go it be silver be gold others certainly

- a16. p̄ə̀n ká:l / k̄ó:n prhá: ʔə̀h réʔ ʔə̀h prà:j /
get first children son-in-law do farm do trap
- a17. há: tá: tr̄h̄fə̀ŋ j̄òʔ / tá: klíh j̄òʔ /
completely don't quarrel together don't offend together
- a18. tèʔ j̄òʔ / tèʔ talò:t c̄h̄i:wít s̄ŋlò:t há:n /
get married together get married all life until die
- a19. j̄àt tà kà:ŋ / k̄ù:n j̄òʔ ʔə̀h saŋpəʔ l̄əʔ kàj
stay at home see others have food good happen to
- a20. làw / ʔə̀h priə̀ŋ p̄əʔ ʔə̀h p̄əʔ ʔə̀h / priə̀ŋ
say (emph pt) others eat meat eat (emph pt) others
- a21. ʔə̀h priə̀ŋ j̄òh / k̄ə: pé ká:t tà ptèʔ pé kséh
work others go it not be born from ground not fall
- a22. tà lwà:ŋ / kléʔ k̄àp j̄òʔ tmkòʔ cò:j j̄òʔ ʔə̀h /
from sky husband and with wife help together work
- a23. k̄ə: dá cà rmà:ŋ
it then will rich

English translation

After finishing their daily work (farming and trapping), everybody in the family including son, son-in-law, daughter, and daughter-in-law are sitting around the bamboo dining tray, having some food. This is the time for teaching them. We should teach them at the time when there is wine and there is rice. (You) bring shame upon yourself because what you are doing is not good for you and it is not what our elderly people would have done. That is to say women go out of the house for pleasure or looking for a husband while the men stay at home (you) women should act responsibly by preparing food by soaking rice to be eaten the following day. In the morning you should get up early and go to work on the farm. Don't go to other people's house just for pleasure. However, (you) men should go out of the house in the evening for pleasure or to do some trading. This is the way to get experience in negotiating and bargaining. Don't stay at home like women. Otherwise, when somebody comes to talk to us about business we will not be able to handle them. We will not know how to trade properly. If we have had that experience we will not lose any advantage. Daughters and sons-in-law, you must work hard. Don't quarrel. Don't offend each other. Once you have married you have to stay married until you die. When you see others who have good food, you should understand that they have it because they have worked hard. Food does not come up from the ground and does not fall from the sky. Only if husband and wife help each other will they be rich.

(b) A teaching for young men who are going to work in the city.

- b1. j̄òh khít ʔh̄ó:ŋ ʔhá:k / j̄òh dé: trkèt kà:ŋ dé: /
go think diligent diligent go as think of home as
- b2. há tá: ʔə̀h mfən k̄ó:n j̄òʔ / híʔ
completely don't do like children others otherwise

- b3. mák pé ?àh cì: / mák bá:p / pé ?àh kà:ŋ
possibly not have name possibly suffer not have house
- b4. pé ?àh ré? / jò? mák prà:m mák prná: / ?àh
not have farm others possibly scold possibly gossip do
- b5. méh ?àh ?hó:ŋ ?há:k / ?àh là? là? / tá: ?àh
what do diligent diligent do well well don't do
- b6. santrnúm / jò? ?àh méh dɿ:m / ?àh méh jòh méh / ?àh
greediness others do what watch do what go where do
- b7. dɿ:m khít dɿ:m / ?àh mè:n mè:n / jòh cá:ŋ tè?
watch think watch do correctly correctly go work take
- b8. kmú:l rós? tà tàj / há tá: pló? kòn kəkì:
money put in bag completely don't idiot person this
- b9. kòn kənà:j / jòh là? jòh dɿ:m náŋ ?fək pù:c hós:j
person that go out go watch movie drink wine play
- b10. phá:j / tá: lós? ?àh / cí? kmú:l pəh / kós:n jò?
cards don't go on do keep money keep children others
- b11. ?àh já:ŋ kəmə? tá: hɿn / cí? kmú:l pəh / hí?
do like what don't imitate keep money keep otherwise
- b12. cú? kí:n mət kmú:l wèt sfəŋ wèt h?fər / sú: / sbá:j
sick take money buy pig buy chicken heal handy
- b13. tè? kmú:l tè: sé:t / plós? jf:m jò? jò? / hí?
take money yourself alone not borrow from others otherwise
- b14. ?ì? cè pŋkà? jò? / ?àh ní: ?àh sín / bá:p / pŋkà?
we will shame others have debt ah debt suffer shame
- b15. jò? / ?àh ní: ?àh sín bá:p pŋkà? jò? / jò?
others have debt have debt suffer shame others others
- b16. lòr / jò? prà:m / jò? khɿs: làw kós:n kòn
say others scold others laugh say children person
- b17. kəkì: kòn kənà:j pé ?àh cì: / jòh cá:ŋ rət
this person that not have name go work arrive
- b18. kàj rət jf:m kmú:l tà kúŋ / sóŋ wá:j
strangely come borrow money in village trousers shirt
- b19. cè hót pé ?àh / pŋkà? jò? / tá: ?àh já:ŋ kənì? /
to wear not have shame others don't do like this
- b20. tá: ?fək já: / tá: hós:j phá:j / tá: jòh
don't smoke cigarette don't play cards don't go

- b21. là? / cí? kmú:l páh là? là? / jàt là? là?
 out save money keep well well stay well well
- b22. há: tá: ʔú:r jò? trthfəŋ / tá: wát jò?
 completely don't lead others quarrel don't fight each other
- b23. tá: nò:k jò? jàt là? là? sén mà? sén
 don't beat each other stay well well place who place
- b24. tè: / jò? làw mǎh tàŋ cà:ŋ
 oneself others say what certainly not care

English translation

When you go you must think of being industrious and think of home. Don't do as the children of others do. Otherwise you will be considered as having no name (being beneath respect). You would be in trouble and would have no home and no farm. Others would scold and would gossip about you. Work hard. Whatever work you do, do it well. Don't be greedy. Keep an eye on what other people are doing so that you can learn. Be careful in whatever you do and wherever you go. Do it well. Money got from work must be kept safely in a bag. Don't be fooled by other people. Don't go wandering around for pleasure, or go to the movies, drink wine, or play cards. Save the money. Don't follow other people's behaviour. Save the money so that when you become ill you can buy pigs and chickens for the curing ceremony. It is handy to have your own money for that purpose so you don't have to borrow from others. That would cause you shame. It is humiliating to be in debt. Others would talk about you, and would blame and laugh at you, saying that such and such person has no name (is beneath respect), earning money from work but has to come back to borrow money from people at home, and has no clothes to wear. It is humiliating. Don't do that. Don't smoke. Don't play cards. Don't go around for pleasure. Carefully save the money. Lead a good life. Don't quarrel with others. Don't fight with others. Stay well in your own place. Don't pay attention to what other people say.

(c) Advice about the work men should do.

- c1. pí: nàm kì: pé ʔəh kmá? wà:r talò:t pí: / tàŋ
 year which this not have rain hot all year since
- c2. tà rtnò:t pé rò:t ŋkù:r / hó:c khdí? ʔəh ré?
 at harvest not come rain storm then now do farm
- c3. pé hó:c / ʔi? cè ʔəh mǎh / khdí? ʔi? cà rlu? / pù:r
 not finish me will do what now we will rest clear the
- c4. pù:r hó:c cmò:l / séh ŋú? séh màh mǎn
 clear the land then plant put in paddy put in rice like
- c5. làw mà? làw jòŋ ʔi? nàm jǎ? / ʔəh ré? pə?
 say mother say father we which in the past do farm eat
- c6. màh ʔəh prà:j pə? kné? / tò: tmrí? tà jəŋ ré? kàh
 rice do trap eat rat pick vegetable at foot farm untie

- c7. kné? wàt prà:j / ré? cít ?àh prà:j ɲó? klà:j plàk
rat catch trap farm grass have trap paddy become make
- c8. sró? / ɲó? klà:j plàk sró? / mò:t ká? wàt sró? / kú:p
fish paddy young make fish take fish catch fish trap bake
trap paddy trap
- c9. pà? kú:p pà? hó:c rtnò:t ré? cít kəkì: / hó:c ?ì? jòh
eat bake eat then harvest farm grass this finish we go
- c10. pá? prà:j rò:t krùə kné? krùə tù:n / ?ó:r kó:n
check trap arrive skin rat skin bamboo rat lead children
- c11. ?ó:r hé:m ?ó:r cè? pà? / pà? hó:c jòh
lead younger sibling lead grandchildren eat eat finish go
- c12. ?àh ré? má? / kàn klà? ?óm jú? pók
do farm who diligent clean (face) water forest bite
- c13. c?à:ɲ klà? ?òm kà:ɲ cè pà? máh / pà? rá:m
bone clean (face) water home will eat what eat sex organ
- c14. mà? tè: / rəh kù:n máh / kù:n mà? tè: tèn
mother oneself get up see what see mother oneself sit
- c15. pí:c tò? / jòh tà jú? púp ktà:m púp múk
deliver sex organ go to forest see crab see cricket
- c16. púp hó:s / rəh tà síh tèn tà kà:ɲ
see grasshopper get up from sleeping sit at home
- c17. cè pà? máh / cùh ɲəh kù:n pntrú?
will eat what look downward look upward see food container
- c18. pntràk / cè pà? mən / khdí? jòh rò:t nà:m
food container will eat what now go arrive when
- c19. ré? / rəc ré? ?àh prà:j cè: pà? kné? / ?àh prà:j
farm visit farm do trap will eat rat do trap
- c20. cè pà? kné? / ?àh ré? cé pà? mən
will eat rat do farm will eat rice

English translation

We haven't had any rain this year. It has been hot all year. We haven't had any rain since the harvest. At the moment, we haven't finished farming (for the year). What shall we do now? We will rest. Then we will clear the field. After that we will plant the rice (put the rice seed to get the rice). As our mother and father said in the old days, 'If you farm you eat rice, if you trap you eat rat'. You can pick vegetables at the foot of the field and get rats caught in the trap. You have the crops from the land, the meat from the trap and the fish from the fish trap (tentative). You can take the fish caught in the fish trap and cook it. Then at harvest time you get the crops. If you go

to check the trap you can take rats and bamboo rats home and skin them for cooking. You tell the whole family to eat them. They you go to work on the farm. The diligent man who washes his face with water in the forest has meat to eat. What will there be to eat for the person who washes his face at home? He can eat his mother's sex organ. When he gets up he will see nothing except his own mother sitting there. If you go to the forest you will find crabs, crickets and grasshoppers. If you get up and just sit at home what will you see? You will see only the food containers hanging there. What will you eat? Now it is time go go and work in the fields. If you trap you eat rat; if you farm you eat rice.

Hortatory discourses are exhortations often supported by reasons, examples and explanations. This type of discourse includes the second person. However, it is noticeable that most of the time the pronouns referring to the speaker and the addressee do not appear. The first person plural /ʔiʔ/ *we*, which refers to human beings in general, is sometimes used, as in a5, a13, a14, b14, c3, c5, etc.

Because of the didactic style, the context of this type of discourse is presented in a straightforward way. It refers to what to do and not to do with reasons and expected possible results. There is little imagination or discussion involved. Clauses are short and consist mainly of verbs and nouns. There are few adjectives and adverbs. However, a high frequency of repetition of either structures or words contributes greatly to the emphatic and intensifying impact.

On the whole, hortatory discourses are characterised by a succession of clauses, occurring in juxtaposition and having striking repetitive features. These clauses are syntactically independent but contextually dependent. Some of them can be considered as semantically related, expressing various sorts of relationship as those mentioned in section 6 above. Examples are given below.

Some interesting sayings are found in this type of discourse. They are like parables of which there is only a small, fairly closed repertoire. Normally such analogies are mentioned to support the points the speaker is making. They are always rhymed. Some examples found in the texts below will now be mentioned, and the semantic relationship with context will be explained.

a21-22 and c6-7 can be interpreted as having co-ordinated relationship.

kà: pé ká:t tà pté? pé ksèh tà lwà:ŋ

*it not be born from ground not fall from sky
Food does not come from the ground nor fall from the sky.*

tò: tmríʔ tà jʔəŋ réʔ kàh knéʔ wàt prà:j

*pick vegetable at root farm untie rat catch trap
Pick vegetables at the foot of the hill and undo the rat caught in the trap.*

c5-6 can be interpreted as having co-ordinated conditional relationship.

ʔəh réʔ pàʔ mäh ʔəh prà:j pàʔ knéʔ

*do farm eat rice do trap eat rat
If you farm you eat rice; if you trap you eat rats.*

c12-13 can be interpreted as having contrastive relationship.

mé? kàŋ klà? ʔòm jú? pók
 who diligent clean (face) water forest bite

cʔà:ŋ klà? ʔòm kà:ŋ cè pà? méh

bone clean (face) water home will eat what

The diligent man who washes his face with water in the forest
 eat meat. What will there be to eat for the man who washes
 his face at home?

Other examples of juxtaposed clauses that are semantically related are given below.

a8-10 can be interpreted as having purposive relationship.

kó:n cmrò? jò? ckó? nò: tòn jòh là? ʔàh méh téc
 young men at night they must go out have what sell

mèh wè:t ka:nkha:kha:j priəŋ nà:ŋ saŋlòr saŋlmpò:ŋ
 what buy trading others know what to say what to say

Men should go out to do some trading and get experience in bargaining
 and negotiating.

a22-23 can be interpreted as having conditional relationship.

klé? kàp jò? tmkò? cò:j jò? ʔàh kà: náj cè rmà:ŋ
 husband and with wife help together work it then will rich
 If a husband and wife help each other with work they will be rich.

There are also some conjoined sentences marked by conjunctions or preverbal particles, as in a10-11.

tʔà: jàt tà kà:ŋ mʔən cmkʔn jò? rò:t lòr méh pé nà:ŋ
 if stay at home like women others come say what not know
 If (men) stay home (all the time) like women, we would not be able to do
 the business properly.

and in a19-20

jàt tà kà:ŋ kù:n jò? ʔàh saŋpə? là? kàj
 stay at home see others have food good happen to

làw ʔéh priəŋ pà? ʔàh pà? ʔéh
 say (emph pt) others eat meat eat (emph pt)

It's not good just staying home but criticising others when they have
 good food.

Reduplication, which is very frequent, has mainly emphatic and stylistic functions. These seem to complicate the structure of this type of discourse. Reduplicated are words, phrases, or clauses. Various kinds of reduplications are discussed below.

(a) Adverbs of manner are always repeated twice as in:

b5. ʔàh là? là?
 do well well

b7. ʔàh mè:n mè:n
 do correctly correctly

(b) There are successions of clauses with similar construction resulting from the repetition of the message the speaker wants to emphasise. In b15-17 similar subjects are used to introduce successive clauses.

jò? lòr jò? prà:m jò? khá:s làw kó:n
others say others scold others laugh say children

kòn kəkì: kòn kənà:j pé ?àh cì:
person this person that not have name

In some cases the clauses are introduced by the negative imperative marker /tá:/ as in b19-21.

tá: ?àh jà:ŋ kənì? tá: ?fək jà: tá: hó:j pà:h j
don't do like this don't smoke cigarette don't play cards

tá: jòh là? cí? kmú:l páh là? là?
don't go out save money keep well well

and b22-23

há tá: ?ó:r jò? trthíəŋ tá: wát jò?
completely don't lead other people quarrel don't fight each other

tá: nò:k jò? jàt là? là?
don't hit each other stay well well

In some cases the succession of emphasised dependent clauses referring to the results of the actions are introduced by subordinating preverbal particles such as /mák/ as in b2-4.

há tá: ?àh mʔən kó:n jò? hí? mák
completely don't do like children others otherwise possibly

pé ?àh cì: mák bá:p pé ?àh kà:ŋ pé ?àh ré?
not have name possibly suffer not have house not have farm

jò? mák prà:m mák prnà:
others possibly scold possibly gossip

Conditional clauses or cause and effect clauses are presented in a complex way. The effects or results are often emphasised by being repeated many times either in the same or similar form. This can be seen in the examples above (b2-4). Other examples are in a10 and a12.

tà: jàt tà kà:ŋ mʔən cmkʔn jò? lòr làw máh pé nè:ŋ
if stay at home like women others may say what not know

rò:t láv máh pé nè:ŋ
come say what not know

and in c15-17

jòh tà jú? púp ktà:m púp múk púp hó:s
go to forest see crab see cricket see grasshopper

réh tà síh tèn tà kà:ŋ cè pə? məh
get up from sleeping sit at home will see what

(c) 'Couplets' or 'elaborated expressions' of four syllables are an areal characteristic of languages in South-east Asia. They are constructions in which the first and third or second and fourth syllable are identical. They tend to occur in more formal or poetic texts. This device is commonly used in Khmu.

In the texts above there are some expressions consisting of a pair of clauses in which one of the segments of the first clause, either a noun or a verb, is repeated as a segment in the second clause. The meanings of another segment of the two clauses are similar or related. They may refer to things of the same kind, things that normally occur together or are mentioned together, or things that imply the same overall meaning of the whole combination. The arrangement of words is usually fixed in a certain order either because such things occur in such a sequence or because a certain euphonic effect is achieved by adhering to that order. The first item usually has the main meaning. These words are mainly nouns occurring as objects while the verbs are always the repeated segments. The second syllable does not really have a meaning of its own but exerts the effect of stylistic elaboration.

(d) Repetitions, using rhyme, alliteration and consonance, have the stylistic function of emphasis, intensification or clarification. Parts of words, whole words, phrases or clauses are repeated. Most examples below show repetition of every second word, which is generally the most common kind of repetition.

a18. tè? jò? tè: talò:t cʰi:wít
get married together get married all life

cl-2. tàŋ tà rtnò:t pé rò:t ŋkù:r
since at harvest not come rain storm

There are some examples with third word repetition as in:

b1. jòh dé: trkèt kà:ŋ dé:
go at the same time as think of home at the same time as

a17. há tá: trthfəŋ jò? tá: klíh jò?
completely don't quarrel together don't offend together

Phrase repetitions occur as in:

b3-4. pé ʔàh kà:ŋ pé ʔàh ré?
not have house not have farm

Clause repetition occurs in:

c7-8. ré? cít ʔàh prà:j ŋó? klà:j plàk sró?
farm grass have trap paddy become make fish trap
ŋó? prà:j plàk sró?
paddy trap make fish trap

b9-11. jòh là? jòh dɿ:m náŋ ʔək pù:c hó:j pà:j tá: ló?
go out go watch movie drink wine play cards don't go on
ʔàh cí? kmú:l páh kó:n jò? ʔàh jà:ŋ kəmá?
do keep money keep children others do like what
tá: hían cí? kmú:l páh
don't imitate keep money keep

In some long utterances there is a lot of repetition of various kinds as in:

b4-5. ʔàh méh ʔàh ʔhó:ŋ ʔhá:k ʔàh là? là?
do what do diligent do well well

b6-7. ʔəh məh jəh məh ʔəh dɛ:m kʰɪt dɛ:m
do what go where do watch think watch

ʔəh mɛ:n mɛ:n
do correctly correctly

a2-4. tɪ:n tà trnəŋ pʰfən tɪ:n jà:m kʰdɪʔ jà:m ʔəh
teach at base food tray teach when now when have

pù:c ʔəh màh tɪ:n jà:m kʰdɪʔ
wine have meat teach when now

Thai expressions also occur here and there in the texts as in a5 /siəpɾiəp/ *disadvantage*, a9 /ka:nkʰa:kʰá:j/ *trading*, a18 /talɔ:tɕʰi:wɪt/ *all (your) life*, b10 /pʰà:j/ *card*, b12 /sə̀bà:j/ *handy, convenient*, b13 /jɪ:m/ *borrow*, c1 /talɔ:t pɪ:/ *all year long*, /mɛ:n/ *correct, good*, /nɪ: sɪn/ *debt*, etc. In the given texts, these expressions seem to be reproduced with more or less the same meaning as those in Thai. However there are some expressions that are used differently. For example, /lâw/ in Khmu seems to have a wider semantic range. /lâw/ in Thai refers to *tell, relate* while in Khmu it may also refer to *speaking or talk* as in a20, and it can be used as a complementation as in b16. The word /cá:ŋ/ as in b6, etc., /jəh cá:ŋ/ means *to go to get employment* or *to get employment* while in Thai the same meaning is expressed by /rápɕá:ŋ/. The word /cá:ŋ/ by itself means *to employ*.

This type of expression is commonly used in everyday speech. It usually helps make the speech less harsh, abrupt and unclear. Examples are:

a1. ʔəh réʔ ʔəh prà:j
do farm do trap
to do the daily work

a3. jà:m ʔəh pù:c ʔəh màh
when have wine have rice
when there is something to eat

a4. pŋkáʔ tʰáw pŋkáʔ kɛ:
be ashamed old people be ashamed old people
to feel ashamed

a6-7. cəm màh cəm má:r
soak rice soak salt
to prepare the rice to be cooked

a15. tʰà: mɛh kmú:l mɛh sɾɪ:l
it be silver be gold
if it deals with money

b12. mò:t kmú:l wɛ:t sɾəŋ wɛ:t hʔfər sú:
take money buy pig buy chicken heal
to prepare things for curing ceremony

b15. ʔəh nɪ: ʔəh sɪn
have debt have debt
to be in debt

- c4. séh ɲóʔ séh màh
put in paddy put in rice
to put rice in the container

In some cases, the verbs are not repeated but the object nouns are repeated:

- a9. ʔàh màh téc màh wè:t
have what sell what buy
to do the trading

Some expressions of similar type do not repeat the verb that comes before, as in:

- a10. nè:ŋ saŋlòr saŋlmpò:ŋ
know what to say what to say
- b1. khít ʔhó:ŋ ʔhá:k
think diligent diligent

The words following the verb are partially duplicated. The first syllable and the initial consonant of the second syllable are repeated.

8.3 Procedural discourses

(a) How to make a kind of curry (kò:ŋ dò: cmɲà:j).

- a1. pléc káʔ róʔ tà trlòh / ʔòm pək / ntrò:j ròʔ
clean fish put in pot water put in broken rice put
- a2. má:r róʔ / cmɲà:j tóm / há sí:n / ká:c
salt put chili boil completely cook take off
- a3. plìen / róʔ tà sntèh klóh / lùh / róʔ méʔ /
cause to be off put in cooking mortar crush put in again
- a4. róʔ kwfɾ kwfɾ / saŋsmɲèh róʔ / ká:c
put in stir stir herbs put take off

English translation

Prepare the fish and put it in the pot. Put the water in followed by broken rice and salt. Boil the chilis until they are cooked. Then take them off the fire and crush them in the mortar. After that put them back in the pot and stir well. Add some cooking herbs. Then take it off the fire.

(b) How to make a drinking container.

- b1. jòh lɪək / lɪək tèʔ rhá:ŋ nàm skàr nàm làʔ
go select select take bamboo which straight which good
- b2. nàm plìə pòk hó:c trép / pòk trép /
which pretty cut then cut square cut cut square
- b3. làs / há:l hó:c klám kà:j tà kì:
make holes peel then carry come to here

English translation

Go and get the bamboo. Select one which is nice and straight. Cut it off. Then trim it, pierce some holes for the water, and remove the skin. Then bring it here.

(c) How to cook glutinous rice.

- c1. m̀: t rŋkó? càm kló:ŋ sntèh / hó:c mpíər táp /
take rice soak in bowl then bamboo tray cover
- c2. hó:c síh / nàŋ pŋkì: rəh / húr prl̄tə /
then sleep following day get up light fire
- c3. hó:c m̀: t hʔé? tú:ŋ kəh / m̀: t rŋ? tà
then take firewood light lighted take put in at
- c4. tmrà? l̀: k / m̀: t trl̀h / m̀: t ʔəm pák / hó:c crùək
back stove take pot take water put in then clean
- c5. m̀h càm / hó:c m̀: t ʔəm rà: / jé: t / rŋ? tà trl̀h
rice soak then take water clean take off put in pot
- c6. jàt ték / hó:c mpfəl / ték ʔét / hó:c mù: t / rŋ? tà
stay watch then mix watch little then knead put in
- c7. trl̄fp / hó:c pə?
bamboo rice container then eat

English translation

Put the rice in the pot filled with water and cover it with a bamboo tray. Leave it there overnight. The next morning, prepare the fire and put it in the rice cooking stove (at the back part of the house). Clean the rice well, put it in the pot (on the fire) and keep an eye on it. Then mix the rice, after a while knead it thoroughly, and put it in the rice container. It is then ready for eating.

(d) How to make rice wine.

- d1. m̀: t rŋkó? ŋká: m já? / srwà: k jò? / rŋ? tà
take rice husk mix mix together pour in
- d2. khó: n / cruək tà ʔəm / rùŋ / ŋkáh tà
a bamboo container clean in water cook scatter in
- d3. mpíər pŋár / m̀: t ptó? rà: j / wfl / ʔəh
flat basket make cool take wine yeast sprinkle mix make
- d4. lá? kcò: k r̀: ŋ tà prnà: n / m̀: t pù: c rŋ? tà t̄fp /
banana leaf put under in container take wine pour in container
- d5. séh tà kt̀ŋ / m̀: t pté? té: ŋ ntáp táp péh síp
put in earthen-crock take soil make lid cover keep ten

- d6. mì: / cák ʔfək
day open drink

English translation

Put the paddy rice in a bamboo container. Wash and cook it. Then spread it on a flat bamboo basket. Put the wine yeast in and mix it well. Prepare a banana leaf and put it on the basket. Put the rice in the container and later put it in the jar. Make a soil lid and cover the jar for ten days before opening it to drink.

(e) How to kill a cow and prepare it for a meal.

- e1. túk lmpòʔ pǐh lé:ŋ tà tú:t sʔò:ŋ nàm nám / túk khát khát /
the cow lead tie at trunk tree which big tie tight tight
- e2. mò:t sóʔ tò:n mpón / hó:c kà: tǐ:ŋ há:n /
take axe hit and cut head then it collapse die
- e3. ràk / mò:t pǐə tò:ŋ mà:m / má:r rǔʔ / kwfr
stab (throat) take bowl keep blood salt put in stir
- e4. kwfr / páh ʔúan kà: nàr / rlàh plùʔ / rlàh
stir keep to make it cold butcher back leg butcher
- e5. tǐʔ / lǐə mpù:r plian / hó:c pà:t ʔàh kò:ŋ
front leg to skin skin off then cut off meat make curry
- e6. páh / chréh cʔà:ŋ trfək / kón kntúər / kón / rǔʔ tà trlòh /
keep separate bone rib chop neck chop put into pot
- e7. ʔòm pák / mò:t ktìŋ / hʔéʔ / tròʔ húr / sǐ:n
water pour put boil fire wood dried bamboo lighted cooked
- e8. mò:t saŋsmŋèh rǔʔ / séh má:r / séh cmnà:j / sǐ:n hó:c
take herbs put in put in salt put in chili cook then
- e9. ká:c tàŋ pəʔ
take off set eat

English translation

Tie the cow and take it to a big tree. Tie it tightly to the tree. Strike its head with an axe until it falls dead. Keep the cow's blood in a bowl. Put the salt in and stir it well to make it set. Cut off the front and back legs and remove the skin. Then remove the flesh and cut it to make curry. Remove the rib bones, cut off the neck, and chop it up for cooking in the pot. Put in more firewood. When it is cooked, put herbs and spices, salt, chili in. It is then ready to eat.

(f) How to propose a marriage.

- f1. m̀: t k̀n m̀: t wá: j / t fəp m̀h / m̀: t saŋpə? / hó: c m̀: t
take skirt take shirt wrap rice take food then take
- f2. kmú: l s̀: ŋ m̀n / hó: c m̀: t saŋtʃ? m̀: j c̀m / hó: c j̀h
money two mun then take bracelet one pair then go
- f3. m̀: ɲ k fən tà k̀: ŋ ǹ: / hó: c ǹ: m̀: ɲ / p̀: / j̀h
ask go up into house they already they ask you go
- f4. m̀h k̀: j m̀h / ʔé: j ʔi? j̀h s̀: k t̀? k̀: n
where come where (in pt) we go search take little
- f5. hʔəʀ k̀: n kt̀ŋ / hó: c ǹ: t̀: p / m̀? j̀ŋ
chicken little egg then they answer mother father
- f6. cmkfn t̀: p làw / ʔé: j k̀: n hʔəʀ ʔi? kr̀: n
girl answer say (in pt) little chicken our lazy
- f7. ŋ̀? p̀: pé cú? t̀? / ʔé: j ʔi? cú? t̀? k̀m
fear you not want to take (in pt) we want take which
- f8. kr̀: n k̀ni? / hó: c ràp ntr̩əŋ p̀h / hó: c m̀: t p̀: c
lazy this then receive things keep then take wine
- f9. cák ʔfək làk p̀h / hó: c m̀? j̀ŋ cmkfn
open drink all through morning then mother father girl
- f10. sanjà: làw / ʔi? c̀ ǹ: ŋ m̀: ɲ k̀: n m̀: ɲ c̀?
promise say we will still ask child ask grandchild
- f11. k̀: l / th̀: k̀: n pé: k̀? s̀: m ẁn ʔi? cà pk̀: j
first if child not love three days we will return
- f12. ntr̩əŋ / th̀: k̀: n ʔi? k̀? ʔi? c̀ p̀h
things if child our love we will keep

English translation

Take a skirt and a blouse. Wrap up some rice. Take some food. Then take two muns of silver and a pair of bracelets. Then go (up) to the girl's parent's house to ask them.

The girl's parents ask (you):

'Where are you going?'

'We are going to find a little chicken and a little egg'.

Then the girl's parents answer:

'Our little chicken is lazy. We are afraid that you will not take her'.

'We want this lazy one'.

The girl's parents receive the presents. Then they bring in the wine, open it up. They drink until morning. Then the girl's parents say:

'We have to ask our child first. If she does not like (your son) we will return the presents within three days. If she does like him we will keep them'.

Procedural discourses concern step by step description of how to do something.

The agents do not normally appear. In the six text examples given above agents occur only in f4 and f7 and f10-11 which are narrative parts inserted in the procedural discourse, not elsewhere.

f1-5. m̀: t k̀n m̀: t wá: j t fəp m̀h m̀: t sən pə? h́: c m̀: t
take skirt take shirt wrap rice take food then take

knú: l s̀: ɲ m̀n h́: c m̀: t sən t f? m̀: j c̀m h́: c j̀h
money two mun then take bracelet one pair then go

m̀: ɲ k̀ən tà k̀: ɲ ǹ: h́: c ǹ: m̀: ɲ p̀: j̀h
ask go up into house they already they ask you go

m̀h k̀: j m̀h ʔé: j ʔi? j̀h s̀: k t̀? k̀: n
where come where (in pt) we go search take little

h? fər k̀: n k̀t̀n
chicken little egg

The content of this type of discourse is presented in a precise way. Sentences are generally clear and short. Nouns do not appear wherever they can be understood. Therefore sentences may consist of only verbs where they are in focus. In b2 the procedure of making a water container is referred to by eight words occurring in chronological order:

p̀k trɛp t̀l̀s h́: c klám k̀: j tà k̀: i:
cut cut square make holes then carry come to here

This phenomenon can also be seen here and there in every text given below.

In transitive constructions the focused patient always occurs before the verbs as in a1-2, e5-6, etc.

a1-7. ʔ̀m p̀k ntr̀: j r̀? m̀: r r̀? cm̀: j k̀t̀ɲ
water put in broken rice put salt put chili boil

The verb /m̀: t/ to take, get, put often occurs before the aforementioned transitive constructions.

c1. m̀: t r̀k k̀? c̀m kl̀: ɲ snt̀h
take rice soak in bowl
to soak rice in the bowl

c3. m̀: t ʔ̀m p̀k
take water put in
to put the water in the pot

or the verb /t̀: ɲ/ to do, to make, as in:

d5. t̀: ɲ ntáp táp
make lid cover
to make the lid to cover

Locatives are commonly found as in:

a1. r̀? tà trl̀h
put in pot
to put into the pot

a2. rɔʔ tà ntɛh klóh
 put in (cooking) mortar
 to put in the (cooking) mortar

e1. pʰh lé:ŋ tà tú:t
 lead tie at trunk
 to lead and tie (it) to the trunk of the tree

Reduplication is used only rarely. When it occurs it has mostly grammatical function (indicating plural), and only sometimes does it have emphatic function. Examples are in a4 and e3-4.

kwɨr kwɨr
 stir stir
 to stir many times

In all of the six procedural discourse texts given there are only a few instances of reduplication for emphatic purposes.

b1. jòh lɛk lɛk tèʔ rhá:ŋ nàm skàr nàm làʔ
 go select select take bamboo which straight which good
 nàm plɛə
 which pretty

e1. túk kʰát kʰát
 tie tightly tightly
 tie (it) tightly

Verbs referring to different steps of how to do something occur chronologically with or without any conjunction.

In (a) and (b) all clauses referring to various steps occur in juxtaposition. In (c) and (f) there is a frequent use of the temporal conjunction (hó:c) *then*. It seems to be able to be inserted after each clause as often as the speaker wants.

In (b) and (e) verbs referring to a similar type of action seem to occur in juxtaposition and the conjunction /hó:c/ is used between groups of verbs of different nature. Therefore the use of a temporal conjunction seems to depend on the style used by the speakers.

On the whole, procedural discourses are characterised by successions of short clauses consisting mainly of verbs and some nouns, prepositional phrases and conjunctions describing temporally ordered actions. Intonation breaks are important for separating such action verbs.

8.4 Narrative discourses

(a) The village headman talks about the meeting.

a1. rəh tà sʰh náj jòʔ srúət / nò: hɛ:t jòh
 get up from sleep before in the morning they call go

a2. psúm kún Mɛŋkà:n / lɛŋ pʰattʰà:nà: / kún ʔiʔ /
 meeting village Muangkarn story development village our

- a3. mʔən dè:m ʔiʔ tà jàʔ tük já:k / khɔʔ cè khɔ̀: /
like the past we in the past poor hard now will let us
- a4. là:m sá:ŋ phattʰànà: kúnj kà:ŋ ʔúan jàt cè:p
begin build develop village house make stay happy
- a5. jàt mùan / khʔəŋ ʔəm bó: / kò: sà:là: / càt
stay happy dig water will build pavillion arrange
- a6. wè:n jà:m kúnj ʔiʔ / pɔŋkàn kúnj kà:ŋ
rotating guard village our protect village house
- a7. khò:ŋ ʔiʔ / patibàt kúnj kà:ŋ ʔúan riàprò:j / pèn
of our do/make village house make be in order be
- a8. kò:k pèn sò:j / tàŋ khɔʔ jòh tòŋ ʔəh súan / ʔəh
road be lane since how go must do orchard do
- a9. ʔəm bó: / càt róʔ kà:ŋ pèn rajáʔ /
water well arrange build house be provide space
- a10. rúa kwè:k thàm khwà:m saʔá:t
fencing with bamboo do cleaning

English translation

In the morning I was called to a meeting at Muangkarn village on 'Village Development'.

We have been living in poor conditions for a long time. Now let us develop our village so that we will have a better and happier life. We are going to dig wells, build resting shelters and arrange to have guards to patrol and protect our village. Our village is going to be carefully planned. People will be encouraged to grow fruit trees, and water holes will be provided. Houses will be build in appropriate places in the space provided, with fencing. And the village will be kept clean.

(b) A man tells about the seminars in Laos.

- b1. lʔəŋ kà:n sammanà: kniʔ / thà: jèʔ ʔəh pé mè:n /
story seminar this if you do not appropriate
- b2. ʔà:jnò:ŋ lè nʔp jèʔ jòh sammanà: / làw jòh híən
Laotian then arrest you go seminar say go learn
- b3. tà mʔəŋ lúəŋ Námthə: / jòh rò:t tà niʔ / nò: cè ʔúan
at the capital Nantha go arrive here they will give
- b4. jèʔ híən / nò: pnbá:p jèʔ ká:l / nò: mò:t
you learn they make (you) suffer you first they take
- b5. cmáʔ tük tmlʔək lè:ŋ tà tŋkàʔ / hó:c nò: mò:t
rope tie to the back tie to branch then they take

- b6. prl̩ə húr khrón lòn jè? / jè? jàt làk cú? hfəl /
fire light burn body your you stay very pain vomit
- b7. hfəl pé p̩ən / màt mùh jàt wà:r / ?òm lù? liàn /
vomit not able eyes nose stay hot sweat come out
- b8. bá:p làk / wá:j pú:c són pú:c nà /
suffer very shirt take off trousers take off (emph pt)
- b9. sná:t nò: sr̩fəŋ jòh sr̩fəŋ kà:j / nò: p̩r̩ŋ p̩ŋŋ? /
gun their move go move come they shoot make (you) fear
- b10. nò: ?əh jà:ŋ knì? / jè? cè ŋ? / hó:c jè? dà
they do like this you will fear then you (emph pt)
- b11. cè lá:p / nò: làw jè? cú? məh satù: / ?i? pé
will fear they say you want be enemy we not
- b12. kù? ban̩kʰáp nò: ká: / nò: mà:p l̩əŋ
like be under control their or not they ask story
- b13. knì? / t̩hà: jè? làw nò: t̩è? nò: thà: cè
this if you say they take they then will
- b14. p̩n̩p̩:t prl̩ə / bà:ŋ khòn nò: n̩p̩ p̩əŋ nò:
put out fire some people they arrest able they
- b15. p̩nbá:p / nò: ?úan kè: kh̩fəŋ pté? làk r̩:t
make suffer they make him dig ground until arrive
- b16. tà ntùèr / m̩:t kè: r̩s? tà n̩? / m̩:t pté? thóm tàl tàl
at neck take him put in here take soil fill press press
- b17. làk kè:n / hó:c nò: lè m̩:t wè:nphè: nàm
until tight then they therefore take plates which
- b18. nè? / nò: lè t̩f:k tà màt kè: / nò: lè m̩:t
small they then put at eyes him they then take
- b19. cm̩à:j m̩:t kcìə t̩f:k / hó:c nò: lè m̩:t
chili take smoke powder put then they then take
- b20. trnás p̩s:k kcìə / kcìə lè há? / hó:c
match light smoke powder smoke powder then burn then
- b21. sl̩:t há? tà màt kè: / hó:c kè: lè ŋk̩:t /
naturally burn at eyes his then he therefore cough
- b22. à:jnò:ŋ lè khúm mà:p làw / jè? ?əh m̩h ph̩t
Laotian therefore control ask say you do what wrong
- b23. m̩h / jè? lè bó:k ?i? t̩è? kh̩f? / jè? pé bó:k ?i?
what you then tell we take this you not tell we

- b24. tɛ̀? khɔ́f? / jɛ̀? pé bɔ́:k ʔi? cà pʰá:n jɛ̀? / hó:c jɛ̀?
take now you not tell we will kill you then you
- b25. hó:c jɛ̀? thà cè làw / jɛ̀? pé làw kàj
then you if will say you not say therefore
- b26. jɛ̀? cè há:n / jɛ̀? kàj campèn làw nò: tɛ̀?
you will die you therefore necessary say they take

English translation

About the seminar: if you did something wrong, the Lao soldiers would arrest you and send you to the seminar, saying that you had to go to get educated at the capital of Namtha. When you arrived there, they educated you by torturing you first. They tied your hands behind you and tied you to the trunk of a tree. Then they put a fire around you. You would feel like vomiting but could not do that. You were so hot in the face and sweated. It was awful. Clothes had to be taken off. Their guns moved around, threateningly, and they fired them from time to time to frighten you. This is the way to make you afraid. They would suggest that you wanted to be their enemy and did not like to be under them. This is what they would question you on. If you replied satisfactorily they would put out the fire. For some people, when they were arrested, they would be tortured. The communists made them dig the ground to the depth of their neck. Then they put them in, put the soil back and pressed it in tightly. Then they placed a small plate at the eye level, put chilis and smoke powder on it. They lighted the smoke powder. It burnt up, and got in the eyes and causes coughing. The communist soldiers then asked, 'What did you do against us, you must tell us otherwise you will be killed'. Therefore you had to tell them.

(c) A woman tells about her life during the war and how she has to leave her home in Laos to stay in Thailand.

- c1. é: làw kàp trlò:c sáh / tà kún phrí:m jàt
(in pt) say them sad (emph pt) at village old stay
- c2. híc / ʔò? jàt híc / tahá:n tháj cà:t khɔ́f:m /
pound (rice) I stay pound soldier Thai very serious
- c3. jàt híc ʔò? tà ʔ pé nà:ŋ / jàt tà psɛm hìəbìn
stay pound I certainly not know stay at night plane
- c4. rò:t plò:j bàjpìw / tà ʔ khɔ́f? jòh ptrà:t
arrive drop handouts since now go cause to be less hope
- c5. cè pùp mà? jòŋ / jàt (ʔam) pé pìən / mò:j sfp
to meet mother father stay (not) not able one ten
- c6. mì: tahá:n tháj ríʔrɔ́? rò:t tìəŋ / pùh kmá? mót mì:
day soldier Thai running noise arrive fetch pour rain all day
- c7. bá:p làk / saŋbé? jà:n rpà:ŋ jàt tà kún
hard very goat a big musical gong stay at village
instrument

- c8. phrɪ:m / srʔè:ŋ tò: sʔəŋ / sʔəŋ spət ʔàh kɔ:n /
old pity only pig pig mother pig have child
- c9. pŋà:n / ʔə: cèʔ rò:t túk kmáʔ séh
it's a pity (in pt) Thai Lao arrive tie rain pour
- c10. lè túʔ / túʔ jàt síh tà kún Hùə /
therefore run away run away stay sleep at village Hua
- c11. nɪŋ ʔòʔ kè:t kɔ:n / kmáʔ rò:t trtìʔ psəm
sister-in-law my give birth child rain come middle night
- c12. nàŋ pŋkì: ʔìʔ lè jòh / jòh rò:t ʔòm Tíŋ / ʔìʔ tèn
tomorrow we then go go arrive Om Ting we sit
- c13. rlùʔ / trkèt já:ŋ kəmáʔ srʔè:ŋ lòh tè: sé:t / srʔè:ŋ
rest think how pity body oneself alone pity
- c14. na jòh dé: jà:m dé: / bá:p / jòh
(emph pt) go as well as cry as well as hard go
- c15. rò:t tà khá:j / jàt tà khá:j ntèʔ / jàt pʔən
arrive at fortress stay at fortress down stay able
- c16. sá:m mɪ: / tàŋ məh jà:m khɪʔ nò: bò:k ʔìʔ
three day certainly be guard now they tell us
- c17. tèʔ pè:ŋ nò: ʔúan ʔìʔ tèʔ lè:ŋ / ʔúan pè:ŋ ʔúan
take powder they give us take free give powder give
- c18. pha:có:ŋ yà:kəppàʔ / ame:rikà: mò:t hɪəbìn rò:t ràp
cloth balm American take plane arrive fetch
- c19. ʔìʔ / tahá:n cù:r ràp ʔìʔ rəh jàt tà khá:j /
us soldier go down get us up stay at fortress
- c20. tahà:n cù:r wət mìn plùʔ trtéc mò:j plàh /
soldier go down hit bomb leg cut off one leg
- c21. ʔìʔ jàt ʔɪrɪr / ʔòʔ nò: mák phá:n
we stay shiver with fear fear they might kill
- c22. ʔìʔ né: / jòʔ nò: há:n mò:j kòn / kún
us (emph pt) because they die one person village
- c23. nò: ktá:ŋ ksúʔ lè jòh nò: pèŋ tú:t mkphúk
their on plain below then go they cut down tree pomalo
- c24. tú:t mkmí: tú:t kəná:j / o: hɪəbìn rò:t
tree jack fruit tree that (in pt) plane arrive
- c25. cù:r tà nìʔ / mò:t ʔìʔ jòh tà khá:j Mòk Srliəŋ /
go down here take us go to fortress Mok Srieng

c26. ʔìʔ pùp jòʔ m̀: skì: / p̀k̀ì: kù:t h̀ə̀bìn
 we meet each other today tomorrow get into plane

c27. nàŋ knìʔ / ʔìʔ kù:t h̀ə̀bìn r̀ò:t tà Bà:nnàjm̀ə̀ŋ
 which this we get into plane arrive at Bannaymuang

English translation

Oh it is so sad to talk about my old home. I was crushing rice when there came some stern Thai soldiers. I went on doing my work. I did not have any idea why they were here. That night an aeroplane dropped leaflets revealing all. We could not stay there any more. We had to depart and would not be able to see our parents again. About ten days later some Thai soldiers came to get us. It was raining heavily that day. I was depressed. Goats, gongs and other musical instruments had to be left in the village. It was a pity to leave the pigs which were having babies. Some Thais came to tie them up. Since it was raining so hard I fled to Hua village and slept there. My relative (who was with me) gave birth to a baby. It was still raining. The following night I moved on. I arrived at Om Ting village and had a rest. I was taken with grief. Thinking about my life, I could not help crying. But I had to move on. I was crying all along the way. Life was so hard. We arrived at camp. We stayed at the lower camp for three days, the guards told us to get some powder, some clothes and some balm which were provided for free. Then the Americans sent an aeroplane to fetch us. One of these soldiers detonated a bomb which exploded ripping off his leg. We were shivering with fear, afraid that they might kill us because of that incident. However we moved on. They cut some pomelo and jack-fruit trees. The aeroplane arrived and took us to Mok Srlieng camp where we met other people. The following day we got on the plane again and finally arrived at Bannaymuang village.

(d) A story about a cunning man entitled Sfəʔ plà:ŋ sfəʔ rwà:j (a part of the whole story).

d1. kə: knìʔ nà / j̀h̀ tà ʔ̀òm / sár j̀h̀ ʔ̀fæk
 he this (emph pt) go to water palm civet go defecate

d2. pí:c tà ǹò:r / j̀h̀ tà ʔ̀òm p̀ùp ʔ̀fæk sár /
 away at way go to water find dropping palm civet

d3. clá:ptá:p t́f:r p̀ù:r ʔ̀fæk sár nà̀n
 butterfly fly around dropping palm civet that

d4. lèʔ / pót láʔ sróʔ tàp / j̀ə̀h̀ jàʔ pà:
 (emph pt) pick leaf Sro cover (in pt) grandma you

d5. j̀h̀ tà ʔ̀òm ḱsʔ kŕp ḱs:n sí:m p̀ə̀h̀ ʔ̀òʔ
 go to water wait seize little bird keep me

d6. né: / nàm jàʔ j̀h̀ k̀ò:k t̀ì:ŋ j̀h̀
 (emph pt) when grandma go carry water container go

d7. ʔ̀ə̀h̀ ʔ̀òm mèc t̀ŋḱf_r r̀àp r̀àp kĺs:ŋ láʔ
 get water hear flying sound (noise) (noise) in leaf

- d8. sróʔ / jòh krɤp / ò: pé mǎh kó:n sí:m máh
Sro go seize (in pt) not be little bird be
- d9. ʔfək sár / clá:ptá:p jòh pù:r / hó:c jàʔ
dropping palm civet butterfly go around then grandma
- d10. léwàt cʔà:ŋ knéʔ phí: Plà:ŋ là:k Plà:ŋ chá:j
be pierced bone rat (in pt) Plang lie Plang
- d11. rwà:j pók rwà:j pəʔ / jé: rwà:j mɛc / é: náj
tiger bite tiger eat (in pt) tiger hear (in pt) before
- d12. jàʔ ʔúan ʔòʔ pók ʔòʔ pəʔ jèʔ / pé: / pók sfəŋ
grandma let me bite me eat you no bite pig
- d13. léc sfəŋ ló:ŋ tà kà:ŋ ʔè:m / thà: nò: hé:t
castrate pig castrate at house uncle if they call out
- d14. nò: ʔúan / thá: nò: ʔf:c nò: pé ʔúan na /
they give if they quiet the not give (emph pt)
- d15. rwà:j jòh pók théʔ / pók sfəŋ ʔò:r wá:k wá:k /
tiger go bite really bite pig cry (noise) (noise)
- d16. cà:w kà:ŋ hé:t jìəŋ hé:t jìəŋ tàr / jìəŋ
owner house call the more call the more run the more
- d17. hé:t jìəŋ tàr pʔəŋ / hó:c mò:t klám / pòk kà:n crɤm
call the more run get already take carry cut trunk Cram
- d18. pòk kà:n crɤm / kà:n crɤm kə: ʔàh crlàʔ / hó:c
cut trunk Cram trunk Cram it has thorn then
- d19. là:ŋ jàt rwà:j pé khréh là:ŋ jàt Plà:ŋ
an end locate tiger not cut an end locate Plang
- d20. khreh / klám jòh ʔò:r / é: síəʔ tà: ʔò:r mák
cut carry go cry (in pt) brother don't cry otherwise
- d21. cí:k mák cáŋ / kə: kàj ʔò:r cúʔ / crlàʔ
bitter otherwise bitter he still cry painful thorn
- d22. rò:t tɤ:k síəʔ rwà:j / jèʔ jòh tʔəŋ ʔàʔ tɛʔ
arrive lay down brother tiger you go get us take
- d23. prìə ʔòʔ kó:nnɤm tà hóʔ / kə: pé mǎh
(cooking) fire from girl there it not be
- d24. prìə kə: mǎh mǎtpriʔ / kə: mɛ:n kà:p jìm
(cooking) fire it be the sun it being become red
- d25. cúʔ kù:t / cúʔ kù:t jà:ŋ kəná:j kháp ʔàʔ tɛʔ
being set being set like that chase us take

- d26. pɾlɿə / ʔàʔ cà púa pəʔ sfəŋ / kə: jəh tàr
(cooking) fire we will cook eat pig he go run
- d27. khɾáp / jəh kʔən tà mòk kàj klèʔ cù:r tà ʔòm /
chase go to up on mountain surprisingly see down at water
- d28. kàj lè ɳát / kàj kʔən tà mòk /
surprisingly then disappear surprisingly go up on mountain
- d29. matpɾiʔ kù:t / ʔé:j plíʔ kft Plà:ŋ púa pəʔ sé:t
sun set (in pt) not reach Plang cook eat alone
- d30. Plà:ŋ púa pəʔ làk ló:c / ló:c nó:ŋ nàm ʔòm
Plang cook eat all finish up finish up still which water
- d31. sró:j phóʔ ríʔ bò:n nìʔ / rò:t pəʔ ʔəh
cut Po leaf put in place this arrive eat (in pt)
- d32. ʔúr ʔòʔ pəh tà nìʔ / jèʔ jəh tháp pɾlɿə rəŋ
curry I place at this you go follow fire long
- d33. hé:t ʔè:m táʔ tháw ké: rò:t pəʔ /
call uncle grandpa the elderly the old arrive eat
- d34. pléʔ pù:m nà ʔəh / jàt ròk nìʔ nò:
areca nut chew (emph pt) (in pt) stay place this they
- d35. sampəʔ lò:c / lò:c jèʔ jəh rəŋ ʔúr ʔòʔ pəh
totally eat all all you go long curry I keep
- d36. tà nìʔ / rwà:j pəʔ o: hí:p ʔòm kàj hʔə
at here tiger eat (in pt) sip soup yet sweet
- d37. kmpəh kàj cf:k
meat surprisingly bitter

English translation

Plang went to a water hole. On the way he saw some palm civet's droppings with some butterflies flying around it. He took a Sro leaf to cover them.

'Grandma, when you go to the water hole please get me some baby birds there'.

The old woman went carrying drinking water containers on her shoulders. Hearing the noise of something flying under the leaf she seized it.

'Ouch!'

It is not baby birds. It is palm civet's droppings. She had been pierced by a rat bone in the droppings. She invoked curses on Plang that he be eaten by a tiger.

The tiger heard this. He said:

'Grandma asked me to bite you and eat you'.

'No, (she did not mean that). It is the castrated pig at uncle's house. You'd better go there. If the people make noises it means that they let you have it. If they are quiet they don't'.

The tiger then went to bite the pig. The pig cried:

'(the cry of a pig)'

The pig's owners then called their pigs. The more they called the more the tiger chases the pig. Eventually, he got it. He then carried it on his shoulder. He cut a tree trunk called Cram to be used as a carrying stick. The Cram trunk has thorns. However at the tiger's end, the thorns had not been removed, while at Plang's end they had been removed. They carried it along, and the tiger cried with pain. Plang then said:

'Brother, don't cry. The meat will get a bitter taste'.

But the tiger couldn't stop. Arriving at the place they put it down.

'Brother, please go and get cooking fire from the girl over there'.

Actually it is not cooking fire. It is the sun when it becomes red and setting.

'Get the fire for us. We will cook this pig'.

The tiger then went trying to catch it. When he was up on the mountain, he saw it was down at the water. When he went down there, it went up on the mountain. Finally it set.

'Hey! I couldn't reach it'.

As for Plang, he cooked the pig and ate it all by himself. Only the gravy was left. He then chopped Po leaves and put them in the gravy. When the tiger came back to eat, Plang said:

'I am eating the curry of the cooked pig. You have been away so long. The elderly people came and ate it all up. There is only the curry left which I am eating here'.

The tiger then ate it. The gravy is delicious but the meat is bitter! ...

Narrative discourses are composed of sequential happenings at a specific time and place. As in procedural discourses, the conjunction /hó:c/ then, next and and repetition are sometimes used to link two passages of the next text. At this point the speaker is thinking about what he is going to say next. In the four sample texts given, /hó:c/ occurs only in (b) and (d), as in b17-19, etc. and d14, d17-18, etc. The repetition functioning as context linker occurs in:

c10. kmá? séh lè tú? tú? jàt s'fh tà kún Htə
rain pour therefore run away run away stay steep at village Hua

c12. nàŋ pŋkì: ʔì? lè jòh jòh rò:t ʔòm Tìŋ
tomorrow we then go go arrive Om Ting

d30. Plà:ŋ pua pə? làk ló:c ló:c nó:ŋ nàm ʔòm
Plang cook eat all finish up finish up still which water

Narrative discourses are in indirect speech or in a mixture of direct and indirect speech. (b) and (c) are in indirect speech, while (a) and (d) are mixed. In (c) a woman told about her own experience about the cruelty of war. While relating the incidents she expressed her own feelings about them as in:

c8-9. srʔè:ŋ tò: s'əŋ s'əŋ spət ʔàh kó:n pŋnà:n
pity only pig pig mother have child it's a pity

c13-14. trkét já:ŋkəməʔ srʔè:ŋ ləh tè: sé:t srʔè:ŋ
think how pity body oneself alone pity

nà jòh dé: ja:m dé: bá:p
(emph pt) go also cry also hard

In (c) incidents showing the cruelty of the communists in Laos are related in almost totally indirect speech. Only in b22-24 does direct speech appear. This is indicated by the use of the personal pronouns /ʔìʔ/ *we* and /jèʔ/ *you*.

jèʔ ʔàh mǎh pʰít mǎh jèʔ lè bó:k ʔìʔ tèʔ khdíʔ jèʔ pé
you do what wrong what you then tell we take now you not

bó:k ʔìʔ tèʔ khdíʔ jèʔ pé bó:k ʔìʔ cè pʰá:n jèʔ
tell we take now you not tell we will kill you

(a) starts with indirect speech which is followed by direct speech concerning what they are going to do about village development. (d) which is an example of story-telling is a mixture of direct and indirect speech. The direct speech appears in d4-6, d20-21, d22-23, etc. as indicated by the use of initial particles expressing self-expressions of various sorts. Vocatives, personal pronouns and final particles are frequently used in the dialogues of this type of discourse.

d4-6. jáh jàʔ pà: jòh tà ʔòm kóʔ krfp kó:n sí:m
(in pt) grandma you go to water wait seize little bird

péh ʔòʔ né:
keep me (emph pt)

d20-21. e: síəʔ tá: ʔò:r mák cí:k mák càŋ
(in pt) brother don't cry otherwise bitter otherwise bitter

d22-23. síəʔ rwà:j jèʔ jòh tʰəŋ ʔàʔ tèʔ prlʰə jòʔ kó:nnfm tà hóʔ
brother tiger you go get us take fire from girl there

Examples of multi-clause sentences occur in d25-26.

khráp ʔàʔ tèʔ prlʰə ʔàʔ cè pua pəʔ sfəŋ
chase us take fire we will cook eat pig

Examples of repetition for emphasis and stylistic function occur here and there in all texts:

a3-4. pʰátʰanà: kún kà:ŋ ʔúan jət cè:p jət mùan
develop village house make stay happy stay happy

b15-17. mò:t ptéʔ tʰóm təl təl làk kè:n
take soil fill press press until tight

d12-13. pók sfəŋ léc sfəŋ lò:ŋ
bite pig castrate pig castrate

d33-34. ʔè:m táʔ tʰáw ké: rò:t pəʔ pléʔ pù:m
uncle grandpa the elderly the old arrive eat areca nut chew

(a) contains a number of Thai elements because it is a report from a meeting organised by the Thai authorities. It is almost a Thai text.

The structure and major words are mainly Thai. Only some basic words are Khmu, especially from a3-10, which is the main body of the report. It is noticeable that Khmu words used here are very basic words, such as /khdíʔ/ *now*, /kún/ *village*, /kà:ŋ/ *house*, /ʔòm/ *water*, /jət cè:p/ *to live happily*, /ʔìʔ/ *we*, /ʔəh/ *to do*, and /róʔ/ *to build*.

Since normally a narrative discourse can be on any subject and of any style, various types of syntactic constructions can be found. Though most of the sentences are simple, there are some that contain complex clauses.

In (b) more than one third consists of various conjoined clauses, such as b1-3.

t'hà: jè? ʔáh pé mè:n ʔa:jnò:ŋ lè níp jè? jòh sammanà:
if you do not appropriate Laotian then arrest you go seminar

In the above example and other examples found in b14-20, most of the clauses with the preverbal particle /lè/ indicate a normal conditional relationship.

On the other hand /kàj/ as in d36-37 indicates a special conditional relationship as the consequence is unexpected.

hí:p ʔòm kàj hʔíə kmpàh kàj cí:k
sip soup yet sweet meat surprisingly bitter

In c21-22 /mák-/ indicates an undesirable consequence of a conditional relationship.

ŋò? nò: mák phá:n ʔí? né: jò? nò: há:n mò:j kòn
fear they might kill us (emph pt) because they die one person

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is a revised form of a part of my Ph.D. thesis, 'A description of Khmu including comparisons with Thai', completed at Monash University, Melbourne.

I am indebted to Göran Hammarström, David Bradley, and Graham Scott for valuable help on my thesis, and to Suriya Ratanakul and David Thomas for awakening my interest in fieldwork on an unwritten language and their continuing advice. Several friends helped in refining the English glosses of Khmu expressions.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my Khmu informants and friends especially Mr Sam Manyuan, Mr Long Manyuan, Mr Sorn Sangcan and Mr Hang Langlom who patiently and kindly taught me their language.

Finally, I would like to thank Mahidol University for granting me study leave, and Monash University for the scholarship to carry out my research and for a travel grant for my field trip to Thailand, allocated through the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies.

NOTES

1. The phonetic symbols used herein for consonants and vowels are mainly from the International Phonetic Alphabet. The symbols for tones are the system suggested by Mary Haas. Khmu words are normally presented without a tone indicator because the tone system in Khmu has not yet been completely developed. However, when it is appropriate the tone will be indicated. Names are presented in phonetic alphabet but with the first letter as a capital letter. Other symbols and abbreviations used are:

.	= syllable boundary	Man	= (adverb) of manner
∅	= zero	Mod	= modifier
()	= for optional items	mod pt	= modal particle
{ }	= for more than one alternative	MV	= main verb
[]	= for phonetic writing	N,n	= noun
/ /	= for phonemic writing	NP	= nominal phrase
'	= stress	NP _{ad}	= additive complex nominal phrase
adj	= adjective	NP _n	= noun phrase
adv	= adverb	NP _{num}	= numeral phrase
adv _{dir}	= directional adverb	NP _{pron}	= pronoun phrase
Adv P	= adverb phrase	num	= numeral
ADV	= adverbial	O	= object
asp pt	= aspectual particle	P	= predicate
Benef	= benefactive (construction)	pl	= plural
C	= consonant	poss	= possessive
Caus	= causative construction	prep	= preposition
Cl	= clause	Prep P	= prepositional phrase
Cl _{exist}	= existitive clause	pron	= pronoun
Cl _{equat}	= equative clause	propul	= propulsion
Cl _{intr}	= intransitive clause	q pt	= question particle
Cl _{semitr}	= semitransitive clause	Quot	= quotation
Cl _{tr}	= transitive clause	rel cl	= relative clause
class	= classifier	S	= subject
Cm	= consonant of the main syllable	Temp	= temporal
Comp	= complement	v	= verb of the presyllable
Cp	= consonant of the presyllable	V	= verb
dem	= demonstrative	V _{des}	= descriptive verb
DO	= direct object	V _{tr}	= transitive verb
emph pt	= emphatic particle	VP	= verb phrase
f pt	= final particle	VP _{equat}	= equative verb phrase
H	= head	VP _{exist}	= existitive verb phrase
in pt	= initial particle	VP _{intr}	= intransitive verb phrase
IO	= indirect object	VP _{semitr}	= semitransitive verb phrase
Loc	= locative	VP _{tr}	= transitive verb phrase

2. Other names for the people that can be heard are /kəmúʔ/, /pʰrúʔ/, /la:wtʰâŋ/, and /càl/. /la:wtʰâŋ/ is the prestige term used especially by those who live in Laos. /pʰrúʔ/ is a collective term referring to all dialects of Khmu. /càl/ is the colloquial term used by the Khmu themselves.
3. The term first used by Henderson (1952) in describing Khmer phonology.
4. Details on Khmu morphology and Khmu word classes have been provided by Smalley (1956, 1961) and Svantesson (1983).
5. The variants of this particle are /cè ~ cè ~ cà/.
6. A little egg and a little chicken here refer metaphorically to the girl whom they want to marry their son.

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